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MAKING MEN:
THE LIFE AND CAREER OF AMOS ALONZO STAGG,
1862-1933
VOLUME I
(Chapters I, II, III, IV)

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

BY
ERIN A. MCCARTHY

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
MAY 1994
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am sincerely grateful to Dr. Theodore Karamanski, my advisor and director, and committee members Dr. Lewis Erenberg and Fr. Michael Perko, S.J., for their instruction and guidance. I would also like to thank Dr. Joseph Gagliano, chairman of the history department; Ms. Sylvia Rdzak, also of the history department; and the staff and administration at the Mallinckrodt campus for their invaluable assistance.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

On the occasion of the 100th birthday of Amos Alonzo Stagg in 1962, Sports Illustrated gave its affirmation to his legend by summarizing the coach's life with the following:

The story of Stagg has been told so often that some people would like to ignore it. But it is true and worth retelling: born a cobbler's son in West Orange, N.J., at the time Stonewall Jackson was advancing on Manassas; the best college baseball pitcher of his age, an aspirant to the ministry who decided he couldn't preach...and instead turned to coaching.

At Yale, where he lived on soda crackers in a garret...he pitched his team to five straight championships, completing every game he started, and once struck out Ten Thousand Dollar Kelly of the Boston Nationals...with three pitched balls.

He was on Walter Camp's first All-American football team, became the University of Chicago's first head coach in 1892. He was there 41 years, pioneering every aspect of the game.

The popular folklore surrounding Stagg's life, while based in fact, was reduced, simplified, idealized and handed down unquestioned and unchallenged for decades.

Today, in an era that has witnessed intense scrutiny and criticism of big-time intercollegiate sport, the story of Amos Alonzo Stagg's rise to preeminence in the field of intercollegiate athletics has taken on a new relevance. College athletes are often seen as hired professionals,
especially in high revenue sports such as football and basketball.⁵ The majority of these young men who compete as representatives of colleges and universities across the nation are brought to schools specifically for their athletic talent, often regardless of their academic ability. As of June 1992, thirteen of the 26 institutions under National Collegiate Athletic Association sanctions were cited for a "lack of institutional control." Other violations included eligibility, recruiting, and excessive pay.⁶

Out of a desire to return to a time when sport was a noble pursuit of the American dream, many have held up Stagg and his approach to athletics as the ideal, an artifact from an era when athletics were cleaner, purer. If such a time ever existed, one would have to go back further than Stagg, for every one of the abuses cited by the NCAA in 1992 were present at the turn of the century.⁷ Nevertheless, Stagg has much to teach us about the origins of the marriage between intercollegiate athletics and higher education, and the contradictory nature of that relationship.

The association of athletics with the collegiate experience is so prevalent that it has been overlooked as an important source for understanding organized sport as an expression of American mass culture. Authors, journalists, and scholars are beginning to explore the American
tradition of amateur athletics on college campuses and its "fine disregard for the rules."  

Rick Telander, a writer for *Sports Illustrated*, traces the myth of the student-athlete in his book, *The Hundred Yard Lie*. Historian Ronald Smith’s book, *Sports and Freedom*, looks at the origins of the formation of the National Collegiate Athletic Association, claiming that from its inception the NCAA has been more concerned with institutional autonomy than enforcing any real change in the intercollegiate athletic system. These books are important because they are among the first to examine the historical relationship between athletics and higher education.

Scholarly criticism has come more slowly to sport biography. Noting the numerous hagiographies that have been written, Stagg’s biographers have chosen not to challenge or question the popular anecdotes surrounding the coach’s life. Until recently, the myth of Stagg has been sacred ground. Robin Lester’s 1974 dissertation on the history of football at the University of Chicago was the first to look critically at intercollegiate athletics at Chicago; Hal Lawson and Alan Ingham followed in 1980 with an excellent article comparing the presidency of the man who brought football to the University, William Rainey Harper, to that of the man who banished it, Robert Maynard Hutchins. To date, no one has taken into account Stagg’s youth in New Jersey or his family background; his years at
Yale have not been studied beyond his well-known involvement in athletics; and, while at Chicago, Stagg has been exclusively associated with the game of football, neglecting his role as an administrator and businessman. This study aspires to assess the impact of Amos Alonzo Stagg on collegiate sport and trace the promotion and institutionalization of commercial athletics at the University of Chicago under his leadership.

Stagg's athletic career mirrored the growth and development of collegiate athletics in the United States from a student run, extra-curricular activity to a highly organized, commercial endeavor, run by "professionals," trained specialists in the field of athletics. During the last decades of the 1800's, games evolved from informal "gentleman's" diversions to organized productions involving student bodies, alumni, spectators, coaches and college administrators. In the 1880's, athletics were controlled by student athletic associations. Students organized and ran their teams and clubs without interference from faculty or the administration. By the 1890's, willing alumni joined athletic associations and volunteered their time and advice. Soon college authorities realized the possibilities that intercollegiate football had to offer an institution of higher education. In the struggle for students and recognition, a successful football program could bring needed publicity. Not surprisingly, by 1900
the commercialization and professionalization of college athletics became an issue of heated debate on many college campuses; discussion focused on abuses both academic and physical.¹²

As a student-athlete at Yale in the 1880's, Stagg enthusiastically embraced the Eli's tradition of student organization and management of athletics. Team members raised operating funds through solicitation of subscriptions. Players elected student managers and captains each year. Stagg served as captain of the baseball nine, who, once chosen, "was answerable to no one."¹³ But far more important to Stagg's experience at Yale than the tradition of student-run athletics was the valuable example set by the graduate football advisor, Walter Chauncey Camp. Although Stagg never formally or informally acknowledged Camp's influence, it was Camp who taught Stagg the "czar principle:" how, according to Camp, to effectively lead men.¹⁴ At Springfield College, Stagg built on Camp's model, transforming "the czar principle," a powerful but unofficial advisory post, into a paid, head coaching assignment. At Chicago he expanded the authority and influence of his position even further.

Upon his arrival at the University of Chicago in the fall of 1892, Stagg set out to be "a maker of men."¹⁵ Firmly rejecting the notion of student-run athletics, he helped establish, with President William Rainey Harper, a
new tradition of faculty control over intercollegiate competition which depended on gate receipts for funding. According to Harper: "Here, more than anywhere else, paternalism may be said to have existed. The University did not wait for the students to organize." Student participation in the management of athletics was out of the question. While Stagg blamed the tradition of faculty "hostility" and "indifference" for allowing athletics to develop in a corrupt manner, he believed that student and alumni management were responsible for the evils and abuses connected with inter-collegiate contests. Shaped by the eastern collegiate Young Men's Christian Association tradition, Stagg wanted more than faculty control and came to Chicago as a reformer who insisted on his right to absolute authority over his athletic and physical culture programs in the name of character building and morality. He fought any threat to his control over sporting and physical activity at the university, both competitive and non-competitive.

Stagg's amateur philosophy was distinctly "American." According to Stagg, the English played for the sake of the game, but "we play to win." He did not advocate cheating, only deception: "Deception never quite has been considered cricket by the British sportsman. With us it is the heart of the game." Cunning allowed brains to overcome brawn; it provided the unexpected. While the British respected both
"the letter and the spirit" of the written and unwritten rules, Americans, said Stagg, honored the letter only:

They [the rules] affect each side alike. If we are smart enough to detect a joker or a loophole first, then we are entitled not only in law but in ethics to take advantage of it.

In other words, one had a duty to find and exploit oversights. Stagg admitted that this attitude nearly killed the game of football early in the century but made no apology. He proudly attested that he was part of "a continuous effort...to beat the rules, thereby forcing a constant readjustment."

The college game was played in the name of building character and teaching good sportsmanship. Very few, according to Stagg, were born sportsmen; it had to be learned from others. Since parents, according to the famous coach, were not setting the proper example for their children, codes of conduct had to be found elsewhere. Stagg offered the college playing field, where the country's youth could witness and learn the qualities of sportsmanship directly or indirectly from a qualified source, the college coach:

The influence of the coach extends far beyond the boundaries of his campus. Not alone the undergraduates, but boys and girls who never go to college are swayed by the conduct of the athlete, in competition and out, for instinctively youth loves to imitate what it admires. And that athlete's manners and morals—his sportsmanship—reflect the precepts of his athletic director.

He continued:
And the fellows who play and the men who coach them must realize that, in no small way, by their actions they are preaching sermons and laying down rules of conduct for the coming generation.

To Stagg coaching was a "Christian calling," and through it he taught the values of temperance, self-control, fair play, and the Golden Rule -- lessons traditionally identified with conventional religion. As a student at Yale in the 1880's, Stagg discovered a strong connection between his athletic gifts and his devotion to God. He traveled throughout New England for the Young Men's Christian Association, telling young audiences of his athletic successes brought about through prayer and commitment to God. Coaching, to Stagg, was simply an extension of his work to convert others to a better life.

While Stagg continued to tout the traditional "character building" justification for participation in athletics, particularly football, this claim alone was not enough to warrant the existence of intercollegiate athletics at Chicago. Athletics for the few, while perhaps profitable, would have gone against the "mission" of the new university. Under Stagg's system, intercollegiate athletics for profit could only be justified if it made possible physical culture for all. For this reason, Stagg did not recognize intercollegiate athletics as a "commercial" endeavor:

What happens to the great surpluses rolled up by intercollegiate football? The money is being
spent to enlarge the general physical, athletic and welfare programs of the colleges.

In order to justify the existence of intercollegiate football, its proceeds were put toward those programs aimed at benefitting the entire student body, programs that cost money and did not attract spectators. Although a physical culture major was never offered at Chicago, courses were offered in most sports, and Stagg proudly listed each year the men who had left Chicago to coach or direct athletics elsewhere.23

Stagg claimed that only amateurs were allowed to play at Chicago, young men who did not receive payment for their physical talents and did not go on to become professionals. At the same time, he arranged financial support for his athletes while they were enrolled at the university. In addition, they received special treatment and consideration in the form of housing and meals, tuition remission, employment, or eligibility.

Stagg did not see himself as a "professional" coach; he was an educator whose salary was based upon his rank as a faculty member, not how many games he won. He resented the association of financial gain with athletics:

While it was within my power to compel a larger salary, I have never used it and have accepted the salary of my faculty colleagues in corresponding positions. I have talked, written and lived for the principle of faculty position and faculty salary grade for coaches, which I regard as the safest and soundest principle for developing and maintaining healthy conditions in intercollegiate athletics.24
Stagg failed to mention that payment of his salary was unique among the faculty; any raise he received, after the generous initial salary of $2,500 in 1892, came from gate receipts held by the Athletic Fund. While his job did not depend on winning, his financial rewards did.

How good a coach was he? While coming from the same era as Camp, Stagg was closer to his coaching peers of a century later. Although he secured his first full-time position in 1892, Stagg had more in common with Paul "Bear" Bryant and Lou Holtz than he did with his mentor, Walter Camp, who worked in a clock factory and advised the team in the evening. Stagg’s football victories numbered 314, second only to Bear Bryant’s 323.25 His football team won six conference championships and tied two.26 Longevity certainly was a factor in his success. Stagg coached for an incredible fifty-seven years; Glenn "Pop" Warner, with 44 years, and Eddie Robinson, with 43, are his closest rivals. The average number of years for coaching among the top fifty-nine Division I-A coaches in 1986 was 20.9 years, almost one-third of Stagg’s tenure.27 Bear Bryant beat Stagg’s victories in two-thirds the time (38 seasons), in an era of closer media scrutiny, more hype, and no guarantees of job security.28

At the same time Stagg racked up those wins, he chalked up the most losses as well, surpassing Pop Warner’s 106 by 93. With a winning percentage of .605, Stagg was
not ranked among the "Winningest Division I-A Coaches," which required a minimum percentage of .700. Many of Stagg's peers and rivals made the ranks: at the top was Notre Dame's Knute Rockne (1918-1931), with a win-loss record of 105-12-5, his percentage was an amazing .881. Others include George Woodruff with .846, at Pennsylvania and Illinois; Percy Haughton with .832, at Cornell, Harvard and Columbia; Fielding "Hurry Up" Yost, .828, Michigan's coach from 1901-23, & 1925-26; and Henry L. Williams with .787, at Minnesota from 1900-21 to name a few. Stagg's defenders would be quick to point out that coaching at the University of Chicago was not conducive to building a winning tradition in football. With its small student body and ever rising admission standards, the significance of Stagg's achievements should not be underestimated.

Among Stagg's other coaching accomplishments were four baseball conference championships between the years 1893 and 1912, with the coach's help as a player for the first several seasons. The baseball team's successes diminished early in Stagg's career due to the general decline in the popularity of the college game. Soon it was overshadowed by the professional game and college football. Stagg also coached track and field from 1896 until 1929. Individual victories were more likely than championships, but Stagg's teams claimed the indoor and outdoor conference championships a total of seven times.
Is it possible to maintain standards of amateurism on a commercial foundation? One could argue that the excesses are inherent to the system as it has developed. William Rainey Harper, Stagg’s first boss, intended to use athletics as an advertising vehicle for the university that would pay for itself. The growing popularity of football and the employment of Stagg helped Harper realize his wish. Stagg was the right man at the right time. Athletics for profit pleased Harper for it meant one less drain on the continuously tight university budget; to Stagg, profit meant autonomy and funding for the implementation of the rest of his plan for the department. While Stagg did not invent or initiate the commercialization of collegiate athletics, he certainly institutionalized it. Once the decision was made to pursue organized collegiate athletics as a commercial endeavor, the proclivity to maximize one’s opportunities by any means became a reality.

Stagg devoted his adult life to legitimize the incorporation of physical culture and athletics within the university domain and worked for the acceptance of physical culture and athletics as a department of the university equal to any other. But first and foremost, Stagg was a coach, a football coach. And he believed that coaching was "the primary factor in football." School traditions came second and "raw material" third. The purpose behind his "fine disregard for the rules" was, of course, to build and
maintain winning teams. Wanting to win, said Stagg, was what life was all about. In addition, winning brought financial success, and financial success made the implementation of his entire physical culture program possible.

Stagg did not recognize the irreconcilable nature of his stated Victorian, "amateur," ideals and the business of intercollegiate football. Throughout his career, he genuinely believed that he was "making men." This belief provided the justification for whatever policy he followed. Early in his career, Stagg defined athletics as a means to bring young men to Christ; gradually, Stagg abandoned his "Christian" vocabulary in favor of a more secular, moral, rhetoric which claimed that athletics, particularly football, built character and prepared men for the world outside of college. Because of the righteousness of the end result, Stagg was able to rationalize any number of practices in the name of character building. But his athletes were learning other lessons as well, lessons that had little to do with character building: that athletes received distinctive treatment, and they could expect exceptions to be made and rules bent. Nevertheless, Stagg was so certain of the worthiness of his convictions, he never acknowledged the innate contradictions between amateur and commercial athletics.

Truly self-made, Stagg attributed his success to the traditional values of faith, dedication, discipline,
perseverance, humility, and moderation. He lived what many believed to be the American Dream, rising up from his humble origins to become one of the most famous and respected collegiate coaches of all time. It would be easy to idealize such a figure and many have, but that would be a mistake, for the man is more interesting than the myth.
NOTES


4. There is at least one significant difference: excesses and abuses in women's athletics have now been added to the list, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 10 June 1992, 30(A). Also drug use, if we exclude alcohol, was not present 100 years ago.

5. This is Stagg's own phrase found in his autobiography: Amos Alonzo Stagg, *Touchdown*! (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1927), 58.


17. Stagg, Touchdown, 37, 176.

18. Ibid., 58.

19. Ibid., 57-60. Stagg’s biography, Touchdown, recounts in detail his numerous innovations and his love of deceptive plays.


21. Ibid.

22. Stagg, Touchdown, 177.
23. Amos Alonzo Stagg, "President's Reports," circa 1907 to 1926, Box 18, Amos Alonzo Stagg Papers, Special Collections, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.


25. This is for coaches in Division I-A, otherwise Eddie Robinson of Grambling would hold the number one position with 329 wins (1986 statistics), NCAA Football 1986 (Published by the National Collegiate Athletic Association, 1986), 239-243. Stagg's son, former head coach of the Susquehanna Crusaders, tried unsuccessfully to have 21 additional victories credited to his father's record, claiming that the elder Stagg was the actual head coach at Susquehanna from 1947-1952, Robert McG. Thomas Jr., "The Winningest Coaches," New York Times, 23 October 1988.

26. Stagg's secretary to J.T. Hardwich, 18 September 1929, unaccessioned papers [file 1-D], Stagg Special Collections, Stagg High School, Palos, Illinois.


30. Stagg's secretary to J.T. Hardwich, 18 September 1929, unaccessioned papers [file 1-D], Stagg Special Collections, Stagg High School.

31. Ibid.

32. Stagg, Touchdown, 301.

33. Griswold, "You Don't Have to," 135.

CHAPTER II
THE MAKING OF STAGG: AMOS S----

The popular legend surrounding Amos Alonzo Stagg's modest origins underestimated the challenges and difficulties faced by the Stagg family of West Orange, New Jersey, throughout the nineteenth century. Stagg's father, Amos Lindsey Stagg, was "bound out" as a pauper by the Overseers of the Poor in the township of Orange at the age of seven. ¹ A boy's appearance before the Overseers of the Poor was a "solemn moment," as there was little to hope for other than a "miserable" future.² An indentured youth was not only answerable to the master of the house but also to the entire family. It was not uncommon for them to receive only slight training in a trade and serve as nothing more than helpers; as a result, runaways were common.³ Such was the fate of Stagg's father, Amos Lindsey, a shoe-maker's apprentice who ran away at the age of sixteen.⁴

Beyond this vague information, a definitive record of Amos Alonzo Stagg's ancestry on his father's side does not exist. An early history of the Oranges, written in 1896, named a Jacob and Sarah (Tompkins) Stagg as the parents of Amos L. Stagg but did not directly trace the line back further. The author suggested that Jacob was a descendent
of John Stagg, a man of some renown during the revolu-
tionary period in New York State.⁵ According to Stagg’s
own research, Jacob and Sarah married in 1812 and had four
children. Two of the offspring, both named Abraham, died
in early infancy. Amos Lindsey was born in November of
1818, and the fate of the fourth child, a daughter named
Pauline, was unknown.⁶

As an adult, Amos Alonzo Stagg embraced the undocu-
mented family legend of a glorious "revolutionary" past.⁷
As a Yale graduate, Stagg was profiled along with the rest
of his Class of 1888. These biographies contained each
member’s familial "pedigree". Stagg’s made no mention of
an illustrious heritage on his father’s side; it simply
stated that his paternal side could not be traced back
beyond one generation.⁸

In contrast, the lineage of Stagg’s mother, Eunice
Pierson, can be documented back to the 1630’s. Eunice was
a descendent of one of the original colonial planters and
founders of Orange, Thomas Pierson. The Piersons had been
prominent church leaders in the area since 1719 when the
original church, called the Mountain Society, was founded.
A second church was founded in Newark, and, finally in
1811, the First Presbyterian Church of Orange was estab-
lished.⁹ Eunice’s family tree included several other
prominent names of those families responsible for the
founding, organization, and administration of Orange, such
as Harrison, Williams, Freeman and Condit. The first Mayor of Orange, a Pierson, descended from the same Thomas Pierson.  

Eunice's father, Jotham (Jonathan) Pierson was a farmer who married his second cousin, Hanna Williams (their grandfathers, Samuel and Joseph Pierson, were brothers). In 1825, Eunice Pierson was born; the same year Amos Lindsey Stagg stood before the Overseers of the Poor. Ironically, Eunice shared an ancestry with those who decided the fate of her future husband. 

Although the Pierson name carried the lineage of the most prominent family of the Oranges, the appellation no longer automatically claimed economic security. Jotham Pierson was forced to exchange one uncertain occupation for another, giving up farming to take up shoemaking. By 1860, the value of the Pierson household was equal to that of Amos Lindsey Stagg's. 

Throughout the nineteenth century, Orange, like many other northeastern towns, experienced dramatic changes in the nature of its economic production. Industrialization forced craftsmen to adapt to factory, wage labor, but many were unable to make the transition from the traditional household production, with preindustrial values and attitudes, to manufacturing, a more centralized, regimented, production process. Such was the case with Amos Lindsey Stagg: a shoemaker left behind by industriali-
Although Orange was originally known for its hatting, by 1840 the only industry "of any consequence" was shoemaking. Stagg's father did not own his business and, like most petty craftsmen, had his cobbler's bench alongside his home. Manufacturers ordered work and often kept their own stores. Books were kept on the work done to determine the amount of credit earned, and workers were be paid in the form of goods.

Shoemaking remained a stable occupation until the late 1850's when the Panic of '57 hit, setting off a series of economic disasters which critically hurt the small manufacturing industry. The Civil War and subsequent southern indebtedness all but halted a thriving trade with the South. Finally, the increased competition from the growing factory labor forced many manufacturers and the individuals who worked for them out of business. Amos Lindsey was a victim of these trends. According to the 1860 Census, at the age of forty-two, Stagg's father was no longer a shoemaker, instead, he listed his occupation as "farm laborer."

Although Stagg's father could not count on steady work as a cobbler during these years, the family achieved some measure of financial stability. In 1850, the Stagg's had a two year old child and no property value. By the time of Amos Alonzo's birth on August 16, 1862, the Staggs had
three children and owned their own home. Between 1860 and 1870 the real estate value of the Stagg household more than doubled from $1,200 to $2,500 as did the value of their personal estate, which rose from $100 to $200. When Stagg's father died in 1892, at the age of 74, the mortgage was paid, allowing Mrs. Stagg and her three remaining daughters to continue living there.

The Stagg family resided in West Orange at the foot of Llewellyn Park, a private forest retreat of restricted residences for "people of elevated tastes." While vast economic differences existed in Orange, it remained culturally and religiously uniform until the middle of the nineteenth century. The population of Orange in the 1840's was almost entirely native; it would have been unusual to see a foreigner or an African-American. There were only two taverns and no beer saloons. For the residents of the town, religion was "the dominant characteristic." Early in the century, the Presbyterians were the only established religion in the area. By 1840 the Congregationalists had settled in as another influential branch of protestantism. At that time Catholics were so few in number that they had to walk into Newark to attend mass.

From the late 1840's through the early 1860's immigrants from Ireland, Scotland, and Germany brought their "low standard of living" and "liberal customs into the prosy life" of Orange. By 1850, there were enough
Catholics to warrant the building of their own church.26

The Germans replaced the local tavern with their lager beer saloons, opening over 200 of them in the town by 1860!27

Public drunkenness became a pressing social concern. Condemnation of drink reflected both native, Protestant attitudes toward the immigrant culture and emerging industrial values which placed greater emphasis on efficiency and production.28 In between two waves of temperance activism in 1847 and 1874, three abstinence societies were established in Orange.29

The immigrant population descended upon the poorer sections of Orange, mixing with poor Anglo-Protestant natives. The Stagg's lived in such an area and witnessed first-hand the dramatic changes taking place in their once homogeneous town. Poor Protestants among poor Catholics, Stagg's heritage and experience carried both an insider's and an outsider's point of view. While the Stagg family identified culturally and religiously with the native, Protestant "haves," economically they were lumped with the foreign, immigrant "have nots." Stagg described his neighborhood: "Our neighbors, native and Irish in the main, were as poor as we." They were hat-factory workers, petty craftsmen and laborers, who spent much of the meager wage they made at the local saloon. He recalled:

Beer was the drink of our street, drunk in the hope and expectation of getting drunk, and rarely disappointed. Carrying pails of beer from the saloon was as routine a chore for most of the
boys I knew....When it flowed freely, the family wash was aired on the front fence, so to speak. The woman in the next house...got drunk on a schedule of about every third day...Her husband had learned discretion, but the man who lived across the street would fight with her hand to hand in the middle of the dirt street.

Stagg distanced himself and his family from the disgraceful habits of his neighbors. His description of his drunken Irish neighborhood excluded his own home. According to Stagg, his father brought home beer less than a dozen times a summer: "He was the only member of the family who drank it, and he never sent his children to the saloon for it."

As a result of these experiences, Stagg made a life-long commitment to temperance.

Destined to find his own way, Stagg could not rely on his parents to provide him with a future. His father's craft of shoemaking had vanished, the only guarantee was a life as an unskilled laborer. Instead of accepting this fate, Stagg pursued those things that would set him apart from his crude surroundings and render him a measure of respectability; namely, religion and education. Ultimately, though, it was athletics that served as the most significant means by which Stagg escaped his past. His background provided him with the motivation; his religion, the justification; his education, the arena; and his athletic skill and interest, the opportunity.

Sports were central to Stagg's childhood memories. In his 1927 autobiography, Touchdown, he recalled swimming and
skating, playing "first-hand base and third-hand base" and serving as the treasurer for the gang, the "Green Leaves," with whom he played league baseball. It took several months to collect the $1.25 needed to buy a "red dead" baseball. Stagg contributed by selling his own hand-made kites for one or two cents apiece. When he was 13 or 14, he learned to throw the latest pitch, "a discovery new to the game," the curve ball, in his cousin's back yard. During the summer, Stagg and his friends would dam a spring coming from the Orange Mountain for a swimming hole. In the fall, when it came time to butcher the hogs, he asked for the bladders to inflate and use as footballs. In the winter he ice-skated and coasted down snowy mountain roads.

Stagg inherited a short, stocky build and was determined to make the most of what he had. He admitted that as a youth he had a "bulging muscle complex," which began when he saw his first sporting event, a wrestling match between William Muldoon, "the most renowned Greco-Roman wrestler of his day," and an unknown opponent. The large muscles of the wrestler impressed the young boy, and he set out to duplicate them by carrying bundles of coal at arm's length. In 1883, Stagg saw his first football game, Princeton versus Yale, and remembered distinctly "the calves of the Tigers' legs, exaggerated by their orange-and-black striped hose." After reading
with interest stories of Spartan youths, Stagg modeled his own life after them by giving up coffee and running to and from school.\(^{37}\)

Deprived of any formal education, Stagg's father insisted that all his children attend school at least until the age of fourteen.\(^ {38}\) Even so, the Stagg sons were expected to contribute their labor when they could. For eight summers, Stagg, along with his aging father and older brother, harvested grain and cut hay on the salt meadows of Newark Bay. The work was brutal:

> The cut hay had to be raised above tidewater. When it got wet in the cocks, we would run long, smooth black walnut poles beneath the cock and carry the heavy wet hay to piling. There was no letting go of the poles to swipe at the mosquitoes.\(^ {39}\)

Other summer jobs working alongside his father included mowing with a scythe and cradling wheat, oats, and rye.\(^ {40}\) The money he earned went to support the family.\(^ {41}\)

Stagg joined the First Presbyterian Church of Orange at sixteen, the traditional age for conversion.\(^ {42}\) Over the next several years he decided to become a minister.\(^ {43}\) As he put it:

> This decision marked a new epoch in my life, for while I had never been a bad boy, I had been a mischievous [sic] and careless one and had not done much thinking for myself, but now through the power of the new life I was urged and inspired to make my character as near like Christ's as possible.\(^ {44}\)

Historian Joseph Kett's study of adolescence provides many keys to understanding the life experience of Stagg and how
it shaped his attitudes and convictions. Kett explores the conversion experience of adolescents throughout the eighteenth century. As if he were describing Stagg's own experience, Kett explains that: "For many young men, conversion involved an initial antipathy to whatever they had been doing and a vocational decision to become a minister...The decision to enter the ministry represented an attractive alternative to the cobbler's bench." Stagg's decision to enter the ministry resolved his "vocational anxiety."

Due to the influence of a Sunday school teacher, Stagg grew to appreciate the value of an education and "the handicaps my father had suffered from lack of learning." Gradually, he realized that furthering his education was a way out: "A high-school education was a distinction, graduating the possessor into the envied white-collar, or as I knew it, celluloid-collar class." Stagg had few options. Although his father encouraged him to learn a trade, by the 1880's, apprenticeships, Stagg's father's occupational avenue, were almost extinct because of the introduction of machines. The only readily available position for the unskilled was that of cheap laborers or "helpers" to run the machinery. The young Alonzo could not remain in district school (years of school prior to high school) beyond the age of eighteen. He recalled that he should have been satisfied, for many of his friends had
stopped their education much earlier, but he could not bear the thought of ending his schooling. West Orange had no high school, and Orange High School exacted tuition from those students not living in the district. Under the condition that he pay his own way, Alonzo received permission from his father to attend Orange High School and continue to live at home.

Stagg immediately pursued athletics; his ability to throw curves won him a spot pitching for the school team, and in the summers, he organized an amateur baseball team. Stagg "began to earn a local reputation." In between attending classes, helping his father, and playing baseball, he took odd-jobs to pay his way through high school in three years.

Stagg's religious faith and fondness for athletics came together for the first time in 1882, when the Reverend Henry Martin Storrs became the First Presbyterian Church's new minister. Reverend Storrs was a muscular Christian who had cured himself of consumption through "exercise in the open air and horseback riding." Educated at Amherst, Storrs earned a distinguished reputation as an orator in England, where he was sent in 1865 "to speak on behalf of the freedmen." He also served as the Corresponding Secretary of the American Missionary Society, traveling abroad to raise awareness of the organization. At the First Presbyterian Church of Orange, his preaching and
intellect were deeply admired:

Few men in the pulpit at the present age had such a strong grasp of the great subjects with which the Christian minister is called upon to deal. In his discourses he often rose to the heights of eloquence. He always impressed his hearers as being a man of large resources, of strong, forceful speech. He had the power of expressing strong emotion in striking language.

Under Dr. Storrs' leadership a Christian Endeavor Society was organized. A product of the larger Protestant "young people's movement" of the 1880's and 1890's which embraced the values of Britain's muscular Christianity, Christian Endeavor was an adult-sponsored youth organization. The purpose behind the organization was to train youth for "church work." According to one historian, activities had little to do with spirituality and more to do with "busywork." The young people's pledge "to live cleanly and to obey orders" was completely without "theological content." Consistent with its emphasis on training, the rhetoric of Christian Endeavor was prone to using military metaphors, encouraging youth to join the army of Jesus. Storrs' approach to religion became a model that Stagg would search for and imitate once he left West Orange. His experience as a member of the First Presbyterian Church served as the foundation upon which he built his commitment to an active Christianity.

Stagg credited his assistant high school principal, Alton Sherman, a Yale alumnus, as the first to recommend college, suggesting that Stagg could work his way through:
"The suggestion fell on fertile soil, for I was restless with an ambition I saw no way of realizing."

After graduation from high school, he shared his aspiration with his father. While not discouraging his son, the elder Stagg could not offer any assistance. Stagg remained determined but soon discovered that he did not have the necessary requirements for entrance into Yale. Fortunately, Stagg's good friend, George Gill, was attending the Phillips-Exeter Academy, a college preparatory school, to make up a similar deficiency. Stagg and Gill had been classmates, teammates, and attended the same church. The Gills were well respected in the community; George Gill's father was a successful businessman who became the mayor of West Orange. Gill wrote to Stagg from Exeter, telling him of scholarships that were available. When he came home for Christmas of 1883, he finally persuaded Stagg to return with him.

When Stagg informed his parents of his decision, his father expressed his approval through silence. His mother, on the other hand, imagined every evil that could confront her son and tearfully begged him not to go. As Stagg remembered: "She assured me that she would prefer me doing anything even to carrying the hod to my leaving home and being ruined...and for two weeks preceding my departure she mourned as if she were going to lose her boy." All of Stagg's older siblings had been kept at home long after
reaching their maturity; Stagg was the first to leave. His mother’s reaction only made him more determined to go: "I told them I was going to make my own way and that I would not accept one cent from home. That I would return anything they sent me."^60

When Stagg left for Exeter, New Hampshire, early in 1884, he was twenty-one years old and had never before spent a night away from home.^61 He wore one of Gill’s suits but had no winter underwear. Many years later, he still remembered "how that New Hampshire winter wind had cut me to ribbons."^62 Being apart from his family was not easy. Once when his father was hurt, Stagg wrote home that he felt responsible for the injury, believing that it would not have occurred had he been there.^63 At the same time, Stagg’s first taste of independence at Exeter made him feel like "a man."^64

Phillips Exeter boasted a strong tradition of student autonomy and freedom.^65 Characteristics of self-reliance and independence were encouraged.^66 Stagg enrolled in the Classical Course, taking Latin, Greek, and mathematics. He was older than most students, the average age at Exeter was seventeen or eighteen, but it was not unusual for boys of different ages in the same class to be friendly with each other.^67 Entrance requirements were non-elitist, as many of one-third of all students received free tuition, based on need, proficiency, or "general merit."^68 Stagg lived
meagerly in what he referred to as a garret and was too proud to accept Gill's invitation to eat at the dormitory. Instead, Stagg got by on a diet of soda crackers and milk, which remained, for many years, his favorite food. Eventually, Stagg landed a job doing chores for the German instructor, Professor Faulhaber, in exchange for his board.

In a short time, Stagg became Exeter's star pitcher. At Exeter, the students ran athletics through their own association: "The association has full and entire supervision over the base ball and foot ball interests of the school; indeed no one can become a member of either team unless he be a member of the association." The Athletic Association was open to any student who paid a small fee. Association members raised additional funds by soliciting subscriptions from the larger student body, did all the organizational work, and paid all the bills. Team captains were elected and teams were chosen by a committee of three, the captain and two other association members. During the spring Stagg pitched for Exeter. When one of the school's tutors was named the team captain, Stagg recalled, "the rest of us revolted and threw him off." Within that first, and last, spring at Exeter, word of Stagg's pitching talents travelled to Dartmouth, but Dartmouth did not have a divinity school. Instead, in June of 1884 Stagg traveled to New Haven to take the
Yale entrance exam.

Given the circumstances of his birth and childhood, Stagg was an unlikely candidate for either prep school or college. Except for an unusual combination of influences and an underlying love of athletics and desire to continue to play organized sport, necessity would probably have forced him into the factory, like many of his neighbors. Instead, Stagg stayed in school and cultivated his athletic talent. Already known more for his curve ball than his scholarship, Stagg escaped a miserable destiny and entered college in 1884 to join the "sports revolution" brewing on college campuses.
1. In the year 1825 the Overseers of the Poor for the Township of Orange, New Jersey, recorded the names of the local paupers. Included on that list was the name Amos S----, the father of Amos Alonzo Stagg, see: Jotham Condit, Early Records of the Township of Orange, 1807-1845 (Orange, New Jersey: The Chronicle Press, 1897), 10.

Since its separation from Newark in 1806, the residents of Orange held annual town meetings to appoint officials and address important matters. Support of the poor, often to the exclusion of any other, was the most pressing and consistent problem. During the first annual meeting in 1807, every resolution applied to the destitute: "Overseers of the Poor" were appointed; a "Dog tax" was passed, the proceeds from which would go toward providing for the poor; and the sum of $350.00 was set aside for additional support.

The following year, officials established the policy of "farming out" the town's poor to the lowest bidder. Creative fines were implemented to augment financial accounts for the care and education of those dependent on the town: "That any person suffering their Swine after the age of three months to run in the public highway without a ring in the nose...shall pay to the Overseers of the poor Seventy-five Cents each." Through the 1820's, annual township assessments rose, fluctuating between $800.00 and $1,200.00, as money became scare and more families became charges of the state. Also see: David L. Pierson, A History of the Oranges to 1921: Reviewing the Rise, Development and Progress of an Influential Community (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1922), 266.

Several years later, a resolution passed providing an alternative to farming out the impoverished: "Children belonging to the Town that are eight years old and upwards are to be bound out, the boys until they are fifteen years old, and the girls until they are eighteen." The age was lowered to six in 1924, see: Condit, Early Records, 6. The appropriate children were brought before the Overseers to be "bound out," to be placed within a home, supposedly, to be trained in some useful occupation; boys might be taught a trade such as shoemaking, girls would receive domestic instruction.

Usually, the names of the indigent were discretely
omitted, but for a few years in the 1820’s the names of the town’s "paupers" were recorded, first name followed by last initial. Born in 1818, Amos Alonzo Stagg’s father, Amos Lindsey Stagg, would have been six or seven years old in 1825, the appropriate age for assignment to a local tradesman, when the name Amos S---- appeared in the community’s early records, see: United States Bureau of the Census, 1850, Population, Essex County, New Jersey.

Stagg’s father, Amos L. Stagg, listed 1818 as his year of birth for the 1850 Census. Also see Pierson, History of the Oranges, 265-266.

2. Pierson, History of the Oranges, 266.

3. Ibid., 268.


5. Henry Whittemore, The Founders and Builders of the Oranges (Newark, New Jersey: L. J. Hardham, Printer, 1896), 305. The account ventures a guess at the Stagg family ancestry:

This Jacob was probably a grandson of John Stagg, Jr. (son of John, the ancestor), born in New York City, 1732; a man of wealth and influence who owned several houses in the city which were burned during the occupancy of the city by the British in the Revolutionary War. He removed to Orange County, N.Y., and represented his district in the Assembly, and after his return to New York was again elected to the Assembly. He was a member of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, and was President of the Fire Department of which he was one of the most active founders. He was an ardent patriot during the war and a man of much influence in the civil affairs. He died of yellow fever in 1803.

(Whittemore, 305)

Stagg embraced this lineage as his own in his 1927 autobiography.

6. Amos Alonzo Stagg, "From the History of Essex County," typed notes, no date, circa 1898, unaccessioned papers, Stagg Special Collection, Stagg High School, Palos, Illinois. Cited hereafter as SSC.

7. Stagg, Touchdown, 45-46.


10. Ibid., 210.


12. Ibid. Stagg cited the date of their marriage in his own typed notes, see Amos Alonzo Stagg, "From the History of Essex County," SSC.


16. Stagg's father's name does not appear under the business listings in the Orange directories, only his name, occupation and address are given (see note 59). Also see Whittemore, 308; and Stagg, *Touchdown*, 45. The Stagg home still stands on Valley Road in West Orange, with what appears to be a work shed along the side.


21. In 1860 Orange was incorporated into a town with three wards (East, West and South Orange), and in 1863 West Orange separated from Orange, becoming an independent township. Throughout the century the Oranges boasted a significant population of wealthy and prominent citizenry. The discovery of mineral springs in the 1820's, turned the area into a popular retreat. Locals boasted that it was
"the chief summer resort of the United States." The Orange Springs Hotel was built, attracting the elite of nearby urban centers. In 1823 the hotel served as a haven for New Yorkers fleeing the cholera outbreak and seeking relief in the mineral waters. Although the mineral baths disappeared by 1830, Orange remained a popular summer resort through the century. During the 1850's, Llewellyn Soloman Haskell, a prosperous New York businessman, fell in love with the Orange mountains. Suffering from rheumatism, he moved his family to the area in 1854 and established Llewellyn Park, a private forest retreat. It soon became, and remains to this day, a restricted residence for "people of elevated tastes." West Orange was the mountainous area, farthest from the beaten path, and the only part of the Oranges without steam railroad transportation. Stagecoaches continued to pass through to the mountains carrying "people of renown" in search of rest and relaxation." Improvement of the roads did not become a priority till the late 1860's. General McClellan was the most famous of the prominent "colony" that owned a mountain home.

23. Pierson, Oranges, 397.
24. Whittemore, Founders, 132-139.
25. Pierson, Oranges, 310, 321.
27. Pierson, Oranges, 310, 321.
29. Pierson, Oranges, 302, 378; Whittemore, Founders, 246.
30. Stagg, Touchdown, 47.
31. Stagg, Touchdown, 47.
32. Stagg, Touchdown, 47-48; "Boyhood Days of Amos Alonzo Stagg," no date, typed notes, SSC, 2-3.
34. Ibid.; Stagg, Touchdown, 11.


38. "Youth of Amos Alonzo Stagg," unaccessioned papers, SSC, 2.


44. "Youth of," SSC, 2.

45. Kett, *Rites of Passage*, 70. Kett drew these conclusions from the early part of the century, but they certainly remain relevant to Stagg's situation.


47. Kett, *Rites of Passage*, 145.

48. Ibid., 148.


52. Whittemore, *Founders*, 137.

53. Ibid.


55. Ibid., 196.


60. Ibid.


62. Ibid., 52.

63. Amos Alonzo Stagg to his sister, 23 January 1884, Box 1, Folder 1, Amos Alonzo Stagg Papers, Special Collections, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago. Hereafter cited AASP.

64. Stagg to Ida Stagg, 4 April 1884, Box 1, Folder 1, AASP.


70. Ibid., 53.


72. Crosbie, 250.

73. Cunningham, *Familiar Sketches*, 270-271. The committee's actions were subject to the approval of the Board of Directors who had the power to veto with no chance of appeal.


CHAPTER III

THE MAKING OF STAGG: YALE, 1884-1890

The most critical years of Amos Alonzo Stagg's life were spent at Yale, where he was exposed to a variety of new ideas and experiences in the spiritual as well as the physical worlds. Through his involvement in both the sacred and the secular realms, Stagg realized what his life's work would be. Entering Yale an aspiring minister, he gradually re-evaluated his theological ambitions to accommodate his love of athletics in a morally justifiable way and wove together his Christian and athletic "callings." As a student at Yale, Stagg embodied the principles of muscular Christianity popularized by authors like Thomas Hughes and Thomas Wentworth Higginson in the mid-century.

Why Yale? Stagg could have studied for the ministry at almost any eastern college. And if he simply intended to play sports, any one of a number of institutions would do. The president of the Dartmouth baseball association courted him after hearing of his excellent pitching ability: "I think, too, that I could guarantee you a place on the nine as pitcher." Baseball, he informed Stagg, was the sport at Dartmouth: "The best players on the nine are, as a rule, the most popular men in college." He wrote that
the faculty was interested in and sympathetic to athletics, and that the team hired its own professional trainer; he also assured Stagg that wealth did not matter at Dartmouth; scholarship money was certainly available. Stagg never considered the Dartmouth offer, he later recalled, because he could not be prepare for the ministry there. Besides, Stagg knew he belonged at Yale.

Long before Stagg left home to attend Phillips-Exeter Academy, he wanted to go to Yale. Alton Sherman, the vice-principal at Orange High School, was a Yale alumnus and spoke highly of the college assuring Stagg that it was possible to work one's way through and gave several examples of his own classmates who did the same. Stagg found confidence in Yale's reputation for democracy, "where you met all kinds and any man had a chance to show what he was worth." The New Haven school boasted a geographically diverse student body, attracting almost two-thirds from outside of New England. Many chronicles spoke of its special "spirit" as a unique, national institution of higher learning. The accuracy of the image was irrelevant, since Stagg deeply believed it. During a rare appearance at his alma mater on the occasion of his fifteenth class reunion, he revealed to his former classmates why he never regretted his choice of Yale:

I had once longed to go to Princeton, but [a teacher] told me to go to Yale because he thought there the boys would not look down on me if I had to work my way, and that they would lend me a
helping hand, or at least give me a cheerful word if not helping me...I found that estimate of Yale to be true, and I never remember the time when I felt that...any member of the class felt that I wasn't just as good as he was...when we have such men in Yale, men who will take a fellow in like me, we have a wonderful college, and such a college as that will always live the greatest and best and, truest, and most helpful in the country.

He saw his experience as proof of Yale’s promise.

This was not to say that the transition to college was easy for him. He was afflicted with feelings of inferiority and often painfully aware of the differences between him and his classmates:

The thing is a perpetual wonder to me. I love to dwell on the fact that you [his classmates] did take me in when I did get here, poor boy as I was, with nothing to recommend me.10

His extraordinary class included the prominent names of Harry Ward Beecher, grandson of Henry Ward Beecher; William H. Seward Jr., grandson of Secretary Seward; Morrison Waite, III, grandson of Chief Justice Waite; Henry Stimson, future Secretary of War; and Irving Fisher, Yale educator and public health expert, to name a few. To help Stagg work his way through school, two of his friends from Orange arranged for him to wait tables in their dining club, whose members were mostly from "distinguished or wealthy families."11 In contrast, Stagg found an "unheated garret room" for one dollar per week.12

As a future divinity student, he received a reduction in his tuition.13 Except for his third year, when a
faculty rule penalized students on "scholarship" who joined secret societies, Stagg's "abatement" increased each term. At first it was less than half of the required fifty dollars per term but by the last term of his senior year he paid less than eight dollars in fees. Even though Stagg joined a senior society, his "scholarship" was reinstated; he told his sister: "You see that I have some friends." Stagg found other ways to earn money. He once made five dollars standing in line at 4:30 a.m. to purchase glee club concert tickets for classmate Bill Seward.

While it was true that Yale proudly admitted some students with modest backgrounds, wealthy boarding school graduates dominated college life. Socially, one's caste was more important than one's merit. Neither rich and socially connected (a few months at Exeter did not change his public school credentials), nor a scholar, Stagg made his reputation in the two domains that did not require family name or bank account: religious work and competitive athletics. In fact, as soon as he arrived at Yale he joined the Young Men's Christian Association of Yale College and became president of the Class of 1888's Baseball Association.

During this period, scholarship at Yale was overshadowed by most things, especially organized sport; two years before Stagg arrived at Yale, a dismayed graduate student, Thorstein Veblen, wrote that the most "'charac-
teristic virtue'" of Yale was not intellect but athletics, an asset that covered a "'multitude of sins.'" As for Stagg, only disparaging references can be found regarding his scholarship, including his own admission that he was never recognized for academic excellence and usually fell "in the fourth division, sometimes in the third, but never in the second and never in the first." The Yale Class Book of 1888 reported that in four years Stagg used the library once (he was not the worst; four of his classmates never got to the library at all).

At the dawn of the age of the extracurricular, it was not what you did at Yale but that you did something. Student life there was "organized and competitive," and the young men made the most of their autonomy and increased leisure time, and the anti-intellectual atmosphere. Writing many years later, Henry Stimson recalled that classes at Yale were taught "less effectively" than at his prep school, Andover:

Even in junior and senior years...there was little opportunity for individual thinking as distinguished from reciting things taught. The chief fruits of my four years at Yale came from the potent democratic class spirit then existing on the Yale campus; and that experience was most important to my life, both in the character developed and in the friendships formed.

Yale nurtured peer camaraderie within one's graduating class and encouraged ambition over academics.

Yale was one of several college campuses experiencing a resurgence in active religiosity in the 1880's. In the
late nineteenth century Protestant America was challenged on many fronts: from cities, which were becoming immigrant havens; from foreign cultures and religions, which undermined the traditional Protestant definition of America; from science, which jarred fundamental religious beliefs; and from doctrinal and regional differences within the Protestant religion itself. Predestination and personal redemption were no longer enough. Many Protestants believed they had a duty to work for mankind's salvation. As a result, numerous believers from the various branches laid aside their traditional debate over doctrinal uniformity in biblical interpretation in order to face the greater challenges to their culture and religion.\textsuperscript{26}

Colleges were going through a similar, if not more difficult, transition as the traditional role of religion on campus was severely tested. Up until the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the foremost responsibility of the college was the training of future ministers. Now, business was surpassing God.\textsuperscript{27} Students openly challenged compulsory Sunday service, where ministers preached at them from the pulpit. Typically, they arrived at chapel at the last minute and used the time to exchange news and gossip or cram for an impending exam. Increasingly in the late nineteenth century, college students questioned the relevance of religion to their lives.\textsuperscript{28}
In response to the changes taking place in higher education, the Young Men's Christian Association tried to broaden its appeal and establish itself on college campuses. "More concerned with morality than...theology," the YMCA targeted student apathy for traditional religion by tapping into the growing "intercollegiate-ness" of student life. The collegiate movement turned away from revivalistic, fire and brimstone evangelism. Instead, organizers felt that a more earnest, serious approach would appeal to the young men destined to become the future leaders of the country. This was not to say that the movement did not use heightened emotionalism as a vehicle toward conversion, but the tone was not one of uncontrolled frenzy. Adult speakers tended to step back and allow the college student's peers to speak. This proved to be a very shrewd and effective tactic. As a result, the intercollegiate associations set out on their own course, training students to lead the campus associations.

Three years before Stagg arrived in New Haven, the "Yale Christian Social Union" was re-organized and established as the "Yale College Young Men's Christian Association." Christian workers at Yale recognized the importance of organization if they hoped to execute their religious duty assertively. From the beginning, the Yale YMCA was a selective group, where one could meet others of similar background and orientation and form
valuable relationships that would be beneficial after college days were over. According to its constitution, membership was limited to students or faculty "who are members in good standing of an evangelical church, and who have been elected by a two-thirds vote of the members," and only members had the right to vote or hold office. The Yale Association's growing confidence was reflected in changes made in its written constitution in 1884. The original constitutional goals were "to promote the interests of Christianity and to gather together in fellowship all the Christian men of the several classes."

The wording of the amended version was much more determined: "...to promote growth in grace and Christian fellowship among its members and aggressive Christian work especially by and for students." From this point on, and for several years to come, the Yale YMCA, no longer satisfied with voluntary membership, set out to actively pursue the promotion of Christianity beyond the boundaries of its own organization.

Along with approximately 44 of his classmates, Stagg signed the association's membership roster the same year the constitutional amendments were added. It was significant that Stagg arrived in New Haven at the beginning of the Yale Association's most active and successful years, for his signature innocently marked the beginning of what would become an extraordinary relation-
ship; through his work with the Yale YMCA, the young man who would become the most famous college pitcher of his day was also one of the leading collegiate spokesmen for Christ. Undoubtedly influenced by the religious climate of his environment, Stagg, as an undergraduate, went through a deeper religious conversion becoming an enthusiastic evangelical Protestant. A classmate remembered Stagg's early commitment to Christian work; during their freshman year Stagg had encouraged him to attend class prayer meetings and gave him "other good advice." The classmate, who graduated from Yale a minister, told Stagg many years later: "I have sometimes wondered how much of an influence this may have been in determining my future."37

The Yale association enjoyed its greatest influence over student life and activity from the late 1880's through the first years of the twentieth century. It was the largest collegiate chapter in the country and usually sent the most delegates to any intercollegiate conference.38 As a result, the Yale YMCA was able to attract many of the most revered names in evangelical Protestant leadership to address the campus. In the spring of Stagg's freshman year, Dwight L. Moody brought his revivalistic approach to the saving of souls to Yale. Emphasizing the need for Bible study and the importance of evangelism in American cities, Moody called for the subordination of the individual's will to that of Christ.39 Sometimes portrayed as
a "robber baron" with a clerical collar, Moody was considered an exceptional preacher whose sermons were a refreshing deviation from the standard homilies delivered at compulsory chapel. Moody could preach for an hour and hold "the breathless attention of the students." One student's account of the 1885 visit recalled that Moody delivered one of his best known sermons tailored specifically for college students:

Moody said plain things that night; he pictured the evil seed that young men will sow in their lives, he made vivid the crop of later years, [The chapel]...has rarely if ever seen a more solemn audience than when the evangelist brought his sermon to a close.

Moody maneuvered quickly to enlist the souls of the students and asked who was ready for God's help. He asked those who were not serious, or there out of curiosity, to leave; for many, this made excusing oneself from the meeting as awkward as it was to stay.

Two years later, Stagg attended the second of Moody's student summer conferences. Moody saw these conferences as a means to evangelize American colleges and universities which would in turn send forth "trained Christian workers" to the churches and the professions. The first student conference was held during the summer of 1886. Its program was an informal one consisting of bible study, preaching, and singing; but the majority of time was devoted to recreation, one hour in the morning and the entire afternoon. The games were organized by James B.
Reynolds of Yale, and Dwight L. Moody himself could be counted on as an "enthusiastic" participant. The following summer, Stagg served as the director of recreation and Moody expressed a special interest in the college student and his talents.

In 1886 the Yale YMCA welcomed one of Moody's disciples from England, J.E.K. Studd. Studd was the captain of the Cambridge cricket team and the younger brother of one of the noted "Cambridge Seven" (so named as to evoke the image of a college athletic team). Touring American colleges and universities, Studd told his brother's inspirational story. The "Cambridge Seven" was a group of Cambridge graduates who joined the foreign missions in China. The extraordinary make-up of this group which included two accomplished Cambridge athletes and five other "socially prominent men" attracted a great deal of interest and attention not only in England but also the United States. One could imagine the appeal of this young, talented, amateur athlete from England and the example he set for all those connected with the Yale YMCA as well as other students. The combination of athletic drama and taking a stand for Christ and Christian living worked well, and soon Stagg follow Studd's example of using athletic feats as the backdrop for Christian recruitment.

That fall, the Yale Association officially dedicated its new home, Dwight Hall. The acquisition of a permanent
headquarters from which to pursue its mission was an integral part of the association’s new activism. Named for President Dwight, grandfather of the current President of Yale, the building’s name was synonymous with that of the association, and Stagg would become one of its first residents as one of two librarians.  

Dwight Hall was envisioned as a "Christian" home away from home for students as well as the center of religious activity for the campus. On the ground floor there was a grand reception room with a large fireplace kept continually burning, as well as four meeting rooms, one for each class, that each contained wood fires as well. The main gathering hall, with an organ and seating for approximately 500, and the library were on the second floor. The third floor contained rooms set aside as living quarters. The library’s collection consisted of books to aid in the study of the Bible and standard works in Christian literature of "high spiritual tone, and good literary and scholarly merit."  

Only two months after its dedication, an article in the Yale Review noted a heightening of the religious "tone" on campus. The author attributed it to the positive correlation between Christian work and athletics. Athletics, wrote the author, made serious disciplinary action rare and accounted for the "growing manliness" at Yale:
The healthy play of young life in honorable tests of ability, condemns and banishes rudeness and lawlessness of behavior, from common life. All sensible Christian moralists favor these contests.  

He concluded that muscular Christianity's beneficial effect on the standards of health at Yale made medical men unnecessary.

Dwight Hall was the fulfillment of what the organization saw as a vital component of college life. Likening the association's concerns to those of university and athletic teams, the President of Dwight Hall proclaimed: "We now have facilities for affording a spiritual training running parallel with the mental and physical development which we receive." Parallels between athletic and religious work remained. Early association organizers appreciated and imitated the Yale athletic model and aspired to the increasingly "inter-college" nature that followed expansion. An early history of the Yale YMCA pointed out that an immediate result of "inter-college" athletic interaction and competition was an improvement in skill and ability; a similar transformation was expected in Yale's religious work. As the Yale association grew, it continued to use student organization of athletics as a model by securing the assistance of a graduate student to work in the capacity of an advisor: "As in the growth of the athletic organizations, athletic members of graduating classes had remained for a time to prove of substantial
service to athletic interests." It seemed reasonable that the same function could be served with a "Christian" graduate student who had been regarded as a leader during his previous four years. These astute, early organizers quickly built Dwight Hall into a respected campus organization whose leadership "ranked as leadership on the campus." After graduation in 1888, Stagg would hold the graduate advisory position for several years.

During the academic year 1886-1887, Dwight Hall began a series of lectures to address current religious and social issues. In January of 1887, the Reverend Josiah Strong spoke on: "The Menace of the Modern City" and "Religious Crisis in the Great West." The previous year Strong had released his enormously popular book, Our Country, which warned of the "perils" facing American Protestantism which included: immigration, Romanism, education, intemperance, socialism, and urban living. The city was particularly worrisome because these evils gravitated to the urban environment.

With no long-standing Protestant tradition or influence in the West, Strong rang the alarm: Who would shape the new territory? Would the immigrant, who did not share the same Christian principles of the early American settlers, take control? Or would the Anglo-Saxon people, who were destined to colonize the world determine America's future? While painting a pessimistic picture, Strong
remained optimistic in the ability of the Anglo-Saxon race to fulfill its destiny and not only to save America, but also the world. Echoing the Darwinian theory of natural selection, Strong pointed to the race's superior vigor, size, and health; its "genius for colonizing;" and its subscription to Christian principles:

Is there room for reasonable doubt that this race, unless devitalized by alcohol and tobacco, is destined to dispossess many weaker races, assimilate others, and mold the remainder, until in a very true and important sense, it has Anglo-Saxonized mankind?  

Whether Strong was the first to introduce these ideas and fears to Stagg or the one to strengthen the college student's own suspicions, Strong's influence on Stagg was clear. Repeating similar themes throughout his life, Stagg eventually heeded Strong's call to carry these principles and convictions to the urban West to fight immorality and build men.

At the same time, Stagg was busy saving the souls of his family. Early in his junior year, he rejoiced in a letter to his sister, Pauline, that their elder sister, Sarah, at the age of 37 finally became a "Christian." Quickly, though, his attention turned to Hattie, another older sister: "I wish that Hattie might come around now...won't you write along with me and try to influence her, dear sister. It is our duty. We must have a complete family circle in Christ:"

We must not forget our dear sister Hattie, Paul,
let us in union bring her before our good Father in Heaven. She must feel very lonesome to be the only child of the family who has not accepted her Savior...but our help must be of the most delicate kind, because of her peculiar nature. you know that 'fervent prayer availeth much.'

While Stagg enthusiastically followed the influential religious leaders who visited the campus, his ideas of ideas of manhood were also formed by athletics. Although most closely identified with the game of football during his professional coaching career, Stagg made his athletic mark as a pitcher and stood on the mound for the Yale nine in five consecutive championship games between 1886 and 1890. Up until 1870 athletic prowess brought no special notoriety at Yale, but by the time Stagg arrived in New Haven athletics had become an important part of the Yale tradition. And as organized athletic competitions gained greater attention, academic performance fell. Many believed that athletics helped teach the "Yale values" of democracy and selflessness by counteracting the divisiveness of wealth and placing greater importance on the collective rather than the individual. Yale’s purpose was not simply to educate the mind but the body and soul as well.

Within the first weeks of Stagg’s arrival at Yale, he was examined by the Professor of Physical Culture who complemented him on his physical development. Physically, Stagg’s stocky stature set him apart from his classmates. The fourth oldest of his class (three years above
the average), Stagg stood five foot four and one-half inches (three and one-half inches below the average), he weighed 158 pounds (fourteen over the average), and his chest measured thirty-nine inches (inflated).69

He was named president of the Class of 1888's Baseball Association and quickly built a name for himself on the baseball diamond as the winning pitcher for the freshman in their annual fall game against the sophomores; apparently, this was a first. Stagg remembered the "second years" trying to unnerve him, but, "I was much too old a head at pitching to be rattled by sophomoric ragging."70 That spring, he moved to third base, because the pitching coach favored another player, and he quickly took the same position with the varsity.71

In the spring of 1886 the News reported that Stagg would probably be moved to pitcher: "He has filled that position on several amateur teams with good success and is a fair batter and good general player." One week later the paper recounted a 3-0 win over Jersey City: "For Yale the most notable work was done by the battery. Stagg's pitching was remarkably good." The News continued its praise of Stagg's ability on the mound, recording, in particular, the impressive number of strike-outs. In the month of June, Stagg struck out 14, 12, 9, 17, and 11 batters in five consecutive games; Yale won every one.72 He had competition from another pitcher, Jesse Dann, but
Dann's delivery was so fast, no one could catch him. As a result, Dann was moved to catcher and Stagg pitched every game; at the end of the 1886 season, Yale was tied with Harvard going into the championship. 73

The two best teams among the members of the Intercollegiate Baseball Association, which included, for the most part, Harvard, Princeton, Amherst, Brown, Dartmouth, and Yale (Dartmouth being absent in 1883 and 1886) competed for the championship. The '86 championship was particularly critical because Yale's championship streak from 1880 to 1884 had been broken by Harvard the previous year. 74

On the day of the final game, several hundred students and alumni, along with a victorious Yale crew which arrived during the third inning, were in attendance. Inspired by the crowd, Stagg remembered: "We won for them." 75 The famous battery of Stagg and Dann would prevail for a total of three championships. 76

During the summers of 1886 and '87, Stagg pitched for the Bergen Point Athletic Club. Bergen Point was one of the original villages that made up the celebrated summer seaside resort area of Bayonne, in the state of New Jersey. The Point boasted the area's most popular athletic club which counted among its members the most wealthy and influential of the "colony." 77 Winning several championships in the mid-1880's, the athletic club's baseball team was considered one of the top three non-professional teams in
the country; as many as 2,500 people were known to attend their games.78 In 1886 Bergen Point’s players were mostly college men from eastern schools, the most famous of which was Stagg; that summer, with Stagg’s pitching, they won the "Amateur Baseball League" pennant.79

Playing on amateur or "semi-professional" teams for the summer months was a common activity among New England college players. Payment for participation was prohibited, but the rules were not specific; "expenses" could be covered by the team or athletic club and room and board could be secured at no charge.80 Archibald A. Smith of Bergen Point kept in close correspondence with Stagg in order to secure the talented pitcher’s commitment. In one letter, he promised Stagg a "handsome offer" and assured the college pitcher that "the amount we are willing to give is large and yet you can remain an amateur and play with your college next year." Smith indicated that the gentleman backing the offer was the local mayor and bank president.81 Stagg always maintained that he never accepted money in return for athletic performance, but receipts of payment from Bergen Point exist in his scrapbooks.82

In the spring of 1887, Stagg struggled under a change in the rules allowing four strikes for an out, and five balls, instead of six, for a base. The News reported: "Stagg did not show his usual control of the ball caused presumably by the change to the old rules while accustomed
to pitching under the new professional rules." His 1887 season strike-out total of 62 did not even match his number for the month of June the previous year. But when Yale played the "Boston Professionals" that year, Stagg struck out seven; the Boston team "found Stagg's curves puzzling."
The News boasted: "Even the $10,000 Kelly could not save the Boston Professionals from defeat...It would be very interesting to know just how much Yale's best player would bring in the professional's market." Kelly was credited with saying: "Think of a son of a gun who can pitch like that going to be a minister!"

