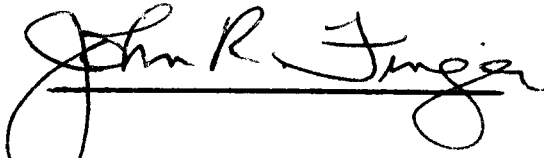
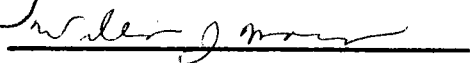


To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Barbara Susan Green entitled "Shaping A Civilized Sporting Culture: The Marginalization of Blood Sport in New Orleans, Louisiana from 1870 to 1900." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Education.


Dr. Joan Paul, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:





Accepted for the Council:


Associate Vice Chancellor and Dean
of the Graduate School

**SHAPING A CIVILIZED SPORTING CULTURE:
THE MARGINALIZATION OF BLOOD SPORT
IN NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA FROM 1870 TO 1900**

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

Barbara Susan Green
May 1998

Copyright © Barbara Susan Green, 1998
All rights reserved

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents,

Alfred and Barbara Pinto

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to extend my appreciation to the following people whose guidance and support made this dissertation possible. I extend my deepest thanks to my adviser Dr. Joan Paul for her interest, encouragement, and patience. Thank you, Joan, for allowing me the freedom to explore and learn. To Dr. Joy DeSensi, Dr. John Finger, Dr. William Morgan, and Dr. Clinton Allison I extend my gratitude. Thank you, each, for the time and knowledge you offered to me.

Also, I thank the Cultural Studies Unit for enriching my life and the Sport and Physical Activity Unit for making this study financially possible. In particular, I wish to acknowledge Emile Catignani, Patsy Boroviak, and Dr. Dennie Kelley. Thanks are also extended to Jo Allen and Ann LaCava for their kindness in helping me prepare this document.

Finally, a special note of thanks must go to my husband, Dr. Michael D. Green, for his unending support and encouragement and to my daughter, Madeleine, for her patience.

ABSTRACT

The last few decades of the nineteenth century involved transformations in the assumptions and practice of American leisure. The appropriateness of certain pastimes to an emerging modern nation was increasingly an issue in rapidly urbanizing industrial centers. In particular, blood sport (e.g., cockfighting, dog fighting, bull fighting, and baiting contests) was perceived to hinder the advancement of civilization. This dissertation is a historical study of the process by which blood sport was removed from dominant culture.

A case study of the marginalization of blood sport in New Orleans, Louisiana from 1870 to 1900 determined who was responsible for suppression attempts, why they wished to suppress blood sport, and how they persuaded others to adopt their values and beliefs. The concept of modernization was employed as a viable framework for analyzing the marginalization of blood sport. The process of modernization was examined through the forces of industrialization, urbanization, rationalization, civilization, nationalism, civic idealism, bourgeoisification, and Darwinism. Modernization involved an intertwining of changes in the economic, political, social, and cultural structure with deliberate attempts to shift popular mentalities toward more rational and civilized ends. Marginalization involved deliberate attempts to

remove a residual traditional practice and its associated values from the dominant culture.

Attempts to suppress blood sport in New Orleans were initiated by agents of the respectable and dominant class. Key intellectuals were purveyors of a popular mentality, providing meaning and value to particular institutions and the structures of domination in which they operated. Working through the influential institutions of the press, the schools, the law, the church, and modern sport, they disseminated beliefs regarding the value of blood sport to the New Orleans public.

Blood sport was not obliterated from the sporting culture. Rather, it was marginalized to a sub-cultural status. The marginalization of blood sport in New Orleans during the late nineteenth century came about through the directing of popular discourse, emphasizing the brutal and uncivilized nature of blood sport. Journalists, educators, and clergy repeatedly defined blood sport as detrimental to the advancement of New Orleans, contrasting the behavior and values of enthusiasts with those of civilized people. The cultural marginalization of blood sport, combined with humane education campaigns aimed at teaching kindness toward animals, effectively turned the public against the activity. To help ensure public disapproval, legislation made blood sport illegal.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
1	INTRODUCTION.....	1
2	REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: MODERNIZATION AND THE DECLINE OF BLOOD SPORT.....	12
	INDUSTRIALIZATION.....	14
	URBANIZATION.....	22
	RATIONALIZATION.....	37
	CIVILIZATION.....	49
	NATIONALISM.....	79
	CIVIC IDEALISM.....	82
	BOURGEOISIFICATION.....	87
	DARWINISM.....	89
	SUMMARY.....	95
3	MODERNIZATION THEORY AND THE MARGINALIZATION OF BLOOD SPORT.....	98
	THE MODERNIZATION OF STRUCTURES.....	100
	THE MODERNIZATION OF PUBLIC CULTURE.....	103
	THE MODERNIZATION OF POPULAR MENTALITIES.....	110
	SUMMARY.....	120
4	THE MARGINALIZATION OF BLOOD SPORT: A CASE STUDY OF NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA FROM 1870 TO 1900.....	123
	CONTEXT.....	123
	THE MODERNIZATION OF NEW ORLEANS.....	129

	THE MARGINALIZATION OF BLOOD SPORT IN NEW ORLEANS.....	139
	SUMMARY.....	172
5	CONCLUSIONS: AN ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL CHANGE.....	174
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	184
	VITA.....	204

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

*The civilization and morality of any people may be correctly measured by their public pastimes. Nations addicted to brutal and beastly shows are essentially beastly and cruel.*¹

The last few decades of the nineteenth century involved transformations in the assumptions and practice of American leisure. The appropriateness of certain pastimes to an emerging modern nation was increasingly an issue in the post-bellum period. Public pastimes served as an ideal mechanism to distinguish the civilized from barbaric, moral from immoral, and progressive from regressive. In particular, 'brutal and beastly' blood sport (e.g., cockfighting, dog fighting, bull fighting, and baiting contests) was perceived to hinder the advancement of civilization.²

Commentary regarding the appropriateness of blood sport to a modernizing culture was plentiful in newspapers throughout the United States after the Civil War. Journalists, legislators, evangelical groups, urban

¹ Editorial comment, "Cruel Pastimes," The New Orleans Daily Picayune, 27 May 1878, 2.

² The terms "blood sport" and "blood sports" are used throughout this dissertation to describe contests between animals where the intention is to defeat the opponent by maiming or killing it. Cockfighting and dog fighting are the most common forms of blood sport. Bull-fighting, a contest between animal and human, and fox-hunting, a contest between a fox, dogs, and humans, are also included. Lesser known forms of blood sport include bull and bear baiting and ratting competitions. Bloodshed is often a result of blood sport, but not a prerequisite.

reformers, and members of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals each expressed their distaste for blood sport and encouraged its eradication. Although these groups were unsuccessful at suppressing blood sport, their individual efforts combined to generate a climate of hostility that marginalized blood sport by the twentieth century.³

The marginalization of blood sport involved removing it from mainstream sporting culture. Its removal centered in issues of power, domination, and cultural production. Historians considering these issues in relation to the rise of modern sport have concluded that late nineteenth century Anglo-American sporting culture was dominated by a powerful middle class. Sport historians have often overlooked the fact that it was the middle class who encouraged modern sport at the expense of traditional leisure practices (e.g., blood sport). Researchers have examined the active incorporation of traditional practices into the dominant culture (e.g., prize-fighting to boxing), but have not investigated how they were removed.⁴

A cultural history of the suppression of blood sport has considerable potential for demonstrating the marginalization of a traditional leisure practice, at the same time providing an appreciation for the process of

³ Although the term 'decline' is used repeatedly throughout the literature, it is more accurate to speak of the displacement or marginalization of blood sport. Blood sport may have declined from public view, but it is impossible to determine whether it declined in overall popularity.

⁴ See, for example, Elliott Gorn, The Manly Art: Bare-knuckle Prize Fighting in America (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986).

modernization and traditional sport's role in it. Attempts to suppress blood sport are obviously some of the less dramatic symptoms of modernization; nonetheless, they act as a barometer with which to measure larger economic, demographic, political, social, and cultural transformations. A study of the marginalization of blood sport will disclose much about the tensions and possibilities of modernizing America as well as highlighting the directive cultural technologies employed by the middle class in shaping a new sporting culture.

The transition from traditional-agrarian to modern-industrial society brought with it instability, uncertainty, and fear, as well as hope and optimism. Nowhere was this struggle between stability and progress more profound than in the post-bellum urban South, where a culture of agrarian paternalism confronted a desire for a new industrialized social order. Despite urban-industrial advancement, many Southerners opposed modernization, fearing that it would threaten the social order.

Although there is considerable literature on Southern culture, the role of sport within it has received only cursory attention from historians, despite its documented importance.⁵ Southerners tended to emphasize the value of

⁵ Dale A. Somers remains the most thorough examination of sport within the late nineteenth century South with The Rise of Sports in New Orleans: 1850-1900 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), passim.

sport as an avenue to relaxation, manliness, and honor.⁶ Ritualized violence was an integral aspect of many sports in the South and this was reflected in a passion for animal blood sports. The rise of modern sport and the marginalization of blood sport in the urban South presents an opportunity to study changes in one aspect of the modernization of Southern culture.

No place better reflected Southerners' enthusiasm for blood sport than New Orleans, Louisiana. Since its settlement by the French and Spanish, New Orleans enjoyed a thriving blood sport culture that included an enthusiasm for bull fighting, bull baiting, dog fighting, and cockfighting. In the decades immediately following the American Civil War, cockfighting and dog fighting reached their highest level of popularity in New Orleans. Despite significant enthusiasm, earnest attempts were made to suppress them at this time. This active suppression offers historians an excellent vision of the tension between those who freely enjoyed traditional Southern sporting culture and those who emerged from the Civil War wishing to re-examine cultural traditions.⁷

This dissertation documents a series of attempts to suppress blood sport within New Orleans between 1870 and 1900 that led to its marginalization. My purpose is to determine who was responsible for attempts to suppress

⁶ W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941; Vintage Books, 1969), 52-60. Cash eloquently described the importance of manly displays of physical toughness among pioneers in the Southern backwoods.

⁷ New Orleans is not taken to be representative of the South.

blood sport in New Orleans, why they wished to suppress blood sport, and how they persuaded others to adopt their beliefs and values regarding 'appropriate' leisure. The voices of those who supported blood sport were not examined in detail.⁸

The active suppression of blood sport in New Orleans during the late nineteenth century reveals the process by which a traditional leisure practice is marginalized. This study suggests that attempts to suppress blood sport in New Orleans were initiated by agents who gave meaning and value to particular cultural institutions and the structures of domination in which they operated. Often these agents were of the 'respectable' and 'dominant' class of citizens. They were purveyors of a popular mentality, disseminating beliefs regarding the value of blood sport to the New Orleans public. Suppression attempts were intimately tied to the middle class' desire for economic progress, moral reform, and municipal improvement.

Reconstructing the dominant discourse surrounding the role of blood sport in New Orleans revealed precisely how certain social groups exercised hegemony over the leisure of others and established their ideological authority. Discourse was a key tool in the transformation of values and attitudes toward leisure, animals, violence, and cruelty, ultimately affecting attitudes toward blood sport. Public narratives demonstrated that opposition

⁸ The voices of supporters of blood sport rarely appear in the written record. Further, this dissertation is concerned only with the power of the dominant voice.

to blood sport existed and demonstrated how the concept of inappropriate leisure was defined and disseminated to the public.

Popular newspapers throughout America during the latter half of the nineteenth century initially encouraged opposition to blood sport. Although manifestly democratic, the nineteenth century press operated as a structure of latent domination, serving to legitimize certain values; often the values of the middle and upper classes. Journalists shared a common discourse, judging certain behavior deviant, cruel, immoral, unsanitary, or unjust, while labeling others character-building and morally uplifting. Journalists were in a particularly strong position to influence public opinion regarding blood sport, attempting to convince the public of the 'cruelty' and 'immorality' of their ways. By attributing deviant and criminal tendencies to those who engaged in blood sport, journalists were able to degrade, dehumanize, and eventually discourage this behavior, setting the moral framework to propagate modern sport in New Orleans.

Local opinion regarding the value of blood sport to New Orleans sporting culture between 1870 and 1900 was limited to editorials, columns, and letters to the editor in the following sources: The New Orleans Daily Picayune, The New Orleans Times-Democrat, and The New Orleans Mascot. They were chosen for their accessibility and broad readership. Since

opposition to blood sport was much less frequent in the popular press after 1900, twentieth century sources were excluded.⁹

Because sport cannot be separated from a socio-legal framework, New Orleans city council records and Louisiana state legislative records were also examined. If laws are created and enforced to control and contain degrees of deviance in the modern world, then legislation aimed at preventing cruelty to animals should reflect the moral sense of the New Orleans community. From these laws it is possible to infer the motives and efforts of elected officials to suppress blood sport. Legislation revealed much about the changing cultural meanings attributed to violence, deviance, cruelty, and civilized behavior.

Along with legislation, public education and religion were instrumental in creating and sustaining opinions regarding appropriate public behavior. Unfortunately, primary sources from educators and religious groups within New Orleans were difficult to locate. As a result, this study includes only a superficial examination of public moral education campaigns as they appeared in the popular press.¹⁰

⁹ This lack of opposition may reflect an editorial decision rather than a true decline; however, it seems likely that given the amount of legislation against blood sport, it was sufficiently marginalized by this time.

¹⁰ For a full examination of the role of evangelical religion in suppressing blood sport in the South see Ted Ownby, Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in the Rural South, 1865 - 1920, The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies (Chapel Hill, N. C. and London, England: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

Attempts to suppress blood sport cannot be fully understood if considered exclusively within the boundaries of New Orleans. Although not an exhaustive account, the following chapter analyzes the relevant historical research on blood sport in both England and America. Such a broad Anglo-American examination allows patterns to emerge that might otherwise diverge or be ignored on a more local level.¹¹ Further, historical literature on blood sport in America is scarce. While American sport historians have preferred to study the rise of modern sport, British sport historians have demonstrated more interest in the decline of popular leisure.¹² Although the time periods during which blood sport was marginalized differ between America and England, the process of marginalization did not. Many of the forces responsible for this marginalization in England occurred in America, albeit at a later date.¹³ Where specific differences exist, they are noted.

The selected British literature expressed arguments and ideas that have become prominent points of disagreement and discussion among scholars

¹¹ Gideon Sjoberg, "Cities in Developing and Industrial Societies: A Cross-Cultural Analysis," in The Study of Urbanization, third edition, ed. Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore (New York, London and Sydney: John Wiley and Sons, 1967), 214.

¹² Key works selected include Robert W. Malcolmson, Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1973); James Walvin, Leisure and Society, 1830- 1950 (New York: Longman, 1978); Hugh Cunningham, Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c. 1780-1880 (London: Croon Helm, 1980); Peter C. Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885 (London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978; Methuen, 1987); and Richard Holt, Sport and the British: A Modern History (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

¹³ America went through its development at a later date and at a faster rate than did England.

concerned with the transformation from traditional to modern sport. Industrialization, urbanization, rationalization, civilization, nationalism, civic idealism, bourgeoisification, and Darwinism were chosen as key forces in the marginalization of blood sport. Each force was examined for its utility in understanding the marginalization of blood sport. Taken together, these forces are important points of reference for American scholars of sport and will improve understanding of the marginalization of blood sport in New Orleans.

Although historians are aware of the broad economic, social, and cultural forces responsible for the marginalization of blood sport, rarely have they identified the mechanisms through which these forces operated to discourage blood sport. Chapter 3 examines the role of directive cultural technologies in attempts to suppress residual cultural practices like blood sport.¹⁴ If institutional structures (e.g., the media, public education, and the law) influence dominant sporting ideology, then how did they operate to discourage blood sport? To answer this question, it is necessary to identify how structures, and more importantly the agents operating within them, changed popular attitudes regarding the value of blood sport within modern society. This chapter will identify the structures and agents responsible for defining, ordering, and classifying popular mentalities regarding sport.

¹⁴ Raymond Williams defined residual practices as those cultural practices that are formed in the past but remain an active cultural process in the present. See Raymond Williams, Marxism and Literature (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 122.

Chapter 4 is an empirical application of ideas posed in chapter 3. The events and agents responsible for attempts to suppress blood sport in New Orleans between 1870 and 1900 are examined. Suppression campaigns are placed within the changing political, moral, economic, and social structure of New Orleans. The discourse through which dominant cultural agents produced opposition to blood sport is also explored. Focusing upon the power of discourse to sway public morality, it is argued that attempts to suppress blood sport were part of a desire to encourage a modern city mentality among Orleanians.

The last chapter summarizes the key forces in the marginalization of blood sport in New Orleans, Louisiana from 1870 to 1900. It is a discussion of the identifiable stages in the recuperation, absorption, and/or marginalization of a cultural activity, summarizing the dynamics of transformation. On a grander scale, this chapter places the marginalization of blood sport within broader issues in American sport history. Of particular interest to Southern historiography is the dichotomy of cultural transformation versus cultural persistence. Finally, this chapter explores possible future research on the marginalization of sport, emphasizing those variables that shape and are shaped by sport.

American sport historians have become accustomed over the last few decades of equating the history of sport with the history of modern sport. Such an association denies the importance of traditional elements in cultural

transformation. A study of the marginalization of blood sport should correct this tendency. The period of transition between traditional and modern sport is one of the richest in sport history. In it we discover how and why traditional forms were incorporated or resisted. Understanding how cultural transformation is embedded in our history is a necessary step toward acknowledging the value of traditional practices to the development of sport. This study is one avenue through which to achieve this understanding.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE:
MODERNIZATION AND THE DECLINE OF BLOOD SPORT

We in our short-sighted wisdom deem ourselves superior to our progenitors, and ridicule their pastimes and pursuits, forgetting that in a few years another generation will hustle us off the stage, and will revenge our treatment of our ancestors by treating us with similar indignity.¹

The above passage illustrates more than just the condescension of one age for another. It asks us to question why some pastimes are acceptable in one time period and unacceptable in another. Why, for example, did blood sport decline in popularity in America and England in the modern period? Did it fall victim to the demands of a rapidly industrializing and urbanizing society? Was blood sport deliberately 'hustled off the stage' because it was no longer an 'appropriate' form of entertainment? Or did it die a slow death in the shadow of advancing civilization? If leisure patterns respond to larger economic, political, cultural and social forces, then understanding why blood sport declined requires identification and clarification of these forces.

The aim of this chapter is to examine the possible forces responsible for the decline of blood sport in England and America. The English and American literature surrounding blood sport share some commonly held

¹ H. J. Rous, "Cock-Fighting," The London Times, 18 June 1875, p. 12.

assumptions; the most obvious one being that blood sport actually declined.² Historians situate the decline of blood sport within the period of transition from traditional-agrarian to modern-industrial society (circa 1780-1880). It was during this period, they argue, that sport developed its distinctly modern characteristics (secularism, organization, specialization, rationalization, and quantification).³ Sport historians assume that blood sport declined because modern sport better met the perceived demands of a modernized, urban-industrial society.

Modernization has been offered, clearly and forcefully, as the central hypothesis for the study of the decline of blood sport. The concept of modernization cannot be tied to any one author; rather it is a composite of ideas drawn together to explain the development of the 'modern' world. Modernization is simply a path, a sequence of events leading to modernity. By itself, it cannot be a substantive concept since the end of any path could be considered 'modern' and the events leading to it 'modernization.' One must, therefore, remain cautious as to generalizations that use the terms 'modern,' 'modernized,' and 'modernization.' Such terms are imprecise and cover a broad range of attributes. Further, they possess Western cultural assumptions

² Although it is more accurate to speak of the marginalization of blood sport rather than its decline, this chapter uses the term 'decline' to reflect what is most commonly used in the literature.

³ For a more detailed explanation of the characteristics of modern sport see, Allen Guttman, From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 15-56.

of civilization and progress which carry inherent ideological biases. The term "modern" often imputes superiority to the more "modernized" and therefore "progressive" forms of sport. Rather than utilizing the broad term "modernization," industrialization, urbanization, rationalization, civilization, nationalism, civic idealism, bourgeoisification, and Darwinism have been chosen to characterize the dominant forces of the modern period. Taken together, they provide a more detailed explanation of the decline of blood sport.

INDUSTRIALIZATION

The industrial revolution is often cited by historians as the watershed between traditional and modern society. More than just a period of transition, English historian E. P. Thompson called the industrial revolution "*the greatest transformation in history*."⁴ Thompson argued that the industrial revolution brought innovations in technology and changes in modes of production that revolutionized 'needs' and destroyed the authority of customary expectations.⁵ The industrial revolution also undermined

⁴ E. P. Thompson, Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture (New York: The New Press, 1993), 14. *Italics mine.*

⁵ Ibid.

traditional order and displaced many traditional sports.⁶ For this reason it represents a perfect place to begin the study of the impact of modernization upon blood sport.

During the eighteenth century England changed from a predominantly subsistence-based agricultural world structured around the rhythms of sun and moon to one largely dependent upon industry and run with the precision of a giant clock-like machine. Leisure patterns were greatly affected by the shift to industrial modes of production. Prior to the industrial age, traditional sport and customs were a natural extension of an agrarian society that based its existence upon domesticated animals. Cockfights, throwing-at-cocks, gander-pulling, and baiting contests (in which dogs were set upon bulls, bears, and badgers) were interwoven with seasonal rhythms of labor, religion, and community; there was no clear division between work and play. As England's laborers moved from the farm to the factory, their pre-industrial notions of work and leisure clashed with new industrial demands. As work became compartmentalized around a clock, so did leisure. As a result, laborers were left little time for their customs and pastimes.⁷

⁶ The general theory that blood sport declined under rapid urban-industrial development is not a concept that can be tied to any one author; however, Robert W. Malcolmson's Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), and Hugh Cunningham's Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c. 1780-1880 (London: Croon Helm, 1980) are arguably the best explorations of the identifiable impact of urban-industrial development upon traditional recreation in England.

⁷ Cunningham, Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, 22.

Recently, British sport historian Richard Holt pointed out that the problem associated with treating the decline of blood sport solely as a response to industrialization. Despite temporal constraints, Holt argued, mechanized production was not enough to re-direct the entire path of leisure. According to Holt,

the economic base sets limits in terms of space, time, and resources, but what men chose to do within such limits may be strongly influenced by traditions, shifting patterns of behavior, and taste that cannot be easily explained by material forces alone.⁸

It appears that England's industrial work force was slow to acquiesce to the demands of the industrial regime; laborers continued to enjoy traditional sports requiring long uninterrupted afternoons (e.g., bull baits and cockfights).⁹ As industrial capitalism advanced into the nineteenth century, however, employers became increasingly intolerant of these interruptions.¹⁰

Unlike on the farm, leisure activities were not considered a normal part of factory life. Instead they were increasingly seen as pathological, something to be removed from the new factory setting. Factory owners complained of the inconsistency of their work force, believing that traditional

⁸ Richard Holt, Sport and the British: A Modern History (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 3.

⁹ Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 99.

¹⁰ James Walvin noted that the more mechanized an industry and the greater the capital investment, the less willing were the owners to permit leisure time. See James Walvin, Leisure and Society, 1830-1950 (London and New York: Longman, 1978), 5.

sport and customs interfered with both the economic and social progress of English society.¹¹ In particular, cockfights, bull baits, horse races, and bowling greens were targeted because they were commonly thought to encourage gambling, drinking, and cursing, habits believed to promote inconsistency and insolence in the new industrial worker.¹²

Blood sport was discouraged not only because it was time consuming but because it was considered irrational, disorganized, undisciplined, and regressive; contrary to deeply held beliefs in the value of industriousness. Among the ideas growing in importance among English factory owners after 1815, none was more significant than industriousness.¹³ Industriousness was considered a duty that would bring the rewards of material prosperity and prevent opportunities for immoral behavior. In contrast, idleness was viewed as a sin. Industriousness was deemed central to the economic advancement of modern England. Industry was to be the "linchpin of English progress."¹⁴

¹¹ Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 95-100. For discussion of a similar process in America see, Benjamin G. Rader, American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1983), 34.

¹² Walvin's Leisure and Society and Malcolmson's Popular Recreations remain the best explanations of resistance to industrialization among England's laborers.

¹³ David Thomson, England in the Nineteenth Century (1815-1914) The Pelican History of England Series, Vol. 8 (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963; first published, 1950), 102.

¹⁴ Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 90.

Motivated by their belief in industriousness, employers often displayed open hostility toward blood sport.¹⁵ It was their insistence upon industriousness (not the industrial process itself) that led to the decline of many traditional sports in England. In order for industry to progress, mechanized labor required punctuality, regularity, and routine of the English working class. Concern for an efficient and effective work force led factory owners to embrace the idea of a labor discipline to direct the behavior of their workers.¹⁶ They wanted to change pre-industrial workers into docile, obedient, and punctual industrial laborers.

