

Democracy, 54. Patricia C. Click has described some aspects of the moral debate about amusements and entertainments in *The Spirit of the Times: Amusements in Nineteenth-Century Baltimore, Norfolk, and Richmond* (Charlottesville, Va., 1989).

45. Linda K. Kerber, "History Can Do It No Justice: Women and the Reinterpretation of the American Revolution," in Hoffman and Albert, eds., *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, 3-42; idem, "The Republican Ideology of the Revolutionary Generation," *American Quarterly* 37 (1985): 474-95; Kerber et al., "Beyond Roles, Beyond Spheres," 565-85; Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experiences of American Women, 1750-1800* (Boston, 1980); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Domesticating 'Virtue': Coquettes and Revolutionaries in Young America," in Elaine Scarry, ed., *Literature and the Body: Essays on Populations and Persons* (Baltimore, 1988), 160-84; Evans, *Weathering the Storm*, 350.

46. John Randolph, *Letters of John Randolph, to a Young Relative* (Philadelphia, 1834), 15, 26, 109, 128-29; Dunlap, *Memoirs*, 111; Stokes, *Iconography*, 4: 1324.

47. Two fine secondary works that treat the values and behavior of this contemporary type from different perspectives and without concern for gender are Jack W. Berryman, "Sport, Health, and the Rural-Urban Conflict: Baltimore and John Stuart Skinner's *American Farmer*," *Conspectus of History* 1 (1982): 43-61, and John Dizikes, *Sportsmen and Gamesmen* (New York, 1981).

48. Struna, "'Good Wives' and 'Gardeners,'" 247-50; Mary Kelley, *Private Women, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1984); Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: Woman's Sphere in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven, Conn., 1977); Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New York, 1973). See also Patricia Vertinsky, "Body Shapes: The Role Of the Medical Establishment in Informing Female Exercise and Physical Education in Nineteenth-Century North America," in Mangan and Park, eds., *From "Fair Sex" to Feminism*, esp. 256-65; Martha Verbrugge, *Able-Bodied Womanhood: Personal Health and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Boston* (New York, 1988), 11-48; Roberta J. Park, "'Embodied Selves': The Rise and Development of Concern for Physical Education, Active Games and Recreation for American Women, 1776-1865," *Journal of Sport History* 5 (summer 1978): 5-41.

49. Among the more recent histories that address the gendering effect of capitalism on labor are Mary H. Blewett, *Men, Women, and Work: Class, Gender, and Protest in the New England Shoe Industry, 1780-1910* (Urbana, Ill., 1988); Stansell, *City of Women*; Wilentz, *New York City & the Rise of the American Working Class*; Smith, *The "Lower Sort."* For the negotiation, by men and women, of leisure much later in the nineteenth century, see Kathy Peiss, "Commercial Leisure and the 'Woman Question,'" in Butsch, ed., *For Fun and Profit*, 105-17; idem, "Gender Relations and Working-Class Leisure: New York City, 1880-1920," in Groneman and Norton, eds., *To Toil the Livelong Day*, 98-111.

6

Sport and the Redefinition of Middle-Class Masculinity in Victorian America

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At the onset of the Victorian Era, middle-class American men had little interest in sport or physical culture. They were shopkeepers, professionals, agents, clerks, and farmers—hard-working, devout, future-oriented individuals who had little precious free time to take away from the serious business of earning a living. With the exception of clerks, generally young men were learning the business with the expectation of a future partnership or an entrepreneurial career, middle-class men were competitive workers who were their own bosses. They frowned upon the popular mass sports of the day as a waste of time, immoral, illegal, and debilitating, which should be avoided at all costs. Yet by midcentury a respectable middle-class sporting culture was beginning to evolve, and after the 1870s, it boomed. The purpose of this essay is to explain how middle-class men's concerns with their masculinity helped make sport an integral part of their lives. Sport redefined for them their sense of manliness and provided mechanisms to achieve it.

The Rise of a Respectable Middle-Class Sporting Culture, 1840-70¹

The lives of men and women in the Victorian Era were sharply divided by gender into separate spheres in family relations, work, and leisure. Men were the breadwinners, women took care of the family, and each enjoyed their discretionary time (outside of sex) with peers of the same gender. Athletics and physical culture had historically been an almost exclusively male activity, and prowess in sporting competitions had always been regarded as a mark of manliness that meant the possession of such characteristics as courage, determination, strength, and vigor. At the start of the Victorian Era, when the United States was overwhelmingly an agrarian society, the leading sportsmen were members of a traditionally oriented male bachelor subculture who lived on the frontier, in the South, or in a few crowded urban centers. The sporting

fraternity was composed of urban machine politicians, artisans, seasonal workers, Irish immigrants, and men from the dregs of society, along with young rakes from the social elite. They participated in sports for fun, to develop camaraderie, and to display their honor and manliness. Their favorite contests were blood and gambling sports that were usually illegal and reprehensible. The social ethic expressed by the premodern lifestyle and values of the male bachelor subculture was totally antithetical to the bourgeois ethos of early Victorians. A manly middle-class individual in the antebellum era gained his identity through work, not leisure, earned his money through hard work, not gambling, and was a good and steady provider for his family. He was reliable, independent, and resisted temptation. The manly middle-class American did not shun domesticity for the saloon or poolroom, but rather made family and home the centerpiece of his life.²

Middle-class opposition to sport and physical culture began to wane in the 1840s and 1850s at a period when the country was starting to become modernized. As the United States began to undergo the processes of urbanization, industrialization, immigration, and "civilization," the nature of sport underwent substantial changes and began to appeal to urban middle-class needs and sensibilities. This development was the product of the role-models of immigrant and upper-class sportsmen, the evolution of new sports that were congruent with the values and behavior of the middle class, and, most of all, the influence of a new positive sports creed. This ideology was popularized by Jacksonian reformers who believed that nonviolent, clean, gambling-free, outdoor physical exercise and sport would be socially functional activities that could counter the growing urban pathology and social anomie. Such sport and exercise would promote good health, sound morals, and a decent character.³

The concept that sports could be moral and uplifting was not novel. Back in the seventeenth century the Puritans had supported moral sports that were indulged in, in moderation, on days other than the Sabbath, and were recreational: in other words, that refreshed the body and the mind to do God's work. In the following century, Enlightenment thought that glorified Greek civilization also encouraged a positive attitude towards sport. American intellectuals like Thomas Jefferson and Dr. Benjamin Rush advocated a regular regimen of exercise in emulation of the Ancient Greeks, who believed in the unity of mind and body and consequently trained both the mental and the physical sides of man. Advanced European educational theorists of the Enlightenment such as Rousseau, and their successors in the early nineteenth century, stressed the value of physical and health education. In 1804 the great Swiss pedagogue Pestalozzi established a gymnasium in his school, while in

Sweden Ling introduced a system of free physical movements akin to calisthenics. In the 1810s *Turnplatz* schools were established in the German states by Friedrich Jahn, father of the *Turner* movement, who advocated the use of apparatus in physical training. His goals were to promote a romantic nationalistic spirit among the German peoples and build up their fitness for future conflicts with France. The work of all of these educators was publicized in the United States by the press, medical journals, and professional periodicals such as the *American Journal of Education*. Founded in 1826, the *AJE* recommended the construction of urban playgrounds and gymnasiums as well as the adoption of uplifting English sports like cricket. Gymnastics was introduced in the mid-1820s at a variety of educational settings, including Boston's progressive Round Hill School, the utopian community of New Harmony, Ind., and at Harvard and the University of Virginia, often under the auspices of German disciples of Jahn.⁴