In his autobiography, Stagg remembered turning down a total of six National League pitching contracts that year and the next, out of loyalty to Yale, who did not allow professional athletes to represent the college, and because of the "character of professional baseball:"

...the professionals...were a hard-bitten lot, about whom grouped hangers-on, men and women, who were worse. There was a bar in every ball park, and the whole tone of the game was smelly.

Over the years, Stagg's memory of his ultimate decision not to become a professional grew more noble as it grew more distant. For, at the time, Stagg was indeed very tempted. He wrote to his sister in May of 1887 that the Indianapolis League team offered him $300 a month to play. If, said Stagg, he was to consider professional baseball, "I should not go for that sum." As the newspapers guessed which team Stagg would end up with, he postponed making any deci-
A month after receiving his brother's letter, Stagg wrote Pauline of several more offers; Chicago would give him $500 to sign and $1,000 per month, and New York offered him even more. Stagg implored: "Do you blame me if I am tempted to take it up?" In the end, George, Stagg's conscience, and Yale baseball won out, for Stagg played three more years for Yale.

The Intercollegiate Association, composed of Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Amherst, Brown, Dartmouth, Williams, and Trinity, unraveled in 1887. Williams was barred until professionals were expelled from the team, Trinity was refused admission, and Yale, Harvard and Princeton withdrew to form the College League. An editorial appeared in the Yale News condoning the new league formation as a move toward more interesting, competitive play. According to the editorial, the best nines were now in one league. Greater exclusivity prevented Yale from "dragging her opponent to prominence in athletics equal to her own." Within the new College League that year, Yale once again emerged as champion, winning seven out of eight league games she played; Stagg pitched and won the last two games
against Harvard, reportedly, by forcing fly balls instead of trying to strike-out the batter. Although Stagg's strike-out average was down, his over-all production improved significantly. After a total of twenty-two games and 95 at-bats, Stagg had 31 runs, 33 base hits, 44 stolen bases, and a .956 fielding average.

Well before the beginning of the 1888 season, Captain Stagg held a meeting for the prospective baseball candidates in his rooms at Dwight Hall. Elected by the previous year's team, Stagg outlined for the hopefuls their duties and the importance of training. In Touchdown, he described the role of the captain in those days at Yale:

There were no coachers, trainers, rubbers, or even a water boy. Occasional graduated players were drifting back to advise the football team, but the captain still was a captain, not a coach's foreman. He chose the team, ran it, and was not always above playing favorites. Once elected, he was answerable to no one.

That spring Stagg introduced the first of his many training innovations, the diving mat for base-sliding practice. In the 1880's bases were stolen head-first, until improved blocking tactics forced base runners to slide feet first. An editorial in the Yale News commented that the improvements in the base-running and sliding of the Yale team had, "elicited the praise of expert professionals." Stagg, it continued, deserved special recognition: "To the Captain in particular to whom we are indebted for the innovations that led to this new departure."
He had an excellent 1888 season. After one game the News reported: "Stagg played a magnificent game, striking out twelve men and he clearly demonstrated that he has not yet lost his cunning as a pitcher." In a game against Princeton attended by Mrs. Grover Cleveland, the President's wife, he broke his own record by striking out twenty batters, nine Princeton men struck out consecutively in the last three innings. Stagg revealed the reason behind his phenomenal performance:

Mrs. Cleveland entered the grand stand wearing the orange and black of Princeton. As wife of the President of the United States, it seemed to me that she should have been neutral in word and deed...and I pitched my arm off in resentment.

The league championship continued to be determined by games played between Yale, Harvard, and Princeton. Again, Yale emerged victorious by winning six out of eight league games as the battery of Stagg and Dann held for the third time. Captain Stagg was brilliant in the second to the last game, allowing only three weak hits; the Yale bats insured the win, scoring eight runs to zero. Yale won the final game of the season five to three.

As a graduate student, Stagg continued to pitch for Yale. The 1889 team dominated its league of three, with its heavy hitting, losing only one game to Princeton, 11 to 14. Yale claimed the 1890 championship. Harvard had withdrawn from the "triangular league" so Yale played both Princeton and Harvard in separate series. Against Prince-
ton, Yale won two, lost one, and tied one; against Harvard, Yale won three and lost two.\textsuperscript{106}

The 1890 season was Stagg's last for Yale on the diamond. As a member of Yale's baseball club, he played six years, pitched on five championship teams, been elected captain, and coached the freshman team.\textsuperscript{107} Author and Professor William Lyon Phelps, class of 1887, called Stagg the greatest college pitcher that Yale, and the country, had ever seen. Phelps never saw "a man with such a memory for the weaknesses of the men he faced." As Stagg pitched Yale past her rivals Harvard and Princeton five years in a row, playing for six, Harvard grew tired of meeting him and wondered if he would ever graduate. "I was sorry he did," said Phelps, "and I do not know how he did...He played baseball all the time; and when he was captain, he developed five Freshmen, so that after he got through, those men would play on and on."\textsuperscript{108} A professional pitcher of the day gave his analysis of Stagg's talent: "He wastes no balls at all...his methods insure his comparative immunity against an overworked arm." Reportedly, these "methods" included an arsenal of several different pitches.\textsuperscript{109}

As a Yale athlete, baseball had come first, football second. When he did show up to play for the Yale eleven, he reported late in the season and only after fall baseball had ended. Stagg did not make the eleven in 1884 but played on the freshman team and served as one of the
practice dummies, or scrubs, for the first string. In 1885 and 1886, Stagg's playing time was limited to late in the season. Occasionally, he would be used by the varsity in a game, but, officially, he remained with the scrubs, coming out when he could for the exercise. His popularity as a baseball player carried over to the football field. Sent in during a game in the fall of 1886, Stagg received a loud round of applause in appreciation of his performance during the previous baseball season.\textsuperscript{110} In 1887, he played only because he "was begged to do so."\textsuperscript{111} He would not play regularly until 1888.\textsuperscript{112}

For all his accomplishments on the diamond, Stagg's notoriety as the great collegiate hurler would not endure; his immortality lay on the gridiron. And it was football that introduced Stagg to the man who would enormously influence his life: Walter Chauncey Camp. Although Stagg never acknowledged the debt, he based his coaching career on what he learned at Yale from the "Father of Football." Camp graduated from Yale in 1883 and remained there as football coach and "athletic advisor" for many years. As the unofficial defender of the "athletic" faith for Yale, Camp asserted that athletics were a "safety valve" for the excess energy of the "animal spirits" of young men. In weaker men who lacked these instincts, athletics helped encourage their development. According to Camp, athletic training instilled discipline. He dismissed the criticism
that athletics hampered a student’s studies claiming that the best athletes also ranked in the top half of their class. Regarding the negative influence of professionalism, Camp felt it was of "imaginary importance" and added that playing with people of superior ability could only improve one’s game. Camp was among those who believed that the growth of organized athletics was directly responsible for the decrease in student disciplinary problems.

Camp told parents to encourage their children to be athletic just as they would tell them to study hard. Nature, he believed, concentrated on the body before the mind, the height of physical power preceding mental power, therefore, exercise and training should commence in one’s youth. He opposed interference in student-run athletics. Left alone to settle disputes, young men would learn the lessons necessary for organization and management. To those critics who called football too brutal, Camp asked them to learn the game first, in order to understand a youth’s natural desire for "vigorous sports."

At the same time, Camp encouraged his players to be "gentlemen: "A gentleman does not make his living...from his athletic prowess. He does not earn anything by his victories except glory and satisfaction." Gentlemen, according to Camp, did not cheat and lived by the rules; he warned his captains to "never let a thought enter your head
of making use of any man not clearly and cleanly eligi­
ble." The "Father of American Football" insisted on
the "subordination of strength to will;" in addition to
acting more gentlemanly, players with self-control were
more efficient, and therefore, more successful."

In addition to the above, the most lasting legacy Camp
left to Stagg was "the czar principle." As captain of the
Yale football team, Camp demanded absolute authority and
threatened to quit on at least two occasions when there was
dissension in the ranks. As the team's graduate advi-
sor, Camp believed in the disciplined, unquestioned leader-
ship of one man, to whom the manager and captain gave their
complete loyalty. Camp credited Yale's athletic suc-
cess to the appreciation of "the fact that the one-man
element...of management and direction was the more certain
to produce in the long run the best results."

According to Camp, Yale:

...while never formally placing any man in
charge, save the undergraduate manager and
captain, for twenty years has had her policy
mapped out and directed sometimes by one
individual and sometimes by another, but always
by an individual who during his tenure of the
unnamed office could effect results in his own
way and without interference.

Camp was proud of the disciplined hierarchy of Yale
athletics. Captains and managers were loyal to their
"unofficial leader," and undergraduate players were
"unquestioningly" loyal to management. Graduates often
returned to help their former team. In defeat, public
explanations were never given but kept private among the team members to use toward future victories. This hierarchical loyalty was the key, claimed Camp, to the "Yale spirit." 124

Stagg observed Camp's policies first-hand as a member of the coach's inner circle. On occasion, Stagg would accompany team captain, William "Pa" Corbin, to Camp's home in the evening or on a Sunday afternoon to listen to his advice. 125 Stagg would make Camp's system his own, except he called it "faculty control" of athletics, instead of "the czar principle." As Camp's leading disciple, Stagg brought the system to the University of Chicago, but there was one important difference, his position as "czar" would be official. Many years later, Stagg played down Camp's role at Yale, describing him as "a sort of voluntary advising coach," who had a full-time job at a New Haven clock company. Stagg credited Mrs. Camp, and her note taking at each practice, as "more the coach than he." 126

Another prominent Yale figure, Eugene Richards, served as a model for Stagg. Richards, a former Yale football captain ('84) and Yale faculty member, defended the game against the criticisms of the growing "effeminate class," "dudes for whom athletic sports are too hard or too 'brutal.'" He concluded: "The best antidote to the dudish spirit is to be found in athletics." 127 Richards agreed that football was a rough game, "as any sport should be for
healthy young men," but he did not consider it brutal in any way:

Football is the exercise most perfectly fitted for uniform physical development, and for that reason no believer in the value of bodily strength can ever doubt the greatness of its future. Leave the game to its natural course, free from the ignorance of learned supervision, untouched by the choice pleasantries of witty reporters, and the malice of professionalism, and foot-ball will work out its own salvation. And in that salvation we shall see the death of effeminacy which is so rapidly undermining the American nation.

Football was the weapon against a modern, weakening male population: remove its roughness, remove its essence.

An 1886 editorial in the Yale News spoke to the same issue and credited athletics as the answer to the many vices and problems of the current society. Not only was it an alternative to the weakening agents of cigars, cigarettes, and alcohol, but also prepared men to fight against the threat of anarchism in the late nineteenth century:

We heartily rejoice that if tomorrow or next year there is to be another and more serious uprising of anarchists in Chicago, Cincinnati or New York, there are young men by hundreds trained on the playgrounds of Princeton and Yale in the 'rough' or 'brutal'...game of football, who will show the value of their training with the same fearless bearing with which they have learned to contend with one another in many a hard fought foot-ball game.

Christian manliness became a rallying call among old-stock patricians who often associated it with patriotism and group loyalty.

In post-Civil War America, the growth of college
football was part of a search for the moral equivalent to war. For its supporters, football created "positive moral results," by transforming morality into physical power through its leaders, whether it be the coach, the captain or the quarterback, who converted "resources and potential into action on the field." Sport, particularly football, like war, gave one experience; a kind of experience that could not be achieved through books. Henry Cabot Lodge believed athletics taught "the spirit of victory" that would lead to a reordering of the world. According to Lodge, sports generated a "moral force" that "developed the predictable and customary behavior needed to act as a national or world leader." At the turn of the century, Theodore Roosevelt would articulate and popularize what Muscular Christians, politicians and military leaders had been advocating with his doctrine of the "strenuous life" which called for young men to "boldly face the life of strife...for it is only through hard work and dangerous endeavor, that we shall ultimately win the goal of true greatness."

Stagg was a willing product of these attitudes and he internalized these values as quickly as he heeded the calls of the era's religious leaders. By his senior year, Stagg realized the strong ties between his moral code of conduct and his behavior on the field. His athletic ability had delivered him and soon he would share his experiences with
any one who would listen.

While Stagg was at Yale, the game of football changed noticeably. The eastern teams pledged to stop "slugging and holding." Since the removal of the scrummage, various attempts were made to regulate putting the ball into play, until it was determined that neither the center nor the quarterback could carry the ball before a third player had touched it, and the offensive line was prohibited from using their hands to prevent penetration by the defense. The ball was put into play with the foot of the center. In an early effort to control the roughness of the game, the rules committee of the eastern schools abolished the "maul in goal." When Camp got the rules convention to lower the tackling limit from above the waist to above the knees, in an attempt to take away the offense's advantage, the play of the game began to close up. "Momentum-mass" plays were developed in order to protect the runner from oncoming tacklers. A chronicler of Yale football described the game:

Open-field play was reduced to a minimum. Kicks and runs with fumbles provided the only bright features. It got to be pull-and-haul football. Strain-and-groan football. Injuries, death, public hue and cry. Yet, eventually, this grinding, mass football would force by its iniquities the advent of the forward pass and the beginning of modern football.  

This was the day of the perilous wedge formation. Ever the innovator, Stagg devised a remedy to prevent his scabbed knees from stiffening by "binding a moist sponge," over his
knees inside each stocking.\textsuperscript{138}

Stagg began to play consistently for the "firsts" as a graduate student the fall of 1888. Graduate study was a legitimate way of prolonging one's athletic career. Stagg denied this as his motivation, although he never finished his graduate degree.\textsuperscript{139} The captain of the squad, "Pa" Corbin, class of '89, specifically sought out Stagg to fill a vacancy at right end. Walter Camp continued as an advisor/coach but held a full time job at a clock company in New Haven. A newly wed, Camp relied on his wife's evening report based on her notes from the day's practice. Years later, the Camps would be referred to as the 1888 "Head Coaches."\textsuperscript{140} The unusual role Mrs. Camp filled in the operations of the Yale eleven uncannily foreshadowed the similar station Stagg's wife would hold less than a decade later at the University of Chicago.

Camp developed the Yale graduate coaching system, which depended on former players to return to New Haven and lend their expertise. These men motivated and inspired the team before the big games.\textsuperscript{141} After a championship season, the returning alumnus were given proper recognition:

\begin{quote}
The grand showing made by this year's eleven is due not only to the faithful and conscientious work of both the University and College teams, but largely to the coaching of those graduates who have unselfishly devoted so much time to the team's welfare, and it is to these men who year after year come back to their Alma Mater and give us the benefit of their knowledge, that the
\end{quote}
credit to a great extent is due for Yale's grand succession of victories.\footnote{142}

Although this form of loyalty was appreciated, it was also expected. Those graduates who choose to apply their athletic expertise elsewhere were strongly chastised:

We refer to the practice of Yale graduates, who have been drilled as members of our foot-ball team...going to other colleges and universities and coaching their teams, in most cases for salaries. In this way the game is made more than ever a matter of money, and Yale graduates become foot-ball professionals...

In addition to violating ideals of amateurism, the editorial claimed that athletic skills acquired while at college were the property of that college:

...other teams should gain their knowledge through contests on the field or through their own inventions, but not by a purchase from a Yale graduate of what has been entrusted to him for the benefit of his alma mater.\footnote{143}

Stagg, one of Yale's most famous athletes, would violate this creed, but he was not alone, for the coaching of intercollegiate athletics, particularly football, would soon become a "legitimate" profession.

The '88 football team went undefeated, chalking up 698 points to their opponents zero in thirteen games, and was considered "the strongest team that up to this time had been put on the foot ball field," due to "the remarkable skill of the individual players in their respective positions, combined with great pluck and endurance."\footnote{144}

Beside Corbin and Stagg, the 1888 team included standouts Charlie Gill, George Gill's younger brother and the
following year's captain; George Woodruff, the future Pennsylvania coach and attorney general of the same state; and freshmen Thomas McClung, future United States Treasurer, and All-American William Walter "Pudge" Heffelfinger. Gifford Pinchot, who would become Theodore Roosevelt's man in the Department of Agriculture and future Governor of Pennsylvania with George Woodruff as his attorney general, served as a substitute, and the team's "Adonis." The following year, Yale's only loss was to Princeton; unfortunately, it came at the final game of the season, determining the league champion. In 1889, Stagg and Heffelfinger were named to the first All-American football team, Stagg as an end and "Heff" as a guard.

Many perks came with athletic glory. Stagg only agreed to play in 1889 under the stipulation that the Yale Football Association would provide him with an assistant to help him with his YMCA work. The Football Association also funded a trip to the Harvard-Princeton game for the football team and Mr. and Mrs. Camp, who all "lived finely" at the association's expense. Stagg's athletic notoriety overshadowed his lack of wealth and status; his reputation alone made him worthy of distinction. Yale worshipped the athlete: "No men in college are more esteemed and respected than the Yale athletes." The typical Yale athlete displayed dedication and hard work
that involved "an almost complete abandonment of that personal comfort so dear to every collegian." 152

His athletic talent gave him access to Yale's privileged secret societies. Several fraternities targeted the college's best athletes, and Stagg had scant competition from his classmates for attention; aside from Stagg, the Class of 1888 was not known for its athletics. 153 Stagg's sophomore fraternity, "He Boule" ('HB), was one of the most selective; originally established as a debating society in 1875, membership was a "coveted privilege." 154 Its recruitment committees were carefully chosen, and "their work was always so very thorough that they succeeded in gathering in their ranks a large proportion of the men who were bound under any circumstances to become prominent in their class." 155 As a result, "'HB," unlike other sophomore groups, was considered a stepping stone to the junior and senior societies. 156 Junior year, Stagg joined "Psi Upsilon."

On "Tap Day" the senior societies made their choices from the junior class; this was a popular outdoor spectacle attended by almost the entire university. One at a time each member emerged to pick, or "tap," a student and told him to: "Go to your room." 157 Many considered election to "Skull and Bones" to be "one of the greatest honors that can fall to a Yale man." Only fifteen members, selected from the senior class, were allowed each year; likely
candidates included the captains of the university crew, baseball and football teams, as well as a few other prominent athletes. The senior class valedictorian and a handful of editors of the *Yale Literary Magazine* would also be chosen. As a senior, Stagg was "tapped" to became a member of this notorious "bastion of male privilege." Tradition had it that no "Bones" man ever reveled the secret activities of the society, nor did they like anyone referring to it in their presence. Any criticism was met with silence.

Through his dedicated participation in the Yale YMCA and the recognition of his enormous athletic talent, Stagg made the most of his opportunities and was able to establish himself as a respected leader in both the secular and sacred spheres. For three years, though, his two great devotions remained separate entities. Then in the fall of his senior year, Stagg the committed Christian became one with Stagg the noted athlete when Henry Drummond, a professor of Natural Science at Glasgow University, Scotland, visited the Yale campus.

A Christian who believed in evolution, Drummond was known for his ability to reconcile science and religion through his book, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (1883). Cited as the most important event of the year, Drummond spent two extraordinary weeks at Yale in September of 1887, prompting one observer to claim: "I have never
seen so deep an impression made on students by any speaker on any subject as that made by Henry Drummond." The feeling was mutual, for Drummond said his visit to Yale was, "one of the best and busiest," of his life, and that he had gotten to the "heart and brain of the College." He sought out the prominent undergraduates, the most popular, the best in athletics, those who attracted the greatest attention. Drummond made his appeal to them on the basis of their peculiar Christian responsibility as influential figures. This approach won many supporters for Christ.

Drummond's style was not to whip people into a hysterical frenzy but through intelligence and sincerity: "He was a gentleman and a scholar; his method was new, fresh, original. He spoke in quiet, conversational tones, never raised his voice, made no gestures, but was intensely in earnest." Drummond's topics were practical, relevant and non-theoretical. Students were told that negativity had no place in religion, and as Christians they were to lead a life that was, "positive, active, and aggressive." Cashing in on the popularity of athletics, Drummond provided his audience with an analogy they could understand and identify with:

We do not get the soul in different ways, under different laws, from those in which we get the body and the mind. If a man does not exercise his arm he develops no biceps muscle; and if a man does not exercise his soul, he acquires no muscle in his soul, no strength of character, no
vigor of moral fibre, nor beauty of spiritual growth. Love is not a thing of enthusiastic emotion. It is a rich, strong, manly, vigorous expression of the whole round Christian character - the Christ-like nature in its fullest development. 168

Upon arriving at Yale, Drummond personally contacted the campus "leaders," particularly those noted for their scholarship or their athletic ability. They were encouraged to organize Christian work by class with individual prayer meetings; a general Sunday evening meeting; and establishment of mission work in New Haven. Drummond introduced Yale to a new brand of evangelism, that of deputations, i.e., inter-visitation of representatives between colleges and to prep schools. According to Drummond: "The object of the deputation work is not exhortation or the discussion of theological problems, but simply to provide a means of stating personal experiences in a familiar manner." 169 A Yale student recalled when a deputation was received from Princeton:

They had been carefully chosen by Drummond. One was Winthrop M. Daniels, valedictorian of his class... one was Robert M. Speer, member of the football team, who was to have a splendid career in the ministry; the third was the most famous football player in the country, Hector Cowan, who could not make a speech, but who was a national hero in athletics... Cowan, an enormous fellow, stood up, with the sweat running down his face. There was much curiosity to hear what he would say. He stood looking at us a long while, overcome with stage-fright. Then he said, 'I feel more at home on the football field than making a speech; and I guess that’ll be about all,' and sat down. But the sacrifice he had made in coming, and his evident sincerity, made a deep impression.
What was said was not important; the presence of the campus stars was enough.

Drummond’s presence struck a deep chord with Stagg, who took the professor’s message to heart and vowed to follow his lead:

...in simple plain logical talk he convinced the boys that of the reality of Christ...I had a number of talks with him...I have made up my mind to consecrate my influence and all to Christ in doing what I can among the boys in this and other colleges. 171

Stagg joined the first class of deputations, traveling to several different locations including the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, the College Christian Union in New York, and to Princeton College; he also spoke at the City Mission in New Haven. 172 Like many of Drummond’s recruits, Stagg had no confidence in his ability to speak before an audience, but Professor Drummond assured him he did, "not want orators to go on deputations." 173 In Philadelphia the delegates made several stops. Stagg felt his first talk, at an orphanage, was over the youths' heads; even so, Drummond told him not to prepare his talks in advance. He promised Stagg that the "Holy Ghost shall teach you in the same hour what you ought to say." By relying on that promise, Stagg, "was able to speak as I have never spoken before:"

It is a grand work...to work for others. My daily prayer now is to be made useful in Christ’s kingdom day by day. 174

The meetings in New York were tailored to appeal to as many
as possible; Christian students of any denomination were
invited, meetings were held in a theater to attract those
who avoided church, and the featured address by a prominent
figure was followed by short speeches given by popular
student delegates from nearby colleges. ¹⁷⁵

Stagg created quite a stir during a talk he gave at
Dockstaders Theatre in New York on October 31, 1887. The
star pitcher, "came forward amid a perfect storm of
applause," and told his audience how his life had changed
for the better after talking with Professor Drummond." He
went on to describe how he prayed before every ball game
and asked for God’s help when he pitched. He and several
other Yale athletes urged the young men in attendance to be
"manly Christians" and not succumb to the three most common
vices of college men: drinking, gambling and sensuali-
ty. ¹⁷⁶ Apparently, Stagg’s evocation of God for athletic
purposes offended the religious sensibilities of others who
considered themselves Christians, including a group of
Catholics. Some interpreted the college men’s claims that
one could be a Christian and an athlete, as implying that
sports were a means to grace, and Stagg was accused of
being impudent. ¹⁷⁷

In addition to his regular deputations, Stagg served
as one of eight Yale delegates to the Sixth Annual
Intercollegiate Conference held in Boston during February
of 1888. ¹⁷⁸ This was an extraordinary gathering. Almost
a thousand collegians listened to Stagg, the Yale baseball captain, and the captain of the Yale football team, Harvard's crew captain and a member of the Princeton football team: "All of these, without exception, were devoted heart and soul to the furtherance of a simple and manly Christianity among the college students of our land."  

The use of the campus athlete as a deputy for Christ prompted one chronicler to label Drummond’s college work in America as "Athletic Christianity". Recognizing the importance of college athletics and the enormous influence of the college athlete, the author honored the athletes who carried their Christianity into their sports as well as the social life of the campus. Another observer noted that: "Men who are respected on account of their athletic reputation are seen to be wholesouled Christians, making their faith effective in daily life; this sets student thinking." 

Stagg continued to blend religion and athleticism each summer from 1888 to 1892 at the Chautauqua Assembly in western New York, where Yale professor William Rainey Harper served as the first and only president of Chautauqua University (1883-1892). Some considered Chautauqua the fulfillment of Utopia; an embodiment of Victorian idealism; a place where middle class Protestants of all denominations could go to be amongst their own kind to share values,
manners and behavior, and to improve their knowledge culturally, intellectually, and spiritually. This shared "cultural ethos" combined, "religious feeling and educational earnestness."  

At Chautauqua, Stagg found a similar integration of the sacred and secular, the Bible and science, and the intellectual and physical, that he found in his work with the YMCA and the teachings of Drummond, with whom he identified so closely. In fact, Drummond was a featured speaker at Chautauqua.

The summer of 1888, Stagg was hired to captain and coach the Chautauqua baseball team. By teaching the game to visitors, Stagg could earn money while playing baseball without breaking his amateur code. He was a popular drawing card for those wishing to play baseball with the "most famous college athlete in America." Those interested played every day from four to six o'clock, either practicing or playing games against local teams. With Stagg as catcher, Chautauqua was undefeated at 4-0. He pitched his first full game when Jesse Dann arrived for an important game against Oil City, reuniting the famous Yale battery. The 1888 team won ten games, losing only one. Stagg was the leading hitter at .474.

Expectations remained high the following summer, but the catcher did not return and no one could catch Stagg. Nevertheless, baseball survived and continued to attract a
large and diverse crowd: "Staid professors, ministers and Chautauquans old and young, attend these afternoon games and find in them diversion and recreation." And Stagg began to take his place in the popular folklore of the resort:

He steal! Indeed, that cannot be.  
Nay, tell me not-you did not see  
Him steal! Why, man, he is as true  
As any lad I ever knew.

He stole, and died, and you are glad.  
Great Caesar, fellow, you are mad.  
But, (someone cuff me)-yes, I heard  
That Stagg "stole" second, and "died"  
on third. \[88\]

That year, Stagg was given the official title of Baseball Director in the school of Physical Education. \[189\]

Denying its reputation as a "Puritan-like colony," Chautauqua bragged about the breadth of its amusements. Each year recreation expanded under the direction of the Chautauqua Athletic Club. In addition to organized baseball, calisthenics and gymnastics were held in the gymnasium; track and field event training and contests were offered in running, jumping, shot-putting, hammer throwing, and tug-of-war; and tennis tournaments were organized for both men and women and mixed doubles. Recreation and fitness became so closely identified with Chautauqua, one of its chroniclers joked that if the summer resort had a coat of arms, its symbol would be a dumbbell. \[190\]

Stagg continued to combine athletics and religion at Chautauqua by helping to lead the religious meetings held
each Sunday evening at the baseball grandstand.\textsuperscript{191} His days were filled with Bible study, gymnasium work, and baseball; at night, he and his Yale friends attended parties with "lots of nice girls."\textsuperscript{192} He played tennis as well, competing in the singles, men's doubles, and mixed doubles divisions.\textsuperscript{193} One summer, Stagg participated in a dramatic presentation of the "Ben Hur Tableaux," to a standing-room-only crowd. Playing the part of Ben Hur, he brought the production to its "glorious climax:"

\begin{quote}
The audience were brought to intense but suppressed excitement...and the victorious Ben Hur urging with flying lash his red nostriled steeds over the prostrate\textsuperscript{194} body of Mesalla, cheer after cheer burst forth.
\end{quote}

During his last summer at Chautauqua, Stagg lectured on the topic of "The Modern Athlete."\textsuperscript{195} At the time of his departure, students were coming from the leading gymnasiums in both America and Canada. Course work was lengthened to two years, with six faculty members and twenty special instructors, covering the subjects of, "anatomy, physiology, hygiene, orthopedics, anthropometry, physical diagnosis, emergencies, light and heavy gymnastics, Delsarte gymnastics, Swedish gymnastics, boxing, fencing, swimming, boating, lawn tennis, athletics, baseball, and rope splicing."\textsuperscript{196} Under Stagg, the Chautauqua nine had a winning record each season.\textsuperscript{197}

Upon graduation in the spring of 1888, Stagg was appointed General Secretary for Dwight Hall and entered the
Divinity School as a post-graduate. General secretaries were chosen by a graduate committee for the Yale YMCA from a list of recent Yale graduates. Their choice was subject to the approval of the undergraduate members and the corporation of the university; the careful selection process reflected the power and prestige the position carried with it. In addition, the general secretaryship was a paid position.

Stagg was the third general secretary and the first to hold the position for two full years. As general secretary, he "coordinated and supervised Christian work on the campus." Highly motivated as a "saver of souls," his tenure was noted for his many initiatives and the high degree of participation. He continued to lead the popular weekly religious meetings. Traditionally, these Sunday evening meetings were not well attended, but since Professor Drummond's visit they had become a focal point of Dwight Hall. Expanding on one of Drummond's strategies, the association invited younger members of the faculty to speak, "men who are not identified with any religious work." Their influence was enormous: "Some of our best Christian talks were given this year by instructors whom a large body of the students previously thought to be skeptics."

Referred to as, "Captain Stagg's Scheme," a housing directory of available rooms and boarding houses was
compiled for "homeless" freshman.\textsuperscript{205} Stagg also helped put together a freshman handbook which contained useful information about the university.\textsuperscript{206} These handbooks were sent out to the freshman in advance to introduce him to the library, Yale field, and the gymnasium, as well as the college cheer, the names of their faculty, and how the various clubs were organized. In addition, the handbook told the new student what not to do, "if he wishes to live in peace in this new country of Yale, whose laws are peculiar, and of the inflexibility of the statutes of the Medes and the Persians."\textsuperscript{207} For example, freshmen were not allowed to smoke a pipe, carry a cane (prior to Washington’s birthday), dance at the Junior promenade, or sit on the Fence (until they beat Harvard).\textsuperscript{208} Most likely, the handbook was not the first contact initiated by the Yale YMCA.

Through prep school deputations, Dwight Hall imitated an old fraternity custom of pledging prep school boys prior to their arrival on campus.\textsuperscript{209} At prep school "campaigns," the Yale captains, team managers, editors, would not preach about virtue and vice; they promoted Yale. They spoke of the, "ideal of the soldier and the gentleman," and discouraged the "overdrinker" or those of "lax morals" from considering Yale.\textsuperscript{210} Once on the Yale campus, the freshman was invited to make Dwight Hall his base until he found suitable accommodations, with the guidance and recommenda-
tion of a special Dwight Hall housing committee, of course. The newcomer was also welcomed to a special meeting at the hall on the first Friday of the term to meet the upper-classmen and faculty associated with the organization. A contemporary of Stagg's remembered:

Here, on this first Friday night, is as choice a company as you can gather from the ranks of the Yale army; and they are welcoming the incoming youth in a spirit of the most straightforward and courteous hospitality, in the name of religion, but without parading of it.

Some of Stagg's responsibilities and innovations included booking speakers for the Dwight Hall Lecture Course. When Stagg led a general meeting, he would give the opening prayer and introduce the first speaker. He also organized elections for class deacons. An issue of concern was aid for "needy" students; it was Stagg's suggestion to work with New Haven businessmen to set up a "labor bureau" for those students requiring financial support. Stagg did not limit his attention to the undergraduates. Early in the year of his second term he formed a Bible Club for graduate students which was considered a success. Stagg took one of Professor William Rainey Harper's Hebrew courses during the summer term of 1889. In his second year as a graduate student, Stagg began his seminary work but cut the number of his classes in half, because he was so busy with the Yale YMCA. He found balancing his time between his studies and the demands of his "job" as general secretary
Serving as the Graduate Secretary did not take all of Stagg's time. He formed a singing quartet. He also coached the freshmen nine, allowed the use of his rooms for football meetings, wrote and published a number of articles on amateur baseball including a series for Harper's Young People, promoted attendance at the Chautauqua summer school, and worked as a referee at football games that did not involve Yale.

Stagg's tenure as general secretary was most known for the establishment of the Grand Street City Mission, located in the toughest area of New Haven. Under Stagg's direction the Yale Mission was opened on September 3, 1888. The occasion was well attended, and Stagg delivered one of the four welcoming addresses. The mission promoted temperance, targeting "railroad men, shop men, longshoremen, and loafers." Religious meetings were held each Sunday night with approximately 40 men in attendance. Gospel singing and testimonies given by Yale students on how to lead a Christian life followed. While temperance was the primary focus, the mission also tried to motivate those that had become "leeches on society" to lead disciplined, productive lives. Stagg described the mission's accomplishments:

A year ago we established a mission in the lowest quarter of New Haven. We chose it as the best field for us, where there was no one else to do the work - where our work was needed...We filled
the room two nights, and have filled it ever since... [Students] go among those poor wretched men right out of the gutter, leading desperate lives, in drunkenness, immorality; every bad thing. They sit down by them and listen to the story of their lives, get into sympathy with them, try to lead them to give up their bad ways, and point them to Christ who is so ready and willing and able to save. And they have been successful in accomplishing great good. They have got a great many to stop off drinking and start in a new life. I could tell you several cases of drunkards who had been all their lives bad, but have now gone to work, and are earnest Christians.  

The work with the mission was not typical of Stagg, he preferred to reach out to his fellow college students or young men possibly bound for college.

He continued to travel the circuit speaking on behalf of the YMCA. He thought nothing of addressing an audience of 3,000 and enjoyed holding the final speaking slot where "I rammed home the charge." Then Stagg heard William Clay Trumbull speak about personal work for Christian conversion. As he had with Drummond a few years before, Stagg listened to Trumbull's words as if they were meant only for his ears:

His talk made a strong impression on me, and I have resolved to do the same thing, dear Paul, for I feel that I owe it to my Savior. I have done some of that work and have tasted of the sweets of showing the light to some who groping in darkness of mind, but it has been only a feeble effort in comparison with what I should have done.

Stagg tried to involve the class deacons at Dwight Hall, but none was interested. Instead, he picked eight "earnest" freshmen: "Secrecy was enjoined upon the boys
because I felt that if...[the unconverted]...knew there was an organized effort made to convert them, they would revolt and kill the scheme dead." This activity, quietly and benignly referred to as "personal work," was carried out by small, secret, groups who met daily for spiritual inspiration through which to conduct their work. Personal work was a scheme to convert the unconverted by relying not on large group gatherings but on "one on one" pressure and persuasion. Individuals pledged to do personal work "with some selected friend." Stagg began these personal work groups in an effort to encourage "the Christian life" among those who were falling "under the influence of 'jolly fellows.'" The exact methods of personal work were unclear but the goal was to achieve conversion through subtle persuasion without arousing suspicion early on. The key, according to Stagg, was to "be filled with a sympathetic sense of some person's need, and, second, to be overpowered with the thought that you are the one to help him." Once the goal of conversion was attained, the new converts were expected to carry on the work in the hope of exponentially increasing the number of personal workers and, ultimately, the number of converts. Heavy pressure was brought to bear on those targeted as "convertible" by their closest friends; if necessary, Stagg, whose ability to approach individuals was considered "preeminent," could be relied on for help. In
other cases, an influential professor, like William Rainey Harper, was called in to finish the job. "Yielding" was the term given to the successful completion of those most difficult cases.²³⁴ Athletes were common targets due to their popularity and influence of the campus.²³⁵ Other groups given special attention were those students who were falling under the influence of saloon frequenters, as well as those who were "weak" or suffered from indifference and skepticism.²³⁶

Dwight Moody returned to Yale in the Spring of 1890, and the success of his visit was noted in the Graduate Committee Minutes:

During his stay and the few weeks following, forty men had taken a stand for Christ. The freedom from undue excitement throughout the whole movement and the influential character, from athletic or social position of many of those who had thus come out was a matter of special gratitude and hope.²³⁷

This account not only acknowledged the accomplishments of Moody and the individual students involved, but also recognized and expressed appreciation for the more restrained atmosphere; this was further proof that the subtle approach worked. Stagg was credited with laying the ground work for the success of Moody's visit through his emphasis on Bible Study and personal work.²³⁸ Stagg found his work extremely rewarding:

I count it...as one of the richest experiences of my life. At no time previously, nor since have I had the downright solid comfort that I did while occupying that position. The pleasure of working
with college mates whom I loved, in a work which I loved, and for a college which I loved, was simply ideal. Work in which the inspiration is love, as is the work of the General Secretary at Yale, cannot fail to be the very highest and best training because it stimulates one to the greatest effort.

Stagg's work with the Yale Association was part of the era's larger Social Gospel Movement, a movement which did not intend to change the social or economic order, but instead it called for the strong and able (and Protestant), to fulfill their duty and help those that were weak.

As popular as Dwight Hall was in the late eighties and early nineties, not all at Yale saw the campus YMCA as a benign doer of good. Although athletes were the special target of the inter-collegiate movement, at Yale only a handful beside Stagg whole-heartedly joined the crusade. William Herbert ("Pa") Corbin, captain of the '88 football squad, served as a delegate to Moody's Northfield Conference in 1887; H.F. Noyes, Stagg's successor as captain of the baseball nine, went to Northfield in 1889; Charles O. Gill, George's younger brother, was also considered an "ally for Christ." But these were the exception not the rule.

The aggressiveness with which Dwight Hall members carried out their work and recruitment on campus drew accusations of mixing politics and religion. Stagg was an active leader in the Yale YMCA when feelings ran so deep against the "Dwight Hall Machine," or the "Oligarchy," that
a feud developed between the "Dwight Hall Crowd" and the "Holy Pokers." Resentment reached a point where an entire class was divided by this "ungodly schism." In his autobiography, Stagg reconsidered the aims of the YMCA and distanced himself from its work, charging that it was "capitalizing on my athletic prowess." He remembered one of the leaders of the national YMCA encouraging him to make the time to play football while he was serving as Dwight Hall's graduate secretary: "The general secretary of the Y, Mr. Morse, a Yale man, urged me to accept on the ground that it would increase my influence as a worker."

While at Yale, though, Stagg's dedication did not waver. As his college days drew to a close, he grew more melancholy:

My! but it will be hard to leave this dear old spot - it sometimes seems to me the dearest place on earth because here I have received the greatest inspirations to noble effort and manly Christian living; here I have made my life long friendships with the noblest men; here I have gotten closer to the hearts of hundreds of grand fellows than I can ever expect to have the opportunity to do again...

Sentimentality got the better of Stagg as he exaggeratedly claimed that Yale's influence had delivered him from his dishonorable past and a miserable existence:

To think...that I, the same fellow who associated with Micks and muckers and hung around beer saloon stoops, should ever be as kindly thought of by the cream young men of our land fills me with wonder at the goodness of God. How can I ever be thankful enough to my Heavenly Father for
breaking my will and bringing me into such trustful relations to Himself."  

This was an unusual reference by Stagg to a shameful past. Later in his life, while frequently admitting his humble origins, he described himself as an observer of this kind of behavior, not a participant. Participant or no, Stagg surely was grateful to have escaped from the "micks and the muckers" and found acceptance among the "cream young men of our land." As a Yale graduate, he could not help but feel as if his life was just beginning. 244

He had all but decided to put aside his theological studies to pursue his "ministry" within the gymnasium and on the athletic field. He lacked confidence in his ability to affect behavior and attitudes from the pulpit through the powers of inspiration; when disappointed with the turnout at the Y's weekly meetings, Stagg complained to his sister: "I wish I had the power to make the boys conform to my desires." 245 He struggled to come to terms with the nature of religious leadership among college men which was so different from his experience in athletic leadership. As baseball captain matters were more clear-cut; he had the power to pick and choose who made the team, who played, and when and how often they practiced. In Stagg's work with the Y, he could not control how others behaved or believed, instead he was expected to set an example and persuade others to voluntarily follow. Faith could not be forced on his college mates. Ultimately, this pushed him to choose
coaching and teaching over church ministry. As a coach, he could enforce his own standards and decide who was in and who was out.

As Stagg prepared to leave Yale, he had his eye on the directorship of the New York YMCA, following a year's study at the Springfield School of Christian Workers. But as he finished his last exams, he grew anxious about the future and started second guessing his decision to leave Yale. He harbored insecurities over his "lack of intellectual ability." Stagg complained to his brother that he was having difficulty learning and remembering all that he wanted in order to realize his aspirations. George reassured him and recommended patience, while reminding his brother that the pressure he felt was his own: "This is true...of many ambitious, anxious men...You have a character, formed, the standard of which is not to be questioned." Stagg had completed one year in the seminary but was reluctant to return because he was leaning toward work in athletics. Several friends urged him to finish his theological course even if he wound up in a different line of work. But he had to consider his age, at 28, he felt he was too old "to lose these two years in studying along a line, which, while it would be a source of satisfaction to me to be educated in, would not materially assist me in the work I am now leaning toward." Springfield College, the "School for Christian Workers," in Massachusetts
offered him an immediate opportunity to study physical education and begin his "life's work."

The summer in between Yale and Springfield, Stagg led the athletic programs at three different college student summer schools in Northfield, Massachusetts; Chautauqua, New York; and Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, for two weeks each. This was the first summer for the Lake Geneva school which was established to accommodate the students from the western states.\(^{250}\) Prayer and play were clearly the priorities of these summer schools for Christian men; students were expected to bring their Bible, notebooks, flannel shirts and blazers, and, "athletic possessions."\(^{251}\)

Stagg's "athletic christianity" was welcome at Springfield College. Springfield began as a "School for Christian Workers" under the presidency and leadership of Reverend David Allen Reed and was officially incorporated in January of 1885. Reed was a former assistant to Dwight L. Moody during his religious revivals throughout the Northeast.\(^{252}\) The school's original facilities included a gymnasium, and all students were "expected to give attention to physical culture."\(^{253}\) From the beginning, the school maintained close ties with the Young Men's Christian Association movement, naming one of the YMCA's most prominent leaders, Robert Ross McBurney, as Vice President of the Board of Directors. Cornelius Vanderbilt was among
the many YMCA supporters who pledged considerable money to Springfield. Soon a separate department for YMCA training was established, and Jacob Titus Bowne was named to head it. The national debate within the YMCA over the legitimacy of physical education and exertion as a tool to attract members was played out among the faculty within the YMCA department, but in 1887, over the opposition of some, the school added a physical education program.

The problem of complementing physical training to YMCA ideals was resolved through the course developed at Springfield College. Prior to the program offered at Springfield, there was no educational institution where one could receive instruction in the "science" of physical education. Competent gymnasium teachers were scarce, and even fewer were Christian. Occasionally retired prize fighters or former circus acrobats served as instructors, who did not always profess the creed of the association that "Christian men should exercise because the body is the temple of the Holy Ghost." Supporters of the training program at Springfield argued that, ideally, the gymnasium superintendent should not only be a leader and an organizer but also a man "grounded in the Bible," who could lead prayer meetings or Bible classes and "work with individuals for the salvation of their souls." Nevertheless, there was great concern that promotion of the physical may not be the great evangelizer, as hoped, but instead might secular-
ize the program altogether.\textsuperscript{259}

The first director, Robert J. Roberts, a former gymnasium superintendent of the Boston YMCA, helped relieve these fears through his use of gymnastics as a means toward the useful end of health and fitness, as opposed to physical exhibition or prowess.\textsuperscript{260} The department hoped to develop "men of tested Christian character, men who have had thorough drill in Bible truth and Association work."

In addition, the two year course would include instruction in "anatomy, physiology, hygiene, physical diagnosis, elementary physics, all diseased conditions that can be governed without medicine, the inter-relations of body and mind, the philosophy of exercise, and all kindred subjects," as well as gymnasium administration:

In brief, the aim is to place Christian gymnasium superintendents in the field; men who are first Christian, then intelligent teachers; men whose object in going into the work is to serve Christ.\textsuperscript{261}

Roberts brought with him to Springfield a young Luther Halsey Gulick as his assistant and an instructor. Two years later, at the age of twenty-three, Gulick succeeded Roberts.\textsuperscript{262}

Gulick played another important role in the education of Stagg. He reaffirmed many of the principles linking the moral, physical and spiritual worlds that Stagg had learned while at Yale. Gulick was responsible for formulating a philosophy and a methodology of the physical program for
the YMCA. "Humanics" had become the official philosophy of the college and represented the coming together of the Spirit, Mind and Body. Gulick conceived the symbol of the inverted triangle, with Spirit along the top, supported by the mind and body, a trinity that his students, and eventually the school, were quick to adopt. Echoing a message similar to Henry Drummond, Gulick believed in an "energetic" religious life, like that of his image of Christ. Gulick quoted Scripture to defend his philosophy:

What authority have we for believing that this triangle idea is correct? It is scriptural...Such statements as, 'Thou shalt love the Lord Thy God with all thy heart and soul and mind and strength,'...indicate that the service of the Lord includes the whole man. The works, which in the Hebrew and Greek are translated 'strength,' refer in both cases entirely to physical strength...Then we are told that the body is a member of Christ, 1 Cor. 6: 15, 'Know we not that your bodies are the member of Christ?' -- that...[the body]...is a 'temple of the Holy Ghost,' and that it is eternal...The Young Men's Christian Association is the only great institution of the world which...is putting this belief into actual practice...All this is in line with the laws of God which we find not only in the Bible, but in science; in line with all that we are learning about man's nature, character and ultimate development, in line also with the still further perfecting of this wonderful, complete unit, the organism that God has put in our keeping.

The dualism of the mind and body had been gaining acceptance during the second half of the century, but it was Gulick who added the "soul" to this equation of interdependency. Central to his thesis was the idea of
symmetry, that man's whole being must be proportionately developed, physically, mentally, and spiritually.266

Although known as "a difficult man to work with," Gulick attracted a notable physical education faculty.267 More than anyone else, Gulick was responsible for directing Christian "boys-work" toward organized games.268 Czarist in his conduct, Gulick believed that boys needed structure and discipline and direct supervision of their activities.269 He built a strong staff made up of his own students who, like Gulick, were inspired with an "almost passionate devotion to physical education."270 Gulick wrote for the Watchman in 1888:

The chief work of the gymnasium instructor is to reach young men through the Physical Department. The spiritual work of the Association is its most prominent aim, and the one to which all others must bend. The gymnasium instructor must be an earnest soul winner, for this is his real work.271

Many of these trained physical work "secretaries" took their muscular Christianity directly to the young men they were trying to reach on the playing fields. Association physical work instructors commanded respect similar to that of a minister. As one physical educator put it: "A leader who has been instrumental in stimulating another to the highest type of manhood, has done the greatest service, and reached the highest possibility that any man ever reaches."272

Recruited by Gulick, Stagg entered Springfield with
James Naismith, the inventor of basketball, in the fall of 1890 as a "special student." Both he and Naismith were almost prevented from attending because neither aspired to becoming an Association instructor. They became good friends, attending YMCA conventions together, and Stagg tried to imitate Naismith's study habits. As one of Springfield's most famous alumni, Stagg served as a football coach, instructor, lecturer, and student during his four terms there. Hired as an instructor immediately for $350 his first term, his official status changed the following fall when he was given the title of Lecturer/Instructor. In addition, Stagg was hired to coach at Williston Academy once a week. So began his professional paid career.

With only 60 male students to choose from, Stagg was well aware of the task before him. Nevertheless, he went ahead and arranged football games with Yale, Williams, and Amherst, he hoped to do the same with Harvard. Stagg planned to draw attention to the little school through football. Upon arriving at Springfield, Stagg wrote to his sister that the games scheduled with Yale, Williams, Amherst, and Harvard, were good advertisement for a school known to few.

That first year, Springfield almost triumphed over a Yale team (Yale Consolidated which contained five members of the varsity team), at Madison Square Garden on the
occasion of the first indoor football game on December 12, 1890. The team immediately became a source of pride for the school. Following that first season, the *Triangle* felt obliged to answer those that challenged the notion of a Christian Training School sanctioning the game of football. The editorial gave a simple direct answer: Springfield played football because Stagg came to the school. The *Triangle* justified the practice of football under Stagg claiming it was "a stimulant to mental activity, as a promoter of physical courage and of moral self control." 

Despite such encouragement and enthusiasm, Stagg had his work cut out for him, and he expressed his frustrations to Pauline. It was not only the lack of material that hindered his ability to put together winning teams, but also the lack of school spirit found at older, established institutions, which encouraged players to work hard. The hardest thing, though, was losing: "I am sort of galled by the prospect of enduring defeat." Nevertheless, Stagg caught the attention of Casper Whitney, the sport's writer for *Harper's Weekly*. Whitney praised Stagg for his efficient player development:

> Here is a school that contains just forty-two boys, and yet out of these, Stagg succeeded in developing a team that make those of both Harvard and Yale play ball... these boys were taken from the very beginning and thoroughly drilled in the elements of the game and of the positions they were filling.
Whitney explained that Stagg chose the most likely candidate to fill a position and provided extensive instruction. Whitney scolded those who relied on the more customary method, at schools "rich in candidates," who put one man after another "onto the line, leaving them to grope along unaided in the most important part of their football education." Stagg devised his own approach to teaching football, "such that the dullest mind can comprehend," and was determined they would learn more than most of the Yale, Harvard, or Princeton elevens.

Stagg joined the editorial board of Gulick's publication The Triangle, where he began to formulate his own theories of managing, coaching, and training. In a brief article entitled "Winter Training for Baseball," he traced the current "demand for more scientific playing." Baseball had become the sport of American youths; its enormous popularity created intense rivalries, which prompted scientific studies by institutions looking for an edge. Yale, Harvard, and Princeton led in these studies; they had to worry about the inexperience of each entering freshman class and the graduation of their most experienced players. One of the conclusions reached was the necessity of year-round practice. Stagg concluded the article suggesting that indoor training during the winter months should concentrate on preventative conditioning exercises with pulley weights, dumb bells, and indian clubs to avoid
injuries during the season.\textsuperscript{284}

Stagg expanded his evangelical work for the YMCA at Springfield. He organized a club called the "Would be Chaunceys," for 13 to 16 year olds who wanted to develop their "storytelling power" and its "entertainment element." He continued taking extensive speaking tours, as in January of 1891, when he traveled to ten cities and towns within approximately two weeks.\textsuperscript{285} Stagg concentrated on a class of "bright boys" with bad reputations, none of whom was a Christian; Stagg tried to "win them for Jesus."\textsuperscript{286} He kept his sense of humor. When a newspaper reported that a man fainted during a YMCA address due to the large crowds, Stagg took credit for it claiming that "it was the direct effect of my lecture."\textsuperscript{287} He also spoke on secular topics like the principles of baseball.\textsuperscript{288}

Recognition of Stagg's expertise in the field of athletics began to earn him financial rewards as well. At the close of his first year at Springfield, Gulick offered him $1,200 to run the football and baseball programs and to lecture during the winter months.\textsuperscript{289} The following fall, Stagg returned to New Haven to help the Yale eleven prepare for a game against Harvard. Yale won the game, and Stagg received a "confidential" $100 from the team manager for his trouble.\textsuperscript{290}

Stagg took advantage of his growing reputation and put together a travelling lecture and slide show on "The Modern
Athlete." In it he spoke to "the benefits of all round training...the symmetrical and harmonious development of all the organs and parts of the body." This was a new departure for Stagg, and his stage fright showed: "I have no practice whatever in anything concerning the whole business. It looks like a big failure." The ease with which he spoke to boys and young men about his relationship to Jesus through stories of his athletic experiences disappeared when it came to introducing new material to an audience in the form of a lecture, even if he was still proselytizing. Prior to his presentations in New Britain and Waterbury, Stagg read his notes to the Seldons, a minister’s family he had become close to, and to James Naismith. Even Gulick himself had agreed to run the lantern for the slides.291

Stagg’s fears proved unwarranted. In Rochester, New York, Stagg spoke at a YMCA and a church to more than 3,000 people and was greeted with frequent applause. Sixteen pledged to lead a Christian life: "It was most inspiring ...God is good, very good."292 "The Pitcher Preacher," and his slide show, drew constant requests for lecture dates all the way from Rockford, Illinois, to Washington, D.C., and many places in between.293 His confidence and enthusiasm grew; within four months of expressing his reservations about lecturing on tour, Stagg determined it was an "easy" way to make $25 to $50 dollars, if one had
the time. And Stagg expected his lectures to help him even further financially in the future. 294

Stagg was amazed at the endless opportunities available to him for making money. After writing a football article for publishers A.J. Johnson & Co., they sent him a set of encyclopedias and hired him to write on the subject of baseball. Stagg only wished he could write with greater discipline because there was so much money in it. 295 Sometimes financial considerations took precedence over all else. Regretfully, Stagg informed his sister that he would not be able to attend her graduation due to an opportunity to make $25 lecturing. 296

Although Stagg enjoyed his local popularity and thought Springfield a beautiful area, he had no desire to settle there. 297 William Rainey Harper, Stagg’s former teacher and the person responsible for bringing Stagg to Chautauqua, had been named the first president of the future University of Chicago, and was making professional overtures to Stagg as early as January of 1891, if not before. 298 By December of 1891, the papers had begun to forecast Stagg’s future job prospects. 299

Circumstances at Springfield simplified Stagg’s exit. Ironically, the man who brought Stagg to Springfield to head up the football program was expressing reservations about the nature of competitive football. Gulick opposed Stagg’s "exclusionary" strategy of early and intense
specialization. Gulick questioned the "character and management" of the football program at Springfield which taught students how to play football, not how to teach the game. Within its first two years, football at Springfield, according to Gulick, had become like "most schools" whose primary goal was to, "defeat other elevens:"

...and to this end only those men were trained who had the capacity to become good players, and men were dropped just as soon as it was found out that they were not good enough to play on the first eleven.

Gulick found fault with the same practices sports writer Casper Whitney had earlier found reason to praise:

Each man was played in only one position. The idea was not that each man should learn the positions, but that each man should learn to play his own position with the greatest possible success. We thus secured an excellent eleven and made a good record in football, but the knowledge of the game through the School was not very much diffused, and the number who received the training was very limited.

While Gulick continued to praise the game of football as the most effective game or exercise "in developing genuine manly men," he was wary of the direction the organized game was taking and grew concerned over the "probability" of injury. Gulick claimed if there were another sport that could replace football "we should certainly adopt it..., but we do not know of any.""302

The individuals Stagg met during these years profoundly influenced the 30-year-old man ready to begin his professional career. At Yale, the ideas he rejected were
as important as what he retained. Drummond gave him the moral justification of varsity athletics and building on Camp's "czar principle," he would reject student management of athletics. At Springfield, Gulick gave him his first opportunity to have complete authority over the development and management of a team, albeit an inexperienced one, for more than one season. Within two years, he had proven that Springfield could compete with tradition and experience. William Rainey Harper only hoped he could do the same for the University of Chicago.
NOTES

1. Reportedly, Stagg planned to title a second autobiography, Stagg of Yale, in tribute to where he came from and where he had been a great athlete. Amos Alonzo Jr., claimed that his father had two-thirds of the book completed. In 1965, Stagg's son was quoted: "Dad and I decided that he came from Yale, where he was a great athlete, and that was the best title," Stockton Record, 18 March 1965, p. 32; Obituary Clipping, 18 March 1865, Amos Alonzo Stagg Biographical File, Young Men's Christian Association Archive, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Also see: Interview with Amos Alonzo Stagg, Jr. by Dominick Bertinetti, 22 February 1985, Stagg Special Collection, Stagg High School, Palos, Illinois. According to Stagg's son, Stagg said that any money he may have received as a result of a proposed Hollywood movie made about his life would go to Yale, not to the University of Chicago or his children. At Yale, Stagg realized his athletic potential and where he determined what his life work would be.


3. W.N. Cragin to Stagg, 8 July 1884, Box 1a, Folder 1, Amos Alonzo Stagg Papers, Special Collections, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago. Cited hereafter as AASP.

4. Stagg, Touchdown, 72.

5. Stagg, Touchdown, 50.


7. The Yale percentage from 1883-86 was 37.5 from New England, and Harvard's was 65.9: Howard Patton and W. T. Field, Eight O'Clock Chapel: A Study of New England College Life in the Eighties (Boston: Houghton Mifflin 109


10. Ibid.


14. Stagg to Pauline, 9 December 1887, Box 1, Folder 8, AASP.

15. Stagg to Pauline, 23 January 1887, Box 1, Folder 6, AASP.


17. Stagg admitted to visiting the library once in four years as an undergraduate. See Storer, *Yale Class Book 1888*, 68. Stagg was never in the first or second division, see the *Quindecennial Report*, 31.

18. "Christian Mission Constitution," Box 7, Folder 27, Religious and Missionary Groups, Christian Association, Yale University, Dwight Hall- Y.M.C.A., Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, pp. 52-53. Hereafter cited Dwight Hall Papers or DHP. Also: Stagg to Pauline, 21 September 1884, Box 1, Folder 1, AASP.


23. Gabriel, Religion and Learning, 191.


28. Clippings, 1886-1888, Box 11, Folder 47, DHP; also: Patton, Eight O'clock Chapel, 199.


31. Ibid., 173.

32. Ibid., 161. The addition of the Yale association was considered key to the legitimization of the young intercollegiate organization, see: Dwight Hall, Yale University, its Origin, Erection and Dedication (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor, Printers, 1887), 4.

33. Shedd, Two Centuries, 183.
"Christian Mission Constitution," Article II, Section I, Box 7, Folder 27, DHP, 58. If you were someone of "good moral character," you could become an associate member.


Ibid., 52-55.

Charles Gill to Amos Alonzo Stagg, July 4, 1942, unaccessioned papers (file 1-D), Stagg Special Collections, Stagg High School, Palos, Illinois. Cited hereafter as SSC.

Ralph Gabriel, Religion and Learning at Yale: The Church of Christ in the College and University, 1757-1957 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), 191. He dates the period between 1887 and World War I.


Patton, Eight O’Clock, 225.

Ibid.

Findlay, Dwight L. Moody, 346-348.

"College Student’s Summer School," The Intercollegian IX, no. 1 (January 1887): 7.

Shedd, Two Centuries, 249; and Findlay, Dwight L. Moody, 347.

Shedd, Two Centuries, 306.


Broomhall, Jubilee Story, 163-9; Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China (New York: Russell & Russell, 1929, 1967), 391; Fairbank,
Dwight L Moody, 96.; NB there are conflicting dates regarding the year Moody toured England and the meeting the Cambridge men attended.


52. Richard Morse, My Life with Young Men: Fifty Years in the Young Men's Christian Association (New York: Association Press, 1918), 336; Reynolds, "Dwight Hall," 973.


55. Ibid., 1047.

56. Dwight Hall, 27.

57. Ibid., 6.

58. Ibid., 14; Morse, My Life, 337-38; "Dwight Hall," The Intercollegian IX, no. 1 (January 1887): 4.

59. Gabriel, Religion and Learning, 191.

60. Minutes, 1881-1894, Box 2, Folder 5, DHP, 36.


63. Strong, Our Country, 217.

64. Stagg to Pauline, 30 January 1887, Box 1, Folder 6, AASP.

65. Stagg to Pauline, 8 March 1887, Box 1, Folder 6, AASP.


68. Stagg to Pauline, 26 October 1884, Box 1 Folder 1, AASP.


70. Stagg, *Touchdown*, 79.

71. Stagg, *Touchdown*, 102; excerpts kept by Amos Alonzo Stagg, *Yale News*, 16 April, 7, 21 May 1885, unaccessioned papers (three-ring binder/folder A), SSC.

72. Excerpts kept by Amos Alonzo Stagg, *Yale News*, May & June 1886, unaccessioned papers (three-ring binder/folder A), SSC. Stagg's averages for 1886 included:

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Excerpts kept by Stagg, *Yale News*, 8 October 1886, unaccessioned papers (three-ring binder/folder A), SSC.


78. Ibid., 255.

79. Ibid., 254.

81. Archibald A. Smith to Stagg, 23 May 1887, Box la, Folder 2, AASP.

82. Scrapbooks, Yale years, AASP.

83. *Yale News*, 18 April 1887, p. 1, col. 1; excerpts kept by Stagg, *Yale News*, 4, 16 April 1887, unaccessioned papers (binder/folder A), SSC.

84. Stagg’s own notes, 7 October 1887, unaccessioned papers (binder/folder A), SSC.

85. Excerpts kept by Stagg, *Yale News*, 26, 29 April 1887, unaccessioned papers (binder/folder A), SSC.

86. Stagg, *Touchdown*, 104.

87. Ibid., 105.

88. Stagg to Pauline, 8, 17 May 1887, Box 1, Folder 7, AASP. Also see Box la, Folder 2, AASP, for more correspondence regarding Stagg’s decision.

