THE END OF NOSTALGIA: A CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIANA HIGH SCHOOL BASKETBALL DURING THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

By

Troy D. Paino

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

American Studies Program

1997

ABSTRACT

THE END OF NOSTALGIA: A CULTURAL HISTORY OF
INDIANA HIGH SCHOOL BASKETBALL DURING THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

By

Troy D. Paino

The process of negotiation between producers and consumers created a varied and complex set of cultural meanings in the community support for high school basketball in the three Indiana cities of Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle during the Progressive Era. High school basketball became a way for people to imagine community during a time of great change. As in other cities and towns scattered throughout the predominantly rural and homogeneous state of Indiana, excitement over the new sport of basketball acted as a centripetal force in the face of emerging centrifugal social, economic, and political forces. Witnessing the dawn of an urban and industrial world that threatened their sense of order, people of divergent socio-economic groups believed high school basketball acted as common ground in a search for community. As a result, fanaticism for high school basketball in these three cities offers a unique look into the often contradictory social responses to cultural change. In their support of high school basketball, the people of these communities created a culture that was at once compliant with and resistant to efforts at social control by social reformers, educators, and industrialists.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have felt the support and encouragement of many wonderful people throughout my work on this dissertation. A few deserve special mention because in one way or another their intelligence, scholarship, work, friendship, and sacrifice have made this sometimes arduous task one of the most rewarding experiences of my life.

First and foremost, I would like to thank Peter Levine, the director of my doctoral committee. Whatever success I might achieve in my career will be in large part due to his example as an immensely talented and compassionate scholar, writer, advisor, and teacher. He has always been willing to take time from his busy schedule to help me in any way possible. Even more important than his role as my mentor, he has become a dear and valued friend. Though he may have lost a step, his stroke from beyond the three-point line is still the envy of this Hoosier.

I also want to thank the rest of my committee: Barry Gross, Victor Jew, and Douglas Noverr. Each have sacrificed their time and energy to assist me in the pursuit of my academic goals. You have made this dissertation a cooperative effort with your support, encouragement, and constructive criticism.

Friends like Eric Fretz, Paresh Malde, Shruti Vaidya, and Dan and Erika Quiggins have provided me a true sense of community while at Michigan State University. Due to these and other friendships made, regardless of what the future holds, the years spent pursuing my education in East Lansing has been time well spent.

The meaning of my friendship with Bryan and Patty Stow Bolea expands well beyond both my experience at Michigan State and my work on this dissertation. To thank them only for their support in this endeavor trivializes the significance of their friendship on my life. Having them live just down the road for most of my graduate-school career offered a measure of companionship, contentment, and happiness the like of which I will probably never experience again. I miss you both.

I have been buoyed by the confidence my brothers, sister, brother-in-law, sisters-in-law, nephews, and nieces have had in me as I pursued my dream. I especially would like to mention my oldest brother, Tommy, whom this dissertation is partially dedicated to, for his tremendous influence on my life. He has always encouraged me with words of hope, love, faith, and grace just when I needed them most. Now I only wish I had the words to comfort him during his greatest struggle.

A special thanks goes to my parents, Tom and Lois Paino. Though both were unsure about my decision to leave my law practice to pursue a Ph.D. in American Studies, they never once tried to talk me out of it. Just as they have done my whole life, they showed

faith in me and continued to support me emotionally, spiritually, and financially. I love you both.

Last but far from least, I want to extend my sincere and undying gratitude to my wife, Kelly Paino. It is truly her love and sacrifice that made this dissertation possible. My studies, this work, and my life would have little meaning without her in it. Thank you for giving me this opportunity to do what I love.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The Myth of Indiana Basketball

> Certainly nowhere in the United States is the sport devoured by players and fans alike as in the Middle West, and in no part of the Middle West more intensively than Indiana. Folks there tell you that a Hoosier talks basketball for an hour after he is dead and has stopped breathing.[1]

Raised in the suburbs of Indianapolis, Indiana, I am well schooled in the art of basketball. Besides playing pick-up games with my friends on the goal in my back yard for hours each day after school, I religiously followed the exploits of the Indiana University basketball teams of the mid-1970s. During 1975 and 76, two years the Hoosiers went undefeated during the regular season, nothing seemed quite as important to me as basketball. If not for Scott May's broken arm just before the 1975 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) tournament, Indiana University undoubtedly would have won back-to-back national championships. Instead, the much-despised Wildcats of Kentucky barely beat the Hoosiers in a "Sweet Sixteen" game of the 1975 tournament. But in 1976 the Hoosiers returned Quinn Buckner, Bobby Wilkerson, Kent Benson, and Steve Green, along with May, to dominate all opponents, including an easy victory over the University of Michigan in the national championship game. At age thirteen, as far as I was concerned, all was right with the world.

Coach Bobby Knight's teams of the mid-70s impressed spectators with their discipline and teamwork. For fans across Indiana they epitomized what Indiana basketball was all about: an aggressive defense and a deliberate offense. But Indiana-style basketball did not start with the Indiana University teams of the 1970s. Instead, the belief that Hoosiers played a distinctive brand of disciplined basketball came from a long tradition of heated high school competition. For many living in the state, Indiana high school basketball since 1911 has symbolized a midwestern ethic of dedication, self-sacrifice, and teamwork. More than just a game, the way Hoosiers play basketball represents an entire value system.

Come February and March of each year, the Indiana High School Athletic Association (IHSAA) single-class state tournament for much of the twentieth century has taken center stage in communities throughout the state. For those living in Indianapolis, it has meant exhaustive television and newspaper coverage, canceled classes for big pep sessions, and numerous banners made by cheerleading squads decorating high school hallways. But for those living in the smaller towns and cities scattered throughout the predominantly rural state, it has meant much more. Driving through a town like Franklin, Indiana, for instance, places of business are decorated in school colors, church and Dairy Queen signs alike encouraging the local boys to "Win Sectional !" Cars in the street are painted as if ready to lead a parade. By the first Friday of the annual

tournament, these communities practically shut down so everyone can join in the support for the local team.

While schools from some of these towns have long traditions of winning sectional, regional, semi-state, and state tournaments, my school, Ben Davis High School, did not. So starved for a reason to celebrate, the principal sometimes canceled school on the Monday following our occasional sectional title. Surely a three-year high school of almost 3,000 students should produce at least one state champion. But seemingly every year I watched the "Giants" (the school's actual nickname) go down to the proverbial David either at sectionals, played at a packed 5,000-seat Ben Davis gymnasium, or at regionals, played at a nearly-filled 15,000-seat Hinkle Fieldhouse on the campus of Butler University, previously called Butler Fieldhouse, for years the home of the state finals, and made famous as the site for the championship game in Angelo Pizzo's 1986 film, *Hoosiers*. After one of these defeats the crowd stood stunned as the father of our star forward jumped from about the fifth row onto the back of an official that made a questionable call near game's end. His inexcusable act of anger accurately expressed the frustration many on the west side of Indianapolis felt over years of losing.[2]

During the 1970s, the years basketball had my undivided attention, high school basketball, though waning, still had great cultural significance in the state of Indiana. Even at a school like Ben Davis that did not have a tradition of success, fans stood throughout games in a packed, cacophonous gymnasium in support of the team.

Fan support at my school, however, paled in comparison to the schools in the state's hinterlands that enjoyed an abundance of civic pride in their team. Stories of these schools were part of the basketball lore in Indiana and recounted by television commentators, newspaper reporters, and fans each year at tournament time.

Possibly the most famous of these places is a region of Indiana some refer to as "the Bermuda Triangle of high school basketball," comprised of Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle, located in the east-central region of the state. As of 1992, New Castle reportedly still had the nation's largest high school gymnasium with a seating capacity of 9,314 people, remarkable for a town that has a population only approximately twice this size. Anderson High School had the second largest gym in the nation, seating 8,996, while Muncie Central had the sixteenth largest, seating 6,576.[3] Allegedly New Castle high school games as late as the early-1980s boasted an average attendance larger than that of the Indiana Pacers, Indianapolis's National Basketball Association's (NBA) team.

The love of basketball in Indiana remains strong today, but no longer is it merely centered around the exploits of the local high school team. For many by the mid-1970s, support for high school basketball transferred to Bobby Knight's successful Indiana University teams. Knight's demanding, disciplined, and team-oriented style of play embodied many of the values that so endeared fans to high school basketball for decades. The one-time substitute forward for the great Ohio State University teams of the early 1960s and head coach for Army during the mid to late 1960s fit perfectly with Indiana basketball fans. He represented what many in

Indiana believed a coach should be: a tough, authoritative, demanding, and confident perfectionist. With state-wide coverage of every game on television and radio, Indiana University effectively displaced high school basketball as symbol for the Hoosier myth.

As a youngster caught up in the excitement of two almost perfect Indiana University seasons, I embraced the values this coach and team represented. Whether by closely reading the sports page each day, listening to television commentators, or through discussions with my father, brothers, and friends, I learned that Indiana basketball differed from what we derisively referred to as "ghetto ball," a style of game that supposedly placed style over substance. Like baseball purists, Indiana basketball fans believed in a traditional style of play. The pick and roll, bank shot, back-cuts to the basket without the ball, a switching man-to-man defense, constant passing and movement on offense, these were the fundamentals of the game that should be religiously followed. Yes, in Indiana we were (and many still are) basketball fundamentalists. Dutifully following the fundamentals of the game represented a midwestern culture that conservatively held to traditional values of hard work, self-sacrifice, and merit. In this way the game of basketball to Hoosiers was allegorical, a way to express a particular belief system.[4] The Indiana University teams of the 1970s became a new and popular manifestation of this belief system first expressed in the fan-packed high school gymnasiums on Friday and Saturday nights thoughout the state a half century earlier.

The aim of this dissertation is to gain a deeper understanding of the cultural meanings of Indiana high school basketball. To

accomplish this I returned to the early years of the tradition. Basketball first came to Indiana by way of the state's Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) network in the 1890s. Shortly after the turn of the century high schools around the state formed both boys' and girls' squads to informally play teams from other schools. The IHSAA, organized in 1903, did not get around to sanctioning a state boys' basketball tournament until 1911. Girls, on the other hand, were relegated for the most part to intramural competition. The game's popularity grew steadily until after World War I entire communities around the state started religiously following the exploits of their local boys' high school basketball team. My research covers the time span between Indiana's introduction to basketball in the 1890s to its enormous mass appeal in the 1920s.

For a close reading of the cultural texts of this period, I restricted the scope of my research to those communities that make up the Bermuda Triangle of Indiana basketball: Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle. Separated from each other by only twenty miles, Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle offer a good opportunity to uncover the various cultural meanings deeply embedded in Indiana's passion for high school basketball. Following the example of Roy Rosenzweig's examination of working class leisure in Worcester, Massachusetts between 1870 and 1920, this study seeks to avoid the distortion or misinterpretation of local patterns committed by more expansive histories.[5]

At the same time, there are limitations to such a study. In the words of Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd in their famous sociological study of Muncie in the 1920s, *Middletown: A Study In*

Modern American Culture, "a typical city, strictly speaking, does not exist."[6] Just as Muncie could not be considered a "typical" American city in the 1920s, Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle cannot represent typical Indiana communities between 1890 and 1930. Consequently, drawing conclusions about the entire state's love affair with high school basketball from the study of only three communities could lead to inaccurate generalizations. However, by examining these three nascent industrial cities we can do what Rosenzweig called "test(ing) analytical categories - class, ethnicity, and religion, for instance, which may prove useful in examining other American (Indiana) communities, large and small." Though not typical, many of the cultural and social patterns experienced by these three communities during the Progressive Era also existed in other towns and cities thoughout the state. The industrialization, urbanization, and social fragmentation present in Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle at this time characterized much of Indiana. Therefore, a close examination of the effects these trends had on these communities can be used as "a building block for more general theorizing" about their impact on the entire state.[7]

This study should not be mistaken for a history of sport. It will not give a year-by-year account of how the Anderson Indians, Muncie Central Bearcats, or New Castle Trojans did in the state tournaments from 1911 to 1929. Nor will it focus on the exploits of "star" players or successful coaches of these teams. Instead it looks to determine why the people of these communities so enthusiastically followed their local team. In search of the answer to this question, I rejected models of cultural hegemony and social

control that argue the working class were passive recipients of cultural messages from social reformers, educators, and industrialists trying to create a disciplined labor force. Rather I employ what Kathy Peiss described as a "more complex picture of cultural change as a multidimensional set of interactions, in which hegemonic intentions are accommodated, resisted, and reshaped in a variety of ways."[8]

After establishing the social and economic context of Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle just before and after the turn of the twentieth century in the first chapter, I examine the role and intentions of social reformers, educators, and business leaders in introducing these communities to the sport of basketball in chapters two, three, and four. By doing so, my research takes seriously the hegemonic intentions and efforts at social control by the social, cultural, intellectual, and economic elite in promoting James Naismith's new game. But in an effort to demonstrate that cultural transmission flows both ways, chapters five and six show how the working class, broadly defined by an individual's structural relationship to the means of production, reshaped, impacted, or influenced the cultural meanings of high school basketball between 1911-1929.

To interpret the motivations and cultural meanings expressed by the inarticulate is tricky business. Whereas the reformers, educators, and even boosters often wrote down their social, pedagogical, and economic agendas, the sizable working class that helped fill the high school gymnasium to watch the local boys play did not. Adopting Clifford Geertz's assertion that the concept of

culture is essentially a semiotic one, I consider everything under the rather large umbrella of human behavior as symbolic action. To interpret these various symbols, or cultural signifiers, I try to imagine what people lived through and the formulae they used to define their life experiences. As Geertz wrote, this is "not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning."[9] The data employed to assist my imagination in this interpretation includes descriptions of crowd behavior, student-produced high school yearbooks, advertisments that relied on an understanding of a community's zeitgeist for their effectiveness, and the iconography that developed around Indiana high school basketball in the 1910s and 20s. In addition, I use patterns of language found in the daily newspapers to reconstruct the cultural milieu of these three communities in the early twentieth century.

The process of negotiation between producers and consumers created a varied and complex set of cultural meanings in the community support for high school basketball in these three cities. High school basketball became a way for people, to borrow Benedict Anderson's words, to "imagine community" during a time of great change.[10] As in other cities and towns scattered throughout the predominantly rural and homogeneous state of Indiana, excitement over the new sport of basketball acted as a centripetal force in the face of emerging centrifugal social, economic, and political forces. Witnessing the dawn of an urban and industrial world that threatened their sense of order, people of divergent socio-economic groups believed high school basketball acted as common ground in a

search for community. As a result, fanaticism for high school basketball in these three cities offers a unique look into the often contradictory social responses to cultural change. In their support of high school basketball, the people of these communities created a culture that was at once compliant with and resistant to efforts at social control by social reformers, educators, and industrialists.

The play of the local high school basketball team reassured the people of these towns and cities that their community could survive and even thrive in the new economic order. The strength, sacrifice, courage, and determination needed to be a good basketball player also made for a good worker. In addition, the obedience and cooperation needed for a successful basketball team made for a productive workforce. These teams exemplified the sort of social cooperation applicable to an industrial society. Whether it was a player making that extra pass for a better shot or a substitute willingly sacrificing playing time for the good of the team, the local high school basketball team demonstrated the corporate morality of the dominant order. In this way the people of Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle during the years surrounding World War I gained a sense of community by supporting the local team at the cost of complying with the dominant ideology of industrial capitalism.

A more pernicious result of this gained sense of community can be found in the racist and sexist ideology embedded in the cultural meanings of Indiana high school basketball. At a time when the Ku Klux Klan enjoyed a large membership in these three communities and throughout the state of Indiana, the values displayed by the local team often were exclusively associated with

the white, Protestant, and native-born culture. In addition, by relegating girls to private, intramural, and a less competitive and physical version of the boys' game, these communities continued to endorse a subordinate role for women in society.

In other ways, the people living in these burgeoning cities sought relief from the demands of industrial work by coming to these games. Workers and their families could experience a release from the rigors of a highly structured, hierarchical, bureaucratic, regulated, and mechanized society. Akin to the pre-industrial carnivals and festivals where customary roles were reversed, hierarchies overturned, and social restraints suspended, high school basketball games became an institutional way for those living in a newly industrialized society to transform traditional values and social roles. While the fans celebrated the values of the established social and economic order as displayed on the court, they simultaneously mocked them by their unrestrained and irreverent behavior in the stands. In contrast to the team's style of play, the fans acted particularly undisciplined, disobedient, selfish, and at times recklessly abandoned.[11]

In their nostalgic longing for a simpler time, racist and sexist ideology, and social compliance and resistance to the dominant order, the fans of Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle between 1911 and 1929 provide a glimpse into the origins of Indiana high school basketball's cultural significance. The final chapter looks at how this cultural significance continued until the 1950s. However, as inner-city African Americans started dominating the game in the 1950s and 60s, many Hoosiers started having a harder time

imagining basketball as a link to a simpler, pre-industrial, and homogeneous time. Robbed of its nostalgia, the passion for high school basketball in Indiana started to wane.

Introduction Notes

[1]John R. Tunis,*The American Way in Sport* (New York: 1958), 83.

[2]Ben Davis High School finally found success in the 1990s. They won back-to-back state championships in 1995 and 1996, the last two years of the single-class state tournament.

[3]Donald E. Hamilton, *Hoosier Temples: A Pictorial History of Indiana's High School Basketball Gyms* (St. Louis, MO: G. Bradley, Inc., 1993) 4.

[4]See Ronald Newlin, "Middletown & Hoosier Hysteria" in *Indiana Basketball History*, Vol II, No. 4 (Summer, 1994): 6. Though Newlin draws different conclusions as to the belief system basketball represents, he makes the same claim that it is allegorical.

[5]See Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours For What We Will: Workers & Leisure In An Industrial City, 1870-1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[6]Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study In Modern American Culture* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1929), 3.

[7]Rosenzweig, 4.

[8]Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 8. See also, Gareth Stedman Jones, "Class Expression versus Social Control? A Critique of Recent Trends in the Social History of 'Leisure'," *History Workshop* 4 (Autumn 1977): 163-170; Stephen Hardy and Alan G. Ingham, "Games, Structures and Agency: Historians on the American Play Movement," *Journal of Social History* 17 (Winter 1983): 285-301; Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson, eds., *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain* (London, 1976).

[9]Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973), 5.

[10]Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 1983).

[11]See John F. Kasson, *Amusing the Million: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978); Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswlsky (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1968).

CHAPTER ONE

Anderson, Muncie and New Castle Transformed

Indiana high school basketball's history technically begins with the inception of the state tournament in 1911.[1] With the tournament came the community rivalry and athletic drama that are so commonly associated with the basketball lore of Indiana. The transition from agrarian to industrial economy around the turn of the twentieth century contributed to why this game caught the imagination of Indiana and became a symbol with which small and medium-sized communities throughout the state could identify. Basketball became a way for these communities to wrestle with the fears they faced at the dawn of modernity.

Nestled amidst the cornfields of east-central Indiana are three communities representative of this transition from rural village to industrial city: Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle. Though small villages like Chesterfield, Daleville and Yorktown dot the twenty-mile stretch of State Road 32 between Anderson and Muncie, and Mount Summit, Springport, and Oakville appear while driving the twenty miles south on State Road 3 from Muncie to New Castle, Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle remain the cultural, economic, and political centers of Madison, Delaware, and Henry counties.

To different degrees each town experienced the transformation from small, rural trading center to small or medium-sized city around the turn of the twentieth century. Many coming from either

the surrounding rural region or Appalachia to these developing cities wanted to maintain the moral and social order of their agrarian past.[2] The traits of independence and self-reliance, typically associated with working the land, somehow now had to be transplanted into an urban and industrial setting that more often than not meant salaried dependence for an ever-expanding working class. The concentration of capital and the corresponding influx of unskilled laborers made it more difficult to maintain these virtues. Laborers in increasing numbers were turning to those vices often associated with the corrupting influence of the city. According to religious, social, and civic leaders, saloons, prostitution, and gambling each represented symptoms of the moral decay that accompanied urbanization.

The idea that Muncie represented life in the middle of change at the turn of the century is not new. Robert and Helen Merrell Lynd, in fact, named their famous sociological study of Muncie in the 1920s *Middletown*. The Lynds picked Muncie as a subject of their study because of its "middle-of-the-road quality."[3] The transition Muncie had recently experienced from rural to urban, artisan- to industrial-based economy, and community cohesiveness to class division offered the Lynds a chance to closely examine the social order that more generally characterized American life in the 1920s. The only change they did not care to examine was homogeneous to heterogeneous. In their words, they were only interested in examining cultural, not racial, change. Culture to the Lynds meant jobs, homes, schools, leisure activities, churches, and social clubs. The change they wanted to explore in these cultural institutions

related to the recent transformation in America's economy. Race, gender, or religious and ethnic diversity were not the forces of change that interested the Lynds. They instead focused on the social and economic fragmentation resulting from industrialization and capital concentration.[4]

Though some of their conclusions are subject to challenge, the Lynds were right in picking Muncie as a city caught in the middle of change. They could have just as easily driven 20 miles west to study Anderson, a city that in many ways mirrored the development of Muncie. Before a discovery of natural gas in Eaton, Indiana in 1876, ten miles north of Muncie, both towns were rural villages that acted as trading centers for the farmers of Delaware and Madison counties. Ten years after the discovery, when much of industry became reliant on access to cheap fuel, civic leaders in these towns initiated a concerted effort to capitalize on this region's supply of natural gas.

The combination of the discovery of natural gas, late-nineteenth-century industry's need for cheap fuel, and the desire of civic leaders for economic expansion, all contributed to the rapid growth of Muncie and Anderson in the 1890s. On February 24, 1887, the Muncie Board of Trade organized with the purpose of promoting "any and all undertakings calculated to advance the interests, improvement and general welfare of the city of Muncie."[5] In 1891 the city established a "factory fund" to help attract new companies. By October, 1891 the city had raised $216,000 by private subscriptions. With a matching pledge by companies already owning real estate in and around the city, the Citizens Enterprise Company,

the organization formed to manage the fund, had nearly half a million dollars to attract new industry. By January, 1892 this fund helped attract no less than fifteen new factories that employed nearly 3,000 people.[6] Around the same time Anderson organized its own Board of Trade that also set out to secure new factories that depended on an abundant and cheap supply of fuel. As a result, Anderson attracted several eastern manufacturers, such as Fowler Nut and Bolt Works, American Wire Nail Company, the Union Strawboard Company, and the Anderson Flint Bottle Company.[7]

The rapid economic growth of Muncie and Anderson that resulted from the discovery of natural gas at the end of the nineteenth century differed in degree and character than the sort of expansion that would occur later during the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the 1890s producers of glass dominated Muncie's and Anderson's economies. In 1880 only four glass factories existed in all of Indiana, in 1900, after the natural gas discoveries around the state, there were 110. Muncie alone had six new glass companies, the most famous of which, Ball Brothers, made mason jars. Chief among the glass manufacturers that relocated in Anderson during this time were the Pennsylvania Glass Company and the Anderson Flint Bottle Company.[8]

Lured by the prospect of cheap gas, producers of iron or fabricated iron products also settled in this area. Like the glass companies, Kitselman Brothers Woven Wire Fence Company, Midland Steel, and the Whitely Malleable Castings Company in Muncie offered employment opportunities to laborers that migrated from nearby rural areas and southern states.[9] Likewise, Anderson had attracted

38 new factories by 1892 and with a proliferation of iron, steel, and paper manufacturers, the *Anderson Democrat* touted the city as the "Pittsburgh of White River."[10]

As Muncie and Anderson entered the industrial age during the last decade of the nineteenth century, most laborers saw a dramatic change in the way they earned a living. No longer did most living in and around these communities work as farmers or for farm-related businesses. Yet the change in work did not involve the worker alienation commonly associated with the Industrial Revolution. Machine-based production would not dominate the economic order until the automobile industry came to these cities a decade later. In the mid-1890s most laborers worked as skilled mechanics in the newly established glass and iron works factories.[11] The blowing of glass jars, for example, required great skill. With the teamwork of highly skilled blowers and assistants, "the speed and rhythm of the work were set by the human organism, not by a machine."[12] Castings in the foundry were also made by highly-skilled hand molders. Though the nature of the work shifted away from the land and into factories, laborers still worked with their hands in the process of production. Despite the influx of factories into the economic order of Anderson and Muncie, there remained a close nexus between the worker and the product.

The supply of natural gas in the east-central region of Indiana, however, proved to be short-lived. After 1900 Anderson and Muncie could no longer look to an abundant supply of cheap fuel as the impetus for economic expansion. In 1902 there were 5,820 productive wells in the area, in 1906, 3,523, and by 1917, only

1,830. As a result, the economic growth of these cities slowed during the first years of the twentieth century. Many of the companies that came to Anderson and Muncie from 1890 to 1900 either went bankrupt or relocated. Economic stagnation slid into recession as the number of industries shrank and the value of goods diminished. Three out of Muncie's six glass makers did not survive the diminished supply of cheap fuel, and from 1900 to 1905 no new companies came to the city. From 1880 to 1900 Anderson's population exploded from a little more than 4,000 to over 20,000. In contrast, from 1900 to 1910 the population grew by just over 2,000. Muncie's population grew from around 5,000 to over 21,000 over the last two decades of the nineteenth century, but from 1900 to 1910 only an additional 3,000 joined the city's ranks. The disappearance of natural gas stalled economic expansion of the 1890s and made the future of Anderson and Muncie uncertain.[13]

New Castle's transition from rural trading center to small industrial city moved at a slower pace than its neighbors to the north. Like Muncie and Anderson in Delaware and Madison counties, New Castle emerged as a commercial trading center for Henry County by the mid-nineteenth century. As Southerners migrated to these towns in search of increased agricultural opportunity during the 1820s, 30s, and 40s, these towns began building the public institutions, such as schools, necessary for further growth.

Just as it was for Muncie and Anderson, the construction of railroads in the 1850s that connected New Castle to other trading centers guaranteed its prominence in the economic life of the surrounding rural area. Though the discovery of natural gas also

reached Henry County at the end of the nineteenth century, it was not nearly as impressive as the find in Delaware and Madison counties. As a result, New Castle did not experience the economic boom that Anderson and Muncie experienced in the 1890s.

Yet steady growth did occur, a result, in no small part, of the concerted efforts of civic leaders to attract new business. An article in the *New Castle Democrat* in 1903 recognized this boosterism when noting that

> Anderson, Muncie and other towns gave free fuel which is an immense item. New Castle had little to offer that could not have been offered by a dozen other towns in Indiana. What it did have was a number of men of moderate means with sufficient nerve and public spirit to invest money in ways that would inure to the public good.[14]

Without the abundant supply of natural gas, New Castle had to rely solely on financial incentives to attract new business. The town trustees offered manufacturers exemptions from municipal taxation for five years as an inducement to relocate in New Castle. As a result, manufacturers of tools, furniture, and kitchen cabinets came to do business in the growing trading center of Henry County. The establishment of the Safety Shredder factor in 1899 marked the beginning of steady progress that would last until the early 1920s. But while Anderson and Muncie approached populations of 20,000 people by the turn of the century, New Castle remained a relatively small rural town of less than 5,000. Yet new companies like American Shovel Works, Brass and Iron Bedstead Factory, Krell-French Piano Factory, and the Hoosier Manufacturing Company (makers of kitchen cabinets) helped create an industrial base that later attracted part of the emerging automobile industry.[15]

On June 22, 1907 the cornerstone was laid for the Maxwell-Briscoe automobile factory in New Castle. Maxwell-Briscoe, Krell-French Piano, and Hoosier Manufacturing Company combined to employ approximately 3,000 workers. During its heyday, the nearly 1,200 Maxwell employees cranked out an average of 5,000 cars each year. New Castle's population more than doubled between 1900 and 1910 with approximately 6,000 new residents coming there to live. The area experienced a serious housing shortage and many of the workers actually had to live in nearby towns like Spiceland or Muncie.[16]

The automobile industry made its presence felt throughout this region of Indiana during the first three decades of the twentieth century. In Muncie at least seven different makes of cars, including the Interstate and Sheridan, were produced between 1908 and 1928. Later William C. Durant, organizer of General Motors in 1908, located a plant in Muncie to build his Durant Motors Company's Princeton automobile. In Anderson at least 14 different models were built during this time. Referred to as the "magnificent Andersons," production of cars like the DeTamble, the Lamber, and the Rider-Lewis changed the social and economic landscape of this burgeoning industrial city. With this influx of auto plants, the recession caused by the dissipation of natural gas in and around Muncie and Anderson was short-lived. By 1910 new companies came into these cities as quickly as they had left from 1900 to 1905. The automobile industry and later the demand for goods created by World War I contributed to a resurgent industrial economy.

The car makers came to all three communities for reasons not unrelated to the natural gas discovery of two decades earlier. Because of the first-wave of industrialization in Anderson and Muncie, these communities had the labor force necessary to work in the new automobile and automobile parts factories. New Castle's close proximity to these cities and the aggressive efforts of civic leaders that had earlier attracted smaller industry helped the city join this economic expansion when Maxwell-Briscoe located there.

These new industries brought with them a more mechanized and specialized means of production than the factories that located in Anderson and Muncie during the natural gas era. The automobile parts plants particularly relied on machine production methods. Workers were now asked to perform highly specialized, monotonous tasks the entire day only to complete one link in the long chain of production. In short, the work lacked the considerable skill required by the "blowers" in glass factories and "molders" in foundries. In addition, the laborer never saw the process of production to its completion. The pride that laborers once associated with their work originally on the farm and later in the glass plants turned into a feeling of ambivalence towards both the labor and the product. With the passing of the apprentice-master craftsman system, the line between skilled and unskilled worker became so blurred as to render it practically non-existent. The Lynds noted that in 1924 less than twenty-five percent of workers in Muncie's factories even paid attention to their job. New modes of manufacturing devalued the work, dehumanized the worker, and further separated the laborer from the goods produced.[17]

This second-wave of industrialization and urbanization dramatically changed the very nature of these communities. From 1910 to 1920 Muncie's population jumped from 24,000 to over 36,000. Anderson too witnessed another influx of people during this decade with an increase in population from 20,000 to over 29,000.[18] Meanwhile, New Castle's population grew to almost 14,000, approximately four times its pre-industrial size. Though New Castle's population never matched that of Muncie or Anderson, it experienced possibly a more significant social and cultural transformation with the establishment of the automobile factories. Unlike Muncie and Anderson, New Castle had never experienced any form of rapid economic growth. It now went through dramatic social, cultural, and economic changes for the first time. No longer moving to the rhythms of the farm, New Castle, along with Anderson and Muncie, began marching to a technological beat.

After World War I several of the automobile companies located in these cities either went bankrupt or relocated. This most negatively affected New Castle when the Maxwell Motor Company went bankrupt in 1920. Walter P. Chrysler stepped in and bought the failing company and moved operations to Detroit. Fortunately the industrial base of the community had become solid enough during the intervening years to withstand the crushing blow of its largest employer's departure. But with the failure of its major automobile manufacturer, New Castle would never again witness the sort of growth it experienced between 1907 and 1920.

Though Anderson and Muncie experienced a short recession after the war due to the closing of several car factories, each had

several other large employers to fill the void. Primary among these were the makers of automobile parts, companies that actually flourished during the war by providing war materials. The Remy Electric plant in Anderson exemplified the emergence of this new type of industry. Founded by Frank and Perry Remy at the end of the nineteenth century to manufacture magnetos and dynamos for stationary and automobile engines, in 1905 the company expanded after General Motors developed a Buick engine using these parts. Despite going through some difficult years afterwards, the company enjoyed its greatest success during World War I when it provided war materials and employed 10,000 people. In 1924 the Klaxon Horn firm joined Remy to manufacture its product. Four years later Delco, a firm from Dayton, Ohio, which produced the first electric self-starter or cranking motor also joined Remy. That year Delco-Remy also designed and produced the first electrical windshield wiper. To insure the stability of the company for years to come, in 1928 the Delco car battery was put into operation, offering buyers of automobiles for the first time the opportunity to buy a replacement battery of the same make as the original battery.[19] A new Delco-Remy plant opened twenty miles down the road in Muncie that same year to manufacture these batteries.

In addition to the new Delco-Remy battery plant, Muncie attracted other manufacturers of auto parts. Henry Warner created a differential gear and established his shop in Muncie in 1904. In 1928 the Warner Gear Company joined other auto parts companies to create the Borg-Warner Corporation in Muncie. General Motors in 1919 opened its products division there to manufacture its

speedometers, steering gears, and transmissions. By 1935 an estimated 50 percent of the city's manufacturers produced automotive components. Even after the failure of the automobile factories, Anderson's and Muncie's industrial base remained centered on the auto industry for decades to come.[20]

The decade of 1910 to 1920, when the auto makers established their factories in this region of Indiana, represented the time that Muncie, Anderson, and New Castle most strikingly became separated from their nineteenth-century agrarian-based economies. As the decade progressed, a greater percentage of the labor force could be categorized as unskilled industrial workers. Over 9,000 of the 16,000 laborers in Muncie in 1920, for example, worked for manufacturing and mechanical industries.[21] Despite the increase in job opportunities, the laborers in these cities experienced downward mobility as farm, skilled, and semi-skilled labor turned to low-skilled mechanical jobs for employment. The nature of the work in these new factories acted to level the status of the unskilled and skilled laborer, thereby creating a more truncated social and economic order by dividing the workers further from the business class. The introduction of machines and assembly-line techniques in local factories after the turn of the century caused a breakdown in the craft hierarchy. As business class professionals like lawyers, doctors, salesmen, clergy, and architects became more entrenched in the cities' industrial and urban economic structure, the working class, particularly the previously skilled laborers, experienced a decline in status.[22]

As the Lynds noted, in the 1920s this cleavage between working and business classes affected almost every aspect of community life. The formation of these two groups, they believed, constituted "the most significant single cultural factor tending to influence what one does all day long throughout one's life."[23] Which class you belonged to determined everything from what time you got up in the morning to church and social club membership. *Middletown* revealed that while the fate of the business class improved, the working class suffered a diminished quality of life as a result of Muncie's social, cultural, and economic transformation during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Not only did work become less rewarding and more alienating, but workers also suffered a lost sense of control over their lives and an increasing uncertainty about the future.

