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Promoting golf in the Golden Age : a frame analysis of the writings of O.B. Keelor and Grantland Rice

Robin L. Hardin

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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Robin L. Hardin entitled "Promoting golf in the Golden Age : a frame analysis of the writings of O.B. Keelor and Grantland Rice." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Communication.

Paul Ashdown, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

C Edward Caudill, Joy DeSensi, Daniel Foley

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

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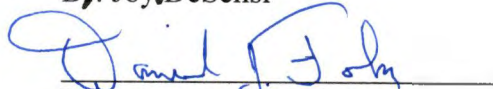
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Dr. Paul Ashdown, Major Professor

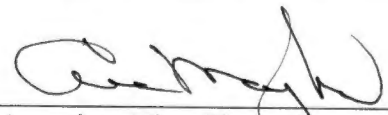
We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:


Dr. C. Edward Caudill


Dr. Joy DeSensi


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Accepted for the Council:


Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of the Graduate School

Promoting Golf in the Golden Age:
A Frame Analysis of the Writings of O.B. Keelor and Grantland Rice

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Robin L. Hardin
August 2000

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Abstract

This study uses a frame analysis to show how O.B. Keelor (1882-1950) of the *Atlanta Journal* and Grantland Rice (1880-1954) of the *New York Herald Tribune* influenced the growth of golf in the United States with their newspaper writings in the 1920s. How media frame an issue influences how the public perceives it, and news slant or angle influences public opinion.

Many things, including urbanization, industrialization and the end of World War I, contributed to the growing popularity of golf during the 1920s. The media, specifically newspapers, played an important role in golf's development. The number of golf courses registered with the United States Golf Association tripled during the 1920s, and the number of rounds played also increased.

Keelor is partly responsible for creating the legendary status attained by Bobby Jones (1902-1971). Jones won 13 major championships during his career including the Grand Slam in the 1930. This research identifies the frames Keelor used in the *Atlanta Journal* to promote Jones. Through the use of descriptive language Keelor was able to develop the mythical excellence of Jones. Rice's two columns for the *New York Herald Tribune* were "Spotlight" and "Tales of a Wayside Tee." Rice promoted golf in both columns as well as contributed to the mythmaking of Jones. This research examines and identifies the specific language both writers used to promote Jones and the image of golf. An index of articles Keelor wrote during major championships in which Jones played is provided.

Table of Contents

Title Page		Page i
Copyright		Page ii
Acknowledgements		Page iii
Abstract		Page v
Table of Contents		Page vi
List of Figures		Page viii
Chapter 1	Introduction	Page 1
Chapter 2	Media and Public Attitudes	Page 8
Chapter 3	Early History of Golf in the United States	Page 21
Chapter 4	Growth of Sports in the United States	Page 38
Chapter 5	Sports writing and Golf Coverage	Page 47
Chapter 6	Bobby Jones and the Ballyhoo of O.B. Keelor	Page 67
Chapter 7	The Golf Writings of Grantland Rice	Page 79
Chapter 8	Conclusions	Page 105
References		Page 120
Appendices		Page 132
Appendix A	O.B. Keelor's Articles in the <i>Atlanta Journal</i>	Page 133
Appendix B	Grantland Rice's "Spotlight" Column	Page 141
Appendix C	Grantland Rice's "Tales of a Wayside Tee" Column	Page 145

Appendix D	Paul Gallico's Columns in the <i>New York Daily News</i>	Page 152
Appendix E	Sample Selection	Page 163
Appendix F	Analyzing Articles	Page 164
Appendix G	Glossary of Golf Terms	Page 166
Appendix H	Bobby Jones in Major Tournaments	Page 171
Vita		Page 172

List of Figures

Figure 1	Club Membership in the USGA	Page 4
Figure 2	World Series Attendance, 1920-1930	Page 40
Figure 3	Notre Dame Home Football Attendance, 1920-1928	Page 44
Figure 4	"Spotlight" Header	Page 81
Figure 5	"Tales of a Wayside Tee" from July 15, 1923	Page 102

Chapter 1

Introduction

Sport and media have long had a symbiotic relationship. Sport gains exposure through television, newspapers, magazines, radio and World Wide Web sites. These same media sell advertising that appears during broadcasts, in printed matter or in an electronic format. Through the media, sport has become a part of American culture and a force in shaping culture.

All influences that shape the skills, values, norms and behaviors of individuals are part of the socialization process. These influences can include significant others, schooling, neighborhood, religion, government, family and social gatherings. Media are among the more important influences in American society (Shifflett & Revelle, 1994). Media can teach people what is important in society, or what is thought to be important.

One component of media content reflects the interest in sports, and sports coverage has become one of the staples of American journalism (McGregor, 1989). Sport became a truly integral part of society during the 1920s. The growth of sport prior to 1920 was first spurred by the Industrial Revolution during the 19th century and capped by the end of World War I. The Industrial Revolution eventually led to urbanization, better transportation and increased leisure time which all helped sport to grow. Thousands of returning World War I soldiers brought with them an interest in sport and wanted to continue participating in sports after the war. People had more time to participate in sports in the 1920s and also more time to read about sports. This

led to an increase in sport coverage in newspapers. The focus of this study will show how sports were not only written about, but were also actively promoted by journalists. This study specifically will examine the role media played in the growth of golf during the 1920s and the myth-making of Bobby Jones.

The number of golfers in the United States at the beginning of the 1920s was almost 500,000, but in five years, that number had grown to 4 million. Fewer than 200 golf courses were registered with the United States Golf Association in 1914, but by 1930 there were 1,100 clubs registered with the USGA (Jerris, 1999; See Figure 1). The estimate of the number of golf courses in the United States by 1930 ranged from 4,600 to 5,700 (Bounds, 1930; Scharff, 1973).

The Case for the 1920s

It has been called the Golden Decade, the Jazz Age and the Roaring Twenties. The ideas of Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, Thomas Edison and Max Planck were discussed. Lon Chaney, Tom Mix, Charlie Chaplain, Will Rogers and Charles Lindbergh were some of the more popular figures of the decade, and audiences swooned over Rudolph Valentino. But to sports fans, the 1920s will always be the Golden Age. The sports world produced perhaps the greatest collection of athletes of any decade before or since. Babe Ruth, Red Grange, Bill Tilden, Bobby Jones, Helen Wills and Jack Dempsey were some of those who dominated the world of sports.

The preeminent sports writer of the 1920s, Grantland Rice (1948) wrote:

Just why this period from 1919 to 1930, in the wake of the Marne,

the Muese, Cantigny, Belleau Woods, Sedan and Hindenburg Line¹, is called the Golden Age of Sport?

The answer is a simple one. It is because the postwar period gave the game the greatest collection of stars, involving both skill and color, that sport has ever known since the first cave man tackled the mammoth and the aurochs bull.

(The star athletes of the era) had that indefinable quality that comes from championship ability plus the love and admiration of the masses on the personal side, which sport has never even approached since and probably never will again in the life span of this generation. (pp. 1, 7)

Another sportswriter from the 1920s, Paul Gallico (1931) wrote this about the decade:

Never before had there been a period when, from the ranks of every sport, arose some glamorous, unbeatable figure who shattered record after record, spread-eagled his field and drew into the box office an apparently unending stream of gold and silver. We have lived through the decade of deathless heroes. (p. 12)

The Jack Dempsey-Jess Willard boxing match on July 4, 1919, is said to have marked the beginning of the Golden Age (Woodward & Graham, 1967). Stanley Woodward and Frank Graham (1967) wrote, "[The 1920s] was a period of flamboyant athletes, hero-worshipping fans, and wide prosperity" (p. 156). Woodward was the sports editor at the *New York Herald Tribune* and later at newspapers in Miami and Newark, N.J. Graham was the publicity director for the Brooklyn Dodgers and later the assistant managing editor of *Sport* magazine.

The end of the Golden Age was marked by the stock market crash in October 1929. Prosperity was gone, and it was time for different ideas and different ways of thought (Allen, 1931). The crash changed not only American society but the role of sports and the nature of sports journalism (Garrison, 1993). The journalism growth of

¹ Rice served with the American Expeditionary Force in France during World War I. He is referring to

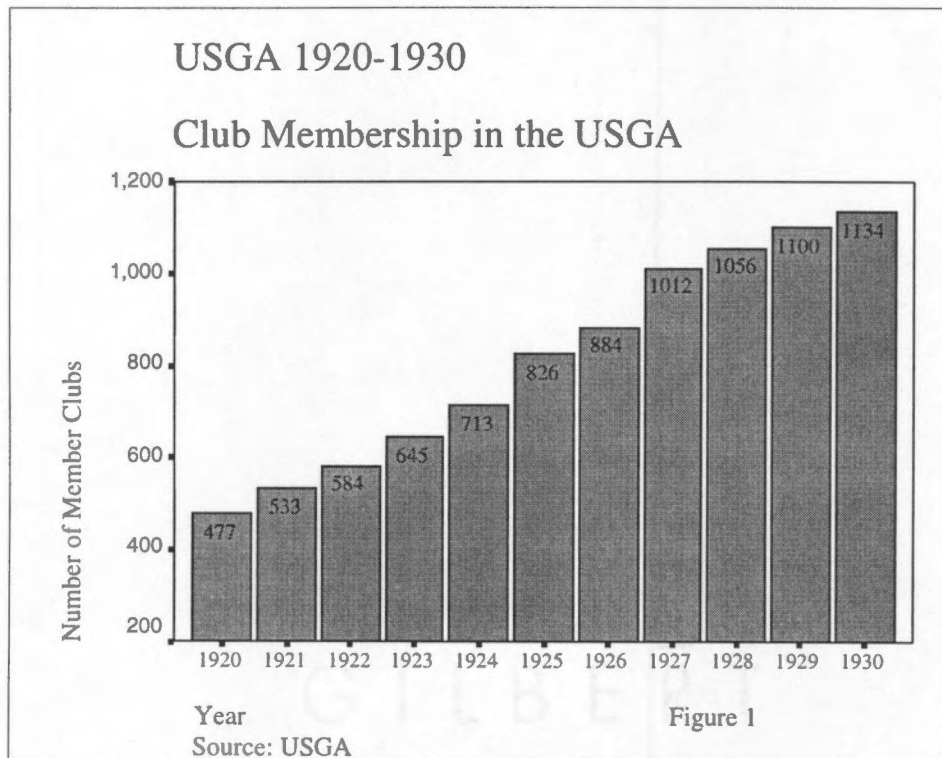


Figure 1: Club Membership in the USGA 1920-1930

the 1920s leveled off during the 1930s as circulation and advertising revenue decreased. As a result, newspapers printed shorter editions and articles became shorter (Garrison, 1983). But there is little doubt newspapers played a role in shaping the image of sport during the 1920s.

Lester Jordan (1927) wrote in *Editor and Publisher*:

Present-day opinion of newspaper editors, psychologists, trade-publication editors, advertising men, and journalism instructors is that sports on their present scale would be impossible without the sports sections of the daily papers. Without the assistance of the newspapers, sports would never have attained their present popularity. Sports officials are among the first to admit the debt that baseball, football, boxing, and other sports owe the papers. (p. 9)

battles that were fought in France during the war.

Just how sportswriters of the time both encouraged the boom in sports and responded to the public's demand for sports news is a question worth further investigation. Newspapers provided people with virtually all their exposure to sports during the decade, as radio was just being developed.

W.O. McGeehan of the *New York Herald Tribune* wrote that if not for the coverage and "ballyhoo" given baseball during spring training, nobody would attend the opening game of the season. The stories about spring training prepare the fans for opening day and the rest of the season (Graffis, 1929). Even baseball, the national pastime, needed a stimulus to get everyone interested in the game. Sportswriters provided that same stimulus for golf. A case in point was Francis Ouimet's win in the 1913 U.S. Open. Grantland Rice was working for the *New York Evening Mail* and later wrote in his autobiography that Ouimet's win advanced the popularity of golf with the general public by 10 to 20 years (Rice, 1954). Much like Tiger Woods did with his win at the Masters in 1997, Ouimet inspired thousands of young people to start playing golf. Rice (1954) wrote Ouimet was most responsible for golf's sudden boom, and "kids began swinging a battered mashie iron as well as a bat" (p. 56). The way people knew about the win was the publicity generated from the newspapers reporting on the event.

Significance of Study

So, journalists writing about golf were engaging in a subtle advocacy of a particular recreational pastime. Golf had to be presented as a suitable sport for a new kind of America. Readers had to understand golf and see it in relation to other sports

with which they were more familiar. Just how journalists came to frame golf in themes of myth and metaphor is the subject of this study. This research uses frame analysis to show how two sportswriters, O.B. Keelor and Grantland Rice, helped make golf more acceptable to the public and influence its growth. This research also shows how Keelor and Rice helped make Bobby Jones a mythical sports figure. An index of Keelor articles appearing in the *Atlanta Journal* during major championships in which Bobby Jones competed from 1923 to 1930 is also provided. In building on previous studies, this research supports the claim by Inabinett (1994) that Rice helped create the legendary image of Bobby Jones through his writings. This research shows that it was not only Rice but other sportswriters as well who help create Jones' image.

Chapter 2 presents the concept of framing and how media can influence public perceptions about events and people. Chapter 3 examines the key events that led to the development of golf in the United States from the establishment of the first permanent golf club in the United States in 1888 to Francis Ouimet's win in the 1913 U.S. Open. Chapter 4 examines the factors that led to the growth of sport in the United States from the Industrial Revolution to the end of World War I. Chapter 5 discusses the growth of sports writing and golf coverage in the United States.

The findings and results of this research are presented in Chapters 6 and 7. Chapter 6 examines the writings of O.B. Keelor in the *Atlanta Journal* and how those articles helped make Bobby Jones a mythical character. Grantland Rice is the focus of Chapter 7. He also played a role in the myth making of Bobby Jones but also influenced the growth of golf in his writings. The conclusions of this research are

presented in Chapter 8. The appendices provide an index to the articles used in the study, a glossary of golf terms and the record of Bobby Jones in major championships.

Chapter 2

The Media and Public Attitudes

This chapter will examine the idea of whether or not the media can influence public attitudes. A brief look at the history of media effects and a detailed discussion of framing is presented as well. The research questions and the significance studying sports are presented.

Did the media play a role in the growth of sports during the 1920s? That is the general research question this study addresses. Several things need to be noted first to add perspective to this question.

The Media and Public Attitudes

Could the sports pages affect society? Could promotional coverage or ballyhoo¹ influence the growth of sport and establish stars in sports? Could the media shape public attitudes affect public opinion? After nearly a century of empirical research concerning mass communication effects, media scholars lack consensus about the effects of mass communication. But this has probably been one of the major questions communication researchers have dealt with during the past 80 years (Severin & Tankard, 1992). Conclusions about the effects of mass communications have gone from a very powerful effect of mass communications, to a limited effect to a moderate effect and then back to a powerful effect.

Communication and media were first thought to have powerful effects on society. This “bullet theory” or “hypodermic-needle theory” predicts that a message

¹ Sensational writing, or to advertise by sensational methods.

will have a strong effect on anyone exposed to it. The message has a bullet-like effect in that as soon as a message is seen or heard, the person receiving the message will be affected by it. The Payne Fund studies during the 1930s supported this view as the researchers concluded motion pictures influenced the attitudes of children (Lowery & DeFleur, 1995). Laswell's (1927) studies of the use of propaganda during World War I also gave credence to the theory of the powerful effects of the media.

A change in thinking about the effects of communication occurred during World War II with Hovland's studies about the effects of films shown to American soldiers. The study began in 1942 when a series of films were shown to American soldiers in an attempt to motivate them about the mission of the United States during the war. Research showed the films had a limited effect in changing attitudes (Hovland, Lumsdaine & Sheffield, 1949; Lowery & DeFleur, 1995). Paul Lazarsfeld and his associates conducted a study regarding the influence of the media in an upcoming presidential election. Their research concluded that media had limited effects on public attitudes (Lazarsfeld, Berelson & Gaudet, 1948; Lowery & DeFleur, 1995).

The limited effect of communication was the prevailing belief until the agenda setting studies of McCombs and Shaw (1972) and Noelle-Neuman's spiral of silence theory (1973). McCombs and Shaw found that issues emphasized by the media during the 1968 presidential election were the ones that voters perceived to be the most significant (1972). Noelle-Neuman's spiral of silence hypothesizes a person will not speak out against a dominant or popular view because of fear of isolation (1972).

So, if media keep expressing a dominant view, a person is less likely to oppose it, thus causing a powerful effect by the media. Despite the research that has been conducted, researchers have not developed a unified theory that explains the effects of mass communication (Severin and Tankard, 1992). But researchers do agree some effect is occurring. Severin and Tankard (1992) wrote:

Thus, the statement "it depends" is an accurate description of the answer to many questions about media effects. The answer "it depends" should not be met with despair and a throwing up of the hands, however. The answer "it depends" does not mean that we do not know what is going on. In contrast to what we knew 40 or 50 years ago, we now have some definite ideas of what "it" depends on (pp. 265-266).

Personal experience, use of the media, external events, opinion leaders and interpersonal communication all influence the effect of the media (Baran & Davis, 1995; Lowery & DeFleur, 1995; McQuail, 1994; McQuail & Windahl, 1993; Severin & Tankard, 1992).

Historical research then becomes a search for the best indicators, not the perfect ones, for showing a relationship between the media and public attitudes (Caudill, 1997). Mayer (1992) concluded that four things influence attitude change: generational changes, social and demographic change, external events and media. Mayer agrees that it is difficult to quantify the strength of the media but also agrees that the media do have an effect. Mayer believed people learn about things either through personal experiences or the media. With this assumption, the media act as agents between the public and external events.

Journalists themselves are not innocent bystanders to an event who merely

relay the information to the public. The writers of newspaper articles or editors of videotape determine what information and ideas will be transmitted to the public and how the information will be transmitted (Mayer, 1992). Journalists and other gatekeepers influence information by deciding what to cover and then by positioning the story in a newspaper or broadcast. Word choice and editorializing within the story also influence the way the public perceives a story. The media have the ability to inform people about events and shape the way those events are interpreted or understood (Mayer, 1992).

Agenda Setting

This brings about the question of agenda setting. Do the media set the public agenda or does the public set the media agenda? Agenda setting theory is based upon issue salience, or importance. It hypothesizes that the issues emphasized in the media, the media agenda, will correlate in what the public says are important issues, the public agenda. McCombs and Shaw (1972) hypothesized that the issues emphasized in the news media influence the issues voters regard as important. The media agenda would thus determine the public agenda. They examined stories being covered by major newspapers and on television in Chapel Hill, N.C., during the 1968 presidential election. The study wanted to match what Chapel Hill voters said were key issues of the campaign and what was the actual content of the mass media used by the voter was (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The media agenda consisted of the amount of coverage given to issues. The public agenda consisted of responses given to questions about what concerned the public. The results showed a strong correlation between the

amount of coverage given to issues and what the public believed to be important issues. This gives evidence to the idea voters learn from the information available to them through various types of media.

McCombs and Shaw are credited with demonstrating through empirical research what some communication researchers had believed for 50 years -- that there is an agenda setting function of the mass media (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Walter Lippman (1922) realized the media have an influence over the "pictures in our heads." Each person has a picture of what society is like and the media or news influence what that picture is. The media provide information that help people form pictures in their head (Takeshita, 1997).

Although Lippman (1922) first introduced the concept, the study by McCombs and Shaw returned the idea to the agenda of communication scholars. Since the Chapel Hill study was published in 1972, there have been hundreds of agenda setting studies (McCombs & Shaw, 1993). The debate continued about the influence of the media with a lack of consensus of what effect the media do have. Each new idea or theory brought about research and spawned new ideas or theories. Agenda setting is no different. While the debate continues over the power of the media to set the public agenda, agenda setting theory has spawned other theories.

Second Level of Agenda Setting

A second level of agenda setting has been developed that focuses not on whether the media set the public agenda but how the media report an issue. This shift goes from the assertion that the media not only tell society what to think about but

how to think about it (Ghanem, 1997). This second level of agenda setting deals with the attributes of a topic and how this agenda of attributes also influences public perceptions of issues (McCombs & Evatt, 1995). Both the selection of issues for coverage and the selection of frames for thinking about these issues are agenda setting roles. Takeshita (1997) wrote, "by designating what aspects of a certain issue to attend to, agenda setting at the subissue level can influence the perspective with which people see the issue as a whole" (p. 23).

The first level of agenda setting is concerned with the transfer of object salience from the media to the public agenda, but the second level of agenda setting deals with two hypotheses about issue salience (Ghanem, 1997). Ghanem (1997) posed the two hypotheses as:

1. The way an issue or other object is covered in the media (the attributes emphasized in the news) affects the way the public thinks about that object.
2. The way an issue or other object is covered in the media (the attributes emphasized in the news) affects the salience of that object on the public agenda. (p. 4).

Researchers, including Iyengar and Simon (1993), have distinguished between the first and second level of agenda setting by calling the attributes given to an issue or object a frame.

Framing

Attention to attribute-agenda setting may be explained by the rise of framing in communication research. Takeshita (1997) wrote that framing research "explores

how the media frame an issue or a problem and how this affects people's understanding of that issue" (p. 23).

Gitlin (1980) first introduced the concept of framing to communication research in his examination of how CBS trivialized a student movement during the 1960s. There were a variety of ways CBS could have covered the event. It could have focused on what the focus of the protest was, provided alternatives to the problem or told how the officials were dealing with the protesters. The aim of Gitlin's study was to demonstrate that the attributes of issues emphasized in news coverage do influence public opinion.

Goffman (1974) maintained that people actively classify, organize and interpret life experiences to make sense of them. These interpretations, which are labeled as frames, enable people "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" events or information (Goffman, 1974, p. 21). Gitlin (1980) defines frames as "persistent selection, emphasis and exclusion (p. 7). To Gans, a frame is a "central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning" to events related to an issue (Gans & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143). Framing can also be viewed as placing information in context so certain elements of the issue would get more attention from a person (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Riechert (1996) defined framing as "the selective definition or representation of an event, issue or idea" (p. 5). Entman (1993) wrote that frames "call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements, which might lead audiences to have reactions" (p. 55). A story angle "which transforms an occurrence into a news event, and that, in turn, into a news report, is a frame"

(Mendelsohn, 1993, p. 150).

Entman (1993) wrote that frames have four locations in the communication process: the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture. He wrote:

Communicators make conscious or unconscious framing judgments in deciding what to say, guided by frames (often called schemata) that organize their belief systems. The text contains frames that are manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provided thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgements. The frames that guide the receiver's thinking and conclusion may or may not reflect the frames in the text and the framing intention of the communicator. The culture is the stock of commonly invoked frames; in fact, culture might be defined as the empirically demonstratable set of common frames exhibited in the discourse of talking and thinking of most people in a social grouping. (pp. 52-53)

All four places where framing occurs involve the selection and highlighting of some information and the exclusion of other information (Entman, 1993 & Riechert, 1996). The word framing is conceptualized differently in most of the studies, but most do reach a consensus that the "word frame means the perspective a person applies to define an event or a problem" (Takeshita, 1997, p. 23).

Entman (1993) defines framing as selecting "some aspects of perceived reality and mak(ing) them more salient in a communicating text" (p. 52). In this use salient means to make a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful and memorable to readers, listeners or viewers. Journalists can make information more salient by the placement or repetition of information. The frame determines how people understand and perceive an issue, and frames call attention to particular things (Entman, 1993). Framing may occur through journalistic objectivity. Entman (1993) wrote, "Journalists may follow the rules for 'objective reporting' and yet convey a dominant

framing of the news text that prevents most audiences members from making a balanced assessment of a situation" (p. 56).

How media frame an issue sets an agenda of attributes and influences how the public perceives it. News slant does influence public opinion (Entman, 1989). Ghanem (1997) wrote "depending on how an issue is presented or framed in the media, the public will think about that issue in a particular way" (p. 7). Framing theory is not just a way for naming or labeling things but for creating, shaping and eliciting responses to those things. Journalists transform language from "an instrument for describing reality to that of an instrument for defining reality" (Donati, 1992, p. 141). The way media cover an issue influences on how the public thinks about the issue.

Research Questions

So, framing research suggests the media could have played a role in the growth of sports and sports heroes during the 1920s. This research will mainly examine golf coverage in newspapers. More specifically, this research will examine the writings of O.B. Keelor in the *Atlanta Journal* and Grantland Rice in the *New York Herald Tribune*.

To guide the examination of this research, the following general research questions are asked.

1. Were O.B. Keelor's frames of Bobby Jones ballyhoo in nature?
2. Did Grantland Rice actively and explicitly promote golf in his columns?
3. How did Grantland Rice frame golf stories in his columns?

4. Did Rice's golf writings differ from his baseball writings?
5. Were Rice and Keelor the only sportswriters doing this?

Sample

Grantland Rice's column "Tales from a Wayside Tee" was published weekly in *New York Tribune* and later the *Herald Tribune* from 1920 until he left the paper in 1930. The column appeared in the Sunday edition of the paper. His "Sportlight" column appeared nearly daily in the *Herald Tribune*, but only the column appearing in the Sunday edition will be used in this study. Sunday was picked because this is also when his "Tales of a Wayside Tee Column" was published. This aided in the gathering of the columns. The "Sportlight" column was used to determine if Rice was promoting other sports other than golf and in particular baseball. The time frame will be April 1 through Oct. 31 of each year. This is the time of baseball season and also when the major tournaments in golf were being played. This will allow for about 280 articles from each column. To add perspective to this a sample of articles written by Paul Gallico at the *New York Daily News* will be used as a comparison with Rice's "Sportlight" columns.

Gallico wrote a daily column for the *New York Daily News* during the 1920s and 1930s. His column from April 15 to April 30, from the last two weeks of Major League Baseball season and from the weeks of the U.S. Open and U.S. Amateur were used for this study. The years from 1925 and 1930 were used and this provided approximately 200 articles for analyses.

O.B. Keelor's articles in the *Atlanta Journal* about major championship golf

tournaments that Bobby Jones played in from 1923 to 1930 will be used as well. Jones played in 22 major championships during that time. The week of each tournament will be used, which will allow for 154 days worth of articles. There were four major tournaments during that time: the U.S. Open, the U.S. Amateur, the British Open, and the British Amateur. Jones did not play in each one every year.

Why Study Sport?

Sport touches nearly every aspect of American society. The field of medicine has adopted the specialty of sport medicine, much like psychology has the sub discipline of sport psychology. It is not usual to see football's Super Bowl champions visiting the White House or the champion of the National Basketball Association doing the same. Sport is closely intertwined with education with physical education classes being a part of most all elementary school students' routine. Even in the daily newspaper, the business section often has less content than the sports section.

The study of sport emerged from sociology, and during the early years of this discipline it was not thought of as a very scholarly pursuit. But within the latter decades of the 20th century the sociology of sport has developed as a sub discipline of sociology (Eitzen & Sage, 1982). Sport takes place in social settings and has an influence in the social life of Americans of all ages. Sport allows a researcher to examine phenomena that exist not only in sport but in other parts of society as well (Eitzen and Sage, 1982). Qualities such as racism, competitiveness, materialism and control for power are as much a part of sport as any other aspect of society. If one is going to study race relations and violence in society, the inclusion of sport would be a

necessity (Edwards, 1973). The desegregation of baseball in the 1940s, and the stance Tommie Smith and John Carlos took during the 1968 Mexico City Olympics² have had an impact on society. Edwards (1973) wrote, "Sport sociology is concerned with the description and explanation of the interrelation between sports and other societal components (p.10).

Sport is a social institution and can be described, investigated and analyzed like any other social institutions such as marriage, family politics or religion. Sport reflects the dominant social themes in society and to know something about the sporting and leisure habits of society will help understand what is significant in society (Lucas & Smith, 1978). Sport is a microcosm of society and provides insight about the nature of society. Boyle (1963) wrote:

Sport permeates any number of levels of contemporary society and it touches upon and deeply influences such disparate elements as status, race relations, business life, automotive design, clothing styles, the concept of the hero, language, and ethical values. For better or worse, it gives form and substance to much in American life. (pp. 3-4)

The significance of sport in society is shown by the media coverage, the money spent on it, and the number of participants and spectators. Sport has left its mark on popular culture through movies, books, leisure activities and everyday conversation (Leonard II, 1993).

