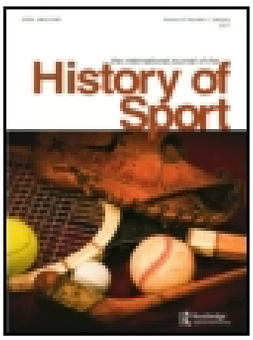

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Notes, Commentaries, Essays

God, Games and National Glory: Thanksgiving and the Ritual of Sport in American Culture, 1876–1926

STEVEN W. POPE

By the early 1890s the Thanksgiving Day football game between the top Ivy League teams was recognized as 'the greatest sporting event and spectacle combined that this country has to show'.[1] In 1893 a four-hour Thanksgiving Day parade went up New York City's Fifth Avenue and wove through Harlem on the way to the Polo Grounds where more than 40,000 spectators paid five dollars each to watch Princeton beat Yale 6–0.[2] Three days before the eventful day, 'fakirs from Nassau and Ann Streets swarm up town like an invading army', remembered popular writer Richard Harding Davis, 'with banners and flags and artificial flowers in the true colors, and with tiny leather footballs and buttons and rosettes and ribbons and tin horns and countless varieties of [school] badges'. Shop windows throughout Manhattan were adorned with photographs of the collegiate football stars, and the 'legitimate gambling' on Wall Street was 'neglected for the greater interest of betting on the game'. The true significance of Thanksgiving had come to centre on 'twenty-two very dirty and very earnest young men who are trying to force a leather ball over a whitewashed line'.[3]

'Thanksgiving Day is no longer a solemn festival to God for mercies given', wrote a *New York Herald* editor, 'It is a holiday granted by the State and the nation to see a game of football.' Davis confirmed such observations when he discovered that Christian ministers convened church services an hour earlier than usual in order to allow 'the worshippers to make an early start for Manhattan Field', or face a greatly diminished congregation. Davis also numbered leading politicians among the new sporting converts and concluded that such 'facts' demonstrate that 'Church and State both recognize the national importance of the Thanksgiving-day game.'[4]

The emergence of the modern American nation-state during the late nineteenth century called for new devices and traditions to define its meaning and ensure a unified national culture. Many Americans came to believe that organized sports provided the social glue for a nation of diverse classes, ethnic and racial groups, and competing class loyalties. Eric Hobsbawm argues that by the late nineteenth century political authorities in an increasingly democratic age could no longer rely on the social orders 'submitting spontaneously to their social superiors in the traditional manner, or on traditional religion as an effective guarantee of social obedience'. It was this historical context which prompted political elites and their bourgeois allies to invent traditions which would well together disparate subjects into a national community.[5] The widespread institutionalization of sport during the last decades of the nineteenth century provided a public showcase for sport,

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which might be compared to the fashion for public building and statuary in politics. According to Hobsbawm, institutionalized sports like football constitute 'a mechanism for bringing together persons otherwise lacking organic social or economic ties' and a 'powerful medium for national identification and factitious community'.[6]

Sport provided ample occasions not only to define but also display national ideals. Since the late nineteenth century, many Americans came to see football as a this-worldly form of civil religion compartmentalized along national lines that resonated with the national ethos more fully than the Puritannical and patriotic traditions of old. Advocates maintained that football touched a deep, vital core within the national soul, perhaps because of its combination of aggressiveness, territoriality and a fluid interplay between community and individualism.

National holidays popularized the emergent nineteenth-century invented traditions. In holiday celebrations, 'impressions are easily made, and ideas readily become part of the consciousness of the individual', wrote William Orr in a 1909 edition of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Such sentiments were shared by many civic-minded Americans who thought that the sentimental and emotional public attitudes toward holidays provided ripe occasions for 'promoting that general intelligence, that right attitude toward public questions, and that patriotism and loyalty, on which the nation depends for its existence'.[7]

