

Excellent Grammar Schools High School  AN EDUCATED AND REFINED COMMUNITY  A COLLEGE TOWN AMONG THE ORANGE GROVES A sixty thousand dollar public library	ELECTRIC RAILWAY NOW BEING BUILT Streets Lighted With Tungsten Electric Lamps BEST LIGHTED Town in Southern California LARGE ATHLETIC GROUNDS AND PARKS FINE GYMNASIUM AND OBSERVATORY	AMONG THE ORANGE GROVES CLAREMONT LOS ANGELES COUNTY CALIFORNIA THIRTY-FIVE MILES EAST OF LOS ANGELES ON THE A. T. & S. F. R. R.
ELEVATION 1200 FEET HOME OF Pomona College THE LOS ANGELES TIMES SAYS: "Pomona College has a splendid cam- pus, a handsome and valuable group of buildings, and a fine lot of students. Fine location in every way ideal, and in the whole realm of education it would be difficult to find a more charming spot than that occupied at Claremont." One of the best known and strong- est institutions of learning west of the Rocky Mountains. NO LIQUORS SOLD HERE NO POOL ROOMS NO BETTER HOME TOWN ANYWHERE POPULATION 1500	ORANGE GROWING THE LARGEST INDUSTRY Center of a large orange growing district TWO LARGE PACKING HOUSES Claremont has never been boomed, but has made a phenomenal growth. Beautiful home sites to be secured at reasonable prices. Assessed valuation ten years ago \$228,000 NOW ONE AND A HALF MILLIONS BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES	NEAR THE FOOTHILLS Fortunately situated as to climatic conditions PRACTICALLY FROSTLESS Many of the finest orange groves in the world are located in this district The best auto roads in Southern California ON FOOTHILL BOULEVARD FROM LOS ANGELES TO REDLANDS FOUR MILES FROM POMONA POPULATION 1800

"A College Town among the Orange Groves," real estate brochure
for Claremont College in 1920 (Document 5.4)

5.5: College Sports Reform: Howard J. Savage's 1929 Report for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching

This report was featured as a front-page headline story in newspapers nationwide in
October 1929. Primary author Howard J. Savage and his research team examined the

Howard J. Savage, Harold W. Bentley, John T. McGovern, and Dean F. Smiley, M.D., *American Col-
lege Athletics*, Bulletin Number Twenty-Three (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement
of Teaching, 1929). Reprinted by permission of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of
Teaching.

history, conduct, and values of sports and games in American universities, colleges, and schools; the development of the modern amateur status; the administrative control of college athletics; athletic participation and its results; the hygiene of athletic training; the coach in college athletics; athletic conferences and associations; the recruiting and subsidizing of athletes; and the relation of the press to college sport. The report includes an appendix with statistical materials and excerpts from correspondence to recruit college athletes. A preface by Henry S. Pritchett titled "Athletics, an Element in the Evolution of the American University" begins the volume. *American College Athletics* was undertaken at the request of the Association of American Colleges, the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States, the National Collegiate Athletic Association, and other representative bodies.

II Nothing in the educational régime of our higher institutions perplexes the European visitor so much as the role that organized athletics play. On a crisp November afternoon he finds many thousands of men and women, gathered in a great amphitheater, wildly cheering a group of athletes who are described to him as playing a game of football, but who seem to the visitor to be engaged in a battle. He is the more mystified when he discovers that of the thousands of onlookers, not one in a hundred understands the game or can follow the strategy of the two teams. At the end, the vast majority of the onlookers only know, like old Kaspar of Blenheim, that "'t was a famous victory" for one university or the other.

When the visitor from the European university has pondered the matter, he comes to his American university colleagues with two questions:

"What relation has this astonishing display to the work of an intellectual agency like a university?"

"How do students, devoted to study, find either the time or the money to stage so costly a performance?"

III This study undertakes to answer these questions, not for the foreigner so much as for thoughtful Americans both in and out of the university. In undertaking this study the Foundation has sought sincerely after the facts. It has got information at first hand and has aimed to marshal it, in this report, in such form as will enable the student of education to apprehend the process through which the present athletic situation has come about, and the reaction of this development upon the scholarly and social life of the universities, colleges and schools.

The study has been carried out, and its results are here set forth, in no captious or faultfinding spirit. It has been assumed that there is a legitimate place in the

secondary school and in the college for organized sports, that such sports contribute, when employed in a rational way, to the development both of character and of health. The report is a friendly effort to help toward a wise solution as to the place of such sports in our educational system. It has been necessary, in order to render this service, to set forth the abuses and excesses that have grown up. This has been done with the most painstaking effort to be fair, as well as just. A statement with respect to each institution mentioned has been communicated to its officers before going to press.

VI The college president or teacher interested in the place of organized sports in American colleges and the effects of these upon the intellectual life of his college will desire to go carefully into the details as set forth in the chapters of this report. On the other hand, experience shows that few busy men find the time to read a detailed report. It is also realized to-day, in all fields of public action, that the facts must be presented in a form available to the intelligent layman as well as to the professional student. In the matter of the public health, for example, it is clear that the public must be educated in the knowledge of the fundamental facts concerning health and disease before any great advance in the health of the nation can be effected. The same thing is true of education. The public must gain some clear notion of tendencies, the limitations, and the cost of our school system before any general advance in educational effectiveness is likely to result. I have therefore sought to condense into a single chapter the essential facts brought out by this study, and to indicate their relation to the process of public education as conducted in present-day American universities, colleges, and schools. The great expansion of college sports is not an isolated fact in our educational development. It is characteristic of the transformation through which the college has gone in the last five decades.

To make clear to the reader what has happened, one can scarcely do better than to answer the questions of the European visitor just quoted. What has organized sport to do with the work of an intellectual agency which the university and the college are conceived to be? And how can college boys find the time or the money to maintain so costly a display for popular entertainment?