Sport generates many of the more pervasive social institutions in American

² Smith and Carlos made their famous Black Power salutes after finishing first and third in the 200 meters. They went to the medal podium wearing, black socks and one black glove each, Carlos with a beaded African necklace, Smith with a black scarf. All of the medallists wore a large white button emblazoned with "Olympic Project for Human Rights," an organization the young activist Harry Edwards had formed a year earlier to address the civil rights concerns of African-American Olympians. During the playing of the "The Star Spangled Banner," Smith and Carlos thrust their gloved fists skyward, and bowed their heads.

society. Nearly three million children competed in either Little League baseball or softball during 1998, and nearly 40 million people watched Super Bowl XXXIII in 1999. Sporting events are broadcast continuously. A walk through a bookstore will show countless books and magazines about sports. Sport vernacular has even invaded American's everyday language. Phrases such as "out in left field," "ballpark figure," "cheap shot," "touch base," and "struck out" have become common in conversation (Snyder & Spreitzer, 1978). Sport is a social phenomenon worthy of study.

Chapter 3

The Development of Golf in the United States

The 1920s were indeed a grand time for golf. Beginning with Francis Ouimet's playoff win in the 1913 United States Open over Britain's Harry Vardon and Ted Ray, the end of British dominance in golf was nearing. The United States was seen as the world power in the game by the end of the 1920s. Johnny McDermott's wins in the 1911 and 1912 United States Open marked the first time an American-born resident had won the championship. From McDermott's victories to 1930, Americans won 10 of the 16 U.S. Opens that were contested. This was quite a change in patterns considering an American golfer had not won any of the previous 16 U.S. Opens.

American golfers were also taking control of the British Open. Walter Hagen's win in 1922 was the first by an American-born golfer, and an American won nine of the 11 British Opens contested between 1920 and 1930. Americans won nine of the 11 Professional Golfer Association Championships during that same time.

The initiation of two international competitions in the 1920s and American dominance in them also caused a great deal of interest in the sport. The Walker Cup matches pitting American and British amateurs began in 1922 with the United States winning the five matches contested in the 1920s. The United States won the first Ryder Cup matches in 1927 that pitted American and British professionals against one another.

The American dominance helped create interest in golf, but the emergence of three great golfers also created interest in the game. Hagen had already made a name for himself prior to 1920 by winning the U.S. Open in 1914 and 1919. But during the 1920s, he won four British Opens and five PGA Championships. But more importantly, he made it acceptable for a person to be a professional golfer.

Hagen's chief rival on the professional circuit was Gene Sarazen, who by the end of his career had 37 victories on the Professional Golfers Association Tour and won seven major championships. He captured the U.S. Open in 1922 along with the PGA Championship that year and successfully defended his PGA Championship in 1923. Like Hagen, Sarazen gave up life as a club professional and attempted to earn his living by only playing golf.

He beat Hagen in a one-on-one match in 1923. Anyone who was good enough to beat Hagen received praise, and that coupled with his other victories made Sarazen a hero (Barkow, 1989; Martin, 1936). He was in high demand for golfing exhibitions and did thousands during his career. Sarazen did not play as much as Hagen and others during the 1920s because of injuries, but he played enough to create interest. He is one of only four golfers to have won¹ the modern day golf Grand Slam, which consists of the U.S. and British Opens, the Masters and the PGA Championship (Barkow, 1989; McMillan, 1988).

While Hagan and Sarazen were the most prominent names at the top in professional golf, the name at the top of the golfing world, both professional and

¹ Sarazen won the 1922 and 1932 U.S. Opens, the 1922, 1923 and 1932 PGA Championships, the 1932 British Open and the 1935 Masters.

amateur, during the 1920s was Bobby Jones. The Georgia native is considered by many to be the greatest golfer of all time. He played in 31 major championships and won 13 of them. He capped his career in 1930 by winning the U.S. and British Opens and U.S. and British Amateurs. Those four tournaments were the Grand Slam of golf at the time. After his sweep of the majors, he retired from competitive golf at the age of 28. Three golfing heroes thus emerged from the 1920s, helping the advances in the growth of the game.

American Prosperity and Golf in the 1920s

While it was a grand time for sports, it was also a grand time for the rest of America as well. One of the results of World War I was that it left the United States as the only truly vigorous industrial nation because of the effects the war had on Europe (Current, et al, 1987). This helped create the great economic prosperity of the decade. This in turn helped create the society of consumerism. People began buying things not only out of need but out of want. Household appliances such as refrigerators and washing machines, mass-produced fashions and commercially distributed foods were available (Current, et al, 1987). This also meant people could spend money to travel and witness sporting events, and they could also spend money on sporting equipment, including golf clubs, golf balls and fees to play golf.

The emergence of golf at country clubs also was a factor in the role of the growth of the game during the 1920s. The country club had also become the focal point of the social life of suburban communities (Allen, 1931), and the ability to play had become practically essential to the business executive. As the popularity of golf

grew, more and more country clubs began adopting the sport. The number of country clubs grew during the decade as many golf clubs merged with country clubs. This gave members of the golf club the social benefits of a country club and members of the country club a golf course. Golf became nearly synonymous with country club life during the 1920s (Mayo, 1998). Compared to other clubs prior to 1920, such as boating and equestrian sport clubs, golf was inexpensive. Not all suburban country clubs in the 1920s were aristocratic, and some offered sports and social functions for most everyone (Moss, 1993).

Another attractive feature of golf was that it took no great athletic skill to play the game. It took no special physical attribute to take part in the sport, and a person could even play the game by himself. The game could be played by people of all ages and gender and athletic skill only played a small role in being able to play (Moss, 1993).

Presidents on the Links

American presidents were also playing golf during the first decades of the twentieth century and presidents are influential in shaping public opinion. In fact, every president but Herbert Hoover, Harry Truman and Jimmy Carter in the twentieth century has been a golfer. The first golfing president was William Howard Taft, and he played the game as often as he could. In picking Taft as his successor, Theodore Roosevelt thought Taft only had one problem and that was his well-publicized infatuation with golf (Campbell & Landau, 1998). Taft's golfing attracted the attention of the national press, and during his time in office, newspapers and magazines

depicted him playing golf. Golf may not have been good for Taft politically, but the exposure he gave golf between 1909 and 1913 was good for the game. The coverage given to Taft playing golf was a great boom for golf and helped stimulate interest and growth in the game (Campbell & Landau, 1998).

Former U.S. Amateur champion Walter J. Travis wrote in 1910 that golf was a great sport for people who had reached the prime of their life. Taft was a "potent factor" in bringing about the interest in the game for those people. Travis (1910) added, "many men who otherwise might not have been led to taken up the game have done so since Mr. Taft became Chief Executive, a little over a year ago" (p. 651).

Following Taft in the White House was Woodrow Wilson, and like Taft, he enjoyed playing golf. Wilson was an avid golfer and played as many as six times a week. Warren G. Harding followed Wilson, and he brought his golf clubs with him. Harding's golf game received media attention as well, and one of his frequent golfing partners was sportswriter Grantland Rice. Rice's newspaper and magazine articles occasionally referred to golf outings with the president. Rice also referred to golf's place in the White House. He wrote:

Racing may be the sport of kings, but golf is the sport of Presidents and those who are willing to be elected if enough voters feel the same way about it.

Tennis and boxing ended as Presidential sports when President Roosevelt served his last term.

When William Howard Taft came in the mashie, the brassie, and the niblick supplanted the racket and the boxing glove.

President Wilson maintained golf as the White House sport.

And now we have action photos of Senator Harding and Governor Cox, all taken with golf clubs poised in mid-air, either upon the fairway or somewhere over the mottled heather.

Which is sufficient indication that golf is to serve its fourth term as the Presidential relaxation. Golf has reigned now for twelve years as the leading sport of the nation's first citizen, with at least four years more ahead. The time may come with a Presidential candidate will have to state in advance whether he favors the closed or the open stance, the Vardon or the V grip, before he can even be nominated. (*New York Tribune*, July, 18, 1920, p. 16)

Harding's publicized play brought some criticism that he was playing too much golf, but he continued to play. Wilhelm (1921) wrote, "President Harding is an ardent lover of the game of golf, ever ready, rain or shine, to tuck his bag of clubs under his arm and journey to the nearest links for a game" (p. 22).

Harding was a member of the United States Golf Association's executive committee. That fact along with his devotion to the game influenced "high-living statesmen and business men who are, with every passing day, turning to the links in an effort to add years to their span of life, and inches, as it were, to their mental statures" (Wilhelm, 1921, p. 22). Harding's golfing brought attention to the game and may have spurred people to play more or even take up the game (Campbell, et al, 1998). The last president of the 1920s, Calvin Coolidge, played golf but not with the passion of the previous three White House golfers. The play of the four presidents during the early years of the twentieth century did influence the growth of the game.

But presidents playing golf and the other golf news would never have been known to the public without the media. Newspapers and magazines spread the world about what was occurring in the world of golf. People who knew nothing or little about golf before the decade waited anxiously to read the newspaper to find out how Bobby Jones had fared (Allen, 1931).

The game increased in popularity during the decade. Ten million rounds of golf were played on 208 public courses registered with the Public Links Section of the USGA in 1925. Twenty-one new public courses were opened and 15 million rounds of golf were played in 1926 (Weaver, 1939). This was remarkable for a game that had just established itself in the United States only four decades earlier.

Early Development of Golf in the United States

The first mention of golf in the United States can be traced to 1657, and a few golf clubs were formed as early as the 1780s in the United States (Martin, 1936). The clubs that were formed were mostly for social reasons, and golf was only a secondary activity. Golf was being played in the South but the War of 1812 seemed to stop all progress of the game, and there was no mention of golf again until the 1880s (Martin, 1936). Golf was being played throughout the South and parts of the Midwest but it was the Northeast where golf firmly established itself in the United States. Although golf had been played in the United States prior to 1888, it was in that year that golf became an organized sport.

The Apple Tree Gang

John Reid, a transplanted Scotsman living in Yonkers, New York, spent his leisure time participating in field sports such as hunting and shooting. Reid grew tired of these sports and wanted to try something different. He had seen golf played while living in Scotland and wanted to try his hand at this sport. So, when Robert Lockhart, a friend of Reid's, returned to the Britain on business in 1887, Reid asked him to send back some golf equipment (Wind, 1948).

Lockhart went to the St. Andrews Golf Club in Scotland and purchased from Old Tom Morris, the most celebrated professional of the day, several golf clubs and some balls. He had the equipment sent back to the United States and upon its arrival, turned the clubs and balls over to Reid (Wind, 1948).

Feb. 22, 1888, was a mild day in New York, and Reid set out to test his skill at golf. He invited some friends to his house, and in a pasture across from his home, Reid set up a three-hole golf course. Since there were not enough clubs for everyone to participate, Reid and John Upham played one another. No scores were kept, but there was enough interest and enjoyment to cause more sets of clubs to be ordered (Wind, 1948).

Eventually the course was expanded to six holes and throughout the summer of the 1888, golf was a regular event for Reid and his group of friends. The St. Andrews Golf Club was officially formed Nov. 14, 1888, at Reid's home (Wind, 1948), and this marked the official beginning of golf in the United States (Peper, 1988). Reid and his friends formed the club to ensure they could continue to enjoy their outings on the golf course. A primary purpose was to share expenses, and a club would also serve as a means for expansion of the group when other people would want to join (Wind, 1948).

In April 1892, the course was moved to an apple orchard where a six-hole course was established. The golfers of Yonkers were now known as the "Apple Tree Gang." Membership in the club was expanding, and expansion was once again an issue. Some members believed an apple orchard was not the best place for a golf

course, and the course paled in comparison to two other golf courses in the New York area (Wind, 1948) and two 18-hole golf courses in Chicago. Many of the new members believed St. Andrews should be setting the standard for golf courses and not just be an also-ran.

In response, the club established a course at Grey Oaks in May 1894, and built a clubhouse and locker room. It was also here the club began to grow and find itself. The course was easily accessible by train, and many New York businessmen traveled to the course seeking relaxation (Wind, 1948). Three years later, though, the club made its final move to Mt. Hope, where there was room to build an 18-hole course.

The first American Amateur Championship was held at Grey Oaks in 1894, and St. Andrews' players participated in the first team matches between golf clubs. St. Andrews also a key player in the establishment of the United States Golf Association (Wind, 1948).

The forming of the USGA

The Newport (Rhode Island) Golf Club opened a nine-hole course in 1894 at Rocky Farm where stone walls made their way through the course. The Newport members liked the stone walls and claimed them as one of the chief merits of the course. Willie Davis, the club professional, added more difficulty to the course by adding mounds and pot bunkers. The course with its artificial hazards made for a hard course rather than a good test of skill (Wind, 1948).

The enthusiasm of the members resulted in the club inviting golfers from other clubs to come to Newport in September for a tournament. This tournament

would decide the top amateur and professional player in the country (Wind, 1948). Chicago's Charlie Macdonald, who initiated the building of the first 18-hole golf course in the United States, was a heavy favorite, and his first day score of 89 gave him a four-stroke lead over his nearest competitor. On the second day of the medal play competition, Macdonald carded a 100, which enabled Newport's William G. Lawrence to win by one stroke (Peper, 1988; Wind, 1948).

Macdonald did not accept the defeat well. His ultimate downfall came when he topped a shot and the ball rolled into a stone wall. Macdonald was forced to take a two-stroke penalty so he could move the ball. Macdonald claimed the stone wall was not a legitimate golf hazard, so the two-stroke penalty was not a legitimate penalty. Macdonald also believed the only true way to determine a champion was through match play and not medal play² (Wind, 1948).

He succeeded in stirring up controversy, and the St. Andrews Club announced it would hold a match-play tournament in October to determine the American amateur champion. Twenty-seven golfers from eight clubs set out on the course at Grey Oaks to determine the champion (Wind, 1948).

Macdonald made it to the championship match and was pitted against Laurence Stoddard. Stoddard did not succumb to the pressure of playing against Macdonald, and the two were tied after 18 holes. On the first extra hole, Macdonald hit his tee shot into a plowed field, and it took him three shots to get the ball back into

² Match play is a layed with each hole being a separate contest. The team or player winning the most holes, rather than having the lowest score, is the winner. The winner of the first hole is "one up". Even if the player wins that hole by two or three strokes, he is still only "one up". The lead is increased every time the player wins another hole. The winner is the one who wins the most holes. This was the

the fairway. Macdonald lost the hole and the championship, but once again had an excuse. He claimed he was ill and not playing at his best, so he refused to recognize Stoddard as the national champion (Wind, 1948). Stoddard had won a tournament sponsored by only one club. How could one club speak for the entire nation? Macdonald believed before a tournament could be called a national championship, it would have to meet the approval of all clubs, and those clubs would have to be joined in an official organization (Wind, 1948).

Some of the country's more prominent golfers believed this type of controversy would be damaging to golf, and a recognized authority should be established to settle differences and establish rules. St. Andrew's Henry Tallmadge then invited two members from the country's five most prominent clubs to New York for the purpose of establishing a governing body of golf in the United States. So, in December 1894, the 10 men met and formed the Amateur Golf Association of the United States (Wind, 1948). The aims of the organization were "to promote the interests in the game of golf, to promulgate a code of rules for the game, to hold annual meetings at which competitions shall be conducted for the amateur and open championships of the United States" (Wind, 1948, p. 40).

The original name was not suitable because the organization also dealt with professional golf, so the name was changed to the American Golf Association. This name had problems as well because the organization had no control over Canadian golf. The third and final name resulted in the United States Golf Association (Wind,

original form of golf competition. Medal play or stroke play is decided by the overall number of strokes used to complete the round or rounds.

1948). The first official United States Amateur Championship was held at Newport in October 1895. The champion was Charlie Macdonald.

Ouimet and the Open

Another significant event in the growth of golf in the United States occurred at the 1913 United States Open. Twenty-year-old Francis Ouimet, the son of a French-Canadian mailman, won that year's Open. This is considered one of the most significant golf tournaments in the history of the game (Codd, 1988). His win was front-page news for many New York newspapers and literally put golf on page one in the United States. The *New York Times* had the story on the front page with the story jumping to the front page of the sports section. The main headline in the sports section read "Great British Golfers defeated by Massachusetts Boy in National Open Tourney." Eight stories about the win appeared on the front page of the *Times'* sports section (*New York Times*, Sept. 21, 1913). The *New York Tribune's* headline the following day was "Francis Ouimet, a Youthful Amateur, Astounds Golfing World by Beating Veteran Masters of Game and Winning Open Title." Like the *Times*, the *Tribune* had eight articles about the tournament on the front page of the sports section. The *New York Evening Mail* also ran the story on the front page with the headline "Ouimet Outclasses Vardon and Ray, Wins U.S. Open Golf Title" (*New York Evening Mail*, Sept. 20, 1913, p. 1). Ouimet's victory help catapult golf into the national spotlight (Sharff, 1973).

The tension leading up to the 1913 Open had been building for months because of the presence of Harry Vardon, the great English golfer and his playing

partner, Ted Ray. Vardon had already won five British Opens and had won the U.S. Open in 1900. He was making his second playing tour of the United States and with Ray had won all 40 of their exhibition matches leading up to the U.S. Open. Vardon and Ray were touring the United States with the backing of Lord Northcliffe, owner of the *London Times*. Northcliffe believed British representation in the U.S. Open would be good for advancing the interest in sport between the two countries (Vardon, 1933). The two competed as a team against American golfers, and where they played record crowds turned out to see them. At the end of their tour they headed to Brookline, Mass., to play in the U.S. Open. It seemed in all probability that either Vardon or Ray would win this tournament as well (Codd, 1988). Vardon himself believed that he and Ray had an excellent chance of winning because both of them were playing solid golf (Vardon, 1933).

But at the end of 72 holes of regulation play at Brookline Country Club outside of Boston, Vardon, Ray and Ouimet all stood tied at 304. The 18-hole playoff was set for the next day. In a drenching rain, Ouimet shot 72 while Vardon carded a 77, and Ray totaled 78. Ouimet was the winner of the tournament (Codd, 1988). Two of Britain's best players had been beaten by an American amateur, leading to a shift in who would dominate golf in the years ahead. This was a great shock to British golf and golfers (Browning, 1955). Robert Watson, president of the USGA at the time, said, "I can hardly believe it. It is amazing. Am I delighted? How foolish a question. It's the most wonderful thing that ever happened in the history of golf" (*New York Tribune*, Sept. 21, 1913, Part Two, p. 1).

Ouimet won the United States Amateur Championship the next year. After that he advanced to the semifinals of the United States Amateur four times, but could never get back to the championship match. But just when everyone thought Ouimet's chances of winning another major title were over, he came back and won the U.S. Amateur in 1931 at Beverley Country Club in Chicago. A full 17 years later, Ouimet was back on top the golfing world (Browning, 1955). He was the first American to be elected captain of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club in St. Andrews in 1951. But he never did a greater service to golf in the United States than when he won the U.S. Open at Brookline. (Browning, 1955).

The impact of Ouimet's win may not have so dramatic if he had been from a wealthy family. He was a person everyone could identify with, not just people in the golfing community. He was only in his early 20s, an ex-caddy, and spent his summer vacations during high school working. It seemed overnight that non-wealthy Americans found golf a sport they could identify with. The reigning U.S. Open champion was just like everybody else in middle class America (Wind, 1948).

Vardon was naturally disappointed that he did not win the 1913 U.S. Open, but believed Ouimet's win would be good for American golf. Vardon (1933) wrote:

I felt afterwards on thinking over the outcome of this meeting that the American's success would do more for the advancement of the game in the United States than anything which could have possibly happened. On further reflection as I write, I feel firmly convinced it was from this date the seeds were sown for that which in later years was to become the remarkable improvement in the play of golfers of the United States, an improvement which has resulted in their continued supremacy over their British rivals for the last decade. (p. 210)

Hagen and Professional Golf

Hagen was playing in the 1913 U.S. Open that Ouimet won, and the 21-year-old garnered a fourth place finish. His play did not go unnoticed, but what gave it more impact was his style (Barkow, 1989). Hagen wore clothing that was stylish in contrast to the drab clothing worn by most professional golfers of the era (Barkow, 1989).

He defeated amateur Charles “Chick” Evans in 1914 to win the U.S. Open, and won the Open again in 1919. His four victories at the British Open and five Professional Golf Association Championships gave him 11 major titles in his career. He won numerous other tournaments in a playing career that lasted into the 1930s (Barkow, 1989). But one of his greatest accomplishments was that he almost single-handedly lifted the professional golfer out of the caddie shack and into the clubhouse (Scharff, 1973).

Hagen had quite a personality and was a free spirit, but what he wasn't going to do was get caught in the life of being a club professional (Barkow, 1989). Hagen was the first American golfer to make his living solely as a player. He was the first professional golfer rather than a golf professional. This did not mean that hundreds of golfers started becoming touring professionals, but he did show it was possible to earn a living just playing golf (Barkow, 1989).

Professional golfers did not enjoy a high status during the earlier part of the twentieth century. Before Hagen, professionals were obscure, poorly paid and lowly regarded (Scharff, 1973). Professional athletes in general were not well regarded

during this time. Sport was to be played for the pure enjoyment of the game and not for money. But Hagen helped make being a professional golfer an accepted profession. He refused to enter clubhouses through back doors, which was the traditional entrance for professionals. He believed if he was good enough to play in the tournament, he was good enough to use the front door that was reserved for gentleman. There was nothing contradictory about being a gentlemen and a professional golfer (Wind, 1948).

Hagen not only showed that a living could be made playing in tournaments, but also took advantage of the money to be made from exhibitions. He played in approximately 2,000 exhibitions during his 20-some-year playing career and was a born showman (Wind, 1948). To play in this many exhibition matches during this era of golf, meant that Hagen had to travel to many rural areas. His willingness to travel and play in these places help spread the game. People in these areas had never seen the game played so well and especially not by such a famous person (Barkow, 1989).

Ried, Ouimet and Hagen were all instrumental in the establishment and growth of golf during the first decades of the twentieth century. Sport in general was experiencing a tremendous amount of growth during this time.

Who Was Playing?

White males dominated golf during the 1920s. The crisis years of the Civil Rights movement for African-Americans was still 40 years away. The Professional Golfers Association Tour did not allow African-Americans to participate and had a clause in the rules that only Caucasians could play (Sinnette, 1998). African-

Americans had their own tournaments, which were open to anyone regardless of race, but very few Caucasians played in them. Not until November 1961 did African-Americans have full playing privileges on the PGA Tour (Sinnette, 1998). African-Americans did have playing privileges in the United States Golf Association events such as the U.S. Open and U.S. Amateur. The USGA has never had any clause prohibiting participation due to race. An African-American actually competed in the U.S. Open held in 1896 (Jarris, 2000). Other ethnic groups did not seem to have any problem participating in tournaments during the 1920s. Gene Sarazen, of Italian descent, was one of the most successful and well-liked players during the decade.

Golfing opportunities were available to women and people other than upper class as well. More and more public courses were built because of the growing interest in golf and this made the game more affordable for everyone to play. Women have been a part of golfing history in the United States since the days of the Apple Tree Gang. The wives of the members of the Apple Tree Gang grew tired of their husbands always being away playing golf so they started their own course (Martin, 1936). Women continued to play and there was some opposition to them playing. The USGA did begin sponsoring a women's amateur championship in 1895, the same year the championship for the men started. Establishing a professional golfers tour was a struggle though and was not firmly established until 1950.

There was discrimination toward African-Americans during the 1920s, but other ethnic groups had the opportunity to participate. Women were not fully accepted in the golfing establishment, but they did have the opportunity to play.

Chapter 4

Growth of Sport

This chapter will examine the factors that influenced the growth of sport from the mid-1850s to the end of World War I. Golf was growing in popularity at the beginning of the twentieth century, and so was sport in general. Several factors were at play at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century that caused all sports to develop.

The Industrial Revolution caused several things to occur that influenced sports growth. It led to urbanization, and the evolution of the city more than any other factor influenced the development of organized sport and leisure activities in the United States. The city was a place for sports to become organized and commercialized. Urban areas were a site for the establishment and growth of billiard rooms, bowling alleys, gymnasiums, racetracks and other sports facilities. Urban areas also gave rise to sports clubs for both amateur and professional athletes and professional sports (Riess, 1989). The growth and expansion of cities also aided in the construction of municipal parks and playgrounds which in turn encouraged recreational activities and provided a place for urban residents to spend their leisure time (Riess, 1989). Urbanization brought a need for commercialized spectator sports and aided in their development (Betts, 1984).

Higher standards of living and increased leisure time also aided in sports growth (Betts, 1984). Industrialization brought a reduction in worktime and increased the age of people who were entering the workforce (Cross, 1990). The redistribution

of time brought leisure hours. The eight-hour workday gave people free evenings, and workers eventually were able to shorten the workweek giving weekends free. Summer vacations came into existence, and the length of the childhood increased (Cross, 1990). Without the reduction in work time, there could not have been an increase in leisure and an interest in sports (Cross, 1990). As the Industrial Revolution created manufacturing jobs, a sedentary lifestyle developed. Sport then offered the opportunity for exercise and the vigor of physical activity (Betts, 1984). Sport also served as compensation for the closing of the frontier. Sport enabled people to still experience adventure and vigor and test their physical courage through sport (Betts, 1984). These notions are what led to outdoor sports such as canoeing, hiking, backpacking and kayaking.

Improvements in transportation spread interest in sport. The development of the railroad made it easier for sports teams to travel from city to city. The railroad also brought spectators to sporting events because it made the journey to watch those events much easier (Lucus & Smith, 1978) The steamship had the same influence. Early boxing matches were held near rivers where steamships could easily transport spectators (Betts, 1984). The steamship and railroad were also vital in transporting thoroughbred horses to and from races and spectators to watch the events.

The railroad, in fact, was directly responsible for the first intercollegiate athletic event, a rowing match between Harvard and Yale and sponsored by the Boston, Concord and Montreal Railroad (Kelley, 1932).

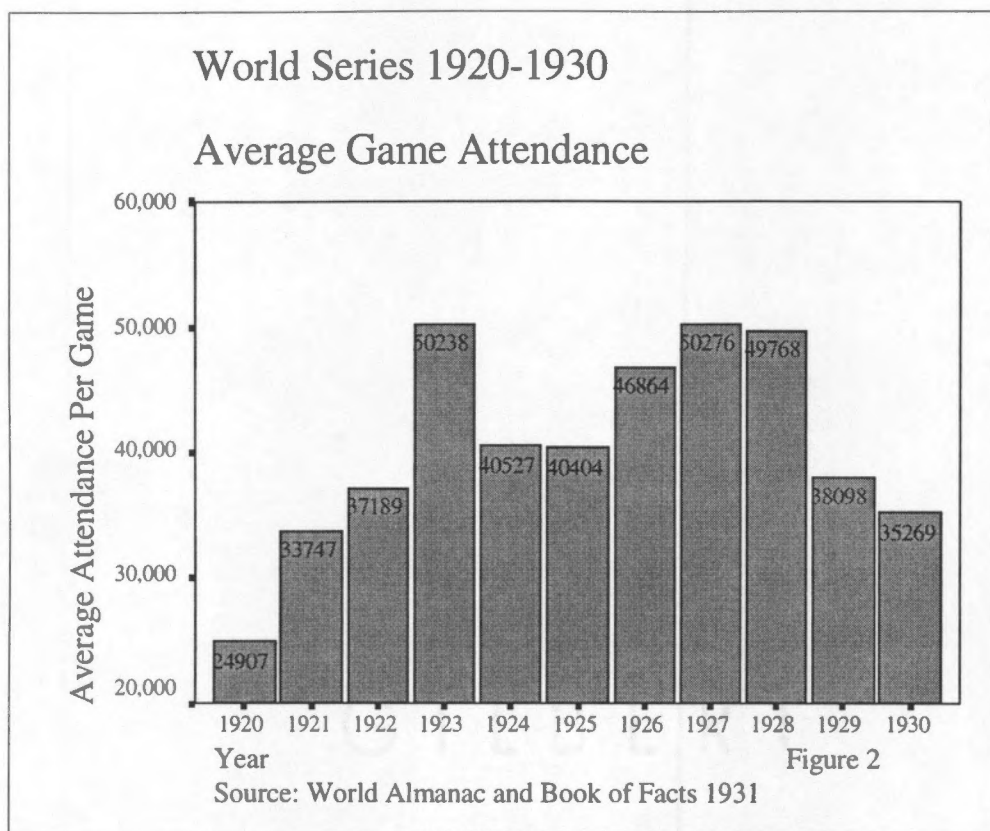


Figure 2: World Series 1920-1930 Average Game Attendance

The railroad offered to pay the expenses of the two teams to travel to Vermont and race on Lake Winnepesaukee. The railroad was trying to promote the summer resort area (Radar, 1996) and sell tickets to spectators to travel and watch the race.