Interestingly enough, a symbiotic relationship evolved between sport and nineteenth-century Protestantism, as well as with the state. Prior to the late nineteenth century, most of Christendom stood adamantly opposed to organized sport, for its tendency toward idleness, carnal pleasure, gambling and desecration of the Christian sabbath. A generation later, as men and women reinterpreted the meaning of faith in an age of industrial capitalism, technological innovation, physical science and social upheavals, religious thought itself became more elastic, affirming physical health, exercise and competitive games in ways that would have been abhorrent to earlier puritans and evangelicals. The tenets of muscular Christianity, imported from England by way of Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes, played a key role in promoting athletic sports and games. Michael Oriard has recently suggested that an American athletic movement had to have a religious impetus. Not only did the mid-nineteenth-century muscular Christians arrange the marriage of sport and morality within the YMCA and other religious organizations, they also laid the foundation for what on the surface seems merely secular, intercollegiate sport.[8] During the early years of this process, no single interpretation of college football's place in American culture ever became totally hegemonic. The value of the game was debated but never resolved. The major contributors to the discussion utilized the burgeoning national mass media to popularize their views.

After two decades of more modest claims for football's physical and moral benefits, the full-blown rhetoric of national self-interest was unleashed in the 1880s, when distinguished spokesmen like Nathaniel S. Shaler, a Harvard geology professor, changed the terms of discussion. Key words in Shaler's 1889 *Atlantic* essay – 'command', 'cooperation', 'the success of the race' – announced that the context for discussion had moved well beyond mere physical health; football was coming to be seen as both a moral training ground and a mirror of American industrial capitalism. Dean of American football, Walter Camp, through frequent columns in *Harper's Weekly* and other popular journals in the late 1880s–1890s, played an influential role in shaping the attitudes of fellow enthusiasts. Science,

perfectibility through hard work, hierarchical control and co-operation, an aristocracy of merit based on absolute equality of opportunity – these values defined football to Camp. As economic and civic virtue replaced muscular morality in their rationales, Camp and other bourgeois sporting advocates retained the teleological claims of earlier moralizers in making the case for secular sport.[9] Football, that is, became an expression of late nineteenth-century civil religion.

The maturation of American civil religion during the late nineteenth century reflected the growing importance of nationalism in Western culture.[10] Since the era of the French Revolution, devotion to the nation-state increasingly replaced devotion to God. Most of the occasions when people became conscious of citizenship and national identity took ritualistic form characterized by historian Eric Hobsbawm as 'invented traditions'.[11] National holiday celebrations since the mid-nineteenth century have been occasions for public discourse and dramatization of nationalistic ideals, values and beliefs, and as such have constituted the most important invented tradition in Western culture. Increasingly after the nation's 1876 wave of Centennial celebrations, civic, religious and folk liturgies were intermingled with commercially constructed holiday rituals centred on consumption, reflecting the emergence of a national consumer culture.[12] By the 1920s national holidays had become transformed into days of mass leisure. People continued to pay homage to patriotic myths and traditions, and the religious premises which underlaid some of them, but for most, sport and recreation surpassed the speeches, parades, and pageantry in popular devotion.[13] Moreover, particular sports came to be associated with various holidays, because of the ways in which they embraced and affirmed core national virtues, through which their advocates sought to promote selective versions of national identity and community.[14] Football enthusiasts unceasingly pointed to the positive virtues which the game promoted, such as courage, endurance, obedience, self-control, self-denial, alertness and physical perfection. Such sporting journalistic assessments took on a liturgical seriousness on the eve of the United States' entry into World War I – particularly those surrounding sport on national holiday celebrations. Through the incorporation of national symbols, myths and traditions, holiday sporting spectacles represented an important cultural terrain upon which the nation was constructed in the hearts and minds of ordinary Americans.

Football was adopted by Americans to fulfil a national purpose. Social commentators regularly noted the relationship between football and American culture. A writer for *Outlook*, for instance, contended that 'out of the old Rugby game the people of the United States have made a game of unified team play that is distinctive and unique, corresponding to something fundamental in American instincts which it expresses and satisfies'.[15] Reverend A. E. Colton, field agent of the American Bible Society, wrote a 1904 article, 'What Football Does', for the *Independent*. During a year which witnessed over 2,400 strikes involving 600,000 American workers, Socialist Eugene Debs campaigning for the American presidency, and inflamed nationalistic rivalries throughout Europe, Colton paid reverential tribute to American football for 'developing young men physically and morally for the hard grinding battles of coming days'. Amherst College Professor Raymond Gettell viewed the game through a similar lens. Gettell spoke to the way in which football retained the 'vital elements of physical combat', as well as 'the skilled interrelation of individual efforts directed to a common purpose'. Moreover, football reproduced, according to Gettell, that 'organized social effort by which man first attained supremacy over the world of nature, and by which the more

highly organized and more closely cooperating peoples have conquered and surpassed their less advanced rivals'.[16]