VII In brief these questions can be answered in the following terms:

In the United States the composite institution called a university is doubtless still an intellectual agency. But it is also a social, a commercial, and an athletic agency, and these activities have in recent years appreciably overshadowed the intellectual life for which the university is assumed to exist.

In the second place, the football contest that so astonishes the foreign visitor is not a student's game, as it once was. It is highly organized commercial enterprise. The athletes who take part in it have come up through the years of training; they are commanded by professional coaches; little if any personal initiative of ordinary play is left to the player. The great matches are highly profitable enterprises. Sometimes the profits go to finance college sports, sometimes to pay the cost of the sports amphitheater, in some cases the college authorities take a slice of the profits for college buildings.

XIV The preceding pages have dealt with a complicated situation of which organized athletics are but one factor. It remains to summarize the particular defects and excesses of present-day athletic contests as set forth in detail in the chapters of this report. The game of football looms large in any account of the growth of professionalism in college games. This does not mean that other sports are untouched by the influences that have converted football into a professional vocation.

The unfavorable results upon students through the athletic development may be briefly stated in the following terms:

1. The extreme development of competitive games in the colleges has reacted upon the secondary schools. The college athlete begins his athletic career before he gets to college.
2. Once in college the student who goes in for competitive sports, and in particular for football, finds himself under a pressure, hard to resist to give his whole time and thought to his athletic career. No college boy training for a major team can have much time for thought or study.
3. The college athlete, often a boy from a modest home, finds himself suddenly a most important man in the college life. He begins to live on a scale never before imagined. A special table is provided. Sport clothes and expensive trips are furnished him out of the athletic chest. He jumps at one bound to a plane of living of which he never before knew, all at the expense of some fund of which he knows little. When he drops back to a scale of living such as his own means can afford, the result is sometimes disastrous.
4. He works (for it is work, not play) under paid professional coaches whose business it is to develop the boy to be an effective unit in a team. The coach of to-day is no doubt a more cultivated man than the coach of twenty years

ago. But any father who has listened to the professional coaching a college team will have some misgivings as to the cultural value of the process.

5. Inter-college athletics are highly competitive. Every college or university longs for a winning team in its group. The coach is on the alert to bring the most promising athletes in the secondary schools to his college team. A system of recruiting and subsidizing has grown up, under which boys are offered pecuniary and other inducements to enter a particular college. The system is demoralizing and corrupt, alike for the boy who takes the money and for the agent who arranges it, and for the whole group of college and secondary school boys who know about it.
6. Much discussion has been had as to the part the college graduate should have in the government of his college. In the matter of competitive athletics the college alumnus has, in the main, played a sorry role. It is one thing for an "old grad" to go back and coach the boys of his college as at Oxford or Cambridge, where there are no professional coaches and no gate receipts. It is quite another thing for an American college graduate to pay money to high school boys, either directly or indirectly, in order to enlist their services for a college team. The process is not only unsportsmanlike, it is immoral to the last degree. The great body of college graduates are wholly innocent in this matter. Most college men wish their college to win. Those who seek to compass that end by recruiting and subsidizing constitute a small, but active, minority, working oftentimes without the knowledge of the college authorities. This constitutes the most disgraceful phase of recent inter-college athletics.
7. The relation of organized sports to the health of college students is not a simple question. The information to deal with it completely is not yet at hand. A chapter of the report is devoted to this subject. In general it may be said that the relation of college organized sports to health of the individual student is one dependent on the good sense exhibited by the college boy in participating in such sports, and to the quality of the advice he receives from the college medical officer.
8. For many games the strict organization and the tendency to commercialize the sport has taken the joy out of the game. In football, for example, great numbers of boys do not play football, as in English schools and colleges, for the fun of it. A few play intensely. The great body of students are onlookers.

9. Finally, it is to be said that the blaze of publicity in which the college athlete lives is a demoralizing influence for the boy himself and no less so for his college.

XVI The process of developing our composite four-story educational structure—elementary school, secondary school, college, and university—was, until recently, highly competitive. The colleges of twenty years ago competed for students in much the same way in which the railroads competed for passengers. Admission requirements were cut as the railroads cut rates. The attractions of athletic distinction were added to the other reasons for choosing a particular college. In some states the colleges depleted the secondary schools in order to fill their own ranks.

The process has been successful beyond all expectations. An artificial market in college attendance has been created beyond the ability of the colleges to supply. The pressure to seek students has gone by. The problem to-day is how to deal with the ever-increasing army of applicants for admission to the college door. The elementary school points the boy to the secondary school, and the secondary school points the youth at eighteen or nineteen to the college. Down the long vista of the years from six to eighteen our educational system points to one door—the college-university.

Consequences of great moment result from this rigid organization.

Many boys and girls whose usefulness and happiness would be best sought in a commercial or industrial trade are carried into the college by the mere sweep of the tide. Insensibly but inevitably the intellectual quality of the college is softened in order to meet the capacity of those who must be cared for. In some institutions, notably in some tax-supported universities, where graduation from any high school automatically admits to the state college, the incoming class is in large measure got rid of in the examinations of the freshman year, a costly process and one entirely unjust to a great number of the youth of both sexes.

In the third place, the program of carrying great masses of young people through college, with little regard to their intellectual fitness, translates itself in terms of cost that is growing at an alarming rate. In no other nation is mass production in higher education attempted at public cost. Aside from the social and intellectual objections to such a process, the financial load will in time become too heavy even for our rich nation.