Like others living and working in the newly industrialized North, workers in Muncie, Anderson, and New Castle increasingly felt further removed from the forces that influenced their lives. As the assembly line gradually replaced the craftsman as the primary means of production, a growing number of laborers became subjects of a tighter, systematic, and more centralized scheme of management. By 1920 the new factory bureaucracy included personnel departments, rational and precise cost accounting, central planning offices, and production and efficiency engineers. Besides the disappearance of skill in the new factory, the implementation of scientific management increased the distance between employee and employer and further subordinated the rhythms of work to the exacting demands of efficiency.[24]

While the average number of hours per work week declined to less than sixty and the work week decreased from six to five days, the jobs of industrial workers in this region became less reliable between 1890 and 1930. In the 1910s and 20s the working class had to deal commonly with the "shut-down" or "lay-off." From month to month the number of laborers working in the large plants of Muncie varied greatly depending on the immediate production needs of the manufacturer. The Lynds cited several examples of drastic lay-offs during the early 20s. One large plant employed 802 workers at the end of 1923, yet only six months later the number decreased to 316. Of those just 205 had worked continuously during that six month stretch. During the first nine months of 1924 only 38 percent of 165 laborers interviewed had not lost some time from their jobs due to shut-downs or lay-offs. Though constant work was a problem a generation earlier, the frequency and unpredictability of these work stoppages had increased.[25]

Laborers and their families whose livelihood depended on the availability of work in large manufacturing plants increasingly lived at the mercy of market fluctuations. Related to the truncating of the craft hierarchy by the introduction of machine-based production, the working class from 1908 until the 1930s experienced a decrease in political clout. Except for the formation of a barber's trade union in 1900, New Castle did not have strong organized labor until the New Deal era. Muncie and Anderson, on the other hand, each claimed active and forceful labor unions during their economic growth of the late nineteenth century.[26] However, both cities became open-shop towns after a strike by employees of Muncie's Union Traction

Company in 1908. The company-wide strike of its street and electric railway employees turned violent and Republican Governor James Frank Hanly declared martial law and sent 591 police officers into Muncie to impose order. Though martial law ended after just two weeks, the walkout continued another six weeks until the workers finally capitulated. The first such act by the state government since the Civil War, Hanly's intervention had a chilling effect on unions in the region and throughout Indiana.[27]

The union's diminished power in these cities, however, had more to do with the increasingly marginalized status of labor in the production process than the action of Governor Hanly. Labor's power had been displaced by the leveling of skilled and unskilled workers. With the number of skilled craftsmen declining as reliance on machine-based production increased, the trade unions of the late nineteenth century suffered severe losses in membership between 1910 and 1930. The worker became a replaceable cog in the process of production. Muncie, Anderson, and New Castle each had an expanding labor force as the populations steadily climbed with the continued migration from the surrounding rural region and southern states. Working in tandem with the local Chamber of Commerce, manufacturers would encourage this migration by advertising the availability of work.[28] In this setting labor lost its leverage to force management to bargain. As indicated by the Lynds' account of fluctuations in the workforce in several large factories, manufacturers had the freedom to layoff or hire employees at will depending on the immediate needs of the company.

Governor Hanly's ordering of martial law during the Union Traction Company strike represented the growing hostility toward the labor movement in Indiana during the first three decades of the twentieth century. As the capitalist became the primary force in the economic life of cities like Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle, opposition to their newly imposed social order were routinely cast in a negative light. The Lynds quoted an anonymous "city leader" as saying

> working men don't need unions nowadays.... We are much more in danger of coddling the working men than abusing them. Working people are just as well off now as they can possibly [be] except for things which are in the nature of industry and cannot be helped.[29]

In Muncie, Anderson, and New Castle, as in other parts of the United States in the 1920s, the businessman emerged as the hero. Individualism was the mood of the day. One got ahead by his own efforts, not by the help of collective action. Especially in a region of the country where Protestantism dominated the religious landscape, adherence to the work ethic remained strong. Hard work, self-control, and dogged persistence were still the ways to independence, wealth, and status. People remained true believers in a nineteenth-century ideology that declared this country a place where man with "merit and industry" could rise to financial wealth.[30] "By his labor a man worked out the position he deserved on the economic ladder; it was the key to success in the business of living."[31] Collective action by workers ran counter to an ideology of individualism that permeated this culture.

For many, communism became inextricably linked to the labor movement. Though Indiana, like some other midwestern states, had some active socialists, most notably Terre Haute-native Eugene V. Debs, during the twenties communism was still viewed by most with great suspicion and hostility. The overwhelming majority of workers in America have never been particularly interested in subverting the existing capitalistic economic order. The powerful and unchallenged position of industrialists in American society especially during the 1920s allowed them to diffuse any serious ideological challenge. The most powerful union of this era, the American Federation of Labor (AFL), exemplified the hegemonic control of capitalists. The cry of AFL leader Samuel Gompers for "more, more, more, now," demonstrated labor's overwhelming acceptance of capitalism's underlying principles. Gompers, in fact, viewed his AFL as the principal bulwark of American capitalism and democracy against communism. Gompers was not a radical; he merely wanted a bigger piece of the economic pie for the American worker. The union merely offered the worker a way to get his share without the help of government.[32]

For the people flooding into Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle, the philosophy of self-reliance made perfect sense. Though Indiana lies north of the Mason-Dixon line, much of the state has a southern tradition. The migration to east-central Indiana at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century came from surrounding farms and the South. These people carried with them a tradition of individualism, isolation, mobility, and suspicion of northerners and city-dwellers that naturally impeded their

ability to act collectively. Therefore the workers of these communities, like Gompers, put up little political resistance to the social order industrialists so aggressively imposed.[33] As a result, the open shop became the norm in these three cities until the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) and United Auto Workers of America (UAWA) gained power in 1937 after a nation-wide strike of auto workers.

Set in this context, it is not surprising that whenever communists and radicals did get involved in attempts to organize local workers, these communities reacted with great alarm. After a raid of an Anderson mercantile establishment by the Department of Justice in January, 1920 ended in the arrest of an Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) activist, local papers reacted with shock. Headlines on page one of *The Muncie Morning Star* screamed that "Raids Reveal Revolution Plot: Reds' Plan Was To Use Big Strikes" and "Search Anderson Den of Radical: I.W.W. Checks and 'Red' Literature Found in Zimmerman's Establishment." These stories warned that "the Communist and Communist-Labor parties" had sent agitators "to every fertile field in support of a general strike."[34] In retrospect such a threat seems absurd. The obstacles to organizing any such strike in Anderson, Muncie, or New Castle were tremendous. Even the most conservative of labor unions found little support in these communities, let alone the more radical IWW.

As the working class lost the psychological benefits from a sense of craftsmanship and group solidarity that existed a generation earlier, the business class participated in an ever-increasing network of associations that provided both social and

financial opportunities and enhanced their community power. Civic organizations like the Rotary, the local country club, the Chamber of Commerce, and other professional associations, became important in the social life of businessmen and their families. Though the church remained the primary source of group association for both classes during the 1910s and 20s, alternative social institutions for the business class increased at the same time they decreased for the working class. This only contributed to the power differential already present between workers and capitalists.[35]

As the transformation in the economic and social life of Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle continued, the divide between the well-to-do and working class widened. From all indications their paths traveled down increasingly divergent roads. This divide presented itself both in the access to capital, the nature, satisfaction and reliability of work, and in the choice of voluntary associations and leisure. A laborer at the Remy Electric plant in Anderson in 1920 might have worked on the assembly line ten hours a day, five days a week, and, if fortunate enough to own a car, on weekends take his family in his Ford or Overland to previously undreamed of places.[36] But with the exception of movies and high school basketball games, they more than likely wound up somewhere different than where those in the business class went. Whether lodges or unions for men or social and cultural clubs for women, voluntary associations assumed a less prominent place in the lives of the working class. For them leisure increasingly became an act of separation from the business class. When the working class did participate in formal associations, it was done almost exclusively

with other working-class families. Though their children might still mix with the children of the business class at school or the local YMCA, the working class only joined churches, lodges, and clubs with members of their own social rank.[37]

While the business class often formed associations around the pursuit of strengthening business relations and social rank, the working class during their spare time typically sought escape from the work-a-day world. With the shortening of the normal industrial workweek, laborers and their families had more time for leisure activities such as vaudeville, movies, amusement parks, dance halls, saloons, and spectator sports. In this context social reformers, clergy, and industrialists saw the potential for licentious behavior and the development of characteristics antithetical to the kind of men they wanted to fill the work force. The solution to this problem involved a two-pronged attack on the spread of behavior that increasingly violated the genteel and capitalistic standards of the elite. They waged a political attack on drinking, gambling, drugs, and prostitution, while at the same time promoting a social reform movement aimed to prevent future generations from succumbing to these and other sins.[38]

Basketball played a significant part in this effort by reformers to instill values of restraint, self-sacrifice, and courage into young people. It also served to counter the feminizing effect of the industrial city by developing physical strength in young men. Finally, reformers used basketball to teach the young a corporate morality relevant to the industrial world they faced.

Chapter One Notes

[1]As will be discussed later, the Indiana University Booster Club actually sponsored the first state high school basketball tournament in 1910. The Indiana High School Athletic Association did not sanction the tourney until 1911.

[2]Most came from the rural regions of Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia. See Frank, Carrolyn, "Politics in Middletown: A Reconsideration of Municipal Government and Community Power in Muncie, Indiana, 1925-35" (Muncie: Ball State University Ph.D. Dissertation, 1974), 48.

[3]Robert S. & Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study In American Culture* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1929), 9.

[4]Lynds, 3-17.

[5]G.W.H. Kemper, ed., *History of Delaware County, Indiana* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1908), 146.

[6]*Muncie--Past, Present, Future: The Muncie Land Co.*, (Sprinfield, Ohio: The Winters Art Litho Co., 1892).

[7]J.J. Netterville, ed., *Centennial History of Madison County: An Account of One Hundred Years of Progress, 1823-1923* (Anderson, Indiana: Historians' Association, Publishers, 1925), 248.

[8]Netterville, 248.

[9]Hoover, Dwight W., *Magic Middletown*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986), 2.

[10]Robert M. Taylor, Jr., Errol Wayne Stevens, Mary Ann Ponder, Paul Brockman, *Indiana: A New Historical Guide* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1989), 450.

[11]*Muncie of Today: Its Commerce, Trade and Industries* (Muncie, Indiana: The Muncie Times, 1895) noted that most of the over 6,000 laborers in Muncie in the mid-1890s were skilled.

[12]Lynds, 41.

[13]*Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1910: Volume II, Population* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), 568-569.

[14]*New Castle Democrat*, April 17, 1903, vol. 26, no. 16.

[15]See Herbert L. Heller, *Readings in the History of New Castle, Indiana*, Vol 1 (New Castle, Indiana: self published, 1941), *The Peoples Guide: A Business, Political, and Religious Directory of Henry County, Indiana* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Cline and McHaffie, 1874), *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Henry County of 1875* (Chicago, IL: Higgins Belden & Co., 1875), *Indiana State Gazetteer and Business Directory*, Vol. 5 (R.L. Polk & Co., 1890), *City and Rural Route Directory and New Century Year Book Souvenir* (New Castle, Indiana: Courier Printing Co., 1901), and *New Castle, Henry County Sesquicentennial, 1822-1972*, (New Castle, Indiana: Community Printing, Inc., 1972) for general histories of Henry County and New Castle.

[16]Greg Guffey, *More Than a Game: A History of Boys Basketball in Henry County* (Hagerstown, IN: Exponent Publishers, Inc., 1990), 70-76.

[17]Lynds, 39-52, 73-76. The Lynds discuss the nature of Muncie's labor in the 1920s as compared to the 1890s.

[18]*Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1920: volume II, Population* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 316.

[19]*Madison County Sesquicentenial, 1823-1973* (Anderson, IN: 1973), 56-59.

[20]Taylor, et al., 55.

[21]*Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1920: Volume II, Population,* 316.

[22]See Lynds, 23, Maurice R. Stein, *The Eclipse of Community: An Interpretation of American Studies*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960), 51, and Scott Ray, "The Depressed Industrial Society: Occupational Movement, Out-Migration and

Residential Mobility in the Industrial-Urbanization of Middletown, 1880-1925" (Ph.D. diss., Ball State University, 1981), 129.

[23]Lynds, 24.

[24]Daniel T. Rodgers, *The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850-1920* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), 25.

[25]Ibid., 56-57.

[26]Ibid., 76. The Lynds explain that in 1897 thirty locals in Muncie totaling 3,766 members were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The city also vied with Detroit and other cities as a labor convention city. The first chapter of the Women's Labor League was also launched in Muncie.

[27]Taylor, 54.

[28]*The Anderson Herald*, March 8, 1923, 1.

[29]Lynds, 80.

[30]See Matthew Hale Smith, *Bulls and Bears of New York* (1873; reprint ed., Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1972), 541, Calvin Colton, "labor and Capital, " in *The Junius Tracts, No. 7: Labor and Capital* (New York: Greeley and McElrath, 1844), 15, and Henry Ward Beecher, *Seven Lectures to Young Men* (Indianapolis: Thomas B. Cutler, 1844) 20-21, for examples of nineteenth-century expressions of the Protestant work ethic as key to economic success.

[31]Rodgers, 13.

[32]Irving Bernstein, *The Lean Years: A History of the American Worker, 1920-1933* (New York: De Capo Press, Inc., 1960), 94.

[33]Ibid., 40, 88. Bernstein makes a similar point regarding the difficulties textile workers from Piedmont faced while trying to organize in the 1920s.

[34]*The Muncie Morning Star*, January 4, 1920, p. 1.

[35]Lynds, 75, 272-312.

[36]Ibid., 253. The Lynds reported 6,221 automobiles in Muncie at the end of 1923. This amounted to about 2 cars for every three families.

[37]Ibid., 272-312, 332-343.

[38]See Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure In an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983) for an interesting examination of how the working class created an "alternative" culture to the dominant order through leisure and how through various reform movements social and economic elites tried to restrict the influence and expansion of this culture.

CHAPTER TWO

A Move For Control:
Prohibition, the YMCA, and Basketball

As urbanization and industrialization came to dominate the social and economic landscape of Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle, the Protestant churches of these communities joined a broader Progressive Era reform movement that attempted to organize the spare-time activities of youth, particularly boys. Fearing the negative moral influence of the city, church leaders, with the financial support of big business, wanted to provide the sort of moral oversight thought more possible in rural villages.

Evangelical Protestantism gained strength at the same time these communities began experiencing modernity's influence. As historian Joseph F. Kett explains, this evangelism often aimed to build "a moat around villages and towns" to protect against the deleterious effect of the metropolis.[1] Church leaders and industrialists wanted it both ways; they wanted the financial rewards that economic expansion offered while maintaining the moral and social control more common in a rural village. In short, they wanted a large labor force that behaved and did as they were told. This became an increasingly difficult goal to attain considering the growing alienation experienced by much of the work force as a result of the recent economic transformation of these

small and medium-sized cities. Faced with the drudgery and unfulfillment of their jobs, workers increasingly used their leisure time to escape from the imposed social and economic order. Reformers consequently became convinced that the best way to attain this goal of a disciplined work force was to socialize the young, to mold them into the sort of moral citizens that contributed to the economic growth of the city.

Social reformers like New Castle's A.W. Connor and Muncie's H.A. Pettijohn became generals in the war against the growing "boy problem."[2] Faced with the growing drug and alcohol abuse among young men and laborers, these reformers working within the 'Y' movement used basketball as a weapon in the cause of developing strong, muscular Christians and productive citizens.[3] Like settlement house workers, sociologists, and public school officials in the burgeoning cities in the East trying to teach newly arriving European immigrants how to be good Americans, social reformers in the midwest working for the YMCA during the first two decades of the twentieth century used games like basketball to revitalize the physical and moral fiber of the first generation of young people forced to grow up in the city.[4] Even with the appeal of the new and exciting sport of basketball on their side, victory for these men and the movement they fought for was not assured.

The struggle between pro- and anti-saloon forces in these communities exemplified the war between those working for and against the efforts of these Christian reformers. Prohibitionists, led by area industrialists, church leaders, farmers, and Republican politicians, worried about the effect alcohol and saloons had on the

work force. The saloon represented the sort of vice many Christian social reformers associated with the morally degenerative city. Educators, ministers, and reformers worried about the saloon's subversive effect on those institutions, such as church, family, and school, that stood as the standard-bearers of nineteenth-century genteel culture. The saloon became a symbol for the decline of genteel cultural standards after the turn of the century. Instead of promoting those Victorian virtues of moral integrity, self-control, sober earnestness, and industriousness, the saloon presumably encouraged debauchery and slothfulness. Alcohol served to corrupt society and thwart Christian efforts to redeem the world.[5]

Motivated by a desire to create an alternative culture to the dominant economic, social, and moral order, many workers sided with Democratic politicians like Muncie's Mayor Rollin "Doc" Bunch that campaigned on a platform to resist efforts at social control by Christian reformers and leading industrialists like Muncie's Ball family. Central to this act of resistance was keeping the saloons open and the alcohol flowing.[6] In Madison, Delaware, and Henry counties the influence of farmers, industrialists, and reformers were offset by the growing work force in the cities of Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle. As a result, this region of Indiana became an intense battleground for the fight over the prohibition of alcohol during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Indicative of Progressive Era political efforts to control the spare-time activities of the industrial work force, the 1907 Republican-dominated Indiana General Assembly passed laws limiting the sale of liquor and cigarettes while completely

prohibiting horse racing, prize fighting, and slot machines. In addition, they restricted hunting, barbering, and playing or watching baseball games on Sunday. These laws signaled a battle over the prohibition of alcohol in the state that would last until 1918, the year Indiana went completely dry. Because a 1907 law permitted individual counties to decide the legality of liquor sales within county limits, the fight was waged mostly at the local level.

Delaware County voters utilized this legislation to vote the county dry. In reaction to this vote, Muncie voters later that year elected Democrats to all Muncie city offices for the first time since the Civil War. Without the significant farm vote from outside the city limits, Democrats, with the support of labor and ecclesiastical and legalist denominations, such as Roman Catholic, Episcopalian, and the Church of Christ, garnered enough votes to seize political control of the city. Democrats in Indiana at this time believed strongly in the separate roles of church and state. As opposed to Republicans, Democrats viewed society as not interdependent but rather as composed of separate spheres. Government's role was to protect this separation.[7]

The issue of prohibition in Muncie arose again in 1911 after the Indiana General Assembly passed another law allowing municipalities smaller than counties to hold local referenda on liquor sales. Democrat-controlled Muncie decided to hold such an election, confident that without the outlying dry votes the anti-prohibitionists would win the day. Muncie was the largest city in Indiana to hold such a referenda on liquor sales and attracted much attention throughout the state as a result. Though the wets won a

closely contested election by a narrow 3,108 to 2,632 margin, the battle over prohibition in Muncie and the neighboring cities of Anderson and New Castle had just begun.[8]

With this defeat the reform-minded prohibitionists in Delaware, Henry, and Madison counties stepped up their efforts to close local saloons. Organizations such as the Henry County Farmers' Institute resolved to protest against all liquor establishments in New Castle.[9] In 1913 New Castle had its own referenda on the legality of liquor sales. Despite intense efforts by New Castle's prohibitionists, the voters of New Castle, by the narrowest of margins, decided to keep the saloons open. The *New Castle Daily Courier* declared on the front page that "temperance men chose [the] lesser of two evils." The paper explained that voters chose between keeping saloons open and having more downtown buildings vacant. For a city interested in attracting new business, people presumably did not welcome the prospect of existing businesses closing down.[10] Probably more relevant to the outcome of this vote was the city's growing working class population.

During the campaign for a dry city the prohibitionists of New Castle made their plan of social control clear. The Republican-owned *New Castle Daily Courier*, acting as a mouthpiece for the anti-saloon forces of New Castle, declared its editorial position against the sale of liquor on the front page approximately two weeks before the election:

> ... in New Castle three-fourths of the business of the saloons of the city comes from the laboring men and mechanics and that on an average one-fourth of the wages of those men go to

> the support of saloons. It is equally true that the laboring men cast three-fourths of the votes in the city.... when they fully realize the relation of the saloon to their welfare, the end of the saloon will practically be at hand.[11]

The controversial and openly pro-saloon Bunch's victory in Muncie's mayoral election of 1913 exemplified labor's desire to keep the saloons open. As Roy Rosenzweig has pointed out about the industrialization of Worcester, Massachusetts at the turn of the twentieth century, the saloon emerged as a center of working-class social life in response to a complex set of social forces: "tightened work discipline, shorter workdays, intensified regulation of public recreation, [and] increased working-class incomes."[12]

But any victories by anti-prohibitionists only served to intensify the efforts of social reformers interested in stopping the sale of liquor. The Anti-Saloon League of America became active in all three of these communities. In Muncie the Ball family, particularly Frank C. Ball, and the Kitselman family led the campaign for prohibition. As the city's two largest employers, the Balls and Kitselmans wielded much influence. They financed Anti-Saloon League meetings, bringing in nationally renowned prohibitionists to speak to hundreds of mostly business and professional men. In introducing one such speaker at a March 2, 1916 meeting, Frank Ball denounced the licensed saloon as a "blaster of homes and a retarder of the progress of a nation."[13] Speaking to fellow business leaders and not those from the working class, however, it is doubtful these meetings won many converts.

With the Ball and Kitselman families fighting for prohibition and Mayor Bunch working against it, Muncie became a focal point for

this political fight. The drys in Muncie successfully petitioned for another local option election in March, 1914. Though Mayor Bunch openly supported the wet forces and used police officers to harass dry sheriff deputies who monitored the voting, the drys won by 441 votes. The dry forces remained on the attack when in 1915 they accused Bunch of conspiring to take bribes in exchange for allowing slot machines in stores, twenty-five gambling houses, one hundred establishments illegally selling liquor, and twenty houses of prostitution within city limits. Bunch became the target of a grand jury indictment and went on trial in the summer of 1916 on these charges. Before Bunch's trial there was yet another local referenda on local saloons, this time by a petition from pro-saloon forces. Wets won this time by a narrow 59-vote margin in an election tainted by violence on both sides. The jury at Bunch's racketeering trial deadlocked for forty hours before the judge dismissed them despite testimony that the mayor owned part of a brothel.

Before the 1917 campaign for mayor, a grand jury again indicted Bunch for allegedly hiring a man from Indianapolis to dynamite the house of dry-activist Wilbur Ryman. Despite the 1916 trial and these new allegations, Bunch won the Democratic nomination for a second term. Unlike his election in 1913, however, the opposition presented a united front against Bunch in their support for Republican candidate Charles O. Grafton. The 1917 campaign between Grafton and Bunch pitted the efforts of social reformers, industrialists, clergy, and other prohibitionists against the working class and pro-saloon forces; between those trying to impose social control and those trying to resist it. Bunch

campaigned as much against the powerful Ball family as Grafton. He built a pro-working-class platform by calling for the eight-hour day and by attacking the Ball family for trying to control the city. By aligning labor against the forces of social control, Bunch won the election by a landslide despite the fact he and much of his police force faced the threat of more criminal trials. In fact, his 2,004-vote majority represented until that time the largest margin of victory in the city's mayoral election history.

Bunch's legal problems intensified shortly after his election. After an extensive federal investigation, Bunch was tied to a large mail fraud scam that bilked several victims out of money totaling over $500,000. Chauncey Stillson and Elmer Gentry, two men with prior criminal records as bootleggers and operators of establishments illegally selling liquor, organized the scam. Working from the Grand Hotel in Muncie's red-light district, they developed an intricate eighteen-month-long plan to hustle $5,000 to $10,000 down-payments from investers for bogus land deals The plan became so extensive that it required the participation of numerous Muncie officials, including the legal protection offered by the mayor, county prosecutor, and several police officers. In exchange for this protection, the mayor and prosecutor received $500 for each successful scam.

The image of Muncie became tarnished after news of the operation became public. The presiding federal judge in the trials of those indicted declared Muncie "largely wicked."[14] Ultimately Bunch was fined $1,000 and sentenced to two years in an Atlanta penitentiary. The State of Indiana went dry in April of 1918 as the

result of the Wright Prohibition law signed by Governor James Goodrich. In 1919 federal prohibition went into effect and federal authorities stepped in to try and enforce the Volstead Act in and around Muncie for the next several years.[15]

Mayor Bunch's saga in Muncie symbolized the battle between social reformers and an expanding and increasingly unruly working class in all three communities. As urbanization and industrialization became the social and economic order of the day, the fight over defining the moral culture of Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle intensified. Industrialists, such as the Ball and Kitselman families in Muncie, joined forces with social reformers and evangelical Protestants to impose a social order that at once supported an industrial-capitalistic economic system and a genteel morality. All three groups worried about the degenerative effects drinking, gambling, prostitution, and drugs had on the stability of their communities. A 1912 front-page headline in *The Muncie Evening Press* warned that the "Cocaine Habit Curse Grows...." The story stated that the abuse of cocaine, opium, and morphine had spread beyond the "colored race" and into the local high school.[16] Saloons, professional sporting events, particularly wrestling and boxing matches, brothels, and growing red-light districts became the targets of this concentrated social reform effort in reaction to the growing influence of this counter-culture. Ironcially, in 1917 the county prosecutor implicated in the land-deal scam a bit righteously explained "this vice must be stopped. The legislature has so commanded it and we... must exercise every care and diligence that this great evil effectively shall be prohibited."[17] If these

places, events, and activities could be eliminated or significantly restricted, the working class would no longer have the opportunity to participate in the sort of immoral and socially destructive activities that most concerned the reformers. The political battle over prohibition in these and other towns throughout Indiana from 1907 to 1918 exemplified this movement's campaign to abolish any public space used by workers to challenge the dominant social order. In its place the reformers wanted institutions that could be used to instill the social values they desired. In Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle, the YMCA became the primary institution used to achieve this goal.

Concerned with what might fill the void left by the decline in genteel cultural standards, Progressive Era reformers around the country tried to monitor the expanding leisure time of workers and their families with expert supervision. They instituted community centers and recreation programs in cities to infuse leisure with discipline and order. These programs focused particularly on the youth because the future of American morality, they believed, depended on them.

The YMCA, established in London in 1844, emerged as a powerful institution in the Midwest during the Gilded Age when American Protestantism turned from the revival to the structured activity of institutions as its primary evangelical tool. Consistent with Progressive Era reform, the new theological current emphasized instilling moral rectitude moreso than a salvation experience. Protestant churches focused on federating members, particularly the young, into associations of self improvement and

recreation. Churches in the midwest during the mid-nineteenth century played a relatively small role in organizing the social life of towns and villages. By the early twentieth century, however, churches organized the large majority of social events in these same communities. The YMCA became the extension of these churches in this effort to coordinate the spare time of youth.[18]

The YMCA started impacting Indiana communities during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As much of the state began feeling the impact of industrialization and urbanization, business, civic, and church leaders became involved in the work of this reform-minded institution. Businessmen from Anderson and Muncie established associations in their cities as early as the mid-1890s.[19] But these local associations did not gain enough community support to raise sufficient funds for YMCA buildings until after the automobile industry sparked the more intense phase of industrial growth in these cities. The YMCA embodied the growing concern that the traditional methods of socializing the young no longer worked in an urban-industrial setting.

In addition to calisthenics and gymnastics, team sports became an important tool for the Christian social reformers working within the YMCA. For these reformers sports were seen as "an important surrogate for a rural upbringing, the disappearance of the household economy, the absence of early work experience, the weakened authority of religion, and the breakdown of the small geographic community."[20] In other words, sports played under the supervision of YMCA physical directors offered an opportunity to

instill moral values associated with an agrarian past into adolescents forced to grow up in an urban environment.[21]

As these cities grew, the need to build separate facilities for the local 'Y' became more apparent to those interested in Christian reform. During the summer of 1911 Muncie initiated a major fund-raising effort for its YMCA. The Ball family donated over half of the $200,000 raised. Later that year the YMCA acquired property and made plans to build a new facility. Frank Ball, chairman of the YMCA board of directors and vice president of the state organization, took the lead in erecting the facility that was "far better than a great majority of the YMCA structures in this country and [would] equal any other in the world...."[22] By 1916 after Muncie had a new YMCA facility, its association could boast the second largest membership in Indiana. Also, in 1911, due to the initiative of Friend's minister Daisy Douglas Barr, Muncie formed a Young Women's Social and Physical Betterment Association, later known as the YWCA. Five years later the Ball family donated another $100,000 to Muncie's YWCA building fund.

In 1918 Anderson too opened a state-of-the-art YMCA with the help of a $125,000 donation from the estate of James Andres Jackson Brunt, former director of the Anderson Bank and owner of one thousand acres of Madison County land. Prior to Brunt's gift the Anderson YMCA struggled to get its feet off the ground. In 1893 the YMCA state secretary for Indiana, E.E. Stacy, met with several area businessmen in an effort to start an official association in Anderson. But without a facility of their own, the meetings and activities of this fledgling organization struggled to gain any

significant increase in membership. The fortunes of the Anderson YMCA quickly changed after Brunt's unexpected gift. Brunt placed only one condition on his $125,000 bequeath: "that the community must match this sum with a like sum within a period of six months..."[23] The Brunt-Citizen's Building Committee, composed of the city's leading businessmen, directed both the raising of money for and the eventual construction of the new facility. This committee promoted this fund-raising campaign with a promotional entitled "A Civic Movement to Meet a Civic Need: Two Hundred Businessmen Make a Proposition." The headline "How Would This, or Better, Look in Anderson," read above a picture of the new Muncie YMCA. This effort to raise an additional $125,000 aimed "to purchase a site, erect and equip a building commensurate with Anderson's importance and the value of her young manhood." The promotional used quotations from Woodrow Wilson, William H. Taft, and Theodore Roosevelt to illustrate the importance of a YMCA to the character-building efforts of the community. Citing Taft, for instance, the brochure extolled that:

> A great Christian Association club, in an adequate building, will keep men from drinking, gambling and other vices, by offering an opportunity to spend unoccupied hours in a home atmosphere, surrounded with good influences. The Young Men's Christian Association has come to be recognized as a powerful and necessary factor, both in business and government matters.

In bold letters at the end of the promotional the committee declared that "shops, stores and streets do not make a city - men make a town.... That which raises the character of men, makes them better physically, morally and mentally, makes a town better."[24]

The committee attained their financial goal and construction on a new downtown YMCA facility began in 1917. Muncie's Ball family was among the leading out-of-town contributors to Anderson's fund-raising campaign.[25] The front-page headline in the March 2, 1918 *Anderson Herald* pronounced the new building "The Pride of Anderson." The *Herald's* story went on to say:

> The edifice stands, dedicated to all that is best in elements of human progress; dignified, capable, hospitable, always in closest touch with the affairs of its community. It stands for broader education, proper physical training, practical religious instruction, wholesome entertainment - and home. It stands for so much, that Anderson citizens did not hesitate to place their shoulder to the wheel, and roll this splendid cause to a glorious fruition....[26]

After the construction of this facility, the Anderson YMCA attracted more than 1,000 boys under sixteen years of age to join and participate in swimming lessons, Bible classes, and basketball leagues. At the same time, over 200 boys from seventeen to twenty years of age joined the Hi-Y and Torch Clubs to participate in basketball leagues and other competitive games to develop, in the words of one promotional, "clean speech, clean sports, clean habits and the effort to extend the highest standard of Christian living in the schools and community."[27]

For several years New Castle could not raise the money necessary to build a comparable YMCA facility. In 1921 New Castle finally began planning for its new $200,000 YMCA building after local businessman Paul Jamison donated land for its construction.[28] Three years prior to its construction, Judge Williams from Marion, Indiana, a small city about sixty miles north of New Castle, came to

town to speak on the importance of building a YMCA facility. He declared that "the two greatest factors in developing the life of a boy were the church and public school, but neither of these offered that which can be obtained by an organization like the YMCA." Until the completion of the YMCA facility, New Castle had to get by with a substitute organization simply called the Young Men's Association (YMA). But Judge Williams warned New Castle that the YMA must develop into a real YMCA soon, or boys would become corrupted beyond repair by such vices as picture shows and gambling. Williams went on to say that due to modernity's influence, young men had lost their "reverence and profound respect for the old."[29] New Castle finally dedicated its new YMCA facility that included a 3,000-seat gymnasium in 1921.

Once established, the YMCA emerged as the primary institution to restore a morally conservative social order. Though open to young women, this reform movement focused most of its attention on boys. As evidenced by Muncie's 1916 initiative to start a YWCA, socializing young women was considered important, just not as important as the need to instill Christian morals into young men. This impulse developed from a perception at the time that men, not women, were more at risk in the face of modernity's influences.[30] After all, mostly working-class men patronized the local saloons targeted by the prohibition movement. In addition, the new industrial social order of Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle had in effect removed the influence of male role models from the home, school, voluntary associations, and church, a fact believed to negatively effect the maturation of young men moreso than young

women. With the decline of male supervision in these various social institutions, reformers worried about the possible feminization of young men, a national trend believed to extend back into the Victorian Era of the nineteenth century.[31] Also, young men now looked forward to entering an urban-industrial workforce that encouraged soft living and salaried dependence. This life stood in stark contrast to the manly independence presumably developed on the frontier.