The popular notion of American mission and destiny expressed through football commentary was entirely consistent with the myth of Thanksgiving. The Thanksgiving story established the historical and mythical origins of a New World Christian civilization, a people, and a nation. Like all invented traditions, the Thanksgiving story established and affirmed continuity with a mythical historical legacy, namely the Pilgrim experience in confronting, settling, 'civilizing' and adapting to the New World.[17] Like football, the Thanksgiving myth affirmed adaptability and physical prowess as defining American characteristics.[18] The traumas of the Civil War inspired President Lincoln to proclaim several days of Thanksgiving to pay homage to national unity and appeal to the deity for divine guidance. Succeeding presidents followed suit, as Janet Siskind writes, thus 'appropriating the ritual for the nation over the individual states and laying the groundwork for its further development as a political-religious ritual of nationality'.[19] Perhaps, then, it is no mere coincidence that the first collegiate football game between Rutgers and Princeton, and thereby, the evolution of an American game, coincided with President Ulysses Grant's 1869 pioneering Thanksgiving address which established the holiday in American culture life.[20]

Early Thanksgiving Day games did not initially attract spectators outside the immediate Ivy League collegiate environment.[21] In fact, early games were not even reported in the leading mid-western and southern newspapers. The annual game's popularity blossomed substantially, however, during the ensuing years. In 1887, a decade after the annual event's origin, the Thanksgiving Day game between Yale and Harvard attracted 15,000 spectators at New York's Polo Grounds. Three years later the crowd numbered 30,000 and received unprecedented first and second page coverage in the leading New York dailies, suggesting that the spectacle had the ear of the Northeast and was rapidly becoming an item of national interest. A journalist for the *Atlanta Journal* indulged his readers with an elaborate summary of the 1892 Harvard-Yale Game so as to popularize and promote the emergent sporting tradition in the South. The common denominator of football clearly overshadowed any regional hostilities to Georgians' Yankee countrymen. By 1895 the *Chicago Tribune* estimated that as many as 120,000 athletes were involved in Thanksgiving games throughout the country.[22]

The growing popularity of the Thanksgiving Day game during the first two decades of the twentieth century reflected the larger geographical diffusion of football in American collegiate settings. During the 1880s–1890s, football moved from its cradle in the Northeast, to the Mid-west, South, and West Coast. The expanding role of football and other collegiate sports led to the organization of the Western Conference (Big Ten) in the 1890s and the Eastern League (ancestor to the Ivy League) around the turn of the century.[23] The success of the new entrants was hastened by the diffusion of renowned professional coaches from the established institutions. These trends mirrored leading newspaper coverage of the Thanksgiving Game. The *New York Times* devoted significant first and second page coverage of the Yale–Princeton game in 1890, as well as the Cornell–Chicago game; the Georgetown College–Columbia Athletic Club contest in Washington, DC; and the New York Irish-Americans and the Port Chester Gaelics. The *Times* reported on the first football game ever played between Indian students from two government schools before a crowd of 12,000 at the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis.[24] Six years later both Indian schools were matched with *bona fide* collegiate

powers – Athe Carlisle Indians made it close with Brown University, losing 15–6; but the Haskell Indian School was trounced by Nebraska 119–0. In all, the 25 November *1910* edition of the *New York Times* listed some 44 collegiate Thanksgiving Day games.[25] Approximately the same number of games were listed in 1914;[26] however, more short stories and game summaries were published than in previous editions. By the second decade of the twentieth century the *Chicago Tribune* coverage closely paralleled the *Times*. In 1919 the *Tribune* reported 50 games, half of which were played west of Illinois.[27]

