

The View from the Stadium: The University of Kansas' Memorial Stadium and the College Stadium Movement

By
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Abstract

The View from the Stadium: The University of Kansas' Memorial Stadium, is a meditation over the college football stadium movement of the post-World War I era. The study incorporates higher education history, intellectual and social history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, African and African American history, Indigenous Nations history, whiteness studies, geography, sports history, and political philosophy. This dissertation seeks to establish the social and political backgrounds that inform the stadium movement of the 1920s. The aim is to understand the factors that influenced how KU's Memorial Stadium (1921) was conceptualized, completed and subsequently. It is a conceptual intervention focused on stadium space and use, and contributes to the scholarship of higher education and sport.

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Introduction

In the book *Big Time College Athletics*, Charles Clotfelter asks the same question about higher education and sports that Henry Pritchett, “then president of the Carnegie Foundation,” did in 1929:¹ what does popular entertainment have to do with an institution dedicated to scholarship, research, and education?² What forces have bound them to each other? The *incongruous* relationship between college athletics and higher education in America is a century old topic. The “well-intentioned” but failed 1898 Brown Conference is among the first noted summits on college sports in John Thelin’s examination of reform movements, *Games Colleges Play: Scandal and Reform in Intercollegiate Athletics*. Thirty-one years after Brown, the 1929 Carnegie Report on *American College Athletics* set the standards of critique.³

Writing on the 80th anniversary of the report, Clotfelter wrote, “what is most striking...is how contemporary its findings sound today...the descriptions it gives of 1929 provide an eerily accurate picture of 2009:” commercialization, professionalization, commodification, and avarice, central concerns then, remain primary concerns about college athletics today.⁴ James L. Shulman and William G. Bowen start their chapter, “Taking Stock,” in *The Game of Life: College Sports and Educational Values*, with “the findings of this study demonstrate that the twin concerns expressed by the Carnegie Commission in 1929 have by no means gone away in

¹ Charles Clotfelter, *Big-Time Sports in American Universities* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 7.

² *Ibid*, 24.

³ John R. Thelin, *Games Colleges Play: Scandal and Reform in Intercollegiate Athletics* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 16; Howard Savage, *American College Athletics*, (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1929).

⁴ Charles Clotfelter, “Big-Time College Athletics 80 Years Later,” *Duke Today*, Duke University, October 27, 2009. https://today.duke.edu/2009/10/clotfelter_oped.html.

the intervening years.”⁵ The “twin concerns” were students who were athletes first and faculty control of athletics.⁶ Clotfelter, “look[ed] at the 100 biggest names in college football in 1920 [to] see what [had] happened to them since then.” He found that 60 teams remained in the top 100 in 2011. “One would be hard pressed to find many markets for consumer goods or services in which 60% of today’s most successful firms or products had also been among the most successful 90 years before,” he pointed-out.⁷ This does not take into account that Harvard, Princeton, Yale, Lehigh, and Colgate, among others, were counted as the biggest names in college football in 1920 but would no longer be considered top 100 programs now. These universities may not have “big-time” football today, but football is still big at these schools. People may not find college football programs venerable, but they are among the most durable institutions we have in America.

How can these things be? How can it be that 60% of the best football “firms” now were among the best football firms one hundred years ago? How can it be that the criticism we have of those football firms now was also the criticism we had of them in 1929? Clotfelter summarizes the situation, “in the eight decades [now nine] since the Carnegie Report of 1929, remarkably little has changed.”⁸ How can this be? How have the programs endured? Why has the criticism remained, generally, the same?

Scholars recognize four ways college athletics and the university have ended up together. From Clotfelter: the “educational argument,” the idea that sports are educational;

⁵ James L. Shulman and William G. Bowen, *The Game of Life: College Sports and Educational Values* (Princeton: NJ, Princeton University Press, 2001), 268.

⁶ *Ibid*, 8.

⁷ Clotfelter, *Big-Time Sports in American Universities*, 49.

⁸ *Ibid*, 10.

the financial argument, the belief that colleges make money from sports; the attention argument, sometimes called the front porch theory, the concept that “athletic acclaim begets public attention;” and, the bonding argument, the notion that college athletics are a bond for the community.⁹ In sum, people learn from sports so they fit in educational institutions, college athletics generates money, which is beneficial for the school, teams and games, especially on television, help recruit students and build interest in the university, this can have a positive impact on endowment, revenues, and enrollment, and athletic events bring communities together on campus. Holes have been poked in these theories.

Shulman and Bowen explain that “the only academic achievement required for admission, for a scholarship, or for competition (from 1973 to 1986) was the requirement that athletes graduate from high school with a GPA of 2.0 or better.”¹⁰ These facts undercut the integrity of the educational argument. Clotfelter shows that athletics have a “tendency to lose money” and can be “financial drains on academic programs” calling into question the money argument.¹¹ So many stories about and profiles of college sports and athletes are critical or criminal. A salacious example is Carl Dotson’s 2003 murder of his Baylor basketball teammate Pat Dennehy.¹² The more recent Adidas scandal that has embroiled college basketball and continues to unfold is another example.¹³ It seems that no news cycle passes without a reminder about inappropriate or damaging occurrences in college sports. These realizations

⁹ Ibid, (educational argument) 7, (money argument) 8, (public attention argument) 8, (bonding argument) 9.

¹⁰ Shulman and Bowen, 13.

¹¹ Clotfelter, 107.

¹² Olivia Messer, “Ex-Baylor Coach Caught Lying Again About Murdered Player,” *Daily Beast*, April 10, 2017. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/ex-baylor-coach-caught-lying-again-about-murdered-player>.

¹³ Mark Schlabach, “Three sentenced in Adidas recruiting scandal,” *ESPN*, March 5, 2019. https://www.espn.com/mens-college-basketball/story/_/id/26141993/three-sentenced-adidas-recruiting-scandal.

add to the incredulity of the situation and erode the arguments for why sports and higher education have ended up together in America.

The traditional arguments and incredulity give way to arguably the most prevalent idea about why we have what we have now, athletics staged a hostile takeover of the academy. The title of William C. Dowling's 2007 book, *Confessions of a Spoilsport: My Life and Hard Times Fighting Sports Corruption at an Old Eastern University* (Rutgers), speaks for itself.¹⁴ Many if not most critics, like Dowling, argue that with the help of compromised legislators, administrators, and faculty "true believers who "yearn" for athletic success, the athletic department has gained unbridled power in the academy and perverted the aims of higher education.¹⁵ This is a widely held belief, almost a truism in scholarly circles. Clotfelter, Shulman and Bowen, and Thelin all write about this in one way or another. Many people use strong language when describing the process, John Thelin's *Games that Colleges Play: Scandal and Reform in Intercollegiate Athletics* is an illustrative example.

He wrote in 1991, that college athletics have "inaccessible documents." They are "protected and promoted," and present a "blurred identity." They operate in "self-dealing" and have a "relatively unchecked concentration of administrative power." There are "marginal requirements for reporting," and they present "shifting claims" to the public. Athletic departments "avoid scrutiny" and hold the "potential to dilute the administrative credibility of a university president." Sports "divert resources and attention from educational priorities."

¹⁴ William C. Dowling, *Confessions of a Spoilsport: My Life and Hard Times Fighting Sports Corruption at an Old Eastern University* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007).

¹⁵ Clotfelter, *Big-Time Sports in American Universities*, 34.

And, drawing a clear connection to slavery, he calls college athletics a “peculiar institution.”¹⁶ This is just in the first three pages of the book. His position is clear and his tone is representative of much of the critical scholarship of higher education and sport.

Athletic department as de facto plantation was not in the *Carnegie Report*, but it is now a broadly held idea inside and outside the academy. Harry Edward’s *The Revolt of the Black Athlete* first published by The Free Press in 1969, helped draw attention to the “‘slave systems’ of control and exploitation of Black athlete talent.”¹⁷ More recently, Taylor Branch’s *Atlantic* article “The Shame of College Sports” once again brought the idea into public discussion.¹⁸ “Slavery analogies should be used carefully. College athletes are not slaves,” Branch wrote in 2015. “Yet – to survey the scene – corporations and universities enriching themselves on the backs of uncompensated young men, whose status as ‘student-athletes’ deprives them of the right of due process guaranteed by the Constitution – is to catch an unmistakable whiff of the plantation.”¹⁹ This is another serious accusation and problem to add to the long litany of historic concerns about college sports.

Sports generally and college sports specifically have also acted as vehicles for racial justice. This does not erase the plantation criticisms, but is another part of the identity of athletics that is important to recognize and understand. In addition to Edward’s *The Revolt of*

¹⁶ Thelin, “peculiar institution,” 1; “inaccessible documents,” 1; “protected and promoted,” 2; “blurred identity,” 2; “self-dealing and relatively unchecked concentration of administrative power,” 2; “marginal requirements for reporting,” 2; “shifting claims,” 3; “avoiding scrutiny,” 3; “potential to dilute the administrative credibility of a university president,” 3; and “diverts resources and attention from educational priorities,” 3.

¹⁷ Harry Edwards, *The Revolt of the Black Athlete, 50th Anniversary Edition* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2017), xii.

¹⁸ Taylor Branch, “The Shame of College Sports,” *The Atlantic*, October 2011.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2011/10/the-shame-of-college-sports/308643/>.

¹⁹ Ibid.

the Black Athlete a number of texts profile the role sports play as a vehicle for social justice in America. Dave Zirin's *What's My Name, Fool: Sports and Resistance in the United States* is one example.²⁰ Tim Wolfe's resignation as President of the University of Missouri system in 2015 hastened by MU's football team's decision to boycott play until he stepped down showed America again that Black college athletes have power, authority, and purpose in the academy that transcends sports.²¹ All of these aspects of the conversations about race and sport, the problematic systemic structure and sport as site of resistance and transcendence, frame part of the background of this dissertation and inform my theoretical approach to this project.

Mine is a conceptual intervention that addresses the problem of the behaviors and relationships that have created the social reality of college sports in American higher education. Historic and active racial dynamics in athletic departments, on campus, and across the nation are important factors in the behaviors and relationships that shape the identities of games on campus. As this dissertation will show, this is a key part of answering, returning to Henry Pritchett's 1929 question (asked again by Clotfelter in 2011), how is it that sports and higher education go together?

Clotfelter's approach to studying higher education and sport is to find a "path between the moralistic denunciations on the one side and the moralistic justifications on the other."²² Towards those ends, he calls American universities "peculiar organizations" and refers to college sports as a rare example of "American exceptionalism," at least a casual reference to

²⁰ Dave Zirin, *What's My Name, Fool: Sports and Resistance in the United States* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2005).

²¹ Daniel Arkin, Alex Johnson, and John Schuppe, "University of Missouri President Tim Wolfe Resigns Amid Racial Unrest, *NBC News*, November 9, 2015. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/tim-wolfe-university-missouri-president-says-hes-resigning-amid-racial-n459941>.

²² Clotfelter, *Big-Time College Sports in American Universities*, 14.

chattel slavery, another of the accepted American exceptionalisms. But, he also finds examples of racial integration in sports that have the “possibility and even the *desirability* of equality and cooperation across identifiable groups in society, in particular across racial lines.”²³ College sports teams, he also notes, far outpaced the broader university in introducing “racial diversity” into the academy.²⁴ His work is an attempt to find the negotiated space between practice and possibility in college athletics in order to salvage something of the relationship. The method he uses to accomplish these aims is telling and an example of an approach that informs much of the historic and contemporary criticism of college sports in America.

As an economist, Clotfelter is interested in how athletic departments operate. His work is done through the “prism of athletic operations.”²⁵ He studies sports from the positions of “consumer demand,” “market structure,” and “consumer surplus.”²⁶ James L. Shulman, a “financial and administrative officer” at the Mellon Foundation, and William G. Bowen, an economist and former President of Princeton, measure admissions processes, the ways in which sports help create a class at an institution, and the academic outcomes for students in *The Game of Life: College Sports and Educational Values*.²⁷ A historian, Thelin’s primary concern in *Games Colleges Play* is the organizational structure of schools, athletic departments, and reform movements. Despite different foci, these studies share a critical approach to the study of higher education and athletics. Whether focused on costs, admissions and graduation rates, or bureaucratic and administrative procedures, each of these studies is primarily concerned

²³ Ibid, 202.

²⁴ Ibid, 203.

²⁵ Ibid, 22.

²⁶ Ibid, “consumer demand” and “market structure,” 70, “consumer surplus,” 90.

²⁷ Shulman and Bowen, *The Game of Life*, back cover.

with exposing procedural failings. These studies root out inefficiencies, sleights of hand, policy violations, procedural aberrations, insubordinations, exploitative politics, and lies in college sports.

This body work is important and has resulted in important dialogue and some positive change at the institutional and NCAA levels. It also makes up part of the background of this dissertation. The ways in which college athletic departments have perverted the aims of higher education, profited from unpaid labor, and made a mockery of institutional and academic standards, will not be ignored. But still, that lingering now for the last hundred years question remains. If we have understood these things for so long, how come they have not changed? The hostile takeover theory is one possible answer, it suggests that the athletic coalition, which includes administrators, faculty, legislators, and boosters, has compromised the university. But there is a second lingering question, too, how come we are having, for the most part, the same conversation we did before the Great Depression? We might be, borrowing from Clotfelter's sentiment, also hard pressed to find a body of scholarship that has changed so little over the past 90 years.²⁸

The work of Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio in *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* informs this dissertation, too.²⁹ They hold that in modern organizations like universities efficiencies are exclusive from social realities. The question of whether a program is working well is separate from the question of why a program exists and holds the position it does. They write "institutional rules may have effects on organizational

²⁸ Clotfelter, *Big-Time Sports in American Universities*, 7.

²⁹ Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio, eds., *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

structures and their implementation in actual technical work which are very different from the effects generated by the networks of social behavior and relationships which compose and surround a given organization.”³⁰ Given this, “institutional rules,” “organizational structures,” the “technical work” of athletic departments, even their bottom lines may have little bearing on the social reality of college sports. Perhaps this is part of the answer to the question about why the basic argument against athletics in American higher education has changed very little over the past century. In modern organizations like universities, operations, a valuable focus of much of the criticism of college athletics since the Carnegie Report, sometimes have little effect on how people feel about an organization.

The Study

This dissertation focuses on the college football stadium, a space that the athletic department and the university share to try and discover something about the social reality of sports and college. Brian Ingrassia devotes a chapter in *The Rise of Gridiron University: Higher Education’s Uneasy Alliance with Big-Time Football* to the college football stadium boom of the 1920s.³¹ Clotfelter also briefly references the stadium boom, calling the 1920s a “decade of intense stadium construction.”³² My aim is to build on these studies and examine stadiums not only through the lens of athletic utility, but also university use. What forces inform the stadium boom of the 1920s and what were stadiums used for? Can this tell us anything about the relationship between athletic department and university?

³⁰ Ibid, 42.

³¹ Brian Ingrassia, *The Rise of Gridiron University: Higher Education’s Uneasy Alliance with Big-Time Football* (Lawrence, KS: The University of Kansas Press, 2012), 139-170.

³² Clotfelter, *Big-Time Sports in American Universities*, 47.

In order to do this, the first chapter presents a theoretical and historic review of games and venues to better understand how sports and arenas can and have operated. Special attention is paid to sports and sporting attitudes within the context of World War I, which immediately preceded the stadium boom. In this vein, the relationship between war and sport is also specifically examined. In the second chapter, drawing on the work of educational historians and social theorists, the football foundations of the stadium movement are established. This chapter focuses on developing an understanding of the meanings and values football communicated to audiences that helped make it the most popular sport in America between the Civil War and World War I.

The third chapter defines what a stadium is and provides early examples of college football stadiums in America. It also explores the social atmosphere of the 1920s that fostered the stadium boom before beginning a discussion of the University of Kansas and Kansas' Memorial Stadium (1921). The chapter closes with a detailed look at the social forces that generated, promoted, and executed the construction of the stadium in Lawrence. The fourth chapter is concerned with the ways the stadium was used in the years immediately following its opening. In addition to a brief discussion of stadium sports, two organizations, the KU KU Klan and the Sachems, are profiled. This discussion is followed by an analysis of speeches from two events that are held at the stadium by 1924, freshman initiation and commencement.

For the final chapter, nine interviews were conducted with university employees, former students (some of whom were athletes who played in the stadium), and community members, all of whom hold living memories of Memorial Stadium. Their collective memory spans 1933 to 2019. The goal of this final chapter is to bring living memories into conversation with the

archival documents and historical sources that inform the first four chapters in order to trace how the stadium's identity has changed, or remained the same since its opening.

The overall aim of the dissertation is to better understand the stadium movement and how it shaped the identities of so many institutions and changed the landscape of higher education. Built in 1921, KU's Memorial Stadium holds the distinction of being one of the oldest concrete stadiums west of the Mississippi River. As a "Memorial Stadium" it is also representative of a specific building trend within the stadium movement of the post-War period. In addition to Kansas, Kansas State Agricultural College (1922), Oklahoma (1923), Illinois (1923), California (1923), Minnesota (1924), Texas (1924), Indiana (1925), Haskell (1926), and Missouri (1926) all built "Memorial Stadiums" dedicated to the War dead.³³ The study is unique because whereas some studies focus on higher education history and include college sports within the category of student life, and others focus on the history of college sports and contextualize that history within the broader development of higher education history, I focus on a building that shaped the identity of the athletic department, university, and student body and place it within both the histories of higher education and college sports.

The study is also generalizable, because KU's Memorial Stadium was not only part of a memorial stadium building trend but of a larger stadium trend. As will be shown in the first chapter, at least 50 schools built football stadiums in the decade after the war ended. Using historical analysis and oral history, I answer questions like how was the stadium built at KU? Who supported it? How was the idea promoted and disseminated? How were decisions about location, design, and timeline arrived at? What functions was it promised to serve? What

³³ See appendices A and B.

functions did it serve? And, what value did students, faculty, administration, and community find in it? Answers to these questions provide insight about how the stadium shaped university life and identity and may provide a more complete understanding of the century old question about how the university and its athletic department go together.

Chapter 1: Stadiums in Theory, Games in History

As college football stadiums go, the University of Kansas' David Booth Kansas Memorial Stadium is a particularly rich subject for study. Built in 1921, it is one of the first college football stadiums of the post-war era and the first to be named "Memorial Stadium" of at least 10 built in the 1920s.³⁴ Located in Lawrence, Kansas, a city of considerable political importance in American history, it is not only part of the political landscape of the University, Lawrence, and Kansas, but also of the United States. It is emblematic of American spirit and built to tell America's stories, especially frontier, Civil War, and World War I memories and narratives.

In its study, it is possible to find clues to the evolving civic rights, obligations, histories, and energies that are important to the stadium's constituent communities: the university, state, and nation. As a Memorial Stadium, it reveals something about America's war experiences. As part of the unprecedented stadium movement that swept the country after World War I, it is a key component in any effort to understand the modern American higher education system. Stadiums are not only pervasive on and across the higher education landscape in the post-war period, they became permanent features of the university's built environment. Why? How? And, to what purposes?

This chapter explores how stadiums work theoretically and historically. The questions that direct this part of the study include: what roles have stadiums played for the communities they have served? In what ways are they representative of the people who have built them? Where are they located and why? And, what stories do they tell? To answer these queries, the

³⁴ Haskell Indian Nations University, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas State Agricultural College (now Kansas State), Minnesota, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Texas, and California built "Memorial Stadiums" in the 1920s. See appendices A and B.

study draws on a cacophony of voices concerned with the ways buildings generally and stadiums specifically have been part of the human experience. Many of these voices, including those of geographers J.B. Jackson and Edward Casey, philosopher Elias Canetti, and poet Ben Lerner, have been overlooked in scholarship concerned with the sociology, history, and business of higher education and sport. Their work, collectively, underscores the importance of buildings as cultural landmarks and stadium experiences as transformative. Their unique contributions include stadiums as part of the political landscape (Jackson), as places that are acculturating (Casey), as buildings that speak (Canetti), and as acting wave-like in function (Lerner). To connect these points, this study defines landscape and political landscape, explores the importance of buildings as cultural symbols, and examines the unique ways stadiums function in order to understand how they serve people in their “political guise.”³⁵

In addition, this chapter explores the roles sport played in World War I. The goal is to frame the historical moment immediately preceding the stadium movement in order to establish the background for an examination of KU’s Memorial Stadium. This section of the chapter is reliant on the work of historian Paul Fussell. His book *The Great War and Modern Memory* demonstrates that sport and sporting spirit were part of the ideological foundation of World War I.³⁶ The language of sport influenced troop recruitment, war narratives, and battlefield tactics and action. Sport and the sporting spirit were also part of the way people imagined and rationalized the war, and they are central features in the development and emergence of ironic thinking, arguably, the most important intellectual outcome of the war.

³⁵ John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), 12.

³⁶ Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Though Fussell is concerned with the roles that sport and the sporting spirit played in the British war effort, his work is also a window into the experience and role of sport in America during the war.³⁷

Additionally, this chapter explores the history of stadiums, games, and related traditions, antecedents to college football stadiums, in order to establish the social, cultural, and political precedents and trends that inform the stadium movement in America. Drawing upon European, Mesoamerican, and North American indigenous traditions, the study evaluates how stadiums and games connect contemporary political needs to mythical, heroic, and imagined pasts in the service of national projects, especially war. The study finds that that the mass emergence of college football stadiums in America in the 1920s makes sense within America's historical and emerging identities as a nation and global superpower at the end of World War I. The chapter underscores the importance and meaning of stadiums in several contexts and provides a theoretical framework and lens through which to examine the specific histories and identities of college football (chapter 2) and KU's Memorial Stadium (chapters 3, 4, & 5).

Stadiums in the Landscape: The Theoretical and Historical Importance of Stadiums in Global Contexts

Geographer J.B. Jackson defines landscape as a "composition of man-made or man-modified spaces to serve as infrastructure or background for our collective existence."³⁸

Humans are not absent from, but central to this understanding. "A landscape is not a natural

³⁷ Later, in chapter 2, I will combine this with the work of college sport historian Ronald A. Smith to establish a connection between the British and American sporting traditions while also isolating the uniqueness of *American gamesmanship*. This is an important distinction because it is a key factor in the development of American football away from its British' antecedents, rugby and soccer.

³⁸ Jackson, 8.

feature of the environment,” he writes, “but a *synthetic* space, a man-made system of spaces superimposed on the face of the land, functioning and evolving not according to natural laws but to serve a community.”³⁹ Jackson’s argument is not only are people in the landscape, they make it. There is no landscape without people, because landscape is a human construction that evolves along with not separate from people in the service of community; but in what ways? How does the landscape serve people? And, what are the man-made systems and spaces that comprise it?

Humans are social not solitary, and so, by nature, live together in communities. They are also more than social; they are political and “have the need for sustained discourse, for the exchange of ideas and, what is no less essential, for disagreement.”⁴⁰ They are what Aristotle called “political animals.” Jackson, summarizing Aristotle’s idea, wrote that people are communal and have “the power of speech,” and this “enables us to debate such matters as good and evil, justice and injustice, and how to act to achieve a good life.”⁴¹ The composition of manmade or man-modified spaces that attend to people’s political needs involving discourse, exchange, debate, and disagreement over key philosophical questions of human existence, good and evil, justice and injustice, and the good life represents the political landscape. One way that landscape serves people, then, is in what Jackson calls their “political guise.”⁴² The multiple meanings of the word “guise” are important for understanding how the political landscape operates.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 11.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid, 12.

The political landscape is visible, as in the outward appearance meaning of guise;⁴³ it is “evolved partly out of experience, partly from design” and includes “walls and boundaries and highways and monuments and public places.”⁴⁴ In one sense, such structures are visible, outward apparatuses characteristic or representative of the social, political, and cultural histories and decisions of the people who imagine, design, and build them. In Jackson’s words, they “exist to insure order and security and continuity and to give citizens a visible status. They serve to remind us of our rights and obligations and of our history.”⁴⁵ The political landscape works to maintain social organization, provide security, and anchor people to a shared history they can see and grasp in buildings, and that they also hear in the stories of the individuals who imagined and made them. The political landscape welds memory to infrastructure to create shared cultural identities that frame our common existence.⁴⁶

In another sense, though, this cultural background, this infrastructure of memory, can occlude, hide, or, (returning to guise), *disguise* certain and specific social, cultural, and political histories that are judged threatening to order and security.⁴⁷ Cultural scholar Clarence Lang writes, “monuments can distort the past as much as illuminate it.”⁴⁸ The legacy and statue of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. on the Mall in Washington, D.C. is an illustrative example. Jennifer Yanco’s book *Misremembering Dr. King: Revisiting the Legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.* interrogates the cultural whitewashing of some of King’s beliefs, including antimilitarism and

⁴³ “guise,” *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 1226.

⁴⁴ Jackson, 12.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Jackson goes on to say that “if *background* seems inappropriately modest we should remember that in our modern use of the word it means that which underscores not only our identity and presence, but also our history.”

⁴⁷ “guise,” 1226.

⁴⁸ Clarence Lang, *Black America in the Shadow of the Sixties: Notes on the Civil Rights Movement, Neoliberalism, and Politics* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2015), 11.

anti-materialism, and the role of King' monuments in making cultural memory that dissolves these aspects of King's life.⁴⁹ This is what cultural theorist Eddie Glaude calls the process of "disremembering."⁵⁰ Lang writes that it "is why we should be critical of how the Sixties persist as a convenient way of framing and engaging contemporary issues of racial injustice, marshaling public opinion, and mobilizing publics."⁵¹ My project is not about the Sixties, per se, but Lang, Yanco, and Glaude's work is instructive because it shows how cultural objects are used for erasure as much as for remembrance. Their work emphasizes this sort of deletion as a component of racial politics and memory. This critical lens must always be at the ready in any study of political landscape.

Arenas inevitably become a part of the "political landscape." Jackson says so explicitly. The "sports arena," he writes, is, in one respect, the "legitimate successor" of the Greek "agora or forum." It is where "we demonstrate local loyalties – loudly as the Greeks would have done and with gestures."⁵² He means cheering a team, of course, but he is also identifying the arena's place in the landscape. As was the forum, the arena is central. "Usually visible from far off...its situation in the city – the space which it occupies – is well known," writes philosopher Elias Canetti.⁵³ "People always feel where it is, even if they are not thinking of it," a type of collective kinesthetic consciousness.⁵⁴ A building so impressive and expressive, it is experienced as a cardinal point of local geographical and cultural of memory. It is something

⁴⁹ Jennifer J. Yanco, *Misremembering Dr. King: Revisiting the Legacy of Martin Luther King Jr.* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2014).

⁵⁰ Eddie S. Glaude. *Democracy In Black: How Race Still Enslaves the American Soul* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2016), 46.

⁵¹ Lang, 11.

⁵² Jackson, 20.

⁵³ Elias Canetti, *Crowds and Power* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1984), 27-28.

⁵⁴ Canetti, 28.

people orient to, a place always felt even not in its presence. This is not unique to the arena, there are other structures that are always felt, but perhaps no other style of building apart from explicitly political structures leaves its mark so indelibly or universally.

Buildings are “among the most perspicuous instances of the thorough acculturation of places. *A building condenses a culture in one place,*” writes geographer Edward Casey.⁵⁵ Said another way, buildings provide clear and extensive examples of the cultural achievements of a people; and as thoroughly condensed acculturated spaces, they are places where people can learn from historical, social, and political narratives that teach how to honor a communal past and become joined to the cultural present and future. The relationship and chemistry between game and building, both in present and historical contexts, is the dynamic that triggers excitement and communicates meaning and value for the spectator.

The relationship and interplay between event, performance and stadium provides a narrative of collective existence, shared history, and continuity. The stadium becomes symbolic space and communicates something of rights, obligations, justice, and life through ritual performance. Games played within the framework and infrastructure of narrative and symbolic space at communally specific and historically conceptualized stadiums are bridges from past to present and represent cultural heritage and continuity. In the stadium, games and performances are measured both against an honored past and a predicted, glorious future. Memories of past performances, victories and losses, and those historic virtues that define place are shared units of measurement. These provide a common sense of security, safety,

⁵⁵ Edward Casey, *Getting Back Into Place* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009), 32.

pride, and familiarity for the spectator, but as monument and memorial, part of the political landscape of place, they also invite debate, conflict, and protest.

To understand the spirit, action, and meaning of an event, to study the significance of a building in the lives of a people, scholars must examine the complex, overlapping, and complimentary, but also sometimes opposed and contradictory, social, cultural, and political contexts of place. In the performance and production of an event in the stadium, like a game, are the emblems of identity and history that make the character, presence, and ambience of place, and “within the ambience of a building,” Edward Casey writes, “a landscape becomes articulate and begins to speak in emblematic ways.”⁵⁶ Stadiums are buildings that speak. “Shouts from the arena carry far and, when it is open at the top,” Canetti writes, “something of the life which goes on inside communicates itself to the surrounding city:”⁵⁷ masses of people cheering, debating, and ultimately speaking in one voice to the surrounding community. The stadium is not only a political space, but a political being; a building that not only serves people in their political guise, but one that has political character and tells stories about a people, their history and values.

Stadiums articulate the history of how people have come together to live in a place and are specially designed to do so – they are designed for storytelling. “Inside the seats are arranged in tiers “so that everyone can see what is happening below. The consequence of this is that the crowd is seated opposite itself,” Canetti continues:

Every spectator has a thousand in front of him, a thousand heads. As long as he is there, all the others are there too; whatever excited him, excites them; and he sees it. They are seated some distance away from him, so that the differing details which make

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Canetti, 28.

individuals of them are blurred; they all look alike and they all behave in a similar manner and he notices in them only the things which he himself is full of. Their visible excitement increases his own.⁵⁸

Designed for maximum visibility, the stadium is seen from far off and spectators not only see the event from every seat and angle, but they see each other and, as Canetti points out, in so doing they see something of themselves; the interior arrangement of the stadium is designed to assure that nothing is missed and excitement is amplified. This is the reason Canetti includes stadiums in his book *Crowds and Power*.

In the others, in the undifferentiated mass of the crowd, both across and below, dressed even the same, the spectator sees something of a personal spirited performance and hears the cheers made and songs sung echo back.⁵⁹ The understanding of action and performance, of what is happening in the stadium, is validated, and it is exhilarating, in this mirror. In the reflection is action, both in and from individual and communal perspectives. Poet Ben Lerner in part I of *Angle of Yaw*, “Begetting Stadia,” captures the phenomena best:

beget stadia
with indefinite seating
delicately tiered.
Resembling its shape
and therefore suggesting its function:
a wave.⁶⁰

And, in another passage:

Just because these tears were on your face
doesn't mean they're yours.
The tree in your mind
is mine.
The redistribution of tears
reflects our collective commitment

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ A phenomenon, perhaps, that presages the jumbotron or large videoboard.

⁶⁰ Ben Lerner, *Angle of Yaw* (Port Townsend, Washington: Copper Canyon Press, 2006), 3.

to storm and stress,
to attitudes befitting participants in sports
and sports writing.⁶¹

The stadium represents a wave in form and function. “Delicately tiered” with “indefinite seating,” stadiums resemble waves and spectators’ move in sequence and time, not unlike flocks of birds, in waves, a “collective commitment.” This is true not only of crowd orchestrated waves that appear at American sporting venues starting in 1981, but also in more spontaneous movements.⁶² A 1964 British television (RTK) report on The Kop, a section of stands at Liverpool’s Anfield Grounds, is instructive:

Their rhythmic swaying is an elaborate and organized ritual. The 28,000 people on The Kop itself begin singing together. They seem to know intuitively when to begin. Throughout the match, they invent new words, usually within the framework of old Liverpool songs to express adulatory, cruel, or bawdy comments about the players or the police, but even then they begin singing these new words with one immediate, huge voice. They seem, mysteriously, to be in touch with one another.⁶³

The television report shows the fans in The Kop section of the bleachers at Anfield Grounds in Liverpool moving like a flock of starlings fly. It is remarkable and demonstrates that the stadium can be creative space and, perhaps, mesmerizingly beautiful in certain respects. The spectators are not only washed in waves, they make them.

The stadium is a wave in a multitude of ways: as a sound, its voice up, over the walls and crashing down on the city; as action, the “storms and stress[es]” of the crowd’s “collective commitment” hitting the spectator in rollers; as eternal sound and feeling, one wave of emotion or action followed by the next, never ending, and always remembered. The stadium

⁶¹ Lerner, 4.

⁶² Doug Williams, “It’s Settled: Where the Wave First Started,” ESPN.com, March 1, 2013 (accessed, April 3, 2019). https://www.espn.com/blog/playbook/fandom/post/_/id/18888/its-settled-where-the-wave-first-started.

⁶³ “RTK – The Kop on Panorama 1964,” YouTube Video, 4:36, “RTK,” January 18, 2007, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XNboU_PbZMY.

washes over and moves us, again and again, constantly. From far off, it calls. The wave is central to the indelible experience of the stadium and goes a long way in helping to explain how people remain oriented to its presence even when not in it. The stadium makes waves that people hear, feel, see, imagine, and are.

Sporting Spirit and the War: Sport and Sporting Spirit at the Front and at Home

In the waves of doughboys who swept out of the trenches and across No Man's Land in World War I we find the seeds of modern sport and stadiums. In *The Great War and Modern Memory*, Paul Fussell describes the roles sport played in Britain during World War I. Newspapers used the language of sport to describe troop movements and action, popular literature likened battle to cricket and football, and polo fields served as training grounds for the cavalry. It was widely understood that the war promised camaraderie and fun. Sportsmanship was, according to historian Adam Hochschild, "an important military virtue," and glory, honor and victory awaited the sporting soldier.⁶⁴ Sport helped Brits prepare for, understand, and make meaning of the war.

Sport helped create Britain's naïve war expectations. "In nothing...is the initial British innocence so conspicuous," Fussell writes, "as in the universal commitment to the sporting spirit," to the idea that fair play and sacrifice were the ultimate expressions of masculinity in service of country.⁶⁵ Daylight, frontal assaults across no man's land were one way to show sporting spirit in battle. On several occasions British soldiers dribbled footballs out of the trenches towards the German goal; the "Christmas Truce" that first holiday in 1914 is another

⁶⁴ Adam Hochschild, *To End All Wars: A Story of Loyalty and Rebellion, 1914-1918* (Boston: Mariner Books, 2011), 8.

⁶⁵ Fussell, 26.

example of sporting naiveté, when the British and German sides came out into No Man's Land for a game of soccer, the war in its infancy, only five months old.⁶⁶

Commitment to the sporting spirit is central to the tragedy of the war. Sport not only embodied the general innocence of Britain, but people, especially military leaders, were absolutely committed to it. They had faith in the sporting spirit. Part of the reason leaders failed to understand the futility of frontal assaults against modern weaponry was because they believed in sporting principles: fairness, sacrifice, pluck, and offense. It is not inaccurate to call British leadership, John French and Douglas Haig foremost, sporting ideologues.⁶⁷ They lacked imagination, held rigidly to their beliefs (sporting military tactics including frontal assaults and cavalry charges), and sent scores of men to certain death over and over and over again, in waves. Broad and popular consumption of sport also made the press and the public complicit in the war's tragedy. The war was exciting, hard-fought, and winnable. The stories of soldiers' honor, duty, sacrifice, glory, and heroism were familiar; a siren song, the war as game called people to it as combatants and spectators.

As an ethos, sport is central to the "dominating form of modern understanding" that emerges from the war, irony.⁶⁸ The "paradigm of ironic action" allows an "event or a moment which otherwise would merge without meaning into the general undifferentiated stream" to be remembered.⁶⁹ In the context of a Great War, many thousands of soldiers may be killed in battle, but it happens with such frequency that mass death becomes commonplace, normal,

⁶⁶ Mike Dash, "World War I: 100 Year Later, the Story of the WWI Christmas Truce," *Smithsonian.com*, December 11, 2013, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-story-of-the-wwi-christmas-truce-11972213/> (accessed March 16, 2019). See also Hochschild, p.130-131.

⁶⁷ See Hochschild chapters 1 and 2 for discussion of French and Haig's polo training.

⁶⁸ Fussell, 35.

⁶⁹ Fussell, 31.

and horrifyingly unmemorable. Sport and the spirit of sport, dribbling soccer balls into no man's land, cavalry charges, likening battle to a cricket match, become part of what makes the war unforgettable. These ironic actions "become an inseparable element of the general vision of war in our time," writes Fussell.⁷⁰ The great irony of "the war to end all wars" is that the hope of winning is a guise, which hides that only the war wins and goes on winning.

American Stadia: The Emergence of Stadiums in the post-War American Landscape

In America, in the years following World War I, the construction of college football stadiums across the country became so common that it became a movement and industry, a wave. Between 1920 and 1930, no fewer than 50 stadiums designed to host college football were built or remodeled including on campus at the universities of Kansas (1921), Tennessee (1921), Kansas State Agricultural College (1922), Vanderbilt (1922), Oklahoma (1923), Illinois (1923), California (1923), Southern California (1923), West Virginia (1924), Texas (1924), Louisiana State (1924), Colorado (1924), Minnesota (1924), Indiana (1925), Pittsburgh (1925), Iowa State (1925), Missouri (1926), Denver (1926), Northwestern (1926), North Carolina (1927), Michigan (1927), Alabama Birmingham (1927), Brigham Young (1927), Arizona (1929), Georgia (1929), Alabama (1929), Utah (1929), Duke (1929), Iowa (1929), Florida (1930), and Notre Dame (1930). Valparaiso (1919), Army (1924), Dartmouth (1923), Davidson (1923), Bucknell (1924), Holy Cross (1924), Brown (1925), Drake (1925), Haskell (1926), Lafayette (1926), Villanova (1927), Southern (1928), Hampton (1928), Rhode Island (1928), and Butler (1928) also built on-campus football stadiums in the 1920s. Municipal Stadium in Baltimore, Maryland (1922), where the University of Maryland played some of its games, was built during the period, as was

⁷⁰ Fussell, 35.

Multnomah Stadium in Portland, Oregon (1926) where “Civil War” between Oregon and Oregon State sometimes occurred. Honolulu Stadium in Honolulu, Hawaii (1926) where the University of Hawaii played, and the Rose Bowl (1928), home to UCLA also went up.⁷¹ College football stadiums became increasingly commonplace at institutions of higher education across the country starting in the decade following the War. The scope of this development is remarkable in retrospect. What was the meaning of all these stadiums appearing at virtually the same time? What were the forces driving this? And, not only this, but what is the significance that most these structures still stand? What can we learn from this moment about higher education?

What is important about industries, Charles Olson reminds us, is “the energy they are clue to, the drive in the people.”⁷² This dissertation is partly about the college football stadium industry in the post-War period. It is only about football in the sense that football is a game that is part of the energy of the stadium, a clue to the drive in the people who made it. It is also clue to how and why the industry became ubiquitous on college and university campuses and a central tenant of modern American life. The dissertation is about stadiums as part of the political landscapes of the communities they serve, including the higher education community. It is about buildings that speak and are emblematic of some part of the identity, presence, and history of the people that create the landscape. To better understand how and why college football stadiums have become central features of the built environment of higher education it

⁷¹ See appendices A and B. Stadium information was gathered from University’ websites and other online sources.

⁷² Charles Olson, *Collected Prose* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 24.

is necessary to understand their theoretical functions, which I've attempted to do using the work of Jackson, Casey, Canetti, and Lerner.

Towards this end, and in summation, stadiums are buildings that tell stories. They satisfy core human and institutional social and political needs: the need to be together, to live communally, and the need to speak and question and debate one another. By this definition, they are part of the political landscape. Returning to the work of J.B. Jackson, stadiums are buildings that “exist to insure order and security and continuity and to give citizens a visible status. They serve to remind us of our rights and obligations and of our history.”⁷³ They are also specially designed to maximize viewing and excitement. Because everything in the stadium can be seen, the performance and performers include not only the players but also the crowd. Spectators see or imagine they see something of themselves in both. Edward Casey's book *Imagining* is instructive in elucidating the importance of this creative impulse. He writes that “imagining remains inseparable from the life of a mind as a whole, essential to its welfare, indeed to its identity and very existence.”⁷⁴ A spectator may not only imagine that or how something happens, but they create an “imagined state of affairs in which he [they] (or a figure who stands proxy for him [them]) is envisaged” as “*an active and embodied participant*” in the imagined state of affairs.⁷⁵

It is revealing to examine the ways stadiums and games have served people within specific historical frameworks. Identifying and studying cross-cultural patterns of stadium use can help to better illuminate the structure's historic utility and provide a clearer picture of how

⁷³ Jackson, 12. See also footnote 35.

⁷⁴ Edward Casey, *Imagining* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1976), 4.

⁷⁵ Casey, 45.

it serves communities. Understanding games in specific social, cultural, and political contexts can provide insight into the historic impetus for the stadium. This dissertation will help to answer questions like how have stadiums served people and societies? Why have stadiums been built and where? What have stadiums been used for? And, what roles have they played in the community? Addressing these questions is important in order to identify and understand the historical examples and landscapes that informed American stadium projects, especially in the wake of World War I.

It is of further importance to understand the historic relationships between stadium and war in specific cultural contexts, given the particular circumstances of the mass emergence of college football stadiums in America immediately following World War I. In addition to the stadium at the University of Kansas, new stadiums at Haskell, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas State Agricultural College, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Texas, and California were all World War I “Memorial Stadiums.” They draw a clear connection between the war and the stadium in America and require inquiry about the relationship between war and stadiums historically. Paul Fussell’s work starts down this path, suggesting that an obsession with sporting spirit in World War I was an impetus for stadium building in the post-war period. A broader look at historical antecedents suggests, however, that the relationships between war and sport and stadium is cross-cultural and much older.

Of course, this subject, war and stadium games, could itself be a dissertation topic. The goal herein is not a complete exploration of the topic as much as to identify historical developments that inform the American college stadium movement and provide context for understanding something about the stadium’s appeal. Drawing from European, Mesoamerican,

and North American indigenous histories, it is clear that games and stadiums are places where national creation stories are told and war is practiced in symbolic – and occasionally – real terms.

Stadiums, Games and War

A relationship between nation, war, and games in western civilization has long been recognized. Jean D’Ormesson’s novel *The Glory of the Empire*, sums a relationship that was western cultural heritage by the time the book won the Grand Prize for fiction from the Academie francaise in 1971, part of the character of European culture descended from Greece and Rome:

Games and feasting played a great part in their life. The whole Empire danced, the whole Empire watched horses race and bulls expire. Everyone seemed to want to savor the brevity of life to the utmost before quitting it himself. German historians in particular have pointed out how this love of feasting and games paralleled, rather than contradicted, the passion for war. War was a celebration and games were mortal.⁷⁶

D’Ormesson’s fictional German historians find war as the culmination of games, a celebration, as something the games have prepared people for, as practice for war, impermanence and immortality. “Never was honor more dangerous or glory more deadly,” D’Ormesson continues. “At the least failure the heroes of the games were sacrificed in their turn...but the peoples of the Empire prized fame so highly that the games never lacked victors or idols.”⁷⁷ Games teach and normalize death, glory, and victory. These lessons underscore the brevity of life and encourage celebrating, savoring and glorying in it. The games are mortal and heroic. The Empire danced as it watched. This vision of the relationship between nation, games, and war

⁷⁶ Jean D’Ormesson, *The Glory of Empire: A Novel, A History* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2016), 4.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

underlies most of the critical scholarship of sport, especially football and college football in America. As descended from Rome, games are violent, frivolous, and proxies for armed conflict.

Games and stadiums are important spaces for telling stories about a culture's social and political origins, and in Mesoamerican, North American, and European histories, these have played foundational roles in movements of cultural and national unification. Chuck Stein in *Persephone Unveiled: Seeing the Goddess & Freeing Your Soul*, writes that the Olympic Games that appear around the same historical moment as the writing of the Homeric poems "may have been part of a vast cultural effort to unify the diverse geographical, political, and economic aspects of greater Greece. In other words, the organization of the universe as witnessed in the Olympian defeat of the Titans was actually an all-encompassing symbol valorizing and doing propagandistic legwork for a cultural process contemporary with it."⁷⁸ Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* is an instructive work for interpreting Stein's comments. Anderson defines nation as "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."⁷⁹ Games and stadiums not only tell a shared history, they become focal points to imagine communities together, as in Stein's Olympic Greece. The Olympic games not only recount the Olympian defeat of the Titans, they remind people that they are all Olympians. The modern Olympic Games continue to serve the world community in this way.

⁷⁸ Chuck Stein, *Persephone Unveiled: Seeing the Goddess & Freeing Your Soul* (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2009), 18.

⁷⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2003), 6.