As cities began to be linked by railroad, baseball teams began traveling to play games. The railroad was instrumental in the formation of baseball's National League in 1876. All the teams in the league were connected by the Michigan Central railroad, and through the latter half of the nineteenth century the railroad was indispensable in the popularizing of baseball (Betts, 1984). Figure 2 shows the increase in World Series attendance from 1920 to 1930. Attendance peaked at more than 50,000 twice

during the decade before dropping back to 35,000 in 1930. But between 1920 and 1930 there was nearly a 30 percent increase. More accessible transportation as well as more leisure time were contributors to this.

The electric streetcar opened up suburban areas and the countryside to city dwellers. Spectators could easily be transported to and from horse races, baseball games and other sporting events within a city (Betts, 1984). As the popularity of sports grew, racetracks and baseball fields were ideally built on inexpensive land near public transportation (Riess, 1989).

Inventions also aided in sport growth. The electric light allowed for sport participation at night. The stopwatch helped various kinds of racing become more precise. Artificial ice was developed for skating rinks. Improved equipment such as the sliding seat in a rowing shell, catcher's mask and golf ball also improved sports and increased participation. Basketball and volleyball were invented in the 1890s to provide indoor recreational opportunities for city residents and students during winter months (Betts, 1984). Technological developments in the latter half of the nineteenth century influenced and change every facet of culture with sport only being one of the affected parts.

The Industrial Revolution also aided in the production of sports-related products. By the 1850s, cricket bats, billiard tables, archery supplies, guns and fishing tackle were being manufactured by many individuals and some companies (Betts, 1984). The manufacture of sporting goods did not cause an economic boom in the nineteenth century, but the standardized manufacturing of baseball products, bicycles,

fishing rods and various other items did much to increase the popularity of sports (Betts, 1984). Practically every type of sporting equipment from ice skates to boxing gloves was now available for consumers, and thus participation in those sports increased (Betts, 1984).

Entrepreneurs and manufacturers of these sporting goods also saw an opportunity to expand their markets and increase sales (Hardy, 1990). They promoted and advertised their products extensively, thus raising awareness of sports. Improved transportation brought with it better ways to distribute products thus making them more available to the consumer. Baseballs, bicycles and other sporting equipment began to be mass produced, thus making them more affordable and more readily available (Hardy, 1990). Hoping to increase sales, sporting good companies sent people into cities to introduce the new and improved sporting goods and also taught people how to play certain sports (Hardy, 1990).

Religious objections to sports and other type games were weakening. Guttman (1988) made the assertion that English and American Puritans stymied the growth of sports during the Colonial Period of American history, and modern sports only began to develop when Puritan leaders were replaced by more worldly rulers. A break in religious opposition to sport came in 1869 when the Young Men's Christian Association built a gymnasium in New York City (Lucas & Smith, 1978). The YMCA believed it was better to have young men participating in sporting activities in a Christian environment than to have them partaking in activities deemed to be sinful (Lucas & Smith, 1978). In fact, the game of basketball was invented in a YMCA in

1891 by James Naismith, who was a minister (Rader, 1996). The sport of volleyball was also invented in a YMCA. William G. Morgan invented the sport in Holyoke, Mass., in 1895 while he served as physical director at the YMCA there. It was invented for older people who found basketball too strenuous (Rader, 1996). "Blue" laws¹ prohibited participating in secular activities on Sundays, but these became more lax at the turn of the century. This enabled participation in sport on Sundays (Leonard, 1993).

Students controlled early intercollegiate sports, but college sports were beginning to become accepted by educational authorities. Educational authorities eventually took over control of intercollegiate sports because they believed the full potential of sports could only be reached under their control (Wiggins, 1995). The commercial opportunities available through college sports were also being realized. A successful sports team obtained free publicity for the institution from newspaper coverage and spectators who attended the sporting events. This publicity promoted the name and image of the school, thus theoretically inducing more students to attend. Alumni also wanted successful sports teams, and happy alumni meant more donations to the university (Lawrence, 1987). Figure 3 shows attendance at Notre Dame home football games nearly tripled from 1920 to 1928. The growth in the interest in Notre Dame football led to a new stadium being built in 1929 which could seat more 54,000 people. Accordingly, educational leaders took control of sports. The change in control occurred at uneven rates, and there was no uniform policies regarding college

¹ The laws were given this name because they were printed on blue paper.

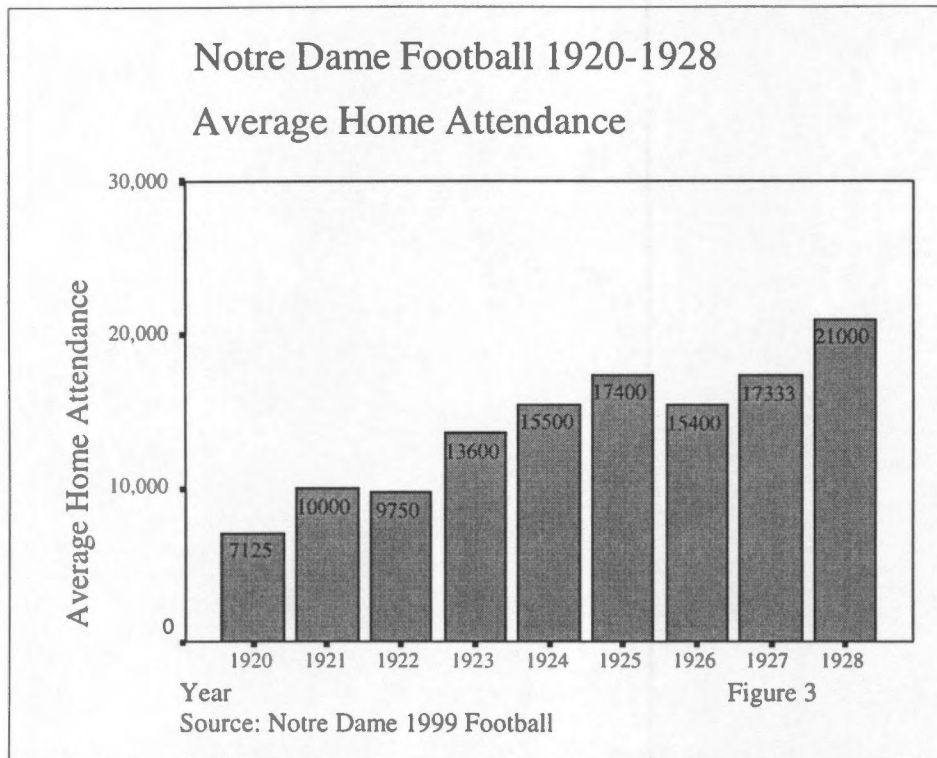


Figure 3: Notre Dame Football 1920-1928 Average Home Attendance

athletics. Because of the lack of guidelines and the crisis² in collegiate football, the National Collegiate Athletic Association was formed in 1905 (Wiggins, 1985). The rise of college sports introduced a new type of social life to college students (Lucas & Smith, 1978), who took the new forms of recreation they were learning with them after they left college.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, sports were seen as socially and individually useful activities that improved health, character and aided in the development of morality. Some people recognized the inactive lifestyle of city dwellers was resulting in poor physical condition of them and advocated sports as a

way to improve their health (Wiggins, 1995). Sport was also a way to promote community ties and assimilate people into culture (Lucas & Smith, 1978; Riess, 1989). Hugh Fullerton wrote in the *Atlanta Journal* in 1919 that settlement house workers considered baseball as one the best ways to teach American ideas and ideals (Riess, 1989). Simply going to a baseball game, learning the rules, listening or reading about a game made a person a participant in America's consumer culture. Sport also served as a middle ground between generations of immigrants as generations were able to share experiences through sport (Levine, 1992). Not only were immigrants using American sports to learn a new culture and to adapt to a new culture, they were also introducing sports from their homeland. American citizens adopted these news sports thus getting more people involved in sport participation (Lucas & Smith, 1978).

World War I was also instrumental in the growth of sports. At a time when governments were not involved in issues pertaining to quality of life, government at all levels encouraged participation in sport. Prior attempts to influence public behavior had been restrictive in nature such as the "Blue" laws. But the government wanted to encourage the constructive use of free time that was created by the Industrial Revolution (Lewis, 1973). The number of state and national parks grew dramatically as did other publicly funded recreational areas (Steiner, 1933).

Military officials used sport in their training and recreation programs, and the sports the soldiers learned carried over into civilian life after World War I. By

² The NCAA was formed to remedy the violence and other abuses in intercollegiate athletics. Deliberate slugging and kicking often occurred in games, and there was public sentiment against the

encouraging sports participation among several million men, the government altered the leisure time preferences of a nation. Sport instruction in high school and colleges was also growing as sport was thought to help make people morally strong (Lewis, 1973). Lewis (1973) wrote, "So instrumental were those actions in the behalf of the war effort to the expansion of sport that the 'Golden Age' could never have happened if a citizens' Army and Navy had not been sent to war" (p. 120).

With all that was occurring in the sports world and, in particular, golf, sports began drawing media attention. The place that sport holds in society is due in part to the media coverage given to it. Every surge in the popularity of sport has been accompanied by an increase in the coverage of sport by the media. (McChesney, 1986). Improved communication capabilities and in particular newspapers caused a growth in sports. The instant communications offered by the telegraph and wireless allowed people to learn about sports and learn of the results of competitions (Lucas & Smith, 1978). Some early publications, such as *American Farmer*, *American Turf Register* and *Spirit of the Times*, provided persuasive arguments about the values of hunting, fishing, horse racing, rowing and other activities as Americans faced a changing and growing nation in the nineteenth century (Hardy, 1990). Sports writing continued to grow and, in the 1890s, sports news became a regular part of newspapers.

violence. The violence in football resulted in several deaths.

Chapter 5

Growth of Sportswriting and Golf Coverage

This chapter discusses the growth of sportswriting in the United States and the beginning of the golf writing. The latter part of the chapter examines the nature of sports journalism in the 1920s and closes with a brief look at the state of affairs in the United States in the 1920s.

The improvements in technology and transportation and the growth of cities all were factors in the growth of newspapers. Technological advances in telegraphy combined with new methods of printing in the latter half of the nineteenth century stimulated the growth of newspapers and other print news sources (Lucas & Smith, 1978). Industrialization aided in the creation of leisure time, which allowed time for reading the newspaper and other printed matter.

With journalism growing and sports growing the natural progression was the creation of a new type of writing. Sportswriting was fast becoming a part of the newspaper industry.

The first sports journal in the United States was the *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine* which began publication in 1829. The *Spirit of the Times* came onto the scene in 1831 and continued publishing until 1901. Newspapers covered some sports such as horse racing and boxing during the first half of the nineteenth century and this was due in part to the sport journals that were being published. Although many were short-lived and financial failures, the sport journals forced newspapers to give some attention to sports.

The middle decades of the nineteenth century were when sportswriting really began to develop. Sports were becoming accepted and the rise of baseball during this time increased participation in sports. Football also came onto to the scene during this time and by the mid-1860s, space was being devoted to football coverage in some newspapers. The account of one game appeared in the Boston *Daily Advertiser* and told how the Oneida Club had defeated a group of high school students in three games on a Saturday afternoon in 1863 (Weaver, 1939). There were still no sports writers per se as the only real sports specialist of the time were people who wrote about horse racing.

Technology, though, changed the nature of news and sportswriting. The telephone, telegraph, wireless, web printing press and typewriter all allowed journalists to do their jobs better and quicker. The first news report transmitted over the wireless was about an international yacht race in 1899. As these things allowed journalists do their jobs better, coverage became broader.

The telegraph made the diffusion of sporting news almost instantaneous during the second half of the nineteenth century. This increased awareness of and interest in sport, and sport emerged as a popular topic of conversation. Newspapers rapidly expanded their coverage of sports in the 1880s and 1890s to take advantage of this. The newspapers relied on the telegraph as a means of gathering this news (Betts, 1984).

The first step in separating sports news from rest of the newspaper was taken in the 1880s when Joseph Pulitzer organized the first sports department at the *New*

York World. Mott (1962) wrote that by the 1890s all "great" papers in the leading cities had sports editors and trained sports staff. Then in the midst of the circulation war with Pulitzer, William Randolph Hearst introduced the first distinctive sports section in 1895 in his *New York Journal*. The idea of a sports section caught on gradually and by the 1920s was part of the newspaper (McChesney, 1986).

Not only was newspaper coverage of sports growing, but magazines and sporting journals also began to become more numerous and more popular. Magazines devoted to horse racing and outdoor activities were popular among readers. The growth and interest in team sports also gave rise to magazines devoted to baseball and football. Sports were becoming more organized, leagues were created and rules were established. New sports were being introduced among all levels of society. Basketball, tennis, golf and polo joined baseball and football in the sporting world during the last half of the nineteenth century.

The nature of sportswriting was beginning to change as well. The summary lead was used in sports stories the beginning of the twentieth century. Up to that point most sports stories were written chronologically with little reorganizing of the material. Newspapers were doing all they could do to promote sports and encourage the growth of them. Some newspapers even went so far as to publish the rules of the various sports to educate the public about them (McChesney, 1986). Sports reporters found it important to promote sports. These people had found a way to make a living while enjoying themselves. What better way to earn a paycheck than by watching a

baseball game and then writing a news story about it? Sports found a strong ally in reporters and the newspapers in which their articles appeared.

With the tremendous change in journalism and in sports, the two entities met, and sportswriting became a genre all of its own at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Sportswriting and sports were then taken to national prominence in the 1920s. There were many celebrities during the Golden Age of Sport in the 1920s. Babe Ruth was king in baseball. Red Grange was a college football star. Bill Tilden dominated the tennis world. Bobby Jones won golf's grand slam. Jack Dempsey was heavyweight champion of the world. All are now sports legends due in part to what was written about them.

Golf Coverage

Journalism was becoming more specialized with the development of sportswriting, but sportswriting itself was becoming specialized as well. Out of this came sportswriting devoted to golf.

The first informed account of golf appearing in print in the United States can be traced back to 1892. "The Apotheosis of Golf," written by W.E. Morris, appeared in *The Century Illustrated Monthly*. The name of the article itself could tell the reader what kind of status golf was enjoying and would keep enjoying for the next century. Apotheosis means the glorification of a person or thing. Morris writes about the merits of the game and conveys to his readers the tenets of the game. He explains how the game is played, the type of clubs used and other terminology (Morris, 1892).

The Ladies Home Journal ran a full-page article two years later about the game advocating that women should play golf. The reason was it required only that a person could walk and have free use of his or her arms. Women were playing golf in Scotland and England so it should only be natural that women play golf in the United States. The author also gave a brief description about how the game is played and then further encouraged women to take up the sport (Murdoch, 1988; Speed, 1894).

The increased popularity of the game almost forced the media to cover it, but there was the problem on where the accounts should appear in the newspaper. Did the articles best belong on the society page, business page or sports page? The coverage of such events was only local in nature, until the first attempts to hold a national championship took place. Hugh Louis Fitzpatrick wrote about the first national championship in Newport, Rhode Island, for the *New York Sun*, and he may have well been the country's first golf writer (Murdoch, 1988). The article appeared in the Oct. 4, 1895, edition of the paper and chronicled Charles Macdonald's win over Charles Sands in the United States Amateur. The article was a hole-by-hole description of Macdonald's win in the 36-hole match (*New York Sun*, Oct. 4, 1895. p. 5).

In the waning years of the nineteenth century, the first American golf magazines began to appear. Josiah Newman edited *Golf*, which began publishing in 1897. W.G. van Tassell Sutphin took over for Newman, and eventually *Golf* became the official publication of the USGA. Other American publishers recognized the potential market for such magazines and *The American Golfer*, *Golf and Lawn*

Tennis, The Golfer, The Golfer's Magazine, and Golfing all began publication at the turn of the century (Murdoch, 1988).

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, Bernard Darwin began writing about golf in England. O.B. Keelor in Atlanta, Joe David in Chicago, Hay Chapman in San Francisco and Paul Gallico, Innis Brown and Grantland Rice in New York began write about golf in the United States in the second decade of the twentieth century (Murdoch, 1988). Both sports and golf in the 1920s began to boom for many of the aforementioned reasons. Sports writers were instrumental in promoting sports during the 1920s, including golf. Journalists were instrumental in the development and growth of golf in the 1920s.

Perhaps the greatest golfer of all-time, Bobby Jones, credited O.B. Keelor of the *Atlanta Journal* for helping him gain the fame he had during the 1920s (Rice, 1953). On more than one occasion, Keelor was called Jones' "Boswell."¹ Keelor recorded in detail for the *Atlanta Journal* the exploits of Jones (Martin, 1936). Keelor was more than just a reporter. Keelor served as Jones' publicist and historian and filled those duties for the rest of the media industry as well (Matthew, 1995). Jones wrote that he doubted any such relationship existed between a performer and reporter in sport or any where else like the one he had with Keelor (Rice, 1953). Keelor reported on practically every stroke Jones took and through his writings help make Jones the celebrity he was and the legend he is now.

¹ James Boswell was a Scottish lawyer and writer renowned as the biographer of Samuel Johnson. A devoted admirer and recorder of another's words and deeds is known as a Boswell.

Keelor was a long-time reporter for the *Atlanta Journal* and covered Jones while he was dominating the world of golf. The first golf tournament Keelor covered was the 1916 Georgia State Amateur, an event won by Jones. Jones wrote that the most enduring reward he got from that tournament was the friendship of O.B. Keelor (Jones, 1960). Keelor first started in the newspaper business in 1909 with the *Atlanta Georgian*, and then moved to the *Kansas City Star* where he was its first reporter to write under a byline. He returned to Atlanta in 1913 and went to work for the *Atlanta Journal*. Jones was big news in Atlanta so it was only natural that Keelor traveled with him and wrote about him for the *Journal*. He was present for all 13 major championships that Jones won and collaborated with Jones on his autobiography, *Down the Fairway*. Jones (1960) wrote in *Golf Is My Game*: "... the play and result were as personally his as mine. Indeed, I think he suffered in defeat and reveled in the victory even more than did I" (p. 91). Rice (1953) wrote, "(Keelor) could cover any assignment given to him. But golf was his big love. He knew golf thoroughly, so no one was better equipped to write of the achievements that surpassed anything the game had ever known" (p. xi).

Keelor was born in Chicago in 1882 and moved to Pickens County, Ga., four years later. He attended Marietta High School, and he studied Greek and Latin, which laid the foundation for his lifelong classical education. He had an endless supply of prose and poetry, and his interests ranged from opera to gambling to classic literature and all sports. Keelor had a knack for storytelling, which, in part, made him a great writer (Matthew, 1995).

Although Keelor had great knowledge of the game and a love for golf, he was not a player. He developed inflammatory rheumatism in his left knee in 1917, which made him limp for the rest of his life. Nonetheless, he was still able to follow the exploits of Jones and other golfers (Matthew, 1995).

Taking a cue from Keelor and Jones, Walter Hagen realized the importance of publicity. Hagen made his first trip to Great Britain in 1920 to play in the British Open and remembered the treatment Johnny McDermott had received from the British Press following his comments after winning the Shawnee Open in 1913.

Vardon and Ray were playing in the Shawnee Open as part of their tour of the United States. McDermott was the defending U.S. Open champion and during the awards ceremony for the Shawnee Open he welcomed the two British golfers, and then told them they were not going to take the U.S. Open trophy back to Britain. The crowd and the two British golfers were aghast. Rice wrote under the pseudonym Jigger in the *New York Evening Mail* that the repercussions of the event had upset McDermott. The remarks were not necessarily made toward Vardon and Ray, but toward British golfers as a whole as McDermott was determined to beat all British golfers (*New York Evening Sun*, Sept. 10, 1913, p. 13). McDermott received heavy criticism from the press and the public about his comments. He later failed to qualify for the 1914 British Open because he missed the train to the qualifying site.

The criticism from the press for his remarks and subsequent golfing failure coupled with financial problems ended McDermott's golfing career after only six

years. He eventually faded into obscurity and spent much of his remaining life in sanitariums (Harper, 1999; McMillan, 1988; Rice, 1954).

To avoid the problems McDermott had, Hagen enlisted H.B. (Dickie) Martin, the golf writer from the New York *Globe* to accompany him to Britain. Hagen wanted to be sure he had a writer who would write a true if not a favorable account of the British Open for American newspapers. Martin not only had his articles published in the *Globe*, but had arranged to have them distributed through the Bell Syndicate as well. Hagen (1956) wrote, "in a sense I had my own publicity manager, and this, too, was decidedly an innovation in golf" (p. 62). Hagen compared their relationship to that of Jones and Keelor (Hagen, 1956). Martin later wrote *Fifty Years of American Golf*, which was published in 1936 and is considered to be a definitive history of the early years of the game in the United States.

Another promoter of golf through his writings was Rice. Perhaps the best known sportswriter of the 1920s, Rice was also a great publicity man for the game of golf. Rice had a personal interest in golf because he was intrigued with the game and was a good golfer. Rice first became interested in golf in 1909 while he was covering the Southern Amateur at the Nashville Golf Club. This was not Rice's first coverage of a golf event, but was the one that seemingly pulled him into his fascination with the game. Rice was intrigued with the flight of the ball and picked up a club and started swinging. He started taking lessons from the Nashville Golf Club professional, Charlie Hall. Rice had participated in sports during his high school and college days, and golf was a sport Rice could play in his adult life (Rice, 1954).

But golf gave him much more than just a chance to play. Golf gave him an “informal companionship with so many ‘names’ of the sporting, business and political world” (Rice, 1954, p. 37). Rice got as many columns while playing a round of golf as he got while sitting in a press box (Rice, 1954). Rice’s golfing partners read like a Who’s Who list. Babe Ruth, Bobby Jones, Babe Didrikson, Jerome Travers and Warren G. Harding were some of the sport and political figures with whom he played golf.

Golf also helped Rice escape from the business of city life when he was living in Nashville, Atlanta and later New York. Playing golf gave Rice a temporary escape from pace and noise of city life. Rice wrote, “it is a game of pleasant exercise, of friendly intercourse, philosophical rather physical, set out in the open, well apart from the grind and grip of the city” (Rice, *New York Tribune*, Dec. 1, 1917, p. 19).

Golf also was a sport that lent itself to the schedule of a journalist. Most nights were spent in the newsroom or out covering an event. This left the morning and afternoon open for leisure activities, and these were times it was best to play golf. So, Rice did play and became a single handicap golfer. His skill on the course helped in his coverage of the game and sports in general. Rice could hook up with a golfer and enjoy a leisurely round on the course and gain insight through the conversation that takes place over 18 holes. These conversations often produced insights and interviews for his columns (Harper, 1999). Rice (1954) wrote, “I never dreamed that golf would open as many doors of friendship, provide as much grist for my typewriter and engender as many kernels of philosophy, as has this game” (p. 53).

Golf began to appear more and more in Rice's columns and his editor, Francis Albertanti, at the *Evening Mail* could say little because Rice was still covering baseball and football in earnest. In 1913, when Vardon and Ray were making their tour of the United States, Rice was determined to give the exhibition tour coverage (Harper, 1999). During this time, Rice was writing two columns a day in addition to his daily baseball coverage. Golfing articles began to creep into his "Sportlight" column, and shortly before the Shawnee Open and United States Amateur, Rice volunteered to add another daily column. He would write it under the byline of Jigger, which was an early 20th century golf club. The subject of the new column was strictly golf. Rice was not out covering golf tournaments, but instead was giving his readers an introduction to golf. He wrote about swing and grip techniques, personalities in the game and types of equipment (Harper, 1999).

Rice continued to cover golf along with other sports and by 1914 had clearly made a name for himself throughout the nation as a sportswriter. Rice was making \$100 a week at the *Evening Mail* and was having his "Sportlight" column syndicated, but in 1915 he jumped to the *New York Tribune* for \$280 a week. This was substantial sum of money for a reporter. The minimum salary of a seven-year reporter at the paper in 1946 was \$90. So Rice was making triple that amount 30 years earlier. Rice took his "Sportlight" column with him and continued to write about all things sports, including golf (Harper, 1999). Rice's value to the *Herald-Tribune* was evident in 1925 when he signed a contract that paid him \$1,000 a week. His salary got little

attention but to add perspective it was the same amount that Babe Ruth was making (Fountain, 1993).

Rice's newspaper career was interrupted in 1917 when he volunteered for service in World War I. Rice, an Army private, left for South Carolina in December of that year for infantry training. Rice's unit was changed to an artillery unit. Rice then became involved in the officer's training course and became a second lieutenant. Rice was sent to France as an artillery officer in April 1918, but before seeing any action he was sent to Paris to write for the *Stars and Stripes*, the daily newspaper of the American forces. Rice got reassigned to his unit and took part in some combat before becoming a press officer for a general. Rice was reassigned several more times in similar roles before finally arriving back in the United States in February 1919. He was soon back to work at the *Tribune* (Harper, 1999).

Rice then returned to the daily business of writing sports. He was encouraged by his editors at the *Tribune* to write about golf and in 1919 developed "Tales of a Wayside Tee" to be the name of his golfing column and continued writing it throughout the 1920s. Golf received coverage equal to that of baseball and football in Rice's columns during the 1920s. The importance Rice and the *Tribune* placed on golf was apparent in the contract he signed in 1925 with the newspaper. He was free to write about whatever he pleased but was contractually bound to cover baseball's World Series and the U.S. Open and U.S. Amateur golf championships (Fountain, 1993).

Rice continued to write about golf throughout his career and wrote articles for several magazines. His skill and reputation as golf writer earned him the position as editor of *American Golfer* magazine. He was the editor throughout the 1920s and until 1936, when the magazine ceased publication (Harper, 1999).

Many factors, including Ouimet's victory in the 1913 United States Open, led to a surge in the popularity of golf. The emergence of Bobby Jones in the mid-1920s gave the game a national hero as well. This coupled with the writings of Rice, Keelor and other golf writers led to a boom in golf. Keelor, Rice and other golf writers at the time did their part in the 1920s to help create American golf history by promoting the game (Harper, 1999).

Sportswriting in the 1920s

With literacy at an all time high, it is important to take a look at the nature of sports journalism during the 1920s. The content of the newspaper changed dramatically from the turn of the century to the 1920s. A study comparing the content of newspapers in 1899 to 1923, showed a decline in space allocated for editorials and social news. During that same period, general and political news increased 1 percent, business 4 percent, foreign news 9 percent, crime news 53 percent, and sports news 47 percent (Bent, 1927).

Tunis (1930) found a newspaper whose sports section grew from 1,000 weekly column inches in 1910 to 1,500 weekly column inches in 1920 to 2,000 weekly column inches in 1925 in a similar study. Lynd and Lynd (1929) found sports coverage grew from 4 percent in 1890 to 13 percent in 1923 in two Midwestern

newspapers. Mott (1942) found that sports coverage increased from seven columns (9 percent of the newshole) in 1910 to 18 columns (13 percent of the newshole) in 1930.

Stanley Walker, city editor of the *New York Herald Tribune*, rated sports second in importance to general news in his paper (Walker, 1934). Stanley Woodward, another editor at the *Herald Tribune*, wrote that sports rarely ranked worse than third in importance to the newspaper. He also concluded that sports coverage helped to develop an interest in sports in society (Woodward, 1968).