While American sportsmen and sporting reformers were interested in classical civilization and continental reforms in physical education, they still focused their attention on England, the preeminent sporting land of the day. England had been the role-model for athletically inclined Americans since the colonial era; they copied English sporting practices, purchased their athletic equipment, and read their books, periodicals, and guides. The presence of English pedestrians and cricketers, Scottish Caledonians, and Irish pugilists in America encouraged local interest in a lively transatlantic sporting culture.⁵

American attitudes to sport were also influenced by the impact of industrialization and urbanization upon traditional English recreational patterns. Industrialization drastically altered leisure time and the pace of work, which had been formerly tied to the agricultural cycle, traditional holidays, and the farmer's self-motivation. However, the coming of the industrial revolution brought time-work discipline; the pace of work was established by the machine and the work schedule controlled by the boss. Capitalists found allies in their fight against traditional behavior and for modern work discipline in evangelicals, temperance advocates, and other social reformers who sought to promote morality and order in pathological industrial cities like Manchester by imposing social control over the urban masses. Many reformers believed that the best way to wipe out sinful amusements was by substituting useful, uplifting recreations and by shortening working weeks to enable factory operatives to revive themselves through clean, health-promoting athletics or other moral pleasures.⁶

These ideas and experiences were brought together in the United States in the 1840s and 1850s by urban reformers in a positive new sports creed. They

were part of a broad-based social movement that sought to ameliorate the conditions of the common man by working for such goals as temperance, compulsory education, political democracy, economic opportunity, abolitionism, and public health. The ideology posited that participation in clean sport would improve public health, raise moral standards, and build character; that clean sport would provide a substitute for the vile practices of the sporting fraternity; and that such rational recreations would encourage the development of sport among the sedentary middle class. Supporters of this physical-fitness movement came from a wide variety of interests, and included religious leaders like the Unitarian Rev. William Ellery Channing, utopians like Robert Dale Owen, educators like Horace Mann, transcendentalists like Ralph Waldo Emerson, scientists like Dr. Lemuel Shattuck, physicians like Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., and health faddists like Sylvester Graham.⁷

Advocates of physical fitness sought to improve the quality of health for all urban Americans at a time when cities were undergoing their greatest rate of growth in American history. They were concerned about epidemics, the conditioning of the working class, the well-being of future mothers, and the sedentary lifestyle of the middle classes who did not engage in any physical labor, but sat at their desks all day long. Reformers pointedly chastised students and office workers for their lack of fitness. Students kept their faces buried in textbooks at the expense of their bodies, while nonmanual workers were decried for being too busy pursuing money to take care of their health. A break in these debilitating routines was encouraged to refresh the mind and body and increase productivity. As Dr. Shattuck pointed out, "intellectual culture has received too much and physical training too little attention."⁸

In 1855 the Unitarian Rev. A. A. Livermore strongly denounced the prevailing middle-class attitudes towards health, exercise, and vigorous manly activities: "O for a touch of the Olympic games rather than this pallid effeminacy! O for a return to the simple Persian elements of telling the truth, and hurling the javelin, instead of the bloodless cheeks and lifeless limbs, and throbbing brains of our first scholars in Harvard, Yale or Princeton!" The severest critic of middle-class lassitude was Dr. Holmes, a noted oarsman in his own right, who three years later in an article entitled "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" denounced "the vegetative life of the American," whom he compared unfavorably with the English gentry who had been a popular role-model for the American elite since the colonial era. Holmes rated American college students poorly in comparison with the vigorous Oxbridge athletes, and recommended they learn from their English brothers who rowed and en-

gaged in other sports. The first Oxford-Cambridge boat race took place in 1829, 23 years before the first intercollegiate sports contest in America, a rowing match between Harvard and Yale. Furthermore, the British emphasis on sport extended into the public schools, where the aim was to train mainly Christian gentlemen through such means as the fagging system (in which younger boys performed menial tasks for older boys) and competitive soccer and rugby. Nothing comparable existed at American schools, not even the Round Hill School, which had closed in 1834. Holmes foresaw a rapid decline of the race, certain that "such a set of black-coated, stiff-jointed, soft-muscled, paste-complexioned youth as we can boast in our American cities never before sprang from loins of Anglo-Saxon lineage." Americans had to change their ways and learn from their British cousins.⁹

Another leading proponent of middle-class physical fitness was Boston Brahmin the Rev. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, one of the most eminent antebellum social reformers. The Unitarian minister wrote a series of articles in the new *Atlantic Monthly* in 1858, outlining his philosophy that denied that "physical vigor and spiritual sanctity are incompatible." Higginson argued that the high rate of illness among nonmanual workers indicated their need to participate in either outdoor exercise or sport. He encouraged businessmen to worry less about making money and more about physical and mental well-being. Higginson recommended that they leave behind the cares of the office and join him at the gymnasium for enjoyable, healthful recreation.¹⁰

The advocacy of improved public health and the city's need for fresh air and space to play out-of-doors led to the development of a municipal-park movement, based largely on British antecedents. The public-health movement had begun in England in the 1830s in response to the problems created by urbanization and industrialization. In 1833 a parliamentary commission recommended the development of open spaces near large towns to improve the health and comfort of laborers, and also encouraged owners of private gardens and hunting preserves to turn over their land to local municipalities. In 1845 a park was opened in Manchester equipped with sports facilities, and two years later a suburban park was established outside Liverpool devoted to rural sports. In 1851 cricket grounds were laid out in London's Hyde Park.¹¹

The American park movement, modeled after the British example, was led by journalists William Cullen Bryant and Walt Whitman, landscape architect Andrew Jackson Downing, physicians, and scientists like Dr. Shattuck, founder of the American Statistical Association (1839) and chief of the Massachusetts Board of Vital Statistics. Their primary purpose was to improve the

urban public's physical and mental health by providing access to fresh air, beautiful vistas, and playing space.¹² The municipal-park movement's first major achievement was New York's Central Park, which opened in 1858. The original design by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux set aside space for formal gardens and wooded areas for receptive recreation, and areas for playgrounds and cricket fields for more active sports. Central Park was a huge success, and became a model for suburban parks across the country after the Civil War. However, while these were promoted primarily on behalf of the working classes living in crowded, disease-infected neighborhoods, they were all situated far from the centers of population, expensive to get to by public transport, and, at first, stressed receptive over active recreation. Consequently the new parks were for their first generation a primarily middle-class resort.¹³