The development of an industrial labor discipline demanded a whole new ideological frame of reference, one that traditional sport (as defined) could not accommodate. Factory owners demanded attendance and sobriety, extended and regulated work hours, outlawed the traditional antics of the craft workshop, and decreased the number of holidays. Inconsistent workers were fined and paid wages so low as to insure their regularity.¹⁷ In place of bull baits or cockfights, sincere efforts were made to encourage more disciplined and utilitarian forms of leisure (like reading) among the working

¹⁵ Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 90-92.

¹⁶ Ibid., 89.

¹⁷ Peter C. Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885 (London and New York: Methuen, paperback edition, 1987), 30.

class to advance both the individual and society.¹⁸ The belief was that disciplined recreation would follow from disciplined labor.

By the 1840s government select committees in Britain noted that industrial development had reduced the frequency of traditional sport and customs among the laboring classes.¹⁹ The combination of a lack of time and the need for labor discipline meant that in the most industrialized towns of England various forms of blood sport simply disappeared.²⁰ According to English historian Robert Malcolmson, with the exception of a few sporting men and some common people, few lamented the decline of traditional leisure.²¹ Many applauded its demise as "a sign of progress and national improvement."²² Progressive factory and mill workers accepted the values of entrepreneurs and condemned traditional sport and customs to better their own social status and gain personal security. Their faith in the inevitability of progress led to their rapid assimilation. On occasion laborers did organize open resistance against the 'innovations of capitalist production' that

¹⁸ Ironically, the encouragement of reading among the working classes posed its own problems. What was read had to be controlled because many feared the revolutionary influence of British Jacobins who also advocated reading to provide the working classes with a "greater seriousness." See Moira Ferguson, "Elizabeth Heyrick and Cruelty to Animals: Gender Class, Nationalism," The Centennial Review Vol. 37, No. 2 (1993): 326.

¹⁹ Bailey, Leisure and Class, 28.

²⁰ Ibid., 38.

²¹ Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 166.

²² Ibid., 89.

challenged their leisure habits.²³ Generally, however, resistance was time consuming and too expensive to sustain.²⁴ By the end of the century, the thought of resistance had disappeared as a new generation of industrial workers had grown accustomed to an industrially-based work discipline.²⁵

Although British sport historians argue that labor discipline is a factor in the decline of traditional sport, the existence and impact of an industrial discipline upon the leisure habits of American workers has not been well documented.²⁶ Americans were less receptive than the English to industrialization. Although the industrial revolution arrived in America during the early nineteenth century, its greatest impact was in the Northeast. By focusing only upon the industrial development of the Northeast, American sport historians have offered an inaccurate picture of events in other regions of the country where industrialization held different consequences, particularly in the South. It is a persistent myth that because of the centrality of a plantation system to their economy, Southerners were reluctant to embrace industrialism until the twentieth century. Slaveholders

²³ E. P. Thompson, Customs in Common, 9.

²⁴ Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 115-116.

²⁵ Holt, Sport and the British, 42-43.

²⁶ The exception is Roy Rosenzweig's Eight Hours For What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920, Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Modern History Series, ed. Robert Fogel and Stephan Thernstrom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

limited industrial growth to the post-bellum period, holding firmly to a belief in the power of agrarianism to create and sustain a strong economic and moral community. Their deliberate preservation of a rural-agrarian lifestyle permitted the continuance of blood sports in much the same milieu they had enjoyed for two hundred years, encouraging traditional gender roles and moral values. Perhaps resisting industrialization affected the sporting culture of the South as much as embracing it had in the North.

Industrialization is *a* factor in the decline of blood sport, but it cannot be fully understood unless it is combined with urbanization. After 1815, mechanized production increasingly took place in developing cities.²⁷ Concern for labor discipline was strongest among these rapidly developing urban centers.²⁸ Not coincidentally, evidence of the decline of blood sport is also strongest in these areas. Urban development caused economic and socio-cultural transformation.

²⁷ E. J. Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire: From 1750 to the Present Day (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1969; First published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968; Reprinted, 1981), 60.

²⁸ Malcolmson argued that concern for labor discipline was strongest in urban-industrial centers because paternal forms of authority were non-existent, class antagonism was heightened, employment was least secure, and population density was greatest. See, Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 161.

URBANIZATION

Both British and American sport historians cite the transition from rural-agricultural to an urban-industrial nation as a force central to the rise of modern sport and the decline of blood sport.²⁹ As people migrated to developing urban-industrial centers to find work in factories, mines, or mills, their traditional leisure habits were compromised. By the early nineteenth century, the remarkable growth and concentration of population in urban centers like London and New York, coupled with underdeveloped transportation systems, distanced the urban masses from the leisure activities of their former rural environment.³⁰ In time, customary playing spaces were absorbed into the urban landscape due to population growth and fierce competition among land developers. As a result, many traditional sports and customs (in particular bull and bear baits that had depended upon the availability of open space) simply disappeared.³¹ Bull fights and bull and bear baits also declined because of the dangers large animals posed to an expanding urban population.³²

²⁹ For the best explanation see Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, passim. This thesis is also popular with American sport historians. See, for example, Steven A. Riess, City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989) and Stephen Hardy, How Boston Played: Sport, Recreation, and Community, 1865-1915 (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1982).

³⁰ Melvin Adelman, A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820-70 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986) 149.

³¹ Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 109-110.

³² Adelman, A Sporting Time, 241.

Along with limiting space for leisure, the urban-industrial environment distanced people from their rural roots and decreased familiarity with farm animals. As people moved into cities, they became less dependent upon animals. Just as May Day celebrations and labor holidays held less significance for urban-industrial workers than farm laborers, declining dependency meant the customary significance of animal blood sport may also have declined.³³

If blood sport did, indeed, decline in urban centers why did it not increase in rural areas where land was plentiful? Robert Malcolmson argued that the enclosure of previously public land throughout the English countryside also accounted for the decline of blood sport in many rural areas during the early decades of the nineteenth century.³⁴ The issue of enclosure was one of power and changing laboring relations. As land shifted ownership from ancestral estate families to a new monied class of bankers, traders, and retired military administrators, it was drained and enclosed at a rapid pace.³⁵ As a result of these shifts, cottagers were excluded from their customary and communal right to land. Many became landless agricultural laborers or sought employment in new industrial towns. Like their urban counterparts,

³³ English historian Robert Malcolmson argued that rural traditions held little significance for urban laborers. See Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 117.

³⁴ Ibid., 107-108.

³⁵ Thomson, England in the Nineteenth Century, 14.

agricultural laborers were left with little space in which to recreate.³⁶ The new landed gentry showed little understanding of, or sympathy for, the customs and habits of the laborers they uprooted.

The concept of enclosure is not as helpful in analyzing changes in leisure patterns in America. Although it would appear that the organization and exploitation of land among the plantation elite of the American South might have had a similar impact upon the form and function of sport to what it had in England, the differences are significant. When enclosure threatened access to land in the post-bellum South, the plantation sector met with opposition from the poor laboring population who fought successfully to protect their grazing and hunting rights in the name of democracy and freedom.³⁷ Unlike in England, massive concentrations of power and wealth were seen as tyrannous in America.

Urbanization, encompassing increasing population density and shifting patterns of settlement, remains the most fundamental *indication* of decline. But, understanding the decline of blood sport solely as a response to urban development suggests an evolutionary inevitability that denies the

³⁶ The Enclosure Acts also forced many yeoman farmers who could not compete with larger landowners into a rural laboring class or the new industrial sector. This would have decreased their overall leisure time. R. K. Webb, Modern England: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), 104-5.

³⁷ Steven Hahn, "Hunting, Fishing, and Foraging: Common Rights and Class Relations in the Postbellum South," in Crime & Justice in American History: Historical Articles on the Origins and Evolution of American Criminal Justice, ed. Eric H. Monkkonen, Vol. 7, The South, Part 1 (Munich, London, New York, and Paris: K.G. Saur, 1992), 143.

existence of residual elements in modern urban settings and overlooks human agency. If urbanization is to be an effective device for historical inquiry into blood sport, then it must act as more than a marker of change. Urbanization is a process of change - a movement from traditional to modern - as well as a site of change. What must be encouraged among sport historians is the conceptualization of a transitional city that was partly urban-industrial and partly pre-industrial-communal to explain the interaction between persisting traditional culture and modern innovation.

While many forms of traditional leisure were forced into disuse in both the urban and rural settings by the 1840s, it is improbable that America or England entered a 'Dark Age' of leisure as has previously been assumed.³⁸ Distinctions between urban-industrial sport and rural pre-industrial sport were not particularly obvious in England or in America until the latter half of the nineteenth century. Innovations in mechanization and production combined with resulting limitations on participation in developing urban-industrial centers *weakened* but did not destroy the foundation of traditional sport and customs. Although urbanization limited the availability of some forms of blood sport, urban settings did not preclude *all* forms of blood sport.

Although no longer grounded in custom and ritual, blood sport remained a passionate activity in many cities. Rather than forcing the decline

³⁸ Sebastian de Grazia argued that leisure "disappeared under an avalanche of work" in his Of Time, Work, and Leisure (New York: Anchor, 1964), 15.

of blood sport, the urban setting offered new commercial opportunities. Evidence suggests that certain blood sports continued clandestinely in England's taverns despite urbanization.³⁹ Tavern proprietors adapted blood sport to better fit capitalist cash demands, smaller spaces, and tighter time frames.⁴⁰ For example, owners of game cocks developed new heels that were longer and sharper to promote faster and more furious battles, realizing that bloody battles were a popular spectacle attracting paying customers.⁴¹ As a result, cockfighting enjoyed its highest level of commercialization, gaining a significant following among gentlemen and noblemen attracted by the gambling. Dog owners also recognized the monetary potential of a good pit dog and developed new breeds.⁴² Although the animal was large, it was also not uncommon for a tavern owner to keep a bear on hand for baiting contests.⁴³ Urban dwellers traded their dependence upon and ritual sacrifice of animals in a rural setting for their profane use as spectacles of urban sport.

³⁹ Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 119; Holt, Sport and the British, 35; and Walvin, Leisure and Society, 9.

⁴⁰ Ratting contests are perhaps the best examples of the adaptability of blood sport to the modern setting, demonstrating the ingenuity of people to incorporate modern time pieces into sport. In a ratting contest a dog or weasel was placed among a pit of rats and judged upon the number it could kill in a set period of time.

⁴¹ Douglas A. Reid, "Beasts and Brutes: Popular Blood Sports, c. 1780-1860," in Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain, ed. Richard Holt (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 18.

⁴² Walvin, Leisure and Society, 5.

⁴³ The bear would be nursed back to health following each battle.

Rather than declining, most blood sports in America also experienced growth because of urbanization. Unfortunately, few American historians have acknowledged the richness of traditional leisure forms that continued into the urban-industrial period.⁴⁴ Of those who have acknowledged that blood sport survived the transition to the modern period, most have hidden the activity within the seamy underworld of a predominantly male sporting fraternity composed of boiler room politicians, artisans, seasonal workers, criminals, immigrants, and certain less discriminatory members of the economic and social elite.⁴⁵ Historical bias has shadowed the fact that blood sport was an acceptable leisure practice in many urban centers. Saloons and gambling halls in America's cities openly advertised animal contests and became a recreational outlet for many urban men wishing to escape the femininity and domesticity of their homes and the routine and discipline of the new industrial economy.⁴⁶

The enthusiasm for the commercial and entertainment potential of blood sport demonstrated by certain urban dwellers was offset by a growing distaste among others. Unlike other traditional sports (e.g., prize-fighting)

⁴⁴ Little evidence of the form and structure of blood sport remains in the American historical record.

⁴⁵ See, for example, Rader, American Sports; Adelman, A Sporting Time; and Riess, City Games.

⁴⁶ Rader, American Sports, 34. One of the better examinations of the central role of the saloon in American leisure is offered by Rosenzweig in, Eight Hours For What We Will, 61.

blood sport had not evolved into a suitable modern form but remained a testament to the barbarity of the past. It was during the period of transition, where traditional sport and modern sport coexisted, that we see the strongest distaste for blood sport. Although blood sports occurred in the colonial towns and villages of America, in the unfamiliar urban setting of the mid to late nineteenth century they took on a more "menacing aspect."⁴⁷ Distaste for blood sport was apparent long before the nineteenth century, but it was only in the nineteenth century when it was combined with rapid urban development that it posed a serious threat to social order.⁴⁸ Blood sport appeared more offensive in urban centers. To certain men and women, blood sports were deviant and a threat to the social stability and moral order of the new city. Innocent wagers on cockfights, for example, became the "organized gambling of the city."⁴⁹

In both American and English cities, evangelicals were among the first groups to acknowledge the threat posed by a violent male sporting culture. According to Malcolmson,

evangelicalism could not accommodate itself to the traditions of popular leisure....The standards of morality and propriety which were advanced by evangelicalism established more rigorous

⁴⁷ Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920 (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1978), 5.

⁴⁸ James B. Twitchell, Preposterous Violence: Fables of Aggression in Modern Culture (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 5.

⁴⁹ Boyer, Urban Masses, 5.

criteria for the evaluation of diverse forms of social behaviour, and as the limits of tolerance contracted, as new forms were opposed to old, the consensus which underlay the traditional practices was whittled away and replaced by an atmosphere of open hostilities.⁵⁰

Prior to the development of urban centers, the regulation of leisure had lain largely with the church and town authorities. Wishing to return to the communal order of small-town life, evangelicals attempted to impose their traditional moral values upon the urban population by emphasizing the sin of worldly pleasures and the necessity for self-discipline and dedication to service.⁵¹ By policing the amusements of the masses, evangelicals believed that they could instill their definition of acceptable moral conduct upon the masses and preserve the static moral traditions that had held their communities together for centuries.

Unfortunately early efforts to win back the moral hegemony that the church had enjoyed in simpler times were largely unsuccessful throughout rapidly growing urban centers.⁵² The emerging modern city, lacking organized channels of reform, could not accommodate a traditional town infrastructure. Moral crusaders were unable to fathom the complexity of urban-industrial life. They failed because they were fragmented, too narrowly

⁵⁰ Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 101.

⁵¹ Ibid., 30. Societies aimed at "suppressing vice" and "promoting good morals" sprang up in England and America in the second decade of the nineteenth century. For a discussion see Boyer, Urban Masses, 13.

⁵² Boyer, Urban Masses, 8.

focused, lacked government support, and did not recognize that the emerging cities demanded an entirely new social order.⁵³ Rather than exploring the complex forces of urban-industrialization, they reduced complex social and economic problems to simple moral absolutes, blaming individuals for the sins found in the city. Despite their failure, evangelical efforts laid the foundation for Victorian virtues of piety, self-discipline, sensibility, responsibility, thrift, dependability, and practicality that strengthened throughout the modern period.⁵⁴

As urbanization came to affect a greater number of people by 1830, it became apparent that the city posed new and serious problems. In both England and America urbanization had entered a more advanced and critical stage. During the decade of the 1830s the primary topic of discussion among the dominant class was the problem created by rapid urban development and over-crowding. Members of the dominant class feared that moral order and social cohesion were being subverted by a growing population of strangers unfamiliar with traditional ways.⁵⁵ Of particular concern was the condition of the poor in new urban cities that had sprung up at a fantastic rate.⁵⁶ The

⁵³ Boyer, Urban Masses, 54-55.

⁵⁴ Gertrude Himmelfarb, The De-Moralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 6.

⁵⁵ Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire, 72-73.

⁵⁶ J. L. Talmon, Romanticism and Revolt; Europe, 1815-1848 (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, Inc., 1967), 20.

poor, often housed in over-populated and unsanitary slums, posed numerous problems to public health and social order and struck fear into the hearts of an older, stable town population. Among the strongest fears was that a large, unfamiliar urban population brought an increase in criminal and deviant behavior. In fact, violence or the atrociousness of crime had not increased. Rather, what had changed were popular conceptions of criminal activity and public order.⁵⁷

The closer people came in space, the more aware they became of one another's conduct. Because urban dwellers were becoming more aware of protecting their personal space, violence of any kind appeared more shocking. Emile Durkheim would later theorize that crime and deviance were unavoidable outgrowths of the condition of alienation brought on by urbanization, but to an increasingly powerful class of urban professionals they represented forces to be controlled and contained. Urban professionals believed that standards of acceptable behavior had to change to accommodate economic and moral advancement in congested urban centers.

A movement for the reformation of behavior emerged in both England and America in the 1830s. Unlike an earlier period, private secular and government agencies intervened in the problems of urban crowding. Regulating public conduct became a crucial issue. Urban reform campaigns

⁵⁷ Thomson, England in the Nineteenth Century, 18.

proceeded from a concern to combat urban pathologies, to humanize life in urban-industrial towns, and to promote the refinement of the lower orders.⁵⁸ Some of the principal objectives of the reform movement were "closer regulation of popular behaviour, an improvement in the common people's tastes and morals, a reform of their habitual vices, [and] the instilling in them of discipline and orderliness."⁵⁹

Nowhere are the historical attempts to order and control 'inappropriate' behavior more apparent than in the writings of French social theorist Michel Foucault. Foucault's studies of the history of repression within penal and psychiatric facilities enhance understanding of the control mechanisms at work in a modernizing society.⁶⁰ In Foucault's judgment, changes in attitudes and daily patterns were made possible only by a fundamental structural change in the institution of power that gave the middle class the power to control, contain, order, and discipline.⁶¹ Although historians continue to find fault with his historical approach, Foucault was

⁵⁸ Paul E. Johnson argued that the American middle class became a class around this moral imperative. See, Paul E. Johnson, A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978).

⁵⁹ Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 169.

⁶⁰ See, for example, Michel Foucault's Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); and Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason, trans. R. Howard (New York: Vintage Books, 1965).

⁶¹ Michel Foucault, Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham, and Kate Soper (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 99-102.

one of the first scholars to make reform institutions the model of the urban-industrial state.⁶²

This is not the place to review the vast literature on reform institutions. It is sufficient to note that reform was a movement for the social and cultural reconstruction of urban society. Between 1830 and 1880 government and private agencies organized reform institutions to abolish slavery, curtail gambling and drinking, reduce child labor, improve conditions for the infirmed, and remedy methods of incarceration. Reformers identified particular social groups including immigrants, the working class, children, the poor, the infirmed, criminals, and prostitutes, and classified their behavior as 'dangerous'. Because these groups themselves could not be eliminated from the city, particular behaviors of their members were deemed 'inappropriate' and prohibited through the construction of criminal legislation and/or codes of behavior. Regardless of their individual functions, reform institutions adopted a similar pattern of organization, each stressing the segregation from larger society of the lower, the unproductive, and the destructive order.⁶³

The process of reforming and refining the masses involved the development of progressively tighter social control measures to contain

⁶² David J. Rothman, The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic (Boston, Toronto, and London: Little, Brown and Company, 1971; paperback edition, 1990), xv.

⁶³ Ibid., xxv.

unwanted impulses and emotions.⁶⁴ The concept of social control is "the principle that a latent function of most, if not all, social institutions and activities is the maintenance of order."⁶⁵ Central to the concept of social control is the assumption that "social order is maintained not only, or even mainly, by legal systems, police forces, and prisons."⁶⁶ Social order is also maintained through a broad range of social institutions including religion, education, the media, the family, and leisure that rely upon *ideological* production rather than force to maintain order.⁶⁷ Advocates of social control identify class as *the* defining variable in the imposition of opinions and habits by one class upon another to maintain order.⁶⁸ Social control has at its core the idea that "there is in most class societies a pervasive set of beliefs that broadly serves the interest of the dominant class."⁶⁹

⁶⁴ James Curtis, "Isn't it Difficult to Support Some of the Notions of 'The Civilizing Process'? A Response to Dunning," in Sport and Social Theory, ed. Roger Rees and Andrew W. Miracle (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1986), 60.

⁶⁵ Jonathan Wiener, "Humanitarianism or Control? A Symposium of Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Social Reform in Britain and America," in Rice University Studies, ed. Martin J. Wiener, Vol. 67, No. 1 (Winter, 1981), 2.

⁶⁶ F. M. L. Thompson, "Social Control in Victorian Britain," The Economic History Review, second series, Vol. XXXIV, No. 2 (May, 1981), 197.

⁶⁷ A. P. Donajrodzki, "Introduction," in Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain, ed. A.P. Donajrodzki (Totowa, N. J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977), 9.

⁶⁸ F. M. L. Thompson, "Social Control in Victorian Britain," 190.

⁶⁹ Nicholas Abercrombie and Bryan S. Turner, "The Dominant Ideology Thesis," in Classes, Power, and Conflict: Classical and Contemporary Debates, ed. Anthony Giddens and David Held (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), 396.

During the nineteenth century, it was the middle class who emerged with a dominant hegemony. Embracing the idea of reform, the middle class had a disproportionate influence upon the climate of opinion concerning behavior. Largely evangelical in make-up, middle class reformers attacked every conceivable sin, evil, suffering, and moral transgression in an effort to shape the future and maximize their happiness.⁷⁰ Social control historians argue that middle class reformers were selfishly motivated by fear and anxiety over the social instability they witnessed in growing urban centers.⁷¹ They were particularly interested in the development of society toward a 'better' future and fashioned themselves as the custodians of a new social and moral order. According to American historian Alan Trachtenberg, the control of mass culture by the middle class was a way of disarming the unruly and dispelling potential class hostility.⁷² Characterizing reform as a step in the progress of humanity, reformers articulated 'suitable' moral values and

⁷⁰ C. S. Griffin, The Ferment of Reform, 1830-1860, The Crowell American History Series, ed. John Hope Franklin and Abraham S. Eisenstadt (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967), 1-4.

⁷¹ E. P. Thompson was foremost among British historians arguing for a social control thesis in the rise of the middle class although he did not explicitly label his theory. See E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (New York: Vintage Books, 1963). One of the best examples of social control theory in American historiography is Anthony Platt's, The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969). Platt's study of juvenile delinquency argued that humanitarianism played a minor role in the development of "child-saving" institutions. Instead of altruistic tendencies, Platt demonstrates that powerful ulterior motives drove women and correctional personnel into their roles as reformers.

⁷² Alan Trachtenberg, The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age, The American Century Series, ed. Eric Foner (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 146.

directed the behavior of the lower orders "toward the desired ends of self-discipline, industry, punctuality, thrift - in other words, towards what has come to be called middle-class morality."⁷³

The rise of urban reform institutions, a reaction to the harmful effects of city living upon public health and social behavior, forced significant behavioral change. Sport was not immune and one cannot examine cultural change in sport without looking at recreational reform attempts. The history of attempts to reform traditional recreation throughout America and England shows that there was a strong body of middle class opinion which persisted throughout the nineteenth century and which may be construed as seeking to impose a social control upon mass leisure. Middle class reformers defined deviance in sport and created mechanisms through which to control it.

If the function of social control is not to eliminate deviant behavior but to define proper and improper behavior, then the key lies not in the active destruction but in the transformation of traditional sports and customs into more rational modern forms.⁷⁴ American sport historian Melvin Adelman argued that the key to an effective use of modernization theory in sport was an acknowledgment of the dominant role of rationalization in

⁷³ John A. Mayer, "Notes Toward a Working Definition of Social Control in Historical Analysis," in Social Control and the State, ed. Stanley Cohen and Andrew Scull (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 17.

⁷⁴ David P. Aday suggested this function of social control in his, Social Control at the Margins: Toward a General Understanding of Deviance (Belmont, CA.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1990), 10.

modern society.⁷⁵ The concept of rationalization involved efforts to extend human intelligence to social affairs to make a better world.⁷⁶ The rise of a modern, scientific, and bureaucratic or rational world view disrupted traditional social patterns and forced people into new ways of behaving.

RATIONALIZATION

The rationalization of recreation is based upon the assumption that modern sport was constructed out of a number of constraints and experiences all stemming from urbanization and industrialization and the desire to contain behavior within a specific moral realm. For Adelman, this "need to establish a rational order is *the* critical connection between the changing nature of the city and the changing structure of sport."⁷⁷ For the mid-nineteenth century middle class, sport operated as a mechanism for producing rational order. Historians argue that blood sports, like many traditional sports, declined because they failed to articulate with this new rational order.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Adelman, A Sporting Time, 5.

⁷⁶ J. J. Chambliss, Enlightenment and Social Progress: Education in the Nineteenth Century (Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing, 1971), 2.

⁷⁷ Adelman, A Sporting Time, 7.

⁷⁸ See, for example, Walvin, Leisure and Society, 11.