Along with an increase in sports coverage came an increase in circulation. Nationwide newspaper circulation grew from 28 million in 1920 to more than 39 million in 1930 (DeFluer, 1970). W.P. Beazell of the *New York World* said there was no single classification of news that sold more papers than sports (Towers, 1981). With increasing frequency sports stories in the newspapers replaced those things that had traditionally occupied the public's attention (Lewis, 1973).

There were two camps of sportswriters in the 1920s and Walker divided them into the "Gee Whiz" school and the "Aw Nuts" school. The "Gee Whiz" writers were enthusiasts and were not afraid to use adjectives. The "Aw Nuts" writers were cynical and critical in their writing about sports (Walker, 1934). Straight-forward, factual sports reporting began in the 1930s in what Stanley Woodward called the On-the-Button school. It was a return to the "Who, What, Where, When, Why" type of journalism (Woodward, 1968, p. 60).

Bent (1927) wrote, "the inflation of matter appealing to unconscious passions and hungers continues. The news that startles, thrills and entertains is still blown

up.... Thus does the American press exemplify day by day the grandiose, the brobdingnagian² art of ballyhoo" (p. 494). Sports coverage in the 1920s left behind a legacy of descriptive language and lively interest that made sports a part of American life (Towers, 1981).

Tunis had a critical take on the role of sportswriting. Tunis (1928) wrote, "the individual sport lover may or may not recognize as paid propaganda the canned chatter which appears at precisely the same time in precisely the same words on the sporting pages of every newspaper in a city" (p. 11). Tunis believed that at times sportswriters merely acted as publicity agents for sports promoters (Tunis, 1928). He eventually left the sportswriting profession and became a novelist. Lipsyte (1975) called the 1920s the Golden Age of Sportswriting and believed the writing of the era was more ballyhoo than journalism. He wrote that, "the Golden Age sportswriters hyped the country's post World War I sports boom, rode the gravy train and then, for the good of the game, maintained the myths and the legends as the country slid into a bust" (Lipsyte, 1975, p. 170). Lipsyte (1975) even went so far as to call Grantland Rice a sports "propagandist" (p. 172).

The 1920s

A look at the general picture of the 1920s will also be beneficial in adding perspective to this research. The decade of the 1920s is often characterized as a period of American prosperity and optimism. It was the Roaring Twenties, the Jazz Age, the decade of bathtub gin, the Model T, the first transatlantic flight, and the

² Immense or enormous. After Brobdingnag, a country in *Gulliver's Travels* by Jonathan Swift, where everything was enormous.

movies. It is often seen as a period of great advance as the nation became urban and commercial as Calvin Coolidge declared that America's business was business (Ferrell, 1998).

The 1920s reflected a social rebellion against the conservative tradition established in the Progressive movements of the previous decade. The Progressives³ campaigned for and eventually received the ratification of the 18th Amendment, which established prohibition in 1920 (Englemann, 1979). The rejection of the conservative policies that were adopted in the 1910s and 1920s reflects a reverse on the ideals of the Progressive movement and the rebellious nature of the 1920s. Although alcohol was illegal, the new self-indulgent philosophy for many of people in the decade included materialism, sex, and alcohol, which helped to produce what F. Scott Fitzgerald called "the greatest, gaudiest spree in history."

The Scopes Monkey Trial in Dayton, Tenn., was just one example of the clash between the generations of the 1920s. Traditionalists, the older Victorians, were afraid of losing their standards and ideals to a generation no longer so preoccupied with the approval of society. At the same time this was an example of the atmosphere that created the Lost Generation during the decade. The Lost Generation was a group of American writers who lived and rose to prominence in Europe during the 1920s. The principal figures in the group included Gertrude Stein, Ernest Hemingway, Ezra Pound, F. Scott Fitzgerald, E. E. Cummings, John Dos Passos, Thornton Wilder, and

³ In the late 19th century, many Americans believed that rapid industrialization, urbanization and other changes occurring in the United States were causing intolerable problems. They believed steps should be taken to stop the injustices of an industrial society. This movement became known as the

Hart Crane. These writers helped establish many of the stylistic and thematic foundations of modern literature. The Lost Generation writers were particularly associated with the unconventional art scene in Paris. These writers tended toward philosophic pessimism. They typically rejected what they considered to be the narrow-mindedness and materialism that followed the end of World War I. They also rejected the conventional literary techniques of the past.

This was not the only change that was occurring though. In New York, there was a renaissance going on in Harlem, in both literature and music (Mordden, 1978; Perrett, 1982). The flapper was the heroine of the Jazz Age. With short hair, short skirt low-cut pumps and silk stockings, the flapper must have seemed to her mother like a rebel. No longer confined to home and tradition, the typical flapper was a young woman who was often thought of as a little brazen. Mostly, the flapper offended the older generation because she defied conventions of acceptable feminine behavior. The flapper was "modern." Traditionally, women's hair had always been worn long. The flapper wore it short, or bobbed. She used make-up, and the flapper wore baggy dresses, which often exposed her arms as well as her legs from the knees down. However, flappers did more than symbolize a revolution in fashion and mores - they embodied the modern spirit of the decade (Mordden, 1978; Perrett, 1982).

The 1920s began soon after the end of World War I. A tired country welcomed back its men at arms. The nation had trouble, though, adjusting to peacetime living. Initially, the country remained in the mindset of all-out attack in

Progressive movement. Progressives believed that growth and progress should not occur recklessly. Order and stability were essential in society (Current, et al, 1987).

dealing with its problems. It was for this reason, mainly, that the Red Scare arose (Perrett, 1982). Many were scared because of the rise of organized labor during the war and were afraid that the threat of Bolshevism would spread across the ocean. Americans were troubled by anything perceived to have a red hue about it. This wartime fanaticism was responsible for deaths of several persons suspected of having Communist sympathies, and the beating of many others. The fanaticism didn't stop there, though. Many other hate groups grew in the 1920s, including the Ku Klux Klan (Mordden, 1978; Perrett, 1982).

As the nation recovered from war, peace negotiations were in progress at Versailles. Woodrow Wilson was advocating a "Peace without Victory," which he believed would be the only way to prevent history from repeating itself and resulting in future conflicts. The nation, though, was in no mood for Wilson's lofty moral sentiments and talk of America's duty to the world. The weary nation was ready to seclude itself and take a position of isolationism. The opposition that Wilson faced for his peace plan forced him to go on a speaking tour throughout the nation. He overworked himself and had a stroke. The next year, Harding became president, preaching a "Return to Normalcy" (Mordden, 1978; Perrett, 1982).

When Harding died, Coolidge became president and the nation remained prosperous. It was this prosperity that led to what many historians refer to as the Ballyhoo years. During this period, the rich spent its money and the middle class lived vicariously. They showered praise and attention on ordinary people who accomplished what they saw as extraordinary things, as Babe Ruth and Charles

Lindbergh both became heroes (Mordden, 1978; Perrett, 1982). People also spent a good deal of their time at movie theaters and listening to the radio, watching and listening to others do the things that they couldn't (Mordden, 1978; Perrett, 1982).

There was an unseemly underside to the Ballyhoo years as well. A massive wave of defiance swept the country, from defiance of morals, to defiance of the law. This is evidenced in things such as the moonshining that defied Prohibition. In Chicago, bootlegging was developing a fiercely violent underground, which eventually led to the St. Valentine's Day Massacre⁴ (Englemann, 1979). The decade of the 1920s was a time when youth continually pushed its rights and privileges to new levels.

The 1920s was also a time for increased recreation and leisure. Recreation and leisure became accepted during the decade on grounds of health and efficiency as well as a diversion from the daily routine (Steiner, 1933). The number of public playgrounds nearly tripled as nearly two-thirds of all state parks were developed in the 1920s. Sport facilities underwent expansion to allow for more spectators, recreational associations were formed, and the amount of money spent on recreation and leisure increased by 300 percent from 1919 to 1929 (Steiner, 1933).

The decade also marked the first time the nation was largely literate. This led to the development of mass circulation magazines such as *Time* and *Reader's Digest*

⁴ Competition between George 'Bugs' Moran and Al Capone during the height of prohibition led to one of the most publicized Mob events ever. The St. Valentines Day Massacre Feb. 14, 1929, was a bizarre day in the history of gang warfare. Four members of Capone's Chicago gang trapped seven members of their rival gang headed by Moran and shot them. Capone's gang members, dressed as policemen, cornered Moran's gang members near a Chicago warehouse. Moran's men believed this was a routine police check and did as they were told. Capone's men then shot the men in the back, firing squad style

(Perrett, 1982). Americans began to spend more of their leisure time reading.

(Elson, 2000). Capone gunmen were blamed for the murder of seven members of the Bugs Moran gang in the St. Valentine's Day Massacre of 1929, but this charge was never proved (Helmer, 2000).

Chapter 6

Bobby Jones and the Ballyhoo of O.B. Keelor

This chapter examines O.B. Keelor's writings about Bobby Jones in the *Atlanta Journal* and identified specific frames. Keelor's articles were examined and four frames emerged. To demonstrate those frames the language Keelor used is presented in the following analysis.

Bobby Jones is arguably the greatest golfer of all time. He won 13 major championships over an eight-year span, including winning all four major championships in 1930¹. Paul Gallico, a sportswriter for the *New York Daily News*, called Jones' winning of the grand slam the greatest athletic accomplishment of the 1920s (Gallico, 1965). But Jones realized the fame he had garnered was not just due to his exploits on the golf course. Jones (1953) wrote in the preface to *The Bobby Jones Story from the writings of O.B. Keelor* edited by Grantland Rice:

To gain any sort of fame it isn't enough to do the job. There must be someone to spread the news. If fame can be said to attach to one because of his proficiency in the inconsequential performance of striking a golf ball, what measure of it I have enjoyed has been due in large part to Keelor and his gifted typewriter.

I am asked now to say that I am willing to leave the record of my golfing activities to the words this man has written. Why in Heaven's name shouldn't I be? He never once gave me anything but the best of any argument. (p. viii)

The man Jones is referring to is Oscar Bane Keelor. As discussed in Chapter 4, Keelor was often called Jones' "Boswell," and he recorded the exploits of Jones for

¹ The major championships in 1930 were the U.S. Open, the British Open, the U.S. Amateur and the British Amateur.

the *Atlanta Journal* (Martin, 1936).

Bobby Jones

Jones' accomplishments on the golf course were certainly worth noting. He had the reputation as the world's best golfer, and he had the championships to support that reputation. Jones competed in 31 major championships during his competitive career, and he won 13 of them. From 1923, the year he won his first major championship, until 1930, the year he retired from competitive golf, Jones won at least one major championship each year. His 11th place finish at the 1927 U.S. Open was his worst ever finish in that tournament. That was quite a record for a part-time golfer. Jones remained an amateur throughout his golfing career and played in a limited number of tournaments. Jones was a practicing attorney throughout his streak of dominating major championship golf.

Robert Tyre Jones Jr. was born March 17, 1902, in Atlanta to well-to-do parents. Jones was a sickly child, and he was 5-years-old before he could eat solid food. In an effort to build his physique, his family bought a house next to the fairways of Atlanta's East Lake Country Club. Jones was swinging shortened golf clubs at the age of 6. A year later, he was mimicking the swing of Stewart Maiden, the country club pro. At 11, he shot an 80 on the old course at East Lake. At 14, with high hopes and lots of national press, he played in his first U.S. Amateur, winning two matches before being eliminated in the third round. But for the next seven years, Jones missed many shots and struggled with his temper. His low point came during the third round of the 1921 British Open, when, at the 11th green, he picked up his ball thus

withdrawing from the tournament. He had already taken more than 50 shots.

Jones finally broke through at the 1923 U.S. Open at Inwood Country Club in New York. But it didn't come easy. He looked like a champion with three holes left, but went bogey-bogey-double bogey, opening the door for Bobby Cruickshank to tie him. In the 18-hole playoff, the two were tied going into the par-4 18th. Neither golfer hit his drive in the fairway. After Cruickshank laid up, Jones had a decision to make. His ball was 190 yards from the green, resting in loose dirt at the edge of the rough, and water on his next shot was a possibility if he went for the green. With his 2-iron, he drilled the ball over the water and to within eight feet of the pin. Two putts later, Jones had won his first major championship. That 2-iron started Jones on his magnificent eight-year run against the best golfers in the world.

Jones finished his career with five U.S. Amateur championships, four U.S. Open victories, three British Open crowns and one British Amateur title. Then, after winning the grand slam in 1930, Jones retired from competitive golf at the age of 28. Jones was later a founding member of August National and the Masters and remained active in the club. Jones was confined to a wheelchair in the latter part of his life because of syringomyelia, a fluid-filled cavity in the spinal cord that caused him first pain, then loss of feeling and muscle atrophy. The illness became a slow death for Jones, who weighed somewhere between 60 and 90 pounds when he died Dec. 18, 1971, in Atlanta. Jones was certainly a larger than life celebrity during his playing days and his legend still lives today.

The Framing of Bobby Jones

Keelor's emotional attachment to Jones is clear starting with the 1923 U.S. Open. This frame of emotional attachment appears throughout the Keelor's writings about Jones. When writing about the 1923 U.S. Open, Keelor hoped "Bobby has a good third round," and when Bobby Cruickshank, Jones' closest competitor, was playing well, Keelor was "good and sick and utterly empty." Keelor went on to write that if anybody was less happy than him "he would be looking for a red barn with a rope over his arm." Then when Cruickshank double-bogeyed a hole Keelor "felt as if the burden of the world has rolled off [his] shoulders" (July 14, 1923; July 15, 1923)²

After Jones failed to repeat as U.S. Open champion in 1924, Keelor was "sorry of course that our Bobby couldn't win it again." After Jones won the 1924 U.S. Amateur, Keelor wrote, "we are coming home with the cup" referring to himself and Jones, and it was gratifying for Keelor "to see the greatest golfer come into his own at last." Keelor did "not care much for another tie" in the 1925 U.S. Open and a resulting playoff because "it was too hard on the heart." Keelor did want Jones "to take that big medal back" to Atlanta though (June 7, 1924; Sept. 28, 1924; June 5, 1925; June 6, 1925).

Ducky Corkran was the medallist in the 1924 U.S. Amateur with Jones finishing second. Keelor exacted some sort of revenge for Jones in writing about Corkran's play in the 1925 U.S. Amateur. Keelor wrote, "...against Bobby's 73 at Oakmont, Mr. Corkran produced no better than a 79. Such is the manner in which

² The dates indicate in which issue of the *Atlanta Journal* the articles cited appeared. A complete citation for the article can be found in Appendix A.

they come and go, while Bobby, the greatest medallist, goes on forever." Watts Gunn also exacted some revenge for Jones in the 1925 U.S. Amateur, according to Keelor. Gunn was from Atlanta as well and traveled with Jones and Keelor. Gunn beat Jess Sweetser in the 1925 U.S. Amateur and Keelor wrote that the victory avenged Jones' loss to Sweetser in the 1922 U.S. Amateur (Sept. 1, 1925; Sept. 4, 1925).

When Jones was playing badly in the 1926 U.S. Amateur, Keelor wrote that nobody could "look as wretched as I feel when Bobby is in difficulties." Keelor was "worried" about Jones in the 1926 British Open as well because he "feared [Jones] had reached his peak too soon." Then as Jones was winning the 1927 British Open, Keelor "took off [his] glasses to wipe them...but the mist was not on the glasses." Other writers congratulated Keelor after Jones won the 1927 U.S. Amateur. Keelor was unable to watch Jones in a playoff in the 1927 U.S. Open because it was too emotional for him (Sept. 18, 1925; June 22, 1926; July 15, 1927; June 17, 1927).

Keelor's "idea of a comfortable championship" in the 1928 U.S. Open was "to see Bobby coming to the seventy-second hole with something like a 9 to win by four strokes." Jones was not at the top of his game in the 1928 U.S. Open but Keelor was "proud" of him because he kept fighting. Jones was beaten in the first round of the 1929 U.S. Amateur, and after his defeat Keelor could "enjoy this dogfight with Jones on the sideline." Keelor "was happy over his magnificent achievement" in winning the 1930 British Amateur. Keelor "confess[ed] that he would like to see [Jones] drawing away at the halfway mark" in the 1930 U.S. Open. Bobby Cruickshank told Keelor his "boy is just too good" after Jones won the 1930 U.S. Amateur. Jones was

Keelor's boy to some extent, and Keelor had even given Jones the club he used to a hit a shot with to defeat Robert Harris in a match in the 1926 British Amateur. Keelor of course told his readers that he had done so (June 20, 1928; June 25, 1928; Sept. 5, 1929; May 30, 1930; July 11, 1930; Sept. 28, 1930; May 28, 1930).

Keelor also brought this emotional attachment to his readers. He wanted his readers to think that Jones was one of them. He identified Jones as a resident of Atlanta and made him seem like he belonged to the people of Atlanta and the South. Jones was "Atlanta's representative" and "our young hero from Atlanta" in the 1924 U.S. Open. Jones was Keelor's "own pet entry from the South" in the 1924 U.S. Amateur. Jones was the "Atlanta entry" in the 1925 U.S. Open, and in the 1925 U.S. Amateur Jones was "our Atlanta ace" (June 3, 1924; June 5, 1924; Sept. 22, 1924; June 2, 1925; Sept. 1, 1925).

A frame of marked-man also emerged. Jones' opponents during tournaments "all shoot their heads off against Bobby. He is the 'shining mark.'" This idea carried throughout tournaments. Keelor wrote, "... but at the instigation of another of these inspired golfers who go perfectly mad at the very name of Jones and shoot their heads completely off." Keelor added, "it is odd how they select the days to go insane" in referring to people playing their best golf when they face Jones. When Jones was defeated in the 1923 U.S. Amateur, the man who defeated him was called a "man of destiny" as he beat Jones and eventually won the tournament (Sept. 19, 1923; Sept. 20, 1923; Sept. 21, 1923; Sept. 23, 1923).

In the U.S. Amateurs before 1924, Jones was always beaten by "some inspired

player shooting inhuman golf," and Rudy Knepper, who gave Jones a tough match in 1924, "couldn't play with Bobby unless he became deranged" (Sept. 29, 1924).

When Jones had a close match in the 1926 British Amateur, Andrew Jamieson went "crazy" and was unable to "deviate from par." Jones took with him to Britain "the proclivity for catching them hot." Jess Sweetser eventually won the 1926 British Amateur and the "unexpected defeat" of Jones made his win easy in the finals. Sweetser victory was easy because he did not have to face Jones (May 29, 1926; May 30, 1926).

Jones' loss in the 1926 U.S. Amateur was understandable as well. Jones had to play Chick Evans and Francis Ouimet to reach the finals against George Von Elm, whose matches were not as challenging. Even though Jones "was off his game" he "still pushed the match the 35 holes" and "only he could do this." Jones was upset in the first round of the 1929 U.S. Amateur "but it was not meant for Jones to win that match," and Johnny Goodman "was diabolically lucky" to beat Jones (Sept. 19, 1926; Sept. 5, 1929).

A frame of championship gatekeeper also emerged in Keelor's writings. A golfer must beat Jones to win any championship. Other golfers fade in and out of championship contention from tournament to tournament, but Jones is always in contention. In the 1926 U.S. Amateur Jones was the "golden boy of golf [that] goes on forever." If the 1927 U.S. Amateur was stroke play instead of match play, "Bobby would spread eagle the field to the stage it would be playing for second place in jig-time." Jones "was the cynosure of all eyes; and they play the field against him" at the

1927 U.S. Open. "The boys [were] getting better and better and there is only one Bobby Jones" was how Keelor described Jones' chances in the 1928 U.S. Amateur. Jones won the 1928 U.S. Amateur Keelor wrote that "there is no difference at all between the amateur and open championships all the winner has to do in either is to beat Jones" (Sept. 14, 1926; Aug. 25, 1927; June 13, 1927; Sept. 11, 1928; Sept. 15, 1928).

It was Jones "against the field" in the 1929 U.S. Open as well. Keelor wrote that the Open championship is "an invitation tournament, where they invite the best players in the world to see if anyone can beat Bobby Jones." The 1929 U.S. Open marked the eighth year where "they have matched the best professional golfers in the world against one single Bobby Jones." The Open championship is a "question of which professional can take" Bobby Jones this year, but "there's only one Bobby." Keelor wrote, "it is Bobby Jones who has to be beaten before any man can ram a putt down for the championship." In the 1930 U.S. Open, "there was only one of Bobby," but "there are a dozen in the gang" of players trying to beat him (June 19, 1929; June 30; 1929; July 1, 1929; July 12, 1930).

A frame of mythical excellence began to appear in Keelor's writings in 1923 as well. Even though Jones had only won one major championship at that point, Keelor called him "one of the greatest open champions America has ever seen" only two months after he had won the championship. Jones failed to repeat as U.S. Open champion in 1924, but Keelor called it the "greatest defense of his title in the last fourteen years." This is ironic because Johnny McDermott won back-to-back U.S.

Opens in 1911 and 1912. Even though Jones did not win the 1924 U.S. Open, Keelor still put Jones on top of the golfing world as "the greatest medallist of all-time still stands on his record." Jones had only won one major championship at that time with that one being the 1923 U.S. Open (Sept. 19, 1923; June 7, 1924).

In an early round match in the 1924 U.S. Amateur, Ducky Corkran "was up against the greatest medallist of the age" in Bobby Jones. After Jones won the 1924 U.S. Amateur, Keelor called him "the greatest golfer of his generation" and his victory over Francis Ouimet in the 1924 U.S. Amateur was "the most invincible march ever seen in a round of the United States Amateur Championship." Jones was the "greatest medallist of them all" in the 1925 U.S. Open, and even though he lost in a playoff he nonetheless had "made his reputation secure as the greatest golfer that ever appeared in the United States." This was quite a claim. After Jones won the 1925 U.S. Amateur, Keelor proclaimed, "the greatest of golfers once more assumed the crown" (Sept. 25, 1924; Sept. 27, 1924; June 2, 1925; June 7, 1925; Sept. 6, 1925).

Jones was the "greatest living medallist" at the 1926 U.S. Amateur. After defeating Chick Evans in the 1926 U.S. Amateur Keelor described Jones as "the youngster who today bestrides the world of golf as colossus" and "the golden boy stood out ahead of the procession like the figurehead on an old fashion battleship." Even though Jones lost the 1926 U.S. Amateur, he still had "all his worshipers," and "he remain[ed] king." Even in "defeat some way he is greater than in victory." After Jones won the 1926 U.S. Open, Keelor crowned him "the first official world's champion of golf" because he held both the U.S. Open and British Open titles. The

win in the 1926 U.S. Open added to the "greatest record in golf" (Sept. 15, 1926; Sept. 16, 1926; Sept. 14, 1926; Sept. 19, 1926; July 12, 1926; July 11, 1926).

Jones was the "greatest golfer who ever stepped on a championship course" at the 1927 U.S. Amateur. Keelor called his win in this tournament "the greatest stretch of championship golf ever played," and Jones was the "champion of champions." During the early stages of the 1927 U.S. Open Keelor reiterated that "Jones [was] the first champion of the world" based on his previous record, and he was "a super-champion." Jones was off his game at the 1928 U.S. Open but only "courage" and "greatness" enabled him to play good enough to tie and then almost win a playoff. Even though he lost the playoff he was still "the greatest golfer in the world" (Aug. 24, 1927; Aug. 28, 1927; June 13, 1927; June 17; 1927; June 25; 1928).

"No man can beat Jones when he is right" was how Keelor described Jones' play in the preliminary rounds of the 1928 U.S. Amateur, "and it makes no difference who is facing the iron duke when he is in this mood." After Jones won the 1928 U.S. Amateur, Keelor called him the "monarch of golf" and noted "the emperor was in a regal mood." There was also "no debate who the best man in golf is but people still enter tournaments against him." Jones is "the foremost golfer the world has known," and when someone is beaten by Jones he has the pleasure of being beaten by the "greatest of all golfers" (Sept. 14, 1928; Sept. 16, 1928).

The 1929 U.S. Amateur was played at Pebble Beach in California, which had a reputation for being a difficult course. But "if a course is built to stop Bobby Jones the ordinary expert golfer could not carry a ball around in par," and if "Bobby is in a

scoring humor there is no such thing as a difficult golf course.” Jones was defeated in the first round of the 1929 U.S. Amateur and the “color of the tournament faded with that last long putt of Bobby Jones’ that stopped beside the cup at the eighteenth green.” The rest of the competitors were then “playing for runner-up in the national ranking” because the rest of the tournament was “to decide who [was] next to Bobby” (Sept. 2, 1929; Sept. 7, 1929; Sept. 5, 1929).

Jones won the 1929 U.S. Open and “stood entirely alone as the great golfer of all time up to present,” and “there is not a golfer in the world who step with him in the open championship.” Jones won the 1929 U.S. Open in a lopsided playoff win, and Keelor described it as “the greatest golfer in the world simply doing his stuff” (July 1, 1929).

Jones had already won the British Open and British Amateur heading into the 1930 U.S. Open. Keelor did not believe that anyone could add the U.S. Open title to the other two titles but Jones was “the only one who has or ever [will] create such a chance.” After Jones won the 1930 U.S. Open, “he was the greatest champion of all time” (July 10, 1930; July 12, 1930).

The 1930 U.S. Amateur then provided an opportunity for Jones to become nearly immortal. He could win all four of golf’s major championships in a single year. During the opening days of the tournament Jones hit in a bunker but provided “the gallery an extremely interesting opportunity” to see Jones “display his talent.” Jones qualified for the match play portion of the 1930 U.S. Amateur marking the 12th time in 12 tries that he did so and “that form is without the most remote parallel in the

history of golf." Jones won the 1930 U.S. Amateur and was "simply too good a golfer for the amateur field to cope with." After his win, "the four horsemen³ of Merion gallop along under the firm name of Jones, Jones, Jones and Jones." Completing the grand slam was "the supreme feat of the sporting world" (Sept. 23, 1930; Sept. 24, 1930; Sept. 29, 1930, Sept. 26, 1930).

Conclusion

Bobby Jones was right when he wrote that Keelor gave him the best of any argument. Keelor certainly did what he could to boost the image of Jones. Keelor's relationship with Jones had to play a factor in the favorable writing about him. Jones certainly backed up many of the claims Keelor made about him with his play and winning of championships. But Keelor certainly made sure his readers knew about the greatness of Jones through the frames of marked man, championship gatekeeper and mythical excellence. The frame of emotional attachment also made Jones more endearing to Keelor's readers.

³ Keelor is referring to the four evils that will come at the end of the world according to the book of Revelation in the King James version of the *Bible*: conquest rides a white horse; war a red horse; famine a black horse; plague a pale horse. But Keelor's reference is probably a takeoff from Grantland Rice when he used the same analogy to describe the Notre Dame backfield. Quarterback Harry Stuhldreher, left halfback Jim Crowley, right halfback Don Miller and fullback Elmer Layden had run rampant through Irish opponents' defenses since coach Knute Rockne devised the lineup in 1922 during their sophomore season. But the foursome needed some help from Grantland Rice, a sportswriter for the *New York Herald-Tribune*, to achieve football immortality. After Notre Dame's 13-7 victory over Army on October 18, 1924, Rice called them the Four Horsemen. Jones dominated the 1930 U.S. Amateur in the same fashion.

Chapter 7

The Golf Writings of Grantland Rice

This chapter analyzes Rice's "Spotlight" column and his "Tales of a Wayside Tee" column that appeared in the *New York Herald* and later the *Herald-Tribune* from 1920-29. Frames were developed from each column show how Rice promoted golf and Bobby Jones. His baseball writings were analyzed in "Spotlight" to add perspective to his golf writings.

Grantland Rice's "Tales of a Wayside Tee" column was like a Golf 101 textbook. It took his readers through golf like it was an instructional manual. It was a "how to" book as well as an introduction to the players in the game. Rice continuously wrote about how a person can improve his or her game. He introduced the top golfers of the day to his readers and told his readers whom to watch in major tournaments. Rice's "Spotlight" column was an eclectic mix of his thoughts and observations about the world of sports. He wrote about everything from baseball to yachting. He told his readers what he thought was good and bad in the sports world.