The second function the new sports creed ascribed to clean sports was an ability to teach morality and promote the social order. Middle-class urbanites were confident they could transmit their high moral standards to their children, but were concerned about the more exuberant behavior of lower-class urban youth. The growing impersonality of large heterogeneous cities seemed a far cry from the close-knit communities of mythical small-town America. Rising crime rates, periodic riots, and rampant hooliganism reflected growing anomie and the erosion of basic values. Clergymen, journalists, and other self-appointed middle-class moral guardians promoted wholesome leisure activities to curtail the behavior of working-class youth who were independent of the traditional customs and social controls that regulated village life and found themselves with ample opportunities for immoral commercialized entertainments. Rational recreations like sports and physical training were expected to provide a healthy alternative to such dissipating pastimes as drinking, fornication, and gambling. Participation in athletics would raise moral standards and prepare young men for useful lives, in contrast to vile urban amusements that simply provided immediate gratification. Sports-minded reformers like the Rev. Channing, Frederick Sawyer, author of *A Plea for Amusements* (1847), and the Brahmin Unitarian Rev. Edward Everett Hale, the preeminent spokesman for rational recreation, all promoted clean sports as a viable substitute for the pernicious pleasures of the male bachelor subculture.¹⁴

The third element of the new sporting ideology was the presumed character-building ability of competitive sports, which was of great concern to the middle classes. Historian Melvin L. Adelman argues that this aspect of the sports creed developed in the 1850s as an adjunct to the morality thesis, but became more prominent after the Civil War when sports participation was identified as a moral equivalent of war. The key to the character-building ar-

gument was the assumption that participation in sports promoted manliness. Sport was regarded as almost inherently a male sphere, inappropriate for Victorian women, and the contemporary press described nearly all sports as manly. Advocates of the sport creed not only believed that competitive sports engendered traits that were essential to middle-class success—self-discipline, self-denial, and even courage—but also that sedentary white-collar workers could utilize sports to demonstrate manliness that was widely identified with physical labor. Real men earned their keep by the sweat of their brow and the strength of their back. Athletes were real men who had graduated from childhood and were prepared for the battles of life or death (i.e., war).¹⁵

The character-building qualities of sport were widely promoted by the apostles of Muscular Christianity, an English-based philosophy that sought to harmonize the mental, physical, and spiritual dimensions of man. The term is often mistakenly attributed to the English author Charles Kingsley, and the concept was popularized in America in the 1850s by Thomas Hughes's best-seller, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. The novel depicted student life at Rugby School, which Brown had attended (1834–42) in the era of Headmaster Thomas Arnold, when a heavy emphasis was placed on the role of athletics to promote the development of Christian manliness. The book had an enormous impact on American educators, intellectuals, and average people, resulting, in the words of sport historians John A. Lucas and Ronald A. Smith, in "a kind of mysticism about robust competitive athletics." The book had a big impact on elite students and promoted a sporting boom at universities like Harvard in the late 1850s.¹⁶

The idea that a man who was moral and devout could and should also be physically fit tied in very well with prevailing middle-class values and the new sports creed. Hale, Higginson, Holmes, and Ralph Waldo Emerson all became leading spokesmen for Muscular Christianity. Higginson, for instance, entitled his famous essay on sports "Saints and Their Bodies," although the term Muscular Christianity did not appear there. Muscular Christianity was such a strong justification for sporting activities that it largely eliminated all but the most conservative pietistic opposition to athletics, especially when physical culture was sponsored by the evangelical Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). The "Y" movement began in England in 1844 and was brought to America seven years later to help farm youth adjust to urban life in a moral environment. By 1860 it was supporting moral athletics and gymnastics as "a safeguard against the allurements of objectionable places of resort" and nine years later the New York branch opened a new building complete with a gymnasium, bowling alleys, and baths. In the late nineteenth century the YMCA

became one of the most important facilitators of sport and physical training for middle-class youth and young men.¹⁷

Sexuality was an essential, if implicit, aspect of the character-building element of the sporting ideology. Muscular Christians and other mid-Victorians saw sport as both a sexual substitute and a check on effeminacy; concerns that became increasingly important over the course of the nineteenth century. Sports reformers wanted to create a manly Christian gentleman who "was the athlete of continence, not coitus, continuously testing his manliness in the fires of self-denial." The middle classes not only disdained the sexual liberties of immoral members of the male bachelor subculture, but were also worried about a loss of sexual energy and sperm, which were believed to have a finite, irreplaceable limit. Sport would provide an alternative expenditure of energy and help build manliness that would give young men the strength to resist the "secret vice" (masturbation). Moral men could earn their manhood on the playing field instead of in the bedroom.¹⁸

Clean sport was also viewed by contemporaries as a means to counter effeminacy. In 1859 the *New York Herald* attributed the feminization of culture in part to the absence of sports in America. The *Times* urged young men to disport themselves in "God's open air, where health, strength and manhood may be earned." Through sport men would retain such physical qualities as ruggedness and hardness instead of degenerating into foolish fops. It was manliness the nation needed, not flabby, sick weaklings, if it was to fulfill its destiny.¹⁹

At midcentury middle-class young men who were convinced by the new sports creed that physical culture was an excellent and useful activity had a number of options to choose for their recreation. They nearly always preferred sports, usually competitive sorts, to mere exercise, because calisthenics were boring and no fun. Virtually any sport that did not rely on gambling for its appeal or brutalize other men or beasts was regarded as appropriate for respectable, forward-looking, middle-class men or individuals with middle-class aspirations. But unless the activity was "manly," requiring a high level of dexterity, physical skill, and courage, and not played by women, it could not be a character-building game. Sociable leisure sports like croquet and ice skating were very popular in the 1860s and perfectly acceptable, but were not manly sports because they were co-recreational. In later decades few commentators, if any, would regard golf or tennis as virile because they did not require courage or much physical exertion and were played by elite women. Bicycle riding was originally a manly sport, but became less so over time as the vehicle was modernized and roads were improved. In the late 1860s riding a ve-

locipede, or "bone-shaker," could be construed as manly because it was so difficult to master and so uncomfortable to ride. Similarly, it took a "man" to master the ordinary bicycle, the odd-shaped vehicle introduced in 1876 with a huge front wheel and tiny rear wheel, on dangerous, poorly constructed roads. However, once technological innovations had produced the safety bicycle of the 1890s, which was light and easy to maneuver, riding became a popular fad among millions of Americans, including middle-class women. Hence cycling was only manly under certain conditions, such as when "scorching" (speeding), or participating in strenuous 100-mile outings.²⁰

Given the importance of individualism for the early Victorians, a preference for individual sports would seem likely. Hunting and fishing were popular rural sports, but the growth of cities made fields and streams more distant, and sports more expensive and time-consuming. Boxing was an individualistic sport, and as Frank Queen, editor of the popular sports weekly the *New York Clipper*, wrote, "a knowledge of the science of boxing is calculated to develop and encourage the feeling of manliness, confidence, courage and love of fair play." However, Queen's readers were mainly members of the sporting fraternity, and he swayed few middle-class minds. While respectable sportsmen may have recognized that boxers had to train vigorously and lead a Spartan lifestyle, the sport and its subculture stood for everything anathema to Victorian values and was consequently unacceptable.²¹