More than just a refuge, the YMCA became a place where a particular brand of masculinity could be instilled in young men. YMCA directors, like Muncie's Pettijohn, taught boys to be strong, muscular Christians. Reformers within the YMCA worried that the young men of the city no longer developed the toughness, strength, and discipline once learned on the farm. Therefore, during the late nineteenth-century leading character-builders, such as Luther H. Gulick and James Naismith of the Springfield, Massachusetts YMCA School for Christian Workers, promoted organized calisthenics, gymnastics, and sport to take the place of work in demanding disciplined effort of young men. As traditional social restraints seemed to evaporate in the burgeoning city, organized strenuous activity served as an "effective surrogate for the lost rural experience."[32]

Character-building organizations like the Boy Scouts of America and YMCA appealed mostly to those native-born American families that had recently moved from the farm to urban areas, one reason why these reform-minded institutions did so well in Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle. In the context of the city,

historian David I. Macleod contends, "fathers did not wield the same overriding authority as the farmer-taskmasters." Without this sort of oversight, character builders became concerned with the "raffish promiscuity and fragmentation of urban life." Just like immigrants in eastern cities, native-born Americans moving off the farm experienced the disorienting effect of the city. YMCAs offered "little islands of propriety" for those transplanted from rural to urban areas, providing refuge from the cities' strangeness and offering Protestant religiosity and sheltered sociability to young men. In short, the YMCA supplied a counter to urban disorder by restoring the moral order of the small community.[33]

As evidenced by relatively large memberships, YMCAs were particularly successful in communities like Anderson, Muncie, New Castle, and other small to medium-sized cities that dotted the rural landscape of Indiana at the turn of the century. While the diversity of larger cities placed limits on attempts by social reformers to regulate the activities of youth, the small to medium-sized and relatively homogeneous cities of Indiana offered both a substantial number of young people and a cohesive civic leadership of boosters, councilmen, school officials, and clergy. While these three communities experienced a tremendous influx of people from 1890 to 1920, their populations remained ninety to ninety-five percent white, native-born, and Protestant.[34] This shared ethnic and religious identity between agents of social control and the working class made it easier for the YMCA to "coordinate the religious, intellectual, social and physical life of the community."[35] Reformers did not have to contend with a population fragmented by

race, ethnicity, or religious differences. One such social reformer, William B. Forbush, recognized the advantage these medium-sized communities offered:

> If it be true, as I think it is, that the places in America in which it is most desirable to live are the large towns and small cities, one great reason why this is so is because it is possible in such places to coordinate the religious, intellectual, social and physical life of the community....[36]

By the end of the nineteenth century, the YMCA had become the institution most actively expressing the tenets of "muscular Christianity".[37] YMCAs throughout the country used classes in physical culture to supplement and attract young men to their more traditional Bible classes. Gulick particularly believed gymnastics and team sports had a spiritual as well as hygienic value. Gulick characterized Christ as forceful and dynamic, the first muscular Christian, rather than meek or gentle, traits traditionally considered feminine.

Gulick's philosophy developed not only from a fear of the new social, cultural, and economic order of the late nineteenth century, but also from a desire to wed social Darwinism to religious experience. Influenced by nineteenth-century religious psychologists and philosophers like G. Stanley Hall and William James, Gulick and other character builders believed adolescence to be almost exclusively the time of religious experience. Adolescence always represented the physical transition from childhood to adulthood. If this stage of life was naturally religious, it followed that in order to reach full maturity one must go through a religious experience. This philosophy created a symbiotic relationship

between religious experience and physical development. One could not fully evolve without the development of the other. Because of this relationship it made sense to encourage young men to become both spiritually and physically fit.[38]

The introduction of exercise and play into the YMCA curriculum caused a boom in memberships throughout the country. By 1892 YMCA membership had grown to almost a quarter of a million with 348 gymnasiums and 144 full-time physical directors.[39] Basketball, a new game invented by Naismith while working at the School for Christian Workers in Springfield, Massachusetts in December, 1891, became a major force in this use of play to attract more young men to the movement.

Representative of basketball's influence on the YMCA, Muncie's association experienced a boom at the same time the game became an important part of its social reform efforts. From 1914 to 1925, the years director Pettijohn linked weekly basketball games with weekly Bible classes, the association witnessed enormous growth. It won first place in national competitions for the highest number of diplomas awarded for successful completion of Bible study courses for nine of those eleven years.[40] In 1915, for example, the boys' department of the Muncie YMCA proudly announced a membership of 565 boys in their early teens. Attendance in Bible classes for just the month of October, 1915 totaled 1,519 young men.[41] By early 1916 Muncie claimed the second largest YMCA membership in the state, behind only the association in the much larger Indianapolis.[42] Four years later the YMCA's weekly Bible classes had an average weekly attendance of 699 young men. Probably more than mere

coincidence, attendance at the weekly Bible class basketball league recorded an almost identical 675 boys.[43] Pettijohn reported that 266 young men used the YMCA's facilities each day during 1920. By the time the Lynds came to town in 1924, 118,117 boys had participated in some activity at the YMCA during the course of that year. The Lynds noted that the YMCA director was chosen for his ability to draw the young people, "chiefly through athletics," to membership in the association. At one Bible class the Lynds attended, the teacher devoted five of the twenty minutes to teaching the Bible and the remaining fifteen minutes to athletic talk.[44]

Naismith invented basketball as an indoor game for young men at the Springfield School for Christian Workers to play during the winter. Going beyond mere calisthenics and gymnastics, Naismith aimed to create a game that appealed to young men's "play instinct." Though Naismith, a graduate of Montreal's McGill University in 1887, thought rugby the most exciting outdoor game, he believed that tackling involved too much physical contact for indoor sport. He began constructing a game that took elements from various outdoor sports, eliminating aspects of those games that did not work in the context of a confined space. He concluded that most popular outdoor sports used a ball, but in games like rugby and football, players ran with the ball in order to advance it toward the goal. Because this game would be played inside, Naismith needed to create a different method of advancing the ball and scoring in order to eliminate too physical of play. He concluded that the tackling inherent in these games could be abolished if the ball were advanced by passing instead of running. Also, in the interest of avoiding rough play, he

rejected scoring on or in ground-level goals, such as those in hockey, lacrosse, soccer, and football. He reasoned that if the goal in his new game was vertical, finesse rather than force would be required. In addition, if the goal were above the player's heads, defenders could not gather around the goal to prevent scoring.

With these fundamental principles in place, Naismith nailed two peach baskets onto the lower rail of the balcony around the gym at the Springfield YMCA. By chance the height of the rail over the gym floor was ten feet, the regulation height of the basket still today. Armed with thirteen simple rules, Naismith tried to direct the unruly behavior of a group of "incorrigible" young men training at the Springfield YMCA School for Christian Workers by playing the first game of basketball in December, 1891.[45] This game consisted of nine players on each team, but at any given time half of these players were relegated to a penalty box, similar to that in hockey, for committing rule infractions. The game gained immediate popularity among those at the Springfield YMCA, and within a couple of weeks of the first game 200 people lined the gallery for daily noon-hour games.

In a January 15, 1892 edition of the school's newspaper, *The Triangle*, that went to other YMCAs around the country, Naismith announced the creation of this new game in an article entitled "Basket Ball." Though in his description of the game the number of participants could vary, Naismith believed nine players on each side was ideal. This, he contended, would allow for three defenders, three center men, and three offensive men. By 1893 the official YMCA rules suggested that teams consist of five men when the gym

was small, nine when it was large. In 1897 the number became permanently set at five players per team. Besides determining the number of players, within five years of its invention the YMCA introduced an official ball, backboards for behind the basket, and free throws as penalties for fouling. Because of *The Triangle* article and the missionary work of the men graduating from the Springfield School for Christian Workers, the new game of basketball spread quickly throughout YMCA gymnasiums around the country. In these gymnasiums the potential of this game immediately became apparent. Basketball began attracting new members to YMCAs and enhanced interest in the wider work of the local association. An article in *Physical Education* in the summer of 1894 stated that basketball had become the best tool in "maintaining the interest of the members" of YMCAs.[46]

Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle did not have adequate YMCA gymnasiums at the time basketball first captured the imagination of association directors and members. This limited the opportunity to play basketball in these cities during the early years of the game. In the 1890s New Castle remained a small, rural county seat, while Anderson and Muncie were still in the very early stages of industrialization. Without a large contingent of young people living in an urban environment, the need for a large YMCA facility in these communities had not yet become apparent. However, basketball did find its way into the state's YMCA system by the mid-1890s. Though it is uncertain when the first game was played in Indiana, it is believed the Reverend Nicholas C. McKay, a Presbyterian minister and Naismith's former student in Springfield, introduced it to the

Crawfordsville, Indiana YMCA in the 1890s and began promoting the game as part of the association's physical education program. The Crawfordsville and Lafayette YMCA teams played the first officially recorded game in Indiana on March 16, 1894.[47]

It is less certain when young men began playing basketball in Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle. There is some evidence that in Anderson, at least, young men started playing the game in 1897 in a make-shift gymnasium on the second floor above the Rawlings-Haynes Department Store.[48] But the game did not become integrated with the organized effort to socialize the youth of these communities under the tenets of muscular Christianity until Anderson and Muncie's second-wave and New Castle's first-wave of industrialization between 1905 and 1920, the time each city waged campaigns to construct state-of-the-art YMCA facilities.

Shortly after introducing basketball to young men, YMCA physical directors around Indiana began developing teams to compete against associations from other towns. Even in the case of New Castle, which did not have an official YMCA facility with a regulation gymnasium until 1921, the local association organized teams to compete in state-wide YMCA basketball leagues and tournaments. During the winter months from 1910 to the 1920s, YMCA basketball games received prominent coverage in the daily press of Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle. In fact, until about 1916 the local YMCA basketball team received as much, if not more, attention in the papers than the local high school team. After high school basketball eventually replaced YMCA basketball in the hearts

and minds of fans around the state, YMCA junior leagues maintained their prominence as a farm system for the high school team.[49]

Just because YMCA basketball gained popularity in these communities does not mean players and spectators passively accepted the proscriptive goals of the social reformers. As the Lynd's observations suggest, the YMCA's success depended more on the fun of basketball than the moral and social lessons the game offered. Talk of basketball, and not the Bible, dominated the conversation even at 'Y' Bible classes.[50] Though YMCA directors from its inception linked basketball to godly principles, the focus on basketball in these Bible classes indicated a passion for play over scripture among the rank-and-file members.

YMCA league games acted as the forerunner to Indiana high school basketball by teaching young men how to play the game and introducing Indiana towns and cities to its potential as mass entertainment. Just as young men did not play basketball in order to hear Bible stories, spectators did not watch the games merely to witness paragons of Christian morality. They came to observe and join in the excitement of this new, fast-paced, physical, and competitive sport. Inside the gymnasiums of YMCAs across Indiana, players and spectators from the working class were given their first opportunity to influence the cultural meanings of basketball, a game meant to promote the conservative Christian and capitalist values of Progressive Era reformers and businessmen,

At the same time, those values of teamwork, commitment, self-sacrifice, and discipline social reformers meant to teach through basketball were not necessarily rejected by the players and

spectators. Because basketball came to these communities as a part of a Progressive Era Christian reform movement, many of the values embedded in its production continued to find expression in the playing and watching of the games. These values remained an important part of basketball in Indiana even after it made the transition from the YMCA to the high school.

Chapter Two Notes

[1]Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977), 192.

[2]*New Castle Daily Courier*, March 13, 1915, 1.

[3]*Muncie Evening Press,* December 13, 1912, 1.

[4]See Peter Levine, *Ellis Island to Ebbets Field: Sport and the American Jewish Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 11-25; Donald Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1983); T. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York, 1982); Daniel T. Rodgers, *The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850-1920* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978).

[5]Philip R. VanderMeer, *The Hoosier Politican: Officeholding and Political Culture in Indiana, 1896-1920* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press,1985)18-19, 105-106.

[6]Dwight W. Hoover, "Mayor Bunch and the Sporting Life in Middletown," *Traces of Indiana and Midwestern History,* Vol. 2 No. 1 (Winter, 1990): 4-15.

[7]VanderMeer, 99, 102,107.

[8]Hoover, 4-15.

[9]*New Castle Daily Courier*, February 13, 1913, 1.

[10]Ibid., April 1, 1913, 1.

[11]Ibid., March 15, 1913, 1.

[12]Rosenzweig, 36.

[13]*Muncie Morning Star*, March 3, 1916, 1.

[14]Hoover,15.

[15]See Ibid., 4-15 for a review of Mayor Bunch's rise and fall in Muncie politics.

[16]*The Muncie Evening Press*, December 13, 1912, 1.

[17]*Muncie Evening Press*, January 8, 1917, 1.

[18]Ibid., 191-192. See Newell L. Sims, "A Hoosier Village: A Sociological Study With Special Reference to Causation," *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law,* 117 (New York, 1912), 113-115. Sims sociological study of an Indiana village in 1912 showed that in 1863 only 14 percent of the social events reported in the local paper were sponsored by churhes. In contrast, 70 percent of social events in that village were sponsored by churches in 1910.

[19]"The Early YMCA - 1893-1944," *History of Anderson Family YMCA: 1893-1993* (Anderson, Indiana: 1993).

[20]Benjamin G. Rader, *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1983), 146.

[21]See Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977), 192 and Richard Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest: Social Conflict, 1888-1896* (Chicago, 1971), chapter 7 for a discussion of the perceived differences in the cultural and moral values of small towns and large cities during the Gilded Age. Both also discuss the movements that emerged to challenge the negative influence of the city.

[22]*Muncie Evening Press*, December 9, 1911, 1.

[23]*Young Men's Christian Association, 1893-1944* (Anderson, Indiana, 1944), 9.

[24]*A Civic Movement to Meet a Civic Need: Two-Hundred Men Make a Proposition* (Anderson, Indiana: 1917) 1-6.

[25]*Muncie Morning Star*, March 10, 1918, 4.

[26]*The Anderson Herald*, March 2, 1918, 1.

[27]"The Early YMCA - 1893-1944," *History of Anderson Family YMCA: 1893-1993*, 17-18.

[28]*Muncie Evening Press*, March 11, 1921, 9.

[29]*New Castle Courier*, February 18, 1918, 1.

[30]*New Castle Daily Courier*, March 13, 1915, 1.

[31]See Ann Douglas, *Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977).

[32]Rader, 149.

[33]David I. Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 6-10.

[34]In 1920 Anderson and Muncie, both twice the size of New Castle, still had populations comprised of 92 to 94 percent white, native-born and Protestant. See *Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1920* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 316.

[35]William B. Forbush, *The Boy Problem: A Study in Social Pedagogy* (Philadelphia, 1902), 73. See also Macleod, who argues that in small towns and cities the dominate middle class felt threatened by big city culture. As a result, adults tried harder to keep their young people loyal to the values of the town.

[36]Forbush, 73. Kett also provides an argument for how the demographics of small to medium-sized cities offered the best environment for organizations like the YMCA to flourish.

[37]The term "muscular Christianity" was first coined by the British author and editor Leslie Stephens during the Victorian Era to derisively refer to English cleric and novelist, Charles Kingsley, who walked and rowed great distances for his health.

[38]See Kett, 202-205, G. Stanley Hall, "The Moral and Religious Training of Children," *Princeton Review* 10 (January, 1882): 26-48;

Hall, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education,* 2 vols. (New York, 1905); and Dorothy Ross, *G. Stanley Hall: The Psychologist As Prophet* (Chicago: 1972), 334-335, 416-418.

[39]Ibid, 151-152.

[40]Hoover, 81.

[41]*Muncie Morning Star*, November 7, 1915, 1.

[42]Ibid., February 13, 1916, 1.

[43]Ibid., January 13, 1920, 5.

[44]Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in American Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1929) 354, 396-97.

[45]The original rules of basketball, as listed in Naismith, *Basketball: Its Origin and Development* (New York: Associated Press, 1941), 53-55, were as follows:

The ball to be an ordinary *Association* football.

1) The ball may be thrown in any direction with one or both hands.

2) The ball may be batted in any direction with one or both hands (never with the fist)

3) A player cannot run with the ball. The player must throw it from the spot on which he catches it; allowance to be made fro a man who catches the ball when running at a good speed.

4) The ball must be held in or between the hands; the arms or body must not be used for holding it.

5) No shouldering, holding, pushing, tripping, or striking, in any way the person of an opponent shall be allowed; the first infringement of this rule by any person shall count as a foul, the second shall disqualify him until the next goal is made, or, if there was evident intent to injure the person for the whole of the game, no substitute allowed.

6) A foul is striking at the ball with the fist, violation of Rules 3,4, and such as described in Rule 5.

7) If either side makes three consecutive fouls, it shall count a goal for the opponents. (Consecutive means without the opponents in the meantime making a foul.)

8) A goal shall be made when the ball is thrown or batted from the grounds into the basket and stays there, providing those defending the goal do not touch or disturb the goal. If the ball rests on the edge and the opponent moves the basket, it shall count as a goal.
9) When the ball goes out of bounds, it shall be thrown into the field and played by the person first touching it. In case of a dispute, the umpire shall throw it straight into the field. The thrower-in is allowed five seconds. If he holds it longer it shall go to the opponent. If any side persists in delaying the game, the umpire shall call a foul on them.
10) The umpire shall be judge of the men and shall note the fouls and notify the referee when three consecutive fouls have been made. He shall have power to disqualify men according to Rule 5.
11) The referee shall be judge of the ball and shall decide when the ball is in play, in bounds, to which side it belongs, and shall keep the time. He shall decide when a goal has been made, and keep account of the goals, with any other duties that are usually performed by a referee.
12) The time shall be two fifteen minute halves, with five minutes rest between.
13) The side making the most goals in that time shall be declared the winners. In case of a draw, the game may, by agreement of the captains, be continued until another goal is made.

[46]For more information regarding the origins of basketball, see Naismith and Robert W. Peterson, *Cages To Jump Shots: Pro Basketball's Early Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990) 15-31.

[47]Herb Schwomeyer, *Hoosier Hysteria: A History of Indiana High School Boys Basketball* (Greenfield, IN: Mitchell-Fleming Printing, Inc., 1970) 5-6.

[48]"The Early History of the YMCA - 1893-1944," *History of Anderson YMCA: 1893-1993*, 9.

[49]On the sports pages of the daily newspapers in Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle, the YMCA league games garnered as much if not more attention than high school games until the mid-1910s. Even as late as the 1915-16 season, *The Muncie Evening Press* would routinely feature the YMCA team rather than the high school team as

the top sports story. See the November 20, 1915, January 8, 1916, and February 5, 1916 editions as illustrations. The *Anderson Herald*, *Muncie Morning Star*, and *New Castle Daily Courier* likewise often gave the YMCA league games as much if not more coverage during the early years of Indiana high school basketball. In New Castle many of the YMCA games were played as a double-header with the high school game. See *New Castle Daily Courier*, January 31, 1913, 7.

[50]Lynds, 396-397.

CHAPTER THREE

Creating the Virtuous and Productive Citizen: Basketball and the Public Schools

Christian reformers, businessmen, and Protestant clergy were not alone in giving moral instruction to young people forced to grow up in an urban-industrial world. Public educators too worried about how the new economic and social order affected the moral development of children. Just before the turn of the twentieth century the Anderson Public Schools went so far as to develop a curriculum for "moral instruction." In it the school system set out a "course of study" aimed to teach specific virtues to students from first grade to high school graduation. These moral lessons grew out of a concern that "many children receive(d) little or no moral training at home, they attend(ed) neither church nor Sunday School, therefore, if they receive(d) moral instruction at all it must be in the public schools." The teachers were to instruct students in first grade, for example, the virtues of obedience, kindness, and unselfishness. Meanwhile a student in fifth grade learned industry and "its necessity, its benefits and rewards," promptness, and "economy and its relation to getting on in the world." By high school teachers and students concentrated on the necessity of "duty to family, duty to society, duty to state, duty to self and duty to God."[1]

Like the Christian reformers, public educators believed moral instruction helped young people get along in and positively contribute to society. Adopting some of the same principles promulgated by YMCA social workers at the end of the nineteenth century, educators believed physical education and participation in sports like basketball taught lessons in public virtue. In a 1919 law requiring physical education courses in Indiana public schools, the General Assembly defined the aim and purpose of such classes as the promotion of "the more desirable moral and social qualities, such as an appreciation of the value of cooperation under leadership, self-subordination, obedience to authority, higher ideals, courage, self-reliance, disciplined initiative, (and) self control."[2]

Physical education had already become an important part of public schools' pedagogy during the nineteenth century. Throughout the country elementary and high schools developed physical education programs about the same time YMCAs utilized calisthenics, gymnastics, and sport as a part of its social reform program. In some parts of the country regularized systems of physical education were introduced into the public school system as early as the 1880s. In Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle, however, such programs did not become popular until around the turn of the twentieth century. Especially as a greater number of children from all social classes began attending high schools in these communities, educators employed physical education to offer lessons in social discipline.

Developed in the mid-nineteenth century, the high school remained until the twentieth century a middle-class institution that

prepared youth for white-collar jobs. The demand for high schools grew slowly. As late as 1890 there were only 200,000 secondary students in the entire country. During the last decade of the nineteenth century and first decade of the twentieth century, however, public high schools in the United States witnessed a 711 percent gain in enrollment. Though still predominantly a middle-class institution, by the end of World War I attendance in high schools across the nation had reached 1.6 million. Many boys and girls from lower-class families still had to quit school after eighth grade in order to start work, but as the 1920s progressed and compulsory school laws became enforced, secondary schools throughout the nation became more democratic as 75 percent of all high-school-aged students attended.[3]

The Lynds noted this trend towards students staying in school longer in Muncie by pointing out that the city's population had increased three-and-one-half fold from 1890 to 1924 while the number of students graduating from high school had grown nineteen fold. During the school year of 1889-90 there were 170 pupils in the local high school, whereas by 1923-24 there were 1,849 pupils. By the 1920s most of Muncie's children extended their education past elementary school and into grades nine to twelve.

The high school, though common among those growing up in the business class for some time, for the first time emerged as a symbol of hope and progress for those in the working class. The Lynds explained:

> If education is often times taken for granted by the business class, it is no exaggeration to say that it evokes the fervor of

> a religion, a means of salvation, among a large section of the working class. Add to this the further fact... that the high school has become the hub of the social life of the young in Middletown, and it is not surprising that high school attendance is almost as common today as it was rare a generation ago.[4]

New Castle's Commercial Club, in a 1915 promotional, also recognized that working class parents were beginning to view secondary education as a means to a brighter economic future for their children.[5] Because of this belief and new compulsory school laws, like Muncie, the New Castle schools witnessed steady growth during the first two decades of the twentieth century. By 1925, with a population of just over 15,000, New Castle could claim nearly 6,000 students attending its area schools. This number of enrolled students is significant considering only thirty years earlier New Castle's entire population only totaled 2,697.[6]

Anderson experienced similar increases in the enrollment at its local high school. In 1889 Anderson reported only twenty-one graduates from its high school. Because of the growing demand for secondary education, the city opened a new high school building the following year. By 1898 the high school had to move once again into an even larger building. Yet another high school was built in 1910 at the cost of $200,000 to accommodate the steady increase in enrollment. By the 1906-07 school year, Anderson High School had a total enrollment of 522 students, and from 1915 to 1922 the high school experienced another seventy-five percent growth in attendance. The high school built in 1910 could accommodate eight hundred pupils; however, by the Fall of 1923 over thirteen hundred students attended, forcing the school to hold two half-day sessions.[7]

Educators met this democratization of secondary education with a pedagogy that aimed to prepare young people for jobs in the industrialized economy. During the early decades of the twentieth century tracking students into a diversified curriculum of academic, commercial, and vocational programs replaced the traditional justification for secondary education.[8]

Educators instituted a change in curriculum that aimed to select and train students from various economic and social backgrounds for different occupations. This philosophy embraced both the democratization of secondary education and the dominance of the modern corporation with its accompanying fragmentation of work roles. Tracking and diversification of public education did little to change the social structure of the emerging urban-industrial culture; it rather mirrored and even furthered the divisions in social class that accompanied the new order. Deciding which students followed a vocational oriented curriculum was largely based on, in what the United States Bureau of Education called, "social heredity and destinies in life."[9] Children coming from a working class family most likely followed an educational program that prepared them to work in a factory.

This vocational impulse in secondary education was felt in the east-central region of Indiana. The Lynds noted that this change in curriculum in Muncie concentrated on the development of "knowledge and skill useful in sewing, cooking and using tools about the home for the girls, and, for the boys, an introductory acquaintance with some of the manual skills by which the working class members get their living." The Lynds recognized that high schools were "caught

less firmly than the elementary school in the cake of tradition and now forced to train children from a group not heretofore reached" had to consequently be more adaptable than the primary schools. The most dramatic departure from the "traditional dignified conception of what constitute[d] education" could be witnessed in the proliferation of classes that sought to "train for specific tool and skill activities in factory, office, and home." As the president of the Muncie's School Board said in 1924, "For a long time all boys were trained to be President. Then for a while we trained them all to be professional men. Now we are training boys to get jobs."[10]

As high school changed from an elite to a normative experience, extracurricular activities were introduced as tools to prepare adolescents of different social classes to participate fully in an industrial society. The social and educational values of school sports after 1900 reflected these main currents in school reform during the Progressive Era. Educators embraced athletics as an activity through which students could practice the sort of social cooperation necessary in a corporate industrial society. Organized team sports like football and basketball offered a highly rationalized form of competition. Participants competed according to firmly established procedures. Winning required teamwork and acceptance of one's assignment from a coach. This meant that cooperation for some team members even included acceptance of the notion that for the good of the team they might not even get to play. In this manner team sports emphasized a corporate form of competition that paralleled the economic order these youngsters soon faced.[11]

The reform efforts of the YMCA, not to mention the settlement houses, Young Men's Hebrew Association, Educational Alliance, and Playground Movement in cities out East during the late-nineteenth century acted as a forerunner to this pedagogical shift in the public schools. Luther H. Gulick embodied these efforts and their influence on the philosophy of the public school's physical education programs. Instrumental in developing athletics and team sports in the evangelical and reform efforts of the YMCA at the Springfield, Massachusetts School for Christian Workers at the end of the nineteenth century, Gulick later founded the New York Public Schools' Athletic League (PSAL) in 1903. Gulick sold the concept of regulating interscholastic competition between New York City schools to the board of education on the basis that properly supervised team sports could improve the city's terrible slum conditions. Gulick's biological theory of play assumed that the negative effects of a bad environment could be at least partially remedied through the ameliorative functions of sport. In Gulick's words, athletics offered a way to "develop the idea of corporate, of inter-institutional morality - that which represents the individuals but includes them as a whole..."[12]

Just as Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle struggled to find that middle ground between their agrarian past and industrial-urban future, Gulick sought to balance the rugged individualism associated with America's rural past with the new corporate morality of the early twentieth century. Team sports became an ideal way to strike this balance. Sports like football and basketball placed the values of competition and the pursuit of victory in the context of social

cooperation. Instead of the rugged individualist, these sports championed the value of the team player. Success in team sports could only be attained by accepting common notions of fairness, merit, and opportunity. Consequently, educators trying to promote these values in the newly diversified high schools embraced athletics as an opportunity for students to practice the virtues taught in the classroom.[13] In addition, many educators believed athletics could help city boys build the sort of hard, rugged, and muscular bodies that country boys once developed through chores on the farm. Adopting the tenets of muscular Christianity, school board members like General George W. Wingate of the New York City public schools believed that physical strength was a necessary component of masculinity and success in the business world.[14]

Employing these educational goals, newly established leagues and state associations around the country at the turn of the century sought to regulate and standardize interscholastic competition. Though not as large as Gulick's PSAL in New York City, in April, 1903, a group of Indiana high school principals met in Richmond, Indiana to discuss the organization of state high schools into a single association for controlling athletic competition between schools. Referred to as the "Richmond Agreement," the rules and regulations agreed upon at this meeting paved the way for the formation of the Indiana High School Athletic Association (IHSAA). Though other associations in Indiana had previously been formed to regulate interscholastic sport competition, the IHSAA in 1903 was the first state-wide athletic association. Though only fifteen schools initially joined, by the end of 1904 seventy-one high schools

throughout the state had become members of the IHSAA. The association experienced exponential growth over the course of the next two decades, expanding to over seven hundred members by the mid-1920s.[15]

Originally the IHSAA developed its rules and regulations around two major sports, track and field and football. Football's popularity in Indiana at the turn of the century proved to be short-lived as fear that the game was too dangerous for adolescent boys increased. Not helping to alleviate these fears, in 1908 an Indiana high school and collegiate football player both suffered fatal injuries while playing. The 1909 minutes of the IHSAA Board of Control reported that football had "fallen into disfavor around the state because... the game [was] too strenuous for boys of high school age, that it [had] become so specialized that it [had] lost all its spontaneity as a form of recreation, and that it require[d] more than a justifiable amount of skilled coaching." The combination of the high cost to field a team and the decline in spectator interest around the state made football unprofitable. In contrast, the low cost of track and the increasingly popular sport of basketball proved more profitable and appealing to students. By World War I football had nearly ceased as a school sport in Indiana. The decline of football during the decade before the war corresponded with the emergence of basketball as the main team sport subject to regulation by the IHSAA.[16]

Some high schools had formed basketball teams within a decade of the game's introduction to the state's YMCA system. The earliest recorded game between high schools was in 1901 between

Crawfordsville High School, home of the YMCA that introduced basketball to Indiana, and Shortridge High School of Indianapolis. Undoubtedly helped by their early introduction to the game, Crawfordsville took two games from Shortridge and claimed the mythical state championship. Interested in the social skills of teamwork, discipline, and hard work it developed, several high schools around the state employed the game as a part of their physical education program for both boys and girls. Schools, however, only developed boys' teams to compete against other schools. From the start, girls were relegated to intramural competition.

As the number of high school basketball teams increased and competition between local schools started to claim the public's interest, demand grew for an officially sanctioned IHSAA state tournament. During the first decade of the twentieth century the IHSAA refused to sanction such a tournament, concerned that such intense competition only encouraged a win-at-all-cost mentality. However, the IHSAA in 1910 did not publicly oppose Indiana University's initiative to hold a state-wide tournament on its campus in Bloomington, Indiana. The Indiana University Booster Club created the tournament to help recruit players to the school. The tournament divided the state into Congressional Districts and chose one team from each district to participate. The IHSAA, while not objecting to the tournament, never officially participated in the organization of the event. Faced with the threat of diminished authority in regulating interscholastic competition and concerned with questions that arose regarding the process of selecting teams

and the eligibility of certain players, the IHSAA stepped in the following year to officially sponsor the tournament. After receiving input from all the high schools with basketball teams, the IHSAA sanctioned its first state basketball tournament in 1911.[17]

The emergence of high school basketball in the state of Indiana created an uneasy alliance between the YMCA and IHSAA. The YMCA, as the original promoter of the game, still wanted to use basketball as a means to draw young men into its fold. But the IHSAA wanted high school athletes, particularly basketball players, to play exclusively for the high school team. The IHSAA wanted to make sure that public schools, and not the YMCA, were the primary institutions that provided physical education for the youth of the community. Once educators adopted physical education as an important element in the education of young people, they acted to become the exclusive disseminators of it.

This move for control exemplified the professionalization of education during the Progressive Era. As Arthur L. Trester, General Secretary of the IHSAA, said:

> The high school is the institution that is supported by public taxation for all boys and all girls. It is the permanent institution in the community and is entirely responsible in a legal way.... The rules and regulations of the high school regarding athletic activities should be observed by other organizations in the community as society has set aside a part of itself called the school to do for society what it cannot do for itself.[18]

Trester, a former math teacher in Alexandria, Indiana and Superintendent of Schools in Martinsville, Indiana until 1916, expressed the common view amongst public educators during the

Progressive Era that schools were the one institution that served the needs of all young people. The non-sectarian nature of this public institution presumably guaranteed a democratic quality to the education administered within its walls, unlike the YMCA that exclusively served the interests only of those that were willing to join.

In 1911 the IHSAA Board of Control added Rule 7 to the association's constitution that stated if "any member of a high school athletic team... participates in an athletic contest as a member of any other similar team the same season, [he] shall be ineligible to compete under these rules for the remainder of that season." The rule in effect squeezed out the competition from the YMCA basketball leagues. However, because many high schools did not yet have gymnasiums, the board made an exception for those towns and cities "whose students are forced by necessity to use a YMCA, or some other gymnasium, for their practice games." The rule went on to state that "it is a well known fact that the use of such gymnasiums by high school students under such circumstances will likely require that such students play on the teams of the organizations maintaining such gymnasiums."[19] Otherwise, the IHSAA restricted high school basketball players to play only for the high school team during the basketball season.

Yet Trester still worried about the YMCA and its efforts to organize rival basketball leagues. He wrote that the public school had to deal with "the large problem of the outside agencies and out-of-school activities that are found in a more or less degree in all

school communities. Chief among these in cities is the YMCA and YWCA."[20]

Besides the goal of seizing control of athletics, the IHSAA also limited players' participation in different leagues because of a concern that young men were placing too much importance on sports. During the early years of the IHSAA, the Board of Control stood steadfastly behind the ideal that sports, though an important part of the general physical education program of the public schools, should remain merely a means to a larger end. Ultimately participation in athletics served to build, in Trester's words, "moral stamina" in those that participated. This amounted to instilling "self-control, courage, honesty, unselfishness and loyalty" in young people. In addition, team sports taught "the ability to get along with others, to play with others, to work with others and to be a member of a group, a community, a state or a nation."[21] It was a real concern of educators at this time that sports like basketball might be viewed as an end in themselves instead of as a means to these broader social goals. Discouraging athletes from playing on teams for other organizations presumably helped young people put games like basketball into their proper perspective.