Blood sport may have declined because of deliberate attempts of middle class moral and social reformers to control popular recreation during the rise of the modern period, but according to sport theorist Stuart Hall, what historians are really looking at when they examine the rationalization of traditional recreation is the "active destruction of particular ways of life, *and* their transformation into something new."⁷⁹ Hall argued that traditional sports and customs did not simply fall into disuse through the 'Long March to Modernisation'; rather, they were actively pushed aside by a powerful middle class in favor of more respectable, rational, and less dangerous leisure (as defined by the middle class).⁸⁰ Transforming the recreation of the populace was contingent upon instilling standards of self-control and imposing sanctions against those activities that posed a threat to society.

What have come to be called rational recreation campaigns in the English literature operated to promote healthy living and morally uplifting leisure.⁸¹ From the perspective of the progressive middle class, Peter Bailey argued, "leisure constituted a problem whose solution required the building

⁷⁹ Stuart Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing 'the Popular'," in People's History and Socialist Theory, ed. Raphael Samuel (London, Boston, Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 227. *Italics mine.*

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Peter Bailey made a significant contribution to our understanding of how rational recreation campaigns operated to actively shape modern leisure. Bailey contended that powerful, moral middle class reformers determined which sporting forms and behaviors were acceptable for the emerging modern order in England. See, Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England, *passim*.

of a new social conformity - a play discipline to complement the work discipline that was the principal means of social control in an industrial capitalist society."⁸² Changes in attitudes toward sport were initiated by a small group of fitness crusaders beginning in the 1830s who were concerned with public health.⁸³ By mid century, concern with public health had turned to rationalization. Rational reforms were more moral and less physical than the recreation of a previous time and altered the nature of acceptable public pastimes.

Campaigns to prohibit blood sport never assumed center stage in the rational reform movement, rather they were swept along in larger efforts to impose a moral stewardship upon recreation. Temperance organizations and Lord's Day Observance Societies had become key institutions of recreational reform.⁸⁴ Followers attacked intemperance and encouraged the observance of the Sabbath in the hope of discouraging men from attending taverns where they engaged in blood sport.⁸⁵ By introducing clubs and reading rooms into working class life, rational recreators attempted to "divert the workingman

⁸² Bailey, Leisure and Class, 5.

⁸³ For an in-depth explanation of health reform see Harvey Green, Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport, and American Society (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986) especially pages 45-53.

⁸⁴ Bailey, Leisure and Class, 48. Bailey argued that the temperance movement was the "single most important agency of recreational improvement in the 1840s."

⁸⁵ Walvin, Leisure and Society, 11.

from the pub and provide the proper environment for his exposure to the superior example, whose values would ultimately be internalized."⁸⁶

According to Bailey, rational recreation campaigns were "conceived as a measure of humanitarian relief" and became part of the "ongoing and fundamental re-socialisation of the working class."⁸⁷ Reformers attempted to direct the leisure of the working class toward more 'appropriate' ends. More significantly, they extended their middle class Protestant ethic into sport in the hopes of integrating the working class into bourgeois moral norms.⁸⁸

Middle class rationalization involved active mechanisms and ideologies to direct the leisure of the masses and to maintain order among urban residents. A new sports creed was conceived by the middle class as a measure to encourage healthy, morally-uplifting recreation for the urban poor, working, and middle classes. American historian Donald Mrozek argued that, "advocates of this new sport creed strongly opposed traditional blood and animal sports, because of the gambling involved, the bad examples of behavior they provided, and their negative impact on men's souls."⁸⁹ In

⁸⁶ Bailey, Leisure and Class, 53.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 177-178.

⁸⁸ Alan Clarke, "Civic Ideology in the Public Domain: Victorian Ideology in the 'Lifestyle Crisis' of the 1990s" in Sport in Social Development: Traditions, Transitions, and Transformations, ed. Alan G. Ingham and John W. Loy (Champaign, IL.: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1993), 258.

⁸⁹ Donald J. Mrozek, Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910 (Knoxville, TN.: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 29.

place of traditional recreation, respectable forms of leisure (e.g., public parks, playgrounds, and organized sport) were endorsed in the hopes of creating character-building institutions and spreading respectability among the lower orders. Owing largely to the efforts of a reform-minded middle class, sport for the first time came to be associated not simply with revelry and cathartic release but with the general advancement of society and the improvement of individual moral character.

The desire for rational order within the new urban-industrial environment forced members of the middle class to create new sports better suited to the needs of urban inhabitants. We see their rationalization attempts most clearly in the shift from prize-fighting to boxing where certain forms of violent behavior were permissible under the rules of the game.⁹⁰ The reason boxing, rugby, and association football were accepted into modern sport was because they were surrounded with a language that emphasized the 'science' of the activity and because they were organized, rationalized, and were associated with building character. Unlike enthusiasts of these sports, advocates of blood sports were unable to rationalize their activities and bring them within a legal and respectable framework. It was much more difficult to justify the character-building properties of blood sport given its association with wanton violence.

⁹⁰ Curtis, "Isn't it Difficult," 60.

Although members of the middle class disagreed upon the form of modern leisure, many of its members believed that sport could be a powerful tool of social reform. Modern sport became a mechanism for lessening fears and rationalizing behavior. Reformers saw modern sport not simply as an alternative to vile blood sport, but as a means eventually of eliminating vice and cruelty altogether from the leisure of the masses and curbing the moral decay of cities. They believed that modern sport provided them with a medium of personal renewal and a cure for the social ills of the day.⁹¹

As an analytical framework, rationalization permits an examination of the imposition of social control upon the masses to instill in them 'proper' social behavior and moral values. The concept of rationalization is not however without its problems. If the aim of social control is to insure the docility of the disadvantaged, then those in authority are seen as manipulative. Socially constructed, rational order can too easily be mistaken for a conspiracy theory "in which *the* authorities, *the* press, *the* police are seen in a solely manipulative role."⁹² As American historian Paul Boyer

⁹¹ Some advocates of modern sport even believed that criminal tendencies could be sublimated into athletics. See Mrozek, Sport and American Mentality for a discussion of the role of sport in social renewal.

⁹² John Stevenson, Popular Disturbances in England, 1700 - 1832, second edition (London and New York: Longman, 1992. First published 1979), 5. Stevenson is referring to what he has labeled a "socially constructed order approach" which appears synonymous with social control theory as used by sport historians.

pointed out, "Loosely applied, social control may suggest an image of would-be moral dictators deviously scheming to clamp their own rigid and puritanical code upon the more easygoing and unsuspecting masses."⁹³ In this way, the concept of social control neglects the interaction of social groups in the action of suppression. Those being controlled lack agency. But, sport, like any social structure, is constituted by human agency and "access to recreational space, [and] the moral control of space and time have been and remain sites of contention."⁹⁴

Despite efforts to bring respectability to popular leisure, historians have demonstrated that blood sport survived in the face of middle class moralizing.⁹⁵ Further, historians have noted working class resistance to middle class reform campaigns.⁹⁶ Others have questioned the precision and pervasiveness of a middle class ethic informing English society in the late nineteenth century and the receptiveness of the working class to this ethic.⁹⁷ Bailey demonstrated that some workingmen accepted the idea of refined

⁹³ Boyer, Urban Masses, 58.

⁹⁴ Alan G. Ingham, "Hero/ines, Sport, and Social Transformation: Issue of Incorporation and Resistance," unpublished paper presented at the North American Society for Sport History Conference, Banff, Alberta (May, 1990), 3.

⁹⁵ F. M. L. Thompson, "Social Control in Victorian Britain," 196.

⁹⁶ Peter Bailey in, Leisure and Class in Victorian England noted working class resistance to attempts to rationalize recreation.

⁹⁷ Chris Rojek, "Leisure and 'The Ruins of the Bourgeois World'," in Leisure for Leisure, ed. Chris Rojek (New York: Routledge, 1989), 101.

behavior but, rather than adopting the middle class example, they formulated their own kind of respectability.⁹⁸ According to Bailey, despite attempts to restructure the leisure of the working class, the over-all gains in recreational improvement were slender.⁹⁹ In fact, James Walvin argued that they may have backfired. English Sabbatarians, for example, may actually have propelled people to the tavern by taking away all other forms of Sunday recreation.¹⁰⁰ Regardless of the individual successes of reformers, advocates of a rationalization thesis argue that the rise of a modern sport ethic helped to consolidate middle class values in sport.¹⁰¹

The greatest problem with the application of the concept of middle class social control to leisure, according to Gareth Stedman Jones, is that it does not explain *how* traditional recreationalists were incorporated into modern sport through the mechanisms of social control. Was the overthrow of traditional recreation merely a huge defeat of a subordinate class? Was their class consciousness confiscated and channeled into some other system-maintaining activity? Or did they willingly give up their traditional

⁹⁸ Bailey, Leisure and Class, 183.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 62.

¹⁰⁰ Walvin, Leisure and Society, 8.

¹⁰¹ The modern sporting ethic that took shape within America was actually a compromise between gentry values and middle class reform values although in historical terminology it falls under the rubric of a middle class ethic. See Alan G. Ingham and Stephen Hardy, "Introduction: Sport Studies Through the Lens of Raymond Williams," in Sport in Social Development: Traditions, Transitions, and Transformations, ed. Alan G. Ingham and Stephen Hardy (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1993), 10.

recreational forms for more socially integrated ones?¹⁰² Focusing upon reform as an explanation for the decline of blood sport also demands an understanding of reformers own intentions. Were urban reformers humanitarians seeking to improve the health and well-being of the urban masses or were they socially controlling the behavior of the masses to protect their own interests?

In his critique of the historiography of reform, Martin Weiner argued that "the first step toward a new history of reform...must be to understand what reformers and their opponents were saying, how they saw their society's problems and how they saw the solutions - where they thought they were and where they wished to go."¹⁰³ American urban historian Paul Boyer tackled the complex problem of the motivations of reformers and discovered that they did not view their own actions as social control. Rather, from their perspective, reformers were trying to preserve a social and moral order they thought normal, as had been the custom of men and women in their station.¹⁰⁴ The middle class believed that it stood for progress and human betterment. To them reform campaigns were nothing more than a means by which to shape 'good' citizens. Similarly, Christopher Lasch argued that

¹⁰² Gareth Stedman Jones, "Class Expression Versus Social Control? A Critique of Recent Trends in the Social History of Leisure," History Workshop 4 (1977): 164.

¹⁰³ Martin J. Wiener, "Introduction" in Rice University Studies, ed. Martin J. Wiener, Vol. 67, No. 1 (Winter, 1981), 4.

¹⁰⁴ Boyer, Urban Masses, 59.

reformers reflected the changing sensibility of the period.¹⁰⁵ They reflected a heightened awareness of deviancy within the urban setting and a growing uneasiness with class and ethnic differences that led to an intolerance for these differences.

The rise of rational recreation may have influenced popular leisure habits, but this influence cannot be wholly attributed to middle class controlling efforts. Often what historians have characterized as social control may in fact have been efforts at socialization.¹⁰⁶ Rather than working to preserve their own social interests, reformers were trying to refine the habits of *all* members of society.¹⁰⁷ Socialization, rather than social control, is the most popular method by which people come to conform to societal norms.¹⁰⁸ Rational reform campaigns, therefore, should be explained not as manipulative devices, but as an application of intellectual recipes generated by a desire for socialization in a complex urban-industrial society.

¹⁰⁵ Christopher Lasch, The World of Nations, (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), 16-17.

¹⁰⁶ Both Christopher Lasch and F. M. L. Thompson offered a socialization thesis in response to what they saw as an overpowering social control theory. See Lasch, The World of Nations and F. M. L. Thompson, "Social Control in Victorian Britain," 199. Thompson notes an important distinction between social control and socialization often overlooked by people wanting to prove class oppression: that in the process through which one generation passes its values to the next, social control can become socialization.

¹⁰⁷ F. M. L. Thompson, "Social Control in Victorian Britain," 199.

¹⁰⁸ Donajgrodzki, Social Control, 12.

Socialization is an "internal rationalization" intended to propose a better society for all, rather than something imposed from outside.¹⁰⁹

In British historian F.M.L. Thompson's terminology, the difference between social control and socialization is that socialization involves "peddling recipes for better survival in a changing environment rather than weaving webs of subordination."¹¹⁰

Thompson is of the opinion that, regardless of the moral message of reformers, a shift in leisure habits was inevitable due to the "sheer enormity" of the changes brought on by modernization. According to Thompson, reformer's efforts were but a "thin veneer" over larger material changes like technological advances and improved transportation and communication venues.¹¹¹

Commercialization, in particular, did more to transform popular leisure habits and ensure the decline of traditional recreation than did the conscious efforts of rational reformers.¹¹² According to Richard Butsch, commercialization

¹⁰⁹ Social control mechanisms become necessary only where socialization has failed. The difficulty for historians is to be able to acknowledge socialization without overlooking oppression.

¹¹⁰ F. M. L. Thompson, "Social Control in Victorian Britain," 207.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 199.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 200.

represents a fundamental shift in the nature of hegemony, which now operates not through the traditional authority and personalities of local elites, nor through the power of capitalist employers, middle-class reformers, and state intervention, but rather through the impersonal, even apparently "natural" structures of corporate industries and mass markets.¹¹³

An increase in real earnings combined with new technologies and a broad range of leisure forms provided a revolution in the leisure habits of Anglo-Americans. By the end of the nineteenth century modern commercial leisure opportunities (e.g., music halls and seaside holidays) combined with the Victorian desire for order and discipline had almost completely replaced the zeal for blood sport.¹¹⁴

Sociologist Norbert Elias took offense at the widespread tendency to attribute all modern behavioral development to urban-industrial capitalist growth. For Elias, urbanization and industrial capitalism played a role in the development of modern society, but it is also possible that they were themselves "symptoms of a deeper transformation in society which demanded greater regularity and differentiation of conduct."¹¹⁵ Unlike the search for a rational order which is attributed to the industrial age, Elias's

¹¹³ Richard Butsch, "Introduction: Leisure and Hegemony in America," in For Fun and Profit: The Transformation of Leisure into Consumption ed. Richard Butsch (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 19.

¹¹⁴ The masses might have had greater choice in their leisure by the 1860s, but they were still controlled as to what they could do within it. Factory-sponsored seaside holidays for workers, for example, hint at the attempts by owners to socialize the working class into bourgeois values. A strict code of behavior was dictated to workers attending these holidays.

¹¹⁵ Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1986), 151.

deeper transformation involved the slow and steady advancement of European civilization from the late Middle Ages. Urbanization, industrialization, and rationalization, therefore, are significant factors of modernization only if examined as *contributors* to the evolution of a civilizing mentality that had far-reaching implications upon the behavior of the entire society.

CIVILIZATION

The successful suppression of blood sport hinged upon the creation of new visions of what it meant to be civilized, to be cruel, to be modern, and to be human. The concept of civilized sport was central to arguments against blood sport. The task of the sport historian wishing to explain the decline of blood sport is to examine the forces of modernization that induced people to adopt more 'civilized' patterns of behavior. Elias labeled the long-term transformation of conduct the 'civilizing process.'¹¹⁶ It resulted in greater control of personal and collective behavior. Along with his disciple Eric Dunning, Elias used his theory of the civilizing process to explain the development of sport.

¹¹⁶ For an indepth discussion of the civilizing process see Norbert Elias's, The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford England and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994; originally published as Über den Prozess der Zivilisation as two separate volumes in 1939 by Hans zum Falker, Basel).

According to Elias, the growth of sport showed a pattern of development similar to that of larger civilization. Sport embraced codes of conduct and a reduction in violent sentiments.¹¹⁷ Recently, British sport historian Richard Holt adopted Elias's theory of the civilizing process to understand the decline of English blood sport from the mid-eighteenth century.¹¹⁸ Holt claimed we learn more of the changes to blood sport by dwelling upon the patterns of mind and behavior that stemmed from a "gradual shift in cultural attitudes towards popular recreation than by stressing the sudden changes or discontinuities brought about by the onset of industrialization."¹¹⁹

To our modern sensibilities blood sport is cruelty to animals. Cockfights and dog fights that shock and repulse in recent years were, however, considered normal and presumably enjoyable social activities for several centuries prior to the modern period. Holt's explanation of decline was sought in generalizations about the civilizing tendencies of modern culture. Similarly, James Turner, in Reckoning with the Beast, argued that the "entire developing ethos of kindness to animals reflected the worries and psychological stresses of a once-agrarian society suffering the trauma of

¹¹⁷ Elias and Dunning, Quest for Excitement, 21.

¹¹⁸ Holt, Sport and the British, 28-32.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 4.

modernization."¹²⁰ Yet, the tendency to equate a sentiment of kindness to animals with modern (i.e. urban-industrial) development is incorrect. The modern world was in many ways much crueler to animals than anything that preceded it. Men, dependent upon animals to transport goods to market, could ill afford to be any less cruel during the industrial age.

Although he acknowledges that the "sharpest" and "most sustained" attacks on blood sport occurred during the period of rapid urban-industrial development, Holt does not believe that decline was *caused* by these forces. Rather he suggested that changes in attitudes toward cruelty to animals preceded urban-industrial development. According to Holt, a long-term shift in sensibility toward cruelty to animals played a decisive role in the decline of blood sport.¹²¹ Modern definitions of cruelty to animals evolved slowly, over a period of centuries, from changing religious and humane notions that predated urban-industrial development.¹²² If, as Holt argues, sport was "caught

¹²⁰ James Turner, Reckoning with the Beast: Animals, Pain, and Humanity in the Victorian Mind (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 30.

¹²¹ In the British literature, the theory of the civilizing process was adopted by Richard Holt, Sport and the British, 29-32. Although he did not use the theory of the civilizing process per se, Jack W. Berryman made the shift in values and behavior central to his reasons for the decline of blood in America. See Jack W. Berryman, "Anglo-American Blood Sports, 1776-1889: A Study of Changing Morals" (M. A. Thesis, The University of Massachusetts, 1974), 112-147.

¹²² The change in attitudes from the Hebrew tradition, where men decided that animals were placed upon the earth for human's use, to our present attitudes toward animals is too complex to be repeated here. Perhaps the best historical survey of changing sentiments toward animals is Keith Thomas's, Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983).

up in a subtle and diffuse cultural shift that spanned several centuries," then the theory of the civilizing process should illuminate this long term shift in attitudes toward violence and cruelty to animals.¹²³ Gaining an understanding of the development of sentimentalism toward animals should make it easier to see why blood sport came to be viewed as inappropriate.

Obviously there was concern for the appropriateness of blood sports before the modern period, but it was not widely influential and was often based on a concern for human morality rather than animal protection.¹²⁴ Before the eighteenth century expressing compassion toward animals was widely considered self-indulgent.¹²⁵ Largely as a result of the writings of Rene Descartes, seventeenth century European intellectuals preached a clear distinction between man and beast. The Cartesian doctrine solidified the unique place of humans in the animal kingdom. It claimed that animals were mere machines devoid of a mind and soul. Denied a soul, animals would not feel pain; they could thus be tormented and slaughtered without guilt. To acknowledge that animals were susceptible to sensation was to

¹²³ Holt, Sport and the British, 29.

¹²⁴ In the third century, for example, converted Christian Tertullian questioned the brutality of Roman animal spectacles fearing that these exhibitions would cause men to be brutal to one another. His concern was echoed by St. Augustine who was certain that by observing violent scenes youth would become delinquent. See Twitchell, Preposterous Violence, 5-6.

¹²⁵ Thomas, Man and the Natural World, 3.

"make human behaviour seem intolerably cruel."¹²⁶ In a world that relied upon animals for labor and food, such a concession was unlikely. Consequently, few questioned the cruelty of blood sport. What they began to question was the animal-like behavior of some humans.

Although the doctrine of human uniqueness and superiority was widely accepted into the eighteenth century, it was everywhere apparent that humans were nonetheless capable of animal-like behavior. In reaction to this awareness came the desire to reduce similarities between humans and animals. Animals became the point of reference for the "continuous process of human self-definition."¹²⁷ Attempts to distinguish between human and animal behavior are an example of Elias's civilizing process aimed at refining manners. In his History of Manners, Elias discussed the rise of codes of civility and rules of refinement to deal with basic human functions (eating, drinking, defecating, blowing one's nose, etc.).¹²⁸ These codes intended to raise human behavior above animals by making them aware that certain behaviors were unacceptable. People were taught to regard their necessary bodily impulses as 'animal' ones, needing to be subdued.

To solidify the distinction between man and beast in the human psyche, people attributed to animals those characteristics they most feared in

¹²⁶ Thomas, Man and the Natural World, 34.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 40.

¹²⁸ See Volume 1 of Elias's The Civilizing Process.

themselves, ferocity, gluttony, and lust, even though, as Keith Thomas pointed out, it was humans not beasts who began wars, ate more than was necessary, and were sexually active year round.¹²⁹ According to Thomas, the main purpose of distinguishing between humans and animals was to justify "hunting, domestication, meat-eating, vivisection...and the wholesale extermination of vermin and predators."¹³⁰ It also had the consequence of justifying blood sport.

It was only with the growth of two revolutionary changes in outlook during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that Anglo-American attitudes and behavior toward blood sport were transformed. One was the importance placed upon science as the key to the progress of civilization. The other was the 'dethronement of man,' the realization that animals may not exist solely for the use of humans. Keith Thomas found a number of reasons that together these changes should have stimulated new attitudes and treatment of animals. He noted the contribution of classification systems in the natural sciences that challenged the 'natural' hierarchy that had placed humans at the apex of nature.¹³¹ He also noted that the late eighteenth century witnessed the emergence of a romantic world view that brought about a revolution in perception that had a "traumatic

¹²⁹ Thomas, Man and the Natural World, 40-41.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 41.

¹³¹ Ibid., 66.

effect upon the outlook of ordinary people, by making obsolete many assumptions which had been integral to popular attitudes to nature."¹³² As a result, it became 'unfashionable' to regard animals as inferior, ugly, or morally degenerate.

An unparalleled surge of humanitarianism swept through England and America in the latter part of the eighteenth century. By the turn of the nineteenth century the standard of what society accepted and prohibited had changed. A shift from a purely 'man-centered' view of the world swept into public discourse. An enhanced sensitivity to pain and cruelty to animals emerged in the writings of an intellectual elite.¹³³ Naturalists, poets, philosophers, scientists, and theologians questioned old habits and customs. These enlightened social critics challenged traditional beliefs that animals were placed upon the earth for human use and that they could not suffer. They asked people to question whether the pains they inflicted were actually necessary in the interest of a progressive society.

The theory of the civilizing process suggests that crude and violent behavior gradually declined over the course of civilization as people internalized enlightened ideas. But in order to be absorbed and to survive,

¹³² Thomas, Man and the Natural World, 70.

¹³³ See, for example, Thomas Young, An Essay on Humanity to Animals (London, 1798) and Thomas Moore, The Sin and Folley of Cruelty to Brute Animals: A Sermon (Birmingham, 1810, as cited in Reid, "Beasts and Brutes," note 23, page 26; and Elizabeth Heyrick, Bull-Baiting: A Village Dialogue, Between Tom Brown and John Sims (London, 1809) as cited in Ferguson, "Elizabeth Heyrick and Cruelty to Animals," note 28, page 352.

new cultural notions must be able to transcend current social frameworks.¹³⁴ In order for any campaigns against blood sport to be effective, one needed to alter popular attitudes regarding animals. An ethical revolution regarding the treatment of animals may have occurred during the late eighteenth century among members of the cultural elite, but to be effective, their ethical judgments had to be accepted by the majority. As with any great transformation, it would take time for the ethical principles that sought to protect animals to reach the masses and become assimilated.

By 1850, England had adopted less violent sporting behaviors. The social historian Harold Perkins summed up the changes in the English people between 1780 and 1850:

the English ceased to be one of the most aggressive, brutal, rowdy, outspoken, riotous, cruel and blood thirsty nations in the world, and became one of the most inhibited, polite, orderly, tender-minded, prudish and hypocritical.¹³⁵

A similar, yet not quite so drastic change also overtook the American public between 1780 and 1900. A widespread change in behavior changed sport into more civilized, moral, and legitimate forms of social organization.

Blood sport initially declined more from gradually changing social patterns among the elite than from a full-scale acceptance of anti-cruelty

¹³⁴ Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren, Culture Builders: A Historical Anthropology of Middle-Class Life, Translated by Alan Crozier. Foreword by John Gillis (New Brunswick, N. J. and London: Rutgers University Press, 1987; paperback edition, 1990), 7.