The Sport of Life and Death: The Mesoamerican Ballgame, explains how the *Popol Vuh*, the Mayan story of creation, “establishes preeminence of the ballgame in ancient Maya mythology and life.”⁸⁰ In his introduction, E. Michael Whittington explains the importance of the game. The story begins with Hun Hunahpu (One Hunter) and his brother, Vucub Hunahpu (Seven Hunter) who are the Hero Twins’ Hunahpu and Xbalanque’s forefathers:

The clamor created by these enthusiastic ballplayers as they bounced the ball around the court greatly disturbed the Lords of the Underworld. The Lords trick the brothers into coming to the Underworld of Xibalba to play the ballgame. The brothers lose the game and are sacrificed by the Xibalba Lords, their bodies buried in the ballcourt. As a final humiliation, the head of Hun Hunahpu is displayed in a calabash tree. A young goddess, Xquic, visits the tree to see the unusual display. The head of Hun Hunahpu spits in her hand, impregnating her with the Hero Twins, Hunahpu and Xbalanque. Forced to leave Xibalba when her pregnancy is discovered she ascends to the surface of the earth where she gives birth to the Hero Twins.

When the Hero Twins come of age, they discover their ballplaying gifts, becoming even better players than their father and uncle. The Underworld Lords now summon the Hero Twins to Xibalba for a ballgame and a series of tests. Not only do the Twins win the game, but they outwit the Xibalba Lords at every trap set for them. Ultimately, the Hero Twins retrieve the bodies of their father and uncle from the ballcourt and place them in the sky to become the sun and moon. So, for the ancient Maya and other Mesoamerican cultures, this story of creation and the activities become inseparable from the ballgame.⁸¹

The game is loud, life giving, and mortal. As Mary Miller writes in her essay “The Maya Ballgame: Rebirth in the Court of Life and Death,” “Hun Hunahpu, who is decapitated and then brought back to life, is the Maize God and so the story of the life cycle of maize also lies at the heart of the matter.” Using Mayan representations of the ballgame as evidence, she concludes, “perhaps in this, in the end, the source of the fascination of the ballgame: in this lively group of representations among the Maya there is also the raw anxiety of a contest that ends in

⁸⁰ E. Michael Whittington, ed. *Sport of Life and Death: The Mesoamerican Ballgame* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2001), 17.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, 17-18.

death.”⁸² In the Mayan ballgame and arena are memorialization and cultural voice, background for an eternal orientation; for the Mayan it seems, ball is life, literally and figuratively. Mayan ballcourts then like college football stadiums today were also numerous. To date some “1,560” have been discovered “on some 1,275 archaeological sites.”⁸³ The ballgame and stadium were central and key components of Mayan life.

In *Anetso, The Cherokee Ball Game*, religious studies scholar, Michael J. Zogry notes that Anetso “appears in foundational Cherokee cultural narratives that have the same significance as those found in the Hebrew Bible, New Testament, Qur’an, Bhagavad-Gita, or any other texts considered to be key components of particular religious systems. In this sense it has an analogue in the ball games that are featured in the Popol Vuh.”⁸⁴ The story of the Cherokee ball game has many similarities to that of the Mayan game. As in the Mayan story, the narrative of the Cherokee ball game is focused on rebellious twins and explains “the origin of cultivation of corn.”⁸⁵ It is also a story of war. Zogry quotes Raymond Fogelson, “the game was, and still is, regarded as a war surrogate, a fact borne out by: the translation of one of its Cherokee names, da.na.wah u’sdi’, as ‘little war.’”⁸⁶

European, Mesoamerican, and North American traditions present a clear picture of the functions of games and stadiums across three separate historic and cultural frameworks. The uses and stories are so similar though, that, taken together, they present a nuanced but

⁸² Mary Miller, “The Mayan Ballgame: Rebirth in the Court of Life and Death,” *Sport of Life and Death: The Mesoamerican Ballgame* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2001), 87.

⁸³ Eric Taladoire, “The Architectural Background of the Pre-Hispanic Ballgame: An Evolutionary Perspective,” in *Sport of Life and Death: The Mesoamerican Ballgame* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2001), 97.

⁸⁴ Michael J. Zogry, *Anetso, the Cherokee Ball Game* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 2.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 42.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 186.

singular pattern of political, social, and cultural utility. In each context, there is a celebration of life and death, a “passion for war,” and, paraphrasing Stein, a valorization of stories that act as propagandistic legwork for projects of political unification. It is plausible to conclude, given America’s social, cultural, and geographic proximity to European, Mesoamerican, and North American peoples and traditions, that these characteristics influenced American games, including football, and the stadium movement of the 1920s. In fact, applying these lenses to the question of why were stadiums at Kansas, Kansas State Agricultural College, Oklahoma, Nebraska, Texas, Minnesota, Missouri, Illinois, Haskell, Indiana, and California called Memorial Stadiums while others were not reveals clues about stadium naming conventions and American history that will be a good transition to the next chapter about the history of college football preceding the stadium movement.

Memorial Stadiums

With the exceptions of Missouri and Texas, each of the schools that named their new football venue Memorial Stadium was in a state or territory that fought with the Union during the Civil War. The majority of World War I Memorial Stadiums are, therefore, at northern schools. The University of Kansas’ first building, as an example of this identity, was North College or “Old North College” (1866).⁸⁷ A name that indicated both the building’s cardinal direction relative to the rest of the school’s original land tract, and its national loyalty.

Southern schools that built football stadiums in the post-war period named them for mascots, the state where they were located, or university and community figures such as administrators, donors, or coaches. Examples include, Louisiana State’s “Tiger Stadium,”

⁸⁷ Clifford S. Griffin, *The University of Kansas: A History* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1974), 33.

Florida's "Florida Field" (later renamed "Ben Hill Griffin Stadium"), Georgia's "Sanford Stadium," Tennessee's "Shields-Watkins Field" (later renamed "Neyland Stadium"), Vanderbilt's "Dudley Field" (later renamed "Vanderbilt Stadium"), North Carolina's "Kenan Stadium" (later renamed "Kenan Memorial Stadium"), and Duke's "Wallace Wade Stadium" (later renamed "Brooks Field at Wallace Wade Stadium").⁸⁸ These choices align with the observation that community loyalties in the South were often local and regional rather than national.

The South had long been ambivalent and hostile to the idea of national identity, at least on northern terms. Frederick Merck's book *Manifest Destiny and Mission* shows that the South was the region that least supported the idea of national expansion and most vehemently argued for the protection of states' rights during the Manifest Destiny period of the 1840s.⁸⁹ Southerners' antebellum attitudes about national expansion, especially as concerns Mexico and Mexican territory, were also those most likely influenced by concerns about race. These postures, circumstances, and attitudes were conditions of the Civil War and its outcomes, including Reconstruction.

The South's positions on questions of state, nation, and race became even more entrenched during Reconstruction and the Jim Crow era, as evidenced in local politics and the rise of vigilante groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. The decision, therefore, to billet African

⁸⁸ "LSU's Tiger Stadium," *LSU Athletics*. Last modified May 7, 2019. http://www.lsusports.net/ViewArticle.dbml?DB_OEM_ID=5200&ATCLID=177159. "Ben Hill Griffin Stadium Timeline," Florida Athletics, https://floridagators.com/sports/2015/12/10/facilities_bhgriffin_timeline.aspx. "Sanford Stadium," *Georgia Athletics*. <https://georgiadogs.com/sports/2017/6/16/sanford-stadium.aspx?id=17>. "Neyland Stadium," *Tennessee Athletics*. <https://utsports.com/facilities/?id=8>. "Vanderbilt Stadium," Vanderbilt Athletics. <https://vucommodores.com/facilities/vanderbilt-stadium/>. "Kenan Stadium," North Carolina Athletics. <https://goheels.com/news/2012/7/15/205498261.aspx>. "Wallace Wade Stadium," Duke Athletics. http://www.goduke.com/ViewArticle.dbml?DB_OEM_ID=4200&ATCLID=218252.

⁸⁹ Frederick Merck, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), 39. John L. Sullivan coined the term "Manifest Destiny" in an editorial in the *Democratic Review* in 1845 (Merck, 27).

American soldiers training for World War I across camps in the South, as detailed in Chad Williams' book *Torchbearers of Democracy*, enraged many white southerners.⁹⁰ With respect to race, southern whites were openly hostile to American ideals and laws, and, as Williams' remarks, sensitive to what was perceived as "federal incursion" in the South.⁹¹ Confrontations between black soldiers and white citizens resulted, including at Fort Logan, Houston, Texas where fifteen people were killed on August 23, 1917. Three months after the "riot," an additional thirteen soldiers were sentenced to death by hanging for their roles in the event. Fort Logan was part of a broader pattern of racial unrest and violence during the period that also included riots in Tulsa (1915) and Chicago (1919), among other places.⁹²

Given southern social values and history, it makes sense that college football stadiums built in the South during the post-World War I period did not, in name, memorialize the war dead. The South was historically opposed to national expansion and growth, and as part of the World War I mobilization effort, black soldiers were quartered across the region. This triggered white southerners' fears and reinforced a nearly hundred year old regional sentiment of hostility towards the "nation" rooted in racial animosity and the doctrine of state's rights.

Football developed, as will be discussed in chapter 2, on a nearly parallel timeline with the social history that influenced these historic developments. The game emerged during the Republican and Antebellum periods when hostile southern attitudes towards national identity matured. Football as a college sport emerged immediately following the Civil War with the first

⁹⁰ Chad Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy: African American Soldiers in the World War I Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

⁹¹ *Ibid*, 54.

⁹² *Ibid*, 35.

game in 1869, and it became popular in the 1880s, just after Reconstruction and at the dawn of the Jim Crow era. The names of college football stadiums are one way national and regional loyalties and narratives entered the history of the game. This does not explain, however, why Memorial Stadiums were built in the specific places they were, nor why Missouri and Texas, southern states, also built Memorial Stadiums.

In his book, *The Great Plains*, Walter Prescott Webb defines the region as any area with at least two of the following characteristics: relatively flat, dry, and treeless.⁹³ By Webb's definition, the Great Plains stretch from the western base of the Appalachian Mountains to the Pacific Crest, with pockets of exceptions, especially in alpine areas. Within the expanse exists a "V-shaped region between the timber line and the humid line that is sufficiently well watered for agricultural purposes, but treeless withal," Webb writes.⁹⁴ This relatively flat and treeless, but "well watered" region is "the prairie region, sometimes called the Prairie Plains...it is the best and most profitable agricultural region in the United States."⁹⁵ In *The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States*, Charles Van Hise charts it as "a large portion "of the upper Mississippi Valley" that "extends to the southwest, west of the Mississippi, to the Rio Grande. It includes considerable parts of Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, and practically all of Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa."⁹⁶

Memorial Stadiums, with the exception of those at the universities of Missouri and California, were built on the Prairie Plains. A region the "United States completed legal

⁹³ Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 3.

⁹⁴ Ibid, 6.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 6-7.

⁹⁶ Footnote in Webb, 7. Charles R. Hise, *The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States* (1922), 271.

possession of...during the late 1840s,” according to ecologist and historian James Malin.⁹⁷

European settlement across the plains created a seismic shift in national economic and political landscapes. Popular Sovereignty resulted in “Bleeding Kansas” and precipitated the Civil War, and the “Texas-Kansas-bluestem pasture-Corn Belt-Chicago system” grew up and flourished following northern victory.⁹⁸ On the prairie, cattle were grazed, fattened, and slaughtered for “the great population centers of northeastern United States and Europe.”⁹⁹ The “symbol” of this universe, according to Webb, was Abilene, Kansas. “The point where the north-and-south cattle trail intersected the east-and-west railroad.”¹⁰⁰ Abilene “stands for all that happened when two civilizations met for conflict, for disorder, for the clashing of great currents which carry on their crest the turbulent and disorderly elements of both civilizations – in this case the rough characteristics of the plain and of the forest.”¹⁰¹ Memorial Stadiums follow the lines of the “north-and-south cattle trail” and the “east-and-west railroad” across the prairie. This helps explain Missouri’s Memorial Stadium, as Columbia, Missouri lies along the east-and-west railroad corridor between Kansas City and St. Louis.

As a result of the establishment of this system, the “interior of the United States,” Malin writes, came to “occup[y] one of the key geographical positions in the north circumpolar system of political power...this grassland contained the nerve centers of the military communication systems that defend or strike on its behalf.” The Prairie Plains were not only the most profitable agricultural lands in the country, they were the epicenter of national and

⁹⁷ James Malin, *History and Ecology: Studies of the Grassland*, ed. Robert P. Swierenga (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 10.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 17.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 16.

¹⁰⁰ Webb, 223.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*.

global political power. Evidence from World War I demonstrates this. Important military installations, including training grounds like at Fort Funston, Kansas, were located at this crossroads, and vital war resources, including livestock, especially from the stockyards at Ft. Worth, Texas, wheat from the high plains, and chemicals for munitions, including zinc from southeastern Kansas were carried on these “currents” to points east and abroad.¹⁰² California, though outside the Prairie Plains, also occupied a key national geographic and strategic location on the Pacific Coast, and was deeply committed to the war effort. This explains Memorial Stadium at the University of California and reinforces the thesis that Memorial Stadiums were built in locations vital to national identity and power, and of strategic importance to the war effort.¹⁰³

Memorial Stadiums on the plains were also consistent with ideas and plans for national infrastructure development. Americans had long wanted and imagined a national highway linking the east to the western interior. A Rand McNally and Company map reprinted in *US 40: A Roadscape of the American Experience* shows one of the earliest iterations.¹⁰⁴ The “Cumberland or National Road” runs west from the highways of the eastern seaboard through the Cumberland Narrows into Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Later, US 40, and still later Interstate 70 will follow near identical paths and will push farther west into Missouri and

¹⁰² See “Fort Funston,” *Kansapedia*, Kansas Historical Society. <https://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/camp-funston/16692>; “Fort Worth Stockyards.” <https://www.fortworthstockyards.com/our-story>; Wes Enzinna, “Last Ones Left in a Toxic Kansas Town,” *New York Times*, May 16, 2012, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/20/magazine/last-ones-left-in-treece-kan-a-toxic-town.html>.

¹⁰³ “California Goes to War: World War I and the Golden State,” *Google Arts & Culture*, California State Archives. <https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/wALSW5Q6KBX4IA>. “Gameday Visitors Guide: About California Memorial Stadium,” California Athletics. <https://calbears.com/sports/2014/8/22/209612414.aspx>.

¹⁰⁴ Thomas J. Schlereth, *US 40: A Roadscape of the American Experience* (Indianapolis, IN: Indianapolis Historical Society, 1985), 2.

Kansas. This also becomes the corridor for some of the country's first and largest capacity railways, the backbone of Malin's "Texas-Kansas-bluestem pasture-Corn Belt-Chicago system."¹⁰⁵ This transportation network carried beef, corn, wheat, soldiers, horses, and metals east to supply the war effort. This further helps explain the basic north-south, east-west geographical line of Memorial Stadiums through the Prairie Plains.

An April 1924 *Concrete Highway Magazine* article describes a "new Victory Highway" that will link "two oceans three thousand miles apart with a concrete chain." The highway "will constitute one of the greatest memorials in history," its author writes.¹⁰⁶ The occasion of the article was the dedication of a "Victory Eagle" at the "Shawnee-Douglas County line in Kansas" from the previous Armistice Day (1923). The plan was to place "such a monument at each county line across the United States" to honor America's world war victory. Though the plan was not realized, the map shows the proposed Victory Highway taking the same path as the Cumberland-National Road, US 40, Interstate 70, and the line of Memorial Stadiums. This lends further credence to the notion that the Prairie Plains and, in particular, the *National Road* corridor are of strategic importance to American national interests, especially as concerns food supply, military strategy, and politics. States and their state universities that lie along, are near, or were otherwise reliant on the transportation systems that provided the infrastructure for "Texas-Kansas-bluestem pasture-Corn Belt-Chicago system," the same network that supplied

¹⁰⁵ Malin, 10.

¹⁰⁶ "Touring the New Victory Highway," *Concrete Highway Magazine*, vol. 8 no. 4, April 1924. <https://archive.org/stream/concretehighwaym00portrich#page/94/mode/2up>; see also Gabriel Lee, *Concrete Dreams: The Second Nature of American Progressivism*, dissertation Stanford University, 2019. <https://purl.stanford.edu/qr006wy5164>.

America's World War I needs, expressed their national loyalties, commitments, and identities through the construction of Memorial football stadiums following the war.

The first of these Memorial Stadiums was Kansas' in Lawrence (1921). This is, in a way, unsurprising, because, as we have seen, state and university' identities and development were dependent on their relationships to national historical narratives, especially along geographic, political, and economic lines. Lawrence, where the university is located, was ground zero for "Bleeding Kansas," popular sovereignty, and John Brown, important events, ideas, and figures in the lead up to the Civil War, part of its cause. It was also one of the last stops on the Oregon and Santa Fe Trails before wagon trains plunged into the vast "Great American Desert" of the West. The symbol (at Abilene) of the prairie cattle system was here. Kansas and Lawrence are places where America's east-west aspirations intersected the north-south resources and opportunities of the plains; here is where, returning to Webb, a forest people moved out onto the grassland. Here too are the sites of vital military installations past and present, the frontier of the national highway system, and the location of the first Victory Eagles following World War I.

The 1983 made for television movie "The Day After" speaks to the multifaceted relationship between nation, war, and Memorial Stadium in Lawrence, Kansas. It reinforces the geographical, political, and historical reality that Kansas, Lawrence in particular, are at or near the center of the country's power, potential, identity, and imagination. With a viewing audience of over 100 million people, the film is about nuclear war between Russia and the United States. In response to Russia's attack, the United States launches their nuclear weapons

at the Soviet Union.¹⁰⁷ It is a fall Saturday, Kansas' Memorial Stadium is full for a game, as missiles launch from silos on the prairies north of the city, the spectators gather on the concourses to watch. A short time later, a nuclear blast destroys Kansas City.

"The Day After," according to Bob Swan Jr., Chairman of the U.S.-Russia Foundation, "awakened" America and Americans "to the absolute horrors of nuclear war and Let Lawrence Live helped carry the message of empowerment and hope to both Lawrence residents and their fellow citizens across America."¹⁰⁸ Following the film's broadcast Lawrence became a national epicenter for nuclear disarmament and peace activism. One of the first acts of this effort was when the "Soviets" sent a delegation to the 1983 Kansas Relays at Memorial Stadium.

Conclusion

The point of this chapter was to show the special power that arenas have had as part of the political landscape of place and to demonstrate within specific historical and cultural contexts how they work and have operated. As buildings, arenas condense history and cultural values and act as acculturating spaces. In their specific design, arenas speak to both internal and external audiences and look and act like waves, a helpful image and idea in explicating the effect of their messages. Historically arenas have helped advance national projects through the creation and expression of shared history that becomes a way that people imagine their community as a whole. Games play the role of creation narrative and war surrogacy and people rally around them to have individual and collective experiences that run the long gamut of emotional expression. Within European, Mesoamerican, and North American historical

¹⁰⁷ Bob Swan Jr., "Reflections on the 25th Anniversary of 'The Day After,'" November 21, 2008. <https://www2.ljworld.com/news/2008/nov/21/reflections-25th-anniversary-day-after/>.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

contexts, the stadium movement of the 1920s and 1930s can be understood as emerging from the experiences of World War I and representing a new world order that featured an emerging United States of America.

Chapter 2: Football, Meanings and Rules

Chapter one established the theoretical and historic potential of buildings and venues to show that the emergence of college football stadiums as ubiquitous features on the American higher education landscape is understandable within several intersecting contexts: (historical) stadiums and games are important structures and experiences in European, Mesoamerican, and North American traditions; (political) stadiums serve as meeting grounds where people receive, exchange, and debate information about experience and history; (nation) stadiums have long served nation building and imperial projects; (war) war is tied to games that are performed and practiced in stadiums. The emergence, after World War I, of college football stadiums broadly and memorial stadiums specifically can be understood within social historical, global political, and American national paradigms.

Given this, how is one to understand football prior to World War I, prior to the stadium movement? What were its identities and history to that point? What was the game's relationship to war in America? How was football part of the stadium movement? This chapter explores the development of football from the Republican Period (post-Revolution to the Civil War) up until World War I, in order to understand how the game developed, and informed and inspired the stadium movement of the 1920s and 1930s. The chapter draws and relies on scholarship concerned with American cultural and intellectual history of the nineteenth century, masculinity, whiteness, African-American history, Indigenous Nations history, and higher education history to paint a picture of football. The purpose of this second chapter is

similar to that of the first, to explore the background of the stadium movement in general and the stadium at KU, specifically.

Football was not introduced at KU until 1890, twenty-one years after the first college football game and at least sixty years removed from the nascent beginnings of sport in the eastern colleges.¹⁰⁹ This chapter, especially in its examination of the beginnings of college student life, including games during the Republican Period, and through the discussion of the growth in football's popularity during the 1880s, presents information to help understand the impetus for the introduction of football at KU in 1890. The chapter's exploration of post 1890s football, especially the brutality crisis period (1892-1905) and subsequent forward pass period (starting in 1906), frame the national conversations and trends around football during the game's first decades on campus in Lawrence.¹¹⁰

Football and Masculinity

The emergence of football in America after the Civil War was a "purely masculine" development, asserts historian John Pettegrew. Its requirements and association with war created a "tightly wound homosocial universe" that "subordinated" women to a "spectatorial role" and "heightened the martial heroic element" of the game.¹¹¹ Pettegrew's description recalls the Civil War and the battle of First Bull Run, when people living in Washington D.C.,

¹⁰⁹ *Quivira* (University of Kansas Yearbook). The Hall & O'Donald Litho. Co. 1893, Topeka, KS, 149. "First game ever played by University of Kansas" November 22, 1890, at Baldwin, KS, KU 9 Baker University 22.

¹¹⁰ Ronald A. Smith, "Brutality and the Crisis of 1894," in *Sports & Freedom: The Rise of Big Time College Athletics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 91.

¹¹¹ John Pettegrew, *Brutes in Suits: Male Sensibility in America, 1890-1920* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 130.

including women and Senators, rode out to watch the fight.¹¹² Football “like the ideal of the citizen soldier,” Pettegrew points out, “demanded of its players a performative combination of aggression and sacrifice, the ability to both inflict and endure pain;”¹¹³ this was a consumable combination.

Martial heroic performativity that equates the skills and values of ideal citizen soldiering, exclusively male but desirable to both men and women, is football’s attraction. Hetero-spectatorship and “male-to-male affection and desire – homoeroticism” fuel the performance in Pettegrew’s estimation.¹¹⁴ This helps us understand why sports generally and college football especially had long been popular in the United States before World War I. Martial heroic performativity is broadly desirable. Game attendance, and newspaper and magazine circulation figures are evidence of football’s broad appeal and popularity in post-Civil War and pre-World War I America.

As early as the 1860s, Harvard and Yale crew races were drawing upwards of 25,000 spectators to the shores of the lakes and rivers they rowed.¹¹⁵ Harvard baseball drew 10,000 to some contests during the same period, and in 1880, President Rutherford B. Hayes took a game in, maybe the first president to do so.¹¹⁶ By the last two decades of the nineteenth century, college sports were popular and even, already, famous. Beginning in the 1880s, football was

¹¹² Ken Eschner, “Was the First Battle of Bull Run Really ‘The Picnic Battle’?” *Smithsonian.com*, July 21, 2017, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/was-first-battle-bull-run-really-picnic-battle-180964084/>. See also John Macdonald, *Great Battles of the Civil War* (New York: Macmillan, 1988), 12.

¹¹³ Pettegrew, 130.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Ronald A. Smith, *Sports & Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 36.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 61.

ascendant and amplified the acclaim, demand, marketability, prevalence, and adoration of college sports in America.

In 1883, only fourteen years after Rutgers defeated Princeton in the first college football game (1869),¹¹⁷ 15,000 spectators attended the Yale Princeton game at New York's Polo Grounds. The Yale Harvard game drew 23,000 in New York in 1887; and in the 1890s, the Thanksgiving Day game in New York was drawing 40,000 or more.¹¹⁸ As early as the 1880s, it was clear that sports, especially contests that pitted rivals and particularly football rivals who played on Thanksgiving Day in New York, would draw.¹¹⁹

The commercial possibilities of college sport were present from the beginning. The Boston, Concord, and Montreal Railroad proposed and sponsored the first intercollegiate sporting contest, a Harvard Yale rowing race on Lake Winapausaukee, New Hampshire, 1852.¹²⁰ As early as the last decade of the century, athletic associations were astoundingly profitable. In 1892-1893, Yale athletic receipts totaled \$36,000. By 1903 that figure was \$93,000. Harvard totaled \$40,000 in athletic receipts by 1894 and that figure grew to \$56,000 by 1901. In 2019 dollars, these figures are equal to millions (see conversions in the footnote).¹²¹ The growing popularity of football, evident in attendance figures from the last two decades of the

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 70.

¹¹⁸ Smith, 79-80.

¹¹⁹ There is also evidence for boxing's massive popularity in England during earlier periods in A.J. Liebling's *The Sweet Science*.

¹²⁰ Smith, 3.

¹²¹ Brian Ingrassia, *The Rise of Gridiron University* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2012), 43. Using an inflation calculator available at <http://www.in2013dollars.com/1893-dollars-in-2017> the 2019 equivalent of these figures is \$1,024,368.00 (1893, \$36,000), \$2,706,426.82 (1903, \$93,000), \$1,191,125.58 (1894, \$40,000), and \$1,687,194.35 (1901, \$56,000).

nineteenth century, accounts for college athletics' revenue growth and reveals two motives universities had to adopt football: fame and money.¹²²

Perhaps nothing else better demonstrates the meteoric rise of college football in the late-nineteenth century than press coverage. In *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle*, Michael Oriard writes, "by the mid-1890s, both the quantity and the quality of the football coverage in the daily papers in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston were staggering: front-page, full-page, several-page accounts of the big games, accompanied by sometimes dozens of often sensationalistic illustrations."¹²³ This coverage, he argues, had a greater effect on the development and popularity of the sport than did television coverage in the 1950s and 1960s. To illustrate the point, Oriard cites the broad circulation of daily and Sunday papers in New York. He writes, "in 1889, the Thanksgiving Day game drew 25,000 from a population now of 2.4 million," but "the circulation of fifty-five dailies was now 1.78 million, of thirty-two Sunday papers, 1.1 million."¹²⁴ The spectacular growth in paid attendance to college football games pales in comparison with the explosion in circulations and college football coverage in the newspapers. In 1889, the year before football was introduced at KU, the "front page, full page, several page accounts of the big game," would, according to Oriard, reach approximately half the households in New York City.¹²⁵

¹²² Evidence also suggests that football was part of a broader cultural shift shaping consumer habits and identity. The annual Thanksgiving game in New York, most often featuring some combination of Princeton, Harvard, and Yale, came to mark the start of the winter social calendar for the City's elites, a development concurrent with the rise of holiday consumer culture.

¹²³ Michael Oriard, *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 57.

¹²⁴ Oriard, 60.

¹²⁵ Oriard, 57.

In his book, *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood, 1890-1915*, Daniel A. Clark documents the relationship between the “magazine revolution” and the rise of the college hero, often a football player. Clark shows that the “massive circulation” of magazines like *Munsey’s*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Collier’s*, and *the Saturday Evening Post*¹²⁶ was concurrent with the emergence of the “college athlete as a new icon” in their pages.¹²⁷ These massively popular middle-class magazines, he argues, changed the meaning of college in America. What higher education stood for and offered was recast, and a cornerstone of the new identity, part of what a college education promised, was football.

The appeal of the game is, in part, the interest and desire, returning to Pettegrew, to experience sport that celebrates martial heroic requirements. In global historic perspective (considering European, Mesoamerican, and North American game experiences outlined in chapter one), this is not exclusive to American football, but cross-cultural and historic. Said another way, it is an old desire that helps explain a new game’s mass appeal. Football, featuring war-like scenarios and heroes who were sometimes referred to as gladiators or warriors, was the type of game people had long been drawn to across the globe.¹²⁸ But, the print revolution of the late nineteenth century created an unprecedented opportunity for its proliferation. Football, a “performative combination of aggression and sacrifice” that required players to “both inflict and endure pain,” was lucrative, revered, and growing at a historic rate forty years prior to the

¹²⁶ David A. Clark, *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood, 1890-1915* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010), 15-16. Clark reports “700,000 for *Munsey’s* and 300,000 for *Cosmopolitan* in 1897, the weekly *Collier’s* ran above 500,000 after 1905, with the new industry leader, the *Saturday Evening Post*, topping one million by 1909,” 16.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, 85.

¹²⁸ See Chapter 1 section “Stadiums, Games and War,” p 32-35.

stadium movement.¹²⁹ When it was introduced at KU in 1890, football was hyper-masculine, violent, and desirable, especially in the east, and at the oldest and most prestigious colleges in America.

Football's influence spread in the last decades of the nineteenth century despite the game's increasing risks, including death. This was not a deterrent to play it seems and even, for some, may have been part of the game's allure, a suggestion consistent with Mary Miller's analysis of the Mayan ball game discussed earlier.¹³⁰ *The Glory of Empire* is also informative here. Football, perhaps like the games in D'Ormesson's novel, was famous and "prized...so highly" that it "never lack[ed] victors or idols" despite the risks and sacrifices it required.¹³¹ Given all of this, it is essential to understand the game's narratives and values in order to fully grasp its appeal and understand its magnetism as a factor in the stadium movement. Recalling Olson's work, this exercise will reveal the "drive in the people," the drive in the creators and critics of the shared histories, rights, and obligations embedded in the political landscape including stadiums.¹³² Millions of Americans were consuming football before the introduction of the game at KU in 1890. What were the game's lessons? What was football saying? What were its identities when it showed up on Mount Oread?

The Revolution and Republican Spirit

¹²⁹ Pettegrew, 130. Pettegrew quotes "style of life" from the work of David Riesman and Reuel Denney, "Football in America: A Study in Culture Diffusion," *American Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 4 (1951): 309-325. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3031463?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents, 310.

¹³⁰ Miller, 87. See also Chapter 1, p. 34.

¹³¹ D'Ormesson, 4. See also Chapter 1, p. 32.

¹³² Olson, 24. See also Chapter 1, pp. 17 and 29; and, Jackson, 12.

In order to understand the origins of college sports and college football in America, a necessary step to understanding the ways in which the game inspired and informed the stadium movement, it is important to grasp the historical interplay between the *republican spirit* of college students and university authority, especially in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The period pre-dates the founding of the University of Kansas (1865) by some four decades and the introduction of football at KU (1890) by seventy years, or more, but college sports, especially football grow out of the *republican* inspired student' uprisings of the early nineteenth century according to numerous historians of higher education including Frederick Rudolph, Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, and Roger G. Geiger. It is difficult to understand football at KU or any other institution, regardless of the date of its introduction, without grasping the origins of the game at this particular historical moment. The rules and spirit of football that would have filled the pages of the newspapers Oriard studied and the magazines Clark examined have their beginnings during the Republican Period that follows the Revolution.

Revolutionary spirit had "worked its way" onto campus during the Republican Period, writes Frederick Rudolph. It arrived as "a full-bodied statement that in America man counted for more, and took less account of his superiors."¹³³ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz remarks, "the patriots' sons entering college" after the Revolution were "less willing to exhibit those marks of deference faculty had traditionally expected."¹³⁴ On campus, these students, "the patriots' sons," encountered traditional, rule-bound academic and social systems that did not fit their needs. The result was widespread conflict with what Roger G. Geiger calls the "hierarchical

¹³³ Frederick Rudolph, *The American College & University* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1990), 34.

¹³⁴ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 26.

authoritarianism” of the colleges and their “eighteenth century customs.”¹³⁵ Student pranks, disobediences, and even organized violence including “strikes” and “riots” became widespread across the colleges.¹³⁶

Yet, at the same time, students used the revolts to make new social structures that, perhaps antithetically, demanded strict adherence to their rules and customs. This included fraternities, which first appear at Union (1825) and Hamilton (1832).¹³⁷ The fraternity appealed to students “because it captured and preserved the spirit of the revolts,” writes Horowitz. They were “an institutional expression of both their grievances and their divisions” and became the centerpiece of college student life starting in the late 1830s.¹³⁸ They also demanded uncompromising devotion to their newly established requirements. The revolts were, therefore, both destructive and creative impulses and forces. Student-sanctioned games followed the rise of the Greek system.

As early as the 1830s, Alexis de Tocqueville recognized the role games played for American students and how these developed as products of a particular strand of national thinking and spirit. “The citizen of the United States is taught from infancy to rely upon his own exertions,” he wrote. “This habit may be traced even in the schools, where the children in their games are wont to submit to rules which they have themselves established, and to punish misdemeanors which they have themselves defined.”¹³⁹ In de Tocqueville’s estimation, school

¹³⁵ Roger G. Geiger, *The History of American Higher Education: Learning and Culture From the Founding to World War II* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 128. See also John Thelin p. 65.

¹³⁶ Horowitz, 23-55.

¹³⁷ Geiger, 216.

¹³⁸ Horowitz, 29. See also “Extracurriculum” chapter of Rudolph, 136-155.

¹³⁹ Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Signet Classic, 2001), 95.

games precede from the same Revolutionary and Republican spirit that Rudolph, Horowitz, and Geiger identify as a key factor in the early development of college student life.

Students were not satisfied acting out against the strictures and limitations of the intellect. They also reacted against those rules schools placed on the body. Rudolph's long quote frames the social relationship between republican spirit, fraternities, and games:

The American college student was not content with liberating the mind, giving it free range in organizations that served the intellect.¹⁴⁰ He was not content with enthroning manners, enshrining the ways of success in this world in a far-flung system of fraternities and social clubs. He also discovered muscle, created organizations for it; his physical appearance and condition had taken on new importance. Man the image of God became competitive, boisterous, muscular, and physically attractive. Man the image of God became the fine gentleman – jolly, charming, pleasant, well-developed, good-looking. He became an obvious candidate for fraternity membership.¹⁴¹

College students fought not only to liberate the mind from the grip of faculty and administration authoritarianism, but also the body. They “discovered muscle,” as Rudolph remarks, and muscle as games, especially as football, became a form of both human and social capital on campus.

Applying the work of contemporary scholar James S. Coleman to the historical period and circumstances under consideration, we find that muscle, once discovered, became a new form of human capital on college campuses, because it brought about a change in “skills and capabilities” that were valued and helped people “act in new ways.”¹⁴² Muscle as human capital was particularly important in late nineteenth century industrializing America. It

¹⁴⁰ “The mind” is what is given “free range” here. American college student was not content giving only the mind “free range.”

¹⁴¹ Rudolph, 150.

¹⁴² James S. Coleman “Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital,” *Sociology in Education: A Critical Reader*, 2nd Edition, ed. Alan R. Sadovnik (New York: Routledge, 2011), 100.

developed into social capital once embedded in football. Borrowing from Pierre Bourdieu, the game and its players became part of a “network of connections” on college campuses that created a student “credential” and helped “secure material or symbolic profits” through “establishing or reproducing social relationships.”¹⁴³ Rudolph’s quote shows how this worked in the beginning, there was the discovery of muscle, attractive and coveted. It fostered competition and the students who excelled became “well-developed” and “good looking,” “obvious candidates” for fraternities, he writes, an increasingly important feature of college student life.

Muscle also reframed man in the image of God, shifting the focus from the beyond, the after, to the now, the here, the worldly. As a result, muscle was radical. The “Puritan Ethic” of the schools frowned upon or forbade games as “unnecessarily trivial,” as frivolous pursuits, and not because of this but in spite of it students valued them.¹⁴⁴ Students “perceived college as a field for combat”¹⁴⁵ and “channel[ed]” their “energies into physical activities” including “early free-for-all versions of football and baseball.”¹⁴⁶ Games became part of the university social hierarchy and eventually, according to Horowitz, would “claim collegians’ deepest involvement.”¹⁴⁷

The result, according to Rudolph, was that by the late 1840s, and “before they quite knew what had happened, most college presidents found that their undergraduates had ushered into the American college community a social system that they had neither invited nor

¹⁴³ Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital” in *Sociology of Education: A Critical Reader*, 2nd Edition, ed. Alan R. Sadovnik (New York: Routledge, 2011), 88-89.

¹⁴⁴ Rudolph, 152.

¹⁴⁵ Horowitz, 39

¹⁴⁶ Rudolph, 152.

¹⁴⁷ Horowitz, 39.

encouraged.”¹⁴⁸ The development of games, including early versions of football, occur within Republican contexts and networks that distrusted authority, valued individualism, promoted dissent, and worshipped strength. Takeaways include: games, particularly football games are practices in self-reliance; self-reliance in this environment pairs creativity and violence and requires muscle; players were revered and coveted; and, despite antipathy and opposition towards existing structures of authority, students demanded “intense conformity to college custom and fashion.”¹⁴⁹ This is the early history of football, a game that will fill the pages of the most circulated newspapers and magazines in America in the late nineteenth century.

Forty years after these beginnings, in the 1880s, the period of football’s popular ascent, “concerns about the sources of new leadership in corporate America” had become “pregnant with racial anxieties related to fears of the overcivilization of native-born, middle-class men,” writes Daniel Clark.¹⁵⁰ The “fear”, he continues was that “native-born” men were becoming “overcivilized and soft,” while “hordes of vigorous immigrant males” and women were entering the workforce threatening the “traditional routes to self-made identity and success.”¹⁵¹ College was deemed necessary to counteract this. It had long been associated with culture, dating to the earliest institutions, but now it was also needed as a training ground for the industrializing and increasingly competitive world of business.

Industrialization and its concomitant processes of bureaucracy, standardization, and specialization created an opportunity in American higher education. These had sounded “the

¹⁴⁸ Rudolph, 145

¹⁴⁹ Horowitz, 45.

¹⁵⁰ Clark, 44.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, 82.

death knell of the traditional self-made man in business” and spawned a “crisis of business masculinity” that required a new type of man, a college man.¹⁵² Not the over-cultured and effeminate men that college had long been accused of producing, but businessmen that could take advantage of the manifold opportunities that were opening up in industrializing America.¹⁵³ College became the “ideal training for success in the new world of business,” Clark writes.¹⁵⁴ It provided a liberal education for culture, scientific training for business, and football for “a brush with the so called manly athletics.”¹⁵⁵

The “ideal college man now united two heretofore antagonistic ideals of American manhood – the cultured, genteel scholar and the resolute, courageous, and vigorous man.”¹⁵⁶ He was no “sissy,” he was a “lieutenant in training,” tough and competitive, necessary traits for the new world of business.¹⁵⁷ The “college man as athlete and, in particular the football player took center stage,” and, as Clark discovered, during the first act.¹⁵⁸ “The earliest magazine stories involving college characters in a positive light,” he writes “focused on college life or sports.”¹⁵⁹ Football was first and fundamental to the new college mold.

College became increasingly important because it added business preparation and football to its already established identity for liberal education. New disciplines taught the

¹⁵² Ibid, 28.

¹⁵³ Ibid, 31, 35.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 35, 47, and 51.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, 27.

¹⁵⁶ Clark, 81.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 49.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 80.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, 68.

science of new business. As one new discipline, football taught toughness, teamwork, strategy, and competition, necessary skills it was believed, for success in industrializing America.¹⁶⁰

The Rules

CLR James' book *Beyond a Boundary* is, in part, about the role of cricket in James' education. As a preparatory student, he was entirely dedicated to cricket and identified as, "a Puritan who would have cut off a finger sooner than do anything contrary to the ethics of the game."¹⁶¹ The "source of this fierce, self-imposed discipline," he writes, "were the magazines and books" about cricket "that passed among" the students, "hand to hand." These were "understood," "lived by," "absorbed through the pores," and "the principles that they taught" were "practiced instinctively."¹⁶²

Cricket writing established rules and records as values for James. It also helped him hone his analytical and critical thinking skills and develop a passion for information. The stories he read covered cricket events, rules, and history, but they also transmitted other messages. "I am confident," he states, "that the Greeks educated themselves on games with their records and traditions orally transmitted from generation to generation."¹⁶³ He means not only that the Greeks were educated about games, but that games, recalling the work of both Chuck Stein and Benedict Anderson, taught the Greeks about cultural identity. He is suggesting that his experience, his cricket education revealed to him something about how games worked in the past, particularly in Greece. In sum, for James, games are educators.

¹⁶⁰ Also see Pettegrew, 130.

¹⁶¹ C.L.R. James, *Beyond A Boundary* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 28.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, 26.

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, 33.

Using this as a lens, especially considering the print popularity of football in the 1880s and later, we can surmise that it was not only a game by then, but a vehicle for cultural memory, social mores, and national identity. Football writing communicated the details of contests and taught lessons about society, culture, and nation that readers, especially the young, would have, like James, “absorbed” and, eventually, “practiced instinctively.” It is not only that football was popular, famous, and lucrative, it was also critical to imagining America and American.¹⁶⁴

The way in which James positions and describes himself in *Beyond a Boundary* provides further insight into how football developed. There were “two people,” he writes, who lived in him while he was at school. He was a “Puritan” cricket player, dedicated to the rules of the game, but also a “rebel against all family and school discipline and order.”¹⁶⁵ This juxtaposition, rule follower and rule breaker, this “two-ness” as James calls it, is, provocatively, similar to a pattern found in American college students during the Republican Period; the time during which college sports and the first hints of football emerge. Like James’, early nineteenth century college students felt compelled to both break and follow rules and, as in James’ experience, games played an important role in navigating, framing, and making sense of this “two-ness.”¹⁶⁶

The literature of cricket powerfully influenced the ways James learned and acted, especially while at school. He particularly notes the role narratives played in instilling a sense of obligation towards the rules in him. Given the popularity of football in the press in the late nineteenth century, it is possible to theorize how the game’s narratives acted on readers,

¹⁶⁴ See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2003); chapter 1, p. 34.

¹⁶⁵ James, 28.

¹⁶⁶ This recalls W.E.B DuBois “double consciousness” from *Souls of Blackfolk*.

especially youth. They would have learned to follow and be obligated to the rules, and, perhaps like James, to “practice them instinctively.” The history, the rules of football include themes of American exceptionalism, Republican identities, and social construction.

American colleges have long looked to and drawn from British sporting culture including rowing. The first American intercollegiate sporting event was a regatta. On August 3, 1852, Harvard defeated Yale on Lake Winnepesaukee, New Hampshire.¹⁶⁷ By 1869, only 17 years later, an estimated 750,000 to one million people saw Oxford out row Harvard on the Thames in London. The British and American sporting spirits were competitive but also different.

Historian Ronald A. Smith’s summary of the 1869’ Oxford Harvard race is telling:

Harvard, rowing at a rapid 46 strokes per minute, broke to an early lead against the Oxford crew, ...Shortly after the mile mark, Harvard expanded its lead to a length and a half, enough to legally cut in front of the Oxford boat and in so doing shorten one of the curves in the river. If Harvard had taken its opponent’s water, it would have put an extra burden on the heavily favored English crew. Harvard coxswain Burnham, at the request of the Harvard captain, refused to do this as they considered it ungentlemanly, what was then called ‘jockeyism.’ Crew advisor William Blaikie, more in tune with the American practice of gamesmanship, which emphasized using the rules to one’s advantage, had previously suggested taking Oxford’s water if the opportunity arose. Harvard’s fatal mistake of sportsmanship that day, according to Blaikie, may have caused it to lose the race.¹⁶⁸

Harvard did not take Oxford’s water in 1869. They did not jockey to win. In his description of the race, Smith does not celebrate Burnham’s gentlemanly act, he almost regrets that Burnham did not listen to Blaikie. As a “practice” Blaikie is more “in tune” with than Burnham, American gamesmanship was an established norm, an American characteristic, and what happened on the Thames in front of nearly a million people, a lost opportunity. American sporting spirit

¹⁶⁷ Smith, 2.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 41.

owes much to the British, but gamesmanship is unique to America in the comparison; as American as taking an opponent's water, it might be said. The practice of using rules or the absence of rules to gain an advantage, to win.

The early history of football is marked by warring over rules. The principal opponents are Harvard, Princeton, and Yale. The first college game, played between Rutgers and Princeton, marks the beginning of an early period, 1869. The same year, perhaps not coincidentally given the role of gamesmanship in football, of the Oxford Harvard regatta. This period ends in 1876, the year Harvard then Yale then Princeton decide for rugby over soccer rules for their games.¹⁶⁹ The same year, again perhaps not coincidentally given the role of race in football discussed later, as the disputed presidential election of Rutherford B. Hayes, which ends Reconstruction in the South. This span of football ends in 1892, when a new period marked by mass plays, increasing violence and codification begins. The year before Frederick Jackson Turner's "Frontier Thesis" (1893), which suggests the American frontier, so important, as we will see, to football's identities, is closed.