Two sports that fulfilled the desired qualities of a moral, individualistic, and manly sport were gymnastics and athletics (track and field). Gymnastics was mainly associated with the Turner movement that sought to promote German culture, good health, sound morals, and liberal, if not socialist, politics. In 1860 the Turners were identified in an article in the *American Journal of Education* as "virtuous and accomplished, pure and active, chaste and bold, truthful and warlike." They had acquired a martial reputation by organizing militia units that helped defend Germans and German institutions against nativist violence in the 1850s, and embellished it when Turners flocked to the Union cause during the Civil War.²² However, the middle classes did not rush to gymnasia to emulate these manly immigrant sportsmen because exercising on apparatus was pretty dull. They preferred agonistic activities more in line with the competitive middle-class spirit. Track and field, also originally an ethnic sport, was far more competitive than gymnastics; it started out as a professional sport dominated in the antebellum era by English pedestrians (runners) and Scottish weight-throwers. The first prominent track-and-field contests were Scottish Highland Games, beginning in 1836 under the auspices of Scottish voluntary associations. After the Civil War track and field became

Americanized as an amateur sport but it was dominated by restrictive athletic clubs and elite eastern colleges that limited middle-class participation.²³

The main opportunity for middle-class sportsmen to participate in competitive organized sports in the antebellum era was in team ball games, which commentators regarded as particularly effective in indoctrinating respectable young men with Victorian ideals of masculinity. This was ironic because team games were not really congruent with the independent nature of middle-class work then. But over the course of the century, as white-collar jobs became less independent with the rise of bureaucratization, team games would fit in more and more with the character of nonmanual employment.²⁴

Cricket was the first major team sport. It was an old, established English game played in New York during the Revolution by "Gentlemen who are Lovers of that noble and manly exercise." Very few contests were played in the United States until 1840, when English merchants, agents, and artisans in New York formed the St. George Cricket Club. A cricket fad soon developed and it was the most popular ball game until the late 1850s. But thereafter cricket was supplanted by baseball and was largely forgotten except by elite clubs along Philadelphia's Main Line. During its brief period of popularity manuals were published explaining the rules of the game, the techniques of play, and the benefits of the sport. In 1856 more than 8,000 spectators attended a two-day international match between teams from the United States and Canada, and in 1860 it was estimated that there were about 400 cricket clubs in the country with 10,000 players.²⁵

Cricket eventually lost out to baseball for several reasons: it was an English game; historic rules and regulations did not readily adapt to American needs; the game took too long for busy Americans; and it was hard to play. Americans had not yet developed a ball-playing tradition, in spite of the English example, and ball playing was regarded at least until the 1840s as a child's or young boy's amusement. The English perception of cricket as a very manly game and appropriate recreation for young men and adults did not readily transfer to the United States. In the 1840s journalists working in the United States who covered the rise of a respectable sporting culture were generally strong supporters of cricket because they identified it as a masculine amusement. The Anglo-American press first identified it as a manly sport because it required physical and mental exertion that were beyond a child's capabilities, and these views were soon echoed by the sporting weeklies. The *Spirit of the Times* regarded cricket as a "manly, healthful sport," and the *New York Clipper* lauded the sport for testing mental and physical ability and strength of character. Immigrant journalist Henry Chadwick, brother of the famed English social reformer Ed-

win Chadwick, applauded cricket for teaching such virtues as sobriety, self-denial, fortitude, discipline, fair play, and obedience. The *Times* recommended that the sport be played in all towns and villages, and when students at New York's Free Academy started to play, the *Tribune* cheered: "Whoever started these boys to practice the game deserves great credit—it is manly, healthy and invigorating exercise and ought to be attended more or less at all schools." These comments took to task the canard that ball playing was necessarily childish (which it was not in England). Not only was playing cricket a manly activity because of the skills involved, but it also built a manly character.²⁶

Baseball had an even more difficult time escaping its early identification with children's games. Various forms of baseball and ball games were played by children in the colonial era. An illustrated rhymed description of "baseball" appeared in John Newbery's *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* (1744), republished in the colonies by 1762. A simple version of ball play was known as "one old-cat," which consisted of a batter, pitcher, and two bases. Modern baseball derived from the game of round ball, which was played on a field with four stones or posts laid out in a diamond shape, from 36 to 60 feet apart. The feeder pitched the ball to a striker who hit the ball and then ran clockwise around the bases. He was put out if the batted ball was caught on the fly or first bounce, if he was hit by the ball ("soaked") while off base, or struck out.²⁷

The modern game of baseball was established in 1845 by the Knickerbocker Base Ball Club, middle-class men who played for outdoor exercise and amusement. They made little effort to secure public recognition, not surprisingly, as Adelman points out:

After all, they were grown men of some stature playing a child's game. They could rationalize their participation by pointing to the health and recreational benefits of baseball, but their social insecurities and their personal doubts concerning the manliness of the game inhibited them from openly announcing the organization.

In the early 1850s the game began to gain popularity, at first almost exclusively among white-collar men who were probably influenced by the new sports creed and the example of cricket. Baseball soon got more press coverage, became organized with the formation of the National Association of Base Ball Players in 1858, and was spoken of as the national pastime.²⁸

From 1857, journalists began describing baseball as a masculine game. *Bea-dle's Dime Base-Ball Player* (1860), edited by Henry Chadwick, identified the manly attributes of the game: "[Players] must possess the characteristics of true manhood. . . . Baseball to be played thoroughly, requires the possession

of muscular strength, great agility, quickness of eye, readiness of hand, and many other faculties of mind and body that mark the man of nerve." Parenthetically, the guidebook also pointed out that "hissing and hooting at an umpire" was "boyish conduct" and inappropriate. Despite these views, there was still some doubt about baseball's manliness because the level of skill required was noticeably less than for cricket. Writers advocated a change in the fly rule to make the sport more difficult and less of a children's game. Instead of being allowed to catch a batted ball on the bounce, Chadwick and others recommended that it had to be on the fly. The Knickerbockers proposed such a rule change in 1857, and used it two years later for their own games. But the NABBP did not adopt the change until 1864 for fear it would make baseball too much like cricket and because players were afraid of getting hurt! This rule change persuaded Chadwick to turn his allegiance from cricket to baseball, a manly exercise valuable for American youth and more suited to the American character. Chadwick eventually became known as the father of American baseball journalism.²⁹

The coming of the Civil War slowed down the rise of middle-class sport, but the necessary conditions had been established that led to an enormous boom in middle-class athletic activity soon after the war's end. The new sports creed had been so well articulated that it had become the conventional wisdom. Employers who had once criticized their workers for neglecting their duties to play baseball changed their minds. In the late 1860s, two Chicago department-store moguls, John V. Farwell and Marshall Field, became so convinced that baseball taught such Victorian values as thrift, sobriety, virtue, and hard work that they organized company teams and gave players time off for practice and games. A respectable, gambling-free sporting culture was evolving, based on behavior and attitudes consonant with Victorian values that stressed the functionalism of competitive athletics. Sport was no longer merely child's play or vile amusement for the bachelor subculture, but a useful recreational activity appropriate for respectable middle-class young men who would be transformed into manly specimens, sound of body and pure of heart.³⁰