¹³⁵ Harold Perkins, The Origin of Modern English Society, 1780 -1880 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), 280.

arguments. The theory of the civilizing process hinges upon the assumption that standards of behavior were set in motion by the elite and slowly diffused to other social classes.¹³⁶ In England and America the elite had the greatest influence upon popular recreation to the mid-eighteenth century. Some understanding of the place of blood sport within the social hierarchy of England is necessary to understand its decline. During most of the eighteenth century blood sports were recognized and accepted features of the traditional leisure of England's rural population. The landed aristocracy shared similar recreational interests with the populace. British aristocracy staged their own bull and bear baits and enjoyed cockfights within the Royal Cockpit. In the more remote parts of the country the lesser well-off members of the landed gentry shared directly in the sport of the people. On occasion, the gentry promoted blood sports by donating a bull for a running or baiting or by breeding gamecocks for battle. These men were particularly supportive of blood sport because it allowed them to indulge a love of gambling.¹³⁷

The drunkenness and licentiousness that accompanied public gatherings were tolerated by the gentry out of habit, self-interest, and the awareness that popular leisure operated as a safety-valve to an otherwise oppressive relationship; it dispelled unrest, promoted pride, and insured

¹³⁶ Holt, Sport and the British, 361.

¹³⁷ Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 57.

social cohesiveness.¹³⁸ Much like the Roman's awareness of the function of bread and circuses, English paternalism involved a careful balance between tolerance for the often violent and boisterous leisure of the masses and an equally strong awareness of the necessity to control and contain popular leisure.¹³⁹ But during the latter decades of the eighteenth century, the aristocracy and the lesser well-to-do landed gentry began to question their role as promoters of blood sport. English historian James Walvin argued that their change in tolerance was due to a "theologically inspired opposition to unnecessary cruelty *and*...a social awareness that, in changing times, cruel sports might undermine social morality."¹⁴⁰

Between 1780 and 1830 England experienced what has been referred to by historians as an "interim period," in which old ways eroded before newer forms emerged to take their place.¹⁴¹ According to historian John A. Mayer, this transitional stage,

with its breakdown of communal and deferential authority patterns, its economic and residential separation of classes, its disjunction between people's actual behaviours and the new behaviours needed for a modern industrial society, led to a sense

¹³⁸ Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 82-85.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 71.

¹⁴⁰ Walvin, Leisure and Society, 9. Italics mine.

¹⁴¹ John Rule, The Labouring Classes in Early Industrial England, 1750-1850 (London and New York: Longham, 1986; paperback edition, 1987), 209.

of crisis among elites, generalized as a fear of the lower or dangerous classes.¹⁴²

The single propelling force of these years was the distress of revolution. The French and Industrial revolutions had brought about enormous social and political unrest. Rioting was a popular means among the lower classes of expressing dissatisfaction with their situation. In turn, the dominant classes felt threatened by the riotous behavior of the lower or "dangerous" classes.¹⁴³ The fear of rebellion became a driving force in many campaigns obsessed with controlling and containing the masses.¹⁴⁴ Blood sport was a prime target. Structured around the blind workings of chance and its ability to ignite passions in spectators, blood sport was dangerous. No longer considered 'social tranquilizers, blood sports were increasingly regarded as primitive, disorderly, vulgar, and cruel.¹⁴⁵ Its potential to attract large, unruly crowds made it unattractive and inappropriate to a progressive England. According to British historian Sydney Coleman, aristocratic patronage of cockfights and

¹⁴² Mayer, "Notes Toward a Working Definition of Social Control in Historical Analysis," 17.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Talmon, Romanticism and Revolt, 9.

¹⁴⁵ Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 89.

bull baits dwindled not so much out of distaste, but because blood sports "became scenes of rioting and discord."¹⁴⁶

Faced with the constant threat of riot, England's landed elite began removing themselves from the traditions of the people in the 1780s. They demonstrated a heightened sense of social distance between themselves and the lower orders. They increasingly regarded the customs of the lower orders as primitive, disorderly, vulgar, and cruel and questioned their role as promoters of traditional recreation. By the 1830s, many Englishmen who had previously patronized blood sport had fully withdrawn their support.¹⁴⁷

The disassociation of patrician from plebeian in English society meant that the blood sport that had relied upon gentry patronage was often too costly to continue.¹⁴⁸ Yet Douglas Reid has demonstrated that in the absence of gentry hegemony, a unique system of "collective self-help" emerged among laboring groups who worked together with the local publican to provide their own entertainment.¹⁴⁹ Changes in elite attitudes and behavior regarding

¹⁴⁶ See Sydney H. Coleman, Humane Society Leaders in America: With a Sketch of the Early History of the Humane Movement in England (Albany, N. Y.: The American Humane Association, 1924), 17.

¹⁴⁷ Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 164.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 99.

¹⁴⁹ Reid, "Beasts and Brutes," 12-28. Reid describes the process whereby the laboring classes secured their own bull for a baiting. The system began with the initial sale of a bull to the local publican by a farmer or butcher. The publican, in turn, charged dog-owners a fee to pit their animals. The fee was paid in the hope of winning a prize. If the bull survived the baiting, then he was fought another day. If he was mortally wounded, then he was slaughtered and its meat was sold at a discounted rate to the community.

blood sport did not, therefore, immediately transform popular attitudes or behavior. Although changes in elite sporting habits eroded plebeian culture by the early nineteenth century, it would take another half century before new behaviors would become obvious and ingrained in the entire population.

The erosion of gentry hegemony rather than the persistence of traditional sport and customs caused a period of stress among the English gentry. The desire among the elite to end blood sport emerged from anxiety caused by a loss of authority, the necessity to dispel potential unrest among boisterous sporting crowds, and a desire to promote civilized behavior. According to Norbert Elias, a 'pacification' of traditional pastimes revealed itself first among the British aristocracy who replaced violent confrontation with non-violent sporting contests. With a declining sense of social responsibility, the elite distinguished themselves from the masses by creating an "exclusive polite culture" based upon social rank and gentlemanly codes of behavior.¹⁵⁰ This cultivation of refined tastes and manners physically divided high culture from low culture. High culture was differentiated from low culture by fine furniture and *objets d'art*, courtly dances and sculptured gardens, and by the cultivation of sophisticated and complex music and languages.¹⁵¹ Through a process of pacification the elite created sports that

¹⁵⁰ Holt, Sport and the British, 45.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

provided equal chances among opponents and followed specified rules.¹⁵² By the 1830s, there existed a strong gentlemanly code among English sportsmen that dictated proper behavior.

Critics of the civilizing process argue that decreasing levels of violence do not imply an evolutionary inevitability of progressive social development. To claim that violence toward animals declined because of the progress of civilization is mere tautology: to stop violence *is* to become more civilized. Further, civilization does not imply freedom from violence.¹⁵³ In their defense, advocates of the theory have pointed out that the civilizing process

simply predicts that the *standards* of violence-control will become stricter. It is a moot point whether actual rates of violence will fall, although the implication is that the standards and their sanctions will have the desired effect.¹⁵⁴

In fact, research indicates that the overall number of violent spectacles has continued to increase rather than decrease throughout the history of the Western world. James B. Twitchell, in his study of 'preposterous violence,' argued that violence toward animals did decline in popularity, but only "as violent scenes were appearing in mass-produced illustrations in print."¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² Elias and Dunning, Quest for Excitement, 34.

¹⁵³ The Nazis considered themselves the most civilized of Europeans.

¹⁵⁴ John Wilson, "Cleaning up the Game: Perspectives on the Evolution of Professional Sports," in Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process: Critique and Counter-Critique, ed. Eric Dunning and Chris Rojek (London: Macmillan Academic and Professional Ltd., 1992), 67.

¹⁵⁵ Twitchell, Preposterous Violence, 5.

Violent appetites were quenched by artificial displays of violence in etchings and vignettes made readily available by the printing press.¹⁵⁶ As society advanced, the issue was not attempts to prohibit violent acts, but attempts to select and contain *appropriate* violent acts.

The pacification of elite sport did not necessarily lessen the amount of violence in their leisure; what it did was rationalize that violence. Unlike middle class rationalization campaigns that imposed behavioral codes upon others, the elite adopted less violent forms of leisure to insure their own preservation. Certain activities were replaced with more suitable forms. For example, fox-hunting, considered more refined and polite, replaced bull and bear baiting among English country gentlemen.

Undoubtedly the civilizing process had its effect upon the American population as well, although the paths by which these attitudes filtered down to the under classes remain unclear. The key difference between England and America during the period from 1780 to 1830 lies not in a lack of exposure to civilizing ideas, (Americans were exposed to the same anti-cruelty literature as the British) but in the distribution of authority. The decline in authority

¹⁵⁶ Twitchell, Preposterous Violence, 66. William Hogarth was the most famous cartoonist to exploit public desire for 'exaggerated violence.' Unlike most mass-produced violent images merely intending to titillate, Hogarth's engravings were meant to instruct. His series of etchings depicting the Four Stages of Cruelty reflect both "a satirical critique of animal violence and an indulgence in the thrills of preposterous violence." As a member of the rising English middle class, Hogarth was particularly fond of scenes depicting blood sport, the human consequences of cruelty to animals, the evils of gin, and the general violence of modern city life.

experienced in England was unknown in America where people were committed to individual freedom and decentralized political authority.

Unlike in England where a decline in authority and deference threatened the persistence of blood sport, in America blood sport actually helped to *maintain* social status and dominance among the plantation elite. Particularly in the South gentry participation in sport classified the plantation elite as members of the leisured elite and solidified their dominant position in Southern society, at least until the American Civil War.¹⁵⁷ Their involvement in blood sport actually *increased* during the 1830s. Fashioning themselves after an older British aristocracy, the Southern gentry enjoying an excess of leisure time, agreeable weather, and disposable income, openly supported cockfights, prize-fights, horse races, card playing, and hunting. They often risked large sums of money on the gambling opportunities offered by traditional forms of sport. Gambling, along with displays of honor and physical strength, helped support an intricate structure of subordination that had, at its base, slavery.

As the elite retreated into high culture, the problem of civilizing popular leisure remained. With the decline of gentry patronage, England entered a phase during which "old forms of control eroded before newer

¹⁵⁷ Gambling displays became a form of 'high social drama' for commoners and slaves who were excluded from participating but not from spectating. While observing these displays members of the lower classes were continually reminded of the power of the Southern gentry. See Rader, American Sports, 21.

forms of social control and of industrial discipline reformed the basis for hegemony."¹⁵⁸ By the early decades of the nineteenth century members of a new monied elite had adopted the behavior codes of the gentry and influenced wider societal opinions of what it meant to be cruel, deviant, violent, and uncivilized. By the 1830s the control of sporting culture had fallen under the influence of this reform-minded class of urban professionals. Lacking a long-standing agreement with the populace, mechanisms of control became increasingly sophisticated under middle class control. Lacking the authority of their superiors, control of popular leisure "shifted from subtle hegemonic means to more repressive means of maintaining social order."¹⁵⁹

In acknowledging intentional attempts to 'civilize' the masses, the theory of the civilizing process appears not unlike social control. It, too, allows for an examination of the dynamic of individuals within the social process and their struggle for control of material and ideological production.¹⁶⁰ But, whereas social control is examined in the sport literature as a conscious and calculated effort by the middle class to impose "rational" behavior upon the masses, the theory of the civilizing process offers an

¹⁵⁸ Rule, The Labouring Classes, 209.

¹⁵⁹ Alan Clarke, "Civic Ideology in the Public Domain: Victorians Ideology in the 'Lifestyle Crisis' of the 1990s," in Sport in Social Development: Traditions, Transitions, and Transformations, ed. Alan G. Ingham and John W. Loy (Champaign, IL.: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1993), 249.

¹⁶⁰ Eric Dunning, "The Figurational Approach to Leisure and Sport," in Leisure For Leisure: Critical Essays, ed. Chris Rojek (New York: Routledge, 1989), 41.

explanation that is supposed to be "based in a gradual, unplanned shift in human conduct toward individual and collective self-restraint."¹⁶¹

According to James Curtis, however, the problem with the theory of the civilizing process is that it does not distinguish the gradual development of self-restraint from social control procedures.¹⁶² For Curtis, "the development of more effective social control procedures *is* the major indicator of the civilizing process."¹⁶³ He suggested that until a better case can be made for "a close relationship in the case of the civilizing of aggression, why not *limit* the referent for this concept to changes in social control procedures?"¹⁶⁴ Sport historians have done just this in examining changes in mechanisms aimed at suppressing blood sport.

Legislation was by far the most direct action taken against blood sport. It was to serve both as a deterrent to unwanted public behavior and as a means of punishing offenders. Legislative attempts to revolutionize English sensibilities were carried to the masses by religious leaders, lawmakers, anti-cruelty activists, and urban professionals.¹⁶⁵ These groups were among the strongest supporters of state intervention to prohibit cruel treatment.

¹⁶¹ Elias, The Civilizing Process, 443.

¹⁶² Curtis, "Isn't it Difficult," 61.

¹⁶³ Ibid. Italics mine.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 89.

Concerted efforts to legislate kind treatment to animals began in 1800 in the belief that punishment was necessary to curb behavior not yet self-controlled.¹⁶⁶ Between 1800 to 1835, eleven bills were introduced in British Parliament to prohibit bull baiting and bull-running, two of the more obvious forms of blood sport.¹⁶⁷ Although legislative attempts to suppress blood sport appeared to be centered around cruelty, reducing cruelty to animals was rarely the central issue.

A closer examination of the motives of those supporting anti-cruelty bills revealed that fear of animal-like behavior in humans rather than animal cruelty fueled many intrusive attempts to stop the popular pastimes. Legislation was initially supported by political and religious conservatives because of emerging fears of mass revolution inspired by British Jacobins sympathetic to the causes of the French Revolution.¹⁶⁸ Another aspect of the growing distaste for blood sport was rooted in the belief that cruelty to animals propagated cruelty to humans. When Lord Erskine introduced a bill into English Parliament in 1809 prohibiting bull baiting, for example, he was concerned that bull baits were cruel to animals, demoralized the people, and

¹⁶⁶ The sport of bull-baiting involved tethering a bull to stake and setting one or more dogs upon it. For a discussion of this legislation see Arthur W. Moss, Valiant Crusade: The History of the R.S.P.C.A. (London: Cassell, 1961), 14-15.

¹⁶⁷ Holt, Sport and the British, 31.

¹⁶⁸ Ferguson, "Elizabeth Heyrick," 326.

unfitted them for work.¹⁶⁹ A supporter of Lord Erskine's bill, however, suggested that it's real intention was "to prevent the murder of humans."¹⁷⁰

During the early decades of the nineteenth century, legislators were unsuccessful in their attempts to prohibit blood sport. In the case of bull baiting, many members of English Parliament simply ignored Erskine's proposal because they believed the activity was naturally in decline. Others quickly turned concern for alleviating animal suffering against its promoters pointing out that if public hangings and whippings continued, then a bull could be spared. Historian of leisure Peter Bailey argued that few legislators took seriously these attempts to prohibit cruel forms of leisure before the 1830s. Although happy to debate the recreational habits of the poor, most members of the House of Commons saw the debate as nothing more than a diversion.¹⁷¹ Other members of parliament strongly opposed government interference in the leisure of the masses.

To understand the decline of blood sport we cannot focus specifically upon anti-cruelty legislation but upon the ideologies that underlay this control measure. Legislative attempts to suppress blood sport hinged upon the willingness or unwillingness of those in power to define and extend

¹⁶⁹ Brian Harrison, "Animals and the State in Nineteenth-century England," The English Historical Review Vol. LXXXVIII, No. 349 (October, 1973): 786.

¹⁷⁰ Thomas, Man and the Natural World, 151.

¹⁷¹ Bailey, Leisure and Class, 30.

particular human freedoms. Legislative efforts to end traditional recreation focused upon state intervention, usually as social control. The collective unwillingness of Parliament to prohibit a form of popular leisure speaks to the growing importance of liberalism in early nineteenth century England. If the goal of liberalism is to produce maximum individual liberty, then legislative interference into the leisure of the masses was seen as an infringement of these liberties.¹⁷² Certain Members of Parliament, influenced by strong beliefs in liberty, would not tolerate the oppression of poor laborers while, "a man of £10,000 a year may worry a fox as much as he pleases."¹⁷³

Although firm believers in liberalism, even John Stuart Mill and Jeremy Bentham favored state intervention against animal cruelty.¹⁷⁴ Unlike its application within laissez-faire economics which permitted a natural identity of interests, Bentham's principles of liberty advocated the artificial identification of interests through deliberate legislative action to achieve the greatest happiness for the greatest number. For Bentham, liberalism provided the freedom to maximize the general welfare; the greatest good was to be found in the pursuit of higher rather than lower pleasures.

¹⁷² Brian Harrison has explored the complex relationship between state intervention and protecting individual liberty. See his, "Animals and the State," 811.

¹⁷³ Parliamentary History, Vol.35 (18 April 1800): 207, quoted in Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 153.

¹⁷⁴ Brian Harrison, "Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth-Century England," Past and Present Vol. 38 (December, 1967): 123.

Prohibitionists dismissed the complaints of a growing number of Liberals, believing that the lower classes required direction; "uneducated man was 'but a child in the maturity of his physical powers...unhappily but a savage in the midst of all the refinement of our civilization'."¹⁷⁵ Regardless of the growing importance of an anti-cruelty sentiment, as long as a power struggle between prohibitionists and Liberals was ongoing, legislation would not pass.

Although it failed, early nineteenth century legislation aimed at prohibiting blood sport laid the seeds of later successful legislation. Formal, legal opposition to animal cruelty occurred in England in 1822 when Richard "Humanity" Martin successfully introduced a law into British parliament that protected cattle on their way to slaughter. This piece of legislation "established the principle of protecting animals from cruelty by law" and introduced new anti-cruelty sentiments to a wider population.¹⁷⁶ A similar law was introduced in America in the 1830s, but Americans were even less able and perhaps less willing to utilize legislation to interfere with the recreation of the masses than were the English. From the events of the American Revolution, Americans were conditioned to be more sensitive to oppression, to distrust government, and to place little emphasis on class, birth, and wealth. As a result, they enjoyed different conceptions of freedom

¹⁷⁵ The Royal Society for the Suppression of Cruelty to Animals, *Twentieth Annual Report*, 1846, p. 20; as cited in Harrison, "Religion and Recreation," 123.

¹⁷⁶ Harrison, "Animals and the State," 788.

and liberty than did the English. In the South in particular anti-cruelty arguments remained weak among a culture that permitted slavery. The role of liberalism in the decline of traditional sport in America deserves greater attention from historians.

Although the suppression of cruelty to animals through legislation is a popular format upon which to base an historical explanation for the decline of blood sport, such an interpretation of human conduct is misleading. The ill-reception of legislation aimed at ending blood sport demonstrates that legislation is only effective in a society receptive to state control and willing to forego certain freedoms for the betterment of the group.¹⁷⁷ Further, legislation may have succeeded in getting some blood sports banned but whether they actually stopped is another matter. Increased control does not necessarily imply greater self-restraint. Legislation merely revealed a point of disagreement between those who condoned blood sport and those who did not. It did not ensure that people obeyed the laws. Legislating cruelty to animals was *a* factor in the suppression of blood sport, but it was not *the* instigating factor.

¹⁷⁷ The issue of the infringement of individual liberty is crucial to understanding opposition to legal suppression of bull baiting in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The enjoyment of leisure was considered a basic human freedom by many liberal thinkers of the early nineteenth century. Opposition to blood sport hinged upon revoking such freedoms. The influence of writings by Jeremy Bentham and later John Stuart Mill might go a long way in explaining the conflict between individual morality and civil liberties in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Along with legislators, anti-cruelty activists played a key role in encouraging opposition to blood sport among the larger population. Two attitudes underlay the bulk of anti-cruelty sentiment into the nineteenth century. The first was the inherent class bias of anti-cruelty activists. More often than not activists typified blood sport as a threat to social discipline rather than to the welfare of the animal.¹⁷⁸ The pamphlets of Elizabeth Heyrick, a Quaker and vociferous opponent of bull baiting, demonstrate the point that activists were most often concerned with maintaining social stability.

Heyrick published and distributed pamphlets regarding the cruelty of bull baiting and bull-running and the character of the men who enjoyed them in England.¹⁷⁹ Although often shrouded in a terminology of cruelty, Heyrick's writings had more to do with instilling and encouraging fears of working class moral disruption among the middle class than with directly enlightening the reader to cruelty to bulls. Heyrick argued that bull baits encouraged drunkenness in the working man and made him 'dangerous.'¹⁸⁰ By labeling bull baiting 'unsuitable' and responsible for encouraging society's downfall, Elizabeth Heyrick and others like her played a crucial role in advancing opposition to blood sport among the middle class. Until the late

¹⁷⁸ Walvin, Leisure and Society, 9.

¹⁷⁹ Ferguson. "Elizabeth Heyrick," 328-338.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 331.

decades of the nineteenth century, most animal rights activists remained disturbed by cruelty to animals more because of what it said about working class people than what it did to the victims.

The second attitude embraced by anti-cruelty activists was the idea that animals could be used by humans only if they were not tyrannized or suffered unnecessarily.¹⁸¹ The key issue for anti-cruelty crusaders became one of the utility of cruelty. If a cruel act served no purpose it was labeled "wanton" and was legislated against. The idea that cruelty could have a utilitarian component (whether of economic interest or public harmony) accounted for arguments in support of dueling, capital punishment, and slavery. When blood sport was disassociated from custom, it served little utilitarian purpose. It was considered wanton cruelty because it was enjoyed only for pleasure. It followed then that staged contests between animals should not be permitted.

Initial attempts to prevent blood sport failed because the masses enjoying it were not yet convinced of the social benefits of anti-cruelty. During the nineteenth century, few questioned the use of animals for labor or for nourishment. Whipping a horse or overcrowding a livestock cart on its way to market was necessary because it provided an economic benefit. Despite their urban existence, many members of the English laboring classes continued to depend upon animals for food and transportation well into the

¹⁸¹ Thomas, Man and the Natural World, 153.

twentieth century. Their dependency made understanding and accepting sentimentalism toward animals and anti-cruelty laws very difficult. For this reason legislation against blood sport was often ineffective. Blood sport was not made legally punishable until a law was passed in 1835 to prevent wanton and needless cruelty to animals with a special clause for game animals.¹⁸² By the mid-nineteenth century, blood sport had become an aspect of collective behavior under political control.

It was only when the urban professional class became actively involved in teaching the sentiment of kindness to animals that any widespread success was won in the effort to extend anti-cruelty sentiment to the public. With the founding of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals [SPCA] in 1824 by evangelical humanitarians, England entered a new phase in the civilizing of human cruelty. Like other urban reform campaigns, the SPCA was merely one force among many that *encouraged* the decline of blood sport. But unlike the legislators before them who merely imposed a set of controls upon the population, members of the SPCA also focused upon internalizing anti-cruelty values among the public, particularly during its first decade when the Society did not possess the legal right to suppress animal cruelty.

¹⁸² The Martin Act of 1822 was amended several times between 1822 and 1835. It had its greatest impact upon preventing blood sport after 1835 when the Martin Act was extended to cover "wanton cruelty" against "bulls, bears, badgers, dogs, cocks, "or other kinds of animals, whether of domestic or wild nature." For a more thorough examination of anti-cruelty legislation see Harrison, "Animals and the State," 788.

On the surface the aim of the Society was to enforce anti-cruelty laws, to promote kinder treatment of animals, and to improve the treatment of working animals. English historian Brian Harrison however, claimed that "the *ultimate* aim of the Society was to convert the masses....By encouraging kindness to animals, the Society hoped eventually to civilize manners, and hence to make the masses receptive to religious instruction."¹⁸³ The SPCA was supported by Christians, for Christians, as a way of instilling Christian morals.¹⁸⁴ These morals were those of the rising middle class.

SPCA agents concentrated their efforts upon encouraging kindness to animals within the work and leisure habits of the laboring classes, those with few recreational alternatives. Yet, despite the force of law, their efforts were ill-received among the English working class. Working men resisted the efforts to enforce legislation, on occasion outwardly attacking agents or their families.¹⁸⁵ Hostility toward SPCA agents reflects the unwillingness of the lower classes to be indoctrinated into middle class social and moral values. Although not outwardly hostile, even certain magistrates opposed the SPCA meddling in the affairs of the lower classes; one reminded Society members

¹⁸³ Harrison, "Religion and Recreation," 100.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 116-117. In 1838 an inspector died from wounds while trying to make arrests during a cockfight. In response to the arrest of working men for animal cruelty, workers beat up the son of an RSPCA informant three times in 1840. In 1852, police were received by a shower of rocks and attacked by brickbats when they tried to break up a dog fight.

that the law did not permit them to roam the countryside as spies.¹⁸⁶ Karl Marx opposed the interference of the SPCA in the leisure of the masses because he believed that they were diverting the working class from their true interests and "redressing social grievances in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society."¹⁸⁷

SPCA agents, working for the interests of the middle class, held a double standard. They attacked bull baiting but not fox-hunting, cockfighting but not horse racing. They attacked only those activities that threatened order but posed no threat to their power. Agents easily turned a blind eye to forms of cruelty instigated by the factory employer or the elite class whose patronage they relied upon.¹⁸⁸ In turn, members of the elite considered themselves immune from anti-cruelty laws. Sir William Gull told a royal commission that "laws against animal cruelty were intended 'for the ignorant, and not for the best people in the country'."¹⁸⁹ Untouchable, the elite of society used their money and resources to create their own exclusive leisure world and remained free to hunt rabbit and fox, arguing that they were providing a crop-control service to the poor.¹⁹⁰ To ensure they were left alone, game laws were

¹⁸⁶ Harrison, "Religion and Recreation," 118.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 119-120.