Walter Camp, the "Czar of Yale Football," suggested many of the rules that distinguish American football from English rugby.¹⁷⁰ The introduction of the snap and elimination of the scrum, the scoring system for touchdowns, extra points, field goals, and safeties are of central importance. It was also Camp's idea to allow tackles below the waist that moves the game in a dangerous direction towards mass plays. "The low tackle did much to reduce the effectiveness of open field dodging which had been a feature of most games up until this time," Smith writes.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, 76.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

“The open style of play was dropped in favor of mass plays, when victory resulted from close formations.” The Flying Wedge, first used by Harvard in 1892, became “a sensation, probably the most feared play in football history,” and the signpost for a new period of rules.¹⁷¹ This is the “Brutality Crisis” period.

In 1894, just two years after the Flying Wedge was introduced, schools came together to ban mass plays, but Walter Camp also published “the laudatory *Football Facts and Figures*,” which obfuscated the game’s brutality. In 1895, Cornell joined Yale and Princeton to form their own rules making body, separate from Harvard and Penn and their rules. That same year, the Big Ten Conference formed and started to challenge eastern football supremacy. As Smith notes, Amos Alonzo Stagg, University of Chicago Athletic Director and former Yale star, wrote Camp to say that if the eastern colleges could not make effective rules, then the Big Ten would “certainly get out a set ourselves.”¹⁷² The period reached a turning point in 1905 after a series of exposes on cheating appeared in national publications and nineteen players died during the season. A concerned President Theodore Roosevelt, a Harvard alum, called representatives from Harvard, Princeton, and Yale to Washington and ordered them to get the game fixed.¹⁷³ One resulting rule change, which we will return to at the end of this chapter, an effort to open up the game, to move away from mass plays, is the legalization of the forward pass.

“Manly” college football became popular in the 1880s, because it was seen as a necessary addition to college offerings in order to address fears about native white male overcivilization during a period of rapid industrial change and increased immigration. The massive circulation

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 90.

¹⁷² Ibid, 94.

¹⁷³ Ibid, 193-194; see also John R. Thelin, *Games College Play*, 15.

numbers of newspapers and magazines that prominently depicted reports, stories, and illustrative depictions of games and players demonstrates the game's broad popularity and power to influence. The development of American gamesmanship, traced here from de Tocqueville's observations, through the historical review of early student life on campus, to the beginnings of organized college sports, reveals a unique aspect of the American sporting spirit and highlights the importance of using rules to win, especially in football. The next section of this chapter considers the confluence of white American social needs (overcivilization) and rule development (gamesmanship) in order to better understand the history of the game, and the ways it communicated meaning (play, spectatorship, and press) to audiences, especially following Reconstruction (Brutality Period), the moment of football's rapid growth.

Sports and Race

Overcivilization, an important factor in the increasing demand for higher education in the late nineteenth century, was an "increasingly common fear in an age accepting the assumptions of Social Darwinism," Clark writes. Herbert Spencer's theory, Social Darwinism, perverted Darwin's concept of natural selection to fit subjective, racist, and predetermined human outcomes. Stephen Jay Gould's book *The Mismeasure of Man* demonstrates how science and scientists, some among the most celebrated of the nineteenth century, consciously and subconsciously supported, bolstered, and championed Social Darwinism with faux science.¹⁷⁴ Social Darwinism was a broadly accepted social theory that undergirded the

¹⁷⁴ Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man, revised and expanded edition* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996).

construction of racist political, social, and cultural systems, including higher education. It was, from its first supposition, bad science - discriminatory and dangerous science.

Natural selection holds that there are more offspring born to any particular species than environmental' resources can maintain. This results in competition. Organisms best suited for survival in a particular environment will be those most likely to pass their genetic code to offspring. Spencer's perversion of the idea started with the assumption that natural selection equates to progress; to the idea of evolution as it is popularly imagined, on a linear climb from caveman to white man.¹⁷⁵ Based on this wrong assumption, Social Darwinists asserted, not only incorrectly but vehemently, that resource allocation, social stratification, and colonization were justified by the law of natural selection. The Social Darwinist's interest was in the development of a theory that proved what they already assumed and believed: the superiority of western culture and whiteness over non-western cultures and people of color.

In Social Darwinist contexts, the fear in America in the late nineteenth century was that white men would lose out in the competition for limited natural, social, political, and cultural resources and in so doing show inferiority to non-white peoples. College had become increasingly important in American society, especially as curriculums liberalized and allowed for professional schools and courses, most importantly in business. A college education became a necessary step to get a leg up. It was also long associated with culture and culture's perceived barrier label, overcivilization. The introduction of football allowed the genteel scholar (student) to act primitively or savagely (football), and in a shared environment (college). In football, students were encouraged to become civilized savages.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. See also *Darwin's Revolution in Thought: An Illustrated Lecture by Stephen Jay Gould*, film, 1995.

A question that many higher education historians and historians of college sport have not thoroughly explored is how do the real and imagined contacts between European colonists and Indigenous peoples that play such an important role in the development of Republican American ideals also inform student life influenced by this same spirit of republicanism? What roles do real and imagined contacts between Europeans and First Nations Peoples play in the development of college student life, especially games? Exploring these questions reveals how First Nations peoples played an important role in the development of college sports, especially football. This discussion also helps establish the early paradigms of competition that inform later periods of football and become important to the game's popularity and lead to the stadium movement.

In the first two centuries of contact, historian James Axtell finds that "Indian impact on colonial culture extended far beyond the frontier into the thoughts, values, and feelings of virtually every Englishman in America."¹⁷⁶ In addition to adaptations in language, cultivation, and dress, the colonials adapted native war tactics, because they discovered that their own formations, dress, and rules of engagement were ineffective in the deciduous forests of North America. It is not that they wanted to become "Indian," though there are many examples of "White Indians" during the Colonial Period and after, but, rather, "in war as in peace, English frontiersman 'Indianized' themselves only as much as was necessary to give them the upper hand in their struggle with America and its native people."¹⁷⁷ While the English adopted

¹⁷⁶ James Axtell, *Natives and Newcomers: The Cultural Origins of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 315.

¹⁷⁷ James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 302

“guerrilla-style” warfare, “they did not become Indian in their goals or values.”¹⁷⁸ Their goals were to subdue nature, convert Indians to Christianity, and whitewash a continent. These remained intact.

As discussed earlier, games have approximated, represented, and prepared people for war in multiple historical contexts and examples. In North America, especially considering Axtell’s assertion concerning the general and broad influence of native culture on “virtually every Englishman in America,” we can hypothesize that contact between English colonists and Native peoples including warfare, influenced American cultural development including games. This is particularly provocative in the example of football.

Though developed from European rugby and soccer, football is a uniquely North American game and, as we have seen, for example in the work of John Pettegrew, it approximates war. If English colonists adapted warfare techniques as a result of conflict with Indigenous peoples, as Axtell asserts, and English colonists, or their heirs, developed football, and football can be seen as war in a North American context, it is plausible that the game is not only representative of war, but specifically war between English colonists and Native peoples. The significant body of literature that identifies the appropriation of Indigenous identities by Revolutionary Americans as a critical component in the development of a national identity supports this assertion. Revolutionary inspired college students of the early nineteenth century would have known and drawn on stories of white appropriation of Native identities as they defiantly created their games and rules.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, 303.

In *Playing Indian*, Phillip J. Deloria discusses the importance of the Boston Tea Party to the development of American identity. “The tale has dramatic appeal” and “offers a defining story of something larger – American character,” Deloria writes. “In the national iconography, the Tea Party is a catalytic moment, the first drumbeat in the long cadence of rebellion through which Americans redefined themselves as something other than British colonists.”¹⁷⁹ By “playing Indian,” the colonists “redefined themselves” and developed “American character.” The episode serves as the “catalytic moment” in the drama of a national identity; “the first drumbeat in the long cadence of rebellion” that is *America*.

The relevance for this project is that college sports, originally, as Rudolph, Geiger, and Horowitz show, are a result of Revolutionary’ inspired student rebellion. They are born of a spirit that not only defined an aspect of American character, but did so, according to Deloria, through the appropriation of Native identity as a symbol of national difference and iconography. This idea is not only important to the relationship between war and football, it is important to the relationship between football and America.

Two characteristics of this cadence of rebellion are important here: it is inherently white and violent. In *Wages of Whiteness*, David Roediger explains that expressions of imagined experiences with Indigenous Americans like the Boston Tea Party are an important part of the formation of whiteness. He writes that settler ideology had to “invent savagery in order to define itself.”¹⁸⁰ Writing about the post-revolutionary period, he says, “white attitudes toward

¹⁷⁹ Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 2.

¹⁸⁰ David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 2007), 22.

manliness, land use, sexuality, and individualism and violence were influenced by real contacts with, and fanciful ideas about, Native Americans.”¹⁸¹

When the Tea Party’ Bostonians appropriated indigenous dress to carry out their action, they expressed an essential characteristic of American self-identity, the civilized savage. Returning to Deloria, “by being both Indian and not-Indian, repulsive savage and object of colonial desire, representation of social order and disorder, the Tea Party Indians revealed the contingency of social order itself and thus opened the door to the creation of the new.”¹⁸² This “representation of social order and disorder” is also the “object” and “desire” of college football. White students play savages and are celebrated for the same characteristics Roediger identifies as being “influenced by real contacts with, and fanciful ideas about, Native Americans”: “manliness, land use, sexuality, and individualism and violence.” This was how college prepared students to combat overcivilization in American terms; superiority through war, muscle, and Native and Revolutionary spirit.

Given the relationship and intersections between Native peoples, Revolutionary action, and American identity as defined in white masculine terms, it is possible to see how they collectively influenced the early development of college student life. If “Tea Party Indians” had “opened the door to the creation of the new” in America and rebellious college students seeking to make their own lives and rules looked to the Revolution for inspiration, it is telling that they would appropriate Indigenous identities for their newly created social organizations. Carol Spindel’s work shows this. College students, she writes, “forged a group identity by using

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Deloria, 32.

Indian words to name their clubs, borrowing Indian rituals such as smoking pipes, meeting at night around campfires, and dressing in Indian-inspired clothing.”¹⁸³ They also recalled, remembered, and perhaps acted out real and imagined encounters with indigenous peoples by playing football.

Native mascots, what Spindel calls “pretend Indians,” reinforce the centrality of Native identities in football and are remnant of the earlier social history of game formation.¹⁸⁴ Dozens of schools including Dartmouth, Colgate, Stanford, Syracuse, and Oklahoma have retired Native mascots and names.¹⁸⁵ Other schools, including Illinois, North Dakota, and Florida State retain Native mascots. These, both past and present, have become synonymous with school and football identities.

In her book, *Indian Spectacle: College Mascots and the Anxiety of Modern America*, Jennifer Guliano ties Native identity and culture directly to the stadium movement. She describes the cover of the University of Illinois’ “The Story of the Stadium” pamphlet from 1920/21:

A campfire circle of Indian men with a lone Indian figure standing dressed in what appears to be a Sioux headdress, loincloth, and boots. The Indian male holds a peace pipe, with one hand raised before a full moon. Underneath, the caption reads, ‘We have a heritage from the Illini Indian – the Great Heart, the fighting spirit.’ The *Story of Stadium* continues by characterizing the Illini as ‘a hunter,’ a ‘fighter,’ an ‘individualist,’ ‘brave and self denying.’¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³¹⁸³ Carol Spindel, *Dancing at Halftime: Sports and the Controversy over American Indian Mascots* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 49.

¹⁸⁴ Spindel, 280.

¹⁸⁵ Spindel, 13.

¹⁸⁶ Jennifer Guliano, *Indian Spectacle: College Mascots and the Anxiety of Modern America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015), 28.

As “The Story of the Stadium” pamphlet shows, “Indian men,” hunters, fighters, individualists, brave, and self denying, were, as Deloria asserted, the “objects of colonial desire,” sources of American “heritage,” harbingers of the new (stadiums). This is the language of whiteness and football.

David Wallace Adams’ article “More than a Game: The Carlisle Indians Take to the Gridiron, 1893-1917” tells the story of Richard Henry Pratt, “founder of Carlisle Indian School” and “a central figure among the humanitarian reformers who sought to solve the ‘Indian problem’ by a policy of forced acculturation, with schools playing a pivotal role in the process.”¹⁸⁷ Pratt’s goal was to “civilize Indians” and football, he became convinced, “presented a wonderful opportunity to gain wider support for his ideas on Indian progress.”¹⁸⁸ He consented to a team on “two conditions: that the Indians always play fairly and never slug an opponent, and that they whip the best football teams in the country.”¹⁸⁹ Interestingly, this parallels the civilized savage concept that played such an important role in the growth and spread of college football, but, for the Carlisle team, the focus is different. Whereas white college students played football to be savage, the Carlisle players, Pratt hoped, would use football to show they were civilized.

The record of the Carlisle team (1893-1917) is “remarkable” and includes wins over “giants of the day” including “Harvard, Cornell, University of Pennsylvania, and Princeton.”¹⁹⁰ Adams, drawing particularly on newspaper descriptions of games, describes how white

¹⁸⁷ David Wallace Adams, “More than a Game: The Carlisle Indians Take to the Gridiron, 1893-1917,” *Western Historical Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 1 (spring 2001), 26.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ Adams, 25.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 27.

audiences received the Carlisle team. To them, Carlisle' players were "noble savages" and football, so important to emerging identities of white masculinity in industrializing America, allowed them to relive "their dramatic, age-old encounters on the American landscape." For Adams, as for others, football is about the frontier, the space where colonists had historically encountered Native people. The centrality of Native culture and lives to American and football identities, especially as experienced and positioned on the frontier provides more context for the meaning attached to stadiums.

Sports and Race (part 2)

The Republican identity of football as a game that may have approximated violent struggle between English colonists and Native Americans was essential to Social Darwinist projects and systems that took root on American college campuses in the late nineteenth century. During the same period, football became historically famous as evidenced in the popular newspapers (Oriard) and magazines (Clark) of the age. The concept of the civilized savage was part of the game's mass appeal, and it helps explain, among other outcomes, the rise of the Native mascot (Spindel and Guiliano).

In addition to inventing savagery to define itself, "Republicanism had long emphasized that the strength, virtue and resolve of a people guarded them from enslavement, and that weakness and servility made those most dependent a threat to the Republic, apt to be pawns of powerful and designing men," Roediger writes. Colonial and Revolutionary experiences, actions, and systems informed this idea. "From such a stance," he continues, "it was not

difficult to move toward considering the proposition that Black oppression was the result of ‘slavishness’ rather than slavery.”¹⁹¹

Whiteness developed as the antithesis of “slavishness,” of blackness. Cultural practices that celebrated whiteness, like football, appropriated indigeneity and excluded blackness, borrowing from Frank B. Wilderson III, as “anti-human.”¹⁹² Football, it was believed, required capacities like individualism and bravery that were outside the capacities of blackness. Writing about the late 19th century, Clark finds, “the discourse on football unquestionably was constructed to respond to the prevailing racial and masculine anxieties of native-stock American men.”¹⁹³ Blackness was present in the formation of football then in the way that it helped define whiteness, and through its conspicuous absence from the game. This is supported, returning to an earlier point, by the timing of football’s development. The first game (1869) immediately follows the Civil War, the sport’s popularity grows in the 1880s after Reconstruction, and the mass play is introduced just the year before Turner closes the American frontier (1893), which adds increasing pressure on the myths of American masculinity (whiteness).

Eugenics, a term Francis Galton coined in 1883, was another outcome of Social Darwinist thinking that was concurrent with the rise of football.¹⁹⁴ The idea was to “screen” immigrants upon arrival in the U.S. to protect Americans “from unfit foreigners” and eliminate the possibilities of miscegenation in order to preserve racial purity. It was, like Social

¹⁹¹ Roediger, 35.

¹⁹² Frank B. Wilderson III, *Red, White & Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

¹⁹³ Clark, 88.

¹⁹⁴ Nancy Ordover, *American Eugenics: Race, Queer Anatomy, and the Science of Nationalism* (Minneapolis, MN, Minnesota Press, 2003), xii.

Darwinism, an all-encompassing idea. “Issues of crime, health, insanity, and morality all fell to eugenic inspection,” writes Nancy Ordover.¹⁹⁵ Football’s role in the project is implied in much of the work that informs this chapter. College men, football players especially, were the pinnacle of the progressive myth of evolution. Their identities, emulated, reproduced, protected, and worshiped at the top of the evolutionary chain. Football players, in a way, were how America justified eugenics.

Conclusion

In 1898, Teddy Roosevelt celebrated the Spanish American War as another new frontier for American masculinity. He assembled the Rough Riders for the fight. They included, prominently, east coast athletes and no African Americans. In battle, the Rough Riders were, according to historian Gary Gerstle, celebrated for “pluck, resourcefulness, and courage as the Kentucky backwoodsmen,” a reference to another scion of American manhood, Daniel Boone.¹⁹⁶ Roosevelt himself was praised for “extraordinary heroism and recklessness.”¹⁹⁷ Some of the same characteristics celebrated in football players.

The Rough Riders shared battlefields with all black U.S. regiments including the “Ninth and Tenth Cavalry[s].” These soldiers were “among the most experienced and reliable American troops” and “for years...had been stationed west of the Mississippi, where they had become skilled in Indian warfare.”¹⁹⁸ Though these soldiers “played an important role” in the battles of “Las Guasimas and an even more vital role in the taking of Kettle Hill and San Juan Hill,”¹⁹⁹ the

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, 15.

¹⁹⁶ Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2001), 31.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, 32.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, 33.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 34.

their presence “interfered with the nation’s triumph – or at least with Roosevelt’s enjoyment of that triumph.”²⁰⁰ The black regiments, under the precepts of Social Darwinism, and despite their record in “Indian Warfare” and in Cuba, were believed incapable of the pluck, resourcefulness, courage, and heroism that the Rough Riders, many of them athletes, were celebrated for. This was why Roosevelt had excluded African Americans from the regiment, and it is why he helped write these units out of the history of the battles they helped win when he returned stateside to an admiring nation and, eventually, the presidency.

In 1905, when the most famous man in America, “The Hero of San Juan Hill,” Teddy Roosevelt, called representatives of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton to the White House to demand football rules changes in order to address cheating and violence in the game, many factors that were shaping and had shaped football came together. It was an extraordinary confluence of political power and Social Darwinism, masculinity, warfare, and the frontier as football. The meeting helped further *cement* the place of the game in the American psyche; it had the traditional markers of white masculine American identities derived from Republican contexts, real and imagined interactions with Native Americans, and requisite skills that bolstered the myth of white superiority.

One result of the Roosevelt meeting was the legalization of the forward pass. This returns the narrative to Carlisle and Native influence on the development of football. On November 23, 1907, 27,000 spectators were in the stands at Stagg Field to see the home team, the best team in the country at the time, the University of Chicago Maroons, host the Carlisle Indians. It was not the first instance of the forward pass, Carlisle and other schools had

²⁰⁰ Ibid, 32-33.

experimented with it the previous season (1906), but, in a way, because of the size of the stage and the teams involved, it was the forward pass' coming-out party.

Carlisle was already known for the play, so Chicago decided to stop Carlisle's receivers at the line of scrimmage, not allowing them to get open down field; in its own way, an expression and tactic of American gamesmanship, because there was not, at the time, any rule against it. In response, Carlisle's coach, Glenn "Pop" Warner, told his receiver, David Exendine, to run out of bounds, behind the bench and then back onto the field to shake the defenders and get open. Historian Sally Jenkins' describes what happened:²⁰¹

For a moment it was a frozen scene in a stage drama. The ball hung in the air, a tantalizing possibility. Could Exendine reach it? Would he catch it, or drop it? Defenders wheeled and stared down field. Spectators watching from the stands found that the breath had died in their collective throats. The spiraling ball seemed to defy physics. What made it stay up? When would it come down? And, in that long moment 27,000 spectators mashed together on benches and crammed on platforms may have felt their loyalty to the home team evaporate in the grip of a powerful new emotion. They may have noticed something they never had before, that a ball traveling through space traces a profoundly elegant path. They may have realized something else, that it was beautiful.²⁰²

Exendine caught the ball and scored. Carlisle won and a rule was subsequently introduced that made a receiver who leaves the field of play ineligible to return to it to catch a pass.

Football is a game of rule makers and rule breakers locked in a cycle of innovation and regulation, destruction and creativity based on historical forces that shaped the country.

Carlisle's forward pass introduced beauty into a game of brutality; it was mesmerizing,

²⁰¹ "Ghosts of Football Past," *Radiolab*, New York Public Radio, February 3, 2018.

<https://www.wnycstudios.org/story/ghosts-football-past>; the features and is reliant on Sally Jenkins, *The Real All Americans*, reprint edition (New York: Anchor, 2008).

²⁰² *Ibid.*

emotionally powerful, beautiful, even; as American as taking an opponent's water. It and the ruled response to it was the whole history of the country and the game, in a way.

Chapter 3: The Stadium

Baseball venues including some named “stadiums” pre-date World War I. Many are profiled in Eric Pastore’s book *500 Ballparks*, which features most North American baseball venues.²⁰³ At least 105 ballparks opened in the United States and Canada before the end of the war, according to Pastore’s book. These were generally not called stadiums, though. Far more often they were called “Parks,” “Fields,” or “Grounds.” Examples included Columbia Park, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (1860), Fuller Field, Clinton, Massachusetts (1878), and Union Grounds, Brooklyn, New York (1862).²⁰⁴

Of the venues Pastore’ profiles, the first “stadium” is Hanlan’s Point Stadium, Toronto, Ontario (1897).²⁰⁵ Only two other pre-1920 baseball venues in *500 Ballparks* carried the “stadium” moniker and these opened after the start of the war in Europe, Chadwick Stadium in Albany, New York (1915) and Brookside Stadium in Cleveland, Ohio (1915).²⁰⁶ Baseball “grounds,” “parks,” and “fields” were numerous before the war, but baseball “stadiums” were virtually non-existent.²⁰⁷

Pre-war, football venue naming standards tell a slightly different story. Football was popular before the war, but only sometimes played in stadiums. The universities of Pennsylvania (1895), Harvard (1903), California (1903), Syracuse (1907), Holy Cross (1908), Georgia Tech (1913), Mississippi State (1914), Princeton (1914), Yale (1914), Cincinnati (1915), Mississippi (1915), Cornell (1915), and Wisconsin (1917) all built college football venues before

²⁰³ Eric Pastore, *500 Ballparks: From Wooden Seats to Retro Classics* (San Diego, CA: Thunder Bay Press, 2011).

²⁰⁴ Ibid, “Columbia Park,” 96; “Fuller Field,” 151; “Union Grounds,” 362.

²⁰⁵ Ibid, 164.

²⁰⁶ Ibid, “Chadwick Stadium,” 75; “Brookside Stadium,” 387.

²⁰⁷ Using Pastore, 5 ballparks opened in the 1860s, 19 in the 1870s, 28 in the 1880s, 26 in the 1890s, and 23 in the first decade of the 20th century.

America entered the war.²⁰⁸ Of these, six were labelled “stadiums,” but only two, Harvard Stadium and Archbold Stadium (Syracuse), opened before hostilities began in Europe in 1914. Football was played in large venues like the Polo Grounds as early as the 1880s, but unless a game was played at Harvard or Archbold Stadiums, it was not played in a “stadium.”

Archbold Stadium

Archbold is not the oldest college football venue (Franklin Field, Penn 1895) nor the first to be called a stadium (Harvard Stadium, Harvard 1903), but it is the first true stadium in America. Archival documents at Syracuse’s Bird Library provide evidence about what made it unique. Upon completion, Archbold was hailed as an international marvel. In March 1909, French magazine *La Construction Moderne* published an article titled “Les Jeux Olympiques de Syracuse” celebrating its construction.²⁰⁹ The headline of a January 1908 *Syracuse Herald* piece was “The Stadium – Greatest Athletic Arena in America and Show Place of Syracuse.”²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ “Franklin Field,” Penn Athletics, https://pennathletics.com/sports/2016/6/24/_131485206786697883.aspx; “Harvard Stadium,” Harvard Athletics, <https://www.gocrimson.com/information/facilities/harvardstadium/>; “California Field,” Berkeley Buildings and Landmarks, http://berkeleyheritage.com/1967_UC_Berkeley_Buildings.html; “The History of Syracuse Football,” Syracuse Athletics, <https://admin.cuse.com/sports/2002/1/1/historyofsyrfootball.aspx>; “Fitton Field,” Holy Cross Athletics, https://www.goholycross.com/ViewArticle.dbml?&DB_OEM_ID=33100&ATCLID=210235732; “Bobby Dodd Stadium at Historic Grant Field,” Georgia Tech Athletics, <https://ramblinwreck.com/bobby-dodd-stadium-at-historic-grant-field/>; “Davis Wade Stadium at Scott Field,” Mississippi State Athletics, <https://spark.adobe.com/page/bz0wAZIToDGjz/>; “Powers Field at Princeton Stadium,” Princeton Athletics, <https://goprincetontigers.com/facilities/?id=2>; “Yale Bowl, Class of 1954 Field,” Yale Athletics, https://www.yalebulldogs.com/information/facilities/yale_bowl/index; “Nippert Stadium,” University of Cincinnati Athletics, <https://gobearcats.com/sports/2017/6/11/facilities-nippert-stadium-html.aspx>; “Vaught-Hemingway Stadium,” University of Mississippi Athletics, https://olemisssports.com/news/2015/9/9/Vaught_Hemingway_Stadium_100_Years.aspx; “Schoellkopf Field,” Cornell University Athletics, <https://cornellbigred.com/facilities/?id=18>; “Camp Randall Stadium,” University of Wisconsin Athletics, https://uwbadgers.com/sports/2015/8/21/GEN_2014010132.aspx.

²⁰⁹ “Les Jeux Olympiques de Syracuse,” *La Construction Moderne*, March 13, 1909. Syracuse University Clipping Files, “Buildings & Grounds, Archbold Stadium,” Bird Library, retrieved October 5, 2018.

²¹⁰ “The Stadium – Greatest Athletic Arena in America and Show Place of Syracuse,” *The Syracuse Herald*, Wednesday Evening, January 15, 1908. Syracuse University Clipping Files, “Buildings & Grounds, Archbold Stadium,” Bird Library, retrieved October 5, 2018.

Another Archbold feature appeared in *Cement Age* magazine that same month, January 1908. Its author, Frank Smalley, wrote “there is no other building in Syracuse that excites the interest of citizen and stranger alike as does the stadium. It is alone in its class, the stadium at Cambridge [Harvard Stadium] being quite different in its construction.”²¹¹ What differentiated Archbold from previous models was both its design and material construction.

Materially, the important, differentiating feature of Archbold was concrete. Some of the super structure at Harvard Stadium remained wood, Archbold was entirely reinforced concrete.²¹² It was a new way to build. The structure gave Archbold an air of permanency. Dr. Charles Floyd Burrows’ article “Concrete Stadium at Syracuse” sums up the idea. “Athletic contests may come and go,” he wrote, “but the recently completed concrete stadium for their promotion at Syracuse University will endure forever.” He continued, “the whole structure is made of reinforced concrete supported on piers of the same material which extend down to a firm foundation; so while having the appearance of resting upon the earth immediately underneath, like the *stadia* of antiquity – which it surpasses – it has as solid a support for its tremendous weight as a sky-scraper.”²¹³ In material content and engineering, Archbold was “reinforced” and had “solid support for its tremendous weight.” It was deeper in the ground

²¹¹ Frank Smalley, “The Concrete Stadium at Syracuse University,” *Cement Age*, vol. 6, no. 1, January 1908, 74. Syracuse University Clipping Files, “Buildings & Grounds, Archbold Stadium,” Bird Library, retrieved October 5, 2018.

²¹² “Harvard Stadium Football History,” Harvard University Athletics, https://www.gocrimson.com/information/facilities/Harvard_Stadium_Football_History; “The Legend of Archbold Stadium,” Syracuse University Athletics, <https://cuse.com/sports/2011/9/28/TheLegendOfArchboldStadium.aspx>.

²¹³ Dr. Charles Floyd Burrows, “Concrete Stadium at Syracuse,” *Technical World Magazine*, September 1909, 213. Syracuse University Clipping Files, “Buildings & Grounds, Archbold Stadium,” Bird Library, retrieved October 5, 2018.

than the “stadia of antiquity,” but on “firm foundation” like a “sky-scraper.” Archbold was built to “endure forever.”

“Archie,” as Archbold was nicknamed, was shaped differently than other arenas. “It [was] more elliptical than the Greek and the Roman stadia, but...not quite an amphitheater,” Frank Smalley wrote in *Cement Age* in 1908. It was “somewhat larger than the Colosseum at Rome,” and “larger and wider than the Greek stadia, which were not’ however, uniform in size.” Archbold did not seat as many people as the Coliseum did, only “20,000” to the Coliseum’s “50,000,” but Archbold covered “a trifle larger area” because it was “elliptical” and had a much larger arena space, “535 by 339 feet” to the Coliseum’s “282 by 177 feet.” Archbold may have only been a “trifle” larger than the Coliseum, but, overall, its arena was over 131,000 square feet larger.²¹⁴

Archbold was designed for various modern conveniences and diversions including cars, sports, and college. In “Concrete Stadium at Syracuse,” Burrows’ observed, Archbold “allow[ed] space to park automobiles or other vehicles whose owners may wish to sit stylishly within them while watching a stirring contest on the oval below.”²¹⁵ That the field inside Archbold could be seen from parked cars was part of its hyper visibility. “Upon this patch of green – every yard of which, from any view point, is visible to spectators,” Burrows continued to emphasize the point. The stadium was multi-purpose. Football and baseball were played at Archbold, and there was a track around the playing field. Perhaps above all else, the stadium was rousing and collegiate. “Frantic cheers and college yells pour down like peals of thunder from grand-stand and cement

²¹⁴ Smalley, 73-75. The Coliseum was a “true amphitheater,” because of its height, rising “159 feet in the air with four tiers of seats.”

²¹⁵ Burrows, 214.

bleachers to urge them enthusiastically on to victory for dear old 'alma mater.'"²¹⁶ Archbold was representative of the spirit of the day: automotive, stylish, stirring, enthusiastic, youthful, victorious, hyper-visible, and as the magazine name (*Cement Age*) pointed out, made of cement.

Archbold was also efficiently built. "Consolidated Engineering & Construction Co. of New York," the contractor for the project, took out a full page advertisement at the end of Smalley's *Cement Age* article. It proclaimed in large, bold letters that "The Largest Athletic Arena in the World," "The Concrete Stadium at Syracuse," "was built by us in *less than one year*."²¹⁷ In the body of the article, Smalley went even further, accounting for weather delays, he wrote that the "entire structure was built in ten working months."²¹⁸ An astonishing feat given that Archbold, in some respects, was the largest stadium in the history of the world.

Archbold and stadiums that followed it had several distinguishing features. First, and most importantly, they were entirely made of reinforced concrete. They were built efficiently and fast, and had the largest arena spaces in the history of the world. They were multi-purpose, hyper-visible, exciting, and catered to modern needs and convenience. What made stadiums distinctive from earlier arenas was their size and shape (broad and elliptical), utility (multi-sport and modern), and permanence (concrete). Further, because of the mass production of cement and concrete, all institutions could have a stadium, and only in "ten

²¹⁶ Burrows, 214.

²¹⁷ "The Largest Athletic Arena in the World," *Cement Age*, vol. 6, no. 1, January 1908, 77. Syracuse University Clipping Files, "Buildings & Grounds, Archbold Stadium," Bird Library, retrieved October 5, 2018.

²¹⁸ Smalley, 75.

months.” This was, in effect, the sales’ pitch for the modern stadium after Archbold, and it was, as evidenced in the stadium boom, successful.

The Definitions of Stadium, Stadia, and Gridiron

The definition and etymology of the word “stadium” provides insight about the shape and size of early stadiums, and their functions. The first Oxford English Dictionary (OED)’ definition for the term is “an ancient Greek and Roman measure of length, varying according to time and place, but most commonly equal to 600 Greek or Roman feet.” The second definition is, “a race course for foot-racing, originally a stadium in length.”²¹⁹ Taken together, a stadium is a 600-foot long racecourse.²²⁰ Tracks were a feature of early stadiums in America, including Franklin Field, the first college football venue at Penn (1895), Harvard Stadium, the first college football stadium (1903), Archbold, the first entirely reinforced concrete stadium (1907), and KU’s Memorial Stadium (1921), a subject of this dissertation. The stadium by definition is a racecourse.

The “origins of stadia,” often used as the plural of stadium, including in literature at Syracuse and the University of Kansas, are according to the OED “obscure” and only “perhaps” derived from “stadium.”²²¹ A stadia is “an instrument consisting of a glass plate, or a brass plate with an opening of the form of an isosceles triangle, marked with figures showing the

²¹⁹ “Stadium,” *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 3002.

²²⁰ These definitions may lend some insight as to why a football field is one hundred yards long, goal line to goal line. Six hundred (600) feet, the average distance of a stadium in Greece and Rome, is equal to two hundred (200) yards, the sum total distance of play on a football field goal line to goal line and back.

²²¹ “Stadia,” *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 3002. See Burrows, “Concrete Stadium at Syracuse” and Clement C. Williams, “Building a Stadium at K.U.,” *The Oread Magazine*, vol. 6, no. 2, March 23, 1920. University Archives, “Memorial Stadium,” Artificial and News Releases, series no. 0/22/53, box 1, folder “1920,” Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

distance at which a foot – or – horse soldier will be when his image covers a certain height on the instrument held at arm’s length.” In other words, it is a scope, a precision weapon measuring the distance between the holder of the stadia and the target. It is also according to another definition, a surveying instrument. “An apparatus consisting of a rod or staff placed at one end of the distance to be measured and a pair of horizontal lines.”²²² In both definitions, stadia is a measuring tool.

Given stadia’s definitions as surveying tool and scope, stadium’s as a race distance, and considering the history of sporting venues in America, and earlier discussions of crowds and spectatorship, the appearance of many stadiums, or stadia, as happened after the war, suggests a society where competition is widespread. This fits with the development of football and the general progression of American history, including contacts between English colonists and Native peoples, the Revolution, the Civil War, industrialization, Social Darwinism, and World War I. In societies experiencing increased competition, either real or imagined, there will be, in theory, more rather than fewer stadiums, or stadia, all other resources being equal and available, because stadiums (stadia) are where people measure themselves against others competitively.

The cultural experience of many stadiums, stadia, may be reflective of a societal, or “collective commitment,” as Ben Lerner calls it, to conflict.²²³ In stadiums, players and spectators see the opponent, the enemy, map and measure the distance to them, and through play try to win the day. A proliferation of stadiums, stadia, provides communities and peoples

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Lerner, 3.

the necessary landscape, returning to Jackson, on which to compete, sometimes in games approximating war. This again recalls Chuck Stein's assertion that the first Olympics were a tool of cultural and national unification.²²⁴ Though stadiums as spaces to measure enemies may seem, at first, antithetical to the processes of cultural unification, they are not. Cultural amalgamation, nation building is historically violent and, as at college interestingly, contingent on identifying in and out crowds; stadiums are not antithetical to nationalism, they are concomitant with it.

Stadiums or stadia are human constructions representative of periods of cultural expansion and conflict as in ancient Greece, Rome, Mesoamerica, and in post-World War I America. Stadiums are part of the political landscapes of these historic epochs. Both definitions of stadia, surveying tool and scope, are useful during such periods. They measure, exactly, ratios and distances and are useful for mapping, moving-on, and controlling space, people, and opponents. Stadiums, together as stadia express not only plurality, but notions and currents about the environment, the people, and the period into which they are born: competitive, violent, and nationalistic.

Gridiron

The first OED definition of gridiron is "a cooking utensil of parallel bars."²²⁵ The shape that influenced the football field layout and part of the etymology of gridiron as a synonym for football. A postcard in the archives at Syracuse shows the field at Archbold precisely laid out as a gridiron. The viewer sees not only the parallel yard lines that run sideline to sideline (as on

²²⁴ Stein, 18. See chapter 1, p. 33.

²²⁵ "Gridiron," *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 1205.

any contemporary football field), but also parallel lines at 10 yard intervals that run end zone to end zone, north south to the yard lines east west' orientation. The field is laid-out precisely, presented as two sets of parallel lines encompassing the entire surface of the playing field, like a gridiron.²²⁶ Similar depictions of other football fields provide evidence that this was a common way to consider or see the field of play during the period, as a gridiron.

Another OED definition of gridiron is a tool "similar" in "structure" to the cooking utensil with parallel bars but "employed as an instrument of torture by fire."²²⁷ This too is part of the etymology of gridiron as synonym for football, understood within the context of stadiums and war, and the history of football, especially as an imagined competition and conflict between English colonists and Native Americans (chapter 2). It also brings Native mascots back into focus. Among the schools that had a Native mascot was Syracuse. The "Saltine Warrior," an Indian caricature often depicted attacking with a raised hatchet, was their first mascot.²²⁸ A gridiron was not simply a way to chart space, but also an "instrument" of "torture" in that shape. Torture, and the idea of the "savage" as an object of colonial desire, as outlined and exhibited in the work of James Axtell, Daniel Clark, and Philip Deloria (chapter 2), among others, is a lens through which Americans saw and linked Indigenous peoples and football.

It is not coincidental, in that case, that precision mapping and cultivation of land - as with a stadia or gridiron - was a justification for taking land from Native peoples. This is akin to the infamous concept of the "Norman Yoke." A "theory," according to Ward Churchill, "that an

²²⁶ "W.R. Stevens photo, Archbold Stadium," Syracuse University Photograph Collection, "Archbold Stadium," Bird Library, retrieved October 5, 2018.

²²⁷ "Gridiron," 1205.

²²⁸ Gabe Stern, "40 years since the Saltine Warrior's removal as Syracuse University mascot, indigenous leaders reflect on controversy," *The Daily Orange*, January 17, 2018. <http://dailyorange.com/2018/01/40-years-since-saltine-warriors-removal-syracuse-universitys-mascot-indigenous-leaders-reflect-controversy/>.

individual – or an entire people – could rightly claim only such property as they’d converted from wilderness to a state of domestication.” The idea allowed English colonists to claim property from both Native Americans and the French. It was “without regard for indigenous methods,” writes Churchill. The English declared land “undeveloped” because it was not “domesticat[ed]” according to English customs and then took it because it was “wilderness.”²²⁹ Football and colonization in America were both concerned with defining, taking, and controlling territory.

Stadiums (stadia) and gridirons, by all definitions, are scenes of territorial conquest. The rules and specific history of football emphasize this: design (gridiron), language, spirit, and history (“civilized savage”), rules (precise measurements and the spirit of taking advantage of them), and garb (mascots and team names). American college football stadiums are abundantly reminiscent of the spirit of the “Norman Yoke,” the theoretical underpinning to colonial policy, law, and social attitudes and belief systems that justified colonists’ taking of Native lands. Permanent and modern, college football stadiums hosted a game that approximated the American history of dispossession and violence by exact degrees.

A football field was not an open space like a park or a set of grounds; it was staked-out. Some of this recalls George Carlin’s famous baseball versus football comedy routine. He points out and jokes that baseball was a 19th century pastoral game played on a diamond where the players run home. Early baseball parks, grounds, and fields hint at this identity. Whereas football he described as “a 20th century technological struggle played on a gridiron.”²³⁰ His

²²⁹ Ward Churchill, *Acts of Rebellion: The Ward Churchill Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 6.

²³⁰ George Carlin, “Baseball versus Football,” *YouTube*, published by rlcook75, August 23, 2008. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=alkqNiBASfl>.

tone, pacing, body language, and joke suggest that baseball and football were ideas and games from different times and experiences. Football hard and modern to baseball's "pastoral" innocence, Carlin's commentary is very insightful.

Naming standards for both baseball and football venues change after the war, however. Thirty-seven of the featured parks in *500 Ballparks* opened in the 1920s. Of these "stadium" is the most popular naming convention with 13, representing 35% of the total opened during the decade, up from only 2 "stadium" venues of 28 representing only 7% of all that were opened during the previous decade, the war decade (1910-1919). Before this, stadiums in America were virtually non-existent.²³¹

In the case of 1920s baseball, the change in the naming convention is greater than the growth of new buildings. Playing venues were not new during the decade, stadiums were. Of the more than fifty college football facilities in this study identified as built or remodeled in the 1920s, almost all are stadiums. Though stadiums pre-date the war, the stadium movement is a post-war phenomenon and not exclusive to football. Yankee Stadium, arguably the most famous baseball arena, the "House the Ruth Built," opened in 1923, as evidence for this point.²³² This suggests that stadiums were less a result of football's popularity and more contingent on a pervasive set of societal desires, needs, and attitudes. Particularly, the desire for games that privilege "martial heroic" deeds (Pettegrew), became acute in post-World War I America, given the need for space to witness and experience these games (Jackson, Canetti),

²³¹ Pastore, *500 Ballparks*.

²³² "Yankee Stadium," *Library of Congress*, http://webarchive.loc.gov/all/20011108081043/http://yankees.mlb.com/nasapp/mlb/nyy/ballpark/nyy_ballpark_history.jsp.

and a stage for the expression, the play of America identities (republican, male, civilizing, conquering, Indigenous, violent, and white).

The 1920s

It is important to study the social atmosphere of the 1920s to discover how it worked as a catalyst for the stadium movement. This is especially important given that the stadium movement was not exclusive to football. Stadiums had broader utility. Multipurpose was an identifying feature of the modern stadium. Even though baseball was a “pastoral” game, as in George Carlin’s commentary, it was still a stadium sport, as in the example of Yankee Stadium. Track, as was discussed, was a stadium sport. It was common to have a track on the outside of the football field inside the stadium. Stadiums are not only for gridirons, consequently, they also featured diamonds and ovals. Charles Floyd Burrows’ article “Concrete Stadium at Syracuse” summarized the point. “The recently completed concrete stadium” at Syracuse, he wrote, was for the “promotion” of not only football, but for all “Athletic contests.” Competition was the spirit of the day. This is consistent with the zeitgeist of Social Darwinism that continued to characterize the period.

Paula Fass’ book *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920’s* documents many of the broader cultural trends that informed the stadium movement. She frames the period as featuring traditionalists versus progressives in opposing views of youth. Traditionalists’ feared and even loathed youth for threatening the “triad” of American stability: family, church, and school.²³³ Broadly, traditionalists thought youth a “social problem in the

²³³ Paula Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 36.

1920's" and the cause of the "unhinging of the social order."²³⁴ Progressivism, on the other hand, a "ghost of its former self" but still "very much alive," according to Fass, also held that youth were out-of-control but placed blame with "parents," who "had failed not only to control but to instruct" their children.²³⁵ For progressives, the family's "mortifying rigidity" had caused any "social maladjustment and misbehavior" exhibited by youth, but the "young represented what was best in man."²³⁶

The youth at the heart of the debate between traditionalists and progressives were not "the children of the outsider but of the insider, of the native, urban middle classes," Fass writes.²³⁷ This was a population increasingly going to college in the 1920s according to historian John Modell. They "promoted the emergence of our modern youthful life course, normatively sanctioned for the middle class, spreading among other urbanites."²³⁸ This sanctioned, normative, and middle class life course, as portrayed in the wildly popular middle class magazines of the period (Clark), featured college and football first. Football is one of the oldest identities in this vein of college identity. Universities were ground zero for the youth culture at the heart of the debate between traditionalists and progressives, and football was sovereign on campus.

In *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America*, Beth Bailey finds that as "youth culture grew" and was "ratified" in "national media" in the 1920s, the "oppositions between it and the larger culture were made more explicit. For "most

²³⁴ Fass, 13 and 20.

²³⁵ Fass, 30 and 37.

²³⁶ Fass, 38 and 31.

²³⁷ Fass, 14.

²³⁸ John Modell, *Into One's Own: From Youth to Adulthood in the United States 1920-1975* (Oxford England: University of California Press Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, 1989), 119.

contemporaries,” she writes, “sex seemed the central issue in the opposition.”²³⁹ For traditionalists, returning to Fass, “sexuality symbolized both disorder and rebellion.”²⁴⁰ The dissolution of “calling” and “courting,” and the introduction of dating was one of the most important and broad cultural shifts of the period.²⁴¹ Calling and courting had traditionally happened at the home, a space controlled by women and their parents, dating, which typically occurred outside the home, “shifted power from women to men,” Bailey concludes.²⁴²

Like with football and stadiums, “dating was about competition.”²⁴³ Bailey explains that the goal was to date multiple people, more than others, so “competition was the key term in the formula – remove it and there was no rating, dating, or popularity.”²⁴⁴ The modern college, shaped by the competitive forces of business training and student life, especially athletics and particularly football, was the perfect place for dating to flourish, as a result. The modern college and dating were akin, of the same spirit, the spirit of the age, rivalry. “Sports, school spirit, organizational rivalry, social life, and consumption allowed full play of competitive urges,” Bailey writes.²⁴⁵ Fass reaches similar a similar conclusion, “the young had transferred their allegiance from the churches” to “a kind of religious devotion to their leisure pursuits, to sports, dating, and song.”²⁴⁶ This all came together at college in the 1920s.