The Martial Spirit, Teamwork, and Middle-Class Sport, 1870-1900

Sport in the late nineteenth century continued to shape the middle-class sense of manliness. Middle-class masculinity was still mainly based on the role of breadwinner and head of household, but the men were undergoing a serious identity crisis that sport could help resolve. The enormous changes under way

with the rise of big business and the corporate state were causing a loss of individuality and self-esteem. The expansion of the federal government in the 1870s and the rise of big business in the 1880s were accompanied by the bureaucratization of the workplace, which created a great demand for managers, professionals, salesmen, and clerks. But these salaried workers were now subordinates, no longer independent workers or entrepreneurs, and they did not enjoy the same sense of creativity and accomplishment previously enjoyed by the old middle class. A second identity crisis was that young men questioned their own courage, having been too young to have fought in the Civil War and unsure if they could measure up to the bravery of their fathers, uncles, and brothers who had worn the blue or gray. Finally, the third crisis was the feminization of American culture, which had led to the overcivilization of society. American Protestantism was becoming feminized, with church pews dominated by women and stressing feminine values like humility and meekness, and was unable to reach out to young men. The eastern elite establishment and other opinion-makers were becoming frightened that the Anglo-Saxon male had become effete, was losing his sexual identity, and was becoming impotent. For example, Congregational minister Josiah Strong in *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Present Crisis* (1885) raised the specter of native-born white Americans being overtaken in the future by hordes of fertile immigrants from eastern and southern Europe. In the 1890s concerns for manliness were epitomized by such new words as "sissy," "stuffed shirt," and "molly-coddle." Manliness was now less a stage of development out of childhood than the opposite of femininity.³¹

One important response by middle-class men to this self-questioning was to turn to vigorous physical activity as a means of proving their manliness to themselves and others. They participated in a wide variety of strenuous, clean, outdoor sports to develop their strength, courage, and virility and to regain confidence in their masculinity. The preeminent exponent of using a "strenuous life" to achieve and certify one's masculinity was the elite New York civic reformer and future president Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt had outgrown a sickly childhood by a regimen of daily vigorous exercise and participation in such sports as boxing, riding, and hunting. He promoted a cult of masculinity through widely read essays published in the early 1890s in such prestigious mainstream periodicals as *North American Review* and *Harper's Weekly*. Roosevelt did not advocate manly activities merely for the physical joy they brought, or even their sense of accomplishment, but because the qualities that strenuous recreation endowed would make men into leaders who would contribute significantly to the commonweal. He believed there was "a

certain tendency to underestimate or overlook the needs of the virile, masculine qualities of the heart and mind," and tried to awaken public consciousness to those needs. In 1893 Roosevelt argued in "The Value of an Athletic Training" that "in a perfectly peaceful and commercial civilization such as ours there is always a danger of placing too little stress upon the more virile virtues—upon the virtues which go to make up a race of statesmen and soldiers, of pioneers and explorers." The young reformer recommended that men remedy the situation by participating in exercise and manly out-of-door sports. He was optimistic about the future, and was pleased to report a significant change for the better among well-to-do youth of the 1890s compared with their forebears at midcentury who had led effeminate and luxurious lives, a change he attributed to peer pressure.³²

Among the sports Roosevelt recommended were big-game hunting, boxing, and football, but they had more of an appeal for the elite than the middle classes. Roosevelt was himself a boxer who sparred into his forties, and was an ardent fan of amateur boxing. He encouraged boys and young men to box because "it was a vigorous manly pastime, one of those pastimes which have a distinct moral and physical value, because they encourage such essential virtues as courage, hardihood, endurance and self-control." However, he opposed professional boxing because he believed in the amateur ideal and recognized the brutality and degradation of prizefighting. There was a brief period of elite fascination with the ring in the late nineteenth century, even though prizefighting was illegal nearly everywhere, because sportsmen admired the courage and spartan training routines of pugilists. Genteel aficionados felt that in controlled circumstances boxing would make men of their sons, teach them how to direct their aggression, maintain their cool, be courageous and quick-thinking, and learn to identify and correct their own weaknesses. However, the sport held little appeal for middle-class Victorians. Even if they respected the courage and stamina of the boxer, he still represented the values of the sporting fraternity's counterculture. Middle-class sports fans regarded John L. Sullivan as a celebrity because of his awesome athletic prowess, but not as a hero because he lacked self-control outside the ring. They did not fully accept him because of his intemperance, bullying, and sexual behavior.³³

While hunting and boxing were individualistic sports that may have been excellent means of building manliness, few middle-class men followed those routes to character development, preferring instead team sports that were sociable, entertaining, sufficiently hazardous to promote manly qualities, and highly congruent with their future work options. The new game of football seemed particularly relevant to the needs of upper-middle-class and elite sons.

First played on an intercollegiate basis in 1869, it became Americanized from soccer and rugby and became the most prominent sport at the elite eastern universities. Football seemed the kind of game appropriate for a nation ripe for a clean, violent, virile, yet gentlemanly sport. Coming after the carnage of the Civil War in an era dominated by the social Darwinian concept of the survival of the fittest, football appeared the best sport to teach well-born young men the virtues of the martial life (sub-ordination and co-operation, presence of mind, endurance, precision, and courage) without the terror and bloodshed of war. Football was, in William James's words, a "moral equivalent of war" that would teach athletes to be "contemptuous of softness, surrendering of private interest, and obedient[t] to command." When Brahmin Civil War hero Henry Lee Higginson endowed Harvard's football field, he had it named Soldiers' Field in memory of his martyred classmates, providing a site where the next generation of proper Bostonians could test their manhood and martial spirit.³⁴

College football was dominated in the 1870s and 1880s by elite institutions, especially Yale, which only lost twice to Harvard in the 1880s and 1890s, a record that resulted in a "certain loss of manhood for the Cambridge youths." Yet by the 1890s intercollegiate football had spread across the country to private institutions like the University of Chicago and Stanford, as well as to the more democratic midwestern and far western state universities. Students from all social backgrounds showed a strong preference for intercollegiate athletics over traditional extracurricular activities like debating and literary clubs because it was exciting, promoted a sense of community, and operated independently of adult supervision. Furthermore, they believed that participation in team sports would help prepare graduates for modern, bureaucratized society.³⁵

The college game was extremely violent, dangerous, and at times brutal. The style of play in the 1890s emphasized mass and momentum rather than deception and wide-open offenses; passing was virtually nonexistent. The single most frightening play was the kickoff return when teams employed the flying wedge formation, introduced by Harvard in 1892, to burst through the defense for long gains. Players wore little protection, and the number of injuries and deaths was staggering (twelve deaths in 1902 alone). Furthermore, strategy sometimes dictated that players on one squad gang up on an opposing star former to put him out of the game. The bloodshed and such ungentlemanly behavior encouraged critics like Harvard President Charles Eliot and E. L. Godkin, mugwump editor of the *Nation*, to urge the banning of the sport.³⁶

Proponents of football tuned several of the criticisms of the game's violence on their heads. Most sports journalists joined with coaches and the

majority of athletic administrators in advocating the game, believing that its very violence and danger made it a manly sport and a moral equivalent of war. Caspar Whitney, a future editor of *Outing*, regarded football as the best game to train cadets and midshipmen.

The game is a mimic battle-field, on which the players must reconnoiter, skirmish, advance, attack, and retreat in good order. He must exercise strategy; be prepared to meet emergencies with coolness and judgement under trying circumstances; be trustworthy, observant, vigilant, have courage, pluck, fortitude, daring, and a spirit of self sacrifice to duty . . . [The player must] combine sobriety, common-sense, health, strength, sagacity, and esprit de corps to a marked degree; have a well-balanced manhood, a healthy mind in a sound body.