As spectators started to attend the games in relatively large numbers, educators became even more aware of the dangers inherent in organized athletics.[22] J.T. Giles of Marion, the new President of the IHSAA Board of Control in 1912, worried about the effects the new emphasis on sports, particularly basketball, had on the players. Giles went as far as decrying the new practice of hiring faculty for the primary purpose of coaching athletics. He believed this

represented an unhealthy amount of attention on a small segment of the school's population and sent the wrong message to players and students. In his first statement as president, he stated that:

> The members of the team are usually over-trained from the standpoint of hygiene, and the hero worship accorded them is not in proportion to the intrinsic value of their achievement. It creates an erroneous standard of values... we believe that the natural evils of organized athletics, such as the exclusion of those individuals who need it most from participation, the over indulgence and over specialization of those who do participate, the danger of injury through accident and of bad manners in play, are increased and exaggerated by the prevalent high school system where teacher coaches are employed, representative teams are trained, intense school rivalry encouraged and the players permitted to win at any cost.[23]

The IHSAA, in the tradition of the YMCA and PSAL, tried to control and direct high school athletics so that they might serve as a way to achieve broader social and educational goals. Therefore, during the early years of its existence, the association's Board of Control struggled to maintain the integrity and educational purposes of the games while trying to eliminate potential drawbacks and abuses. For the first few years after the IHSAA sanctioned the state basketball tournament, the Board of Control achieved this goal by following Giles' advice and restricting schools from hiring coaches for any high school athletic team. In 1913 an amendment was added to the IHSAA constitution that stated "paid coaches, other than those regularly employed as teachers by the trustees of the school, are prohibited." The amendment defined paid coaches as any person who received, either directly or indirectly, "remuneration of any kind, money, traveling expenses, gifts, etc., in return for services

rendered in instructing or coaching any high school athletic team."[24] Like the restriction on players playing for other teams, this amendment aimed to limit the emphasis school districts could place on athletic events.

As the popularity of basketball spread rapidly throughout the state, the IHSAA fought a losing battle. In 1914 a total of 77 teams competed for invitations to the state finals in Bloomington, up from 37 teams the previous year. This growth continued for the next several years. During the 1914-15 season 155 high school basketball teams competed for the championship, prompting Trester, President of the IHSAA in 1913-14 and permanent General Secretary for the association as of 1915, to note that "enthusiasm and interest in the game and in the Association [has] spread all over the State."[25] The following year over 200 high school basketball teams vied for the championship. Joseph Shock of the Board of Control said, "the season culminated in district tournaments that were highly successful both as athletic carnivals of sport and pastime, and financially."[26] The Board's early efforts to keep control of the game were getting caught up in the state's mania over high school basketball. The educational goals of the game became blurred with their obvious commercial potential. As the IHSAA tried to maintain its earlier control, the tension between basketball as pedagogical instrument and basketball as product in the new mass culture increased.

***

By 1918 when Anderson High School made its first appearance in the state championship game, nearly 300 teams entered the

tournament to compete at twenty different sectional sites around the state.[27] Over 4,000 spectators jammed into Indiana University's gymnasium to watch Anderson play the defending champions, Lebanon High School. The *Anderson Herald* reported that during the closely contested game in which Lebanon won 24-20, the entire crowd stood on their feet "in a state of frenzied madness of excitement throughout the battle...."[28] Just five years later, Muncie High School made its first appearance in the state championship game. By then, over 600 teams competed at 48 different sectional sites in the hope of reaching the state finals now held at the Exposition Building at the Indiana State Fairgrounds in Indianapolis.[29] Playing in front of nearly 15,000 people, Muncie lost its first title game 27-18 to Vincennes High School. Muncie supporters that could not make the trip to Indianapolis gathered at the high school auditorium to listen to the radio play-by-play.[30]

In just over a decade of the Indiana high school basketball tournament, towns and cities like Anderson and Muncie had become completely wrapped up in the performance of their local high school basketball team. In a relatively short amount of time, high school basketball had caught the imagination of people around the state. As a result, more and more public pressure was placed on local school boards and the IHSAA to facilitate this increased interest in the games.

As the basketball tournament continued to gain popularity around the state, the IHSAA increasingly filled a dual role. The Board of Control tried to maintain the educational values promoted by basketball while at the same time trying to increase the financial

rewards of the state tournament. Consequently, the IHSAA advertised the games by making the case that the values taught by high school basketball could also be learned by spectators. Those watching the games too could learn the lessons of self-control, cooperation, sacrifice, and dedication from observing two teams demonstrate these values on the basketball court. Trester claimed that "provisions for spectators as well as participants is highly desirable as the educational values in moral, social and civic ways gained by having men, women and children in attendance at clean games and clean sport are very valuable to our citizenship."[31]

Educators working within local school systems and the IHSAA marketed the games by exploiting the parallel universe of meaning in which play, and basketball particularly, existed. Charged with symbolic significance, young men playing high school basketball, in Jackson Lears' words, "embodied an imaginative connection to the material world." Lears has noted that the emergence of a consumer culture early in the twentieth century contained "a new way of ordering the existing balance of tensions between control and release." While high school basketball offered people a release from the structure of industrial life, it also symbolically represented the dominant economic and social order.[32] As the first promoters of high school basketball as product for mass consumption, educators, consistent with the pedagogy of public education during the Progressive Era, effectively manipulated the impulse for release into an affirmation of values consistent with industrial capitalism.

The construction of high school gymnasiums around the state became a testament to the educator's effectiveness in wedding

larger educational goals with the popularity of basketball. By the 1920s the high school gymnasium became an important civic monument to towns and cities throughout the state. Connecting this popular team sport with the one local institution that apparently transcended sectarian and class divisions proved to be a powerful combination. Civic pride became inextricably linked with support for high school basketball.

These large coliseums being built in towns and cities around Indiana came to symbolize both the progress and cohesion of a community. Until 1920 most high schools did not have adequate facilities to house the growing interest in the games, so towns had to convert churches, Masonic halls, opera houses, livery stables, and barns into makeshift gymnasiums. Allegedly Swayzee, Indiana, a small town ten miles west of Marion and about thirty miles north of Anderson, constructed the first high school gymnasium exclusively for basketball in 1912. But very few high schools could boast of their own gymnasium with a standard-sized basketball court until the 1920s.

Because of this dearth of adequate facilities, the games were often played in buildings with low ceilings and various obstructions either on or near the court. Some gyms even had local rules that allowed players to bank shots off ceilings and walls while others had courts enclosed by chicken wire with no out-of-bounds lines. Most gyms built during this first decade of organized IHSAA basketball doubled as auditoriums. Other schools built separate barn-like structures for the sole purpose of facilitating basketball games. Most of the gyms built during these years, however, proved

to be inadequate for the growing popularity of the games. This prompted a flood of gym construction around the state during the 1920s.[33]

Frankfort, Indiana, home of the Hot Dogs, started an informal competition between towns for the biggest and best high school gymnasium. Howard Hall, completed in 1922 at a cost of $125,000, had a seating capacity of 3,500. Two years later Martinsville dedicated a high school gymnasium that sat 5,200, larger than the seating capacity of either the Indiana or Purdue University gymnasiums. Johnny Wooden, legendary coach at the University of California at Los Angeles in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s and former Purdue University All-American, guided the 1927 Martinsville Artesians to a state championship in this gym. After the construction of this gymnasium, communities around the state raced to build large monuments to symbolize their devotion to high school basketball. Boosters recruited local businesses and private citizens to donate and raise money to build a facility representative of the town's pride and progress.

The construction of the Vincennes High School gymnasium in 1926 typified how communities raised money to build a first-class facility. A group of boosters created the Vincennes Public School Athletic Association in an effort, as the local paper said, to "relieve Vincennes of its embarrassment in not having an auditorium of consequential size." One hundred twenty-eight local citizens, mostly businessmen, each assumed personal liability up to $1,000 for the cost of construction. A consortium of local banks in turn agreed to provide over $100,000 in loans. The Association entered

into a twenty-five year lease with the Vincennes school system that stipulated net proceeds from all events held in the gym would go to reimburse the bondholders. Once the bondholders were paid off, ownership of the gym would revert back to the school district. With a seating capacity of over 6,200, the Vincennes Coliseum had many unique and unusual features. The 414 theater-style seats for prominent boosters were the forerunner to today's luxury boxes. In addition, the gymnasium had a maple playing floor shipped in from northern Michigan and a $22,000 Wurlitzer pipe organ donated by the local Kiwanis Club. At the time the largest high school gymnasium in the country, IHSAA General Secretary Trester said at the dedication that the building symbolized Vincennes' community spirit. During the twenties and early thirties over 100 new high school gymnasiums were built throughout Indiana in similar fashion. In 1927, Trester estimated that the combined seating capacity for all high school gyms at the time totaled nearly one million, or approximately one-third of Indiana's entire population.[34]

Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle joined this mania over high school basketball. The civic leaders of Anderson and Muncie particularly got behind the efforts of their local high school basketball teams during the early years of the IHSAA-sanctioned tournament. Though Anderson High School had its own gymnasium during the first decade of the tournament, by the early 1920s it became apparent that the existing facility could no longer accommodate the demand to watch the games. As early as 1917 Anderson routinely filled the 1,000-seat gymnasium to capacity for each home game.[35] During the first decade of IHSAA basketball,

Anderson High School could actually claim one of the better athletic facilities in the state. As a result, Anderson began hosting the district's sectional tournament in 1915, a matter that did not sit well with Muncie boosters. Muncie believed that playing on their own floor provided Anderson with an unfair advantage. The intense rivalry between the two cities born from their fight for economic dominance in the region during the 1890s, manifested itself in this struggle for tournament home-court advantage.[36]

During the tournament each year a standing-room-only crowd well in excess of the 1,000 person capacity crammed into the Anderson gym. The first year Anderson hosted the tournament in 1915, it generated more revenue at the gate than any of the other sixteen sectional tournaments around the state. The IHSAA reported ticket sales at the Anderson sectional totaled $997.35 that year.[37] In 1916 Anderson placed second behind Martinsville, making $1,112.30 from ticket sales.[38] In 1918, the year after the state tournament expanded from sixteen to twenty sectional sites, Anderson was back on top, beating out Franklin and Martinsville with receipts totaling $1,621.61.[39] In 1918 the paper reported that a "full and overflowing" crowd of "enthusiasts from all parts of the district" filled the "spacious gymnasium" for that year's sectional tournament games.[40] The Anderson Indians beat Pendleton High School that year for the district championship and made it all the way to the state championship game against the defending champions, Lebanon High School. Giving a glimpse of the enthusiasm many had for high school basketball in Indiana, *The Anderson Herald* wrote, "sensationalism of the first magnitude is mild when

referring to the Anderson-Lebanon game which resulted in the 1917 state champions slipping into the preferred berth for another year."[41]

As the tournament continued to grow, so too did the number of sectionals. In 1917 New Castle earned the right to host its first sectional tournament; three years later Muncie also began hosting a sectional. With nearly six hundred teams competing in the tourney, the IHSAA in 1920 had to add a regional tournament after the sectional tournaments in order to reduce the number of teams qualifying for the state finals. Indiana and Purdue Universities hosted the regional tournaments while the IHSAA moved the state finals to the Exhibition Building at the State Fair grounds in Indianapolis.[42] By 1923 there were over six hundred high school basketball teams playing in forty-eight different sectional tournaments around the state.[43] This expansion sped up the race amongst communities throughout Indiana to construct bigger and better high school gymnasiums in order to win the honor of hosting a tournament. Anderson, proud of its tradition as a host of the most popular sectional tournament in the state, now had to compete with a number of other towns in the east-central region of Indiana to maintain its prominence and assure its future home-court advantage at the sectional tournament.

Anderson consequently joined the race early to build a facility specifically for high school basketball games. On February 1, 1922, the principal of Anderson High School, R.R. Cromwell, gave the Anderson School Board a detailed report on the public demand for a larger gymnasium. As a result of this report, the board selected a

committee comprised of members from various civic organizations to visit other communities and report on their methods of financing and building such a facility.[44] Representatives of the Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and Independent clubs, as well as from the American Legion, Chamber of Commerce, Anderson Public Schools and the public at large concluded from their research that $65,000 would be sufficient to construct a gymnasium that sat 4,000 to 5,000 people. Their proposed plan consisted of raising the money by issuing bonds that matured in no more than fifteen years at a rate not to exceed six percent.[45] The board responded by deciding if the "Citizen Committee would raise $30,000 in cash by donations and sale of tickets," they would hire an architect and "seriously consider the construction of a gymnasium...."[46] Within two weeks the committee nearly raised the $30,000 from private subscriptions and ticket sales and the school board hired the architect, E.R. Watkins. Four months later he submitted plans to the board for a new gymnasium with an estimated cost of construction at $196,676. Understandably sticker shocked with this 200 percent increase in projected expense, the board quickly stopped the plans to build and ordered the raised money to be returned to the donors.[47]

Deterred but not defeated, the Anderson School Board returned to the issue of building a new gymnasium sixteen months later. To insulate the Anderson schools from liability, the board, like the Vincennes School Board, incorporated the Anderson Athletic Association to privately raise the necessary funds for construction of the gym. This private holding company leased ground from Anderson Public Schools for the duration of twenty-five years, on

which the gymnasium would be erected from funds provided by donations, loans, and the sale of season tickets. Whenever the corporation liquidated its financial obligation, the building and grounds would revert to the school system and the corporation would be dissolved. Upon this plan the Anderson Loan Association agreed to loan the Athletic Association $40,000 to get the project started. The loan was conditioned on the Athletic Association obtaining 150 persons to personally guarantee an aggregate amount not less than $50,000.[48] In addition to obtaining those to guarantee the loan, the Athletic Association raised money by selling memberships to the Association, selling season tickets for the 1924-25 season, and acquiring $13,200 worth of personal loans from 90 different individuals in and around the Anderson community. Altogether this campaign raised $95,856.21. Instrumental in the success of this effort was the participation of area factories like Remy Electric, American Steel & Wire, Union Traction Company, and Nicholson File Company, to name but a few, that each waged their own campaigns to sell season tickets. Also important to this second effort was finding a general contractor willing to build a 6,000-seat gymnasium at a cost in line with the amount raised.[49]

Only eleven months after Anderson's Athletic Association incorporated, the city dedicated the new 6,078 seat Anderson High School Gymnasium on November 21, 1924. This new facility, later known as the Wigwam in reference to Anderson High School's "Indians" nickname, guaranteed Anderson's place as a sectional tournament host for years to come. Not to be outdone, Muncie hurried to make plans to construct an even larger gymnasium. At an

April 22, 1924 meeting, only four months after the Anderson School resurrected plans to erect a new gymnasium, the Muncie School Board resolved to purchase land and sale bonds "to provide funds for a gymnasium and building for physical training."[50]

Like several other school districts around the state, the Muncie School Board relied on the 1919 state "physical education law" as justification to build a new $100,000 gymnasium. The law made "physical education a necessary and integral part of the course of study for all pupils enrolled in the elementary and high schools of the state." The board concluded that Muncie's high school did not have "an adequate building... for conducting such courses." Why the school needed a 5,000 to 7,000-seat gymnasium to meet the requirements of this law is a bit curious, but the board decided to sell 100 bonds for $1,000 each at 5% interest to raise the funds necessary for a new facility.[51]

It is interesting that Muncie decided to erect a new gym immediately after Anderson had adopted plans to build its 6,000-seat coliseum. The initiative to build a gym also followed the season the Muncie Central Bearcats made it to their first state final, peaking the interest in high school basketball for thousands of people living in Muncie.[52] Other justifications aside, a group of citizens "especially interested in the Central High School's basketball team" actually started the campaign to build the gym "to take care of the large crowds that were anxious to see the basketball games."[53]

Talk of the new gymnasium could be heard throughout Muncie during the Winter and Spring of 1924, none of which, incidentally,

centered around the need for adequate facilities to teach physical education courses. According to *The Muncie Morning Star*, "the project was received probably more favorably than any other ever broached in Muncie. Comment was almost unanimously in favor of the gymnasium and the plan by the school board for financing the project...."[54] Two days after the board originally entertained the idea of building a new gym, *The Muncie Evening Press* supported the "school board's plan for a great coliseum and gymnasium," writing:

> It is not too much to say that thousands of persons have been unable in the last few months- and it was the same way in the previous two years- to attend the basketball games in which the Central High School team participated. Many [who] would have liked to see these contests- especially women- have refused to enter the struggle for the tickets or they were afraid to go to the crowded place in which the games were played because they feared for their own safety. These will be added patrons of the game if they are permitted to enter a commodious fire-proof building such as that which is contemplated....

Plans to build Muncie Central's new gym coincided with the Lynds collection of data for their sociological study. As the city coalesced around the achievements of the Bearcats, the Lynds marveled at the significance of high school basketball in the lives of its residents. They noted that:

> during the height of the basketball season when all the cities and towns of the state are fighting for the state championship amidst delirious backing of the rival citizens, the dominance of this sport is as all-pervasive as football in a college like Dartmouth or Princeton the week of the "big game".[55]

To the Lynds this enthusiasm for the new gym exemplified the universal support for the Bearcats. At a time that the school board voted not to hire an assistant for an understaffed school library

because the school district could not afford the $1,800-a-year salary, it decided to go $100,000 in debt to build a new gymnasium. They concluded that "more civic loyalty center[ed] around basketball than around any other one thing."[56]

The plans to build the gymnasium in 1924 were put on hold as a result of a remonstrance filed by the State Board of Tax Commissioners against the School Board's bond issue at the request of "a small and unpopular group of citizens."[57] But four years later the city rewarded the Bearcats' 1928 state basketball championship with a new 7,500 seat gymnasium. No longer relegated to play at the Ball State Teachers' College, the Bearcats now played in the largest high school gymnasium in the country. Like Anderson, the Muncie School Board justified this cathedral to high school basketball on the principal that it facilitated "vocational, health, and physical education, and promote a properly supervised recreational program for the school children of Muncie."[58]

During this second effort, Muncie followed Vincennes' and Anderson's example and formed a gym construction corporation called the Public School Extension Association. The Association raised money by selling season tickets to five years worth of Bearcat basketball games for $50. Eight-hundred fans bought tickets, raising $40,000. School officials pressured teachers to buy these tickets even though the expense amounted to as much as two weeks of their pay. To cover the remainder of the $100,000 construction costs, the Public School Extension Association sold bonds to the public at 5% interest. The school corporation then entered into a fifteen-year lease agreement with the Association

for the use of the building. The building would then revert back to the school after the debt was paid off. On December 7, 1928, Dr. William Lowe Bryan, President of Indiana University, dedicated Muncie Central High School's Vocational and Physical Education Building.[59]

New Castle High School also built a new gymnasium in 1924. This was the same year the state tournament expanded to fifty-two sectionals and four regionals.[60] Despite not having an adequate facility for basketball games until that time, New Castle began hosting its own sectional tournament in 1917 at the city-owned coliseum that sat up to 1,000 people.[61] Ironically, that was the same year that the high school's yearbook blamed the poor showing of the basketball team, in part, on the "lack of a place to properly practice."[62] But with the increased competition to host sectional tournaments, school officials thought it prudent to provide a gymnasium capable of entertaining larger crowds. Even before the construction of this facility, New Castle's sectional tournament was routinely near the top in generating revenue by selling standing-room-only tickets. But this new facility also guaranteed New Castle's place as a tournament host for years to come. As the New Castle High School's yearbook put it in 1919, "school authorities [saw] that it takes athletics to put a school on the map...."[63] Five years later the Maurice C. Goodwin Gymnasium, commonly referred to as the Church Street gym, was completed at a cost of $75,000. Though this gym did not match the giant arenas Anderson and Muncie built in the 20s, it did seat up to 2,000 people.[64]

These efforts to construct relatively expensive and large gymnasiums for high school basketball symbolized the growing influence of boosters on the sport. No longer produced only by reformers or educators, private citizens, led by local businessmen, joined in the promotion of high school basketball through their financial and political support. As their role in the production of these games grew as the 1920s progressed, high school basketball in Indiana became a part of the emerging consumer culture that characterized the decade.

Chapter Three Notes

[1]*Manual of the Schools of Anderson, Indiana, 1898-1899*, 6-9.

[2]*School Laws of Indiana*, "Acts of 1919, section 6609."

[3]Joseph Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, Inc, 1977), 183-189. Steven A. Riess, *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports* (Urbana, Illinois: The University of Illinios Press, 1989), 152. Between 1897 and 1921 several compulsory education laws were passed, extending the age children were required to stay in school. The 1921 law stated that children from ages seven to sixteen that habitually missed school could be tried in a Juvenile or Superior Court and declared a confirmed truant and sentenced to either the Indiana boys' school, Indiana girls' school, or other custodial institution. See *School Law of Indiana, 1897* (R.S. 1897, sec. 6259), *School Laws of Indiana,* "Compulsary Attendance," (March 14, 1913, Section 2), and *School Laws of Indiana,* "Compulsary Education and Attendance Officer" [Acts of 1921, Chapter 132] 286-297.

[4]Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1929), 182-183, 187.

[5]*New Castle, The Rose City* (New Castle, Indiana: New Castle Commercial Club, 1915), 2.

[6]Herbert L. Heller, *Readings in the History of New Castle, Indiana, Vol. 1* (New Castle, Indiana: self-published, 1941), 1-8. *New Castle City Directory* (New Castle, Indiana: R.L. Polk Co., 1925), 1.

[7]J.J. Netterville, ed., *Centennial History of Madison County, Indiana: An Account of One Hundred Years of Progress, 1823-1923* (Anderson, IN: 1925), 199-202.

[8]See David Nasaw, *Schooled to Order, A Social History of Public Schooling in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979) for an analysis of the school and the labor market.

[9]"Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education," *U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin*, No. 35 (1918), 8.

[10]Lynds, 190-194.

[11]Timothy P. O'Hanlon, "School Sports as Social Training: The Case of Athletics and the Crisis of World War I," *Journal of Sport History* (Spring, 1982): 6.

[12]Luther H. Gulick, "The New Athletics," *The Outlook* 98 (July 15, 1911): 599-600. For a review of Gulick's creation of the PSAL, see Steven A. Riess, *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports* (Urbana, Illinios: University of Illinios Press, 1989), 160-164.

[13]O'Hanlan, 10-11.

[14]Riess, 161.

[15]Dale Glenn, *The History of the Indiana High School Athletic Association,* (Greenfield, Indiana: Mitchell-Fleming Printing, Inc., 1976), 14-29.

[16]*The Indiana High School Athletic Association: Sixth Annual Hand Book and Report of The Board of Control, 1909* (Indiana: Self-published, 1909), 4.

[17]Glenn, 62-67.

[18]Arthur L. Trester, "Athletics and Physical Education in Junior and Senior High Schools: Viewpoint, Evaluation, Administration and Supervision," (unpublished paper, written between 1915 and 1928 while Trester was General Secretary of the IHSAA) 93.

[19]*IHSAA: Eighth Annual Hand Book and Report of Control, 1911* (Indiana: Self-published, 1911), 23.

[20]Trester, 38, 93.

[21]Trester, 16.

[22]The major newspapers in Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle typically reported about 200 to 300 spectators at YMCA and high school basketball games before 1912.

[23]*IHSAA: Handbook and Report of the Board of Control, 1912* , 7.

[24]*IHSAA: Handbook and Report of the Board of Control, 1913*, 55.

[25]*IHSAA: Handbook and Report of the Board of Control, 1915*, 7.

[26]*IHSAA: Handbook and Report of the Board of Control, 1916*, 8.

[27]*IHSAA: Handbook and Report of the Board of Control, 1918*, 25.

[28]*The Anderson Herald*, March 17, 1918, 1.

[29]*IHSAA: Handbook and Report of the Board of Control, 1923*, 12.

[30]*Muncie Morning Star*, March 18, 1.

[31]Trester, "Athletics and Physical Education in Junior and Senior High Schools," 60.

[32]Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: Cultural History of Advertising In America* (New York: BasicBooks, 1994), 8, 11.

[33]Donald E. Hamilton, *Hoosier Temples: A Pictorial History of Indiana's High School Basketball Gyms* (St. Louis, MO: G. Bradley Publishing, Inc., 1993), 20.

[34]Hamilton, 30-34.

[35]*The Anderson Herald*, January 20, 1917, 6.

[36]*The Anderson Herald,* February 9, 1915, 6.

[37]*The IHSAA Handbook and Report of the Board of Control, 1915*, 21.

[38]*The IHSAA Handbook and Report of the Board of Control, 1916*, 27.

[39]*The IHSAA Handbook and Report of the Board of Control, 1918*, 25.

[40]*The Anderson Herald*, March 9 and 10, 1918, 1.

[41]*The Anderson Herald*, March 16, 1918, 1.

[42]*The IHSAA Handbook and Report of the Board of Control, 1920*, 8, 32, 61.

[43]*The Muncie Evening Press*, March 3, 1923, 5.

[44]Minutes of Anderson School Board, February 1, 1922.

[45]Minutes of Anderson School Board, February 17, 1922.

[46]Minutes of Anderson School Board, March 8, 1922.

[47]Minutes of Anderson School Board, July 6, September 15, 1922.

[48]Minutes of Anderson School Board, January 27, 29, February 4, 11, 1924.

[49]Dedication to the Anderson High School Gymnasium, November 21, 1924.

[50]Minutes of Muncie School Board, April 22, 1924.

[51]Ibid.

[52]1923 was the first year "Central" became a part of the school's name.

[53]*The Muncie Morning Star*, March 5, 1924, 1.

[54]*The Muncie Morning Star*, March 6, 1924, 1.

[55]Lynds, 213.

[56]Ibid., 284, 485.

[57]Minutes of Muncie School Board meeting, May 27, 1924; Lynds, 285.

[58]*IHSAA Handbook of Board of Control, 1928*, 10.

[59]Hamilton, 32-33. Robert S. and Helen Merrill Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937), 291-292. The Lynds explained that the effects of the Great Depression made paying for the construction of the Muncie gym impossible for the Public School Extension Association. The corporation incurred a total financial obligation of $347,000 over fourteen years, and "when the bottom dropped out and the 5 per cent interest [on the bonds] threatened to be defaulted, there was plenty of local sentiment to transfer the 'white elephant,' as the teachers call[ed] it, to the school system." (218) The school district took over the gym and its huge debt, using the building as a junior high school during the 1930s.

[60]*IHSAA Handbook of Board of Control, 1924*, 17.

[61]*The New Castle Courier*, February 7, 1917, 8.

[62]*The Rosennial, 1917*, 27.

[63]*The Rosennial, 1919*, 84.

[64]Hamilton, 43.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Taint of Commercialism

As the campaigns to construct new gymnasiums suggest, by the early 1920s high school basketball had become a source of community pride around the state. Many followed the local team with religious zeal. In fact, religious faith and high school basketball often became intertwined. In Muncie, big games were often preceeded by prayer meetings for the team. During a closely contested game in 1924 a Muncie Central senior class officer was heard yelling, "Oh, God, We must win. Jesus, wilt Thou help us!"[1] Even the architecture of the new gyms had a cathedral-like quality. While typically copying the classical design of the German gymnasium, many of these buildings also had features like ornately-carved gothic facades evoking images of reverence. More than likely most churches at the time envied the sort of dedicated support the high school basketball team enjoyed each year during the annual state tournament.

Consider Muncie's passion for their team as they prepared to play Vincennes High School in the 1923 state championship. Before the team boarded a traction car for the state finals in the Exposition Building at the Indiana State Fairgrounds in Indianapolis, area civic clubs organized a "monster parade" that marched thousands of citizens "through the principle [sic] business streets, ending at the

terminal station." The mayor issued a proclamation "requesting that all business houses be closed when the team leaves and that all citizens take part in the parade." In addition, the proclamation ordered factory whistles to blow and church bells to ring as the train carrying "Muncie's hopes" left for Indianapolis to compete with fifteen other teams for the championship. Thousands of fans also went to Indianapolis on chartered cars and filled a series of trains on the state's interurban lines "with Central High battle cries and yells."[2]

During the semi-final game on Friday afternoon against Richmond High School, hundreds of people gathered at the high school auditorium to hear radio reports of the game from the Muncie Press-Smith Electric station, whose downtown office was also jammed with anxious supporters eager to learn the outcome of the game. The Warner Gear and Gill Clay Pot factories also received the radio play by play coverage so their employees, while working, could follow the game. When the Bearcats pulled out a close victory over Richmond, the crowds broke into "unrestricted enthusiasm." "Hundreds of students and citizens headed by the victory bell paraded through the downtown streets in a snake dance." The *Muncie Evening Press* reported that "traffic was tied up, but who cared - Muncie had won."[3]

Muncie eventually lost the championship game to Vincennes in front of approximately 15,000 spectators, 27 to 18. But the community pride in the Bearcats did not go unnoticed by the editorial writers of the *Muncie Evening Press*:

> The Muncie Bearcats, the Central High School basketball team which went into the finals of the state tournament

> before being defeated, have done more to make a united Muncie than any other influence since the patriotic one which prevailed when the armistice was signed. These boys in their "teens" have been worth more to the civic spirit of this community in the last three weeks than the uplift movements, the club conferences and the solemn conclaves of business and professional men all rolled into one.
>
> Throughout the two anxious days when the high school boys were fighting their way toward the championship of the state, all differences of opinion among the citizens appeared to be forgotten. Republicans and Democrats, Protestants and Catholics, Ku Kluxers and Knights of Columbus, millionaire and pauper, officers of the law and breakers of the law, all were brothers engaged in the support of a common cause....[4]

This idealized view of the city's support of the Bearcats, if nothing else, demonstrated that many of those living in these communities in the 1920s came to believe high school basketball transcended the political, religious, or class divisions that pervaded several Indiana towns at this time.

The game had come a long way from its middle-class reform-minded origins of thirty-five years earlier. No longer played just to instill certain values into young people, its popularity made it grist for an emerging consumer culture's mill. Local business, industry, and civic leaders increasingly became the promoters of Indiana high school basketball, seizing control from Progressive Era reformers and educators. Under the guise of "civic pride," those with access to capital used high school basketball as a means to promote the economic expansion of their city.

* * *

As soon as the popularity of the game became evident, city leaders saw the potential economic and political capital that could be gained through high school basketball. The athletic associations

created around the effort to construct new gymnasiums offered a formal way to further community support for the local high school basketball team. These associations in effect took a significant measure of control away from educators in the promotion of the game. In the emerging consumer culture of the 1920s, high school basketball became another product capitalists could package and market to the general public; the athletic association became the means by which to achieve this goal.

Though still sanctioned and technically controlled by the IHSAA, by the 1920s in communities throughout the state, the local high school basketball team became a product of community boosterism. Commercial concerns in many ways overshadowed the educational goals of the game. A 1929 report by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching worried about the shift in emphasis the construction of large gyms represented:

> Some cases of "high schools built around basketball courts" may be found in Indiana communities, like, for example, Flora with a population of 1,441, a high school enrollment of 90, and a gymnasium seating capacity of 1,200; Martinsville, population 4,895, enrollment 500, seating capacity 5,000; Raub, population 258, enrollment 26, seating capacity 1,000; Veedersburg, population 1,580, enrollment 126, seating capacity 1,200....[5]

The high school basketball team in many Indiana communities, the report warned, received more money and attention from politicians, business leaders, citizens, and even school administrators than traditional educational programs that served the entire student body.[6]

These disproportionately large gyms symbolized how the high school basketball team had literally become the center of attention during the winter months for small and medium-sized towns throughout Indiana. The gyms, along with the team, came to represent the spirit of the community. At a time when a predominantly rural state was trying to make the transition into an industrial world, this demonstration of civic vigor became very important.

Communities like Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle battled against each other in an effort to establish themselves as the economic and political centers of their region. A town that could generate enough public cohesiveness and enthusiasm to construct a large gymnasium communicated to the outside world that it was a town prepared to successfully compete within the social and economic order of industrial capitalism. After the Muncie Central Bearcats won the 1928 state championship, for example, the President of the Chamber of Commerce led the fight for the new gymnasium because, in his words, "thousands of dollars could not purchase the advertising these boys have given Muncie."[7]

Boosters in the 1920s believed that the notoriety of a successful high school basketball program promoted a city's identity similar to how many believe professional athletic teams do today. Just as cities now hurry to construct new stadiums with luxury boxes to keep or attract professional baseball, basketball, and football teams, Indiana towns and cities in the 1920s looked for an economic edge over their neighbors by building huge gymnasiums for their high school basketball teams to symbolize their civic pride.

Once the gymnasiums were built, the boosters had to make sure that the town remained enthusiastic for the team. Practically speaking, these new facilities had to be paid for by future ticket sales. The businessmen and political leaders that sat on the boards of these athletic associations therefore had a vested interest in making sure the stands remained filled until all loans were paid in full. More importantly, it defeated the purpose of building such a monument of civic pride if they could not fill it with spectators. Unlike other monuments, these gymnasiums needed the assistance of hundreds of screaming fans to serve its intended cultural purpose. If not filled and teeming with excitement, the structure could actually express the exact opposite meaning than intended. A half-filled gym signified a community of unfulfilled promise; but the same building filled to the rafters with screaming spectators signified the community's pride, vigor, and potential. To guarantee that the gyms served their intended purpose, boosters had to provide a product the citizens wanted to consume. In other words, they had to put a winning product on the floor of these new "temples" of civic pride to assure people came and supported the team.[8]

The elevated status of coaches in the life of a school signified how basketball had become a commercial enterprise. In pursuit of building a successful high school basketball program under the pressure of such boosterism, high schools throughout Indiana sought the services of expert coaches. Even before 1920 the high schools of Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle began breaking the spirit of the IHSAA's 1913 ban on paid coaches by hiring teachers primarily for their ability to coach the basketball team. New Castle hired Frank

Allen in 1918 to turn around the fortunes of its basketball team. During the early years of IHSAA basketball New Castle had little success because, according to the high school yearbook, they lacked a "coach who could give the team sufficient attention." The relative success of the team in 1918-19 was attributed to the arrival of Allen, who "soon put New Castle on the state basketball map...."[9] Coach Allen, however, moved on to greater challenges after he led New Castle to the 1922 sectional championship over rival Muncie. The increased pressure to win caused the tenure of high school basketball coaches to be brief. While a losing coach was sometimes pressured out of the job, a winning coach often left a school for a more lucrative offer. Trester described this pressure when stating that a coach's "standing in the community depends upon winning or making a very creditable showing" in the state tournament.[10]

A 1927 article in *The Indiana Teacher*, a trade magazine for educators, provided summary data about high school coaches that reflected both their elevated status and growing job insecurity. The average yearly salary of coaches from small high schools with less than 150 students amounted to $1,590. The average yearly salary of coaches from high schools with 151 or more students amounted to $2,370. Ninety-one percent of coaches at these larger schools had assistants that made an average salary of $2,152. The highest yearly salary for any coach in Indiana at the time totaled $3,200.