²³⁹ Beth L. Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 79.

²⁴⁰ Fass, 21.

²⁴¹ Bailey, 17.

²⁴² *Ibid*, 19-20.

²⁴³ *Ibid*, 25.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 31.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 27.

²⁴⁶ Fass, 45.

Football both “symbolized group honor” and allowed for “individual excellence.” Because it “had become the important institution affiliation,” Fass writes, “increasingly freshmen were forced to attend pre-game pep rallies to cheer on the team as a demonstration of their allegiance.”²⁴⁷ This recalls the first scenes of college student life, the establishment of games during the Republican period, and de Tocqueville’s observation that American “children in their games are wont to submit to rules which they have themselves established, and to punish misdemeanors which they have themselves defined.”²⁴⁸ While students who showed too much interest in personal achievement were strange, athletics was according to Fass an “exception...athletic achievement symbolized the victory of the group in the intensely competitive world of the campus,” and so was encouraged, celebrated, and mandated.²⁴⁹ Football, in particular, symbolized individual and institutional achievement and victory. It was a requisite subject, required of all students.

Football weekends were an ideal venue for dating and not only for college students, but for alumni, too. “The automobile certainly contributed to the rise of dating,” Bailey writes.²⁵⁰ The automobile, as in the example of Archbold, and as we will see in KU’s Memorial Stadium, certainly contributed to the rise of stadiums, too. Alumni in nearby cities, if they had a car, could get back to campus. In the case of the University of Kansas, alumni living in Kansas City or Topeka, for example, could drive to Lawrence, to Memorial Stadium for a game, on a date. Football games, masculine, staged, and hyper-visible, were perfect for dating. Stadiums full of

²⁴⁷ Fass, 185.

²⁴⁸ de Tocqueville, 95.

²⁴⁹ Fass, 157.

²⁵⁰ Bailey, 20.

fans were a boon for scoring social points in popularity competitions. Finally, as Archbold shows, stadiums were being designed with cars in mind. Not all stadiums allowed spectators to see the field while “stylishly” sitting in their car, as Archbold did, but the mass production of cars and the expansion of the highway system in the 1920s was an important factor in stadium building and the rise of dating as a central element of collegiate life.

Football was a popular, masculine, and public act. Dating had “shifted power from women to men,” and football games, spaces controlled by men, became important components of rating, dating, and popularity on campus.²⁵¹ Rules like those put in place at the University of Michigan in the 1940s underscore the relationship between football and dating. At Michigan “any ‘mixed’ group (of more than two people) listening to the Michigan-Northwestern football game on the radio” had to register as a “party” in order to obtain the “requisite number of approved chaperones.”²⁵² John Modell highlights a study that brings the dating and football system to the doorstep of the University of Kansas in the 1920s. The study he sites, was “a large study of schoolchildren in Kansas City, Kansas, and nearby communities in 1923-1926,” it “found that among boys of 13, ‘having dates’ (as the questionnaire collected from the subjects put it) was the tenth most favored activity,” “football was tops.”²⁵³

KU Traditions (1890-1919)

Football arrived at the University of Kansas in 1890. The team’s most successful years prior to the war were 1891 and 1908, both undefeated seasons. According to Clifford S. Griffin,

²⁵¹ Bailey, 65 and 67.

²⁵² Bailey, 85.

²⁵³ Modell, 89.

author of *The University of Kansas: A History*, KU “joined with Missouri, Nebraska, and Iowa to form the Western Inter-State University Foot Ball Association” in 1892 and was a founding member of the Missouri Valley Athletic Conference in 1907.²⁵⁴

As at many schools, KU experienced gridiron tragedy. Griffin writes that, “on November 16, 1896, Burt Serf of Doane College, Nebraska, who had been knocked unconscious in an earlier game, awkwardly tackled a Kansas back on McCook Field, struck his head, and died.”²⁵⁵ Football at KU, again like at many other schools, came under scrutiny during its early history, too, especially in 1910 when Board of Regents member Willis J. Gleed “moved” that football be “abolished.” Griffin quotes Gleed who declared that, “inter-collegiate football puts the emphasis on the wrong place; holds up a false ideal. It exalts force; treats wisdom, truth, culture and justice with ill-concealed contempt.”²⁵⁶ The game survived in Lawrence, as it did at the vast majority of schools that received similar challenges, but with important changes, especially in governance

In 1912, the Kansas “regents imposed a new constitution on the Athletic Association, which gave power to an eleven-member board, six of whom were the chancellor and five faculty members, the other five elected students.”²⁵⁷ This was an effort to combat and monitor professionalization in college sports, especially football.²⁵⁸ In 1913 and 1914, “intercollegiate athletics became a division of the Department of Physical Education.” Along with Professor W.

²⁵⁴ Clifford S. Griffin, *The University of Kansas: A History*. (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, KS, 1974), 650 and 655.

²⁵⁵ Griffin, 653.

²⁵⁶ Griffin, 657.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ See John R. Thelin, *Games Colleges Play: Scandal and Reform in Intercollegiate Athletics* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996).

O. Hamilton, Professor James Naismith was “to govern” it.²⁵⁹ These changes were consistent with broader trends, especially after the Roosevelt meeting discussed in chapter 2.²⁶⁰ That same year (1905), “Chancellor Henry M. McCracken of New York University and leaders of several other eastern schools, representatives from sixty-two colleges and universities” met to address regulating college athletics. This was a precursor to the National Collegiate Athletic Association, which formed in 1910.²⁶¹

Collier's magazine correspondent Julian Bond visited Lawrence and the University of Kansas in the fall of 1914, just after the start of hostilities in Europe. “Directness, sincerity, strength, thoughtfulness, and practicality, are Kansas qualities,” Bond wrote. “Even the very young men and women of Kansas are not far removed from pioneer forefathers,” he mused. “It must be remembered,” Bond continued, “that the Kansas pioneer differed from some others in that he possessed a strain of that Puritan love of freedom which not only brought his forefathers to Plymouth, but brought him overland to Kansas, as has been said, to cast his vote for abolition.”²⁶²

Kansans were uniquely American according to Bond. They embodied some of America's best qualities and defined the country's history of conscience driven westward expansion for the abolition of slavery. He concluded his dispatch noting that Kansans had internalized and adopted these identities, completely. “Naturally, then, the zeal which fired him and his ancestors is reflected in his children and grandchildren and that, I think, is one reason why

²⁵⁹ Griffin, 659.

²⁶⁰ See earlier discussion of Roosevelt, chapter 2.

²⁶¹ Griffin, 656.

²⁶² Julian Bond, *Collier's*, University Archives, “Traditions Scrapbook & Records,” SB 0/0/T, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas. Retrieved, October 1, 2018.

Kansas has developed ‘cranks.’” He means Kansans devoted to Kansas - "as has been said" - Kansas Originals. The crankiest, unapologetically, was KU, the state’s flagship’ University located in Lawrence, home of the Free State movement.²⁶³

The term Jayhawk dates to the Bleeding Kansas years and was originally a derisive term for a Free State settler. A KU University Relations publication states, "In the Kansas Territory days, the word 'Jayhawk' was associated with Free-Staters robbing, looting, and general lawlessness." A "Jayhawk" was a criminal outsider; a name scornfully assigned.²⁶⁴ Over the course of the Bleeding Kansas and Civil War period, however, Free Staters changed the meaning. What had first meant criminal came to mean, paraphrasing Bond, a *different* American pioneer. A Jayhawk was not something shameful, but an identity to be fiercely proud of, KU’s oldest and most important traditions, including the “Rock Chalk Chant” and the university mascot, the Jayhawk, reflected pride in the identity.²⁶⁵

Chemistry professor E.H.S. Bailey wrote the famous “Rock Chalk Chant” four years prior to the introduction of football on campus, in 1886. The chant quickly gained national and international notoriety. President Theodore Roosevelt called it the “greatest college chant” in America, and it was reputedly sung during the Boxer Rebellion in China (1899-1901), in the Philippines during the Spanish American War (1898), and in trenches across France during World War I (1917-1918).²⁶⁶

²⁶³ Bond, *Collier’s*.

²⁶⁴ “The Jayhawk legend and other rare and interesting traditions at KU,” *Published by a Division of Publications, Office of University Relations*, University of Kansas, 1973 (hand written date), University Archives, “University Programs Scrapbook,” record number 0/0/. Retrieved October 1, 2018.

²⁶⁵ The theory of “dis-identification” may be applicable here.

²⁶⁶ “Jay Hawk! Kansas University Has Most Famous College Yell in the Country,” University Archives, box 1, SB/0/0/T, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas. Retrieved October 1, 2018. “A Swell Yell, Friday, May

The first Jayhawk, drawn sometime between 1910 and 1912 by Henry Maloy, is the "missouri hound dog" Jayhawk whose boots are made for kicking Missouri Tigers. The Jayhawk would become the most valuable symbol of the university. New Jayhawks were drawn and adopted in 1920, 1923, 1929, 1941, and 1946. The quick succession in Jayhawks, three between 1920 and 1929, the decade of the stadium, speaks the volatility and quickly advancing student culture of the 1920s.²⁶⁷

At the dawn of the war, Jayhawks were not only exceptionally spirited, they were fiercely American. KU historian Clifford S. Griffin, a definitive source for university history, suggested that the war almost destroyed the institution. He called the university's war effort "paradoxical" and "cruel" because the "university's tragedy in wartime," approaching bankruptcy, the spread of the Spanish flu, near total collapse of the academic system, and student death, resulted from "the ideal of service to society which had been one of its [KU's] virtues in time of peace."²⁶⁸ Though Chancellor Frank Strong, who the university's central administration building is named for, had originally opposed America's entry into the war, "when the nation went...Strong went right along with it."²⁶⁹

In spring 1917, KU "faculty members with military experience organized four voluntary companies of trainees, which included over three hundred students." By "commencement

21, 1886," *KU History: A Passion of the KU Memorial Union*." <https://kuhistory.ku.edu/articles/swell-yell>; Jennifer Taglione, "Rock Chalk, Jayhawk, KU: Fascinating Fact of the Day," *Bleacher Report*, January 7, 2009. <https://bleacherreport.com/articles/108105-rock-chalk-jayhawk-ku-fascinating-fact-of-the-day>.

²⁶⁷ "Timeline," *KU History: A Passion of the KU Memorial Union*, University of Kansas. <https://kuhistory.ku.edu/timeline>.

²⁶⁸ Clifford S. Griffin, *The University of Kansas; A History* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1974), 371. See also all of chapter 20, "The War Industry," pp. 371-389.

²⁶⁹ Griffin, 372.

more than five hundred” had already left KU for enlistment or “agricultural work.”²⁷⁰ In fall 1917, the university “adopted a compulsory plan of military action and physical training” that included a “statement that the university would provide military drill for students whom the Department of Physical Education, after the examinations, might assign to it.” Later in the semester, “whether they wanted to or not, some seven hundred male undergraduates – over half the men enrolled during the regular academic year – became members of the university regiment.”²⁷¹ The Physical Education department at KU, which oversaw athletics at the university, dictated training for the war on campus. In further evidence of the university’s and Physical Education Department’s commitment to the war effort, Athletic Director James Naismith, served overseas in France training the American Expeditionary Force for battle.²⁷²

In the fall 1918, KU responded to the War Department’s call to “use colleges and universities to provide both military and academic training for enlisted men who were prospective officers.” The university instituted a division of the Students’ Army Training Corp (SATC), erecting barracks.²⁷³ The program allowed prospective officers to train for military service and take “a variety of courses...according to their interests and their intended military specialization.”²⁷⁴ Griffin writes that “the history of the SATC was” not only chaotic,” it was a “disaster” at KU.²⁷⁵ The program was not only difficult to administer, the SATC barracks were, tragically, the incubator for an outbreak of Spanish flu on campus in the fall of 1918. Between October 8 and November 11, KU closed due to the epidemic. By the time school reopened, “32

²⁷⁰ Griffin, 373.

²⁷¹ Ibid, 374.

²⁷² Display, DeBruce Center, University of Kansas.

²⁷³ Griffin, 376.

²⁷⁴ Ibid, 376 and 377.

²⁷⁵ Ibid, 376 and 378.

students – 10 of them from the SATC – had died and as many as 750 had been ill at once.” All of this, Griffin writes, was happening while the university “was on the edge of” insolvency.²⁷⁶

KU students were also paying the ultimate price, overseas, on the battlefields of Europe. At least 130 KU students were killed in the war. Famously, the first American casualty of the war after the United States officially joined the conflict was a KU trained doctor. A plaque on the sixth floor of the Kansas Memorial Union explains that William Fitzsimmons, a commissioned first lieutenant and former KU student, “was killed during a German air attack on his clearly marked field hospital in France, becoming America’s first casualty of war.” Again paraphrasing and quoting the plaque in the union, former President Theodore Roosevelt who was so instrumental in the history of football and arguably the most renowned person in the country at the time, “drew” national “attention to Fitzsimmon’s death with a scathing, front-page, editorial that appeared in the September 17, 1917 edition of the Kanas City Star. Fitzsimmons death highlighted Germanys’ “deliberate policy of wickedness and its systematic campaign of murder against hospitals and hospital ships,” Roosevelt wrote. Fitzsimmons’ tragic death became, the plaque concludes, “a call to arms that inspired thousands of American men to enlist in the country’s armed forces and avenge the martyred doctor.”²⁷⁷

All of this, the SATC, Spanish Flu, financial turmoil, and death, took a toll on the university and Chancellor Strong. Griffin quotes a Strong’ letter that makes clear what it took out of him. “The death of so many that had been students during my administration, and the calamitous history of the Students’ Army Training Corps, with the appalling list of those who

²⁷⁶ Griffin, 377.

²⁷⁷ “KU at War,” Kansas Union, 6th floor, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved October 5, 2018.

succumbed to the Spanish influenza” had caused him to have, an “overwhelming desire to be relieved of the responsibilities” of the office of the Chancellor, Strong wrote. He had another issue, too, as “he was no ardent advocate of football” and “grousing alumni” had called for his removal as early as 1910 and acutely after 1913.²⁷⁸ A primary complaint of the alumni concerned the annual Thanksgiving game against Missouri. In 1913, it had been moved from Kansas City to the campuses in Lawrence and Columbia, on a rotating basis. This was a decision at odds with the wishes of the alumni who wanted the game to remain at the neutral site, (Kansas City), claimed by both alumni bases.²⁷⁹

Post-War KU: Putting KU First

On June 8, 1921, the Kansas Board of Regents elected Ernest H. Lindley chancellor to succeed Strong. Lindley’s approach, Griffin wrote, was “pragmatic.” He believed that the “modern world was a world of industrial production and organization.”²⁸⁰ In Griffin’s analysis of Lindley’s inaugural speech (1921), he found that the new Chancellor placed an “emphasis...on broader training for business careers.”²⁸¹ It would seem that Lindley, especially regarded his pragmatic approach to and interest in business, and given the earlier discussion about the close relationship between business training and football (Clark), was a Chancellor who would support Jayhawk athletics. It is also at this time, in 1920, when Forrest “Phog” Allen became Athletic Director at KU.

²⁷⁸ Griffin, 384 and 385.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Griffin, 398.

²⁸¹ Ibid, 399.

Allen, a KU graduate, was an innovator. His record and legacy as a basketball coach is evidence of this.²⁸² His archive shows how forward looking he was concerning the business and promotion of sport as soon as he arrived on campus. As early as the 1920s, Allen communicated with businesses in Lawrence, Kansas City, and nationally for the acquisition of sporting goods and sporting products and the promotion of athletics and athletic ideals. Among other feats, Allen was instrumental in getting basketball recognized as an Olympic Sport in 1936 and sending Dr. Naismith to the games, the infamous Nazi Olympics in Berlin.²⁸³

In the immediate wake of World War I, as Griffin shows, the university was struggling. Students and alumni had died in the war, SATC on campus had been disastrous, an outbreak of the Spanish Flu had devastated KU, and the school was near financial ruin. The war took a toll not only on Chancellor Strong, but on the entire campus community. However, KU also had a distinguished war record, a new chancellor, Chancellor Lindley, whose beliefs aligned with the new world of college, business, and football, and a new, innovative athletic director, Phog Allen, a Jayhawk man. Starting in 1919, students and alumni began working with new leadership to re-establish pride in the university. One of the first steps was a new, concrete football stadium to honor the war dead.

Memorial Stadium

The November 1919 edition of *The Oread* magazine outlined the goals of a “‘Put K.U. First’ Movement.” It was “an effort of students, alumni, and faculty members to stimulate an

²⁸² He was able to recruit Wilt Chamberlain to Kansas (1954) and is the father of modern coaching in basketball, mentoring among other legendary figures Dean Smith and Adolph Rupp, who have basketball arenas named after them at universities of North Carolina and Kentucky, respectively. “Forrest ‘Phog’ Allen,” *kansapedia*, Kansas Historical Society. <https://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/forrest-phog-allen/16417>.

²⁸³ “Phog Allen,” *Athletic Directors Records*, University Archives, RG/66/11/14, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas. Retrieved September 16, 2018.

intelligent and dynamic loyalty to the University of Kansas that will manifest itself in real college Democracy.”²⁸⁴ Promoting “real college Democracy” was not a new idea. The May 1914 edition of the graduate magazine stated, “it is difficult to secure an adequate meeting place for a large number of the students unless a down-town hall is engaged, which, of course, adds considerable expense. The fraternity houses have been used to a large extent for this purpose but they are too small for a representative gathering.”²⁸⁵ This is interesting both for its democratic spirit, putting it into conversation with earlier eras of college student life including the Republican Period, but also for the necessity of meeting space that was required to promote the democracy that students’ sought. In 1914, it was “difficult” to find “an adequate meeting space” for a large crowd. The university’s political landscape did not support it.

Even before the war, KU undergraduates sought space to revive and promote the democratic spirit of the university. This sentiment had originally led to students starting a campaign for a Student Union Building, but it did not come to fruition.²⁸⁶ The idea, however, did not die and after the war, it found a more fertile environment for its germination. Space was essential to the development of student life, especially democracy, but space was also essential to the administrative and bureaucratic development and maintenance of the University, particularly as other schools, many of them rivals, planned for and executed campus expansion projects. Space was also needed to accommodate the growing alumni base,

²⁸⁴ Frank E. Melvin, Ph. D., “The New Tradition,” *The Oread Magazine*, vol. VI, no. 1, November 1919, 7, Traditions Scrapbooks and Records, SB 0/0/T, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018. For recap of the game see p. 117.

²⁸⁵ “Communications: Asks Suggestions for Student Union Project,” *Graduate Magazine, Of the University of Kansas*, vol. xii, no. 8, May 1914, 383, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

especially in the greater Kansas City area, for those who wanted a place to gather when they returned to Lawrence.

The “Put KU First Movement” was part of a “growing appreciation of the University as a co-partnership of three members: the administration and faculty, the student body, and the alumni,” Frank Melvin, author of *The Oread* article “The New Tradition,” wrote. The movement resulted from individuals and organizations pulling in the same direction and at the same “moment” that “seemed peculiarly opportune for a general loyalty movement in which all elements in the University could join.”²⁸⁷ To facilitate the movement, a Loyalty Co-operating Committee was formed. It revived an earlier program to improve commitment to the University in 6 areas: (1) education regarding the history of the University, (2) “propaganda” to promote public interest in the University, (3) support for the War, (4) strengthening school and class organizations, (5) “fostering...better university traditions,” and (6) the development of a “Greater K.U. program” with specific goals for the “realization of a coherent campus plan, adequate in its facilities and beautiful in its architectural conceptions, expressing idealism and cultural spirit of the University, and giving substance to the Great Vision of its creators and their children.” Building the stadium would serve all six goals.²⁸⁸

The university had commissioned a campus plan in 1904. Henry Wright, a Lawrencian, who had studied architecture at the University of Pennsylvania and would later join the firm of St. Louis landscape architect George Kessler, developed and drew the design.²⁸⁹ Surprisingly,

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁹ A large print of the 1904 KU Campus Plan hangs in the Spencer Research Library. It also appears in the book *On the Hill: A Photographic History of KU*. David Johnston of the KU Alumni Association was the first to alert me to the 1904 KU Campus Plan, specifically its presence in *On the Hill*.

though there were only two permanent, on-campus football venues in America at the time (Franklin Field, Pennsylvania and Harvard Stadium, Harvard), the 1904 KU Campus Plan featured a large football stadium where Memorial Stadium now stands.²⁹⁰ Football had been part of the campus plan at KU for at least sixteen years prior to the campaign to build Memorial Stadium, but it was only after the war when everything came together to bring this plan to fruition.

The 1920 *Jayhawker* yearbook entry over the “Put KU Movement First” ends with two paragraphs that definitively tie the movement to the stadium. The writer(s) stated that, “the new impetus” of the movement was responsible for both “the testimonial drive for a Loyal Service Building and a Victory Stadium.” All of this, they concluded was fostering the “growth and manifestation of an inner conviction, the inward and spiritual grace of which manly competition, cooperation and *esprit de corps* are the outward and visible signs.” The stadium would be first, but its success would lead to “new buildings, larger salaries, increased facilities for advanced work, and a campus improvement and enlargement plan.” According to the yearbook staff, the stadium was the key to KU’s future.²⁹¹

The Million Dollar Drive

The Put K.U. First Movement led to the “Million Dollar Drive” that aimed to complete a Victory Stadium, a student union, and a statue of “Uncle” Jimmy Green, a famed KU ambassador and supporter of athletics. The drive was announced on December 10, 1919.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ “Put K.U. First Movement,” *The 1920 Jayhawker*, (Lawrence, KS: Senior Class, University of Kansas, 1920), 345. University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

Chancellor Lindley appointed an Executive Committee on December 15. Subcommittees were formed on December 16. The University faculty endorsed the drive on January 19 (1920). Student members to the executive committee were elected on January 21, and in February, alumni leaders were chosen to help lead the drive. Within in two months of announcing the campaign, all constituencies of the university were officially involved: faculty, administration, students, and alumni.²⁹² In March, the Executive Committee launched a search for a Drive manager, and in May an alumnus was chosen for the position. On May 24th the *University Daily Kansan* ran an article titled, "Plant and Campaign Start Now," and on June 1, the University officially opened fundraising for its "Million Dollar Drive."²⁹³ The project, recalling the advertisement from the Consolidated Engineering & Construction Co. of New York that had built Archbold, proceeded from announcement to fundraising in seven months, efficiently. A coordinated effort among KU students to raise money for the campaign would begin in the fall of 1920.

Loyalty was an important part of the campaign. The movement focused on "stimulat[ing] an intelligent and dynamic loyalty to the University of Kansas that will manifest itself in real college democracy" amongst the students, the *Oread* reported.²⁹⁴ The student campaign itself, however, was more regimented than democratic. The 1920 *Graduate Magazine* description of how students were organized provided details: "40 leading students,

²⁹² "The Memorial Campaign, 1919," index folder, information collected from "UDK," Memorial Stadium Building File RG 0/22/53, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

²⁹³ "Plant and Campaign Start Now," *University Daily Kansan*, May 1920. RG 0/22/53, University Archives, The Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

²⁹⁴ Frank E. Melvin, "The New Tradition," *The Oread*, vol. 6, no. 1, November 1919, 1, Memorial Stadium, RG 0/22/53, University Archives, The Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

each of whom acted as captains over 10 workers, led the work of hunting out, soliciting, and reporting on the entire student body. Each of the 400 'shock troop' workers under the 40 captains was given 10 names, and between the convocation on Thursday morning when the attack opened, and Saturday noon, reported on every name." The language and organization of the military framed the entire *campaign*. Student captains led the shock troops who hunted, attacked, and reported on their classmates.²⁹⁵

In the spring of 1921, professor of Civil Engineering, Clement C. Williams was sent by the university to make a "survey of the big stadia of the East." His published report appeared in the March 23rd edition of *The Oread* magazine. Williams identified two types of eastern stadiums "first, the amphitheatre or sunken type resting to a greater or less extent upon the natural slopes of hill sides with an artificially graded field in the center," Archbold and the Yale Bowl are examples of this type, and "second, the grandstand type built wholly above the ground on artificial supports," Princeton and Harvard are prominent examples. Clement suggested this type, the "grandstand" for KU. He also used the article to outline the reasons it was necessary for K.U. to build a new stadium.²⁹⁶

Williams argued that the seating at McCook field was inadequate. Not only were the bleachers "unsightly and hazardous," he went so far as to warn of possible "collapse under load" because of "increased attendance at the games." Williams wrote, "even if these bleachers had been of permanent construction, they would have ceased to be adequate because of their

²⁹⁵ "K.U. Pledges \$225,000 to Memorial," *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, vol. xix, no. 3, 7, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

²⁹⁶ Clement C. Williams, "Building a Stadium at K.U.," *The Oread Magazine*, vol. vi, no. 2, March 23, 1921, 10-14, Memorial Stadium Building File RG 0/22/53, folder "1920," University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

lack of capacity.” Increased attendance and projected future growth were the result of an expanding and young alumni base and a reason for the new stadium. “Half of the alumni have graduated within the past thirteen years,” he wrote. His suggestion was not only would crowds grow because the alumni base was bigger, but that the youthful alumni wanted football.²⁹⁷

The war effort supported the growing popularity of sports among youth. “The stimulus that was given to athletic contests by army training methods in the late war with the attendant increase in athletic activity in the high schools will begin to be felt during the next few years,” Williams’ predicted. He also believed future attendance at games would grow because of improved transportation, which recalls the insights of Bailey and Fass. “The building of hard surfaced roads leading to Lawrence from Kansas City, Topeka, and other cities, permitting automobiles to be quickly and pleasantly driven into town, will augment the attendance,” he concluded.²⁹⁸ As with Archbold in Syracuse, modern automobile convenience was part of the plan for the stadium. Fass and Bailey’s work underscores how autos and football would have served youth culture on KU’s campus, for dating among other things. With the Million Dollar campaign launched, the university turned its attention to fundraising with potential donors, the public, and students.

The Kansas Stadium Pamphlet

Volume 1, number 1 of *The Kansas Stadium* appeared in September 1920.²⁹⁹ It was entirely devoted to presenting claims for Memorial Stadium. A remarkable document that

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ *The Kansas Stadium*, vol.1, no. 1, September, 1920, Memorial Stadium Building File RG 0/22/53, folder “1920,” University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018. A second copy of *The Kansas Stadium*, vol. 1, no. 1, is located in the same record group, RG 0/22/53, in folder “1920s.” If there was a second volume published, it was not found in this research.

shows the breadth of support the stadium idea enjoyed, it presents dozens of reasons why people believed it was a necessary project for KU. Much of what is in *The Kansas Stadium* pamphlet can be linked to previous points in this study. A detailed analysis of the pamphlet presents an opportunity to map KU's Memorial Stadium onto the broader contexts and themes for this project: competition, youth culture, and American history.

The Kansas Stadium pamphlet firmly established the inadequacy of and increasing costs to maintain the bleachers at McCook Field. "The older bleachers at McCook are literally on their last legs," it declared, and maintenance "has been done at a high and constantly increasing cost."³⁰⁰ Many of the individual contributors wrote about the McCook embarrassment. Among these, was "Fighting" Tom Smith, former KU football great, who commented, the "bleachers are unsightly and are a disgrace" to Kansas.³⁰¹ W.O. Hamilton, former KU coach and, with James Naismith, first Director of the Department of Physical Education, stated, "K.U. has outgrown her present plant and the present bleachers are dangerous and have lasted as long as could reasonably be expected of them."³⁰² C.C. Carl confessed to feeling ashamed of McCook: "when a fellow asks me, 'where is the athletic field,' I haven't the heart to tell him," he wrote.³⁰³

H.A. Rice, professor of Structural Engineering who inspected the McCook bleachers for the university, in one of the last individual entries in *Kansas Stadium*, gave the McCook eulogy, "It has been the writer's unfortunate duty, ever since their birth, to inspect the old bleachers on

³⁰⁰ *The Kansas Stadium*, 3.

³⁰¹ Tom Smith, *The Kansas Stadium*, 10.

³⁰² W.O. Hamilton, *The Kansas Stadium*, 11. The word "plant" comes up a lot in this pamphlet. I was not able to discover what was meant by it, but it is worth further research.

³⁰³ C.C. Carl, *The Kansas Stadium*, 14.

McCook Field,” he wrote. “Old age has overtaken them; they can no longer bear their burden...nobly they served their purpose, and now that death has overtaken them, may they rest in peace.”³⁰⁴ Memorial Stadium would not only be a memorial to the war dead, but to McCook, too. The wooden McCook bleachers were torn down on May 10, 1921, “Stadium Day.”³⁰⁵ It marked, both in name and spirit, the start of stadium construction.

Arguments for the necessity of the stadium as a result of the dilapidation of McCook presaged the arguments for cement and permanency. The Registrar, George O. Foster, wanted a permanent structure. “No more important project in its far reaching results, has ever been undertaken at the University of Kansas, than the erection of a permanent stadium,” he wrote.³⁰⁶ Dr. George A. Esterly also called for durability. “K.U. needs nothing more at this time than a stadium of such proportion and permanency that the next several generations can be taken care of safely and comfortably.”³⁰⁷ The permanency of the project was important to no less than Phog Allen, the Athletics Director. His contribution to the pamphlet was short, direct, and connected stadium permanency with cultural heritage. “Rome had her Colosseum. Kansas must have a stadium,” Allen wrote.³⁰⁸

McCook’s demise made the need for a replacement urgent, but as Foster, Esterly, and Allen’s comments make clear, the project had far grander, more enduring implications. The point was not only to replace McCook, it was to ensure the future success of the university, especially in athletics. A.J. Boynton, a member of the “Athletic Stadium Committee,” wrote in

³⁰⁴ H.A. Rice, *The Kansas Stadium*, 16.

³⁰⁵ “Tearing down McCook Field Bleachers, 1921,” McCook Field Photographs, University Archives photographs RG 02/22/47, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

³⁰⁶ George O. Foster, *The Kansas Stadium*, 13.

³⁰⁷ Dr. George A. Esterly, *The Kansas Stadium*, 14.

³⁰⁸ Phog Allen, *The Kansas Stadium*, 13.

the pamphlet, that “a stadium is the most pressing need of the university in the line of athletics.”³⁰⁹ Dr. Frank Strong, then chancellor, but soon to retire from that post, also expressed the need for a stadium to benefit athletics. “I am very eager to see the stadium project carried through to completion,” he wrote, “it goes without saying that it is the university’s greatest need in the field of athletics.”³¹⁰ Strong’s focus on the benefits to “athletics,” aligns with what is known, through Griffin, about Strong’s attitude towards football. As quoted earlier, Strong was no “advocate of football.”³¹¹ His contribution to the pamphlet appears measured and calculated so as not to overstate the stadium’s importance to the university more broadly. Other contributors to *The Kansas Stadium* were not as diffident and saw the stadium as essential to the university’s future.

Tod Woodbury did so succinctly; for him the stadium was KU’s “greatest need at present.” It would also become, he believed, “one of K.U.’s greatest assets.”³¹² John M. Shea, superintendent of buildings and grounds, stated, bluntly, “there is nothing the university needs as much as a stadium.”³¹³ W.H.H. Piatt, a Kansas City attorney, went as far as to suggest, a stadium was as “much a necessity and an inalienable right to the modern university as a physically sound and well developed body is to the educated man.”³¹⁴ F.W. Blackmar, Dean of the Graduate School, believed that a stadium was an “inseparable unit in a modern well equipped university.”³¹⁵ The stadium was vital to the improvement of athletics. More

³⁰⁹ A.J. Boynton, *The Kansas Stadium*, 13.

³¹⁰ Frank Strong, *The Kansas Stadium*, 15.

³¹¹ Griffin, 386. See chapter 3, p. 100.

³¹² Tod Woodbury, *The Kansas Stadium*, 10.

³¹³ John M. Shea, *The Kansas Stadium*, 13.

³¹⁴ W.H.H. Piatt, *The Kansas Stadium*, 10.

³¹⁵ F.W. Blackmar, *The Kansas Stadium*, 15.

remarkably, by 1920, just 30 years removed from the introduction of football at KU, a stadium was “inseparable” from the “modern university,” an “inalienable right.”

If building a stadium was for the glory of KU, it was also necessary to keep up with other institutions. Clement Williams, even before he embarked on his tour of stadia in the east, knew many schools were, “undertaking to build a stadium at this time.”³¹⁶ A stadium had made the “largest Universities what they are today,” wrote W.M. Newmark. “Let’s have the best stadium and put K.U. in the class where she belongs,” he continued.³¹⁷ Dr. John Outland, namesake of the Outland Trophy still annually given to the best interior lineman in college football proclaimed, “we need the stadium NOW because Kansas must lead instead of follow in this.”³¹⁸ Kansas City Star Sports Editor, C.E. McBride, asked readers, “Yale is famous for its bowl, Harvard for its stadium, why not K.U. too?”³¹⁹

Others made similar points, but in specific, regional contexts. Merle Smith concluded, give “K.U. a Stadium as proposed and the university’s leadership in Valley Athletics” would be “assured.”³²⁰ Dr. A.J. Anderson believed that “a beautiful stadium” would “place Kansas in the stadia class of Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Cornell, Michigan, Chicago, and Illinois. Let’s be the first in our section!” he exclaimed.³²¹ Retired Kansas National Guard Brigadier General, Wilder S. Metcalf, hoped that “the erection of a suitable stadium at Kansas University” would give the “institution a prestige in the state and in the West which will last for many years.”³²² The

³¹⁶ C.C. Williams, *The Kansas Stadium*, 14.

³¹⁷ W.M. Newmark, *The Kansas Stadium*, 13.

³¹⁸ Dr. Jno. Outland, *The Kansas Stadium*, 10.

³¹⁹ C.E. McBride, *The Kansas Stadium*, 10.

³²⁰ Merle Smith, *The Kansas Stadium*, 10.

³²¹ Dr. A.J. Anderson, *The Kansas Stadium*, 14.

³²² Wilder S. Metcalf, *The Kansas Stadium*, 15.

stadium would secure KU's pre-eminence in "Valley Athletics" and the "West," but perhaps most importantly from an institutional standpoint, it would ensure that the university would take its rightful place alongside the biggest and most respected schools in the country.

This competition between schools recalls both the principle of isomorphism (introduction) and the definition of stadium, especially as a place to race and measure oneself against opponents, competitors, enemies. One aspect of isomorphism holds that like institutions mirror one another organizationally.³²³ The "largest universities" had stadiums and dozens of other schools were already building or were planning to build permanent, concrete stadiums in hopes of joining the "stadia class." In order for KU to be included, or remain in this class, "where she belong[ed]," alongside the institutions that would come to comprise the Ivy League and Big Ten, in particular, it had to have a stadium, too. Contributors to the *The Kansas Stadium* pamphlet seemed to understand or believed that they were in a race that they had to win.

Some contributors to the pamphlet pointed out that a stadium was needed to accommodate a growing student body. These passages echoed arguments made in other publications touting the stadium project including *The Oread Magazine* and the 1920 *Jayhawker* and recalls John Modell's discussion of the social function of institutions.³²⁴ Due to "unprecedented growth," F.J. Kelly, Dean of the School of Education, observed, "the stadium is a most urgent necessity, not a luxury."³²⁵ E.S. Peckham told readers to look not only to present

³²³ Isomorphism

³²⁴ Modell, *Into One's Own*.

³²⁵ F.J. Kelly, *The Kansas Stadium*, 13.

but to future growth at KU, “build it big enough to hold the crowd in 1950,” he said.³²⁶ H.B. Ober agreed, the “present athletic equipment must be replaced,” he wrote, “on account of the rapid growth in the university larger stands” were essential.³²⁷ The stadium was necessary to keep pace not only of current growth in the student body, but of predicted, future growth. This maps onto trends and growth in student populations not only at KU, but across higher education in the early part of the 1920s.

Combining the failure of the McCook bleachers with the experience and prediction of university growth, the stadium was also necessary for patron safety and comfort, one of the hallmarks of the modern stadium as seen in the example of Archbold at Syracuse. For C.B. Hosford, the stadium was, “one of the greatest improvements ever undertaken at the University” and “absolutely necessary to properly care for the thousands of people that we invite here.”³²⁸ F.H. Smithmeyer believed, similarly, that a stadium was of “great importance” to ensure that the crowds would “have a good safe place” to watch “athletic contests and other events.”³²⁹ Bert A. Poorman, a Kansas City surgeon, also cited safety in his passage, what was “needed most” was “a stadium – large, strong,” and “magnificent” to “insure safety to the people.”³³⁰ R.J. “Bobby” Rowlands also spoke to safety, “say, we have just got to have a stadium!” he exclaimed, “I expect to attend football games here for years. Thousands of others feel the same way. It is no more than right that we should have a safe place to sit.”³³¹

³²⁶ E.S. Peckham, *The Kansas Stadium*, 14.

³²⁷ H.B. Ober, *The Kansas Stadium*, 15.

³²⁸ C.B. Hosford, *The Kansas Stadium*, 14.

³²⁹ F.H. Smithmeyer, *The Kansas Stadium*, 14.

³³⁰ Bert A. Poorman, *The Kansas Stadium*, 10.

³³¹ R.J. “Bobby” Rowlands, *The Kansas Stadium*, 15.

Another hallmark of the modern stadium, as we have seen, was its multi-purpose functionality. C.W. McKeen predicted Memorial Stadium would “be constantly used for assemblies, drills, and athletics of all kinds.”³³² Stadium architect, LaForce Bailey, foresaw many uses for the stadium, “little can we realize the tremendous value of K.U.’s new athletic stadium.” It was “too early to forecast the many uses that will be made of this immense structure.” The stadium’s many uses, he continued, would “better unify all phases of K.U. life.”³³³ H.L. Butler tied KU’s stadium to Syracuse’s directly and highlighted all the ways he had seen Archbold used: “I was teaching at Syracuse University when the \$500,000 concrete stadium was built there. I know well the advantages which will come to K.U. when it has a great, commodious stadium for all its athletic events and for all its out-of-doors plays, concerts, festivals, pageants, and mass meetings.”³³⁴ The stadium, as had Archbold at Syracuse, would serve KU well. Bailey, the stadium architect, even believed the stadium had the power to unify campus.

Other *Kansas Stadium* contributors, in sentiments related to Bailey’s, touted the benefits stadium would have on the overall health of the university community. Executive Committee member Irving Hill wrote, “physical welfare is the foundation of all phases of life. Kansas can afford the best plant we can build to turn out good bodies. Improved physical training conditions should pay a big return on a stadium.”³³⁵ W.C. Simons stated, the “stadium will materially assist the University in its efforts to make each succeeding generation stronger

³³² C.W. McKeen, *The Kansas Stadium*, 10.

³³³ LaForce Bailey, *The Kansas Stadium*, 13.

³³⁴ H.L. Butler, *The Kansas Stadium*, 15.

³³⁵ Irving Hill, *The Kansas Stadium*, 13.

mentally, morally and physically.”³³⁶ C.C. Williams contributed to this point, too, it will be a “structure that may be fittingly dedicated to improving the physique and character of the young man of the great state of Kansas,”³³⁷ he said. George C. Shaad, professor of Electrical Engineering believed that, “clean, wholesome athletics are a vital part of the lift of this school and the accomplishment of this project will mean a great deal to the university as a whole.” The stadium would help KU students become healthier, “stronger,” and “clean,” benefitting the “university as a whole” and “the great state of Kansas.”³³⁸ These arguments bare some of the markings Social Darwinist sentiment and reflect concerns linked to the discussion from chapter 1 about the establishment of muscle as a desirable feature for college men.

Physical education not only benefitted the individual, it was a key component of national security and self-determination, increasingly important in the wake of the experience of the First World War. The war experience justified sports so there was no longer a question about their purpose. “Athletics are with us to stay,” the Reverend S.S. Klyne stated.³³⁹ C.C. Williams explained that, “within the past few years influenced largely by the military program during the war, athletics have assumed a new dignity and value in the minds of the college authorities and of the people generally.”³⁴⁰ Dr. A.R. Kennedy, coach of Kansas’ “Evervictorious” 1908 team, tied the stadium directly to the World War, one of the few *Kansas Stadium* contributors to do so, “competitive athletics are no longer on trial,” he wrote. “The real needs of our nation in a war emergency proved the value of physical training. In fact there are a great

³³⁶ W.C. Simons, *The Kansas Stadium*, 14.

³³⁷ C.C. Williams, *The Kansas Stadium*, 14.

³³⁸ George C. Shaad, *The Kansas Stadium*, 13.

³³⁹ Reverend S.S. Klyne, *The Kansas Stadium*, 10.

³⁴⁰ C.C. Williams, *The Kansas Stadium*, 14.

many people who believe that proper physical training of our youth will obviate the necessity of compulsory military training.”³⁴¹ This echoes support for the relationship between the Physical Education Department and military training at KU.

The stadium would also help spread the word about KU to broader audiences, an argument representative of the “front porch” theory of athletics, which held that a school’s athletic department is a powerful mechanism for the public to learn about the university. C.E. McBride, sports editor for the *KC Star*, stated this idea clearly. “The *Star*, he wrote, “believes in the K.U. Stadium move because a stadium is a fine advertisement for the University.”³⁴² J.W. Howard thought an improved stadium would mean improved teams and enhanced interest in K.U., “I am in favor of the stadium at the university,” he stated, for it will “mean greater athletics which will create an added interest in the university and be one of the means of making it the greatest state university in the west.”³⁴³ Even at this early period, the stadium was considered an important part of the university’s general marketing strategy.

The Kansas Stadium pamphlet not only justified the stadium in myriad ways, it challenged readers to draw on KU spirit and physical prowess to build the stadium. Unsurprisingly, some KU coaches and players focused on this message. “Brains, ‘bones’ and brawn will build it! We have them all! Let’s use ‘em,” said coach Ad Lindsay.³⁴⁴ Coach Howard Laslett added, “let’s get in there and fight for Kansas and her stadium.”³⁴⁵ Captain George Nettles pointed out that a stadium would aid the team, “the bigger the crowd, the harder the

³⁴¹ Dr. A.R. Kennedy, *The Kansas Stadium*, 11.

³⁴² C.E. McBride, *The Kansas Stadium*, 10.

³⁴³ J.W. Howard, *The Kansas Stadium*, 15.

³⁴⁴ Ad Lindsay, *The Kansas Stadium*, 13.

³⁴⁵ Howard Laslett, *The Kansas Stadium*, 13.

fight," he promised. "Let's have the stadium."³⁴⁶ J.G. Brandt, acting Dean of the College in 1920, exclaimed all in caps, "A STADIUM! It stirs one's blood to hear that K.U. Alumni and all who are rooting for the old school are now, at last, lining up with their eyes set toward the goal for a touch down!"³⁴⁷ There was a community spirit to the prospect of building of a stadium. E.F. Engel, Chairman of the Advanced Standing Committee, wrote "our slogan, 'Put K.U. First,' is being carried out in a magnificent way in the plans for the stadium. It is a great objective worthy of the best spiritual and material efforts to all loyal alumni and friend of old K.U."³⁴⁸ The stadium was not only a necessity for the school and athletic department, it was a challenge to be met with KU' brains, brawn, and pluck, with football, American spirit.

In short, there were myriad arguments for the stadium in *The Kansas Stadium*. The McCook Field bleachers were inadequate to the point of being dangerous. So inadequate, they brought shame on the university. A stadium would accommodate the needs of a growing student body and alumni base, comfortably and safely, while also glorifying the university. A stadium would benefit the Athletic Department and the university itself. It would help KU beat traditional rivals and assure Missouri Valley Conference supremacy. People would travel to Lawrence to see it. Physical education, no longer on trial as a result of the war, a boon to individuals, the university, and the country, would benefit. This was an idea that was particularly poignant at KU. The Physical Education Department had been in charge of assigning students to duty during the conflict, and James Naismith, among other served overseas to train U.S. troops. If Kansas aspired to be the greatest school in the west, equal in

³⁴⁶ George Nettles (captain), *The Kansas Stadium*, 13.

³⁴⁷ J.G. Brandt, *The Kansas Stadium*, 13.

³⁴⁸ E.F. Engel, *The Kansas Stadium*, 15.

mission and prestige to the great schools of the east, it needed a stadium. Kansans, returning to Bond's *Collier's* profile of KU, were different American pioneers who not only deserved the stadium, but whose qualities would not fail to get the job done.