Professor Woodrow Wilson of Princeton, a former college coach, believed that football, like other sports, developed precision, presence of mind, and endurance, but particularly promoted co-operation, self-subordination, and discipline. Director Eugene L. Richards of the Yale Gymnasium described football as "the most manly and most scientific game in existence." The Harvard coach Lorin Deland, designer of the devastating flying wedge, and Yale's renowned coach Walter Camp co-authored *Football* in 1896 in which they argued that the physical and moral courage learned on the gridiron was excellent training for life.³⁷

The martial values of football came to the fore in the Spanish-American War. Colonel Teddy Roosevelt purposely recruited football players as well as cowboys and other manly types for the Rough Riders. Their escapades were covered by the noted journalist Richard Harding Davis, a former Lehigh football player and ex-sports reporter who compared the Rough Riders to a football eleven. They rode "eye on the ball, and moving in obedience to the captain's signals," and their spirit was identical to that which "once sent these men down a white-washed field against their opponent's rushline."³⁸

If football seemed to many upper-class and upper-middle opinion-makers the team sport that most directly prompted manliness for their sons, baseball was the game that was probably most influential in building manly characteristics among most middle-class young men. The national pastime was the most popular sport played and watched by the middle classes. Not only was it originally more prominent on college campuses, it was the preeminent sandlot sport. Besides the millions who played on a recreational basis, there were thousands who played in more organized settings; by the 1880s every city usually had an amateur white-collar workers' league. Furthermore, middle-class

fans had ample opportunities to observe and learn from the manly behavior of professionals because they had sufficient leisure time to attend briskly played minor-league or major-league games, which were scheduled at convenient times at fields usually located in the vicinity of middle-class residential neighborhoods.³⁹

Baseball was not only a manly game because of the courage needed to play (standing in the batter's box against a fast pitcher; sliding hard to break up the double play), it was even identified by certain commentators with a martial spirit. Morris Raphael Cohen, for instance, the noted philosopher and baseball fanatic, regarded baseball as a moral equivalent of war, although he never could convince his mentor William James. He may have been misled by the military metaphors that journalists frequently employed while discussing sports because it was a language familiar to many veterans and civilians. Far more important was that baseball was a team game highly congruent with the bureaucratic middle-class workplace, yet it also offered an opportunity to exercise one's individuality in a way that could not be done on the job. Baseball provided a milieu where traditional and contemporary values could be merged. Sedentary workers might develop a sense of team spirit and co-operation that were essential in their jobs, learning to sacrifice for the good of the team. But at the same time winning relied on nine players individually carrying their share of the load, each man doing what he did best. The result was pride and enhanced self-esteem through the *team's* success.⁴⁰

By the end of the Victorian Era, the college athletic hero and what he represented provided an important role-model for children and adolescents. The genre of juvenile pulp fiction portrayed young athletic heroes as manly individuals who had achieved prowess in sports, yet maintained a proper balance between mind and body. These idols were of sound character and befriended and protected those who were less gifted. The prime example was Frank Merriwell, a fictional character first introduced by Burt L. Standish (Gilbert Paten) in 1896. The series, which ran for more than twenty years, followed the exploits of Frank and his brother through Fardale School and Yale. At the height of the series' popularity, more than 500,000 copies were sold per week. Merriwell excelled at all forms of athletics, and had the uncanny knack of scoring the winning touchdown on the last play of the game, or hitting a homer in the bottom of the ninth to snatch victory from defeat. Frank was a handsome, model student whose "look of manliness . . . stamped him as a fellow of lofty thoughts and ambition." In each story Merriwell usually had to overcome a villainous and jealous schoolmate while protecting a weaker classmate. Standish's readers were taught that if they participated in athletics with

sportsmanship and led a righteous life just like Frank Merriwell, they would develop all the best traits of manliness and their future success was assured.⁴¹

The intercollegiate sports program also provided a model for secondary schools to emulate. The students at high schools in the late nineteenth century were from the middle class or above, many were college-bound, and they shared the same values as collegians. They copied many college extracurricular activities, like interschool athletic competition under the control of student organizations. Students and educators shared the conventional wisdom that athletics built character and trained values that could be readily transferred to the business world. The manly ethic of sports was most prominent, however, not at the public schools, but at the elite boarding schools, which following the lead of Groton headmaster Endicott Peabody in 1884, adopted the Muscular Christian philosophy, and made athletics compulsory. In emulation of student life at elite eastern colleges and the English public schools, competitive sports were employed to build up youths physically, morally, and spiritually as they learned to play by the rules, control their emotions, and carry out their responsibilities as members of disciplined teams. Sociologist Christopher Armstrong argues that "as games became the most popular schoolboy activity, manliness tended to overshadow Godliness and good learning." Head-masters hoped to train future leaders who would first prove themselves on the playing field and go on to "become good Christian soldiers, as prepared for moral combat or war as properly trained football players were for the big game." Once-pampered boys would leave Groton, St. Paul's, or Exeter ready for the manly playing fields of New Haven or San Juan Hill. They left school imbued with a moral code that called for playing by the rules, always trying their best, and discipline. These sportsmen were gentlemen who could now control and channel their aggression, unlike lower-class athletes who were supposedly overaggressive and out of control. Thus, as Armstrong indicates, the boarding-school youth were taught through sports a class-linked version of masculinity. Presumably many of the same lessons were also taught at Boston Latin and Brooklyn Tech.⁴²

Conclusion

Sport in the Victorian Era played an important role in redefining the criterion of middle-class masculinity, moving beyond the man's relationship to his work and family to include his character and physical self. Then, once sport refined the attributes of respectable manliness, it was employed to indoctrinate proper bourgeois virtues in succeeding generations. At the onset of the Victorian Era, sport had been totally antithetical to middle-class behavior. Sports

were violent, dangerous, immoral, prone to gambling, and occurred in exclusively male settings of dubious character. Sport had originally promoted a manly ethic congruent with the nature of life in premodern societies where life was harsh, hazardous, often uncivilized, and unpredictable. These values fit in well with life on the frontier, southern plantations, the open range, mining camps, and rough urban neighborhoods, but did not fit in well at all with life in settled communities or at the workplace under industrial capitalism.

The respectable urban middle classes began to participate in sport at mid-century as they learned from immigrants, social critics, health faddists, and other social reformers that physical culture could be enjoyed free of nefarious influences, and that participation was fun and uplifting at the same time. A new sport ideology developed that promoted team sports and other athletic pastimes that were consonant with the social values of hard-working, religious, future-oriented Victorians and promised to improve health, morality, and character (that is, manliness). Sedentary students and workers who were worried about their fitness and the unmanly nature of their work were drawn to sports to improve their health and gain respect for their manliness. Sport was no mere child's play, but would create Muscular Christians: rugged, disciplined, manly gentlemen would be produced out of effete, childlike youths. These men would be responsible, physically fit, moral adults who continued to live within traditional middle-class norms, abstaining from premarital sex, living within the virtues of domesticity, and serving as good providers.