In this situation the athletic competition has played a minor part. The num-

ber of those who go to college or who remain in it for the sake of engaging in its commercialized and highly advertised college sports is relatively small. But as far as it goes the history of inter-college athletics points straight at the fact that our system of public education, democratic as it is, has been evolved in great haste under the stimulus of competition and with all too little of wise thinking either as to the intellectual quality of the higher institution or the economic and vocational needs of the great body of children who enter the elementary school and find therein their ideals of life and their choice of a means of support. We hear much inspiring talk touching the ideals of college life. This is as it should be. But no nation can afford in its educational system to forget that to the great mass of mankind an honest job, performed in good spirit, is the road to moral soundness and to social contentment.

We need now to deal with the educational system as a whole with the purpose both to serve the needs of the great majority who ought not to go to college and to preserve at the same time the intellectual quality of those who can and ought to seek the higher education. Fortunately, justice to the vocational need and ministry to the intellectual aspirations lie along the same path.

The weakness of the American university as it exists to-day lies in its lack of intellectual sincerity. It stands nominally for high intellectual ideals. Its effort at intellectual leadership is diluted with many other efforts in fields wholly foreign to this primary purpose. Inter-college athletics form only one of these.

Our competitive stage of university building ought now to cease. We have more universities in name than we need, if they are to be universities in the sense of sincere scholarship. We have passed the pioneer stage of nation building. Our nation has traveled at a rapid pace this last generation. The duty of to-day is to readapt our public educational system as a whole to a sincere conception of education conceived to meet the actual needs and aspirations of all the people, which shall be sincere alike in the things of the mind and the spirit as well as in those of the daily job. To inaugurate such a fundamental and far-reaching study of what can and ought to be done is the most important national problem that confronts us. The college and the university were merged not as the result of deliberation but hurriedly. Whether they ought to remain permanently united is yet to be determined. Our situation to-day is one of confusion. Thoughtful and able men are concerned both for the American college and for the university. To integrate our composite structure in terms of the intellectual, social, and moral aspirations of the whole people is the vital need that confronts us.

Definitions

Athletics in American colleges and universities form a part of those diversions of college life generally termed either *outside activities*, in the sense that they lie beyond the academic requirements of the institution, or *student activities*, as representing one means whereby students may exercise their abilities and predilections apart from the strictly educational or academic routine. *Extramural athletics* are understood to be those branches of competitive sports and games in which duly authorized undergraduates representing a university, a college, or a school meet in contests representatives of other institutions or organizations. Thus, strictly speaking, a college soccer team which plays against the team of a local amateur club participates in extramural but not intercollegiate athletics. *Intercollegiate athletics* are those branches of undergraduate sports and games in which duly authorized representatives of one institution of higher education meet in contests with those of another. Similar distinctions should be borne in mind respecting school athletics. *Intramural athletics* comprise those games and contests in which duly matriculated students, undergraduates, graduates, or both, contend against other contestants of similar status in the same institution. In the course of an intramural schedule, however, a dormitory team which plays principally against fraternity, other dormitory, and class teams, may undertake a game with a school or some other body that is not an integral part of the institution to which the team belongs.

Mention should also be made of three distinctions which, although too little recognized, have grown in importance since 1913. The first of these distinctions is connoted by the terms *control* and *guidance*. The second is the essential difference between, on the one hand, the regulation of college athletics by faculty members whose professional interests centre primarily upon things of the mind, and on the other, control by faculty members whose professional interests concern the development of the body, or "physical education" in its accepted sense. The third distinction lies between (1) a college program of physical education which includes only such matters as athletic sports and games, intercollegiate and intramural, corrective exercises, and rather perfunctory discussion of certain aspects of social hygiene set forth in a few lectures to large groups, and (2) a college program which includes some or all of these matters, but has for its ultimate and sincere purpose the fitting of young men and women to understand in a general way the relationships of hygiene in the broadest sense of the term to their

own lives, to the end that they may intelligently conduct this phase of their own careers.

In the present study *physical education* denotes primarily that phase of college or school instruction which has for its principal purpose the development of bodily strength and well-being and muscular coordination among its participants. The wider implications of the term include, as just indicated, instruction in personal and social hygiene, in exercises calculated to correct physical or nervous defects, and in the use for purposes of instruction of competitive games and contests that until recent years have figured principally as college pastimes. Physical education, therefore, extends its field to deal with mental, physical, social, and moral health. Frequently the terms *educational* and *education* are employed in contrast to commercialism.

Commercialism in sport is the placing of a higher value upon monetary and material returns, whether direct or indirect, from any athletic activity than is placed upon its returns in recreation, health, and physical and moral well-being.

A sentence uttered by Professor Percy Hughes, of Lehigh University, at the dedication of the University of Nebraska stadium, expresses a contrast which is all too often ignored in considering college athletics: "We train the body, only the mind is capable of education." Finally, it must be taken for granted that *sportsmanship*, which in its essential manifestation is merely the operation of the golden rule and of the attitude of the gentleman (in the American sense) in competitive contests, is a desirable social phenomenon. The development of the qualities included in the term "sportsmanship" is possible not alone in all species of contests and games but in all of the other social aspects of life.

"Shopping-Round"

"Shopping-round" is the soliciting by a prospective college athlete of financial assistance in the form of a scholarship or other aid at a college or a private school in exchange for athletic participation, in such a fashion that the offers, real or imagined, from one institution are used to procure offers or overtures from another. The causes and results of this process, as regards the college or university, will be discussed in their appropriate connections. For the moment we are concerned only with its effect upon the schoolboy.