¹⁸⁸ Harrison, "Animals and the State," 792.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 791.

¹⁹⁰ Twitchell, *Preposterous Violence*, note 1, p. 289.

enacted to safeguard hunting rights and to penalize poachers.¹⁹¹ The masses, on the other hand, lacking such legislative powers or persuasive arguments, were prosecuted for their involvement in blood sports and suffered fines for the "humanitarian notions originating in other social classes."¹⁹² For most members of the SPCA, education was the preferred alternative to a zealous prosecution policy; although, they did win over the police, and in doing so extended the coercive function of the state to humanitarian issues.

Although the development of the SPCA in England marks a significant moment in the long process of increased kindness to animals, according to Robert Malcolmson, it played only a 'secondary role' in the eradication of blood sport:

for by the time [anti-cruelty societies] were actively established only the remnants of these diversions still existed, and though pressure and publicity from London may have hastened their final demise, in the places where they did survive local hostility and intervention was probably of equal, if not greater, importance.¹⁹³

American sport historian Jack Berryman based his explanation of the decline of blood sport in the reduction of animal cruelty, arguing that, "the growth and development of the humane movement in England and America was by far the most important development which eventually led to

¹⁹¹ Walvin, Leisure and Society, 10.

¹⁹² Harrison, "Religion and Recreation," 117.

¹⁹³ Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 173.

the decline of blood sports."¹⁹⁴ Despite a compelling argument, Berryman failed to provide a connection between those who verbalized the problem of animal cruelty and those who acted on these verbalizations. Along with changing humane attitudes, Berryman noted concerns for improving public health and promoting a positive national image through morally-uplifting sport. Berryman also noted the influence of an anthropocentric philosophy that connected blood sport with violence toward humans.

Although Berryman's thesis remains the most extensive examination of the decline of blood sport in America, he does not speak of resistance to anti-cruelty campaigns nor does he acknowledge obvious and significant cultural differences surrounding cruelty and violence in the American North and South (e.g., slavery). Different cultural attitudes toward violence and civilized behavior might help to explain why blood sport did not become an anti-cruelty issue among Americans until after the Civil War.

Along with Berryman, American historians Benjamin Rader and Melvin Adelman also cite legislation as a factor in discouraging blood sport in America. Rader and Adelman argued that legislation marginalized blood sport to a male-bachelor sub-culture.¹⁹⁵ Legislation similar to that targeting animal cruelty in England appeared in parts of the American Northeast by the late 1830's, but American campaigns to protect animals would not gain a

¹⁹⁴ Berryman, "Anglo-American Blood Sports," 200.

¹⁹⁵ Rader, American Sports, 30-35; and Adelman, A Sporting Time, 240-243.

significant voice until 1866 when Henry Bergh founded the ASPCA in accordance with the English model.¹⁹⁶ Berryman argued that legislation based in the protection of animals *and* the rise of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals [ASPCA] were reasons for the decline of blood sport in America.¹⁹⁷

Anti-cruelty legislation may have discouraged some from participating in blood sports, vigorous campaigns by anti-cruelty activists may have enlightened others of the potential threat to social discipline among sporting crowds, and anti-cruelty societies may have inspired an aversion to pain and violence. But, even with these efforts, a desire to reduce violence toward animals was not the driving force behind the decline of blood sport, rather the driving force was the *necessity* to adopt more refined behavior. The taming of violent behavior occurred out of a necessity to practice self-restraint for the preservation of the nation.

NATIONALISM

By far the most pervasive of movements sweeping across Europe in the early nineteenth century, nationalism linked a concern with reducing animal cruelty with national identity. According to historian Moira

¹⁹⁶ Unlike the English society which had jurisdiction throughout the country, the American society was not a national society. Its laws only extended to New York state. In time, SPCA's would develop throughout many states within the United States.

¹⁹⁷ Berryman, "Anglo-American Blood Sports," 200.

Ferguson, the desire to improve national identity went hand in hand with attempts to civilize and reduce animal cruelty. Ferguson typified the fight against animal cruelty as part of a bourgeois 'civilizing process' that "affected the redefinition of Englishness over the next century."¹⁹⁸ Ideally, this new national image would be one of progress, order, and moral discipline.

Protecting a bull, for example, was an issue only in so far as it could be used to encourage a sense of nationalism in the English people. In the midst of war with France, bull baiting was seen as disrespectful to king and country.

According to Ferguson, coming to the aid of a bull was equivalent to coming to the aid of John Bull.¹⁹⁹ Declining interest in bull baiting, therefore, was taken as a sign of national improvement.²⁰⁰

Cultural historian James Twitchell, however, disagrees with the idea that bulls were dear to the hearts of the British. According to Twitchell it was the unruliness of the crowd coupled with the religiousness of the ceremony that turned English stomachs against bull fighting, not any inherent concern for the bull.²⁰¹ The British, Twitchell argued, were reluctant to extend any adoration (or protection) to the bull because they associated it with lewd

¹⁹⁸ Ferguson, "Elizabeth Heyrick," 332. Ferguson uses the term race to mean nationalism, I believe. Although Ferguson does not deal with race per se, it is an interesting point which should be significant to the late nineteenth century American South.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 329.

²⁰⁰ Malcolmson, Popular Recreations, 89.

²⁰¹ Twitchell, Preposterous Violence, 54-55.

sexuality. It was the bulldog not the bull that found a secure place at the right hand of John Bull and inspired nationalistic fervor during the early decades of the nineteenth century.²⁰²

The decline of blood sport in America may also have been driven by a concern for a suitable national image during the rise of the modern nation-state. Unfortunately, the role of nationalism in the decline of blood sport in America has not been sufficiently examined. Unlike in England, in America no one animal engaged in blood sport was symbolically associated with American nationalism; rather, blood sport (in general) was discouraged as an impediment to national progress. It was not uncommon for authors, journalists, and social commentators to plead with Americans to progress beyond 'brutal spectacles' and to present a better national image. After the Civil War, the desire for a national culture was promoted through modern sports that were "national in scope and 'Americanizing' in effect."²⁰³

Along with the desire for a suitable national image, many urban dwellers wished to present a more favorable civic image. The development of a new civic culture was to neutralize the "ravages of a mercantile and

²⁰² Twitchell, Preposterous Violence, 57. Twitchell's understanding of the decline of blood sport based upon associations with sexual behavior better explains why dog fighting survived and bull baiting declined.

²⁰³ Mrozek, Sport and American Mentality, xvi.

brutalizing urban existence."²⁰⁴ Rather than examining middle class controlling efforts, the concept of civic idealism allows for an examination of the cultural education of the people and their exposure to and appreciation for 'higher' forms of culture.

CIVIC IDEALISM

The value of the idea of civic idealism to an understanding of the decline of blood sport lies in its ability to pinpoint the subtle shifts in human conduct that influenced violent behavior toward more civilized cultural forms. It is the opinion of American historian Alan Trachtenberg that "culture was represented increasingly as the antidote to unruly feeling, to rebellious impulses, and especially to such impulses showing themselves with more frequency, as the years went on, among the lower orders."²⁰⁵ The bourgeois were the arbiters of this new civilized culture. If embourgeoisment rested upon the spread of a culture of respectability among the lower orders, then how did the middle class define respectability and persuade the lower classes to embrace it?

English historian H. E. Meller used the concept of the civilizing process to effectively examine the changes in leisure patterns within the late

²⁰⁴ H. E. Meller, Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1914 (London, Henley, and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), 6.

²⁰⁵ Trachtenberg, The Incorporation of America, 147.

nineteenth century English urban environment.²⁰⁶ For Meller, the civilizing process is reflected in deliberate attempts by the middle class to redefine the function of leisure in the urban setting.²⁰⁷ According to Meller the modern industrialized urban society had to evolve new social conditions in which to operate, and leisure was a cultural facility through which to "salvage the reputation of the city."²⁰⁸

The drive for a liberal and respectable civic culture was the mechanism through which the Anglo-American bourgeois encouraged a civilized order. During the mid nineteenth century the city is recognized as the center of modern social problems and the rural environment held "superior innocence and virtue."²⁰⁹ By the 1870s, however, there is a transformation in opinion. Urban planners and social thinkers have accepted the challenge of urbanization. In 1877, for example, Frederick Law Olmstead stated that America had

entered upon a stage of progress in which its welfare is to depend on the convenience, safety, order and economy of life in its great cities. It cannot prosper independently of them; cannot gain in virtue, wisdom, comfort, except as they also advance.²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ See Meller, Leisure and the Changing City, passim.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 5.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 6.

²⁰⁹ Thomas Bender, Toward an Urban Vision: Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century America (Lexington, KY.: The University of Kentucky Press, 1975), 11.

²¹⁰ Frederick Law Olmstead, "The Beginning of Central Park: A Fragment of Autobiography," in Landscape into Cityscape: Frederick Law Olmstead's Plans for a Greater New York City ed. Albert Fein (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967), 52.

The city is no longer viewed as a menace to advancement but is seen as essential to any degree of social progress.²¹¹ By century's end, the city had become the central point for the advancement of civilization.

The creation of a respectable urban culture in the rapidly developing cities of England and America was central to the decline of blood sport. By placing attempts to prohibit blood sport within the context of this developing urban culture, the motivations of the middle class can be seen in a light other than social control. Attitudes toward traditional recreation altered not because an educated middle class suggested they change or forced them to change; the change in leisure patterns was more a result of new ideas and opportunities within the urban environment.

Americans had neither the time nor the resources to build the cultural institutions of large European cities. Yet, greatly influenced by Matthew Arnold and his belief that "culture palliates, if it does not altogether neutralize, the ravages of a modern, aggressive, mercantile, and brutalizing urban existence," they extended cultural institutions to the masses.²¹² Large municipal museums, art galleries, libraries, state universities, and public parks and playgrounds sprang up in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago.

²¹¹ Bender, Toward an Urban Vision, 12.

²¹² Edward W. Said, Culture and Imperialism (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), xiii.

Contemporary art critic James Jackson Jarves argued that the new public institutions served as "moral physical reformers."²¹³ In particular, the creation of public parks was viewed as an excellent method by which to improve the health and morality of an urban population. Jarves called New York's Central Park, "a great free school for the people... a magnetic charm of decent behavior, giving salutary lessons in order, discipline, comeliness, culminating in mutual good will."²¹⁴ But Fredrick Law Olmstead, the superintendent of Central Park, made the suggestion that the public needed training in the "proper use" of the park.²¹⁵ Olmstead wished the Park to be a center for contemplation. Fearing that sport and games would attract rowdy working class youth and disrupt this tranquillity, Olmstead discouraged the use of Central Park for physical improvement.²¹⁶

If the creation of a respectable civic culture was the mechanism through which the Anglo-American middle class encouraged a civilized order, then what was the cultural cement that unified this new urban culture? According to American cultural historian Lawrence Levine, the quest for order *itself* "helped to shape the very manner in which people

²¹³ Trachtenberg, The Incorporation of America, 147.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Lawrence Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America (Cambridge, MA. and London: Harvard University Press), 183.

²¹⁶ Trachtenberg, The Incorporation of America, 147.

conceived of culture...."²¹⁷ The imposition of order upon the urban masses was not an end in itself but "a necessary means to the creation and maintenance of standards that would permit the establishment and appreciation of true culture in the United States."²¹⁸ Through exposure to and appreciation for 'higher' forms of culture the masses were re-educated in 'proper' leisure choices.²¹⁹

Appropriate urban behavior also altered because of civic citizenship campaigns. The desire for a new civic citizenship had the ability to encourage moral responsibility, direct people away from disorderly forms, and create new social standards crossing class and ideological boundaries. The characteristics of the ideal citizen infused every facet of city life;

preached from pulpits, written about in the press, [and] penetrated many social organizations down to the humble evening classes at the local board school where the course 'Duties of the Citizen,' given on a voluntary basis by leading citizens....²²⁰

By century's end a self-generating propaganda campaign had developed in urban centers to support the new civic culture. In time, social constraint replaced individual restraint as Elias had predicted:

²¹⁷ Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow, 206.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Meller, Leisure and the Changing City, 5.

²²⁰ Ibid., 10.

As more and more people must attune their conduct to that of others, the web of action must be organized more and more strictly and accurately, if each individual action is to fulfill its social function. The individual is compelled to regulate his conduct in an increasingly differentiated, more even and more stable manner.²²¹

The central thesis of Elias's theory lay in the "gradual internalizing of standards of self-control and gentility."²²² Although stricter standards of control originated, according to Elias, in the Middle Ages, they reached their zenith in the Western urban-industrial democracies of the nineteenth century under the overwhelming influence of the bourgeoisie.

BOURGEOISIFICATION

Sport theorists Alan Ingham and Stephen Hardy agree with Norbert Elias that the civilizing process was a long revolution, but they believe that the greatest period of change in both England and America occurred between 1840 and 1914.²²³ This was also the period of greatest change in sport; a period of struggle for control of the dominant sporting culture by a reform-minded middle class. Because of the centrality of the middle class in the creation of modern sport, Ingham and Hardy identified this movement as the

²²¹ Elias and Dunning, Quest for Excitement, 232.

²²² Holt, Sport and the British, 361.

²²³ Alan G. Ingham and Stephen Hardy, "Introduction: Sport Studies Through the Lens of Raymond Williams," in Sport in Social Development: Traditions, Transitions, and Transformations, ed. Alan G. Ingham and John W. Loy (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1993), 8.

"bourgeoisification of sport."²²⁴ Because of its similarity to the civilizing process, they labeled it the 'bourgeoisification process.'²²⁵

Although Hardy and Ingham did not go into great depth explaining their bourgeoisification process, it has great potential to aid in the understanding of the decline of blood sport. Their bourgeoisification process appears to combine the theory of the civilizing process with a model of urban reform. In so doing it not only recognizes the power of the urban-industrial environment to influence new values and behavior, but also recognizes the key role played by the middle class in the creation of new meanings.

Like rationalization, bourgeoisification rests upon the spread of a culture of respectability among the lower orders. Unlike rationalization which focuses upon a search for order and discipline among the masses, the bourgeoisification process also allows for a focus upon a search for meaning. It permits an examination of changes in the meaning of civilized culture that led to the creation of modern sport and the marginalization of traditional recreation during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Civilized culture came to be epitomized by a decrease in violent acts, a heightened empathy for pain and suffering, and changing conceptions of sexuality. An examination

²²⁴ The term 'bourgeoisification,' although used by Ingham and Hardy, can be attributed first to Alan Ingham and Robert Beamish. See their, "The Industrialisation of the United States and the 'Bourgeoisification' of American Sport," in The Sports Process: A Comparative and Developmental Approach, ed. Eric G. Dunning, Joseph A. Maguire, and Robert E. Pearton (Champaign, IL.: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1993), 169-206.

²²⁵ Ingham and Hardy, "Introduction," 6.

of the impact of Darwinism suggests how new cultural meanings infused Anglo-American culture.

DARWINISM

The image of a brutal and therefore uncivilized race took on new meaning with the rise of Darwinism. The impact of Darwinism is a grossly overlooked variable in the decline of blood sport. James B. Twitchell argued that the end of blood sport was due partly to Darwinism and its spawning of new ideas concerning humanity's place in the Great Chain of Being.²²⁶ Not only did Darwinism have a direct impact on efforts to protect animals (agents of the SPCA espoused it as an ideological shield to advance their cause) but, quite simply, it tied people to animals in ways heretofore unknown and forced them to re-examine their own behavior.²²⁷

The concept of evolution is central to Darwinism and key to understanding changing attitudes toward human behavior. Darwin's writings on evolution directly challenged the divine order and humanities special place within creation. Others before Darwin had wrestled with the problem of the human relation to apes but it was his publication of The

²²⁶ Twitchell, Preposterous Violence, 76.

²²⁷ Turner, Reckoning with the Beast, 62.

Origin of Species in 1859 that touched off an intellectual revolution that altered scientific, religious, and social thought.²²⁸

Few laypersons bothered to understand the biological ramifications of Darwinism, yet many pondered its social implications. One of the more positive social implications of Darwinism was that evolution announced the "law of the whole universe to be perpetual progress."²²⁹ One of the more frightening implications, popular among religious leaders, was that Darwin's theory of evolution would undermine Christian religion and public morality.²³⁰ Religious leaders feared that if people thought they were connected to the brute creation, then they would act accordingly.

Anatomist Thomas Huxley, a firm supporter of Darwin, was reluctant to support the belief that a common origin should imply a "brutalization and degradation" of humans.²³¹ Huxley challenged the relevance of basing "Man's dignity upon his great toe....No one is more strongly convinced than I am," Huxley exclaimed, "of the vastness of the gulf between civilised man

²²⁸ The connection between human and ape had been made by Aristotle and Galen, and advanced by anatomists Edward Tyson in 1699, Carolus Linnaeus in 1735, and the Comte de Buffon in 1749. Each acknowledged the connection between humans and apes but were careful to stress human's intellectual superiority. See John C. Greene, The Death of Adam: Evolution and its Impact on Western Thought (New York: The New American Library of World Literature, 1961; first published in Ames, IA.: Iowa University Press, 1959), 177-200.

²²⁹ Turner, Reckoning with the Beast, 62.

²³⁰ Himmelfarb, The De-Moralization of Society, 26.

²³¹ Thomas H. Huxley, Man's Place in Nature and Other Anthropological Essays (Akron, OH.: The Werner Company, n.d.) 152.

and the brutes; or is more certain that whether *from* them or not, he is assuredly not *of* them."²³² Huxley represents the desire among nineteenth century theorists to raise human behavior beyond that of animals.

An even more compelling moral issue to emerge from Darwinism was that men were forced to acknowledge that, not only was he connected to the 'brute creation,' but that he possessed an inner beast.²³³ The inner beast was believed to be man's sexual nature. Conceptions of male sexuality are cultural constructs that develop and change throughout history. During the nineteenth century male sexuality was characterized as a struggle between flesh and spirit, man and beast, good and evil. Borrowing from a misrepresentation of evolutionary science that stressed the lower and higher impulses of man's nature, man was believed two-sided. One half of his nature "led to wrong doing, the other half prohibited sin."²³⁴

It was believed that this struggle between good and evil within each man could either enhance heroic qualities or expose unmanly cowards.²³⁵ Adolescent boys were particularly at risk. Having not yet learned to contain their sexual natures, they existed in a liminal state, on a threshold between

²³² Huxley, Man's Place in Nature, 152.

²³³ Women were believed incapable of possessing an inner beast.

²³⁴ Frank Mort, Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-moral Politics in England Since 1830 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), 115.

²³⁵ Ibid.

"man's place" and "nature's world."²³⁶ An adolescent boy's sexual nature could not be suppressed, but was to be channeled into appropriate avenues. Nowhere was the effort to channel male sexuality more apparent than upon the football field. Football, in both its American and British forms, became the battle ground upon which the two sides of a boy's nature competed. The popularity of football in America was believed due to its unique combination of discipline with brute strength and its ability to appeal to the "savage instincts lingering in the breasts of even the most civilized...."²³⁷ It allowed a "safe transition from the primitivism of youth to the rationality of maturity."²³⁸

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, urban middle class men turned to modern sport to "demonstrate manliness and gain recognition and a sense of self-accomplishment that their increasingly bureaucratic jobs did not provide."²³⁹ A cult of manliness emerged that was inescapable in the literature, education, politics, and sport throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. According to historians of sport, J. A. Mangan and James

²³⁶ Twitchell, Preposterous Violence, 57. As a result of the young males transitional and therefore turbulent state, society projected (and continues to project) its anxieties onto them. Animals, in turn, become the target of adolescent turbulence. According to James Twitchell, bull dogs, bulls, and cats "mimic the adolescent male's place." Given this line of reason it is not difficult to understand how blood sport might be seen as a threat to manliness and society.

²³⁷ Glenn C. Altschuler and Martin W. LaForse, "From Brawn to Brains: Football and Evolutionary Thought," Journal of Popular Culture 16, no. 4 (1983): 77.

²³⁸ Altschuler and LaForse, "From Brawn to Brains," 87.

²³⁹ Riess, City Games, 154-155.

Walvin, the cult, a decidedly middle class construct, "became so potent that it formed, in effect, a distinctive and powerful moral code; it offered a set of values applicable to each and every facet of personal and collective life."²⁴⁰

In America by the 1890s new definitions of manliness had arisen in response to the restrictions of a highly industrialized society which was seen as "stifling, enervating, effeminate, [and] devoid of opportunities for manly heroism."²⁴¹ Re-newed enthusiasm for football, and the newer sports of basketball, racing, and bicycling, re-introduced speed and violence into acceptable sporting culture.²⁴² In keeping with the desire for manly sport, boxing lost its "unsavory reputation" among the middle class.²⁴³ According to Higham, this "new vitality may be seen as an infusion of lower-class and upper-class aggressiveness into the middle-class world."²⁴⁴ The upper class, under the auspices of Teddy Roosevelt and his strenuous life campaign, embraced rough, outdoor sports as their own. The rise of an outdoor movement signified spaciousness and virility; "it represented the masculine hardiness and power that suddenly seemed an absolutely indispensable

²⁴⁰ J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 2.

²⁴¹ Trachtenberg, The Incorporation of America, 141.

²⁴² John Higham, "The Reorientation of American Culture in the 1890s," in Writing American History: Essays on Modern Scholarship, ed. John Higham (Bloomington, IN. and London: Indiana University Press, 1970), 80.

²⁴³ Ibid., 88.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 87.

remedy for the artificiality and effeteness of late nineteenth century urban life."²⁴⁵

Although blood sport enthusiasts continued to boast of the manly qualities of their sport, by century's end their form of manliness was no longer condoned by most of the public. Unlike boxing, which was a form of rationalized and controlled violence, cockfighting and dog fighting appeared irrational to most urban dwellers. According to Rader, "generally, the middle-income groups composed of merchants, skilled workingmen, small manufacturers, and professional men avoided any active association with the world of commercial sport."²⁴⁶ More importantly, its association with rural-traditional culture made blood sport increasingly unattractive.

With the exception of Southern historian Ted Ownby's Subduing Satan, the importance of containing 'appropriate' manly behavior is often neglected in explanations of the decline of blood sport. Arguing that the decline of manly leisure patterns in the rural American South between 1865 and 1920 was a consequence of strong female evangelicalism, Ownby used the example of cockfighting to demonstrate the tensions between male cultural leadership and increasingly powerful female notions of proper behavior.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ Higham, "Reorientation," 81.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 81.

²⁴⁷ See Ted Ownby, Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in the Rural South, 1865-1920, The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies (Chapel Hill, N. C. and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

Although Ownby does not discuss the active role played by women in the attempted suppression of blood sport, it is logical that their interference could be interpreted as encouraging the feminization of Southern culture. Similarly, Moira Ferguson interpreted organized opposition to animal cruelty in early nineteenth century England as one attempt to establish female power in a traditionally male sphere.²⁴⁸ According to American historian Donald Mrozek, the increased public role of women "affected the perception of sport and altered the context in which its suitability and respectability could be measured."²⁴⁹

SUMMARY

Sport historians have argued that blood sport declined because Anglo-American society modernized. In particular, a dominant white middle class culture gained prominence in nineteenth century urban Anglo-America and labeled blood sport barbaric and inappropriate for a modernizing urban environment. It is important to note that blood sport did not end with the triumph of the middle class in a modern world. The 'decline of blood sport' was not so much a decline in popularity as it was the marginalization of a sporting population to a sub-cultural status. Because blood sport did not disappear, the term marginalization appears more appropriate than decline.

²⁴⁸ Ferguson, "Elizabeth Heyrick," 325.

²⁴⁹ Mrozek, Sport and American Mentality, xvi.

As has been demonstrated the marginalization of blood sport was multifaceted. Industrial development and rapid urbanization, evangelicalism, urban reform and rationalization campaigns, commercialization, sentimentalism, liberalism, utilitarianism, declining paternalism, legislation preventing animal cruelty, nationalism, civic idealism, Darwinism, and feminization during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries each contributed. No single force superseded all others. Rather, they combined and intertwined in a matrix of influences that were contingent upon the cultural, social, demographic, and industrial development of Anglo-America.