Sport boomed as a middle-class recreation in the late nineteenth century and contributed significantly to the redefinition of middle-class manliness. The rise of bureaucratization, the threat posed by the new immigrants, an uncertainty of measuring up to brave ancestors, and the feminization of culture encouraged middle-class young men to test their manliness through vigorous physical activity, especially team sports. Participation in strenuous, if not dangerous, clean outdoor sports would develop strength, courage, and virility, while restoring self-confidence. Sport tested one's mettle and prepared one for adulthood. Followers of the strenuous life would grow up to become self-controlled, disciplined men of action who were team players in the workplace and bearers of the white man's burden who would protect the race against inferior immigrant strains and surmount the feminization of American culture.

Notes

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2. Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven, Conn. 1977); Barbara Welser, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (summer 1966), 151-74; E. Anthony Rotundo, "Body and Soul: Changing Ideals of American Middle Class Manhood, 1770-1920," *Journal of Social History* 16 (fall 1983), 23-38; Peter Stearns, *Be a Man! Males in Modern Society* (New York, 1979); Joe L. Dubbert, *A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1979). On the sporting fraternity, see Benjamin G. Rader, *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1983), pp. 30-34; Elliott J. Gorn, "'Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch': The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Backcountry," *American Historical Review* 90 (February 1985), 23-38; idem, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986); Michael T. Isenberg, *John L. Sullivan and His America* (Urbana, Ill., 1988).
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4. Nancy L. Struna, "Puritans and Sport: The Irretrievable Tide of Change," *Journal of Sport History* 4 (spring 1977), 1-21; Peter Wagner, "Puritan Attitudes Towards Physical Recreation in Seventeenth-Century New England," ibid., 3 (summer 1975), 139-51; Betts, "Mind and Body," 787-95.
5. John R. Betts, *America's Sporting Heritage, 1850-1950* (Reading, Mass., 1974), pp. 6, 8, 19-20, 47, 195; John Lucas and Ronald Smith, *The Saga of American Sport* (Philadelphia, 1978), pp. 96, 109, 111, 137-39; Rader, *American Sports*, pp. 35, 52, 149-50; Timothy Breen, "Horses and Gentlemen: The Cultural Significance of Gambling Among the Gentry of Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly* 34 (April 1977), 331-33.
6. Robert W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (Cambridge, U.K., 1973); Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rules*
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9. A. A. Livermore, "Gymnastics," *North American Review* 169 (1855), 52, quoted in Park, "Formation of a 'Man of Character,'" 18; Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," *Atlantic Monthly* 1 (May 1858), 881. See also S. D. Kehoe, *The Indian Club Exercise, Also General Remarks on Physical Culture* (New York, 1861), 19, and Maurice Kloss, "The Dumb Bell Instructor for Parlor Gymnasts," in Dio Lewis, ed., *The New Gymnastics for Men, Women and Children* (Boston, 1862), p. 120, quoted in Harvey Green, *Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport and American Society* (New York, 1986), p. 183. On English school sports, see, for example, John Ford, *This Sporting Land* (London, 1977), pp. 172-85, and Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players: A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football* (New York, 1979), pp. 83-86, 94-96.
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11. Betts, "Public Recreation," 38-41, 43.
12. Ibid. 46-48. An 1859 New York medical convention specifically recommended "that Grounds be set apart for gymnastic exercise and various manly sports." See John Bell, *Report on the Importance and Economy of Sanitary Measures to Cities* (New York, 1860), pp. 165-68, quoted in ibid., p. 48.
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- dissertation, Cornell University, 1973), pp. 131–39; Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and Theodorak Kimball, eds., *Frederick Law Olmsted, Landscape Architect, 1822–1903* (1922–28; rep. New York, 1970), pp. 126–27, 139–40, 276–77, 421–22; Thomas Bender, *Towards an Urban Vision: Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth Century America* (Lexington, Ky., 1975), p. 176. Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870–1920* (New York, 1983), p. 128, and Hardy, *How Boston Played*, p. 80, examine the problems of working-class urbanites seeking to use the suburban parks. On Olmsted's impact outside New York, see, for example, Glen E. Holt, "Private Plans for Public Places: The Origins of Chicago's Park System, 1850–1875," *Chicago History* 8 (fall 1979), 173–84, and Cynthia Zaitzevsky, *Frederick Law Olmsted and the Boston Park System* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), pp. 28–32.
14. Hardy, *How Boston Played*, pp. 40–41, 45–53; Boyer, *Urban Masses*, pp. 3–120; Rader, *American Sports*, pp. 30–35.
15. Adelman, *A Sporting Time*, pp. 106, 173–74, 181–84, 186; Gorn, *Manly Art*, pp. 140–47, 198–200.
16. Lucas and Smith, *Saga of American Sport*, pp. 109 (quote), 137; Dunning and Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen, and Players*, pp. 86–89; Green, *Fit for America*, ch. 8.
17. Lucas and Smith, *Saga of American Sport*, pp. 108–9, 137, 139; Hardy, *How Boston Played*, pp. 50–51; Adelman, *A Sporting Time*, pp. 279–82; Rader, *American Sports*, pp. 149–51; Christian Messenger, *Sport and the Spirit of Play in American Fiction: Hawthorne to Faulkner* (New York, 1981), pp. 149–54; Caspar Whitney, "The Minister and the Athletics: Mr. Caspar Whitney's Views," *Outlook* 55 (January 1897), 183.
18. Adelman, *A Sporting Time*, pp. 279–80; Charles S. Rosenberg, "Sexuality, Class and Role in Nineteenth Century America," *American Quarterly* 25 (May 1973), 119 (quote); Stephanie L. Twin, "Women and Sport," in Donald Spivey, ed., *Sport in America, New Historical Perspectives* (Westport, Conn., 1985), p. 198; Donald J. Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality, 1880–1930* (Knoxville, 1983), pp. 22–27.
19. Adelman, *A Sporting Time*, p. 284; *New York Herald*, July 27, 1859; *New York Times*, June 21, 1854.
20. Adelman, *A Sporting Time*, pp. 255–59, 262–66. On golf and tennis see Caspar Whitney, "Evolution of the Country Club," *Harper's Monthly* 90 (December 1894), 16–23; George Kobbe, "The Country Club and Its Influence on American Social Life," *Outlook* 68 (June 1, 1901), 302–21; Robert Dunn, "The Country Club: A National Expression," *Outing* (1905), 160–74; Rader, *American Sports*, pp. 65–68; Ripley Hitchcock, "Country Club Life," *Chataquan* 9 (1889), 601–13; H. W. Wind, "Golfing in and around Chicago," *Chicago History* 4 (winter 1975–1976), 44–51. On cycling, see Norman L. Dunham, "The Bicycle Era in American History" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1956), 47–51, 57–148; Hardy, *How Boston Played*, ch. 8; Richard Harmond, "Progress and Flight: An Interpretation of the American Cycle Craze of the 1890s," *Journal of Social History* 5 (winter 1971–1972), 253–57;

George D. Bushnell, "When Chicago Was Wheel Crazy," *Chicago History* 4 (fall 1975), 172–75.