In November of 1920, two months after the *Kansas Stadium* pamphlet was published, the Million Dollar campaign received a rare and unexpected boost. In 1919, Phog Allen had returned to KU, his alma mater, from Central Missouri where he had "made an enviable record as a basketball strategist," to succeed W.O. Hamilton as Athletics Director.³⁴⁹ That fall (1919), the Jayhawks had lost to Nebraska for the third straight season and for the 9th time in the past ten tries.³⁵⁰ Understanding the importance of a successful football season in 1920, as the question of the stadium loomed, Allen relieved the coach of duties and took over himself.

On November 13th, 1920, on McCook Field, trailing Nebraska 20-0 at halftime, the Jayhawks staged a historic comeback scoring three touchdowns in the second half (twice by forward pass) to tie the game 20-20.³⁵¹ Kansas had not defeated Nebraska since 1916 and in 25 meetings between 1892 and 1918 had only defeated the Cornhuskers eight (8) times (16', 09', 08', 06', 96', 95', 93', 92'). The outcome gave a boost to the Million Dollar Campaign and made perhaps the most important win in Kansas football history, a tie. The 1921 Jayhawker (reviewing the 1920 season) called it a "Victory in at Tie Score."³⁵²

³⁴⁹ *The 1920 Jayhawker*, University Archives, 46.

³⁵⁰ "Kansas Jayhawks School History," *Sports Reference*, College Football. <https://www.sports-reference.com/cfb/schools/kansas/1916.html>.

³⁵¹ *The 1921 Jayhawker*, University Archives, 33. KU missed the extra point that would have put them ahead 21-20; see also "K.U. Team Fights Hard for Ideal," *Graduate Magazine*, *University of Kansas*, December 1920, vol. xix, no. 3, 13, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

³⁵² *Ibid.*

KU's Million Dollar Drive, though it failed to raise the entire amount needed to pay for all three projects it set out to complete, the stadium, the union, and the "Uncle" Jimmy Green statue, was ultimately successful, as each was, eventually, completed. Just how the stadium was eventually paid-off, over time, is the subject for an additional chapter in this project. The archival holdings may even be rich enough for a dissertation dedicated that subject alone.³⁵³ But this dissertation, as stated in the introduction, is less concerned with the organizational efficiencies of the university and athletic department and, instead, focuses on the social construction of the stadium. Money is only part of the story. The archival documents examined for this chapter, especially *The Kansas Stadium* pamphlet reveal the reasons that the KU community, broadly, wanted a stadium. Many of these reasons reflect larger national stadium trends, revealing that KU's stadium project was part of a nation-wide social movement that fixed football in higher education and permanently altered the organizational structures, institutions, public attitudes towards and interactions with schools, and the built environment, along with the political landscape of higher education.

A notable absence in most of the archival literature are the voices of students. How did students feel about the stadium project? An especially important question to ask given the emergence of youth as a powerful social force in American in the 1920. The answer is not obvious. KU yearbooks, *Jayhawkers*, which had student editors, seem to represent more of a mouthpiece of the university than of the student body. The narratives here parallel the images found *The Oread*, *The Graduate Magazine*, and *The Jayhawkers*. Photos of Stadium Day (May

³⁵³ Start with "Memorial Stadium Building File," University Archives, RG 0/22/53, "index" folder, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

10, 1921), when the McCook bleachers were torn down, that show hundreds if not thousands of students dismantling the bleachers. This may have been an indication of broad student support for the stadium.³⁵⁴ It can also be hypothesized, given that college students nationally, especially during the 1920s, had expanded the reach of student life to include games, suggesting that they were likely in favor of the stadium. The study that John Modell cites, in which football and dating were ranked highly for thirteen-year old boys in Kansas City, supports this impression.³⁵⁵ Given Beth Bailey and Paula Fass' findings, it's probably safe to presume that students, especially those who wanted to watch and play football, and those who wanted to date, along with anyone else who wanted the college experience, would be for building the stadium.³⁵⁶

However, another Stadium Day photo shows dozens of students lined-up near Potter Lake, wooden paddles at ready, to paddle students who did not show up for Stadium Day' duty.³⁵⁷ The episode resonates with the description of student captains and shock troops assigned to raise money for the stadium from their classmates and recalls the martial heroic performativity discussed earlier, in as somewhat more general context (Pettegrew).³⁵⁸ There is at least circumstantial evidence that not all students were enthusiastic about the stadium. Student leaders dealt with these students rather harshly.

The Stadium

³⁵⁴ Stadium Day Photos

³⁵⁵ Modell

³⁵⁶ Bailey and Fass

³⁵⁷ "Stadium Day," photo, May 10, 1921, McCook Field Photographs, University Archives photographs RG 02/22/47, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

³⁵⁸ Pettegrew

The Unit Construction Company of St. Louis, Missouri contracted for the construction of KU's Memorial Stadium. Consistent with the Million Dollar Campaign, contracts and the proposed building schedule moved fast. The contract was signed on July 9, 1921, after a series of memos were exchanged in June.³⁵⁹ Subcontractors were hired on July 15 and the proposed schedule was as follows: the construction company would start assembling material and equipment on July 19, just 10 days after the contract was signed. Grading the chosen site would begin one (1) day later on July 20. The sewers would be laid on July 25 and excavating for the footings would start just three (3) days after that on the 28th.³⁶⁰

The Unit Construction Company estimated that the sewers would be complete by September 1 and grading and under drainage by September 15. After this work was completed the sodding would begin and be completed on October 1. The timeframe called for the concrete footings on the east side of the stadium to be completed on August 15 and the concrete footings on the west side to be complete, as with the sewers, on September 1. The columns would be poured to grade on the east side on August 25th and on the west by September 10.³⁶¹ Three dates were set for the sections of the east side superstructure to be complete, section 1 on September 8, section 2 on September 20, and section 3 on October 14. The west side superstructure would also be completed across three dates, section 1 on October 20, section 2 on October 26, and the 3rd section on October 8. Seats were to be put in place on the east side and the first section of the west side on October 29. Seats for all sections were to

³⁵⁹ "Tentative Progress Schedule for Construction of Stadium," Memorial Stadium Building File, RG 0/22/53, folder "1921," 1, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 1.

³⁶¹ *Ibid*.

be completed by November 23, in time for the Thanksgiving game with Missouri. They would paint the seats and remove the forms later, on December 15, after the season.³⁶²

The site would be entirely cleared and cleaned up on December 22. This note accompanied the proposed schedule, “the dates and divisions of work given are approximate and may not conform to the Unit Construction Co.’s schedule but in general the rate of progress will follow the above outline if the stands are useable November 24.” The proposed schedule and building plan were entirely predicated on the goal of having the stadium, if not cleaned up and finished by Thanksgiving, ready to host the Missouri Tigers for the annual rivalry game on that date, 1921.³⁶³

The Unit Construction Company met its deadline. The first “big game” KU hosted in Memorial Stadium was on Thanksgiving Day, 1921 when, as the 1922 *Jayhawker* described it, KU “Dedicat[ed] the Stadium with Tiger Meat,” defeating Missouri 15-9. “We can afford to lose every game scheduled as long as we beat Missouri,” the *Jayhawker* reasoned, the stadium didn’t change that, but it reinforced it.³⁶⁴ But that was not the first game in the stadium, KU had hosted Kansas State Agricultural College almost a month before on October 29, 1921, and won 21-7.³⁶⁵ The game is notable for this study, because the photos of the “Aggie Invasion” that accompany the description of the game in the 1922 *Jayhawker* included a Klan

³⁶² Ibid, 2.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ “Dedicating the Stadium with Tiger Meat,” *The 1922 Jayhawker* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Senior Class, 1922), 120, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018. Also, the stadium was not officially dedicated until November 11, 1922, Armistice Day. KU lost to Nebraska

³⁶⁵ “With the Aggies,” *The 1922 Jayhawker*, 117, University Archives.

organization.³⁶⁶ As will be revealed in the next chapter, the Klan was present at Memorial Stadium on opening day.

³⁶⁶ "The Aggie Invasion," *The 1922 Jayhawker*, 131, University Archives.

Chapter 4: Memorial Stadium Performances

This dissertation has focused on the intersections of American and world history, football, and sporting venues in order to try and understand the forces that influenced the stadium movement of the 1920s; the era when college football stadiums spread across the national higher education landscape. They provided people with an infrastructure of common experience, a stage for shared history, and could be interpreted as serving as a training ground for business interests and war or combat. Like the Greek agora or Roman forum, American stadiums became places where communities gathered to learn about who they were and proclaim loyalty to those identities.³⁶⁷ These building functions are, perhaps, most evident during games, but they are not exclusive to football or sport. The stadium also served the broader university community in myriad ways. This chapter aims to discover how the University of Kansas utilized Memorial Stadium after its completion in 1921 to communicate a set of experiences and values that undergird the university's identity within regional and national contexts.

While the previous chapter focused on the ways the community supported and promoted the stadium project in Lawrence, urging it to completion, this chapter is concerned with how the university used Memorial Stadium in the years after it first opened in 1921. Football and track are touched on briefly, but much of the focus of this chapter lies outside of athletics. It profiles New Student Initiation and commencement, events that move into the

³⁶⁷ See chapter 1; Jackson, 12 and 20.

stadium by 1924.³⁶⁸ These programs were and remain the “bookend events” of a student’s experience at KU.³⁶⁹ The stadium is literally where all students start and end their KU careers. The chapter also examines the Ku Ku Klan, an official “pep” organization of the university, and the Sachems, a men’s honors organization that utilized Native practices and dress in their rituals. These groups played roles at events in and around Memorial Stadium following its completion. Their presence speaks to some of the identities and beliefs that found a home and stage in the new structure. They represent themes that parallel earlier discussions, including the development of whiteness as an identity defined by markers of non-whiteness, especially indigeneity and blackness.³⁷⁰

Notes on Subjects and Sources

The research for this chapter was conducted in the archives at the Kenneth Spencer Research Library at the University of Kansas. Information about Freshman Initiation in the 1920s and 1930s comes from newspaper articles, programs (mimeograph, presumably office copies), and the hand-written speeches of Hannah Oliver, a faculty member in the Classics Department and an early graduate of the university (1874) who delivered the annual speech on KU and Kansas history at Freshman Initiation between 1925 and 1933.³⁷¹

³⁶⁸ The name of the event shifted through the years. “The New Student Initiation Ceremony,” program and instructions, October 4, 1928, vol. 1 folder, 27, Traditions Scrapbook & Records, SB 0/0/T, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018. The ceremony was called “The Freshman Initiation Ceremony,” in 1930; same record group, 28.

³⁶⁹ Charlie Persinger (Director of University Ceremonies and Special Events), interview by author, March 14, 2019.

³⁷⁰ See chapter 3.

³⁷¹ *Traditions Scrapbook & Records*, University Archives, SB 0/0/T, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018; “Personal Papers of Hannah Oliver,” University Archives, PP 85, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. Retrieved September 16, 2018.

Ten commencement addresses from the inter-war period were given by heads or former heads of other universities, including the Presidents of the Universities of Colorado, Indiana, Northwestern, Oklahoma, Missouri, Ohio State, Michigan, Wisconsin twice, and Harvard. Commencement speakers during the period who were not presidents of other schools included Kansas Governors Ben Paulen (1925) and Payne Ratner (1940), Vernon Lyman Kellogg (1927), Permanent Secretary and Chairman of the Division of Educational Relations of the National Research Council in Washington, and Robert Andrews Millikan (1933), Director of the Norman Bridge Laboratory of Physics at the California Institute of Technology. Legendary newspaperman and former KU student William Allen White also delivered a Commencement address (1934).³⁷²

The Spencer Research Library at KU holds copies of many but not all of the Commencement speeches from the interwar period (1924-1939). These, if they could all be located, would be, by themselves, an interesting subject for a study, especially considering that so many of the speakers were important figures in education, and higher education specifically. For the purposes of this dissertation, however, only three were analyzed: Edwin Slosson's "Dealing in Futures" (1924), Dorothy Canfield Fisher's "Education Begins at Home" (1928), and James Bryant Conant's "The Puritan as a Friend of Learning (1939).³⁷³ These were chosen

³⁷² *Graduate Magazines, University of Kansas (1925-1940)*, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018. Graduation reviews appear in the annual June issue, some contain entire graduation speeches.

³⁷³ Edwin E. Slosson, "Dealing in Futures," Commencement Address at University of Kansas, June 10, 1924," *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, vol. XXII, no. 9, June 1924, 3-8, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018; Dorothy Canfield Fisher, "Education Begins at Home," *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, vol. XXVI, no. 9, June 1928, 8-12, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas; James B. Conant, "The Puritan as a Friend of Learning," speech delivered, University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard. Retrieved February 11, 2019. Email Correspondence.

because they were delivered at the beginning, middle, and end of the period under review, and thus provide breadth across the interwar era, and because the professional and personal identities of the speakers are relatively diverse within the pool available.

Edwin Slosson, former graduate (90') and professor of chemistry at KU, was serving as the first Director of the Science Service in Washington when he delivered the Commencement speech in Memorial Stadium in 1924.³⁷⁴ He was, by that time, author of several books including *Great American Universities*.³⁷⁵ Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Ph.D., author, and activist, was the daughter of former KU humanities professor James Hulme Canfield. She spent part of her childhood in Lawrence and was the only woman to deliver a graduation speech at KU during the period under review (1928). She is, arguably, the most famous and influential of all the people who gave Commencement addresses at KU during the interwar period. Eleanor Roosevelt named her one of the ten most influential women in the United States in 1934.³⁷⁶ James Bryant Conant was the influential and well known President of Harvard when he gave the 1939 KU Commencement address, on the eve of World War II. Higher education historian Roger Geiger credits Conant with moving "Harvard toward a renewed commitment to excellence in graduate education and research." His "policies," Geiger continues, "signaled to other research universities a course of action that, whether they favored it or not, would soon prove

³⁷⁴ Edwin E. Slosson, "Dealing in Futures," 3-8. For more on Slosson see "Reflections on the Personality of Edwin Emery Slosson," *Advocate of Peace*, vol. 91, no. 6, 1929, 386-388. Retrieved from JSTOR July 16, 2019. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20681377?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.

³⁷⁵ Edwin Slosson, *Great American Universities* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910).

³⁷⁶ Dorothy Canfield Fisher, "Education Begins at Home," 8-12; "Dorothy Canfield Fisher," *Kansapedia*, Kansas Historical Society, March 2012. <https://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/dorothy-canfield-fisher/17653>; Elizabeth J. Wright, "Home Economics: Children, Consumption, and Montessori Education in Dorothy Canfield Fisher's Understood Betsy," *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 3, 213-230. Johns Hopkins University Press, Retrieved July 18, 2019, from Project Muse. <http://muse.jhu.edu/article/223180>.

imperative.”³⁷⁷ He also served in the Chemical Warfare Service during World War I and would become Ambassador to West Germany under President Eisenhower.³⁷⁸

The Ku Ku Klan was an official pep organization of the university in the early 1920s and appeared at campus events and athletic contests including at football games in the stadium. Their presence corresponded with a national resurgence in Klan activities in the 1920s. It was also during this period when the Klan widened its scope of hate to include “Catholics, Jews, and foreigners” and began to promote “‘clean’ living” and “patriotism.”³⁷⁹ Among other places, the Ku Ku Klan was recognized in the 1921 and 1922 Kansas yearbooks, the *Jayhawker(s)*.³⁸⁰ The organization appears to have carried-on for some time but under shifting names and changing identities.³⁸¹ Though there is less information about the Ku Kus, as the group was nicknamed, than that which is available over either freshman initiation or commencement, it is vital to tell their story. This is particularly important considering the intersections of football and race, and the place of KU, Lawrence, and Kansas in the national narrative on race, particularly within the context of the Civil War. In addition to the *Jayhawkers*, archival photographs and a February 1923 *Athletic World* article found in the archives featured the group.³⁸²

³⁷⁷ Geiger, 497.

³⁷⁸ “James Bryant Conant,” Harvard University. Retrieved July 18, 2019. <https://www.harvard.edu/about-harvard/harvard-glance/history-presidency/james-bryant-conant>.

³⁷⁹ “The KU Klux Klan in the 1920s,” *American Experience*, PBS. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/flood-klan/>.

³⁸⁰ “KUKU Klan,” *The 1921 Jayhawker*, ed. Ferdinand Gottlieb (Lawrence, KS: Senior Class, University of Kansas, 1921), University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018; “KU KU Klan,” *The 1922 Jayhawker* (Lawrence, KS: Senior Class, University of Kansas 1922), University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

³⁸¹ “KU KU Klan Records,” University Archives, RG 67/190, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

³⁸² “KU KU Klan Photos,” University Archives, RG 67/190 photographs, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018; “Kansas University Boasts of Fine ‘Pep’ Organization,” *Athletic World*, February 1923, “KU KU Klan Records,” University Archives, RG 67/190, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved September 16, 2018.

The Sachems were a men's honor society credited with building the Rock Chalk Cairn (or Pile), the second university symbol behind the 1893 totem pole.³⁸³ The totem pole, the cairn, and the Sachems are representative of the university's appropriated Indigenous identities. The Sachems were involved in Freshman Initiation, including the relay of a lit torch from the site of old North College, the first university building (where Corbin now stands), to the cairn on the hill above the stadium, which was (originally) built from the stones of old North College (1926).³⁸⁴ The primary sources of information about the Sachems are newspaper articles compiled in a scrapbook. In the spring of 1933, the Rock Chalk Cairn was vandalized. A series of newspaper articles profiled it and its predecessor, the 1893 totem pole.³⁸⁵ Included in this section is a short discussion of Haskell Indian Nations University and its Memorial Stadium.³⁸⁶

These sources, speeches, newspaper and magazine articles, some letters, and photographs, reveal ways the university told its stories and expressed its identity in the wake of the war. It is important to consider, among other reasons, because Memorial Stadium, when

³⁸³ "University's First Emblem Was Totem Pole Modeled After Those in Alaska," *University Daily Kansan*, July 3, 1934 (handwritten date), Traditions Scrapbooks and Records, SB 0/0/T, vol. 1, 49, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

³⁸⁴ "University's First Emblem Was Totem Pole Modeled After Those in Alaska," *University Daily Kansan*, July 3, 1934 (handwritten date), Traditions Scrapbooks and Records, SB 0/0/T, vol. 1, 49, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018. See also "Totem Pole, Class of 1893 College Emblem," photo, Traditions Scrapbooks and Records, SB 0/0/T, vol. 1, 43, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018; "Totem Pole, Once Rallying Center for Class Spirit, Predecessor of the Cairn," *University Daily Kansan*, November 12, 1933 (handwritten), Traditions Scrapbooks and Records, SB 0/0/T, vol. 1, 42, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018. "Totem Pole, Lost But Not Forgotten," *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, May 1933 (hand-written), Traditions Scrapbooks and Records, SB 0/0/T, vol. 1, 50, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

³⁸⁵ "1933 Scrapbook," *Traditions Scrapbook & Records*, University Archives, SB 0/0/T, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

³⁸⁶ Research for this part of the chapter was completed at the Haskell Cultural Center in fall 2018 before it was unfortunately closed. References are made from personal photographs as the exhibits at the Cultural Center are no longer open to the public.

first opened, was a building of a sort that people had rarely ever seen in America, let alone Kansas – but they soon would experience stadiums, almost universally, as a result of the stadium movement and the proliferation of the buildings. What appears on this grand, historic stage, KU's Memorial Stadium, is indicative of the most salient community values and identities and communicates something about the history of the university both up to and since its opening (1921).

Before beginning the examination and analysis of these documents, a brief review of stadium sports at Kansas in the 1920s is informative as a matter of context. There were good moments in Kansas football in the 1920s. A number of games at Memorial Stadium drew large crowds, and KU won its Thanksgiving Day game against Missouri in 1921.³⁸⁷ It was not a great decade for KU football, however. Griffin dedicates an entire chapter of *The University of Kansas: A History* to intercollegiate athletics and concludes that football in the 1920s was part of Kansas' "slide into darkness." Part of a period, from "the teens to the sixties" when Kansas Football was, "racked by inconsistency."³⁸⁸ By the 1930s, "there were poor teams, scandal, dissent, charges, counter-charges, and investigations" in Kansas Athletics and Kansas football.³⁸⁹ Given that the Carnegie Report on College Athletics (1929) concluded that college sports were marked with corruption, cheating, professionalization, and the perversion of academic standards, the experience of KU football during the period was operationally, socially,

³⁸⁷ "Dedicating the Stadium with Tiger Meat," *The 1922 Jayhawker*, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

³⁸⁸ Griffin, *The University of Kansas: A History*, 661.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

and politically typical of football programs of the time; the Jayhawks just won a lot less than other schools that had the same issues.³⁹⁰

As always at Kansas, though, despite subpar performances, there were famous figures in athletics.³⁹¹ In the 1920s, with respect to James Naismith, the inventor of basketball, who was in the later stages of his career, the two most important figures in and around Kansas Athletics were, arguably, Phog Allen and John Outland. Allen, remembered as a legendary basketball coach, the “Father of Modern Basketball Coaching,” had returned to his alma mater as Athletic Director in 1919.³⁹² He had taken-over the football team during the 1920 season and, as discussed in the last chapter, coached the Jayhawks in the most important game in Kansas football history, a 20-20 tie with Nebraska in November 1920.³⁹³ The result became a rallying cry for the Million Dollar Drive that would build the stadium.

John Outland, for whom the Outland Trophy is named, coached the football team in 1901 and served as athletic advisor for a number of years.³⁹⁴ His most important contribution, regarding Memorial Stadium, was the Kansas Relays, an idea he brought to Lawrence from Penn.³⁹⁵ The Relays started in the stadium in 1923 and remained there until 2014 when the

³⁹⁰ Howard Savage, *American College Athletics*, (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1929). thecoia.org; Charles Clotfelter, “Big-Time College Athletics 80 Years Later,” *Duke Today*, Duke University, October 27, 2009. https://today.duke.edu/2009/10/clotfelter_oped.html.

³⁹¹ The Booth Family Hall of Athletics profiles the history of Kansas Athletics including individual contributors like Gale Sayers (football), Wilt Chamberlain (men’s basketball), and Lynette Woodard (women’s basketball). <https://kuathletics.com/>.

³⁹² “Dr. Forrest C. (Phog) Allen,” *The 1920 Jayhawker*, ed. Luther H. Hangen (Lawrence, KS: Senior Class, University of Kansas, 1920), 46, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

³⁹³ “A Satisfying Season, and Why,” *The 1921 Jayhawker*, ed. Ferdinand Gottlieb (Lawrence, KS: Senior Class, University of Kansas, 1921), 33, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

³⁹⁴ “John Outland,” Kansas Sports Hall of Fame. <https://www.kshof.org/inductees/2-kansas-sports-hall-of-fame/inductees/204-outland-john.html>.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

track was removed to the newly built Rock Chalk Park.³⁹⁶ They are at least the second interesting connection between Memorial Stadium and Penn, which claimed the first college football stadium (Franklin Field, 1895). In addition to the Relays, the 1904 Campus Plan that featured a yet to be realized stadium was prepared by Henry Wright, though from Lawrence, he studied at Penn.

This chapter is ordered by organizations (KU KU Klan, Sachems) and events (Freshman Initiation, Commencement). References between and to the organizations and events, as well as to previous chapters, appear in each individual section. Concluding statements are saved for the end of the chapter.

KU KU Klan (1919-1922)

The Ku Ku Klan was, despite efforts to distance it from the Ku Klux Klan, an extremist organization. Archival photos at The Spencer make this clear. One shows at least 21 members at a train station dressed in the white robes and hoods typical of Klan organizations. They are presumably, boarding a train to travel to an away football game.³⁹⁷ As the 1921 *Jayhawker* explained, the Ku Ku Klan was “responsible for all the stunts at football games, both at home and abroad, and accompanied the football team to Manhattan, Norman and Columbia” during the 1920 season.³⁹⁸ Another photo showed at least 28 members including a child walking with a May Pole, perhaps near old Fraser Hall, across ground marked with yard lines as though for

³⁹⁶ “Memorial Stadium Track Removal Nearing Completion,” Kansas Athletics, August 5, 2014.

<https://kuathletics.com/fb-0805144547/>.

³⁹⁷ “KU KU Klan, 1922,” KU KU Klan Photos, University Archives prints RG 67/190, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

³⁹⁸ “KUKU KLAN,” *The 1921 Jayhawker*, ed. Ferdinand Gottlieb (Lawrence, KS: Senior Class, University of Kansas, 1921), 29. University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

football. Faintly, in the back right of the photo, the viewer can see what appears to be a goalpost.³⁹⁹

The 1922 *Jayhawker* featured several photos of the Ku Kus. Some not only show the Ku Klan, but possibly members of similar organizations from other schools including those from Oklahoma and Kansas State (then Kansas State Agricultural College).⁴⁰⁰ A February 1923 *Athletic World* article, “Kansas University Boasts of Fine ‘Pep’ Organization,” explained that college Klan organizations were widespread. The Ku Ku Klan was representative of a “new movement” that had “gain[ed] favor in universities and colleges throughout the country.” In addition to the Ku Kus, the article identified similar organizations at the universities of Oklahoma (“Jazz Hounds”), Kansas State (“Wampus Cats”), Nebraska (“Corn Cobs”), and Missouri (“Missouri Razzers”).⁴⁰¹

A photo taken at the 1921 Oklahoma game and published in *The 1922 Jayhawker* on a page captioned “With the Sooners,” likely featured members of OU’s “Jazz Hounds.”⁴⁰² This can be deduced because the photo was taken in Norman where KU played that season, and the Klan, we know from the *The 1921 Jayhawker*, traveled to away games. The photo possibly shows both KU and Oklahoma students and Klan members, because two Klan figures in the

³⁹⁹ “KU KU, Young Brother Arnold Gilbert, Mascot,” 1922, KU KU Klan Photos, University Archives prints RG 67/190, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018. This photo was also reprinted in the February 1923 issue of *Athletic World*. See footnote 302 for full reference.

⁴⁰⁰ *The 1922 Jayhawker* includes Klan images on pages corresponding to the following football games: Washburn, 129, Drake, 130, Kansas State Agricultural College, 131, and Oklahoma, 132.

⁴⁰¹ “Kansas University Boasts of Fine ‘Pep’ Organization,” *Athletic World*, February 1923, 6, KU KU Klub Records, University Archives RG 67/190, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018. As with KU Commencement speeches in the inter-war period, these “pep” Klan organizations are deserving of further study and may comprise an entirely separate dissertation.

⁴⁰² “With the Sooners,” *The 1922 Jayhawker* (Lawrence, KS: Senior Class, University of Kansas, 1922), 132. University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018. For recap of the game see p. 118.

photo wear hoods and robes that do not match the color of those the Ku Kus wore in other photographs.

A photo that accompanied the entry for the Kansas State game in *The 1922 Jayhawker* featured Klan members walking across the bridge over the Kansas (Kaw) River from North Lawrence towards Massachusetts Street and downtown Lawrence. The title of the page is “The Aggie invasion.”⁴⁰³ We can presume, drawing from the *Athletic World* article, that these are the “Wampus Cats,” part of the Aggie’s invading party. Given Lawrence’s history, especially from the Civil War era, the message seems deliberately chosen. Despite the prevalence of these Klan organizations, nonetheless, the article reported that “perhaps the first” of these “new” groups was KU’s. An organization started by students “who wished to further activities and create a better spirit of sportsmanship and feeling of friendship among the schools.”⁴⁰⁴ This suggested that the Klan not only proliferated but coordinated across campuses during the period.

The *Athletic World* article drew clear connections between the Ku Kus and the broader Klan but tried to justify the name and dress. It reported that they “called the pep organization the Ku Ku Klan partly as a pattern after that historical Klan, and partly because the initials of the school spelled Ku.” It explained the wearing of the “robes of the Ku Klux Klan, mainly because the members of the Klub were not seeking publicity and worked without their identity being known.”⁴⁰⁵ The description is insufficient or, perhaps, even tongue in cheek, especially

⁴⁰³ “The Aggie Invasion,” *The 1922 Jayhawker* (Lawrence, KS: Senior Class, University of Kansas, 1922), 131. University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018. For recap of the game see p. 117.

⁴⁰⁴ “Kansas University Boasts of Fine ‘Pep’ Organization,” *Athletic World*, February 1923, 6.

⁴⁰⁵ “Kansas University Boasts of Fine ‘Pep’ Organization,” 7.

considering all group member names appeared in the 1921 and 1922 *Jayhawker(s)*.⁴⁰⁶ Despite what they purported to be, cheerleaders, a “pep” organization concerned with KU spirit and loyalty, the Ku Kus were a university sanctioned supremacist group. They had the support of Athletic Director Phog Allen, Chancellor Lindley, Dean of Men, Dean Dyer, and Professor Finn in Political Science who was the organization’s advisor.⁴⁰⁷ Their presence at university and athletic events, wearing Klan hoods and robes, could be interpreted as an act of violence.

The KU KU Klan was organized and founded roughly concurrent with the stadium drive. The *Athletic World* article reported that the group “was begun in 1919,” the same year that the Memorial Campaign was announced.⁴⁰⁸ The group performed “stunts” at football games starting in 1920, when Phog Allen was coach, and they “assist[ed] in the drive for the New Kansas Memorial Stadium.”⁴⁰⁹ Although the details of the work they did are not clear, it seems that the Klan was involved in building the stadium.

What roles its members took, we do not know, but the 1920 *Graduate Magazine*, as discussed in chapter 3, described roles they may have had, especially given the clear and possibly strong ties that existed between football and the Klan: “40 leading students, each of whom acted as captains over 10 workers, led the work of hunting out, soliciting, and reporting on the entire student body. Each of the 400 ‘shock troop’ workers under the 40 captains was given 10 names, and between the convocation on Thursday morning when the attack opened,

⁴⁰⁶ *The 1921 Jayhawker*, 29; *The 1922 Jayhawker*, 110.

⁴⁰⁷ “Kansas University Boasts of Fine ‘Pep’ Organization,” 8.

⁴⁰⁸ “Kansas University Boasts of Fine ‘Pep’ Organization,” 6. *The 1921 Jayhawker* specifies “November 1919,” p. 29. This was also the month and year of the Armistice that ended World War I.

⁴⁰⁹ “stunts,” *The 1921 Jayhawker*, p 29. “assist[ed] in the drive for the new Kansas Memorial Stadium,” “Kansas University Boasts of Fine ‘Pep’ Organization,” *Athletic World*, 7.

and Saturday noon, reported on every name.”⁴¹⁰ A photo of Stadium Day, when the student body dismantled the old McCook Bleachers (May, 10, 1921), suggests another possible role. It showed students lined-up around the east side of Potter Lake ready to paddle those who had not reported for demolition duty.⁴¹¹

The presence of the Klan at KU recalls several themes discussed earlier. The proliferation of Klan groups across higher education follows isomorphic principles discussed in the introduction.⁴¹² Schools and athletic programs had to have stadiums and the Klan contributed to the popularity and promotion. The description of student organizing and the goals of organization follow historical patterns of student life development dating to the Republican period. This also occurred within the context of the re-emergence of the Klan in the 1920s and the spread of racial violence across the country.⁴¹³ The Klan was interested in defining humanity and masculinity in the terms of whiteness. As discussed earlier, whiteness was positioned as the antithesis of blackness, its opposite. Football and football players, publically celebrated for skills perceived to be beyond the capabilities of blackness, were symbols of racial pride.⁴¹⁴ During a period when African Americans increasingly pressed government officials and the public for civil rights, particularly as a result of commitment to the war effort as outlined in Chad Williams’ book *Torchbearers of Democracy*, the stadium became a place where whiteness pushed back, a building where whiteness could be preserved,

⁴¹⁰ “K.U. Pledges \$225,00 to Memorial,” *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, December 1920, 7. University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁴¹¹ “The Paddle Squad, Stadium Day, May, 1921,” McCook Field Photographs, University Archives photographs RG 02/22/47, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁴¹² Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio, editors, *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

⁴¹³ William Tuttle Jr., *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York: Atheneum, 1975), 11-14.

⁴¹⁴ See chapter 2, p. 72.

protected, and celebrated.⁴¹⁵ In this case as a close collaboration between football and the Klan.

The art at the front of *The 1922 Jayhawker* depicted evolutionary progress in typical Social Darwinist interpretation. Athletes near the pinnacle and a football player standing at the evolutionary apex.⁴¹⁶ This connects us to earlier conversations about the ways in which Social Darwinism shaped not only football but broader intellectual currents in higher education. The yearbook, the *Jayhawker*, is a university-wide publication; it is not exclusive to athletics. It further suggests that systemic racism was and is one of the ways in which athletics and academics are intertwined in the university. The presence of the evolutionary chain, which started with caveman and ended with quarterback in the 1922 *Jayhawker*, is evidence of Social Darwinism at KU in the period.⁴¹⁷ The presence of the Ku Kus at “all athletic events” including football games seems to suggest that some at the university sanctioned racism.⁴¹⁸ The Klan was on center stage, they lead the cheers.

Indigenous Traditions, The Sachems (1893 – 1933)

KU never adopted a Native mascot like many other schools, but it did appropriate Native American cultural symbols as part of its identity. The first university symbol was a totem pole dedicated by the class of 1893. Approximately 40 feet tall according to a 1933 *University Daily Kansan* article, it was the idea of Fred Funston, who would become “General Funston of the

⁴¹⁵ Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy*.

⁴¹⁶ *The 1922 Jayhawker*, University Archives, front matter, copyright, and forward pages.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ “KUKU KLAN,” *The 1922 Jayhawker*, 29.

United States Army.”⁴¹⁹ Woodrow Wilson would consider him for the position of General of the American Expeditionary Forces before he suddenly passed-away just months before America entered the war.⁴²⁰ The totem pole was a provocative confluence of appropriation of Native symbols, college life, and war in KU context.

Funston had made a trip down the Yukon River in Alaska and what he saw there inspired the totem idea. At the top of the pole, the UDK reported, “perched upon the carved stately brow of Chancellor Snow,” was an owl. The “head of a mule,” just below Chancellor Snow, “typified” the seniors, “under [the] mule stood a red devil, supposedly personifying” the juniors. The sophomores were represented by a “replica” of a sunflower, and at the bottom a “straw jimmy and a pair of boots” stood for the freshmen who had “jilted the soil for bigger and better things.”⁴²¹

The class of 1893 developed exercises for the raising of the totem they called “Potlatch.” The program “synopsis” said Potlatch was “an old Indian custom, and hence strictly American, for the great tribes of a certain northern nation to record their ancestral history and past great achievements by means of a Totem Pole.”⁴²² The ceremony included, according to a *Graduate Magazine* article published in 1933, “feasting, speech making and general good fellowship used

⁴¹⁹ “Totem Pole, Once Rallying Center for Class Spirit, Predecessor of the Cairn,” *University Daily Kansan*, November 12, 1933 (hand-written), Traditions Scrapbooks and Records, SB 0/0/T, vol. 1, 42, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ “University’s First Emblem Was Totem Pole Modeled After Those in Alaska,” *University Daily Kansan*, July 3, 1934 (handwritten date), Traditions Scrapbooks and Records, SB 0/0/T, vol. 1, 49, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018. See also “Totem Pole, Class of 1893 College Emblem,” Traditions Scrapbooks and Records, SB 0/0/T, vol. 1, 43, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁴²² “Potlatch, Class of ’93,” June 6, Traditions Scrapbooks and Records, SB 0/0/T, vol. 1, 49, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

by northern Indian tribes.”⁴²³ The fate of the totem pole is unclear but a canon blast is rumored to have destroyed it. The UDK reported in 1933, “as the story goes, a class grudge was once carried too far, and one night the pole was broken. Some say that a group of over-zealous vandals toted the canon from in from of the court house to the hill, filled it with scrap iron and blew the pole down and the gun to bits.”⁴²⁴

The university’s first attempt at a school symbol was a Native totem suggested by Funston who would become one of the highest ranking generals in the United States Army on the eve of World War I. Fort Funston, Kansas, named for the general, would be where the Spanish Flu that killed millions globally was first identified.⁴²⁵ It is believed the flu started in southwest corner of the state, in Haskell County. It must have traveled north and east to Ft. Funston, and further still along the rail lines that carried soldiers, livestock, and minerals for explosives out of the heartland to the coast and the war in faraway France; the same pathway of Memorial stadiums, the Victory Highway.⁴²⁶

In the spring of 1933, vandals destroyed another university symbol, the Rock Chalk Cairn. Constructed from stones, “which were originally a part of the first building of the University – North College Hall.”⁴²⁷ According to a February 1931 *University Daily Kansan*

⁴²³“Totem Pole of ’93 Is Lost but Not Forgotten,” *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, May 1933, 8, Traditions Scrapbooks and Records, SB 0/0/T, vol. 1, 50, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁴²⁴ “University’s First Emblem Was Totem Pole Modeled After Those in Alaska,” *University Daily Kansan*, July 3, 1934 (handwritten date).

⁴²⁵ John M. Barry, “The site of the origin of the 1918 influenza pandemic and its public health implications,” *Journal of Translational Medicine*, vol. 2, no. 3, January 20, 2004. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC340389/>.

⁴²⁶ “Touring the New Victory Highway,” *Concrete Highway Magazine*, vol. 8 no. 4, April 1924. (accessed April 3, 2019). See chapter 1, p. 42.

⁴²⁷ “Rock Chalk Pile,” Sachem, 1926, Omicron Delta Kappa (Sachem Circle), University Archives photographs RG 67/5, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

Article, the cairn had been conceived in 1926 and became a “reality” when the Sachems and the men’s student council with the aid of Professor Frank E. Melvin constructed it. The cairn was meant to “help visualize K.U. history,” “cultivate K.U. loyalty and real ‘school spirit’” and “stimulate K.U. activity and personal responsibility.” It sat (and sits, reconstructed) “on the slope above Memorial Stadium.”⁴²⁸

Sachems were chosen for their “ability, leadership, scholarship and other outstanding achievements.”⁴²⁹ The “Ritual for Sachem Initiation” was “based upon the Dakota (Sioux) Peace Pipe Ceremonial,” the “Chief” was to wear a “War Bonnet if available.”⁴³⁰ A May 1929 *Kansas City Star* photo showed that year’s Chief Sachem in front of the Rock Chalk Cairn above Memorial Stadium, looking skyward, arms raised above his head in prayer, dressed in “full regalia.”⁴³¹ The cairn’s location gave it prominence in relation to the stadium and Freshman Initiation, which had moved into the stadium in 1924, two years prior to the cairn’s construction on the hill.⁴³²

⁴²⁸ “Rock-Chalk Pile Symbolizes Kansas University Tradition.” *University Daily Kansan*, February 23, 1931, Traditions Scrapbooks and Records, SB 0/0/T, vol. 1, 20, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018. See also in the same record group “Traditions of the Hill to be Symbolized in Rock Chalk Pile,” *University Daily Kansan*, April 25, 1926 (handwritten date), vol. XXIII, scrapbook, 17; “The Sachem Rock Pile,” *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, 1928, scrapbook, 17; “Rock Chalk Pile Idea Goes Back to Cairns Antedating History, According to Professor Melvin,” *University Daily Kansan*, April 25, 1926, scrapbook, 11; “Rock Chalk Pile Demolished by Vandals,” *University Daily Kansan*, January 8, 1933 (handwritten “Kansan” and date), scrapbook, vol. 1, 39.

⁴²⁹ “When Chief Sachem Prays by the Rock Chalk Cairn,” *Kansas City Star*, May 26, 1929, Traditions Scrapbooks and Records, SB 0/0/T, vol. 1, 19, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁴³⁰ “Ritual for Sachem Initiation,” Sachem Initiation, 1926-27, Omicron Delta Kappa (Sachem Circle), University Archives photographs RG 67/5, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁴³¹ “When Chief Sachem Prays by the Rock Chalk Cairn,” *Kansas City Star*, 1929, scrapbook, vol. 1, 19. University Archives.

⁴³² “Second Annual Initiation Service for all New University Students is Held at Memorial Stadium,” *University Daily Kansan*, October 6, 1925 (handwritten “UDK” and date), Traditions Scrapbooks and Records, SB 0/0/T, vol. 2, 1, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

The Sachems participated in the ceremony as torchbearers. They helped carry a lit torch, a symbol of learning, from the site of Old North College, the university's first building (where Corbin now stands) to the Rock Chalk Cairn and lit a bonfire before new students took "the Athenian oath of the University, pledging their allegiance to it and all for which it stands."⁴³³ It was a call and response between the chancellor and the students:

We will never bring disgrace to our university; we will cherish the ideals and sacred things of the University; both alone and with many; we will revere and obey the university's laws, and do our best to incite a like respect and reverence in those about us; we will strive unceasingly to quicken the sense of civic duty; and thus, in all these ways, we will strive to transmit this, our beloved university, not only not less, but greater, better and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us.⁴³⁴

The university's Athenian Oath not only recalled the university's relationship and debt to classical learning and culture, it highlighted the democratic principles so important to college student life and drew attention to the stadium in Olympic contexts. It also further tied American civic identity to Native traditions. Chief Sachem Americanized the sacred and honored proceedings.

Haskell Indians Nations University is also located in Lawrence, Kansas, and like KU, it built a World War I Memorial Stadium in the 1920s. Haskell's Stadium opened in 1926, when the Haskell football team hosted and beat Bucknell 36-0.⁴³⁵ The weekend (October 27-30, 1926)

⁴³³ "Oath of Allegiance Given Last Night to 500 Initiates," *University Daily Kansan*, October 11, 1931 (handwritten "Kansan" and date), Traditions Scrapbooks and Records, SB 0/0/T, vol. 1, 21, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018. See also in same record group "The New Student Initiation Ceremony Program and Instructions, Chancellor Lindley Presiding," October 4, 1928, scrapbook, vol. 1, 27; October 3, 1930, vol. 1, 29; September 26, 1934, vol. 1, 31. "Initiation Ceremony, University of Kansas," October 11, 1928, Stadium, scrapbook, vol. 1, 25.

⁴³⁴ Unlabeled oath, presumably Freshman Initiation Oath referenced in footnote 329, Traditions Scrapbooks and Records, SB 0/0/T, vol. 1, 26, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁴³⁵ "1926 Season's Results," plaque, Haskell Cultural Center, Haskell Indian Nations University, Lawrence, Kansas. Viewed October 26, 2019.

included a barbecue, dancing contest, and performance of “Hiawatha” in addition to the football game.⁴³⁶ The entire event was notable for its record setting crowds, reportedly among the biggest for any event in the history of Lawrence, and for speeches, including that by Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work who helped dedicate the stadium.⁴³⁷

Secretary Work started his speech with an overview of the historic relationship between Americans and Native Americans, contextualizing it in terms of war and education:

During the summer of 1876, on the Little Big Horn River in Montana, occurred the Custer Battle, an incident in history which will never be forgotten. It was about that time, however, that the policy of the Government was changed. Warfare conducted by soldiers with rifles and bullets gave way to campaigns of education conducted by teachers.⁴³⁸

Secretary Work’s words outlined the historic relationship between colonists, Americans and Native peoples, the same relationship acted out in football games. His comments fit the occasion and were reminiscent of Pratt’s concerning “Indian education.”⁴³⁹ Haskell’s project mirrored Pratt’s Carlisle, including, importantly, football. As with Carlisle, Haskell’s teams were outstanding, losing only once in 1926, the year the stadium opened.⁴⁴⁰

There is little evidence linking KU’s Memorial Stadium with Haskell’s, though there was some interaction between the schools and athletic departments, historically. An example is Chauncey E. Archiquette, a “proud” member of the Oneida from Wisconsin and a Haskell

⁴³⁶ “Indian Celebration, Haskell Institute, October 27-30, 1926,” plaque, Haskell Cultural Center, Haskell Indian Nations University, Lawrence, Kansas. Viewed October 26, 2019.

⁴³⁷ Jancita Warrington, “Keeping Legends Alive: The 1926 Dedication of Haskell Stadium and the First Tribal WWI Memorial,” *YouTube*, January 17, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z394tjALi4U>; “Secretary Work addressed himself to the ‘Students of Haskell Institute and Indian Fathers and Mothers’ He said,” plaque, Haskell Cultural Center, Haskell Indian Nations University, Lawrence, Kansas. Viewed October 26, 2019.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁹ Adams, “More than a Game: The Carlisle Indians Take to the Gridiron, 1893-1917.”

⁴⁴⁰ “1926 Season’s Results,” plaque, Haskell Cultural Center; Adams, “More than a Game: The Carlisle Indians Take to the Gridiron, 1893-1917.” See also chapter 2.

alumni, who James Naismith credited with originating zone defense in basketball.⁴⁴¹ The football teams also played against each other occasionally like in 1904 when Haskell defeated KU 23 to 6.⁴⁴² Despite only tenuous connections between Haskell and KU within the terms of this project, it is important to recognize Haskell and its stadium for a number of reasons.