Modernization is the only agreed upon theoretical framework to comprehend the marginalization of blood sport in Anglo-America. As we have seen, modernization involved urban-industrial development, the desire by a middle class for rational order, and a tendency toward more civilized behavior. But just because a society is modern does not mean it is devoid of traditional elements. Blood sport continued in urban centers despite modernization. Urbanization actually increased the popularity of blood sport for a time and a desire for rational order or more civilized behavior does not necessarily bring them about. Urbanization, industrialization, rationalization, civilization sentimentalism, bourgeoisification, and nationalism, therefore, are only trends in the movement to modernize. For modernization theory to be helpful, sport

historians need to emphasize approaches that encourage dialogue between these modernizing trends.

To be an effective instrument for the evaluation of the marginalization of blood sport, modernization theory must encompass a broad understanding of changes in ideologies as well as structural changes. What is most important to understanding the marginalization of blood sport is to determine *how* rather than why middle class sensibilities came to be embodied in sport ideology. How did Americans change their sport into more civilized, moral, and 'legitimate' forms of social organization? How were people taught that blood sport was 'inappropriate'? The following chapter will examine these questions.

CHAPTER 3

MODERNIZATION THEORY AND THE MARGINALIZATION OF BLOOD SPORT

Social historian Peter Stearns argued that modernization is a product of structural transformation, shifting collective mentalities, and altered individual consciousness.¹ In the 1970s Stearns developed a model that identified three processes in the modernization of a society.² His model, along with others proclaiming modernization at their base, has received little attention from historians.³ Modernization theory is often overlooked by historians because they view it as nothing more than a causal statement. But, modernization is a complex process.

Stearns's understanding of modernization, although dated, is particularly useful to sport historians because it demands an examination of changing attitudes, sentiments, and values caused by the socio-economic and cultural reorientation of American society during the development of modern sport. Modernization provides a conceptual framework for

¹ Peter Stearns, "Modernization and Social History: 'Some Suggestions and a Muted Cheer,'" Journal of Social History 14, No. 2 (1980): 194-195.

² Ibid.

³ Sport historian Melvin Adelman embraced the concept of modernization in his, A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820-70 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

understanding the structural and ideological forces responsible for the transformation of sport from its traditional to its modern form.

The first and most familiar historical process in Stearns's model is the modernization of economic, demographic, political, social, and cultural structures toward more organized and rational forms. The second process in Stearns's model involves the modernization of public beliefs or "shifts in the values being promoted by the official culture."⁴ The official culture is defined through such public institutions as the media, schools, courts, churches, military organizations, and industry. Finally, the third process involves changes in actual mentalities. Although not as easily identifiable or measurable as the other two aspects of modernization, shifts in personal values help to identify and explain changes in human behavior that may or may not correspond to structural changes.

When taken in its entirety Stearns's model involves "an often complex intertwining of structural changes and somewhat less predictable attitudinal change, with public culture serving as a partial (often unsuccessful) intermediary."⁵ This chapter explores the utility of Stearns's model to an understanding of the marginalization of blood sport. Stearns's model was used to study the marginalization of blood sport because it best described the interplay between the context of the circumstances forming a modern

⁴ Stearns, "Modernization," 195.

⁵ Ibid.

sporting culture, the official voice directing that culture, and the public and private values promoted by it. The chapter is divided into three sections: the modernization of structures, the modernization of public culture, and the modernization of popular mentalities, that roughly correspond to Stearns's three processes.

THE MODERNIZATION OF STRUCTURES

The modernization of structures involves the familiar changes of industrialization, urbanization, and rationalization. New technologies that emphasized rational and scientific approaches, new bureaucratic political structures, and new modes of production that were centered around a rational work discipline, enabled significant cultural change. The desire for rational order among some urban inhabitants and their attempts to construct cultural institutions to achieve it, help explain the development of a modern urban sporting culture in America in the late nineteenth century. Changes in the economic, demographic, social, legal and intellectual structure of society marginalized blood sport.

Industrialization and urbanization are the most easily identified structures of change to influence sport in America. The impact upon leisure of new spatial and temporal restrictions under industrial capitalism is well-known and need not be repeated here. When examining the marginalization of blood sport it is important to remember that, although familiar, the pattern

of industrialization and urbanization varied throughout America and that the rise of an urban-industrial center did not preclude traditional recreation.

Along with the more obvious urban and industrial changes, modernization changed the social structure. Modern society witnessed the emergence of a middle class. It is often argued that this rising middle class was responsible for modern sport.⁶ Sport historians are often unclear as to who comprised this middle class.⁷ American historian Stuart Blumin suggested that rather than speaking of an emerging American middle class, it was better to speak of a "culture of professionalism."⁸ Members of an urban professional class comprised a smaller segment of the middle class.

Although not a single entity, an urban professional class was instrumental in shaping conduct in the late nineteenth century urban environment.⁹ They provided a particular order and way of thinking. They had the access and ideological authority to critique culture, to influence public

⁶ Perhaps the best examination of this argument was Melvin Adelman's A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820 -1870 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

⁷ For an explanation of class in American sport history see Steven Riess, "From Pitch to Putt: Sport and Class in Anglo-American Sport," Journal of Sport History 21, No. 2 (Summer, 1994): 138-184.

⁸ Stuart M. Blumin, "The Hypothesis of Middle-class Formation in Nineteenth - century America: A Critique and Some Proposals," The American Historical Review, 90, No. 2 (April, 1985): 302.

⁹ For a discussion of how a new middle class of urban professionals shaped America see, Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order, 1877 - 1920, The Making of America Series, ed. David Herbert Donald (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

opinion through a higher discourse, to limit the power of alternative cultural forms, and to legitimate new cultural forms. They naturalized a way of life as *the* way of life. If this group can be targeted, we are better able to assign responsibility for campaigns to suppress blood sport. Nineteenth century urban professionals were located within the dominant cultural institutions of the media, public education, the law, and the church. Editors, health professionals, religious leaders, politicians, and educators, among others, shaped the values that would inform modern sport.¹⁰

To be modern meant not only the advancement of an urban-industrial capitalist economy, it also meant advancing collective behavior toward "the development of a large-scale uniform society bound together by belief in a common ideology."¹¹ Social bonds became more functional under rationalization rather than determined only by family ties. Functional bonds required a higher degree of social constraint.

A new structure of reason that was more rational and organized emerged in the modern city. Embracing the concepts of civilization, order, and progress, a new structure of reason demanded a re-orientation of tradition. It challenged old assumptions of 'appropriate' behavior and required the re-education of the public in 'proper' behavior. New behavioral

¹⁰ As hegemony suggests, members of the subordinate class also had a voice in the creation of modern culture, but often their voices were unrecorded.

¹¹ Jon C. Teaford, The Municipal Revolution in America: Origins of Modern Urban Government, 1650-1825 (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), xiii.

codes affected such things as public health, gender relations, moral and ethical systems, and leisure. An understanding of these new structures of reason is necessary to understanding how public culture undermined blood sport.

THE MODERNIZATION OF PUBLIC CULTURE

Before examining the modernization of public culture, it is first necessary to identify official sites of cultural change. According to historian Gunther Barth, the apartment house, metropolitan press, department store, ball park, and vaudeville house were the typically urban cultural forms created to channel the development of modern city culture.¹² In the case of the modernization of sport, the dominant media, educational institutions, the courts, and sport itself were the official sites of cultural change.

Recent developments in cultural history aim toward locating cultural change as a function of discourse.¹³ According to American historian Alun Munslow, American cultural formation in the late nineteenth century was not a simple reflection of economic conditions, but was constituted through and in a specific mode of discourse:

Assuming a culture to be the product of the interaction of the material base of a society and its superstructure of ideas then the connecting threads are the discourses of the intellectuals. The

¹² Gunther Barth, City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America (Oxford, New York, Toronto, and Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980), *passim*.

¹³ Alun Munslow, Discourse and Culture: The Creation of America, 1870-1920 (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).

intellectual is the centre from which ideas irradiate and are disseminated 'in the...form of current reality'.¹⁴

Intellectuals (i.e., journalists, writers, clergy, academics, and philosophers) organized and directed others. Their "verbal conception of the world constitutes the hegemonic cement that unifies a culture and creates its social and political imagination."¹⁵

An example of how cultural change may be effected through the discourse of intellectuals may be found in the case of bull-baiting in early nineteenth century England. In 1823, Elizabeth Heyrick published a pamphlet entitled Cursory Remarks on the Evil Tendency of Unrestrained Cruelty, particularly on that practised in Smithfield Market. Heyrick used a class and gender specific discourse to direct meaning in a particular direction. For example, she argued that men who were cruel to animals would also be "bad" husbands, fathers, sons, and citizens.¹⁶ Her association of cruelty (a negative behavior) with positive family roles reinforced a particular value system in the reader.

If dominant values permeate society through discourse, then the media plays a particularly important role in manufacturing consent for dominant values. Its major influence is in articulating possible threats to the

¹⁴ Munslow, Discourse and Culture, 5.

¹⁵ Ibid., 16.

¹⁶ Moira Ferguson, "Elizabeth Heyrick and Cruelty to animals: Gender, Class, Nationalism," The Centennial Review, 37, No. 2 (1993): 344.

development of a suitable common culture. It reduces anxiety by revealing a common humanity. Whether or not anti-cruelty pamphlets affected their target audience is unknown. Elizabeth Heyrick believed that a more effective way to prevent animal cruelty was

to extend the system of moral instruction among the lower classes; - to teach the children of the poor to reflect as well as to read;... to teach them the principles of justice and humanity, as well as obedience and subordination; - to teach them to abhor every species of cruelty.¹⁷

Organized anti-cruelty campaigns in public schools performed a crucial function in effecting the direction of 'civilized' society.

In the nineteenth century, education was believed to lessen the impact of resistance. Public schools were a particularly powerful institution through which to transmit culturally approved values. Historians of education have argued that the nineteenth century public school system operated to transform children to fit the precise and orderly demands of modern labor.¹⁸ Working class children in particular were given instruction in the punctual behavior necessary to function in an industrial age. Public schools instructed them in the middle class values of order, progress and hard work. School children, viewed as essentially blank slates upon which to impress new ideas,

¹⁷ Ferguson, "Elizabeth Heyrick," 345.

¹⁸ See, for example, Michael B. Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1968) and Carl Kaestle, Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780 - 1860 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).

were often the target of both deliberate and involuntary moral education campaigns.

Sport historians are well aware of how education has played a key role in the development of modern sport. Under the guidance of English public school educators, casual sporting arrangements gave way to formally constituted activities with rules and schedules. Communal, rough and tumble games of football were replaced by structured, rule-bound forms of football. Modern sport was based upon team work and self-discipline. It was to be orderly and controlled and, above all, it was to advance key social and moral values.

The idea that sport could be used to build character and promote appropriate Victorian values was brought to America by middle class British emigrants trained in public schools. They deeply influenced the American sporting culture by introducing the concept of gentlemanly amateurism and the notion of fair play among college students. By mid-century, their descendants in an urban professional class determined which sporting forms and behaviors were acceptable within the emerging urban-industrial order of America. Under their tutelage, sport was organized and rationalized.

Only certain sports were encouraged by the urban professional class. Organized team sports were promoted because they were believed to teach both teamwork and individuality, skills that could be applied to one's personal and business experiences. Because of the threat of lazy and inactive

youth, new sports had to be morally uplifting and had to encourage participation over spectatorship. The promotion of amateurism, of rugged individualism, and of a healthy body were key concepts of the movement to promote positive social forces through modern sport.

Increasing public exposure to a modern sport ideology helped to discourage interest in traditional sports like cockfighting, dog fighting, and bull baiting. Late nineteenth century educators also took it upon themselves to incorporate kindness to animals within the collective psyche of the population. An education committee was created within the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in England in 1857 by John Colam who noticed the need to educate a new generation in kind treatment of animals.¹⁹ American children were organized into Bands of Mercy under the direction of Humane Society founder George Angell in 1882.²⁰ The aim was to instill in all children new humanitarian values toward animals that would eventually be included within the agreed upon norms for society. By 1901, 750 bands of mercy were pledged by school children committed to the kind treatment of animals.²¹

¹⁹ Brian Harrison, "Animals and the State in Nineteenth Century England," The English Historical Review LXXXVIII, No. 349 (October, 1973): 793.

²⁰ George Thorndike Angell, Autobiographical Sketches and Personal Recollections, by George T. Angell (Boston: The American Humane Education Society, 1898), 78-79.

²¹ Harrison, "Animals and the State," 794.

Along with education campaigns, the legal structure was believed to be an excellent avenue through which to achieve social harmony and societal reform. Laws are created and enforced to control and contain degrees of deviance in the modern world. For Howard Becker, deviance does not exist outside of the rules that create it.²² By definition, "deviance is *not* a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'."²³ Deviant behavior, then, is behavior that people so label. The term "deviance" is itself a sociological concept developed to articulate human experience in the modern period.²⁴ Determining what is functional and what is dysfunctional behavior for a society is often a question of political and economic power, itself imbued with class interests.

Influenced by a new rationality, the legal frame of the nineteenth century was better able to make people accountable for their actions. A new focus of the English legal system upon rights and freedoms made it possible to use laws to improve society.²⁵ Nineteenth century anti-cruelty to animals

²² Howard S. Becker, Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance (New York: The Free Press, 1963).

²³ Ibid., 9.

²⁴ David P. Aday, Social Control at the Margins: Toward a General Understanding of Deviance, (Belmont, CA.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1990), 67.

²⁵ Charles Morazé, The Triumph of the Middle Class: A Political and Social History of Europe in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Anchor Books, 1968), 128.

laws were as much about protecting animals as they were about maintaining order. Members of a respectable upper and middle class considered it important to their welfare that other members of society obeyed their rules.²⁶ Legislation thus served as a means of social control. A late nineteenth century urban professional class used legislation to control moral turpitude and the potential for chaos in its midst. According to American historian Lawrence Friedman:

A decent *official* moral framework is terribly important, not only to teach a lesson but also as a way of limiting bad behavior. Some bad acts, though they are going to happen anyway, get driven underground. This means there is less of them; and the bad behavior does not threaten the general fabric of society. Vice and crime stay in their place.²⁷

Deviation from a social norm is determined to be wrong and subject to varying degrees of punishment. Norms are often created and enforced without the consent of all members of society, but more often than not, they are negotiated and power is a constant struggle between members of society.

As a result of our inclination to associate deviance with norm violations, we mistakenly think of legislation as only forbidding, yet during the Middle Ages town ordinances throughout England *required* that bulls be

²⁶ Lawrence Friedman, Crime and Punishment in American History (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 125.

²⁷ Ibid., 127.

baited before slaughter to tenderize the meat for human consumption.²⁸ It is, therefore, not the legislation itself that needs to be examined by historians, but the context in which it is presented and the cultural attitudes which support it. Legislation reflects the "moral sense of the community."²⁹

Sport theorist Alan Clarke noted "sporting activities cannot be separated from the legal framework that exists in society at large and the changes in that framework that accompanied the industrialization process."³⁰ What is most telling for the historian concerned with legislative attempts to suppress blood sport is the context in which the legislation was formed and the motives of lawmakers.

THE MODERNIZATION OF POPULAR MENTALITIES

Legislation and force alone cannot be used to secure adherence to societal norms or values. Acceptance of a new culture and its ideology is won through the dissemination of 'public' knowledge. In the case of sport, the dominant urban professionals convinced the masses that blood sport was

²⁸ The belief was that a bull could not be eaten unless its spirit had been broken and its flesh tenderized. See Keith Thomas, Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 150.

²⁹ Friedman, Crime and Punishment, 125.

³⁰ Alan Clarke, "Civic Ideology in the Public Domain: Victorian Ideology in the 'Lifestyle Crisis' of the 1990s," in Sport in Social Development: Traditions, Transitions, and Transformations, ed. Alan G. Ingham and John W. Loy (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Publishers), 248.

inappropriate through the development of a new collective mentality.

Mentalities are defined as "the collective psychology, the ways of thinking and feeling that are peculiar to 'a people, a given group of people, etc.'"³¹

According to historian Jacques Le Goff, schools, churches, and the courts are centers for the production of mentalities, but the mass media is the "primary vehicle for the expression and ordering of mentalities."³² The late nineteenth century press re-educated the masses in a new collective mentality that promoted modernity and humanitarianism. The values of modernity included progress, industriousness, order, liberty, and self-improvement. The individual values promoted by humanitarianism included non-violence and compassion. By infusing modern city culture with these values, urban professionals lessened the threat posed by traditional culture.

History suggests that shifting mentalities do not always correspond with social or economic changes. There is often a slow lag between changing practices and changing mentalities. In the words of Ernest Labrousse: "the social changes more slowly than the economic and the mental more slowly than the social."³³ For this reason, it was possible for blood sport to continue within the modern urban setting. Blood sport may have thrived in the new

³¹ Jacques Le Goff, "Mentalities: A History of Ambiguities," in Making History, ed. Jacques Le Goff and Pierre Nora, Vol. 3 (Paris, 1974), 171.

³² Ibid., 175.

³³ Ibid., 167.

urban setting, but by the late nineteenth century it was stigmatized with a marginal or sub-cultural status and given clear behavioral boundaries.

The marginalization of blood sport involved its active suppression as well as the validation of modern mentalities over and against traditional ones. Sport historians, emphasizing only socio-economic conditions as historical mechanisms of change, have failed to develop a convincing analysis of how a modern culture re-produced itself mentally. They have failed to discuss *how* people came to believe that certain popular recreations, among them blood sport, were 'inappropriate' for modern culture.

The modernization of popular sporting mentalities involved removing residual practices and attitudes from the dominant culture. Initially this required identification of certain practices as residual and, therefore, a threat to the dominant culture. According to cultural theorist Raymond Williams, residual experiences, meanings, and values are "lived and practiced on the basis of the residue - cultural as well as social - of some previous cultural and social institution or formation."³⁴ They persist within the larger culture despite the fact that they "cannot be expressed or substantially verified in terms of the dominant culture."³⁵ The residual

³⁴ Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution (New York: Penguin Books, 1961, paperback edition, 1977), 122.

³⁵ Alan C. Ingham and Stephen Hardy, "Introduction: Sport Studies Through the Lens of Raymond Williams," in Sport and Social Development: Traditions, Transitions, and Transformations, ed. Alan C. Ingham and Joy W. Loy (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1993), 6.

stands as an alternative and often in opposition to dominant cultural values. In the modernization of cultural institutions, residual practices have to be identified and then either incorporated or removed depending upon their utility to the dominant culture.

If a residual practice poses a threat to larger culture, it can often be incorporated within the dominant in a more refined form. The threat is minimized because the residual practice is "reinterpreted, diluted, or put into forms which support or at least do not contradict other elements within the effective dominant culture."³⁶ The process through which a residual practice is incorporated into the dominant culture has been extensively explored in sociological research. Cultural theorist Dick Hebdige, for example, examined attempts to incorporate sub-cultural styles into a dominant culture.³⁷ According to Hebdige, potentially threatening forms of behavior are contained and nullified through what he called the process of recuperation.³⁸ Recuperation involves "the conversion of sub-cultural signs into mass-produced objects."³⁹ When threatening sub-cultural elements are mass-produced and marketed to the dominant culture they are made more familiar

³⁶ Raymond Williams, Problems in Materialism and Culture (London: Verso, 1980), 39.

³⁷ Dick Hebdige, Subculture: The Meaning of Style (London and New York: Methuen, 1979), *passim*.

³⁸ Ibid., 93-96.

³⁹ Ibid., 93.

and therefore harmless. Their threat is minimized by attaching new, less threatening meanings to sub-cultural signs which then reappear in the dominant culture.

The modernization of sporting culture involved the incorporation of traditional sporting practices into the new sporting culture. Elliot Gorn demonstrated how bare-knuckle prize-fighting was "eventually incorporated into the dominant culture via the Queensbury rules and the 'strenuous life' of Teddy Roosevelt and his ilk."⁴⁰ The practice of prize-fighting re-emerged as boxing. Boxing is an excellent example of how a structure changed before the demise of its associated values. Not only the experience of physical combat, but also its associated values and meanings were re-shaped into a less threatening format. No longer irrational, accompanying displays of violence and manliness, so valued by supporters, survived as part of the 'science' of boxing.

Once a practice has been defined as residual, it is necessary to generate and sustain a moral panic to convince a population that it is a threat. Stanley Cohen's Folk Devils and Moral Panics continues to be *the* definitive study of moral panics.⁴¹ According to Cohen, societies "appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic."⁴² During these periods some

⁴⁰ Ingham and Hardy, "Introduction," 5.

⁴¹ Stanley Cohen, Folk Devils and Moral Panics (New York: MacGibbon and Kee, 1972).

⁴² As quoted in Hebdige, Subculture, p158, note 7.

condition is identified as a threat to societal interests and values. According to Hebdige this involves "the 'labelling' and re-definition of behaviour as deviant by dominant groups - the police, the media, the judiciary (i.e. the ideological form)."⁴³ The nature of the threat is then "presented in a stylised and stereotypical fashion" often by the mass media.⁴⁴ Moral 'barricades' are set up by "editors, bishops, politicians and other *right-thinking* people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnosis and solutions."⁴⁵ Ways of coping with the threat are evolved "or (more often) resorted to" and the condition "disappears, submerges or deteriorates."⁴⁶

To cope with the threat of a residual practice it may either be classified as Other and rejected entirely, or trivialized and rendered ordinary, thus repressing and minimizing its Otherness. Labeling certain acts Other, places them outside the boundaries of 'acceptable' culture where they are given a marginal and deviant status. The disowning of carnival in the nineteenth century by the middle class is, according to cultural theorists Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, an example of how, through "gradual reconstruction of the idea of carnival as the culture of the Other," potentially threatening cultural

⁴³ As quoted in Hebdige, Subculture, 94.

⁴⁴ Cohen, Folk Devils, 15.

⁴⁵ Ibid. Italics mine.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

elements were removed from the dominant culture.⁴⁷ By characterizing carnival as the festival of the Other, "It encoded all that which the proper bourgeoisie must strive *not to be* in order to preserve a stable and 'correct' sense of self."⁴⁸ Embourgeoisment involved the repression of Otherness.

Not only does Otherness define what is marginal, but it also provides us with an ordered and dichotomous structure of thought. Civilized behavior is only perceptible against a backdrop of uncivilized behavior. "After all," Thomas Mann reminds us, "barbarism is the opposite of culture only within the order of thought which it gives us. Outside of it the opposite may be something quite different, or no opposite at all."⁴⁹ Otherness is dynamic. It is momentarily pinned down through a determined vocabulary dominated by binary opposites and reinforced through repetition. Juxtapositions like brutal/civil, cruel/kind, barbarism/culture, chaos/order, and irrational/rational determined psychological boundaries.

Emergent mentalities are often first unearthed through the media and evolve through public and private systems of belief. According to Herman and Chomsky, the mass media

⁴⁷ Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, The Politics and Poetics of Transgression (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986), 178.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Thomas Mann, Doctor Faustus (New York, Penguin Books, 1968), 61; as quoted in Bernice Martin's A Sociology of Contemporary Cultural Change (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), 249, note 10.

serve as a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace. It is their function to amuse, entertain, and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behavior that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society.⁵⁰

Because the media reaches all social classes in some form or another, it is in a position to "fix the premises of discourse, to decide what the general populace is allowed to see, hear, and think about, and to 'manage' public opinion by regular propaganda campaigns."⁵¹ Propaganda, or the 'manufacturing of consent' has long been recognized as a mechanism of social order.⁵²

One popular tactic used by the press to influence public opinion regarding appropriate behavior was linguistic aggression. Thomas Bridges defined "linguistic aggression" as an act "through which the speaker seeks to transform his or her audience's understanding and behavior by means of a redescription of the subject matter at hand."⁵³ Linguistic aggression is not necessarily aggressive language. Through the use of metaphor, discourse transforms behavior and subject.

⁵⁰ Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 1.

⁵¹ Ibid., xi.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Thomas Bridges, The Culture of Civilization: Inventing Postmodern Civic Culture (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), 22.

The mass media is *the* "primary vehicle for the expression and ordering of mentalities."⁵⁴ The media played a particularly strong role in driving a wedge between respectable and unsuitable sporting behavior, as in the case of soccer hooligans.⁵⁵ Soccer hooligans are typified in the media as 'animals' and placed "beyond the bounds of common decency."⁵⁶ Much research has been done on shaping the behavior of the sporting crowd. The media also played a key role in marginalizing blood sport.