Perhaps the most important single result of "shopping-round" upon the schoolboy's character is the engendering of a purely materialistic attitude at an

age when his outlook upon life is naturally quite the opposite. A lad hears tales of "easy money" made by his fellows merely from a game that he plays for fun. Some of these other boys he knows to be less expert than he. Now, a youth of college or school age is rarely supplied so generously with money that he cannot use more, and so, when a means of capitalizing athletic ability presents itself, its temptations are likely to be too strong to be resisted. Not infrequently the reasoning runs thus: Others get subsidies through "shopping-round." Why should n't I? I can use the money as well as anyone else. If money is to be had, I am a fool not to get my share. The boy puts out feelers in the form of letters to coaches or alumni of a few colleges. Much of the lad's character and future career depends upon the replies which he receives to those first communications. If his correspondents answer him sharply and wisely that they and their institutions do not countenance athletic subsidies, he may be brought to realize the implications of his course in time to abandon it. If, on the other hand, a correspondent indicates a willingness to go deeper into the boy's case, the way is open to striking a secret bargain which in time may convert that boy into an athletic impostor, and place the university or college in a position of deceit with relation to other institutions. These remarks are not theoretical. They are grounded in the history of many cases in which precisely these debasing things have happened to scores of youths, schools, and colleges.

The process of corrupting a boy's ideals, as just outlined, is not confined to the private schoolboy and the college. It exists between the public schoolboy and the private school, and the public schoolboy and the college. One of its most astonishing results was the "Intercollegiate Athletic Bureau."

Fundamental Considerations in Intercollegiate Contests

When two institutions compete in athletics the ends involved belong less to the fields usually labeled "educational" than to what one university president has called "the pageantry of college life." There probably are moral values to be developed from a game well played or a race well run, but they accrue less from the final contest than from the period of preparation and training. Partly for this reason, the fundamental purpose of intercollegiate contests ought to be the diversion or development of undergraduates, alumni, other members of the college family, and their guests. As matters now stand, their fundamental purpose is financial and commercial. The monetary and material returns from intercollegiate athletics are valued far more highly than their returns in play, sport, and bodily and moral well-being.

The observation is especially true of football, but it holds good for other branches of athletics as well, except rowing and fencing and, perhaps, squash racquets. Football carries the bulk of the monetary burden. Any other branch than can be so administered as to leave untouched some of the profits from football thereby augments the sums that can be expended on improving athletic facilities and university buildings. This commercial aspect is illustrated in the making of football schedules, especially when they include games to be played on "neutral" grounds. It is almost universal. In New England, traditional rivalry may outweigh it (Amherst, Bowdoin, Wesleyan, Williams), and in some other parts of the East as well. But in Pennsylvania two universities (Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh) reshaped their athletic policies with a view to higher profits from contests. Even in instances where football receipts have reached hundreds of thousands of dollars, games with well-established rivals have been abandoned if they have involved financial loss (New York University and Syracuse; Ohio State and University of Iowa). The Missouri Valley Conference was reorganized to eliminate four financially unprofitable institutions. In the Intercollegiate Conference, the cry is "We've got to have money." The fundamental principles of athletic profits are so well known that the losses occasioned by the Carnegie Institute of Technology-Georgetown football game in 1928 occasioned much newspaper comment. In short, the commercialization of intercollegiate athletic policy in the United States is undeniable. In Canada, university rivalry is no less keen, games are no less enjoyable, and sport is not less well served because its monetary aspects are less magnified. Other powerful materialistic considerations enter into the shaping of athletic policy. The supposed advertising values of success at football and a few other branches has led some institutions to charge certain athletic expenses to advertising, and others to render a naïve and undue regard to the notice which a victorious team or an athletic event attracts (Bellefonte Academy, Centre, Drake, Notre Dame, Southern California). Rowing appears to be the only major branch of intercollegiate athletics from which commercialism is absent. Even in cases where the formalities of bookkeeping do not involve charging expenses of a team to college advertising, the motive of advertising and publicity is often discernible. On the other hand, a college may become self-conscious with respect to losing teams and a defeat at football is regarded as a major tragedy. Alumni testify to great embarrassment because their football does not win from their dearest rival or is not numbered by sports writers and enthusiasts among the outstanding teams of the section (Brigham Young, Columbia, Cornell, Tufts). The exaggeration

of values occurs as frequently, if not more often, in institutions where the collegiate contests are very much curtailed (Emory, Reed). The inroads of money have been gradual and they have increased with the rise of costs in general, on the one hand, and with the seeming necessity of augmenting facilities and the luxuries of athletics, on the other, until they have dominated intercollegiate competition, especially, and unfortunately, in football.

The Purposes and Results of Intramural Athletics

It is generally agreed, if only in principle, that deep and probably lasting benefits are to be gained from well-administered intramural athletics. American intramural contests are even more characteristic of the American college than the American college is of the land which gave it birth. Intramural athletics stand among the natural phenomena of adolescence. The formalizing recognition of what we now call "intramural programs" only set a seal upon the dormitory and fraternity leagues, especially in baseball, which in an earlier day afforded part of that bodily relaxation and recreative exercise which every young man needs and will secure, whether under supervision or not. On the whole, American intramural athletics represent a sounder process of development and sounder aims and purposes than intercollegiate contests.

Yet intramural athletics of to-day manifest a few tendencies which impair somewhat their potential worth: First, there is such readiness to set on paper ambitious programs which are not put into practice and, indeed, cannot be for some time to come. Such a program is well enough if it be regarded as an ideal toward which the university or college is genuinely striving, but the best purposes of intramural athletics are not served by the acceptance of promises in lieu of performance. Another negative tendency is the intimate connection of intramural athletics with intercollegiate athletics under personnel that is interested primarily or exclusively in intercollegiate contests. Adequate facilities for excellent intramural programs may be available, but they lie comparatively idle except when intercollegiate schedules bring them into full use. Even more unfortunately, the time of an athletic staff may also be comparatively unoccupied except during the seasons of the branches in which they are particularly interested (Alabama, Coe, Dartmouth, Drake, Yale, various Southern universities). Finally, it is common to withhold the best athletes from intramural contests or segregate them into freshman squads which become mere nurseries for 'varsity groups. At those institutions, later to be discussed, which possess organized systems of recruiting,

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the men thus obtained are held so definitely segregated from the rest of the participants in general athletics that it is difficult to understand how coaches, directors, and others can be ignorant of their special status. Incidentally, in this sort of esoteric information resides much of the power of the commercially-minded director or coach. It is paradoxical that the "freshman rule" should have been instituted primarily to protect first-year athletes against too heavy encroachments upon their time and energy during those initial months of a college course which should be devoted to winning a place in the institution and laying a firm foundation in academic work. In the special training regimen that to-day exists for freshman squads, it is common for these young athletes to undergo as great a strain as they would in competing for university teams.