89. George Stagg to Amos Alonzo Stagg, 18 May 1887, Box 1, Folder 15, AASP.

90. Stagg to Pauline, 5 June 1887, Box 1, Folder 7, AASP.

91. Hurd, *Yale Athletics*, 98; *Yale News*, 11 March 1887, p. 2.; *Yale News*, 14 March 1887, p. 1; Patton, *Eight O’Clock*, 278. Columbia was an original member as well but withdrew after one season, leaving the triangular league.


94. Hurd, *Yale Athletics*, 98; *Yale News*, 1 July 1887, p. 5.

95. Excerpts kept by Stagg, *Yale News*, 26 October 1887, unaccessioned papers (binder/folder A), SSC.

96. Ibid., 11 January 1888.


99. Excerpts kept by Stagg, Yale News, 5 April 1888, unaccessioned papers (binder/folder A), SSC.

100. Ibid., 19 May 1888.

101. Ibid., 26 May 1888.


103. Hurd, Yale Athletics, 137.


105. Hurd, Yale Athletics, 142.

106. Ibid., 148.

107. Patton, Eight O'Clock, 278-279.

108. Bernard Steiner, compiler, Trigintennial Record: Class of 1888 Yale College Class History, vol. VII (Printed for the class, 1918), 57-58.


110. Stagg, Touchdown, 93; Stagg to Pauline, 4 November 1885, Box 1, Folder 1; 14 November 1886, Box 1, Folder 5, AASP.

111. Stagg to Pauline, 3 November 1887, Box 1, Folder 7, AASP.

112. Stagg, Touchdown, 77, 78, 80.


114. Kelley, Yale, 303.


116. Ibid.

118. Ibid., 167.


120. Stagg, Touchdown, 74.

121. Lewis Sheldon Welch and Walter Camp, Yale, her Classrooms and Athletics (Boston: L.C. Page & Co., 1899), 454-455.

122. Welch and Camp, Yale: Her Campus, 454.

123. Ibid., 455.

124. Ibid., 455-7.

125. Stagg, Touchdown, 111.

126. Stagg, Touchdown, 111. Camp acknowledged his wife's expertise as well; he dedicated his novel, Jack Hall of Yale (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1910), to her with the inscription: "To A.S.C. one who knows the game."


129. Editorial, New Englander and Yale Review IX (new), XLV (complete), (December 1886): 1053.


133. Ibid., 28.

134. Ibid., 32-33.


137. Tim Cohane, Yale Football Story (New York: Putnam, 1951), 61; also, for the effect of the lowered tackling boundary see: Hurd, Yale Athletics, 140.

138. Stagg, Touchdown, 94.

139. Stagg to Pauline, 14 January 1889, Box 1, Folder 9, AASP.

140. Stagg, Touchdown, 110-111; Cohane, Yale Football Story, 59-60.


143. Ibid.

144. Stagg, Touchdown, 112; Hurd, Yale Athletics, 134.

145. Cohane, Yale Football, 54-66; Stagg, Touchdown, 112.

146. Stagg, Touchdown, 112.

147. Ibid., 117-122; Hurd, Yale Athletics, 141-142.

148. Cohane, Yale Football, 67-68.

149. Stagg to Pauline, 4 November 1889, Box 1, Folder 10, AASP.

150. Stagg to Pauline, 18 November 1889, Box 1, Folder 10, AASP.


153. Storer, Class of 1888, 50.

155. Welch, Yale: Her Campus, 111 ff.

156. Ibid., 112.

157. Welch, Yale: Her Campus, 99-100.


161. Welch, Yale: Her Campus, 103.

162. Patton, Eight O'Clock, 216-217; Kett, Rites of Passage, 201-203.

163. Shedd, Two Centuries, 286; Phelps, Autobiography, 200.

164. Quoted in Shedd, Two Centuries, 283; also: Patton, Eight O'Clock, 220.


166. Ibid., 200.


169. Clippings, Box 11, Folder 47, DHP.


171. Stagg to Pauline, 9 October 1887, Box 1, Folder 7, AASP.

172. Ibid.; excerpts kept by Stagg, Yale News, 9 March 1888, unaccessioned papers, SSC. Stagg was no Billy Sunday, the professional baseball player who "found religion" in 1886 and is considered by many to be the greatest revivalist in American history. But their lives
held interesting parallels. They were both born in 1862, and, like Stagg, Sunday grew up poor. They were both known for their ability to play baseball, but Sunday went the professional route, an unlikely choice for Stagg who adhered to Yale's amateur code. Sunday and Stagg's baseball careers shadowed each other; Stagg played for six years at Yale from 1884-1890, and a few more at the University of Chicago, while Sunday's professional career lasted from 1883-1891. After Sunday's conversion in 1886, he continued to play ball but quit drinking, swearing, gambling, going to the theater, and refused to play on Sunday; instead, he visited local YMCAs and gave talks. Eventually, he gave up baseball altogether to devote his full attention to his Christian work. Sunday's audiences had little in common with the college and prep school students Stagg and his peers addressed. Much of Sunday's work was done in the Chicago slums; he would go into saloons, speak on street corners, and organize meetings for the down and out. He traveled across the country with evangelist J. Wilbur Chapman, eventually going off to lead his own revivals which enjoyed their greatest success between 1908 and 1918. In contrast to Sunday, Stagg and Drummond's other delegates relied on a more subtle, earnest approach, aimed at those who had not yet "fallen." See William McLoughlin, *Billy Sunday was his Real Name* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955).

173. Stagg to Pauline, 9 October 1887, Box 1, Folder 7, AASP.

174. Ibid., 23 October 1887.


176. *New York World*, 31 October 1887; Clippings, Religious and Missionary, Box 11, Folder 47, DHP.

177. See Box 1a, Folder 2, AASP, for sketchy correspondence surrounding the controversy.

178. "Religious Meetings," Minutes, 1881-1894, Box 2, Folder 5, DHP, 44.

179. Frost, "Professor Drummond," 506.

180. Ibid., 506-507.


186. *Chautauqua Assembly Herald*, 4 August 1888.


192. Stagg to Pauline, 5 August 1890, Box 1, Folder 11, AASP.

193. *Chautauqua Assembly Herald*, 12, 13, 14 August, 1889.

194. Ibid., 7 August 1890.

195. Ibid, 20 July 1892.

196. Ibid.
197. The Chautauqua Daily, 3 July 1976, p. 4-S.

198. Welch, Yale: Her Campus, 64. Also see, Graduate Committee Minutes, 27 January 1888, Box 5, Folder 18, DHP. The General Secretaries salary for that year was $750. The Graduate Committee included men who worked with the national intercollegiate organization, several of whom were also Yale graduates, i.e., James B. Reynolds, Richard C. Morse, and C. W. Goodrich. According to the dates of the minutes, they met 2-3 times per year and in various locations (New York, New Haven, and Northfield, Mass.).

199. Stagg to Pauline, 1 April 1889, Box 1, Folder 9, AASP. Stagg was paid approximately $1,000. per year.

200. Reynolds and W.L. Phelps were Stagg's predecessors, both were sports enthusiasts and kept close to the athletic model. See Phelps, Autobiography.

201. Gabriel, Religion and Learning, 197.

202. See Graduate Committee Minutes, Oct. 1888-Jun. 1890, Box 5, Folder 18, DHP.

203. Religious Meetings, Minutes, 1888-1889, Box 2, Folder 5, DHP, 58-61.


205. Scrapbook, Box 12, DHP, 19. Stagg also was referred to as the "Little Giant."

206. C.W. Barnes and W.S.G. Noyes, eds. and publs., Association Record (June 1891), 6. Stagg's successes are made all the more notable when compared to the following year when the Association is faced with several crisis: finding some one to run the mission, cut-backs in deputations, financial instability, etc. See Barnes, Association Record, 1-12; also "The Student’s Handbook," The Intercollegian XII, no. 8 (May 1890): 120-122.

207. Welch, Yale: Her Campus, 52.

208. Ibid., 183.

209. Ibid., 52.

210. Ibid., 54.

211. Ibid.
212. Ibid., 55.

213. Graduate Committee Minutes, 3 July 1888, Box 5, Folder 18, DHP.

214. Excerpts kept by Stagg, Yale News, 7 October, 26 September 1889, unaccessioned papers, SSC.

215. Graduate Committee Minutes, 1 February 1889, Box 5, Folder 18, DHP.

216. Excerpts kept by Stagg, Yale News, 24 October 1889, unaccessioned papers, SSC; Graduate Committee Minutes, 15 February 1890, Box 5, Folder 18, DHP.

217. Stagg to Pauline, 31 May 1889, Box 1, Folder 9, AASP.

218. Stagg to Pauline, 26 September 1889, Box 1, Folder 10, AASP. He did find time, though, to form a singing quartet.

219. Stagg to Pauline, 7 October 1889, Box 1, Folder 10, AASP.

220. Stagg to Pauline, 26 September 1889, Box 1, Folder 10, AASP.

221. Excerpts kept by Stagg, Yale News, 25 February, 27 March, 22 May, 3 June, 21 October, 11 November 1889, unaccessioned papers, SSC; Stagg to Pauline, 10 or 19 February, 8 December 1889, 9 February 1890, Box 1, Folder 10, AASP.

222. Stagg to Pauline, 22 April 1888, Box 1, Folder 8, AASP; Stagg credited with founding the mission in Gabriel, Religion and Learning, 202.


224. Minutes, Box 2, Folder 5, DHP, 70.

225. Barnes, Association Record, 15.

226. Much of this information was obtained from a report on the year after Stagg had left Yale. See Barnes, Association Record, 15-18. Also see Graduate Committee Minutes, Box 5, Folder 18, DHP; and Shedd, Two Centuries, 286.
227. "Easter Sunday Evening at Hampton," Southern Workman, May 1886. Most likely, the year is wrong; the correct year is probably 1886.

228. Stagg to Pauline, 4 November 1889, 1 February 1890, Box 1, Folder 10, AASP.

229. Stagg to Pauline, 1 February 1890, Box 1, Folder 10, AASP.

230. Ibid.

231. Annual Report of the Y.M.C.A., 11 March 1890, Box 12, DHP, 2. Also, letter from Robert Morse, 3 April 1890, Box 11, Folder 49, DHP. Also see Amos Alonzo Stagg, "A Yale Reminiscence," The Intercollegian XXI, no. 5, (February 1889): 108. NB There is a discrepancy in the size of the groups and the number of conversions between the Annual Report and numbers given in Morse's letter. In the annual report groups estimated at 6-7, in Morse, 10-12. Both approximate the numbers involved in 1890 at about 160. Also see: Graduate Committee Minutes, Oct. 1888 - June 1890, Box 5, Folder 18, DHP.


233. Ibid.

234. Letter from Robert Morse, 3 April 1890, Box 11, Folder 49, DHP; also see Morse, My Life, 358.

235. Ibid.


237. Graduate Committee Minutes, 28 April 1890, Box 5, Folder 18, DHP.

238. Ibid.


241. Welch, Yale: Her Campus, 61.

243. Stagg to Pauline, 8 March 1890, Box 1, Folder 11, AASP.

244. Ibid.

245. Stagg to Pauline, 11 November 1888, Box 1, Folder 8, AASP.

246. Stagg to Pauline, 8 March 1890, Box 1, Folder 11, AASP.

247. Stagg to Pauline, 8 March 1890, Box 1, Folder 11, AASP.

248. Stagg to George Stagg, 2 February 1890, Box 1, Folder 15, AASP.

249. Stagg to Pauline, 11 May 1890, Box 1, Folder 11, AASP.

250. "College Student's Summer Schools," The Intercollegian XII, no. 7 (April 1890): 105-6.

251. Ibid., 107.


254. Garvey, Family Album, 11, 13, 16.

255. In 1890, the YMCA training school was separately incorporated from the "School for Christian Workers," but students continued to attend classes on both campuses. In 1894 the School for Christian Workers became the Bible Normal College, Garvey, Family Album, 20.


258. Ibid.

259. Ibid.


266. Ibid.

267. Garvey, *Family Album*, 16, 23; Stagg to Pauline, 2 March 1890, Box 1, Folder 12, AASP.


269. Ibid., 204.


275. Stagg to Pauline, 2 November 1890, Box 1, Folder 11; 19 January 1891, Box 1, Folder 12; 2 March 1891, Box 1, Folder 12, AASP.

276. Stagg to Pauline, 5 October 1890, Box 1, File 11, AASP; Amos Alonzo Stagg, Alumni File, Alumni Relations Office, Springfield College. Stagg received an honorary Master's in Physical Education in 1912.
277. Stagg to Pauline, 5 October 1890, Box 1, Folder 11, AASP.

278. Stagg to Pauline, 19 December 1890, Box 1, Folder 11, AASP; "The 'Stubby Christians,'" The College at Springfield Bulletin (November 1931): 6; Ron Newsome, "Amos Alonzo Stagg: His Football Coaching Career at the University of Chicago" (Ph.D. diss., East Texas State, August 1988), 41.


280. Stagg to Pauline, 15 April 1891, Box 1, Folder 13, AASP.


282. Stagg to Pauline, 21 April 1892, Box 1, Folder 14, AASP.

283. From vol. 1, no.s 1-4 (1891).


285. Stagg to Pauline, 13 January 1891, Box 1, Folder 12, AASP.

286. Stagg to Pauline, 19 January 1891, Box 1, Folder 12, AASP.

287. Stagg to Pauline, 13 January 1891, Box 1, Folder 12, AASP.

288. Stagg to Pauline, 2 February 1891, Box 1, Folder 12, AASP.

289. Stagg to Pauline, 2 March 1891, Box 1, Folder 12, AASP.

290. Stagg to Pauline, 17, 23 November 1891, Box 1, Folder 13, AASP.

291. Stagg to Pauline, 5 December 1891, Box 1, Folder 13, AASP.

292. Stagg to Pauline, 8, 15 February 1892, Box 1, Folder 14, AASP; International Association Training School Notes 1, no. 2 (March 1892): 9.
293. Stagg to Pauline, 15 February, 15 March 1892, Box 1, Folder 14, AASP.

294. Ibid., 22 March 1892.

295. Ibid., 27 April 1892.

296. Ibid., 31 May, June 1892.

297. Stagg to Pauline, 2 June 1891, Box 1, Folder 13, AASP.

298. Stagg to Pauline, 13,19 January 1891, Box 1, Folder 12, AASP.

299. Stagg to Pauline, 2 December 1891, Box 1, Folder 13, AASP.


301. Ibid. After Stagg left Springfield, adjustments were made to expand the number of teams to give more of the students a chance to learn the game. This approach was facilitated by an increase in the numbers attending the Training School.

Stagg left Springfield a trained physical educator ready to take on many of the problems facing modern society. He believed adult directed programs of fitness and athletics reversed the negative effects of urban living. According to Stagg, the lure of the city and the desire for "luxury and zeal for money" sapped the strength and health of the country.¹ Parents failed to instill proper values and behavior in their children. The solution? A new profession of physical educators who could provide America's youth with moral guidance and discipline inspired by Christianity.² Stagg drew from personal experience and based his convictions on the values he inherited from Dwight Moody, Josiah Strong, Walter Camp, Henry Drummond and Luther Gulick. Just as these men gave him direction, Stagg wanted to lead others. But he would not follow his "Christian calling" to a YMCA gymnasium in urban America, as many of his fellow students at Springfield did, he needed a college campus to preach his gospel of football.

William Rainey Harper, the future President of the
University of Chicago, was the first to offer Stagg the opportunity to create and direct an athletic and fitness program. After many months of negotiations, Harper convinced Stagg that the University of Chicago afforded the greatest opportunity and freedom to implement a comprehensive plan of physical culture for college men. In 1890, William Rainey Harper set out to create, with the financial backing of John D. Rockefeller and the Baptist community, an "instant" university. As the designated president of the future university, Harper wanted a distinguished academic faculty immediately to attract a student body and achieve respectability. He had no time to waste earning legitimacy gradually, his faculty would come to Chicago with their credentials and reputations in hand. But Harper's vision was not limited to academic considerations, and long before he officially committed himself to the presidency, or finished shopping for his future department heads and professors, he determined that the new university could also draw attention to itself through a prominent athletics program. In Harper's judgment, only one individual could invent Chicago athletics, the famous former Yale athlete and celebrated Springfield College coach, Amos Alonzo Stagg. Harper, the "'P.T. Barnum of education,'" enthusiastically encouraged Stagg "to develop teams which we can send around the country and knock out all the colleges." As an
incentive he promised: "We will give them a palace car and a vacation too."\(^5\)

Harper had firsthand knowledge of Stagg's talents as well as his character. Beginning at Yale, then Chautauqua, and finally the University of Chicago, for almost two decades the paths of Harper and Stagg intersected, overlapped, and, for the last thirteen years of Harper's life, coincided. Both men were committed to the ideal that physical health was vital to the development of a human being; the mind needed a healthy body. To Harper and Stagg, physical exercise and conditioning were an integral part of the university experience that was necessary for growth and part of the preparation for life outside a university environment. A deep commitment to Christianity was another thread that tied these two men together.

Hoping to become a minister, Stagg arrived at Yale and studied under the popular, young professor who "revolutionized the study of the Bible in America."\(^6\) Both were actively involved in Dwight Hall, while Stagg was off on one of his frequent speaking engagements, Harper could be found addressing a weekly Sunday Evening meeting or leading the Sunday Bible classes.\(^7\) In addition, Harper recruited Stagg for the summer Chautauqua Institute in New York State.

The way in which Stagg arrived at the university of Chicago has been so romanticized that it has taken on
mythical proportions. One common version tells of Stagg's inspired acceptance of Harper's invitation to be a part of the Chicago mission "after much thought and prayer." Stagg, himself, remembered deciding to accept the position at Chicago after one meeting with Harper at the Murray Hotel in New York. He recalled that Harper interpreted an initial awkward silence as hesitancy and kept upping the offer, finally reaching an associate professorship and an annual salary of $2,500.

These popular accounts imply that Stagg recognized and immediately embraced Harper's vision of the role of athletics at this new western institution. Nothing could be farther from the truth. In reality, Harper had considerable difficulty in securing Stagg's acceptance. Stagg was a shrewd negotiator; he continually used offers from other schools like the University of Pennsylvania and Harvard as leverage to better his position at Chicago. At one point, reportedly, he accepted a position at Yale. Stagg questioned Harper's ability to deliver on his promises of equipment, personnel, time, and facilities (a justifiable position as later discovered) and expressed reservations about Harper's commitment to athletics.

On the other hand, Harper, once he was tapped for the Chicago presidency, made it clear he wanted the famous Muscular Christian at the new institution. Within one month of Stagg's arrival at Springfield in Harper wrote to
request a meeting, "regarding an important matter." In November of that year, he offered Stagg a position at the new university to be built in Chicago. Initially, Stagg accepted Harper's offer in a letter that included the often quoted line: "After much thought and prayer I feel decided that my life can be best used for my Master's service in the position which you have offered." Immediately, though, Stagg had second thoughts and doubted Harper's support of the future coach's ambitions. Harper quickly reassured him that athletics were indeed a mutual concern: "I believe...that you and I can do in Chicago an immense work for the cause we have so much at heart." From the beginning it was evident that Harper intended that Stagg would be in charge of the athletic interests of the university, but it took Harper several months from the initial invitation to offer Stagg the position of Director of Physical Culture, possibly to match a similar title promised by Johns Hopkins. Harper implored Stagg "to stand firm for Chicago." Once Stagg's appointment was approved by the university, Harper told him to begin plans for the school's gymnasium saying: "Remember, you are planning your home." But Harper's reassurances, the elevated title, and the new gymnasium were still not enough to convince Stagg that Chicago was the place to implement his program of "winning athletes for Christ," so in February he set up a meeting with Harper specifically to
discuss the president’s commitment to his athletic program.¹⁵

Nine months later, it was reported that Stagg had accepted an offer from Yale. Harper and Stagg wrote to each other on the same day; Harper appealing to Stagg’s duty to fulfill his commitment to Chicago and Stagg expressing second thoughts in the wake of other offers, including Yale’s, of desirable positions with greater salaries.¹⁶ Stagg described Yale’s attractive offer for Harper. He would be head of the Physical Culture Department, receive a salary of up to $2,500 and have charge of a beautiful gymnasium. Yale was familiar to Stagg, he built his reputation there and still knew most of the boys he would work with. He asked Harper: "As one interested in my making the most of my life, does not your unbiased judgement concur with that of all with whom I have spoken that my opportunities are greater and the arrangements more satisfactory at either Yale or the University of Pennsylvania?"¹⁷

But Harper was determined to bring Stagg to Chicago. Among the practical considerations were Stagg’s familiarity, his athletic skill, and his Christian background.¹⁸ In addition, Harper counted on the attention and advertisement that would surround Stagg’s appointment. Not only a former college great, Stagg was also one of the early "specialists" in the new field of physical culture, trained
at Springfield College. Stagg would give the University of Chicago, the first full-time, recognized expert in athletics in a tenured position. As an avowed Christian interested in the moral use of athletics, Stagg was less likely to attract criticism of those in favor of athletic reform from within and without the university. In the end, Harper got what he wanted; he held Stagg to his word, and the appointment received more press than any other at the new university.¹⁹

In January of 1892, the Board of Trustees elected Stagg Director of the Department of Physical Culture at a salary of $2,500.²⁰ But Stagg clearly felt Harper owed him. For the next six months, Stagg solicited further assurances from Harper as to the agreed conditions, i.e., assistants, time to study, equipment, timely completion of facilities:

I demand the right to certain privileges as set forth in the Bulletins and as promised by you...You will remember that I accepted the position once and for all after talking over the matter and having these conditions met by your promise.²¹

Stagg reiterated his need for two, not one, assistants and complained about the meager allowance for additional department hiring, writing to Harper: "I expect you to back me up and get a larger appropriation for salaries in my department."²² Of particular importance was the construction of the gymnasium:

I feel that I can not impress upon you too
strongly the absolute necessity of having a well equipped gymnasium. The more I think it over, the more deeply does it take hold upon me that we must have a gymnasium.

According to Stagg, a gymnasium could "prove to the world that college students can go through the year's study and come out stronger and in better health than when they started." He revised his "wish-list" for the gymnasium throughout the spring and summer, imploring Harper not to come down from the initial $200,000 pledged to its construction. His plans were extensive and included handball courts, areas for baseball and track and field events. Stagg even designated a separate exercise room for the faculty so they would not be embarrassed, as he added: "Backward boys might also go here until they gained some courage and skill."

Stagg campaigned for prior approval of his recommendations for the remaining faculty within his department and began a habit of ignoring standard procedures in order to get his way. Determined to secure James Raycroft, a talented athlete and member of the undergraduate class of 1893, as a student assistant, he instructed President Harper: "You will have to get the sanction of the board to the appointment of J. E. Raycroft on a salary of $600. I made him that offer and it was accepted. You said nothing about preliminary action by the Board and so I settled up the affair myself." He flatly rejected the university's candidates to head the women's division claiming they were
unqualified. Stagg wanted a woman physician and responded to one recommendation sarcastically: "Our aim is to keep the girls from getting sick," not to treat them once they were sick. Eventually, Stagg's choices were approved. Dr. Alice Foster headed the women's work and James Raycroft and Horace Butterworth were hired as assistants.

While the correspondence between Harper and Stagg contradicts popular lore, the letters also demonstrate how important Stagg's presence was to Chicago. Harper acquired the rest of the notable faculty almost a year or more after Stagg's initial agreement. Many of the negotiations that took place between Harper and Stagg occurred before Harper formally accepted the position of President of the University of Chicago. In fact, the University Senate's approval of Stagg's appointment came several months before Harper officially accepted the presidency in July of 1891. Harper's initial ambivalence about taking the responsibility of founding a new university is recognized in several institutional histories, and while it might be a stretch to argue that Stagg's participation was a prerequisite for Harper's commitment, Stagg was integral to Harper's grand design.

As important as Stagg was, he did not always get his way and was often disappointed and frustrated. Harper involved himself in almost every detail of athletics, and Stagg often resented his close supervision. The "home"
Harper had told him to plan, Chicago's gymnasium, would not be built for almost a dozen years. Until then he used a building with cracked walls, rotten floors, and a leaky roof, with enough rats and mice "to keep our biological laboratories in specimens." More personally, Harper strongly opposed Stagg's marriage in 1894 and threatened to terminate Stagg's employment. Predictably, there were frequent conflicts between the two men over finances. Initially, Stagg fought to secure monies to staff and supply his department, but, as the department realized a surplus of funds, the issue became one of control over collections and expenditures.

Their was a working relationship. Although they often expressed their admiration for each other, they did not socialize or share interests outside of university athletics. Stagg kept to himself. He felt outside of and intimidated by the intellectual university community. Consequently, his life revolved around the department, the young men who played for him, and, eventually, his family. Nevertheless, Stagg would often call upon the grand alliance he shared with Harper, even after the president's death in 1906. Whenever opposition to athletics intensified, Stagg evoked the dead president's memory, claiming that Harper's vision for athletics at the University was the same as his own. There was truth to Stagg's claim. Harper frequently wanted to do more for
Stagg, but financial restraints hampered him. In reality, Harper, like all of his successors, spent a great deal of time trying to rein in Stagg, forcing him to work within the existing university structure. More importantly, while Harper respected Stagg's character and ability, he eventually supported the coming reformation of football early in the twentieth century. Stagg's position on the excesses and abuses of the game of football were less clear. Harper's illness and premature death, which coincided with the new century's demand to reform or eliminate football, obscured his association with the reform movement nationally and at Chicago. Had he lived, the "grand alliance" would have been severely challenged.

* * *

Opened in October of 1892, with its young, entrepreneurial President, William Rainey Harper, the University of Chicago attempted many innovations in higher education, borrowing or adapting several of them from another of Harper's affiliations, the Chautauqua Institute in western New York. The policy statement of the Board of Trustees for the Baptist university called for the establishment of associated Academies (Morgan Park); the Colleges (Liberal Arts, Sciences, Literature, Practical Arts, etc.); the Graduate and Divinity Schools, and eventually Law and Medicine; the Extension School; and the University of Chicago Press. Under the President served
the Examiner, Recorder, and Registrar, then the Deans, and Heads of Departments, and, finally, Lecturers and Teachers. The Board of Trustees determined the powers of the faculty and approved expenditures.33

The new university also sanctioned and incorporated physical education within its mission. President Harper made this clear when he announced that Amos Alonzo Stagg would be the school's first Director of Physical Culture and Athletics, a tenured position. This precedent showed the importance of the position and avoided the appearance of a coach having to win in order to keep his job; it also marked the formal beginning of professional coaching as sanctioned by a university administration.34 Physical culture and athletics became a distinct department with its own faculty and course requirements. Harper and Stagg sought to integrate athletics within academics, significantly departing from the traditional approach to higher education.

Stagg was proud of the unique role physical culture and athletics played at Chicago. Theoretically, the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics was on par with every other major department within the university.35 As the department's director, Stagg was a tenured faculty member with professional rank as well as the head football coach, his win-loss record did not affect his job security.36 His model combined all physical activities in
a single department; all department staff, excluding some of Stagg's assistants, were members of the faculty, and only department members, not alumni or outside coaches, could run the athletic teams. Significantly, student involvement was absent from the entire scheme.

Chicago did not wait for students to organize athletic teams or clubs, as was the experience on other campuses; instead, the system was in place upon their arrival. Stagg opposed any and all independent action by students in athletics, both inter-collegiate and intramural, or in fraternal organizations. Faculty control was the most heavily touted aspect of Chicago's new departure. President Harper admitted the paternalism of the Chicago system: "Here, more than anywhere else, paternalism may be said to have existed. The University did not wait for the students to organize." He argued that the poor record of student run athletics had necessitated faculty control, and he pointed out that students did not manage any of the other university departments. Predictably, many students resented their unique exclusion from athletic management among the country's colleges and universities. This would become a long running debate between the advocates of student representation and Stagg, which was played out in the student newspaper, The Chicago Weekly.

The rejection of student run athletics implied that Stagg rejected the system at Yale that produced him. On
the contrary, Stagg tried to recreate his Yale experience as captain of the baseball nine, where, as he put it, you were "answerable to no one."41 This time around, though, Stagg planned to centralize authority and become captain of all the teams. His program at the University of Chicago was a unique integration of what he learned and experienced at both Yale and Springfield. The Yale captaincy provided the model for his position as Director of Athletics and Luther Gulick for Stagg's role as Director of Physical Culture; Springfield's triumvirate mission that embraced the body, mind and soul, supplied the academic justification. With Harper's blessing and almost complete freedom to do as he pleased, Stagg set out to implement his program.

The key to Stagg's claim that the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics was equal to any other was the graduation requirement in Physical Culture. Among western institutions, the University of Chicago was the first to incorporate such a requirement into its "General Regulations" that governed the university.42 All students were to have a physical exam upon entering the university and receive a physician's certificate. Without this certificate a student could be prohibited from continuing his or her study. According to the regulations, athletics would not monopolize the director's time:

The director of the department of physical education will give his personal attention, not
only to organization and training of athletic teams, and to the general athletic interests of the student, but especially to the physical training of each student, in so far as practicable.

Construction of the gymnasium had not yet begun and Stagg worried about conducting compulsory exercise and gymnastics under less than satisfactory conditions; no bathing or changing accommodations were available. On the other hand, if the university waited until the completion of the proper facility before making compulsory exercise part of the curriculum, they would certainly increase the likelihood of student opposition, therefore, Stagg determined that it would be best if the physical culture requirement was part of the original university curriculum.

Three weeks into the first term, compulsory work began. Weather and space permitting, three days per week, the men trained on an open lot learning football formations. Once the temporary gymnasium opened in November of that first year, the exercise requirement rose to four classes per week, thirty minutes per class. Typical exercise classes included gymnastics, calisthenics and free movement (i.e., "Swedish movements," pulley weights, dumbbells, bar bells, and iron wands). The original physical culture requirement called for a total of ten quarters of work, six during the first two Junior College years and four during the Senior College (Chicago's calendar was
based on the quarter system). These requirements were particularly valuable to a new coach in need of players. Stagg purposely used the requirement as a means to discover and develop potential athletes on a year-round basis.

He went so far as to teach football plays in many of the required exercise classes to get the college men interested in football.

Stagg believed that Chicago's plan for work in physical culture and athletics was far in advance of any other in organization and scope, and quality of work. He could not find another example where one department contained both physical culture work and athletics, and only a few institutions required work in physical culture. Stagg explained that it made sense to combine physical culture, often referred to as gymnastics, and athletics in the same department because they worked together to achieve the same goals. Students, with a few exceptions, were free to choose courses in either athletics or gymnastics. Gymnastics helped advance the athletic interests of the university by uncovering "valuable material" for the athletic teams. Because physical culture and athletics were under the same roof, there was no friction between the two, as was the case in many other institutions.

Underlying these very practical strategies was a basic philosophy that Harper and Stagg shared. Both believed
physical exertion was part of the essential training for life and necessary for a proper university education. The president could be found bicycling as his assistant walked along taking notes. As one faculty member observed: "It was in the Chicago spirit to combine recreation and work, to make every minute count." In an address to students, Stagg explained that the president of the university and the trustees agreed that compulsory exercise was necessary to meet the great demands that studying made on the body. While compulsory chapel could not change the attitude of the mind and heart, he noted, compulsory exercise, through its physical benefits, could improve one's health and intelligence:

This university believes that the best results from a university education can be attained only by giving attention to physical training in conjunction with the intellectual. It has established this as a basic principle of its training.

Since there was less opportunity for organized physical activity during the summer term, Harper asked Stagg to make a special address to those students. Suggesting bicycling and rowing, Stagg stressed daily exercise: "We beg you, we beseech you, we supplicate you to exercise yourselves into health in order that you may have abundant life while here and a more abundant one when you leave."

Aside from the lofty aims and rationale, implementation was problematic from the start. First year students in the Academic (Junior) College deferred taking their
physically culture courses as long as possible, using the two "free" quarters immediately, at the beginning of their course.\textsuperscript{56} This irritated Stagg because it interfered with and delayed his ability to spot potential athletic talent. Even though the physical culture graduation requirement was the "largest departmental requisite in the College,"\textsuperscript{57} the Department of Physical Culture lacked the power to enforce compliance.

In March of 1893, the Board of Physical Culture and Athletics was created to oversee and advise department policies.\textsuperscript{58} A body composed of faculty members appointed by the president, the board at first focused on the physical culture goals of the department. Enforcement of the requirement was slippery because no actual credit hours were given for physical culture. In other words, while a student was expected to take 10 quarters of physical work, none of those hours applied toward the 36 majors necessary for graduation. At first, there was no penalty for absences and no means by which to determine when, if ever, the student fulfilled the "requirement." One of the board's first acts was to "announce definitely" that "the requirements for graduation shall be 36 majors and ten quarters' work in Physical Culture." To discourage those wishing to indefinitely postpone their physical culture work, six of the ten quarters had to be completed before a student's could transfer from the academic college to the
university. Later, another regulation passed that prevented a student with excessive absences from continuing their university work at Chicago. Even after these actions, the Board of Physical Culture and Athletics had no real power to enforce the requirement on the student body. Stagg, a permanent board member, argued to make physical culture a "required minor" for which a student would receive credit toward graduation. Only then, Stagg believed, would physical culture be given the respect it deserved. He admitted: "We are not an integral part of the educational system of the University. We should be because of the close relationship existing between the mind and the body." 

One of the major events for the department during Harper's administration was the completion of the new gymnasium. Several years earlier, a Chicago man pledged to donate between $125,000 and $150,000 for construction of a gymnasium as a memorial to his son who had recently died. Within a year $210,000 had been raised for the gym. Initially, Harper solicited Stagg's ideas for the new physical culture building, but early in 1903, Harper asked that Stagg quit suggesting modifications or it would never be finished. 

Anticipation of the new building inspired plans to reorganize and expand the breadth of the department's work and influence. Harper directed Stagg to address several
problems in his reorganization. According to Harper, the "average" student had been neglected by the administration's favoring of athletics, which only benefitted the few. Military work had to be either enhanced or dropped. Again, Harper wanted greater attention paid to athletics in the elementary and secondary schools and the establishment of an interscholastic meet. In addition, he wanted Stagg to develop physical culture and hygiene programs for the school of education and the medical and divinity students.\textsuperscript{65}

Stagg determined that the department would be divided into three sections: \textit{physical culture}, for those men not in athletics or military training and the women's division; \textit{athletics}, for athletic training and sport courses, intercollegiate teams, and the athletic work of secondary schools connected with the university; and finally, \textit{gymnastics}, the least defined of the three sections, for the "development of higher forms of gymnastic work in the University," and to develop the groundwork on the secondary school level.\textsuperscript{66} Each division would have its own "superintendent," Dr. James Raycroft would head physical culture, Mr. Butterworth, gymnastics (and management of athletic teams), and Stagg would continue as director of the department as well as Superintendent of Athletics.\textsuperscript{67}

In addition, Stagg began to lobby for the recognition
of proficiency in gymnastics by the university. Stagg sincerely believed in the legitimacy of his expectation to one day grant degrees in the management of gymnastics. Without influential support, Stagg’s recommendation was ignored. While the university accepted physical culture and athletics as an appropriate area of education and experience for the student, the institution was not willing to treat the work of Stagg’s department as a serious field of study and scholarship.

Stagg helped dedicate the Frank Dickinson Bartlett gymnasium on January 29, 1904. The first draft of Stagg's speech dwelled on the disastrous condition of the old gym:

"Few buildings have had the sorrows of our old Gym. Students have cursed it. The Faculty have abhorred it...Everybody united in calling it a 'blot upon the landscape'...Sunken and buried to its window sills, with cracked walls and rotten floors...with leaky roof...with rats and mice sufficient to keep our biological laboratories in specimens...Whether by the mute appeal of this woeful existence or by the prayers of the many sons and daughters who have suffered during the past eight long years, the pitying heart of Heaven had at last sent us deliverance. Moses has come. The promised land is at hand!"

Stagg decided that focusing on the shortcoming of the physical culture facilities over the past eight years was inappropriate at the dedication of the new building. The final version of his speech briefly acknowledged "the wrong in the shape of a gymnasium which this university has been perpetuating on its student is no more." Promising not to dwell on the old, instead, Stagg spoke of the new structure
as a "palace," "a perfect dream of a gymnasium, the best in the world." He emphasized the regenerative force of the building as a "health producer" and "body builder:"

It is a place to throw off care as well as the poisons of the body, for diverting mental blockades, for storing up new strength, for recuperating wasted forces.

The gymnasium, Stagg believed, was a disseminator of traditional American values:

This building will stand for equality and democracy and sociability...Men's best efforts do not spring forth when they are in a low condition of physical health...Raise the standard of health and you will raise the quality and widen the breadth of achievement.

Stagg continued to expand the scope of the department's work. Toward the end of Harper's tenure, he decided to shift the focus away from the health of the student while at the university, to training students in activities that will be useful to them once they have left the university, featuring recreation such as "swimming, tennis, golf, bicycling, horseback riding, bowling and rowing." Harper liked the plan but told Stagg to wait until budget appropriations could be made.

Even though Stagg continued to fight for and protect the physical culture requirement throughout his tenure at Chicago, he devoted most of his time to athletics, particularly football. In Stagg's opinion, athletics clearly eclipsed physical exercises carried out in a gymnasium:
Gymnastics have not the same nor equal incentive for their practice as athletics. They do not possess the element of play and of sport...the idea of team work in its varied and component parts...Athletics are a natural means for development, gymnastics are artificial...Athletics attains better results because conducted very largely in the open air and because recreative and enlivening. Gymnastics are practiced under poorer hygienic conditions because the exercise is often taken in a vitiated atmosphere.

Practically speaking, physical culture and gymnastics were a poor substitute for the real thing.

Stagg taught courses on hygiene, gymnasium instruction, and athletic skills, but coaching remained his true calling. Author Robert Morss Lovett, a contemporary at Chicago who taught English and served as a dean, described the proclivity toward athletics among Stagg and his allies. Although the coach lectured, wrote Lovett,

...on the history of athletics from the Greeks and Persians onward. Stagg’s heart was not with the Greeks but with his football team. So were the hearts of many of his colleagues. Business interests soon identified athletic success of the university with the dignity of the metropolis. Alumni, when there were any, became as fanatical as those of Princeton or Yale.

Stagg anticipated and planned Chicago’s greatness:

If Chicago University places a team in the field it must be a winning team or one which will bring honor to the University. I don’t propose to encourage any team from the University contesting with Ann Arbor, Northwestern, or any other rival without its having been well trained.

Stagg intended to initiate a unique year round program to develop players. Training throughout the year, he argued, would be less demanding on student’s time and studies than
the typical approach of a Harvard or Yale who "crowd their
training into so short time that in order to perfect their
teams, they have to ask for a great deal of time from the
players. I believe that this system will not only produce
better teams but will also make better scholars." Key
to his plan was the new gymnasium which provided training
space during the winter months.77

Soon after his arrival, Stagg co-authored A Scientific
and Practical Treatise on American Football. Published in
1894, he used his expertise to approach the game of
football rationally. Stagg recommended filling positions
with "specialists" with specific assignments. He dissected
the game and gave the reader a formula for success.78 He
also showed explained why he loved the game. Football
offered coaches opportunities and challenges not present in
other sports: "To get eleven men to use their individual
strength, agility, and speed, their wit, judgment, and
courage, first in individual capacity, then working with
one or two companion players, then as eleven men working as
one, is a magnificent feat in organization and general­
ship."79 Stagg included some of his own and inherited
"football axioms": "Never under any circumstances talk
about your hurts and bruises," "When thrown hard always get
up as if not hurt in the slightest," "When coached upon the
field never under any circumstances answer back or make any
excuses," "Never converse with an opponent during the
game," "Try to make a touch-down during the first two minutes of the game," "Never under any circumstances give up because the other side seems to be superior. They may weaken at any moment," and, "Do not be contented with a superficial reading on football, but study it carefully, if you would master it."80

The start of his new career as head football coach began much as it did at Springfield, in frustration. After investing a great deal of time in preparation for team training, only six "fellows" came out: "I am taxed to my utmost limit in arousing enthusiasm."81 In the early years, Stagg filled any vacancy that appeared, playing a variety of positions, including quarterback, and refereeing.82 He hoped that "school spirit" at Chicago would revolve around the football team, and he strove to create at Chicago the college spirit he had found and loved at Yale, but he was disheartened. Newly founded, Chicago had no tradition, collegiate sports were not organized in response to student interest and demand but instituted as one of the many "services" offered by the university, therefore, it would take time for students to identify with and become loyal to their team.

During the second football season of 1893, the student newspaper echoed Stagg's call for greater interest, encouraging students to inspire others with own "college spirit, attend games, and even suit up and give the team
practice! If students followed these suggestions, claimed the author, Coach Stagg would have the opportunity to display his ability and select the best "and not be compelled to take men because they are the only ones available." Noting the slight attendance at the previous years games, that week's editorial charged the students with maintaining the name athletics had already generated for the university in just one year. The *Weekly* recommended the establishment of an athletic organization in which all students could become members and have a voice. While Stagg must have appreciated the call for support, he did not welcome the paper's solution. To Stagg, increased student interest meant increased attendance, not their participation in the administration of athletics.

The *Chicago Weekly* continued its call for the establishment of a student athletic association. An editorial proposed a reorganization of athletics at Chicago along the lines of athletic organization at other prominent universities. The paper envisioned an advisory board of three or four faculty members, along with student officers and student committees for each sport; in addition, elected student managers for each sport would arrange team schedules, conduct the training table, etc. The entire board of officers would take responsibility for the control of finances. As the second season continued, the
student paper's criticism of the management of athletics at Chicago broadened: the team was "listless," there were not enough players, more practice was needed, strategies were outdated. The Weekly blamed low attendance at a game against Lake Forest on the "athletic management" who decided ticket prices. Fifty cents per ticket was too expensive for most students, and, the editorial reasoned, it was better to have increased attendance at a lower rate. A letter to the editor asked for either a reduction in ticket price or an improvement in the level of entertainment. A struggling football team could not hope to compete with the attractions of the big city, especially with the Columbian Exposition of 1893 in its backyard.

Only one week later, "A Glorious Victory," over Michigan turned student support around. Neither Stagg's own crusade nor the urging of the Chicago Weekly could accomplish as much as the simple taste of a 10-6 victory. Chicago football gave birth to "College Spirit" on the 21st of October in 1893, marking the first anniversary of the young university with an athletic victory. Gratified, the Weekly reported every aspect of the event from start to finish: "It was brain against brawn...and the brain with its skill and science won the struggle," proclaimed the paper. Leadership was the key: the "daily drills" of Coach Stagg and quarterback Raycroft's "generalship"
commanded the team to victory. Six hundred turned out for the contest, including President Harper, Dean Judson, and Secretary Goodspeed. According to the paper, Secretary Goodspeed remarked to President Harper: "'We will have a college here soon if this keeps up.'"

The Weekly declared that the win gave the university what it needed most: "a reputation." One student was so aroused by the triumph, he attempted to put his feelings to verse:

From My Window Seat

In the distance I see approaching a remarkable looking object, man or animal, I know not which...As it approaches nearer I can see that it is not a Midway freak, not an animal, but one of our own beloved foot-ball men...I leave my open window with all its intoxicating pleasures...I give up a day at the fair with its wealth of ancient treasures of art, and its modern wonders of architecture and for what? To see the University of Chicago foot-ball team defeat Ann Arbor.

The victory also inspired a new college "yell" for Chicago:

Chi-caw, Chi-caw, (Chi-caw-aw-GO.)
(Yell-ow,) (Yell-OH!) Chi-caw-GO.
Chi-caw, Chi-caw, (Chi-caw-aw-GO)
Wherever WE GO
Above or BELOW
Its (Chi-caw-aw-GO.)

This was serious business. The old yell was criticized because "it has very little significance, too much repetition, and the iteration consumes too much breath for the vocal resultant." The author of the new cheer explained:

It certainly has meaning: the preponderance of
the vowel and semi-vowel elements gives it great body; the retention of the ‘k’ and ‘g’ sounds from the old yell afford plenty of opportunity for explosion; and the swells in the first, second, third and sixth lines permit the introduction of a large amount of vitality. The prolongation of the ‘aw’ sound in the first, third, and sixth lines is a great improvement over the Chi-ca-go-go.

Surely as much thought and analysis was put into rooting at Chicago as any scientific experiment.

On the evening of the victory, Stagg led the winning football team and a "large number" of undergraduate men to the Harper’s residence. The president appeared and spoke with the players and then addressed the students, noting with great appreciation the enthusiastic display of "Chicago spirit." Next, the crowd moved to the home of the Secretary of the University, T. W. Goodspeed, who announced that the victory had meant $10,000 to the university and a pledge by a "prominent banker" to provide seating on the field. Then Stagg and the students erected a large bonfire in front of Snell Hall, and the women’s dormitories were serenaded. Dean Henry Pratt Judson, a popular professor, joined the group to congratulate them as well. Finally, Stagg addressed the students:

Boys, we are celebrating a great victory and this celebration marks an epoch. It marks the beginning of college spirit at this University. You are helping to create an interest in athletics and in our University. Spirit, good, strong college spirit, is what we need. It should be apparent in every act of your university life.

Later, Stagg boasted to Walter Camp: "Football has done a
great deal towards arousing college spirit where little or none existed...In fact our athletics have done more to create a college spirit than all the rest of the student organizations."96

One month later, the "big game" came to Chicago and another "instant tradition" was born: the annual Thanksgiving Day game between Chicago and Michigan. According to historian Robin Lester: "The capacity of football to dominate a university's attention was experienced at Chicago for the first time in its short history."95 Harper sent out V.I.P. invitations to Chicago's upper-crust, who watched the game from their carriages in a specially designated area.96 It did not matter that Chicago lost 28-10; the 3,000 fans enjoyed the show complete with mascots dressed as turkeys.97

An important part of Stagg's effort to build school spirit was his stand against fraternities at Chicago. Threatened by anything that competed for the "hearts" of the male student body, Stagg believed the Greek system, a non-adult directed activity, undermined his endeavor to lead young men through athletics. Defending his change of heart since his Yale days, where he was a willing member of the most coveted fraternal chapters, Stagg argued that fraternities in western institutions were undemocratic. In addition, they put the fraternity above the college, harmed athletics, made factions, produced "despicable politics,"
lowered morals, and detracted from one's studies. Stagg did not mention secrecy, a far more frequent criticism, nor did he elaborate on how eastern fraternities differed from those in the West.

Asked to serve on a committee to study the question with Professors Judson, Hale, Small and Tufts, Stagg gave his "first speech" at Chicago to a faculty meeting addressing the "demoralizing" western system of fraternities. The committee recommended against allowing the establishment of fraternities but cautioned that the Trustees should not forbid them. For the time being, chapter organization was allowed with membership restricted to second year students of the Academic, or Junior, College and the University, or Senior, Colleges; in addition, the university retained the right to withdrawal permission allowing a chapter to continue.

Stagg continued his verbal attacks and strove to create an alternative social arrangement around intercollegiate athletics. Stagg placed fraternities and athletics at opposite ends of the spectrum; while fraternities threatened "college unity" with their exclusiveness, college sports built it up with its democratic qualities. President Harper expressed similar concerns that loyalty to one's fraternity would be at the cost of loyalty to the university.

The Weekly used Stagg's position on fraternities to
illustrate the coach's tyrannical tendencies. Stagg responded with a letter to the editor, self-righteously defending his position against fraternities. Arguing that he, more than any other faculty member, was "allied with the student interests outside of the class room," Stagg said that he only wanted to help bring about "a college spirit which should be broad and democratic and loyal." Stagg resented the accusation that he was "attempting to run things," but admitted that threats to the aims of his department might make it necessary to "have a more personal hold on certain student affairs for a time." Stagg condemned the policies of selection which eventually determined that "the chapter is largely made up of the sons of rich men and men of social prominence." Stagg himself would not have been accepted into a fraternity based strictly on this criteria; his athletic reputation and the friends he had made gave him access into the exclusive clubs at Yale.

A compromise was reached that incorporated the fraternities into the "house system," where chapters could reside in buildings or rooms, "under general rules already in existence." The establishment of larger houses offered one alternative to fraternities. In exchange for his board, Stagg accepted charge of one such residence, Snell House, in the summer of 1893. Stagg's ultimate goal was to generate college spirit at the new university
through the encouragement of unity within Snell House. But Stagg found the achievement of house unity difficult due to the large number of young men and "unevenness" of their social backgrounds. He argued for a dining room where "the Snell boys" could eat as a group, reporting that attending commons together was unsatisfactory because, "everyone goes there." Stagg also wanted a parlor where the residents could retire to after the meal, "for a chat and a sing." Acknowledging that much of what he wanted mirrored fraternity life, Stagg differentiated his vision of socializing for the college male from the Greek system claiming that a university house was too large to be accused of exclusiveness.

Quickly, Snell Hall became the house for the "athletic element" of the university. Shaping current and future stereotypes of college athletes, Snell residents participated in a number of publicized escapades. On one occasion, Stagg took the dorm on a sleigh ride where several members tossed him from the carriage "and trolled him several miles back to campus." Another time, determined to continue a bonfire celebrating a football victory, the students of Snell cut the fire department's hoses, and when the police arrived at the door, water was dispensed from above onto the officer's heads. After only one year, Stagg "escaped" Snell, as his less enthusiastic successor put it, "by marriage." But
marriage did not end Stagg's presence there for "none of its celebrations [is] considered complete without his songs and stories."  

Through Snell Hall, Stagg, once again, seemed determined to recreate his days at Yale for either himself or the Chicago athletes, or both. Perhaps he was not yet ready to leave his college days behind, even at Springfield he was able to live much as he had at Yale in his dual role as student-instructor there. But at the not so tender age of thirty-one, Stagg's prolonged adolescence would be pruned, and something more desirable would rival his need for the camaraderie of young men.

An eligible bachelor on a co-educational campus, Stagg attracted considerable attention. Known for his singing and "comic instinct," Stagg toured the campus, visiting the women's dorms to spread the gospel of football. He gave instructions on the game and asked for suggestions for cheers. A young first year student remembered attending a reception "to hear Mr. Stagg talk on Foot Ball." Stagg diagrammed the field and the players for the women and "explained the different movements very clearly. After he told us of the great physical, mental, and moral strength the game demanded and what fine discipline it is in all three things we were prepared to enjoy it with greater zest than ever." The same group of women asked Stagg, the only unmarried man invited, to their Halloween party the
following week. He entertained them with a "Little Drama:"
"It was very funny indeed! He is a man of widely varied
talents."114

Stella Robertson, a sophomore coed smitten with Stagg,
approached the coach after one of his talks.115 The
attraction was mutual, but the road to love between a young
student and a mature faculty member was not smooth. Stella
wrote Stagg a sonnet expressing her guilt over the deep
love she had for "Lonnie:"

Written at Sunset.

Dear Lonnie 'tis the solemn sunset hour
When dismal apparitions of my past misdeeds
Flit through the mind. And there is one that speeds
With mocking smile to see my spirit cower.

My hopes, my aims, my plans, the very power
Of good I once possessed - The simple creeds
I learned at mother's knee - my life now needs,
But all have left me to the shades that lower.

But yet, remember this dear friend of mine,
Wher'eere I go, whatever life may bring
Remember, that I strove for the Divine.
I tried to live for right. The years may bring
Thee happier days, but never love like mine
Which came to you unbid, and asked - nothing.116

Nevertheless, the romance continued, and they were engaged
by the summer of 1894.117

Stella Robertson was an extraordinary young woman.
Her Baptist background brought her to the University of
Chicago from Albion, New York, and she enrolled in the
required courses for completion of her A.B. in Latin,
Greek, Math, History, English, French, Elocution, and
Physical Culture. She played basketball and excelled at
tennis and completed her entire Physical Culture requirement during her first two years at Chicago (the Academic College). Certainly, Stella's interest in physical culture and athletics brought the future couple together.

The engagement of the thirty-three year old faculty member to an eighteen year old student proved scandalous. Stella's family was the first to protest her plans to marry. In tones tinged with Victorian guilt, her sister wrote Stella a lengthy letter insisting that she return home. Since the engagement was announced, Stella could not possibly stay at the university and finish her course work; there would be too much talk "for engaged people are so perfectly unconscious of other people's eyes." In an all-out effort to dissuade Stella from marrying, her sister warned of their "vast" age differences. Stella's life would be absorbed into his. She suggested that Stella wait at least four years before marrying to finish her college course, take a second degree at Yale or the Boston Conservatory of Music, and then return home for one year to prepare for marriage. The acceptable age for Stella to be wed rose as the letter continued. According to her sister, thirty was the ideal age for "this gravest of all responsibilities." While not discouraging Stella from marrying altogether, her sister admonished her against idealizing it: ambitious women, wrote her sister, were at
a distinct disadvantage in marriage, and wide age differences only made matters worse. To support her claims, her sister cited an example of the miserable life led by a Stanford professor's wife:

When she married she thought they would work out their schemes of life together, each helping the other; she had her plans for work and development but soon the babies came...The man goes on broadening and developing all the faster and deeper because of his wife's sympathy and help but the woman is at a disadvantage.

Sternly, Stella's sister reminded her, "it is against your nature to be dwarfed." In contrast, Stagg's family voiced no opposition; Stagg's elder brother, George, wrote Stella wishing the betrothed couple the best.

Stella returned to Albion for the summer of 1894 and went ahead with arrangements for a September wedding against her family's wishes. Stagg wrote regularly of his activities in and around Chicago and their plans for the future. Stagg wanted to pursue a medical degree which was unavailable at that time at Chicago. Following their wedding, he hoped to spend a year or two studying abroad with Stella, Stagg wrote: "I am dead anxious for you to take an M.D. with me." In the meantime, Stagg recommended that Stella study the Swedish system of gymnastics and practice daily in the gym, this, said Stagg, "would put you on a physical basis such as you never realized before. No other work in the world develops the body like Swedish gymnastics and with no danger of strains." Stagg
planned to study the effect of exercise on the vital organs, the mind, nerves, secretion, circulatory system, and sleep. Stagg confessed to Stella that he found the intellectual atmosphere at Chicago intimidating and had come to dread giving lectures. Taking an advanced degree would legitimize him among his "peers" at the university.

While Stagg and Stella corresponded that summer, President Harper prepared his response to the announcement of the couple's wedding intentions. Harper requested a meeting to discuss Stagg's request for a leave of absence. Harper did not spare his faculty member's feelings as he listed the reasons he opposed the proposed marriage. In the first place, it would hurt Stagg's influence among the professors and students. Secondly, marriage would not be in the best interest of the young lady at this time; she needed a chance to develop her own ideas and not be overshadowed by some one with such a "strong character" and "old and set in [his] ways." Harper feared the young woman would be made a "slave" to Stagg's thinking and find being a student and a professor's wife awkward. Finally, warned Harper, Stagg's marriage to a student would hurt the university and the cause of co-education. Normally, the president informed Stagg, he would ask for the faculty member's resignation except that he valued Stagg too much.
Stagg was outraged and questioned the president’s motives. He resented Harper’s first judgment the most and told him that, on the contrary, he had little influence among the faculty because he had been prevented from developing his intellect since coming to Chicago. Harper denied this, but Stagg continued:

I told him that I had been used as a sacrifice for the University[,] that my reputation had been inflated for the sake of drawing students to the University to such a degree that of course when people knew me they could not fail to give me a fall for my reputation was unreal. Before and at the very beginning of the University my name was placed on a par with Von Holst and I was invited to dinners and to give speeches on all occasions when these other big people spoke. Of course I could not meet the reputation which I had been given and so my influence has decreased in the same degree that my reputation has. I have felt that I had been put on a pedestal and...unduly heralded and inflated so much so that I could not fail to fall.

Stagg and believed the only way he could gain the esteem of the faculty was for them to acknowledge his intellect. He wrote Stella: "They certainly will give me little respect for my muscles and I don’t want it, darling." Stagg cynically blamed Harper for only thinking of the university: "I never can feel that he is perfectly sincere in what he says."127

At one point, Stagg agreed to postpone the wedding until after the football season. About two weeks before the wedding, Stagg conceded that his place that fall was with the football team and not on leave. He felt terrible about his decision but recommended to Stella that she
return to Chicago to continue her work toward her degree, and they would marry sometime after Thanksgiving once the football season was over.¹²⁸

Four days later the wedding was back on, thanks to Professor Henry Pratt Judson, Harper’s successor, who encouraged Stagg to go ahead with his plans. Judson thought Stagg and Stella were, "perfectly suited," and favored the couple’s plan to pursue medical degrees together. Stagg was buoyant, but now he had to convince Stella it was all right to marry. She had taken Harper’s opposition to heart, and Stagg had to do his best to assure her that Harper only had misgivings about their marriage but was not really against it.¹²⁹

While thrilled that the wedding was on, Stagg was fed up with the scrutiny and condemnation. He wrote Stella of his conflicting resolve to stay at Chicago and his strong temptation to leave:

I am sick of all this hurly-burly - all this rush after money - all of this disbelief in people - all of this criticism whether of work or of character...Such...is the way of the Chicago world and I hate it with all the intensity of my nature and I would not stay here for a day did I not feel called to throw in my life to help change this boorishness - this ugly hateful spirit of unappreciation of the higher and finer things of living...Oh it is easy to explain I suppose but it is not easy to stem the tide and I am just selfish enough to want to settle down in some peaceful New England town or in Albion and pass the rest of my life with you and the dear ones.

While the discord caused by his pending nuptials may have
inspired this outburst, his feelings of alienation and inferiority were plain. In Stella, he had found an ally, a partner, and he was not going to give her up.

Stella and Stagg were well matched. The young Mrs. Stagg was an athletic women who liked to play tennis and ride a bicycle; Stagg encouraged her to be competitive. The two of them had a running bet that whenever Stella beat "a fellow" in tennis, Stagg owed her five dollars. Although Stagg saw women as the "weaker" sex, he held progressive views on the propriety of physical activity among women. Beyond his belief in required work in physical culture for both sexes at the university, he expected even more from his wife. He constantly reminded her to exercise every day (and to wear her bloomers when bicycling). When Stella told him of her new hobbies of dress and frame making, Stagg told her those were all right "for a pastime - first rate for lazy people -- but not worth taking the place of tennis." Stagg had a great deal of confidence in Stella's athletic abilities, entering them in a mixed doubles tennis tournament at Chicago. For many years, each summer, Stagg and Stella played three hours of tennis a day and either golfed or cycled in the afternoon.

On September 10, 1894, two days before the first game of the season, Amos Alonzo Stagg and Stella Robertson were married in Albion, New York; the newlyweds returned
immediately to Chicago and football. The scandal feared by Stella's family and Dr. Harper never materialized, for the Stagg marriage was the first of several noted by an editorial in the *Weekly* the following spring: "One by one the single members of the Faculty have fallen prey to the charms of Chicago's 'co-educatrici pulcherimae.'" Their only honeymoon would be a cross-country trip in December with the Maroon eleven.

The 1894 Maroon's played an incredible 19 game schedule that began on September 12, 1894 and ended on January 4, 1895. In October alone they played eight games. After finishing the "regular" season 9-5-1, the team left for their highly publicized Pacific Coast Tour. Only in his third season at Chicago, Stagg believed the 6,200 mile trip would bring attention to football on the Midway. He remembered: "President Harper was entirely agreeable...[a]s he was toward anything legitimate that put the university's name in print." This was the first time a western team had crossed the Rocky Mountains.

On Christmas Day the Maroons defeated Leland Stanford Junior University 24-4 in San Francisco; on December 29, in Los Angeles, Stanford came out on top 12-0. Chicago played one more game in California against the Reliance Athletic Club, losing 0-6 and then on the way home stopped in Salt Lake City to defeat a local YMCA team 52-0.

Stagg successfully resisted student involvement in the
management of athletics, but the Weekly's protest continued. As it argued for a student athletic association, the publication reprimanded the student body for not supporting athletics more and for not organizing on its own. An editorial asked if Chicago students were too preoccupied with learning, or, too distracted by co-education? If, another editorial asked, it was impossible to put the management of athletics in the hands of the students, then, why not allow the students to elect those who controlled athletics? Rumors circulated that the faculty would prohibit the establishment of a student athletic association. No evidence of this was found, but the Weekly warned its readers to act quickly. Late in 1894, a hopeful editorial predicted that an athletic association would be formed in no time: "The faculty will still retain a close supervision over all athletic matters, but the students will have the business management and general handling of the teams."

In the summer of 1896, students submitted a draft of a constitution for an athletic association to "regulate" and "manage" the athletic interests of the university. Stagg replaced "regulate" with "further" and "manage" with "assist." In November of that year, Chicago students petitioned the Board of Physical Culture and Athletics for greater student representation in athletics. Their plan called for elected student representatives on the board and
student business managers for the athletic teams whose duties would include scheduling of games and financial promotion.\textsuperscript{145} They were successful in securing symbolic representation on the board as observers but were unable to gain the influence they had hoped for.\textsuperscript{146} Stagg would not relinquish control voluntarily, and the university was not inclined to initiate student involvement in the current atmosphere of reform.