The post-World War I resumption of the leading West Coast collegiate rivalry was followed with great regional and national interest. Prior to the 1914 season, Stanford abandoned football for rugby – much to the dismay of the students, media and the public. The experiment ultimately failed. The *San Francisco Examiner* announced the 1919 resumption between Stanford and California as 'the return of the American game'; and 'the ancients of rival colleges rejoice that soft and gentle days of rugby have gone their way and spartan blood flows again'. The *Examiner* assigned five star journalists and football experts to report the Stanford–California Thanksgiving Game, which attracted 20,000 spectators. The icing on the cake for its readers came the following day. For the first time in Western journalism, the newspaper secured aerial photos taken by a Joseph Eastman – no less an aerial staff reporter and former member of the 94th Aero Squadron in France.[28]

During the second decade of the twentieth century, the Army–Navy football rivalry came to share centre-stage with the Ivy League on Thanksgiving, due to the game's prominence displayed by the American military establishment in the First World War.[29] The Army–Navy Thanksgiving rivalry began in 1890, was officially prohibited for several years, and resumed in 1899, when it was transformed from a private contest to a public exhibition.[30] The annual football classic attracted the wealthy and upper middle classes, politicians, celebrities and, most conspicuously, the leaders of the military establishment. Sportswriter Arthur Ruhl described the crowd's unique composition by noting the numerous 'fine old warhorses with grizzled mustaches', the 'awkward enlisted men in shabby khaki', the omnipresent European 'Excellencies', and 'Secretaries of the Army, Navy, Admirals, and Generals, Bigwigs galore and their lovely nieces and daughters'.[31] The atmosphere, according to Ruhl, was 'very American'.

The Thanksgiving Day Game of 1919 between Army and Navy was one of the most widely discussed sporting events in American history to date. Forty-five thousand spectators braved the bitter elements to see the Midshipmen from Annapolis edge the Cadets of West Point 6 to 0, on two field goals at the Polo Grounds. The *New York Times* published articles about the game and the celebratory plans for weeks prior, and several pages devoted solely to the game on the day of and day after – reflecting the perceived significance of the spectacle for a nation still celebrating the Allied cause. The *Times* proclaimed football's authenticity as an American game and hailed the 1919 season as 'the most memorable year in the history of American football'. The writer noted the tremendous boost given the game by its widespread popularity among the American troops in Europe, and believed that when the 1919 season is duly assessed, 'it will hardly show better played contests than those with which the American Army and Navy' exhibited based on their training during overseas service, as well as the home fields.[32] During a year which witnessed nearly two thousand strikes, socialist agitation, and widespread racial violence, the evolution of another national tradition was eagerly greeted by supporters of a political and economic system on the ropes.[33]

Symbolic of the geographic diffusion of football, in 1926 the Army–Navy Thanksgiving classic moved west into the American heartland. Two weeks before the dedication of Soldier's Field in Chicago, the appetite for Thanksgiving Day game tickets became the item of front-page, national news. Over half a million people who competed for ten and fifteen dollar tickets in a national lottery were turned away. Civil servant Colonel H. C. Carbaugh tasked with the supervision of the ticket lottery was surrounded daily at the South Board administration office by bodyguards and policemen, making it 'impossible to get near enough to him to hand him a cigar', reported a Chicago journalist. The voracious national demand for tickets even tempted the ethics of several US Congressmen, who allegedly profited from the sale of their complimentary tickets – that prompted former Harvard football player Hamilton Fish, Jr. to initiate a House Committee on Military and Naval Affairs investigation.[34] Nevertheless, in spite of blustering cold temperatures and steady snowfall, a fortunate crowd numbering 110,000 celebrated Thanksgiving watching Army and Navy struggle to a 21–21 tie. *Chicago Tribune* writer Robert Kelley recognized the significance of the hour when he wrote that 'Football had its greatest pageant, its high spot of color here this afternoon, and so did sport in the United States.' Two hundred newspaper journalists manned six press stands on both sides of the field, producing thousands of words for their readers throughout the country. Chicago telegraph officials, in fact, verified that more wires were used covering the 1926 Thanksgiving Game than in any other game recorded to that time. President Calvin Coolidge, 'prevented by government business from being at the game', followed the play-by-play with a White House radio. American sailors the world over heard the first sporting event broadcast outside continental boundaries. Aided by the means of modern mass communication, the nation joined together in the holiday sporting spectacle.[35]