In spite of these defects, the general developments and purposes of American intramural athletics are more salutary than those which motivate intercollegiate contests. Especially worthy of praise in this particular are institutions (Amherst, California, Cornell, Harvard, McGill, Oberlin, Princeton, Stanford, Toronto, Wesleyan, Williams) at which the athletic needs of capabilities of entering students are determined by analysis of individual cases through physical examinations and tactful interviews, and advice is given as to which branches of athletics offer the most opportunities for future success, often as a welcome substitute for the physical training required for a degree. Once enlisted in the branch of athletic exercise appropriate to personal needs, the undergraduate finds his participation enlivened by the hope that he may some day represent the university. His youthful ambitions are stimulated and he is led at all times to do his best. The result is an attempt to enrich his own experience of athletics in a way that can yield much good.

Conversations with many athletes, as well as independent observation, prompts to the belief that, aside from academic requirements, the most common stimuli to competition in intramural sports are, first, loyalty to a group or organization, such as fraternity or club, and, secondly, a desire for relaxation from the rigorous training for intercollegiate contests, coupled with the "instinct" for play. Although expert 'varsity players choose to compete for intercollegiate teams in preference to participating in intramural contests, it appears probable that in most cases their motive is not so much the pleasure of the game as their connections with the larger group,—tinctured in many cases by a craving for publicity. Those who have been questioned in this particular were almost unanimous in their preference for the inter-fraternity or other intramural contests. If enjoyment and recreation are to be sought, it is significant that, with the exception of

larger institutions, few of the better intramural teams possess the ability to compete with representatives of other colleges. Occasionally, where an intramural team has displayed unusual talent and has won all or most of its games, efforts are made to arrange contests with extramural rivals.

The tests of a beneficial intramural program can be derived from close scrutiny of experience: the sincerity of the contests and the participants, their spontaneity and voluntary nature, and their persistence, or even their development, from year to year. The great adverse influence is perfunctoriness in administration or in play. Owing to the fact that not a few intramural programs have grown out of the prescription of physical training for a degree, participation easily becomes mere lax credit-seeking on the part of the student, or involves on the part of the director, a bewildered attempt to keep large numbers of men and women occupied.

At a number of institutions, however, it is not so much compulsion as guidance that undergraduate participants in intramural contests need and receive (Amherst, California, Dartmouth in winter sports, Harvard, Oklahoma, Princeton, Toronto, Wisconsin certainly in football). In such instances, and especially at institutions (Emory, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Reed, Stevens Institute) where intercollegiate games are curtailed or lacking altogether, the competitive tendency and the "instinct" for play have developed and enhanced each other. To achieve such a result at any college, the man or woman responsible for intramural contests needs certain qualities of the good teacher that are rare in their best manifestations: tact, enthusiasm, ingenuity, resourcefulness, and sympathetic understanding of youth. That intramural programs are in the best sense successful at so many universities and colleges should lead the most discouraged critics of intercollegiate athletics to take heart. The pity is that such beneficial results as are now being achieved are allowed to depend universally upon the financial prosperity of football.

Because of the development of intercollegiate competition, not so much in games as in its material and especially in its monetary aspects, its bearings as play have fallen largely into a subordinate position. The task confronting those concerned with the development of intramural athletics involves the restoration of play as recreation and diversion to its appropriate place in college life.

The Inherited Characteristics of Athletics

In a special study of the inheritance of athletes made for the present enquiry, Mr. Richard H. Post and Dr. Charles B. Davenport, Director of the Laboratory of Ex-

perimental Evolution of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, at Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, considered the inherited characteristics of some 587 athletes, belonging to fifty-four American families. Studies in this or related fields had already been made by, among others, Dr. Davenport, Sir Francis Galton in 1869, Dr. F. Bach in connection with 3,457 participants in the Munich Turnfest of 1923, and Dr. O. Schlaginhaufen in 1927. From these previous enquiries and from the newer data of Mr. Post and Dr. Davenport, a few fundamental inferences may be drawn respecting the inherited characteristics of athletes as contributory to their participation in athletics.

Sixty years ago, Sir Francis Galton showed that unusual ability in rowing and wrestling may "run in the family." By anthropometric measurements, Dr. Davenport fifty years later demonstrated that both stature and body-build are family traits. Dr. Bach concluded substantially that "it seems impossible that the sport-types have been formed exclusively by environmental influences. We must rather assume a genotype which directed its possessor to certain bodily exercises." In other words, the athlete's inheritance of physique not only predisposes him to athletics in general, but may even tend to direct him in his choice of branches for participation without his being fully aware of its influence. Thus a long-legged youth becomes a sprinter primarily because of his long legs. A short, stocky, powerful-shouldered man becomes a wrestler partly because of his build. The influences of initial success at some branch or the urgings of a trainer or a fellow-athlete are, from the point of view of genetics, secondary to the initial promptings of inherited physical characteristics. On the other hand, other environmental forces may inhibit or modify this native pre-disposition, and so not all long-legged boys become sprinters nor do all heavily built men become wrestlers.