Haskell's Stadium was part of the political landscape of Lawrence, part of the city's identity. In a later period, among other events, it hosted large crowds for local high school football games, particularly the annual Lawrence High versus Free State High matchup.⁴⁴³ Haskell was a continuation of the Carlisle project in terms of education and football, and given Carlisle's importance to the history of the game, Haskell, the Haskell football team, and Haskell's Memorial Stadium, even if not directly tied to KU's Memorial Stadium, were essential components of the atmosphere in Lawrence in the 1920s. Given football's potential interpretation as a game that approximated war between colonists and Natives, and the presence of both KU and Haskell in the city, we might consider Lawrence one of the epicenters of football in the country in the 1920s. The proof is not one but two Memorial stadiums in a five year period, KU's one of the first college football stadiums built after the war and the first to be called Memorial, and Haskell's, the "first Tribal World War I memorial" in the country.⁴⁴⁴ Lawrence was a city for football and memorial stadiums.

Freshman Initiation, the Speeches of Hannah Oliver (1925-1933)

⁴⁴¹ "Chauncey E. Archiquette," plaque, Haskell Cultural Center, Haskell Indian Nations University, Lawrence, Kansas. Viewed October 26, 2019.

⁴⁴² "1904 Kansas Jayhawks Schedule and Results," *Sports Records*, College Football. <https://www.sports-reference.com/cfb/schools/kansas/1904-schedule.html>.

⁴⁴³ "Don 'Red Dog' Gardner," personal interview, February 14, 2019.

⁴⁴⁴ Jancita Warrington, "Keeping Legends Alive: The 1926 Dedication of Haskell Stadium and the First Tribal WWI Memorial."

Hannah Oliver's handwritten freshmen initiation speeches (1925-1933) are preserved at the Kenneth Spencer Research Library at the University of Kansas in Lawrence, Kansas. The archive also contains over two dozen letters from former students, colleagues, and neighbors of Oliver that paint a picture of her life in and contributions to the Lawrence and University communities.⁴⁴⁵ Oliver's personal and professional identities uniquely qualified her to give an annual speech about the history of the university at initiation, an event designed to introduce new students to university traditions, standards, and expectations. It began in the stadium in 1924.

Oliver is an exceptional figure in the long and celebrated history of Lawrence and the University of Kansas. She was participant in and witness to the nascent beginnings of state, city, school, and country. "The life span of Hannah Oliver encompasses more than half the years of our nation," Fred Ellsworth wrote in a 1943 letter to Pearl Carpenter, Chairman of the Omicron chapter of Delta Kappa Gamma, which at that time was soliciting letters from the KU community on pioneering teachers. He titled his letter, "Hannah Oliver, Buoyant Spirit."⁴⁴⁶ He added that "she was born in England in the fifteenth year of Queen Victoria's reign. She remember[ed] from first-hand experience as a girl of eleven years the terrible Quantrell Raid on

⁴⁴⁵ "Personal Papers of Hannah Oliver," University Archives, PP 85, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018. Oliver Hall, located at southern entrance to the University on the northwest corner of 19th Street and Naismith Drive, is named for its first Chancellor, R.W. Oliver not Hannah Oliver. The Episcopal minister served just three years (1865-1867) and by most accounts had a minimal impact on the development of the University (chancellor.ku.edu/previous-chancellors).

⁴⁴⁶ "Hannah Oliver, Bouyant Spirit," letter from Fred Ellsworth to Pearl Carpenter, Chairman of Delta Kappa Gamma, February 15, 1943, Personal Papers of Hannah Oliver, "correspondence" folder, PP 85, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018. See also handwritten letter in same record group dated February 24, 1943 (author's name illegible). Author says, "Hannah Oliver was born in Cornwall, England in 1852, coming to Lawrence in 1860 with her parents," p. 1. The letter also reveals that she graduated in the second KU class, 1874. In a letter from Chancellor Deane W. Malott to Pearl I. Carpenter dated February 10, 1943, same record group and folder, it is confirmed that Oliver was "member of the class of 1874."

Lawrence in 1863 and, of course, other events of the American war between the states.”⁴⁴⁷ In 1937, Sydney Prentice, writing Oliver from his post at the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburgh on the occasion of Oliver’s 85th birthday, reflected on their hometown: “like myself you grew up in Lawrence – were a part of Lawrence – a part of the genius loci of the Historic City with a soul.”⁴⁴⁸ In his view, Oliver was not only native to the “Historic City,” she was unforgettable in an unforgettable place.

Oliver graduated from KU in the university’s second class (1874) and began teaching “high school classes in Roman history” before moving to “advanced work in the department of Ancient Languages,” Mary M. Swelser reported in a letter to Carpenter in 1943. “A stimulating teacher,” she continued, Oliver’s “enthusiasm was contagious,” and she deeply influenced the University community and her students.⁴⁴⁹ In another letter, Mrs. H.L. Tanner of Lawrence remarked that Oliver was “alive to all movements for the betterment of humanity.”⁴⁵⁰ L.N. Flint, Professor of Journalism, and a student of Oliver’s in the mid-1890s, remembered her “kindliness and sincerity,” and “beauty of diction.”⁴⁵¹ E.F. Engel recalled that Oliver “was a prism through which the white light of knowledge and wisdom was broken up into the rainbow colors of the varied interests of her classes.”⁴⁵² Fred Ellsworth, in a statement of particular

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ “Letter from Sydney Prentice to Hannah Oliver, March 21st, 1937,” Personal Papers of Hannah Oliver, University Archives, PP 85, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁴⁴⁹ “Letter from Mary M. Swelser to Pearl I. Carpenter, February 11, 1943,” Personal Papers of Hannah Oliver, University Archives, PP 85, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁴⁵⁰ “Letter from H.L. Tanner,” Personal Papers of Hannah Oliver, University Archives, PP 85, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁴⁵¹ “Letter from L.N. Flint to Delta Kappa Gamma, Liberty Memorial High School, Lawrence, Kansas, February 8, 1943,” Personal Papers of Hannah Oliver, University Archives, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁴⁵² “Letter from E.F. Engel,” Personal Papers of Hannah Oliver, University Archives, PP 85, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

interest given the topic of this dissertation, said of Oliver, “this joyous soul will remain a part of Lawrence and the University as definitely as a building of great beauty or a book of rare inspiration.”⁴⁵³

With contagious energy and enthusiasm, sincerity and patience, Oliver delivered lessons that were not only inspirational but which left lasting impressions in the minds and hearts of her students and colleagues. Courageous and strong, possessing an enthusiasm and joy for life that made her alive to beauty and movement of all kinds, Oliver, kind, sincere, helpful, and charming was a rare inspiration to students and colleagues alike. As definite as a building, to use Fred Ellsworth’s words, Hannah Oliver was the strength of hope and healing across the Lawrence and University landscapes for almost 90 years.⁴⁵⁴

Oliver spoke at 9 of the first 10 Freshman Initiations in Memorial Stadium (1925-1933).⁴⁵⁵ Of her role at initiation, Elizabeth K. Lindley remarked that she [Oliver] had “participated in the services in such a gracious and adequate way that the service ha[d] never seemed quite as complete and inspiring since she no longer t[ook] part in” it.⁴⁵⁶ If, as E.F. Engel said, Oliver was a “prism through which her students saw the white light of knowledge and wisdom in rainbow color,” so too was she a refraction of Lawrence, her historical memory, personal characteristics and talents dispersing the “Historic City with a soul” into its spectral parts for students and colleagues.⁴⁵⁷ She and the speeches she gave in Memorial Stadium are

⁴⁵³ Ellsworth 1943. Hannah Oliver is currently not in the KU Women’s Hall of Fame.

⁴⁵⁴ “Hannah Oliver Bouyant Spirit,” Fred Ellsworth, February 15, 1943.

⁴⁵⁵ “Personal Papers of Hannah Oliver,” University Archives, PP 85.

⁴⁵⁶ “Letter from Elizabeth K. Lindley to Pearl Carpenter, March 9, 1943,” Personal Papers of Hannah Oliver, University Archives, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁴⁵⁷ “Letter from E.F. Engel,” Personal Papers of Hannah Oliver, University Archives, PP 85; Letter from Sydney Prentice to Hannah Oliver, March 21st, 1937,” Personal Papers of Hannah Oliver, University Archives, PP 85.

excellent sources for trying to better understand not only Lawrence and KU, but the communities' historical memories, thought processes, and values.

In 1943, Chancellor Malott wrote Pearl Carpenter recalling his first interaction with Oliver. "The wind was blowing a perfect gale and the thermometer was registering about 108 degrees," he started. "I made some adverse comments about the weather, but she [Oliver] would have none of it. 'I like this Kansas wind,' she exclaimed, 'there is such strength in it.' She even liked the muddy Kaw River," he remembered, "which at that time was filled with some sort of algae, which made the water taste almost unbearable. 'The brown river Kaw,'" she told to him, "'always reminds me of the richness of the Kansas' soil.'"⁴⁵⁸ For Oliver, the land is indivisible from the people, places, and history of Kansas.

In her 1930 Freshman Initiation speech, Oliver described the Kansas that she had come to as a child as "a beautiful land," a place of "wide, rolling prairies, covered with tall grass and masses of bright flowers, [that] rose in many parts into hills. Broad rivers with well-wooded banks flowed through the land all sparkling in glorious sunlight and vivified by the electric winds which bore life and healing on their wings."⁴⁵⁹ It is not coincidence that the descriptions of Oliver in the archival letters as strong, energetic, and life affirming were the very same words, phrases, and perceptions she had of the land. If it was strong and rich and healing, Hannah Oliver was a mirror of these qualities. For Oliver, the land was inextricable from Kansas (as a place), Kansas (as an idea), Kansas (as a people), and Kansas (as an education). The land,

⁴⁵⁸ "Letter from Deane W. Malott to Pearl I. Carpenter, February 10, 1943," Personal Papers of Hannah Oliver, University Archives, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁴⁵⁹ Hannah Oliver 1930 Freshman Initiation Speech, University Archives, PP 85, 2, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

Kansas, the ideal, Kansas, the pioneer, Kansas, and the University of Kansas were inseparable for her. And, for so many others across so many decades, she, Oliver, was the embodiment of this relationship, the personification of the university and Kansas.⁴⁶⁰

Oliver found magic and myth and legend in Kansas. The place casts spells on people, she believed, it did on her. In her 1925 speech, she wrote that “by one of her [nature’s] tricks of necromancy, memory dissolves this substantial fabric of stone and restores Robinson’s pasture with its wild growth of sumack and sunflowers and tall prairie grass, among which we hunted wild flowers and strawberries and heard the music of the bird songs.”⁴⁶¹ From the flowers, broad rivers and glorious sunlight, the garland of civilization rose, the University’s crown: “look around us and lift our eyes to the circling hills where stands the University, turret – crowned, like Cybele, mighty mother, teacher of the arts whereby men live, author of civilization.”⁴⁶² Cybele was both primal nature and author of civilization. In describing Kansas like Cybele, Oliver made the point that here was a place both wild and civilized, the University the crowned turret of civilization atop the wild, tall grasses and bright flowers in pasture.⁴⁶³ It recalls the juxtaposition of “civilized” and “savage,” so prevalent in the early descriptions and

⁴⁶⁰ See numerous letters including those from Malott, Lindley, Ellsworth, and Tanner in “Oliver H. Correspondence,” folder, Personal Papers of Hannah Oliver, University Archives, PP 85, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁴⁶¹ Hannah Oliver 1925 Freshman Initiation Speech, University Archives, PP 85, 1 (mimeograph copy), Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁴⁶² Hannah Oliver 1929 Freshman Initiation Speech, University Archives, PP 85, 4, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018. Edith Hamilton in her book *Mythology: Timeless Tales of Gods and Heroes*, first published in 1950, writes in the index, Cybele, was a “Phrygian goddess...the Romans called her the Great Mother, also Mater Turrita because her crown was a miniature city wall,” 326. Edith Hamilton, *Mythology: Timeless Tales of Gods and Heroes* (New York: Meridian, 1989).

⁴⁶³ Writing about professor John Fraser (1926) “on bright evenings,” he would mount “a moveable telescope...outside the northeast corner of north college through which,” Oliver and her peers “were shown the moon and stars and the planets with their satellites,” Fraser “with his rod trac[ing] for [them] the constellations” (Hannah Oliver 1926 Freshman Initiation Speech, University Archives, 10). Oliver knows the position of the university along the arc of western civilization.

feelings of football that were discussed in chapter 3.⁴⁶⁴ It is another clue as to why football took hold in Lawrence, perhaps because the game was like the land, wild and tamed at the same time. This is even more provocative considering the place of Haskell and Haskell Memorial Stadium in the city.

If Oliver was philosopher and naturalist, so too was she historian. “The settler’s life was one of hardships and dangers,” she wrote in her 1930 speech, “hostile men and harsh conditions put to the test their valiant souls.” Lawrencians “suffered frequent attacks from pro-slavery outlaws from over the border, burnings and murder.”⁴⁶⁵ She recounted the tragedies of the antebellum and Civil War periods: “on May 21, 1856 Lawrence was sacked and its principal buildings burned. In 1860 the drought would have caused famine but for outside relief, in 1861 came the Civil War, culminating for Lawrence in the awful massacre of Quantrill’s Raid on August 21, 1863,” an event Oliver witnessed.⁴⁶⁶ Kansans, though used to the “privations of pioneers and life itself...often in danger,” had always “set their faces steadfastly to build here a great and free state.”⁴⁶⁷

Lawrence had the strength of the Kansas wind. Even “after all the losses of Border Warfare,” the state gave “to the Union Army...a larger percentage of soldiers than any other state,” Oliver claimed, losing “on the battlefields...a larger percentage of men.”⁴⁶⁸ The importance of Kansas’ and its pioneers in the cause of country is clear for Oliver, “those heroic

⁴⁶⁴ See chapter 3.

⁴⁶⁵ Hannah Oliver 1930 Freshman Initiation Speech, 3.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid; see also “Hannah Oliver, Bouyant Spirit,” letter from Fred Ellsworth to Pearl Carpenter, Chairman of Delta Kappa Gamma, February 15, 1943, for description of Oliver’s early life in Lawrence.

⁴⁶⁷ Hannah Oliver 1925 Freshman Initiation Speech, 2 (mimeograph copy).

⁴⁶⁸ Hannah Oliver 1927 Freshman Initiation Speech, Personal Papers of Hannah Oliver, University Archives, PP 85 6, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kanas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

men and women...when the Civil War ended they came-off more than conquerors, not only having kept slavery out of Kansas but having also led the way to the freeing of every slave throughout the nation."⁴⁶⁹ Kansans, Oliver believed, led the way in a national, moral reckoning, Civil War casualties proved this. This helps establish an historical precedent that provides further context for understanding Kansas' commitment to the World War I effort. Most strikingly though, this heritage and memory is at odds with the presence of the Klan in Lawrence. There was more than one ideological current speaking in the stadium, it seems.

The Civil War was part of what set Lawrence and the university apart from other places. Perhaps like no other city in America, Lawrence had been founded for political purposes in the cause for racial justice. "It was not for gold or land, nor was it in a spirit of adventure, that the pioneers came to Kansas," Oliver wrote in 1927. "The principle of human freedom, of the worth and dignity of individual man, was the lodestar that led those great souls to Kansas."⁴⁷⁰ In 1930, Oliver wrote that they had "left their homes and come into the wilderness, not because of religious persecution or political oppression, but drawn here by their love of justice and by a godlike compassion for fellow men weighted down into the dust by slavery's heavy chains."⁴⁷¹ "No other university in the country," Oliver claimed, "was built on a site so rich in historic associations so no other state was settled with men of so high a purpose as Kansas."⁴⁷² Again, in 1927, she proclaimed this unique value. "Perhaps it [was] true, as many [had] said, that in beauty of setting our University [was] supreme. However that may be," she thought "in one

⁴⁶⁹ Hannah Oliver 1930 Freshman Initiation Speech, 3.

⁴⁷⁰ Hannah Oliver 1927 Freshman Initiation Speech, 4.

⁴⁷¹ Hannah Oliver 1930 Freshman Initiation Speech, 2.

⁴⁷² Ibid.

respect” KU could “claim...supremacy: no other university stands on such nobly historic grounds as ours.”⁴⁷³ The founders’ loved “justice” and their “godlike compassion” for fellow humans, their historical purpose, made KU not only unique, but “supreme.”

For Oliver, Kansas was rolling prairies, tall grasses, bright flowers, broad rivers, glorious sunlight, electric winds, hardship, perseverance, godlike political purpose, and education. In 1929, on the 75th anniversary of the founding of the State, she told the crowd at Freshman Initiation, that in “Kansas along with the idea of the state and the city was born the idea of a...university, where a race worthy of liberty might be reared to the perfect form of man.”⁴⁷⁴ In 1930, speaking of the founders of the State, she claimed “their first care was to establish schools and from the first legislature...a state university.”⁴⁷⁵

Education as a central component of the Kansas’ identity was something Oliver focused on in several speeches. “They knew that without education no people could be great or free and their purpose from the first was to build a complete system of schools from the primary grade to the University,” Oliver wrote in 1925.⁴⁷⁶ Education was not only tied to, but was the political purpose of the state and city. The founders “laid deep the foundations of law and civic welfare and education,” she stated in 1927.⁴⁷⁷ Oliver proclaimed across her speeches that Lawrence in particular was committed to education as a foundational idea. “Lawrence desired above all institutions, above the capital itself, to have the university” she wrote in 1926.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷³ Hannah Oliver 1927 Freshman Initiation Speech, 3.

⁴⁷⁴ Hannah Oliver 1929 Freshman Initiation Speech, 3.

⁴⁷⁵ Hannah Oliver 1930 Freshman Initiation Speech, 3.

⁴⁷⁶ Hannah Oliver 1925 Freshman Initiation Speech, 2.

⁴⁷⁷ Hannah Oliver 1927 Freshman Initiation Speech, 5.

⁴⁷⁸ Hannah Oliver 1926 Freshman Initiation Speech, Personal Papers of Hannah Oliver, University Archives, PP 85, 4, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

Perhaps most remarkably, given historical circumstances, it was the citizens of Lawrence who secured the University for Lawrence by raising \$5,000 only 3 months after Quantrill's raid. The civic, abolitionist undertakings of the first Lawrencians in the face of border danger shaped Oliver's perception of the value of education to place.⁴⁷⁹ Lawrence was a political and educational idea that people went to war for, she said in the stadium, time and again.

Students were invited to join and pledge their allegiance to KU. There was "no break in the continuity of the purpose and spirit of the University. She still lead the young and the old on the quest for goodness, truth, and beauty, the three great luminaries of life," Oliver told initiates in 1926.⁴⁸⁰ Students should recognize and celebrate "all her heroic history," she said.⁴⁸¹ The year prior (1925), she had remembered "the students of that early day...in their youth and hope and joy."⁴⁸² In 1928, Oliver called on "the spirit – of those who [had] administered and taught and learned in the University," who were "in a sense," what was "vital and consciously felt by...all, the spirit of the University."⁴⁸³ This imagining of historical continuity was invoked, as at a séance, in 1929, "we welcome this night into the ranks of the innumerable host of those who are and those who have been and those who shall be students of the University of Kansas," she called.⁴⁸⁴

The challenges and rewards of allegiance to the university, based on the expectations of its historical profile, were essential to the value of the education in Oliver's estimation. The

⁴⁷⁹ Hannah Oliver 1925 Freshman Initiation Speech, 3.

⁴⁸⁰ Hannah Oliver 1926 Freshman Initiation Speech, 15.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid, 16.

⁴⁸² Hannah Oliver 1925 Freshman Initiation Speech, 5.

⁴⁸³ Hannah Oliver 1928 Freshman Initiation Speech, Personal Papers of Hannah Oliver, University Archives, PP 85, 12, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁴⁸⁴ Hannah Oliver 1929 Freshman Initiation Speech, 1.

commitment was forever, the benefits almost unbelievable. In 1925, she pleaded with the students to understand this; “I wish that words of mine could lead you to a fuller appreciation of this great and dear Alma Mater, lifelong allegiance to whom you are here tonight to pledge,” she wrote.⁴⁸⁵ Oliver continued, the “entrance into the University, symbolized and consummated by this initiation, ranks among the few great decisive events that will befall you in all the years of your life.” The “question” was “whether any other move” the students would “ever make [would] so affect the whole course and character of [their] life as [their] coming to this place of discipline and study.”⁴⁸⁶ Among the benefits, Oliver told initiates in 1926, the “friendships...were to be life-long.”⁴⁸⁷ The relationship required allegiance, though. Students “must accept the obligations which” their “inheritance entail[ed],” she told the freshman as early as 1925. “The obligation of loyalty of service and of being true to the great tradition of our University, and of keeping faith with its founders and builders,” was paramount.⁴⁸⁸ Within this context, it is difficult to understand the university’s sponsorship of the Ku Ku Klan. The university had seemingly disavowed its historic obligation.

Oliver had known “the University when it and Kansas and the people were all young together.”⁴⁸⁹ Youth served as a metaphorical bridge from the university’s past to the stadium present, to the freshman initiates. “The people who settled Kansas were young, dauntless, self-reliant,” she wrote in 1925.⁴⁹⁰ Of the dedication of North College on September 12, 1866, she remembered that, “pioneers in numbers, pioneers still young on life’s prime, attended the

⁴⁸⁵ Hannah Oliver 1925 Freshman Initiation Speech, 1.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 5.

⁴⁸⁷ Hannah Oliver 1926 Freshman Initiation Speech, 12.

⁴⁸⁸ Hannah Oliver 1925 Freshman Initiation Speech, 5.

⁴⁸⁹ Hannah Oliver 1925 Freshman Initiation Speech, 1.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 2.

dedicatory service.”⁴⁹¹ Kansans, “taking their life in their hands they came, young, high-hearted, unconquerable.”⁴⁹² Oliver repeatedly drew upon the spirit of youth to connect the young initiates to the scenes of the revered past. It was meant to be inspiring, obligatory, intentional, and poignant in the post-war given the tragedy of youthful sacrifice it had wrought. The spirit of pioneering discovery, sometimes difficult and painful, was the spirit of youth and education, the spirit of KU.

The “dangers and alarms in which their childhood had been passed,” Oliver wrote in 1928, had caused the youthful pioneers to become “serious and thoughtful beyond their years.”⁴⁹³ This was why they esteemed education. In 1930, Oliver described the excitement and draw of a pioneering college like KU, as both new and old. “The high possibilities of a new school in a new country with new principles and ideals,” she wrote, “and of youthful scholars whose hearts were reverently expectant of the wonderful knowledge that the University education was to unfold to them.”⁴⁹⁴ Education was revered, the university, its principles and values, historic, the school was alive and vital with youth, endemic in Oliver’s memory and in the native flowers and grasses, the broad river, the land, and the stadium, too.

The University’s identities, according to Oliver, were indivisible from the land, the richness of the soil, the strength of the wind. The school, like Lawrence, was civilization in the wild. Its purposes assailed and attacked, but perseverance and godlike virtue, especially as concerns racial justice, were immortal. Education in the state, the building of the university

⁴⁹¹ Hannah Oliver 1926 Freshman Initiation Speech, 7.

⁴⁹² Hannah Oliver 1927 Freshman Initiation Speech, 4.

⁴⁹³ Hannah Oliver 1928 Freshman Initiation Speech, 6.

⁴⁹⁴ Hannah Oliver 1930 Freshman Initiation Speech, 9.

was not a result of victory of purpose, but a condition of it, a first principle of the pioneers, the distinguishing characteristic of the school's and community's identities. The thing that set the place apart. To be at KU was to be committed to its values born of inextinguishable youth, and communicated immutably in the history of the land, the city, the university, and the memory of those who had preceded the current generation; the memory of those that Oliver called to séance in Memorial Stadium in 1929.⁴⁹⁵

Oliver reinforced the image of the university as a Memorial in her 1928 speech. Quoting Amos A. Lawrence, the namesake of the city, she wrote, "you shall have a college which shall be a school of learning and at the same time a monument to perpetuate the memory of those martyrs of liberty who fell during the recent struggles," during the Civil War.⁴⁹⁶ Again quoting Lawrence, "beneath it their bones shall rest," she said. In the university "shall burn the lights of liberty which shall never be extinguished until it illumines the whole continent. It shall be called the free-state college and all the friends of liberty shall be invited to lend a helping hand."⁴⁹⁷ Education was a first principle of Kansas' pioneers, an original goal of settlement, according to Oliver's speeches. The university, from its founding, was to be, as Oliver stated in 1929, a place "where a race," perhaps referencing both white and black, "worthy of liberty might be reared to the perfect form of man."⁴⁹⁸ It was also a memorial to those who gave their lives in this cause. The University of Kansas was the "free-state college," its first building was named North College.

⁴⁹⁵ Hannah Oliver 1929 Freshman Initiation Speech, 1.

⁴⁹⁶ Hannah Oliver 1928 Freshman Initiation Speech, 3.

⁴⁹⁷ Hannah Oliver 1929 Freshman Initiation Speech, 6-7.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 3.

The University by the time of Oliver's speeches was a memorial to not only the pioneers and soldiers of the Civil War, but also the World War I dead, and the early administrators and faculty who had carried on the original spirit of state and institution. "Honor and praise are theirs forever," Oliver wrote in 1929. "In reverence and gratitude we acknowledge all that we owe them."⁴⁹⁹ In 1928, "we honor in grateful memory all those men who caught the vision [splendid] of our founders and builders."⁵⁰⁰ We "pay our tribute of gratitude and praise to the long line of their successors who as administrators and teachers have inherited their spirit and advanced what they began."⁵⁰¹ Professors Robinson and Snow were consistently cited as particularly important. "Professor Robinson and Professor Snow spent all their days here and built their lives into the University," she stated in 1930.⁵⁰² Because the university had always been a memorial, it was appropriate that Oliver gave her initiation speeches in the stadium. "Again we meet in this stadium dedicated to the memory of our soldier dead," she said in 1927, "to receive with ceremonial observances into the ranks of the University this latest levy of youth."⁵⁰³

Commencement (1924 – 1939): Edwin E. Slosson "Dealing in Futures" (1924)⁵⁰⁴

In his 1924 commencement speech, "Dealing in Futures," Ed Slosson encouraged the graduates of the University of Kansas to focus on the future. "Our eyes are providentially set in the front of us," he wrote, "so that we can see where we are going." College courses were

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid, 2.

⁵⁰⁰ Hannah Oliver 1928 Freshman Initiation Speech, 11.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² Hannah Oliver 1930 Freshman Initiation Speech, 7.

⁵⁰³ Hannah Oliver 1927 Freshman Initiation Speech, 1.

⁵⁰⁴ Edwin E. Slosson, "Dealing in Futures," Commencement Address at University of Kansas, June 10, 1924," *Graduate Magazine, of the University of Kansas*, vol. XXII, no. 9, June 1924, 3-8, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

“designed” for this purpose, “to give a telescopic extension to our natural sight so that we can look further forward than others.” If they could only see it, the graduates would know that their, “own biographies” will “be more interesting...than the biography of the greatest man who ever lived.”⁵⁰⁵ The future will “be made by us,” he extolled, “history” only to be used “like a chauffer’s mirror, set so as to show only the road behind but with a view to telling what is coming.” At Kansas, the graduates had “been taught how to project a curve from the past into the future;” it was “the only legitimate business,” Slosson said, and it was written into the Kansas motto.⁵⁰⁶

Ad Astra Per Aspera, “to the stars through difficulties,” is the Kansas state motto. Slosson used it to make the point that Kansas was a place that looked and lead to other places and was, therefore, to its credit, a future oriented state. The stars (Astra) on the seal were “used to steer by,” “pilot points,” he said, representative of a defining spirit of place.⁵⁰⁷ The covered wagons that crossed the plains were “pulled by oxen,” hitched to our nearest star, the sun, they “embodied” it “in the grass and grain eaten by the oxen that provide[d] them with all their power.” Solar energy was not only in the oxen pulled wagons, it was also in “the steamboat on the river...propelled by the sunshine that fell upon the earth away back in the carboniferous era when the coal beds were made up.”⁵⁰⁸ This is an insightful and complex point. Slosson knew that the light people saw from stars was literally the light of the past. In the state motto and on the state seal, our star, the sun propels us forward, pulling us west into the

⁵⁰⁵ Slosson, “Dealing in Futures,” *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, 3.

⁵⁰⁶ Slosson, “Dealing in Futures,” *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, 4.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁸ Slosson, “Dealing in Futures,” *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, 5.

future; the road behind, the coal, the light of the sun like a rear-view mirror foretold and foretells what was and is coming in Kansas and for America.

The seal, onto which the motto was written, “correctly expresse[d] the spirit of Kansas, historically, symbolically, realistically.”⁵⁰⁹ It had “no mythology. No unicorn nor double-headed eagle,” and though the motto may have been “in a dead language [Latin]...for the benefit of those who [had] not had the advantage of a college education it [was] interpreted in picture writing.” The “difficulties...apparent: the plowing, the plains, the weeds, the Indians, the grasshoppers,” but so too the solar wealth.

As Oliver would do in her Freshman Initiation speeches, Slosson conjured memory and history as magic for the needs of his storytelling present. “You cannot read the inscription on the canvas of the covered wagon in the Great Seal,” Slosson told the graduates, “but I have keener eyes than you. I see it as I saw it on the prairie schooners that streamed through Nemaha County when I was a boy.” A powerful image suggesting “civilization” against “savage” resistance and influence. He called this past into the stadium present, “each wagon” bore “the motto of the state, AD ASTRA PER ASPERA,” he remembered. “Not the Latin but its translation into the vernacular: ‘Pike’s Peak or Bust,’ which if I know any Latin, means much the same thing.”⁵¹⁰ Slosson and Oliver used the stadium stage to remember and conjure the past. It was a cauldron of history and memory making.

Slosson’s point was “power is wealth,” and the “United States, which use[d] more power per capita than any other country, [was] the richest country in the world.”⁵¹¹ In Kansas,

⁵⁰⁹ Slosson, “Dealing in Futures,” *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, 4.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

he saw great potential, with “at least two sources of energy capable of making” them, he told the graduates, the Kansans, “the richest people the world [had] ever seen,” “the sun and the wind.”⁵¹² Kansas could be powerful and rich because “kinetic energy,” wind, “sweeps almost continuously over your state,” he claimed, and “like Danae,” Kansas was “endowed with a daily shower of gold from above.”⁵¹³ These, the sun and wind, were answers to the energy crisis that would come in the graduates’ lifetimes. A “scarcity of gas and oil is likely,” Slosson warned making “the most pressing problem...photosynthesis – the study of how the plant by the aid of the sun, wind, and rain is able to replace the carbon compounds that we continually consume as food and fuel.”⁵¹⁴ This was, “in short, the mystery of the Burning Bush,” and Slosson encouraged the graduates to turn their curiosity and attention to how they could, like plants, capture the wind and sun, so plentiful in Kansas, to solve the food and fuel needs of the future.

A number of things are important here, first, Slosson’s message may have been surprising or radical given the country’s shift towards oil and gas production as a result of the war and Kansas’ strategic importance in American defense and political strategies. Brian C. Black of Pennsylvania State finds that “when the war was over, the developed world,” let alone Kansas, “had little doubt that a nation’s future standing in the world was predicated on access to oil.”⁵¹⁵ Slosson envisioned a future of oil scarcity and his prediction was accurate. The 1970s

⁵¹² Slosson, “Dealing in Futures,” *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, 6.

⁵¹³ Ibid.

⁵¹⁴ Slosson, “Dealing in Futures,” *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, 7.

⁵¹⁵ Brian C. Black, “How World War I Ushered In The Century of Oil,” *The Observer*, April 4, 2017.

<https://observer.com/2017/04/world-war-i-ushered-in-the-century-of-oil-global-economy-geopolitics-national-security/>.

oil crisis was within the 50-year window of his projection, and the renewables industry of wind and solar are prominent up and down today's Great Plains, including in Kansas.⁵¹⁶

The tone of Slosson's speech fit with the spirit of period, what in 1931 President Frank of Wisconsin during his commencement speech called the "phenomenal burst of economic optimism" that swept through America in the 1920s.⁵¹⁷ But, the speech also cannot be understood outside "the compelling logic of scarcity," one of four guiding principles of pre-Keynesian economic philosophy, or, as was discussed in chapter 2, the grasslands that lay at the heart of America's security strategies and identity.⁵¹⁸ As Malin wrote, the grasslands contained, "the nerve centers of the military communication systems that defend or strike on its behalf;" they occupied "one of the key geographical positions in the north circumpolar system of political power."⁵¹⁹ It was appropriate for Slosson to talk about energy, even of scarcity, because energy, particularly oil, was a key to the country's global future. The plains were key to America's "system of political power" and scarcity was a firmly held economic principle of the day.⁵²⁰

Mythology, even if the Seal had none of it, was an important part of Slosson's speech. He described Kansas like Danae, "endowed with a daily golden shower from above." Edith Hamilton's classic *Mythology* is useful in understanding the reference. Danae "was beautiful above all other women of the land." Her father, Acrisius, fated by the Oracle of Delphi to be

⁵¹⁶ Slosson, "Dealing in Futures," *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, 3.

⁵¹⁷ Glen Frank, "The Crisis of the Western Spirit," *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, vol. XXIX, no. 9, June 1931, 8, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁵¹⁸ Robert Skidelsky, *Keynes: The Return of the Master* (New York: Public Affairs, 2010), 76.

⁵¹⁹ James Malin, *History and Ecology: Studies of the Grassland*, 18. See chapter 1, p. 40.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*

murdered by her son, tried to hide her in a house of bronze “sunk underground, but with part of the roof open to the sky so that light and air could come through.” As sunlight, a “shower of gold” in Hamilton’s description, Zeus entered the chamber and impregnated Danae, who bore a son, the hero Perseus who will use the “mirror of [a] bright shield” to sneak up on and kill Medusa.⁵²¹

Perseus did not use the shield as a mirror to return the gorgon’s gaze, as is often portrayed, but as Slosson surely knew, like a chauffeur’s mirror to see what was behind him in order to know what was coming. He used the shield to gauge his strike; “with a single sweep of his sword he cut through her neck and, his eyes still fixed on the shield with never a glance at her.”⁵²² It was also likely that Slosson knew the prophecy was fulfilled, Perseus would kill Acrisius during a “great athletic contest” with an errant discuss throw.⁵²³ The myth encapsulated Slosson’s main message, use the past, like a chauffeur’s mirror, like Perseus’ shield, not only to see and predict what was coming, but to strike.

This was a message that resonated with the ideals and strategies of football and business preparation, curricular components that institutions of higher education like Kansas promised. In the end, Slosson’s language signaled with Social Darwinist implications. “Wind was the first mechanical motive power that man learned to use,” he stated.⁵²⁴ It had “probably” been “discovered by some savage of a long gone age who made a sail of his blanket and a mast of himself.”⁵²⁵ The students were not savages, they were part of an advanced civilization on

⁵²¹ Edith Hamilton, *Mythology: Timeless Tales of Gods and Heroes*, 146.

⁵²² Ibid.

⁵²³ Ibid.

⁵²⁴ Slosson, “Dealing in Futures,” *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, 7.

⁵²⁵ Ibid.

the move. "Our forefathers rolled over the plains like a Canada thistle" (tumbleweed), Slosson proclaimed.⁵²⁶ The goal was to develop a "superior civilization" by harnessing the sun's energy.⁵²⁷ To be more than the "Scythians," Egyptians, "savage[s]," and "Eskimos."⁵²⁸

Dorothy Canfield Fisher "Education Begins at Home" (1928)

Dorothy Canfield Fisher began her 1928 Commencement speech, "Education Begins at Home," stating that in coming to Kansas she was "paying part of a debt long owed by" her "family to the University of Kansas."⁵²⁹ Not the debt her father had owed and paid, for his years of happiness in Lawrence, but a true "Commencement Day debt." Willis Gled '79, a person like "blood-kin" to Fisher's family, had delivered both her brother's Commencement Day address at the University of Nebraska in 1895 and her own at Oberlin College in 1899. Fisher praised the University of Kansas for fostering in Gled the subjects of his speeches, at Nebraska the "joy of the intellect" and at Oberlin the "beauty of the good life."⁵³⁰

She had no messages for the graduates other than those that Gled' had spoken to her, be "good and intelligent," she said. But, being good and intelligent like we used to be, like she was raised to be, would not work anymore. She used the war to illustrate her point. "To send out young men to modern poison-gas, machine-gun, trench-digging, tank-driving war with [the] same ideas Napoleon had about the actual details of being brave and enduring, is by no means to do the best for them as for your cause." She continued, was "it fair to them to let go out to

⁵²⁶ Slosson, "Dealing in Futures," *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, 4.

⁵²⁷ Slosson, "Dealing in Futures," *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, 5.

⁵²⁸ Slosson, "Dealing in Futures," *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, "Scythians" and Egyptians, 5, "savage," 7, "Eskimo," 8.

⁵²⁹ Dorothy Canfield Fisher, "Education Begins at Home," *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, vol. XXVI, no. 9, June 1928, 8, University Archives, The Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid*, 8.

the deadly, savage, to-a-finish, all-of-the-nation-in-it tragic warfare of today in the cheerful adventuring spirit suitable for the desultory fighting between cattle-lifting Highland clans.” Napoleonic conceptions of bravery, a Highlander’s cheerful adventuring spirit are madness against modern weaponry, she implored. Her purpose was to tell the graduates “something of” her “notions of what kind of intelligence and goodness” they were “going to need” in the future. This was not only a “personal matter,” it was “a matter of life and death for” our “country,” she exclaimed.⁵³¹

Several themes in the early part of Fisher’s speech echo important ideas discussed earlier. The experience of World War I that shaped modern memory and informed an urgent and decidedly different future critical to nation. The tragic irony of the war, the folly of sporting spirit, which we find expressed, later, in Fussell’s work.⁵³² The past as foreign and extinct, only useful as a projection or prognostication of the future, as Slosson emphasized; and Kansas as virtuous and educational, in the style of Oliver. Given the identities of football and the stadium, Fisher’s speech, not unlike Slosson’s, was radical, a challenge to the ideas that made the war and the building. Oliver had asked students to imagine themselves on the Kansas frontier fighting for justice, to be in their youth part of a historic and righteous past. Fisher asked students instead to remember the recent tragedy of youthful spirit in the war. These are not the same invocations, but they meet at a shared point, the intersection of youth and memory.

Fisher’s own graduation from Oberlin was at the end of the pioneer period. Her generation trained for “enduring and resisting in the face of material hardships,” because their

⁵³¹ Canfield Fisher, “Education Begins at Home,” *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, University Archives, 8.

⁵³² See chapter 1, p. 26-28. Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

parents had brought them up that way, but “nobody forearmed” them “with forewarnings about the dangers from the lack of material hardships.”⁵³³ Glenn Frank, President of the University of Wisconsin, who would deliver the 1930 Commencement address at KU, highlighted this point too, albeit after the start of the Great Depression. He wrote that Americans were living in the “septic heritage” of a “false tonic” of “economic optimism.” We are a nation of “Midases,” he proclaimed, “we turn everything to gold that we touch, and then starve in the presence of its glitter.” He concluded, “if the books were closed now, we should go down in history as a people strangled by its own success.”⁵³⁴ Returning to Fisher, “we ran head on into a thick fog and dead calm of prosperity and success and many possessions and physical safety and ever closer relations, through modern inventions, with everybody else.”⁵³⁵ These sentiments hint at the processes, effects, and perceptions of overcivilization that framed the changing identity of college in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁵³⁶

Fisher remembered her generation “simply” being “taken unawares” by the new world of plenty. “Our generation knew no more what to do with the leisure time offered us by the new organization of society than a Hottentot would know how to get the good out of a box of Beethoven’s Sonatas,” she stated.⁵³⁷ This statement introduced the concept of “leisure time,” some of which was filled with sports, especially football, as a social development caused by productivity and plenty. Thorsten Veblen famously wrote about leisure time and sports in his

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ Glenn Frank, “The Crisis of Western Spirit,” *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, 8, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁵³⁵ Canfield Fisher, “Education Begins at Home,” *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, University Archives, 8.

⁵³⁶ See chapter 2.

⁵³⁷ Canfield Fisher, “Education Begins at Home,” *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, University Archives, 8-9.

book *The Theory of the Leisure Class*.⁵³⁸ Fisher's statement is also interesting, because of the use of "Hottentot" in the example. This was a clear nod to Social Darwinist thinking. She linked the two, leisure and Hottentots, "what we have done with our leisure time is about as though the Hottentot had given the artist's materials to his wife to paint rings and streaks of her face, had used the surveyor's theodolite as a vaulting-pole, and lighted the fire with the Beethoven Sonatas."⁵³⁹ It was not only that Fisher was disparaging of the Hottentot, making assumptions about them, the Hottentot was a specific historical figure used to promote Social Darwinist ideas.

Saartjie Bartmann was the "Hottentot Venus."⁵⁴⁰ She had become globally famous as an object of racist fascination and biological conjecture in the early eighteenth century. The Venus "with buttocks of enormous size and with genitalia fabled to be equally disproportionate was part of a human menagerie," presented in both London and Paris.⁵⁴¹ Georges Cuvier, naturalist, "Aristotle of his age," proclaimed that he had "never seen a human head more like an ape than that of this woman."⁵⁴² Stephen Jay Gould's *The Mismeasure of Man* explains how the Hottentot was a symbol of empirical polygeny and racism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Samuel George Morton, "distinguished scientist and physician" of Philadelphia, whose lab was called the "American Golgotha" because he collected skulls and used them in experiment to promote the theory of polygenesis, the idea that different human

⁵³⁸ Thorsten Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973).

⁵³⁹ Canfield Fisher, "Education Begins at Home," *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, University Archives, 9.

⁵⁴⁰ Caroline Jenkins, "A Life Exposed," *The New York Times*, January 14, 2007.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/14/books/review/Elkins.t.html>.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

⁵⁴² Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, expanded edition (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), "Aristotle," 66, comment on "Hottentot Venus," 118.

racess had different evolutionary beginnings, classified the Hottentots, of all humans, “the nearest approximation to the lowest animals.”⁵⁴³ Gould recreated Morton’s experiments and concluded that he used “favorable inconsistencies and shifting criteria,” “subjectivity directed toward prior prejudice,” “procedural omissions,” and “miscalculations and convenient omissions,” to draw his conclusions.⁵⁴⁴

Like with Slosson, Social Darwinism informed Fisher’s speech. Slosson was a celebrated chemist, a national figure in science. His commencement speech, “Dealing in Futures (1924),” predicted the oil shortages of the 1970s and the possibilities of solar and wind energy on the plains. In brilliant metaphorical context he used a rear-view mirror and the myths of Danae and Perseus, and at several points in the speech invoked Social Darwinist imagery and language. Canfield Fisher, prolific children’s author, celebrated educator, credited with introducing the Montessori method of teaching into American schools, who used her speech to implore students to discard the tragic spirit of youth that had caused the death of so many in the war also used Social Darwinist language. To this point, her legacy has been, in recent years, tied to the eugenics movement.⁵⁴⁵ Football was not the only event in the stadium with Social Darwinist aspects after it opened. Famous scientists like Slosson and humanists like Fisher were invoking Social Darwinism, too. It was pervasive across both the university and athletics.

Fisher takes up the notion of “individualism” to make her point about the necessity addressing the attitudes and spirit that had caused the tragedy of the war. “The nation you live

⁵⁴³ Ibid, 88.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid, 89-92.

⁵⁴⁵ “Dorothy Canfield Fisher,” *kansapedia*, Kansas Historical Society. <https://www.kshs.org/kansapedia/dorothy-canfield-fisher/1765>; Molly Walsh, “Vermont Considers Dumping Dorothy Canfield Fisher over Ties to the Eugenics Movement,” *Seven Days*, June 21, 2017. <https://www.sevendaysvt.com/vermont/vermonters-are-rethinking-dorothy-canfield-fishers-legacy/Content?oid=6353534>.

in will be just like you, because there is not other material out of which it can be made," she said.⁵⁴⁶ "We shall have a pitiful nation indeed, a nation of childish barbarians masquerading in civilized clothes," unless we develop new capacities. Her fear was that the nation would become "puerile and shallow-minded." In her choice of words, especially "barbarians masquerading in civilized clothes," and given that she was in the stadium, it was as if, it is possible to imagine, she said football player.⁵⁴⁷ President Frank of Wisconsin made a similar point in his speech in 1931, calling "attempts to answer the challenge of communism.... puerile and pathetic."⁵⁴⁸ Fisher finished the point, we have "grown fat" on a national diet of "hard continuous work" sprinkled with the "sugar-candy of very light amusements."⁵⁴⁹

Her recommendation was to "make good music and poetry and literature as much an accepted part" of the students' "daily li[ves] as water in [their] bathrooms." She urged the graduates to be "free-hearted artist[s]" keeping their "impulses towards artistic self-expression" as part of the "growth in inner wealth of his own nature." In America, she opined, the impulse, the "instinctive protest" against the intellectual life was "almost visible in the air above" the graduates' "heads." In America we are taught, she said, "that to have a fur-coat if everyone else has is much more important than often to read great books whether anybody else does or not."⁵⁵⁰ Here she identified, as Slosson had done, the impulse of isomorphism that was pervasive in the country. The keeping up with the Joneses.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁶ Canfield Fisher, "Education Begins at Home," *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, University Archives, 9.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁸ Frank, "The Crisis of Western Spirit," *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, University Archives, 8.