The story never explicitly listed the average salaries of other public school teachers at the time, but its obvious intent was to reveal the relatively high salaries of basketball coaches. In addition, successful coaches were often promoted to principals and

superintendents of the local school district. Conversely, the average tenure of coaches at small high schools averaged less than two years while the average tenure for coaches at the larger schools totaled less than four years. So while coaches could demand relatively high salaries and sometimes even the help of an assistant or two, the pressure to win in the midst of the basketball-crazed small and medium-sized towns of Indiana made these jobs extremely demanding and tenuous.[11]

Indicative of this short job tenure, Allen left New Castle after only three years on the job. His successor remained on the job for only three years due to his inability to sustain Allen's success. Orville J. Hooker, hired for the 1925-26 season, re-established a winning program and led the team to a 1927 sectional title and eventually to the 1932 state title. After New Castle lost to its nemesis Muncie Central at the 1927 regional tournament, the school's yearbook said Coach Hooker displayed "tactics of efficient coaching" and "displayed teams with a high morale in sportsmanship." It went on to describe him as "a splendid example of manhood and as such has been an inspiration to his team."[12] The high school yearbooks and local newspapers usually reserved such praise for a coach that could produce winning teams.

Anderson too entered the search for basketball preeminence by hiring a coach for the 1917-18 season that had already developed a successful track record at Lebanon High School, the 1917 state champions. The move to hire Alan Staggs paid off immediately as Anderson High School won their sectional tournament and made it to the state championship game in 1918 against the defending state

champions and Staggs' former team. Though they lost the championship game, the high school yearbook gave credit to Coach Staggs for building "the best team that Anderson High School ever produced."[13] Though Anderson did not win a state championship until 1935, the second year after Archie Chadd had taken over as coach, Staggs had built a program that won eleven of thirteen sectional titles and six regional titles from 1918-1930. The city held Staggs in high esteem because of the job he did with the high school basketball team. When in 1923 a rumor spread that Coach Staggs might leave Anderson to coach at Notre Dame University, *The Anderson Herald* worried that his departure "would sound the death knell for Anderson High School basketball."[14] Staggs did not leave and Anderson built one of the state's premier gymnasiums and established the reputation as a hotbed for high school basketball around the aura of his success.

Muncie too went through its share of basketball coaches from 1915 to 1920 in search of a state championship caliber team. As interest in the team intensified during these five years, Muncie went through three different coaches. The school finally built a winning program with Maurice Murray, who held the job from 1919 to 1926 and led the Bearcats during those years to the 1923 state championship game, five sectional and three regional titles, and a 134-36 record.[15]

But this sort of success did not insulate Murray from the sort of second-guessing Bearcat boosters engaged in whenever the team struggled through stretches of uncharacteristically bad play. The *Muncie Evening Press* gave a less than enthusiastic vote of

confidence for Murray during a short slump the team endured during an otherwise successful 1923-24 season: "Muncie's basketball squad is getting a lot of advice it doesn't need. There is such a thing as overdoing this advice business. Coach Murray should be and probably is capable of giving all of it that the boys require."[16] That the paper chose the phrase "*should* be and *probably* is" in reference to Murray's coaching ability served to qualify the paper's editorial support in the midst of the public's criticism.

Muncie found a more than capable replacement for Murray in Raymond "Pete" Jolly, who led the Bearcats to state championships in 1928 and 1931. Under the combined leadership of Murray and Jolly, Muncie Central amazingly did not lose a sectional tournament game from 1923 to 1938. Besides the two state championships, the Bearcats also won ten regional titles during this stretch. Like Anderson and New Castle, the search for expert coaches paid off for Muncie. All three cities established themselves in the 1920s as communities that enthusiastically supported their successful high school basketball teams.

The commercialization of high school sport was part of a boom in American sport. The decade following World War I represented a time athletics in general enjoyed growing popularity in America's emerging consumer culture. Not just high school athletics, but college and professional sports like baseball and football also experienced a boom in public support. Known as the Golden Age of Sports, nationally renowned sportswriters like Grantland Rice, Ring Lardner, Damon Runyon, and Paul Gallico assisted a burgeoning sports industry by traveling around the country and pumping up

athletes, teams, and coaches in their articles with metaphor and hyperbole. In doing so, they reinforced the idea that playing and watching sports improved the national psyche with lessons in courage and self-sacrifice.[17] But as the interest in athletics grew, so too did the concern over the ethics of amateur sports and the institutions that governed them. From the professionilization of amateur athletes to the influence of gambling interests, educators and reformers worried about the deleterious effect commercialism had on school sports.

In the 1929 indictment of college athletics by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Howard Savage, author of the report, included a chapter specifically on interscholastic sports and their relationship to physical education.[18] Here Savage expressed the dangers inherent in the practice of hiring teachers primarily to coach athletic teams. Too often boosters working within a school district's athletic association and instrumental in selecting and paying the coach demanded victories of the coach and his team. In addition, these boosters applied the pressure to win by covertly hiring "professional or semi-professional" athletes in the form of giving them positions "in a local store or factory in order to disguise his true relation to school athletics." Savage described Indiana's enthusiasm for high school basketball as an illustration of this form of boosterism. He wrote that "in not a few towns, cities, and even states, school athletics have become less an affair of the school than an amusement for the community."[19]

During the 1920s when Trester was going around the state dedicating new high school gyms, he too acknowledged that the

IHSAA had to guard against the "evil of commercialism" and "professionalism" in high school athletics.[20] With a master's degree in education from Columbia University, friend of John Dewey, former math teacher, principal, and superintendent of schools in Martinsville, Indiana, Trester was fully cognizant of the pedagogical origins of school athletics. Yet by endorsing the efforts of communities to build these gyms, Trester and the IHSAA placed their stamp of approval on the sort of boosterism Savage warned against in his report when he wrote: "A community that finances the construction of a fine high school building out of the profits of basketball is in danger of capitalizing the excitement of the spectators and the notoriety of the players."[21] Trester encouraged the construction of these gyms, typically promoted and controlled by privately run athletic associations and financed through ticket sales.[22]

Under Trester's leadership, the IHSAA evolved from a body of educators with relatively little power trying to keep school sport true to its educational goals and free of commercialism to a remarkably autonomous and powerful body of athletic administrators who encouraged high school basketball as a source for intercommunity competition and mass entertainment.[23] Trester worked hard making the state tournament the spectacle Naismith marveled at after watching the 1925 Indiana high school championship game with 15,000 other fans.[24] Trester initiated the construction of the Butler Fieldhouse on the campus of Indianapolis's Butler University to assure an adequate facility to accommodate the growing interest in the state finals. A long-term lease between the

IHSAA and Butler made it possible for the school to finance the construction of an $800,000, 15,000-seat facility that at the time was the largest basketball gymnasium in the nation and would host the state finals from 1928 until 1971. Trester and the IHSAA later contributed money to expand the facility in 1933.[25] By this act the IHSAA had in effect supported the commercialization of high school basketball.

It seems hard to believe that just a decade prior to the gymnasium boom of the 1920s, J.T. Giles, President of the IHSAA in 1912, warned, "The practice of developing one team of trained specialists for the high school cannot be successfully defended on any ground."[26] That same year the out-going IHSAA President, I.E. Neff, praised teaching basketball in the high schools only because "it encouraged the formation of many teams in the same school, and offered the finest kind of exercise and recreation to both the skilled and unskilled, to girls as well as to boys."[27] Both Giles and Neff foresaw the dangers of community involvement with school sports and warned the IHSAA Board of Control to guard against a misplaced emphasis on team sports that trained but a few at the cost of not providing proper physical education to the entire student body. As 1918 IHSAA President E.E. Ramsey said in the spirit of the military preparedness movement, "it is not improbable that our athletic programs are too heavy and our physical education programs too light," noting the selective quality of athletics and the participatory nature of physical education.[28]

Despite their warnings, the 1920s saw the tension between the growing spectacle of high school basketball and the traditional

values of physical education intensify. In 1920 the IHSAA noted that "gambling is becoming more and more noticeable at our games and tourneys." In the same report the Board of Control noted disciplinary action taken against a school whose fans had given money to players.[29] While addressing the growing popularity of basketball in 1921, retiring IHSAA President Merle J. Abbett warned:

> When it gets to the point that one activity takes the stage entirely in a school or community, it is certainly time to be reminded that scholarship is primary and these other things secondary. Our athletic program should strengthen and support our educational growth, never weaken or substitute for it.[30]

But as the popularity of high school basketball reached staggering proportions in the 20s, the IHSAA increasingly became an enthusiastic voice in support of the community fanaticism surrounding the games. Though the Board of Control, under the guidance of Permanent Secretary Trester, maintained a pretense of educational purpose in promoting the state tournament, they increasingly became the allies of civic boosters and their efforts to popularize the games. In 1922 IHSAA President K.V. Ammerman defended the mania surrounding high school basketball in this way:

> The spirit manifested in our athletic contests has extended beyond the threshold of our gymnasium and justifies the continuance of such activities. This influence in communities has prompted positive reaction, favorable and progressive. Community houses have been built and the interests of communities have been directed into one channel, that of a keener enthusiasm concerning the future educational welfare of our children.[31]

In 1924 IHSAA President H.B. Allman echoed this sentiment:

> Within a comparatively short time, it [basketball] has risen from practical obscurity and eclipsed all other games in popular interest. For a period of five months each year the school communities of the State are absorbed in the performance of their basketball teams. This popular interest is not to be regretted. In fact it should be fostered and encouraged so long as it remains wholesome and is based upon ideals of true sportsmanship....[32]

Under Trester's guidance, the IHSAA's Board of Control became less concerned with the possible competing interests of community boosterism and the educational value of high school basketball. If the IHSAA could eliminate the taint of commercialism by cracking down on its negative effects, such as gambling, out-of-control fans, professionalism, and community proselytizing of out-of-town players, Trester and the Board of Control believed high school basketball provided the best of both worlds: a means to teach both players and spectators lessons in self-control, courage, loyalty, unselfishness, and cooperation, while also acting as a catalyst for community cohesiveness and spirit.

In this context, Trester and the IHSAA tried to more effectively regulate the play of high school basketball in the 1920s. In order for the civic boosters to properly market the local high school basketball team as a symbol of community spirit, the team had to be connected with the local high school, an institution believed to transcend political, social, and cultural divisions. If the teams competing in the state tourney were to remain under the auspices of the public school system and be comprised of students, the IHSAA had to guarantee their amateur status.

Trester seemed to send a loud message to cities and towns around the state by punishing those schools that paid their players

directly or indirectly, gave bonuses to coaches for winning games, or used players who had exhausted their four years of eligibility. Before Trester took these measures of control, reports of teams looking for an unfair advantage regularly appeared in the local papers of Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle. Anderson, for example, accused visiting players of everything from taking stimulants for more energy to greasing their bodies to make them more difficult to guard.[33] The most common allegation was that schools allowed and even encouraged the participation of ineligible players. During the early years of IHSAA-sanctioned basketball, the Board of Control had to regularly mete out punishment to schools that violated the association's four-year eligibility or amateur status rule. A week before the third state tournament in 1913, New Castle's star center "was disqualified upon the assertion that he was a five-year man." The *New Castle Daily Courier* reported that the Board of Control of the IHSAA met immediately before the start of the tourney that year to determine the eligibility of "a number of association teams" for this same offense. So prevalent was this problem that the paper speculated "if this [the infraction of the four-year rule] is verified it will either mean the amending of one of the association's rules or the barring of several members from the tournament at Bloomington next week."[34]

The IHSAA's disqualification of teams that competed with ineligible players during these early years of the state tournament appeared to have a chilling effect on the practice. In 1918 New Castle school officials voluntarily disallowed another star center from playing in the sectional championship game against Muncie

because of complaints filed by nearby Mt. Summit residents that alleged Joe Rhoten had played on an independent basketball team for money. Though the *New Castle Daily Courier* claimed the complaint resulted from a "personal grudge" and that Rhoten denied receiving any money, school officials thought it not worth risking the potential disqualification of the entire team.[35] By the 1920s reports of these sort of rule infractions became less common in the press. By choosing to take a public stand in a few cases, Trester and his Board of Control had successfully protected the integrity of high school basketball, at least in the public's eye, thereby making it safe for civic boosters to promote the teams as symbols of community pride.

Despite the apparent success of Trester's efforts to clean up high school basketball, some educators grew increasingly wary of the commercial influence on school sport. Echoing the concerns of the Carnegie Report on Athletics in American Colleges and Schools, a 1930 editorial in *The Indiana Teacher* claimed that the ill effects of commercialism on high school basketball could only be avoided if "the responsibility for the control of athletics... rest with the faculty and institutional head, and not with the fans, athletic associations, alumni clubs or paid coaches." To these critics, the negative effects of boosterism still existed in schools throughout the state. The article suggested that:

> Cases of professionalism, false grading, importation of players, toleration of gross immorality on the part of athletes, falsifying of school records and reports by the school administration, fan control of athletics, and even of the school

> board and administration, are to be found in Indiana public schools with apparently increasing frequency....

The editorial concluded that "we must look for protection to the Indiana High School Athletic Association."[36] But by 1930 the IHSAA had already been thoroughly wed to the very boosters the article warned against.

* * *

The commodification of the local high school basketball team served more than just the symbolic purpose of generating civic pride for all to see. It also had a more direct impact on the economy of communities like Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle that had parlayed the success of their high school basketball teams into new gyms. The IHSAA rewarded communities that had demonstrated this sort of enthusiastic support for high school basketball with the right to host a sectional or even regional tournament. This meant an influx of visitors spending money in city stores, restaurants, and hotels.

All three cities had competed hard and early for the right to host a tournament. Muncie's anger over having to play the 1915 sectional tournament on Anderson's home court exemplifies this rivalry:

> The selection of Anderson as a place for playing the state division tournament has not been received in this city [Muncie] with any great degree of joy among members of the local high school team and their supporters.
>
> In playing on the home floor, Anderson, whose only near rival is Muncie, has a distinct advantage, familiarity with a floor and goals and the support of a crowd of home rooters....[37]

Two years later the *New Castle Daily Courier* could not contain its glee when New Castle was also chosen as a sectional site over Muncie:

> Arrangements are being completed for the sectional basketball tournament to be held in this city at the Coliseum on Friday and Saturday, March 2 and 3, in which basketball teams of Henry and Delaware county will participate....
>
> Newcastle has been fortunate in being one of the twenty places in the state selected for a tourney, being chosen in this particular district over Muncie, which was hoping to be chosen this year. Muncie has not yet had a district tournament at home and hoped to secure one this spring.
>
> The local accommodations, however, and the accessibility of Newcastle to all other towns by transportation lines, caused this city to be selected over the Delaware county seat.[38]

After these disappointments, it is not surprising to read newspaper accounts of Muncie's excitement over the prospects that they would host not just a sectional tournament, but also a regional tournament in 1925:

> Now we shall turn our faces hopefully toward the future and to the building up of next year's team. It is more than likely, too, that the 1925 regional tournament will be played in Muncie for by that time there will be ready for use here, if plans do not miscarry, two great auditoriums either one capacious enough for the state tournament. So let this be our program: The regional tourney in Muncie and the Bearcats the state champions in 1925![39]

Of course, plans did miscarry and Muncie Central did not get its new high school gymnasium until 1928. At any rate, Muncie did host the 1925 regional tournament at the Ball State Teachers College Gymnasium, a year that saw 674 teams participate in the state tournament with 64 sectionals feeding into 8 regional tournaments.[40]

The honor of hosting a tournament did in fact serve the symbolic purpose of celebrating a community's civic pride and economic promise, but it also acted to give a more direct and tangible economic boost to a city. Hundreds and eventually thousands of people from other towns in the district flocked to the host city for a weekend of tournament games. This not only offered civic boosters an opportunity to showcase the vitality of the city, but also offered businesses the chance to make money off the visitors. Cities like Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle that were fortunate enough to host a tournament rolled out the red carpet for their guests. Amidst the prediction that more out-of-town rooters would invade Anderson for the 1923 sectional tournament than the high school gym could accommodate, *The Anderson Herald* reported the special arrangements the city made to greet newly arriving teams:

> Some of the out-of-town fans arrived here last evening but most of the visitors are not due here until this morning. Several of the visiting teams will be accompanied by special carloads of rooters. The Pendleton, Elwood and Lapel delegations will reach Anderson about noon and the Kempton team and its fans will be met at the trains by two sponsors, one a business man and the other a high school student. These sponsors will provide automobile transportation and make other arrangements for the team members and coach while they are in Anderson.[41]

With the influx of visitors and the attention of locals focused on the tournament, businesses in the host city exploited this excitement to market their products. Merchants in Muncie on the weekends of these tournaments, for example, filled pages of the city's most popular paper, the *Muncie Morning Star*, with

advertisements. From Kiser jewelry to Petro's Cafe, Muncie businesses tried to capitalize on the public support of high school basketball by drawing connections between their products and the games. One furniture store in its advertisement, for example, stated that "forty thousand Muncie people are relying on the Bearcats to take the regional, (and) thousands of Muncie and eastern Indiana people rely on Banner Furniture Store to supply their... house furnishing needs."[42] These advertisements exemplified the most blatant commodification of high school basketball and the athletes.

Tournament time offered local merchants an opportunity to prosper from the mania surrounding high school basketball. For example, before the 1926 regional tournament at the Ball State Teachers College Gymnasium in Muncie in which Anderson, Muncie Central, and New Castle high schools all competed, the entire city eagerly anticipated the action. The *Muncie Morning Star* announced the Friday before the tournament started that although the gym could accommodate nearly 4,000 spectators, all tickets to the seven tournament games had quickly sold out. According to Roy C. Keever, tourney manager from Selma High School, "those who were not fortunate enough to obtain one [a ticket] are out of luck." The paper reported that, despite its illegality, tickets were allegedly being "scalped" for "ridiculously high prices." "Realizing that several thousand fans in this vicinity [would] be anxious to get the returns of the games as speedily as possible," the *Muncie Morning Star* arranged to give out radio play-by-play reports from radio station WHBU in Anderson in cooperation with the *Anderson Bulletin*. For those still without radios and therefore unable to take advantage of

this broadcast, the paper also agreed to report the progress of all games from outside their building by way of a special telephone hook up from the gymnasium to the paper's office.[43]

No wonder area businesses tried to cash in on this enthusiasm. Advertisements became an important way to sell products in the 1920s and 30s. With the ever-expanding mass media at their disposal, advertisers implicitly and explicitly reinforced the values of industrial capitalism and the nascent consumer culture. Recognizing their stake in contemporary social and economic institutions, businessmen did little to portray realities in these advertisements that challenged the system that supported them. As Roland Marchand has noted, they became masters of dramatizing the American dream.[44] Though less sophisticated than advertisments in the national press or larger cities at the time, local businesses in these towns certainly understood how a successful high school basketball team represented the American Dream to their community. The team represented how people could achieve success in the new economic order.

Throngs of fans eagerly awaiting the commencement of the 1926 regional tournament opened their Saturday edition of the *Muncie Morning Star* to pages of advertisements from businesses that wrapped their product in the mania over high school basketball generally and the Muncie Central Bearcats specifically. Typically using photographs of players from the Bearcat team, dozens of advertisements shamelessly used these amateur athletes to sell their products. A couple of examples will suffice:

> Do it now Bearcats - put an end to Greenfield and then Newcastle and then a certain few teams that are going to the state... Put an end to tooth trouble - have those old snags and roots extracted and replaced with true-to-nature, life-like teeth...
>
> Bearcats - we are sure optimistic about your basket shooting - it takes a keen eye.... So "guard" those eyes like you do the ball and play safe, for it's the mistakes you are sorry for afterward. Then "pass" your eye troubles along to Meigs when you feel yourself slipping and you'll bring home the bacon in any line. But we are sure optimistic that you'll win - so let's go Bearcats! Meigs Eyesight Specialists[45]

Like the President of Muncie's Chamber of Commerce said in 1928, "thousands of dollars could not purchase the advertising these boys have given Muncie."[46] More to the point, thousands of dollars could not have purchased the advertising the boys had given the merchants of Muncie. By visually connecting their product to the players on the team, local businesses tapped into the deeper cultural meanings of high school basketball in these communities. Motivated to understand their audience in their efforts to sell services and merchandise, local businesses recognized the high school basketball team represented both hope and reassurance to people anxious about their future. Each victory on the way to a championship provided evidence in support of the American Dream that taught success came with a little hard work. If a business visually tied its image to a symbol of this dream, in the same way Nike, McDonalds, and other mega-corporations do with Michael Jordan, Tiger Woods, and other professional athletes at the end of the twentieth century, consumers presumably associated feelings of hope and success with the goods or services advertised. In this context, the values that made an

athlete or team successful were sometimes explicitly associated with the product in the advertisement: "It's a high quality team trained Rite and Coached Rite. There's a lot of satisfaction in having such a team represent Muncie. There's a lot of satisfaction in eating Bake Rite product."[47]

* * *

Capitalists interested in furthering a consumer culture that reinforced the dominant economic and social order worked with the IHSAA to make high school basketball a cultural phenomenon in Indiana during the 1920s. In effect, the locus of control of basketball games had changed from the Christian middle-class social reformers of the late nineteenth century to the Progressive Era public educators of the early twentieth century and ultimately to the civic and business leaders of the 1920s. But as control of the game changed hands, traces of each group's influence remained. As people in small and medium-sized communities throughout Indiana flocked to the new "temples" of high school basketball, they had to contend with the values of all three groups responsible for the production of the games.

At the same time, the masses participated in the consumption of the games for reasons distinct from those the producers intended. High school basketball in Indiana did not become popular just because social reformers, educators, IHSAA, or Chamber of Commerce willed it to be so. That which is popular, in this case high school basketball, becomes so only if the masses can also discover, create, and express their own meanings through their participation or consumption. The popularity of Indiana high school

basketball contained expressions not only of the powerful, but also of the disempowered. At one level the masses could make connections with some of the different meanings expressed by the various producers; at another level they took possession of the games and created their own meanings. As the next two chapters will reveal, some of these meanings embraced those values advanced by the producers while others conflicted with them. In some ways those from the working class attending these high school games in cities like Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle took the social and economic conservatism of the reformers, educators, and businessmen to the extreme by defining their sense of community in exclusive terms. In doing so, they became absorbed into the hegemony of industrial-capitalism. But in other ways they expressed their resistance to the imposed social order of the reformers, educators, and businessmen by creating an atmosphere at the games not unlike Mikhail Bakhtin's carnivalesque.[48] Like a carnival, high school basketball games offered a space where the subordinated celebrated temporary liberation from the prevailing truth of the established order. Any study of the cultural production of high school basketball in Indiana must include the often times conflicted meanings the masses created by supporting the local team.

Chapter Four Notes

[1]Robert S. and Helen Merrel Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1929), 402.

[2]*The Muncie Evening Press*, March 15, 1923, 8.

[3]*The Muncie Evening Press*, March 17, 1923, 1.

[4]*The Muncie Evening Press*, March 19, 1923, 4.

[5]Howard J. Savage, *American College Athletics,* Bulletin Number 23 (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1929), 60.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Donald E. Hamilton, *Hoosier Temples: A Pictorial History of Indiana's High School Basketball Gyms* (St. Louis: G. Bradley Publishing, Inc., 1993) 32.

[8]Hamilton nostalgically refers to these large high school gymnasiums in Indiana as temples.

[9]*The Rosennial*, 1919, 84.

[10]Trester, 168.

[11]*The Indiana Teacher* 72 (November, 1927), 22. Lynds, *Middletown In Transition*, 291. David G. Martin, "Gymnasium or Coliseum? Basketball, Education and the Community Impulse in Indiana in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Hoosier Schools: Past and Present,* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996). Martin makes the case that while high school coaches in the 1920s had equal or even better credentials than their non-coaching peers, their salaries were near the top of public school teachers.

[12]*The Rosennial,* 1927, 70.

[13]*The X-Ray*, 1918, 62.

[14]*The Anderson Herald*, February 28, 1923, 6.

[15]From the computer data base at the Indiana High School Basketball Hall of Fame in New Castle, Indiana.

[16]*The Muncie Evening Press*, February 9, 1924, 4.

[17]See Robert Lipsyte and Peter Levine, *Idols of the Game: A Sporting History of the American Century* (Atlanta, GA: Turner Publishing, Inc. 1995), 78-116.

[18]Savage, 52-76.

[19]Ibid., 60.

[20]Trester, "Athletics and Physical Education in Junior and Senior High Schools," 58-59.

[21]Savage, 60.

[22]Trester and the IHSAA were instrumental in the construction of the Butler University Fieldhouse in 1928 in Indianapolis (now known as Hinkle Fieldhouse). The IHSAA encouraged the construction of the $800,000, 15,000 seat fieldhouse by signing a long-term lease with Butler for the use of the building as the state tournament venue. In 1933 the IHSAA also agreed to help the university pay to have the floor reconfigured so more bleachers could be added to the facility. Butler Fieldhouse hosted the state championship tourney from 1928 until 1971 and still hosts sectional, regional, and semi-state tournament games. At the time of its construction, the fieldhouse was the largest basketball gymnasium in America. Tony Hinkle, Butler's basketball coach at the time, said, "teams would come through from the west, headed for Madison Square Garden, but they wanted to stop here, just to play in this building." Phillip M. Hoose, *Hoosiers: The Fabulous Basketball Life of Indiana* (Indianapolis, IN: Guild Press of Indiana, Inc., 1995, 2nd edition) 103.

[23]Martin, 18.

[24]*IHSAA Handbook, 1925*, 16.

[25]Phillip M. Hoose, *Hoosiers: The Fabulous Basketball Life of Indiana* (Indianapolis, IN: Guild Press of Indiana, Inc., 2nd edition), 103.

[26]*IHSAA Handbook and Report of the Board of Control*, 1912, 7.

[27]Ibid., 3-4.

[28]*IHSAA Handbook and Report of the Board of Control*, 1918, 7.

[29]*IHSAA Handbook and Report of the Board of Control*, 1920, 9, 61.

[30]*IHSAA Handbook and Report of the Board of Control*, 1921, 9.

[31]*IHSAA Handbook and Report of the Board of Control*, 1922, 9.

[32]*IHSAA Handbook and Report of the Board of Control*, 1922, 10.

[33]*The Anderson Herald*, January 9, 1915, 6. Under the headline "Stimulants Fail to Daunt Locals" an article accused players from Bloomington High School of "taking their turn at the bottle, which was said to contain 'spirits of ammonia.' " *The Muncie Morning Star*, March 12, 1916, 10, reported that the Cicero High School team defeated Anderson High School in a sectional tournament game in part due to the Cicero players covering their bodies with grease. The paper reported that "Anderson protested and the referee compelled the Cicero boys to remove the grease." *The Anderson Herald,* March 12, 1916, 10, also reported the Cicero story and said that Trester made an appearance at half-time and ordered the Cicero players to "take a warm shower" to remove the grease. Cicero won the game 18 to 12 and the *Herald* ran a headline over the Anderson team picture that read "Not District Champions, But Clean Through and Through."

[34]*New Castle Daily Courier*, March 8, 1913, 8.

[35]*New Castle Daily Courier*, March 11, 1918, 8.

[36]"High School Athletics" *The Indiana Teacher* 74 (April 1930): 17.

[37]*The Anderson Herald*, February 9, 1915, 6.

[38]*New Castle Daily Courier*, February 7, 1917, 8.

[39]*The Muncie Evening Press*, March 10, 1924, 2.

[40]*IHSAA Handbook and Report of Board of Control*, 1925, 15.

[41]*The Anderson Herald*, March 2, 1923, 8.

[42]*Muncie Morning Star*, March 13, 1926, 6.

[43]*Muncie Morning Star*, March 12, 1926,10.

[44]Roland Marchand, *Advertising The American Dream: Making Way For Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), xviii.

[45]*Muncie Morning Star*, March 13, 6-7.

[46]Hamilton, 32.

[47]*Muncie Morning Star*, March 13, 7.

[48]Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1984).

CHAPTER FIVE

Small Town Values and Big City Dreams

The streets were peopled with their fame,
All devotions sanctioned their name,
Through every vein their hopes ran--
The smallest urchin, the mightiest man.
Then silent luck, ill, sulking, low and grey,
Claimed kindred, and wafted Victory away.
The very air their names seemed sighing,
They fell devoted, but undying-
Despite defeat and the regret she bears,
Our hearts are glorious still, and theirs.
It's ever a watchword to the earth,
When men would do deeds of worth-
Where victory is lost, or victory won,
Our hearts are blended into one.

-An Ardent Rooter[1]

Just as Christian social reformers and public school educators spread the gospel of basketball around the turn of the century in response to the potentially negative effects of modernism, people in communities like Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle in part supported the local high school basketball team in an effort to recapture a sense of place akin to the small rural village of the nineteenth century. Like the "ardent rooter" from Muncie that sent the above poem into the *Muncie Evening Press* after a disappointing Bearcat loss to Shelbyville High School in the 1924 regional tournament, fans looked to high school basketball to create a feeling

of community believed lost after the dramatic social and economic transformation of the past few decades.

Though not simply passive recipients of the ideology social reformers, educators, and boosters tried to advance in the production of basketball, the fans shared their belief that a successful high school basketball team embodied the American Dream. This feeling of hope the team engendered had the effect of alleviating the anxiety many felt because of the recent social and economic changes. The physical strength, determination, toughness, courage, discipline, hard work, and self-sacrifice on display each week in the high school gymnasium suggested traditional values had survived the regimentation, hierarchy, fragmentation, alienation, and salaried dependence associated with the new social and economic order.

As a representation of virtues associated with the state's rural tradition, people from both the working and business classes rallied around the local team. As one reporter for the *Muncie Evening Press* explained before the 1923 sectional tourney, "the Central High team is regarded as a civic asset and it is the city's pride. The hopes of the community go forth today with the team."[2] The groundswell of public support for high school basketball in Indiana was the result of a nostalgic longing for a simpler time and a boundless hope for a brighter future. People wanted a community that looked and acted like a nineteenth century small rural village without giving up the promise of prosperity offered by recent industrial growth. The high school basketball team became a symbol for both small town values and big city dreams.

As a symbol of the past, the local high school basketball team became a sacrosanct white institution. Support for the team engendered a feeling of belonging because many of the values the team embodied were associated with the community's shared ethnic culture. In this way the young men playing basketball on Friday and Saturday nights during the winter months became paragons of a white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture.

During the first thirty years of Indiana high school basketball, the make-up of the teams competing in the IHSAA tournament mirrored the state's white, native-born, and Protestant population. Obviously, because most Indiana towns and cities had over 90 percent white, native-born, and Protestant populations, chances were great that the young men playing on the high school team would also be white, native-born, and Protestant. Furthermore, most young men in these and other towns and cities throughout the state learned the game during the first three decades of the twentieth century by playing in the YMCA, an exclusively Protestant organization that excluded African Americans, Catholics, and Jews.[3] Almost all of the players on the Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle high school teams of the 1910s and 20s, for example, had previously played in the YMCA's junior league for fourteen to sixteen-year olds. The local YMCA junior league team even occasionally received coverage in high school yearbooks because it "furnished excellent material for the high school." New Castle High School went so far as to allow the secretary of the local YMCA, Thad Gordon, have an organized junior league team practice during the first period of school.[4]

Racial exclusion policies, consistent with the racism of the times, also contributed to the homogeneity of the teams competing for the IHSAA championship. As a result of the Supreme Court's endorsement of "separate but equal" public institutions in *Plessy v Ferguson* (1896), Klan-influenced school boards of the 1920s in cities that had relatively significant black populations, namely Indianapolis, Evansville, and Gary, opened segregated all-black high schools that IHSAA Permanent Secretary Trester determined ineligible to play in the state tournament. Crispus Attucks High School of Indianapolis opened in 1927 as that city's all-black school, while the all-black schools of Gary Roosevelt High School and Evansville Lincoln opened their doors in 1928. In 1927 Trester concluded that although a creation of a public school board, Crispus Attucks or any other all-black school could not play IHSAA-sanctioned sporting events because they were not open to all students.[5] Incidentally, this order also applied to the growing number of parochial schools in the state, eliminating a large number of Catholics from competition.

Trester's order only acted to reduce even further an already small number of African Americans and Catholics competing in IHSAA high school basketball games. Ironically, the segregated schools in Gary and Indianapolis forced to play outside of the IHSAA meant that those African Americans competing on IHSAA-sanctioned teams from 1927 to 1941 came most often from towns and cities with relatively small black populations. In communities like Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle, the black population was too small for the local school board to justify segregated schools;

therefore blacks went to the same schools as whites. Even still, the number of black players playing in the IHSAA tournament from 1911 to 1941 was incredibly small. During the 1920s no African Americans played on any of the Anderson, Muncie, or New Castle high school basketball teams.[6]

Anderson High School in 1927 even went a step further to insure that its varsity basketball team remained white by creating an "Advisory Basketball League" for Native American students. In effect this amounted to an intramural league composed of teams representing the two tribes from the area, the Mohawks and the Iroquois. The Advisory League acted to segregate Native Americans from playing on the varsity team, the Anderson High School Indians, actually named in honor of the historical presence of Native Americans in the area.[7]

Because of Indiana's homogeneity, the YMCA's influence, and various efforts at racial, ethnic, and religious segregation, IHSAA basketball remained a game played almost exclusively by white, native-born, and Protestant young men until World War II. However, it is difficult to prove that those supporting the team exclusively attached the values exhibited by the players to a white, native-born, and Protestant culture. Besides an occasional reference to a particular player as a "young white hope," people rarely referred to the team's ethnicity because they did not have to, they were all white Protestants.[8] Consider the several chapel services held before big games to allow fans the opportunity to pray for a victory. By encouraging all to attend these services conducted by a local

minister, the Protestantism of both the fans and players was simply assumed.[9]

On the rare occasion a player of a different race did play in a game, however, people and the press distinquished his style of play from the others. When Connersville High School visited New Castle with an African-American guard on the team, for example, the crowd displayed "very bad sportmanship" by "hissing the brilliant play of the colored man." Though a *New Castle Daily Courier* article chided the fans for deriding the "colored man," it attributed his "brilliant playing" to excessive physical contact and "little tricks... not allowed under the rules." In the paper's back-handed compliment it kept the image of a black basketball player detached from the values of the white-Protestant culture. In a way, the Connersville player assumed the role of trickster trying to subvert the social order basketball represented. Through sheer rugged play and cunning, he violated the rules and thwarted the efforts of the rule-abiding New Castle team.[10]

Characterizations such as this grew out of a cultural milieu that instinctively treated African Americans as inferior to whites. Whites living in early twentieth-century Indiana, especially those from the South, were raised to view African Americans "as an American leper."[11] Only fifty years removed from slavery, most whites living in the communities of Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle came from an American tradition that embraced a form of racism that reconciled Christian compassion, humanitariansim, and an ideology of liberty and equality with a passion for dominance and avarice. In order to do this, white America over hundreds of years

developed a hierarchy that placed African Americans lower on the evolutionary scale by imagining them as more savage and less civilized than whites. Conseqently, whites felt justified in their paternalistic and often times cruel treatment of African Americans.[12] Consistent with this belief, the *New Castle Courier* article portrayed the African-American player from Connersville as overly aggressive or savage-like:

> When trying to get away from the man guarding him he simply uses his knees against the stomach of his adversary and knocks the wind out of him. Another little trick was that when he threw the ball for the basket he invariably back-hits his guarder with his elbow.[13]

While African Americans were portrayed as physcially aggressive, other ethnic groups were portrayed as lacking the physical attributes needed to be good basketball players. The 1919 Anderson High School annual, for example, nicknamed the team's center, Arthur Dykins, "Jew" because of his "Jewish" looks. But in the short description of Dykins the annual stated "in spite of his looks he is some jumper at center, getting the tip off from every center that he has played against this season...."[14] The implication was that Jews did not possess the physical strength to jump the way Dykins did.