The inheritance of traits of character is far less easily demonstrable. The studies of Dr. Davenport and Mr. Post have indicated a probability that a father's interest in athletics may result in a son's becoming an athlete, perhaps through the influence of home or other environmental conditions or the removal of prohibitions. Certainly, such qualities as self-assertion, physical energy, control of temper, coolness, fondness for publicity, persistence, and many more besides, are common in varying degree to all men. Some may be inherited in a higher degree than others. Apparently, participation in athletics develops, rather than implants, certain traits of character. After inherited physical conformation has predisposed some persons to athletic exercise, habituation emphasizes and heightens certain characteristics already present.

We turn now to the results of the environment, which, Professor Elmer D. Mitchell says, "is a more potent factor than heredity in the playing of athletic games." Given an inherited tendency to athletics, what conditions encourage the fulfilling of that tendency?

The Future Career as a Motive

In numbers of instances, voluntary participation in college athletics is prompted by considerations respecting the life career that the participant intends to enter. To the successful athlete who decides to capitalize his reputation, three roads are open: playing as a professional, coaching or work as director of physical education, and certain kinds of business.

Professional Athletics

Sharp connection for expert players has enhanced the value of the college athlete as a recruit to professional teams in football, baseball, hockey, basketball, and, in a very few instances, soccer. The influence of such overtures, even when the athlete is supposedly safeguarded from professional inducements and left to complete his college course, is overwhelmingly in the direction of commercializing college athletics. For example, during college games which "scouts" or promoters of professional teams attend in order to discover promising material, the players tend to become self-conscious, and if they make errors of play, they are commonly chided with such jibes as "That will cost you a job for next year," or "That will cost you money." In the South and Mid-West, the professionalizing motive apparently becomes strong in many athletes as early as their high school days, with the result that not a few players of baseball at school enter college merely to play on college teams in hopes of establishing reputations that will attract substantial offers from "scouts" and professional leagues. In such instances, the academic aspects of college or university life are naturally of comparatively minor importance. The awarding of scholarships or other aids to college athletes whose intentions to enter professional athletics as a career are known, is difficult to justify. On the other hand, not a few undergraduates who have received offers from professional teams after graduation have refused them from a variety of motives: previous selection of a different career, the fear of losing social position, parental objection, contrary advice from college officers and coaches, and other reasons. A further motive for professionalizing one's athletic career is discernible in cases

of athletes who have entered professional athletics after graduation in order to earn, readily and pleasantly, money to start themselves in business or in training for a profession. Certainly, to all forms of professional athletics, successful participation in college athletics affords a comparatively easy and enjoyable approach.

Payment for Participation in Intercollegiate Athletics

Because the matter of compensation to college athletics receives detailed discussion elsewhere in this study, it is sufficient to note here that the threat, expressed or implied, that a scholarship or subsidy may be withdrawn if the recipient athlete fails in athletic performance is a powerful compulsion to participation. The importance of athletics in the mind of the subsidized athlete necessarily dwarfs the importance of maintaining satisfactory academic standing.

A curious instance of the prevalence of this feeling occurred at a college where no athletics subsidies are in use. An athlete who had been awarded a scholarship on the grounds of his financial need and adequate academic standing, called upon the president and offered to resign his scholarship because, not having been selected as a member of the football team, he was not earning his stipend. Upon the president's asking what that had to do with the matter, the young man replied that it was his understanding that he had been receiving a football scholarship and that he could not continue to accept money that he did not deserve. It took the president longer than a few minutes to set matters straight in the athlete's mind.

Women's Sports

Sports for women, played under women's rules, are usually organized on an intramural basis. Most of the women's colleges, however, permit contests with other institutions of their kind, and some (Bryn Mawr, Wellesley) allow teams of undergraduates to meet teams representing approved women's amateur clubs. Branches of women's athletics include field hockey and basketball, which are the most popular, swimming, running, jumping, gymnastics, volley ball, and more rarely, rowing, golf, and tennis.

Scholastic Requirements and their Administration

In the course of the study much attention has been paid to scholastic requirements for participation in intercollegiate athletics and the strictness or laxity with

which they are administered. Some hundreds of academic records of athletes and non-athletes have been examined, transcripts have been freely furnished by university officers upon request, the attendant circumstances surrounded many records have been canvassed, and even preparatory and high school records have been studied. The importance of the matter lies in its bearing upon the standing of the institution and its attitude toward the problems of eligibility and status.

It is possible to say, first, that over the past twenty years American scholastic standards for participation have risen, and, secondly, that there is still room for their improvement. Probably at no other point in the administration of athletics is imitation of good practice so salutary. Yet the mere announcing of standards is not enough. It is their application that matters.

Not a few universities possess scholastic requirements higher than those of the intercollegiate conferences or agreements to which they subscribe (Chicago, Cornell, Harvard, Princeton, Yale), and their enforcement of these standards respecting both admission and collegiate standing is honest, willing, and sportsman-like. Other institutions (Columbia, Georgia School of Technology, Tulane) possess equally high requirements, which are rather frequently met through tutoring. Although certain Canadian universities have been accused by sister institutions of relaxing requirements for participation (Dalhousie, Queen's, Toronto), we have not found the charge to be justified. Not so, however, in the case of many other institutions.

All such matters are in the hands of faculties. They are not the concern of alumni or of friends of a college. When, therefore, standards are relaxed to permit skilled athletes either to enter a college without due qualifications or to compete in intercollegiate athletics without satisfying academic requirements, these matters also are the affair of faculties. But when the faculty officers concerned with eligibility happen to be athletic enthusiasts as well, the resulting division of responsibility has worked, in an appreciable number of cases, to the impairment of the standards and standing of the institutions.