Mass produced images, tracts, and pamphlets from the early nineteenth century are some of the first examples of a mass media campaign generated by opponents of blood sport. They drew upon images of "perversion, illness, and unpatriotic behavior" that effectively turned patrons into 'Other.'⁵⁷ But it was the nineteenth century press, in particular, that generated and sustained a moral panic concerning the state of law and order surrounding blood sport. Journalists typified blood sport as a potential threat to the dominant culture. As a traditional cultural element, blood sport was seen as a symptom of a larger moral decay, encouraging violence and deviance. An image of blood sport enthusiasts as cruel and barbaric was continually expressed to the public. By labeling blood sport cruel and brutal, the press not

⁵⁴ Le Goff, "Mentalities," 175.

⁵⁵ Ingham and Hardy, "Introduction," 4.

⁵⁶ Hebdige, *Subculture*, 97.

⁵⁷ Ferguson, "Elizabeth Heyrick," 343.

only defined blood sport as cruelty to animals, but also helped to define non-participants as the opposite of brutal. Nineteenth century journalist's insistence upon 'civilization' and 'civilized' behavior reinforced the impact of anti-cruelty discourses.

The build up of sentimentalism toward animals in the press coupled with a general disgust in violence and cruelty, made it easy for the public to associate enthusiasts of blood sport with Other. To aid in their definition of Other, the nineteenth century press often associated patrons of blood sport with the plebeian class. Plebeian culture was itself associated with crime, disorder, rioting, and disease, adding to its already disturbing image of unrestrained revelry. This association heightened the sense of threat already felt by the emergent middle class whose job it became to contain mass leisure.

Mentalities generated in the media reflected a middle class discourse. This discourse was not always accepted outside of middle class circles. The continuance among the aristocracy of acts which could be labeled cruelty to animals (e.g., fox-hunting) but were not, forced the emergent middle class to tread lightly in its discourse concerning animal cruelty. Protection of the aristocracy from prosecution by anti-cruelty activists involved creating a discourse that emphasized distinctions between the "genteel and the coarse, the refined and the reprobate, the humane and the inhumane, the temperaments of the wild and domestic animals, and the private and public

execution of such activities."⁵⁸ With such a discourse, anti-cruelty activists could condemn blood sport among the masses without impugning the moral standards of the aristocracy.⁵⁹

An anti-cruelty discourse was complimented with an emerging modern sport ethic that influenced popular mentalities toward blood sport. Modern sport represents the culmination of a long process through which leisure gradually disassociated itself from traditional mentalities and adopted modern values including fair play, self-improvement, and team-work. The mass media, public education, the law, and modern sport were key structures in the delivery of these values; together they promoted a dichotomous psychic system of organization.

SUMMARY

An understanding of how an urban professional class not only shaped new sporting practices but also a new sporting mentality in late nineteenth century America is key to understanding the marginalization of blood sport. The effective marginalization of blood sport was contingent upon the civilizing apparatuses of the media, education, the law, and sport. It was not enough to remove traditional practices from modern sport; the very mentality that tethered them to the masses had to be attacked. Public culture

⁵⁸ Hardy and Ingham, "Introduction," 9.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

and meanings were transformed through discourse within the frameworks of the media, the courts, and public education.

Perhaps most essential to the perseverance of modern sport and the marginalization of blood sport was the creation and preservation of Other, itself contingent upon exploiting the psychic systems of organization that informed larger culture. Discourse employed directive cultural technologies including the use of binary opposition and linguistic aggression to create an Other. The creation of the blood sport enthusiast as Other made the enjoyment of cruelty seem abhorrent.

The act of marginalizing blood sport to the status of Other helped to legitimate and confirm dominant meanings in sport and to define and remove inappropriate meanings. Although marginal acts appear to offer a challenge to hegemony, for the most part, they confirm it. They act as a boundary mechanisms to highlight the fine line between 'proper' and 'improper' behavior for people in the mainstream.

A case study of the marginalization of blood sport may more clearly demonstrate the impact of modernization upon traditional recreation, particularly with regard to the development of a new public culture and collective mentality. The following chapter examines the marginalization of blood sport in New Orleans from 1870 to 1900. It interrelates changes in the economic, political, social, and cultural structure with deliberate attempts to

disenfranchise blood sport from Southern culture, with a New South mentality acting as a partial intermediary.

CHAPTER 4

THE MARGINALIZATION OF BLOOD SPORT: A CASE STUDY OF NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA FROM 1870 TO 1900

Nothing so needs reforming as other people's habits.
Mark Twain

The reformation of behavior was a central issue in the modernization of New Orleans culture during the late nineteenth century. Blood sport was among the behaviors subject to reform. This chapter is a case study of the marginalization of blood sport in New Orleans, Louisiana between 1870 to 1900. Who was responsible for campaigns against blood sport? Why did they attack blood sport? How did they implement their belief that blood sport was inappropriate? The chapter is divided into the following sections: the context, the modernization of New Orleans, the marginalization of blood sport, and a summary.

CONTEXT

In 1682, Robert Chevalier de la Salle stepped amid the ooze and silt of the southern Mississippi alluvial valley and claimed land for King Louis XIV of France. The city of New Orleans was founded on this land in 1718. Despite a hot, humid, mosquito-infested and often inhospitable climate, New Orleans became a pawn in the political struggle between France and Spain until 1803.

In 1803 New Orleans was claimed by America under the Louisiana Purchase. Population increased rapidly after the Purchase with an influx of English, Scottish, and Irish immigrants.

New Orleans soon emerged as a thriving metropolis, rivaling any in America in the early nineteenth century. It was prized for its location at the foot of the Mississippi river with access to European markets. As a commercial center, trading post, and exporting hub, New Orleans prospered and brought great wealth to its inhabitants, a heterogeneous population of Anglo-Saxons, Spanish, French, Africans, and native American Indians.¹ The city provided a place of adventure and entertainment to tradesmen, merchants, and cotton planters as well as a transient population of sailors, fortune-seekers, freed slaves, out-castes, and criminals protected by the anonymity of a large metropolis.² By the early 1830s, people were complaining of the inability of the police to contain the lawless element of drifters and criminals.³

¹ The Federal Writers' Project, New Orleans City Guide: Written and Compiled by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration for the City of New Orleans (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1938), 70.

² Albert A. Fossier, New Orleans, The Glamour Period, 1800-1840: A History of the Conflicts of Nationalities, Languages, Religion, Morals, Cultures, Laws, Politics, and Economics During the Formative Period of New Orleans (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1957), foreword.

³ Ibid., 162.

Although a sophisticated metropolitan center by the 1830s, with the finest hotels and restaurants in America, New Orleans was also known for its crudity and guile, having developed a reputation for excessive leisure and pleasure. The city developed a reputation among travelers for revelry and moral laxity.⁴ Travel journals and popular literature of the nineteenth century often depicted Southerners as lazy, leisure-loving people who indulged in liquor and other vices and were less moral and ambitious than Northerners.

What was characterized as a languid Southern morality may in fact have been a natural response to the sweltering heat and humidity of the deep South. Regardless of its cause, Orleanians were often the rule rather than the exception to this stereotype. Leisure in New Orleans was influenced by climate, ethnicity, religion, and social structure. Amusements were initially brought to New Orleans by predominantly Latin and Catholic immigrants escaping oppression from French and Spanish governments. These settlers shared compatible religious values and a similar flare for ritual and revelry. They introduced carnivals, burlesque shows, theater, and music, alongside of cockfights, bear baits and bull fights. Catholicism did not oppose dancing, drinking, card playing, or blood sport because these activities were often

⁴ Dale A. Somers, The Rise of Sports in New Orleans, 1850-1900 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), 9.

intertwined with religious celebrations.⁵ Popular amusements were later diversified by the Creoles and further modified by English, Scottish, and Irish immigrants who continued many of the bacchanalian pleasures enjoyed by the French and Spanish.⁶ It was not uncommon for men, women, and children to enjoy public gardens, circuses, horse races, and carnival celebrations. Wealthier residents and visitors to New Orleans enjoyed more refined amusement at the French Opera house, the Theatre D'Orleans, and annual Mardi Gras masquerade balls.

But it was New Orleanians' love of "strange and barbaric sports" that has caught the attention of historians.⁷ Albert Fossier noted that, in 1818, an advertisement in a local paper encouraged attendance at fights between a bull and six dogs, a bear and six dogs, a tiger and a bear, and a bull and twelve dogs. The advertisement stated that if the tiger was not defeated by the bear, it would be turned on the remaining bull. If the tiger defeated the bull "several pieces of fireworks will be placed on his back, which will produce a very entertaining amusement."⁸ Another early nineteenth century promoter

⁵ Catholics did not regard the animal as having a soul and, therefore, believed it could be used in any manner without regard to cruelty or pain.

⁶ The Federal Writers' Project, New Orleans City Guide, 84.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Fossier, New Orleans, 463.

boasted that a dollar admitted one to a "dog and alligator fight."⁹ The lack of concern for the animals involved in these contests was evident as the spectators threw stones and brickbats at them to "incite them to the proper fury."¹⁰

In his examination of the rise of modern sport in New Orleans, Dale Somers argued that the city held a special appeal to blood sport enthusiasts because of its reputation for moral laxity.¹¹ Somers characterized New Orleans as a "very wicked, God-defying city."¹² The equating of blood sport with immoral, wicked, and barbaric behavior, however, says more of Somers than of the city or its inhabitants. The connection between cruelty, immorality, and blood sport is of rather recent origin in America, a product of the late nineteenth century. It is important to remember that, to those promoting and engaging in blood sport in New Orleans, there were few such connections.

Most Orleanians of the early nineteenth century remained unfettered by the gambling or violence that accompanied the numerous forms of entertainment offered in their city. Few openly opposed blood sport.

⁹ The Federal Writers' Project, New Orleans City Guide, 84. It is not certain whether the dog and alligator were fighting each other.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Somers, The Rise of Sports, 11.

¹² Ibid.

Indulgence in animal blood sport is attributed to an unbalanced sex ratio (men outnumbered women two to one in 1840) that discouraged the "usual social constraints."¹³ Rather than being something of which to be ashamed, Southern men were proud of their interest in blood sport; one of the most popular being cockfighting. Orleanians enjoyed cockfights at taverns throughout different cultural quarters of the city. The local press advertised a Baronne Street Cockpit, a French Cockpit, a Spanish Cockpit, and a Louisiana Cockpit. Bertram Wyatt-Brown argued that cockfighting appealed to Southern men of all social ranks in the Old South because it insured excitement, promised an arena in which to decide inequalities among men or beasts, and taught young men the value of manliness and honor.¹⁴

Attitudes toward blood sport gradually shifted from enjoyment to repulsion over a thirty year period after the Civil War. But disengaging people from these pastimes proved to be a slow and erratic process. The marginalization of blood sport was contingent upon larger structural and attitudinal changes occurring as a result of the modernization of New Orleans. The marginalization of blood sport in New Orleans is best studied by examining broad economic, demographic, political, social, and cultural

¹³ Steven A. Riess, City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports (Urbana and Chicago: The University of Illinois Press, 1989), 15.

¹⁴ Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South (Oxford, New York, Toronto, and Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1982; paperback edition, 1983), 339-343.

changes along with changes in the values being promoted by the official public culture during the modernization of New Orleans from the Civil War. The Civil War is the boundary agreed upon by historians separating traditional, agricultural America from modern, progressive, urban-industrial America.¹⁵

THE MODERNIZATION OF NEW ORLEANS

The Civil War devastated the New Orleans economy. It lacked a significant industrial base to compete in American and foreign markets. Because of this loss of prominence as a major trading center, business leaders in New Orleans were jolted into re-examining their commercial opportunities.¹⁶ Efforts to encourage the construction of railroads and levees to ship grain from the mid-West through New Orleans failed.¹⁷ It was only after Reconstruction that New Orleans' economy returned.

Orleanians passed through a crucial period of "transition and reckoning" in the two decades immediately following Reconstruction.¹⁸ Like

¹⁵ Richard D. Brown, Modernization: The Transformation of American Life, 1600 - 1865, American Century Series, ed. Eric Foner (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), 3.

¹⁶ Gary Bolding, "Change, Continuity and Commercial Identity of a Southern City: New Orleans, 1850 - 1950," Louisiana Studies, 14 (1975): 166.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 167.

¹⁸ Joy J. Jackson, New Orleans in the Gilded Age: Politics and Urban Progress, 1880-1896 (Baton Rouge, LA.: Louisiana State University Press for the Louisiana Historical Association,

many Southerners in the post-bellum period, they had to come to terms with a struggling agrarian economy, newly enforced racial policies, more liberating roles for women and the lower classes, and evangelical Protestantism. The major economic and political problems confronted by Orleanians after Reconstruction were the revival of commerce, a large municipal debt, and struggle for political control.¹⁹ Before Reconstruction, the economy of the South had favored the processing of agricultural products and raw materials over the more risky business of manufacturing.²⁰

Southern historian C. Vann Woodward likened Southerners' reaction to Reconstruction as similar to being in prison and having the "time to reflect upon past sins."²¹ Most emerged from the period morally regenerated, with a strong desire to industrialize.²² While the plantation remained at the center of the Southern political and economic order after the Civil War, some questioned the role of agrarianism as a tool for future economic growth.²³

1969), 27.

¹⁹ Jackson, New Orleans in the Gilded Age, 27.

²⁰ James C. Cobb, Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877 - 1984, American Society and Culture Series, ed. Charles P. Roland (Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1984), 5.

²¹ C. Vann Woodward, The Origins of the New South, 1877 - 1913: A History of the South, vol. IX, ed. Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951, 1971, and 1990; Austin: The Littlefield Fund for Southern History, The University of Texas, 1951, 1971, and 1990), 113.

²² Ibid., 112-113.

²³ Cobb, Industrialization, 17.

By the late 1870s, the desire to industrialize the South became a "genuine regional obsession" among state and local leaders.²⁴

Unlike the English Industrial Revolution which was unplanned, the Southern industrial experience was a staged attempt at recovery; economic growth was to be tied to moral development.²⁵ Recognizing that a more moral city would be more likely to attract Northern investment, civilized behavior was encouraged among Orleanians to improve the image of their city. The New Orleans Daily Picayune sought to enlighten people to the "moral degradation which lies all around," appealing to "decent and quiet gentlemen" to take part in the improvement of the city.²⁶

Southern Historian James Cobb contends that "a fuller understanding of the history of the South since Reconstruction requires close attention to the role played by industrialization in facilitating certain changes while thwarting others."²⁷ Cobb noted the paradoxical nature of the drive to industrialize the South. Many observers believed that industrialization would threaten Southern identity. Others assumed that regions of the South were "destined to experience democratization and overall societal progress as they embraced

²⁴ Cobb, Industrialization, 2.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ The New Orleans Daily Picayune, "Civilization and Anarchy," 4 December 1884, p. 4. Hereafter referred to as Picayune.

²⁷ Cobb, Industrialization, 2.

industrial capitalism."²⁸ Few areas did. Unlike in England or the American North, southern industrialization was not accompanied by an economic or social revolution. Ante-bellum customs were easily preserved into the post-war period because material progress was slow and because New Orleans was not affected by any large scale population changes.²⁹

The juxtaposition of Old South traditions with New South values created cultural tension. Unsettled by losing the Civil War, Orleanians struggled between preserving their regional culture by mythologizing their past, or moving toward a more promising future by participating in an emerging national culture. The rhetoric of a New Industrial South promised economic prosperity, but proponents were "careful to pay homage to a mythical 'Gone with the Wind' vision of an ante-bellum society peopled by aristocratic beaux and belles who lived in elegant white-columned mansions surrounded by fragrant magnolias."³⁰ The desire for a New South confronted the romanticism and opulence of the Old South that lived on in New Orleans behind wrought iron fences, intimate court yards, crooked balconies, and glorious flower gardens. Gazing upon these scenes it was difficult to image that New Orleans had entered a new era.

²⁸ Cobb, Industrialization, 2.

²⁹ Jackson, New Orleans in the Gilded Age, 9.

³⁰ Cobb, Industrialization, 13.

Cobb sees this paradoxical image as a psychological device to help defeated Southerners "hold their heads up" while accepting Northern assistance. Orleanians were well aware of the pejorative stereotype that Northerners held of them after the war: "When we were rich we were somewhat known, to the northward, as a hospitable race of gentle savages. With our lost riches has faded the imperfect notion of our gentility, and savages may think us now pure and simple."³¹

The 1884 World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition was to be a key point in New Orleans' emergence into the modern economic and cultural world.³² Historian Gary Bolding pointed out the irony of the efforts to advertise the economic progress of New Orleans with the 1884 Exposition. The ambivalent usage of the terms "industrial" and "cotton" suggested to Bolding that many Orleanians still wished to preserve the agrarian, Old South. Although city officials gave the appearance that New Orleans was progressing, building a \$100,000 horticultural hall for the 1884 Cotton Centennial Exposition, in fact the city lacked an adequate sewage system and sanitary drinking water, experienced infrequent garbage collection, and many streets were unpaved. As in other rapidly expanding American cities, urbanization had brought problems of waste disposal, disease, and crime.

³¹ Picayune, "The Southern Home: A Study," 31 August 1873, p. 4.

³² Jackson, New Orleans in the Gilded Age, 204.

New Orleans had not yet developed adequate municipal facilities (like health and sanitation) to accommodate the needs of her rapidly growing population.³³ The amenities of urban living were neglected in favor of commercial development. This lack of adequate mass transit, public health facilities, and sanitation systems did not escape the notice of visitors to the Cotton Centennial Exposition. They were "unimpressed by the muddy, unpaved streets and poor streetcar facilities."³⁴

Orleanians held conflicting attitudes toward clearly visible changes taking place in their city during the late nineteenth century. Some clearly wished to re-evaluate the political structure, economic climate, and culture of their city. Although the planter class continued to exercise hegemony throughout the New South, other figures vied for power. Industrialists, merchants, politicians, lawyers, and newspaper editors were powerful figures in the creation of a New South.

A new privileged class of urban professionals, and the institutions that supported them, shaped the economic, political, social, and cultural future of New Orleans during the post-Reconstruction period.³⁵ Like others of the

³³ Jackson, New Orleans in the Gilded Age, 145.

³⁴ Bolding, "Change, Continuity and Commercial Identity," 168.

³⁵ Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris, eds., Encyclopedia of Southern Culture (Chapel Hill, N. C. and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 589-590.

privileged class, their desire to create a better city was influenced by a fear of moral decay:

The hoodlum, the thief and the thug are real persons, actively at work. They are as little conformed to the institutions of civilization as is the wildest savage of the plains with bloody scalps at his belt. They must be crushed or they will destroy.³⁶

Recognizing that "No nation is yet thoroughly civilized," the Picayune believed the answer to the city's problems lay in legislation: "The majesty of the law still is inseparable from the terrors of the law: the forces of disorder must be held in leash, and the community which relaxes the iron grip of justice gives itself to barbarism and anarchy."³⁷ The Picayune, hoped that the coming year of 1871 would bring a "growing reverence for law."³⁸

Throughout the period of this study, lawmakers proposed acts to provide for the better health of the city of New Orleans and to improve the sanitary condition of the city. A Picayune article of 1871 noted a rise in sentimentalism among "philanthropic" legislators.³⁹ The author noted that legislators were no longer dry and unfeeling. The titles of their proposed acts reflected a "singularly amiable, affectionate, sentimental, and benevolent

³⁶ Picayune, "Civilization and Anarchy," 4 December 1884, p. 4.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Picayune, "Volume Thirty-Five," 29 January 1871, p. 2.

³⁹ Picayune, "Sentimental Lawmakers," 17 January 1871, p. 4.

tone."⁴⁰ Their titles and the "pathetic and touching gush of emotion" reflect a broader concern for municipal reform that crept into the government of New Orleans in the 1870s.⁴¹

Along with an increase in legislation, private citizens organized various benevolent relief societies to aid orphans, the poor, and victims of yellow fever. The Charity House, the City Asylum for the Insane, the Boy's House of Refuge, and the Judah Touro Almshouse for the elderly were the only publicly supported charities in late 19th century New Orleans.⁴² More humane forms of capital punishment, less cruel methods of interning prisoners, improved conditions for the infirmed, and changed conceptions of the proper treatment of animals began to filter into New Orleans after the Civil War. In 1880 an editorial comment in the Picayune questioned why the death penalty had to be inflicted in such a cruel manner:

For the sake of humanity and decency an enlightened code should prescribe some other and less barbarous method of execution than that of strangling the culprit to death with a rope, a method often attended with prolonged and intense suffering to the victim.⁴³

⁴⁰ Picayune, "Sentimental Lawmakers," 17 January 1871, p. 4.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Mary Ann Sheblé and Jill K. Shannon, "Thomas Payne Thompson and His Louisiana Library," Louisiana History, 34, no. 3 (Summer, 1993): 277.

⁴³ Picayune, "Cruelties in Punishment," 17 January 1880, p. 3.

But, the extent of publicly funded humanitarianism was limited; in 1881, habitants of the city's Insane Asylum were dying of malnutrition.⁴⁴

Efforts at humanitarian reform in New Orleans were part of an overriding desire to shape New Orleans society into something more progressive, civilized, and rational. A desire to rationalize the behavior of Orleanians is evident in numerous articles in the Picayune concerning etiquette and manners. A similar interest in rationalizing public behavior is apparent in the controls imposed upon leisure. Public entertainment was increasingly brought under the control of City Council throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. Mardi Gras celebrations, public theater, and popular sport were among the behaviors subject to control.

Maintaining order among carnival goers is one example of the attempts to rationalize leisure in late nineteenth century New Orleans society. Foucault identified these as attempts to "embody and assure the maintenance of classical bourgeois reason."⁴⁵ A journalist for Harper's Magazine noted that, "For many years [the Mardi Gras carnival] was entirely popular and promiscuous in the sense that it was unordered and without

⁴⁴ Jackson, New Orleans in the Gilded Age, 190. The asylum was later closed and residents housed in a temporary facility.

⁴⁵ As quoted in Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, The Politics and Poetics of Transgression (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986), 22.

either head or programme."⁴⁶ In 1857, The Mystic Krewe of Comus "brought order and form" into the parade. By 1880, The Rex Society "made it possible and advantageous to do away with the promiscuous masking and merrymaking."⁴⁷ In the new rational, bourgeois order, grotesque costumes and masking were acceptable practices only among children.⁴⁸ Harper's Magazine noted that the 100,000 people in attendance in 1880 were extremely orderly and displayed "absolute self-control."⁴⁹ Its journalist observed that, "carnival displays are wholly designed to amuse and entertain the pleasure-loving, light-hearted, largely Latin people who originally took part in them, but who have surrendered active participation to the leading and wealthy men of the town."⁵⁰

Shifts in acceptable public behavior are also evident in the rise of control measures within the theater. In 1853 a New Orleans judge ruled that "Ticket holders...had the legal right to hiss and stamp in the theater."⁵¹ By

⁴⁶ The South: A Collection from Harper's Magazine (New York: Gallery Books, 1990) , 24.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Lawrence Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America (Cambridge, MA. and London: Harvard University Press, 1988), 179.

1896, City Council was given the power to police theaters, public balls, dance houses, concert saloons, taverns, hotels, houses of public entertainment, liquor stores, and houses of prostitution.⁵² The charter of the city of New Orleans in 1896 also gave Council the power to "close all gambling houses and to expel from the city, and to imprison all bunco men, lottery men, common cheats and swindlers, beggars and dangerous and suspicious characters."⁵³

Campaigns to suppress blood sport were part of a larger movement to reform New Orleans society after the Civil War. Like carnival and theater, blood sport came increasingly under attack by journalists, legislators, anti-cruelty activists, and clergy from 1870 to 1900. It is to the marginalization of blood sport that we now turn.

THE MARGINALIZATION OF BLOOD SPORT IN NEW ORLEANS

Distinctions between cruel and civilized pastimes were not easily made by Orleanians during the late nineteenth century. For many who engaged in them, cockfights, dog fights, and bull fights, remained quite visible and viable

⁵² Charter of the City of New Orleans of 1896, Act No. 45, IV Legislative Department, section 14 of the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana. July 7, 1896, p. 11.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 12. Bunco men was the term used for conspirators used to attract customers to games of chance.

forms of leisure after the Civil War.⁵⁴ Prior to the 1870s, few heeded suggestions that blood sport was an inappropriate leisure activity. Only baiting contests had been questioned. In 1852, the Picayune expressed its outrage regarding a baiting contest between a bear and a bull, dismissing the spectacle as a "disgusting site, and a humiliating theme to speak of in this age which assumes to be civilized." Similarly disgusted, members of the Protestant population of the city noted in 1855 that bull and bear baits seemed to "blunt the moral sensibilities."⁵⁵

Dale Somers suggested that bull and bear baits failed to survive the war.⁵⁶ It is more plausible that they were geographically marginalized to the surrounding parishes. In 1867, a city ordinance removed bull and bear baits from the view of offended Protestants and city authorities, making it illegal to bait animals or stage pugilistic contests within city limits.⁵⁷ Cockfights, which

⁵⁴ Donald J. Mrozek, Sport and American Mentality, 1880 - 1910 (Knoxville, TN.: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), xiv.