If African Americans were considered inferior because of their animal-like strength, Jews were believed inferior because they rejected physical activity completely. Jews during the great influx of European immigrants at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century became labeled as physically incompetent. Drawing upon an historical tradition of Jewish life in

nineteenth-century Eastern Europe shtetls, anti-Semites, such as Henry Ford, evoked images of orthodox Jewish men devoting their life to the study of the Talmud and valuing the intellect over the physical. While Peter Levine has recently shown how many of the newly arriving Jewish immigrants and their children embraced America's love of sport, at a time when physical fitness, strength, and ruggedness were considered important qualities for true Americans, the stereotype of Jews shying away from physical activity had a marginalizing effect. As the reference to Dykins as "Jewish looking" in this context and the growing influence of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) during this time suggests, many in these Indiana communities embraced the belief that Jews did not possess the right stuff to be good high school basketball players nor, by extension, good Americans.[15]

The emergence of the KKK and Women of the Ku Klux Klan (WKKK) in the 1920s, like the growing popularity of high school basketball, signified an impulse in the relatively homogeneous population of Indiana to recapture a pre-industrial sense of community that implicitly excluded all except white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants. The KKK and WKKK offered nascent industrial cities like Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle a way to react against the dramatic economic and social changes of the past three decades. As a larger segment of the population felt increasingly alienated from the forces that controlled their lives, the Klan promised a way to assert popular control over community affairs.

Historians have pointed to several factors contributing to the reemergence of the KKK, an organization once popular during

Reconstruction among defeated sons of the Confederacy, during the years surrounding World War I. Chief among these factors were rapid technological and social changes, declining agricultural prices, high rates of immigration and internal migration, post-World War I nationalism, rapid urbanization, and the migration of large numbers of Southern blacks to Northern cities.[16] The argument goes that these social changes at the beginning of the twentieth century brought to the surface the racism and nativism that had always existed among Northern rural and urban white Protestants. Certainly the popularity of the 1915 release of D.W. Griffith's film, *The Birth of a Nation*, that glorified the original Klan, the furor surrounding the trial of the Jewish businessman Leo Frank for assaulting a young female employee, and the federal legislative restrictions on immigration in the 1920s also symbolize the reactionary politics of this era. Historian Kathleen Blee argues that all it took to get approximately four million men and women nationwide to join the KKK's racist and nativist crusade between 1915 and 1925 was for political and financial opportunists to tap into the fears that native-born white Protestants shared as a result of these rapid social and cultural changes.[17]

Between 1922 and 1925 Indiana produced the KKK's largest state-wide membership in the nation, its greatest political victories, and its most charismatic and powerful leaders. Estimates from membership records reveal that between one-quarter and one-third of all native-born white men in the state paid their ten dollar initiation fee to join the Klan during the 1920s. Membership probably peaked around 1923 with approximately 250,000 to

300,000 card-carrying Klansmen in Indiana. Even after around a 30 to 40 percent decline in membership, a 1925 report revealed still just under 166,000 state-wide members. These figures do not even count the significant number of women and children that also belonged to either the WKKK or Junior Klan. Consistent with the rest of the state, the KKK enjoyed tremendous support in Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle.[18]

Many of the social and cultural changes responsible for the KKK's national revival did exist in Indiana during this time, such as rapid industrialization and urbanization, declining agricultual prices, and post-World War I nationalism. But unlike other Northern states, most of Indiana did not experience the high rate of European immigration or African-American migration. Throughout these years Indiana remained the most homogeneous state in the Union. For the most part, the small to medium-sized cities of Indiana, such as Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle, were comprised of 90 to 95 percent native-born white Protestants. Of Anderson's almost 30,000 citizens in 1920, for example, only 912 were black and 940 foreign born. Of Muncie's almost 37,000 citizens, only 2,054 were black and 820 foreign born. Meanwhile over 90 percent of New Castle's almost 15,000 residents were native-born whites. Furthermore, in all three of these communities there existed only an extremely small Jewish population. And, as the Lynds noted, in Muncie, Protestants out-numbered Catholics fifteen to one.[19]

Despite the almost total absence of the usual victims of the KKK's hateful and aggressive reactionary politics, namely Catholics, Jews, foreigners, and African Americans, the Klan in Indiana enjoyed

unprecedented popularity and power. Nowhere else did the Klan garner enough support to actually gain political control at both the local and state level. As the 1925 membership report of the Indiana Klan reveals, those who joined this xenophobic organization represented a cross section of Indiana's native-born, white, and Protestant population. The KKK in Indiana was neither predominantly rural nor urban, working nor business class, fundamentalist nor liturgical. Like the local high school basketball team, its support, to a significant degree, transcended divisions of class and gender.[20]

Though relatively brief, the KKK's popularity in Indiana was dramatic. The hooded order seized control of the state Republican party, and in 1924 New Castle native Edward Jackson, the hand picked candidate of the state's Grand Dragon, D.C. Stephenson, became governor. At the local level mayors, prosecutors, judges, and police officers around the state belonged to the Klan. George Dale, editor of the *Muncie Post Democrat* and notorious anti-Klan activist, made a habit of revealing those local officials in Muncie that belonged to the KKK. According to Dale, Muncie's police force from 1923 to 1925 was "almost one hundred percent Klan." In addition to Muncie's Chief of Police Van Benbow, Day Captain Ira Coons, and Delaware County sheriff Harry Hoffman, Dale alleged that Muncie's Mayor Quick briefly belonged to the order, though he later renounced it as a "lawless and un-American organization," and Republican city councilman Frank Barclay and seven other members of the council were "banded together to do anything the Klan

want[ed] done."[21] At its peak Delaware County had at least 6,800 Klansmen as well as one of the most active chapters of the WKKK.[22]

In these towns and cities that were comprised almost exclusively of white, native-born Protestants, the KKK offered membership to almost everyone in the community, unlike organizations such as chambers of commerce and Rotary Club. The available evidence shows that skilled and unskilled workers, clerks, low-level white-collar workers, independent businessmen, civil servants, and professionals joined the KKK in numbers fairly proportionate to their numbers within the state's general white Protestant population. The only variation was that low-level white-collar and skilled blue-collar occupations joined in slightly greater numbers, while unskilled laborers, probably due to the cost, joined in slightly lower numbers.[23] Only the very elite, those possessing the real economic power within these communities, were absent from the membership rosters of the local Klaverns.[24]

The Klan occupied a place at the center of these communities' social life like no other religious, political, or civic organization between the years of 1922 and 1925. It offered an avenue for the white Protestant majority to come together across class divisions and celebrate traditional values associated with the state's agrarian past in reaction to the state's recent social and cultural transformation. In light of the impersonalization, isolation, economic and political concentration, and the declining social influence of the church and family, the ground swell of support for the KKK in Indiana "expressed continued faith in traditional

institutions and proclaimed the authority of the average person within the community."[25]

In addition, the racism, nativism, and religious intolerance promoted by the Klan offered a scapegoat to blame for the diminished authority of the average person. Ironically, the tactic to exploit the fears many had of Catholics, foreign-born, African Americans, and Jews worked so well in Indiana because of its almost exclusively white, native-born, and Protestant populace. The rhetoric and symbols of white supremacy used by the KKK offered an identity that almost all could coalesce around in their effort to regain popular control over community affairs. The large membership in local Klaverns represented this impulse to redefine a sense of community around a shared ethnic culture.

That thousands of Hoosiers identified their lost sense of control with an already marginalized group of citizens demonstrated the hegemony of industrial capitalism. Though the KKK offered an alternative to the political, social, and economic organizations of the elite, it never directly opposed them. The Klan's xenophobia only acted to deflect any real challenge to the concentration of capital that accompanied the industrialization of Indiana's towns and villages and that caused working class alienation. In fact, the Klan's politics in many cases merely acted to reinforce the social, political, and economic power of capital. The Klan, like big business, campaigned against the influence of unions, claiming they were nothing more than a way for communists to seize control of America's economy. Also, the KKK adamantly fought for a militaristic enforcement of Prohibition, thereby supporting efforts

of social control by employers concerned with the effects alcohol had on their workers. In short, the Klan offered a way to react against the effects of industrial capitalism while not challenging its basic principles.

As Roy Rosenzwieg has shown in his cultural history of workers and leisure in Worcester, Massachusetts between 1870 and 1920, ethnic identification can ultimately interfere with the development of a class consciousness among workers. But in Worcester the problem involved various ethnic groups creating distinct sub-cultures, consequently discouraging the creation of a unified working-class culture in opposition to the dominant order.[26] In Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle in the 1910s and 20s workers concentrated more on their shared ethnicity, namely white, native-born, and Protestant, rather than their shared economic subordination. Though not containing the ethnic diversity of a Worcester, the workers of these Indiana communities similarly became so focused on ethnicity that issues of class became lost. The impulse to reclaim a sense of community around a shared ethnic culture was why Indiana became "the epicenter of the national Klan movement" at the same time large high school basketball gymnasiums were popping up around the state.[27]

Indiana high school basketball's popularity emerged within this cultural milieu that offered fertile ground for the Klan's revival. People were drawn to the support of their local team for many of the same reasons they joined the KKK in such large numbers. The high school basketball team offered a measure of reassurance at a time of great uncertainty. High school basketball offered a way to create

a sense of community in the face of economic and social fragmentation. Consider this *Muncie Evening Press* editorial during the 1923-24 season:

> The basketball season is at hand. For some unknown reason -- perhaps it is the appeal to the primitive instinct of fighting, maybe from the clan urge -- the people of Muncie always agree upon the necessity of standing solidly behind the Central high school team in its contests with other city high school teams. We may disagree about everything else -- and usually do about almost everything else -- but when it comes to backing the high school five in basketball, ... we are a unit.
>
> That indicates that basically there is nothing wrong with us. If the merchant is willing to leave his store, the physician to take abrupt departure of his patients, and the manufacturer to forsake the gods of the iron wheels in order to "root" for a crowd of boys in their "teens" who are striving to place more basket-balls in a ring than the boys who oppose them from some other community, that indicates a solidarity of interest that is not to be lightly discounted.[28]

In high school basketball the values of the dominant economic order were wedded with ethnic identification, thereby making it easier for the working class to join with reformers, educators, and boosters in the celebration of the local team's physical strength, thoughness, intense effort, teamwork, and competitiveness. While many of these values harkened back to a bygone era on the rugged frontier, they also just so happened to work well within the new economic order of industrial capitalism. Newspaper articles, yearbook clippings, and advertisements reveal how these values pervaded the basketball-mad culture of Indiana.

A *Muncie Evening Press* article early during the 1920-21 season, for example, declared that strong physical condition was

"the most sought after attribute of a basket ball team." Each coach, the article stated, aimed to place his team in "that state of physical perfection that will keep a team fresh and fast right up to the final whistle; that will keep it at the same speed in the last five minutes as in the opening quarter."[29] During the course of that season the paper went from blaming the team's failures on "a lack of observing training rules" to attributing their successes to the development of stamina by following the exercise regiment of the team's trainer, Ray Master.[30]

The press often pointed to physical strength developed through disciplined training methods as the crucial difference between winning and losing. A lack of strength meant a weakness of character that ultimately would cause the team's demise, as indicated by this 1924 *Muncie Evening Press* editorial:

> ...members of the Central five figure that so long as they win their games, they may do as they like about training but there's a time coming when they won't win their games. Just how the Bearcats expect to play in a tournament when they haven't stamina enough to last through forty minutes of one game is more than we can figure. We've already heard the excuse that Muncie was tired out from the Newcastle game the night before. In any tournament there's games the night before and there's games the same day and if a team isn't able to stand the gaff, it is eliminated by a better outfit.
>
> Save for one or two members the entire outfit is failing to keep training. Late hours, almost any kind of diet, eating anything they want before a game, however pleasant it may be for the players themselves, has never been advised by any real trainer.... When members of the team are false to the trust which has been placed in them each violation of the training ethics does just that much to counter balance his work.[31]

Similarly, the *New Castle Daily Courier* attributed a New Castle loss to Connersville High School to the fact that "every member of the team but one had spent the previous evening until the small wee hours in jollification and were in no condition to play good basketball."[32]

A well-conditioned high school basketball team symbolized the success of the YMCA, Playground Movement, and physical education programs of the public school system that had tried to literally give muscle to the next generation of leaders in reaction to the weakening influence of an increasingly sedentary urban existence. As Donald J. Mrozek has pointed out, by the end of the nineteenth century, experts believed sports could replace the frontier experience as a way for both spiritual and physical renewal. In disciplines such as religion, medicine, nutrition, and physical education, regenerative strategies focused on the moral power of the body. The growing importance of scientific and medical research as a means of gaining control over one's life influenced religious leaders to have a more favorable attitude toward the material world. Consequently, "the body claimed more attention as a vehicle for right conduct in this world and, increasingly, as the model of life in the next."[33] In this context, physical regeneration to many Christian reformers became as important as salvation of the soul. The strength displayed by high school basketball teams in Indiana reassured people that the regenerative programs of reform-minded institutions had well prepared the next generation to successfully live in an increasingly competitve world. Conversely, the lack of

physical fitness signaled a team not ready to compete, thereby almost assuring defeat.[34]

High school yearbooks, written by students, provide direct evidence of how the fans joined the social reformers and educators in this celebration of physical strength. The *Anderson High School X-Ray* during the 1910s and 20s, for example, routinely described players as "the strongest and most fit." The student's preoccupation with physical strength showed an embrace of values consistent with industrial capitalism. The 1915 *X-Ray* explained that center Firman Davis had "proved he was best suited for the position of center by the relentless law of 'survival of the fittest,'" showing how this celebration of strength incorporated the principles of Social Darwinism.[35] The 1914 *X-Ray* similarly described Arlo Byrum as one who could "survive in a world among all types."[36] Social Darwinism fit well within the economic order of industrial capitalism which also taught that only the strongest few could survive the rigors of a competitive marketplace. In this context, a January, 1913 article in the *Muncie Evening Press* presented a pedagogical defense of physical training in the public schools that stated "in these days of the survival of the fittest it is important that the bodies of the future citizens of the nation shall be as well trained as their minds."[37]

These press and high school yearbook clippings reveal the public's acceptance of a pedagogy in vogue at this time that believed in preparing young people, especially boys, for a competitive market economy. The 1917 President of the IHSAA Board of Control, W.A. Denny, preached this philosophy that believed in the important role

team sports like basketball played in developing strong bodies ready to compete:

> The instinct for play in both men and animals suggests natures means for bringing about certain changes necessary for proper muscular development and maintenance of bodily vigor. To be a good animal is natures prerequisite to future growth, success, or contentment.... The sustained effort in competition, the determined struggle for mastery, and the persistent attempt to succeed are excellent qualities for scholastic attainment.[38]

Advertisements featuring players also provide evidence of how people connected the value of physical strength to high school basketball. Keep in mind that advertisements, whether successful or not, typically tried to connect a product with a community's zeitgeist. As Roland Marchand suggests, "among elite communicators, advertisers have been motivated by a particularly direct and intense need to understand and communicate effectively with their audiences."[39] They have a vested interest in trying to understand how the audience will respond to an advertisement's message.

Though the reader did not automatically embrace the intended message, because of the merchant's goal to effectively communicate with the consumer, there is a good chance the values an advertisement associated with a high school basketball player or team reflected to some degree the audience's beliefs. Muncie's two daily papers, the *Muncie Morning Star* and *Muncie Evening Press*, at tournament time each year ran several pages of these advertisements that used Bearcat players to promote products. One such advertisement for Bake-Rite Products stated, "its a quality

team trained rite and coached rite. There's a lot of satisfaction in having such a team represent Muncie."[40] Another advertisement for a local bank insisted that, "basketball is similar to banking: It takes training and saving...."[41] Others actually claimed their product helped the team gain the physical strength needed to win: "The Bearcats Ate Meadow gold butter and won the regional. To win they need the growth-promoting elements contained only in butter."[42]

The development of physical strength alone, however, was not enough to give these communities hope for the future. The call from IHSAA's W.A. Denny for a "sustained effort in competition" also became an important value the people of these communities looked for in their team. Often described by the local press, advertisements, and high school yearbooks as a "fightin' spirit," the spectators' admiration of a player's determination was an ideological amalgamation of the Protestant work ethic of an agrarian past and the Social Darwinism of an industrial present. Indicative of this praise for tireless effort was this fan's poem in the *Muncie Evening Press* before the 1924 regional tournament at Richmond:

> It isn't the score you have at the end,
> But how you play and why.
> It's whether your spirit will crack or bend,
> Or whether you'll fight and try.[43]

The following season the *Muncie Evening Press* also praised the team's effort after a particularly rough victory against a tough Summitville team in which "charging, hacking and pushing were much in evidence," but by game's end "it became merely a case of the team with the most fight winning."[44]

Nothing impressed the local press in these three communities more than a player's display of strength and determination by refusing to come out of a game despite an apparent injury. The *New Castle Daily Courier* proudly reported that though a Centerville High School player ran his knee into the stomach of a New Castle player nicknamed "Ice", "he soon revived and pluckily went back into the game, refusing to allow any one to substitute for him."[45]

Once again, the student-produced yearbooks provide further evidence that the fans along with the social and economic elites of their day shared this ideology that valued toughness, determination, and courage. While recounting Muncie's loss to New Castle High School in the 1922 sectional tournament championship game, 15-12, the *Muncie High School Magician* explained that despite Arthur Beckner's sprained ankle, Freddie Mace's cut cheek, and Harmon Ulery's bandaged face, the team displayed "spirit and fight until the last," making defeat a little easier to swallow.[46] The following year the *Magician* said Theodore Bebout, guard on the 1922-23 Bearcats, "was noted for his 'never-say-die' spirit and kept the boys right at it." Likewise, forward Robert Poorman was "chuck full of fight and certainly [did] not know the word 'quit'," garnering "a host of admirers for his clean playing and for his ever-present 'fightin' spirit." That year the Muncie team lost in the state championship game against Vincennes High School, 27-18, but during a close 33-30 victory against Richmond High School in the quarter-final game of the state tournament the *Magician* reported that the Bearcats showed "the greatest fight put up by any basketball team in the history of Hoosier basket-balldom."[47]

The Anderson and New Castle high school yearbooks also used the language of the local press by praising their players as demonstrating "an inexhaustible fighting spirit that never weakened." Several players on the 1913-14 Anderson team were described as "exhibiting that 'never-give-up' spirit."[48] Though the following year's team lacked size and lost in the sectional tournament to a "strong Hartford City team," they "never lost heart, always remaining true sports and fighting grimly until the end, things which always characterize the men that Anderson sends...."[49] The 1926 *Anderson X-Ray* described the coaching policy of Alan Staggs as developing not a "basketball machine," but rather "real fight" and "manly traits" in his players.

Juxtaposing the players' fight and manliness against the image of a machine provides a glimpse at the complexity and sometimes ambiguous nature of the cultural meanings expressed by those supporting these teams. The high school yearbooks associated manliness with the characteristics of strength, toughness, and a fighting spirit. Other times the yearbooks praised the players' teamwork or machine-like precision, but they usually linked the team's masculinity with these traits more commonly associated with the rugged individualism of the state's rural tradition. In this context, dependence on a machine, a symbol of the industrial economy, only served to weaken or emasculate the players. By displaying toughness, strength, and a never-say-die attitude, these teams showed that the young men raised in these communities could retain their masculinity even in the face of the feminizing effects of an urban-industrial social and economic order.

On the one hand a machine symbolized the emasculating forces of industrialization, but it also represented the efficiency, productivity, and hope inherent in these communities recent economic growth. Besides physical strength and dogged determination, the local press and high school yearbooks also praised the players' teamwork. In doing so, the *Anderson Herald*, *Muncie Evening Press*, *Muncie Morning Star*, and *New Castle Daily Courier* borrowed the language of the industrial economy by commonly describing the teams as "machines." In victory the local press of these three communities typically characterized the teams as "smooth-running machines." Or when a player performed admirably they were often referred to as "important cogs in the machine."[50] In a description of the New Castle team after an impressive victory over Muncie, the *New Castle Daily Courier* wrote that the team played with "machine-like precision" as each player passed the ball to others in an effort to secure the best shot each trip down the floor.[51] Later that year after a victory over Richmond High School the paper once again praised New Castle's teamwork, noting "that individual playing on a team does not count, but that team work, in which every man tries his best to get the ball to another player who has a better chance at the goal is the real leader."[52] A 1921 story in the *Muncie Evening Press* commented that "a successful basketball team must be composed of units who are friendly to the progress of brother units and who do not take a chance with a brother unit who has a better opportunity to increase the efficiency of the machine." This story particularly praised Wendell Owens, guard on the Muncie team, who "usually sacrifices an

attempt at the basket when he can find a teammate in a better position to shoot."[53]

Conversely, if the team played poorly, the papers pointed to selfish play as the cause. During the 1924 season the *Muncie Evening Press* attributed several poor outings by the Bearcats' to such play: "Just why players should sacrifice the honor of the entire quintet just for a few withered laurels which may come to themselves, is a mystery." The story went on to note that on "too many occasions individual players have refused to pass the ball to teammates nearer the basket preferring to take long shots themselves." Before the upcoming 1924 tournament this story warned the Bearcats that "the schools which gain the recognition in the coming sectional, regional and state classics will be the ones which have basketball teams, not basketball players."[54]

If there is any doubt that those supporting the local high school team had been affected by and to a significant degree accepted the ideology of industrial capitalism, consider once again the student-produced high school yearbooks' description of the various teams as "machine-like." The 1914 *Anderson High School X-Ray* in its review of the basketball season stated "as each game came on it [the team] grew better and improved until such a point of efficiency was reached that it was developed into a regular machine, each part dependent upon the other and each part working for the whole...."[55] In the 1918 *X-Ray* the "Review of the Season" described the team as "working together like clock work and with machine-like precision."[56] The 1916 *Muncie High School Magician* similarly attributed the success of its team to "going through steady machine-

like maneuvers for three nights a week."[57] Though not using "machine" in its description of the team, the 1922 *New Castle High School Rosennial* also used language consistent with the corporate morality of the day:

> Every man played for the team and no discontent or "crabbing" occurred during the entire season. When a substitute was sent in, he did his best, the retiring player wishing him good luck and encouraging him to play his best for the honor of the school. This is probably one of the main reasons that the team worked in perfect harmony throughout the basketball season.[58]

A successful basketball team represented the values of sacrifice, cooperation, and obedience. In order to win, the members of the team had to accept the idea that for the good of the whole, they might not even get to play in the games. In other words, these teams exemplified the sort of social cooperation applicable to a corporate industrial society.[59]

The description of teams as "machines" and players as "cogs" signify how the values of industrial capitalism had become deeply embedded in the culture of these communities. The machine, symbol of the industrial revolution, became an important metaphor that reveals the deeper cultural meanings of these games. Not simply representative of a pastoral tradition, these young basketball players symbolized the precision and efficiency of machine-based production. In both the factory and on the basketball court, the machine produced best. Similarly, the concept of team play supported the corporate morality of this era instead of the rugged individualism of the state's rural past. Just as the employee had to sacrifice personal goals for the good of the company, players were

expected to set aside individual achievements for the good of the team.

Once again, the cultural meanings of high school basketball were complex. In their support of the local team, fans supported values that presumably prepared young people for an industrial-based economy while simultaneously embracing values that harkened back to the nineteenth-century social order of the small rural village or frontier. While images of teamwork and precision signified readiness for the future, strength and toughness represented a cultural construction of pre-industrial notions of masculinity. Physical expression became inextricably linked to notions of masculinity while women were encouraged to "contain their bodies."[60] Many in these communities reacted to the increased involvement of women in public life at the beginning of the twentieth century by trying to reassert traditional, middle-class, or even Victorian notions of gender. The creation of distinctive rules for boys' and girls' basketball provides clear evidence of how these communities constructed meanings of masculinity and femininity.

Public educators and social reformers supported the establishment of separate rules for women's basketball around the turn of the century. The first such rules for women's basketball were established in 1899 by a National Women's Basketball Committee under the auspices of the American Physical Education Association. First published in 1901 by the Spalding sporting goods company, these rules divided the court into three parts, front-, center-, and backcourt regions, with six players designated as forwards, centers, or guards correspondingly and confined to their

section of the court. Players were also restricted to only one dribble (later modified to allow three dribbles) and prohibited to make physical contact or hinder the shooter in any way. In contrast, the boys' rules allowed the players to run the entire court and placed fewer restrictions on dribbling and guarding the offensive player.[61] As historian Susan Cahn has noted, the women's rules resulted from social reformers' "concerted attack on the popular sport of basketball, which seemed to them unfeminine and dangerous when played before raucous mixed-sex crowds and under the influence of male coaches or business interests."[62]

Interschool games between girls' teams were rare during the first three decades of the twentieth century, as the National Section on Women's Athletics (NSWA), the primary organization that promoted the enforcement of separate rules for girls' basketball, urged state high school Girls' Athletic Associations (GAA) around the nation to limit girls' basketball to intramural competition. The local GAA's that organized girls' basketball in Indiana adopted this policy and made intramural play under NSWA rules the norm. In 1923 the IHSAA Board of Control became the governing body for girls' athletics and immediatedly declared that "girls could not play [basketball] by boys' rules under any condition."[63]

Women social reformers around the turn of the century, such as Smith College Athletic Director Senda Berenson Abbot, discouraged interscholastic competition because of a belief that an emphasis on competition would ultimately detract from the physical education and health purposes of play.[64] Unlike boys' basketball in Indiana, the social reformers maintained a higher degree of control

over girls' basketball. Though in a few states such as Iowa and Texas interscholastic girls' basketball not only survived but thrived as people packed the gyms to watch the games, in Indiana the social reformers won the day in their efforts to protect girls from public salaciousness and display by postponing the initiation of an ISHAA girls' state tournament until 1976.[65]

One educator, J. Anna Norris, warned against "the dangers of basket ball" for women by stating:

> It is quite possible for it to foster a spirit of boisterousness and mannishness, and this is especially likely to crop out if match games with other institutions are played, or if newspapers over-emphasize the event, or if games are played before audiences that treat them as spectacles.... The danger of the development of the wrong attitude is one of the strong reasons brought forward against permitting interscholastic games.[66]

At another time she stated that because "woman is not essentially a fighting animal," the "essential feature" of girls' rules was to "discourage personal contact."[67]

Just like the cultural meanings of high school basketball that served to marginalize African Americans and other ethnic groups, these communities coalesced around a Victorian social construction of gender roles that relegated women to a subordinated status. In reaction to the dramatic social, cultural, and economic changes over the last several years that included a larger number of women entering the work force, many in these communities tried to reassert the "cult of domesticity" in efforts to redefine their newly industrialized community.[68]

The economic implications in these efforts to create a separate, non-competitive, private sphere for girls' basketball were clear. The promoters of basketball in the public school system believed the game offered lessons valuable to the future workers of an industrial society. The values of obedience, cooperation, self-sacrifice, and discipline learned by playing basketball prepared young men and women alike how to successfully get along in and contribute to a corporate and industrial economic order. Educators believed organized team sports like basketball offered a highly rationalized form of competition that reflected the corporate morality of industrial capitalism. But while both boys and girls were to learn a corporate morality by participating in basketball, only boys could actually participate in an openly competitive version of the game. This distinction acted to reinforce women's subordination in a society where open competition was the very foundation of the economic order. Whereas boys were expected to grow up and compete in the marketplace, girls should only participate in the economy as factory employees, clerical workers, or housewives. The lessons learned from open competition were reserved for boys.

In contrast to the emphasis on physical strength and competition, girls' athletics aimed to create good sports and team players. Consider the one-page spread on girls' athletics in the 1919 New Castle High School yearbook. Besides a "class basketball tournament," girls had the opportunity to participate in "after school calisthenics, baseball, folk dancing, hikes, spreads and general good times." Female students themselves wrote that it was "worth while

to belong to promote good sportsmanship" and learn "that the basis of all games is team-work; we have learned how to lose, besides." In conclusion they stated that "not the least dear to our hearts was the athletic spread at the "Y" on April 23. It is an impossibility to do justice to the eats...."[69] Not only did the activities completely lack the sort of heated and physical competition inherent in the boys' games, the year concluded with an affair that appealed to women's domestic nature.

* * *

In his basketball trilogy about the mythical "fighting five" of Mayfield High School, Harold M. Sherman inadvertently offered a fictional account of how the values of industrial capitalism permeated Indiana boys' high school basketball. Author of several books of fiction on sports in the 1920s and 30s for adolescent readers, Sherman started his writing career as a reporter for the *Marion Chronicle* from 1921 to 1924 where he observed firsthand the mania surrounding Indiana high school basketball. Marion, home of the 1926 state champions, is a town approximately thirty miles north of the Anderson-Muncie-New Castle triangle.

In the first book, *Mayfield's Fighting Five* (1926), Sherman introduces the reader to Lance Sparks, son of the wealthiest man in Mayfield. Lance comes home to organize a high school basketball team without the assistance of a gym or coach after spending a year attending the high school in nearby Elton, county seat and home of the defending state champions. Before Lance takes the initiative to start a boys' high school basketball team, Mayfield had little to offer and "felt the insecurity of a small town" in relation to the

much larger Elton. "The only distinguishing point about Mayfield was the fact that an interurban whizzed through the town once every hour."[70] Elton, on the other hand, with a population of 30,000 had already experienced industrial growth and boasted of its beautiful high school gymnasium that sat 3,000 people.

Lance had never played basketball before going to Elton, but while there he quickly learned that "basketball had become the king of sports. The entire city of Elton had gone basketball mad. Boys who played on the Elton High team were popular heroes and every robust fellow in school was regarded as a possible star."[71] Lance left Elton High and the chance of starting on the varsity squad because he believed Elton to be "so all-fired stuck up with its own importance!"[72] He wanted to prove that Mayfield could compete with the likes of Elton. Lance and sixteen other Mayfield boys began practicing in a vacant lot through the heat of the summer and in a small warehouse during the cold of winter. With no gymnasium, Lance and the boys could only schedule a few away games during their first season. Nevertheless, the team ventured to Elton at season's end to play in the sectional tournament. Despite the lack of game experience, Mayfield miraculously defeated Elton in the championship game on Lance's last-second field goal.

At the beginning of Sherman's melodrama, Mayfield stood in stark contrast to the industrialized Elton. Mayfield symbolized a small rural village where the "gumption" of a group of young men could still make a difference in the town's fortunes. Elton, on the other hand, represented a city that had already passed this stage of economic development and could no longer completely recapture the

innocence of a Mayfield. Instead, the high school basketball team of Elton High had become an instrument of the bureaucratic school system and local Chamber of Commerce. Sherman wrote that Elton was most proud of "its splendid public school system" and that "the Elton Chamber of Commerce distributed advertising literature inviting every one who did not live in Elton to move there immediately."[73] The Elton High state championship team, along with its glorious gymnasium, provided evidence of Elton's economic progress, at the same time the team's success was a product of the regulative, hierarchical social and economic order historian Robert H. Wiebe described as typical of the new urban centers of the Progressive Era.[74]

By story's end, however, Mayfield begins to measure its own success by Elton's standards. The town wants to immediately parlay the team's victory over Elton into a new gymnasium as a symbol of its own progress:

> On the special interurban, crammed with the victory-crazed Mayfieldites, which pulled out of Elton City that night, a committee of loyal dark horse supporters- headed by Doc Brady and including such prominent citizens as Principal Tucker, Major Ellerbee, Jerry Evans and Lance's own father- took up a collection toward a fund for the building of a fine gymnasium on the vacant lot which had been the scene of so many faithful practices the past summer.[75]

Once built, the new Community House stood as a monument to Mayfield's spirit as displayed by Lance and his teammates' determination. As the second book of the trilogy, *Get 'Em Mayfield* (1927), begins, Jerry Evans, proprietor of Mayfield's General store, points out to a traveling salesman that the town is no longer just a

sleepy rural village: "Look at the new buildings going up... that dry goods store across the way!... S'pose you heard about the new factory coming here, too?... Mayfield's booming man--booming! Where have you been?" When asked by the salesman to account for this dramatic growth, Jerry simply says, "Basketball!"[76] Later Sherman writes:

> Mayfield had gone on record as owing the boys an eternal vote of gratitude for having engendered a spirit which had done more to bring about real community cooperation and development than any other factor in the town's history.[77]

No longer focused on the differences between Mayfield and Elton, Sherman now portrays Mayfield as building itself in Elton's image. Just like Elton, the basketball team and the new gymnasium act as both the impetus for economic expansion and evidence of the town's progress.