College football and the Thanksgiving holiday fused in a dramatic fashion. During a period which witnessed the waning of traditional Protestantism in the popular imagination and the emergence of nationalism as a modern cultural phenomenon, the Thanksgiving Day collegiate football spectacle legitimated the nation through reference to the historicity of Anglo-Saxon religion. This symbiotic relationship was recognized by a YMCA writer one hundred years ago. The writer suggested that the Thanksgiving college football game 'points the way to a Christian solution'. 'Because the old way of keeping Thanksgiving day Christian is no longer adequate to hold the young men, does not prove that young men are becoming un-Christian', he maintained, rather, 'it suggests a new way to make them more Christian than they ever were under the old observances.'[36]

The stuffed turkey, sweet potatoes, pumpkin pie, cranberry sauce and football spectacles are all integral to the Thanksgiving experience. Participation in this 400-year tradition is part of feeling oneself a member of the nation, of the imagined community. Thanksgiving in its present form dates back only to the late nineteenth century. As Janet Siskind writes, 'the annual national holiday appropriated for the State apprehensions of community, familial solidarity and Christian prayer which had already entered the developing sense of nationality'. For the millions of Americans who believe the annual Detroit Lions–Chicago Bears game to be as equally relevant to our culture as the mythical Puritan experience, closer scrutiny to Thanksgiving provides critical insight into the invention of traditions and the roots of the national psyche.

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NOTES

I am grateful to William Baker, who not only suggested the title but diligently read previous drafts of this essay and offered perceptive suggestions.

1. Richard Harding Davis, 'The Thanksgiving Game', *Harper's Weekly*, 37 (1893), 1170. The idea for an annual Thanksgiving game between the previous year's two leading teams was hatched by a student-run Intercollegiate Football Association in 1876, and quickly became the showpiece of nineteenth- and twentieth-century college sport. For more on the early development of college football, see Ronald A. Smith, *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-time College Athletics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
2. Thanksgiving collegiate festivities were certainly prohibitive to the working class and urban proletariat. Prior to their wider accessibility in the twentieth century, the Thanksgiving Day game marked the opening date on the winter social calendar for the New York leisure class, who made their way to the game in elegantly decorated carriages and paid upwards of $15 for the best seats, $150 for a box, and $20 for reserved cabs. In 1899 Thorstein Veblen published a scathing critique of elite culture, wherein he polemicized that it was insufficient for the wealthy merely to possess riches and power, rather it had to be put into evidence. He made special note of the way in which college football ('a modern survival of prowess') provided such a vehicle for 'the conservation of archaic traits'. See his *Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: Macmillan, 1899).
3. Davis, 'Thanksgiving Game', 1170.
4. *New York Herald*, 30 Nov. 1893, 6; and Davis, 1171. A number of other accounts were strikingly similar in wording and tone. For instance, an editorial for *Young Men's Era* (a YMCA publication), 18 (1892), 1012, assessed that 'No longer do families in the land peaceably assemble around the festive board to eat the Thanksgiving turkey and render thanks for the blessings that have been showered upon them ... The cry is "Onwards to New York! We must see the great match".'
5. E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (New York: Vintage, 1987), 149.
6. E. J. Hobsbawm, 'Mass-Producing Traditions', in E. J. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 299–300.
7. William Orr, 'An American Holiday', *Atlantic Monthly*, 103 (1909), 788.
8. Michael Oriard, *Sporting with the Gods: The Rhetoric of Play and Game in American Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 11–12.
9. N. S. Shaler, 'The Athletic Problem in Education', *Atlantic Monthly*, 63 (1889), 79–88; and W. Camp, 'The American Game of Football', *Harper's Weekly*, 24 (1888), both quoted in Oriard, 13.
10. The best single-volume survey of this development is Wilbur Zelinsky, *Nation Into State: The Shifting Symbolic Foundations of American Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988). Zelinsky's bibliography is extensive and provides a useful starting point on this broad subject area.
11. My view of nationalism has been most influenced by the work of Eric Hobsbawm; in particular his *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and, with Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*. Another noteworthy work, similar in conceptualization to Hobsbawm, is Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Books, 1983).
12. See, for instance, James Russell Lowell's quote in Michael Kammen, *The Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1991), 254.
13. Two recent articles have made this argument. See Leigh Eric Schmidt, 'The Commercialization of the Calendar: American Holidays and the Culture of Consumption, 1870–1930', *Journal of American History*, 78 (1991); and Michael Kazin and Steven J. Ross, 'America's Labor Day: The Dilemma of a Workers' Celebration', *Journal of American History*, 78 (1992).