Stagg made sure that the Maroons played as many games as possible at home, and from 1896-1905 approximately 90\% the contests were held at Chicago.\textsuperscript{147} Due to Stagg's efforts, the women of the university became the team's "chief athletic supporters."\textsuperscript{148} Not only was he the first to arrange an inter-regional tour, but also to schedule regular inter-regional games with eastern teams and the first to set up a game between "the North and the South" in 1904 against the University of Texas.\textsuperscript{149} From 1892-1905, in the pre-reform years, Stagg had only one losing season, in 1892. The team played an average of eleven games each year and chalked up a 115-37-13 record.\textsuperscript{150} The 1904 season brought the greatest accolades to Stagg and his team to date. Chicago finished 8-1-1. Although the team lost to Michigan, at Ann Arbor, Harper expressed his thanks on behalf of the entire university to Stagg and the entire team: "Never did an Alma Mater have more reason to be proud of its sons."\textsuperscript{151} And Harper's assistant wrote to
Stagg: "We are more devoted to you than ever before."  

Everything depended on establishing a successful athletic program with winning teams. Athletes were expected to report for practice well before classes started. Getting to work before the other colleges was vitally important to Stagg due to Chicago's limited pool and inexperience: "We are terribly handicapped."  

Another part of Stagg's plan was to create an environment conducive to athletic success. This included separate living quarters and a special diet; sleep and hygiene habits were monitored; and proper peer associations encouraged. In many ways, the athletic brotherhood created by Stagg was as elitist as any fraternity. Stagg intended that athletes should be the recipients of distinctive treatment, at times restrictive, other times exclusive. Training quarters were financed by the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics. When Harper asked if Stagg could cut the amounts devoted to the training table and quarters in order to reduce the department's budget, Stagg replied that any cut in the budget would harm the program that had taken several years to build. Stagg spoke of the enviable nourishment of the collegiate athlete who obtained a coveted seat at the training table. Stagg reported that "the training table diet of to-day is almost sumptuous, and few men in college enjoy better living than the members of the university athletic organizations."
This did not mean that the players could be gluttonous; sweets, tea, coffee, tobacco and alcohol were among the items prohibited. The training table was one of the few luxuries Stagg associated with athletics; he preached control and discipline. Hours at which one slept and ate should "not vary from day to day." Stagg recommended retiring at ten o'clock at night and rising at seven in the morning. Cleanliness was another of Stagg's favorite sermons.

Stagg tried his best to practice what he preached as illustrated in his letters to his wife during several prolonged separations in their first years of marriage. Toward his bride, he was a tender, adoring, and, at unguarded moments, a very passionate man who struggled to reconcile his rigid standards of self-control, restraint, and denial within the confines of marriage, where matters of the heart were allowed expression. Stagg continued to fight desire, and his letters often contained pledges for himself, as well as Stella, to remain strong and not to succumb to temptation, whether it be in diet (eating sweets), behavior (neglecting exercise), or attitude (feeling sorry for oneself).

Each summer and fall, during the first two years of their marriage, Stella had to return to her family's home in Albion, New York, to care for her mother and learn wifely duties. Stagg wrote almost every day, and his
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letters spoke of loneliness and longing for his wife:
"Little one, I’ll love you and be true to you though many
thousand furlongs separate us and our fears feed upon our
poor selves and make merry with our most sacred
memories."\textsuperscript{158} Not knowing what to do about his strong
yearnings for his wife, he asked that she not tell her
mother of his selfishness.\textsuperscript{159} But stronger than his
feelings of penitence was his need to express how he felt
in poetic sensuality: "Fate who led you to my chamber
doors. Thou dost seem so far away and so unattainable! I
would I had the power to go instantaneously unto thee!"\textsuperscript{160}

In subsequent letters, Stagg would castigate himself for
these romantic outbursts, referring to himself as "bad,"
"weak," and "selfish."\textsuperscript{161} Stagg’s only solution to being
a "weak husband" was, "to keep busy and just not let
oneself think."\textsuperscript{162} Exercise could keep his mind off his
yearnings for intimacy with his wife. Stagg battled to
harmonize his natural instincts with his personal code of
conduct, which told him not to give into desires.

Separations did not get easier, the following summer,
shortly before Stella was scheduled to return to Chicago, a
contrite, child-like, Stagg wrote to his mother-in-law
begging forgiveness for asking Stella to return early:

Dear Mama:
I am awfully sorry that I wrote to Stella that
one time that I was anxious to have her return to
Chicago. It was cussed mean of me and right
dishonorable after my promise to you not to ask
her to come back before Sept...I was quite down
Almost two years after the fact, Stagg still felt obliged to refer to and apologize for "stealing" away Mrs. Robertson's precious daughter.

Keeping the Sabbath was also important to Stagg. At the university, tennis courts were dismantled to prevent Sunday play. In 1900, he accompanied the national track and field team, largely composed of college men from the Universities of Pennsylvania, Georgetown, Syracuse, Michigan and Chicago, to the Paris Olympics. When he learned that events would be held on Sunday, Stagg declared that no American collegiate institution would compete. Five members of the University of Pennsylvania's team and several representatives of the New York Athletic Club ignored Stagg's pronouncement, causing considerable resentment among the remaining college men.

A letter to his first son, Amos Alonzo Stagg, Jr., written on the eve of Stagg's departure for Paris, laid out in great detail his personal code of conduct and what he expected of his son. In addition to caring for his mother and acting honestly, Stagg told his son to:

...be an American in democracy. Treat everybody with courtesy and as your equal until he proves his unworthiness to be so treated. The man and the soul are what count - not wealth, not family,
not appearance...abhor evil. No curiosity, no imagination, no conversation, no story, no reading which suggests impurity of life is worthy of your thought or attention and I beg you never to yield for an instant but turn you thought to something good and helpful...train yourself to be master of yourself, of your thought and imagination and temper and passion and appetite and of your body. Hold all absolutely under your will...Your father has never used intoxicating liquors, nor tobacco, nor profane language. He wants his Boy to be like him in this regard. 165

Adopting these behaviors satisfied Stagg’s definition of manhood, and he expected the same from his athletes. At the same time, he would do what he could to help them.

Dissatisfied with the training habits of a few of his players, Stagg made a donation to the university for a special set of chimes to ring at a specific hour each evening to signal those in training it was time to retire. 166 He successfully delayed a proposed change in the athletic living quarters from Snell Hall to another location further from campus. Stagg argued that the athletes had to live near their classes due to the inconvenience of their "injuries and bruises which would prevent men making long walks." 167 Harper responded apologetically: "I do not wish to take a step which will seriously disturb the athletic situation." 168 Several years later, the training quarters were moved to Hitchcock House, a "magnificent" men's dormitory with 27 rooms for 34 athletes, including training tables and a kitchen located in the basement. 169

Eventually, Stagg changed his mind about keeping the
athletes separate from the rest of the student population and suggested moving the men's training table to the men's commons. Stagg reasoned that secret practices and separate housing and eating facilities afforded few opportunities for university men to become familiar with athletics. If nothing else, Stagg hoped that showing off the athletes might generate interest. Stagg did not address how to accommodate the differences in the food required by the training table guests from that which would be served to the "regular" student. Nothing came of Stagg's proposal, until the reforms of 1906 which eliminated training tables altogether.

Publicly, Stagg vowed that Chicago would never "hire" athletes to come to Chicago, as was done in the East; privately, he complained that housing and food were not enough to attract them to Chicago; he needed funds available to help needy students. Stagg only wanted the same advantage as his competition:

If I were not restrained by ethical reasons I could get the men [,] for several have written me regarding coming but all need some assistance. It seems too bad that we can not use these fellows when they themselves want to come to the University for the educational part. There are not many more than one or two universities in the country which do not get men in that fashion."

Nevertheless, recruiting got easier as Stagg developed strong athletic ties between Chicago and Morgan Park, the secondary school affiliated with the university, and Hyde
Park High School, another local institution. Stagg also organized interscholastic track & field meets and basketball tournaments to bring high school athletes to the University.

Chicago's name quickly rose, as did Stagg's recruitment strategy of correspondence with prospective players. To all inquiries he stated, in so many words, that he was not allowed to offer inducements to play athletics at Chicago, but the way he presented the situation varied from person to person. Some he simply told: "We do not help our athletic students in any financial way at all. That is not permissible according to our rules and we do not believe in it ourselves." To others he offered guarded encouragement, telling them that many men were able to come to the university and work their way through. Stagg believed it was easier for athletes to do this because "the athletes become better known and people take more interest in them and so jobs are open to them more often." To the most attractive prospects, Stagg assured them that any student could work off two-thirds of their tuition through "some slight service for the University;" within a few years, some student athletes could waive their entire tuition through service. Once committed, Stagg asked that the student arrive early to begin football work at the expense of the department: "College work does not begin until October 1, but the
expense of coming...early will be borne by our Athletic Association which is allowed to call the men back for early practice." 178

Stagg formalized the existence of his "athletic fraternity" by creating an exclusive club whose membership was based on athletic participation and ability. Unlike traditional fraternities which sought the wealthy or socially prominent, no one outside the University of Chicago athletics could gain access to the organization. Starting in 1894, informal dinners for the members of the football team were held in the home of Mrs. Edward Roby, the mother of the team's captain, Charles F. Roby. After her son left Chicago, President and Mrs. Harper opened their home to the football team members for several years. 179 In 1901 the first public award's ceremony was held for those athletes chosen to receive the "C," the official symbol of departmental excellence. Stagg believed that because the "C," "stood for good work in one important department of the University it ought to be appreciated by the public." 180 The award's ceremony continued for three years until 1904 when the first banquet was held to honor all the football "C's," past and present, on the occasion of the opening of the new Bartlett Gymnasium. 181 At the dinner, Stagg suggested officially establishing an organization of "C" men. 182

The following year, Stagg recommended to President
Harper that one banquet for all varsity athletes awarded the "C" be held each year. Stagg hoped that this dinner would forge an alliance among the athletes to create a, "useful and active association, which will be of benefit to our athletics and to the University." This "useful association" came to be known as the "Order of the C." Stagg was named its first president and James Raycroft the secretary-treasurer.

Stagg chose the recipients of the "C" based on his own subjective criteria. Athletic accomplishment was not enough; above all, one had to be loyal, to the university and its athletic interests, to amateur sport, and to the organization and what it stood for. On one occasion, an athlete named Morgan decided to attend a party given by a university women's club at the Midlothian Country Club instead of a track meet. Stagg recalled: "Morgan had done good work throughout the track season and I had considered him a candidate for the "C" but when he pulled his disloyal act he lost all chances." The following Monday, Stagg dismissed him from the team.

In order to encourage a spirit of fraternity, Stagg insisted on privacy and exclusiveness for the club. He knew the importance of rituals and ceremonies to group identification and planned private initiations, meetings, elections, as well as, special meals, receptions and parties. A lot of "fuss" was made over each new initiate
and every member was given a badge of distinction.\textsuperscript{186} Once again Stagg tried to create his own version of Yale at Chicago. Through the Order of the "C" he hoped to produce "the same ancestral love of the institution as exists for Harvard, Yale and Princeton, whereby the sons of our graduates...would look forward to going to the college of their father."\textsuperscript{187} Stagg also saw the recruiting possibilities.

Chicago athletics, particularly football, had friends in high places. The Secretary of the Board of Trustees and the University Registrar in 1896, Thomas Goodspeed, was the Maroon's biggest fan and ordained them "'heroes, every one of them,'" promising "'anything the university had they could have.'" In his history of football at Chicago, Robin Lester chronicles how sympathetic professors and deans helped keep players eligible. History Professor O.J. Thatcher was known to give make-up exams to failing students who were not in his class. The same Professor Thatcher served as chair of a self-appointed sub-committee of the Board of Physical Culture and Athletics made up of Stagg, Raycroft, and Butterworth, to deal with eligibility matters.\textsuperscript{188} Stagg also continued to enlist the president's help: "Will you not see if something can be done to get Captain Henry to make himself eligible for the football team...It is a disgraceful situation for Captain Henry and an unfortunate one for the team."\textsuperscript{189} Harper
advocated imitating the eastern practice of using extra tutors to keep the athletes in good standing. Course loads of football players were intentionally lowered and progress toward graduation was virtually ignored.

Chicago athletic practices did not escape the attention of the competition. Criticizing Chicago for allowing team members who had formerly accepted money for playing, the University of Illinois student newspaper complained:

[Nichols]...has been in athletics there since the institution opened. He will probably be there when Macauley's New Zealander stands on the wreck of London Bridge and views the ruins of modern civilization. It is an open secret that Nichols has for several years played games for money.

Nichols' athletic skill secured for him a great deal of patience and understanding from Stagg and the department staff. The baseball captain openly criticized Stagg's coaching style and threatened a team strike. He used his knowledge of a questionable financial transaction involving a team trip to Omaha to gain control of summer baseball in Stagg's absence. Butterworth, Stagg's surprised assistant, wrote the vacationing coach: "I was not aware that anyone knew of this except you, and Kelso, and I." Finally, Nichols put the department in an awkward position when he took it upon himself to promise another player payment to play at Chicago, leaving Butterworth to explain to the student that some sort of service other than athletic participation had to be done in order to receive financial
compensation. Stagg was known to go to great lengths to acquire and keep talent for the Maroons, especially for high school players like Walter Ekersall and Walter Steffen. The legends describe Stagg intercepting Ekersall on his way to the University of Michigan, defending the youth's amateur status against the Amateur Athletic Union's suspension and reconstructing his football eligibility. Steffan, on the other hand, saw the light and returned to Chicago after willingly, or unwillingly, attending Wisconsin for several days, and Stagg decided to ignore the athlete's "confused behavior." These were certainly the most famous cases, but they were not the only ones.

In the summer of 1905, one potential recruit, Raymond Quigley, arrived at the Chicago campus and was given a room in quarters and work waiting tables in Commons. Two days later Stagg's assistant, A.B. Snider, wrote with the disappointing news that Quigley could not enter until he passed a "Caesar exam." Snider reported that he would get Quigley a tutor and have him attend the university high school. Stagg and his assistants continued to follow their own rules of eligibility, the definition of which was known only to them. Quigley was not an enrolled student; yet he continued to live in Hitchcock Hall and work at Commons, this ensured that he could eat at the training table the following quarter free of charge. Snider assured Stagg: "I
don't think there will be any difficulty in holding him now." Quigley trained every day, and Snider promised to go see the tutor "and impress him with the importance of the situation."

The responsibility of collecting rent from the athletes also rested with Snider. Snider reported to Stagg that many of the men were paying "$16 in work." Snider asked Stagg what he should do about Quigley, who had not paid up? Stagg's reply was vague, saying that Quigley should pay rent "or make returns," and an amount of $12 was appropriate. Stagg asked Snider to continue trying to collect rent from those that still owed "where you think it advisable." Perhaps as a means of lowering the amount of rent required per man, Stagg instructed Snider "to keep the full quota of beds which the University provides, so that the ones we buy will serve for use where we want to put extra beds in certain rooms. I think you understand my plan."

The following winter, James Raycroft reported additional concerns to Stagg that a valued athlete, Hugo Bezdek, would indeed be ruled ineligible. The year before, Bezdek, one of Stagg's star players, was accused by a professor from the University of Illinois of participating in a professional fight. Stagg sent his assistant, James Raycroft, down to Champaign to consider the worthiness of the evidence against Bezdek. Raycroft reported back to
Stagg that Bezdek’s name did in fact appear in the ledger of the Crystal Athletic Club three times followed by the amount of the purse. To Raycroft, the question was whether Bezdek ever received any payment; in other words, could any one prove it? Although, Bezdek denied taking any money for the fight, Raycroft recommended that Stagg refrain from playing Bezdek in the future.\textsuperscript{201} Stagg asked Raycroft if Bezdek received fair treatment, noting that when the wrong was committed in an area completely separate from college athletics, e.g., prize fighting in a private club (Bezdek’s violation), others had been pardoned.\textsuperscript{202} This blatantly violated conference regulations and Stagg’s own amateur code.

Raycroft also was involved in arranging spring entrance exams for fall eligibility for students who had not yet completed entrance requirements. In one case, the athlete was to enroll at Morgan Park Academy, but Raycroft felt that once the dean understood the importance of the case "he will be willing to forego the Spring quarter and let him take work in the University instead of [the academy]." Raycroft hoped that several other student athletes would also be able to enter the university ahead of schedule out of high school.\textsuperscript{203}

President Harper encouraged strong ties with the local high schools and expected Stagg to cultivate programs aimed at "supervising and taking charge of the work in Elementary
and Secondary Schools," which would ultimately benefit the University. Stagg agreed and included preparatory work within the department organization. In 1901, Harper asked Stagg to supply a football coach for Morgan Park once a week. Stagg recommended placing Chicago coaches in the affiliated schools at the expense of the university, and allowing the high schools of Chicago access to "assistance in athletics," i.e., coaches and use of university grounds. Stagg hoped to create a system through which information on secondary school athletics could be obtained. Harper and Stagg agreed that integral to this network was the organization of "an interscholastic meet which will bring to us the best athletes of the High Schools."

Administrators at Morgan Park and Chicago assumed that talented Morgan Park athletes would naturally belong to the Maroons. Although prohibited by conference regulations, Stagg seems to have allowed certain Morgan Park players the privilege of playing for the Maroons before their matriculation; once aware of the situation, Harper insisted that no student could participate in any games until they had the proper credits to enter the university. Nevertheless, the dean at the academy felt it necessary to request further assistance from Stagg’s department, saying close relations must be maintained to counteract athletic offers from Michigan. When Harper heard that Morgan
Park athletes were playing for the Illini, he asked Stagg if something could be done about students being "coaxed" to Illinois, believing the action "strongly illegitimate." Stagg was willing to go to extremes, and recommended that the ideal would be "to avoid having any representatives of any of the leading western institutions on the teaching staff." Stagg’s freedom to conduct his department and all its workings was not without limits. At the end of the spring quarter in 1895, Harper informed him that there was a "widely existing feeling," that one of the teams had been badly managed and asked him to give a report at the next board meeting. Instead, Stagg, who was often absent during the summer term, left the campus to go back east to visit his wife and her family. The first board members consisted of faculty with a friendly interest in physical culture and athletics, Stagg and President Harper served as "ex-officio" members. Stagg believed that the board served in an advisory capacity to himself. He wanted the board to be the department’s advocate and sought its counsel when he needed representation with the larger university. But membership on the board shifted, while it continued to consist of faculty members interested in the success of athletics at Chicago, they frequently had differing opinions on how to achieve that success. As a result, Stagg and the board disagreed on who was subor-
dinate to who.

That summer the board had already made overtures that baseball schedules would have to be submitted to the board for approval, passage of this action would set the precedent that Stagg’s decisions could or would be subject to review, not only by the President and Trustees, but also by his own faculty board. Horace Butterworth, one of Stagg’s assistants, conducted department affairs in Stagg’s absence. Financial interests usually dominated correspondance between the two, but in 1895, Butterworth felt it necessary to warn Stagg of the stirring of opposition. He cautioned Stagg not to "promise too much," to prospective players he might meet while away from Chicago. The atmosphere was not friendly toward athletics at the time, and Stagg’s policies were being closely scrutinized.

Butterworth named the potential enemies: Associate Professors R.F. Harper, Oliver J. Thatcher, and Shailer Mathews, all of whom joined the Athletic Board that year. The list proved that the forces supporting athletics broke into various factions, for Thatcher was "a passionate devotee of football," who tutored team members "to keep them eligible to play." These three men, according to Butterworth, were responsible for the rule requiring submission of schedules to the board through their criticism of Stagg’s conduct of the business affairs
of the department. The board criticized Stagg for leaving on a traveling trip with the baseball team to Omaha without the board’s approval, neglecting his correspondence and reports; they also noted professors’ complaints that students were cutting class to attend games; in addition, the board disagreed with Stagg’s practice of playing on the university’s football and baseball teams. Butterworth advised Stagg:

The best thing to do is to go to [President] Harper with the names of the men you want on this Board, and give him to understand that neither you nor anybody else can be expected to please a set of men or a part of a set, who are trying to grind their axes on your grind-stone: that all you want is a Board composed of sensible men of some business experience instead of being hampered by a few men anxious to make a display of authority.

The Athletic Board did not wait for Stagg’s return to investigate the administration of summer baseball, and Butterworth had to answer to the president. He described the meeting to Stagg:

Dr. Harper sent for me about 5 o’clock. I went over and found a meeting of the Board about ready to adjourn. Dr. H. said to me ‘Butterworth, how is that you an officer of the University, have been violating every law and order of this Board?’ I laughed and said ‘Do you mean losing games?’ He said, ‘No, how is it you have been playing men and with teams that you had not the slightest right to play with?...[D]on’t you know that no man has a right to play on any team until he has been approved by this Board and that you have no right to play a game with anyone until it has been passed upon by this Board?...I don’t see how it is you don’t know about things. You ought to know. Mr. Stagg told me you were representing him here this quarter.’
In a letter to Stagg a few days later, a disappointed Harper informed Stagg that there had been "considerable trouble with Butterworth." Harper pointed out that Butterworth said he was not told that players had to receive permission from the Board of Physical Culture to compete in public. Harper complained that Butterworth also scheduled a series of games with "negroes" which "has brought disgrace upon us. The Board has had to take summary action in the matter."\(^{223}\)

In late July, the board restated its rulings that they would have final approval on student participation and athletic schedules.\(^{224}\) Stagg complained to Harper about the board's action, but Harper assured him that they were only going over what had already been done and no new legislation would be passed during Stagg's absence.\(^{225}\) In the end, though, Stagg got his way. He and the president came to a mutual agreement on the role of the board, and Stagg continued to play baseball.\(^{226}\)

A late-comer to organized intercollegiate athletics, Chicago was able to learn from the mistakes of established institutions and immediately put in place a means to oversee the control of athletics at the new university. In the mid-1890s, amidst growing criticism of the college game, William Rainey Harper reiterated the university's commitment to athletics:

> We close our eyes to all danger to life and limb when questions of business are concerned. If the
world can afford to sacrifice the lives of men for commercial gain, it can much more easily afford to make similar sacrifices upon the altar of vigorous and unsullied manhood.

Harper asserted that athletics contributed more to, "moral purity" and "human self-restraint," than, "all other agencies combined." Harper called for rules and regulations, not elimination, and held Chicago up as an example to others:

The University of Chicago athletic work is directly and exclusively under the control of the University authorities. It will so remain.

Other institutions were finding it difficult to appropriate control away from students and institute reforms. At the request of the president of Purdue University, the presidents of seven western schools met on January 11, 1895, at the Palmer House in Chicago to "discuss athletic problems and means of control of intercollegiate athletics." The presidents of the universities of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Northwestern, Michigan, Chicago, and Purdue, adopted twelve rules designed to govern intercollegiate athletics among these midwestern institutions. Eleven of the rules applied to faculty control and eligibility, the next called for "the expert managers of football teams to so revise the rules as to reduce the liability to injury." No longer viewed with indifference or seen as outside the realm of educators, athletics became a legitimate concern of college and university authorities. The presidents asked that each
institution send one faculty representative back to Chicago the following year to discuss these regulations. Of the seven original faculty representatives, Stagg was the only one directly connected to athletics, but he served as a member and representative of the University of Chicago faculty, "not as an itinerant muscle-maker." The conference was extolled as representing the faculty point of view, it was not "athletic minded." Had it been, discussions may have centered on organizing and administering a playing league, instead, it intended to maintain standards of fairness and prevent excessive actions of coaches, players and alumni from occurring.

The new organization, which would ultimately become the Big Ten, was named the Intercollegiate Conference of Faculty Representatives, or the Western Conference, which would meet bi-annually. Casper Whitney, sports writer for Harper’s Weekly, applauded the new association:

Football—indeed all Midwestern college sports—was very near total extinction because of a rampant professional spirit that had ranged throughout nearly all the universities, leaving corruption in its wake...The meeting last winter in Chicago marked the beginning of a new and clarified era in Western collegiate sport!

In 1899, Indiana University and the University of Iowa joined the Western Conference, sometimes referred to as The Big Nine.

In April of 1896, the Board of Physical Culture and Athletics at Chicago under Stagg’s direction adopted their
own "Athletic Rules" based on those of the conference. These rules allowed only bona fide students "doing full work" to participate in intercollegiate games; they prohibited gifts, "remuneration, or pay for...services on the college team;" students were not allowed to play under assumed names; the rules set minimum academic standards; games had to be held on grounds controlled by one of the participating colleges; games against professional teams or athletic clubs were prohibited; eligibility lists signed by a college official designated by the institution's "board of control" had to be exchanged prior to each contest; one could not compete as a member of any other organization; "ungentlemanly" conduct could result in disqualification; and graduate students were allowed to compete for a period equal to the minimum number of years recommended for completion of their course. There were important differences between the two sets of rules, though.

Chicago dropped the president's "six month" rule which said that any student who had participated as a member of one college team and switched to another university before graduating had to be a full-time, bona fide student for six months before competing for the new institution. The "presidents' rules" declared that "no professional athlete or person who has ever been a member of a professional team shall play at any intercollegiate contest." The relevant Chicago rule also prohibited any student "who has ever used
or is using his athletic skill for gain," but exempted "professional" actions before February 8, 1896. Where the presidents disqualified any "person who has been employed in training a college team for intercollegiate contests," from participating on an intercollegiate team, the Chicago rules postponed implementation of the ruling until December of 1896. 237

By not applying the "professional" criteria retroactively and postponing the trainer-player prohibition, Chicago bought time to continue their development of athletics. Due to the small student body and the scarcity of potential players, Stagg, and members of his staff, found it necessary to contribute to the inexperienced teams as players. A temporary measure, Stagg expected his services would not be required indefinitely. 238 As the youngest member of the conference, Chicago’s board, while enthusiastically supporting the aims of the Western Conference, felt justified in making these exceptions. Three years later, at the close of 1899, Chicago accepted in total the most recent version of the Intercollegiate Rules adopted by the Western Athletic Conference. Under these revised regulations Chicago agreed that students transferring schools had to wait one year before being allowed to participate on the athletic teams. Preparatory students were ineligible for college athletics. 239 Students were also prohibited from attending school only
Questions of eligibility continued to arise making necessary additional rules regulating the athletic committees or boards of control. Suspicions of eligibility violations were to be communicated between the chairmen of the athletic boards of the institution making the claim and the institution of the suspected individual. The board of the individual in question was then to conduct its own investigation and submit a report on the status of the student to the faculties of both institutions concerned: "This report shall be accepted in good faith by the committee which has made complaint." Enforcement of these regulations continued to rely on the honor system, although, a Conference Board of Appeals was proposed. Eligibility lists were to be exchanged twice a year.

The organizing principal of the conference was institutional autonomy. The representatives could only recommend compliance with eligibility and accounting rules, for no one was willing to recognize a central authority; institutions were left to interpret for themselves to what degree they would follow the directives. Numerous complaints were leveled against Stagg, who frequently neglected the directives requiring an exchange of eligibility lists ten days before a game. Harper, not the conference, was left to deal with the criticisms, and he
made his displeasure known to Stagg, forwarding him one of "four or five" serious protests he had received within one season.\textsuperscript{243} The passage of the White Resolution, in late 1900, further established the principle of institutional autonomy. The resolution allowed "any institution to reject a new rule," within a set amount of time, otherwise, it applied throughout the conference.\textsuperscript{244} Initially, it took a two-thirds vote to override any veto, but this was eventually lowered to a simple majority in 1911.\textsuperscript{245}

Although the conference only asked that eligibility lists be signed by the university registrar and submitted by the chairs of the athletic committees, at Chicago, Stagg had to answer to another group for approval of eligibility of his players. In 1896, the Faculty Board of Student Organizations, Publications and Exhibitions "was created to oversee extracurricular activities...including eligibility for intercollegiate debate and sport."\textsuperscript{246} In addition to complying with conference regulations, athletes had to adhere to the rules governing public appearances of students:

1. During the quarter in which he takes part in any public exhibition or any intercollegiate athletic contest....the student must be taking full work which must be sustained at a satisfactory grade.
2. The student must have completed the full work of the two preceding quarters of his residence, and his absences during that period must not have been sufficiently numerous to reduce his credits.\textsuperscript{247}

Finances remained a source of conflict between Stagg
and Harper. Again, Harper tried to discipline an obstinate Stagg who was brought up under the Yale tradition of athletic sovereignty and wanted complete financial autonomy. After it was arranged that department receipts and expenditures would be managed by the University Comptroller, Henry A. Rust, a board member, Stagg indignantly wrote Harper:

I understand that I am not to be hampered in anyway in my work through this arrangement of finances; that Major Rust is not to request reasons why this or that expenditure; that I am not compelled to explain for what purpose certain money is to be used; that I am to put my own interpretations upon ‘extraordinary bills’ and I am not to be called to account by him for the same; that so far as Major Rust is concerned my presentation of statements and vouchers for money received and spent by me is sufficient.  

Stagg felt that the money taken in by the department belonged to the department, and as director he could do what he pleased with the funds. The trustees had a different opinion on how any monies related to the university would be spent:

In the expenditures of the University we are working ...under a most rigid system of appropriations...no one is authorized to expend any money until it has been appropriated, save only the Comptroller, Mr. Rust... The Executive Committee itself does not authorize expenditures outside the appropriations made in the Budget, but restricts itself to recommending them to the Board of Trustees. The President of the University even has no authority to spend money.

Stagg demanded a privilege that no other faculty member or administrator possessed, not even Harper. In his response,
Harper diplomatically impressed upon Stagg the importance of financial accountability:

I cannot agree with your presentation of the case... It is Mr. Rust's business to ask questions and things must be made reasonable to him. At the same time it is understood that he will advance you money whenever you desire it. Great care must be taken not to enter upon any large expenditure in the way of improvements, without the approval of the University officers who are held responsible by the trustees...

Harper's word that Rust would approve dispersal or money to the department whenever Stagg wanted proved false. In the summer of 1896, when Stagg complained that the appropriation for books and equipment for the next year was "entirely too small," Harper informed Stagg that the trustees would not approve increases of expenditures in any department, in fact, they wanted large cost reductions. Harper set up a meeting to discuss staff reductions and operating costs, emphasizing to Stagg that salary increases would not be considered. Later that summer, Stagg did speak to Harper about a raise. Harper was agreeable but said that money would have to come from the Athletic Fund. Reluctant to have an additional draw on his already tight budget, Stagg balked at the idea and "nothing satisfactory resulted."

For Chicago's first five years, Harper had been intimately involved in every aspect of the establishment of the athletic's side of Stagg's department, but, in 1897, as part of an effort to "systemize the machinery of
administration," Harper made clear his intention to detach himself from the day-to-day operations of athletics: "That so far as possible, details of your work be handled...as not to involve care or attention on my part." The president asked Stagg to submit a monthly statement highlighting important work and recommendations for future proposals. In case of emergency, Stagg could contact Harper through his secretary; in extreme cases, Stagg could come in person. These policies, while trying to reduce Harper's work load, did not ensure either Stagg's nor Harper's compliance; Stagg neglected his monthly and annual duties and Harper still found time to comment on, discuss, and influence department functions. Harper could not deny his vested interest in the success of Chicago athletics, particularly football. In the midst of the '97 season, Harper asked Stagg to "secretly" gather the football team together, so he could, "make a little talk to them." When the track team's performance was less than satisfactory, Harper wrote to Stagg recommending greater discipline to stir up the men in their work. The president got wind of some "dirty work" being done by members one of the scrub teams in a game against Lewis Institute and asked Stagg to investigate the incident. Stagg reported back that the only questionable action was the use of the phrase "put them out of business," made by the acting captain, "who had the special business of
stimulating the men."²⁵⁷ Report writing remained low on Stagg’s priority list, and he did not "intend to get mixed up in the women’s work any more than is absolutely necessary;" they would be responsible for their own report to the president.²⁵⁸ In August of 1902, Harper told Stagg to "drop everything else," and write the ten year report for the department.²⁵⁹ After six months and a total of five letters, the president informed Stagg that the report was going to press in two to three weeks and he still had not received Stagg’s contribution.²⁶⁰ Stagg promised that he would devote his entire vacation to it and have the report ready by April 1, 1903, but on April 11, the president’s office extended the deadline once again till May 1.²⁶¹

Harper struggled to make clear to Stagg that the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics was accountable not only to his office, but also to the Faculty Senate and the trustees. The task proved difficult and never entirely successful. Stagg’s maverick approach as Director of Athletics at Chicago drew considerable criticism from all corners. Often, Stagg did not feel obliged to go through the proper channels while conducting the department business. Harper may have called the athletic field another laboratory of the university, but he did not mean an equal one.²⁶² The president had to ask for a report on the cost of improvements to the athletic
field, reprimanding Stagg for not seeking the approval of the trustees before work began.\textsuperscript{263} On another occasion, Harper criticized the department's handling of a student, referring to Stagg's action as a "gross breach of propriety."\textsuperscript{264} After fifteen students missed a chemistry class, Harper forbade Stagg to schedule baseball games that would interfere with "the regular work of the University."\textsuperscript{265} To Stagg, athletics could be more important than any special occasion, whether a holiday or graduation, and Harper consistently had to remind the coach not to schedule practice or games on Memorial Day or days of convocation.\textsuperscript{266}

While Stagg fought off university attempts to administer athletics, he continued to work for institutional autonomy within the conference to prevent outside regulation. He introduced what he termed as the "Chicago Idea." Initially, this was a unique agreement between Chicago and Minnesota for the conduct of intercollegiate football. All game contracts were to follow a "business form," and the home team would take complete financial responsibility for the contests, including the interests of the visiting institution. Key to this scheme was the matter of eligibility. Under the Chicago Idea, Chicago and Minnesota agreed that "each university shall be the sole judge on all questions relating to the eligibility of any member of its teams."\textsuperscript{267} This arrangement undermined the
conference procedures regarding eligibility matters and ignored reality. Stagg, with Harper's support, argued that a central board of control over eligibility deprived an institution of its rights: "The schools...should be above suspicion, a Board of Control would be degrading...The honor of each particular university is at stake." If institutional honesty could not be expected, then, according to Stagg, athletics should be done away with. From Stagg's point of view, he had the most to lose if a centralized authority governing eligibility was established since Chicago had a smaller pool to draw from due to its high academic standards. So, Stagg set out to secure semi-independent agreements with individual conference members.

On the surface, Harper and Stagg seemed to be in complete harmony on the role of athletics in higher education. Both agreed on the importance of the education of the physical, and Harper accepted Stagg's organization of the new department, but the actual working relationship between the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics and the larger university was never specifically defined. Even though Stagg and Harper publicly stated that the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics was equal to the other university departments, early on, Stagg realized that his department would have to be self-supporting financially, as soon as possible, because the university did not support the department through tuition charges.
While the university paid department salaries, allocation of money for equipment and facilities proved hard to come by, leaving Stagg to depend on generous donations from wealthy benefactors. The department would have to be revenue producing, and he had to make "for profit" athletics, i.e., football, a reality. Stagg approached his responsibility as if he were running an autonomous business under the auspices of the university. This original assumption, that the Department of Physical Culture was equal to but separate from the academic goals of the university, was ill-defined and full of contradictions. Its inclusion in the original mission of the university meant that every administration would have to redefine this uncomfortable association. It also meant that the department's budget would be a constant source of conflict between Stagg and the university. If Stagg wanted to carry out his entire physical culture and athletic program, his department would have to be self-sufficient. Physical culture would be dependent on athletics and athletics would be dependent on football.

Stagg continually worked on ways to increase football revenues. In late 1902, the president asked Athletic Board member O. J. Thatcher to comment on an athletic proposal, attributed to Horace Butterworth, on department policies of "Courtesy and Hostship." The proposal suggested requiring a premium from teams that preferred to compete at Chicago
for greater gate receipts; it claimed "our right to undisputed possession of the territory," excluding Northwestern, and any team that played in the area against teams other than Chicago and Northwestern at the same time as the Maroons "should be considered as unfriendly, as deliberately attempting to work injury to the University of Chicago, and no games should be arranged with them or several years after;" if the University of Chicago team was to play in a less lucrative venue, a guarantee of greater than 50 percent of the receipts should be made to Chicago; finally: "That control of our grounds should never be surrendered, even if it might seem advisable to allow other organizations to use them." These recommendations amounted to a blatant, shameless attempt to monopolize spectator football in Chicago for financial gain. Although Stagg's name was not on the proposal, it could not have made it to the president's office without his knowledge and approval.

Professor Thatcher either dismissed or significantly modified each item: "While our athletics must be made to pay for themselves, they are sport, and must not be treated simply or chiefly as a source of gain." He concluded his review with a cautionary note:

In the east the situation seems to be different from that here. Harvard breaks off with Princeton, Princeton with Yale, etc. apparently without any injurious effects on other relations between those institutions. Here it is different. A break in athletic relations between
two Universities produces a great deal of bad feelings and leads to a most unpleasant state of affairs...I fear we here in the west take our athletics too seriously. 272

Speaking for many at the University of Chicago, Thatcher thought the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics was taking itself a bit too seriously.

Harper and Stagg's attitude toward intercollegiate competition was commercial from its inception. Like most colleges and universities that participated in intercollegiate athletics, Chicago immediately focused on football. From the beginning, Harper meant for football to be a commercial enterprise; a drawing card for student enrollment and community support. Stagg wrote that Harper was entirely agreeable "...toward anything legitimate that put the university's name in print."273 Harper told Stagg, "I want you to develop teams which we can send around the country and knock out all the colleges."274 Faculty control of athletics at Chicago was an illusion; Stagg ran them, and Harper tried to control him. While Harper was alive, Stagg could confidently depend on Harper to be his champion. Harper did his best to accommodate Stagg's wishes and fend off any criticism of Stagg's intentions or conduct.

At least this was how it appeared once Harper died. For many years Stagg evoked President Harper's name whenever a subsequent administration made decisions affecting Stagg's department. In reality, Harper never
allowed Stagg the leeway he felt he deserved, and in the years preceding his death, Harper made it clear that he was behind several plans to significantly reform football as well as athletics. Much later, Stagg admitted that Harper was among those who, unlike Stagg, worried about placing too great an emphasis on collegiate contests: "For all his advanced views on physical training and his keen sense of advertising values, Doctor Harper shared the prevailing faculty fear of over-stressing competitive athletics as a public show." Harper worried about the expense of such endeavors: "It is not the function of the university to provide at great cost spectacular entertainment for enormous crowds of people."  

For the last few years of his life, Harper was clearly uncomfortable with the state of collegiate athletics. Less than 14 months before his death, he credited Stagg with transforming western athletics for the better over the last dozen years. He complemented Stagg for: "His intense love of pure sport, his incorruptible spirit, his indefatigable effort, his broad-minded zeal, and his absolute fairness of mind and honesty of heart." As Harper looked toward the future and what was left to be done to complete the process of reform, once again he looked to Stagg:

In the reforms that still require to be worked out he will be one of the leaders. When the football season shall have been shortened and the game on Thanksgiving day abandoned; when it has been agreed that no man shall be accepted as a candidate for an intercollegiate team who has not
been a member of the college or university for at least one scholastic year...and when we shall be able to conduct college athletics as games between gentlemen, without the professional accompaniment of gate fees...when these reforms have come about, the world will begin to appreciate some of the ideals toward which many, and among these Mr. Stagg, have been working. I am confident that it is the universal wish on the part of college and university men that Mr. Stagg may see these carried into effect.  

Harper’s presumption of Stagg’s allegiance, perhaps, betrayed his true fears that Stagg was less than committed to further reform. Certainly, Stagg fervently fought against the shortened season and elimination of the big Thanksgiving game. Regardless of Harper’s possible concerns, the tribute made clear the path advocated by the president. Reform at Chicago, if no where else, was inevitable!

In a book of essays published the year before his death, Harper publicly addressed the excesses of intercollegiate football. His solution? The endowment of athletics. Acknowledging the public’s call for a reorganization or discontinuation, Harper referred to intercollegiate athletics as "one of the most serious administrative problems of higher education." Harper targeted the problems associated with financial dependance on gate receipts which were "uncertain" and "degrading." Harper concluded, endowing athletics would reduce their cost, lessen rivalries, and remove the emphasis on large financial returns.
By the fall of 1905 Harper's health was deteriorating rapidly, but he still was able to keep in frequent touch with Stagg. At the annual commemorative chapel service, the President asked Stagg to speak on the topics of "courtesy to outside teams" and the use of the Physical Culture Department by the entire university. When Stagg was accused by an opponent of watering the field to gain advantage, Harper asked to see him even though he could barely talk. Harper's illness did not keep Stagg from asking him why a student could attend the University of Michigan and not get into the University of Chicago? Harper promised to have the matter investigated. Harper also took the time to check if the bleachers were being cleaned regularly and to offer Stagg and the football team some words of encouragement before the big Thanksgiving day game.

Stagg's most gratifying athletic achievement during Harper's tenure came at the end of the 1905 season when: "The greatest team that ever wore the C in the time of five-yard football brought us the championship." In the final game of the year, the undefeated Maroons, against whom only five points had been scored all season, met Yost's undefeated Michigan team before an audience of 25,791. Stagg recalled how evenly matched these two football powers were:

The first half was played almost entirely in the center of the field. The nearest we got to the
Michigan goal was their thirty-five-yard line, their nearest to ours, our fifty-yard line. It was punt, punt, punt...

Bedridden, President Harper had a telephone wire laid from the field to his room. As half-time neared, Harper sent his nurse to tell Stagg and the team that they must win the game. Upon receiving the message at Bartlett Gymnasium, Stagg pleaded with the men "to win for the dying president's sake." The score remained at 0-0 well into the second half until Chicago forced a safety and won the game 2-0.

Ironically, as Stagg built his formidable powerhouse in collegiate football in the early twentieth century, he would be forced to face the debilitating affects of the reforms of 1906 without his greatest champion, William Rainey Harper. Still, there would be glorious days ahead, but Stagg would often feel frustrated as he was forced to find new ways to overcome the obstacles placed before him by the conference and his own university. In his most desperate times, he would evoke the memory of Harper and the former president's devotion to athletics. Stagg's sentimental reminiscences of the early days of Chicago football obscured the realities of the repeatedly troubled relationship between the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics and the university. Whether or not Harper had lived, reform was coming to collegiate football, and there was nothing Stagg could do to stop it.
NOTES

1. "Physical Director as a Christian Calling," no date, Box 109, Folder 4, Amos Alonzo Stagg Papers, Special Collections, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago. Hereafter cited as AASP.

2. Ibid.; "Athletics," no date, Box 109, Folder 3, AASP.

3. At the University of Chicago, women were included in the program as well, but Stagg had little to do with that part of department work.

4. Harper's exploits in faculty raiding are well documented; in addition to University of Chicago histories, see: Robert L. Harvey, "Baptists and the University of Chicago, 1890-1894," Foundations XIV, no. 3 (July-September, 1971): 245-247.

5. Robin Lester, "The Rise, Decline, and Fall of Intercollegiate Football at the University of Chicago, 1890-1940," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974), 18; Amos Alonzo Stagg to his family, 20 January 1891, Stagg Folder, University President Papers, Special Collections, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago. Hereafter cited as UPP.


7. Minutes 1881-1894, Box 2, Folder 5, General Records of the YMCA, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Graduate Committee Minutes 1885-1897, Box 5, Folder 18, Dwight Hall Papers, Yale University.

8. See Ruth Sparhawk, "A Study of the Life and Contributions of Amos Alonzo Stagg to Intercollegiate Football" (Ph.D Dissertation, Springfield College, 1968); Bob Considine, The Unreconstructed Amateur (San Francisco:

9. Stagg, Touchdown, 143-144.

10. William Rainy Harper to Stagg, 21 October 1890, Box 61, Folder 23, UPP.

11. Stagg to Harper, 25 November 1890, Box XIV, Folder 38, WRHP.

12. Harper to Stagg, 1 December 1890, Box 61, Folder 23, UPP.

13. Harper to Stagg, 6 December 1890, Box 61, Folder 23, UPP.

14. Harper to Stagg, 1 January 1891, Box 61, Folder 23, UPP.

15. Stagg to his family, 1 January 1891 and Stagg to Harper, 16 February 1891, Box 61, Folder 23, UPP.

16. Harper to Stagg, 28 November 1891, Box 61, Folder 23, UPP; Stagg to Harper, 28 January 1891, Box XIV, Folder 38, WRHP. NB. Stagg's salary was approved in January of 1892 at $2,500 as Director of Physical Culture.

17. Stagg to Harper, 28 November 1891, Box XIV, Folder 38, WRHP.


20. T.W. Goodspeed to Stagg, 30 January 1892, Box 8, Folder 16, AASP.

21. Stagg to Harper, 8 March 1892, Box XIV, Folder 38, WRHP.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.
25. Stagg to Harper, 12 April, 30 May 1892, Box XIV, Folder 38, WRHP.

26. Ibid., 30 May 1892.

27. Ibid., 23 April 1892.

28. Ibid.

29. President’s Report 1892-1898, Box 18, Folder 10, AASP.


32. "First draft of my proposed speech at the Dedication of the Frank Dickinson Gymnasium which occurred Jan. 29, 1904," Box 109, Folder 4, AASP.


34. Stagg certainly was not the first professional coach at the college level, see: Ronald A. Smith, Sport and Freedom ((New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 34-35. Also: Robin Lester, "The Rise Decline and Fall of Intercollegiate Football at the University of Chicago, 1890-1940" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974), 16; Allen Ingham and Hal A. Lawson, "Conflicting Ideologies Concerning the University and Intercollegiate Athletics: Harper and Hutchins at Chicago, 1892-1940," Journal of Sport History 7, no. 4 (Spring 1983): 45.

35. The Department of Physical Culture and Athletics had the fewest faculty members with the exception of Elocution, see University of Chicago Weekly 1, no. 1 (1 October 1892): 13.

36. Stagg, Touchdown, 147.

37. Box 61, Folder 23, UPP.


40. For example: Editorial, *University of Chicago Weekly* III, no. 22 (7 March 1895): 232. There are numerous others throughout the publication.


42. President's Report 1892-1898, Box 18, Folder 10, AASP; Lester, "The Rise," 16.

43. *University of Chicago Weekly* 1, no. 1 (1 October 1892): 5.

44. Stagg to Harper, 8 March 1892, Box XIV, Folder 38, WRHP.

45. President's Report 1892-98, Box 18, Folder 10, AASP. The women's division conducted free standing exercises on the forth floor of Cobb Hall.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.


49. Stagg to Harper, 11 October 1892, Box 61, Folder 23, UPP.

50. Hand written notes, no date, Box 18, Folder 3, AASP.

51. "Physical Culture and Athletics at the University of Chicago," no date, Box 18, Folder 3, AASP, p. 1.


53. Address to Summer Students, no date, Box 109, Folder 7, AASP; Harper to Stagg, 25 June 1895, Box 9, Folder 1, AASP.

54. Harper to Stagg, 25 June 1895, Box 9, Folder 1, AASP.

55. Address to Summer Students, no date, Box 109, Folder 7, AASP.
56. President's Report 1892-1898, Box 18, Folder 10, AASP.


58. President's Report 1892-1898, Box 18, Folder 10, AASP.

59. President's Report 1892-1898, Box 18, Folder 10, AASP.

60. Handwritten notes with, but not part of President's Report 1892-1898, Box 18, Folder 10, AASP. Most requests for excuse from physical culture classes were accepted. During the 1904-05 year, out of 108 requests, 82 were granted, 33 for performing equal work, 16 for disability, five for "other," and 28 were deferred. Of the 28 deferred, 22 were given "special work" and the remaining four were assigned to class, see: President's Report, 1904-1905, Box 18, Folder 12, AASP.

61. Harper to Stagg, 15 August 1900, Box 9, Folder 4, AASP.

62. Ibid., 22 July 1901.

63. Harper to Stagg, 7 February 1903, Box 9, Folder 7, AASP.

64. Harper to Stagg, 8 January 1902, Box 9, Folder 5, AASP. Harper enclosed an article from the Chicago Inter Ocean, 6 January 1902.

65. Harper to Stagg, 5 November 1901, Box 9, Folder 4, AASP.

66. Stagg to Harper, 22 May 1902, Box 9, Folder 4, AASP.

67. "Historical Items - Departmental Organization," July, October 1902, Box 109, Folder 6, AASP.

68. Stagg to Harper, 22 May 1902, Box 9, Folder 4, AASP.

69. "First draft of my proposed speech at the Dedication of the Frank Dickinson Gymnasium which occurred Jan. 29. 1904," Box 109, Folder 4, AASP.

70. Typed speech for the gymnasium dedication, 29 January 1904, Box 109, Folder 4, AASP.
71. Stagg to Harper, 5 December 1904, Box 9, Folder 9, AASP.

72. Harper to Stagg, 13 April 1905, Box 9, Folder 10, AASP.

73. "Physical Culture," Box 18, Folder 3, AASP, p. 2.

74. Lovett, All Our Years, 64.

75. Stagg to Harper, 8 March 1892, Box XIV, Folder 38, WRHP.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid., 30 May 1892.


79. Ibid., 221.

80. Ibid., 262-264.

81. Stagg to Pauline, 9 October 1892, Box 1, Folder 14, AASP.


83. UCW II, no. 2 (12 October 1893): 7.

84. Editorial, UCW II, no. 2 (12 October 1893): 4-5.


86. UCW II, no. 6 (9 November 1893): 4; UCW II, no. 7 (16 November 1893): 4, 6.

87. Editorial, UCW II, no. 3 (19 October 1893): 4.

88. Ibid., 7.

89. UCW II, no. 4 (26 October 1893): 1-2.

90. Ibid., 4.


94. Stagg to Walter Camp, 14 March 1894, Box 23, Folder 651, Walter Camp Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.


96. Reported by both the Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Herald, 1 December 1893.


98. Stagg to Pauline, 9 October 1892, Box 1, Folder 14, AASP; Stagg to Harper, 9 October 1892, Box 61, Folder 23, UPP.

99. Stagg to Stella Stagg, 10 October 1892, Box 1, Folder 14, AASP.

100. Storr, Harper’s University, 168.

101. Ibid., 169.

102. Ibid.

103. Handwritten letter to the editor, 1895, Box 18, Folder 7, AASP.

104. Ibid.

105. Storr, Harper’s University, 169-170.

106. T.W. Goodspeed to Stagg, 21 June 1893, Box 8, Folder 16, AASP.

107. See Stagg’s handwritten notes re: fraternities, circa 1894, Box 18, Folder 3, AASP.

108. Ibid.

109. Lovett, All Our Years, 67; UCW III, no. 30 (9 May 1895): 1.

110. Ibid., 67.

111. Ibid.
112. **UCW III, no. 30 (9 May 1895): 1.**


115. Amos Alonzo Stagg Jr., interview by Dominick Bertinetti, 22 February 1985, Tape recording, SSC.

116. Stella Roberts, "Written at Sunset," 27 February 1894, Box 2, Folder 16, AASP.

117. **UCW II, no. 37 (12 July 1894): 3.**


119. Unsigned letter to Stella Robertson from her sister, 3 March 1894, unaccessioned papers, SSC. Stella’s mother took a gentler approach. When informed by Stella that Stagg would be arriving at the same time in order to meet the family, her mother replied that they could not possibly prepare for Stagg’s arrival in time and told Stella to come on her own, leaving the opportunity for Stagg to come at a later date open; Mrs. Robertson to Stella, 7 March 1894, unaccessioned papers, SSC.

120. George Stagg to Miss Robertson, 7 May 1894, unaccessioned papers, SSC.

121. Stagg to Stella Robertson, 9 July 1894, excerpts kept by Stagg, unaccessioned papers, SSC.

122. Ibid., 6 August 1894.

123. Ibid., 10 August 1894.

124. Ibid., 12 August 1894.

125. Ibid., 26 August 1894.

126. Ibid.

127. Ibid.

128. Ibid.

129. Ibid., 30 August 1894.

130. Ibid., 2 September 1894.
131. Stagg to Stella, 28 June 1895, Box 2, Folder 16, AASP.

132. Ibid., 29, 30 June 1895.

133. Ibid., 16 August 1895.

134. Stagg to Dr. J.E. Raycroft, 26 July 1901, Box 12, Folder 1, AASP.


137. Stagg, Touchdown, 191.


139. Ibid., 293-294.

140. Editorial, UCW II, no. 17 (1 February 1894): 5-6.


142. UCW II, no. 24 (22 March 1894): 7.

143. UCW III, no. 10 (6 December 1894): 113.

144. Storr, Harper's University, 181.

145. "Petition to the Board of Physical Culture and Athletics," 18 November 1896, Box 18, Folder 1, AASP.

146. President's Report, Box 18, Folder 10, AASP.


148. Ibid., 49.

149. Ibid., 61.

150. Ibid., 293. Stagg finished 5-5-2 in 1901.

151. Harper to Stagg, 25 October 1904 and Harper to Mr. R.M. Strong, 14 November 1904, Box 9, Folder 9, AASP.

152. Henry Porter Chandler to Stagg, 14 November 1904, Box 9, Folder 9, AASP.
153. Stagg to Stella Robertson, 10 August 1894, unaccessioned papers, SSC.

154. Harper to Stagg, 27 January 1902 and Stagg to Harper, 6 February 1902, Box 9, Folder 5, AASP.


156. Ibid., 13,17.

157. See various letters, Stagg to Stella, Box 2, Folders 16, 17, AASP.

158. Stagg to Stella, 24 June 1895, Box 2, Folder 16, AASP.

159. Stagg to Stella, 16, 22, 25, 26 August 1895, Box 2, Folder 16, AASP.

160. Stagg to Stella, August 26, 1895, Box 2, Folder 16, AASP, JRL, UC.

161. Ibid., 28 September 1895.

162. Ibid., 25 August 1895.

163. Stagg to "Mama" [Mrs. Roberts], 18 August 1896, Box 2, Folder 17, AASP.


165. Copy of letter from Stagg to Amos Alonzo Stagg, Jr., 23 June 1900, unaccessioned papers, SSC.


167. Stagg to Harper, 5 July 1901, Box 9, Folder 4, AASP.

168. Harper to Stagg, 22 July 1901, Box 9, Folder 4, AASP.

169. President's Report, 1902-1903, Box 18, Folder 11, AASP.
170. Athletic Department Faculty to Athletic Department and Faculty Committee on the Men's Commons, 23 November 1904, Box 9, Folder 9, AASP.


172. Stagg to Stella, 11 August 1896, Box 2, Folder 17, AASP.

173. Harper to Stagg, 1 November 1901, Box 9, Folder 4, AASP.

174. Correspondence with athletes, 3 February 1900, Box 13, Folder 2, AASP.

175. Ibid., 19 September 1900, Box 13, Folder 2, AASP.

176. Correspondence with athletes, 20 June 1898, Box 13, Folder 4, AASP.

177. Ibid.; correspondence with athletes, 4 March 1899, Box 13, Folder 3; correspondence with athletes, 21 July, 27 September 1902, Box 13, Folder 4, AASP.

178. Correspondence with athletes, 2 August 1899, Box 13, Folder 2, AASP.

179. "History of the "C" Banquet," circa 1937, Box 23, Folder 3, AASP.

180. President's Report, 1902-03, 1903-04, Box 18, Folder 11, AASP.

181. Ibid.

182. "History of the 'C' Banquet," circa 1937, Box 23, Folder 3, AASP.

183. Stagg to Harper, 21 November 1904, Box 9, Folder 9, AASP.

184. "History of the 'C' Banquet," circa 1937, Box 23, Folder 3, AASP.

185. President's Report, 1903-04, Box 18, Folder 11, AASP; "He Was Disloyal," no date, Box 109, Folder 4, AASP.

186. "Things which should be embodied in the Club," circa 1904, Box 109, Folder 4, AASP.

187. "C" Banquet, June 1931, Box 23, Folder 3, AASP.

189. Stagg to Harper, 14 August 1901, Box 9, Folder 4, AASP.

190. Harper to Stagg, 14 October 1902, Box 61, Folder 23, UPP; Francis Shepardson, Secretary to the President, to Stagg, 14 October 1902, Box 9, Folder 6, AASP.


193. Butterworth to Stagg, 18, 23, 24 July 1895, Box 11, Folder 2, AASP.

194. Butterworth to Stagg, 24 July 1896, Box 11, Folder 2, AASP. But Stagg had another plan to occupy Butterworth's summer hours: a summer football team that would keep University of Chicago players out "professional" "entanglements" and in shape for the season and provide entertainment for spectators. Stagg to Harper, 11 July 1896, Box 9, Folder 2, AASP. This team could not use the university's name and would include 3-4 players from other colleges.


196. Stagg to A.B. Snider, 31 December 1904 and A.B. Snider to Stagg, 1, 3 January 1905, Box 12, Folder 16, AASP.

197. Ibid., 11 January 1905.

198. Ibid.

199. Ibid., 31 January 1905.

200. Ibid., 14 January 1905.

201. James Raycroft to Stagg, 8 December, Stagg to Raycroft, 13 December, Raycroft to Stagg, 19, 28 December 1904, Box 12, Folder 1, AASP.

202. Stagg to Raycroft, 5 April 1905, Box 12, Folder 2, AASP.

203. Ibid. In addition to Williamson, Raycroft was working on Steffens, Speik, and Garett.
204. Harper to Stagg, 5 November 1901, Box 9, Folder 4, AASP.

205. Stagg to Harper, 22 April 1902, Box 9, Folder 4, AASP.

206. Harper to Stagg, 1 November 1901, Box 9, Folder 4, AASP.

207. Stagg to Harper, 22 May 1902, Box 9, Folder 4, AASP.

208. Harper to Stagg, 5 November 1901 and Stagg to Harper, 22 May 1902, Box 9, Folder 4, AASP.

209. Harper to Stagg, 19 September 1902, Box 9, Folder 6, AASP.

210. Wayland Chase to Harper, 20 September 1902, Box 9, Folder 6, AASP.

211. Harper to Stagg, 13 January 1903, Box 9, Folder 7, AASP.

212. Stagg to Harper, 16 January 1903, Box 9, Folder 7, AASP.

213. Harper to Stagg, 6 June 1895, Box 9, Folder 1, AASP.

214. President's Report, 1892-1898, Box 18, Folder 10, AASP.

215. Butterworth to Stagg, 16 July 1895, Box 11, Folder 2, AASP.

216. Ibid., 9 July 1895.

217. Ibid.

218. President's Report, 1892-1898, Box 18, Folder 10, AASP.

219. Lovett, All Our Years, 57.

220. Butterworth to Stagg, 16 July 1895, Box 11, Folder 2, AASP.

221. Ibid., 22, 23 July 1895.

222. Ibid., 24 July 1895.
223. Harper to Stagg, 27 July 1895, Box 9, Folder 1, AASP.

224. Butterworth to Stagg, 28 July 1895, Box 11, Folder 2, AASP.

225. Harper to Stagg, 1 August 1895, Box 9, Folder 1, AASP.

226. Stagg to Stella, 19, 25 August 1895, Box 2, Folder 16, AASP.


229. Voltmer, A Brief History, 6-7.

230. Wilson, Big Ten, 52.

231. Ibid.

232. Voltmer, A Brief History, 7.

233. Wilson, Big Ten, 52-53.


235. Wilson, Big Ten, 54.

236. "Athletic Rules," 4 April 1896, Box 18, Folder 1, AASP. The Conference did not have a constitution or by-laws. The faculty representatives had the power to pass governing legislation that could be amended and clarified. See Voltmer, A Brief History, 6.

237. Ibid.


239. "Intercollegiate Rules," 1 December 1899, Box 18, Folder 2, AASP.

240. Ibid; see Rule 12 (the "six month" rule).

241. Voltmer, A Brief History, 8.
242. Ibid., 9.

243. Harper to Stagg, 12 November and Charles Slichter to Harper, 8 November 1900, Box 9, Folder 4, AASP.

244. Voltmer, A Brief History, 10.

245. Ibid.

246. Storr, Harper’s University, 170.

247. Ibid.

248. Stagg to Harper, 24 March 1896, Box 9, Folder 2, AASP.

249. Quoted in Storr, Harper’s University, 252.

250. Harper to Stagg, 7 April 1896, Box 9, Folder 2, AASP.

251. Stagg to Harper, 11 July 1896 and Harper to Stagg, 12 November 1896, Folder 9, Box 2, AASP.

252. Stagg to Stella, 7 August 1896, Box 2, Folder 17, AASP.

253. Harper to Stagg, 1 June 1897, Box 9, Folder 2, AASP.

254. Harper to Stagg: 15, 16 June, 14, 15 October, 22 November 1897, Box 9, Folder 2, AASP; Harper to Stagg, 6 October 1898, 18 January, 13 February, 24 April, 20 November 1899, Box 9, Folder 3, AASP.