Not surprisingly, by the second book Sherman describes the Mayfield basketball team not only as tough and determined, but also as playing with "clocklike precision."[78] The Mayfield Fighting Five, like the Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle teams, had become symbols for the values associated with industrial capitalism. Sherman unwittingly revealed how high school basketball in Indiana in the 1920s became a means for communities to comply with the dominant order by celebrating values such as physical strength, determination, and machine-like teamwork. The display of these values offered hope for a better future to those living in towns like the mythical Mayfield caught in the middle of change.

* * *

Although Indiana high school baskeball was produced by the forces of domination, once created it became a subject for the masses to interact with and change according to their needs and desires. It is in this interaction between producer and consumer that one finds the semiotic richness of popular culture generally and Indiana high school basketball in the 1910s and 20s specifically. In many ways the desires of the large working class that supported these teams complied with the values of the social reformers, educators, and industrialists, but in other ways the coming together at the high school gym offered an opportunity for the workers of these towns and cities to express their resistance to forces of domination. Indiana high school basketball in the 1910s and 20s also allowed those subordinated by the new order to create their own culture free from the ordinary social and economic restraints. Though high school basketball games always contained expressions of the dominant order, it concurrently contained expressions of resistance.

Chapter Five Notes

[1]*Muncie Evening Press*, March 10, 1924, 5.

[2]*Muncie Evening Press*, March 9, 1923, 4.

[3]David G. Martin, "Gymnasium or Coliseum?: Basketball, Education and the Community Impulse in Indiana in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Hoosier Schools: Past and Present*, (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1996).

[4]*New Castle High School Rosennial, 1922*, 61-62. The daily newspapers in Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle also covered the YMCA junior league games and state tournament during these years. Tracing the rosters of these teams in the *Anderson Herald*, *Muncie Morning Star*. *Muncie Evening Press*, and *New Castle Daily Courier* reveals that almost without exception these players subsequently played on the high school team. Each high school's annual, the *Anderson High School X-Ray*, *Muncie High School Magician*, and *New Castle High School Rosennial*, also identified most of the players on the team as former YMCA junior league stars.

[5]Phillip M. Hoose, *Hoosiers: The Fabulous Basketball Life of Indiana* , Second Edition (Indianapolis, Indiana: Guild Press of Indiana, Inc., 1995), 149-150.

[6]New Castle had a black player on their 1917 team and Muncie Central's star center on their 1931 state championship team, 6'7" Jack Mann, was black. But during the 1920s no black players played on Anderson, Muncie, or New Castle high school basketball teams. The ban on all-black and parochial schools was lifted in December, 1941 after Trester reversed his position in the face of mounting political pressure initiated by Indiana's sole black legislator, Robert Brokenburr. In light of black and Catholic soldiers going off to fight in World War II, Brokenburr's campaign to allow all-black and parochial schools into the IHSAA gained momentum. Public sentiment at the time was that if blacks and Catholics could risk their lives fighting in the war, they too should be allowed to play for the IHSAA state championship. With the editorial backing of the state's largest daily paper, *The Indianapolis Star*, and the support of

a growing number of other state legislators, Trester opened the IHSAA to both black and parochial schools, Hoose, 155.

[7]*The Anderson High School X-Ray, 1927*, 107.

[8]*Anderson High School X-Ray, 1915*, 72-73.

[9]Report of these services appeared regularly in the local papers. Two such examples can be found in the *Muncie Morning Star*, March 6, 1924, 9 and March 2, 1928, 5.

[10]*New Castle Daily Courier*, March 8, 1913.

[11]Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 216-268, 482-511, 582.

[12]Ibid.

[13]*The New Castle Daily Courier*, March 8, 1913, 8.

[14]*Anderson High School X-Ray, 1919*, 91.

[15]Peter Levine, *Ellis Island To Ebbets Field: Sport and the American Jewish Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 3-10; Edward Ross, *The Old World and the New* (New York, 1913), 289-290. See also, Donald Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983); T. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon, 1981); Dominic Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880-1920* (Philadelphia, 1981).

[16]See Kathleen Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1991) 17-23; Seymour Martin Lipset, "An Anatomy of the Klan," *Commentary* 40 (October 1965): 74-83; Guy B. Johnson, "A Sociological Interpretation of the New Ku Klux Klan Movement," *Journal of Social Forces* 1 (May 1923): 440-445; Paul L. Murphy, "Normalcy, Intolerance, and the American Character," *Virginia Quarterly Review* 40 (Summer 1964): 444-459; James H. Shideler,

"'Flappers and Philosophers,' and Farmers: Rural Urban Tensions of the Twenties," *Agricultural History* 47 (October 1973).

[17]Blee, *Women of the Klan*, 18.

[18]"Ernst and Ernst Report," D.C. Stephenson Collection, Indiana Historical Society. Leonard J. Moore, *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921-1928* (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 46-50.

[19]Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), tables 1,8,9,10,11 and p. 316; Lynds, *Middletown*, 352.

[20]Moore, 61-70.

[21]*Muncie Post-Democrat*, June 15, 1923, 1.

[22]Ku Klux Klan Reel #1, Archives Division, Indiana Commission on Public Records. This number comes from testimony from Muncie Klan leaders in a civil suit filed against D.C. Stephenson.

[23]Certainly the $10.00 initiation fee caused many from the lower class not to join. For unskilled workers at the time, this amount equalled a quarter to a half of their average weekly income.

[24]Moore, 61-70.

[25]Moore, 101.

[26]Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours For What We Will: Workers & Leisure In An Industrial City, 1870-1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[27]Moore.

[28]*Muncie Eveing Press*, January 3, 1924, 4.

[29]*Muncie Evening Press*, December 15, 1920, 7.

[30]*Muncie Evening Press*, February 24, 1921, 5; March 7, 1921, 5.

[31]*Muncie Evening Press*, January 29, 1924, 7.

[32]*New Castle Daily Courier*, February 14, 1913, 8.

[33]Mrozek, 5.

[34]Ibid., 3-27.

[35]*Anderson High School X-Ray, 1914-15*, 72.

[36]*Anderson High School X-Ray, 1913-14*, 54.

[37]*Muncie Evening Press*, January 28, 1913, 9.

[38]*IHSAA Report of the Board of Control, 1917*, 7.

[39]Roland Marchand, *Advertising The American Dream: Making Way For Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), xix.

[40]*Muncie Morning Star*, March 13, 1926, 6.

[41]*Muncie Evening Press*, March 4, 1925, 7.

[42]*Muncie Evening Press*, March 19, 1925, 5.

[43]*Muncie Evening Press*, March 7, 1924, 4.

[44]*Muncie Evening Press*, December 27, 1924, 5.

[45]*New Castle Daily Courier*, January 4, 1913, 8.

[46]*Muncie High School Magician, 1921-22.*

[47]*Muncie High School Magician, 1922-23.*

[48]*Anderson High School X-Ray, 1913-14*, 55.

[49]*Anderson High School X-Ray, 1914-15*, 70.

[50]*Anderson Herald*, February 12, 1921, 5; *Muncie Evening Press* , March 12, 1923, 5; *Muncie Morning Star*, March 11, 1926, 10, are but a few examples of the papers using "machine" to describe the teamwork of the team.

[51]*New Castle Daily Courier*, January 30, 1915, 3.

[52]*New Castle Daily Courier*, March 8, 1915, 1.

[53]*Muncie Evening Press*, February 24, 1921, 5.

[54]*Muncie Eveing Press,* January 29, 1924, 7.

[55]*Anderson High School X-Ray, 1914*, 70.

[56]*Anderson High School X-Ray, 1918*, 62-63.

[57]*Muncie High School Magician, 1916.*

[58]*New Castle High School Rosennial, 1922*, 52.

[59]See Timothy P. O'Hanlon, "School Sports as Social Training: The Case of Athletics and the Crisis of World War I," *Journal of Sport History,* Vol. 9, No. 1 (Spring, 1982): 5-29.

[60]Susan Cahn, *Coming On Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sport* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 99-100.

[61]Cahn, 86.

[62]Ibid., 87.

[63]*IHSAA Report of the Board of Control, 1924*, 106.

[64]Herb Schwomeyer, *Hoosier HERsteria (A History of High Schools Girls Basketball),* (Greenfield, IN, 1985), 113; Martin.

[65]Schwomeyer, 287.

[66]Schwomeyer, 43; Martin.

[67]J. Anna Norris, "Basketball," in Trilling Papers, General Subject Files - Basketball, Women's Phys. Ed. Papers, University of Wisconsin Archives, as quoted in Cahn, 99.

[68]See Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977) for a good explanation regarding the cult of domesticity.

[69]*New Castle High School Rosennial, 1919*, 95.

[70]Harold M. Sherman, *Mayfield's Fighting Five* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1926), 6, 29.

[71]Ibid., 9.

[72]Ibid., 47.

[73]Ibid., 7.

[74]Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search For Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

[75]Sherman, *Mayfield's Fighting Five*, 56-57.

[76]Sherman, *Get "Em Mayfield* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1927), 2.

[77]Ibid., 11.

[78]Ibid., 55.

CHAPTER SIX

An Amusement For the Community: High School Basketball as an Expression of Cultural Resistance

While a nostalgic longing for a simpler time, ethnic identification, and hope for the future all found expression in the early support for Indiana high school basketball, the new spectator sport simultaneously offered an opportunity for the industrial workforce to assert a measure of resistance to an imposed social order. As with other forms of mass entertainment that emerged around the turn of the twentieth century, Indiana high school basketball provided a chance for consumers to negotiate with producers in creating new cultural meanings.[1] The local high school gymnasium became a middle ground where an increasingly alienated working class and self-proclaimed cultural arbiters could meet and generate alternative meanings.[2] Though the cultural patterns produced by reformers, educators, and boosters were deeply embedded in Indiana high school basketball, it also offered workers and their families a chance to express themselves free from the relatively tight social and economic control imposed at work and school.[3]

At a high school basketball game rules and unruliness balanced each other precariously. Increasingly separated from the restraints of a nineteenth-century genteel culture, people by the 1910s and 20s

felt free to express themselves at these games. While demanding discipline, obedience, and cooperation from the high school basketball teams they supported, fans in the stands sometimes acted undisciplined and disobedient. The gymnasium became a place where people celebrated a temporary suspension of hierarchical rank. With the usual restraints of society momentarily lifted, fans behind the anonymity of a large crowd challenged the control of the dominant order.[4] Akin to the pre-industrial carnivals and festivals where customary roles were reversed, hierarchies overturned, and social restraints suspended, high school basketball games became an institutional way for those living in a newly industrialized society to transform traditional values and social roles. While the fans celebrated the values of the established social and economic order as displayed on the court, they simultaneously mocked it by their unrestrained and irreverent behavior in the stands.[5]

Consider a game at the end of the 1917-18 season between Anderson and Muncie high schools. A natural rivalry had developed between these cities because of their close proximity, comparable size, and similar economic development. Since the late nineteenth century these cities had battled each other for economic supremacy in this region of Indiana. Reflecting the competition of these two cities as manifested by the race to construct high school gymnasiums in the 1920s, spectators from each city got especially keyed up when the two teams played each other. In this way, the fans actually mirrored the competitive nature of the capitalistic social and economic order.

But the manner in which spectators expressed this competitiveness at these games often conflicted with the value of self-control Progressive Era social reformers wanted to instill in the players.[6] When Anderson came to do battle with Muncie on March 1, 1918, "antagonism among certain ... spectators was evident from the start of the game." In a heated and close game, an Anderson and Muncie player found themselves in a fight for a loose ball. At the same time, two other players from opposing teams went to the floor in a tussle, and spectators began to spill onto the floor to join the melee. When the Anderson coach, Alan Staggs, stepped onto the floor to try and stop the fighting, "a crowd of young fellows started after him." After a Muncie fan actually struck the visiting team's coach, a group of Anderson players literally formed a ring around Staggs "to prevent the increasing crowd from getting to him." After Coach Staggs and his team made it safely into their locker room, the Anderson team decided to forfeit the game and not risk venturing back into the hostile gym.[7]

The riotous crowd at this Anderson-Muncie game represented the freedom from social restraints many felt at the high school gym. Instead of merely being passive recipients of the values social reformers, educators, or industrialists wanted to instill in the production of high school basketball, these spectators became actively involved in changing the nature of the game. While displaying the thirst for winning inherent in a capitalistic society, by joining the fray, the fans also took part in interrupting and destroying the discipline and order of a game meant to impose a particular value system.

Preserved as a place where people could act out without fear of the consequences, these games offered release from the pressures of modern life. As demonstrated by the 1918 Muncie-Anderson game, this release sometimes manifested itself in physical aggression against fans of an opposing team. The previous year's game between the two teams ended similarly with an altercation between each side's supporters. No longer restrained by outside economic or social considerations, spectators literally fought for their team. The *New Castle Daily Courier* also regularly reported this sort of fan aggression at New Castle High School basketball games. During a game in 1915 against Connersville High School, for example, the paper described spectators as running onto the floor, calling players names, and throwing chewing gum, pencil stubs, and "anything else handy" in an effort to influence the outcome.[8] A week later during the sectional tournament at Richmond, Indiana, fans from New Castle and other teams once again joined in creating a reckless and hostile environment. The paper reported that the supporters of one team routinely banged drums or yelled "hoots" loud enough to drown out the organized cheers of the opposing team's fans. According to the *New Castle Daily Courier*, "no such disgraceful scene had been witnessed in the state of Indiana and no such unsportsmanlike attitude had been shown... as long as can be remembered." Often the fans of opposing teams actually got in gang fights at the conclusion of these games.[9]

Beyond the taunting and fighting, spectators joined in creating a carnival atmosphere at the games simply by their over-enthusiastic support of their team. High school basketball games

became a time when people could momentarily "let go." The papers of all three communities typically described the fans as "maniacs" creating a "perfect pandemonium."[10] The noise was often described as so loud that the referee's whistle could not even be heard.[11] The *Muncie Evening Press* described the half-time festivities at a 1923 regional championship game in Fort Wayne, Indiana between Kendallville and Muncie Central high schools in this way:

> Intoxicated with the proverbial joy at their first half triumph, Kendallville's drum corps sallied forth on the playing floor, trying to out-noise the Muncie Central High band. The Muncie band soon afterward got out on the floor also, and there was a terrible racket.[12]

The paper described the fans at a 1924 New Castle-Muncie game as a "seething mass of excited humanity."[13] Even considering the hyperbole common to journalistic writing during this era, the spectators at these games clearly displayed an "unrestrained joy" and enthusiasm.[14]

Instead of demanding discipline and self-control, high school basketball games provided the fans a chance to lose their public decorum and participate in a spirit of recklessness. It was ironic that in the 1920s such behavior took place in gymnasiums that often expressed classical principles of architectural design. Inspired by the Greek gymnasium and approved by educators still trained under the classical curriculum, the design of these facilities conveyed a vision of order through their grandeur, unity, and symmetry. But on cold winter Friday and Saturday nights, these structures could barely contain the disorderly enthusiasm inside.

Describing the quarter-final game of the state championship between Muncie and Richmond, the Muncie Central's 1923 yearbook, *The Magician*, provides a glimpse at the spectator's unbridled enthusiasm. A reported twelve thousand people "swelled the Coliseum" at the Indiana State Fairgrounds to watch a game prognosticators had predicted Richmond would easily win. Spurred on by an enthusiastic crowd, both teams exhibited tremendous intensity right from the start. "Y-e-e-e-a-a-a, Bearcats! Let's fight!" came the war-cry from the Muncie supporters. After a go-ahead field goal by star forward, Walter "Tootie" Thornburg, Muncie's fans "went wild, and the cheering had not died down when BANG! Tootie popped in another one. OH BOY! Never will we forget the noise that one field goal created! Seemed like the whole auditorium was pulling for a Bearcat victory." The lead and momentum changed hands several times throughout the first and second halves, adding to the already intense atmosphere. After Richmond pulled slightly ahead in the second half, Muncie climbed back to tie the score. "By this time the great crowd... was going plain 'nutty' over [the] great up-hill fight...." When the Bearcats took a 31-30 lead with seconds to go, "the roof, no doubt, had a hard time to hold to the rafters as pandemonium let loose." After a 33-30 victory over Richmond "the Muncie section plainly looked like a mob of maniacs...."[15]

At the end of the twentieth century such a scene at a sporting event seems unremarkable. Fans going crazy in this manner at a college or professional basketball or football game today is common, but in the 1910s and 20s athletics as mass entertainment that engendered such unrestrained passion were new to American culture

generally and Indiana culture specifically. In contrast to the social reform origins of school athletics, the sort of environment created by fans at games like the Richmond-Muncie contest was cause for concern among many educators. They worried that a community's intense interest in the outcome of these games would ultimately cause schools to place too much emphasis on basketball at the expense of academics. The concern expressed by the school teacher in Angelo Pizzo's 1986 movie, *Hoosiers*, that too much emphasis on basketball could harm the academic progress of her students was representative of a national trend among educators during the 1910s and 20s that lamented the emerging popularity of school sports. Remember J.T. Giles,1912 President of the IHSAA, who worried that excessive fan involvement in high school basketball might cause an "over indulgence... of those who do participate."[16]

Despite these educators' best attempts, communities continued to fanatically support their local high school basketball team. As a result, athletic associations financed by boosters persisted in hiring coaches, giving players special privileges, and constructing gigantic gyms. Phillip M. Hoose, Indiana high school basketball historian and folklorist, has described these formative years of Indiana high school basketball as full of corruption:

> Winning was everything; amateurism was a cynical joke. Merchants rewarded winning coaches with bonuses - once a Pontiac sedan - and players with gold watches. Coaches went after the parents of any tall boy who could shoot a lick, promising the father a better job in their town.[17]

The locus of control over high school basketball had effectively changed hands. Educators and reformers could not stem

the tide of basketball's popularity. As a result, a symbiotic relationship formed between producers and consumers of the games. Boosters, the Chambers of Commerce, and local business discovered a new way to generate economic development for the city while the people of these communities found a space somewhat free from the forces that otherwise controlled their lives. It should not be assumed, however, that just because their relationship in many ways was mutually beneficial that some ideological consensus developed between classes in the production and consumption of high school basketball. Inherent in Indiana high school basketball's popularity was a conflict of interest, not a liberal pluralism where differences were subordinated in order to maintain the status quo. In this conflict one can see the engine for cultural change.

The producers preferred that the people watching the games behaved in an orderly, disciplined, but enthusiastic manner. And in some ways the fans at the games displayed values, such as competitiveness and loyalty, consistent with the dominant culture. But when the spectator's enthusiasm boiled over into unruly behavior, the educators, reformers, and business leaders saw reason for concern. Those with power had an interest in maintaining the status quo, in protecting the system that advantaged them. This meant tight control over all aspects of community life, both work and leisure. But as shown by their raucous behavior, part of the attraction of these games for those in the working class was the opportunity to publicly display a freedom from social restraint.

Reformers, educators, and business leaders must have especially been concerned when fan enthusiasm grew into a direct

challenge to authority. The fan attack on Coach Staggs during the 1918 Anderson-Muncie game, for instance, amounted to an inversion of the social order. A good indication of the extent of this inversion can be seen in a *Muncie Evening Press* editorial during the 1924 season under the headline, "Don't Give Them Too Much Advice," that warned the people of Muncie against questioning every decision Coach Murray made. Like a scene out of *Hoosiers*, the editorial stated, "a thing that should be strictly forbidden is permitting outsiders to throng into the players' dressing room either before a game or between halves. It is at such times that the 'fans,' with the very best of intentions, may utterly demoralize the team." The paper concluded that if people really had to tell the coach and his players what to do, they should wait till after the games. Unlike at work, church, or even home, people at a high school basketball game fearlessly questioned authority.[18]

This challenge to authority included instances when fans also challenged an official's competence. The local papers routinely reported that spectators openly questioned the judgment of an official. Fans experienced such a close identification with the players that they took calls against the team personally. Not unlike today, many fans went as far as blaming losses on poor officiating. After a disappointing loss to rival Muncie in 1917, for example, Anderson supporters predictably pointed to the officiating as the cause: "This [the loss] is due to the fact that the officiating was so partial to the Muncie lads that it would have been next to impossible for the Anderson High School five to win under any conditions." The *Anderson Herald* reported that "in the opinion of many Anderson

rooters, all the Crawfordsville 'official' lacked was a Muncie uniform. He was just like a regular member of the team and was easily its hardest worker."[19] Reduced to just another player in the drama of a basketball game, the paper symbolically knocked the official down from his authoritative position.

As an act of resistance, questioning a coach's or official's authority is pretty mild. The fact that any challenge to authority was limited to a high school basketball game demonstrated the hegemony of the dominant culture. But at a time when the forces of industrialization and consumerism came together, these acts signified a deeper impulse of the working class to reserve a space free from social control and fear of economic repercussions. The regular criticism against referees and other representatives of authority at these games indicated a more general hostility many felt regarding their subordinated role in society. At the high school gym they could freely and openly express their anger, whereas at the workplace, where their economic security hung in the balance, they could not.

Area educators and businessmen reacted to the growing unruliness of the spectators by trying to incorporate their expressions of resistance into the dominant value system basketball represented. By trying to absorb cultural meanings of resistance into the games, acts of resistance inherent in the games' popularity became a part of the continuing development and changing nature of Indiana high school basketball.[20] Through pep rallies, cheerleaders, and yell practices, the promoters of the games tried to reestablish the dominant order and eliminate any oppositional meanings

expressed by the unbridled enthusiasm of the fans. Sponsored by athletic associations and booster clubs, organized cheering became a way to instill the values of the dominant order into the behavior of the spectators. The producers hoped that these measures would assure an orderly, disciplined, cooperative, yet enthusiastic form of fan support instead of the sort of mayhem common at these games.

Notices of "yell practices," for example, regularly appeared in the Muncie papers before big games, inviting everyone including parents, relatives, townsfolk, and students to attend. After practice the business manager of Muncie's athletic association chartered vehicles to transport the congregation of "organized" rooters to the game. Once at the game, they sat in a block section and performed the yells they learned under the direction of the "yell leader."[21] The *Anderson Herald* described a similar scene at a 1921 game between Anderson and Franklin: "The cheering was the best heard this year. Most of the high school pupils were congregated in the south balcony and went through a series of new yells in regular fashion under the leadership of Charles Heritage and Pup Corder."[22] Though the primary yell leaders were usually male, the years surrounding World War I also witnessed the emergence of female cheerleaders at Indiana high school basketball games: "The Muncie High School girls gathered on the west bleachers and did some most effective yelling under the leadership of Miss Mary Fortney, who also assisted Hacket in leading the general yelling."[23]

In addition to organized yelling, the promoters of high school basketball tried to channel the excitement over an upcoming big game into an organized "pep rally" where enthusiasm could be both

fostered and contained. Before Anderson played in the 1921 state finals, for example, the *Anderson Herald* exhorted "every Anderson basketball fan, high school student or 'outsider' who will go to Indianapolis, ... to attend a big pep session... to be held in the high school auditorium...." At this rally Orlando Jay, the head of the printing department at the high school, distributed "several hundred cards" with five yells printed on them.[24] Before the 1924 regional tournament, Muncie fans first held a "rousing chapel" that featured local pastors and the YMCA director giving talks on the team. At this service "the student body pledged its support to the team through thick and thin whether they were able to follow them to the tourney center or not." Following chapel the congregation was led to a "mammoth pep session... under the direction of Cheer Leaders Andrews and Addison."[25]

In both of these instances, the promoters tried to channel the fans' unrestrained enthusiasm into an orderly, even prayerful, display of support for the local team. Pre-game pep rallies and yell practices offered a way to encourage the town's loyalty and excitement for the team while at the same time instilling a measure of the dominant order back into the spectacle of high school basketball. Just like the team, the fans were expected to mirror the dominant value system with their show of obedience, cooperation, sacrifice, and prayerful dedication. At these rallies people were reminded of the intended role high school basketball played in the life of the community. If, during the course of the game, people could momentarily free themselves from the daily pressures of the dominant order, pep rallies acted to remind everyone of the inter-

connectedness of the town's economy, school, and basketball. In 1919, the New Castle High School's yearbook, *The Rosennial*, showed that this message was at least getting through to the student body:

> Supporting an athletic team means more than joining the Athletic Association and going to the games. It means getting back of every team that wears the New Castle colors and boosting for all that you are worth. When a "pep" meeting is called, get down in the front row, raise the roof, then go to the game and do twice as much howling as you did the first time your dad licked you. Talk up the team and the games. On the street, in your home, wherever you may be. Then when the business men of the town find that the school is whole-heartedly behind the team they will double the support that they now give to the high school team. First back them [the team] yourself, and the business men of the city will back you.[26]

Despite the best efforts of educators and boosters, these measures were not entirely successful. Consider again the 1915 Richmond sectional in which New Castle participated. There the organized yells of one team's fans were constantly being drowned out by the hoots, hollers, and drum banging of another team's supporters.[27] Or on March 1, 1918, when Muncie held a "big yell practice in the high school auditorium" the afternoon before their annual clash with Anderson. After practice the Muncie rooters even went to greet the arriving Anderson crowd at the train station to show off their organized support of the team. Hours later at the game, the Muncie and Anderson fans broke into a "near riot" that, as described earlier, ended with Anderson's Coach Staggs being physically attacked by Muncie rooters.[28] Clearly, organized yelling or pep rallies did not always have the desired effect of creating an orderly, cohesive, and disciplined rooting section. The fans found

ways to resist the efforts of educators and boosters to incorporate this unbridled enthusiasm into the production of the games in such a way as to diffuse its expression of oppositionality.

Instead of offering a way to exercise social control, the pep rally and yell practice reveal how high school basketball became a middle ground for producers and consumers. In these displays of enthusiastic support for the team, one can find the cultural impulses of each. As shown by the fans' enthusiastic support, competitiveness, and civic pride, the producers and consumers expressed shared values. But for the predominantly working class fans, the games also offered a release from the restraints of everyday life. For educators and boosters, on the other hand, high school basketball also provided an opportunity, besides other things, to instill values of discipline, obedience, and a corporate morality. By encouraging the fans to "raise the roof" at yell practices and rallies, the boosters and educators found a way to meet the spectators' desire to escape from the demands of industrial life while offering a way to reassert a degree of discipline and order into the proceedings. In short, the producers in their effort to maintain and expand the popularity of high school basketball were forced, to some degree, accommodate the wishes and desires of the working class.[29]

Yell leaders exemplified this accommodation. Meant to provide hierarchical order to the fanatical support of the team, these leaders at times contributed to the inversion of traditional cultural norms at these games. Besides the fast and physical play of the teams on the court, these yell leaders became another form of

exciting, uninhibited amusement. They, like the minstrelsy, circus, vaudeville, and movies, satisfied a mass desire for sensory appeal and emotional release in the midst of a highly regulated industrial economic and social order. Like the performers of these other forms of entertainment, the yell leaders often provided a theatrical presence that lured spectators further away from their routine existence.[30]

Tamer versions of the freaks featured at the sideshows and exhibits at the Bowery, they fascinated spectators with displays of unconventional behavior. Take, for example, the self-named twins, "Ike and Mike," that led cheers for the Muncie Bearcat's 1920-21 season. According to the high school's annual, *The Magician*, they lived up to their various names, the "Jazz Twins," "Human Nuts," and "Sensationalists," by keeping "the crowd in riotous laughter between the halves and whipping them into a yelling mob before and during the games." Along with the Bearcats, "they worked to produce the spirit that filled the gymnasium game after game to witness the performance of these two combinations." With bodily contortions and clown-like antics, yell leaders like Ike and Mike became part of the show. Meant to organize an often times hysterical crowd into a cohesive demonstration of enthusiastic community support, yell leaders actually offered yet another way for people to escape the demands and restraints of the outside world.[31]

At the high school gymnasium on cold winter Friday and Saturday nights, the combination of the intense action of the basketball game and the orchestrated cheering of the yell leaders and fans made for a carnival-like atmosphere. People could

momentarily experience sensual pleasures not offered in their otherwise disciplined existence. In this way the spectators actively created an alternative culture to the dominant order. While the new cultural arbiters of the twentieth century continuously tried to diffuse cultural meanings of resistance, the spectators always found ways to preserve the high school gymnasium as a place reserved for sheer pleasure. In this way the working class fans actually used the resources provided them by the dominant system, be it the excitement of the game or the antics of the yell leaders, for their own purposes of release and escape.

A Neo-Marxist might question the ability of spectators at a sporting event such as high school basketball to either evade or create an alternative to the dominant order of industrial capitalism. Neo-Marxism preaches that sport spectatorship only diverts potentially revolutionary energies away from political action. As Allen Guttmann has explained, a Neo-Marxist believes "the protest against political and economic injustice is drowned out by the spectators' mindless screams of ecstasy and rage." In addition, they believe spectator sports serves a cathartic function that only acts to strengthen capitalism's hegemony. From this perspective sport spectacles such as Indiana high school basketball creates a safety valve for aggression caused by a repressive capitalistic society. In such a society, the Neo-Marxist believes workers sublimate their sexual energy into productive labor. Sporting events act as a secondary sublimation by offering a venue for people to exhaust any excess repressed energy that cannot be utilized in the economic system. Finally, the rage and anger that should be turned toward the

ruling class is instead directed against the opposing team. Furthermore, the Neo-Marxist believes a working class consciousness cannot develop because feelings of loyalty are formed around an allegiance for the team instead of around economic subordination. Rather than offering an alternative culture, spectator sports, by allowing people to release pent energy and to displace feelings of oppositionality, merely reinforce the dominant economic and social order.[32]

The Neo-Marxist would be right that Indiana high school basketball between 1911 and 1929 did nothing to fundamentally change the industrial-capitalistic system. The emergence of mass culture generally, and Indiana high school basketball specifically, during these years did, in many ways, support the furtherance and strength of the dominant order. Besides deflecting any serious political action against the system, the popularity of high school basketball served well the interests of a consumer culture that financially benefited those in power. But to focus only on how interest in these games advanced industrial capitalism's influence ignores expressions of resistance by the average working-class fan. No, the act of going to the high school gym to support the local team did not offer a chance to radically change the system, but it did enlarge the space in which the working class had to operate. By having space reserved solely for individual and communal pleasure, the working class at least found one place where they could influence their relationship to the dominant order.[33]

Chapter Six Notes

[1]See John F. Kasson, *Amusing the Million: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1978), 4, 9.

[2]The notion of the middle ground between producers and consumers comes from two sources: Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991) and Peter Levine, *Ellis Island to Ebbets Field: Sport and the American Jewish Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). White uses the concept to discuss the process of negotiation between cultures, whereas Levine uses it to explain the process of negotiation between generations.

[3]See Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986) and Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers & Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[4]See Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1984) for a comparative look at how the carnival acted as a temporary liberation from the prevailing truth of the established order. Also look at Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1989) 79 for a discussion of how sport can offers a place where order and control exists in tension with disruption and disorder.

[5]See Bakhtin, Kasson, p. 50, and Harvey Cox, *The Feast of Fools*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969).

[6]See James Naismith, *Basketball: Its Origin and Development* (New York: Association Press, 1941), 187. Naismith listed as one of the values of basketball to be instilling "self control, the subordination of one's feelings for a purpose."

[7]*Muncie Morning Star*, March 2, 1918, 9.

[8]*New Castle Daily Courier*, February 27, 1915, 3.

[9]*New Castle Daily Courier*, March 8, 1915, 1.

[10]*Muncie Morning Star* March 6, 1920, 10, *Munce Evening Press*, March 17, 1923, 1, March 14, 1924, 1, and *Anderson Herald*, March 17, 1918, 1, are but four examples where this sort of language was used to describe the atmosphere at high school basketball games.

[11]*Muncie Evening Press*, December 20, 1920, 5, January 14, 1924, 1, December 20, 1924, 7.

[12]*Muncie Evening Press*, March 12, 1923, 5.

[13]*Muncie Evening Press*, December 24, 1924, 7.

[14]*Muncie Morning Star*, January 28, 1928, 1.

[15]*The Magician, 1923.*

[16]Address from President of the Indiana High School Athletic Association, J.T. Giles, 1912, from the *IHSAA Handbook and Report of the Board of Control, 1912*, 7.

[17]Phillip M. Hoose, *Hoosiers: The Fabulous Basketball Life of Indiana*, 2nd edition(Indianapolis, IN: Guild Press of Indiana, Inc., 1995) 92.

[18]*Muncie Evening Press*, February 9, 1924, 4.

[19]*Anderson Herald*, January 20, 1917, 6.

[20]See M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), Umberto Eco, *Travels in Hyperreality* (London: Picador, 1986), and Fiske, 19.

[21]*The Muncie Evening Press*, February 9, 1916, 6.

[22]*The Anderson Herald*, January 26, 1921, 7.

[23]*Muncie Morning Star*, March 5, 1920, 12.

[24]*Anderson Herald*, March 17, 1921, 5.

[25]*Muncie Morning Star*, March 8, 1924, 9.

[26]*The Rosennial, 1919*. 84.

[27]*New Castle Daily Courier*, March 8, 1915, 1.

[28]*Muncie Morning Star*, February 28, 1918, 11 and March 2, 1918, 9.

[29]Fiske, 43.

[30]See Eric Lott, *Love & Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) and Kasson.

[31]*The Magician, 1921*.

[32]Allen Guttmann, *Sports Spectators* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 149.

[33]Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1975) and Fiske, 54-55.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion: The Rise and Fall of the Hoosier Myth

An Indiana different from the images of small towns, cornfields, and farm houses exists in the northwest region of the state along the shores of Lake Michigan. Known as the Calumet Region, the cities of East Chicago, Hammond, and Gary each have traditionally contained large African American, Slavic, Polish, and Catholic populations since the turn of the twentieth century. Unlike the rest of the state, the large and diverse working class in these steel towns have traditionally voted Democratic and belonged to large national unions. Gary in particular, with its numerous steel mills, dilapidated city streets and buildings, intense poverty, and predominantly African-American population stands outside the pastoral image of Indiana.