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22. Henry Metzner, *A Brief History of the American Turnerbund* (Pittsburgh, 1924), pp. 7–24; Horst Uebertor, *Turner Unterem Sternennbanner: Der Kampf der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turner für Einheit, Freiheit, und Soziale Gerechtigkeit, 1848 bis 1918* (Munich, 1978); Robert K. Barney, "Knights of Cause and Exercise: German Forty-Eighters and Turnvereine in the United States during the Ante-Bellum Period," *Canadian Journal of the History of Sport* 13 (December 1982), 62–79; R. Von Raumer, "Physical Education," *American Journal of Education* 8 (1860), 185 (quote).

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27. Harold Seymour, *Baseball*, vol. 1, *The Early Years* (New York, 1960), pp. 5–9.

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30. Stephen Freeman, "The Baseball Fad in Chicago, 1865–1870: An Exploration of the Role of Sport in the Nineteenth Century City," *Journal of Sport History* 5 (summer 1978), 42–64.

31. Cindy Sondik Aron, *Ladies and Gentlemen of the Civil Service: Middle-Class Workers in Victorian America* (New York, 1987), pp. 1–5; George Frederickson, *The*

Inner Civil War (New York, 1965), p. 224; Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York, 1977); Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (Oxford, 1978); Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* (Oxford, 1986); Lucas and Smith, *Saga of American Sport*, ch. 17; Adelman, *A Sporting Time*, pp. 281–86; Rader, *American Sports*, pp. 150–51; Dubbert, *Man's Place*, ch. 6; Gerald F. Roberts, "The Strenuous Life: The Cult of Manliness in the Era of Theodore Roosevelt" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1970), pp. 84–144; Twin, "Women in Sport," 199; Stephanie Twin, "Jock and the Aspects of Women's Sport History in America, 1870–1940" (Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1979), 44–65.

In John Higham's much-praised but dated speculative essay, he exaggerated the importance of regeneration among middle- and upper-class males in promoting a rise in sports in the 1890s. Higham did not realize that respectable sporting cultures had been well developed before the 1890s. See John Higham, "The Recreation of American Culture in the 1890s," in John Weiss, ed., *The Origin of Modern Consciousness* (Detroit, 1965), pp. 25–48.

32. Theodore Roosevelt, *Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography* (New York, 1924), ch. 2; Edward Wagenknecht, *The Seven Worlds of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 1958), ch. 1; Roosevelt, "Professionalism in American Sports," *North American Review* 151 (August 1890), 187; idem, "The Value of Athletic Training," *Harper's Weekly* 37 (December 1893), 1236; idem, "The American Boy," *Theodore Roosevelt, The Strenuous Life and Other Essays* (New York, 1956), p. 14. See also Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality*, pp. 34–39, 43–51.

33. Theodore Roosevelt, "The Boone and Crockett Club," *Harper's Weekly* 35 (March 1893), 267; idem, "The Recent Prize Fight," *Outlook* 95 (July 16, 1910), 142; idem, *Autobiography*, pp. 28, 40–42; Gorn, *Manly Art*, pp. 196–97. On late nineteenth-century elite fascination with pugilism, see Gorn, *Manly Art*, pp. 144–24; Dale A. Somers, *The Rise of Sports in New Orleans, 1850–1900* (Baton Rouge, 1972), pp. 174–91; Isenberg, *Sullivan*, pp. 224–35.

34. Frederickson, *Inner Civil War*, p. 224; William James, *The Moral Expansion of War and Other Essays* (New York, 1971), pp. 6–7, 12; Higham, "Recreation of American Culture," 25–48; Dubbert, *A Man's Place*, pp. 175–80; Messenger, *Sport and the Spirit of Play*, p. 137.

35. Lucas and Smith, *Saga of American Sport*, ch. 13; Rader, *American Sports*, pp. 75–86; John Hammond Moore, "Football's Ugly Decades, 1893–1913," *Sewanee Review* 2 (fall 1967), 49–68. See also Guy M. Lewis, "The American Intercollegiate Football Spectacle, 1869–1917" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1965), and Robin Dale Lester, "The Rise, Decline, and Fall of Football at the University of Chicago, 1892–1940" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1973).

36. Moore, "Football's Ugly Decades," 49–55; Lucas and Smith, *Saga of American Sport*, pp. 239–42.

37. Caspar Whitney, "The Athletic Development at West Point and Annapolis," *Harper's Weekly* 36 (May 21, 1892), 496; Moore, "Football's Ugly Decades," 50; Eugene L. Richards, Jr., "Foot-ball in America," *Outing* 6 (1885), 62–66; Walter Camp and Lorin Deland, *Football* (Boston, 1896), pp. 193–204.

38. Messenger, *Sport and the Spirit of Play*, pp. 142, 144; Richard Harding Davis, *The Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns* (New York, 1898), pp. 152–53, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 144.

39. Lucas and Smith, *Saga of American Sport*, pp. 199–201; Steven A. Riess, *Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era* (Westport, Conn., 1980), pp. 26–30, 173–80; Freeman, "Baseball Fad," 53–61; Gelber, "Working at Playing," 8, 10–12; Steven Gelber, "Their Hands Are All Out Playing: Business and Amateur Baseball, 1845–1917," *Journal of Sport History* 11 (spring 1984), 5–27.

40. David Lamoreaux, "Baseball in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Sources of Its Appeal," *Journal of Popular Culture* 11 (1977), 602–8; Gelber, "Working at Playing," in Riess, *Touching Base*, pp. 22–23, 26. On the popularity of baseball at the turn of the century, and its perceived social functions, see Riess, *Touching Base*, chs. 2 and 7. For examples of the conventional wisdom about baseball's character-building capacity, see H. Addington Bruce, "Baseball and the National Life," *Outing* 104 (May 1913), 105–6; and Henry S. Curtis, "Baseball," *Journal of Education* 42 (April 27, 1916), 466–67.

41. Messenger, *Sport and the Spirit of Play*, pp. 165–72; Dubbert, *Man's Place*, pp. 14–19; John L. Cutler, *Gilbert Patten and His Frank Merriwell Saga* (Orono, Maine, 1964), quoted in *ibid.*, p. 38. In post-Victorian America the athlete who best epitomized the manly character of sport was Christy Mathewson, star pitcher for the New York Giants, whose total of 373 victories is still the National League record. He was a Muscular Christian who learned to play baseball at the YMCA, seldom pitched on Sundays, and almost always exhibited complete sportsmanship and honorable behavior both on and off the field. A star football player at Bucknell, Mathewson was the closest thing to a real Frank Merriwell, and was himself the role model for a juvenile series of sports fiction. Mathewson retired from the diamond to become a manager, but resigned during World War I to serve his country. He was gassed overseas, which contributed to his untimely death seven years later. See Riess, *Touching Base*, pp. 23–24; Douglas Wallop, *Baseball: An Informal History* (New York, 1965), pp. 115–16, 129–31; *Dictionary of American Biography* s.v. "Mathewson, Christy," "Editorial," *Commonweal* 2 (October 21, 1925), 579.

42. Joseph Kert, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York, 1977), pp. 138, 183–89; Jeffrey Mirel, "From State Control to Institutional Control of High School Athletics: Three Michigan Cities, 1883–1905," *Journal of Social History* 16 (winter 1982), 84–92; Hardy, *How Boston Played*, pp. 109–22; Christopher F. Armstrong, "The Lessons of Sports: Class Socialization in British and American Boarding Schools," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 1 (1984), 315, 321–24.