255. Harper to Stagg, 23 November 1897, Box 9, Folder 2, AASP.

256. Harper to Stagg, 20 February 1900, Box 9, Folder 4, AASP.

257. Ibid., 30 October and 6 November 1901.

258. Stagg to Dr. J.E. Raycroft, 26 July 1901, Box 12, Folder 1, AASP.

259. Harper to Stagg, 13 August 1902, Box 9, Folder 6, AASP.

260. Ibid., 30 September, 14 October, 30 December 1902, and 21 February 1903.
261. Stagg to Harper, 25 February 1903, Shepardson to Stagg, 4 March 1903, Harper to Stagg, 31 March 1903 and Shepardson to Stagg, 11 April 1903, Box 9, Folder 7, AASP.


263. Harper to Stagg, 27 April 1895, Box 9, Folder 1, AASP.

264. Ibid., June 1895.

265. Ibid.

266. Ibid., 13 September 1900, 28 March 1901; Stagg to Harper, 2 April 1903, Box 9, Folder 7, AASP.


268. Stagg to Professor Barton at the University of Illinois, 21 August 1905, Box 9, Folder 11, AASP.


270. Horace Butterworth, "Courtesy and Hostship," no date, Box 9, Folder 4, AASP. The remaining suggestions not listed here were much less sinister in their intent.

271. Harper to O.J. Thatcher, 1 December 1902, Box 9, Folder 4, AASP.

272. O.J. Thatcher to Harper, no date, Box 9, Folder 4, AASP.


274. Ibid.

275. Ibid., 172.


277. William Rainey Harper, "Tribute to Amos Alonzo Stagg," 19 November 1904, Box 109, Folder 4, AASP.


279. Ibid., 277.

280. Ibid., 281.
281. Henry Pratt Judson to Stagg, 29 September 1905, Box 9, Folder 15, AASP; Address for the 14th Anniversary Chapel Exercise, October 2, 1905, Box 109, Folder 4, AASP.

282. Harper to Stagg, 23 October 1905, Box XIV, Folder 38, WRHP.

283. Stagg to Harper, 14, 16 November 1905, Box XIV, Folder 38, WRHP.

284. Harper to Stagg, 21 November 1905, Box XIV, Folder 38, WRHP.


286. Ibid., 250.

287. Ibid., 252-3.

288. Ibid.
The years following Harper's death were not easy for Stagg. Intercollegiate football was in the midst of a national crisis that captured the attention of the country and the President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt.¹ The deadliness of the game challenged the notion that commercial athletics had a legitimate role in higher education, and some of the most articulate critics of intercollegiate football were at the University of Chicago.

Economist Thorstein Veblen had criticized the college "athletic element" since his days at Yale. At Chicago, Veblen specifically targeted Stagg and the game of football for his condemnation.² Stagg was a freshman at Yale the same year Veblen took his Ph.D., and the two came to the University of Chicago at the same time. Veblen joined the Economics Department with a fellowship of $520 and Stagg, who had no advanced degree, received a tenured, associate professorship and a salary of $2,500. In his fourteen years at Chicago, Veblen would not rise above Assistant Professor and would wait over ten years to make $1,000.³ In a not so thinly veiled attack on Stagg, Veblen
questioned the athletic appropriation of religious morality: "'[I]t happens not infrequently that college sporting men devote themselves to the religious propaganda, either as a vocation or as a by-occupation.'" Veblen measured the value of intercollegiate football in a manner opposite to that of Stagg and Harper. Where Stagg found reason to praise, Veblen criticized. Writing in 1899, Veblen did not see athletics as a builder of character but as an incubator of "fraud" and "chicanery." He believed the "autumn brutality" mirrored and taught the "predatory spirit pandemic in American business practice," and he characterized participation in athletics as an example of "'arrested spiritual development.'"5

Another vocal adversary from within the university was Professor Shailer Matthews, dean of the Divinity School. At the close of Chicago's triumphant 1905 season, an article titled "Football Reform by Abolition" quoted Matthews:

> Football to-day is a social obsession - a boy killing, education-prostituting, gladiatorial sport. It teaches virility and courage, but so does war. I do not know what should take its place, but the new game should not require the services of a physician, the maintenance of a hospital and the celebration of funerals.

The intellectual contempt for intercollegiate athletics that many within the university community added to Stagg's defensiveness and feelings of inferiority.

Although Harper made his feelings on the future
direction of intercollegiate athletics clear, the grave nature of his illness precluded any serious attempts at reform. But the Faculty Senate moved immediately on the question of reform at Chicago at the close of the 1905 season:

Resolved: That in the opinion of this body it will be the duty of the University to refuse to sanction participation by its students in intercollegiate football contests unless changes be made which will eliminate the flagrant moral and physical evils at present connected with the game.

The Senate voted to form a committee to investigate and report on the state of intercollegiate athletics.

In a far less impassioned statement, the committee gave little indication of the seriousness of their intention to correct the failings of football at Chicago. Approaching unanimity on all points, the committee made the following observations: that the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics should continue as an integral part of the university’s program; that under the direction of Amos Alonzo Stagg the department has conducted its work with integrity and has the support of the faculties; and Stagg has worked diligently to eliminate roughness from the game. In addition, the senate adopted two resolutions: one formed a committee to determine specific reform measures and the other called for Stagg to support any changes intended to bring about reform. Ignoring the carefully phrased encouragement toward reform, Stagg remarked that
the final resolutions contradicted the introductory points; if, according to Stagg, the initial observations were true, then the resolutions were not necessary.\textsuperscript{8}

Within a month of the senate's meeting, Harper was dead, and Dean Henry Pratt Judson was appointed acting president. The senate's reaction to the national crisis and the death of his greatest advocate, put Stagg on the defense for the rest of his days at the University of Chicago. Ironically, as his reputation outside the university grew, his power and autonomy within the university gradually eroded.

While Stagg's relationship with the new president could not be characterized as unpleasant, often it was difficult. Judson wanted intercollegiate athletics to continue at Chicago, but he was not nearly as enthusiastic a supporter as his predecessor was. Judson had worked closely with President Harper as Dean of the Colleges at Chicago, but he was no Harper, and the office of president did not command the same power or influence that it had under his predecessor's tenure. Judson was in no position to shield or protect a faculty member from the scrutiny of the University Senate, as Harper had done for Stagg. With Harper's passing, the lack of consensus within the university regarding the value of intercollegiate athletics could finally be addressed. As a result, Judson often found himself in the dual role of a buffer between Stagg and the
Senate and faculty, and an enforcer, of university policy on an uncooperative Stagg. From this point on, Stagg could never again assume support from the office of the president against an indifferent and often hostile faculty.

Nevertheless, Stagg continued his fight for control and independence, even refusing to allow a world war to interrupt his job as football coach of the Chicago eleven. Stagg emerged from World War I as the national symbol of American "physicality" through his support for the continuation of intercollegiate athletics for the duration of the war. Football was Stagg's bread and butter, and if it was suspended, even temporarily, the entire workings of the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics could come to an abrupt halt. He did not want anything to interrupt or intrude upon athletics, not even war.

***

The outcry for reform that accompanied the football season of 1905 was by far the most severe threat to the continuation of intercollegiate athletics that Stagg ever faced. Stagg did not necessarily oppose rule changes, but he had good cause to be wary of those who questioned the worthiness of intercollegiate football in higher education. Northwestern and several other institutions outside the conference had either abolished the sport altogether or replaced it with the game of rugby. Two groups, the Conference of Faculty Representatives and the University
Senate, posed the greatest challenge to the future of Chicago athletics; stricter rules regulating play would not be enough.\(^\text{10}\)

President Angell of Michigan spoke for many when he wrote to the conference expressing his concerns about intercollegiate football. Among his objections were the prolonged "invasion" of football into higher education's "proper work" during the fall term; football, he asserted, left many with a false picture of college life, giving greater attention to "brawn" than "brains." Finally, he decried the amount of money invested in the spectacle which created too great a temptation for misuse.\(^\text{11}\) In response, at a meeting held in Chicago on January 19, 1906, the faculty representatives to the conference agreed that the physical dangers associated with playing the game were not as great as the evils associated with the commercialization of the sport. It was decided that either the excesses of overemphasis be corrected or the game would have to be eliminated from intercollegiate competition; an emergency meeting was scheduled for March.\(^\text{12}\)

As the faculty representative for Chicago, Stagg should have been at each meeting voicing his opinion, instead, he was in Florida recovering from an operation on his leg. Stagg suffered from a chronic case of sciatica, and he often waited until football season was over to receive treatment for the ailment, which frequently left
him absent from the campus during the winter months. This trip was his third attempt at a cure, and Raycroft pleaded with him not to return before he was well healed. 13 Unable to exert any direct influence on the proceedings Stagg was forced to fight for his professional future via the United States mail. 14

The first formal challenge came from within the university itself. As a result of the senate's investigation it was determined that some of the rivalries within the conference were too intense. The committee recommended abolishment of football at the university, or, at the very least, the termination of the big games. Toward the end of January, apparently feeling he had no where else to turn, Stagg wrote directly to the members of the Board of Trustees protesting vehemently against precedence of the senate legislating for the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics without consulting him. To Stagg, this was nothing more than taxation without representation. Originally, Stagg's letter closed with: "This is so manifestly unfair and un-American, that I appeal to the Board of Trustees to correct the same, for no man with any fiber in him would be willing to work under such conditions." In the final draft, Stagg removed the implied threat to resign: "I appeal to the Board of Trustees to see that justice is done to the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics." 15 Rumors that the
During March of 1906, the faculty representatives held a special meeting to recommend changes in conference policies. Stagg worried most about the status of the financially successful Michigan game. Stagg telegraphed his assistant, James Raycroft: "Michigan game must not be cancelled. Nothing must be done until my return." Nevertheless, on March 10, 1906, the conference officially adopted several strict regulations and requirements for members wishing to continue affiliation; these included:

1. One year of residence for eligibility.
2. Three year competition limit; graduate students ineligible.
3. Five game competition limit per season.
4. Training table and training quarters abolished.
5. Fifty cent limit on student/faculty tickets.
6. No outside games for freshman or second teams.
7. "University bodies" must hire coaches at moderate salaries.
8. Reduction of receipts and expenses of athletic contests.

Stagg's worst nightmare was coming true. The Michigan game was gone and his schedule would be cut by fifty percent.

President Judson and Stagg exchanged several letters in an attempt to convince the other of the seriousness of the situation as they saw it. Judson tried to explain to Stagg that things could be worse, that some had been in favor of discontinuing conference play all together for two years and doing away with "professional" coaches like Stagg. Stag took the senate's action personally, and in
his reply to Judson he expressed the opinion that senate reform implied to the public that Chicago was one of "the worst offenders athletically." He continued: "It seems to me that my thirteen years work at the University should have stood for something...for which I have labored with absolute loyalty from the beginning and for which I have almost crippled myself." Stagg evoked the memory of President Harper, claiming that under Harper nothing was discussed let alone passed in regard to the department without his consultation.

While it was one of Stagg's greatest frustrations that the harshest scrutiny and criticism of the Chicago football program came from within the university itself, he admitted the real reason for his distress: the loss of big game revenue. Stagg reminded Judson:

The financial responsibility of the department has been my special burden. For several years I had to back the athletic work from my salary...and it is only until recently...that we have been able to finish our year without a deficit...In as much as football supplies the funds practically for all our sports...[financing the activities of the department]... is a matter of decided importance and has been my undisputed duty to attend to.

Stagg was well aware of his responsibility not only to win but also to make money. He knew that if Chicago football was eliminated, the same fate would await the entire department as well as his supposedly secure position. To Stagg it was simple: in order to have a Department of Physical Culture and Athletics he needed a successful
revenue producing sport like football. The proceeds from football gave him whatever autonomy he had. What Stagg refused to acknowledge in the current debate was the challenge to the assumption that commercial athletics had a legitimate role in the university, a position that he and Harper had shared. The university, through the senate, questioned this assumption formally for the first time.

Judson's reasoning eventually prevailed. While he assured Stagg that he wanted to save the game of football at Chicago, he would not circumvent the right of the senate, which took precedence over any department or faculty, to address and act upon any issue having to do with the university. Judson reprimanded Stagg for appealing to the Board of Trustees without his knowledge and explained why actions were taken before Stagg could return: "The whole athletic situation is in a critical condition and we cannot deal with it at arm's length. If you had been here or within reach, of course you would have had a voice in the whole matter." Attempting to reassure Stagg, Judson informed him that "the action would have been much more drastic if I had not brought a strong influence to bear." Along with Judson, those closest to athletic reform at Chicago encouraged Stagg to remain in Florida until he had fully recuperated, knowing that his presence would make implementation all the more difficult.

The most drastic reforms were the reduction of number
of games per season and the elimination of the "big games." The Intercollegiate Conference recommended: "That not more than five games of intercollegiate football shall be played by any team in any season." This cut Chicago's schedule in half, reducing the department's revenue by approximately $12,000. Costs had to be cut; plans for expansion were curtailed, and Stagg economized wherever he could. The new austerity included discontinuing free admission to baseball games and curbing financial support for the school band. Offended when Judson questioned his decision to cut band expenditures, Stagg defensively responded that former President Harper accepted Stagg's decisions regarding the allocation of department funds.

Another reform affecting Chicago was the elimination of the training table and training quarters. The training table was a popular means of providing meals and living quarters to athletes free of charge. Officially, students were billed for the privilege but collection was erratic at best. As one conference representative described it, the housing and nourishment of athletes was "a factor more prolific of graft and the fostering of the professional athlete than any other phase of American college sport." Chicago was no exception; athletes were charged on a sliding scale for their meals and room and board. Stagg had long maintained that the training program was essential to athletic performance.
Conspicuously absent from any direct involvement in reform, Stagg steered discussion away from the game by focusing on the conditions surrounding it. He proposed to expand his "Chicago Idea," first introduced in 1905 between Chicago and Minnesota, to the entire conference. This agreement addressed the "bitterness" that characterized university relations in athletic matters and attempted to reduce rivalries, not through changes in the rules but through encouraging sportsmanship outside the game. In addition to financial disclosure of game costs and receipts, confidentiality of eligibility between the two competing institutions, and a pledge not to spy on opponents, the plan featured a dinner to be given by the host school the night before the contest. Stagg concluded in his report to the president for 1906-07 that the "Chicago Idea" reduced penalties for rough conduct during the games and promoted friendly rivalries with not only Minnesota but also Purdue, Indiana, Illinois and Nebraska. In practice, the "Chicago Idea" did little more than pay lip service to amateur ideals. The pre-game banquet was original, but the reduction of penalties may have been a result of the opening up of the play and not the breaking of bread between opponents.

By 1911, Stagg's principles of sportsmanship, renamed the "Purity Resolutions," became the recommended procedure for conference football games except for the pre-game
dinner, which due to a number of complaints was made optional.\textsuperscript{39} In his annual report, Stagg boastfully noted that the conference formally adopted the principles of his original agreement: "Thereby taking the most advanced step which has ever been made by any athletic body in the United States for establishing ideal intercollegiate relations."\textsuperscript{40}

While the Chicago-Minnesota agreement addressed some of the peripheral issues facing intercollegiate competition, Stagg designed the arrangement to avoid the establishment of a sovereign central intercollegiate organization. Reference to enforcement was carefully avoided. An independent authority managing conference athletics would undermine institutional autonomy and Stagg's power significantly. Instead, Stagg favored leaving as many decisions as possible up to the individuals involved, not the conference.

Within two years of the reforms, Stagg was working hard to get conference approval to increase the number of football games in a season from five to seven. Chicago had played only five games the last two seasons, and Stagg was anxious to recoup some of the financial losses. With Judson's support, Chicago cast the deciding vote within the conference to increase the number of games. At Chicago, the Board of Physical Culture and Athletics agreed to a schedule of six games for the 1908 season and seven the
following year.\textsuperscript{41}

Although Stagg's report to the president of that year reflected the recent tensions between the department and the university, he addressed many of them in a positive light. Stagg confidently stated that the "Revolution in Athletics" had been a "definite benefit to the athletic world," noting the improved relations among the eight conference members, with the exception of Michigan.\textsuperscript{42} Stagg explained that the principles of the "Chicago Idea" with Minnesota had become the basis of Chicago's intercollegiate football policy.\textsuperscript{43}

Perhaps the most telling part of Stagg's report was the section headed: "Influence of the Division on Athletics in General." Ever since Harper's death, Stagg had spent a lot of time justifying his existence within the university.\textsuperscript{44} He used his tenured faculty position and the physical culture requirement for graduation as his main defense; he also tried to demonstrate the department's ability to prepare students for life after college. Just as other departments were preparing students for careers, in teaching, law, and business, the Physical Culture & Athletics Department was not training potential professional athletes but future college and university coaches and gymnasium directors.\textsuperscript{45}

The long term damage of the reforms of 1906 looked more serious than they were. Although only 17 to 20 men
turned out each season from 1906 to 1908, and Chicago "had no high school teams upon which to sharpen our teeth," the football team continued to win, claiming the conference championship in 1907 and 1908.\textsuperscript{46} Stagg later referred to this stretch as one of the two greatest football eras for the Maroons.\textsuperscript{47} He credited the Maroon's strong showing to the forward pass, "the pass made all men equal," and to "two brilliant open-field runners," Walter Ekersall (1906 would be his last season) and Walter Steffen.\textsuperscript{48} In 1907, Steffen took Ekersall's place at "quarter" and led the eleven to the top of the conference that year and the next.\textsuperscript{49} Stagg said of Steffen:

...I never have seen his like as a dodger in point of cleverness and resourcefulness, supported by splendid speed. In running from quarterback position, I never have seen anyone who could even approximate his ability. He dodges with equal facility either way. He is clever and accurate in forward passing. He is safe and deadly in his tackling. He is unusually strong in catching and returning punts. He is a good punter and drop, and above all he is an inspiring leader and an unsurpassed general.\textsuperscript{50}

The next two years were rebuilding years for the Maroon eleven. The team came close to championships in 1911 and 1912, recording only one loss in each of the seasons, and finally won the conference title again in 1913.\textsuperscript{51}

In the years between Harper's death and World War I, other intercollegiate sports came into their own as well. James Raycroft led the basketball team, which only began conference competition in the fall of 1906, to three
straight Western Conference championships in 1908, '09, and '10. During the same three years, the swimming team also won their conference championships. In 1908 and 1914 the tennis team was conference champs. The golf team won its first conference championship in 1914, as did the gymnastics team. Every so often, the baseball nine returned to its former glory, tying for the conference championship in 1909 and winning it in 1913. For the most part, though, baseball was mentioned only when the team played a series of games with a Japanese team every five years.

Under the Judson administration, football returned to its former position, relatively unscarred, and the athletic department continued to grow. Now that Stagg had established a winning tradition at Chicago, the football program began to bring in large amounts of revenue. At the same time, Stagg continued to fight what he perceived as an erosion of his authority and the autonomy of his department. He did not take threats, imagined or real, easily. While Judson struggled to define for Stagg the boundaries within which the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics must work, Stagg continued to try to assert his independence. Department finances were a continuing source of conflict, especially since the scheduling cuts and the loss of receipts from the Michigan and Wisconsin games, and Stagg attempted to maintain his control over expenditures.
Once reformers were satisfied that genuine improvements in the game had been achieved, the administration’s attention shifted from the game of football itself to an examination of procedures followed by Stagg and his department. The initial focus was on the finances of the department; specifically, on the Athletic Fund. The fund contained the gate receipts from intercollegiate competitions and for the athletic related work of the university. At first, the fund received little regard, for the amount of money brought in was insignificant in comparison to the monies needed to finance the work of the department (buildings, equipment, salaries, etc.). The department never raised money for athletics through subscription, but it did have to look to other sources, including the director’s own pocket, for the first dozen or so years to support intercollegiate athletics. A university appropriation of approximately $12,500 went toward the salaries of the director, full time department faculty members and some assistant coaches; any increases would have to come from the department’s fund, including any raises Stagg received. Traditionally, distribution was determined by Stagg. Soon the Athletic Fund paid for numerous "minor" sports that were not "self-supporting" and all of the gymnasium instruction. Stagg did not want to release the receipts and expenditures for football to avoid intensifying the jealousy of Chicago’s rivals. Finally,
Stagg began to realize his goal of improving and maintaining the physical health of the entire student body through the physical culture requirement and intercollegiate athletics and paid for by the fund. 60

In 1908, the United Faculties of Arts, Literature and Sciences requested that the University Council "inquire" into how athletic funds were managed. 61 The University Council formed the "Committee on the Financial Administration of the Division of Athletics" which recommended that: 1) The Board of Physical Culture and Athletics be required to formulate a budget. 2) All expenditures should be based on that budget. 3) All expenditures should be through requisition. 4) Petty cash should be limited to one hundred dollars. These procedures would bring the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics more in line with the rest of the university. 62

Once again, Stagg was in Florida recuperating from the football season and old ailments, so James Raycroft responded to the committee's proposals for Stagg in his absence. Raycroft argued that Athletics was not a "Department" but a "Division" that "should be treated as it always has been, as a business...all of the funds being handled by the University in the capacity of a bank." 63 The discrepancy over whether Physical Culture and Athletics was a "division" like the University's Extension program and the University Press, or a "department" like the
academic disciplines was forever debated. Stagg said he
did not care what the department was called as long as his
title was "authoritatively named." Raycroft proposed a
"working fund," i.e., petty cash, of approximately $1,000
that would be immediately accessible to the director.
Thus the innate contradiction in Stagg's stubborn
insistence that his department was equal to any other was
made blatantly clear: the Department of Physical Culture
and Athletics was a commercial venture, unlike any other
academic discipline. Stagg's attempt to ally the
commercial side, athletics, with the "academic" side,
physical culture, required a creative imagination.

Predictably, Stagg was extremely protective of his
fund and ignored the committee's recommendations whenever
he could. Even though the university's business manager
officially oversaw the department's finances, Stagg
insisted on approving all transactions to ensure that no
unnecessary charges were made against it. Stagg scornfully
wrote the chief financial officer, Trevor Arnett: "I have
asked twice that bills of this sort sent to me for my OK
before payment is made." The only exception Stagg made was
for those expenditures authorized by the president or the
Board of Trustees. Stagg did have to submit a written
budget to the Board of Physical Culture and Athletics each
quarter for approval. But it was his budget, and he sat on
the board that approved it. For many years this group was
made up of faculty "friendly" to athletics who were reluctant to cross Stagg. 68

Stagg tried to conserve his fund whenever and wherever he could, even if it meant contradicting the stated purpose of his program. While publicly pronouncing that the department was for the physical improvement of the entire student body, privately, Stagg resented having to use money from the Athletic Fund for any work not directly related to competitive athletics. For example, Stagg felt that the university should be responsible for the salaries of the Women's Division, not the Athletic Fund. 69 When it appeared that the department might lose control of the annual Spring Festival, Stagg wrote to the head of the women's division, Gertrude Dudley, insisting that she prevent the Student Council from taking over the festivities:

> It is a matter or very great financial importance that we control the finances of the Festival. For several years we have been contributing close to $2,000.00 to the women's work, and this has all come out of our athletic fund, to which the women's department does not contribute a single income-earning event." 70

He saw the festival as an opportunity for the women to contribute to their own finances. 71

In his report to the president in 1909, Stagg pointedly remarked that the Athletic Department was "prospering financially," even though over $6,000 went to "outside interests." While his reasoning was unclear,
Stagg considered department library maintenance, equipment purchases, janitorial service, gymnastic instructor's salaries, and the costs related to the women's gymnasium and athletic field as expenses outside the general department's interests. From Stagg's perspective, his division was not only self-sufficient, but also carried more than its share; no other department could make the same claim, and he wanted recognition for it.

The financial encroachments continued, and Stagg's resentment grew. In 1911, for the first time since 1904, the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics reported a budget deficit. Stagg admitted that this was due, in part, to a decline in football revenue that resulted from a weak team and the scheduling of too many away games, but there was another culprit, the Board of Trustees "[who]...have been grabbing our funds for several years to piece out in many places." Stagg noted that had the university trustees followed his recommendation to invest surplus monies instead of spending them elsewhere, this circumstance would have been avoided.

Stagg ruled his department much like a monarch with a lifetime reign. No one was allowed to give interviews or furnish any publicity to the news media without his prior approval. When an assistant took the basketball team to Iowa without Stagg's knowledge, he warned the offender that the director was to have complete knowledge of all "propos-
ed plans before actually putting them into operation. 76

Stagg was proud of the fact that Chicago students had no say in the management of athletics. 77 He openly criticized his alma mater, Yale, for not doing enough to preserve the integrity of amateur college athletics by continuing its tradition of student-run athletics. 78

Writing to Professor Robert Corwin at Yale University in 1916, Stagg noted the benefits of athletic organization at Chicago. 79 Stagg boasted: "The students have nothing whatever to do with the conduct of the athletics. We have no students as managers. Our coaches are all officers of the Department, in fact every bit of detail in connection with the athletics here is managed by the Department of Physical Culture & Athletics." 80 He continued:

I believe that a great mass of the serious evils surrounding athletics would never arise and develop had the faculty from the beginning been in control and I also believe that the eventual solution of most of our athletic trouble is going to come through the assumption of authority on the parts of the faculties of our colleges and universities...In my judgement with the hysterical conditions surrounding intercollegiate athletics, there is no permanent safeguard for them, except through a large and definite measure of faculty control.

But Stagg did not mean control by the faculty of the University of Chicago, he meant control by the faculty of the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics which he directed. Stagg dismissed student complaints, arguing that student involvement would only lead to abuse.

Furthermore, Stagg saw athletics as first among
extracurricular opportunities and felt no obligation to accommodate other student activities when considering his athletic schedule: "...the present system of having the other interests avoid athletic dates had been in use for twenty years and might well be continued." Because athletic dates were made months in advance, Stagg high-handedly presumed that all other activities would adjust to the athletic schedule.

To the outsider, it appeared that Stagg was entrusted with complete and unprecedented sovereignty over an extensive athletic program. But while he had a tremendous amount of control over the workings of the department, he also was held to an increasing amount of accountability. The Department's Medical Examiner, who worked under Stagg, eventually left the department and became Health Officer for the university. The Board of Physical Culture and Athletics was no longer Stagg's rubber stamp. It scrutinized budgets more closely before passing them, and in 1913 it rejected an invitation from Harvard to play on the East coast, citing its policy "to lessen rather than to increase the excitement attending the football season, and an intersectional game with all the attendant questions of the championship...would be in the contrary direction." The Business Manager of the university had independent authority over the Athletic Fund, and the deans now determined athletic eligibility. Faculty status of
department staff was no longer granted upon Stagg's recommendation. President Judson rejected Stagg's request to promote one of his assistants to faculty membership on the grounds that the person in question spent a large part of his time on the playing field. In the eyes of the administration, coaching was not seen as equivalent to academic instruction. 85

Stagg continued to feel restrained when it came to recruiting and retaining athletes at Chicago with its small student body and rising entrance requirements and academic standards. Once the university was established, it sought to further legitimize its claim to excellence by raising its standards; along with prestige came the luxury of selectivity. This made life more difficult for Stagg, who found his pool of potential athletes diminishing and retention of those already secured more problematic.

In the summer of 1909, a new university rule was passed increasing the required majors to nine per year. To Stagg, this meant the loss of one-third of his fall football squad, two-thirds if retroactive. In an attempt to avoid complete destruction, Stagg put one of his assistant coaches, Pat Page, the former Chicago football captain, in charge of contacting all players, present and future, to determine their eligibility status. 86 Stagg also protested to Dean George Vincent who ultimately helped to get the deans to vote against retroactivity. 87 The
following year the Bureau of Records took responsibility for checking the eligibility of team candidates from a list supplied by the Athletic Department; any questions would be reviewed by a committee of deans. Stagg wrote: "It is now impossible for men to compete on our athletic teams who would be perfectly eligible to compete on the teams of at least six of the seven other members of the Conference." Stagg felt compelled to take alternative measures to insure the continued health of his program.

Only the year before, Stagg expressed concern that his letters to prospective recruits could be misinterpreted. In one case, he worried that the young man might:

...advertise the fact of his receiving a letter from me, for, while there will not be anything in the letter which could not be just as well made public, the mere fact of my writing him gives credence in some people's minds of an attempt to offer inducements.

Stagg put his fears aside, assuring one student that the University of Chicago was the easiest place "in the country to work your way through," and supplied him with a list of resources for financial aid which included getting tuition credit by singing in the choir! Another letter used the lure of success through athletic fame:

One advantage to our athletes over any of the other Western Universities is the fact that the Chicago papers are greedy for athletic news, and in consequence our athletes are far more widely advertised that those of the other universities. This certainly does the athlete no harm. On the other hand it is an asset to him in a social, and business way.
He assured a hopeful medical student that several University of Chicago athletes were successful doctors "and every one has told me that his reputation in athletics has been and still is a large asset"; Stagg mentioned another benefit: "[A] lot of the professors in the medical school are deeply interested in athletics, and particularly so in football." 93

A 1912 conference resolution barred athletic departments from initiating correspondence with potential recruits. As was his style, adhering, usually, to the letter of the law, Stagg ignored its spirit. 94 He used third parties to reach the students. After passing along some information that he wanted a recruit to receive, Stagg warned the liaison that: "It wouldn’t do, however, for you to tell him that I sent it as he might pass it out to somebody and get me into trouble." 95

Stagg wrote a reply to a mother whose son was interested in becoming a coach. Stagg assured her that there were more openings than men to fill them and recommended that her son go to a big university with established athletic prestige and a strong coaching staff (he mentioned that Minnesota was a good example of having an excellent football coach but little else), finally, he advised her son to go to a large metropolitan area where the best publicity and reporting coverage was available:

It may be I am prejudiced but I honestly think there is no western university which fulfills the
conditions outlined above as full as the University of Chicago... My position as Director of the Athletic Department... during the past twenty-five years has given me special power in helping place our athletes who wish to coach. I think it is a fair statement to say that the University of Chicago has achieved as large an athletic reputation as any other university in the west...

Stagg also overlooked the prohibition of compensation for participation on athletic teams. While he vehemently opposed playing for pay on professional sports teams, he worked very hard to secure financial aid for athletes in the form of jobs within or related to the department. The granting of tuition remission, and less often academic scholarships, had been one of Stagg's traditional recruitment and retention strategies for athletes. Coinciding with the reforms of 1906, Stagg received a letter from Dean Vincent regarding financial assistance for athletes. Although the conference prohibited offering athletic scholarships, Stagg had easy access to monies for prospective athletes through "student service." Students could work at the university in exchange for tuition remission. The dean informed Stagg that from now on, athletes would be held to the same criteria as any other student wishing to receive help in paying for his college education. That criteria would be based solely on academic proficiency and financial need. This did not mean the end of money for athletes. Some of Stagg's recruits would still be able to meet the financial need requirement for
The revelation in 1908 that several athletes were receiving remission and had done no student service prompted President Judson to rule that "men who are engaged in athletics may not be excused from the service requirement." In addition, he reiterated that athletes were to be considered on the same basis as any other student, according to need. Stagg claimed that his own understanding of "student service" was that athletes were exempt; he acknowledged that the president mentioned the subject before but nothing was ever implemented. Stagg's assistant, James Raycroft, looked into the claim and assured Stagg that the athletes in question were sent to work "immediately." Once again, this did not mean the end of financial support for athletes, for patronage within the department continued unencumbered; no means was instituted to control or measure the amount of work being done by the students. The Athletic Board denied that students were encouraged to attend the university as athletes with the expectation of employment, arguing that jobs in connection with athletics could not be considered university student service, since the number of jobs available was unpredictable: "[S]tudents are employed as opportunity offers." Questions regarding the athletic department's
employment practices continued. Officials protested employment of students with appalling academic records, paying large sums to a single student, and hiring a high school athlete, particularly since "so many of our students are seriously put to it to secure even a few dollars of assistance." The following year the Vice President Angell again questioned the practice of employing students "who are seriously below grade in their academic work." Clearly in violation of the amateur code against receiving compensation for athletic performance, Stagg's policies attracted greater scrutiny. The vice president specifically inquired into the case of Henry Fisher who was employed as an attendant and had received $23 the previous month. Fisher was on probation for three quarters, five grade points under the minimum and was only registered for two courses. In response, Stagg neither denied nor defended the charges, promising to replace Fisher, "if you think it advisable." 

Stagg and the administration continued to differ on what the exact purpose of student employment was. Stagg's judgement was questioned again when he hired a student stenographer who received two D's and an E in his previous quarter. Stagg defended the hiring because the student was not a prospective athlete, even though the money for payment was coming from the Athletic Fund. This was not a sufficient defense, as one official pointed out: "[W]e
should not encourage by employment the continuation of academical work by students who have given us strong reason to believe that they cannot or will not carry such work successfully."

Stagg had other recruitment techniques that brought publicity to the university and its athletic program. Perhaps, none was more important than his interscholastic meets. Over the years, Stagg and the University of Chicago sponsored high school competitions in a variety of sports, the most famous of which were track, beginning in 1902, and basketball, in 1917. These competitions brought hundreds of high school boys and their fans to the university each year. One year, Stagg arranged for fifty high school boys to receive a free subscription to the Daily Maroon. Stagg hoped that its daily coverage of athletics and interscholastic sports would influence "high school men of merit to come to Chicago." President Judson agreed to the plan, and the athletic fund paid for it.

Another original innovation of Stagg's was a series of international baseball exchanges between the University of Chicago and Japan every five years from 1910-11 to 1925-26. President Judson enthusiastically supported this venture and used it to the university's advantage. Looking for a way to improve relations with the city's professional community, Judson turned the Japanese team's first return trip in 1911 into a major civic event by inviting "the
leading representatives of the official life of the State of Illinois and the City of Chicago...[and]...several thousand prominent people of the city.\(^{107}\)

No matter how great the inducements, once an athlete came to Chicago, he had to remain eligible. In order to accomplish this, Stagg's system treated his players as if they were children. When they got into academic trouble, Stagg or his assistants would go to bat for them with a dean, a professor, or the registrar. Pat Page, the assistant coach in charge of eligibility during this period, had serious problems with one particularly valuable player named Fletcher, who was also "one big liar." After visiting the dean and a professor on Fletcher's behalf, Page showed signs of exasperation.\(^{108}\) In response, Stagg would not let Page admit defeat: "I have already expressed to you so many times my estimate of the need we have of Fletch...We absolutely cannot get along without him this fall...I know the kind of material we have to deal with...so by all means, out do yourself in following up this boy and don't believe a single word he says without verifying it."\(^{109}\)

Page continued to keep Stagg posted on the eligibility status of team members during the summer months; prior to every fall term, Stagg was told the number of new probations, continuing probations and dismissals.\(^{110}\) Page often had to consult with one of the university deans to
determine an athlete’s status. Students had been classified according to their progress toward their degree in a lower and upper college division with a Junior and Senior college dean; after 1913, students were classified by degree, each major having its own dean. In 1913, Robert Lovett was the Dean of Arts and Literature as well as responsible for issues regarding probation. Page reported to Stagg that he had been able to "hoodwink" Lovett into allowing a student named Skinner, who was already on probation, to take a correspondence course while enrolled in the fall term to fulfill the required number of majors.\textsuperscript{111}

Although Stagg disagreed with many of the faculty and administration’s interpretations of eligibility, he preferred their rulings to the conference’s. Stagg enjoyed the support of the administration and the Board of Trustees on the principle of institutional sovereignty within the Intercollegiate Conference. In response to a communication from the Board of Regents at Michigan, Chicago trustees reasserted their advocacy of autonomy: "That any university should retain final control over rules and regulations in the government of its own students is incontestable."\textsuperscript{112} Through 1915, conference members handled issues of eligibility as they arose; the final determination of eligibility was made by the student’s own institution.\textsuperscript{113} This policy of self-policing made matters
of eligibility problematic and prevented implementation of any standard within the conference. Few liked the idea that it was easy to play ineligible players, but no one was willing to recognize a central authority with powers of enforcement. As a result, individual institutions chose whether or not to comply with conference eligibility guidelines. Chicago's Athletic Board took such an action in 1914 when it disqualified the track captain, C.O. Parker, under the conference rule against a student who "prolongs his period of undergraduate residence for the purpose of prolonging his period of eligibility."114

Criticism of athletics from within the university did not end with the reforms of 1906. Faculty complaints that athletics interfered with the classroom persisted. One teacher complained that students were bold enough to directly request that failing notices be held so that the student could continue to compete. In his complaint, the instructor declared that a "University is not a sporting institution."115 Stagg replied through the dean that he had no knowledge of the incident nor did he approve. In typical fashion, Stagg defensively negated the criticism: "It is certainly an injustice to me and my department to have the blame put upon us."116 Stagg resented anything that even hinted at challenging his judgement or authority. When President Judson, concerned that athletic participation was interfering with students' studies,
questioned the coach’s decision to keep the football team over a Sunday night in Minnesota, Stagg replied indignantly:

If the players ever merit consideration and attention it is certainly after a contest of that character...good judgement growing out of the experience of 25 years as a player and coach indicated to me the wisdom of having them get the best kind of rest immediately following the game...It has always been my practice to look after the health and condition of the players first and foremost and I would not be willing to take responsibility of their care unless I could use my judgement in following out the best way of doing it. 117

When a faculty member complained that his students were missing class in the middle of the week due to a basketball demands, Stagg reported to the dean that he was doing all he could to keep the number of absences down, assuring him that Chicago students missed the fewest days of anyone in the conference due to the city’s central location. In other words, Stagg was able to schedule most of Chicago’s games at home. Publicly, Stagg appeared to ally himself with the interests of the professor by claiming that it was in his department’s best interest to encourage the players to do well in class, thereby avoiding unwanted eligibility problems. Privately, he resented the accusations of the faculty member: "It’s a darned shame to have to report to a Professor so narrow minded...Why should our practice work...be condemned by one ignorant of facts." 118

Tension between the greater university and the
Athletic Department endured. Stagg's judgement was questioned in regard to his choice of hiring a man who had been expelled from the university for "dishonesty in his work." Dean Vincent hoped that Stagg was unaware of the circumstances and would be able to explain his actions to the Board. But a much more complicated situation involved Walter Ekersall, "the most acclaimed intercollegiate athlete in University of Chicago history."

Walter Ekersall grew up near the University of Chicago and attended Hyde Park High School where he made a name for himself playing quarterback on the football team. Applying his geographic prerogative, Stagg announced during the boy's sophomore year of high school that Ekersall promised to come to Chicago. Indeed, Ekersall enrolled at Chicago in the fall of 1903 but not before Michigan conducted some serious, and almost successful, campaigning. Ekersall's career at Chicago illustrates the inconsistent application of the principles Stagg professed and the fickleness of collegiate athletics. Before and throughout his collegiate career, Ekersall was in eligibility trouble. The Summer before he entered Chicago, the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) ruled him ineligible for playing summer baseball. The issue resurfaced eighteen months later. The next year, Ekersall was accused of accepting prize money in a race. Stagg defended Ekersall's amateur status throughout.
Within weeks of Ekersall’s arrival in 1903, the Chicago Record-Herald reported that Stagg had arranged admission for Ekersall, who did not have the necessary requirements, and had provided Ekersall with free tuition and room and board. Stagg denied the charges, claiming that the dean handled admissions, that Ekersall performed student service in exchange for his tuition, and that he lived at home, only eating meals at the university, which were paid for. It mattered little that Ekersall did not have the necessary requirements for admission; he was not there to study, he was there to play. Ekersall led the team in absences and failing grades as a freshman. Both Stagg and Harper allowed him to participate in an intercollegiate track meet even though he was flunking his courses. Sophomore year, Ekersall enrolled in a graduate history course taught by the faculty’s biggest football fan, Oliver J. Thatcher, and received a "C" for his effort (Thatcher did not flunk a single student). Ekersall took a total of eight courses from Thatcher, receiving a "C" in each. In a scathing example of academic neglect, after three and three-quarter years Ekersall remained in the Junior Colleges (i.e., freshman and sophomore years) and had yet to meet all his entrance requirements. When he left the university after the football season of 1906, the star had completed only fourteen of the thirty-six courses required to move on to senior college status.
That was not all. Stagg knew that that Ekersall was "borrowing" large sums of money from other students and spending it "freely." Stagg helped Ekersall out of some undisclosed "trouble in regard to fraternities." Stagg overlooked his failure as a student because of his value to the team each Saturday on the field. As long as Ekersall performed, he was untouchable. After a win against the University Wisconsin in 1903, his first season at Chicago, the headlines declared Ekersall, not Chicago, the winner. The Maroons finished the season 10-2-1, tying Northwestern and losing the last two games of the season to West Point, at West Point, and Michigan, at home. The next season they finished 8-1-1, tying Illinois and losing to Michigan, at Ann Arbor. Ekersall's third season, and the last one before reforms cut the number of games in half, was his finest at Chicago. The team finished 10-0, beating Michigan 2-0 in the last game of the season. Ekersall and his famous toe were true celebrities. As one paper announced: "Chicago Sets More Store by Ekersall's Toe than Rockefeller's Money."

He played his final season under the 1906 reforms, the team finished 5-1 and did not play either Wisconsin or Michigan, their two greatest rivals. But the lack of the big games did not diminish the send-off Ekersall received on the eve of his final game as a Maroon in 1906. On that occasion, a large student rally was held in his honor, and
a teary-eyed Ekersall gave tribute to Coach Stagg: "I owe what success I have had to him. He not only trains his men in athletics but he trains their character." In turn, Dean Vincent praised Ekersall's strength of character in the name of the university.129

But the mood of his glorious last days as a Maroon football player vanished quickly; once the truth of his academic performance and his unethical behavior became known, the welcome mat was quickly pulled out from under his feet. On January 25, 1907, Ekersall was officially dismissed from the university. Several of Ekersall's friends came to his defense in order to avoid further disclosure of "'the many deplorable and unfortunate actions of Mr. Ekersall.'" Following his dismissal, Ekersall wrote a brutally honest letter to the president in which he accused the university of being well aware of his "'loose morals'" but continued "'to use him for advertising purposes until he had completed his college career.'"

Ignoring the truth in Ekersall's words, George Buckley, a friend and Chicago alum, apologized to the president for the letter and promised to help straighten out the former star, if only the university would refrain from further comment. Admitting that Ekersall was a "'grafter as well as a monumental liar,'" Buckley promised that Ekersall's debts would be paid in full.130

Historian Robin Lester notes the irony that four years
of football under Stagg had hardly made a "man" out of Walter Eckersall. Yet Stagg never denied or gave up on "Eckie." The two kept in touch, and Stagg continued to try and steer Eckersall toward the straight and narrow. Later in 1907, Stagg asked Eckersall not to associate with professional football and encouraged him to concentrate on his reporting for the Tribune and finish his degree. The next year, Dean Vincent recommended that Stagg follow the university's lead in severing association with Eckersall then asked the coach to ban Eckersall from the Chicago football field. Stagg refused and told Eckersall: "My loyalty has never wavered." Despite the dean's notification the previous year, Stagg told Eckersall that he did not know about the university's action and denied any responsibility for the measure, cryptically writing: "I have preserved your secret." Stagg assured Eckersall that no paper would report that he had been on the field coaching the team. Regardless of Stagg's fondness for Eckersall, the university had a long memory. In 1921, when Stagg arranged to have the former star speak at an Interscholastic Tournament, he was informed that Eckersall's appearance would be inappropriate since he was prohibited in 1907 from ever registering again at the university "for cause."

There were other inconsistencies in how Stagg applied his principles. While strongly against the consumption of
alcohol, he allowed its advertisement in the department’s souvenir programs for intercollegiate contests. After an add for beer appeared in the 1908 football program. Dean Vincent reminded Stagg that all advertisements must be approved by his office prior to publication. Once again the administration tried to bring Stagg and the workings of the athletic side of his department in line with the rest of the university. When several student organizations complained that the athletic programs hampered their ability to attract advertising dollars for other extracurricular activities and projects, Stagg responded with a variety of reasons to continue the tradition: the souvenir program publication was older than any of the student publications; outside advertisers would take advantage of the situation and sell their own souvenir programs at considerable profit; every other large institution supplied programs; and programs they were absolutely essential for track meets so "non-athletic cranks" would know who was competing. Vincent was willing to allow the program publication to continue with a prohibition: any student soliciting advertising had to first receive permission from the President’s office or risk dismissal. When an unapproved saloon advertisement ran, advertising for athletics was cut altogether, and the Dean instructed Stagg not to renew any contracts. Stagg, who never appreciated being told what to do, agreed to stop
temporarily and promised to notify Vincent if and when he decided to resume solicitation.  

Criticism of Stagg was not limited to the confines of the university. Conference members also cast a suspicious eye toward Stagg and his dual role of athletic director and faculty representative to the Intercollegiate Conference. Chicago was the only school to have a coach as its representative because Stagg was also a tenured faculty member. In response to conference criticisms, Judson suggested that Stagg be accompanied by another faculty member who was not associated with Stagg’s department when representing the university at conference meetings. Predictably, Stagg was offended, and he asserted the full power of his faculty status to legitimize his presence. Evoking Harper, Stagg claimed "that on more than one occasion...[Harper] expressed his opinion that I was the proper man to represent the University at intercollegiate athletic conferences." He continued:

I can not for one moment yield to any criticism of the past which was the outcome of the overwrought feelings of 2 or 3 years ago nor to any casual criticism of the present time. I am either worthy or unworthy to represent the university on these occasions and if the latter then I want to know it. If the former then I expect to continue to fill the position with the dignity which my title in the university merits.

The issue would not rest and relations between Stagg and the administration reached a low. Stagg informed Judson of his intention to resign: "The time has come, I feel, when
conditions in the University prevent my fulfilling my duties with whole hearted devotion, and I therefore respectfully tender my resignation as Professor and Director of the Division of Physical Culture and Athletics." Stagg did not resign and Judson seemed to give up trying to convince Stagg of the wisdom of avoiding the appearance of a conflict of interest.

As resentment of Chicago’s legislative advantage within the conference grew, the members officially addressed the issue in 1912 "to safeguard the educational values of athletics." They argued that delegates in Stagg’s position "were likely to emphasize intercollegiate sport rather than the value of general athletics to the university." Judson convinced his fellow university presidents to allow each institution two representatives, one from outside the athletics/physical training department, but this was rejected by the conference representatives. Instead, it was passed that members of the athletic and/or physical education departments were ineligible to serve as delegates. Officially, Stagg was demoted to an "advisory athletic committee" which could make recommendations to the conference. Unofficially, Chicago’s representative, Albion Small, served as Stagg’s puppet on the council.

Stagg led the way in the defeat of unpopular regulations generated by the conference. While freshmen
were prohibited from participation in intercollegiate football since 1906, an expansion of the rule was attempted in 1913 to bar any first year student from making a public appearance in any team competition. The policy was criticized for killing a student’s athletic ambition and driving students to summer baseball or athletic clubs, which could ruin, according to Stagg, "a youngster’s pure amateurism by treating him to rare luxuries entirely contrary to the collegiate ideal." In addition, argued Stagg, intramural contests were not challenging enough for many men, nor could they compete with the offering of a big-city like Chicago.

The following year, the conference addressed the criticism that intercollegiate athletics was too elitist, benefitting the few, by proposing a rule limiting the number of sports in which a student could compete. This would create openings, making athletic teams more accessible to a greater number of students. Stagg adamantly opposed this plan, claiming it was unfair to smaller institutions, like Chicago, that had a limited number of students from which to draw athletic teams. Pointing out that some students participated in as many as four sports, the rule, if passed, would be particularly crippling to Chicago. Stagg argued that increasing the number of athletic activities offered would naturally increase the numbers participating. Responding to the
claim that numerous sports took up too much of the student's time, he quoted a Harvard dean who did not find any association between low scholarship and involvement in more than two sports, and he pointed out that often the additional sports required little preparation or practice time. The resolution was defeated by a seven to two vote.

Underlying Stagg's athletic program was his philosophy of physical education and exercise. Reflecting the progressive spirit of the day, Stagg was often asked to publicly articulate his views on the value of educating the physical side of humankind. In 1910, Stagg addressed the "Directors of Physical Education in Colleges" as the society's President. Appealing to the progressive mind, Stagg spoke of the great need for trained specialists in the field of physical training. All too often, Stagg warned, former college athletes who lacked the necessary qualifications filled directors' positions. There were not enough qualified men to meet the demand. According to Stagg, physical education, both competitive and non-competitive, needed to be controlled by experts. Stagg acknowledged that exercise was introduced to colleges not because of its educational value, but because it was "a prophylactic against the ills incident to student life on the gymnastic side, and as the spontaneous expression of Anglo-Saxon athletic instinct and inheritance on the
athletic side." But due to the tremendous growth in interest, Stagg felt it was imperative to recognize the interdependence of the mind and body and that good physical conditioning would lead to "good mental tone." He proclaimed: "The crowning glory of physical education in colleges is that it throws out a life line to that great mass of college weaklings whose motor training, to say the least, has lacked strenuousness." Stagg believed, physical training also improved one's moral character, citing an author who linked "wickedness" to weakness; will, endurance and self-control depended on strong muscles. "If this be true," Stagg said, "then the work of the gymnasium and the athletic field ranks as the greatest moral force in the university." 147

Stagg used his own department to describe for his fellow directors what a well organized and equipped physical education department looked like. He then listed the requirements necessary for an "adequately trained director of physical education," and outlined the ideal college course-work:

It would serve him well if...he could specialize on psychology and the theory of education. He should have normal training in...physical education...[and]...a complete course in medicine...he should have been interested in and closely studied gymnastics and athletics, and participated in them as much as possible.

Stagg concluded his remarks emphasizing the importance that these men be of strong character: "He must realize his
great responsibility to the health and happiness of the student body now and in after years, and wisely stimulate them into the development of robustness of life which will aid them in being efficient students in college and useful citizens afterwards."

Stagg clearly felt the need to legitimize his own profession and the work of his department. In 1915, he successfully opposed the appointment of Charles Wilson as Athletic Director at the University of Minnesota, who, according to Stagg, was "not a sufficiently fine character and personality." Not a "college man," Wilson made his name through the Illinois Athletic Club. Stagg was sure the conference would have a "hard time readjusting his ideals.""

During this same period, Stagg was asked to give a series of public lectures to discuss the value of physical development. Although much of Stagg's logic was tenuous and often contradictory and his choice of supporting historical facts selective, a consistent theme ran through all of his discussions: that physical training was relevant and necessary, not only to the college curriculum but also to survival in the modern world.

Throughout his addresses, Stagg echoed many of the same themes and theories discussed almost twenty years earlier at the YMCA training school in Springfield, Massachusetts. Stagg believed that a child's physical
development preceded its intellectual and moral growth in the first stages of life. Therefore, if this first stage of growth was not recognized and understood, the subsequent stages would suffer. Stagg gave four motivations for movement/exercise: Self-preservation, Pleasure, Education, and Health. The first two were natural draws to movement, the following two were valuable reasons to exercise. According to Stagg, the educational aims of exercise included body symmetry, strength, grace, skill agility, speed, and endurance; exercise taught physical courage and self-possession: the power of the mind over the body. Stagg stressed that exercise was both preventative and therapeutic to one's health, claiming that it fought off indigestion, disorders of the liver, biliousness, constipation, gout and other illnesses. Stagg supported his position by pointing out that gymnastics was part of the treatment for invalids prescribed at Kellog's Battle Creek Sanitarium. Stagg's work was part of the search for cures to ailments that medical science could not yet answer.

Stagg was an anglophile who used his own historical interpretation of physical training to validate his approach to physical development. He explored the German Turnverein system, whose drills and various apparatus (horizontal bar, parallel bars, the horse) taught obedience, precision, and exactness. Stagg described the
Swedish system as hygienic in its aim; exercise was the means toward achieving or maintaining one's health. But Stagg found weaknesses in both these approaches. The German system was too artificial, the body did not arrive in the positions naturally; and the Swedish plan was not challenging enough for the "stout," "robust" individual. Stagg settled on the English system, which was both "fun and serious," "founded on naturalness and...needs no direction other than instinct within." Stagg cited the YMCA in the United States, praising it for its incorporation of the English principles and its use of trained instructors. The YMCA, said Stagg, "has done more to bring systematic exercise into the rank and file of men than any other single agency."

Stagg did not agree with popular notions that physical ability was based on one's race. Few human beings, Stagg suggested, reached their potential. While he acknowledged that there were anatomical differences between the races, he believed "there is very little difference to be observed between the highest types of different races." More importantly, Stagg believed that the greatest obstacle to physical development in the United States was the city. Once again, Stagg agreed with the Young Men's Christian Movement, and many of his progressive contemporaries, that urban living was unhealthy and offered the young few opportunities for games and sports. Upper class children,
Stagg observed, were the most physically fit because they were released from the "burdens of existence," and were free to remain involved in sports much longer than their working class counterparts. Boys growing up in the country were also at an advantage because their work was outside and provided exercise by its nature. Therefore, in order to prevent abnormal growth, an artificial replacement for the natural exercise derived from outdoor work and activity had to be developed for the youth growing up in the cities to be administered by those who were knowledgeable in the areas of physical training and nourishment. 155

Stagg characterized the first years of the new century as "an age interested in itself." 156 He liked to return to the Greeks who valued service to the state above all else. But, said Stagg, modern conditions of living in cities and working indoors at the expense of physical labor that benefitted the body caused "nervous strain" and intensified the need for physical development. Stagg warned that the age of specialization lessened the likelihood of the body developing into a symmetrical whole; training had to go beyond the muscles to include vital organs as well as the mind. 157 In the ancient world, said Stagg, there was little accommodation for the weak; strength determined power and the need for physical training was obvious. In the twentieth century, battles, Stagg observed, were fought with the brain; one's physical
health was more important than sheer physical strength.\textsuperscript{158}

Stagg was not alone in his call for including physical instruction in the educational system, and he noted with satisfaction that more were recognizing the "physical basis" of the mind, morality, will, and character, which warranted its place in the college curriculum.\textsuperscript{159} The key to fulfillment of theses objectives was participation. Stagg admitted that students would not voluntarily take part in physical culture classes because "not one in twenty has the fixedness of purpose to continue his regular exercise day after day"; the desire for movement was natural but exercise was not.\textsuperscript{160} Stagg also attributed student neglect of the department’s fitness prescription to scheduling conflicts and time constraints.\textsuperscript{161} Therefore, the physical culture requirement had to be compulsory.

Stagg understood the requirement to mean that no student could graduate without its fulfillment, a policy that was essential to his argument, and boast, that his department was equal to any other. Unfortunately, the university never shared Stagg’s vision of equating the importance of education of the physical with education of the mental. Enforcement of compulsory physical culture was always difficult due to the lack of consensus regarding its necessity, and, as the university moved closer toward achieving its goal of being recognized as a first rate institution of higher education and research, it moved
farther from its first president's mission of "servicing" the entire individual. As a result, the debate surrounding the physical culture requirement continually threatened the legitimization of Stagg's program.

Students could now fulfill the requirement through departmental participation three different ways: intercollegiate athletics, inter-college/intramural competitive athletics, and non-competitive physical culture. Under this plan, any potential athlete would be identified. Those who met department standards through participation in the first category, intercollegiate athletes, were special; they received their required physical culture through their voluntary involvement in intercollegiate athletics. Stagg felt that the athletic teams of the university should "represent the finished product of the work of the Department." Only those that were the most fit should be allowed to try out. Opportunities to take part in department sponsored intramural competitions were infrequent, and Stagg disapproved of student organization.

If you fell under the third category, as most students did, you were expected to do the following: new students had to have a physical exam within the first three weeks of their arrival; all students had to take one-half hour of physical education four days per week for ten quarters; students could elect whatever course was offered, except
freshmen, who took a course in hygiene; freshmen boys had
to take body building; and all students had to learn to
swim at some point during their course. Athletics was
a privilege, physical education a duty.

Students found many creative ways of avoiding physical
effort. "Unclassified" students were not subject to the
requirement, so many remained in limbo status for as long
as possible. Often, students would sign up for
swimming, not due to its popularity, for it was considered
one of the most distasteful courses in physical culture,
but because it was the easiest to cut. Students simply
changed into their swimming gear, signed-in, and left.
Stagg tried to thwart these practices by overseeing
enforcement personally. In order to prevent students
from taking 10 quarters of swimming, freshmen were required
to take a "general preliminary course" for two quar-
ters. In another policy change that went into effect
in 1915, students who took swimming instruction could no
longer arrive late; attendance was taken at the beginning
of class with tardiness counting as an absence.

The Board of Physical Culture and Athletics responded
to the increasing resistance to compulsory physical
education by simplifying department policy. They increased
the number of absences students were allowed and discon-
tinued make-ups. In 1913, it recommended greater leniency
in permitting requirement exemptions with credit to
"deserving cases." That same year, the board was notified that women entering Chicago for graduate work would be exempt from the physical culture requirement. The following year the board approved the substitution of a course in hygiene for a student's tenth quarter of physical culture. The above did not signify a change of heart, for the department's board did its utmost to postpone any discussion of a reduction or elimination of the requirement. Nevertheless, the dismantling process had begun.

In his 1916 "Report to the President," Stagg choose not to allude to any of the current problems over eligibility, finances, and course requirements, that faced his department. Instead, Stagg took the opportunity to assess the progress and re-state the principles of the department: "After twentyfour years of experience, it may be fitting to state that the plan which the University of Chicago adopted in 1892 of incorporating the department of physical culture and athletics as a department of the University on a similar footing with the other departments has been completely justified." The founding principles of "making physical education and athletics a department of the University co-ordinate with the other departments, ...[t]he correlation of physical culture and athletics under one department and one director...[and]...compulsory physical culture for undergraduates," was "widely copied"
Compulsory physical education, Stagg noted, continued to aid the development of intercollegiate athletics at a university with a relatively small student body.

Each side of Stagg's department had its own reason to be proud. Stagg reported that more Chicago students than ever were being prepared for a lifetime of physical fitness through courses like swimming, golf, tennis, dancing, etc. Although Stagg protested many of the athletic reforms of 1906, in his report he implied that Chicago was responsible for many of the changes. In his department's name, Stagg took credit for the faculty control of athletics, prohibition of graduate and special students from competition, three year limit of play, one year residence requirement, satisfactory academic work requirement, prohibition of training tables, prohibition of solicitation of preparatory school students, and the "adoption of the principle of the gentleman's agreement in intercollegiate relationships, adopted originally by Minnesota and Chicago in 1906." Stagg concluded his report optimistically, applauding the conference for maintaining its "amateur" standards.

By 1916, the University of Chicago's investment in football was paying off. The Maroon eleven was funding every other Department endeavor, except basketball, posting an almost $40,000 surplus. After surviving another
crisis in 1909, when several fatal accidents across the nation resurrected the calls for reform (mass play and the flying tackle were eliminated, several restrictions on the forward pass and quarterback movement were removed, and a minimum of seven men on the line of scrimmage was required), football continued to gain in popularity.  

The university may have undermined his department's autonomy and wavered on its commitment to physical culture, but football remained Stagg's realm, "the king of athletic games." Stagg believed it taught and developed those characteristics that were necessary for an honorable life at a time when the nation's "manhood" was in jeopardy:

What we need in our manhood today is a quickened sense of and a larger loyalty to duty - duty to country, to state, to city, to home - the kind of moral sense and loyalty which will make one true to his highest sensibilities of his duty as son, as husband, as father, as citizen, - the kind of moral sense sees that the rights of others at the same time he does his own...Instantaneous and unquestioning obedience to order and self control under the most trying circumstances are among the higher qualities of human nature which football develops...the constant exercise of them can not fail to result in the development of sterling manhood.

As Stagg saw it, society was selfish and self-absorbed, football counteracted these tendencies by teaching self control, "the power most needed in a young man's life...the ability to keep the body in balance - to be its master while it works for his highest and best interests."

Through football Stagg would make healthy, "manly men." The pressure of building a winning program exacted a
huge cost in time and energy. Stagg frequently needed to get away for "rest and relaxation." A back injury in 1904 was the beginning of Stagg's quest for treatment of a variety of ailments including sciatica, gout, and rheumatism. Stagg started to go on extended "vacations" during the off-season in search of cures. Over the years he traveled to an assortment of sanitariums and health spas in Colorado, Michigan, Florida, Indiana and Utah. Years of extensive physical competition and exertion probably had taken its toll on not only his physical health but also his mental disposition.\textsuperscript{181}

But Stagg was well compensated for his sacrifices. By the summer of 1907, Stagg claimed he had nine months of vacation time coming to him, even though he had been absent the previous three winters and the summer of 1904.\textsuperscript{182} Stagg was given six months off with pay during the spring and summer quarters of 1913.\textsuperscript{183} He wrote to a colleague that his "head has been acting up for a couple of years," which necessitated his taking a leave of absence.\textsuperscript{184} While Stagg was off recuperating, he found plenty of time for activities such as golf, tennis, horseback riding and swimming. Athletics was a family affair for the Stagg's.\textsuperscript{185} That summer Stagg proclaimed: "Every day is one round of joy for our family. The only trouble, the days are not long enough."\textsuperscript{186}

A successful football program had its financial
rewards as well. In 1905 Stagg began to make $6,000 per year, making him one of the highest paid individuals at the university, a salary that was thousands of dollars more than many head professors. Only $2,500 came from the university: the remaining $3,500 came from the Athletic Fund.