The same year Muncie Central won its first state basketball championship, 1928, the all-black Gary Roosevelt High School opened its doors amidst racial tension in the region. Like Crispus Attucks High School in Indianapolis, Gary Roosevelt was denied membership in the IHSAA until 1941. Because young people learned basketball during the first three decades of the twentieth century primarily through the YMCA and physical education programs of public schools, two establishments not readily accessible to African Americans at the time, young blacks in cities like Gary learned the game largely

outside institutions of social control. As Nelson George writes, "basketball was the by-product of a very rational, very rigid, very white world of values and institutions" during the first years of its existence.[1] But by the 1920s African-American educators around the nation initiated efforts to organize athletic associations around the web of all-black colleges and high schools spawned by the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court decision. Young African Americans now had an official venue to develop their athletic skills and influence the way the game of basketball was played.

In 1933 Gary Roosevelt played for the first time in the National Interscholastic Basketball Tournament (NIBT), organized by Charles H. Williams, physical education director at Hampton Institute. At this national tournament for all-black high schools, Gary Roosevelt emerged as the premier team, easily defeating the Henderson Institute of North Carolina in the championship game, 37-6. Roosevelt dominated the competition for the next eight years and proved to be a "crucial incubator of Black basketball style."[2] In 1934, 1935, 1937, and 1938 Gary hosted the tournament in the city's 7,000-seat Municipal Auditorium. Overall attendance at the event in 1935 reached nearly 12,000.[3]

Despite its success in the 1930s, Gary Roosevelt stands outside the lore of Indiana basketball. The style of basketball developed outside the watchful eyes of white Protestant social reformers, educators, and boosters contained much louder expressions of resistance than that played in communities like Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle. While the more structured style of play in the rest of the state reflected the values of the dominant

order, African Americans in Gary, excluded from the social institutions of the mainstream, were free to develop a style that spoke to their marginalized status in society. As early as the 1920s, African Americans around the country began playing a freer, more improvised style of play common today at the high school, college, and professional level. Like jazz musicians, these players rebelled against symbols of social restraint and embraced the freedom of movement the game of basketball offered.[4]

For most Hoosiers before, during, and after the 1920s and 30s, however, basketball was primarily about restraint. Although expressions of resistance did appear in the stands of high school games, fans in places like Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle insisted that their high school teams demonstrate discipline, obedience, and teamwork, values consistent with the goals of the dominant economic and social order. The sometimes apparent contradiction in meaning between the behavior of fans in the stands and the style of game they insisted their team play resulted from a reaction to a complex set of social and economic currents that converged at the same time high school basketball became a popular spectator sport.

In reaction to the fragmentation and alienation many experienced as a result of rapid migration, urbanization, and industrialization, people looked for ways to rediscover a sense of community akin to the small rural village of the nineteenth century. But at the same time, for those who migrated to the burgeoning cities of Indiana during the first three decades of the twentieth century, industrial capitalism also offered hope. Their support for the local high school basketball team represented these conflicted

feelings. Supporting the team provided an opportunity to rediscover a sense of community while also celebrating values consistent with the new industrial economic order, even if beneath the surface of the expanding working class's search for community in these cities were feelings of frustration and hopelessness with their economic and social subordination. This explains the impulse of fans at these games to temporarily over-turn the existing social structure while simultaneously endorsing the system that created it.

Ethnic identification also became intertwined with the search for community through Indiana high school basketball in the midst of this dramatic economic and social transformation. Many living in predominantly homogeneous cities like Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle, also wanted a community that looked like the nineteenth-century small rural village. The emergence of the Ku Klux Klan as a powerful political force in Indiana between 1915 and 1925 represented this desire for the imagined community to mirror the white, Protestant, and native-born population. The values demonstrated by the local high school basketball players became associated in the minds of many with this ethnic culture. This explains why African Americans have largely been left out of the iconography of Indiana high school basketball.

Because Indiana high school basketball developed out of the social and education programs of the Progressive Era and became popular amidst the consumer culture of the 1920s, its cultural meanings have been primarily compliant with the dominant economic and social order. Add to this the distraction of ethnic identification, meanings of resistance, though not totally absent,

have been relatively weak. Hoosiers' fascination with high school basketball over the years has symbolized a diehard conservative embrace of the American Dream where good-old-fashioned white boys employ the Protestant work ethic on their way to victory.

* * *

Indiana high school basketball continued to grow in popularity after the 1920s until 1960, the year the IHSAA reported a record 1.6 million in paid attendance during the annual state tournament.[5] However, since then state-wide attendance during the tourney has steadily declined until less than a million fans paid to see tournament games in the mid-1990s.[6] Even in the hotbed of Indiana high school basketball, Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle, gyms are no longer consistently filled to capacity during regular-season or tournament games. During the 1993-94 season, for example, the Muncie Central Bearcats were ranked among the state's top-ten teams all season long and made it to the final eight of the state tournament. Despite the school's long tradition of success (eight state titles) and a winning team, attendance at the games dropped for the third year in a row. The largest crowd of the year was only 5,000.[7] This was quite a change from the 1950s when Bearcat season tickets were sometimes included in divorce decrees.[8]

Among the most popular reasons given for this decline in interest are: school consolidation, television, and simply too many other things to do. The argument goes, consolidation of smaller rural schools into larger centralized schools broke the tie between community and team. From the 1920s to the 1950s over 800 teams from every nook and cranny in the state played in the tournament,

whereas in 1996 only 385 competed.[9] As a result, students and their families now live miles away from each other, making it more difficult for fans to identify with the players. It is now less likely that one personally knows the players or the players' families. In addition, the ever-growing number of cable stations on television offers an assortment of college and professional basketball games to watch and an excuse for students and their families to stay at home for entertainment. Even basketball junkies can get their fill by watching games transmitted almost nightly into their living rooms. Why venture out on a cold winter night to watch high school kids play basketball when you can stay at home and watch the best athletes in the world do the same thing? Tom Hession, radio and television broadcaster of the state finals since 1966, said, "the people in my community (Shelbyville, Indiana), ... probably know the Georgia Tech players better than they know the Shelbyville players."[10] To make matters worse, with malls, movie theaters, and other places to hang out popping up on nearly every street corner, students no longer have to go to a high school basketball game to socialize.

Whether you accept these reasons or not, the direction of Indiana high school basketball undoubtedly changed course in the 1960s. For fifty years after the first IHSAA-sanctioned tournament in 1911, the game was inextricably linked to the culture of the state. For the last four decades its grip on the consciousness of Hoosiers has gradually loosened. At the height of its popularity in 1958, John R. Tunis wrote about Indiana high school basketball's popularity in this way:

> Businessmen, housewives, kids, the president of the Merchants National Bank, the chief of police, that loafer in the booth at Hank's Bar and Grill, the farmers turning on their television sets out on the National Road, and Doc Showalter, the local osteopath, all know basketball. They know it, love it, live it.[11]

Now it is common for many in small to medium-sized cities of Indiana to not even attend a single high school basketball game all season.[12]

Though its popularity over the last four decades has waned, high school basketball in many ways remains an important symbol in Indiana for a value system associated with the state's rural tradition. The intense debate surrounding the 1996 IHSAA decision to end the single-class state basketball tournament underlies its importance to many.[13] Ron Newlin, former Director of the Indiana High School Basketball Hall of Fame in New Castle, Indiana, has said "we resist class basketball for the same reasons we resist affirmative action and collective bargaining. As the sons and daughters of self-sufficient agricultural entrepreneurs, we believe in natural selection."[14] The drama of the annual single-class tourney signifies a deeply embedded nostalgic longing for the days of small rural villages and yeoman farmers.

The 1986 movie *Hoosiers*, starring Gene Hackman, Dennis Hopper, and Barbara Hershey, drew upon Indiana high school basketball's symbolic link to the state's rural tradition to present a fresh portrayal of a tired "David beats Goliath" sports story. This film employed every icon of Indiana high school basketball: small rural town, white farm boys with military-style haircuts turned basketball players, disciplinarian coach, packed gymnasium, over-

involved townsfolk, basketball goals over barn doors, and, most importantly, a team that passed the ball at least three times before shooting, ran back cuts to the basket, set hard picks, learned to sacrifice individual fame for the good of the team, and played in-your-face, man-to-man defense.

Most fans of basketball know by now that the movie was loosely based on tiny Milan High School's stunning upset of Muncie Central in the 1954 state championship game. Under the tutelage of Marvin Wood, this undermanned team from a town of just 1,200 people slowed games down with deliberate passing in order to have a chance against the bigger, faster teams from the larger schools. It worked. A *Muncie Morning Star* article before the game reported that "Milan just doesn't take bad shots. It passes the ball beautifully, a matter of teamwork perfected by six years of practice. The all-senior starting line-up has been operating since the sixth grade."[15] After Milan's victory, the Muncie paper described the game like this:

> Those mighty mites from Milan, representative of one of the smallest schools ever to win the IHSAA crown, turned back the big Bearcats of Muncie Central in a breath-taking final game, 32-30.
>
> Milan, a people's choice team since the tournament campaign started, won its first state championship by forcing the taller Bearcats to play the Milan game....
>
> Refusing absolutely to match offensive strength with the Bearcats, Milan played a perfect cat-and-mouse game, holding the ball until able to get drive-in shots, shooting fouls with deadly precision, and waiting for a big chance that came when (Bobby) Plump hit the field goal that proved that the little teams from the little schools can win this greatest of state high school tournaments.[16]

From the moment it insured Milan's victory, Bobby Plump's shot has been the most famous moment in Indiana's sporting history. It also

made Plump the non-official poster boy for all that Indiana basketball represents.

Plump and his team became perfect symbols for the myth of Indiana basketball because they reconnected Hoosiers to a simpler time. Milan in 1954 proved that despite the industrialization, modernization, and growing population experienced by the state during the first half of the twentieth century, Indiana at its core still stood for values associated with its rural past. The Milan Indians in the iconography of Indiana basketball represent hard work, self-sacrifice, egalitarianism, team-work, discipline, and merit -- all values associated with the state's nineteenth-century pastoral tradition. The fact that this team comprised of white farm boys defeated a racially diverse team from an industrialized city like Muncie only added to the symbolic significance of the team. The 1954 champions offered a tangible way for Hoosiers to re-imagine their community free from modernity's effects which included urbanization, industrialization, alienation, fragmentation, and racial, ethnic, and religious diversity.

Greg Guffey in his 1993 book, *The Greatest Basketball Story Ever Told*, described the effects of Milan's championship in this way:

> The pride is still there (Milan), because something great happened in 1954. Drive through many similar towns in southern Indiana and try to find that pride. There is resentment, bitterness, and talk about big cities and suburbs killing their way of life. No regrets hang over Milan. That title was so great because it was won by ten boys who had only the expectation of becoming the next generation of farmers. It was a community of people helping, mainly because no one knew any differently. It was their way of life....[17]

Milan, because of its 1954 high school basketball team, lives on in Indiana as symbol of a pre-industrial, close-knit community.

Plump, Milan's hero, embodied the simple life many in Indiana longed for. He lived in a two-story house on a dead-end street in Pierceville, Indiana that did not have electricity until 1948. In addition, he cites his religious father as his biggest influence. Uneducated but a hard worker, his father taught Plump the importance of dedication and discipline by providing for his family by working a variety of low-paying jobs.[18] These values people believed Plump and his teammates displayed in winning the championship, and they presumably learned them because of where and by whom they were raised.[19]

A significant reason for the decline in Indiana high school basketball's popularity since 1960 has been the inability to sustain the relevance of the Milan myth. The beginning of the end for this myth's cultural relevance came during the two years following Milan's championship. In 1955 and 56 the all-black Crispus Attucks High School of Indianapolis dominated its opponents to win back-to-back state championships, remarkably making them the city's first champion over the tourney's first forty-four year history. Not even allowed to participate in the IHSAA tournament until 1941, the Ray Crowe-coached teams of Crispus Attucks during the mid-50s were the antithesis of Milan. They came from the state's largest city, were all black, and won by playing an improvised, loosely structured, fast-paced style of game. Crowe, African American, but raised in the almost exclusively white Johnson County just south of Indianapolis, resented it when sportswriters compared the fancy

play of the 1950s' Crispus Attucks teams with that of the Harlem Globetrotters. "The Globetrotters were showmen and even though some of my players ended up playing for the Globetrotters, I didn't want my kids showing off that way... I taught good, fundamental basketball and I'd prefer to have people remember that we were fundamentally sound as opposed to being showmen."[20] But nobody, not even Crowe, could deny that Crispus Attucks executed those fundamentals in a faster gear than the other Indiana high school teams.

Led by future University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati Royals, and Milwaukee Bucks great, Oscar Robertson, Crispus Attucks traveled the state easily defeating every opponent they played except one, a 57-58 loss to Connersville High School early during the 1954-55 season. In 1955 they played another all-black segregated school, Gary Roosevelt, in the state championship game.

What a contrast from the previous year when Milan won the championship game 32-30 over Muncie Central. Two all-black schools that just fifteen years earlier could not even participate in the IHSAA tourney now competed for the most coveted championship in Indiana sports. Unlike the championship game of 1954, Crispus Attucks easily won in a high scoring affair, 97-74. Wilson "Jake" Eison, starting center for Gary Roosevelt's team, member of the 1955 Indiana All-Star team, and eventual teammate of Crispus Attucks' center Willie Merriweather at Purdue University, described the 1955 finals as a competition between two fast-break teams that routinely pushed the ball up the court and generated easy scores from their aggressive defense. Eison remembered that unlike the

1954 final between Milan and Muncie Central, most fans from New Albany and Fort Wayne North Side, the two teams that lost the Saturday afternoon semi-final games, left Indianapolis in anger before that night's championship game was played. Though both teams enjoyed strong support from their respective communities, the game between two all-black schools did not capture the interest of basketball enthusiasts in the state's outlying towns and cities.[21]

During the 1956 season Crispus Attucks completely destroyed every team they played. So much better than the competition, they beat the state's tenth-ranked Michigan City High School team, 123-53. In this game Robertson set a new city-county scoring record with forty-five points.

With his size, ball-handling, passing, rebounding, and shooting touch, Robertson introduced fans to a new style of basketball many now associate with Earvin "Magic" Johnson. Robertson took control of almost every game he played and Crispus Attucks won forty-five consecutive games, easily beating Lafayette Jefferson High School, 79-57, for its second straight title. Lafayette Jefferson's head coach, Marion Crawley, later said, "I don't think we could have beat them if we'd had some players from up the road [Purdue University]. My boys played as near to perfect as they could and they still lost by twenty-two points. I don't believe I've ever seen a more dominating team."[22]

Fans flocked to see the Crispus Attucks Tigers during the 1955-56 season. Nearly 12,000 people came to watch them play their home games in the Butler Fieldhouse. Basketball aficionados were curious to see this new style of play that so dominated Indiana

high school basketball for two years. The contrast between the 1954 and 1955 seasons represented a dramatic paradigm shift in Indiana culture. The exploits of Robertson and his teammates in 1955 had more of an impact on the hearts and minds of Hoosiers than the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* that effectively ended imposed school segregation but did not gain court-ordered adherence in Indiana until 1971. Until the Crispus Attucks teams of the 1950s, many in Indiana could still not imagine the reality of desegregated schools. However, as young black men raised on the inner-city playground courts of Indianapolis and Gary started to make an impact on Indiana high school basketball, coaches, administrators, and boosters began coveting their talent. The desire to win created a demand for the considerable skills of African-American basketball players, thus bringing about the beginning of the end to three decades of segregated schools in Indiana.[23]

If Milan reinforced the values Indiana basketball stood for, Crispus Attucks challenged them. Once African Americans were given a chance to influence the nature of a game that meant so much to Indiana, the relationship between predominantly white communities around the state and high school basketball forever changed. It would never again be so easy to imagine their community without considering the skilled Robertson and his teammates on the 1955 and 56 Crispus Attucks teams.

The decade following the championship seasons of Milan and Crispus Attucks, African Americans in Indianapolis and other cities around the country began taking the game of basketball to another

level. Robertson, who learned the game on the playgrounds of the Lockfield Gardens Housing Project in the 1950s, took his considerable skills to the larger stage of the NBA by the early 1960s. Along with Robertson, African Americans such as Elgin Baylor, "Connie" Hawkins, Walt Hazzard, Wilt Chamberlain, and later Lew Alcindor (Kareem Abdul Jabbar), among others, emerged out of America's cities to revolutionize the game. How could the game ever be the same with 6'5" point guards, players hanging in the air on their way to the basket, behind-the-back no-look passes, and graceful and athletic 7 footers? Not by accident, the decline of Indiana high school basketball's popularity corresponded directly with this basketball revolution.[24]

In the context of these changes in the game, Hoosiers began losing faith in the myth that basketball was best played by white young men who learned the values of discipline, team work, obedience, and self-sacrifice in small-town America. They still loved their basketball, but the image of the farm-boy ballplayer began to loose its cultural significance.

Amidst the declension of Indiana high school basketball, remnants of the Hoosier myth remain. During these years fans of Indiana basketball have consistently looked for icons that can reconnect them to their past. Every so often a new "white hope" of basketball straight from the farm or small town emerges. Whether Rick Mount from Lebanon, Larry Bird from French Lick, Steve Alford from New Castle, or, most recently, Damon Bailey from Heltonville, fans from Indiana since the 1960s have looked to these players as torchbearers of the Hoosier basketball tradition. Since the late

1980s Indiana high school basketball has produced African-American NBA stars like Shawn Kemp, Glen Robinson, and Calbert Cheaney, but Bailey, who after playing for Indiana University played on Fort Wayne's Continental Basketball Association (CBA) team, has consistently drawn more state-wide press coverage and fan attention ever since mentioned in John Feinstein's 1986 *A Season On The Brink*. In the consciousness of most Hoosiers, Bailey, who did lead Bedford-North Lawrence High School to the 1990 state championship, is more identified with Indiana basketball than any of these far more talented players. Indicative of the state's hero-worship of these small-town players, 41,046 fans, doubling the national record for attendance at a high school basketball game, packed the Hoosier Dome in Indianapolis to watch Bailey play in the 1990 state-championship game. Without the attraction of Bailey or some other white hope, only 16,185 paid to watch the championship game just four years later.[25] The Indiana Pacers made a market-savvy decision to draft Bailey in 1994 only to cut him after a year on the injured-reserve list. Though never playing a single game for the Pacers, during the 1994-95 season one could observe thousands of youngsters, primarily white, throughout the state wearing Bailey's Pacer jersey. Hope for some in Indiana springs eternal.

Many believe the last nail in the coffin of Indiana high school baskeball's cultural significance came in the Spring of 1996 when the IHSAA decided to do away with the country's only single-class state basketball tournament. In 1997 each team for the first time competes in one of five class tournaments organized according to school size. It is now impossible for a team from a small school to

upset the Muncie Centrals of the world for the state championship. Despite the best effort of Plump who formed "Friends of Hoosier Hysteria," an organization that lobbied to save the single-class tournament formate, the miracle of Milan will never be repeated.

Because of changes in the game and the diminished role of the high school in the community, high school basketball can no longer serve the function it once did in Indiana communities like Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle since the 1910s. Milan in 1954 became the state's last link to its homogeneous and rural past. Though Indiana maintains its conservative tradition in politics, at the end of the twentieth century attending a local high school basketball game no longer evokes feelings of nostalgia. As the images recaptured in the movie *Hoosiers* fade in the memory of those living in the state, going to the high school gym on a cold winter Friday night increasingly becomes a ritual void of its historical and cultural significance.

Chapter Seven Notes

[1]Nelson George, *Elevating the Game: Black Men and Basketball* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992), 15.

[2]Ibid., 28.

[3]Ibid., 30.

[4]Ibid., 1-19.

[5]*IHSAA Handbook*, 1960.

[6]*IHSAA Handbooks*, 1961-1995.

[7]Drew Lindsay, "On Assignment," *Education Week* (March 1, 1995) 27.

[8]From an interview with Morry Mannies, WLBC radio announcer for Muncie Central Bearcat games since 1956, Ibid., 26.

[9]*Indianapolis Star*, April 29, 1996, 1.

[10]Lindsay, 27.

[11]John R. Tunis, *The American Way In Sport* (New York: 1958) 85.

[12]An observation I had from numerous conversations with people in Anderson, Muncie, and New Castle while doing the research for this dissertation.

[13]See Phillip M. Hoose, "The Big Dance" in *Indianapolis Monthly*, (March, 1996): 96 for an impassioned argument to preserve the single-class tournament. Bobby Plump, who helped tiny Milan win the state championship in 1954, fought mightily to keep the single-class tourney by forming a lobbying group called "Friends of Hoosier Hysteria" that included such notable basketball stars as Johnny Wooden and Oscar Robertson.

[14]Ibid., 7.

[15]*Muncie Morning Star*, March 19, 1954, 3.

[16]*Muncie Morning Star,* March 21, 1954, 1.

[17]Greg Guffey, *The Greatest Basketball Story Ever Told* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993), 19.

[18]Ibid., 118-119.

[19]Ibid., 19. Guffey cites an advertisment taken out by twenty-five local businesses in the Versailles, Indiana *Republican* newspaper after Milan won the state title. In it the businesses attributed the team's success to the hard work and determination the players learned in a small town.

[20]Kerry Marshall, *The Ray Crowe Story: A Legend in High School Basketball* (Indianapolis: High School Basketball Cards of American, Inc., 1992) 84.

[21]January 26, 1997 interview with Wilson Eison.

[22]Ibid., 149.

[23]Phillip M. Hoose, *Hoosiers: The Fabulous Basketball Life of Indiana* (Indianapolis, IN: Guild Press of Indiana, Inc., 1995), 143-194.

[24]For a more in depth examination of the influence of African Americans on basketball, see George.

[25]Lindsay, 27.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities.* New York: Verso, 1983.

Baker, William J. *Sports in the Western World.* Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1982.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and His World.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984.

Barthes, Roland. *The Pleasure of the Text.* New York: Hill & Wang, 1975.

Beecher, Henry Ward. *Seven Lectures to Young Men.* Indianapolis: Thomas B. Cutler, 1844.

Bernstein, Irving. *The Lean Years: A History of the American Worker, 1920-1933.* New York: De Capo Press, Inc., 1960.

Bledstein, Burton. *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America.* New York: Norton, 1976.

Blee, Kathleen. *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Cahn, Susan. *Coming On Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sport.* New York: The Free Press, 1994.

Carrolyn, Frank. "Politics in Middletown: A Reconsideration of Municipal Government and Community Power in Muncie, Indiana, 1925-35." Ph.D. Dissertation, Ball State University, 1974.

Cavallo, Dominic. *Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880-1920.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.

Colton, Calvin. "Labor and Capital," in *The Junius Tracts, No. 7: Labor and Capital.* New York: Greeley and McElrath, 1844.

Cooper, John Milton Jr. *Pivotal Decades: The United States, 1900-1920.* New York: W.W. Norton, 1990.

Cox, Harvey. *The Feast of Fools.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969.

de Certeau, M. *The Practice of Everyday Life.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Cott, Nancy. *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835..* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977.

de Crèvecœur, Hector St. Jean. *Letters from An American Farmer.* London, 1782.

Dorgan, Ethel. *Luther Halsey Gulick, 1865-1918.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1934.

Douglas, Ann. *The Feminization of American Culture.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977.

Eco, Umberto. *Travels in Hyperreality.* London: Picador, 1986.

Finfer, Lawrence. "Leisure as Social Work in the Urban Community: The Progressive Recreation Movement, 1880-1920." Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, Michigan State University, 1974.

Fiske, John. *Reading the Popular.* Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Fiske, John. *Understanding Popular Culture.* New York: Routledge, 1989.

Forbush, William B. *The Boy Problem: A Study in Social Pedagogy.* Philadelphia, 1902.

Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures.* New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973.

George, Nelson. *Elevating the Game: Black Men and Basketball.* New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992.

Glenn, Dale. *The History of the Indiana High School Athletic Association.* Greenfield, IN: Mitchell-Fleming Printing, Inc., 1976.

Goodman, Cary. *Choosing Sides: Playground and Street Life on the Lower East Side.* New York: Schocken Books, 1979.

Gorn, Elliot. *The Manly Art.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986.

Gorn, Elliot and Warren Goldstein. *A Brief History of American Sport.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.

Green, Harvey. *Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport and American Society, 1830-1940.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.

Grossberg, Lawrence; Nelson, Cary; Treichler, Paula A., eds. *Cultural Studies.* New York: Routledge, 1992.

Guffey, Greg. *More Than a Game: A History of Boys Basketball in Henry County.* Hagerstown, IN: Exponent Publishers, Inc., 1990.

Guffey, Greg. *The Greatest Basketball Story Ever Told.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993.

Gulick, Luther H. "Basket Ball," *Physical Education,* 4 (November, 1895) 1,200.

Gulick, Luther H. "The Alleged Effemination of Our American Boys," *American Physical Education Review,* 10 (September, 1905) 28.

Gulick, Luther H. "The New Athletics," *The Outlook* 98 (July 15, 1911) 599-600.

Gutman, Herbert. *Work, Culture & Society in Industrializing America.* New York: Knopf, 1977.

Guttmann, Allen. *Sports Spectators.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.

Haber, Samuel. *Efficiency and Uplift: Scientific Managment in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

Hall, Stanley G. "The Moral and Religious Training of Children, " *Princeton Review* 10(January, 1882), 26-48.

Hall, Stanley G. *Adolesence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education.* New York, 1905.

Hall, Stuart. "Notes on Deconstructing 'The Popular'" in R. Samuel, ed. *People's History and Socialist Theory.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.

Hall, Stuart and Tony Jefferson, eds. *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain.* London: Hutchinson, 1976.

Hamilton, Donald E. *Hoosier Temples: A Pictorial History of Indiana's High School Basketball Gyms.* St. Louis: G. Bradley, Inc., 1993.

Handke, Peter. "Die Welt in Fussball," in Rolf Lindner, ed., *Der Fussballfan.* Frankfurt: Syndikat, 1980.

Hardy, Stephen and Alan G. Ingham, "Games, Structures and Agency: Historians on the American Play Movement," *Journal of Social History* 17 (Winter 1983) 285-301.

Harris, Neil. *The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850-1920.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Hayes, Samuel P. *The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.

Heller, Herbert. *Readings in the History of New Castle, Indiana.* Vol. 1 New Castle, Indiana: self published, 1941.

Hoose, Phillip M. "The Big Dance" in *Indianapolis Monthly* (March, 1996) 96.

Hoose, Phillip M. *Hoosiers: The Fabulous Basketball Life of Indiana,* 2nd ed. Indianapolis: Guild Press of Indiana, Inc., 1995.

Hoover, Dwight W. *Magic Middletown.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986.

Hoover, Dwight W. "Mayor Bunch and the Sporting Life in Middletown," *Traces* (Winter, 1990, Vol. 2 No. 1) 4-15.

Hopkins, Howard. *History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America.* New York: Association Press, 1951.

Ingham, Alan D. and Michael D. Smith, "Social Implications of the Interaction between Spectators and Athletes," *Exercise and Sport Science Review* (1974) 2:194.

Jefferson, Thomas. *Notes on Virginia.* Paris, 1784.

Jensen, Richard. *The Winning of the Midwest: Social Conflict, 1888-1896.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971.

Johnson, Guy B. "A Sociological Interpretation of the New Ku Klux Klan Movement," *Journal of Social Forces* 1 (May 1923) 440-445.

Johnson, Richard. "What is Cultural Studies Anyway?" 16 *Social Text* (1986) 38-80.

Jones, Gareth Stedman. "Class Expression versus Social Control? A Critique of Recent Trends in the Social History of 'Leisure'," *History Workshop* 4 (Autumn 1977) 163-170.

Jordan, Winthrop D. *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968.

Kasson, John F. *Amusing the Million: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century.* New York: Will & Wang, 1978.

Kemper, G.W.H. *History of Delaware County, Indiana.* Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1908.

Kett, Joseph F. *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present.* New York: Basic Books, 1977.

Kolko, Gabriel. *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900-1916.* New York: The Free Press, 1963.

Lears, Jackson. *Fables of Abundance: Cultural History of Advertising In America.* New York: BasicBooks, 1994.

Lears, Jackson. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920.* New York: Pantheon, 1981.

Lever, Janet. *Soccer Madness.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Levine, Lawrence. *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Levine, Peter. *Ellis Island to Ebbets Field: Sport and the American Jewish Experience.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Lewis, Guy. "The Muscular Christianity Movement." *Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 37 (May 1966) 27-28,42.

Lindsay, Drew. "On Assignment." *Education Week* (1 March 1995) 25-29.

Lipset, Martin. "An Anatomy of the Klan," *Commentary.* 40 (October 1965) 74-83.

Lipsyte, Robert and Peter Levine. *Idols of the Game: A Sporting History of the American Century.* Atlanta: Turner Printing, 1995.

Lott, Eric. *Love & Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Lynd, Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd. *Middletown: A Study In Modern American Culture.* New York: Harcourt Brace, 1929.

Lynd, Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd. *Middletown In Transition.* New York: Harcourt Brace, 1937.

Macleod, David I. *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy*

Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.

Mandell, Richard D. *Sport: A Cultural History.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1984.

Marchand, Roland. *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way For Modernity, 1920-1940.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

Marshall, Kerry. *The Ray Crowe Story: A Legend in High School Basketball.* Indianapolis: High School Basketball Cards of American, Inc., 1992.

Martin, David G. "Gymnasium or Coliseum? Basketball, Education and the Community Impulse in Indiana in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Hoosier Schools: Past and Present.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Marx, Leo. *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America.* London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

May, Henry. *Protestant Churches and Industrial America.* New York: Harper, 1962.

Moore, Leonard J. *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921-1928.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991.

Morse, Richard. *History of the North American Young Men's Christian Associations.* New York: Association Press, 1922.

Mrozek, Donald. *Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910.* Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983.

Mrozek, Donald. "Sport in American Life: From National Health to Personal Fulfillment, 1890-1940," in Kathryn Grover, ed., *Fitness in American Culture: Images of Health, Sport, and the Body, 1830-1940.* Amherst, MA: The Univeristy of Massachusetts Press, 1989.

Murphy, Paul L. "Normalcy, Intolerance, and the American Character," *Virginia Quarterly Review* 40 (Summer 1964) 444-459.

Naismith, James. *Basketball: Its Origin and Development.* reprinted New York: Associated Press, 1941 by Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.

Nasaw, David. *Schooled to Order: A Social History of Public Schooling in the United States.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Netterville, JJ., ed. *Centennial History of Madison County: An Account of One Hundred Years of Progress, 1823-1923.* Anderson, IN: Historians' Association, 1925.

Newlin, Ronald. "Middletown & Hoosier Hysteria" in *Indiana Basket-Ball History,* Vol. 2, 4 (Summer, 1994), 6.

O'Hanlon, Timothy P. "School Sports as Social Training: The Case of Athletics and the Crisis of World War I." 9 *Journal of Sports History* (1982), 5.

Peiss, Kathy. *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.

Peterson, Robert W. *Cages to Jump Shots: Pro Basketball's Early Years.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Rader, Benjamin G. *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1983.

Ray, Scott. "The Depressed Industrial Society: Occupational Movement, Out-Migration and Residential Mobility in the Industrial-Urbanization of Middletown, 1880-1925." Ph.D. Dissertation, Ball State University, 1981.

Reiss, Steven A. *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports.* Urbana, IL: The University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Roberts, Gerald. "The Strenuous Life: The Cult of Manliness in the Era of Theodore Roosevelt." Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Michigan State University, 1970.

Rodgers, Daniel T. *The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850-1920.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Rosenzweig, Roy. *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure In an Industrial City, 1870-1920.* New York: Cambridge Univesity Press, 1983.

Ross, Edward. *The Old World and the New: The Significance of Past and Present Immigration of the American People.* New York: J.S. Ozer, 1913.

Rotundo, E. Anthony. *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era.* New York: Basic Books, 1993.

Savage, Howard J. *American College Athletics.* Bulletin 23. New York: Carnegie Foundation, 1929.

Schwomeyer, Herb. *Hoosier Hysteria: A History of Indiana High School Boys Basketball.* Greenfield, IN: Mitchell-Fleming Printing, Inc., 1970.

Schwomeyer, Herb. *Hoosier HERsteria: A History of High Schools Girls Basketball.* Greenfield, IN: Mitchell-Fleming Printing, Inc., 1985.

Sherman, Harold M. *Mayfield's Fighting Five.* New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1926.

Sherman, Harold M. *Get 'Em Mayfield.* New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1927.

Shideler, James H. "'Flappers and Philosophers' and Farmers: Rural Urban Tensions of the Twenties," *Agricultural History* 47 (October 1973).

Shortridge, James R. *The Middle West: Its Meanings in American Culture.* Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1989.

Sims, Newell L. "A Hoosier Village: A Sociological Study With Special Reference to Causation," *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.* 117 (New York, 1912),

113-115.

Smith, Henry Nash. *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950.

Smith, Matthew Hale. *Bulls and Bears of New York.* New York: Freeport, 1873.

Stein, Maurice R. *The Eclipse of Community: An Interpretation of American Studies.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960.

Sussman, Warren I. *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century.* New York: Pantheon, 1984.

Taylor, Robert M., Errol Wayne Stevens, Mary Ann Ponder, and Paul Brockman. *Indiana: A New Historical Guide.* Indianapolis, IN: Indiana Historical Society, 1989.

Thompson, E.P. "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," 38 *Past and Present* 61.

Trester, Arthur L. "Athletics and Physical Education in Junior and Senior High Schools: Viewpoint, Evaluation, Administration and Supervision." Unpublished paper, date unknown.

Tunis, John R. *The American Way in Sport.* New York,1958.

VanderMeer, Philip R. *The Hoosier Politician: Officeholding and Political Culture in Indiana, 1896-1920.* Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press,1985.

Weibe, Robert H. *The Search For Order, 1877-1920.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1967.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.