Rice was writing in the early days of radio, and television was still to come. Someone could not simply turn on the Golf Channel and learn how to hit out of a bunker or how to become a better putter. But during the 1920s, a person could read Rice's columns and learn those things. Information about golfers was not readily available either. Rice was a host introducing golfers to his readers. He would preview tournaments and provide his thoughts on who could win and why.

"Spotlight"

Rice had a frame of nationalism that appeared throughout the 1920s in his "Spotlight" column. This included all sports, but golf in particular. Rice often had the "us" versus "them" theme in his writings. In terms of golf the "them" was Great Britain. Great Britain had dominated golf during the first two decades of the twentieth century, but a shift was occurring in the power structure.

Rice predicted 20 international "invaders" for the 1920 U.S. Amateur but believed the United States had its best collection of amateurs ever and that one of them should win the tournament. A British golfer had already won the U.S. Open and the British Open in 1920, so "Uncle Sam was two down in the golf round-up, with one to play." With the golfers the United States had though, he wrote, "any advance worrying is a bit out of place." American Jock Hutchinson won the 1921 British Open but the United States had to get ready for "an invading group" who were coming to attempt the win the U.S. Open. Rice also wanted international golf matches and wrote "the international feature has added deep interest to the competitive side of the game" (Aug. 29, 1920; July 3, 1921; Sept. 11, 1921)¹.

British golf fans were unruly at the British Amateur in 1922, and Rice quoted British golf writer Bernard Darwin as saying, "the crowds...seemed chiefly to regard the links a place where pleasant air and exercise might be obtained in spite of the fact that people wanted to play some incomprehensible game there at the same time."

Walter Hagen won the 1922 British Open and that meant "the two cups are now

¹ The dates indicate in which issue of the *New York Herald Tribune* the articles cited appeared. A complete citation for the article can be found in Appendix B.

The SPOTLIGHT

by Grantland Rice

Figure 4: The header that appeared above Grantland Rice's "Spotlight" column.

even." Americans had won two British Opens and the British had won two U.S. Opens. He said an American should win the U.S. Open as well in 1922 as "there are many more great golfers ready to face the British at Skokie than there were to face the Americans at Sandwich." The 1922 U.S. Open was held at Skokie Country Club in Glencoe, Ill., and the 1922 British Open was held at Sandwich, England (June 11, 1922; July 2, 1922; July 9, 1922).

An American should win the 1923 British Open as "there is a movement on foot now to storm the ancient heights with a homebred delegation." International competition had begun in 1923 with golf and tennis and with "all this talent across, no one can say we are not firing our heaviest volleys." Hagen proposed a golf match pitting the American professionals against British professionals and "invasions of this sort should finance themselves. And they will be brought about before long." Rice knew of what he wrote. The matches pitting British professionals against American professionals became known as the Ryder Cup. It became one of the most anticipated events in golf during the late part of the twentieth century. There was still a strong "us" versus "them" mentality in American golf at the turn of the century (July 23, 1922; May 13, 1923; June 13, 1926).

Rice also developed a dramatic frame in writing about golf. This frame worked under the guise that anyone could win a tournament. Several golfers had a

chance to win, but it was hard to pinpoint one golfer who was a clear-cut favorite.

"One guess here is as good as another" in picking who will win the 1923 British Open. "Golf is hard pickings always. The breaks are too important." There was only one repeat champion in the eight major golf championships played in 1923. Gene Sarazen was able to defend his Professional Golfers Association title. Rice wrote, "football has it canny upsets, but they don't quite match golf" (June 10, 1923; Oct. 21, 1923).

In 1926, Rice wrote, "if a golf star can vary ten strokes in a day. A duffer can vary even more. High or low can be riding the crest of one afternoon and sinking the trough twenty-four hours later" (April 18, 1926). Rice reiterated these same thoughts in 1928. He wrote:

Golf, however, has a habit of upsetting many theories. The winner one week may finish nineteenth the next, against the same field.

It all depends upon the subtle matter of touch and timing for that one day, or two days, and few can figure in advance just what his will be at any given dot upon the calendar. Feeling your best, you may play your worst, and feeling your worst you play your best - and that goes for them all. (April 28, 1928.)

In trying to pick the winner of the 1928 U.S. Open, Rice wrote, "picking the one who will have the timing, the touch and the luck [is] grabbing at ghosts in the dark." Part of the reason it was difficult to pick a winner of a tournament was due to the quantity and quality of golfers. Rice wrote, "there is a higher combined average of quality and quantity, class and mass, in [the 1928] U.S. open golf competition than any other major sport can muster for a championship turn. For 900 out of the 1,000 or more are quite capable of turning in 71 or 72, and if this isn't class you might whisper

in the first duffer you run across." Champions and other stars may dominate a game but that will not happen in golf (May 27, 1928; June 3, 1928). Rice wrote:

No one or two men rule the big tournaments of golf. They may wizards one day, but they are just golfers a week later.

Nine different stars have taken twelve of the leading tournaments up to date. Golf won't stand for any monopoly.

This shows how evenly matched the first twelve professionals are when it comes to shot making. Touch and timing for the day and the breaks of the game tell most of the story when these dozen happen to meet. (Aug. 5, 1928.)

Rice reiterates this point in 1929. Baseball's pennant races cover eight cities, but the U.S. Open covers 8 million square miles where 1,000 golfers attempted to qualify for the U.S. Open. Only one of 10 will qualify but they all have chance to win, but "some unknown may happen to get going" and win the championship. The U.S. Open may have the most stars of any sporting competition but anybody can still win (June 29, 1929).

Rice also wrote about individual golfers. Two of his favorite subjects were Walter Hagen and Bobby Jones, and Rice did his part in spreading the word of their exploits. He had a Jones ballyhoo frame and a Hagen ballyhoo frame.

Hagen was the "latest Jason who [was] sailing after the Golden Fleece of British Golf" when he went to compete in the 1920 British Open. The U.S. Open champion was "attacking Britain at its Gibraltar of Sports - the one place where England and Scot fighting together believe the Union Jack is impregnable to assault." Hagen was one of the two "greatest home-breds American golf [had] produced" up to 1921 with the other being Jack McDermott. Rice also asked in 1921 who in American

golf was better than Hagen. A win the 1922 British Open would "round out [Hagen's] complete career of conquest" (May 23, 1920; Oct. 16, 1921; Oct. 23, 1921; May 28, 1922).

Hagen did win the British Open in 1922 and went on to win it in 1924, 1928 and 1929 as well. Hagen had emerged as a "most spectacular golfer" by 1923, edging out Jock Hutchinson. Hagen's chief rival in the U.S. was Gene Sarazen, but Rice predicted that Hagen would do better than Sarazen in the 1923 British Open. Hagen had the experience of playing in four other British Opens and had just "concluded the most remarkable campaign any golfer ever knew." Hagen hit a slump in 1925, as it was an "uncouth season for many of our leading heroes" as "no one stepped forward to hand [Hagen] first prize" in any of the tournaments he had entered. Hagen had re-established himself in Rice's eyes by 1926, and it would "be a long time before golf brings forward another match play star equal to Hagen" (April 1, 1923; April 29, 1923; Aug. 30, 1925; June 27, 1926).

Jones received the same type of treatment from Rice and was ballyhooed even more. By 1925, Rice had proclaimed Jones the "greatest golfer in the world." Rice knew when he first saw Jones play in 1916 that he would be great, and "all he needed was experience." Jones was playing so well at one point in 1927 that Rice wondered why "some enraged duffer hasn't turned a machine gun in his direction for at least one blast" (July 19, 1925; April 3, 1927).

Jones had a poor showing at the 1927 U.S. Open, finishing 11th, and he decided to play in the British Open that year. Jones had won the U.S. Open, the

British Open and the U.S. Amateur in 1926. Rice wrote this about Jones choosing to play in the 1927 British Open:

The British title is the last of all the coronets he wore last July when he was open and amateur champion of the United States and open champion of Great Britain. Having become accustomed to three crowns he has no idea of going bald, and some one will have to step along at the old Scotch stronghold to remove this last title from his collection. Bobby Jones without any sort of golf title would be worse than John Phillip Sousa without a medal. (July 3, 1927)

Jones did win the British Open in 1927, and was the favorite to win the U.S. Amateur later that year. Rice wrote that Jones was "was the class pick of the field." Rice brought up the opinion of some that Jones should not play in the U.S. Open so the professionals would have a chance to win. Rice did not agree and wrote, "If Jones stayed out on this basis, what credit would an open champion receive. He would be open champion of everyone in the United States or Great Britain except Bobby Jones. Which would mean nothing." So to be a champion, Jones must be beaten first (July 31, 1927).

Harry Vardon was long considered the best golfer in the world during the first decades of the twentieth century as he won a total of seven national championships. But Jones had already won four national championships by 1928 and still had what appeared to be 20 years of golf left in front of him. Rice predicted Jones would easily eclipse Vardon's record. Rice credits Jones' consistency for his good showings in tournaments. He wrote:

It is the matter of high-grade consistency that Bobby Jones holds the record for all time. In...seven years he has won two U.S open championships. He has come within a stroke of winning two others. He has come within a

stroke of still tying another. In five of the seven years he needed only three "saved" strokes to be a five-time winner at the age of twenty-six. ... And not even Vardon was able to run up such a record in six out of seven years against the competition one had to face in this day and time. (July 1, 1928, p. IV-2)

Jones dominated the U.S. Amateur during the 1920s, winning the tournament five times. Why was this so? Rice wrote, "Bobby Jones is the best of all the male amateurs. When [he] happens to be at or near [his] best the opposition finds a good golf game pulverized into a mediocre one" (Oct. 7, 1928).

Rice also showered baseball players with praise. Babe Ruth and Ty Cobb were among his favorites. A Ruth ballyhoo frame and a Cobb ballyhoo frame were developed.

Ruth was sure to be a money-maker for the Yankees in 1920 as people would turn out to watch him chase the home run record. The closer he got the more people would come. The investment of \$125,000 seemed like a good deal (June 6, 1920).

Rice wrote:

Only a few years ago less than 2,000,000 paid admissions were recorded for an entire league. When you figure more than this number for one lone ball club you can gather some idea of the fanatical upheaval, a considerable part of which has been due to the human yearning to observe Mr. Ruth in the act lifting another out of the arena. (Sept. 19, 1920)

Ruth has "been rated the super-star in age of stars." He had been so successful up to 1921 that he "made home-run hitting so monotonous that the once bubbling thrill is now taking on a coating of fuzz." Ruth was more than a "mere Walloping Machine" though "he was also one of the greatest of all showmen." Ruth was one the greatest drawing cards of all time and better than boxer Jack Dempsey during the

1920s. Dempsey drew crowds only once a year, but Ruth drew crowds for six months and could be the greatest baseball player of all time (June 20, 1920; July 10, 1921; Aug. 27, 1922; Aug. 5, 1923).

The Yankees would not have been the team they were without Ruth. Ruth was not the entire Yankees team but with a normal contributor in Ruth's place the Yankees would have been as much as 10 games out of first place in 1924. Rice wrote, "Ruth has been a prodigious factor in the Yankee standing. He has been the greatest run harvester that ever walked on a ball field, and runs have quite a little to do with the final result." Ruth was a force both home and away and his play at the end of the 1924 season was "beyond anything shown by the records, even those under inches of gathering dust." Records are meant "to be shot away by some later marksman" and Ruth's home run record will take "the concentration of genius to break" (Aug. 10, 1924; Aug. 17, 1924; Oct. 16, 1927).

As tough as it would be to break Ruth's homerun record, it would be equally tough to surpass Ty Cobb's 4,000 hits. It would also take "the concentration of genius to break." Rice showered Cobb with praise throughout the 1920s. Cobb suggested in 1921 that Harry Heilman did more consistent hitting over a four-month stretch that he had ever seen. Rice was quick to point out a player from Detroit in 1911 "who stuck up around .420 all the year - a young fellow named Cobb, as we recall it now, after all these phantom years." Even though Cobb had been in professional baseball for 16 years in 1921 "he still has enough dash left to carry the fight to such stars as Sisler, Ruth and Heilman. For Cobb has always been a great chance taker, giving as a rule

100 per cent of what he had to offer, consisting of many headlong plunge along the twopath where the skin leaves the leg and thigh without much delay" Oct. 16, 1927; Aug. 28, 1921; Sept. 11, 1921).

Cobb tied for the league in batting in 1921, which was his 17th year in the majors. Rice wrote, "this was one of the most remarkable achievements that baseball will ever send on to the next generations. To lead a league twelve times and to tie one...is a run of stardom that lies beyond imagination." George Sisler and Harry Heilman were vying for the right to take over the "throne" that Cobb had been occupying as the league's best hitter. Cobb had that throne because he "was the greatest base hit maker that ever lived" (Oct. 16, 1921; April 30, 1922).

There was some complaint in 1923 that Cobb was slipping but Rice defended him. He wrote, "well, after eighteen years of it, only a few can keep getting better." Cobb's record of nine American League batting titles "will remain indefinitely - if not longer" (Aug. 19, 1923; Oct. 14, 1923).

At the beginning of the 1924 season which was Cobb's 20th, Rice wrote:

Ty Cobb, starting his twentieth year, steals home twice within the first two weeks of the campaign. He also starts up among the .400 people with as much sprightliness as if he were just reaching the first rim of his prime. There has been no one quite like him in the old game when the entire case is considered-the human dome as well as feet, arms, legs and enduring ambition and determination. (May 4, 1924)

Cobb was still at the top of his game at age 40 and was among the best in baseball. Rice wrote, "Time has had its hardest battle in slowing him down, even after 20 years of trying." George Sisler had a standout year in 1922 when he batted .420, stole 51 bases and scored 134 runs. To Rice, "it was a record up to the loftiest

standards of Ty Cobb in his prime." Rice also did not want Cobb to retire in 1925 as he thought he could play for several more years. When Lou Gehrig came along in 1927, "he was the greatest young hitter in the game since Cobb...stepped along" (June 1, 1924; May 10, 1925; Sept. 20, 1925; June 26, 1927).

Two frames also were developed that had to do with the off-the-field issues. Monetary and publicity frames emerged. Rice believed "the greater amount of money there comes into sport, the worse it is for sport." Overpaying athletes could be a problem as well as "the more he gets, the less interested, upon the average, he seems to be in handling his daily play." Rice was also an advocate of a "Kid's Day" at the baseball park. Ticket prices were too high for them to afford. Rice thought it was a necessity to have such a day because if kids "were not to be the fans of the future, who is going to take their place at the turnstiles?" (April 4, 1920; April 25, 1920).

Rice also wrote:

Thousands of youngsters are reading about Ruth, Hornsby, Sisler, Alexander, etc., who have never yet had the chance to see these men play. It isn't a life and death matter, but it is a matter of increased happiness.

"The wealth of a nation," writes Adam Smith, "is measured by its happiness."

Don't forget that the happiness of the kids figures largely in this matter of national wealth." (June 20, 1920)

Tickets prices for all events were getting out of hand. Rice wrote, "any more \$500,000 purses and \$1,600,000 gate receipts are not going to help the game. Anything in reason, but there is always a limit, even when the public does the paying." Rice disagreed with the prices of World Series tickets in 1920. Average fans

did not have \$22 for reserved seats for four games or \$44 for reserved seats for eight games (July 17, 1921; Oct. 23, 1921).

Rice believed "that money and trouble [ran] together," and "when a lot of money begins to surround any sport, the decay that sets in is as certain as wet grass after a heavy rain. The long green is the great wrecker of any game." Money may have helped "to make a spicy set of headlines, but it [didn't] help the general welfare of the game" (Oct. 24, 1920; Oct. 27, 1926).

Another frame that emerges in Rice's writing is one of publicity, and its effects. This is quite ironic considering many people fault journalists for providing hype. Rice was considered one of the leading providers of unnecessary ballyhoo during the 1920s.

Rice pointed out that publicity is responsible for the growth of sport. He wrote:

Publicity, decried in some quarters, has done its share toward building up all sport. If the entire limelight were withdrawn from any one sport its following would soon fade away. The veterans might stick, but there would be no youngsters coming on with any desire to pick it up and give it a whirl. (July 16, 1922)

Rice credited "specialized publicity" for building up interest in certain baseball players prior to the 1925 season. The publicity also built up great interest in baseball's pennant races as well (April 12, 1925). But Rice defended the idea that sports figures should be heroes. He wrote:

This is some complaint at odd times over the so-called tendency to make "heroes" of those who turn in certain achievements in competition.

This is, of course, a bit on the silly side. There are no real heroes in the sporting field, any more than there are in the writing, acting, artistic or financial field.

They are just people.

But to win certain competitions there must be a mixture of skill, nerve and frequently courage.

And this combination often is more than the writing, acting or business field calls for. (May 2, 1926)

There are no "sweeter words" to the average alumnus than word that his alma mater will have a good football team. But those same words "are about as sweet to the head coach as a dill pickle soaked in brine." The coach does not like it because it gives his team an ego problem and puts pressure on him to win. Too much publicity is often harmful for college freshman as well. Rice wrote, "the trumpets that are often blown in behalf of freshmen football players often do more harm than good, for they set too high a goal for the youngsters." Rice was also against the idea of picking a college football champion. He wrote, "picking a champion might make a good newspaper story, but it won't go for any one who knows and follows football. Football doesn't need any championship ballyhoo. It doesn't happen to need any crown-bearing climax to stir up interest. Each contest is usually good enough to ride alone." Rice also believed as money and publicity increased in collegiate sports "there would be a certain amount of collegiate scandal, and a lot of it will be true" (Sept. 26, 1926; Oct. 16, 1927; Oct. 21, 1928; June 2, 1929).

"Tales of a Wayside Tee"

If anyone wanted to learn about golf, this was the item to read each Sunday. Rice covered everything from improving your putting stroke to consideration of who might win the U.S. Open each year.

The frame of nationalism appeared in "Tales of a Wayside Tee" just like it did in "Spotlight." Rice continually pitted Americans against the British for supremacy in the golf world. Only once prior to 1920 had a non British golfer won the British Amateur, but in 1920 several American golfers were set to "make another assault upon the lion in his lair" and "to give battle" in competition for the title. There was a "battle" in 1920 on who was going to win the four major tournaments of the day. A British golfer won the 1920 U.S. Open because of the "combined assaults of Ray and Vardon" but Rice believed an American golfer would win the 1920 U.S. Amateur. He wrote, "but in spite of the stout international attack that will be made upon our amateur contingent at the Engineers course within the next ten days we don't believe that the two cups are going away this year." By the end of 1920 Rice had concluded that amateur golf in the U.S. was on par with that in Britain (June 6, 1920; June 27, 1920; Aug. 29, 1920)². He wrote:

But the old order is changed and Great Britain to-day realizes that she must rebuild her golfing fences to withstand the invasion that might take place next summer. (Oct. 10, 1920)

Americans were set to invade Britain for the 1921 British Open, but the British had its "defenders" out and ready to take on the challenge. Jock Hutchinson,

an American, won the 1921 British so American golfers then had to set the "home defense" against the British "invasion" for the 1921 U.S. Open (May 29, 1921; July 10, 1921).

American amateur golfers sent an "invading party" to Britain for the 1923 British Amateur and Walker Cup matches. Then was soon followed by an "invasion" of American professionals for the British Open. In the 1923 British Amateur "the forces of our Uncle Samuel [were] outnumbered by 15 or 20 to 1" so it would be hard for an American to win the British Amateur. As Americans prepared to travel to Great Britain in 1926 for golf competitions, Rice wrote, "Great Britain might be soon wondering whether Roman legions are once more headed north or Rolf the Norman is preparing another invasion." Most all of America's top golfers were going to Britain to compete in the British Amateur, the Walker Cup matches and the British Open. The 1926 Walker Cup team was one of the strongest "invading teams" the United States had ever sent (April 1, 1923, April 8, 1923; May 6, 1923; April 25, 1926; May 2, 1926).

The United States eventually supplanted Great Britain as the best golfing nation. By 1928, the U.S. Open had also supplanted the British Open as the top tournament in the world. Rice wrote, "The British open, with all its tradition, has been forced to make way for the United States open, now the greatest of all the golfing blue ribbons" (May 20, 1928).

² The dates indicate which issue of the *New York Herald Tribune* the articles cited appeared. A complete citation for the article can be found in Appendix C.

The United States also sent an "invading" force to Britain in 1929 to compete in the Ryder Cup matches and the British Open. Only one British golfer won the British Open during the 1920s and if an American won in 1929 "it would be like rubbing the salt into open wounds." The British won the 1929 Ryder Cup matches, and Rice believed this would create more interest in the British Open because "it would send the American side into action keener than ever to turn the tide from the Union Jack to the Stars and Stripes" (April 21, 1929; May 5, 1929).

The dramatic frame also appears in "Tales of a Wayside Tee." Just like in "Sportlight," anybody can win a golf tournament at any given time, but Rice was able to do more with this notion in "Tales of a Wayside Tee." Rice wanted to make the point that people will watch golf because of the competition. He highlighted this in his nationalism frame pitting the competition of the United States versus Great Britain. He did it with individuals as well as repeatedly writing about how difficult it was to pick a winner of a tournament.

But Rice did write about the front-runners of tournaments each year. He selected the 10 or so golfers he thought could win a tournament and wrote a brief profile of them in this column. This would sometimes take place over two or three weeks. The competition in a tournament is what makes it exciting. The fact that anybody can win at any time is what draws people to the tournaments. If there were no thrills in golf, "10,000 or 12,000 people wouldn't take a day off and travel thirty miles or more for the privilege of walking another eight or ten miles to follow the big battles of the year" (April 3, 1921). Rice wrote:

Golf is an uncanny game that defies the prophet and mocks at dope. Lack of putting touch, hard luck in a bunker, putts that rim the cup without dropping are quite enough to wreck any champion. Those lucky enough to be in Washington³ this week will get an eyeful of excitement, drama, comedy and tragedy. (July 17, 1921)

It takes many things to win a golf championship and it takes "a greater variety of things, including luck, than any other game can name" (Aug. 7, 1921). Trying to pick the winner of the 1923 U.S. Open brought the poet in Rice out. He wrote:

Hagen, Sarazen, Hutchinson, Barnes, Kirkwood, Smith and Jones-
 But one will slice to the reedy tarns,
 And one will fill the air with groans;
 And one will hook to sanded ruts
 And one will loss his spin,
 And one will blow the one-yard putts,
 So I don't know who'll win (July 8, 1923)

Rice also could not pick a winner in the 1923 U.S. Amateur because "upsets [were] too sudden and too stunning to permit any leeway to the dope ... surprises will follow thick and fast. It is now the way of the game. The unexpected should be expected in golf and those turns "help add to the zest of golf's feverish fortune and which also help make the game the hardest of all to figure in advance" (Sept. 9, 1923; May 11, 1924).

The 1924 U.S. Open championship was like a "lottery" as any number of people could win. Rice wrote, "golf shifts and turns and ducks with too much suddenness for anyone to following its winding mazes. To-day you have it - tomorrow you haven't - and this applies to the high and low alike." A reason why it is

³ Rice is referring to Washington, D.C. where the 1921 U.S. Open was held at Columbia Country Club.

hard for a "soothsayer" to pick a winner of a golf tournament is because of the "narrow line between winning and losing" (June 1, 1924; June 21, 1925).

Picking a winner of a golf tournament "looks simple" but it is no easy task. Rice reiterated this point through "Tales of a Wayside Tee" throughout the decade. Before each U.S. Open and U.S. Amateur, he told his readers what a difficult task it was to pick a winner and how the winner the previous year was probably not on anybody's list of potential winners. This was especially true the opening years of the decade before Bobby Jones began his tenure as the world's best golfer. Rice wrote, "sudden reversals and upsets...can and do accompany golf. ... Anything can happen and the best in the game know it" (July 7, 1929).

As Jones rose to the top of the golfing world, Rice was quick with praise of Jones' play. A frame of Jones' ballyhoo appeared in this column as well. Rice named Jones the best amateur golfer in America along with Chick Evans in 1920. Jones broke through with his first major championship in 1923 with a win at the U.S. Open. Part of the reason he won was because he is "one of the master artists at playing from trouble." Then in the 1923 U.S. Amateur, Jones was "going after his second scepter." Jones was a "brilliant golfer" and a favorite to win the 1924 U.S. Amateur because he was "one of the great golfers of all time." Jones had competed in six U.S. Amateurs prior to 1924. His defeat in those was due to his poor play, but his opponents always played the best golf of their careers against him. Rice wrote, "year after year he stepped out against rounds of superlative golf, facing golfers who could make no

mistakes on that day" (July 4, 1920; July 22, 1923; Aug. 26, 1923; April 20, 1924; Sept. 14, 1924; Sept. 21, 1924).

Jones was a complete a golfer with no flaws. Rice wrote:

If [Jones] has a weakness no one yet has found it out...Jones likes one club as well as another from the driver to the niblick and the putter.

There are three departments however where Jones is at his best. He is one of the great wooden club players, driver, brassie, and spoon, of all time; and with this exceptionally brilliant in bunker play and around the greens. Most of his mistakes seem to be made on iron play to the green, but he doesn't make so many of these. (Oct. 5, 1924)

Jones and Hagen "always carry large galleries" because they have a dash to their chance and a certain appeal apart from their stroke making ability." Watts Gunn made a run at the 1925 U.S. Amateur title and his stellar play was credited to Jones. Rice wrote that Gunn had already "profited by adopting Jones' putting style," and would improve because playing with Jones would help "his...rhythm, since Bobby has the finest standardized rhythm in golf." Gunn and Jones were both from Atlanta and frequently played golf together. Heading in to the 1926 U.S. Amateur, Jones was the "best golfer in the field." Jones was also the "leading medal player in America for the last four years" as he prepared for the 1926 British Open. Jones and Hagen's mere presence in the 1926 British Open meant "widespread interest from coast to coast, as they [were] the two most advertised golfers in the world" (May 31, 1925; Sept. 13, 1925; May 9, 1926; June 13, 1926).

If Jones were to be beaten in the 1926 U.S. Amateur, it would have to be done early because "it might seem almost impossible for any amateur to head off Bobby Jones over the thirty-six-hole distance." This tournament was for Jones to win or lose.

Jones was "a big favorite in any match he plays, and no merely good, average round would stop him." The question heading into to the tournament was "who has the best chance to upset the three-year rule of Bobby Jones" (Aug. 29, 1926; Sept. 12, 1926).

Jones had a great all-around game. Rice called him one of two "greatest wooden club players in the 500-year span of golf," and "Jones [was] the greatest bunker player golf has yet shown to its many galleries." Rice also wrote that Jones and Hagen were "to themselves" when it "came to consistent work around the greens" (May 1, 1927).

Jones was the favorite to win the 1927 U.S. Open but there were some players in the "attacking field" who could challenge him. Jones was the "greatest of all golfers" and "a great medal player." In a true tribute to Jones, Rice put together a golfer who could beat Jones. He took the player who could match Jones on the tee, with the long irons, the pitch shot, bunker play and in putting. A person with all these skills could challenge Jones (June 12, 1927; July 17, 1927; Aug. 30, 1925; Sept. 25, 1927).

Jones was not invincible "but given the opportunity to get conditioned for a 72-hole test, he is easily the most formidable competitor." Jones "at his peak...is better than anyone else." Jones was the favorite to win the 1928 U.S. Open but he had to "match his set of clubs against the combined implements and weapons" of several golfers who would challenge him for the championship. "The shadow of Jones is always out in front" at an U.S. Open championship, and Jones was "favored to win

over any single rival." It was hard to pick a winner for the 1928 U.S. Open but Jones was "going to be a hard man to catch" (May 13, 1928; June 3, 1928; June 17, 1928).