Although Stagg continued to wear many hats within his department (director, instructor, and coach) and was recognized as a national advocate of physical education, football was his main preoccupation. He weathered the football crises of '06 and '09; he withstood numerous onslaughts from a critical and often ungrateful faculty and administration; and now he faced a new threat, World War I and the American preparedness campaign. But Stagg was ready: if he could help it, not even a war would interrupt his plans for intercollegiate football.

Stagg emerged from World War I as the national symbol of American physicality through his stand on the issue of the continuation of intercollegiate athletics for the duration of the war. In a country filled with first and second generation immigrants, the need to justify America’s position in a foreign war reached all levels of American education by 1917. Courses prepared by "professional educators" were designed to present how the government wanted America’s youth to understand the hostilities. To elementary school children, the United States was
pictured as the protector of Belgium, France and America, against the malicious Germans, and themes of ""patriotism, heroism, and sacrifice'" dominated. The "war study plan" for high schools, was heavily based on the publications of the Committee on Public Information and official Allied propaganda. It explained how Germany alone was responsible for the war and the Allies wanted nothing more than peace. Colleges and universities incorporated a "War Issues Course" into their curriculum, which was framed to put the blame squarely on Germany's shoulders through a survey of nineteenth and twentieth century European history, making educators, according to one author "war propagandists." In this atmosphere, actions, words, attitudes, were closely scrutinized; apparent dissension was greeted with suspicion. Criticism of the America's participation was often interpreted as disloyalty.

Carefully, but openly, Stagg defied several war-related encroachments on his position as a physical educator. He was the first athletic director in the West to publicly take a stand against the abolition of intercollegiate athletic competitions for the duration of the war. It was proposed that military training should replace athletic competition so that America's youth would be better prepared for combat. Stagg had to protect his position because the financial interests of his department were completely dependent on football revenues. Elimina-
tion of football, even temporarily, would devastate his department, whose salaries were either paid or supplemented through the athletic fund. Without football there would be no fund.

Wisconsin and Minnesota, fellow conference members, had already discontinued their programs, but Stagg appealed to other colleges and universities not to drop theirs. Athletic competition, he argued, prepared men for military service; it did not keep them from it. Stagg advocated that through cooperation between the military and physical education departments, improved physical conditioning of future soldiers could be achieved. His views reached a national audience when the Christian Science Monitor quoted him:

> It stands to reason that a hundred men holding themselves with the highest ideals of training and undergoing the practice of athletics will be in far better physical condition to stand the hardships of preparation in camp and of actual military campaigning than men who take military drill with its minimum of physical exercise.

Stagg went on to say that the government's minimal requirement of three hours of military drill and two hours of lectures on military subjects per week allowed plenty of time for the continuance of intercollegiate competition on a limited basis with reduced schedules.

Responding to an editorial that appeared in the Chicago Tribune which labeled those who favored the continuation of intercollegiate athletics "quitters," Stagg
called the writer a "consummate ass." The coach felt that in times of stress it was even more important that life continue as normally as possible to keep people in the best physical and mental shape. Stagg's board agreed with him, and the university committee designated to address the issue of abolition recommended the continuation of athletics at Chicago.

Stagg did not want his pro-continuance position to be interpreted as unpatriotic, and he set out to win over skeptics. He claimed that in addition to their athletic participation, almost every Chicago athlete was also taking part in military preparation drills, and that athletes had enlisted in proportionally greater numbers than the rest of the student body. A Chicago paper helped his cause by providing the "proof" behind his assertions:

Since Stagg's entry into the University of Chicago he has given the world 525 "C" men. Only fifteen of these are reported dead...Every one of these perfectly trained athletes are men of sound mind today and hold prominent and responsible positions. As near as can be estimated over fifty "C" men are already in the army. Twenty-seven Maroons received their "C"s at the banquet and of these eight already have enlisted.

President Judson, who initially favored discontinuing athletics, eventually supported Stagg's position. Stagg also cited "leading military authorities" and even the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, among his supporters. And, although, some members of the Conference chose to discontinue athletics, the Western
Conference defeated a motion to suspend activities during the war.  

In May of 1917, Stagg received a letter from Joseph Raycroft, his former medical director and assistant, who was serving on the War Department's Commission on Training Camp Activities. Raycroft asked Stagg to volunteer his services and serve on the commission. The Training Camp Commission was closely associated with the YMCA and was responsible for reporting to the Secretary of War on the "off-duty activities of the soldiers." The commission's goal was to place men "of national reputation," to serve as sports directors in each Officer's Training Camp to organize and develop "recreative competitive activities." These directors would work under a commanding officer and cooperate with the YMCA in their direction of "all forms of recreative athletics for both moral and physical values."

Stagg was less than enthusiastic. He wrote Raycroft immediately and explained that he would be unable to accept the post due to a number of other obligations which required his attention. Aside from his responsibilities at the university, Stagg expressed concern for his family, "financially and otherwise," and spoke of the time demands of his involvement with the new "Olympia Fields" golf club.

The year before Stagg was selected the first president
of Olympia Fields Country Club. This new golfing club needed a drawing card to build its membership, and Stagg's "prominence in sport" was a "valuable asset to Olympia Fields in its infancy." Stagg, who took the position "solely from altruistic motives," was a good salesman and promoted the Olympia Fields golf club much as he did collegiate athletics; membership and participation were another means of combating the enervation and immorality of modern living. He used comparisons to the legendary ideals of the ancient Greeks and their Olympic games. Just as contestants, philosophers, poets, sculptors, musicians, artists, and spectators were attracted to Olympia of ancient Greece every four years, so were manufacturers, businessmen, scientists, physicians, lawyers, and teachers to Olympia Fields:

The one represents noble ancient ideals, the other modern ideas on how to meet physical needs in a pleasurable way...The old represents...worship...of the God Zeus; the new...the modern idea of continual worship of God through communion with nature and adoration of her beauties and glories...The...old stood for the highest development of the physical by a select few; the new...stands for the continual recreating of the physical powers of many men worn by the strenuosity of modern life.

Stagg made other favorable comparisons as well: at Olympia Fields one did not have to wait four years but could come each day; Olympia Fields was much larger than Mt. Olympus; women were not prohibited, families were welcome; and it was much easier to get to.
Although Stagg’s pronouncements had a populist sound to them, Olympia Fields was not meant for the masses. The new country club was built specifically for "golf hungry" businessmen who would travel from the city on the Illinois Central railroad line to Olympia Fields’ own train stop. A popular account of the day compared the "golfers utopia" to ancient Athens where "only those were admitted who were of true Hellenic blood and qualified to attend." The author continued: "So it is with Olympia Fields. Men and women of staunch character, who love true and honorable sport...are the types of persons who organized the club and are the only ones who are invited to join." The initiation fee of the first members was $60, with an annual fee of $50; by August of 1917, Stagg’s second year as president, the initiation fee rose to $300 and would "rise progressively thereafter." Most of the club’s first members came from the ranks of the Chicago Athletic Association, the Illinois Athletic Club, and previous players at the South Shore Country Club.

According to Stagg, he accepted the presidency because he loved the game of golf, although he rarely found the time to play, and could further demonstrate his belief in physical activity as a way of life. Applying many of the skills he refined as athletic director at Chicago, Stagg spent much of the summer of 1916 recruiting 500 charter members and raising $200,000. But he found the work much
harder than he expected: "My labor of love is exacting a much heavier sacrifice than I expected."  

Unfortunately for Olympia Fields, its first years coincided with America's preparedness for and entry into World War I which made fund raising more difficult. Early in 1917, the club's charter members negotiated to purchase 674 acres of land at $350 per acre in order to realize the plan to build five golf courses. Brought in specifically to raise funds and attract members, Stagg constantly worried about the club's questionable future. After the United States entered the war, the club's financial stability worsened:

A good half of the members left, and it was decided to 'carry' those engaged in war work...To ease the situation bank loans were negotiated and 50 permanent memberships sold at $1,000 a head. C.L. Frame, the treasurer, loaned the club $10,000.

Stagg felt the situation with Olympia Fields coupled with his other responsibilities justified his response to Raycroft. Stagg did inquire about the location of his proposed assignment and the living conditions. He asked several rhetorical questions framed to point out what he would be giving up if he left the directorship at Chicago, even temporarily: Would he have to obey the same rules as the enlisted men? How much money would be allocated for the implementation of the sports program and would he have control of the funds? Would there be time set aside daily
for the work and would it be compulsory? What would be his relation to the C.O.? And finally, "is the Sports Director expected to serve with or without pay?" Raycroft sent a vague reply, ignoring Stagg’s refusal, saying that no decision had been made regarding rank and compensation. Raycroft told Stagg he believed that adequate money would be available for facilities and equipment, and a recommendation had been made to the War Department that sufficient time be set aside for recreational activities. Raycroft guessed that Stagg’s assignment would be as conveniently located as possible, probably at either Fort Sheridan or Fort Benjamin Harrison. A series of telegrams followed, and it was determined that Stagg would serve that summer as a "civilian aid" at Fort Sheridan and receive $300 plus living expenses in compensation.

Stagg refused to resign himself to this fate. In July, he wired Raycroft after a two-day visit to the camp, concluding that there was no further reason for him to go there: "Authorities state they can’t change program as ordered by War Department to give special time for athletics, so therefore, it would be a waste of time for me to attempt anything." To further strengthen his position, Stagg publicly criticized the War Department’s Training Camp Sports Program. The New York Evening Post carried Stagg’s telegram to the Commissioner of Training Camps Recreation, Raymond B. Fosdick, officially declining his
post. In it Stagg reiterated his strong feeling that as long as the camps were unwilling to set aside time each day for recreational activities "I feel I would wasting my time out there."\(^{218}\)

In spite of Stagg's successful efforts to ensure that athletics continued at not only the University of Chicago but across the country, the war still held serious implications for Stagg's department and the athletic teams. Obviously, the enlistment of college age males directly affected Stagg's ability to retain and recruit prospects, and his frustration was clear. In correspondence with Illinois' Robert Zuppke, he assured the coach that a certain former Illinois player had not revealed any of the Illini's formations or signals, "although the Lord knows that we need every help since the military authorities smashed our team."\(^{219}\) Stagg suggested to President Judson that more entrance scholarships be given to male than female students to make up for the diminishing numbers due to entrance into the service.\(^{220}\) Gymnastics and fencing had no intercollegiate competitions, and in the spring of 1918 baseball and track found it increasingly difficult to field teams due to the "depletion of men by enlistments."\(^{221}\)

In order to preserve as much of its authority as possible, the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics assumed a policy of cooperation and accommodation with the
war effort at Chicago. The rifle range was enlarged, and athletic teams were asked by the Department staff to cooperate with the university in encouraging the importance of military preparedness among the students by devoting time each day to practice "military evolutions." The department discontinued running its interscholastic tournaments in the 1917-18 school year, acknowledging that travel expenses could not be justified when the citizenry was asked to conserve in many areas. Department policy was edited to fit the war time mood: "[P]hysical fitness is the most valuable asset to a soldier;" and it recommitted itself to providing men with greater opportunities to participate in athletic sports. When the Department of Military Science was established, Stagg's department gave the directive that while military training did not replace athletics, work in military science fulfilled the physical culture requirement.

Ultimately, though, Stagg lost the battle over control of physical education and athletics. In the summer of 1918, the war department announced that by the fall of 1918 all "able-bodied male students" would be under military supervision. The Student Army Training Corps (SATC) was established and organized on university and college campuses across the nation, making American higher education "a vast network of pre-induction centers where young men could be temporarily held prior to call-up for
active military duty." The Western Conference was obliged to officially relinquish its supervision of athletics, as new SATC rules regulating athletics would supersede any Conference resolutions. For all practical purposes, the war department controlled intercollegiate relations and activity.

At Chicago, war department directives forced a reorganization of the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics. The physical culture requirement was put under the Military Department. The gymnasium and athletic field were, in Stagg's own words "taken-over for drill." And the locker room became a barracks. As Stagg described it "military discipline was the dominant feature in the Fall Quarter." The SATC program, which included class-work and drill, left little time for athletic recreation.

Particularly irritating to Stagg was the cost of the SATC in lost revenues. Football was the only conference competition to continue during the war, but it was severely crippled. All universities with SATCs had to limit football games to the month of November as stipulated by the War Department, only two away trips could be scheduled, and a team could not be gone longer than Friday to Sunday. That season Chicago played only five games, all in November, against conference opponents Purdue, Northwestern, Illinois, Minnesota and Michigan.

Stagg was extremely sensitive to any further intrusion
into football. The United War Work Campaign was organized under the direction of John R. Mott, from the YMCA, to raise funds for the war related work of several cooperating organizations of various religious affiliations, including the YMCA, Knights of Columbus, Jewish Welfare Board, and the Salvation Army. The association hoped to publicize and raise money by sponsoring athletic exhibitions across the country. In a letter to Stagg, the War Work Campaign asked for the famous coach’s approval and his help in organizing several big games in the midwest for the benefit of the drive. Three days later, Stagg bluntly replied that athletic events were arranged far in advance and that he and the "athletic authorities" with whom he had spoken were strongly against donating the proceeds of games already scheduled and their finances had already been depleted by the SATC: "To assume further burdens such as you suggest would be suicidal to many athletic departments." Stagg closed suggesting the possibility of a post-season game, thereby putting the matter in the hands of the war department, which would have to approve an extension of the season.

These restrictions only lasted through the fall term of 1918, due to the armistice, but for Stagg and his department, the SATC and its constraints came at the worst possible time of year; the damage had been done. Stagg minimized the harm to intercollegiate athletics during most
of the war, but he was unable to save the football season of 1918 or protect the revenue it would have generated. Having survived the "Revolution of 1906" and a world war, Stagg was ready to rebuild and collect the money he knew the game of football would bring in. The Maroons were about to enter their glory days, and the roaring twenties would certainly be prosperous for "Stagg's University."
thirty minutes.
2. Six men were required to be on the line of scrimmage and if there were only six, one back must flank the line.
3. No lineman was to be less than five yards behind the line if back at all.
4. One forward pass was allowed to each scrimmage provided that the passer be behind the line of scrimmage.
5. Members of the kicking team were all on-side when the ball touched the ground.
6. Hurdling was forbidden.
7. The neutral zone was established.

11. Ibid., 17-18.
12. Ibid., 18, 19.
13. Letters between James Raycroft and Amos Alonzo Stagg, February - April 1906, Box 12, Folder 3, AASP.
14. Stagg’s leg was not the only problem. A good friend, Irving Fisher, from Stagg’s days at Yale, wrote to Stagg encouraging him to make a trip to Dr. Kellog in Battle Creek, Michigan. Fisher believed that Stagg’s rheumatism was the result of a poor diet. According to Fisher, Kellog, among other things, recommended reducing one’s meat intake. He also warned Stagg that too much exercise was not healthy either: Irving Fisher to Stagg, 6 February 1906, Box 2, Folder 4, AASP.
15. Stagg to the Board of Trustees, 23 January 1906, Box 9, Folder 16, AASP.
16. Raycroft to Stagg, 10 February 1906, Box 12, Folder 3, AASP.
17. Stagg to Raycroft, 18 March 1906, Box 12, Folder 3, AASP.
18. Voltmer, A Brief History, 19.
19. Henry Pratt Judson to Stagg, 21 March 1906, Box 9, Folder 16, AASP.
20. Stagg to Judson, 27 March 1906, Box 9, Folder 16, AASP.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Judson to Stagg, 30 March, 1906, Box 9, Folder 16, AASP.

24. Ibid.

25. Raycroft to AAS, March 26, 1906, Box 12, Folder 3, AASP.

26. See Box 87, Folder 1, AASP; Lester, "The Rise, Decline and Fall of Intercollegiate Football at the University of Chicago, 1890-1940" (Ph.D. dissertation: University of Chicago, 1974), 308-309.

27. Amos Alonzo Stagg, Touchdown (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1927), 246; Lester, "The Rise," 293-303; Raycroft to Stagg, 12 April 1906, Box 12, Folder 3, AASP; President's Report, 1906-07, Box 18, Folder 14, AASP, p. 1. The Chicago football squad had played an ever falling number of games since the infamous 1894 season when 19 contests were played from September 12 to January 4 while Chicago traveled across the country. After that the average season had between 10 and 14 games.

28. President’s Report, 1906-07, Box 18, Folder 14, AASP; Department of Physical Culture Notice, 1906, Box 18, Folder 2, AASP.

29. Stagg to Judson, 30 May 1906, Box 9, Folder 16, AASP.

30. Voltmer, A Brief History, 19.

31. Ibid., 20.

32. Stagg to A.B. Snider, 14, 22, 31 January 1905, Box 12, Folder 16, AASP.

33. Harper to Stagg, 27 January 1902, Stagg to Harper, 6 February 1902, Box 9, Folder 5, AASP.

34. Minutes, Board of Physical Culture and Athletics, 5 June 5 1906, Box 15, Folder 7, University President's Papers, Special Collections, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago. Hereafter cited as UPP. Also see Stagg to Judson, 14 August 1906, and Judson to Stagg, 17 August 1906, Box 9, Folder 16, AASP.


36. President’s Report, 1906-07, Box 18, Folder 14, AASP, p. 5.

38. Stagg was quick to make the most of the reforms
designed to open play, especially the forward pass: "I
believe it is going to have quite an influence on the
game," Stagg to Raycroft, 11 August 1906, Box 12, Folder 3,
AASP.


40. President's Report, 1910-1911, Box 18, Folder 18,
AASP, p. 7. The Conference did not adopt the article
allowing each institution to determine their own eligibilility.

41. Stagg to Judson, 26 February 1908, Judson to
Stagg, 26 February 1908, Box 9, Folder 18, AASP; Lester,
"The Rise," 297; Voltmer, A Brief History, 20. When
arranging the schedule, money was the determining factor
for Stagg, and in 1908 Cornell was considered a much
greater draw than Wisconsin. Wisconsin made the schedule
the following year. For the complete Chicago schedule, see

42. President's Report, 1907-1908, Box 18, Folder 15,
AASP. Ironically, Michigan had the most difficulty
complying with Conference reforms, particularly the
restrictions regarding competition with non-conference
members. Due to its geographic location, Michigan
traditionally played eastern institutions more frequently
than the rest of the Conference. As a result, Michigan
officially withdrew from the Conference in January of 1908.
Michigan was quickly ostracized, for Conference regulations
prohibited athletic competition with former members. See
Voltmer, A Brief History, 21, 27. Michigan would not re­
enter until November of 1917 when, according to Stagg, it
agreed to faculty control. See President's Report, 1917-
1918, Box 18, Folder 25, AASP, p. 4.

43. President's Report, 1907-1908, Box 18, Folder 15,
AASP, p. 2. President Judson shared Stagg's enthusiasm for
the tradition: "Breaking bread together is the ancient
symbol of friendship and good fellowship. Intercollegiate
athletics are contests among those who are friends, and who
engage in the contest for victory from purposes quite
distinct from those which actuate professional teams in any
form of sport. A college man should be, and I am confident
in most cases is, always and everywhere a gentleman. This
is to my mind the essence of college sport:" Judson to
Stagg, 13 November 1908, Box 9, Folder 18, AASP.
44. President’s Report 1907-1908, Box 18, Folder 15, AASP. Providing a list of Chicago "Disciples" was an annual part of Stagg’s annual reports.

45. George Vincent to Stagg, 24 January 1910; Stagg to Vincent, 26 January 1910; and Judson to Vincent, 28 January 1910, Box 10, Folder 16, AASP.

46. Stagg, Touchdown, 303.

47. Stagg to Mr. C. E. McKinney, 17 August 1940, unaccessioned papers (file 1-D), Stagg Special Collections, Stagg High School, Palos, Illinois. Hereafter cited as SSC. Also see President’s Report, Box 18, Folders 13-16, AASP (the other period was from 1921 - 24).

48. Stagg, Touchdown, 303, 304.

49. Ibid., 305-308.

50. Ibid., 309.

51. Ibid., chap. 14 passim.

52. President’s Report, Box 18, Folders 14-17, AASP.

53. Ibid., Folder 21.

54. Ibid., Folders 16, 18, 20, 23, 28, 29.

55. Initially, this meant football, eventually, basketball was included.

56. Stagg to Professor R.N. Corwin, 28 March 1916, Box 2, Folder 21 & Box 18, Folder 5, AASP.

57. Stagg to Dr. Paul Phillips, 13 March 1911, Box 18, Folder 5, AASP; Stagg to Harper, 6 July 1905, Harper to Stagg, 13, 19 July 1905, Stagg to Harper, 21 July 1905, Box X, Folder 10, WRHP.

58. This meant football and eventually basketball, the only two self-supporting intercollegiate sports out of eleven (the nine others included: baseball, track, tennis, golf, cross country, gymnastics, swimming, wrestling, and fencing). Stagg to J. Harold Braddock, 10 December 1910, Box 18, Folder 4, AASP.

59. Stagg to David S. Merriam, 14 December 1913, Box 11, Folder 10, AASP.
60. Stagg's statement for a *Chicago Tribune* article, 1910, Box 18, Folder 3, AASP.


62. Raycroft to Stagg, 22 February 1908, Box 12, Folder 5, AASP.

63. Ibid.

64. University of Chicago Press to Stagg, 13 July 1915, Box 18, Folder 2, AASP.

65. Stagg to J.C. Dinsmore, 10 July 1915, Box 8, Folder 12, AASP.

66. Raycroft to Stagg, 22 February 1908, Box 12, Folder 5, AASP.

67. Stagg to Trevor Arnett, 17 February 1909, Box 8, Folder 4, AASP; Stagg to Raycroft, 16 January 1909, and Raycroft to Stagg, 12 February 1909, Box 12, Folder 5, AASP.

68. Stagg to Phillips, 13 March 1911, Box 18, Folder 5, AASP.

69. James R. Angell, acting V.P., to Stagg, 17 April 17 1914, Box 8, Folder 3, AASP. See handwritten note on bottom of page.

70. Stagg to Dr. Dudley Reed, 9 May 1913, Box 12, Folder 9, AASP, p. 2; Stagg to Gertrude Dudley, 9 May 1913, Box 11, Folder 8, AASP.

71. Stagg to Dudley Reed, 9 May 1913, Box 12, Folder 9, AASP, p. 2.

72. President's Report, 1908-1909, Box 18, Folder 16, AASP, p.1. The Athletic Fund did contribute $2,500 to the Harper Library and $800 to the University Band.

73. Stagg to Horace Butterworth, 26 April 1911, Box 11, Folder 2, AASP; President's Report, 1910-11, Box 18, Folder 18, AASP, p. 1.

74. Ibid. Ironically, the Board of Trustees appropriated $200,000 to build a concrete grandstand and wall around the playing field: President's Report, 1912-1913, Box 18, Folder 20, AASP.
75. Minutes, Board of Physical Culture and Athletics, 25 November 1916, Box 18, Folder 9, AASP.

76. Stagg to Pat Page, 15 December 1916, Box 11, Folder 16, AASP.

77. Stagg to Phillips, 13 March 1911, Box 18, Folder 5, AASP.

78. Stagg to Professor Robert Corwin, Yale University, 21 October 1915, Box 2, Folder 21, AASP.

79. Ibid., 28 March 1916.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid. Also see Stagg to Corwin, no date, circa March 1916, Box 18, Folder 5, AASP.

82. Minutes, Board of Physical Culture and Athletics, 24 April 1915, Box 18, Folder 8, AASP.

83. President’s Report, 1915-1916, Box 18, Folder 23, AASP.

84. Judson to Stagg, 13 December 1913, Box 10, Folder 1, AASP. The Board hinted, though, that they would be more inclined to approve had Harvard agreed to return the favor in Chicago. The exchange finally did take place in 1938 & 1939, well after Stagg’s departure, during the last two season’s of Chicago football.

85. Judson to Stagg, 3 June 1918, Box 10, Folder 3, AASP.

86. Pat Page to Stagg, 30 July 1909, Box 11, Folder 13, AASP; Stagg to George Vincent, 31 July 1909, Box 10, Folder 16, AASP. Before an average of two per quarter, eight per year was required. Athletes were known to take correspondence courses during the summer, the results of which were usually not known until the last minute. Stagg had already lost several team members who were on probation with no chance of getting back in, Page to AAS, 16 July 1909, Box 11, Folder 13, AASP.

87. Stagg to Vincent, 31 July 1909, Vincent to Stagg, 10, 28 August 1909, Box 10, Folder 16, AASP; Stagg to Raycroft, 16 August 1909, Raycroft to Stagg, 2 September 1909, Box 12, Folder 5, AASP.

88. Raycroft to Stagg, 6 April 1910, Box 12, Folder 6, AASP.
89. President's Report, 1910-1910, Box 18, Folder 1, AASP, p. 7.

90. Letter from A.A. Stagg, 3 May 1909, Box 13, Folder 9, AASP.

91. Letter from A.A. Stagg, 17 January 1910, Box 13, Folder 9, AASP.

92. Letter from Stagg, 17 January 1910, Box 13, Folder 9, AASP.

93. Stagg to R.A. Barker, 1 August 1910, Box 13, Folder 9, AASP.


95. Stagg to Frank Goodenow, 5 December 1922, Box 13, Folder 12, AASP.

96. Stagg to Mrs. Chas. L. Pyke, 8 March 1917, Box 13, Folder 11, AASP.

97. Dean Vincent to Stagg, 14 June 1906., Box 10, Folder 16, AASP. Stagg still controlled athletic department jobs that he could give to athletes.

98. Raycroft to Stagg, 27 January, Stagg to Judson, 27 January, Stagg to Raycroft, 29 January 1908, Box 12, Folder 5, AASP.

99. Raycroft to Stagg, 24 February 1908, Box 12, Folder 5, AASP.

100. Vincent to Stagg, 26 October 1908, Box 10, Folder 16, AASP; Lester, "The Rise," 172-173.

101. Minutes, Board of Physical Culture and Athletics, 10 April 1913, Box 18, Folder 8, AASP.

102. James Angell to J.C. Dinsmore, 27 June 1913, Box 8, Folder 3, AASP.

103. Stagg to Angell, 14 May 1914, Box 8, Folder 3, AASP.

104. Angell to David S. Merriam, 24 February 1915, Box 8, Folder 3, AASP.

106. Luther Fernald, managing editor of the Daily Maroon, to Stagg, 11 April 1908, Box 9, Folder 18, AASP (see hand written notes between Judson and Stagg).

107. Nathaniel Butler to Stagg, 24 October 1911, Box 8, Folder 1, AASP; President's Report, 1910-1911, Box 18, Folder 18, AASP, p. 3.

108. Pat Page to Stagg, 26 July, 9, 12, 18 August 1911, Box 11, Folder 14, AASP.

109. Stagg to Page, 21 August 1911, Box 11, Folder 14, AASP.

110. Page to Stagg, 24 July 1913, Box 11, Folder 16, AASP.

111. Ibid., 30 July 1913. The deception was unnecessary, for the boy's father drowned, and he never returned to school.

112. Resolutions adopted by the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago, 22 October 1913, Box 10, Folder 1, AASP. The board also favored regulating contests by mutual agreement between the two schools. Stagg and Chicago football benefitted the most from the policy of mutual agreement, for Stagg continually scheduled as many games at home as possible, ensuring greater gate receipts due to Chicago's prime location.

113. Minutes, Board of Physical Culture and Athletics, 2 October 1913, Box 18, Folder 8, AASP.

114. Ibid., 28 February 1914, Box 18, Folder 8, AASP.

115. Kurt Laves to Dean G. E. Vincent, 15 May 1906, Box 10, Folder 16, AASP.

116. Stagg to Dean Vincent, 21 May 1906, Box 10, Folder 16, AASP.

117. Judson to Stagg, 6 November 1907, and Stagg to Judson, 12, 24 November 1907, Box 9, Folder 17, AASP.

118. Stagg to Angell, 9 February 1917, Box 8, Folder 3, AASP.

119. Vincent to Stagg, 10 November 1908, Box 10, Folder 16, AASP.

121. Raycroft to Stagg, 28 December 1904, Box 12, Folder 1, AASP.

122. Raycroft to Stagg, 17 March 1905, Box 12, Folder 2, AASP.

123. Chicago Record-Herald, 30 October 1903.


125. Stagg to Raycroft, 12 June 1905, Box 12, Folder 2, AASP.

126. Ekersall to Stagg, 6 December 1906, SSC.


131. Ibid., 98.

132. Stagg to Eckersall, 4 October 1907, SSC.

133. Stagg to Eckersall, 3 October 1909, SSC.

134. E.J. Goodspeed to Stagg, 24 May 1921, Box 8, Folder 1, AASP.

135. Letters between George Vincent and Stagg, February - June 1909, Box 10, Folder 16, AASP. Vincent accepted Stagg's promise to notify the Dean before continuing to run adds.

136. Judson to Stagg, 25 November 25, 1906, Box 9, Folder 16, AASP; Judson to Stagg, 6 November 1907, Stagg to Judson, 12, 24 November 1907, Box 9, Folder 17, AASP.

137. Stagg to Judson, 24 November 1907, Box 9, Folder 17, AASP.

138. Ibid., 28 November 1907.

139. Voltmer, A Brief History, 25.

140. Ibid.
141. Judson to Stagg, 25 March 1912, Box 10, Folder 1, AASP; Voltmer, *A Brief History*, 25.


143. "Freshman Athletic Competition," 1913, Box 11, Folder 16, AASP.

144. Ibid.

145. Stagg to Albion Small, 6 May, 14 December 1914, Box 8, Folder 2, AASP. At first, a one sport limitation was considered but was later changed to two. Small was the other Chicago representative to the Intercollegiate Conference and was instructed by the PC & A Board to vote against the measure. See: Minutes, Board of Physical Culture and Athletics, 23 May, 24 October 1914, Box 18, Folder 8, AASP.


148. Ibid., 185.

149. Stagg to George Vincent, 10 April 1915, Box 10, Folder 16, AASP.

150. "The Instinct to Play," Box 109, Folder 7, AASP.

151. Lecture #3, Box 109, Folder 7, AASP, pp. 1-11.

152. Handwritten notes, no date, Box 109, Folder 7, AASP.

153. Ibid., 23.

154. Lecture #2, no date, Box 109, Folder 7, AASP, p. 4. Written for a series of public lectures requested by the university. Stagg wondered if they were asking him to do this because they did not think he was earning his salary.

155. Ibid., pp.1-12.

156. "The Modern Athlete," no date, Box 109, Folder 7, AASP.

158. Ibid.

159. "Physical Training - Its Organization Among Colleges and Universities," no date, Box 109, Folder 7, AASP.

160. "The Problem," no date, Box 109, Folder 7, AASP.

161. "Physical Training - Its Organization Among Colleges and Universities," no date, Box 109, Folder 7, AASP, p.3. Stagg’s solution was to offer a wider variety of classes and offer them almost every hour, which would certainly boost his need and justification for faculty.

162. President’s Report, 1909-1910, Box 18, Folder 17, AASP.

163. "Ideal Athletic Conditions," no date, Box 109, Folder 7, AASP, p. 2. Stagg recommended that a medical examiner should be part of the department to determine fitness for participation: Ibid., pp. 3-4.

164. Stagg to J.H. McCulloch, Supervisor of Athletics, Carnegie Institute, 4 April 1916, Box 18, Folder 4, AASP; Stagg to Dr. Charles W. Dabney, University of Cincinnati, 1 April 1916, Box 18, Folder 4, AASP. The course in hygiene continued to count toward one’s physical culture requirement, but during the 1917-1918 year, Freshmen were no longer required to take it: President’s Report, 1917-1918, Box 18, Folder 25, AASP, p. 3.

165. Raycroft to Stagg, 7 June 1911, Box 12, Folder 6, AASP.

166. Reed to Stagg, 10 January 1912, Box 12, Folder 8, AASP.

167. Stagg to Vincent, 15 November 1906, Box 12, Folder 3, AASP.

168. President’s Report, 1912-13, Box 18, Folder 20, AASP.

169. Reed to AStagg, 15 January 1915, Box 12, Folder 10, AASP.

170. Minutes, Board of Physical Culture and Athletics, 25 April 1913, Box 18, Folder 8, AASP; Reed to Stagg, 19 February 1913, Box 12, Folder 9, AASP.
171. Except for their initial examination: Board of Physical Culture, University Ruling Body, 10 May 1913, Box 18, Folder 8, AASP, p. 2.

172. President's Report, 1914-15, Box 18, Folder 22, AASP.

173. Reed to Stagg, 16, 28 February 1912, Box 12, Folder 8, AASP.


175. President's Report, 1915-1916, Box 18, Folder 23, AASP, pp. 2-3. Additions by 1916 included: major sports - basketball, tennis, gymnastics, swimming, and wrestling; course-work - (initial courses offered to men and women were in hygiene and gymnastics) men: graded gymnastics, football, baseball, track, basketball, tennis, swimming and life saving, cross country, golf, wrestling, fencing, handball, squash, and military tactics. Women were now offered courses in graded gymnastics, dancing, baseball, hockey, basketball, volleyball, tennis and swimming.

176. President's Report, 1915-1916, Box 18, Folder 23, AASP. Apparently Minnesota did not agree and dropped baseball.


179. Handwritten notes, no date, Box 109, Folder 6, AASP.

180. "American Football," Box 109, Folder 9, AASP.

181. The references to Stagg's various ailments are too numerous to list here. See: Stagg, Touchdown, 241-2; Correspondence, April & December 1907, Box 12, Folder 4 and September 1907, Box 11, Folder 3, AASP.

182. Stagg to T. Arnett, 23 February 1907, Box 8, Folder 4, AASP.
183. J. Spencer Dickerson, Secretary, Board of Trustees, to Stagg, 10 June 1913, Box, 8, Folder 12, AASP. Apparently part of his problem was an inability to sleep: Stagg to Judson, 16 May 1913, Box 10, Folder 1, AASP.

184. Stagg to George Woodruff, 17 July 1913, Box 2, Folder 20, AASP.

185. Reed to Stagg, 28 February 1912, Box 12, Folder 8, AASP; Ford to Stagg, 10 April 1913, Stagg to Ford, 8 July 8 1913, Box 2, Folder 3, AASP. Mrs. Stagg continued to be proficient at tennis, and Alonzo Jr., Ruth and Paul were all taught the game.

186. Stagg to Ford, 8 July 1913, Box 2, Folder 3, AASP.

187. Lester, "The Rise," 139-140.

188. Ibid., 140.


190. Ibid., 55-57, 59.

191. Stagg to Harper, 6, July 1905, Harper to Stagg, 13, 19, July 1905, Stagg to Harper, 21 July 1905, Box X, Folder 10, WRHP. More than half of Stagg’s salary came from the fund; also see: Lester, "The Rise," 139-140.


193. Ibid.

194. Stagg to Harvey Woodruff of the Chicago Tribune, 29 May 1917, Box 109, Folder 9, AASP.

195. Minutes, Board of Physical Culture and Athletics, 26 May 1917, Box 18, Folder 9, AASP.

196. Stagg to Professor F.Nicholson, 29 May 1917, Box 19, Folder 5, AASP.

197. Chicago American, 9 June 1917.

198. President’s Report, 1916-1917, Box 18, Folder 24, AASP, p. 1; Stagg to Harvey Woodruff, 29 May 1917, Box 109, Folder 9, AASP, UCA.
199. Voltmer, *A Brief History*, 28. In September of the following year, the Conference reversed its position in response to the war department’s actions on college campuses.

200. Raycroft to Stagg, 12 May 1917, Box 19, Folder 5, AASP. This could include activities such as recreation, alcohol use and the spread of venereal disease.

201. Ibid.

202. Stagg to Raycroft, 16 May 1917, Box 19, Folder 5, AASP.


204. Stagg to Raycroft, 16 May 1917, Box 19, Folder 5, AASP.

205. "Olympia Fields Country Club - The New Olympia of Illinois," no author, no date, Box 109, Folder 9, AASP.


209. Stagg to Dudley Reed, 1 August 1916, Box 12, Folders 5, 11, AASP.


211. Stagg to Raycroft, 16 May 1917, Box 19, Folder 5, AASP.


213. A banquet was held in the late fall of 1917 at the "Saddle and Sirloin Club" by club member L.B. Patterson and 200 new members were enrolled. Stagg remained as president through 1919 and oversaw the completion of the first and second courses (the second opened in the spring of 1918: "A Brief History of Olympia Fields," p. 4. The historical literature at Olympia Fields implies that
Stagg's, and the other early organizers and developers', services were voluntary; Stagg implies as much when he remarks that he took the fund raising job, "from altruistic motives," although it is hard to believe he was not compensated in some way for the use of his name and his fund raising efforts.

214. Stagg to Raycroft, 16 May 1917, Box 19, Folder 5, AASP.

215. Raycroft to Stagg, 21 May 1917, Box 19, Folder 5, AASP.

216. Telegram to Stagg, June 1917, Box 19, Folder 5, AASP; Reed to Stagg, 7 July 1917, Box 12, Folder 11, AASP.

217. Telegram, Stagg to Raycroft, 6 July 1917, Box 19, Folder 5, AASP.

218. Clipping, New York Evening Post, July 1917, no page, Box 19, Folder 5, AASP.

219. Stagg to Zuppke, 2 November 1918, Box 13, Folder 11, AASP.

220. Stagg to Judson, 14 June 1917, Box 10, Folder 3, AASP.

221. President’s Report, 1917-1918, Box 18, Folder 25, AASP, pp. 1-2.

222. President’s Report, 1916-17, Box 18, Folder 24, AASP, p. 2.

223. President’s Report, 1917-1918, Box 18, Folder 25, AASP.


225. Kennedy, Over Here, 57.

226. Ibid.

227. Voltmer, A Brief History, 28-29. Eligibility was extended to all members of S.A.T.C., including freshmen, allowing four years of competition instead of three.

228. Ibid., 28.
229. President’s Report, 1918-1919, Box 18, Folder 26, AASP, pp. 1-2. This was how Stagg described conditions, i.e., students under military supervision.

230. Ibid., p. 1; Stagg to Zuppke, 2 November 1918, Box 13, Folder 11, AASP. All conference eligibility rules were suspended as the War Department made all S.A.T.C. men eligible for intercollegiate activities.

231. President’s Report, 1918-1919, Box 18, Folder 26, AASP, p. 2.

232. This was the first game with Michigan since 1905.

233. W.W. Roper to Stagg, 16 October 1918, Box 19, Folder 5, AASP.

234. Stagg to W.W. Roper, 19 October 1918, Box 19, Box 5, AASP. Knute Rockne was one of those "athletic authorities," see Rockne to Stagg, Box 19, Folder 5, AASP; President’s Report, 1918-1919, Box 18, Folder 26, AASP, p. 2.

235. President’s Report, 1918-1919, Box 18, Folder 26, AASP, p. 2.

CHAPTER VI

THE TWENTIES:
SAYING HELLO AND GOODBYE
TO BIG-TIME ATHLETICS

With the conclusion of World War I, the war-weary population turned its attention away from Europe and looked for diversion at home. Sport, both professional and collegiate, flourished as an entertainment commodity to be consumed by a hungry public. This "Golden Age of Sport" introduced an era of unprecedented growth in intercollegiate athletics, and intercollegiate football joined professional baseball, horse racing, and boxing as the "dominant national spectator event[s]."¹ The flood of returning servicemen to colleges and universities, who did not have to sit out the usual required year and lost no eligibility, gave a needed boost to athletic teams.²

Stagg's successful campaign for the continuation of athletic competition during the war helped sanction the rapid expansion of college athletics in the twenties and cemented his reputation as a leading, national proponent of fitness. He used the war to show how necessary athletic programs were to the nation's youth. Citing the substandard performances of three Chicago track men who served in the war, Stagg concluded that American soldiers returned
in worse physical condition than when they entered. After the war, Stagg observed that it took longer for men to get back into shape; they had less "nervous energy," "muscular elasticity," stamina and endurance. On the other hand, military officials and college-age men testified that sport "had played a vital role winning World War I." Stagg agreed: ex-servicemen on his baseball team played harder and cleaner, offered fewer excuses and argued less with umpires; he attributed this to the lessons of discipline and teamwork taught by their war experience. To Stagg and his supporters, sport became an invaluable weapon for the nation's defense.

Athletics were used to instill American values in a paranoid post-war world, to continue the unfinished fight at home against subversion. "The Athlete's Americanization League" was established in 1920 to "promote and insure Americanism" through nation-wide athletic training, and to encourage "a stronger, cleaner American manhood." Having no official religious or political affiliation, this organization espoused a familiar distrust of the city and urban life. Born of the suspicious atmosphere of the Red Scare, the "Athlete's Americanization League" saw athletics as a protective measure against an uncertain world:

...universal athletic training is the logical antidote for unrest. It builds the body and fosters fair play. Fair play and bolshevism are not bed-fellows.

Stagg took full advantage of the public's approval of
and demand for intercollegiate football and set out to build an athletic empire. The early twenties were Stagg's greatest years as a coach and a public figure. Following his championship season of 1924, the Chicago Evening American crowned him "A Maker of Men." Fifty-eight years old in 1920, Stagg capitalized on the decade's consumer culture while nostalgically espousing the Victorian values of discipline and piety of the previous century. In the secular atmosphere of the 1920s, Stagg used athletic and religious rhetoric interchangeably, believing that they taught the same lessons, and relished the business side of college football as much as any captain of industry. He saw no contradiction between his dual goal of building character and making money.

Unfortunately for Stagg, the University of Chicago did not agree with his or the public's opinion. During this period, many universities and colleges rushed to build large stadiums in order to satisfy the appetite to witness battles first-hand and to realize the financial rewards of increased gate receipts. Stagg called the twenties the age of "Deep Dish Football." Illinois could seat 66,000 in its stadium, Ohio State, 72,000, and Michigan considered a capacity approaching 100,000. Much to Stagg's great frustration, while these universities raised their seating capacity by the tens of thousands, Chicago officials, especially the office of the president, refused to build
such a monument to sport. Stagg never got his stadium, and the only significant addition to the stands came after his program began to falter.

During the twenties, Stagg raised vast amounts of money through intercollegiate football. He believed the financial success of his department would give him the power and security he needed to realize his dream of unlimited expansion in the fields of physical education and athletics; it would not. Ironically, as Stagg's football program earned more and more money, the foundation of his dominion crumbled; administrative support disintegrated and the pool of physical talent evaporated. In spite of the popular mania for college sports, the University of Chicago changed its mind about big-time collegiate athletics and turned away from the "Golden Age" of sport. Nevertheless, Stagg desperately fought to salvage what remained of his program, but by the close of the decade his team could not win, his compulsory physical education requirement was all but eliminated, and his department was almost broke. Stagg's climb took over three decades, he was not prepared for the rapid fall.

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Following the war, Stagg's future looked bright. The public approved of college athletics as never before. Physical "training" was replaced by physical "education" and "physical education and sports were seen to be one and
the same by laymen as well as professionals in the
field." Through his defense of athletics during and
after the war, Stagg overcame his fear of speaking and
became a popular guest lecturer across the country.
Although many of Stagg's theories were based on little more
than personal feelings and observations, his ideas were
popular because they identified problems and offered
concrete solutions. His principles made sense and were not
controversial. He spoke on topics familiar to him:
"Character Building in Athletics," "Modern Youth,"
"Football and Education," and "The Making of Men." Stagg advised businessmen to pay closer attention to
their physical health. Among other things, he claimed that
physical training in one's youth prevented baldness: "I
should say, therefore, that if you want to keep your hair
and teeth and the use of your eyes, it will pay you to lay
a solid foundation of physical fitness." Stagg linked
athletic success to business success and advised pro-
spective employers to look for the qualities of strength,
discipline, determination, and honor in their employees.
His recommendations for exercise included "deep breathing":

[I]sn't there something significant in our slang
expression 'chesty?' When we say this of a man,
we mean that he is self-confident, cheerful,
aggressive. And we associate these qualities
with great lung expansion. When we talk of a man
'throwing out his chest' we certainly don't
picture him as a shrinking, timid, apologetic
individual. It is our unconscious recognition of
the fact that to breathe deeply gives a man force
and stimulates him. 'Inspiration' is literally
'breathing in.' Practice this deep in-breathing, and I believe you will benefit from it in mind and character as well as in body.  

For another audience, Stagg assessed the shape of the country's male youth. According to Stagg, the country boy had better muscular development than the city boy, but the city boy had a more developed nervous system and better coordination and mental alertness "because of the rush and the whirl of their everyday life." Southern boys were particularly courageous, but in "boys who come of the races which have a long history of subservience there is often a curious lack of this sterling quality." The Irish were good fighters with their fists and heads; "they have a temperament which is capable of great emotional heights ...which counts enormously in any struggle to win." Regardless of background, though, all boys, said Stagg, "need the training of sports to make them better men, physically, mentally, and morally." Exercise was not enough, it was sport that developed "mental and moral fiber."  

Stagg praised the English athletic tradition which was embraced by all classes and made them victorious on the battlefield. Stagg hoped Americans would emulate Great Britain's example and make sport the "common practice of the nation." Sport was Stagg's panacea for all human weaknesses:

Sport develops the body. But it also develops in a man keenness of observation and quickness of
perception. It makes him react instantaneously, so that his decisions are prompt. It develops initiative more than anything else does. A man learns to think quickly in an emergency, to be strategic, to watch his opponent, and to outwit him if necessary. And he also learns the invaluable lesson of cooperation, of team play. He learns to obey as well as to lead; to be a game loser when he must, and a generous winner when he can. A good fighter anywhere—in war, business, or in politics—cannot be 'yellow' or 'a quitter.' And in sport a man learns this.

To Stagg, one should always lead his life as if it was the final play of the big game with the score tied.

In a 1922 address titled "The Moral Value of Athletics," given at the University of Chicago, Stagg called for a "revolution" in morality "if we are to have sound citizenship." Athletics, he predicted would be an important part of this movement, especially football. He asked: "What greater thing is there than to be masters of ourselves?" The desire to win on the football field among a player was so great, Stagg asserted, that "there is no end of the sacrifice he will undergo to attain his ends." Equating athletics and religion, Stagg warned: "One amounts to nothing who has no heart, no feeling, who can't tie to something worthwhile, whether it be duty, an institution, a religious belief, a team or a sport. Athletics brings out loyalty." By the twenties, Stagg's devotion to athletics had lost much of its religious tone. Once, he used athletics as a drawing card to religion; now it was a replacement for it.

Only one other issue inspired Stagg as much as the
promotion of college athletics. At the end of the war, an old threat re-appeared to compete with his precious and lucrative collegiate commodity: professional athletics, the antithesis of amateur collegiate competition. Stagg's opposition to professional sports gave even greater justification to the cause of physical education and college athletics.

While few argued with the necessity for improving the physical health of Americans, passionate debate surrounded the form that organized athletics should take. To many, a dark cloud loomed on the horizon. The growth of professional baseball and football, which were "increasingly perceived as viable careers by college graduates," and the related evils of gambling and loose living dismayed Stagg and his fellow proponents of amateur sport. Prior to World War I, college athletes and professional sportsmen generally came from and remained in distinct social classes. In the twenties, the lines grayed as college athletics became a stepping stone into professional sports. By 1927, as many as one-third of starting positions in major-league baseball were filled by college men.

The issue of professionalism and its relation to collegiate sport was not new, but the debate had traditionally been limited to baseball, the only sport where student athletes could play for pay. By the late teens and early twenties, professional football, and
eventually basketball, benefitting from the swift rise in popularity of spectator sports, increased the opportunities available for college men to sell their talents, thereby renewing the quest by many within the walls of higher education to uphold the ideals of amateurism.

The debate over amateur baseball subsided during the war years, but re-emerged soon after. Stagg continued to associate professionalism with an ever expanding list of evils. Stagg accused professional baseball players of being unpatriotic during World War I. Stagg noted that professional baseball players "did not respond quickly to their country's call in the world war as did the amateur leaders." "Amateur sports," claimed Stagg, "train youth in loyalty to the highest degree:"

All the finest things that go with loyalty to the home,...loyalty to church or organization or school or club or municipality or country[,] which are positively essential to prevent anarchy in our beloved relationships of life depend upon development of this spirit in our young. The reason there is so much anarchy now in our homes, such utter disregard of right relationship between husband and wife, and between fathers and their children and even mothers and their children is due to the fact that there is a low tide of loyalty and responsibility."

To achieve this, Stagg proposed compulsory physical education by law. This, said Stagg, should be as great a priority of the Congress as was protection of the United States.

By the early twentieth century, collegiate baseball was no longer a revenue-producing sport and had fallen
behind in popularity to football; this made no difference to Stagg. Making an exception to the amateur code in college baseball could set a precedent for other sports. The rise of professional football, in the late teens and early twenties, was particularly troublesome to the coach. For many years, Stagg argued that professionalism would never come to football because its essence required loyalty, cooperation, and self-sacrifice; qualities, according to Stagg, professionals knew nothing about. But when Ohio State University joined the Western Conference in 1912, members were forced to address the issue. 24

Professional football, at the time, was especially popular in the industrial towns of Ohio and quickly gained a reputation for being far more exploitative than its baseball counterpart. 25 In 1916, the membership ruled that any person connected with professional football was ineligible for employment within the conference. 26 In addition, if a student chose to play professional football, before or after college, he forfeited any awards (ie. varsity letters), and any employment associated with professional football would negate future employment in association with college athletics. 27

Stagg wrote an open letter to "All Friends of Football," fervently asking them not to attend professional games:

For years, the colleges have been waging a bitter warfare against the insidious forces of the
gambling public and alumni and against over­
zealous and shortsighted friends, inside and out, and also not infrequently against crooked coaches and managers who have been anxious to win at any cost...And now along comes another serious menace possibly greater than all others, viz; Sunday professional football...Under the guise of fair play but countenancing rank dishonesty in playing men under assumed names, scores of professional teams have sprung up within the last two or three years...Cases of the debauching of high school boys not infrequently have...[also]...come to notice...The schools and colleges are struggling to combat the various evils connected with football which when played with the amateur spirit possesses more elements for the development of character and manhood than any other sport I know of...If you believe in preserving interscholastic and intercollegiate football for the upbuilding of the present and future generations of clean, healthy rightminded and patriotic citizens, you will not lend your assistance to any of the forces which are helping to destroy it.  

He did not want to lose control of a game he planned his professional future around.

The emerging professional sports of football and basketball caused athletic directors within the Western Conference to re-examine the trend toward liberalizing conference rules regulating summer baseball play. As a result, the conference re-instituted the most narrow interpretation of amateur standing with the "admission charge" rule, which remained in force throughout Stagg's tenure. Students who participated in games where admissions were charged or collected lost their amateur status and were ineligible to play collegiate sports. Stagg and the "allegiance to the amateur principle" were vindicated, still, summer baseball remained the leading
cause of ineligibility within the conference.  

In the meantime, college football in the West emerged from the war years on par with the eastern game, but Stagg was determined to prove its superiority. Following the war, the Maroons began to rebuild. They finished the 1919 season 5-2, losing to Illinois and Wisconsin; in 1920, they lost as many as they won, with one tie. Stagg arranged the first inter-sectional game between a member of the Western Conference and one of the eastern Big Three, Princeton. Conference policy limited scheduling to opponents within the Conference and the region. Stagg was the first to break that agreement in 1921 when the Maroons defeated the Tigers at Princeton. Robin Lester argues that the Chicago-Princeton match-up provided the necessary impetus "for collegiate football to become a national game."  

Stagg did his best to satisfy the public's craving to participate in the spectacle, en masse, and to witness the best trained warriors in combat on the football field. The fans were not disappointed, for 1921 - 1924, according to Stagg, was the second great football era at Chicago. In 1921, the team was 6-1, losing only to Ohio State. The 1922 season saw five wins, one loss, to Princeton in a return game, and one tie, to the University of Wisconsin. The following season, the Maroons went 7-1, losing to Illinois 7-0.

Lt. Col. John P. Long, one of Stagg's former players
from 1922-1924, remembered his coach during these glory days of Chicago football. On game day, Stagg drove up in his "electric limousine" driven by his wife to reveal the day's strategy to the team. During the game, according to Long, the stoical Stagg never showed emotion; he might stand up on the sidelines but would not pace or throw towels. Before the big games Stagg often talked of "loyalty," and, "devotion to fairness:" they were not emotional speeches, remembered Long, but they appealed to one's emotions. Nor did Stagg resort to yelling to inspire his team, instead he spoke with deep intensity. As a result, said Long, the whole team had great respect for him.  

Stagg's choice of tactics was purposeful. While at Yale, he remembered the "hate propaganda of the old grads who came back before the big game to pump poison into us. They recited all the dastardly deeds of the enemy in years past." Stagg preferred another approach:

The better plan lies in an appeal to the loyalty, sentiment, love of the university, love of one another and self-pride of the players. They are potent enough for any purpose if you know how to use them.  

At half-time, after pointing out the other team's weaknesses and strengths, Stagg would "rewind the emotional clockworks" of his team individually and then as a whole: "If any has failed to do his best I tell him so bluntly." Yet, Stagg never resorted to profanity.
Stagg was conservative when it came to predicting the Maroons chances and talking to the press. "Stagg fears Purdue," was his standard, because he believed "it is never safe to assume that you can defeat any team." He distrusted the press who had "a way of freely translating a coach's comment:"

If I am asked by a reporter what I anticipate from Purdue and I say 'We ought to win,' I am more likely than not to find myself quoted in the next day's headlines this-wise: Stagg Says Maroon Will Smear Purdue.

In 1924 Chicago won the Intercollegiate Conference title with the highest winning percentage, even though it ended with a loss and three ties. The highpoint of the season came when the Maroons played to a satisfying 21-21 tie with the heavily favored Illini and their star, Red Grange. John Long described Chicago football that year as at "the peak of hysteria." According to Long, the "hype" leading up to the game was incredible: "Almost too much." The sellout crowd of over 32,000 included the governor of Illinois, Len Small, and such eminent Chicagoans as Samuel Insull, Julius Rosenwald, William Wrigley, and Mrs. Rockefeller-McCormick. The roar started with the first pistol shot and lasted till the end of the game. Stagg summarized the "homer" game, which Chicago led 21-7 at one point, with:

Taken all in all - the expected one-sided victory, the over-shadowing reputation of Grange, the irresistible sweep of Chicago from the kick-off, the tremendous upset in the first quarter,
the seasaw in the second quarter, Grange's magnificent response in which he brought the Illinois score from 0 to 21 virtually single-handed, the breathless dead-lock in the final quarter, with both teams narrowly denied the winning touchdown, made it one of the greatest football dramas ever played on any field.41

Red Grange agreed and remembered it as "'the toughest game I ever played in.'"42 Following the Illinois game, an editorial in the Chicago Evening American called Stagg "the master coach of this country" and a "maker of men." The author credited Stagg with teaching "the finest truth" to his players: "Nothing in the world is worth getting if you have to take an unfair advantage to get it."43 Stagg's place in college football lore was set.

Stagg made athletics at the University of Chicago a family affair. Mrs. Stagg was his constant confidant in athletic matters. She often critiqued Stagg's assistant coaches' strategies.44 If Stagg was off somewhere recuperating from one of his reoccurring ailments, Stella's concern for her husband's health took priority. After the 1923 season, Stagg departed to the warmer climate of Florida to recover at a sanitarium in Orlando. In her frequent letters to her husband, Stella warned him against arranging too difficult a schedule for fear his "neuritis" could return.45 While he was away, she handled all of his business and financial affairs, including repairs to Stagg's electric car.46 During the football season, Stella, as always, sat in the press box and charted the
games for her husband. On Sunday evenings she hosted the team at her home and served a snack of bread and milk. Being a mother of three and the "assistant" athletic director took its toll on Stella. Like her husband, she suffered from reoccurring bouts of ill-health which the doctors called "tired heart" and "over worked nerves" and attributed it to too much exertion. By the mid-twenties, Mrs. Stagg, who was over 50, needed to lay down several times each day.

The Stagg's eldest child, Alonzo Jr., played varsity football for Chicago as quarterback for one year but was better known for his skills on the tennis court. Upon his graduation in 1923 (at the age of 24), Stagg appointed him to the coaching staff, despite considerable opposition from the University's Committee on Expenditures. President Burton believed nepotism was inappropriate for university appointments. Although Alonzo's position was "reluctantly" approved, the challenge to Stagg's judgement caused the coach "considerable emotional disturbance." Alonzo also took over the track coaching responsibilities when his father was away. Stagg held his son to a high standard and was easily disappointed. When Alonzo failed to live up to his pledge to write his father every day, Stagg wrote his wife: "I must not forget to tell Alonzo never to make another promise....It is a terrible fault."

Family involvement went beyond wife and son. Alonzo's
wife, Arvilla, became Stagg's secretary. Stagg's mother-in-law attended the football games and sat in the stands below the press box. Paul, the youngest, was a future University of Chicago football and tennis player and Ruth, the Stagg's middle child and only daughter, graduated from Chicago as well but, apparently, was more interested in young men than sports.

Stagg looked to the future with high hopes, not knowing that the 1924 season would be his last championship and winning season. The tide had turned in favor of the West, for the first time Walter Camp did not choose a player from the eastern Big Three for his All-American team, but the 1924 championship would be Chicago's final taste of it. Another western team, Notre Dame, was destined to take center stage by becoming "the first clear national champion," defeating opponents from every region of the country (Notre Dame finished 10-0, winning the Rose Bowl over Stanford). Ironically, Robin Lester points out, it was Stagg who brought football West and helped to establish its ascendancy over the East, but he was ultimately left behind within the decade by the more democratic schools of the West:

The University of Chicago led the closing of the football frontier, but Chicago would never be a leader, or a part, of the cultural hegemony of the non-east in the 1920's and 1930's. The scale of the football enterprise on the Midway remained more like that of the elite eastern schools; Chicago and those eastern teams found themselves far behind after the increasing democratization
of football in America had its effect.  

The real story of Chicago football in the twenties took place not on the field but in the numbers behind the games, as Stagg's financial successes surpassed his athletic triumphs. Stagg was making more than men; he was making money! In the twenties, he believed it was possible to achieve his dream of financial independence through the game of collegiate football and envisioned governing a financial athletic empire. Almost without exception, football always made money for Chicago. Between the years 1892 and 1900, it brought in approximately $4,580 per year; from 1902 through 1917, the average jumped to $21,687 per year. Expectedly, the war put a large dent in the revenues of the 1918 season, but Stagg, and the public, more than made up for it the following season, when football not only erased a debt of approximately $20,000 from war-time cuts but also cleared $57,479; that was almost $20,000 more than had been made in any previous season. Track and basketball also reaped the benefits of the hungry post-war public, bringing in about $9,000; and 1919 was also basketball's first year as a revenue producer.

The tremendous growth in the popularity of spectator sports translated directly into dollars for Maroon football which cleared over $100,000 in 1920 and 1921 and left a budgetary surplus of $109,107. The increased revenue
made it possible to add instructors and equipment, expanding the scope of the department's operations. At the same time, the university expected the Athletic Fund to take responsibility for a greater proportion of department salaries.  

By the spring of 1922 the financial health of the department had improved dramatically, but the big money was yet to come. That fall, Stagg continued to lower football costs while increasing revenues. At the end of the season, football expenses totaled $28,694, down about $800 from the previous year, but revenues surpassed $186,395, a 45% increase over the year before. Certainly, Stagg planned to re-invest this money back into the department, but university officials, appreciating the money-making potential of football, felt the fund's first responsibility was to pay back a gift of $210,382 made to the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics by the Rockefeller Fund thirty years before. The following season, Stagg's costs fell by another $700 while revenues rose 16 percent to $223,162. The fund paid off the rest of the Rockefeller Gift and took on an even greater proportion of department salaries. Over the next six years, from 1923-1928, football would bring in an average of $294,935 per season!