A collection of examples (Alabama, Boston College, Fordham, Grinnell, Iowa, New York University, Northwestern, Notre Dame, Southern California, Stanford, Wisconsin) drawn from many parts of the United States will illustrate some of the results of conflicts between athletic ambitions and academic standards. The decision of one university faculty in a matter of participation and eligibility was overruled by the president. A trustee of another institution endeavored to persuade a college president to admit a young athlete whose credentials were not sufficient

to justify this course. Prominent alumni of a third were embarrassingly insistent in their demand that a scholastically unqualified athlete should be admitted. The double standard that results from different university and conference requirements, non-athletes meeting the higher university requirements and athletes being held to meeting the lower conference requirements, not to mention a tradition of *laissez-faire* respecting a dean's office, results in immediate injustice to non-athletes and lasting injustice to athletes. At certain Southern institutions the practice of checking of players' scholastic records in mid-season has not been followed by the strictest adherence to requirements. At another university an athlete attained scholastic eligibility through the passing of an examination under circumstances that were, to say the least, unusual. The registrar of this same university has in at least three instances received instructions to admit candidates whose records were defective because of "the unusual conditions surrounding the case." The rulings concerning scholastic eligibility at certain Catholic institutions have been widely questioned. It is a pleasure to note that at another Catholic university (Georgetown) a strengthening of eligibility requirements is said to be in process. In two carefully studied cases, one of which is typical of a very large majority of institutions that are members of highly respected conferences, the functions of the university registrar are debased to those of a clerk, with the result that questionable rulings are reflected in questionable practices.

In short, high though the academic standards of participation maintained at certain institutions may be, they represent no universal condition. Faculties, trustees, and even college or university presidents are not as yet united as respects the maintenance of strict requirements in the face of the supposed benefits that can be wrung from winning teams. The fact that all of these supposed advantages are tinged at one point or another with the color of money casts over every relaxation of standards a mercenary shadow. The good repute which a university attains through high academic standards and their honest enforcement is priceless, and it is not to be compared with the cheap and ephemeral notoriety that winning teams may bring.

Academic Records of Athletes

In accordance with a plan outlined in the Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1927, detailed studies of the academic records of 2,787 athletes and 11,480 non-athletes in fifty-two representative colleges and universities of the United States were made at the institu-

tions by registrars, deans, professors, and others. These results, assembled in the offices of the Foundation, are of sufficient accuracy to be interpreted as follows, due allowances being made for deviations in methods of grading and differences in type and procedure regarding intelligence tests and scores.

Time Spent in College for Degrees

The academic "mortality" of the athletes was lower than that of their fellows; that is, a higher proportion of athletes graduate than non-athletes. But it takes the athlete about half a college year longer, on the whole, to obtain his degree. The figure is probably less serious than at first appears, because in cases where longer than the normal time is required to obtain the credits for a degree, it is the almost universal rule that a semester of attendance is the minimum that can be required. On the average, about 95 per cent of the athletes registered as members of each successive college class returning to college in the following semester, as compared with 90 per cent of the non-athletes.

Scholarship Grades by Sports

Respecting the average comparative scholarship of individual participants in sports by branches, only general tendencies have importance. Wrestlers, cross-country runners, and track men do well,—indeed, far better than the general run of both athletes and non-athletes, especially the wrestlers. Swimmers and oarsmen do better than the average of athletes, but not quite so well as the average non-athletes. Soccer, lacrosse, and baseball players are below the averages of both athletes and non-athletes. Football and polo players stand at the bottom of the list. Athletes rank below non-athletes in scholarship, but the difference in average grades between the two general groups is statistically negligible. Participants in two or more branches of athletics stand on the average considerably below all athletes, as a group, and nearly as badly as football players.

His Relation to Athletics

Just as an ideal occasionally exists between the alumnus and the general affairs of the university, so a corresponding ideal relationship may sometimes be found with respect to athletics. It is manifested by that rare alumnus who sees individual boys as the educational units in college life, who expends his best effort in developing not alone their physical prowess but also their contacts with their

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fellow students and especially their relationship to the things of the mind and of the spirit. To such an alumnus intellectual endeavor, a knowledge of the past, honesty, right living, industry, and love of athletic games all have their appropriate places in the life of the undergraduate. Such an alumnus is of wholesome influence, even though he can afford to give little in time or money.

On the other hand, the usual current relationship of alumni to athletics manifests itself in two ways: the control of policies, and the recruiting and financing of athletes. Probably not a fifth of all alumni are active in either direction.

Alumni and Athletic Policies

The influence and activity of alumni in formulating the policies of universities and colleges as regards athletics have already been discussed at length in Chapter V. Only a few brief observations need to be added.

In the modern American university, the graduate manager or treasurer and his functions bear witness to the importance of the alumni and the esteem in which they are held. Their influence is felt in the appointment of coaches, the shaping and administering of coaching policies, the erection and size of stadiums, building programs, the provision and distribution of tickets, the making of schedules, and, indeed, in practically all of the extramural relationships of college athletics. Seldom do alumni manifest strong interest in intramural programs or competition. Although many play golf, tennis, squash, and handball, relatively few appear to realize the importance of cultivating in all undergraduates the experience of games that are suitable to his enjoyment and recreation in later life. The present-day attitude of alumni toward athletics is essentially the product of our long-standing emphasis upon extramural competition. It is likely that the growth of intramural games will give future graduates a different point of view.