In the 1928 U.S. Amateur, "once more the best amateur golfers of America and Great Britain [marched] out to stop the charge of Bobby Jones." The 1929 U.S. Amateur was a "case of the field shooting at Jones." It would have been quite a story if Jones did not qualify for match play in the 1929 U.S. Amateur (Sept. 9, 1928; Aug. 11, 1929). Rice wrote:

Bobby Jones, a great medal player, winner of three United States opens and two British opens, is practically a certainty. If he does not qualify three or four men can bite dogs and one or two can bite lions and the story will be overlooked. (Aug. 25, 1929)

Rice also wrote highly of Hagen in "Tales of a Wayside Tee" and had a Hagen ballyhoo frame as well. In 1923, Hagen "was the greatest golfer of present times" and "was the most consistent performer now wielding a wood or iron." Hagen's record "was well beyond that of any other star, with no one else quite close" in 1923. Hagen's record in the British Open was "one of the most remarkable of all stories in sports." Rice is referring to Hagen winning the British Open in 1922 and 1924 and finishing second in 1923. Rice believed that no one over a three-year period had produced those results in the British Open. Hagen was not only a "great golfer" but had the "the finest of all temperaments for match play" (June 24, 1923; July 13, 1924; Oct. 3, 1926; Oct. 30, 1927).

Hagen was "one of the greatest match play stars in the history of golf" as he prepared for the 1926 PGA Championship. Hagen did win the 1926 PGA Championship. Rice wrote:

Walter Hagen's recent performance in the last P.G.A. championship is one of the most remarkable achievements of a game that has been harrying humanity for over 500 years.

It is not so remarkable for this tournament alone as it is in extending a period of consistency almost beyond belief. There are many attributes that are rare in golf, but consistency is the rarest of the lot. Many are brilliant, but few are consistently so. (Oct. 3, 1926)

Rice wrote about the tournaments being played and the people who competed in them. But he also had a frame of game accession that appeared in "Tales of a Wayside Tee." This was a frame he used to help his readers improve their golf game. He gave tips on how to be a better putter to being a better driver. He also addressed the mental aspects of the game and swing mechanics. This part of his column was a like a "how to" manual in learning how to play golf.

This frame can be divided in parts or chapters just like a book. Rice wrote about hitting woods and irons, play around the green, the mental aspects of the game and how to overall improve your game.

In trying to gain distance off the tees, Rice wrote:

Distance in golf is not entirely a matter of strength. Distance comes from the speed of the club head as it hits the ball. Naturally, a strong player who has his timing under control can speed up the club head faster than a weak entry can.

If the club head is started properly and allowed to go on through the ball without being checked, no great strength is required to get very useful distance. (April 4, 1920)

The average golfer should practice the short chip shot at every chance. Rice told his readers how it hit as well. He wrote:

The ball should be on a line just a trifle nearer the right than the left. This point is disputed, but most of the leading chip-shot exponents advocate right hole location.

The left wrist should be firm, action as a guide or brace, but the stroke comes from the right hand, wrist and forearm, with the body practically still.

The right wrist should snap through firmly, taking the bottom of the ball and the ground together in what might be termed a pinching effort. It is more a flick than anything else. (Aug. 14, 1921)

Rice also offered advice on putting. He wrote:

The basis of good putting is body stanchness and club head rhythm. The golfer who has a steady, even, unhurried back swing and an unhurried tap at the ball as he keeps his body still is yet almost sure to be a good putter. Yet it is the most common mistake in the world to grip too tightly and hurry the procedure, especially after one had blown a brace of two and three footers in succession. His rhythm then gives way before the nervous mental touch that is bound to affect the muscular system. There must be a feeling of rhythm in the mind before there can be any such feeling in the stroke. (Sept. 2, 1923, pp. 3-4)

These are just three examples of the hundreds of golf tips Rice gave in "Tales of a Wayside Tee." He gave his readers many other suggestions on how to improve their golf games. In hitting a chip shot Rice wrote, "to keep the head still; keep the body out of the stroke to use a firm, unbroken left wrist - - these you will find the main details to be watched in playing a chip shot." He told his readers a hurried swing and over-thinking was bad. Golfers should select their club, decided on the shot and hit it. Too much body movement was a common fault among golfers so balance was important in the golf swing. When unsure about what club to use, the average golfer should use more club and grip down. Concentration and keeping eyes on the ball was important. Practice is important but it has to be correct practice. When practicing, a person should work on one fault at a time. It is also important to keep "mental poise" in a bunker and there should "be no feeling of hurried effort or over-trying" when

hitting a bunker shot. Timing and rhythm is important in golf because a person is hitting a stationary object. There is nothing to guide the golfer on what pace he should

Tales of a Wayside Tee

By GRANTLAND RICE

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During the early stages of last week's open golf championship we journeyed back and forth among various groups and individuals composing star tournament players and leading instructors to get their favored list of "Don'ts."

Here is the list that received the greatest number of votes from thirty-five of the best professionals in the United States:

1. Don't wait until after the stance is taken to make up your mind.
2. Don't think ahead of the swing.
3. Don't think of anything but hitting the ball after starting your back swing.
4. Don't grip too tightly with the right hand on the back swing.
5. Don't start the back swing outside of the ball—start the club head back on an inside circle.
6. Don't stand too long over the ball—but don't be in any hurry on the back swing or the down stroke.
7. Don't move your head—let it be your anchor.
8. Don't try to lift an iron shot with your hands—let the loft of the blade take care of this.
9. Don't move either head or body while putting. Let the hands, wrists and arms do the work.
10. Don't break your wrists too quickly on the back swing.
11. Don't attempt to check your down stroke. Hit firmly on through.
12. Don't let the hands get in too quickly. Cultivate the feeling of hitting with the club head.
13. Don't think of a bunker or a pond to be carried—think only of hitting the ball.
14. Don't start your down stroke too quickly—let it pick up speed on the way through the ball.
15. Don't have the feeling of using extra effort. When you have, select a longer hitting club.
16. Don't get mentally hurried. Cultivate the idea of mental steadiness or mental rhythm.
17. Don't try a club lofted too much for a short chip shot. Use jigger, mashie iron or light midiron.
18. Don't try to kill the ball in heavy rough or matted grass. If anything, use a somewhat easier grip and swing back slowly.
19. Don't try to get fancy in a bunker or sand trap. Be sure first of getting safely out.
20. Don't break the left elbow too much. Keep it straight or fairly straight, with the left hand and wrist always in control of the club.

Figure 5. This is Rice's "Tales of a Wayside Tee" column from July 15, 1923. He is advising his readers about the "Don'ts" of playing golf in this column.

swing with like in tennis or baseball. Course management is also important, and golfers should not try to hit a "miracle shot" to get out of trouble. Let the club head do the work, and this is particularly true when hitting irons. The loft on the club itself will give the ball flight. It takes no lifting of the arms by the player.

The golf swing is hard to master. Rice wrote, "the combined power and delicacy of touch required to play golf is beyond all understanding." The golf swing

"is largely the matter of touch, timing and rhythm, and these are things not easily acquired" (April 11, 1920; June 13, 1920; July 11, 1920; Oct. 23, 1921; June 3, 1923; Aug. 19, 1923; Oct. 21, 1923; April 6, 1924; April 11, 1926; April 27, 1924; Aug. 10, 1924).

Conclusion

Rice wrote about a variety of topics during his years as a journalist and golf was certainly one of his favorites. He played the game well and did his part in spreading his interest in the game to others. Rice is often credited with being a mythmaker with his writings. This may be true, but Rice's "Tales of a Wayside Tee" column was practical, useful information about golf. The fact that it may have been promotional was incidental to Rice's purpose.

Rice's golf frames of nationalism and dramatic created interest in golf and advanced the growth of the game. His frame of Jones ballyhoo helped create Jones' legendary status. Jones was not the only golfer who received Rice's praise, as a Hagen ballyhoo frame developed as well. Baseball players, such as Ty Cobb and Babe Ruth, also received praise from Rice. An interesting development in the analysis of the articles revealed a money and publicity frame. Rice thought both were bad for sports, but he was one of the leading writers of the day providing the publicity for sports and athletes.

The nationalism and dramatic frame also appeared in "Tales of a Wayside" as did a Jones ballyhoo frame. Rice definitely played a role in the myth-making of Jones. Rice also encouraged growth in golf with his game accession frame. He

continually offered advice on people could improve their golf games. He offered advice for course management, putting, iron play and all other aspects of the game.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

The existence of these frames is not the issue at hand. Entman (1993) wrote that frames exist in four places: the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture. The frames presented here are located in the communicator and the text. The communicators, in this case Keelor and Rice, are presenting ideas that are promotional. Those promotional ideas are encouraging the progress, growth, or acceptance of golf. These messages and ideas are in the form of the text of the newspaper.

This research shows how certain newspaper writers helped golf become a part of the social fabric in the United States. The sport had only been firmly established in the United States for 30 years, but Paul Gallico wrote that golf was becoming the new national pastime in America and the U.S. Open had surpassed the World Series as the biggest sporting event in the country by 1927 (*New York Daily News*, Aug. 25, 1927). The newspaper coverage of golf made it more acceptable to the general public and increased its popularity. O.B. Keelor and Grantland Rice, in particular, helped spur the growth of golf. They also helped create an everlasting and mythical image of Bobby Jones. Newspapers are the scrapbooks of society and this research also shows what golf and the personalities in golf were like in the 1920s. Sport has been shown to have a relationship with many aspects of culture (Slusser, 1952), and this research shows how golf was interwoven into culture through the writings of Keelor and Rice.

Is the mere presence of an article about an event promotional? In a sense yes, because it gets readers thinking about an issue. It was earlier mentioned that coverage of spring training was necessary and vital for the opening of baseball season. Nobody would know when opening day is without the coverage given to spring training. Paul Gallico believed newspapers keep baseball interest alive "throughout the...season...by reporting daily doings of the local teams." The mere presence of the articles let people know the baseball season was ongoing. The seven-month baseball season can definitely drag on, but newspaper coverage always lets the readers know that baseball is being played. Then when interest peaks as the season ends, the newspapers are still there providing the story to the public.

Were Keelor and Rice doing this intentionally? It appears both were doing what they could to promote their subjects. It was Bobby Jones for Keelor and golf and other sports for Rice. The examination of the articles revealed that neither Keelor nor Rice was objective in reporting. This is not always bad. The 1920s was a flamboyant era and that in part dictated the writing style of the sportswriters. Gallico (1960) wrote "we were undoubtedly guilty of perpetrating sentimental tosh, or overexaggerating what was a merely a day's work for two professional teams, but it must be remembered that this was a florid era and called more than occasionally for florid reporting to do it justice" (p. 292).

O.B. Keelor

There is no way to ask people 80 years later what they thought about Bobby Jones, and if O.B. Keelor had any influence over that perception nor is this really

necessary. He continued to write his articles, and his editors continued to publish them. Each frame that Keelor used led to the promotion of Jones.

Using the emotional attachment frame, Keelor was able to show people the personal side of Jones. He was not just a golfer. Jones and his friends felt the same emotions as everyone else did. Golf did not come as easy to Jones as it may have seemed. He had his struggles with the game just as everyone else did. Keelor wrote about Jones in ways that made him seem larger than life, but, in reality, he was not. The personal side of Jones was also used in this frame. Jones was one of "us." He was a local boy from Atlanta who had done well for himself. Keelor rallied support for him by portraying him as a hometown hero.

Keelor's relationship with Jones had been developed during Jones' playing days. They traveled together to tournaments and spent many hours together. So, definitely had a personal interest in Jones. Jones (1954) wrote:

O.B. Keelor and I enjoyed a very real partnership for the better part of twenty years. We traveled thousands of miles together, we lived our golf tournaments together, we wrote a book, did a radio series; and two motion picture series, all in the closest and most harmonious collaboration. I doubt if ever such a relationship existed between reporter in sport or elsewhere. (p. viii)

This frame was somewhat contradictory in nature to the other frames Keelor used. Keelor portrayed Jones as a regular person to bolster support in the emotional attachment frame, but the other three frames he made Jones out to be a mythical character of sorts.

The frame of being a marked-man was one Keelor used throughout Jones' career. All the other golfers played their best golf against Jones. His opponents were

able to raise the level of their game when they played him. Along these same lines, Keelor used a frame of championship gatekeeper. He was the favorite to win any tournament in which he played. He was considered the winner until someone beat him. Keelor often noted how Jones was always in contention to win tournaments but his competition from tournament to tournament changed. The challengers were many, but there was only one Bobby Jones.

Keelor's most enduring and perhaps most powerful frame was that of mythical excellence. Keelor constantly reminded his readers about the greatness of Jones and used descriptive language to do so. Here is where Keelor helped make Jones the legendary figure that he is. The earlier description of this frame shows the ballyhoo.

One way in which framing may occur is through journalistic objectivity. Entman (1993) wrote, "Journalists may follow the rules for 'objective reporting' and yet convey a dominant framing of the news text that prevents most audiences members from making a balanced assessment of a situation" (p. 56). Keelor was writing about the major golf tournaments of the day but his objectivity may have been blurred by his relationship with Jones. He did not write about other golfers as he wrote about Jones regardless of how well they played. Keelor's writings helped create the mystique and legend of Bobby Jones. Jones himself acknowledged Keelor's influence. Sheehan (2000) listed Keelor writing about Jones as one of the 100 greatest things to happen to golf in the last 100 years. So, Keelor's articles about Jones were ballyhoo in nature and did influence the perception of him.

Grantland Rice

Did Rice write things that were promotional in nature? He certainly did all he could in building up a golf rivalry between Great Britain and the United States. His nationalism frame pitted "us" against "them" and this certainly creates interest in sport. Perhaps one of the best examples of this was the 1980 Olympic hockey game between the United States and the Soviet Union. Ice hockey was a sport that received little attention nationally, but in 1980 all eyes of the United States were on that hockey game to see if the United States could beat its world rival. The United States win became known as the "Miracle on Ice." The Ryder Cup matches United States professional golfers against European professional golfers and is one of the most anticipated events in professional golf. The matches take place every two years and as soon as one ends, the build-up for the next one begins. One of the goals of many professional golfers is to earn a place on the Ryder Cup team. Rice certainly did his part 80 years ago in making this the event what it was at the end of the century. International sports competition often rallies a country together. Rice did this with his nationalism frame and this helped promote golf.

The dramatic frame Rice used was also promotional. Trying to pick the winner of a golf tournament is difficult, and this added to the suspense of the tournament. Anyone can win any week in golf, so people better watch the tournaments or read about them to find out what is occurring at a tournament. This is still true. Any number of golfers can win a tournament each week. There have been times when golfers have dominated but the competition is still keen in professional

golf. It is quite an accomplishment now if a golfer can win two tournaments in a year. Rice realized the difficulty of this and helped create interest in the sport by telling his readers about it.

Rice also did his part to create image Bobby Jones' image. Rice let his readers know Jones was a great golfer. Hagen also received a great deal of praise from Rice. Hagen in his own right was a tremendous talent, and Rice made sure his readers knew how good he was. Rice's praise was not limited to the golf course, though. Rice showered praise on baseball players as well with Ruth and Cobb being the most prevalent. They were the star players of the 1920s, and Rice seemed content to do what he could do to improve their images.

The "how to" frame Rice had in "Tales of a Wayside Tee" helped create interest in golf as well, and taught people how to play or improve their games. The PGA Tour used this idea in 2000. It developed a television show called "Get Golf" to introduce the public to the sport. Its official description read:

Get Golf With the PGA TOUR is a 30-minute syndicated show designed to appeal to avid golfers as well as those people curious about golf, but needing a "push" to get out and try the game. Hosted every week by John O'Hurley -- the actor who made J. Peterman larger than life on Seinfeld -- Get Golf With the PGA TOUR will take a lighthearted approach to the game, with splashy graphics, upbeat music and fun for the whole family. Each week will showcase montages of great shots and other exciting action from the PGA TOUR. Just as important, there will be humor and features to entertain the beginner as well as the expert. (www.pgatour.com)

The description itself says it wants to "push" people to play golf. Rice did his share of pushing, encouraging and promoting golf as well. Rice did this using the frames of nationalism, drama, Jones ballyhoo and Hagen ballyhoo in his "Spotlight" column.

Those same frames plus game accession were used in his "Tales of a Wayside Tee" column to promote golf. Rice also used the frames of Cobb ballyhoo and Ruth ballyhoo in writing about baseball. So, his framed baseball similarly to the way he framed golf in regards to individuals.

But Rice was critical of sports in terms of the money and publicity that sports had started to generate. Rice was a soothsayer of sorts because many of the problems facing sports today have been blamed on money and the tremendous amount of media attention given to sports. A family of four can expect to spend \$131 to take in a Major League baseball game and \$258 to attend a National Football League game¹ (Swift, 2000). There is the contemporary argument that the majority of professional athletes are only playing for the money and not to win or for the enjoyment of fans. Rice saw this problem in 1920. The same is true for publicity. It can be harmful to sports. Publicity has done its share to bring sports to the forefront, but there is a point of diminishing returns. Increased media attention usually leads to increased revenues, which creates the money problem Rice wrote about. Rice did do his share of hyping golf and the individual stars in golf and baseball, but he warned the sports world of too much of this as well.

Rice was a sports fan and this showed in his writings. He glorified the people who participated in sports and wanted to help sports be successful. Rice created a positive perception of sports and his readers saw sports through his eyes. Rice influenced the public perception of sports and its participants.

¹ Average price for a family of four including parking, four tickets, four drinks, four hot dogs, two beers, two programs and two souvenir hats.

This research on Rice also builds on the Inabinett's (1994) study of Rice as a mythmaker. Inabinett asked if athletes of the 1920s were remembered because of their achievements or because of the words used to describe their achievements. His book examined Rice's writings in *Collier's* and the *New York Tribune* about Jack Dempsey, Babe Ruth, Bill Tilden, Red Grange, Knute Rockne and Bobby Jones, and how those writings help create the image of those athletes.

The research presented here is more systematic and uses frames to show how Rice help create the image the Jones. This research also shows how Rice promoted golf. The findings of this research support Inabinett's claim that Rice helped make a legend out of Jones. Jones' talent was great but it took people like Rice and Keelor to help make him the legend he was. Inabinett (1994) wrote, "the image of greatness attained by the leading athletes of the Golden Age is more attributable to the influence of sportswriters than to the caliber of sportsmen" (p. 100). Most of the nation saw Jones through the eyes of Keelor, Rice and the other sportswriters of the day.

Rice was a member of the "Gee Whiz" school of sportswriting during the 1920s as was Keelor. Others, such as, Paul Gallico, also wrote in this style. An examination of Gallico's writings will add perspective to Rice and Keelor.

Paul Gallico

A sample of Gallico's columns from 1925 to 1930 was examined to add perspective to Keelor and Rice. A homer frame for baseball emerged as did a Jones ballyhoo frame.

Gallico wrote a column for the New York *Daily News* and was a Yankees fan and would so much tell his readers that. He wanted the Yankees to win and outwardly rooted for them. Gallico did not have much interest in the 1925 World Series because no team from New York was playing in it. He wrote a column in 1926 telling his readers why he liked the Yankees. He liked the players on the team and "gloat(ed) every time the Yankees crash(ed) the ball out of the infield." He also liked the Yankees because he "firmly (believed) that they (were) going to bring a world series back to New York." The Yankees were his "favorite baseball club" (Oct. 7, 1925; April 4, 1926)².

His "beloved Yanks" made it to the 1926 World Series. The Yankees were playing St. Louis in the 1926 World Series, and Gallico picked the Cardinals to win. His picks were always wrong so he picked the Cardinals and ended his column with "Come on, you Yankees." There was "no pleasant news from the radio" when the Yankees were losing but nobody "was happier" when the Yankees won the series opener. Gallico also picked the Pittsburgh Pirates to sweep the Yankees in the 1927 World Series on the premise that he was always wrong in his predictions. He wrote "if this doesn't put the curse on the Pirates nothing will." Gallico enjoyed baseball but "especially when his Yankees won." He admitted that "this was a provincial attitude and not all compatible with the cold blooded neutral that a sports writer is supposed to be, but who cares?" Gallico also told his readers he was "partisan" but the Yankees

² The dates listed are the days the articles referenced appeared in the *New York Daily News*. A complete citation for the article can be found in Appendix D.

must "be rooted through" the World Series (Oct. 2, 1926; Oct. 4, 1927; Sept. 20m 1929; Sept. 11, 1928; Oct. 3, 1929).

Gallico was also part of the myth-making machine for Bobby Jones. Jones should win the 1925 U.S. Amateur because he "beyond any shadow of doubt, (he is) the best golfer competing." Gallico wanted to see "young Mr. Jones succeed himself to the title." Jones was "the greatest amateur golfer the world has ever known, the greatest golfer of any kind for that matter." Jones was putting so well in the 1928 U.S. Amateur, Gallico suggested looking "for a magnet at the bottom of the cup." Jones brought out the best in his competitors, and "when the boys draw Bobby Jones, if they're not scared stiff, they play their heads off to beat him"(Sept. 4, 1925; Sept. 15, 1928; June 25, 1929).

Jones was a "man who made no mistakes" and was the favorite to win the 1929 U.S. Open. Gallico wrote:

Gentlemen who are looking for the winner of the National Open at Winged Foot beginning Thursday are requested to put the following names in a hat: Bobby Jones, Billy Burke, Johnny Farrell, Horton Smith.

Now, pull out the name of Bobby Jones. Now, throw away the rest of the names. You may also, as far as I am concerned, throw away the hat. In one aspect, Jones resembles a rattlesnake: He gives fair warning before he strikes. Last week, with a sixty-eight and a sixty-nine in practice at Winged Foot, the Atlantan shook every button on his rattler. Jones is hot, bothered and angry. Thursday, Friday and Saturday he will strike. (June 25, 1929)

Gallico gave a Jones a glowing tribute after he won the 1930 U.S. Amateur, thus completing the Grand Slam. He wrote:

You have...been witness to a twentieth century phenomenon, the same being Mr. Robert Tyre Jones, Jr. of Atlanta, Ga. You know by this time that Robert has managed to win the four major golf titles of the world all in the same year...no one will ever do that again.

I likewise declare that this makes this plain and modest fellow named Jones the outstanding sports figure of the era. If you listed all the champions of the all the sports and wished to choose the champion of them all, the fellow who was better at his game than anybody else was in his own particular sport, why, you would without hesitation name Robert. I mean I would, and I do not care to argue the point.

Time and legend will make a tremendous figure of Bobby. (Sept. 9, 1930)

Gallico's writings were not all fluff, though. He was aware of the problems facing sports. Gallico wrote that sports writers and editors were guilty of treating Babe Ruth with kid gloves and this may have caused some of the problems Ruth faced. He wrote, "not alone the sports writers have been kind to (Ruth), but to my knowledge, editors have often refrained from developing legitimate stories about him with the idea of keeping intact America's baseball idol. Sports writers had deliberately withheld the truth about Ruth. Gallico believed the newspapers are what gave him the status he had. Ruth was known for his flamboyant lifestyle and outrageous behavior, but sports writers rarely wrote anything about this (April 18, 1925; Sept. 1, 1925).

Gallico realized "greedy hands" were trying to control college football in the 1920s. He believed this would be a problem because other sports had been diminished by all the rules and governing the bodies trying to control them. The trouble with "amateur sport is not the with the amateurs in it but with the professionals who run it." Ticket prices for a boxing match in 1928 were \$7.50 and "that's too much" (April 26, 1926; April 22, 1926).

Comparisons and Contrasts

Bobby Jones owed a great deal of gratitude toward the sportswriters of the 1920s for helping him gain legendary status. His golfing exploits certainly provided good copy and the scribes of the era took over from there. Keelor was the leader when it came to promoting Jones, but Rice and Gallico did their share to build his image in the 1920s. All three help create the myth. Keelor and Rice were not the only ones who promoted golf and Jones. Rice did write for a national audience and was part of the national media center in New York so his writings carried a great deal of influence. His columns were not only read in New York but his "Spotlight" column was syndicated to more than 100 newspapers (Fountain, 1993). Keelor wrote for the *Atlanta Journal*, and his articles were read by nearly than half of the population of the city. The *Atlanta Journal* had a Sunday circulation of more than 134,000 and the population of Atlanta in 1930 was just over 270,000. His weekday articles reached 85,000 subscribers. (Phillips, 2000). Keelor also wrote for the Associated Press and was named an honorary member of the organization in 1926 (Matthew, 1995). Keelor wrote more than 500 articles for the Associated Press so his influence was spread throughout the country as well (Matthew, 1995).

Keelor also influenced other sportswriters covering Jones. Ralph Trost (Matthew, 1995) of the *Brooklyn Eagle* wrote:

For a great many more than one of us just breaking in, Keelor made Jones. He WAS Jones. He told us what Jones said, what he hoped, his aims. He told us what he had done – and much about what he was going to do, and did. Far more than Bob Jones can ever realize, many of us to got to know Bobby through O.B. (p. 54).

But it took the both Rice and Keelor along with Gallico and other writers to create the mythical image of Bobby Jones throughout the nation.

Rice also did the same for Babe Ruth and Ty Cobb. While Gallico wrote about baseball, he wrote mostly about the New York Yankees. Rice wrote about the entire baseball world, and he also wrote about all sports. The scope of his column was all of the sports world and the personalities in it. Gallico mostly wrote about baseball and boxing. Gallico also wrote about other events happening in New York. He wrote about the circus, his dilemma in trying to get rid of two cats and his column illustrator going on vacation. His column was aimed at the readers of New York whereas Rice's column was aimed at a national audience. This is appropriate because the "Sportlight" column was nationally syndicated. Rice also had a great deal more interest in golf than Gallico and probably anyone else in the era. He produced his daily "Sportlight" column, but also wrote "Tales of a Wayside Tee." He wanted to get the word out about the happenings in the golf world. This gave him an avenue to do this. Like Rice, Gallico warned his readers of the potential problems money and governing bodies could cause to sport, and these have come true.

Frames Still in Existence

The frames that Keelor and Rice used during the 1920s are still in use today. The frame of mythical excellence was prevalent during the 1960s as Arnold Palmer became known as the "King" much like Bobby Jones was the "Emperor" during the 1920s. Those same frames have been used in writing about Tiger Woods in the 1990s. Woods is in his mid-20s and is already being hailed as the person who will become

the greatest golfer of all time. The championship gatekeeper frame is also being applied to Woods. All tournaments are basically his to lose, and he is the favorite to win any tournament in which he is entered. All players are trying to beat Woods thus making him a marked man, much like Jones was. Newspapers and television are disseminating these ideas about Woods.

The emotional attachment frame was used when Stuart Appleby won the 1999 Shell Houston Open on the PGA TOUR. Appleby's wife was killed in London in 1998 and this was used as a point of emphasis by the media when Appleby was in position to win this tournament. Who could not help but to want to him win under the circumstances? The media made sure the public was aware of this situation. Moving to baseball the emotional attachment frame was used during Mark McGuire's and Sammy Sosa's bid in 1998 to break Roger Maris' record of 61 home runs in a single season. The race to 61 caught the fancy of the nation and everyone soon knew about Mark McGuire's life as a single parent, and the abuse McGuire endured during his childhood. The nation also became aware of Sosa's upbringing in the Dominican Republic, and his efforts to help improve his country.

The nationalism frame Rice used is still very much alive as well. The Ryder Cup matches are some of the most competitive matches in golf. A similar tournament pitting American golfers against non-European golfers has been initiated as well called the President's Cup matches. The dramatic frame is being used as well. Even though Woods is the favorite to win tournaments in which he plays, anybody can still win. There were 33 different winners in 47 PGA events during 1999. There were only

six multiple winners and of those only two players, Tiger Woods and David Duval, won more than two tournaments. The PGA Tour is competitive and that helps create interest in it. Winning one major championship and 15 other tour events is a great career by PGA standards.

Further Research

Research is often like swimming up stream. Numerous ideas for research come to light with every book and journal article read. A close examination in the writing styles of the "Gee Whiz" school and the "Aw Nuts" school of sports writing would provide perspective into another part of journalism in the 1920s. Newspapers often had a member from each school on its staff providing insight into the sports world. Other bylines became of interest in examining the newspapers used in the study. Bobby Jones and other golfers often wrote columns for newspapers and an examination of what they wrote would show how golfers themselves saw the golfing world. This research examined Rice's writings at the *Herald Tribune*, but looking at his previous writings, especially his Jigger column at the *Evening Mail*, would be interesting as well.

Many people credit Bernard Darwin of the *London Times* of the being the best golf writer of the era. It would be interesting to see how he wrote about the international rivalry between the United States and Great Britain compared to Grantland Rice. This research only examined newspapers, so an analysis of magazines would provide more insight into this subject as well.