⁵⁴⁹ Canfield Fisher, "Education Begins at Home," *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, University Archives, 9.

⁵⁵⁰ Canfield Fisher, "Education Begins at Home," *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, University Archives, 10.

⁵⁵¹ Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio, editors, *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

Her cohort was a “generation of horses’ drivers,” a people who had to “force” an “opponent against his will to do as you wanted” or “he might go ahead and do what he wanted.” Horse drivers “whip and yell angrily,” but the students in front of Fisher were a “generation of drivers of cars” and though some called the age of “machinery” “soul-less,” she found it “rather finer and more Christian” than hers. She identified another important aspect of the stadium, after Archbold, they were built for modern conveniences, especially cars.

This generation of the drivers of cars do not “kick,” or “scowl,” or “upbraid,” or “sulk,” or “whip,” or “yell” at a car that does not work, they do not “take a club to it,” but “mend what is wrong with it.” She wanted the graduates to turn this “quiet civilized mental attitude” that they “show towards...automobiles” towards the “old problem of human relationships.” The “tradition is that the older generation is always jealous of the younger” but that is not the case here, Fisher said. Her generation was “shaken to the heart by the great war.” They were “astonished” and “terrified” to find themselves “somehow suddenly collectively responsible not for the cheerful rather unimportant young country with which [they] started life but for the wealthiest and most influential nation on the globe.” To say that her generation felt “resentment or jealousy” of the “well-trained energetic, cool-headed and well-prepared reinforcements is madness.”⁵⁵²

James Bryant Conant “Puritan as a Friend of Learning” (1939)

At the end of the interwar period, in 1939, James Bryant Conant, President of Harvard University, gave his commencement speech at KU, “Puritan as a Friend of Learning.”⁵⁵³ He

⁵⁵² Canfield Fisher, “Education Begins at Home,” *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, University Archives, 11.

⁵⁵³ James B. Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard. Retrieved February 11, 2019, email correspondence.

began the speech acknowledging the relationship her perceived between KU and Harvard. “I accepted with alacrity the Chancellor’s invitation to address this gathering because of the historic link between Kansas and Massachusetts,” he wrote, because of his “deep feeling that the founding of Harvard in the 1630’s” and the founding of KU were “but two manifestations of an identical mood in closely related groups of adventurous, highly-individualistic, God-fearing men and women.” He expressed that Harvard and Kansas were but “two manifestations of the spirit which produced Puritanism; two events separated twenty-three decades in time and more than a thousand miles in space, but in spirit standing side by side.” To hammer home his point, he added, “fortified by this feeling of kinship, Mr. Chancellor, I therefore venture to present myself this evening not only as the official representative of another University bearing messages of congratulation, but as a close relative anxious to be admitted to a family gathering.”⁵⁵⁴

“We, Harvard and the University of Kansas, exist because the Puritan was a friend of learning,” Conant praised. “In both cases Protestant pioneers showed an extraordinary interest in higher education. Neither Indian wars in the seventeenth century nor civil wars in the nineteenth dampened their enthusiasm.” This excitement was not exclusive to Lawrence, but had taken root across the region. “Here on the plains eighteen universities and ten colleges were incorporated between 1855 and 1860 by a Territory with less than 100,000 inhabitants!” Conant exclaimed.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵⁴ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 2, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard.

⁵⁵⁵ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 3, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard.

Most “fortunately” had failed, but the “plans of the citizens of Lawrence were carried through with remarkable tenacity and courage,” which recalled points that Oliver had made in her initiation speeches. “To read the history of this city from 1856 to the opening of the University,” he believed, was “to read a nineteenth century version of the history of the Bay Colony from 1630 to 1680, with Quantrill’s raid and King Phillip’s Indian war giving a parallel note of horror in both stories.”⁵⁵⁶ The schools were “almost identical in spirit,” Conant finished.⁵⁵⁷ Interestingly, Conant identified the “parallel note[s] of horror” as shared and essential components of the histories and identities of Harvard and KU. The intersection of violence and higher education made the universities almost “identical in spirit.”⁵⁵⁸

Birth in fire was part of the reason that Puritans were friends of learning. Recalling Oliver’s claims about how Kansans and Lawrencians prioritized education above all else, Conant said, that “after God had carried” the Puritans “safe to New England,” they had initially “built” “houses,” then “provided necessaries for...livelihood,” “reared convenient places for God’s worship, and settled the Civil Government.” The “next thing” they “longed for, and looked after was to advance Learning and perpetuate it to posterity.”⁵⁵⁹ Conant’s claim puts Oliver’s speeches in historical context. After survival and worship, education was the most important thing for Puritans. Kansans’, according to Conant, were Puritans.

Puritans were champions of education and, historically, stewards of the best institutions. Oxford and Cambridge flourished under Puritan control (1643-1660) according to

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁷ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 4, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁹ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 4, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard.

Conant.⁵⁶⁰ This they had good method. They refused “to conform to the ceremonies and discipline of the established church,” and therefore developed a “deadly logic...impressive in its erudition and devastating in its arguments.”⁵⁶¹ They aimed for the “elimination of magic from the world which had begun with the old Hebrew prophets and in conjunction with Hellenistic thought, had repudiated all magical means to salvation as superstition and sin.”⁵⁶² Puritans were logical, reasoned, the best thinkers alive.

Puritans were also “conservative.” Conant believed “it [was] a mistake to think of” of them as “radicals.” They were particularly conservative “in matters of theological doctrine,” but, as he admitted, they were known as “reform[ers] of the church.”⁵⁶³ This is another interesting juxtaposition given the origins of college student life, the ways in which games were capable of regulating radical student behavior, as in the example of C.L.R James and cricket, and within the contexts of American Revolutionaries who appropriated Indigenous dress for actions like the Boston Tea Party so they could express themselves as civilized savages.⁵⁶⁴ Harvard, which had the first college football “stadium,” and KU, which had one of the first stadiums built after the war, were founded by conservative reformers, an identity evidence shows is particularly important to developments in American higher education.

⁵⁶⁰ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 5, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard.

⁵⁶¹ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 7, 8, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard.

⁵⁶² Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 6, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard.

⁵⁶³ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 7, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard.

⁵⁶⁴ CLR James, *Beyond A Boundary*, see chapter 1; for “civilized savages” see chapter 2.

Under Puritan rule, “Oxford and Cambridge not only flourished...they anticipated by many decades a new movement” of logic and reason “in the learned world.”⁵⁶⁵ Conant quoted Professor R.F. Jones of the University of Missouri, “modern scientific utilitarianism [was] the offspring Bacon begot upon Puritanism.”⁵⁶⁶ This was, Conant told the graduates, “the beginning of the modern spirit in the democratization of education.”⁵⁶⁷ The elimination of authority held by magic by the democratization of knowledge.⁵⁶⁸ This is interesting within the context of the “Put K.U. First loyalty movement” that would morph into the Memorial Campaign for building the stadium. According to *The Oread* (November 1919), the movement was “stimulat[ing] an intelligent and dynamic loyalty to the University of Kansas that will manifest itself in real college democracy.”⁵⁶⁹

College students who wanted to build the stadium were expressing Puritan heritage, a commitment to democracy that required space, as in JB Jackson’s example of the Greek agora.⁵⁷⁰ A place to gather, express, share, and learn; the stadium.⁵⁷¹ The university Athenian oath that students chanted at initiation, after the torch of learning was carried from North College to the cairn, takes on even deeper historical meaning from this vantage point. The oath was not only Greek and humanistic, it was Puritan and scientific. The students would not only

⁵⁶⁵ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 11, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard.

⁵⁶⁶ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 12, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard.

⁵⁶⁷ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 11, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard.

⁵⁶⁸ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 6, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard.

⁵⁶⁹ Frank E. Melvin, “The New Tradition,” *The Oread*, vol. 6, no. 1, November 1919, 1, Memorial Stadium, RG 0/22/53, University Archives, The Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

⁵⁷⁰ John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, 20. See chapter 1.

⁵⁷¹ *Ibid*; Edward Casey, *Getting Back Into Place*, 32. See also chapter 1.

“revere,” they would “obey” the “laws.” They would show “respect.” This was their “civic duty.”⁵⁷² These ideas emboldened the Klan and fueled its racist ideology. Students would revere football in the stadium, and they would show respect and obey the laws, most importantly the laws of whiteness: there would be no blackness; there would always be “redness.”

Borrowing from Max Weber, Conant told the graduates that Puritanism was the “advance guard” of the “Spirit of Capitalism.”⁵⁷³ He explained that “the importance of diligence in one’s calling” was to him the “hallmark of the spirit of Puritanism.”⁵⁷⁴ For seventeenth century “educated Puritan[s]...science was a new calling for a saint.” It “could assist the adventurous fellow Puritans of the market place,” and the “new calling had no dubious moral connotations. It was a severe and arduous undertaking with no associations with frivolity, debauchery and sin such as had the arts (particularly connected with the theatre).”⁵⁷⁵ This provides further context for understanding the value of sports in higher education. Football was like the real world, businesslike, rule driven, it celebrated individual brilliance, strategic and calculated movements, and was part of the identity of the whole school; football stood for all, in true democratic fashion.

⁵⁷² Unlabeled oath, presumably Freshman Initiation Oath, Traditions Scrapbooks and Records, SB 0/0/T, vol. 1, 26, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018. See chapter 3, p. 137.

⁵⁷³ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 14, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard; Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁵⁷⁴ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 15, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard.

⁵⁷⁵ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 16, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard.

Echoing Weber again, Conant proclaimed, “to some extent certainly seventeenth century Protestantism can be held responsible for launching the western world down the road which led to modern capitalism.”⁵⁷⁶ It may also possibly be said that football, given its origins in America, is a product of the forces of seventeenth century Protestantism, too. Many roads lead to this conclusion. If Protestantism, Puritanism particularly, shaped America and its institutions including colleges, white Anglo Saxon Protestantism shaped football and football stadiums. It links the worlds of business, higher education, whiteness, and football in the academy; they shared the same values, protestant, Puritan ethics.⁵⁷⁷

Conant described the characteristics of “those who fought as Cromwell’s Ironsides.” They were “tough minded” and relied on “self-reliant individualism,” the same qualities idolized in football players and soldiers. “Martial heroic” requirements in Pettegrew’s words. If you can grasp this, Conant stated, “you will understand my thesis...the universities in the last three centuries have been carried forward on the shoulders of the potential Puritans.” This is why he “ventured to connect so closely the founding of” KU, he told the graduates, “to that of” Harvard.”⁵⁷⁸ If he had used Slosson’s chauffer’s mirror, he might have seen and foretold, that the universities of the next century will be carried forward on the shoulder pads of the potential future Puritans.

⁵⁷⁶ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 17, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard.

⁵⁷⁷ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 14 -16, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard;

⁵⁷⁸ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 19, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard

The “Puritans in America,” in their brilliance, he concluded for the crowd, “were the products of a large-scale experiment in selective breeding.” He explained this in classic Social Darwinist structure, following the rules of natural selection. “If the first Puritan ancestors took their religious stand because of a special set of emotional reactions, then one may argue that the psychological and physiological conditions which determined these reactions would be perpetuated in large measure from generation to generation.”⁵⁷⁹ Puritans bread their values, passed them on to future generations.⁵⁸⁰ “Puritans were not so much a result of their religious beliefs as they were the result of their temperament (cast of mind, visceral reactions, psychological makeup, call it what you will),” Conant held. “They believed in Calvinism and all that went with it because Calvinism was adapted to them....Puritanism was transmitted to posterity less by the learned ministers than by the chromosomes.”⁵⁸¹

For Conant, on the eve of a second world war, “communism and fascism” had driven Puritans to ground, “their ideals lampooned, their vices given every prominence, their virtues neglected.” Using Slosson’s chauffer’s mirror this time, or more accurately, Perseus’ shield, Conant believed it was Puritanism’s time again. Looking back, he saw the Restoration of Charles II, an enemy of the Puritan, who, on his first return to “London” and “Whitehall,” as he drove through the “madly cheering crowds,” said, “‘Gad, it must have been my own fault that I have stayed away so long.’” Puritans like the King had stayed away too long.

⁵⁷⁹ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 20, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard

⁵⁸⁰ Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*. See chapter 2.

⁵⁸¹ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 21, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard.

He saw, in the end, that “some substitute for the vanished frontier [would] be contrived by the descendants of those innovators who transformed industrial life.”⁵⁸² Though he did not recognize it, he delivered his speech at the exact spot, at the substitute place for the vanished frontier. The football stadium recreated it, and in comfort and for viewership. A pastime for the world of leisure.⁵⁸³ Harvard, Conant’s school, in some ways, credited with the first football specific rules and the first stadium, created this. “The challenge of a democracy of opportunity” would, Conant “believe[d] once again take the place of a bewildered cry for security.” Of the Puritans, he saw “them continually moving forward,” like Slosson’s wagons pulled into the west by the sun, across the prairie, like the Social Darwinists’ assumption of progress in evolution. “Each new conquest,” would be “marked with a fresh monument to the power of the human mind,” he read out in the stadium.” He saw the “work advanced by each succeeding generation, ‘till the stock of the Puritans die.’”⁵⁸⁴

Conclusion

The most common theme thread through these events and speeches (1919 – 1939) in the stadium is Social Darwinism. It is explicit in the examples of the KU KU Klan and the Sachems, and it appears in the speeches of Slosson (“savage”), Fisher (“Hottentot”), and Conant (natural selection). The only person analyzed in the chapter that did not use Social Darwinist rhetoric was Oliver. What this shows is broad acceptance and use of the principles of Social Darwinism across intellectual and personal categories: students (Ku Kus), science faculty

⁵⁸² Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 24, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard.

⁵⁸³ Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. See also earlier discussion of Fisher.

⁵⁸⁴ Conant, “The Puritan as a Friend of Learning,” University of Kansas, June 12, 1939, 25, *Harvard University Archives*, Pusey Library – Harvard Yard.

(Slosson), public humanists (Fisher), and university administration (Conant). If Memorial Stadium was a building that spoke, it was offering expressions that implied a lot about race and not just during football games. If the question about how big-time college athletics and the university go together in America persists, Social Darwinism and racism would seem to be part of the answer, part of the glue.

It is difficult, in some ways, given the pervasiveness of racism on campus and in the stadium during the period, to take Oliver's speeches seriously. The presence of the university sponsored Klan alone makes a mockery her memories, sentiments, and advice for the initiates. With that said, her speeches best encapsulated the historic memory that Lawrence and the university held and continue to hold to this day. If effort is to be taken to address historic wrongs and ensure the community lives out its venerable heritage as a city, school, and state generationally committed to social justice, Oliver's speeches are inspiration. Kansas is a place where the land and people are strong, rich, and dedicated to freedom for all through education. Conant, in his overview of Puritanism and higher education, made this point about Kansas, too. Slosson praised the school for preparing future focused graduates, Fisher for the institutions commitment to humanity and the arts. When we consider that these speeches and events took place in Memorial Stadium, the university's identity comes into full view. Kansas offered traditional humanism, new science, "democratic" student organizations, and big time football all in the same place, the stadium.

Chapter 5: Living Memories of Memorial Stadium

This study has argued that sports and stadiums are historically and globally relevant and that games in stadiums are, borrowing from Chuck Stein, part of “vast cultural effort[s] to unify...diverse, geographical, political, and economic aspects” of civilizations and societies.⁵⁸⁵ Sports are particularly suited for the job, because they can, as in the example of football, potentially approximate war and inspire heroism in national contexts.⁵⁸⁶ Stadiums, uniquely designed for visibility and the promotion of collective consciousness and excitement, recalling the work of Elias Canetti, Edward Casey, and Ben Lerner, are stages that promote the mass consumption of ideas about subjects like masculinity, war, nation, and biology.⁵⁸⁷ Games in stadiums are particularly powerful for telling stories and communicating shared histories to large crowds. This purpose, however, as shown in the analysis of KU Freshman Initiation and graduation speeches, is not exclusive to games.⁵⁸⁸

The background for the mass emergence of college football stadiums is World War I, allied victory and national political maturation. The American war experience was unique. The country won the first modern technological global conflict, suffered only a fraction of the losses of other combatant states, and fought an ocean away from home. Football, a uniquely American and masculine sport, “pregnant” with racial anxieties, and part of the new college curriculum developed in the late nineteenth century to respond to the needs of a changing industrial workplace, became even more popular in the war’s wake.⁵⁸⁹ In its play and

⁵⁸⁵ Chuck Stein, *Persephone Unveiled: Seeing the Goddess & Freeing Your Soul*, 18. See chapter 1.

⁵⁸⁶ Pettegrew, *Brutes in Suits: Male Sensibility in America*, 130. See chapter 2.

⁵⁸⁷ See chapter 1; Elias Canetti, *Crowds and Power*; Edward Casey, *Getting Back Into Place*; Ben Lerner, *Angle of Yaw*.

⁵⁸⁸ See chapter 4.

⁵⁸⁹ Clark, *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood, 1890-1915*, 44.

production, the game told the history of English America from first contact with Native peoples through the experience of the recent war. Already extremely popular before the conflict, maybe as popular, given the revolution in print media, as anything had ever been in America, football became even more important after the hostilities ended.⁵⁹⁰ It was perhaps predictable, given the results of the war, football's popularity and identity prior to the war, especially its relationship to martial heroism, and the historic utility of mass games (globally), that college football stadiums would burgeon in the 1920s.⁵⁹¹

Chapters 3 and 4 described the origins of the University of Kansas' Memorial Stadium (1921), an early entry in the Stadium Movement following the war. These chapters showed how KU students, staff, faculty, administration, alumni, and the broader community marshaled, leveraged, and utilized resources, ideology, and relationships to plan and build Memorial Stadium on the campus in Lawrence. They also showed that the stadium project at KU was inherently political. The university needed the stadium to anchor a growing student body and alumni network to the needs of the university. The stadium was a physical space that served this function, acted like an anchor.

In it, the stadium, mass crowds could gather for football games (and track competitions) to see Jayhawks demonstrate superiority over other schools. This was a necessity in distinguishing one institution from another, in classic Social Darwinist language and imagery, in the competition for students, faculty, resources, and prestige.⁵⁹² It was also increasingly a

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid; Michael Oriard, *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle*; See chapter 2.

⁵⁹¹ See chapters 1 and 2; "martial heroism," Pettegrew, 130.

⁵⁹² For discussion of Natural Selection see chapter 2; Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man; Darwin's Revolution in Thought: An Illustrated Lecture by Stephen Jay Gould*, film, 1995.

necessity for colleges to have a stadium in order to be classed among the best schools in the country.⁵⁹³ The stadium was, therefore, a central source of pride for the university' community. Immediately upon its completion, KU's Memorial Stadium became not only a place where games were played, but a stage where the history of the state and university, especially the roles they played in westward expansion, the Civil War, and World War I, were told. This could be as a game (especially against Missouri), as an event (KU KU Klan pep performances or torch relay at Freshman Initiation), or in soliloquy (Hannah Oliver, Edwin Slosson, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, James Conant).⁵⁹⁴

The goal of the chapter is to discover how the stadium functioned as part of the political landscape of the university in a contemporary, post-World War II setting.⁵⁹⁵ To understand how the themes that informed stadium building were evident, continued, or discontinued after the Second World War. To accomplish this while also diversify the voices, sources, and methods of this project, nine interviews were conducted with people who have had experiences with KU's Memorial Stadium since World War II: Warren Corman, KU graduate and former university architect;⁵⁹⁶ Charlie Persinger, KU Director of Ceremonies and Special Events, including Traditions Night and Graduation;⁵⁹⁷ Curtis Marsh, KU graduate, former director of the DeBruce Center and KU Info, and currently with Endowment;⁵⁹⁸ David Johnston, KU graduate and Senior

⁵⁹³ Powell and DiMaggio, editors, *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*; see also chapter 3 discussion of stadium; *Kansas Stadium*, vol.1, no. 1., September, 1920, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

⁵⁹⁴ See chapter 4.

⁵⁹⁵ For discussion of stadiums as part of the political landscape see chapter 1; Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*, 12.

⁵⁹⁶ Warren Corman (KU graduate, former University Architect), interview by author, March 28, 2019.

⁵⁹⁷ Charlie Persinger (Director of University Ceremonies and Special Events), interview by author, March 14, 2019.

⁵⁹⁸ Curtis Marsh (KU graduate, former Director of the DeBruce Center, Endowment), interview by author, March 18, 2019.

Vice President of Marketing and Digital Media at the KU Alumni Association;⁵⁹⁹ Cuee Wright, KU graduate, current Career Center staff;⁶⁰⁰ Jim Carothers, KU English faculty (emeritus); both Wright and Carothers are former hosts of Traditions Night;⁶⁰¹ Adam Dubinsky, KU alum and data analyst in the College of Liberal Arts & Sciences;⁶⁰² Keon Stowers, KU graduate and former captain of the KU football team (2013-2014);⁶⁰³ and, Don “Red Dog” Gardner, long-time Lawrencean, university employee, and leader of the Dog Days community organization.⁶⁰⁴

Additionally, I had conversations with six additional participants: current KU employees, former students, and, in one case, with a long-time Lawrence resident who grew up down the street from the stadium. For these conversations, I made field notes, as in ethnographic fieldwork. These conversations occurred in a variety of circumstances, they started at a bar or while watching a parade. In one instance only did a participant disclose information that they explicitly asked not be associated with their name. During each conversation, I disclosed my purpose to the person with whom I was talking and gained verbal permission to use their stories as part of this project. None of the stories collected in this way stand alone, they are only used to corroborate and bolster points made by others, or to suggest future research.⁶⁰⁵

⁵⁹⁹ David Johnston (KU graduate, Senior Vice President Marketing and Digital Media at the KU Alumni Association), interview by author, February 28, 2019. Johnston is also former president of the K Club, the official university alumni association of KU athletes.

⁶⁰⁰ Cuee Wright (KU graduate, former Traditions Night host, formerly of Admissions, currently with Career Center), interview by author, March 7, 2019.

⁶⁰¹ Jim Carothers (Emeritus KU faculty, English, former host of Traditions Night), interview by author, March 22, 2019.

⁶⁰² Adam Dubinsky (KU graduate, data analyst, College of Liberal Arts & Sciences), interview by author, March 6, 2019.

⁶⁰³ Keon Stowers (KU graduate, former KU football captain, 2013-2014, formerly with Admissions, currently with Alumni Association), interview by author, March 4, 2019.

⁶⁰⁴ Don “Red Dog” Gardner (Director Dog Days, former and current university and Athletic Department employee), interview by author, March 11, 2019.

⁶⁰⁵ This project was approved by the University of Kansas’ Office of Human Research

The aim of this chapter is to understand how the stadium has shaped the memories of those who have worked, played, and observed in the stadium and to bring these living memories into conversation with the earlier, pre-war (WWII) work done in the first four chapters. The conceptual and theoretical presupposition is that stadium stories and stadium memories will show up in the interviews in two ways: explicitly, the stadium plays host to events that people attended; and, implicitly, various functions of the stadium will be implied in the interviewees' stories.

This part of the study is important, because the stadium continues to function as part of the political landscape of today's university. It remains the only building on campus that can hold the entire student body.⁶⁰⁶ Further, to understand how the past, especially as outlined in chapters 3 and 4, is manifested in the experiences of more recent years, this phase of the study is necessary. It may yield a more robust understanding of the ways that KU's Memorial Stadium continues to shape the social and political lives of university constituents, including students, faculty, staff, and the public. The chapter may also yield clues regarding the myriad complexities of the relationship between KU's Athletic Department, which operates the stadium, and the university, which also uses it. This speaks to the goals of this study, in part to demystify the relationship between college sports and university.

⁶⁰⁶ KU has over 19,000 undergraduates. "University of Kansas," *U.S. News & World Report*. <https://www.usnews.com/best-colleges/university-of-kansas-1948>. The second largest building on campus, Allen Fieldhouse, holds 16,300. Brian Mini, "Tracing the history of Allen Fieldhouse, one of the most historic venues in college basketball," *University Daily Kansan*, February 29, 2016. http://www.kansan.com/sports/tracing-the-history-of-allen-fieldhouse-one-of-the-most/article_9315d74c-dbed-11e5-b709-57febef66e79.html. David Booth Kansas Memorial Stadium; Memorial Stadium can hold just over 50,000, "How many people can fit in Memorial Stadium?" *KU Info*. <https://kuinfo.ku.edu/how-many-people-can-fit-memorial-stadium>.

Heeding Joseph A. Maxwell's warning that the "risk of trivializing your study by restricting your questions to what can be directly observed is usually more serious than the risk of drawing invalid conclusions," all interviews started from a single premise and question, "what are your experiences in Memorial Stadium at KU?"⁶⁰⁷ It was recognized that interview subjects had specific relationships to the stadium and held individual, social, and public identities that informed their experiences. The interviews, however, were structured so as not to lead interviewees to preordained topics and points of discussion. David Johnston, drawing on his experiences doing social research, reminded me that the interviewer does not know all that people have experienced and, therefore, is always at risk of not uncovering the whole story, because he/she does not know what to ask.⁶⁰⁸

Interviews were structured to give interviewees the broadest possible leeway to introduce topics they wanted to discuss. All interviews were completed in the sound booth in Budig Hall, University of Kansas, Room 110, with the exception of the interview with Corman, which was recorded on the author's phone and conducted, at the interviewee's request, at the Lied Center, University of Kansas. In some instances, prompting was necessary in order to get the conversation started, and follow-up questions to probe specific points and ideas were asked. Ideas from completed interviews did inform new interviews. This method resulted in

⁶⁰⁷ Joseph A. Maxwell, *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*, second edition, Applied Social Research Methods Series, vol. 42 (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005), 73.

⁶⁰⁸ Johnston (KU graduate, Senior Vice President Marketing and Digital Media at the KU Alumni Association), interview by author, February 28, 2019. This comment was made prior to the recorded portion of the interview, author notes.

some unanticipated revelations and stories, for example the stadium's use as residence hall and the central role it played in the film "The Day After" (1983).⁶⁰⁹

Stadium Memories (1946-2019)

Warren Corman (Architectural Engineering 50') entered KU in 1946 after graduating from Washburn Rural High School in Topeka and serving in the Seabees during World War II, including in the Battle of Okinawa (1945). After graduation, he helped build, among others places, both Ahearn Field House at Kansas State (1950) and Allen Field House at KU (1955). He later served as Kansas Board of Regents Director of Facilities for over thirty years. Beginning in 1997, at the request of former KU Chancellor Bob Hemenway, Corman became the University of Kansas' architect.⁶¹⁰

Though his father had taken him to Memorial Stadium to see Glenn Cunningham run in 1933 when he was only 7 years old, Corman says it was after he was hired at KU in 1997 when he "really got involved" with the stadium.⁶¹¹ My interview with Corman yielded several important stories about stadium renovations, and stadium and campus history. Renovations that Corman was involved with included repairing the original stands, replacing the press box, adding restrooms to the main concourse, and adding permanent stadium lights.⁶¹² Corman also lived in the stadium as an undergraduate (rooms had been built under the east stands after the war) and was part of the graduating class of 1950 that "changed 2 traditions" at KU. The class

⁶⁰⁹ Stadium as residence hall, Corman (KU graduate, former University Architect), interview by author, March 28, 2019; "The Day After," Johnston (KU graduate, Senior Vice President Marketing and Digital Media at the KU Alumni Association), interview by author, February 28, 2019.

⁶¹⁰ Corman (KU graduate, former University Architect), interview by author, March 28, 2019. "Warren Corman," *School of Engineering*, University of Kansas. <https://enr.ku.edu/warren-corman>.

⁶¹¹ Corman (KU graduate, former University Architect), interview by author, March 28, 2019.

⁶¹² "Memorial Stadium," Kansas Athletics. <https://kuathletics.com/facilities/memorial-stadium/>.

of 1950 eliminated freshmen beanies and started the Commencement walk through the Campanile. Corman's experience with the stadium and KU spans some 86 years.⁶¹³

When Corman returned from the war and enrolled at KU "there weren't any dorms or anything. The only dorm we had was '1926' for the girls."⁶¹⁴ To accommodate veterans and football players exclusively, the university hired a construction firm from Topeka to build rooms "under the east side real fast that summer." Corman recalled that, "it had space for about 200 guys. It was for the football team, but I knew 2 or 3 of the football players and they had some extra seats, so I got in there."⁶¹⁵ Don Gardner, longtime Lawrence resident remembered the space, too. You would "have to go through those wooden doors," on the east side, which he sometimes held open for his friends to sneak into the stadium, but these large wooden doors "they had a little door in them," like a "church door." This is how the residents entered the space. It was like "a hotel hallway, doors on this side and doors on this side" from the "KU dressing room" which at that time was at the southeast corner of the Stadium, all the way "to the curve." Gardner remembered the space as "dark and musty," "you would see rats," he said.⁶¹⁶

When Corman began serving as University architect in 1997, Memorial Stadium was in some disrepair, and often judged outdated and inefficient. Parts of the original stands were weakening, the bathrooms were insufficient, and the university was renting lights at a cost of "\$200,000" per game to host night games, nearly "half a million dollars" a season for the

⁶¹³ Ibid.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid.

⁶¹⁶ Gardner (Director Dog Days, former and current university and Athletic Department employee), interview by author, March 11, 2019.

service.⁶¹⁷ Addressing the Stadium's needs was an engineering and political process that was at times complicated and at others, seemingly straight-forward. An interesting juxtaposition that speaks to competing aspects of the stadium's identity that was evident throughout my interviews. At times, it seems, the perception of Memorial Stadium was local in orientation, colloquial in the sense that it was familiar, or informally used. At other times, its perception was considerably more complicated, formal, and, perhaps, bigger than the locality it represented, KU, Lawrence, and Kansas. Part of Corman's interview highlighted these competing ideas.

The erection of the permanent lights around the stadium, according to Corman, required footings that were "6 feet in diameter and 30 feet down," 12 or 14 anchor bolts, each about 14 feet long and with hooks on the end" that "were needed for every light pole, and 50 foot long tapered vertical pipes were trucked-in and erected using cranes.⁶¹⁸ It was a multifaceted engineering project, as was the replacement of the press box and the addition of restrooms on the main concourse. These developments were also politically intricate. In addition to the offices of the Athletic Director and Chancellor, the state's Board of Regents, contractors and sub-contractors, and the City were involved in approving, monitoring, and inspecting the planned construction. Disagreements, missed deadlines and budgets, and mistakes further complicated matters. An example was when the windows on the press box leaked "like a son-of-a-gun" during "the first good rain" after it was finished in 1999. The issue

⁶¹⁷ Corman (KU graduate, former University Architect), interview by author, March 28, 2019.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid.

eventually resulted in an impasse between KU and the contractors. The University sued both the contractor and sub-contractors for the work, eventually winning in court.⁶¹⁹

During other parts of Corman's interview, he spoke of instances that belie the complexities of the projects involved. For example, Corman shared that an engineering firm hired to examine the stands used only "a log chain" to find the weak parts of the concrete in the original bleachers. When the engineers rattled the chain on the stands, where the concrete had deteriorated, it would make a "hollow sound." What is interesting about this is how uncomplicated the concrete testing process was compared to the other complex engineering projects previously discussed.⁶²⁰

Several other stories Corman shared included this dichotomy between complex and straight-forward work in the stadium. Someone who Corman estimated was "70 years old" scaled all the light poles after installation, individually, to check on the 600-watt bulbs in the towers. Turner Construction floated "weather balloons" above the trees that at that time stood at the southwest corner of the stadium to show that the proposed space for the Anderson Family Football Complex would not affect the view of Campanile Hill. Another example of this type of building contradiction was what Corman called the "Big Flush."⁶²¹

Corman had helped design an entirely new sewer system at the stadium to address concerns the city had raised about the increased wastewater volume from renovated bathrooms.⁶²² They had become concerned that the stadium had the potential to flood the

⁶¹⁹ Ibid. Regina Cassell, "KU suing for leaky luxury skyboxes," *KU Sports.com*, August 14, 2004. http://www2.kusports.com/news/2004/aug/14/ku_suing_for/.

⁶²⁰ Ibid.

⁶²¹ Ibid.

⁶²² "Memorial Stadium," Kansas Athletics. <https://kuathletics.com/facilities/memorial-stadium/>.

neighborhoods north of the stadium “clear down to 6th street.” Corman indicated they were right to be concerned.⁶²³

In order to check the new sewer capacities in the stadium, Corman helped organize a “flush day.” For “flush day” someone was positioned “at ever lav, every shower, ever water closet, every water fountain, every toilet” in the Stadium. At the appointed time, a horn or even a “shotgun blast,” as Corman recalled, signaled the “Big Flush.” He and then Athletic Director Bob Frederick “were in the locker room,” Corman had “2 showers to turn on,” Frederick “had 2 urinals to turn on.” Hundreds of people were involved, and inspectors from the city gathered around an open pit outside the stadium to see if the system could hold and regulate the sewage flow so as not to overwhelm the “8 inch” pipes that carried (and still carry) waste from Memorial Stadium to the city sewage system. The “Big Flush” was successful, the city appeased accordingly, and a party with beer followed.⁶²⁴

The stories Corman told about the stadium were also sometimes humorous, almost sardonic, especially considering the relatively limited success and tortured history of KU football. The leaky press box was an illustrative example. The contractor that won the bid for the project was a former Missouri football player. The cabinetry for the suites, ordered from a manufacturer in St. Mary’s, Kansas, was delivered and hauled-up 6 stadium flights of stairs, because the “elevators weren’t working yet,” by Kansas State football players employed at the manufacturer.⁶²⁵ It is ironic, perhaps even scandalous, given KU’s athletic identity, that ex-Missouri and Kansas State football players, its biggest rivals, built the press box at Memorial

⁶²³ Corman (KU graduate, former University Architect), interview by author, March 28, 2019.

⁶²⁴ Ibid.

⁶²⁵ Ibid; KU lost to KState in 1997, 48-16, Memorial Stadium helped Kansas State train for that season.

Stadium. In the coup de grace, Athletic Director Bob Frederick and Corman discovered “on the day before the first game” after the press box was completed that the “drink tray” at the window in the Athletic Director’s suite was too short for Frederick, who was 6’6, to fit his legs under.⁶²⁶

Jim Carothers, professor emeritus of English and a former host of Traditions Night, also offered a series humorous stories about Memorial Stadium. Carothers arrived at KU in 1970, but he had already been in the Stadium the year before. His father-in-law had brought him over from Columbia, Missouri where Carothers was living and completing a PhD at the University of Missouri, for the Kansas Missouri football game that fall. It was a “great, big, huge” game, he said, remembering that Missouri won “69-21.” The game was memorable because, “as it is told,” at halftime, “Pepper Rodgers,” the Kansas coach, “gave Dan Divine,” the Missouri coach, “the peace sign....and Dan gave him half of it back.”⁶²⁷

Once at KU, Carothers joined the “football statistics crew in the press box” and did so “for 30 odd years,” working mostly on tracking “rushing yardage.” The statistics crew included a number of other faculty “about 9 of us all together,” Carothers recalled. He was in the press box the day that the referees had to take time out to call up to the statisticians because they had lost track of what down it was.⁶²⁸ He thinks it may have been the same season (1990) of the infamous 5th down play between Colorado and Missouri. In that game, Colorado was given an extra, 5th down and scored on it to beat Missouri in Columbia at Faurot Field. The mistake

⁶²⁶ Ibid; the contractor “got about 50 people involved and came in overnight” and fixed it before the game (Corman, March 28, 2019)

⁶²⁷ Carothers (Emeritus KU faculty, English, former host of Traditions Night), interview by author, March 22, 2019.

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

allowed Colorado to remain un-defeated. They would later go on to share the National Championship with Georgia Tech.⁶²⁹ Carothers' "favorite story," though, also from the "1990s," concerned the follies of a fan base starved for success.

KU had struggled to score the ball in recent seasons, but in one game "we really got to scoring the football," Carothers said, "and we were way ahead, it must have been 30 points, or so." As the game wound down to "maybe 6 or 7 minutes left... the students who had never had this opportunity decided they were going to tear down the goal post." So they did, but it was before the game was officially over. They "started to carry it off towards Potter Lake." This resulted in a KU penalty for "unsportsmanlike conduct, delay of game, and so forth." Carothers continued, KU "had to kick-off to the opposing team, practically from the 10." The opponent scored and because "there wasn't a goalpost for them to kick at...they [KU] got the same types of penalties" that they had gotten before, "unsportsmanlike conduct, delay of game, and so forth." The opponent scored again. KU held on and won the game, but the "funniest" part of the story was that "right after the first set of penalties, they," the students, realizing what had happened, "tried to bring the goalposts back from Potter."⁶³⁰

⁶²⁹ Thomas Neumann, "Five Things You Should Know on the 25th Anniversary of the Fifth Down Game," *ESPN*, October 6, 2015. https://www.espn.com/blog/ncfnation/post/_id/117195/five-things-you-should-know-on-the-25th-anniversary-of-the-fifth-down-game; Eric Hobbs, "Faurot Field Past and Present: A Unique History," *Bleacher Report*, August 3, 2009. <https://bleacherreport.com/articles/229795-a-unique-history-faurot-field-past-and-present>.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid.* Details for this particular game could not be located, but several instances of tearing down the goal posts at Memorial Stadium were noted; Keon Stowers also mentioned when students tore down the goalpost after KU defeated West Virginia in Memorial Stadium on November 16, 2013 (Stowers, personal interview, March 4, 2019); the author personally witnessed a field storming, but was not able to recall all the details; Allyssa Lee, "Kansas fans storm field, take down goalpost after stunning win over Texas," *Fox Sports*, December 9, 2016. <https://www.foxsports.com/college-football/story/kansas-jayhawks-fans-storm-field-take-down-goalpost-after-win-texas-longhorns-111916>.

From Corman's engineering' stories, we understand more about the stadium and its development, especially after 1997. The projects he worked on addressed safety issues (reinforcing concrete), sanitary concerns (bathrooms and sewer), innovation (lights), and commercial convenience (press box).⁶³¹ His stories offer insight into the resources and processes required to make the Stadium an operational space. They also share elements of the earlier discussion of Syracuse's Archbold stadium.⁶³² Engineering, construction, and maintenance are essential to stadium and its identities.

Corman and Carother's stories together underscore the importance of organizations and individual actors in the history of the stadium. The university, Athletic Department, Board of Regents, and various construction companies were vital to the stadium's maintenance and development, but so too were individuals including Corman, Carothers, Bob Frederick (Athletic Director), Chancellor Hemenway, the faculty statisticians in the press box, even the light technician who scaled the towers.⁶³³ Memorial Stadium is a product of social networks and individual actors that work in concert with and sometimes opposition to each other, not only to make the Stadium function, but to give it character.

The work of Edward Casey (chapter 1) shows how stories like those Corman and Carothers shared shape the identity of stadiums. The "ambience" of a building is a result of performances, productions, and events that take place there. These can be public like a game,

⁶³¹ Corman (KU graduate, former University Architect), interview by author, March 28, 2019. "Memorial Stadium," Kansas Athletics. <https://kuathletics.com/facilities/memorial-stadium/>.

⁶³² See chapter 2, pp 78-82.

⁶³³ Bob Frederick served as Athletic Director from 1987-2001, he was killed in a cycling accident in 2009; "University of Kansas mourns educator, former athletic director Bob Frederick," *KU New Release*, June 12, 2009. <http://archive.news.ku.edu/2009/june/12/frederick.shtml>; Robert Hemenway served as University Chancellor from 1995-2009, he passed away in 2015; "Remembering Chancellor Hemenway," Office of the Chancellor, University of Kansas. <https://chancellor.ku.edu/remembering-chancellor-hemenway>.

but there are many, less obvious stories that are part of what spectators see when they come to a game, but sometimes are not able to recognize. These hidden histories are no less a part of the ambience of a building than the games. “Within the ambience,” Casey wrote, “a landscape becomes articulate and begins to speak in emblematic ways.”⁶³⁴ The stories that Corman and Carothers shared, the stories that other interviewees in this project shared are emblematic of stadium history and suggestive of the broader ways it speaks to people.

This places the humorous stories that Corman and Carothers told in a different light. They serve as reminders that the Stadium can be an amusing place, but in their examples far too often this has been at the expense of KU and KU football, it seems. Humorous for some, but considering, for example attendance in the stadium for some games, especially in recent years, not for others.⁶³⁵ These stories, sardonic, ironic, pathetic even, cannot be divorced from KU, the stadium, or KU football history. Nor can the ingenuity, fortitude, and teamwork necessary to operate and maintain the facility.

Perhaps the aspect of Memorial Stadium interviewees most often discussed as unique, the part that differentiates it from other stadiums, is the way the open south end ties into Campanile Hill, the location of the Rock Chalk Cairn.⁶³⁶ This is not only the background for events in the Stadium, it is the site for one of the most revered and important traditions at the University, the graduation walk through the Campanile, down the hill, and into Memorial Stadium. A procession that KU Director of Ceremonies and Special Events Charlie Persinger

⁶³⁴ Casey, *Getting Back Into Place*, 32; see chapter 1.

⁶³⁵ Tom Keegan, “Kansas football crowds smallest in power five,” *KU Sports*, April 12, 2018. <http://www2.kusports.com/weblogs/keegan-lunch-break/2018/apr/12/kansas-football-crowds-smallest-of-all-i/>.

⁶³⁶ See chapter 4. See also primary source documents in “1933 Scrapbook,” *Traditions Scrapbook & Records*, University Archives, SB 0/0/T, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Retrieved fall 2018.

pointed out is “symbolic,” because it proceeds from Memorial Drive through the Campanile, a World War II Memorial, and into the stadium, a World War I Memorial.⁶³⁷

It is a tradition that Corman’s graduating class (1950), the first class of graduating World War II veterans, started. Corman remembered that the Campanile was not finished for graduation in May 1950, but “some of the guys asked, why don’t we just remove the scaffolding and walk through it, just for the hell of it?”⁶³⁸ Like soldiers, we might imagine and speculate, especially considering the Class of 1950’s war service, they did. This was the birth of University’s Commencement tradition and it adds to the symbolism of the event, because it is a ritual that not only honors veterans, veterans started it. More specifically, veterans who survived World War II marched through a monument to those Jayhawks who did not.

Commencement at the University of Kansas is a special event that unites alumni and new graduates, and Memorial Stadium plays a critical role in the performance. David Johnston, Vice President of Marketing and Digital Media at the KU Alumni Association (BSJ, Advertising 94’, M.S. Education Administration 05’), told me “most if not all” alumni, over 300,000 globally, “are going to associate the Stadium with the walk, and the Hill, and our Commencement exercises.”⁶³⁹ Curtis Marsh, (BA Journalism 92’ and MBA 99’), first Director of the DeBruce Center, long-time Director of KU Info, and currently Associate Director of Development at KU’s Endowment Association, shared a story about a Commencement consultant that demonstrates how unique KU’s Commencement tradition is. Marsh was part of a committee that met with a

⁶³⁷ Persinger (Director of University Ceremonies and Special Events), interview by author, March 14, 2019.

⁶³⁸ Corman (KU graduate, former University Architect), interview by author, March 28, 2019.

⁶³⁹ Johnston (KU graduate, Senior Vice President Marketing and Digital Media at the KU Alumni Association), interview by author, February 28, 2019.

consultant from the University of Texas at Austin concerning graduation. He remembered the consultant telling the committee, “you guys don’t even get it. You don’t understand how lucky you are to have a component of Commencement that no one wants to miss.”⁶⁴⁰

The Stadium, strategically positioned at the base of Campanile Hill, is where graduates process or walk to, as no other building on campus can hold the graduation crowd. “We don’t have to worry about tickets, as some universities do,” Persinger, who directs Commencement said, but if there is inclement weather, Commencement does not happen. It is, in effect, cancelled if there is rain. The last rainout was in 1981, and Persinger “still gets calls” from people in that class or others who “didn’t get a chance to walk down the Hill.”⁶⁴¹ They call and ask, “Can I walk down with my son, my daughter, my grandson?”⁶⁴² Every graduate of KU and employee of the University who was interviewed for this project recalled and discussed graduation on the Hill.