14. For a similar argument, see Matti Goksoyr, 'Popular Pastimes or Patriotic Virtues?: The Role of Sport in the National Celebrations of Nineteenth-Century Norway', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 5 (1988), 238–46.
15. 'The Fall War Game', *The Outlook*, 2 Nov. 1927, 269.
16. Raymond G. Gettell, 'The Value of Football', *American Physical Education Review*, 22 (1917), 138–42.
17. This myth was transformed into an influential historical interpretation of American society by David M. Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).
18. See James O. Robertson's discussion of the Thanksgiving story in his *American Myth, American Reality* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1980), pp. 15–18.
19. Janet Siskind, 'The Invention of Thanksgiving: A Ritual of American Nationality', *Critique of Anthropology*, 12 (1992), 176. Thanksgiving was firmly established as tradition after Reconstruction when the southern states officially joined the national feast. See Siskind, *passim*.
20. Zelinsky, *Nation Into State*, p. 81; and John F. Wilson, *Public Religion in American Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979), pp. 56–63. Schmidt, 'Commercialization of the Calendar', astutely notes the role of the advertising industry in popularizing turkeys, pumpkins, and cornucopias in the public iconography of the Thanksgiving holiday, which equated connotations of bounty, prosperity, and abundance with the American experience.
21. Walter Camp provided an interesting first-hand account of the debute of collegiate football for young, impressionable readers: 'A Historic Game of Football', *Youth's Companion*, 74 (1900), 625–6.
22. Cf. 'Yale Wins the Pennant', *New York Daily Tribune*, 25 Nov. 1887, 1–2; and, 'This Week in Society: Football and Thanksgiving Items', and 'She Goes to Football', *New York Daily Tribune*, 27 Nov. 1887. 'The Crimson Triumphs', *Atlanta Journal*, 1 Dec. 1893, 3; and *Chicago Tribune*, 29 Nov. 1895, 13 (cited in Smith, *Sports and Freedom*).
23. Carl Abbott suggests that the formation of college conferences represented unique cultural expressions which contributed to the definition of American regions and a corresponding regional consciousness. See his brief comment, 'College Athletic Conferences and American Regions', *Journal of American Studies*, 24 (1990), 211–21. See also John F. Rooney, *A Geography of American Sport: From Cabin Creek to Anaheim* (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1974), esp. pp. 38–42. Herbert Reed's observations, 'The Big Game', *Independent*, 88 (1916), reflects this sense of regional identification, especially on the development of particular styles of play. 'For many years', he writes, 'the fundamental difference between East and West lay in the fact that Eastern men were prone to develop the defense first, while Western coaches... began with the attach.'
24. 'Football By Indians at World's Fair', *New York Times*, 27 Nov. 1904, 10.
25. *New York Times*, 25 Nov. 1910.
26. *New York Times*, 27 Nov. 1914, 8.
27. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 28 Nov. 1919, 10.
28. See the *Examiner*'s coverage, 25 Nov. – 1 Dec. 1919.
29. For a perhaps overly-romantic, idealized account of the collegiate atmosphere on the eve of the Thanksgiving Game, see distinguished Edward Bayard Moss, 'The Eve of the Big Football Game', *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly Newspaper*, 14 Nov. 1912, 494.
30. For more on the early days, see Park Benjamin, 'Public Football vs. Naval Education: In Defense of the Naval Academy', *Independent*, 55 (1903), 2777–9.
31. Arthur Ruhl, 'The Army-and-Navy Game', *Outing Magazine*, 49 (1907), 305–6, 308.
32. *New York Times*, 23 Nov. 1919, Section III, 1; and 30 Nov. 1919, Section X, 1–2.
33. A brief overview of 'Red Summer' can be found in Nell Irvin Painter's, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877–1919* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987), 344–80.
34. *New York Times*, 22 Oct.; 13 Nov.; and 18 Nov. 1926.
35. *New York Times*, 28 Nov. 1926, Section X, 2.
36. Warren H. Wilson, 'College Department', *Young Men's Era*, 18 (1892), 1554.