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Appendices

Appendix A

O.B. Keelor's Articles in the *Atlanta Journal*

1923

July 9, 1923, "Jones and Maiden Are Playing Good Golf at Inwood Practice Rounds," p. 18.

July 10, 1923, "Champion in Fine Form; Shoots 148; Evans' Close Call," p. 22.

July 11, 1923, "Australian's Great Playing is Feature of Tuesday's Round," p. 14.

July 12, 1923, "Final Qualifying Day Thursday for Nat'L Open Tourney," p. 23.

July 13, 1923, "Course Seems Too Tricky for Hagen, Declares Keelor," p. 20.

July 14, 1923, "Hutchison is Two Strokes Ahead as Final Drive Begins," p. 6.

July 15, 1923, "Atlanta Boy and New Jersey 'Pro' Play It Off Today," p. C-1, 3.

July 16, 1923, "Atlanta Boy Sits on Top World; Had Punch in Pinch", p. 16.

Sept. 17, 1923, "Atlanta Delegation Rests Sunday for Big Grind," p. 14.

Sept. 18, 1923, "Bob and Chick Tie with 149 for Lead in Qualifying Round," p. 13.

Sept. 19, 1923, "Local Amateur Star Given Big Scare by Young Texas Golfer," p. 19.

Sept. 20, 1923, "Shooting Brilliant Golf, Max Marston Defeats Jones, 2-1," p. 22.

Sept. 21, 1923, "Bobby Jones Beats Evans in Playoff for Low Medalist," p. 24.

Sept. 22, 1923, "Sweetser to Battle Martson for Title in Finals Match," p. 8.

Sept. 23, 1923, "Sweetser Is Beaten on 38th Hole of Hard Fought Match," p. C-1.

1924

June 2, 1924, "Bob's Noted Caddy Arrives; Champion Scores a Par 72," p. 17.

June 3, 1924, "Open Champion Plays Great Putting Game; Participates in East Vs. West Match," p. 19.

June 4, 1924, "Jones and Guilford Face Evans and Davy Herron; Bob Discards 'Big Bertha,'" p. 18.

June 5, 1924, "Bobby Helps East to Win over West; Keelor Says Champion in Great Form," p. 15.

June 6, 1924, "Champion is Paired with Gene Sarazen Today; Bob Shot Great Golf Thursday," p. 27.

June 7, 1924, "40 on Last Nine Defeats Atlantian, Who is Second; Bill Mehlhorn Lands Third," p. 7.

Sept. 20, 1924, "Frazer Hale of Atlanta in Tourney; Wenzler and Charlie Black Withdrawn," p. 5.

Sept. 21, 1924, "Corkran Beters Course Record to Top Bob; Many Stars Show Poor Cards," p. B-1.

Sept. 22, 1924, "Amateurs Resume Play; Bobby Takes Rest Sunday," p. 11.

Sept. 23, 1924, "Bobby in Bracket with All the Stars; Will Face Thompson in First Round," p. 12.

Sept. 24, 1924, "Bobby Tackles Corkran in Match Today after Winning from Thompson by 6-5," p. 19.

Sept. 25, 1924, "Atlanta Star 11 Strokes under Medalist in Meet; Favored to Regain Crown," p. 22.

Sept. 26, 1924, "Jones and Ouimet, Warm Friends, in Battle Today; Bobby Puts out Knepper," p. 25.

Sept. 27, 1924, "Atlanta Boy Favorite to Lick Von Elm," p. 2, 3.

Sept. 28, 1924, "It Was Bob's Tournament; Mark Never Equaled," p. B-1, 6.

1925

June 1, 1925, "Bobby Gets Two 75s on Deceptive Course at Worcester, on Sunday," p. 17.

June 2, 1925, "Jones Gives His Rivals Shock by Miracle Round; Hagen Gets Hole-in-One," p. 14.

June 3, 1925, "Jones, Hagen and Smith Favored as National Meet Gets Underway," p. 21.

June 4, 1925, "Jones in Fine Comeback after Bad Beginning; Bobby's Back to Wall," p. 21.

June 5, 1925, "Oakridge Pro in Tie with Atlanta Amateur at Conclusion of 72 Holes," p. 29.

June 6, 1925, "Bobby Loses Crown after Being 4 Up with Nine Left of Match," p. 6.

June 7, 1925, "Atlanta Golfer Says He Learned Something in His Defeat by Bill M'Farlane," p. C-2.

Aug. 31, 1925, "Atlanta's 'Triple Threat' Goes into Action Today against a Brilliant Field," p. 11.

Sept. 1, 1925, "May of Old Guard of Amateur Golfers Blow Up; Gunn Stars with a 76," p. 18.

Sept. 2, 1925, "Two Atlantians Qualify in National Tournament; Fine Honor for This City," p. 14.

Sept. 3, 1945, "World's Record by Gunn In Winning 15 Straight Holes; Jones Easy Victor," p. 11.

Sept. 4, 1926, "Gunn Avenges Bobby Jones by Swamping Sweetser, 10-9; Great Golfer Finds Himself," p. 26.

Sept. 5, 1925, "One Dream Came True, Says Keelor, Who Slept Soundly Friday Night," p. 6.

Sept. 6, 1925, "Young Atlantian Battles Bravely but Tutor Proves too Strong, Winning, 8-7," p. C-1, 2.

Sept. 7, 1925, "City's Conquering Heroes, Jones and Gunn, Arrive Today Bringing the Bacon," p. 10.

1926

May 24, 1926, "Walker Cup Stars Facing Difficult Task in Amateur," p. 23.

May 25, 1926, "All-American Cup Stars Survive First Round Play," p. 22.

- May 26, 1926, "Amateur Champ Played Unsteadily in His Opener," p. 25.
- May 27, 1926, "Chick Evans' Weak Putter Cause of Defeat," p. 32.
- May 28, 1926, "Old-Fashioned Cleek Helps Jones Beat British Champ," p. 35.
- May 29, 1926, "Gunn and MacKenzie Are Rehearsing for Cup Match," p. 6.
- June 22, 1926, "Keelor Feels Jones May Have Reached Peak to Soon," p. 15.
- June 23, 1926, "Score of 295 Should Win Tournament, Keelor Thinks," p. 23.
- June 24, 1926, "'What's the Matter with Our Golf?' British Asking," p. 23.
- July 8, 1926, "Bobby Paired with Wolffe, Watts with J.A. Beaupre," p. 23.
- July 9, 1926, "Wild Bill Melhorn Goes Mad, Leads with a 68," p. 21.
- July 10, 1926, "Atlanta Boy Slides Back into Tie for 7th Position," p. 5.
- July 11, 1926, "Bob's Courage on Last Nine Wins Tribute from His Dad," p. C-1, 6.
- July 12, 1926, "The Official World's Champion," p. 10.
- Sept. 13, 1926, "First Match on Wednesday Is Worrying Our Mr. Jones," p. 14.
- Sept. 14, 1926, "Champion Scores 16 Pars and 2 Birdies on Monday," p. 24.
- Sept. 15, 1926, "Seeded Draw Separates Atlantians in 2 Brackets," p. 15.
- Sept. 16, 1926, "Bobby and Watts Take Both Matches Wednesday," p. 22.
- Sept. 17, 1926, "Golf Champion Wins Hardest Match of Brilliant Career," p. 30.
- Sept. 18, 1926, "Another Ex-Champ Bows to Atlantian's Mastery," p. 5.
- Sept. 19, 1926, "Von Elm Subdues Atlanta Ace in Grueling Match, 2-1," p. C-1, 5.

1927

- June 13, 1927, "Beat Sarazen and Partner; Wind Up Practice for Open," p. 18.
- June 14, 1927, "'Mud Horses' to Have an Advantage on First Day," p. 25.

- June 15, 1927, "Keelor Refuses to Join Scribes in Reading Bob Out," p. 23.
- June 16, 1927, "Keelor Sees Sarazen or Hagen as Winner Today," 32.
- June 17, 1927, "Black Scot Fought Great Fight to Tie Up Tourney," p. 30.
- July 12, 1927, "Par on St. Andrew's Holes Shifts with Wind, O.B. Says; 3 of Today Is 5 of Tomorrow," p. 1.
- July 15, 1927, "Bobby Tired and Ill at Finish," p. 1, 10.
- Aug. 23, 1927, "Bob Runs Up 75 Card While Gunn Requires 77," p. 15.
- Aug. 24, 1927, "Watts Gunn Eliminated in Qualifying Play-Off," p. 28.
- Aug. 25, 1927, "Sudden Death Events Over with Von Elm a Casualty," p. 12.
- Aug. 26, 1927, "Return Engagement Begun by History, Keelor Points," p. 21.
- Aug. 27, 1927, "Minikahda Greatest Test for Title Golf, O.B. Points," p. 5.
- Aug. 28, 1927, "Worth a Drubbing to See Such Golf, Evans Declares," p. C-1, 2.

1928

- June 18, 1928, "Amateur Champ Drives Well but Short Game is Shaky," p. 11.
- June 19, 1928, "Olympia Best and Toughest Test for National Open," p. 24.
- June 20, 1928, "Bobby Breaks Par but It Requires Eight 3's on Card," p. 23.
- June 21, 1928, "Keelor Still Picks 292 Score to Win Open Championship," p. 28.
- June 22, 1928, "Tough Break at Eighteenth Costs Atlanta 'Pro' a 69," p. 31.
- June 23, 1928, "Brilliant 71 in Second Round Shoots Bobby Jones to Front," p. 9.
- June 24, 1928, "Final Round Slump Costs Bob Honors," p. C-1, 5.
- June 25, 1928, "Bobby Jones Never so Fine in Defeat Before, Keelor Says," p. 17.
- Sept. 10, 1928, "Tourney to Be One of Upsets and Spills, Says O.B. Keelor," p. 20.
- Sept. 11, 1928, "Champion Bobby Already in, Watts Probably, O.B. States," p. 25.

Sept. 12, 1928, "Jones in Easy Bracket Which May Spell Grief," p. 25.

Sept. 13, 1928, "Jones Wins 19-Hole Battle to Stay in Running," p. 25.

Sept. 14, 1928, "Perkins, British Title Holder, to Beat Voigt, Keelor Thinks," p. 33.

Sept. 15, 1928, "Coming on Game Slowly, Briton Looms Dangerous," p. 4.

Sept. 16, 1928, "Bob Defeats Perkins, 10-9, in Last Round at Brae Burn," p. C-1, 4.

1929

June 25, 1929, "Emmett Spicer Hits Scene and Takes Practice Round," p. 23.

June 26, 1929, "Jones Plays with Sarazen Against Diegel, Mehlhorn," p. 25.

June 27, 1929, "Many Other Entrants Have Earnest Bunch of Supporters," p. 30.

June 28, 1929, "Jones Shoots Great Game after Starting Raggedly," p. 38.

June 29, 1929, "Atlantian 2 Strokes Back of Leaders on Final Day," p. 7.

June 30, 1929, "'Bunker at No. 8 Wrecked Me,' Atlanta Wizard Says," p. C-1, 7.

July 1, 1929, "Bob Shoots Phenomenal Golf to Beat Espinosa in Play-Off," p. 24.

Sept. 2, 1929, "Jones Plans to Take it Easy, Feeling Fine, Wants Two 75s," p. 18.

Sept. 3, 1929, "Many Stars Are Tottering on Brink of Dire Disaster," p. 25.

Sept. 4, 1929, "Atlantian Ties with Homans at 145 for Medalist Honors," p. 24.

Sept. 5, 1929, "'Error of Judgment at 13th Beat Me,' Bobby Asserts," p. 22.

Sept. 6, 1929, "Bobby Wildly Cheered when He Referees Golf Match," p. 21.

Sept. 7, 1929, "Hard Doc Willing Enters Finals with Jim Johnston," p. 6.

Sept. 8, 1929, "Willing, Off in Front, Is Beaten, 4-3," p. C-1, 5.

1930

May 28, 1930, "Breezes of St. Andrews Baffle Moe," p. 27.

- May 29, 1930, "Huge Briton Devastating with Drives," p. 25.
- May 30, 1930, "'Was Longest Eight Footer I Ever Saw,'" p. 16.
- June 1, 1930, "Amateur Was 'Big Shot,' Tired Bobby Tells Keelor; He'll Do Best at Hoylake," p. 1.
- June 19, 2000, "Rain Ruined Some But Acted Like Tonic on Others, Keelor Says," p. 26.
- June 20, 1930, "First Three Holes Have Bob's Goat, Keelor Says; Last Five Worry Others," p. 16.
- June 21, 1930, "Last Shot at British Open, Says Bobby," p. 8.
- July 7, 1930, "Jones Equals Par Twice At Interlachen on Sunday," p. 12.
- July 8, 1930, "Diegel and Jones Defeat Horton Smith and Dudley," p. 15.
- July 9, 1930, "Keelor Wants to Head South to Avoid Hot Weather," p. 23.
- July 10, 1930, "Bobby Goes Fishing, Lands Two Bass on Eve of Battle," p. 24.
- July 11, 1930, "Competition and Heat Terrific Says Keelor, Boy Sits Pretty," p. 14.
- July 12, 1930, "Course Not Hard Enough for Bob to Put on Pressure," p. 7.
- July 13, 1930, "Gang Couldn't Get Bob Down, Writes Keelor," p. 1, 6.
- Sept. 22, 1930, "Bobby Hits Stride in Last Practice Round Sunday," p. 17.
- Sept. 23, 1930, "Jimmy Johnston, '29 Champ, Faces Tough Job to Qualify," p. 23.
- Sept. 24, 1930, "Bobby Medalist for 6th Time with Record-Tying Score," p. 27.
- Sept. 25, 1929, "Jones and Sweetser Only Great Figures Remaining," p. 29.
- "Sept. 26, 1930, "Hardened Vets of Tourney Play Clash in 36 Holes," p. 44.
- Sept. 27, 1930, "Smashing Revenge Obtained by Bobby over Jess Sweetser," p. 7.
- Sept. 28, 1930, "Cruickshank Won \$60,000 on Faith in Bobby's Game, Keelor Learns at Merion," p. 1, 6.

Sept. 29, 1930, "Links Ace Plans to Be Spectator if He Chooses," p. 13.

Appendix B

Grantland Rice's "Spotlight" Columns

1920

April 4, 1920, p. 18
 April 25, 1920, p. 18
 May 23, 1920, p. 20
 June 6, 1920, p. 18
 June 20, 1920, p.16
 June 27, 1920, p. 16
 July 18, 1920, p. 16
 Aug. 15, 1920, p. 16
 Aug. 22, 1920, p. 18
 Aug. 29, 1920, p. 18
 Sept. 19, 1920, p. 19
 Oct. 24, 1920, p. 21

1921

April 17, 1921, p. 20
 May 1, 1921, p. 18
 May 22, 1921, p. 20
 June 19, 1921, p. 18
 July 3, 1921, p. 16
 July 10, 1921, p. 16

July 17, 1921, p. 20
 July 31, 1921, p. 18
 Aug. 28, 1921, p. 18
 Sept. 11, 1921, p. 20
 Sept. 25, 1921, p. 20
 Oct. 2, 1921, p. 23
 Oct. 9, 1921, p. 22
 Oct. 16, 1921, p. 28
 Oct. 23, 1921, p. 21

1922

April 9, 1922, p. 17
 April 16, 1922, p. 16
 April 30, 1922, p. 20
 May 21, 1922, p. 16
 May 28, 1922, p. 14
 June 4, 1922, p. 16
 June 11, 1922, p. 16
 June 18, 1922, p. 16
 July 2, 1922, p. 12
 July 9, 1922, p. 18

July 16, 1922, p. 16

July 23, 1922, p. 17

July 30, 1922, p. 18

Aug. 6, 1922, p. 18

Aug. 13, 1922, p. 18

Aug. 20, 1922, p. 26

Aug. 27, 1922, p. 18

Sept. 10, 1922, p. 18

Oct. 15, 1922, p. 20

1923

April 1, 1923, p. 18

April 15, 1923, p.19

April 22, 1923, p. 3-6

April 29, 1923, p. 3-4

May 13, 1923, p. 3-7

May 20, 1923, p. 3-5

May 27, 1923, p. 3-6

June 3, 1923, p. 3-4

June 10, 1923, p. 3-6

June 24, 1923, p. 3-4

July 15, 1923, p. 3-3

July 22, 1923, p. 3-5

July 29, 1923, p. 3-4

Aug. 5, 1923, p. 3-6

Aug. 19, 1923, p. 3-6

Oct. 7, 1923, p. 3-6

Oct. 14, 1923, p. 3-6

Oct. 21, 1923, p. 3-6

1924

April 6, 1924, p. 4-4

April 13, 1924, p. 4-4

April 27, 1924, p.4-7

May 4, 1924, p. 4-5

May 11, 1924, p.4-5

June 1, 1924, p.4-5

July 6, 1924, p.4-8

Aug. 3, 1924, p.4-7

Aug. 10, 1924, p.4-4

Aug. 17, 1924, p.4-7

Sept. 14, 1924, p. 30-31

Sept. 21, 1924, p. 31

Oct. 12, 1924, p. 30

1925

April 12, 1925, p. X-2

May 10, 1925, p. X-2

June 7, 1925, p. X-2

June 14, 1925, p. X-2

June 21, 1925, p. X-2

July 5, 1925, p. X-2

July 19, 1925, p. X-2

Aug. 23, 1925, p. X-2

Aug. 30, 1925, p. X-2

Sept. 13, 1925, p. X-2

Sept. 20, 1925, p. X-2

Sept. 27, 1925, p. X-2

Oct. 4, 1925, p. X-2

1926

April 4, 1926, p. 3-2

April 11, 1926, p. 3-2

April 18, 1926, p. 3-2

May 2, 1926, p. 3-2

May 23, 1926, p. 3-2

May 30, 1926, p. 3-2

June 13, 1926, p. 3-2

June 27, 1926, p. 2-2

July 4, 1926, p. 2-2

Sept. 12, 1926, p. 2-2

Sept. 26, 1926, p. 2-2

Oct. 17, 1926, p. 2-2

1927

April 3, 1927, p. II-2

April 10, 1927, p. II-2

April 17, 1927, p. II-2

May 8, 1927, p. II-2

May 29, 1927, p. II-2

June 5, 1927, p. II-2

June 12, 1927, p. II-2

June 26, 1927, p. II-2

July 3, 1927, p. II-2

July 10, 1927, p. II-2

July 31, 1927, p. II-2

Aug. 7, 1927, p. 2-2

Aug. 14, 1927, p. 2-2

Oct. 9, 1927, p. 2-2

Oct. 16, 1927, p. 2-2

1928

April 1, 1928, p. IV-2

April 8, 1928, p. IV-2

April 22, 1928, p. IV-2

April 19, 1928, p. IV-2

May 6, 1928, p. IV-2

May 13, 1928, p. IV-2

May 27, 1928, p. IV-2

June 3, 1928, p. IV-2

June 10, 1928, p. IV-2

July 1, 1928, p. IV-2

July 14, 1929, p. IV-4

July 21, 1929, p. IV-4

Aug. 25, 1929, p. IV-4

Sept. 15, 1929, p. IV-4

Sept. 29, 1929, p. IV-6

July 15, 1928, p. IV-2

July 29, 1928, p. IV-2

Aug. 5, 1928, p. IV-2

Aug. 26, 1928, p. IV-2

Sept. 23, 1928, p. IV-2

Oct. 7, 1928, p. IV-2

Oct. 21, 1928, p. IV-2

1929

April 14, 1929, p. IV-2

April 21, 1929, p. IV-2

May 5, 1929, p. IV-2

May 12, 1929, p. IV-2

May 19, 1929, p. IV-2

May 26, 1929, p. IV-2

June 2, 1929, p. IV-2

June 9, 1929, p. IV-2

June 23, 1929, p. IV-2

July 7, 1929, p. IV-2

July 14, 1929, p. IV-4

July 21, 1929, p. IV-4

July 28, 1929, p. IV-4

Aug. 4, 1929, p. IV-4

Aug. 18, 1929, p. IV-4

Aug. 25, 1929, p. IV-4

Sept. 15, 1929, p. IV-4

Sept. 29, 1929, p. IV-6

Appendix C

Grantland Rice's "Tales of a Wayside Tee" Columns

1920	Aug. 15, 1920, p. 19
April 4, 1920, p. 21	Aug. 22, 1920, p. 21
April 11, 1920, p. 21	Aug. 29, 1920, p. 19
April 18, 1920, p. 23	Sept. 5, 1920, p. 16
April 25, 1920, p. 21	Sept. 12, 1920, p. 20
May 2, 1920, p. 20	Sept. 19, 1920, p. 20
May 9, 1920, p. 23	Sept. 26, 1920, p. 23
May 16, 1920, p. 21	Oct. 10, 1920, p. 22
May 23, 1920, p. 22	Oct. 17, 1920, p. 21
May 30, 1920, p. 19	Oct. 24, 1920, p. 20
June 6, 1920, p. 20	Oct. 31, 1920, p. 22
June 13, 1920, p. 20	1921
June 20, 1920, p. 18	April 4, 1921, p. 20
June 27, 1920, p. 18	April 17, 1921, p. 22
July 4, 1920, p. 15	April 24, 1921, p. 29
July 11, 1920, p. 19	May 1, 1921, p. 20
July 18, 1920, p. 18	May 8, 1921, p. 20
July 25, 1920, p. 19	May 15, 1921, p. 22
Aug. 1, 1920, p. 21	May 22, 1921, p. 21
Aug. 8, 1920, p. 20	May 29, 1921, p. 19

June 12, 1921, p. 19

June 19, 1921, p. 19

June 26, 1921, p. 21

July 10, 1921, p. 17

July 17, 1921, p. 21

July 24, 1921, p. 18

July 31, 1921, p. 18

Aug. 7, 1921, p. 16

Aug. 14, 1921, p. 21

Aug. 21, 1921, p. 18

Aug. 28, 1921, p. 19

Sept. 4, 1921, p. 16

Sept. 11, 1921, p. 20

Sept. 18, 1921, p. 20

Sept. 25, 1921, p. 21

Oct. 2, 1921, p. 23

Oct. 9, 1921, p. 20

Oct. 16, 1921, p. 18

Oct. 23, 1921, p. 20

Oct. 30, 1921, p. 18

1922

April 2, 1922, p. 16

April 9, 1922, p. 16

April 16 1922, p. 18

April 23, 1922, p. 18

April 30, 1922, p. 27

May 7, 1922, p. 20

May 14, 1922, p. 22

May 21, 1922, p. 16

May 28, 1922, p. 14

June 4, 1922, p. 16

June 11, 1922, p.15

June 18, 1922, p.14

June 25, 1922, p.15

July 2, 1922, p.11

July 9, 1922, p. 17

July 16, 1922, p. 16

July 23, 1922, p. 19

July 30, 1922, p.17

Aug. 13, 1922, p. 18

Aug. 20, 1922, p. 15

Aug. 27, 1922, p. 18

Sept. 3, 1922, p. 14

Sept. 10, 1922, p. 19

Sept. 17, 1922, p. 21

Oct. 1, 1922, p. 16

Oct. 8, 1922, p. 20

Oct. 15, 1922, p. 21

Oct. 22, 1922, p. 18

Oct. 29, 1922, p. 19

1923

April 1, 1923, p. 19

April 8, 1923, p. 18

April 15, 1923, p. 18

April 22, 1923, p. 3-5

April 29, 1923, p. 3-5

May 6, 1923, p. 3-5

May 13, 1923, p. 3-4

May 20, 1923, p. 3-2

May 27, 1923, p. 3-5

June 3, 1923, p. 3-5

June 10, 1923, p. 3-5

June 17, 1923, p. 3-4

June 24, 1923, p. 3-2

July 8, 1923, p. 3-2

July 15, 1923, p. 3-3

July 22, 1923, p. 3-5

July 29, 1923, p. 3-4

Aug. 5, 1923, p. 3-4

Aug. 12, 1923, p. 3-4

Aug. 19, 1923, p. 3-4

Aug. 26, 1923, p. 3-4

Sept. 2, 1923, p. 3-4

Sept. 9, 1923, p. 3-4

Sept. 16, 1923, p. 3-3

Oct. 7, 1923, p. 3-3

Oct. 14, 1923, p. 3-5

Oct. 21, 1923, p. 3-4

Oct. 28, 1923, p. 3-5

1924

April 6, 1924, p. 4-4

April 13, 1924, p. 4-4

April 20, 1924, p. 4-4

April 27, 1924, p. 4-3

May 4, 1924, p. 4-5

May 11, 1924, p. 4-4

May 18, 1924, p. 4-5

May 25, 1924, p. 4-3

June 1, 1924, p. 4-4
June 8, 1924, p. 4-4
June 15, 1924, p. 4-3
June 22, 1924, p. 4-3
June 29, 1924, p. 4-4
July 6, 1924, p. 4-5
July 13, 1924, p. 4-3
July 20, 1924, p. 4-5
Aug. 3, 1924, p. 4-3
Aug. 10, 1924, p. 4-3
Aug. 17, 1924, p. 4-3
Aug. 24, 1924, p. 4-4
Aug. 31, 1924, p. 4-4
Sept. 7, 1924, p. 4-3
Sept. 14, 1924, p. 27
Sept. 21, 1924, p. 29
Sept. 28, 1924, p. 24
Oct. 5, 1924, p. 29
Oct. 12, 1924, p. 30
Oct. 19, 1924, p. 4-5
Oct. 26, 1924, p. 4-5
1925

April 5, 1925, p. X-2
April 12, 1925, p. X-2
April 19, 1925, p. X-2
April 26, 1925, p. X-2
May 3, 1925, p. X-2
May 10, 1925, p. X-2
May 17, 1925, p. X-2
May 24, 1925, p. X-2
May 31, 1925, p. X-2
June 7, 1925, p. X-2
June 14, 1925, p. X-2
June 21, 1925, p. X-2
June 28, 1925, p. X-2
July 5, 1925, p. X-2
July 12, 1925, p. X-2
July 19, 1925, p. X-2
July 26, 1925, p. X-2
Aug. 2, 1925, p. X-2
Aug. 16, 1925, p. X-2
Aug. 23, 1925, p. X-2
Aug. 30, 1925, p. X-2
Sept. 6, 1925, p. X-2

Sept. 13, 1925, p. X-2

Sept. 27, 1925, p. X-2

Oct. 4, 1925, p. X-2

Oct. 11, 1925, p. X-2

Oct. 18, 1925, p. X-2

Oct. 25, 1925, p. X-2

1926

April 4, 1926, p. 3-2

April 11, 1926, p. 3-2

April 25, 1926, p. 3-2

May 2, 1926, p. 3-2

May 9, 1926, p. 3-2

May 16, 1926, p. 3-2

May 23, 1926, p. 3-2

May 30, 1926, p. 3-2

June 6, 1926, p. 3-2

June 13, 1926, p. 3-2

June 20, 1926, p. 2-2

June 27, 1926, p. 2-2

July 4, 1926, p. 2-2

July 11, 1926, p. 2-2

Aug. 1, 1926, p. 2-2

Aug. 8, 1926, p. 2-2

Aug. 15, 1926, p. 2-2

Aug. 22, 1926, p. 2-2

Aug. 29, 1926, p. 2-2

Sept. 5, 1926, p. 2-2

Sept. 12, 1926, p. 2-2

Sept. 19, 1926, p. 2-2

Sept. 26, 1926, p. 2-2

Oct. 3, 1926, p. 2-2

Oct. 10, 1926, p. 2-2

Oct. 24, 1926, p. 2-2

Oct. 31, 1926, p. 2-2

1927

April 3, 1927, p. 2-2

April 10, 1927, p. 2-2

April 17, 1927, p. 2-2

April 24, 1927, p. 2-2

May 1, 1927, p. 2-2

May 8, 1927, p. 2-2

May 15, 1927, p. 2-2

May, 29, 1927, p. 2-2

June 5, 1927, p. 2-2

June 12, 1927, p. 2-2

June 26, 1927, p. 2-2

July 3, 1927, p. 2-2

July 10, 1927, p. 2-2

July 17, 1927, p. 2-2

July 24, 1927, p. 2-2

July 31, 1927, p. 2-2

Aug. 7, 1927, p. 2-2

Aug. 14, 1927, p. 2-2

Aug. 21, 1927, p. 2-2

Sept. 4, 1927, p. 2-2

Sept. 18, 1927, p. 2-2

Sept. 25, 1927, p. 2-2

Oct. 2, 1927, p. 2-2

Oct. 9, 1927, p. 2-2

Oct. 16, 1927, p. 2-2

Oct. 30, 1927, p. 2-2

1928

April 1, 1928, p. 4-2

April 8, 1928, p. 4-2

April 15, 1928, p. 4-2

April 22, 1928, p. 4-2

April 29, 1928, p. 4-2

May 6, 1928, p. 4-2

May 13, 1928, p. 4-2

May 20, 1928, p. 4-2

May 27, 1928, p. 4-2

June 3, 1928, p. 4-2

June 10, 1928, p. 4-2

June 17, 1928, p. 4-2

June 24, 1928, p. 4-2

July 8, 1928, p. 4-2

July 15, 1928, p. 4-2

July 22, 1928, p. 4-2

July 29, 1928, p. 4-2

Aug. 5, 1928, p. 4-2

Aug. 12, 1928, p. 4-2

Aug. 19, 1928, p. 4-2

Aug. 26, 1928, p. 4-2

Sept. 2, 1928, p. 4-2

Sept. 9, 1928, p. 4-2

Sept. 16, 1928, p. 4-2

Oct. 7, 1928, p. 4-2

Oct. 14, 1928, p. 4-2

1929

April 7, 1929, p. 4-2

April 14, 1929, p. 4-2

April 21, 1929, p. 4-2

April 28, 1929, p. 4-2

May 5, 1929, p. 4-2

May 12, 1929, p. 4-2

May 19, 1929, p. 4-2

May 26, 1929, p. 4-2

June 2, 1929, p. 4-2

June 9, 1929, p. 4-2

June 16, 1929, p. 4-2

June 23, 1929, p. 4-2

July 7, 1929, p. 4-2

July 14, 1929, p. 4-4

July 21, 1929, p. 4-4

July 28, 1929, p. 4-4

Aug. 4, 1929, p. 4-4

Aug. 11, 1929, p. 4-4

Aug. 18, 1929, p. 4-4

Aug. 25, 1929, p. 4-4

Sept. 1, 1929, p. 4-4

Sept. 8, 1929, p. 4-4

Sept. 15, 1929, p. 4-4

Sept. 22, 1929, p. 4-4

Sept. 29, 1929, p. 4-6

Oct. 6, 1929, p. 4-6

Oct. 13, 1929, p. 4-8

Oct. 27, 1929, p. 4-4

Appendix D

Paul Gallico's Articles in the *New York Daily News*

1925

- April 15, 1925, "Our Exclusive Reporters," p. 20.
- April 16, 1925, "One More Safe Stadium," p. 26.
- April 17, 1925, "All's Well Once More," p. 34.
- April 18, 1925, "The Great Ruth Mystery," p. 20.
- April 20, 1925, "Aided By Correspondents," p. 22.
- April 21, 1925, "Just Idle Fanning," p. 22.
- April 22, 1925, "Why They Have Trains," p. 26.
- April 23, 1925, "Another Fighter Triumphs," p. 30.
- April 24, 1925, "Well, What of It?" p. 34.
- April 25, 1925, "Those Wild, Wild Senators," p. 22.
- April 27, 1925, "Some Crystal Gazing," p. 22.
- April 28, 1925, "Well, Why Is a Home Run?" p. 26.
- April 29, 1925, "What Price Obedience?" p. 34.
- April 30, 1925, "Speaking of Kidding," p. 26.
- June 1, 1925, "Fire, Lads, We'll Win Yet!" p. 28.
- June 2, 1925, "Acquiring an Orange Dog," p.28.
- June 3, 1925, "The W.K. Baseball Piece," p. 28.
- June 4, 1925, "Sweetening Up the Game," p. 28.
- June 5, 1925, "Get the Wagon, Boys," p. 34.