The Commencement tradition of walking through the Campanile is a solemn and sacred event, but it is also joyous, celebratory, and triumphant. One of Persinger’s favorite stories involves a “Distinguished Professor who served as a Marshal” at graduation telling him, “you got to remember one thing. The University of Kansas Commencement Ceremony is part ceremony and part carnival.” A “true celebration,” Persinger called it, before sharing a number of performative moments from past commencements. For example, when Tebowing was popular, taking a knee and bringing a closed fist to the forehead, resting the elbow on the bent

⁶⁴⁰ Marsh (KU graduate, former Director of the DeBruce Center, Endowment), interview by author, March 18, 2019.

⁶⁴¹ Persinger (Director of University Ceremonies and Special Events), interview by author, March 14, 2019.

⁶⁴² Ibid.

knee, like former Heisman Trophy winner and Denver Broncos' quarterback Tim Tebow, students would Tebow in the endzone.⁶⁴³ Persinger also recalled the rousing reaction of the crowd at one ceremony when the graduating members of the men's basketball team emerged from the Campanile.⁶⁴⁴

Cameras capture these Commencement moments and broadcast them live to the videoboard in the stadium. Starting in 2010, to increase the visibility of the procession, Persinger partnered with Rock Chalk Video, to position cameras at the Campanile exit and at the entrance to the stadium, in order to live broadcast to the stadium's videoboard.⁶⁴⁵ Guests who are in the stadium for the ceremony can see the graduates walk down the Hill and on the videoboard, a parallax. The videoboard plays a vital role at almost all stadium events including games, Commencement, and Traditions Night.⁶⁴⁶

In addition to Commencement, Persinger's work includes directing Traditions Night, a program that is part of Hawk Week, the University's welcome week for students who arrive on or return to campus in August, just prior to the start of the academic year. This is the modern iteration of Freshman Initiation, which was touched upon in the speeches, through the speeches of Hannah Oliver, in the previous chapter.⁶⁴⁷ For the past eleven years, Persinger thus has directed the "bookend" programs of a student's experience at KU, Traditions Night and Commencement, each, in some form, held in Memorial Stadium, unless it rains, since 1924. "It

⁶⁴³ "Tim Tebow prevails in trademarking 'Tebowing,'" wire report, *USA Today*, October 19, 2012. <https://www.usatoday.com/story/sports/nfl/2012/10/19/tim-tebow-trademarks-tebowing/1645333/>; at the time of this defense, Tebow played for the Mets' AAA affiliate in Syracuse, New York.

⁶⁴⁴ Persinger (Director of University Ceremonies and Special Events), interview by author, March 14, 2019.

⁶⁴⁵ Todd Cohen, "Videoboard a new Commencement Feature," *University Relations*, May 2, 2000. <http://archive.news.ku.edu/2000/00N/MayNews/May2/video.html>.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁷ See chapter 4.

is a unique experience to have those bookend events that we do at the University of Kansas, and, again, it's all part of that tradition. The Stadium is part of the tradition, of the beginning of an educational career and at the end," Persinger said.⁶⁴⁸

Persinger estimates "6,500-7,000" people sometimes attend Traditions Night. "Fun" is an important part of the event. In recent years, part of the fun of Traditions Night are stunts with the Chancellor. Jayhawk Motor Sports partnered with Persinger in 2015 to have it appear that Chancellor Gray-Little was driving a racecar around the track and in front of the crowd in the west stands. Chancellor Douglas Girod has participated in similar ways. In 2018, he came into the event on his Harley. The year prior (2017), he drove-in in his red MG, Jayhawks on the back.⁶⁴⁹

The design of Traditions Night helps students make the intangible and educational leap from high school to KU and from their first day on campus to their last, Commencement. "That is part of our plan," Persinger said. Participants have been "fans" but this, Traditions Night, is "actually a chance to get to do it," the chance to sing the "Rock Chalk Chant" and "Wave the Wheat," Persinger said; the chance to become Jayhawks. Though "there is not a test," he continued, the event teaches. "We kind of give them instruction," Persinger said. Collaboration between Athletics and the Chancellor's office also allows students to get on the field after Traditions Night to take photos. Students come out and "take pictures with the Big Jayhawk on the 50 yard line" and sometimes with "the cheer squad, the administration, and if everything

⁶⁴⁸ Persinger (Director of University Ceremonies and Special Events), interview by author, March 14, 2019.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid. "Traditions Night: Chancellor races into KU Traditions Night," published September 5, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EVql2y3fyQ0>.

goes right, we have several coaches on hand.” Traditions Night is part of a student’s first exposure to campus. It is designed to show students that they belong at KU.⁶⁵⁰

Cuee Wright is an interesting example of a person for whom Traditions Night played an important role in her KU journey. A two-time graduate of KU (BA Journalism, minor in African and African American History 15’, MS in Higher Education Administration 17’), Wright has also worked in admissions and currently works in career services. Wright’s first exposure to KU was through her great uncle, legendary Jayhawk and professional football player, Gale Sayers, the “Kansas Comet.” He was instrumental in recruiting her to come to KU from Chicago where she grew up, though KU was not originally on her list of colleges.⁶⁵¹ Though Wright long knew about the university through Sayers, her first glimpse of campus was not during a visit to Lawrence, it was in a college football video game her brother played. The game featured details from actual college teams and stadiums, and he played with the Jayhawks in Memorial Stadium. She not only saw the stadium, but also the hill and the Campanile, for the first time, in that video game.⁶⁵² Her first on-campus experience in the Stadium was “Traditions Night.” It helped her realize that “this is where” she “belong[ed].” The experience was transformative, because as “a city kid,” she felt “this place was so small, but also so big at the same time.” At Traditions Night, she saw the “campus skyline” and thought, “this is the most beautiful place on earth.” For her, it looked “exactly like the NCAA football” game her brother played. In those

⁶⁵⁰ Persinger (Director of University Ceremonies and Special Events), interview by author, March 14, 2019.

⁶⁵¹ Wright (KU graduate, former Traditions Night host, formerly of Admissions, currently with Career Center), interview by author, March 7, 2019; David Johnston told me during our interview that Jo Jo White is reported to have been convinced to come to KU when he saw Gale Sayers play in Memorial Stadium (interview with author, February 28, 2019).

⁶⁵² Wright (KU graduate, former Traditions Night host, formerly of Admissions, currently with Career Center), interview by author, March 7, 2019.

first Traditions Night' moments, she realized, "this place is dope, Lawrence is an amazing place." She had "chosen the right school."⁶⁵³

When the university asked Wright to host Traditions Night in 2018, her life at KU came "full circle," she says. "One of the coolest things about" the experience for her, was "building that script with them," the Chancellor's Office and Charlie Persinger's team. The night, she revealed during the interview, "is catered to" whomever is "the host" of Traditions Night. For Wright, it was important that "those were [her] words," that they were about "how [she] really felt about the university," and that students "were listening to [her]." She told the crowd to "take what [they] have and what [they] love and live like it was here." This message was the "whole thing" that she "wanted to make happen," she explained, "because a lot of experiences, especially for people of color," do not portray the community "that way." She finished the thought, "it's hard for us to come in and find that in Lawrence, but dig deep, you can find it," she told the crowd.⁶⁵⁴

There is widespread agreement that Campanile Hill is a valuable part of Memorial Stadium. Keon Stowers (BA Sociology 14'), a former KU football player and captain of the 2013-2014 Jayhawks believes so. Stowers, who formerly worked in admissions and currently serves as the Alumni Association's Assistant Director of Student Activities, reflected on Memorial Stadium in light of the dozens of other college stadiums that he played in during his career. "One of the unique parts of our stadium is the Hill," he said. "Even when you talk to other

⁶⁵³ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid. Cuee, a musician, used some of her songs in the script and talked to Chancellor Girod about the possibility for future concerts in the stadium. Since the interview was conducted, artist Rick Ross performed following the 2019 spring Kansas football game. "Rick Ross performs 'One Nation Under God' at KU Spring Game," *YouTube*, published by *Kansas City Star*, April 14, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BLHEWvEUxxY>.

teams and other opponents and...fans of other teams, they really like the setup that we have with the Hill right at the edge of the Stadium, just being able to flow in between the two, I think that is very unique to KU.”⁶⁵⁵ Jeff Jacobsen, Kansas Athletics Photographer, has been coming to Memorial Stadium since the late 1960s, since right after he got his car, and prior to becoming the Athletic Department’s Photographer, he was part of the Topeka Capitol Journal’s team that photographed in the Stadium. He recalled that Campanile Hill used to be like a 4th bank of stands.⁶⁵⁶

Campanile Hill is also contested space. A large videoboard at the south end of Memorial Stadium, the Campanile Hill end, has stood between the hill and the playing field since the late 1990s, but it is not the only structure people have imagined there.⁶⁵⁷ At one time, Persinger was invited to a meeting in Athletics to discuss “renovations and opportunities for the future” where the idea of a building at the base of the hill was discussed.⁶⁵⁸ During his time as University Architect, Corman was told that architectural plans to build a football facility at the base of Campanile Hill were posted, publically, in the Athletic Department, though no one would claim having them prepared. “Somebody said that there is a drawing of it down in Athletics,” Corman recalled, so he went down “and it was there.”⁶⁵⁹ Mark Mangino, KU football coach at the time told Corman, “well we need something,” to which Corman replied, “you cannot put it on Campanile Hill, that’s impossible!” Eventually, though “Mangino convinced me and the rest of us that by NCAA rules you only had so many hours-a-week to practice,” Corman

⁶⁵⁵ Stowers (KU graduate, former KU football captain, 2013-2014, formerly with Admissions, currently with Alumni Association), interview by author, March 4, 2019.

⁶⁵⁶ Jeff Jacobsen (Kansas Athletics Staff Photographer), personal conversation, March 4, 2019. Field notes.

⁶⁵⁷ “Memorial Stadium,” Kansas Athletics. <https://kuathletics.com/facilities/memorial-stadium/>.

⁶⁵⁸ Persinger (Director of University Ceremonies and Special Events), interview by author, March 14, 2019.

⁶⁵⁹ Warren Corman (KU graduate, former University Architect), interview by author, March 28, 2019.

said. The system Athletics used, busing approximately 100 football players from the locker rooms at Anschutz Sports Pavilion just west of Allen Fieldhouse to Memorial Stadium for some practices, was “taking almost an hour-a-day away.” Corman recalled Mangino saying, “anybody in the world that is doing any good is getting close to the stadium with their locker rooms.” Mangino would get a stadium’ side football facility, the Anderson Family Football Complex, but not on the hill, and only after Turner Construction, using weather balloons, convinced Chancellor Hemenway and others that it would not block the view.⁶⁶⁰

Why some, especially within Athletics, have imagined structures at the base of the hill not limited to the videoboard, some graduates, employees, and residents, especially those that knew KU before the large videoboard replaced the old scoreboard bemoan the loss of the hill as a virtual 4th bank of stands like those Jacobsen recalled. Athletics Department, alumni, and donor tents now occupy most of the Hill’s real estate on game days, but the major blow was when the videoboard replaced the old scoreboard and blocked the view between Hill and Stadium in the late 1990s.

Several of the interviewees remembered the Hill on gameday prior to the videoboard. Longtime Lawrencian and former KU trainer, Don “Red Dog” Gardner said, “back then there weren’t any tents, just people and students.”⁶⁶¹ Jim Carothers, an expert on the literature of baseball, likened “the hill” to the “rooftops overlooking of Wrigley Field.”⁶⁶² Another

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁶¹ Gardner (Director Dog Days, former and current university and Athletic Department employee), interview by author, March 11, 2019.

⁶⁶² Carothers (Emeritus KU faculty, English, former host of Traditions Night), interview by author, March 22, 2019.

interviewee who did not want to go on record bemoaned the videoboard and wished it were on the north end of the stadium.⁶⁶³

Drawing from his experiences as a student, Curtis Marsh (BA Journalism 92' and MBA 99'), said the hill was and is "unequivocally" part of Memorial Stadium. Through the early 1990s, when Curtis was an undergraduate, the hill was a place where students would gather to watch football games and "party." Marsh described the scene as "detrimental to athletic's revenues" and a "disincentive" for them. I "get it," he said, nonetheless, the big screen "killed" the hill as a place to watch a game. "You are going to have a hard time maintaining traditions that destroy campus," Marsh shared, and then he relayed a story to show what he meant.⁶⁶⁴

Marsh and his college friends had tickets but enjoyed watching games from the hill. It was "a wonderful environment" and "community," he said. This was during "the early 90s when Glenn Mason pulled us [KU football] together, and we won 2 Aloha Bowls," so it was "good football, even." Among other things, "people would bring couches" and drinks, "it was a controlled party, is what it was." One memory for Marsh recalls a specific incident that helped precipitate the end of the hill as a party on game days.

"There was one game when the weather was terrible," so Marsh and his friends brought a "tarp" with them. By the end of the game, already soaked, they decided to convert the tarp into a slip and slide. "It was absolutely glorious, so much fun that it became a tradition for our little group."⁶⁶⁵ We "were a sizeable enough group," he continued so they were always able to

⁶⁶³ Personal conversation with author, March 4, 2019, field notes.

⁶⁶⁴ Marsh (KU graduate, former Director of the DeBruce Center, Endowment), interview by author, March 18, 2019.

⁶⁶⁵ Marsh's group was Captain Jayhawk and the Super Fans, legendary for the photo of Captain Jayhawk being thrown above the student section during a game in the Allen Fieldhouse. The photo is often included in University

bring drinks and “something to keep it cold” to each game. “Halfway through game[s] that ice was gone and it was just water,” which was then used to wet the slip and slide. During one particular game, a member of the group decided he did not want to get his clothes dirty, so he was going to go down the slip and slide in only his boxers. While “that was questionable,” what happened next was obscene. Another member of the group pantsed him, “grabbed his boxers,” Marsh said. He “made it down the slip and slide without clothing and instead of kind of quickly pulling them up,” when he got to the bottom, “he did the gymnastics ‘ta da,’” at the end. On the following Monday, “alcohol was banned from the Hill,” Marsh recalled. “We think this naked story, perhaps, tipped the scales towards no more alcohol on the hill.”⁶⁶⁶

Marsh’s story relates to another theme that emerged during the interviews, Memorial Stadium as a playground for people. Adam Dubinsky (BA History 01’) has spent 22 years in Lawrence and currently works as a data analyst with the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. When he was a first-year student (97’), he and his friends would, “sometimes walk up from Naismith Hall, over the Hill,” and “down” to the stadium. As he remembers, “there weren’t any barriers to walking in,” the stadium. They would have “5 on 5 touch football games” and “a lot of times the lights would be on.” There was even one time when they had a crowd.⁶⁶⁷

A long time Lawrence resident who I have known for some years and who I talked with, by happenstance, while attending the St. Patrick’s Day parade (2019) told me that he grew up just north of the stadium in the 1970s and 1980s. With friends, he would sneak into the

video projects, including the Athletic Department’s student camping tutorial video on YouTube. After that first time, “we would always bring the tarp, whether it was rain or shine,”

⁶⁶⁶ Marsh (KU graduate, former Director of the DeBruce Center, Endowment), interview by author, March 18, 2019.

⁶⁶⁷ Dubinsky (KU graduate, data analyst, College of Liberal Arts & Sciences), interview by author, March 6, 2019.

stadium and do things like throw tires from the top of the stadium onto the walkway below.

One time he climbed out onto the concrete structures that support the upper deck on the east side of the stadium and became petrified, frozen, and stuck. He was eventually able to safely crawl back, but called it “dumb” and “scary.”⁶⁶⁸ Jim Carothers remembered that Memorial Stadium hosted, for a time, the city’s 4th of July fireworks display.⁶⁶⁹ Two interviewees, neither of whom wanted to be identified, separately reported a rumored employee social and drinking club in the stadium.⁶⁷⁰

Outside of Corman, the interviewee with the longest experience in the stadium is longtime Lawrencean and former KU trainer, Don “Red Dog” Gardner. He “has been hanging around” the stadium “since about 1947-48.”⁶⁷¹ Growing up, he sometimes “sold pop” there and other times pried open the wooden doors on the east side so he and his friends could sneak in. He recalled being in the stadium with Wilt Chamberlain when Chamberlain was a freshman. Chamberlain would sometimes sit with the Lawrence High football team, of which Gardner was a member, at KU football games and “cut up.” Chamberlain, Gardner recalled, was there because like all KU freshmen at the time, he was required to do service at the games like “selling programs.” The Lawrence High football team included white and black players who all “hung out,” because they played football together, Gardner shared.⁶⁷²

While in junior high, Gardner and friends climbed to the top of the old press box on the west side, it had a “flat roof”, and “a ladder,” so “you could get up on there.” On one occasion

⁶⁶⁸ Personal conversation with author, March 17, 2019. Field Notes.

⁶⁶⁹ Carothers (Emeritus KU faculty, English, former host of Traditions Night), interview by author, March 22, 2019.

⁶⁷⁰ Personal conversation with author, March 11, 2019; personal conversation with author, April 6, 2019.

⁶⁷¹ Gardner (Director Dog Days, former and current university and Athletic Department employee), interview by author, March 11, 2019.

⁶⁷² Ibid.

Gardner and “one his buddies were up there...and [they] were playing around” and “though there were not many of them at the time,” a campus police officer showed-up. Attempting to flee the officer, Gardner fell off the south end of the press box onto a walkway below and “probably broke [his] wrist.” Despite this, for Gardner, the “stadium was always fun to get in” to “play and stuff.” Sometimes “military guys” who lived in “barracks” just west of the stadium would “have a ball with [he and his friends] and throw water balloons” at them.⁶⁷³

Gardner is also the founder of the Lawrence community group Dog Days. He first developed Dog Days while a trainer at Lawrence High. At that time, Lawrence High football was a major draw in the city. They would play in Haskell Stadium and up to “9,000” people would attend some games, Gardner claimed. Many of the football players he would work with would “cramp up” because there were “a lot of poor kids,” and they lacked access to good nutrition, so he decided to develop a workout program in the summers for Lawrence High football players.⁶⁷⁴

Dog Days started with “half-a-dozen Lawrence High football players.” His friend, Jim O’Connell would call out whatever exercises Gardner wrote up. As Dog Days expanded, first to other boys’ sports, then girls’ sports, then the little brothers and sisters of the Lawrence High’ athletes, followed by a few parents, and Free State students when it opened, Gardner decided to try and move Dog Days into Memorial Stadium. He went to Floyd Temple, a “coach and Assistant Athletic Director” in Kansas Athletics. Temple gave Gardner permission for the cost of a \$25 key. Dog Days, at its height in the stadium in the 2000s, would draw nearly a thousand

⁶⁷³ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid.

people for 6 am workouts. Kansas Athletics asked Dog Days to leave in the 2000s.⁶⁷⁵ This once again speaks to the dichotomy between local and community interests, and what might be termed professional and university interests in the stadium. The move also coincides, roughly, with the introduction of the large videoboard, the unclaimed plans to put a building at the base of Campanile Hill, and the banning of alcohol at games.

Kansas Relays are significant part of Memorial Stadium history (1923-2014). “Some will associate it [the stadium] most fondly with walking down the Hill on commencement. Some will recall the football games,” but David Johnston has, “always associated the Stadium with track.”⁶⁷⁶ A track meet at Memorial Stadium was not only Johnston’s first exposure to KU, it was also his father’s first exposure to KU. Johnston’s father had traveled to Lawrence for “Kansas Relays as a kid....it moved him [his father] so much, he ended up going to KU.” While a student in the “mid-50s,” he even became head of the Student Relays Committee, which helped host the Kansas Relays.”

The elder Johnston passed this relationship onto his son. David Johnston’s memories that lead to his own relationship with the stadium start when he “was very little,” and hundreds of miles from Lawrence. The mother of KU track Coach Bob Timmons, or “Timmy” as Johnston called him, lived across the street from where he grew up in Pittsburg, Kansas. He, along with

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid. This was the period when Mark Mangino coached KU football. He guarded access to the Hill and it was during his time at KU when the mysterious architectural drawings for a football facility at the base of Campanile Hill appeared. On a personal note, my first weekend on campus Mangino sent a graduate assistant up Campanile Hill to ask my father and me to leave because we were watching practice. During the course of my interviews Mangino’s name came up several times. He is arguably the most successful coach in KU football history, leading the team an Orange Bowl victory over Virginia Tech in January 2008. Vahe Gregorian, “Mangino didn’t need reconciliation with Kansas but gets it anyway,” *Kansas City Star*, August 18, 2017.

<https://www.kansascity.com/sports/spt-columns-blogs/vahe-gregorian/article168015047.html>.

⁶⁷⁶ Johnston (KU graduate, Senior Vice President Marketing and Digital Media at the KU Alumni Association), interview by author, February 28, 2019.

the elder Johnston, helped instill of love of KU track in the younger Johnston. He ended up admiring KU track standouts who he saw compete in the stadium, including Jim Ryun, Wes Santee, and Billy Mills. Though he could not play football or “shoot a basket” as a kid, Johnston recalled, when he traveled to Lawrence and Memorial Stadium, he saw something that he could relate to and dream of doing. He would watch the Kansas Relays and think, “I can do that. I can grow up and do that, and maybe even affect the outcome of these types of races.”⁶⁷⁷

Johnston’s knowledge of the Kansas Relays is vast. In addition to the interview, he shared scrapbooks that featured Kansas track and Relays ephemera dating to when Johnston was a kid. Memorial Stadium “is one of the more famous venues in the United States” for track, Johnston said. He thinks that it “has probably seen more world records than any Olympic Stadium,” given that most Olympic stadiums are only used for one Olympic games.⁶⁷⁸ Though he “love[s]” Rock Chalk Park and feels KU is “fortunate today to have a world class track facility,” he also knows that something was lost when the Relays moved after 2014. “What it [Rock Chalk Park] doesn’t do for us is when those school children come to the Kansas Relays now...they are missing the view of campus, the view of the hill and the Campanile;” the “backdrop for some incredible performances,” he reminisced.⁶⁷⁹ Given the comments about the Hill from other interviewees, it is safe to say that this is a widely held belief.

For Johnston, the stadium is also memorial to personal loss. During his senior Kansas Relays, Johnston had “a loss and a win...the same weekend,” he said. KU track athletes “only have one home track meet,” so for seniors, the Relays are the equivalent of basketball’s senior

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid. Possible exception of Los Angeles Coliseum.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid.

night. Johnston had two races to look forward to his senior year, but “it was a tough week,” he recalled, “because he had the unfortunate experience of having one of [his] roommates,” James Thompson, “a renaissance man,” “die unexpectedly” of a “heart condition that nobody knew he had.” It was “the week of the Relays” and “it was devastating to us,” he remembered.⁶⁸⁰

In his first race, Johnston “did his best but came up short,” he recalled. But, what was most memorable was “Richard Nixon ha[d] passed-away,” so the flags were at “half-staff.” As Johnston ran “down the home stretch” during that first race, he could see the flags “on top of Fraser,” and as he came “down the back stretch,” he saw the “two flags” in the bowl at the north end of the stadium. All he could “think about that entire race were the flags and James.”

In his last race, the next day, he was in a “more positive state of mind” and “fate and weather prevailed.” He won and presented the watch he received for winning to his mom, so that he, his father, and his mother would each have a Relays’ watch. “It provided some great closure to the relationship [Johnston] had had with Stadium through track.” That weekend, for Johnston and others, the Stadium was Memorial to James Thompson as much as to the fallen World War I soldiers to whom it was dedicated, or to Richard Nixon, for whom the flags had been lowered.⁶⁸¹

Nixon, so important to Johnston’s memories of the stadium, had been president during the most tumultuous years in university history in the late 1960s and early 1970s. KU, like other schools nationally, experienced an unprecedented period of unrest, protest and violence

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid.

across campus. Memorial Stadium was the stage for both high profile student actions and university response to the unrest. No one interviewed for this project talked about personally experiencing these events in the stadium, but *Transforming the University of Kansas: A History, 1965-2015*, is an excellent source on them.⁶⁸²

Bill Tuttle's essay "KU's Tumultuous Years" in the book is an informative source for the Nixon era in Lawrence and at KU. Tuttle profiles two high-profile political events that took place in Memorial Stadium in the chapter. The first, on May 9, 1969 when "175 students and least one professor" who were "against the war in Vietnam and the continued presence of ROTC on campus...marched to the stadium and, nonviolently disrupted" the ROTC review."⁶⁸³ Almost one year later, on April, 20, 1970, the Kanas Union was firebombed and partially destroyed.⁶⁸⁴ On May 8, 1970 Chancellor Wescoe called all students to the stadium and held a voice vote is school should end early that year, what is sometimes called "alternative graduation." Tuttle describes the event: "more than 15,000 students, faculty, and staff took their seats in Memorial Stadium" and took a "voice vote" deciding by "overwhelming majority" to end school early as result of the burning of the union and widespread unrest.⁶⁸⁵

Persinger says he has seen a photo of "alternative convocation:" "here are 15,000 people sitting in the west stands, and I think it just looks like a 4x4 or 8x8 riser with a microphone and a lectern...the starkness, there was no fanfare." Persinger's description of the

⁶⁸² John L. Rury and Kim Cary Warren, editors, *Transforming the University of Kansas: A History, 1965-2015* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2015).

⁶⁸³ Bill Tuttle, "KU's Tumultuous Years," *Transforming the University of Kansas: A History, 1965-2015*, eds. John L. Rury and Kim Cary Warren (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2015), 238. ROTC derived from SATC.

⁶⁸⁴ Christine Metz, "1970: Memories of violence in city still strong," *Lawrence Journal World*, April 20, 2010.

<https://www2.ljworld.com/news/2010/apr/20/1970-memories-violence-city-still-strong/>; Persinger (Director of University Ceremonies and Special Events), interview by author, March 14, 2019.

⁶⁸⁵ Tuttle, "KU's Tumultuous Years," *Transforming the University of Kansas: A History, 1965-2015*, 238.

photo recalls earlier stories, including Corman's, about different perceptions of the stadium. What strikes Persinger is the juxtaposition between the large crowd and otherwise simple setup. He also sees it through the lens of the programs he directs in the stadium. "It was not a celebration," he said, "it was not Commencement, it was not Traditions Night, it was a very serious moment."⁶⁸⁶

The stadium has served as the bookend events for the student experience at KU for nearly 100 years. This underscores the stadium's importance to the university's mission, functioning, and its identity for students and alumni. It is a place that is sometimes fun, as a number of interviewees pointed-out, but a place that is also the site of protest and conflict. It is not a static building, but is constantly changing and morphing to fill the needs of its constituent communities.

Of all the roles the stadium plays, perhaps the most consistent is as a lab or catalyst for transformation where the university asks people, particularly students to imagine themselves as Jayhawks within specific historic contexts: pioneer, abolitionist, Free Stater, intellectual, scientist, humanist, and college graduate. This process of imagining, the stadium as a catalyst for this process, is consistent throughout this chapter and the entire dissertation. Oliver asked initiates to imagine the past, Slosson asked graduates to imagine the future, Cuee Wright imagined campus through a video game and then asked new students, particularly students of color, to imagine that Lawrence was home. Fans' imagine they will be the next Kansas Comet, Gale Sayers, or the next Olympic champion, Billy Mills. Some unknown person(s) imagined a building at the base of Campanile Hill. Because the Kansas Relays are no longer in the stadium,

⁶⁸⁶ Persinger (Director of University Ceremonies and Special Events), interview by author, March 14, 2019.

children cannot imagine being on the hill. Henry Wright imagined a stadium in 1904, twenty-one years before Memorial Stadium it was built. The Mayans, Greeks, and Romans showed Americans how to imagine gods and nations in buildings. Of all the things the stadium is, perhaps its most salient identity is as an imagination factory

David Johnston shared “a memory of the stadium that never happened,” during his interview, but it is still “burned into [his] brain.” Memorial Stadium was “the backdrop for an ABC, made-for-TV movie, called the *Day After*.” Lawrence, Kansas is “ground zero...when the missiles get launched from their silos, where are those silos? Just past the stadium.” “They show the view from the Hill and Memorial Stadium, on a game day.” It was part of the “national conversation that was happening at that time” about nuclear war.⁶⁸⁷ Considering the history presented in this dissertation, the stadium, ultimately, is not only a place to imagine war, but, in the end, a place to imagine and fight for peace.

⁶⁸⁷ Johnston (KU graduate, Senior Vice President Marketing and Digital Media at the KU Alumni Association), interview by author, February 28, 2019; Bob Swan Jr., “Reflections on the 25th Anniversary of ‘The Day After,’” November 21, 2008. <https://www2.ljworld.com/news/2008/nov/21/reflections-25th-anniversary-day-after/>.

Conclusion

Stadiums are ubiquitous on the American landscape and central and historic features of its culture. Acculturating spaces in at least three ways, stadiums inspire reverence and imagination, they are a sum of the historic cultivation of a particular place, and they educate and train. Stadiums teach and remind people about their rights, obligations, and shared histories as part of a community.⁶⁸⁸

The stadium's special power is the ability to communicate these lessons emotionally and to large crowds; the ability they have to strike their occupants to core. The size, shape, design, and utility of the stadium as in the examples of Archbold Stadium at Syracuse and Memorial Stadium at KU are the conduits of this special power. Stadiums inspire awe, are unusually visible, and teach values that people not only understand but hold and feel, individually and socially, as heritage, memory, experience, and identity.

As Lerner shows, stadiums make waves, as useful in politics as in anything. It is unsurprising, therefore, that stadiums and arenas are the scenes of great political moments in American history. These include the 2008 Democratic National Convention in Denver, Colorado where Barack Obama became the party's presidential candidate in Pepsi Arena, home to the Denver Nuggets and Colorado Avalanche, and later delivered his acceptance speech at Invesco Field (new Mile High Stadium), home of the three-time Super Bowl Champion Denver

⁶⁸⁸ Jackson, 12.

Broncos,⁶⁸⁹ Whitney Houston's performance of the National Anthem at the 1991 Super Bowl in Tampa Stadium just after the start of the Gulf War, and the first baseball and football games in New York at Shea and Yankee Stadiums and in New Jersey at the Meadowlands after 9/11.⁶⁹⁰

As discussed in chapter 1, stadiums and games have always served nations politically; they bridge mythical pasts with cultural presents. There is evidence for this across Mesoamerican, Native American, European, and American traditions. The stadium movement can, in a way, be understood as every city America's attempt to reflect and celebrate American history and, in an even longer view, Greek and Roman culture. An attempt to bridge a lived reality to the past, to the glory of country and civilization, through the construction of a local Coliseum. In these contexts, stadiums are not unique but vested in America, inherited customs, historically standard.

College football stadiums are, however, distinctive, both for the historical moment at which they appear, in the immediate wake of World War I, and because they appear in mass. This is the moment, after the war, when Americanism as a cultural concept dawns on Europe. "Americanism as a form of culture did not exist, before the war, for Europeans," John Dewey

⁶⁸⁹ Barack Obama, "Transcript: Barack Obama's Acceptance Speech," *NPR*, August 28, 2008. <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=94087570>; Mara Liasson and Michele Norris, "Obama to accept nomination at Mile High Stadium," *NPR*, July 7, 2008. <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=92301409>; "Super Bowl History," *Pro Football Reference*, <https://www.pro-football-reference.com/super-bowl/>.

⁶⁹⁰ "Whitney Houston – Star Spangled Banner," *YouTube*, January 27, 1991, published by CavBuffaloSolider, February 13, 2012. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N_ICmBvYMRs; "Baseball after 9/11 – Shea Stadium 9/21/01," *YouTube*, September 21, 2001, published by FredFockerReturns, August 8, 2010. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AvMmAjFO-pk>; Ken Rosenthal, "What I'll never forget about baseball's return to New York after 9/11," *Fox Sports*, November 15, 2016. <https://www.foxsports.com/mlb/story/what-ill-never-forget-about-baseballs-return-to-new-york-after-911-091016>; "9/11 and the New York Giants|NFL 360|NFL Network," *YouTube*, published by the NFL Network, September 21, 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QX3Dx8XoeAw>.

wrote, the “war and its consequences” brought it into being.⁶⁹¹ Americanism as a 19th century artistic and literary tradition struggling for definition, qualification, and legitimacy, trying, according to art historian Barbara Novak to “outline an absolute in the wilderness of the new world,” represents an arc in the American cultural project. The post-war period was not only an important moment of American cultural definition, but as a time when the idea of America and what was American matured.⁶⁹²

As a result of the war, America experienced unprecedented political and military recognition, and asserted and realized itself, culturally and socially, in a new way, on a global scale. Wilson’s League of Nations, the suffrage movement, the Harlem Renaissance, Hemingway, and the ideology and worship of progress are some of the period’s hallmarks: generationally defining social, political, and cultural ideas and figures, harbingers of a new global superpower and window into the internal contradictions, promises, triumphs, and failures of a nation. This is the historical moment of college football stadiums; the moment when America steps onto the world stage in a leading role.

As we saw in Fussell’s work, sporting spirit was one of the great tragedies of World War I. It literally inspired soldiers to death. As such, it is central to “one dominating form of modern understanding,” irony.⁶⁹³ The experience of the war destroyed a “prevailing innocence,” according to Fussell. This was as clear in language. Before the war “one could use with security words which a few years later, after the war would constitute obvious *double entendres*. One

⁶⁹¹ John Dewey, *Individualism Old and New* (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 1999), 10. First published 1929.

⁶⁹² Barbara Novak, *American Painting of the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1.

⁶⁹³ Fussell, 35.

could say intercourse, or erection, or ejaculation without any risk of evoking a smile or a leer.”⁶⁹⁴ The war was the crucible that churned those words into indecencies.

The ways in which sport and the sporting spirit urged and influenced the soldiers to run into the teeth of the guns, and moved, galvanized, and assuaged the fears of the public so that war could carry on for over 4 bloody years helped destroy the prevailing innocence of the pre-modern and became indivisible from modern memory. This is the spirit that Dorothy Canfield Fisher in her 1928 commencement speech at KU, “Education Begins at Home,” hoped students would abandon.⁶⁹⁵ This experience, both ironic and indecent, even now generations removed, is part of the way we see the world unconsciously; the war cannot be unseen or forgotten, a flashbulb memory about the power of technology and the spirit of man that has been memorialized in college football stadiums.

Modernism as an aesthetic and philosophical movement, enters the cultural mainstream in America in the 1940s and is prominent especially in the late 1950s and through the 1960s, the high modern period. It is defined by a self-assurance in progress and is “characterized by an unfaltering confidence in science and technology as a means to reorder the social and natural world.”⁶⁹⁶ It was also a “physical design movement” characterized by comfort, technology, and ordered use of space.⁶⁹⁷ College football, its gridirons, stadiums, and cultural heroism, are emblematic of modern spirit. Sport not only as a condition of modern

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid, 24.

⁶⁹⁵ Dorothy Canfield Fisher, “Education Begins at Home,” *Graduate Magazine, University of Kansas*, vol. XXVI, no. 9, June 1928, 8-12, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas

⁶⁹⁶ “High Modernism,” *Art and Popular Culture*. http://www.artandpopularculture.com/High_modernism.

⁶⁹⁷ Patrick Calmon de Carvalho Braga, “Defining Modernity: The Urban Context of Casablanca,” *Modernity and Planning in the Developing World*, November 18, 2013. <http://blogs.cornell.edu/crp2000-modernity/2013/11/18/defining-modernity/>.

memory but as modern space; representative of central tenets of the idea: advancement, progress, and order.

In the celebration of individual greatness, the subsuming of individual desire to the necessities of team, and in the organization of the field of play we find traces of modernity: natural and social order, technological and scientific precision, and design. The American war experience, relatively short (1917-1918), fought on the other side of an ocean, and won, did not render sporting spirit indecent but rather perpetuated if not promoted it, especially on campus as a virtue of youth. But, if college football stadiums are representative of modernism, they also have traditional elements. They are closer to what Frederic Jameson calls “la mode retro.” They “set out to recapture all the atmosphere and stylistic peculiarities” of the past while also incorporating modern amenities.⁶⁹⁸

As a game, football imagines an American genesis, first contact between Europeans and Native Americans, and as structures stadiums look to an ancient past, Greek and Roman worlds, political antecedents of America. College football is a creation narrative, like the Mayan or Cherokee ballgames, played out in stadiums that seek to recapture all the atmosphere and stylistic peculiarities of Greek forums and Roman coliseums. It is perhaps a stretch to call stadiums “pastiche,” but it is within reach to say that they are designed un-ironically, “imitation[s] of a peculiar and unique style, the wearing of a stylistic mask, speech in a dead language,” like parody yes, but “without the satirical impulse, without laughter,” – deadly

⁶⁹⁸ Frederic Jameson, *The Cultural Turn: Selected Writings on the Postmodern, 1983-1998*, reprint (London: Verso, 2009), 7-8.

serious. And if this seems over stated consider player deaths historically, what we know about concussions now, and, again, war.⁶⁹⁹

Serious college football, especially in the wake of the war and after the invention of irony, is also the subject of parody and humor. The 1925 silent film *The Freshman* is an example from the period. Harold Lloyd is Harold Lamb, a freshman at Tate University, “a large football stadium with a college attached.” Intent on becoming the most popular man at school, Lamb goes out for the football team and becomes their tackling dummy.⁷⁰⁰ Several of the stories interviewees shared (chapter 5) reflect this sentiment. They, in the spirit of *The Freshman* are also satirical and humorous with football and the football stadium as subjects. College football and college football stadiums are complex spaces, sometimes serious, sometimes amusing, sometimes a combination of the two as in satire. That the stadium is designed to be like an ancient coliseum, pastiche, without humor, is both part of the complexity and joviality of the space. Stadiums memorialize a tragic but also glorious war that results in a new way to see and understand, irony. Stadiums are the subjects of humor, places of solemn remembrance, cultural watermarks, and spiritual training grounds.

This erosion of distinction between high and mass cultures is visible on college campuses as early as the 1870s.⁷⁰¹ Harvard, the oldest corporation in the Western Hemisphere, the first and arguably the most prestigious institution of higher education in America, is also, arguably, the birthplace of mass popular football. The games it played against McGill in

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁰ “The Freshman,” Harold Lloyd, 1925, *YouTube*, published by Harold Lloyd, February 14, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4mH6N-Tbdc>.

⁷⁰¹ Jameson; postmodernisms are also marked by the “effacement of some key boundaries or separations, most notably the erosion of the older distinction between high culture and so called mass or popular culture.”

Cambridge in 1874, the first under “Harvard” or approximate soccer rules and the second under rugby rules, “drastically changed the history of American football.” Preferring rugby, Harvard, in the fall of 1875, convinced Yale to play under “discretionary” guidelines, essentially rugby rules marking the “downfall of soccer and the rise of rugby,” football’s antecedent, in America.⁷⁰² It is important to understand this to understand anything about the relationship between college sports and higher education or the relationship between high and mass culture in America: students imposed what would become one of the most important markers of American popular culture onto the oldest, most enduring, and first symbol of American high culture, Harvard.

KU’s Memorial Stadium, mirroring the role sport played in the war it is dedicated to, is full of, if not ironies, contradictions and dark humor. It is also the site of great victories and triumph in defeat, and in ties too (KU v Nebraska, 1920, 20-20).⁷⁰³ The stadium’s position at the bottom of the hill is strategic, well-chosen, and was imagined there as early as 1904. Because of its location in the campus landscape, Memorial Stadium is a part of vital traditions at the university, Traditions Night and Commencement, neither expressly athletic. The stadium has a multipurpose role, a place for games, academic events, entertainments, meetings, and protests, all of which are political in that they bring people together to talk, debate, and celebrate community history and imagine individual, social, and communal futures. This is evident across the many different types of events examined in this study.

⁷⁰² Smith, 76-77.

⁷⁰³ *The 1921 Jayhawker*.

What is special about KU's Memorial Stadium is that it is one of the first stadiums built after the war.⁷⁰⁴ The combination of venerable stadium and Campanile Hill is what makes KU's landscape stand out compared to other schools and stadiums. It was the background for recent video games, graduation day, Traditions Night, football games, and, for 87 years, the famous Kansas Relays. The graduation walk from Memorial Drive, through the Campanile, down the hill, and into Memorial Stadium ties this corridor of campus together. From memorial, through memorial, into memorial, paraphrasing Charlie Persinger. The trail of academics, war, and sports across campus. This is a way to visualize how these go together at KU.

It is the size of the stadium that makes it critical to university operations. Not only must it hold football crowds, it is the only building on campus that can fit the entire student population, let alone graduation. This aspect of the stadium started upon its completion in 1921, and it is likely common across higher education. It becomes another way to conceptualize how universities and athletics go together. They not only share space, they need a building the size of stadium to stage both athletic and university-wide events.

The stadium was and is the scene for a multitude of occasions. Some, like the disruption of the ROTC parade (1969) or "alternative graduation" (1970), were expressly political.⁷⁰⁵ Dog Days was a large and regular community event in the stadium until leaving during the Mark Mangino' football era. Some people have used the stadium privately, like a playground. Warren Corman lived in the stadium. There have also been accidents and near accidents in the

⁷⁰⁴ The bowl is not completed until 1927. See "Memorial Stadium," University Archives, RG 0/22/53.

⁷⁰⁵ "Protest and Dissent," historical plaque, Kansas Union, 3rd floor, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

stadium. Memorial Stadium is also a carnival space and not only for graduation, as the commencement Marshal told Charlie Persinger, but also for games days and other events.⁷⁰⁶

The stadium has hosted events that reflect the many social contexts that were discussed in this paper. As at many schools, there was cultural appropriation of Native cultural symbols at KU including in the stadium. Despite its historic significance as a Free State institution, KU supported a student Klan organization and condoned it in playing official roles at athletic contests, including football games as soon as the stadium opened. Stadium speakers including Hannah Oliver, Edwin Slosson, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, and James Bryant Conant placed Kansas, Lawrence, and KU within national narratives concerning history, science, social movements, philosophy, and the business of higher education, but sometimes employing Social Darwinist discourse. The stadium also placed people at specific historical moments that freeze and frame time, as in David Johnston's story of the flags in the stadium and on Fraser flying at half-mast for Richard Nixon, or James Thompson, Johnston's roommate who had passed-way.

There are connections between those who argued for the stadium or gave talks there in the 1920s and the stories of the people who were interviewed for the project. Not only is the stadium nearly 100 years old, so are the ways it operates, is imagined, and this too was evident in peoples' lives. As one example, Hannah Oliver talked of the "necromancy" of the stadium and several interviewees spoke of similar communications with the dead that allowed them to remember and place themselves in personal historic moments, or allowed them to call students to those imagined pasts. Traditions Night and Commencement are today approaching 100 years in the stadium. The details of the events have changed, but they serve functions similar

⁷⁰⁶ Persinger (Director of University Ceremonies and Special Events), interview by author, March 14, 2019.

those in the 1920s. There are also histories that are hidden and disguised in the stadium. The history of Social Darwinism and racism is perhaps the most prominent example. The KU KU Klan is evidence for this claim, but the interwar commencement speeches of academic dignitaries also speak to this phenomenon. These memories have been washed out by other dominant narratives including the Free State identity of Lawrence, and forgotten.

What does the study tell us about the university and its relationship with its athletic department? How do we answer Pritchett's and Clotfelter's question, what does popular entertainment have to do with an institution dedicated to scholarship, research and education?

One key is competition. It not only matters in both areas, it is the lifeblood of both college academic and athletic realms. This may be obvious for football, during games, but it may be less obvious for the ways other parts of the university function. Competition is a lens that is often looked through to discover something about football. Competition as the central component of the theory Natural Selection and Social Darwinism informed the development of game. Daniel Clark's work is a good source for this. But, as seen in commencement speeches from the 1920s and 1930s, Social Darwinism was not limited to football. It also pervaded academic and administrative circles across scientific and humanistic lines. One way to understand how the university and athletic department go together is evident in this instance, this shared social history, a common set of beliefs that help explain the persistence of systemic racism across higher education.

Maybe, then, one of the ways to better understand how the university and the athletic department fit together is through the crucible of competition. Not only are academic and athletic staff and students driven by rivalry, some of the latent anxieties and fears that ungird

the psychology of competition in specific American contexts, are present in both academic and athletic realms. Competition, as much as it is part of college sports, is also part of scholarly domains of higher education. Competition for grants, promotion and tenure, administrative positions, and sabbaticals speak to this. If competition in sports is, in part, a result of anxieties related to invidious social distinctions, and racial and ethnic others in particular, this is also true of scholarship, and all stand on the same stage, built together so long ago, the stadium.

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1915

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