Football attracts most of the alumni attention. During undergraduate days it draws and keeps the interest of men and women students to an extraordinary degree. After graduation the interest persists but does not manifest itself in active participation. Very few players take part in football games for more than five or six years after graduation. In the United States, contests at football between alumni and undergraduates have little to commend them; the graduates, "fat and scant of breath," endure, with little credit to their zeal, the falls, knocks, and runs of American football, while the student players receive small benefit from meeting a team possessing only antiquated strategy and tactics. That this should be so

is one of the principal limitations of American football. True, a few alumni who have formerly played on college teams join local or amateur organizations after graduation. In California, for football, and in New York City, for basketball, athletic clubs provide opportunity and training accommodations for graduate athletes; teams representing these clubs are almost invariably more skillful than undergraduate college organizations. Some college graduates, especially from the Middle West, enter professional football for a few years, and a larger number take up coaching or physical education. But by their thirtieth birthdays the great majority of graduates feel more at home in their seats at a football spectacle than they would in suits upon any field. In Great Britain this is not the case. English Rugby, soccer, and the special football games of certain public schools, once mastered, are not infrequently played almost until middle age. The interest of the American changes early from the active to the passive. Usually it expresses itself in attending games, listening to broadcasts play-by-play, participating in the shaping of college athletic policies, subscribing money for equipment and increased facilities, and in other similar works. Much the same is true of other forms of athletics in American colleges and universities.

The Procurement and Support of Athletes

Although methods and procedure in recruiting and subsidizing college athletes are discussed at length in Chapter X, a word may be said here concerning the motives which lead alumni to these practices. The number of cases in which the entire support of athletes is furnished by alumni are far fewer than those in which a part is given and the athletes are provided with actual or nominal jobs through alumni efforts. Doubtless some alumni have a philanthropic and worthy desire to enable a deserving youth to obtain a college education, but comparatively seldom is this the genuine motive for subsidizing and recruiting. In the course of this study we have never heard it advanced except in defense of dishonest practices, in extenuation of the course of an institution, a group, or an individual, or in a theoretical and academic discussion. The pretended fear of doing injustice to some deserving boy is a bogeyman kept close at hand to justify all such doings. In view of the kindly solicitude that is lavished upon the athlete, the only justice that he is likely to experience is the injustice that falls to any youth who is over-coddled and whose money comes too easily.

The guidance of alumni interest and activity in athletics presents one of the

crucial problems of college administration. What is needed is not more interest on the part of graduates, but the direction of this interest to ends that will truly benefit undergraduates. At present, too few alumni look upon athletics as a factor of higher education which prepares for afterlife, where games and outdoor contests ought to play their part. The most active of the alumni in a number of institutions, consciously or unconsciously, tend to make college athletics a preparation for professional athletics.

Certain National Relationships of American College Athletics

In the United States, universities and colleges, although influential, have not dominated athletic and sporting tradition as they have in England and Canada. This fact, as regards the United States, is accounted for by three considerations, which have operated to dilute the effect of university life upon the life of the people: democratic conditions, political, and social; both the vast expanse of territory and the distance between institutions of higher education; and, above all, the nature of the interest that the American people have evinced in college games and contests. This interest is largely ascribable to the emphasis laid by our newspapers upon athletics in college life. Under these conditions, the day has not yet arrived when the college or the university may be regarded as furnishing all of the essentials of an American athletic tradition. That day will be delayed until our college men and women over a period of years act as regards athletics with a "leadership," a sincerity, and a courage of principle that shall command the respect and the active emulation of other Americans.

Our present concern is with only two phases in the national relationships of American college athletics: representative legislative and executive bodies and their functions, and national contests as they involve individual college students as participants.

The National Collegiate Athletic Association

Membership in the National Collegiate Athletic Association, originally organized as the Intercollegiate Athletic Association in 1905, is open to "all colleges, universities, and institutions of learning in the United States."

Three classes of membership are provided: active, which includes some one hundred and fifty universities and colleges; allied, embracing six conferences with about sixty institutional members; and associate, in two classes, the first consist-

ing of schools, the second of "groups of colleges and universities that are organized for the purpose of conducting mutual competition in sports," of which only one, the United States Intercollegiate Lacrosse Association, holds membership. The constituency of the National Collegiate Athletic Association is divided into eight geographical districts, each with its vice-president, who acts as arbitrator of charges concerning amateurism, adviser of the conduct of intercollegiate athletics, and custodian of records, and who reports to the annual convention of the Association concerning the strictness with which the rules have been "enforced" during the year, "modifications or additions to the eligibility code made by institutions individually or concertedly," progress toward uniformity in the activities of intercollegiate athletic associations, of local conferences, of leagues, district competitions if any, and other facts or recommendations which may be of interest to the Association. A council of fifteen members, eight of whom are members of faculties, conducts the affairs of the Association between meetings, and the council elects its own executive committee of five. The Association chooses annually committees to frame the rules in twelve branches of athletics – football, soccer, basketball, swimming, volley ball, boxing, track, wrestling, hockey, fencing, gymnastics, and lacrosse; to preserve college athletic records; to arbitrate; and, under the approval of the executive committee, to publish the rules of various sports. Many of the items of receipt and expenditure in the accounts of the Association concern the preparation and publication of these rules.

The Amateur Athletic Federation

The Amateur Athletic Federation, organized in 1920, comprises two divisions, one for men, the other for women.

In the men's division are included eighteen bodies, among which may be mentioned the United States Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, the American Legion, the National Collegiate Athletic Association, the Young Men's Christian Association, the American Physical Education Association, the Jewish Welfare Board, and the Catholic Boys' Brigade of the United States. The Federation states its "mission" to be "to create and maintain in the United States a permanent organization representative of amateur athletics and of organizations devoted thereto; to establish and maintain the highest ideals of amateur sport in the United States; to promote the development of physical education; to encourage the standardization of the rules of all amateur athletic games and competitions and the par-

ticipation of this country in the International Olympic Games." Its definition of an amateur and its pronouncement upon the spirit of "Amateurism" are those of the National Collegiate Athletic Association. The constitution provides that "each organization in the Federation shall direct its own activities, conduct its own competitions, and control its own athletes in accordance with the principles set forth by the Federation. Governmental agencies are exempt from all dues. These provisions appear to leave the Military and Naval Academies, as well as the Services, responsible for the formulation and application of their own regulations.