The department erased all conceivable financial obligations to the university, and Stagg hoped to finally
set in motion his scheme for the future of Physical Culture and Athletics at Chicago. The road would not be smooth. Football's pecuniary and public relation successes could not make up for the headaches connected with the management of athletics. The demand for tickets could not be met by Chicago's inadequate facilities. With a seating capacity limited to a mere 32,000, as many as 30,000 were turned away at a time.\textsuperscript{67}

For some time, Chicago students complained that they were unable to purchase tickets or that they were relegated to the least desirable section of the stands. In 1920, the Undergraduate Council officially challenged the Athletic Department's policies and asked that students be allowed to purchase single tickets before the general public and that the student seating section be improved.\textsuperscript{68} In response, the administration gave the directive that alumni, faculty, and students would be given priority over the public in the purchase of tickets.\textsuperscript{69}

The large crowds and insufficient number of seats often compromised safety. Stagg and his department tried to control the situation, but the administration felt obliged to step in.\textsuperscript{70} Toward the end of the 1921 football season, President Judson notified Stagg that due to several recent "infelicities," the Business Department would oversee the administration of the field.\textsuperscript{71} Without Stagg's approval, a committee was formed and put in charge
of managing the field before and during games, it was responsible for controlling the crowds and preventing illegal ticket sales.\textsuperscript{72}

Stagg adamantly opposed any change in command of or responsibility for athletic work, arguing that a new stadium would solve the ticket shortage. Stagg tried to explain this to the president, but Judson was unconvinced and told Stagg that he felt that management of the field was too much for the Athletic Department to handle.\textsuperscript{73} Stagg interpreted this as part of a trend to usurp control of athletics. Two years later, the president approved the appointment of a Football Ticket Committee to oversee football ticket sales to achieve a more equitable distribution and to curb scalping. Although Stagg opposed any policy that circumvented his authority, he frequently took credit for reforms; in his report to the president in 1923 he claimed that the committee was organized at his request.\textsuperscript{74}

The long term solution remained clear to Stagg: increase the number of seats available to the fans. Stagg was anxious to respond to the growing demand for tickets as soon as possible, but he opposed the administration's plan to increase the present seating capacity by only 7,000. Instead, he proposed building an entire new stadium, to rival those of Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, and Illinois. Stagg believed that the university was wasting its
advantage of a surrounding population of nearly three
million: "The more people we can bring to see the games,
as I see it, the more friends we shall raise up for the
university." In response, President Judson gave his
answer and final thoughts on the role of athletics in
higher education: "The construction of a great stadium
would be an emphatic notice...[that]... educational
ideals...are of secondary importance."76

In his 1923 report, Stagg again emphasized the
dependence of the department and the athletic program on
ticket sales and the need for more seating: "The
University has never given any financial aid to the
athletics which have been built up and developed entirely
through the receipts from games."77 That year, Henry
Pratt Judson resigned as President of the University of
Chicago after 16 years. Stagg had limited contact with
Ernest DeWitt Burton, Judson's successor, who was president
for only one year and ten months. Like Judson, Burton was
not inclined to build a football stadium.

Stagg continued his crusade to increase Chicago's
seating capacity in his annual reports. He also called
attention to the department's severe shortage of space for
both athletics and physical culture. He needed a field
house for physical culture work, the present gymnasium
space was too congested, and there were no indoor
facilities to practice field events.78 Stagg's plans
required a tremendous amount of money; money, Stagg believed, the department had, or would have if outside interests did not interfere.

He continually worried about the extinction of the Athletic Fund and continued to police "his" budget very carefully. This became more difficult; as the department's coffers swelled, so did its responsibilities. University administrators saw it as an alternative monetary resource. Stagg did his best to resist all external interference, but this proved impossible. One of his strategies included waiting until a specific directive came from above before allocating funds, even if the expense clearly involved department work. The costs associated with maintaining a university band were a continual source of debate between the administration and Stagg. Even though most of the band's appearances corresponded with athletic events, Stagg avoided taking full responsibility for the cost. Periodically, Stagg agreed to disperse money to the band, but he refused to recognize it as a permanent expense, arguing that he had to draw the line on invasions into the fund. The Women's Department ran into similar resistance when they tried to secure department funding.

Irrespective of the cause, Stagg fumed when withdrawals were made without his knowledge, as in 1923, when the Athletic Fund, at the behest of the trustees, donated $4,000 to Near East Relief. Following an
intramural luncheon charged to the athletic department without his authorization, Stagg reminded those concerned that intramural expenses were not exempt from department policy which required pre-authorization of all expenditures by the director. Stagg's paranoia regarding the Athletic Fund grew. As Stagg paid back the remainder of the Rockefeller Gift, he told a university colleague that whenever President Burton made an appropriation, it was taken from the Athletic Fund, "because they take advantage of every appropriation they can get out of the Athletic Fund." Stagg told his associate to request an allotment, "because I would like to do the recommending...rather than have our funds grabbed by the ultimate bosses."

Stagg resented going through a requisition process before he could disburse any funds. He wanted control of the entire fund and worried that "the money will be appropriated for other purposes." Requisitions, he felt, placed his "actions under the immediate scrutiny of ignorant and unsympathetic" people. Throughout his tenure, Stagg never let go of his belief that he had the right to make withdrawals from the petty cash portion of the Athletic Fund without going through the university auditor. He believed that if he wanted to pay someone a "special salary," he should be able to do so. In such cases, the administration chose not to take any official action but frequently reprimanded him for abusing the
financial policies of the university.  

In the fall of 1924 Stagg put together his wish list for the department: a baseball field, a running track, a field house, and an increase in football seating from approximately 33,000 to 51,000. The field house and the football seating had top priority. Stagg assured the university, which was starting its own development campaign, that the cost of this expansion and improvements would be born completely by athletic funds (i.e., gate receipts), not private donations; he would not be competing with the university's fund raising attempts. President Burton made sure of this. When a check made out to "A.A. Stagg" for $500 to go toward the construction of a stadium was received, the president, on the advice of trustee Harold Swift, decided to meet personally with the donor in order to steer the donation away from athletics.

Records show that the cost of the 1924 football program went down by another $4,000; Stagg and his championship team cleared over $200,000. It was time to start building, and that year Stagg allocated $168,944 to go toward a field house fund. Now he needed the land. In December of 1924, Stagg wrote several letters to Dr. Arnett, Business Manager for the University, criticizing the university's land allocation priorities. Wanting space for intramurals, Stagg was concerned about the choice of location for the new zoology building, he exclaimed:
"[N]o other University of importance...with the possible exception of Columbia...is...[as]...badly cramped in playground space." Arnett reminded Stagg that the biomedical building had been situated to allow for intramural space. Stagg did not pursue the zoology building debate, instead he proposed to Arnett that all the remaining space in the area be secured for the Athletic Department and offered the proceeds from the next football season as collateral, which he correctly predicted at $100,000 more than the previous season. Stagg had the money to build, but the trustees and the administration would not commit the university to further construction for athletics. It would take several years before Stagg was able to secure the approval for expansion, and then it was too late.

While university officials dragged their heels on Stagg's building plans for athletics, they acted quickly on raising money for the university. Coming straight off the championship season, the University of Chicago made the most of its nationally known football program during its fund raising campaign from 1924-1926. In 1925, at the request of the president and the trustees, Stagg was expected to prove his financial prowess off the field as a fundraiser for Chicago's ambitious Development Campaign. Stagg was a likely choice to attract the attention and the checkbooks of Chicago alumni across the nation. The
university shrewdly intended to exploit the relationship between athletics and university loyalty. Stagg became, for the spring of 1925, a public relations man. He and Vice President Tufts traveled across the country by train and car to at least fifteen different cities in less than one month, appearing before alumni clubs, business organizations, high schools, etc. Initially, Stagg did not look forward to this involuntary duty, claiming: "It is going to be an awfully hard job for me for I dislike to make speeches." But the Development Campaign committee insisted, particularly since the western alumni "expressly indicated their desire to have [Stagg] make the trip."

Starting in Knoxville, Stagg and the vice president traveled to Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleveland, St. Louis, Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Dallas, Houston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Salt Lake City, Pueblo, Colorado Springs, and Denver. Letters sent to the various destinations in preparation for the arrival of the university representatives made it clear that the trip centered on Stagg. Hosts received guidelines for the visits: there were to be only two addresses given per day, Stagg was allowed an additional two appearances for talks to high school boys; absolutely no faculty receptions or formal affairs; radio broadcasts were to be done from the meetings, not separately; no sight-seeing; and the press was required to make appointments in advance to interview either speaker. The
letter closed with:

Mr. Stagg says that this is the greatest personal
sacrifice he has ever made but he is doing it
because his heart and soul are in the success of
the Development Program. 96

Clearly, Stagg agreed to the trip only if specific
stipulations were met. The chairmen of the various alumni
clubs were instructed to admit only alumni to the
addresses, unless a parent of a U. of C. student wished to
attend; they were to have U. of C. song books, a piano, as
well as a "cheer master" and song leader, "sit those who
can sing together:" and finally, name tags should be worn,
and, at dinners, alumni should introduce themselves. 97

Once on the road, Stagg's apprehension disappeared as
quickly as his enthusiasm grew. He wrote Stella about his
adventures which included speeding tickets and breakdowns:
"We have had a thrill at every place." 98 Departing from
the guidelines, it was not unusual for Stagg to speak more
than four times in one day. 99 He quickly lost his
reservations about speaking before alumni groups:

I did not have quite long enough to say what I
wanted but what I did say I put fast and hard.
It has been my job I felt to relax the crowd
after Mr. Tufts' interesting but some what heavy
speech. I have done it by getting...[the
audience]...to laugh at various incidents and
stories which I have told. Everywhere I have
been able to loosen everybody up by these stories
before I get into the earnest part of my
talk.

Later in the tour, at a banquet in Los Angeles, Stagg
recounted another of his triumphs: "Dr. Tufts gave his
usual talk about the University past and present and future, but I loosened them all up with laughter for fully 25 minutes...over the limburger cheese story." It was as if Stagg had returned to his days of evangelizing across the northeast as a witness for the Young Men's Christian Association.

While Stagg's appearances were very popular and quite successful, organizers at home grew concerned that Stagg, and athletics, got more press than the Development Campaign. Stagg took every opportunity to speak to high school students; they were his most adoring fans and he felt most comfortable in that environment. At Hollywood High School, Stagg had his biggest audience to date, 2,500:

I never had better attention and never such an inspiring audience and I don't think that I ever talked better to High School boys and girls. In telling my '88 story I sang 'Here's to '88 drink her down - drink her down,' etc. After which they broke into rounds of applause.

High school appearances were an occasion to have direct contact with hundreds of potential college athletes without violating recruiting rules.

Stagg took credit for contributing to the campaign in other ways as well. He boasted that not only were "C" men more likely to volunteer to fight in times of war, but also could be counted on to pledge and raise money for their university. Stagg pledged his own gift of $1,000 to the fund.

The university left no stone unturned and had no
qualms about competing for athletic dollars in its own fund-raising. The university used the 1925 Chicago football program to appeal to the Chicago community for financial gifts:

University and city support each other in other things than football. The city offers its museums, its theaters, its manufacturing and commercial establishments, to supplement the work in University classrooms and laboratories. The University offers expert aid in solving the city's problems of government, of industry, of health, of education. 108

The appeal went on to point out that the greatest percentage of students came from Chicago and over fifty-percent were from Illinois. 107 Counting on the "special relationship" between Chicago athletics and the city, the university hoped that the popularity of Chicago football would translate into increased donations to the Development Campaign from the surrounding metropolitan area. 108

In the fall of 1925, Stagg's first investment of thousands of dollars in publicity seems to have paid off, for football revenues rose more than 30 percent, for a total of $317,328, which led the Intercollegiate Conference in net receipts for that year. More than two-thirds of this went into a building fund for the department. That year building finally began, but not on the field house; instead, the stadium's seating capacity would be increased by approximately 22,300. 109 Even though it was the second losing season in a row, 1926 was the most lucrative, netting $364,536, once again to lead the conference. This
put an additional $211,973.00 into the building fund.  

It was not until the fall of 1927, under President Mason, Burton's successor in 1925, three years after the championship season and hundreds of thousands of lost dollars, that Stagg got his field enlarged. A short caption for the alumni newsletter, authored or inspired by Stagg, alluded to the frustrations endured over the past several years: "The campus is justly proud of the splendid record of the football team in the face of the many handicaps under which the coach and students are working."  

Now, Stagg could easily seat 56,000, and he almost did that year in the game against Michigan when 52,472 attended. Stagg could only imagine what the financial strength of the department might have been if he had had those stands several years before. 

Stagg used his 1927 book, *Touchdown*, to voice his opinions on the university's athletic policies. He argued that since Chicago instituted firm faculty control from the start, fears of abuse were unfounded. He noted that the lack of many years of alumni was a blessing, "we escaped in our formative years that pressure to win games at any cost that alumni have been known to exert." Stagg was more concerned with the numbers Chicago had to turn away: 

...we are in the midst of a population of upward of 3,000,000, upon virtually all of whom we close our gates. There must be at least 50,000 graduates of other colleges in this great city, a fine body of men and women, most of them trained to enjoy watching college sports. We need their
friendship and we need the cooperation of all good citizens, but we have little room on our field for outsiders.113

Furthermore, Stagg asserted that students chose a school based on its "athletic prowess."

In the decade of "Deep Dish Football," Stagg attributed renewed concern surrounding the construction of stadiums all over the country as simply a traditional American "distrust of anything larger than we were used to."

The sound of 80,000 or more spectators paying $500,000 or more to see twenty-two college boys play a game for an hour was frightening to some minds. That was too much money, too many persons. Such figures are without precedent, therefore they must be somehow dangerous.115

On the contrary, claimed Stagg, the surpluses were used for the general, physical welfare of the student bodies through intramural games, made possible by the profits football receives playing in "modern stadia."116

Stagg's struggle for space grew more frustrating. Challenging what he considered to be a reallocation of land previously intended for athletics, he wrote directly to President Mason, claiming responsibility for the initial purchase of the property for the university.117 Stagg was desperate for space since the completion of the new stands which took up two practice fields. Stagg reminded Mason of the difficulties in securing material already confronting the future of Chicago athletics, insufficient grounds would only add to the adversity faced by the department.118
A few days later, Stagg wrote to trustee T. E. Donnelley, President of R.R. Donnelley & Sons and chairman of the Committee of the Building & Grounds, to seek his support and express the importance of the property West of the athletic field to the future of U. of C. football.\textsuperscript{119} Donnelley was sympathetic but made it clear to Stagg that he understood the Board of Trustees' position.\textsuperscript{120}

Later that spring, Vice President Speers mollified Stagg with an alternative plan that accommodated both the field house and a practice field next to it:

This was a very happy conference for me as it was the first time that anything practical has resulted toward improvement of our present unsatisfactory conditions in a reasonably decent football practice field, and also it was the first conference that I have had which I have felt hopeful of bringing about the realization of the plans which I have had in mind.\textsuperscript{121}

In June, the last piece of property was purchased for the field house, but Stagg continued to fight for more athletic property.\textsuperscript{122}

One year later, Stagg again wrote to trustee T. E. Donnelley to protest the proposed location of the women's dormitory. Stagg chose not to claim eminent domain (the varsity baseball team, the military department and freshmen football already occupied the property intended for the dorms) but centered his main argument around the principle of gender separation. Perhaps trying to appeal to the conservative side of the Board of Trustees, Stagg stated his theory of separate realms for the sexes within the
university to escape "effeminization" of the male population. The university intended to build the new men's dorm only one block away from the proposed area for the women's dorm. Stagg saw peril in this action, "an interval of one block is altogether too close to develop the kind of spirit and the distinctive life which belongs to each." Stagg continued: "Say what you like, there is a grave danger of sissifying[sic] the men at the University and we ought to do everything possible to prevent it. On the other hand, the women ought to have a chance to develop their lives without having men constantly near at hand."

To show the extent of his conviction, Stagg offered to give up the field house and have the Athletic Fund underwrite the financing of an alternative site for the dorms! His sincerity was not tested.

From 1925 through the spring of 1929, Stagg and his fund committed more than $725,000 toward field house, football stands, and gymnasium construction for athletics and physical culture. This, the department had accomplished on its own, yet final approval lay with the administration and the trustees; Physical Culture and Athletics competed with the rest of the growing university for limited territory. In his 1929 President's Report, Stagg sadly noted that as the expansion of the larger university continued, the playing field area and the number of tennis courts fell.
Beneath the surface of Stagg's financial prosperity and celebrated achievements lay a weakening foundation. The enthusiasm for Stagg's "potential" empire -- the athletic victories, the vast construction, the national tournaments, and public relations campaigns -- concealed attitudes that would ultimately reject the university's original mission to serve the "body" as well as mind through a commercial endeavor. Administration policies, in response to problems associated with athletics and physical culture, increasingly debilitated Stagg's control over the management of physical culture and athletics and the Athletic Fund. Consciously or not, these policies exposed the ambiguity and, often, disdain with which many viewed the work of the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics.

Soon after the first world war, the university administration set out to return to pre-war standards of eligibility and correct the war-time exceptions before they became the rule. New standards regulating public appearances, i.e. eligibility, were put in place "in the interests of a prompt restoration of our general morale." Student work would once again be carefully supervised. New scholarship rules raising the minimal standard were implemented. Students on probation would require a dean's approval before being allowed to participate, and except "where the evidence is quite unequivocal that the
general disturbance occasioned by the war was responsible for the deficiencies, we shall not expect such students to be approved any more than has been the case in the past." 127 Ironically, while prospective athletes had a harder time getting into and remaining at Chicago academically, they would have an easier time financially. Following the war, approximately 300 scholarships were made available to veterans, freeing up many student service jobs. For the first time, in the spring of 1919, the Athletic Department reported they were short of help. 128

Stagg worried about the effect that proposed legislation calling for "selective admission and retention" of undergraduate students would have on his potential pool of athletes. 129 Chicago had stricter eligibility rules than those prescribed by the conference. For most member institutions, eligibility was good for the entire season. At Chicago, a player could be eligible at the start of a season only to lose his status mid-way through. Conceding that this practice forced continuous uncertainty upon all Chicago teams, Dean E.H. Wilkins agreed that in order to avoid "anxiety and embarrassment," notices of eligibility or ineligibility went into effect the Monday following receipt of them. 130

A student became ineligible for extra-academic activity as soon as they received a low grade notice. Stagg asked the administration to raise the requirement
from one low grade notice to two. Stagg claimed it was hard enough that Chicago alone allowed ineligibility notices to go out in the middle of the term, but in addition, teams were further weakened by notices sent unfairly to athletes that were doing fine: "As I understand it, the main purpose of low grade notices is to disturb the complaisance of a student...and is not for the purpose of crippling the athletic teams." Distancing poor academic performance as far as possible from athletics, Stagg argued that this adjustment could very well "prevent an excellent student and a fine boy form being subjected to public embarrassment and some dishonor, sometimes unintentionally brought about on the part of an instructor."¹³¹ Dean Boucher did not buy Stagg's claim; instead, he asserted that university policies must be consistent, the low grade rule not only applied to participation in athletics but also to all outside activities.¹³²

The tightening of eligibility requirements put Chicago at an ever increasing disadvantage. Toward the end of the decade Stagg complained that Michigan, Illinois, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Ohio State each had greater than 5,000 students from which to draw; Iowa and Northwestern, more than 3,000; and Purdue and Indiana over 1,500; while Chicago only had between 1,000 and 1,200 male students eligible to participate in intercollegiate sports.¹³³

While intercollegiate sports were credited with
creating and sustaining school spirit and loyalty, others worried about the detrimental influence on the student body. Dean Wilkins asked Stagg to serve on a committee on undergraduate morals, as part of the "Better Yet" campaign in 1924. Of specific concern to the administration was the conduct of Chicago students traveling by train to and from football games, who often used the trips as an opportunity to drink and carouse. One proposal was to hand out U. of C. armbands with each ticket, which "would give each student a sense of responsibility while wearing university colors," and position a committee member on each car. Stagg approved of the plan to improve the student's behavior while away from the campus. He suggested preventing supporters from moving between cars and separating the women from the men. The committee sent a letter to all fraternities prior to a game at Ohio State: "[D]rinking on the way to, or at, or on the return from Columbus would be absolutely not in keeping with what we stand for." Although these problems were closely associated with inter-collegiate athletics, Wilkins did not implicate Stagg or his athletic program. In a report for the American Association of University Professors on intercollegiate football, Wilkens wrote:

The influence of Mr. Stagg makes for cleanliness in living and in speech, for complete devotion to the immediate cause, for absolute honesty, for the highest standards of sportsmanship. But it goes beyond the communication of definable qualities. It is the expression of an ardent
idealism, and it kindles idealism. It is my deliberate conviction...that few men in the history of American college education can have exercised a personal influence for good comparable to his. 134

Although Wilkens did not find fault with collegiate athletics, others did.

At Chicago, and elsewhere, reaction to the "athletic renaissance" of the twenties was often judgemental. The great financial success of intercollegiate football could not prevent, and certainly contributed to, the resentment of those who questioned the role of commercialized athletics in higher education. Stagg warned one student seeking financial aid "not to mention athletics...Some of the Universities authorities are not in favor of intercollegiate athletics." 135 As the university realized its greatest athletic successes on the gridiron, another examination of the role of athletics at Chicago began.

In 1925 the Committee on Student Distribution of Time published a study which gave critical attention to the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics. 136 The study looked at the low academic records of football players. The committee dismissed the argument that time demands of intercollegiate sport adversely affected the scholarship of athletes, finding no significant difference in grade points attained by football players in and out of season. 137 The poor performance of these students had less to do with football and more to do with their lack of
academic interest or intelligence.

Another publication came to the same conclusion. The same year, Author John Palmer Gavit regreted that the athlete, symbolized by the letter sweater, received more attention than the scholar. Athletics, argued Gavit, attracted those "whose equipment is largely made up of animal spirits and brawn." These athletes were not "primarily students." Gavit studied football players at a "large, well-known college," and concluded that they, with a couple of notable exceptions, were of inferior scholarship and intelligence and of average character, dependability, and "personality." Gavit suggested that the college athlete had replaced the college "prankster," whose energies had been diverted from rowdiness to athletics. He disagreed with those who claimed that extracurricular activities such as football drew attention away from one's studies. Instead, he persuasively argued that the interest was never there in the first place; athletes tended to be low achievers academically not because of football, but because they were not interested in studying. Gavit's solution? Standards required to participate in athletics should be raised: students who were only athletes could do great harm to an institution, on the other hand, students who were both athletes and scholars would help tremendously.

Two years later Dean Boucher brought a study of
students on probation written by the Assistant to the Examiner to Stagg's attention. The author concluded that football "appears to have a deleterious effect on...[the] ... scholarship" of freshmen. Although freshmen did not compete on intercollegiate teams, they were allowed to work out up to three hours per day in preparation for competition their second year. The study challenged this practice, noting that many students reported being too tired to study after fulfilling their football obligations. 144

Stagg did not respond directly to the charges beyond saying he was against freshman becoming too exhausted to study; instead, he told the dean that one of his staff members, D. Jerome Fisher, who looked after the freshman, would respond to the concerns. 145 In his response, Fisher acknowledged that the "figures appear quite damaging" but was quick to share the blame with the fraternity pledge system, which did its part to distract freshmen from their academic duties. Thanking the dean for bringing the situation to his attention, Mr. Fisher added that a series of talks to freshmen on the importance of studying and limiting activities would be scheduled. 146

Questions raised at Chicago echoed the reports of the Carnegie Foundation throughout the decade. The 1925 Report of the President found that, contrary to popular opinion, during the first quarter of the century no significant progress had been made in addressing the most pressing
issues facing college athletics, mainly, that of subordinating intercollegiate competition to "an adequate conception of physical culture," and "extending the benefits of organized games to as many students as practicable." The achievement of the latter, "mass athletics," the report proposed, would solve the former. At the same time, the report acknowledged and accepted that: "At the root of the Anglo-Saxon tradition of athletic sport...lies the desire for victory." It did not suggest abolishing college athletics, nor did it provide an alternative to the funding of mass athletics through gate receipts but laid the responsibility for universal participation at the feet of "the American college or university president."  

Four years later, the foundation published its three year study, American College Athletics. Unlike most university administrations who were resistant to the findings and recommendations of the Carnegie Foundation, decisions at Chicago anticipated and agreed with much of what the report concluded. The report cited nine "defects and excesses" of athletic competition, particularly football: high schools were emulating collegiate athletics; student athletes had little time for anything but athletics; college athletes led a favored existence for which they were ill-prepared: "When he drops back to a scale of living such as his own means can afford, the..."
result is sometimes disastrous"; inappropriate values were being taught to athletes who worked under "paid professional coaches whose business it is to develop the boy to be an effective unit in a team"; the system of offering inducements to promising athletes in order to win "is demoralizing and corrupt, alike for the boy who takes the money and for the agent who arranges it"; payment of athletes by college graduates is "unsportsmanlike" and "immoral": "This constitutes the most disgraceful phase of recent inter-college athletics"; organized sports were not innately beneficial to the athlete; few students actually participated in collegiate athletics, most were onlookers; and the "blaze of publicity" which surrounds the college athlete has "a demoralizing influence" on the boy and the college. The report concluded that college sports had been transformed "into professional athletic contests directed by paid coaches." Although these criticisms were serious, most were not new.

During the latter half of the 1920s the University of Chicago was no longer a competitive force to be reckoned with, but it did not escape the notice of the Carnegie Report. While the entire Mid-west Intercollegiate Conference was criticized for its "pseudo-faculty control," Chicago received praise for exceeding the scholastic requirements set by the conference and "choosing officers who have interpreted eligibility requirements
conservatively." Chicago also ranked among the top five institutions with the best doctor's office and equipment.

But the university was not above reproach. The report accused the institution of ignoring the well being of school children through their sponsorship of interscholastic tournaments:

The doubtful value of spying out promising schoolboy athletes is scarcely a legitimate excuse for the excessive devotion to the spectacular to which such meets and tournaments contribute.

In a section titled the "Discipline and the Severity of Method," the study criticized coaches who overworked their players and left them "unable to compose...[themselves]...for mental work during the two or three days succeeding an especially hard practice or contest." Stagg was included in this discussion as being among those coaches who "drove" their players. The study cited a quote from Stagg's own book, *Touchdown*, on "'the necessity for a military obedience on the football field.'" Although the report listed Chicago among those schools where no evidence existed that "athletes were subsidized by any group or individual," it went on to describe how jobs were distributed to athletes where payment was disproportional to services given. At Chicago, claimed the study, businessmen were known to subsidize athletes by allowing them to pose as "agents for business firms."
While not ranking Chicago among those with serious recruiting abuses, the report determined that contacts with prospective players were "made or directed by an individual in the athletic organization of the institution." Unfortunately for Stagg, the Carnegie Commission's report only affirmed the convictions of those at Chicago who believed that the university should distance itself from intercollegiate athletics.

Physical culture did not escape the scrutiny of those who questioned the relevance of Stagg's department to higher education. Challenges to the appropriateness of compulsory physical education at the university level were launched throughout the decade, forcing Stagg to modify his traditional claim to departmental equality. Privately, Stagg wrote that he and his department understood that the "main business" of the student athlete was academic: "At the same time, it modestly believes that it has an important part in that education." 

Stagg tried to improve the image of the physical culture side of the department. A tougher grading system was implemented to bring it in line with other departments who recorded few A's. Physical culture instructors were told to "exercise great care and judgement in giving 'A's." Officially, Stagg continued to maintain that the department was "on the same basis as any Department of the University." But he could not prevent the Faculties
and Senate of the University from lowering the physical culture requirement from ten to six quarters of passing work for the Junior college (undergraduate students). Although Stagg claimed that three of the 39 majors required for graduation had to be in physical culture with a passing grade, the actual number of majors required for a bachelor's degree was 36; credit in physical culture did not go toward majors or one's grade point average.\textsuperscript{160} Senior College and unclassified students were exempted, and the summer physical culture requirement became voluntary.\textsuperscript{161}

Stagg's efforts to repudiate the attitude that physical culture was a second class department at the university met with failure. Early in the decade, Stagg explored the possibility of organizing a school of physical education at Chicago, both for undergraduates and graduates.\textsuperscript{162} President Burton led Stagg to believe that he was a friend to athletics:

> The University is very fortunate in having had you as the head of its Athletics for these thirty years to stand for the ideals which you express in this address. I presume there are some open questions about athletics, and possibly we should not always agree on them, but on the fundamentals of the matter I am glad to believe we should agree...

Stagg introduced his plan confidently. Pleased with the president's initial response, Stagg reported his optimism to Dudley Reed, the department's health administrator. Reed was surprised to hear this, considering "the continued
efforts of the business office to take over the control of our department." Nothing ever came of the proposal, and, from this point on, Stagg found himself fighting for every inch of his program.

In an effort to further legitimize the credentials of his staff, Stagg inquired into the possibility of awarding a professorship to his assistant, Dudley Reed. Shattering any illusion that the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics ever held the same stature as other academic departments, acting President Tufts (Burton was abroad) firmly reminded Stagg that professorships were granted in recognition of "scholarly" achievement. Stagg relayed the president's response while reassuring Reed:

I told him that you were so busy with your administrative and health work that you were in the same position as I was on matters of that sort...

Reed agreed that they should not be held to the same exact standard as others who desired to be called "professor:"

I believe with you that our situation is somewhat different from that in other departments as regards writing and research as our time is so fully occupied with actual work with men.

Two years later, Reed again pressed for a professorship on the grounds that his professional activities offset his lack of research. In case his argument was rejected, he added that a raise would allow him more time to pursue research and writing. Reed complained that younger men with less national recognition were already full-professors
commanding larger salaries. Reed never received his professorship as a member of Stagg's department.

The 1925 study on student distribution of time challenged the necessity of a requirement that had to be forced upon students. It found that when participation in physical culture classes was voluntary, as it was for senior college students, numbers dropped "dramatically." Even athletes, the study pointed out, did their best to avoid physical culture, noting that several Maroons were ruled ineligible due to a "deficiency" in the requirement.

When a dean came out in favor of doing away with physical culture work, which he described as "sloppy," the student newspaper gave its support immediately. With his characteristic antagonism toward student opinion, Stagg remarked:

...this is the first that I have been conscious of...[antipathy for physical culture work]... under our new administration. With the growing tendency of students bossing things and of the powers yielding to student's wishes, it may be that in a short time all our physical culture work will be legislated out of existence.

Stagg fought the university's acquiescence to student demands in other areas as well, especially when his image was at stake. He carefully protected his reputation as a pious Christian outside the university. Students had been lobbying for some time to persuade the administration to allow the tennis courts to be open for play on Sundays.
Traditionally, Chicago followed a policy of not sponsoring Sunday sports, but following an editorial in the Daily Maroon favoring Sunday tennis, the president felt inclined to support opening the courts, except during those hours when religious services were offered. Stagg opposed opening the courts seven days of the week, at first listing the economic cost of such a move. More importantly, he feared the "unnecessary criticism" by those who had "very pronounced views on Sunday observance." He continued:

Since I am director of the Department which looks after the tennis courts, I should prefer not to be subjected to the criticism which would fall upon me personally. My point of view on Sunday sports I think is fairly broad and reasonable. Personally, I have never been accustomed to indulge in athletic games on Sunday, but I don't object to any one's else doing so; and I do feel that the opportunity to engage in athletic sports is a very great blessing to many people who lack freedom to do so except on Saturday afternoon and Sunday.

But students did not fall under Stagg's criteria for deserving Sunday privileges due to severe constraints on leisure time, and their desire to have an extra day of play certainly was not worth the risk of tainting his image. Several years later, students petitioned again to use the tennis courts on Sunday. While never sanctioned by Stagg, the students began to play on Sundays without penalty. Stagg wrote the president's office: "It is distinctly against my wish to have tennis played on the University on Sunday," and asked that the ban on Sunday tennis be enforced. The president's office replied that
the budget could not pay for police enforcement and left it up to Stagg to see that the metal nets were taken down on Saturday evening and replaced Monday morning.¹⁷⁴

Gradually, the functions of physical culture shrank. In 1927 the health officer was reassigned to the Medical Department and physical exams were no longer part of the department's responsibility.¹⁷⁵ The administration and the student body joined forces to endorse and implement an intramural program of voluntary participation in physical culture and athletics within the university by "non-varsity" students. Initially, Stagg resisted administrative requests to organize student competitions within the university, and he was confident that without his support intramurals could not be funded.

But the first world war gave inter-class/intramural competitions a welcome boost. Teams competing in athletics were encouraged to conserve resources and money, keeping them close to home and forcing them to discover alternative forms of competition. In addition, informal athletic competition was a popular means to make up general deficiencies in the physical conditioning of young men preparing for war. After the war, Stagg publicly supported intramurals but did nothing to establish them at Chicago until he realized that students were proceeding without his approval.¹⁷⁶ Then Stagg decided not to oppose intramurals but to control them.
Initially Stagg agreed to incorporate competitions within the university as a tool to reach those men exempted from the physical culture requirement.\textsuperscript{177} In his report to the president in 1923, Stagg considered offering swimming and wrestling competitions.\textsuperscript{178} In 1924, intramurals officially came into existence under the direction of Dr. Charles O. Molander, an appointee of Stagg's, in the sports of winter basketball, track, swimming, wrestling, and fencing. As originally considered, these activities were aimed at those men not covered by the physical culture requirement.\textsuperscript{179} That year, the Athletic Fund contributed $2,840 toward intramural athletics.\textsuperscript{180}

While intramurals would never be one of Stagg's top priorities, he did use them to help justify his requests for increased land allocation. That same year, Stagg asked President Burton about replacement space for the 35 tennis courts eliminated due to construction of the medical center and added that room for 50 would be appreciated.\textsuperscript{181} The following month, Stagg wrote the president again, worried that the courts had been forgotten. Putting intramurals first, Stagg reminded the president how behind Chicago was in "playground" space.\textsuperscript{182}

From the start, Stagg took for granted that his department handled any intramural activities. Stagg created a new division under the supervision of Dr.
Molander. This division would coordinate all intramural, training, and corrective gymnastics work. The intramural branch of the department was subject to the same rules, regulations, and hierarchical structure. Intramural finances, like any other department expenditure, required pre-authorization. Molander erred early in this capacity even though he was repeatedly reminded to get authorization from Stagg for any expenses.

Even though Stagg believed intramural work was under the auspices of his department, confusion over who had final authority, if any one, remained. Stagg's position since the establishment of the university was that his department oversaw all athletic related work. Chicago students surprised Stagg by drawing up a constitution and by-laws for the intramural program. Ignoring their efforts, Stagg saw no reason for a constitution and had Dudley Reed make this position clear to Dr. Molander. But Dr. Molander favored student control. With his help, the perception that intramurals at Chicago were run by the students grew. In January of 1926, Stagg tried to explain to the University Examiner that the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics oversaw the intramural work under the leadership of department member Dr. Molander. Stagg acknowledged that Molander established a student organization to assist in the administration of competitions, but, Stagg assured him: "It is not a student
The official description of intramural work at Chicago contradicted Stagg's claim. The information booklet for the spring of 1926 implied that students ran the organization with the support of the athletic department. It referred to intramurals as the "Division of Intramural Athletics"; Dr. Molander was cited as the faculty advisor, while students were credited with heading the division. Interestingly, the booklet credited Stagg with initiating the intramural program: "[S]ome two years ago, Mr. Stagg thought that the average student should be given the opportunity to participate in some form of athletics."

Stagg, along with several other conference coaches, worried that athletes would be tempted to participate in intramurals while they were in season. Therefore, the "Committee of Coaches" of the Western Conference decided that: "Men who are candidates for any of the Freshman or Varsity teams are not eligible for any intramural games during the quarter in which their intercollegiate sport is active." In a quarter in which the student prepared for competition, he had to get written permission from his head coach. Student managers agreed and incorporated the coaches' directives within their own rules:

1. Men who have won their 'varsity letter are not eligible for intramural competition in the sport in question. 2. Men who are candidates for any of the Freshman or 'Varsity teams are not eligible for any intramural games during the quarter in which their intercollegiate sport is
active. Candidates for Freshman and 'Varsity teams are those men retained by the coaches after the final cut in the squad has been made. 3. Men who are candidates for any of the Freshman or 'Varsity teams are not eligible for any intramural games during the quarter in which they prepare for a sport active in intercollegiate competition, except by written permission of the head coach in charge. 

Even with these regulations, Stagg continued to worry that intramurals would somehow interfere and detract from his efforts to put together the best talent to represent the university in public contests. 

As the enforcement of the physical culture requirement grew more difficult, Stagg's opinion of intramurals shifted. He began to see them as a potential resource, not a threat. In January of 1928, in its report to the Board of Physical Culture, the Committee on Intramurals noted the greater enthusiasm for voluntary intramural participation than for required physical culture, which did not possess the "moral and social values" of noncompulsory competition. The committee concluded that intramurals did not "rival" intercollegiate athletics, rather they complemented them. 

The complementary nature of the relationship would not last for long. For the time being, intramurals remained a de facto student-run organization. Writing the year end report for intramurals in the spring of 1929, student manager, W.E. Nissla, accused coaches in swimming, track, and tennis of not complying with the rule asking them to
make their freshman varsity players ineligible for intramurals. As a result, members of the varsity freshmen teams were winning intramural tournaments. This, said Nissla, inhibited interest in competitions. In addition, student organizers received no compensation for their time and effort. The report recommended offering scholarships to student managers. That year it was estimated that 68% of male students participated in the intramural program. At a time when enthusiasm for physical culture was at a new low, Stagg regarded these numbers enviously.

Practically, Stagg did not have time dwell on the intramural program, for without a successful football team the future of all department work was doubtful. Along with the welcome post-war rise in the popularity of collegiate spectator sports came an increase in competition and the demand to see excellence on the field, placing serious pressure on coaches to win. Changes from within the University of Chicago made it harder for Stagg to compete. As eligibility rules were tightened, making it more difficult for athletes to get into Chicago and stay there, and the enlarged stands still unfinished, future prospects for winning dimmed. Attendance held for two seasons after the 1924 championship and then continued to fall. Again, where Chicago had led the conference only a few years before, she rapidly fell behind. According to Robin
Lester: "Conference football receipts more than doubled from 1923 to 1929; receipts at Chicago dropped more than 50 per cent from 1926 to 1929." In 1925, the Maroons only won two games.

In 1926, at the age of 64, nearing the traditional retirement age, Stagg wondered how secure he was at Chicago. Only three years before, Stagg confidently described himself as: "A recognized leader in the field of Physical Education and standing for the highest ideals of sportsmanship in college athletics." Just two years previous, he appeared before the American Coaches Association and self-assuredly described the qualities necessary to be a good coach but appeared less confident of the role of athletics in higher education. According to Stagg, a good coach was intelligent and imaginative; he had integrity and was "clean in his living and his life"; he must be capable of "inspirational power" to "arouse his team to great heights of endeavor"; he should have common sense, and, Stagg recommended, avoid politics. A good coach, said Stagg, should "regard his profession as unequalled for service." As he continued, he sounded less like an advocate and more like an apologist. Revealing his increasing discomfort at Chicago, Stagg departed from his traditional assumption that physical work was integral to a university education and admitted that a coach "must be capable of properly relating his work to
school, understanding that while tremendously important it is incidental to the main work." To achieve this, Stagg believed the educational background of the individual should be of a "college character" in order to appreciate the "whole relationship of sport with education." Perhaps, Stagg no longer felt he understood it himself.

Stagg set aside hopes that the President Max Mason, was an ally of the department. Although, the president intimated that Stagg's position was secure, Stagg felt it necessary to test the water and wrote an exploratory letter to Mason informing him that he received an offer of a faculty position with a good salary from another university; he told the president that he thought he should consider it since he was near retirement. While not mentioning Stagg's salary, Mason assured Stagg that the trustees could extend Stagg's position on a year-by-year basis and hoped that Stagg would continue at Chicago for many years to come. Equating Stagg's name with the athletic history of university, Mason suggested a reduction of Stagg's technical duties so he could continue as Director of Athletics. Stagg recalled being "slightly shocked" by the year-to-year contract, for he believed that Harper's original offer said his position was a permanent one. On the eve of his sixty-fourth birthday, Stagg accepted the president's offer and the following month requested a meeting to discuss lightening his work load and
giving faculty rank to some of his staff. Most likely Stagg felt the least painful way to reduce his work was to offer to certain members of the department improved rank along with increasing their responsibilities. But Mason did not indicate he agreed with this solution.208

The 1926 season did nothing to improve Stagg's sense of security. Although a record amount of money was deposited in the Athletic Fund, the Maroon's miserable performance disappointed the Chicago fans and there was little hope for improvement; the team's 2-6 finish signaled the beginning of the end for Stagg. Following the 1926 season, Stagg received a letter from "Golden Rule" Philips, a former college player whose twelve year old son counted Stagg, along with Babe Ruth and Red Grange, among his heroes. Philips' son was very discouraged by Chicago's poor showing that year, and Philips hoped that Stagg would drop the boy a line of reassurance. Stagg obliged with a letter reflecting on what the losing season meant:

Although we have been beaten 6 times in succession, I still think we have had a wonderful season. Of course, the boys felt quite badly at first to get beaten and they did a lot of crying in the dressing room...but I told them I was perfectly satisfied as long as they did their best, and that if they would keep on trying and doing their best every day, I would not feel badly about the matter if we didn't win, and do you know, that is just what they did right along.

He went on to say that the fans remained loyal because they knew the team was doing its best.210 But Stagg knew the
fans would not keep coming unless Chicago started to win; Maroon football was not the only show in town.

If Stagg felt insecure, he was not alone. The American Coaches Association found it necessary to form a "stabilizing committee" to study what improvements and recommendations could be made to make the coaching profession more secure. Stagg was appointed chairman, and the committee was asked to make its report in December of 1926. Although Hugo Bezdek (Penn State), Ben Owen (Oklahoma), Dan Magugin (Vanderbilt), and Dr. J.W. Wilce (Ohio State University), were to serve on the same committee, Stagg wrote the report himself at the last minute precluding any input from his fellow members. Stagg apologized for this and underscored the fact that this was his report, releasing the rest of the committee from responsibility for his opinions. This would have been clear even if Stagg had not given this preemption, for in the final report entitled, "Stabilizing Our Profession of Football Coaching," Stagg took the opportunity to contemplate his own situation.

The article was filled with words alluding to death: "the din of the Anvil Chorus," "interments," "corteges," "obsequies," etc. Stagg's figures showed that since the war the average life of a college coach was just two and one-fifth years. Who was responsible for this "appalling fact," he asked? Among the first to be indicted were
alumni, the general public, and students who insisted on winning teams. Stagg also criticized various forms of organization for the governing of athletics, particularly those with student or alumni involvement.

Next, Stagg faulted the press for serving as a "mouth-piece for the dissatisfied alumni and public," and calling for the dismissal of certain coaches. To illustrate his point, Stagg quoted one reporter who depicted the famous Chicago coach in an unflattering manner:

"The truth is that the sore and yellow has set in for the venerable Amos Alonzo, and the time has arrived for him to become a coach emeritus and put in a younger and a snappier man to handle the Maroons. The Big Parade has gone past and left Stagg standing on the sidewalk, the procession has skipped by him and he doesn't know that the band is playing far ahead. In other words, he is done."

Claiming he was impervious to such characterizations, Stagg responded with: "Shots like that might be enough to unhorse a man who had not been in the saddle for thirty-five years."

To cure these ills, Stagg called for his traditional recommendations of faculty control of athletics and tenured coaching positions. But the greatest need was to educate alumni, students and the public "to regard our intercollegiate football contests as a game in which honor and nothing else is at stake." It was an incredible statement and showed the toll that the years and the increasing constraints from within the university had taken
on Stagg; in his younger years, Stagg never would have claimed that winning was so irrelevant.\textsuperscript{214}

At the end of the summer of 1927, Stagg and his family were invited to visit university trustee Harold Swift's summer home, "Lakeside." Stagg refused, citing the demands of the fall football season and his own job insecurity. The Maroons were facing a tough schedule, and after the "string of defeats last season," Stagg told Swift, he did not "want to lose my job."\textsuperscript{215}

As entrance and eligibility requirements rose, Stagg resorted to new strategies to procure athletes for his teams. No longer could he imply that athletic scholarships existed; he told his secretary: "Please do not write letters on this subject. Chance for trouble."\textsuperscript{216} He even wrote to the Psi Upsilon fraternity in regard to two members whom he hoped would be eligible for football the following year. Stagg began the letter by ascribing considerable responsibility to the fraternity for the "guardianship of the direction" of men "vital to the success of the University's athletics." Appealing to their sense of duty, Stagg was confident they would not compromise the eligibility of these young men by allowing or encouraging their participation in fraternity athletics.\textsuperscript{217} Stagg still had numerous jobs at his disposal. Each term, between nine and 14 students were paid for a wide range of tasks which included chasing kids
off the gym floor, taking attendance at practices, and rubbing athletes down.  

Stagg relied on every means he could to improve his team's performance. Stagg always appealed to his men's character to reach their potential, but now, Stagg's entreaties took on greater urgency. In a 1928 questionnaire for athletes, Stagg asked them if they fully realized "that in representing the University you are personally responsible for doing the best you can to fulfill the hopes and aspirations of several thousands of students, many thousands of Alumni and thousands upon thousands of friends of the University?" Questions like: "Do you honestly think you are making every sacrifice necessary to put yourself in the best physical condition, the best mental condition, the best spiritual condition to produce the best that is in you for each game?" were less inquiries than reflections of the stress Stagg was under.  

Stagg corresponded with a loyal alumni, William S. Harmon, who son attended the university. In one of his letters, Stagg spoke of the difficulty he faced as a coach at Chicago. Still confident in his ability to make football players, he lamented the lack of quality coming in: "We rarely get now a player of any reputation, because there are always some Universities which are willing to do something special for high school players with a
reputation." Many of Stagg's current prospects never played football before. He concluded that the Maroon's schedule was too arduous for the "quality of material." Harmon's offered a plan for alumni to help supply Chicago with better recruits. Apparently, Stagg rejected the offer, for Harmon contritely responded: "I want you to know that I accept your turn down of my little suggestion just as you would like to have me accept it with all the loyalty and good will that I possess."  

Although Stagg opposed organized alumni recruiting, by 1929 he solicited the help of the Alumni Office on at least one occasion. A friend told Stagg of a promising Chicago high school athlete, who might be inclined to attend the Chicago if a fraternity would express some interest in him. Stagg asked the Alumni Office to "help make contacts for him quickly before he is grabbed up." Stagg was forced into the uncomfortable position of asking assistance of those he proclaimed independence from many years before. With increasing frequency, Stagg modified the depth of his convictions and policies to the circumstances he found himself in.

The most unsettling fact for Stagg was the certain prospect of declining revenues. Only a portion of Stagg and Dr. Reed's salaries (37 percent) were paid by the university. Stagg starting salary of $2,500 and his first raise of $500 came from university coffers, after that all
increases came out of the Athletic Fund. In 1928, $5,000 of Stagg's $8,000 salary was paid through the fund. The Athletic Fund paid all other salaries and wages of department staff. Intramural costs fell under department financial responsibility as well. Although football costs and revenues held steadily through the 1928 season, there were signs of danger in Stagg's financial reports. Department organization had changed very little since Stagg's arrival, but the fuel was running out. From 1927 on, football revenues declined steadily. While gate receipts totalled more than $350,000 in 1927, $228,226 was tagged for the building fund; as more and more money went toward construction, the budget shrank so low that in 1927-1928 the department operated at a deficit of almost $36,000. It recovered the following year, but football profits dropped by over $50,000.

Stagg's former defiance and frustration turned into defeat. In response to declining demand, Stagg lowered the price of football tickets. The poor showing the previous season and the prospects for the next year did not improve Stagg's outlook. As he saw it, the 1929 schedule, while challenging to Chicago eleven, would not attract spectators "due to excellent roads and to the tendency to get diversion by automobile trips, together with a lack of enthusiasm over our losing Chicago team." Chicago football fans followed the best games." Advances in twentieth
century transportation clearly benefitted both fickle fans and winning teams.

Stagg predicted even greater competition the following year when Notre Dame played all of its games in Chicago. Stagg felt his department's only chance was to sell as many season tickets as possible at a lower price: "If we lose...[season ticket holders]...this year, it is good night." Ironically, the Depression would make Stagg's strategy irrelevant; soon everyone lowered their admission prices. Stagg's last ditch effort could not stem the tide. Football's contributions to the department's budget plummeted in 1929.

Looking back, it is easier to see what was coming: much of the financial windfall was a result of strong team showings in the early part of the decade and a residual effect of the boom in spectator sports; Chicago had a huge population to draw from. At the same time, the university made clear it was unwilling to "renew" its commitment to athletics. Instead, the administration chose to raise the standards of entrance into the university, to encourage the development of intramurals, and allow football to live out its natural life. The established, respected university no longer deemed the publicity gained from a winning, big-time, collegiate team as necessary to its future. In just a few years, Robert Maynard Hutchins would be blamed for ridding the university of Stagg, and, ultimately,
intercollegiate football, but the die had been cast long before; with its size, its standards, and its lack of a stadium, Chicago simply could not compete with the teams in their conference or the other football attractions in and near the city. Even the Carnegie Commission questioned why an institution like Chicago, with so few eligible men was willing to suffer "indignities rather than withdraw."\(^{231}\)

Over the years, an increasing number of restraints were imposed upon Stagg's department in order to bring it in line with the rest of the university, yet, until the close of the decade, the framework of the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics remained much the same as it was in 1892. Times were tough, but Stagg remained director of an extensive program. The department offered both required and optional courses in gymnastics and swimming. Optional courses were offered in wrestling, boxing, fencing, track, football, basketball, baseball, and tennis. In addition, these sports all had their own coaches. Stagg continued to teach courses in track and football for those students most likely to be candidates for the varsity teams. Although he no longer taught required physical education classes or coached all Chicago athletic teams, he remained head football and track coach.\(^{232}\) In December of 1928, Stagg elected to give up coaching track and field after 36 years. In typical Stagg style, he reminded his successor in a memo that all concerns regarding policies
and finances would continue to go through the director. Over sixty-five years old, Coach Stagg scaled back, but he was not admitting defeat. He had not yet met his final opponent at Chicago.
NOTES


5. Clipping from the Chicago Tribune, 25 May 1919, no page, Box 109, Folder 9, AASP.

6. Athletes' Americanization League to Stagg, pamphlet and letter, 25 May 1920, Box 109, Folder 9, AASP.

7. Ibid.


12. President's Report, 1919-1920, Box 18, Folder 27, AASP, p. 2. The Governor asked Stagg to serve as the representative for Illinois at the convention for the American Physical Education Association. See Box 109, Folder 12, AASP, for announcements of appearances made by Stagg in 1924 and 1925. Stagg was also asked to write an introduction to a children's book of inspiring athletic stories. He spelled out his philosophy to the youth of
America: the best means for developing character remained the learning of sports and games, where moral decisions continually had to be made. Games taught right from wrong, fair play, subservience of self and self-sacrifice. According to Stagg, boys and girls must learn these lessons in order to have a successful life, see "Notes for introduction to Dr. J. N. Goltrax's book on health and strength", n. d., 1917-1920, Box 109, Folder 9, AASP.


15. Ibid., 93.
16. Ibid., 94.
17. Ibid., 95.


20. Ibid.

21. Handwritten comments by Stagg, no date, Box 109, Folder 6, AASP.


23. Ibid.
25. Ibid., 64.
26. Ibid., 28.

27. President's Report, 1919-1920, Box 18, Folder 27, AASP, p. 3.

28. Stagg to All Friends of Football, 26 October 1923, Box 109, Folder 11, AASP.

29. Voltmer, A Brief, 23.
30. Ibid.

32. The first was from 1905 to 1908, Stagg to Mr. C.E. McKinney, 17 August 1940, unaccessioned papers (file 1-D), Stagg Special Collections, Stagg High School, Palos, Illinois. Cited hereafter as SSC.


34. Stagg, Touchdown, 273-4.

35. Ibid., 276-277.

36. Ibid., 279.

37. Ibid.

38. Lt. Col. John Long, interview, Tape No. 11, SSC.


40. Lt. Col. John Long, interview, Tape No. 11, SSC.

41. Stagg, Touchdown, 348.


44. Stella to Stagg, January 1923, unaccessioned papers (file 1-C), SSC.

45. Ibid., 25 December 1923.

46. Stella to Stagg, 29 December 1923, 3 January 1924, unaccessioned papers (file 1-C), SSC.

48. Stagg to Stella, 31 December 1923, unaccessioned papers (file 1-C), SSC; Stagg to Harold Swift, 17 April 1925, Box 10, Folder 15, AASP.


50. Stagg to Alonzo Jr., 3 January 1924, unaccessioned papers (file 1-C), SSC.

51. Stagg to Stella, 13 January 1924, unaccessioned papers (file 1-C), SSC.

52. Arvilla Stagg to Stagg, 20 December 1926, Box 1a, Folder 9, AASP.

53. Stagg, Touchdown, 342.

54. Stella to Stagg, 23 December 1923, unaccessioned papers (file 1-C), SSC.

55. Stagg, Touchdown, 341-349.

56. Rockne was quoted as saying: "'Western supremacy in football is a triumph of the middle class over the rich,'" in Lester, "The Rise," 193, 194.

57. Ibid., 192-194.

58. No statement for 1933 season; Financial Statement, Box 22, Folder 7, AASP.

59. These figures are rounded; see Box 22, Folders 7, 8, AASP. The figures for football's expenses and revenues are not available for 1908, 1910, 1913, 1914, and 1916.

60. Financial Statement, 1919-1920, Box 22, Folder 8, AASP; President's Report, 1919-1920, Box 18, Folder 27, AASP, p. 1. Prior to 1919, the top had been $38,904 in 1915. There is a discrepancy between the President's Report and the Financial Statement of about $4,000 in the figures given for the deficit amount.

61. President's Report, 1919-1920, Box 18, Folder 27, AASP, p. 1. Tennis continued to contribute to the department's budget; Financial Statement, 1919-1920, Box 22, Folder 8, AASP.

62. As always, football gate receipts did not account for the entire budget. User fees from a circus brought in over $1,000, a national track meet sponsored by the conference made $2,600 for the Fund, and the basketball and track interscholastics combined to bring in over $3,000;
but these figures paled in comparison to the money-making ability of college football; see Financial Statement, 1921-1922, Box 22, Folder 8, AASP.

63. Financial Statement, 1921-1922, Box 22, Folder 8, AASP.

64. Ibid., 1922-1923. The gift was for the construction of the grandstand and wall around the playing field.

65. Ibid., 1923-1924.


68. Undergraduate Council to Mr. Payne, 20 April 1920, Box 18, Folder 1, AASP.

69. President's Report, 1921-1922, Box 18, Folder 28, AASP.

70. Letters from George Fairweather, Assistant Business Manager, 19 November 1920, 14 November 1921, Box 8, Folder 14, AASP; Stagg to Henry Pratt Judson, 17 February 1921, Box 10, Folder 4, AASP; Stagg did not want the university handling ticket sales.

71. Judson to Stagg, 9 November 1921, Box 10, Folder 4, AASP.

72. J. C. Dinsmore to Stagg, 12, 14 November 1921, Box 8, Folder 12, AASP. The official reason for this change in policy was that the trustees feared for the safety of their wives in such large crowds. There were similar complaints regarding arena admittance to basketball games, see letter to AAS, 25 January 1921, Box 9, Folder 13, AASP; Stagg promised to personally look into this.

73. Judson to Stagg, 9 November 1921, Stagg to Judson, 9 November 1921, Judson to Stagg, 16 November 1921, Box 10, Folder 4, AASP.

74. President's Report, 1922-23, Box 18, Folder 28, AASP, p. 2.

75. Stagg to Billie Bond, 12 April 1923, Box 8, Folder 8, AASP.
76. Judson to Harold Swift, 30 January 1923, Box 43, University President's Papers, Special Collections, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago.

77. President's Report, 1922-1923, Box 18, Folder 28, AASP. Stagg's claim was true only when the Rockefeller Gift was returned.

78. Ibid., 1923-1924.

79. N. C. Plimpton to Stagg, 8 October 1920, Box 10, Folder 12, and Stagg to J. C. Dinsmore, 7 October 1921, Box 8, Folder 12, AASP.

80. Gertrude Dudley to Stagg, 29 May 1922, Box 11, Folder 8, AASP.

81. Stagg to Plimpton, 7 September 1923, Box 10, Folder 13, AASP.

82. Stagg to Dudley Reed, 17 October 1924, Box 12, Folder 12, AASP.

83. Stagg to Gertrude Dudley, 23 April 1924, Box 11, Folder 8, AASP.

84. Stagg, handwritten note, no date, Box 18, Folder 1, AASP.

85. Stagg to Opal Powers and Powers to Stagg, 1924, Box 11, Folder 19, AASP.

86. "Plans for Field House and Stagg Field," 16 October 1924, Box 8, Folder 8, AASP.

87. "The Program for Athletic Development at the University of Chicago," Box 19, Folder 12, AASP.


89. Financial Statement, 1924-1925, Box 22, Folder 8, AASP.

90. Stagg to Trevor Arnett, 8 December 1924, Box 8, Folder 6, AASP.

91. Arnett to Stagg, 12 December 1924, Box 8, Folder 6, AASP.

92. Stagg to Arnett, 24 December 1924, Box 8, Folder 6, AASP.
93. Stagg to Dr. Orno Luckhardt, 29 January 1925, Box 8, Folder 2, AASP.

94. John Moulds to Stagg, Box 10, Folder 10, AASP.

95. Development Campaign, Box 19, Folder 12, AASP.

96. George Fuller, Executive Secretary of Alumni Committee for Development Campaign, to George Parkinson, 13 February 1925, Box 19, Folder 12, AASP.

97. George Fuller, memo to chairmen arranging alumni meetings, 9 February 1925, Box 19, Folder 12, AASP.

98. Stagg to Stella, 16 February 1925, Box 19, Folder 12, AASP.

99. Ibid.; also, see "Itinerary", Box 19, Folder 12, AASP.

100. Stagg to Stella, 18 February 1925, Box 19, Folder 12, AASP.

101. Ibid., 22 February 1925.

102. George Fuller to Stagg, 14 February 1925, and John Moulds to Stagg, telegram, 17 February 1925, Box 19, Folder 12, AASP.

103. Stagg to Stella, 22 February 1925, Box 19, Folder 12, AASP.

104. President's Report, 1924-25, Box 18, Folder 29, AASP.

105. Stagg to Arnett, 29 January 1925, Box 8, Folder 6, AASP.

106. "Requests for subscriptions for the Development Fund," Box 19, Folder 13, AASP.

107. The numbers given for the year 1924-25 were out of 13,890 students, 43 percent were from Chicago with 53 percent from Illinois, see Box 19, Folder 13, AASP.

108. "Requests for subscriptions," Box 19, Folder 13, AASP.

109. President's Report, 1925-1926, Box 18, Folder 29, AASP; also see Lester, "The Rise," 203, for comparison to the Intercollegiate Conference.
110. Financial Statements, 1926-1927, Box 22, Folder 8, AASP.

111. 1927 Alumni Newsletter, "The University in 1927," Box 10, Folder 9, p. 11, AASP.

112. President's Report, 1927-1928, Box 18, Folder 29, AASP.


114. Ibid.

115. Ibid., 175.

116. Ibid., 178.

117. Stagg to Max Mason, 23 March 1927, Box 10, Folder 9, AASP.

118. Ibid., 14 April 1928.

119. Stagg to T.E. Donnelley, 17 April 1928, Box 8, Folder 1, AASP.

120. Donnelley to Stagg, 21 April 1928, Box 8, Folder 1, AASP.

121. Stagg re: conference with Vice President Speers, 3 May 1928, Box 8, Folder 2, AASP.

122. Stagg to Speers, 30 June, 3 July 1928, Box 8, Folder 2, AASP.

123. Stagg to T.E. Donnelley, 24 April 1929, Box 8, Folder 1, AASP.


125. President's Report, 1928-1929, Box 18, Folder 30, AASP.

126. James Angell to Stagg, 7 January 1919, Box 8, Folder 3, AASP; To make a public appearance a student must have 6 majors with 9 grade points in the last 2 quarters or 9 majors and 14 grade points in the last 3 quarters. The Autumn of 1918 was excluded due to SATC.

127. Ibid.
128. Stagg to a sponsor of a potential student, 7 August 1919, Box 13, Folder 11, AASP. The scholarships were named for "LaVernes Noyes."

129. Minutes, Board of Physical Culture and Athletics, 24 February 1923, Box 18, Folder 9, AASP.

130. E. H. Wilkins, Dean of the College, to Stagg, 12 November 1923, and Stagg to E. H. Wilkins, 14 November 1923, Box 10, Folder 17, AASP.

131. Stagg to C. S. Boucher, 28 February 1928, Box 8, Folder 9, AASP.

132. C. S. Boucher to Stagg, 1 March 1928, Box 8, Folder 9, AASP.

133. Stagg to Dr. Sweetland, 25 October 1927, Box 2, Folder 15, AASP.

134. See letters between E.H. Wilkens and Stagg, 21 January 1924, 9, 19 May 1924, 16 October 1924, 25 March 1926, Box 10, Folder 17, AASP. Eventually, the report was edited the reporting committee, excluding any mention of Stagg.

135. Letter from Stagg, 23 August 1919, Box 13, Folder 12, AASP.

136. Faculty-Student Committee, University of Chicago, Distribution of Student's Time (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), 65.

137. Ibid., 33.


139. Ibid., 129.

140. Ibid., 132, 137-39. Baseball players came out slightly better, but neither came near the debating team in these categories.

141. Ibid., 142.

142. Ibid., 132, 142.

143. Ibid., 143-45. He also advocated faculty control and requiring coaches to teach like other faculty members.
144. C.S. Boucher to Stagg, 9 December 1927, Box 8, Folder 9, AASP.