- June 6, 1925, "Whaddya Mean, It's Hot?" p. 20.
- Aug. 31, 1925, "Lead Days Ahead!" p. 24.
- Sept. 1, 1925, "Yuh Made Muh What I Yam," p. 26.
- Sept. 2, 1925, "Troubles of an Artist," p. 28.
- Sept. 3, 1925, "Starts Off Sorta Sad!" p. 28.
- Sept. 4, 1925, "O Save Us, Mr. Jones," p. 32.
- Sept. 5, 1925, "Illustrators' Day!" p. 20.
- Sept. 7, 1925, "Sort of Political!" p. 20.
- Oct. 1, 1925, "James Requests Assistance," p. 32.
- Oct. 2, 1925, "Gee! Three Knockouts!" p. 42.
- Oct. 3, 1925, "Nope, No Surrender!" p. 20.
- Oct. 5, 1925, "Ring Them There Bell," p. 28.
- Oct. 6, 1925, "All Star Reporting Staff," p. 28.
- Oct. 7, 1925, "Consolation Number," p. 36.
- Oct. 8, 1925, "The Pioneer's Yours, Men," p. 34.
- Oct. 9, 1925, "Gee, Matty's Dead!" p. 40.
- Oct. 10, 1925, "Wurra Wurra for Solomon," p. 20.
- Oct. 12, 1925, "See Ya'll at the Ringside," p. 24.
- Oct. 13, 1925, "World Series in the Air," p. 30.
- Oct. 14, 1925, "98 Per Cent. Wrong," p. 36.
- Oct. 15, 1925, "The Annual Pasting?" p. 36.

1926

- April 15, 1926, "The Yawning Hoosegow," p. 32.
- April 16, 1926, "Through the Battle Smoke," p. 42.
- April 17, 1926, "In Spring Bouquets, Bloom," p. 26.
- April 19, 1926, "Chicago Please Copy," p. 26.
- April 20, 1926, "Dreadful Threats Again," p. 26.
- April 21, 1926, "But It Must Be Real Hot," p. 32.
- April 22, 1926, "Sic' Em Tex, Sic' Em Jim," p. 34.
- April 23, 1926, "Add Yankee Fanatics!" p. 42.
- April 24, 1926, "Sporting Side of Boxing," p. 22.
- April 25, 1926, "Through the Battle Smoke," p. 32.
- April 26, 1926, "Deadfully Involved Piece," p. 22.
- April 27, 1926, "But There Must Be Ghosts," p. 28.
- April 28, 1926, "Giddyap Horsie, Giddyap," p. 34.
- April 29, 1926, "Goffy Over the Yankees," p. 30.
- April 30, 1926, "More Baseball Today," p. 42.
- July 7, 1926, "Officer, He's in Again," p. 30.
- July 8, 1926, "Do You Think It's the Heat?" p. 36.
- July 9, 1926, "Well, Who IS Gonna Fight?" p. 34.
- July 10, 1926, "Ideal Hot Weather Column," p. 20.
- July 12, 1926, "The War Correspondents," p. 24.
- July 13, 1926, "Have You Got a Ticket?" p. 32.
- Sept. 13, 1926, "Contest! Contest! Contest!" p. 28.

- Sept. 14, 1926, "Heh, Heh! Secret Drill!" p. 34.
- Sept. 15, 1926, "Atlantic City Bound!" p. 34.
- Sept. 17, 1926, "Column Plays Hookey," p. 34.
- Sept. 18, 1926, "Demsey Camp 1926," p. 20.
- Sept. 20, 1926, "More Blah about D. and T.," p. 24.
- Sept. 27, 1926, "More Aftermath Stuff," p. 28.
- Sept. 28, 1926, "Musings Between Sneezes," p. 32.
- Sept. 29, 1926, "Johnny Get Your Drum!" p. 34.
- Sept. 30, 1926, "Figgers! Figgers! Figgers!" p. 44.
- Oct. 1, 1926, "Introducing Mr. Hellinger," p. 42.
- Oct. 2, 1926, "Ring Up the Curtain!" p. 22.
- Oct. 4, 1926, "A Slow Ball As Is Slow," p. 28.
- Oct. 5, 1926, "Next in Importance B'gosh," p. 36.
- Oct. 6, 1926, "What's the Use, Huh?" p. 42.
- Oct. 7, 1926, "World Series Important?" p. 34.
- Oct. 8, 1926, "Now Who's Raving?" p. 42.
- Oct. 9, 1926, "Black Magic or Dumbness," p. 26.
- 1927**
- April 15, 1927, "Senor Get Porky," p. 44.
- April 16, 1927, "The Handicap of Brains," p. 24.
- April 18, 1927, "The Empty Blunderbuss," p. 26.
- April 19, 1927, "Fights-Bears-Seals Golf," p. 30.

- April 20, 1927, "Panic On a Bull Market," p. 36.
- April 21, 1927, "U.S. Pro Associations," p. 32.
- April 22, 1927, "Rajah Gets Out in Front," p. 51.
- April 23, 1927, "Sportsmanship at Low Ebb," p. 24.
- April 25, 1927, "Now Who Is an Amateur?" p. 32.
- April 26, 1927, "A Low, Vicious Article," p. 34.
- April 27, 1927, "Our Feathered Pals – Bah," p. 32.
- April 28, 1927, "Mr. Pyle's Caucus Race," p. 34.
- April 29, 1927, "How Hollow Is Dempsey," p. 44.
- April 30, 1927, "Anybody Got a Cab Horse," p. 28.
- June 11, 1927, "Lindy's Wishes; Gowf," p. 26.
- June 12, 1927, "Weekly Guff on Goff," p. 28.
- June 13, 1927, "What Makes Charity Sweet," p. 32.
- June 14, 1927, "And Ladies of the Chorus," p. 38.
- June 15, 1927, "Once More the Fatal Urge," p. 34.
- June 16, 1927, "You're in the Navy Now," p. 34.
- June 17, 1927, "Keepers of the Course," p. 48.
- Aug. 22, 1927, "It Isn't in the Bag," p. 24.
- Aug. 23, 1927, "Modern Philanthropy," p. 26.
- Aug. 24, 1927, "Cruel, Cruel Coincidences," p. 28.
- Aug. 25, 1927, "Three Easy Lessons," p. 30.
- Aug. 26, 1927, "Those British Infants," p. 42.

Aug. 27, 1927, "Evening's Entertainment," p. 20.

Sept. 24, 1927, "The Memory of a Look," p. 28.

Sept. 26, 1927, "Back in the Fold," p. 32.

Sept. 27, 1927, "That Referee Question," p. 30.

Sept. 28, 1927, "Going Into High Dudgeon," p. 36.

Sept. 29, 1927, "Rushing the Silly Season," p. 36.

Sept. 30, 1927, "Clear the Tracks," p. 58.

Oct. 1, 1927, "And He Did It!" p. 28.

Oct. 3, 1927, "Secret of the Pants," p. 28.

Oct. 4, 1927, "Pass the Butter," p.34.

Oct. 5, 1927, "Stop the Series," p. 32.

Oct. 6, 1927, "An Outre Note," p. 36.

Oct. 7, 1927, "Patience Men!" p. 56.

Oct. 8, 1927, "Literachoor," 26.

1928

April 15, 1928, "Cos Cob Wants the Fight," p. 32.

April 16, 1928, "Bargain Challengers," p. 28.

April 17, 1928, "We Are Not Discouraged," p. 34.

April 18, 1928, "What Price Souls?" p. 34.

April 19, 1928, "Out on a Limb Again," p. 40.

April 20, 1928, "The Most Useless Sport," p. 56.

April 21, 1928, "Shame; Coming Attractions," p. 28.

- April 23, 1928, "The Happy Bunionists," p. 28.
- April 24, 1928, "Fugazy Enters the Field," p.36.
- April 25, 1928, "Lonesome for My Gang," p. 36.
- April 26, 1928, "They Must Lack Confidence," p. 38.
- April 27, 1928, "The Good Old Days – No. 1," p. 56.
- April 28, 1928, "Improved Golf Balls," p. 28.
- April 30, 1928, "Miss Wills Writes a Book," p. 28.
- Sept. 10, 1928, "What, You Weren't There?" p. 28.
- Sept. 11, 1928, "The Show of the Season," p. 28.
- Sept. 12, 1928, "Still at Yankee Stadium," p. 38.
- Sept. 13, 1928, "Grouching Through Life," p. 38.
- Sept. 14, 1928, "Cure for Golf Temper," p. 50.
- Sept. 15, 1928, "Victor and Vanquished," p. 28.
- Sept. 25, 1928, "A Good Time Was Had," p. 38.
- Sept. 26, 1928, "Downstairs; Office Thrill," p. 34.
- Sept. 27, 1928, "House Cleaning; Hooray!" p. 42.
- Sept. 28, 1928, "Why We Love Baseball," p. 56.
- Sept. 29, 1928, "Alumni Always Annoy," p. 26.
- Sept. 30, 1928, "Fizzle; Things to Learn," p. 32.
- Oct. 2, 1928, "Well, Anyway, It's Warmer," p. 34.
- Oct. 3, 1928, "Revive Us Again," p. 44.
- Oct. 4, 1928, "Meadow Brook, West Stand," p. 42.

Oct. 5, 1928, "Special from the Nuthouse," p. 54.

Oct. 6, 1928, "Dugout and Press Box," p. 26.

Oct. 8, 1928, "Michie Field, West Point," p. 34.

Oct. 9, 1928, "Aw, Leave Baseball Alone," p. 34.

1929

April 15, 1929, "Just a Lovely Evening," p. 32.

April 16, 1929, "Things Must Begin," p. 36.

April 17, 1929, "Come, Blessed Calm," p. 42.

April 18, 1929, "Unveiling; A Sad Case," p. 42.

April 19, 1929, "Black Magic on River Ave.," p. 56.

April 20, 1929, "Auf Wiedersehen," p. 28.

April 23, 1929, "And Then They Blow," p. 34.

June 26, 1929, "The Reasons Why, 1, 2, 3," p. 36.

June 27, 1929, "Today Is Indeed the Day," p. 42.

June 28, 1929, "Golf - The Worst and Best," p. 48.

June 29, 1929, "Anent Yesterday's Shower," p. 28.

July 1, 1929, "Complaining Again," p. 32.

Sept. 2, 1929, "Broadway, You Can Have It," p. 24.

Sept. 3, 1929, "Tigers, Lions and Sich," p. 36.

Sept. 4, 1929, "Yep, Summer Is Over," p. 36.

Sept. 5, 1929, "John Ringling Moves Out," p. 44.

Sept. 6, 1929, "Eighteen Holes Forever," p. 56.

- Sept. 7, 1929, "The Crusty Dr. Willing," p. 26.
- Sept. 30, 1929, "The Tactless Violet," p. 32.
- Oct. 1, 1929, "Rejane and Stephanie," p. 40.
- Oct. 2, 1929, "Our Boston Colleagues," p. 44.
- Oct. 4, 1929, "John Sharkey – the Warrior," p. 58, 60.
- Oct. 5, 1929, "The Tragedy Boys, G and S," p.24.
- Oct. 7, 1929, "The Lane of Temptation," p. 36.
- Oct. 8, 1929, "Just Before the Battle, Ma," p. 38.
- Oct. 9, 1929, "The Charm of Frustration," p. 50.
- Oct. 10, 1929, "The Cubs Are Terrible," p. 50.
- Oct. 11, 1929, "No Fun for Chicago," p. 58.
- Oct. 12, 1929, "The Series Lugubrious," p. 28.
- Oct. 14, 1929, "Welcome, Sucker, Welcome," p. 28.

1930

- April 15, 1930, "There Must Be a Beginning," p. 34.
- April 16, 1930, "A Break for the Animals," p. 46.
- April 17, 1930, "A Touching Sentiment," p. 50.
- April 18, 1930, "Civil War Impending," p. 56.
- April 19, 1930, "Rama Dada Drops In," p. 26.
- April 21, 1930, "Behind the Cable Stories," p. 32.
- April 22, 1930, "More Pro Than Pros," p. 34.
- April 23, 1930, "The Towel's the Clew," p. 40.

- April 24, 1930, "The Battle of the Towels," p. 48.
- April 25, 1930, "Story of a Pewter Pot," p. 58.
- April 26, 1930, "They Wouldn't Gamble," p. 26.
- April 28, 1930, "In Other Words, Cuckoo!" p. 36.
- April 29, 1930, "Haunted; or, The Bogieman," p. 34.
- April 30, 1930, "When the Garden Re-Opens," p. 34.
- July 7, 1930, "Cartooner Lends a Hand," p. 30.
- July 8, 1930, "The 'Mob' Sits In," p. 38.
- July 9, 1930, "The First Mail," p. 36.
- July 10, 1930, "The Second Mail," p. 38.
- July 11, 1930, "Herr Yacobs Has Problems," p. 34.
- July 12, 1930, "A Beautiful Friendship," p. 24.
- July 13, 1930, "The Age We Live In," p. 58.
- Sept. 22, 1930, "The Next Blood Curdler," p. 34.
- Sept. 23, 1930, "98% Wrong, 100%," p. 34.
- Sept. 24, 1930, "The Dreadful 18 Holes," p. 38.
- Sept. 25, 1930, "The Bad News Goes Along," p. 48.
- Sept. 26, 1930, "Von Elm vs. McCarthy Jr.," p. 62.
- Sept. 27, 1930, "Marvels of Science," p. 26.
- Sept. 28, 1930, "It Wasn't Exciting," p. 34.
- Sept. 29, 1930, "It Won't Be Done Again," p. 34.
- Sept. 30, 1930, "Interest Merely Technical," p. 32.

- Oct. 1, 1930, "'Twill Be a Great Series," p. 32.
- Oct. 2, 1930, "A Series Kibitzer," p. 42.
- Oct. 3, 1930, "And Still Kibitzing," p. 70.
- Oct. 4, 1930, "If I Were King," p. 26.
- Oct. 6, 1930, "Look Out Below! Splash!" p. 34.
- Oct. 7, 1930, "Eavesdropping the Series," p. 46.
- Oct. 8, 1930, "The Guest of Honor Muses," p. 48.

Appendix E

Sample Selection

O.B. Keelor

Articles from the *Atlanta Journal* that Keelor wrote during the weeks of the major tournaments in which Bobby Jones competed from 1923 to 1930 (See Appendix 2). The number of articles for each tournament varied.

Grantland Rice

Articles from the *New York Tribune* and later *New York Herald Tribune* from 1920 to 1929. Rice's Sunday "Spotlight" column from April 1 to Oct. 31 and his weekly "Tales of a Wayside Tee" column from April 1 to Oct. 31 were used.

Paul Gallico

Gallico columns from 1925 to 1930 were used. April 15 to April 30 of those years and the two weeks prior to last World Series game played were analyzed. The weeks that the U.S. Open and U.S. Amateur golf championships were held during those same years were used as well.

Appendix F

Analyzing Articles

Each article was read for familiarity and to develop preliminary frames. Each article was then read again and the frames developed and the applicability of the article for this research was determined as well. Articles that were not applicable were then removed.

A final reading then took place when the actual frames were being analyzed. Articles could have one or more of the existing frames. The date of the article was recorded and then the language that made the article applicable to a certain frame was recorded. This system continued until all the articles used in the research were examined. A code sheet per se was not used but a systematic method was used. The final analysis was written after notes were taken from each article. Not all the notes taken were applicable.

An examination of O.B. Keelor's articles from June from June 29, 1929, and June 30, 1929, follows.

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|---------------|---|
| June 29, 1929 | “But personally I would rather see Bobby in front of that ravening pack that goes out for that open championship today.” |
| June 29, 1929 | “It's not an open championship – it's an invitation tournament, where they invite the best in the world to see if anyone can beat Bobby Jones.” |
| June 30, 1929 | “Once a year for eight years now they have matched the best professional golfers in the world against one single Bobby Jones.” |

June 30, 1929

“He is simply there in another playoff.”

June 30, 1929

It's a question of which professional can take him year by year.

There's only one Bobby Jones.”

Appendix G

Glossary of Golf Terms'

amateur - A golfer who plays without monetary compensation.

baffle - Previous name given to a 5-wood.

baffy - A lofted wooden club developed from the baffling-spoon no longer in use.

Previous name given to a 4-wood.

birdie - One stroke under par for a hole. Also possibly derived from the term "It flew like a bird" to indicate a good shot.

bogey - A score of one over par for the hole. To play a hole in one stroke over par.

brassie - Previous name given to a 2-wood. A wooden club with a brass sole plate with more loft than a driver and less than the than the spoon.

bunker - A depression in bare ground that is usually covered with sand. Also called a "sand trap". It is considered a hazard under the Rules of Golf.

chip shot - A short approach shot of low trajectory usually hit from near the green.

cleek - Any one of many narrow-bladed iron clubs used for long shots through the green from the rough or sand. Previous name given to the 1-iron. Also, a shallower faced lofted wooden club. Previous name given to the 4-wood.

club - The implement used in golf to strike the ball. Consists of a shaft, grip and a clubhead of wood or metal.

double bogey - A score of two over par for a single hole

double eagle - A score of three under par for a single hole. Also known as an "albatross"

down - Being a specific number of holes behind your opponent.

driving iron - Another name for the number one iron. Formerly one of various iron clubs used for shots through the green.

driving mashie - Obsolete club with less loft than a mashie iron and used for driving and long shots through the green.

duffer - An unskilled golfer or a hacker

eagle - Two strokes under par for a single hole. To play a hole at 2-under par.

gallery - The group of tournament spectators.

green - The whole golf course according to golf rules. Refers to the putting surface in popular usage.

grip - The part of the shaft by which the club is held. Covered with leather or other material. Also means the manner in which you hold the club

hacker - An unskilled golfer or duffer

hazard - A hazard is any sand trap, bunker or water on the course that may cause difficulty.

jigger - An iron with moderate loft and a short shaft. No longer in use. Previous name given to the 4-iron.

linksman - A golfer.

mashie - Lofted iron club that was introduced in the 1880s and is no longer in use. Used for pitching with backspin. Previous name given to the 5 iron.

mashie-iron - An iron club that had less of a loft than a mashie. Used for driving and full

¹ The definitions for these words have been taken from *The Walter Hagen Story*, *Webster's New World College Dictionary*, <http://www.dictionary.com> and <http://worldgolf.com/wglibrary/reference/dictionary>

shots through the green. Previous name given to the 4 iron.

mashie-Niblick - An iron club, no longer in use, with a loft somewhere between that of a mashie and a niblick. Club was used for pitching. Previous name given to the 6 iron.

match play - A competition played with each hole being a separate contest. The team or player winning the most holes, rather than having the lowest score, is the winner. The winner of the first hole is "one up". Even if the player wins that hole by two or three strokes, he is still only "one up". The lead is increased every time the player wins another hole. The winner is the one who wins the most holes. This was the original form of golf competition.

medalist - The player with the lowest qualifying score in a tournament

medal play - A competition decided by the overall number of strokes used to complete the round or rounds. Same as stroke play.

mid-spoon - An obsolete wooden club with a loft between that of the long spoon and the short spoon.

mid-iron - An iron club, no longer in use, with more loft than a driving iron. Previous name given to the 2-iron.

mid-mashie - Previous name given to the 3 iron.

mulligan - A second shot that is allowed to be taken in friendly play when a player has hit a poor shot. Not allowed by the rules.

Niblick - An obsolete deep-bladed more steeply lofted than a mashie, used especially for playing from sand and from the rough. Previous name given to the 9 iron.

pairings - Groups of two players.

par - The number of strokes a player should take to complete a round with good

pick up - To take up one's ball before holing out. In match play this concedes the hole or in stroke play incurs disqualification.

pitching Niblick - Previous name given to the 8-iron.

playing professional - A professional golfer who primarily competes in tournaments.

putt - The shot made on the putting green. From a Scottish term meaning to push gently or nudge.

putt out - To hole the ball with a putt.

putter - A short-shafted club with a straight face for putting.

putting green - The surface area around the hole that is specially prepared for putting.

recover - To play back into a satisfactory position on the fairway or onto the green from an undesirable position, such as a hazard or rough, on the course.

round - A complete game of golf - 18 holes is one round

sand trap - The common name for a bunker

short game - The part of the game that is made up of chip shots, pitching and putting

spade-mashie - Previous name given to the 6 iron.

spoon - Previous name given to the 3 wood.

stance - The position of your feet when addressing the ball

stroke play - A competition in which the total number of strokes for one round, or a pre-determined number of rounds, determines the winner.

takeaway - The start of the backswing

tournament - A competition in which a number of golfers compete. It can be either

stroke or match play.

Vardon grip - The overlapping grip.

Appendix H

Bobby Jones in Major Tournaments

Tournament	Site	Location	Result
1916 U.S. Amateur	Merion Cricket Club	Haverford, Pa.	Third Round
1919 U.S. Amateur	Oakmont Country Club	Oakmont, Pa.	Second
1920 U.S. Open	Inverness Club	Toledo, Ohio	Eighth
1920 U.S. Amateur	Engineers' Country Club	Roslyn, N.Y.	Semi-Finals
1921 U.S. Open	Columbia Country Club	Chevy Chase, Md.	Fifth
1921 U.S. Amateur	St. Louis Country Club	Clayton, Mo.	Third Round
1921 British Amateur	Hoylake	England	Fourth Round
1921 British Open	St. Andrews	Scotland	Withdrew (Third Round)
1922 U.S. Open	Skokie Country Club	Glencoe, Ill.	Second
1922 U.S. Amateur	The Country Club	Brookline, Mass.	Semi-Finals
1923 U.S. Open	Inwood Country Club	Inwood, N.Y.	Won
1923 U.S. Amateur	Flossmoor Country Club	Flossmoor, Ill.	Second Round
1924 U.S. Open	Oakland Hills Country Club	Birmingham, Mich.	Second
1924 U.S. Amateur	Merion Cricket Club	Ardmore, Pa.	Won
1925 U.S. Open	Worcester Country Club	Worcester, Mass.	Second
1925 U.S. Amateur	Oakmont Country Club	Oakmont, Pa.	Won
1926 British Amateur	Muirfield	Scotland	Fifth Round
1926 British Open	Royal Lytham and St. Anne's	England	Won
1926 U.S. Open	Scioto Country Club	Columbus, Ohio	Won
1926 U.S. Amateur	Baltusrol Golf Club	Springfield, N.J.	Second
1927 U.S. Open	Oakmont Country Club	Oakmont Pa.	Eleventh
1927 British Open	St. Andrews	Scotland	Won
1927 U.S. Amateur	Minkiahda Country Club	Minneapolis, Minn.	Won
1928 U.S. Open	Olympia Fields Country Club	Olympia Fields, Ill.	Second
1928 U.S. Amateur	Brae Burn Country Club	West Newton, Mass.	Won
1929 U.S. Open	Winged Foot Golf Club	Mamaroneck, N.Y.	Won
1929 U.S. Amateur	Pebble Beach Golf Links	Pebble Beach, Calif.	First Round
1930 British Amateur	St. Andrews	Scotland	Won
1930 British Open	Hoylake	England	Won
1930 U.S. Open	Interlachen Country Club	Minneapolis, Minn.	Won
1930 U.S. Amateur	Merion Cricket Club	Ardmore, Pa.	Won

Vita

Robin L. Hardin was born in Elizabethton, Tenn., Jan. 1, 1970. He attended public schools there and graduated from Elizabethton High School in 1988. He enrolled in East Tennessee State University in January 1989. His studies there were interrupted in September 1990 when his National Guard unit was called to service in support of Operation Desert Storm. He served in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait during the war and returned to the United States in May 1991. He completed his studies at East Tennessee State University in August 1993.

He enrolled in the communications master's program at the University of Tennessee in August 1994. He completed this degree in May 1996. That fall he began his doctoral studies. During his doctoral studies, he also earned a master's degree in Human Performance and Sports Studies in the College of Education at the University of Tennessee. He earned this degree in August 1998. He then earned his Ph.D. in August 2000.

His professional experience includes positions as a sportswriter at the *Elizabethton Star* and the *Bristol Herald-Courier* in Bristol, Va. He has performed various duties in the Sports Information Office at Tennessee since 1995.

He married the former Pam Sowell Oct. 14, 1995, and his family expanded by one with the birth of Elijah Lee Hardin July 9, 1998.