145. Stagg to Boucher, 10 December 1927, Box 8, Folder 9, AASP.

146. D. Jerome Fisher to Boucher, 16 December 1927, Box 8, Folder 9, AASP.


150. Savage, College Athletics, xiv-xv.

151. Ibid., 100, 118, 99.

152. Ibid., 94.

153. Ibid., 62-63.

154. Ibid., 179.

155. Ibid., 245.

156. Ibid., 250, 251.

157. Ibid., 228.

158. Handwritten notes, n. d., Box 109, Folder 9, AASP.

159. Stagg to Dudley Reed, 4 October 1921, Box 18, Folder 1, AASP, p. 2.

160. President's Report, 1920-1921, Box 18, Folder 21, AASP, p. 1; Stagg to E. L. Means, 12 January 1921, Box 18, Folder 5, AASP; Board of Physical Culture and Athletics, 20 April 1921, Box 18, Folder 2, AASP; Stagg to D. Reed, 4 October 1921, Box 18, Folder 1, AASP. One quarter of physical culture equaled 1/2 major; 3 physical culture majors were required (i.e., 6 quarters). Passing was a D, and a minimum of six "points" was required (A=6, ...D=2); if they took 3 majors and received a D in each,
they would have the required points.

161. Board of Physical Culture, 20 April, 9 June 1921, Box 18, Folder 2, AASP; President's Report, 1920-1921, Box 18, Folder 28, AASP, p. 1. Apparently, older students were also exempt from the physical culture requirement, see Stagg's handwritten report, July 1921, Box 18, Folder 1, AASP.

162. Stagg to D. Reed, 6 September 1923, Box 12, Folder 12, AASP.

163. Burton to Stagg, 21 July 1923, Box 8, Folder 10, AASP.

164. A major obstacle to implementation of this plan to offer courses in physical education was the Women's Department, which was already overcrowded and reported there was no room for professional students, see D. Reed to Stagg, 10 September 1923, Box 12, Folder 12, AASP.

165. Stagg to D. Reed, 4 September 1924, Box 12, Folder 2, AASP.

166. D. Reed to Stagg, 9 September 1924, Box 12, Folder 12, AASP. Note that Stagg usually had time for vacations several months per year, and Reed mentioned in the same letter that he will be mountain climbing during the summer.

167. D. Reed to Stagg, 31 March 1926, Box 12, Folder 13, AASP.

168. Faculty-Student Committee, Distribution of Student's Time, 65.

169. Stagg to his staff, 2 February 1925, Box 11, Folder 12, AASP.

170. Stagg to D. Reed, 21 July 1927, Box 12, Folder 13, AASP.

171. Fredric C. Woodward to Stagg, 27 May 1926, Box 10, Folder 18, AASP.

172. Stagg to F. C. Woodward, 28 June 1926, Box 10, Folder 18, AASP.

173. President's Report, 1928-1929, Box 18, Folder 30, AASP, p. 3.
174. Stagg to John Moulds, 3 June 1930, and J. Moulds to Stagg, 5 June 1930, Box 10, Folder 10, AASP.

175. President's Report, 1926-1927, Box 18, Folder 29, AASP, p. 1; President's Report, 1927-1928, Box 18, Folder 30, AASP.

176. Stagg to G. McLain, 24 April 1923, Box 76, Folder 1, AASP.

177. D. Reed to Stagg, 20 October 1924, Box 76, Folder 1, AASP.

178. President's Report, 1922-23, Box 18, Folder 28, AASP, p. 4.

179. President's Report, 1923-1924, Box 18, Folder 28, AASP.

180. Financial Statement, 1924-1925, Box 22, Folder 8, AASP.

181. Stagg to Burton, 14 April 1924, Box 8, Folder 11, AASP.

182. Ibid., 12 May 1924.

183. Various notes and memos, n. d., Box 76, Folder 2, AASP.

184. Stagg to D. Reed, 17 October 1924, Box 12, Folder 12, AASP.

185. D. Reed to Stagg, 20 October 1924, Box 76, Folder 1, AASP.

186. Stagg to D. Reed, 17 October 1924, Box 12, Folder 12, AASP.

187. D. Reed to Stagg, 20 October 1924, Box 76, Folder 1, AASP.

188. Stagg to Walter Payne, 4 January 1926, Box 76, Folder 2, AASP.

189. Division of Intramural Athletics, Spring Information Booklet, 1926, Box 76, Folder 2, AASP, pp. 1-9.

190. Division of Intramural Athletics, Spring Information Booklet, 1926, Box 76, Folder 2, AASP, p. 3.
191. Stagg to D. Reed, 24 January 1925, Box 12, Folder 12, and Stagg to C.O. Molander, 22 January 1925, Box 76, Folder 1, AASP; "Approved Intramural Rulings," Department of Intramural Athletics, Autumn 1925, Box 76, Folder 1, AASP, pp. 18-19.

192. "Approved Intramural Rulings," Department of Intramural Athletics, Autumn 1925, Box 76, Folder 1, AASP.

193. This concern was so great that it was suggested that coaches need only submit the names of students they felt were good prospects to make them ineligible for intramural participation, see: Notes and memos, no date, Box 76, Folder 2, AASP.


195. Ibid.


197. Ibid.

198. Ibid.


200. Stagg to James T. White & Co., 8 August 1923, Box 109, Folder 1, AASP.


202. Ibid., 2.

203. Ibid., 3.

204. Stagg to D. Reed, 24 August 1925, Box 12, Folder 12, AASP. NB that in June of 1928 Mason did not mention athletics or physical culture in his farewell speech, see: Max Mason, farewell letter, 11 June 1928, Box 10, Folder 9, AASP.

205. Stagg to Max Mason, 14 May 1926, Box 10 Folder 9, AASP.

206. Mason to Stagg, 24 May 1926, Box 10, Folder 9, AASP.
207. "Reaching My Retirement Age," 9 February 1927, unaccessioned papers (folder 1921-30), SSC.

208. Handwritten note, "request by President for meeting," Box 10, Folder 9, AASP.

209. G.E. Phillips to Stagg, 16 November 1926, and Stagg to Cropley Phillips, 1 December 1926, Box 2, Folder 14, AASP.

210. Stagg to Cropley Phillips, 1 December 1926, Box 2, Folder 14, AASP.

211. Gilmore Dobie to Stagg, 16 March 1926, and Stagg to H. Bezdek, 14 December 1926, Box 1a, Folder 9, AASP.


213. "Stabilizing Our Profession of Football Coaching," December 1926, Box 1a, Folder 9, AASP, p. 3.

214. Ibid.

215. Stagg to Harold Swift, 26 August 1927, Box 10, Folder 15, AASP.

216. Stagg to Arvilla Stagg, 26 January 1926, Box 13, Folder 12, AASP.

217. Stagg to John Meyer, 20 January 1927, Box 2, Folder 14, AASP.

218. H. O. Crisler to Stagg, 6 February 1924, Box 18, Folder 1, AASP; Stagg to student (Baker), 21 January 1925, Box 18, Folder 1, AASP; "Student Help," Spring 1926, Box 18, Folder 1, AASP; "Student Work," 1927-1928, Box 18, Folder 1, AASP.

219. 1928 Questionnaire, Box 16, Folder 8, AASP.

220. Stagg to Silliam Harmon, 3 October 1928, Box 2, Folder 7, AASP.

221. S. Harmon to Stagg, 8, 23, October 1928, Box 2, Folder 7, AASP.

222. Stagg to Kenneth Rouse, 31 May 1929, Box 19, Folder 14, AASP.
223. Stagg to R.A. Kent, 30 March 1928, Box 18, Folder 4, AASP.

224. Ibid.

225. Financial Statement, 1927-1928, Box 22, Folder 8, AASP.

226. J. Moulds to Stagg, 18 March 1929, and Stagg to Moulds, 22 March 1929, Box 10, Folder 10, AASP.


228. Stagg to J. Moulds, 22 March 1929, Box 10, Folder 10, AASP.


230. All of the figures are found in Box 22, Folders 7, 8, AASP. The final figure for football in 1931 is not confirmable.

231. Savage, College Athletics, 197. Northwestern and Purdue were also cited with Chicago; Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin could count on 4,000 - 6,000 students from which to draw their teams.

232. Stagg to R.A. Kent, 30 March 1928, Box 18, Folder 4, AASP.

233. Stagg to N.A. Merriam, 24 December 1928, Box 11, Folder 11, AASP.
In June of 1933, unable to reach an agreement with university president Robert Maynard Hutchins, Amos Alonzo Stagg officially retired from the University of Chicago after 41 years of service. The media cited the coach's advancing age and current losing record as the explanation for the dismissal. Others believed that Stagg was pressured to resign because he had become a financial liability in the midst of an economic depression and with no Athletic Fund to pay the bulk of his salary, the university could not afford to keep him. Although Stagg was almost 71, the official explanation for his forced departure was the university's policy of mandatory retirement at the age of seventy. While all these factors must have played a role in the decision to end Stagg's tenure at Chicago, the ultimate reason was an incompatibility of purposes. Hutchins publicly repudiated big-time collegiate football as inherently corrupt and rejected the notion that it built character. Stagg and his program were no longer welcome.

The last few years of Stagg's career at the University of Chicago were difficult, but he persevered, dealing with
each new problem as it came up, refusing to quit. His department was no longer financially self-sufficient. Football prospects remained bleak and he lost his last recruiting tool when he was pressured into disbanding the national basketball tournament for high schools. Relations with the Medical Department deteriorated as allegations surrounding the coaching staff's questionable policies were made. Stagg's ability to recruit and raise funds was damaged by the institution's desire to distance itself from "peripheral" activities which did not contribute to the quest for intellectual preeminence. The downward path of revenues continued, exacerbated by the Depression. Once the physical culture requirement was removed in May of 1932, the entire justification for the existence of his department vanished; in its place, the faculty endorsed a voluntary program of intramurals, a position the university had been moving toward unofficially for several years. Without the physical culture requirement, Stagg lost the essence of his educational plan and philosophy.

In a desperate attempt to reverse his fortunes at Chicago, Stagg turned to a potential resource that he had previously ignored; intramurals. Often acting irrationally, he aggressively moved to take control of the student managed program. His poor judgement quickened the process by which President Hutchins decided to remove him completely from athletics early in 1933. Clearly, the
institution's mission had changed. Harper's idealistic early vision of a university that benefitted the triumvirate of the mind, soul and body was forgotten. The University of Chicago would service the mind; body and soul were optional.

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Robert Maynard Hutchins began his presidency at the University of Chicago in July of 1929. The school's glorious athletic tradition was already well over. It had been nearly five years since Chicago had a winning football season, yet Stagg remained optimistic. That fall, the '29 season ended on a somewhat hopeful note; although the Maroons had lost three out of four conference games, the team finished the season 7-3.\(^2\) Knute Rockne complimented Stagg on his winning 1929 season in his syndicated column, noting that Stagg had few prospects and no experienced players to work with.\(^3\) In reality, however, they played poor opponents.\(^4\) Even more discouraging, while the season brought more wins than losses, it did not turn a profit, and football's contributions to the department's budget plunged from $299,254 in 1928 to approximately $130,000 in 1929.\(^5\)

The theme of financial retrenchment monopolized the department's 1929-30 report to the new president. Stagg noted the department's traditional policy of self-sufficiency, explaining that even though physical culture
was part of the required curriculum, students received their instruction free of charge. Operating funds, he reiterated, came from gate receipts, not tuition. He pointed out that this approach had been so successful that for many years the department took on financial responsibilities beyond the original scope of its work. This was no longer possible because of the reduced revenues of the 1929 season, which cut the previous year's budget by more than half. Unfortunately, wrote Stagg, the university could no longer assume the self-sufficiency of his department. He cited several reasons for the financial failure: the losing 1928 football season, Chicago's tough schedule, poor prospects for the 1930 team, and the competing attractions of the city and other athletic contests. Physical Culture and Athletics was now financially dependent on the university; the department's timing could not have been worse, for Chicago already felt the economic pinch of the Depression.

The 1930 football season was a disaster. The Maroons won only two games, lost five, and tied two at 0-0, with no conference victories. Yet Stagg called this team one of the best he ever coached: "Week after week they would be defeated Saturday, but Monday the boys would come around with their chins up and we would talk over how to lick the next team." Their coach was confident they were ready to handle whatever came next.
That same winter, the administration informed Stagg that the university would no longer sponsor his annual National Interscholastic Basketball Tournament (NIBT). Another call for greater scrutiny of intercollegiate athletics had been raised and while Chicago was not found guilty of collegiate excesses, its sponsorship of high school tournaments was targeted as having the potential for abuse.⁹

Since the founding of the university, Stagg had struggled with Chicago's comparatively small male undergraduate enrollment. In 1910-11, Chicago brought up the rear in the conference with 705 male undergraduates enrolled compared to Iowa's 1,296 and, at the high end, Michigan's 4,467; ten years later, in 1920-21, Chicago lagged behind again with 1,576, following Purdue's 2,753 and led by Michigan's 7,822; by 1930-31, Chicago's eligible pool had dropped to 686, closest in number was Purdue with 4,447 and the leader that year was Minnesota with 9,964.¹⁰ Stagg needed the interscholastics as a creative recruiting tool for introducing many young men and their families to the university. In April of 1929, Stagg issued a formal statement regarding his intent to continue the NIBT. Stagg stated that the university had "not profited financially," but had used the proceeds from the tournament to conduct "other interscholastic events."¹¹ He denied that Chicago teams "unfairly" benefitted from hosting these events. Instead,
Stagg pointed to his particular role in helping to legitimate the National Federation:

...by our support of the National High School Athletic Federation, we have directly influenced certain states into forming a State Association and becoming members of the National Association...Not only have we helped to prevent serious breaks in the control but have directly aided in patching up the differences between factions. In all our announcements sent out we have urged that schools not belonging to Stage Associations join that organization...In every way we have cooperated sympathetically and whole heartedly with the National Federation of State High School Athletic Associations.

He concluded with a pledge to continue the National Basketball tournament regardless of the Federation's recommendation.13

Although public schools from at least thirty-two states were not allowed to attend the national tournament, it did not fold.14 In response to the National Federation's opposition, Stagg opened his 1929 tournament to those high schools previously barred from the tourney, announcing that: "This is the way it was for the first few years until the high school officials became insistent on cutting out the academies."15 Originally founded to accommodate the Catholic outcasts, the National Catholic Tournament held at Loyola University now competed with the University of Chicago for entrants.16 Predictably, Loyola officials reacted immediately, appealing to the pride of Catholic high schools across the nation and discouraging participation in a tournament that had excluded their
"community" for so long. Not everyone was swayed; Central Catholic High School in Indiana justified their participation because there was "no such thing as Catholic athletics in Indiana." Central Catholic claimed its position was not unique, for most of the Catholic schools in the state had to work hard to get contacts with public schools, since the Catholic schools were too few and widely separated to form a league. In early 1930, National Catholic tournament officials stepped up their campaign among Catholic schools urging them not to accept invitations to Stagg's tournament:

As you probably know by this time, the University of Chicago has opened its tournament to Catholic schools. This move effects vitally the welfare of the tournament for Catholic schools in that it takes away the distinction of the title, minimizes the title for which the teams are striving and may also have a bad effect because of the publicity in the event that a Catholic team enters the other meet...We feel that we have every right to conduct an aggressive campaign against those who would interfere with the success of the National Catholic Tournament...

Loyola bent eligibility rules so they would not have to turn away potential entrants: "[I]t was decided that the welfare of the tournament demanded a broadening of some rules...to obviate any necessity of their entering the Chicago tournament." For the first time, local eligibility rules took precedence over tournament standards, but this new policy was not publicized: "Under no circumstances ...must this ruling be made public." In March of 1930, Arch Ward of the Chicago Tribune...
reported that the North Central Association had just dealt a "knockout wallop" to Chicago's "two great basketball tournaments." According to Ward, the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools concurred with the opinion of the NFSHSAA. The North Central's committee on higher education considered adopting a resolution "which would threaten with expulsion any college or university promoting a national meet. The resolution ...is almost certain to become a rule." Ward noted that Stagg, whose tournament would be the hardest hit, "was instrumental in the organization of the National Federation." The Secretary of the NFSHSAA, C.W. Whitten, addressed the North Central's committee meeting. Ward reported that Whitten suggested that these tournaments unduly influenced high school athletes and exhorted "that high school athletes be let alone and be let free to choose the university they wish to attend." Both Chicago and Loyola were members of the North Central Association. After hearing of the imminent ruling, officials at both schools "expressed doubt that they would jeopardize their school's standing by continuing national tournaments."

Stagg was convinced that "jealousy" was behind those who opposed the national tournament, pointing out that many of the arguments made against national tournaments applied to state meets as well. Stagg dismissed the point that a national tournament demanded too much time:
The argument in regard to loss of time from school because there is not any question but that boys get a great deal more out of a week spent in Chicago than he could possibly get out of two or three weeks spent at his studies...a trip of that kind is most stimulating to the boy's imagination and his ambitions. Ambition makes the boy and the man, and every great opportunity to furnish its stimulation is a splendid contribution toward it... I maintain that one of the best things about this Tournament is that it brings the boys into touch with big things and gives them vision which they cannot get in the towns and smaller cities...The National Tournament... tends to create national unity...Athletics for boys need expansion and not curtailment...The youth of today need more and not less athletics. Athletics are one of the most steadying influences to the youth problem of today and we think that the National Tournament contributes definitely to that stabilizing influence...

Offended by Stagg's interpretation of the National Federation's cause, Whitten defended his organization, claiming its action was not aimed specifically at the University of Chicago's tournament. Repeating the National Federation's platform that high school athletics should be administered by high school interests, Whitten explained the association's opposition:

The principle objection is overemphasis of athletics. This covers the situation. It may be that, taken by itself, the national tournament would not prove injurious. But all teams entered already have undergone a long strenuous season of competition, including two or more tournaments... Undoubtedly there are too many local tournaments. There are certainly too many of these inter-sectional, interstate, and national meets...

Anxious to deflect his critics, Whitten credited Dr. C.S. Boucher of the University of Chicago for proposing the resolution to the North Central Association. Further-
more, Whitten said the North Central's action was not the result of a personal attack on Chicago at the urging of the NFSHSAA but due to the 1929 Carnegie Report. 29

H. O. Crisler, former basketball player and captain for Chicago and now Interscholastic Manager, felt that schools who sent teams to the tournament were better qualified to pass judgement on the meet: "I cannot see how any body who has never attended the meet...can offer any opinion." 30 Crisler was certain that the National Federation had one goal in mind: "Despite the fact that they deny action was directed toward the University of Chicago Tournament, I am convinced this was true. In public announcements their language was couched to refer to National Tournaments. Our was the only national event other than the Catholic Tournament, and they had no interest in it." 31

On December 9, 1930, the headline of the Tribune's sports section read: "MAROONS ABANDON NATIONAL BASKET MEET, Canvass Shows Principals Are Against Games." 32 The article reported that the University of Chicago decided to discontinue its national interscholastic basketball tournament. Although the North Central had not yet passed the final resolution prohibiting members from hosting high school tournaments because it was referred back to committee to be reworded so it would not "be injurious to the athletic interest of the parochial and private
for Chicago, the implication was clear. Continuation of a national basketball tournament for public high schools would be taken into consideration when accrediting an institution.\textsuperscript{34}

In the late 1920s, conference athletic directors had voluntarily approved the athletic standards recommended by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. The athletic directors also agreed not to play any institution in their conference's territory that had lost their North Central accreditation for athletic irregularities.\textsuperscript{35} Within two years, the tables had turned: approval was no longer the prerogative of the conference, and membership alone did not assume compliance. The North Central conducted its inspection of athletics within the conference institution by institution.\textsuperscript{36} As the North Central's influence increased, the University of Chicago was less inclined to disregard its recommendations. The vice president appointed three faculty members, including Stagg's oldest adversary, Dean C.S. Boucher, to determine the desirability of continuing the national basketball tournament; all three voted to discontinue the meet.\textsuperscript{37} Stagg could not allow his only effective means of recruitment to end; following the committee's decision, Stagg announced that a Christmas interscholastic would be held for all high schools within Illinois.\textsuperscript{38}

During the 1930-1931 academic year, Chicago went
through a major reorganization under President Hutchins' direction, instituting a new college plan which required a two year program of study before entering into the newly created advanced divisions of: Humanities, Social Sciences, Physical Sciences, and Biological Sciences. This "New Plan" replaced required class attendance and course credits with comprehensive examinations; students could complete their initial general course of study at their own pace and initiative. The Department of Physical Culture was put under the Biological Sciences division. The physical culture requirement survived for the time being, although it contradicted the design of the "New Plan." The physical culture requisite remained at six quarters, the length of the "college" period or the first two years; which came to four, 30 minute periods, or two hours, per week, with the exception that intramural participation would apply toward physical culture classes hour for hour. The number of men competing in intramurals continued to rise and the number in physical culture continued to drop.

A student could also avoid physical culture courses through participation in the university band. Back in 1928, Stagg had rejected a proposal requesting that participation in the band equal physical culture credit, but in 1930 the band became part of the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics, and band members received physical
The culture credit instead of being paid a stipend. The exodus from physical culture continued.

In January of 1931, the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools released the findings of its investigation of Athletics at the University of Chicago. While it found no evidence of unethical recruitment of high school athletes, or "special privileges" or subsidies given to these athletes, nor illicit department hiring practices for student services "unduly" favoring athletes, the North Central Association did determine that Chicago spent too great a proportion of its budget on intercollegiate competition at the expense of physical education. The "deficit" sports of baseball, tennis, swimming, etc., everything besides football and basketball, were all considered department costs. The report recommended that Chicago rebuild "its physical education, intramural, and intercollegiate programs into one comprehensive plan," in order to make the acquisition of the leadership qualities taught through sports accessible to larger number of students.

The following month, Dean Boucher, now a member of the Board of Physical Culture and Athletics, communicated the findings of the Committee on College Curriculum to Stagg and relevant division heads: Gertrude Dudley (Women), Maj. Christian (Military Sciences), and Dr. Dudley Reed (Health). The committee recommended making the
requirement voluntary while enlarging and improving the intramural sports facilities. The dean requested a response from the department within ten days and appointed Dr. Reed, some one outside the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics, as chairman. Stagg was away at the Sea View Country Club in New Jersey, but Gertrude Dudley wrote him immediately, asking that he return at once to the campus, "before we...[are] wiped off the face of the earth." Ms. Dudley advocated officially incorporating the supervision of intramurals "as a part of the Physical Education program."

Each of Stagg's colleagues wrote their own response, and Stagg sent his separately. In his first draft, Stagg sounded unusually contrite as he humbly "confessed" to the true nature of his department:

This Department has no misunderstanding as to its academic relationship. We do not assume that we are doing academic work. We know our work in certain respects is educational, but its main purpose is to provide recreation and exercise, the training in the development of motor skills, and the coaching in sports which a man may pursue in after life. In view of the Department's relationship to the University, there is no argument for holding to the logic of optional attendance in physical education work as is proposed in academic courses. It is our belief that the work of our Department should continue to be a requirement.

In other words, because Stagg's department was unlike any other, they needed the attendance requirement. This was quite a switch. For years he proclaimed and argued that the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics was equal
of any other.

Boucher's committee never saw this version of the letter, for Stagg changed his approach and went on the offensive. Building a confident, assertive argument, Stagg dismissed the recommendation to enlarge intramural sports, claiming the department had "exhausted the opportunities for expansion." He then revealed the shortcomings of what he saw as a proposal to replace physical culture with intramural sports. According to Stagg, this policy would signal a "knock-out blow" to the Women's Division. He explained that sports did not come naturally to women:

...they don't take to them easily...they don't like extreme exertion...they don't like to sweat and have the bother of changing their clothes...their social relationships compel the development of the social side of their nature, and it appeals to them; athletic sports do not naturally.

Stagg emphasized the fact that much of the success of intramural organization was based on the existence of social groupings, most importantly fraternities who had the greatest numbers participating. Stagg pointed out that the required work aided intramural organization for those who did not belong to a "social group" and perhaps lived at home. Stagg argued that required physical culture turned spectators into participants: "You cannot get students to participate in intramurals unless they know how to do something. It is pitiful to see how poorly coordinated muscually some students are when we get them as fresh-
men". 52 Stagg was reduced to a final pathetic defense: "The required work compels some men and I presume women also to take frequent baths which helps sanitation about the University." 53

Stagg feared that incorporation of the proposed change would mean that many of the students, both male and female, would receive insufficient exercise and recreation, reducing their vitality. He ominously predicted, "there will be more breakdowns among the students." To back up his statements, Stagg recalled President Harper saying to him while exercising in the gymnasium just a few years before his death: "'Stagg, I wish I had done this years ago. If I had, I know I would not be in the physical condition I now am.'" Stagg ended his letter with a lengthly summary of his philosophy:

If we accept the modern idea of education in that it equips men to live efficiently, then every educated man and woman must know how to keep their bodies fit...With the modern labor saving devices, the need for muscular strength has become all but negative for the college bred so far as earning a livelihood. On the other hand the strain on the nervous mechanism has been very greatly increased. This means that in ordinary life the younger-nervous phase of our developing system is called upon to carry burdens which the older or muscular phase is not preparing it to withstand.

He warned against straying too far from the university's original mission:

...As the University of Chicago moves forward into a new regime in the field of education, they dare not neglect the physical nature of man, and as a logical part of the comprehensive
examination there need be included a comprehensive requirement relating to the physical machine. Stagg's extensive defense of physical culture and its future relevance fell on deaf ears, the elimination of the requirement was inevitable.

Despite his current problems, life went on for Stagg and his family. He had not lost any of his intensity as a coach, nor his will to win. He continued to play tennis two or three times a week, and he and his son, Paul (class of '32), made the doubles finals at the university tournament in 1930. Paul quarterbacked the '29 football team, winning his "C." While Paul played tennis and football for Chicago, his older brother, Alonzo, was the Maroon's tennis coach and assistant football coach. Alonzo was an excellent tennis player while a student at Chicago, serving as team captain and winning the "Big Ten" doubles championship. Stagg and Alonzo hoped Paul would carry on the family athletic tradition. In the spring of 1931, when Paul lost his tennis match against the University of Michigan, Stagg wrote a harsh critique of his son's performance: "I want to put my ideas in permanent form so that you may refer to them at times." Stagg faulted Paul for failing to make the match "a life or death matter:"

It is perfectly evident, Paul, that you were not spiritually prepared for your match yesterday with Hammer or you would have won and Chicago would have won and your brother would be rejoicing and your father would not have occasion to write this letter...Your duty to do your best
for the University is supplemented by the fact that your brother is your coach. Another stimulus might be the intense interest of your mother, a very good tennis player in her day, as well as the devoted enthusiasm of your father who has done everything that he could to help develop your game.

Although, Stagg's religious affiliation changed several times throughout his long life, one detail of his personal creed never wavered: his belief in the ideals of athletics. Athletics was Stagg's real religion. And his philosophy remained consistent over the years, blind to the abuses and corruption which infected organized competition on the collegiate level. In a 1931 interview, he ignored the controversies surrounding college football and repeated, his allegiance to the same ideals he championed decades earlier. According to Stagg, youths still turned "'to the athletic field and gymnasium for what they formerly got in the home,'" to learn "'temperance, self-control, fair play, sportsmanship, courage, and the Golden Rule from athletes and athletic directors and coaches.'" Children, he said, used to go to church to learn how to live, now, players and coaches of college football served the same function by "'preaching sermons and laying down rules of conduct for the coming generation.'" Without fear of contradiction, Stagg continued to advocate trying to "out-think" the rules and "'outwit your opponents.'" Prospects for the '31 football team had not improved.
Stagg wrote to his sisters of his continued efforts to develop new strategies and his frustration with the "shortness of material" and the "severity of scholastic standards." This would be his fortieth year of coaching at the university, and he hoped to field a solid team; unfortunately, 18 of the previous year's freshmen were declared ineligible. Under enormous pressure to turn his department around, Stagg ignored the recommendations to downplay intercollegiate competition and suggested that Chicago defer tuition income for athletes by incorporating Northwestern's successful recruiting strategy, which allegedly consisted of loans for the total amount of tuition. While Stagg termed Northwestern's practice as illegal, he proposed that a similar policy might be necessary for Chicago and other conference members in order to continue fair competition. Stagg received no response to this suggestion, and the Maroons finished the season with two wins, six losses and one tie. Historian Robin Lester uses the '31 season to illustrate how far the Maroons had fallen out of favor with the fans. The game against Michigan at Ann Arbor that year set a stadium record for lowest attendance. Illinois cut its ticket price for the Chicago game. Games against the Maroons were humorously referred to as "private contests." Stagg's team fell to his alma mater, Yale, which made a special trip to mark his fortieth anniversary at the university.
President Hutchins, also a Yale alum, speaking at the testimonial dinner in Stagg's honor following the game, was generous in his praise of the coach and gave no indication that Stagg's future at the university was doubtful.65 Others on the campus were less kind. The Daily Maroon printed an "Open Letter to the 'Old Man'" which called for his resignation; another student publication parodied the coach as one who refused to admit his time had passed.66 Stagg became his own worst critic: in his Saturday column, which he took over from Knute Rockne after the Notre Dame coach's death, Stagg was known to predict the Maroons' opponent of the day as victor.67

By the fall of 1931, the Depression had made its presence known to athletics nationwide, and the Midwest Conference strove to cut unnecessary expenses. All financial guarantees for the home university were discontinued. All members were asked to hold meets at a central location to bring down travel costs, and, when possible, arrangements for two games in one trip were encouraged. The ban on post season games was lifted and conference members reluctantly agreed to commit the proceeds of these games to charity.68 Along with many other institutions, Chicago could not fulfill its ambitious construction plans that depended on future gate receipts.69 Admission prices were reduced but could not stop the rapid fall in attendance.70 Construction of the
field house had been postponed in 1925 in order to increase the seating capacity of Stagg Field. Six years later work on the field house resumed, but many of the plans for the building's interior had to be abandoned or adjusted to current finances. At this point, the university underwrote the completion costs with the expectation of reimbursement from future department earning. Stagg used the occasion of the laying of the building's cornerstone in the fall of 1931 to express his gratitude to the Board of Trustees and to reassert the validity of physical education's position at the university:

The Board of Trustees as I have said have been wonderful to the students of the University and to the Department of Physical Education, and we are very grateful to them, and you men may have the satisfaction, and President Hutchins, you many have the satisfaction of knowing that for centuries there will be a continuous line of students recreating themselves in this building, and that each one of them will say God bless you men.

The field house was finally completed the following year, almost seven years after Stagg initially created the fund for it.

In January of 1932, the University Senate voted to discontinue the Board of Physical Culture and Athletics, "its function made unnecessary under the reorganization." Although the department maintained its official position that no student would be eligible to take the upper division entrance examinations unless they had six quarters of credit for work in Physical Culture, they
freely admitted that generous exceptions were made, "in deserving cases." In the spring of 1932, as expected, the physical culture requirement was officially eliminated. There had been so many ways to avoid the requirement that the elimination of it only recognized what already existed: only those who wanted to take physical culture did.

On May 18, 1932, the Executive Committee to the College Faculty recommended that the Physical Culture requirement be eliminated due to student sentiment, which was opposed to compulsory physical education. The Committee cited a University of Wisconsin report which concluded that the purpose of "modern" physical education was to develop "motor control, coordination, fundamental game skills, and the cultivation of the play impulse in the interest of recreative leisure time activities." These "revised" aims on the value of Physical Culture departed from earlier claims of improved health and "therapeutic" benefit. Given these assertions, the report concluded that the most appropriate age to develop coordination skills was during childhood and adolescence, not at the college level. Accepting the University of Wisconsin's findings, the committee felt physical education was not part of Chicago's responsibility as an educational institution, and the faculty agreed.

Stagg tried to diminish the damage to his program's
legitimacy by explaining that what had been done to his department was no different than any other:

In accordance with the plan of the University to make all attendance upon classes optional, the Faculty voted that all work in the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics should be optional on the part of the student.

He chose his words carefully. While attendance was optional in other departments, their requirements were not dropped. University students still had to pass required courses whether or not they attended. In physical culture courses attendance was the only means by which to measure competence with the material. All the work was done in-class and largely remedial; these courses were designed to be corrective, and independent study and research were not required. Unlike any other curriculum requirement, tuition was not charged for the physical culture component; operating funds came from gate receipts. To many, the nature of the courses in physical culture made them a dispensable part of the curriculum. Stagg correctly stated that the changes imposed on the department were part of a deliberate re-evaluation of the university's goals, but the modifications were applied to Physical Culture and Athletics in such a way as to make the department unrecognizable. In addition, none of these alterations was initiated by Stagg's department. The action was absolute and retroactive, the department was notified that their plans for the following academic year were to be organized around an
entirely voluntary program. The eventual substitution of intramurals for compulsory physical culture courses in 1932 came as no surprise. Since 1929 students maintained control of the intramural organization and watched as its popularity grew. Stagg acknowledged this fact in his report to the president in 1930, noting that although more than half of the students lived off campus, intramural participation increased each year.

With no department requirement, the necessity of a faculty was severely diminished, and Stagg quickly turned his attention to intramurals, immediately firing the former student manager, W.E. Nissla, who had been appointed the program's director in 1930. This action did not come out of the blue. Nissla had ruffled Stagg's feathers the previous year when he sent a bulletin directly to a dean without submitting it to Stagg first. Stagg explained Nissla's dismissal as necessary to the reorganization of the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics "whereby the coaches and older members of the Department will be brought into close touch with the Intramural sports." This deed set off a string of protests from other student managers who opposed the reorganization and new policies. One student manager challenged Stagg to defend his actions:

...I cannot envision any intimate and yet workable contact between the varsity coaches and
Intramurals. Intramurals are primarily for the 'dub' who will not train and in whom coaches with the intercollegiate view point are simply not interested...the only interest a varsity coach can have in Intramurals as far as I can see is that of securing recruits...

Stagg attempted to stem the tide of dissent by refusing to accept one student's resignation, but he did more harm than good with his customary patronizing tone: "You of course cannot fully understand the reasons for the change because I cannot reveal some things to you. You will just have to have faith that the change will be for the best." He also assured the student, erroneously, that he had the administration's full support. Privately, Stagg admitted that after some uncertainty over the direction of the department once the physical culture requirement was eliminated, he decided to embark on "a big intramural program."

In the summer of 1932, Stagg wrote a lengthy account of the background behind the changes made in the organization of intramurals and the dismissal of W.E. Nissla. While not clear who this account was intended for, Stagg claimed to reveal a "plot to divorce" intramurals from athletics and identified several enemies in a defensive, and sometimes paranoid, reconstruction of events. Central to Stagg's memorandum was the tension among those involved in the organization and running of intramurals; namely, Dr. C. Molander, W.E. Nissla and the student managers, and the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics. Initially,
Stagg's comments centered on the character of Dr. C.O. Molander, and his, in Stagg's opinion, dubious role in the administration of intramurals.

In 1921, according to Stagg's memorandum, Stagg offered Dr. Molander, a former basketball captain and "a disciple of Stagg's," a position with the Department, in part, to fill a need for medical assistance due to Dr. Reed's growing obligations as Health Officer of the University. Molander became the "examining physician for the athletic teams." Three years later, Stagg asked Molander to organize intramural athletics at the university. Stagg acknowledged that for two to three years Molander devoted a good deal of time to the work; then Molander hired a law student, W.E. Nissla, to help on a part-time basis. In 1930, Nissla was employed full time under the title of Director and Manager of the Intramural Division, and Molander served in an advisory capacity only.

Stagg's explanation for the animosity between his Department and the Intramural Division implicated Molander:

...it has seemed as though the ones responsible for the Intramural Division have sought to develop loyalty to it through hatred of its own paternal ancestor, the Athletic Department...it is hard to understand and estimate the antipathy which existed in any other way. With...[one]...exception..., Dr. Molander does not seem to have any friends in the Department. He does not seem to be trusted...

Stagg went even further, connecting Molander's actions with
student support for the ultimate elimination of the physical culture requirement:

...apparently in his efforts to build up the intramural work he has made light of the required work of the Department by unfavorable comparison and has created a feeling among the many students...of disrespect and in certain cases of positive antagonism and ill-will. Dr. Molander's point of view has evidently impressed itself upon Nissla who exhibited a daring disrespect and antagonism toward the Department. The feeling of other members of the Department is that Dr. Molander has worked quietly and in an underhand way...

Stagg also held Dean Boucher liable for the eventual elimination of required work; reportedly, Boucher was fed up with the numerous disciplinary cases associated with the requirement. Stagg believed that Boucher, in his capacity as Chairman of the Curriculum Committee under the new reorganization plan, worked for its elimination or reduction. Not finding support among the faculty initially, Boucher made his feelings known through the Daily Maroon, which eventually led to the student vote which rejected the requirement 3 to 1.95

Stagg claimed that he gave plenty of warning to all involved, including Molander and Nissla, of the changes he intended to institute if the faculty disposed of the requirement: "[I]t would mean that there would be less work for the coaches and that they would have to get in and help out in intramural athletics which would mean a reorganization of the intramural work."96 Stagg admitted that Nissla probably ignored the warning that his position
was not secure, "for he seems to be such a cocky individual that he would be blind to any possibility." In June of 1932, Stagg dismissed Nissla to reduce costs and end the friction between the intramural division and the larger department.

At this point, Stagg's fears got the better of him as he recreated his version of the sequence of events leading up to his uncovering of the "divorce plot," led by the notorious Dr. Molander. Oblivious to the possibility of student initiative, Stagg confidently suspected that under Molander's guidance several student managers visited Dean Works and Trustee Harold Swift. In the meantime, Stagg replaced Nissla with a Walter Hebert, who was charged with reorganizing intramurals and working with the student managers.

It was during a meeting with one of these student managers, Robert Howard, the Student Chairman of Intramurals for the following Fall Quarter, that Stagg discovered the "conspiracy." Stagg gave a detailed description of the meeting with Howard. According to Stagg, the student "let loose the remark" that intramurals could be run by students without interference from the department. Stagg countered, telling the student that he, Amos Alonzo Stagg, started the intramural work that was paid for by the Athletic Fund. Stagg remembered that Howard expressed concern about the coaches' attitudes
toward intramurals. Stagg said he did not deny that the coaches would be more interested in their particular sport, but that he "hoped to broaden their interest into one which would take in the whole student body as well as the specialized athlete." Much to Stagg's amazement, Howard persisted in his opposition, and the coach grew increasingly frustrated with his failure to convince Howard of the futility of his efforts. Stagg described his final assault:

Then I said, 'Bob, you are one of the strangest young fellows with whom I have ever come in contact...You are unwilling to accept any of the following things: First, that the matter of there going to be a reorganization, that Mr. Nissla has already been let go, and that Walter Hebert is to take his place, are settled...with the approval of the University authorities. Second, you are putting your view of three years experience in the intramurals at the University up against the point of view of the Director of the Department who has been working for the Department forty years and who has spent his life in sacrificial building up of the Department, and yet you are setting up your point of view against his. Third, you seem to forget that A.A. Stagg has lived a long while in this University community and that I have won...the respect of my colleagues in the University and of the people who have been connected with the University... that I have lived a decent sort of life and have had certain high ideals of personal behavior as well of social behavior, that I have never been radical, that I don't do things and make decisions offhand, but only after plenty of thinking, and yet you will insist on your point of view for yourself over against that of the Director of the Department.'

Whether Howard was intimidated or amused, the struggle over control of intramurals between Stagg and those students who had ambitions to get involved in athletics as leaders and
organizers symbolized a changing of the guard; Stagg's day had passed. His paternalistic attitude could not survive at the University of Chicago in the 1930s under the leadership of Maynard Hutchins. Stagg's philosophy had no room for the advocacy of student independence and sovereignty. According to Stagg, students were entities to be shaped and formed, for whom decisions were to be made, with the sincere intention of preparing them for the world after college. But the students, and the university, outgrew Stagg and his antiquated, nineteenth-century ways.

Accusations that Stagg and his staff were inclined to play athletes unfit for competition had surfaced intermittently since 1915, when Board of Trustees member, Harold Swift of Swift & Co., first complained. As a friend to Chicago athletics and to Stagg, Swift and his company looked after the players and made sure they ate well. At the time, Dudley Reed, Stagg's medical assistant, was unable to reassure either then President Judson nor Swift that it was Stagg's policy never to use an unhealthy player.

Although Stagg hired Dr. Dudley Reed, a strain in their association appeared whenever their positions as University Health Examiner and Director of Physical Culture and Athletics overlapped. With the conclusion of World War I and the growing concern over the general physical condition of America's youth, Reed's responsibilities as
Health Officer of the University took up more and more of his time.\textsuperscript{103} It was up to Reed to determine whether or not a student was fit to participate in athletic competitions, not the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics.\textsuperscript{104} Clearly, the university felt that those most interested in the winning of a contest would not be impartial when assessing the physical condition of a student.

The issue of who should judge a student's fitness for athletic competition, and if the student had the freedom to choose whether or not he participated, surfaced more frequently toward the end of Stagg's tenure. Reed now held the title of Director of the Health Service and Professor of Hygiene and Bacteriology and was responsible for player health.\textsuperscript{105} At times, Reed tried to find a common ground: "Although I feel more strongly than you do about lessening the emphasis on winning intercollegiate contests, I believe that we are agreed on the general principles."\textsuperscript{106} Stagg acknowledged that he and Reed had many differences of opinion.\textsuperscript{107} Even so, Reed was sounding more and more like Stagg's boss.\textsuperscript{108}

On the eve of the 1932 football season, Reed forwarded to Stagg a memo sent to his attention from Frederic Woodward, of the President's Office:

This is my annual reminder of your responsibility for the physical condition of the members of the football team. In view of the hopes that are entertained for the year, there may be more than
Reed's reminder was not enough to keep the coaching staff from temptation, and before the end of the season, Reed inquired about a player who was pressured to play by the coaching staff before the doctors thought it safe:

...it puts the boy in a somewhat difficult place if the surgeons tell him he ought not to play and some coaches give him the impression that he would play if he had the real stuff in him.  

Defensively, Stagg avoided answering the question directly by denying that he put any pressure on the player. In the same letter, he admitted ignoring Reed's recommendation in another instance, but assured the doctor that the department did not have a policy of overriding decisions of the Medical Department. According to Robin Lester, Stagg's letter was, "a sad one of self-justification--the life long habit had become intensified with adulation and age."

In the midst of this latest controversy, President Hutchins decided to remove Stagg as Director of the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics on October 13, 1932. All along, Stagg sincerely believed, or perhaps hoped, that President Harper's original appointment had been for life; and that Harper's word bound each succeeding president. In 1930, he proposed to the president a grand scheme where he would create an entirely new position, "responsible only to the President of the University, have no relation to regular faculty overseership, and be
separated from the Department of Physical Education." But early in 1932, Hutchins made it clear that Stagg's days as a department director and coach for Chicago were numbered when he offered him two different jobs, one in public relations and another as part of an advisory committee on athletics. Stagg told a close friend that he "argued and argued with the President against his putting me out of it, but to no avail." According to Stagg, Hutchins "bungled his presentation of these opportunities because my roots of loyalty and devotion are so deep it would have been easy for him to have held me here." In Stagg's place, Hutchins appointed Thomas N. Metcalf, former physical culture director at Iowa State.

Stagg's only responsibility, for the time being, was to continue as head coach of the Maroons. The media immediately interpreted the appointment of Metcalf as an ousting of Stagg. Some had seen it coming, while others felt Stagg was on the verge of a comeback and criticized the choice of a successor "'who lacked enthusiasm for intercollegiate athletics.'" Students presented petitions asking that Stagg remain. The official reason for Stagg's imminent departure was the new tenure rule: "No member of the University may be reappointed after reaching the age of 70." In its own defense, the administration called attention to the required retirement of long time faculty member and Dean of the Divinity
School, Shailer Mathews. Still, Stagg did not give up and approached the new
director about continuing as football coach. Stagg gave
his reasons for wanting to coach "at least one more year:"

...because they have the best material at Chicago
that I have ever seen, and for two reasons I
wanted to see if I could not produce a winning
team. First, I wanted to regain some of the
prestige I had lost as a coach. Second, I wanted
to produce a first class team for the sake of
several of our boys who are anxious to get posi-
tions as coaches but who are having difficulty
because of our stock being down on account of a
series of bad years.

When Hutchins refused to extend his coaching duties, Stagg
turned to his successor, Thomas Metcalf, and asked him for
a one year extension. According to Stagg, Hutchins inter-
vened, and Metcalf turned down the request. The 1932
team finished a disappointing 3-4-1, and Stagg finally
wrote Hutchins of his decision not to accept either of the
positions.

In the absence of its own funding, athletics limped
along. Without a separate budget the department lost its
independence and any remaining autonomy. Finally, the
University Comptroller took over the department's account.
In the fall of 1932, M.L. Davis notified Stagg's secretary
that his intention was: "To place the accounting for the
receipts and expenses of the Department of Athletics on the
same basis as for other departments...we wish to establish
a system of audit and balance with your office month by
month." The financial report of 1931-1932 consisted of
a list of expenses and revenues; the department files contain no financial report for 1932-1933, Stagg's final year. In January of 1933, the comptroller notified the president that the athletics account was overdrawn by several thousand dollars and requested that a report covering expense estimates for the winter and spring quarters be made. Although Stagg was ill in New York with bronchial pneumonia at the time, a report was submitted estimating a budget deficit of $51,896.63 as of June 30, 1933.

At the end of Stagg's reign, student coverage of university athletics was resigned and sarcastic: "These teams are still doing business...on just about the same standard of promise. That standard, as those familiar with Chicago teams know, is not one of championships." "As things are at present, the Maroon teams generally will be outclassed by their competition. There is no back door into the University for an athlete merely as an athlete." The only cause for optimism lay in the individual sports of fencing, track, and gymnastics.

If Stagg wanted to remain in his field, his chosen profession of coaching, he had no choice but to leave the university altogether. With enormous regret, he considered his options, but retirement never entered his mind. He harbored few hopes of catching on with a larger university because of his age and recent losing record.
and understood that convincing anyone of his competence would be difficult, "but I honestly believe that such is the fact." He also considered his "honesty" a liability: "Unfortunately, some universities do not want an honest coach." So Stagg resigned himself to going to a "minor league," "to start building up as I did 41 years ago at Chicago."

In the meantime, his son lobbied on behalf of his father for the coaching position at the University of Notre Dame. In a heartfelt letter to Notre Dame officials, Alonzo Jr. listed the reasons why his father had the necessary attributes and qualifications for the position. He described Stagg as "frugal," "witty" and "humorous:" "He is a hard worker, works all the time, and my mother works with him...He is one of the best speakers of all coaches in emotional building up prior to games... his keying up talks between halves are masterpieces." Alonzo noted that his father "has made the University of Chicago over $1,000,000 since the war over current running expenses." Perhaps to refute some of the most recent criticisms of the elder Stagg, the son assured Notre Dame that his dad was "greatly interested in intramural activities." Stagg was not offered the job.

In early February of 1933, Metcalf appointed Clark Shaughnessy of Loyola University of New Orleans as the new football coach at Chicago. At the same time, Stagg
accepted a football coaching position at the College of the Pacific, telling his good friend Joseph Raycroft: "President Hutchins dubbed his approach shot, and to mix my metaphors I would say also he played 'dirty football,'... and I could not stay."¹³⁷

While no longer Director of Physical Culture and Athletics, Stagg still submitted his last report to the president for the department. In a brief, one-page, narrative of the year's events, Stagg noted the demoralizing impact of the first year of non-compulsory physical education, as seen in the small attendance in most of the courses. In the shadow of the economic depression and the imposition of "strict economy in all departments," intramurals participation showed only a slight loss. Finally, Stagg recorded thehirings of Metcalf and Shaughnessy. Continuing to refer to himself as the "director," Stagg indicated his retirement from the university and his intention to take up work at the College of the Pacific, in Stockton, California. After forty-one years of service, Stagg retired on June 30, 1933.¹³⁸

With Stagg's departure, the university had not yet purged itself of what many believed to be an extraneous, contradictory, illegitimate relationship between athletics and higher education as symbolized by intercollegiate football; that would come six years later when the Maroons played their final season in the Fall of 1939. But with
Stagg gone, so was the pretense of aspiration to greatness on the gridiron. As Robert Morss Lovett concluded:

In the end, football at the University of Chicago became subject to the same evils as in other institutions - the recruiting of players, relaxation of academic standards to make players available, boastful excitement throughout the student body before, and bitter recrimination after, the big game. The University of Chicago has atoned for the errors of its youth by being the first of the larger American universities to sweep out the whole mess of intercollegiate athletics.

* * *

If Stagg regretted staying at Chicago for 41 years, he did not say so, but he must have wondered what he could have accomplished had the university embraced intercollegiate athletics, instead of letting it die a slow death. Petitioning to the bitter end for "one more year" to vindicate himself and his reputation, the aged warrior refused to admit defeat. There was a great deal at stake. Stagg and Chicago athletics were synonymous; the university gave him the opportunity to become an acclaimed football coach and prominent proponent of physical health, and, in turn, Stagg helped put the new institution on the map. Furthermore, Stagg did not believe in retirement, nor would he give up athletics: "I'd rather die in action than sit still all day and feel that I was no longer an athlete." His loyalty to the university was irrefutable, but he was not willing to change careers at the age of 70. Coaching was what he knew; it was his
identity, and he would keep practicing his profession beyond the age of 90.

Stagg was an uncommon individual who bridged the Victorian and Progressive eras, borrowing freely from the past and anticipating the future, and was ready to capitalize on the "roaring twenties." He appealed to so many different sensibilities. Morally, he was old fashioned and conservative; he sought comfort in the values and manners of the past where there was right and wrong, no in between. At the same time, he was very modern, a remarkable innovator, who anticipated and provoked change, particularly in the game of football. Although, Stagg's belief in and commitment to the moral application of amateur athletics is foreign to today's image of commercial collegiate athletics, his program, started in 1892, is not. One hundred years later, "big-time," for-profit, college athletics recognizes itself in Stagg and the system he built at Chicago; the stakes were smaller, perhaps, but the rules and the goals were basically the same. Trying to emulate Stagg's experience is not a solution to the current crisis of intercollegiate athletics, as many have suggested; instead, his story is the beginning, the first step in understanding how we arrived at the present.
NOTES


3. Ibid., 220.

4. Ibid., Appendix II, 293.

5. Department finances, Box 22, Folders 7, 8, AASP.

6. President's Report 1929-1930, Box 18, Folder 30, AASP, p. 1. The budget dropped to a mere $130,000.


10. Lester, "The Rise," Table 9, 305.

11. "The University of Chicago National Basketball Tournament," 6 April 1929, Box 65, Folder 11, AASP.

12. Ibid., 2.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.


16. Shyne to Harold Hillenbrand, 4 March 1930, Box 11 Folder 20, National Catholic Interscholastic Basketball Tournament, Archival Collection, Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois. Hereafter cited as NCIBT.
17. Harold Hillenbrand to Rev. Leo Kerrigan, 23 January 1930, Box 1 Folder 12, NCIBT.

18. Bro. Justin, C.S.C., to Harold Hillenbrand, 30 March 1929, Box 8, Folder 19, NCIBT.

19. Hillenbrand to Kerrigan, 23 January 1930, NCIBT.

20. Harold Hillenbrand to Rev. Bro. Liquori, 4 February 1930, Box 9, Folder 42, NCIBT.


22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. "Excerpt from a letter written by AAS," no date, Box 1, Folder 12, NCIBT.


27. Ibid., 29-30.

28. Ibid., 29-30.

29. Whitten to Members, 6 May 1930, Box 65, Folder 13, AASP.

30. H.O. Crisler to Tighe, 13 February 1929, Box 65, Folder 11, AASP.

31. Crisler to Stagg, 23 April 1930, Box 65, Folder 12(?), AASP. Crisler was right, the National Federation was not worried about the National Catholic, yet.


33. Chicago Tribune, 9 April 1930, p. 29.

34. Ibid; President's Report, 1930-1931, Box 18, Folder 31, AASP, p. 3; Lester, "The Rise," 213.

35. Voltmer, A Brief History, 82.
36. Ibid., 82; Voltmer gives the date of the Conference meeting to discuss N.C.A. athletic inspection as 18 April 1931.

37. Ibid.

38. President's Report, 1930-1931, Box 18, Folder 31, AASP, p. 3; Smith, "Maroons Abandon," Chicago Tribune, 9 December 1930. Chicago's Interscholastic Track meet was not the object of criticism and was allowed to continue.


41. President's Report, 1930-1931, Box 18, Folder 31, AASP, p. 1; Minutes, Board of Physical Culture and Athletics, 7 May 1931, Box 18, Folder 9, AASP; also see Box 19, Folder 17, AASP.

42. President's Report, 1930-1931, Box 18, Folder 31, AASP, p. 2.

43. For numerous examples see: Box 19, Folder 7, AASP.

44. Stagg to Mr. Filberg, 2 July 1931, Box 19, Folder 7, AASP.


46. Ibid.

47. Lester, "The Rise," 227; Dr. Reed no longer reported to Stagg, having been moved into the sciences and made Director of the Health Service and Professor of Hygiene and Bacteriology.

48. C.S. Boucher to Stagg, et al., 10 February 1931, Box 11, Folder 8, AASP.

49. Gertrude Dudley to Stagg, 11 February 1931, Box 11, Folder 8, AASP.

50. Stagg, draft of letter, 20 February 1931, Box 19, Folder 17, AASP.
51. Stagg to Dean C.S. Boucher, 20 February 1931, Box 19, Folder 17, AASP, pp. 1-3; Dr. Dudley B. Reed, A.A. Stagg, Gertrude Dudley, Mr. T.J.J. Christian to Dean Boucher, Statement on Required Physical Education, Box 18, Folder 1, AASP.

52. Stagg to C.S. Boucher, 20 February 1931, Box 19, Folder 17, AASP, p. 2.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., 3.


56. "Excerpts," Stagg to his sisters, 30 November 1931, unaccessioned papers, Stagg Special Collections, Stagg High School, Palos, Illinois. Hereafter cited as SSC. Although, he passed well, according to Stagg, he had "no unusual gifts to run with the ball."


58. Stagg to Paul Stagg, 17 May 1931, Box 2, Folder 15, AASP.

59. He joined the Presbyterian church as a youth, worked for the interdenominational YMCA while at Yale, became a Baptist at Chicago, and was buried by the Methodists in Stockton, California.

60. J.B. Griswold, "You Don't have to be Born with it," The American Magazine (November 1931): 2-5.

61. "Excerpts," Stagg to his sisters, 4 April 1931, 26 October 1931, SSC.


64. Ibid., 206.


66. Ibid., 230.

68. President's Report, 1931-1932, Box 18, Folder 31, AASP, p. 2; Voltmer, A Brief, 38.

69. Voltmer, A Brief, 37; President's Report, 1930-1931, Box 18, Folder 31, AASP, p. 1.

70. Voltmer, A Brief, 37.

71. "Amos Alonzo Stagg's Talk at the Ceremonies of the Laying of the Corner Stone of the University of Chicago Field House," 8 October 1931, SSC.


73. "Amos Alonzo Stagg's Talk at the Ceremonies...," 8 October 1931, SSC.

74. President's Report, 1931-1932, Box 18, Folder 31, AASP, p. 1.

75. Ibid. The Board of the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics was not singled out as the only casualty of the reorganization. Other boards slated for elimination included those for admissions, laboratories, the museum, University Extension, Alumni Relations, and many student organizations: Memo from the Office of the Registrar, Graduate Faculty Meeting, 18 January 1932, Box 18, Folder 9, AASP.

76. Gertrude Dudley to Stagg, 27 October 1931, Box 11, Folder 8, AASP.

77. President's Report, 1931-1932, Box 18, Folder 31, AASP, p. 1.

78. Executive Committee to the College Faculty, Recommendation, Box 19, Folder 17, AASP, p. 4. Stagg wrote that students had been in favor of abolishing the requirement 3 to 1: Stagg to H. Harrison Clarke, 2 June 1932, Box 19, Folder 17, AASP.

79. Executive Committee to the College Faculty, Recommendation, 18 May 1932, Box 19, Folder 17, AASP, p. 5.

80. Executive Committee to the College Faculty, Recommendation, 18 May 1932, Box 19, Folder 17, AASP, p. 6. Interestingly, it seems Stagg served on this Executive Committee as a representative for the Department of
Physical Culture and Athletics: Stagg to Dean C.S. Boucher, 22 January 1932, Box 8, Folder 9, AASP.


82. President's Report 1929-1930, Box 18, Folder 30, AASP, p. 1.

83. Dean Boucher to Stagg, 7 June 1932, Box 8, Folder 9, AASP.

84. President's Report, 1929-1930, Box 18, Folder 30, AASP.

85. Stagg to W.E. Nissla, 14 April 1931, Box 76, Folder 5, AASP.

86. Stagg to W.E. Nissla, 15 June 1932, Box 76, Folder 5, AASP.

87. Stagg to John Lynch, 7 July 1932; Bob Howard to Stagg, 20 July 1932, Box 76, Folder 5, AASP.

88. John Lynch to Stagg, 11 July 1932, Box 76, Folder 5, AASP.

89. Stagg to Bob Howard, 22 July 1932, Box 76, Folder 5, AASP.

90. Stagg to Reverend E.C. Holton, Loyola University, 18 July 1932, Box 18, Folder 5, AASP.


92. Memorandum Regarding the Intramural Athletic Situation at the University of Chicago in 1932," Dictated 13 July 1932, Box 76, Folder 5, AASP, pp. 1-2.

93. "Memorandum Regarding the Intramural Athletic Situation at the University of Chicago in 1932," Dictated 13 July 1932, Box 76, Folder 5, AASP, p. 2.

94. Ibid.
95. Ibid., 3.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid., 4.
100. Ibid., 8.
102. Ibid., 226-227.
103. "Memorandum Regarding the Intramural Athletic Situation at the University of Chicago in 1932," Dictated 13 July 1932, Box 76, Folder 5, AASP, p. 1.
104. Reed to Stagg, 26 November 1919, Box 12, Folder 11, AASP.
106. Reed to Stagg, 17 April 1931, Box 12, Folder 14, AASP.
107. Stagg to Frank Whitney, Alumni Representative to the Board of Physical Culture, no date, Box 19, Folder 17, AASP.
108. Referring to the faculty's recognition of credit for intramural participation, Reed reminded Stagg that instructors for intramurals should be made available: Reed to Stagg, 21 October 1931, Box 12, Folder 14, AASP. But Stagg still asserted his authority whenever possible notifying Reed that he wanted to be informed of any large expenses for athletes sent to the hospital: Stagg to Reed, 7 May 1931, Box 12, Folder 14, AASP.
109. Reed to Stagg, 28 September 1932, Box 12, Folder 14, AASP.
110. Reed to Stagg, 24 October 1932, Box 12, Folder 14, AASP.
111. Stagg to Reed, 25 October 1932, Box 12, Folder 14, AASP.
113. Ibid., 232; Stagg to Wardner Williams, 26 January 1933, Box 96, Folder 5, AASP.
114. Stagg to Wardner Williams, 26 January 1933, Box 96, Folder 5, AASP.

117. "Excerpts," Stagg to his sisters, 8 November 1932, unaccessioned papers, SSC.


119. Ibid., 3.

120. Stagg to Wardner Williams, 26 January 1933, Box 96, Folder 5, AASP.

121. Lester, "The Rise," 232-233; Stagg to Wardner Williams, 26 January 1933, Box 96, Folder 5, AASP; Stagg to James Naismith, 27 January 1933, Box 95, Folder 5, AASP.


123. Ibid., 232.

124. Miss Power to Stagg, 26 October 1931 and M.L. Davis to Miss Power, 28 October 1932, Box 11, Folder 19, AASP.

125. Financial Statements, 1931-1932, 1932-1933, Department of Physical Culture and Athletics, Box 22, Folder 8, AASP.

126. President's Office to AAS, 5 January 1933, Box 19, Folder 15, AASP.

127. Miss Power to Frederic Woodward, President's Office, 9 January 1933 and Budget Estimates, Winter-Spring 1933, Department of Physical Culture and Athletics, Box 19, Folder 15, AASP.

128. *The University of Chicago Magazine* XXV, no. 3 (January 1933): 137; and XXV, no. 4 (February 1933): 190.

129. *The University of Chicago Magazine* XXV, no. 5 (March 1933): 239; and XXV, no. 6 (April 1933): 288.

130. Stagg to Wardner Williams, 26 January 1933, and Stagg to Dr. O.H. Looney, 26 January 1933, Box 96, Folder 5, AASP; also see: Stagg to James Naismith, 27 January 1933, Box 96, Folder 5, AASP.

131. Stagg to Wardner Williams, 26 January 1933, Box 96, Folder 5, AASP.
132. Stagg to Christy Walsh, 27 January 1933, Box 96, Folder 5, AASP.

133. Stagg to Wardner Williams, 26 January 1933, Box 96, Folder 5, AASP.

134. Stagg to Christy Walsh, 27 January 1933, Box 96, Folder 5, AASP.

135. Amos Alonzo Stagg, Jr., "Amos Alonzo Stagg," 16 January 1933, SSC.

136. "Physical Culture and Athletics," 1932-1933, Box 22, Folder 8, AASP.

137. Stagg to Joseph Raycroft, 8 February 1933, Box 96, Folder 5, AASP.

138. President's Report, 1932-1933, Box 18, Folder 31, AASP.

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