⁵⁵ The Semi-Weekly Creole, 2 February 1855. As quoted in Robert Clemens Reinders, End of an Era: New Orleans, 1850 - 1860 (Gretna, LA.: Pelican Publishing Co., 1989; first printed, 1964), 126.

⁵⁶ Somers, The Rise of Sports, 204.

⁵⁷ "Immoral Exhibitions," N. S. 427, Section VI, Article 34 (January, 1867) reads: "No person shall exhibit or cause to be exhibited, in this city, any bull or bear fight, or pugilistic contest, or make any immoral exhibition, or form processions for the purpose of attending such exhibitions." As referenced in Jewell's Digest of the City Ordinances, together with the Constitutional provisions, Acts of the General Assembly and Decisions of the Courts Relative to the Government of the City of New Orleans, Compiled by Edwin L. Jewell (New Orleans, 1882), 313.

the city regulated and taxed, were permitted with "permission of the Mayor, who may at any time revoke his permission, and close the same if order be not preserved."⁵⁸

It appears that only Mayor Shakespeare, labeled the reform Mayor, opposed cockfights. While in office from 1880 to 1882, Shakespeare issued an edict prohibiting cockfighting and "all such frivolous amusements."⁵⁹ "Unfortunately," the New Orleans Mascot stated, "[Mayor Shakespeare] does not command so much respect as a chief magistrate should do...."⁶⁰ The edict was ignored. In consequence, cockfights continued in "well-known places where the brutal pastime may be indulged in without fear of interference on the part of the authorities."⁶¹

Cockfights were an especially integral aspect of New Orleans culture after the Civil War. Advertisements for local cockpits appeared in the popular press beside advertisements for spring bonnets, pork butchers, white lily soap, Havana cigars, and the New Orleans conservatory of music.⁶² Their

⁵⁸ N. S. 427, Section VI, Article 35 (January, 1867). As referenced in Jewell's Digest (1882), 313.

⁵⁹ The New Orleans Mascot, 8 April 1882, p. 61. An edict is not a law but an order proclaimed by authority. Hereafter referred to as the Mascot.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² See, for example, an advertisement for the Baronne Street Cockpit in the Mascot, 5 May 1883, p. 294 and a similar advertisement announcing the last day of the season in the Mascot, 2 June 1883, p. 328.

frequency dramatically decreased during the Civil War, but enjoyed a renewed popularity in the decades immediately following.⁶³ Along with the skating rink, the cockpit was among the sports "in vogue" in the 1870s.⁶⁴ Throughout the 1870s cockfights between representatives of Kentucky, Georgia, and Louisiana were fought in New Orleans to the largest stakes ever laid.⁶⁵ They attracted "some of the most influential persons of our population."⁶⁶ Rather than being offended by the battles, the Picayune believed that "people even not fond of the sport of cockfighting enjoyed the excitement from the fight and from betting large sums of money."⁶⁷

Unless the exhibition of dogs or game cocks violated public order, authorities took little notice. Cock and dog pits generated much needed revenue for the city. In other large cities in the country in the 1870s, dog fighters and cockfighters were prosecuted under anti-cruelty to animals laws. In New York City, for example, blood sports were under constant attack by the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals [ASPCA].

⁶³ Somers, The Rise of Sports, 204.

⁶⁴ Picayune, "Sporting Notes," 9 February 1879, p. 8.

⁶⁵ See, for example, Picayune, 3 April, 1870, p. 3; Picayune, 21 March, 1875, p. 2; and Picayune, "At the Cock-Pit," 21 February 1879, p. 8.

⁶⁶ Picayune, "Cocking: How the Birds are Trained and Fought in the New Orleans Pit," 21 March 1875, p. 2.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

Founded by Henry Bergh in 1866, the ASPCA was influential in driving cock and dog fighters out of Manhattan and onto Long Island and surrounding communities.⁶⁸

Unlike their Northern counterparts, cities of the South and Southwest lacked organized anti-cruelty societies.⁶⁹ Unlike New Yorkers, Orleanians showed little concern for the protection of animals in the 1870s. Early efforts by Henry Bergh to extend anti-cruelty sentiments to New Orleans were met with resistance and derision. Bergh's work was openly ridiculed in the press. In 1873, the Picayune carried the following:

Prof. Bergh is going to put a stop to the cruel practice of killing bed bugs by smashing them between the thumb nails. Hereafter guests of the metropolitan hotels will be provided with chloroform and harpoons for the suppression of these night prowlers.⁷⁰

During the sweltering summer of 1875, a short passage within the Picayune, written in response to a desire for an SPCA in New Orleans, read: "We need a Bergh, an ice-Bergh!"⁷¹ This statement was repeated in 1877 in response to further attempts to initiate anti-cruelty sentiment into New Orleans.⁷²

⁶⁸ Picayune, "Bergh and His Work," 30 March 1879, p. 12.

⁶⁹ Picayune, "An Angell's Visit," 3 December 1884, p. 2.

⁷⁰ Picayune, 11 February 1873, p. 8.

⁷¹ Picayune, 13 July 1875, p. 5.

⁷² Picayune, 21 June 1877, p. 2.

Most Orleanians may have been unsupportive of Bergh's work, but the Louisiana State Association for the Prevention and Suppression of Cruelty to Animals, similar in scope to the APSCA, was established in their midst in 1873. The Association's desire to protect animals was supported in theory, but not in practice. An editorial proclaimed that:

There is not a man in New Orleans but has been shocked and outraged time upon time by some exhibition of cruelty or brutality to the humble servitors whose strength and patience and fidelity are so indispensable - not one will not thank these gentlemen in his heart when their humane mission shall have been achieved.⁷³

But the Association came under almost immediate attack after it raided a Sunday cocking main at the Spanish Cockpit in 1874. Fearing that the "moral and humane interests of New Orleans were in danger of being mismanaged," the Picayune came to the aid of cockfighters with the following editorial:

whether moral or immoral, proper or improper, right or wrong, [cockfighting] has been too long recognized as a legitimate pursuit to be overturned in an hour. Patriots, scholars, and statesmen have patronized it from time immemorial, and the breeding of game chickens has passed into a serious and lucrative industry.⁷⁴

The author agreed that cockfighting could be proven a cruel and evil practice but that it was a "wiser" move for the Association to attack abuses that "all

⁷³ Picayune, "Cruelty to Animals," 9 June 1874, p. 1.

⁷⁴ Picayune, "Prevention of Cruelty," 11 June 1874, p. 1.

deplore," rather than those "wherein popular support is doubtful and immediate success quite out of reach."⁷⁵ The author pointed out that cockfighting was an old and established institution (in contrast to members of the Association who had barely "put off their swaddling clothes.")⁷⁶

The Picayune suggested that the Association postpone raids on cockpits and instead attack the "hundreds of abuses much more objectionable" until it had established itself and recruited its own "array of sympathizers."⁷⁷ In contrast, The New Orleans Times supported attacks on cockpits citing that a love of the sport had sometimes led to the embezzlement of government funds.⁷⁸

Within months of the inception of the Louisiana Association for the Prevention and Suppression of Cruelty to Animals, Gen. Leonard Sewell, a New Orleans police captain, resigned his honorary position as Sheriff of the Association. Sewell disagreed with the seizure of unattended livestock by subordinate officers and members of the Association that went against his orders. The constitutionality of these actions was questioned in an

⁷⁵ Picayune, "Prevention of Cruelty," 11 June 1874, p. 1.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid. The objectionable abuses the Picayune had in mind involved the mistreatment of work animals.

⁷⁸ The New Orleans Times, 8 June 1874. p. 1. The Picayune believed that not even this argument would alienate patrons of cock-pits.

injunction to the Supreme Court after a group of angry cattle farmers staged "warlike" police demonstrations.⁷⁹

Having found that the "anti-cruelty philanthropists were intermeddling in business which did not concern them," the Association was proclaimed unconstitutional.⁸⁰ In July of 1874, persons arrested and imprisoned under laws establishing the Association were released, "on the ground that there was no law of Louisiana which was applicable to such an act, or prescribed any penalty for cruelty to animals."⁸¹ New Orleans anti-cruelty association was consigned to the "tomb of Capulets, 'the limbo of vanity and the Paradise of Fools'," where it remained until a similar organization was revived in 1885.⁸²

During its short existence, the Louisiana State Association for the Prevention and Suppression of Cruelty to Animals confronted restaurateurs and market owners for the way their livestock was tethered, dairy farmers and cattle owners for unattended cattle, railroad companies for overloading passenger cars, and cock-pit owners. Dale Somers argued that the actions of

⁷⁹ Picayune, "Prevention of Cruelty," 11 June 1874, p. 1.

⁸⁰ Picayune, "The Anti-Cruelty Society Knocked into a Cocked Hat," 4 July 1874, p. 4.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

the Association reduced the popularity of cockfighting in New Orleans.⁸³ However, the following year the Picayune claimed that cockfights "which take place every Sunday are as attractive, if not more so, than any sports offered in our city."⁸⁴

Unwilling to end his crusade for anti-cruelty, Augustus Bernan, president of the suspended Association, wrote a letter to Henry Bergh asking for assistance in correcting the "apathy of the [New Orleans] public to the cause of humanity and civilization."⁸⁵ "The great State of Louisiana," Bergh responded, "with its vast commercial city of New Orleans so dependent on these animals, cannot afford to ignore this important subject."⁸⁶ Bergh encouraged Bernan to persevere in his crusade despite "discouraging impediments."⁸⁷ Bergh was aware of such impediments having himself been the target of "sneers and public laughter."⁸⁸

Just four years after Bernan complained that Orleanians were apathetic toward the cause of anti-cruelty, the Picayune offered a clearly different

⁸³ Somers, The Rise of Sports, 205.

⁸⁴ Picayune, "Cocking: How the Birds are Trained and Fought in the New Orleans Pit," 21 March 1875, p. 2.

⁸⁵ Picayune, "Cruelty to Animals," 28 December 1874, p. 2.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Picayune, "Bergh and His Work," 30 March 1879, p. 12.

opinion regarding cruelty to animals. When confronted with the issue of horse and mule beating in the streets of New Orleans, the Picayune opined that: "In nothing is the lingering savagery of our nature more plainly manifested than in the cruelty which too often is inflicted on the wretched creatures which fall into the hands of brutal and unfeeling men."⁸⁹ The author of the article was certain that public opinion would approve a law to prevent cruelty to animals.⁹⁰

The most plausible explanation for the change of sentiment toward certain kinds of animals by the Picayune is that Eliza Nicholson assumed editorship in 1878. No one in late nineteenth century New Orleans was more vociferous than Eliza Nicholson in her concern for the proper treatment of animals. She has been credited with sole responsibility for promoting animal protection in New Orleans.⁹¹ In his history of the Picayune, Thomas Dabney suggested that Nicholson's interest in animals developed from her childhood

⁸⁹ Picayune, "Horse and Mule Beating," 16 January 1878, p. 4.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Although the Picayune articles concerning cruelty and blood sport were never credited to Nicholson, historian Thomas Dabney credited her with influencing the movement for anti-cruelty in New Orleans. See, Dabney's One Hundred Great Years: The Story of the Times-Picayune from its Founding to 1920 (Baton Rouge, 1944) 311-313. Further, Nicholson herself claimed responsibility for the passing of the anti-cruelty legislation of 1879. See the summary of Edward Buffet in the archives of The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (circa 1920), as referenced in a personal correspondence with Stephen Zawistowski, Senior Vice President and Science Advisor of the ASPCA on 14 June 1995.

experiences on the plantation of her aunt and uncle on the shores of the Pearl river in Mississippi.

Eliza Nicholson was born Eliza Poitevent in 1849. As a teenager she began writing poetry under the pen name of Pearl Rivers. Historian Patricia Brady contends that writing was an "acceptable" employment for women because it did not interfere with their "proper feminine domestic role."⁹² At the age of nineteen, Eliza was hired as literary editor to the Picayune, an unusual position for a woman of her day. Within four years, she married Colonel Alva Morris Holbrook, the owner of the paper, and her literary involvement in the newspaper expanded to include articles on fashion, fiction, and the arts. The daughter of a lumberman and steamboat builder soon found herself raised to a women of letters. After Holbrook's death in 1876, Eliza struggled to keep the newspaper solvent. In 1878 she re-married, this time to the paper's business manager, George Nicholson. Together George and Eliza Nicholson co-edited the Picayune, a position she held until her death in 1896.⁹³

As co-editor of the Picayune, Eliza Nicholson was a spokesperson for the kind treatment to animals. In speaking out against animal cruelty, she joined a crusade of reformers who fashioned themselves as custodians of a

⁹² Patricia Brady, "Literary Ladies of New Orleans in the Gilded Age," Louisiana History, 33, No. 2 (Spring, 1992): 151.

⁹³ Dabney, One Hundred Great Years, 260-264.

new moral order. Female involvement in anti-cruelty campaigns was not unusual. Two years after Henry Bergh founded the ASPCA in New York City, a similar organization was proposed in Boston, Massachusetts, by Mrs. William Appleton.

Although women played a key role in organizing societies to prevent animal cruelty, they had limited representation and were rarely given credit for their achievements. For example, Appleton's proposal to the House of Representatives to incorporate an SPCA in Massachusetts was re-worked by George Angell who removed her name, believing that "public opinion had not then reached the point when it was deemed judicious to make use of a lady's name."⁹⁴ Agreeing, Appleton thought it improper to be elected a director of the Society or for a woman to attend the meeting that created the it. As a result, George Angell was elected president of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

As in Massachusetts, a "number of influential ladies" were instrumental in encouraging the humane treatment of animals in New Orleans, a role that the Picayune encouraged.⁹⁵ But like Appleton, Nicholson's involvement in organized anti-cruelty campaigns in New Orleans was downplayed. Even though Nicholson and other women

⁹⁴ George Thorndike Angell, Autobiographical Sketches and Personal Recollections By George T. Angell, (Boston: The American Humane Education Society, 1893), 78.

⁹⁵ Picayune, "Horse and Mule Beating," 16 January 1878, p. 4.

organized the drive for an SPCA in New Orleans, their husbands, not themselves, were elected to the board of the Louisiana State Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in 1885.⁹⁶

Utilizing her newspaper as a tool of dominant culture, Nicholson was in a strong position to pass judgment over the amusements of others. According to Dale Somers, women were an increasing influence upon the city's leisure activities after the Civil War.⁹⁷ From 1870 to 1900 census records suggest that the population of women in New Orleans relative to men was increasing. This increased number, coupled with an increased number of married men expanded the power of women and reduced the number of men actively involved in a male bachelor sporting sub-culture.⁹⁸

No woman was more powerful than Eliza Nicholson in affecting the leisure choices of Orleanians. Through anonymous editorials Nicholson initiated campaigns against blood sport and influenced legislation to suppress cruelty to animals.⁹⁹ Hers was a discourse of criticism whose end was reform. She labeled certain behavior barbaric, uncivilized, brutal, and regressive. By

⁹⁶ Constitution and Bylaws of the Louisiana State Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (New Orleans, LA.: Picayune Office Printing, 1885).

⁹⁷ Somers, The Rise of Sports, 193.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ I have credited Nicholson with all editorial articles regarding animal cruelty, but was unable to definitively credit her with every Picayune article regarding animal cruelty.

attributing deviant and criminal tendencies to those who engaged in blood sport, Nicholson was able to degrade, dehumanize, and eventually devalue this behavior. By generating degrading accounts the press stigmatized blood sport and discouraged further participation from among the growing population of morally and socially conscious members of the audience.

In conjunction with its accounts of blood sport, the Picayune also worked to instill new attitudes regarding the proper treatment of animals. In an editorial entitled "Cruel Pastimes," Nicholson stated that "cruelty to animals is becoming so fast an evidence of meanness and brutality" and pleaded that all blood sport, "known and felt to be cruel and base shall also be recognized and treated as criminal and punished or suppressed accordingly."¹⁰⁰ Charging that the "masses" of New Orleans citizens "do not hanker after dog-fights, chicken-fights, prize-fights, bull-fights or any of the catalogue of exhibitions where pain and blood-shed are required to give pleasure to the spectators," Nicholson attempted to raise the standards of her readership.¹⁰¹

The concept of 'civilization' was key to securing the prestige of an anti-cruelty discourse. As was common for the period, Nicholson believed that "the civilization and morality of any people may be correctly measured by

¹⁰⁰ Picayune, "Prevention of Cruelty," 11 June 1874, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ Picayune, "Cruel Pastimes," 27 May, 1878, p. 2.

their public pastimes."¹⁰² The discourse surrounding blood sport in New Orleans revealed changed patterns of tolerance of violence and deviance. Repulsed by knowledge that a dog fight had been held within the city in 1878, Nicholson argued that "It is becoming an axiom of modern civilization that the infliction of wanton and needless pain on man or beast is wicked...none but a depraved heart takes pleasure in the pain of man or beast."¹⁰³

Nicholson's statement that the world had improved since the days of Roman gladiatorial combat (gloved boxing matches replaced "often fatal and always bloody" prizefights and modern marksman "humanely substituted" glass disks to save the pigeon from "wanton slaughter") reveals an awareness of a shifting 'threshold of repugnance'.¹⁰⁴

Suppression of blood involved a discourse with appeals to class and morality. Discourse surrounding blood sport was class biased. Although she acknowledged that she did not know the class composition of the audience at a dog fight, Nicholson assumed that the audience "did not represent the elite of New Orleans society."¹⁰⁵ Nicholson appealed to an elite readership when attempting to gain support for anti-cruelty, claiming that:

¹⁰² Picayune, "Cruel Pastimes," 27 May, 1878, p. 2.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

The suppression of cruelty to animals, at first ridiculed, now meets the cordial approbation and aid of the *best* elements of American and European society. It is becoming an axiom of modern civilization that the infliction of wanton and needless pain on man or beast is wicked.¹⁰⁶

The association of elite class with a higher humanitarian sentiment was not unusual. It served the dual purpose of encouraging support for anti-cruelty and discouraging involvement in 'lower class' activities.

Nicholson appealed to the level of individual morality of her readership: "It is one mark of the improved moral tone of our modern society that this savage instinct is regarded as incompatible with a highly cultivated moral sense, and a highly developed intellectual nature."¹⁰⁷ The Picayune also presented blood sport as an impediment to the advancement of New Orleans culture. Concerned with the image that Louisiana would present within the Union, the Picayune disagreed with the idea of bull fights being held anywhere in the state of Louisiana because it presented an image of state authorities tolerating a "barbarous amusement that is not even permitted to the cowboys of Texas."¹⁰⁸ The editorial stated: "We do not wish to see Louisiana Mexicanized in any such manner...Bull fighting is disapproved by

¹⁰⁶ Picayune, "Cruel Pastimes," 27 May, 1878, p. 2. Italics mine.

¹⁰⁷ Picayune, "The Bulldog Man," 10 February 1879, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ Picayune, "The Bull Fight," 8 January 1885, p. 4.

nearly the whole civilized world, and throughout the United States is regarded with abhorrence."¹⁰⁹

The opinions of Northerners were of particular importance to residents of New Orleans:

Even if we did not condemn [bullfighting] for its own barbarity and demoralizing tendency, we should at least have some regard for the public opinion of the country at a time when the attention of the whole Union is directed towards us.¹¹⁰

Nicholson believed that the adoption of laws that suppressed blood sport presented a more 'appropriate' image of the city to the nation. A journalist of the New York Evening Post believed that anti-cruelty laws were created by the "decent people" of New Orleans to "place themselves on a plane with other civilized and humane countries."¹¹¹

Legislation was believed to be an effective avenue through which to improve society. In 1878, New Orleans had a law to prevent people from ill-treating animals which did not belong to them, but had no such law to prevent an owner from abusing an animal.¹¹² Nicholson pleaded that blood

¹⁰⁹ Picayune, "The Bull Fight," 8 January 1885, p. 4.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ The New York Evening Post, "The New Orleans Dog Fight," 8 March 1879, p. 8.

¹¹² See, Solomon Wolff, Revised Laws of Louisiana: Containing the Revised Statutes of the State (Official Edition, 1870) as Amended by Acts of the Legislature, From the Session of 1870 to that of 1896 Inclusive, and All Other Acts of a General Nature for the Same Period: All Annotated with Decisions of the Supreme Court of Louisiana Contained in Annuals 39 to 48 and a Part of 49. Compiled and Annotated by Solomon Wolff (New Orleans: F. F. Hansell, 1897), 198.

sport, "known and felt to be cruel and base shall also be recognized and treated as criminal and punished or suppressed accordingly."¹¹³ Ironically, just six months after the Picayune condemned blood sport, it announced the opening of the cocking season.¹¹⁴ The Picayune would not solidify its position on cockfighting for another decade.

Nicholson was most influential in encouraging legislation to punish enthusiasts of dog fights. Her greatest effort to end blood sport in New Orleans came in 1879, inspired by warnings that a "Grand National Dog Fight" was going to be staged in the city. In February of that year, Henry Bergh, president of the ASPCA in New York, sent a letter to Augustus Bernan, whom he believed to be president of the Louisiana Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in New Orleans.¹¹⁵ Bergh informed Bernan that Harry Jennings, a "notorious dog fighter," had left New York bound for New Orleans with twenty-one bull dogs "with which he "proposes to disturb the peace and dignity of your city by a series of barbarous fights for money."¹¹⁶ Bergh's warning to Bernan might as well have fallen upon deaf ears.

¹¹³ Picayune, "Cruel Pastimes," 27 May 1878, p. 2.

¹¹⁴ See Picayune, "Sporting Notes," 22 December 1878, p. 5.

¹¹⁵ Bernan's organization was the Louisiana State Association for the Prevention and Suppression of Cruelty to Animals. Its constitution was printed in the Picayune, 16 June 1874, p. 2.

¹¹⁶ As quoted in the summary by Edward Buffet from a personal correspondence with the ASPCA, 14 June 1995.

Bernan's Louisiana State Association for the Prevention and Suppression of Cruelty to Animals was powerless to help Bergh, having been found unconstitutional five years earlier. It existed as a "feeble" anti-cruelty society in name only, having accomplished "little or nothing... in securing laws to impower [sic] its efforts for reform."¹¹⁷

Henry Bergh sent a letter the same day to New Orleans Chief of Police Boylan warning him of Jennings' plan to pit his dogs in the city during Mardi Gras and succeeding weeks. In his letter Bergh stated that Jennings believed that Orleanians would be "more tolerant [than New Yorkers] of his brutal and disgusting instincts."¹¹⁸ Unlike Jennings, Bergh did not believe that "the good people of New Orleans are any less civilized and humane than we of New York." He saw dog fighting as a violation of the spirit of the age.¹¹⁹

It was Eliza Nicholson who acted upon Bergh's warning. Upon receipt of the news of the dog fight, the Picayune proclaimed that as far as it could prevent it, "the State of Louisiana shall not be disgraced by such a savage exhibition."¹²⁰ Patrons of dog fights were believed beyond the reach of

¹¹⁷ As quoted in the summary by Edward Buffet from a personal correspondence with the ASPCA, 14 June 1995.

¹¹⁸ Bergh's letter was reprinted in the Picayune. See, "Bergh's Request," 8 February 1879, p. 2.

¹¹⁹ As quoted in the summary by Edward Buffet from a personal correspondence with the ASPCA, 14 June 1995.

¹²⁰ Picayune, "Enforce the New Law," 10 February 1879, p. 6.

reform; "It would be like trying to teach morality to a prowling hyena."¹²¹

Rather than trying to change the habits of dog fighters, the Picayune appealed to "the decent, intelligent, self-respecting people of New Orleans " for support of their efforts to "relieve New Orleans from the disgrace and degradation implied by the toleration of inhuman and brutalizing exhibitions."¹²² They requested that "honest and humane people... give at least their moral encouragement to magistrates" who can design legislation to prevent animal cruelty.¹²³

"Through the efforts of the Picayune," a law protecting animals from cruelty was passed in the Louisiana Legislature in February of 1879.¹²⁴ Harry Jennings, accused Bergh of sending money to the Louisiana legislature to influence the passing of the cruelty to animals law. The Picayune responded that the law "was passed by the zealous efforts in its favor of several humane gentlemen who acted on the suggestions of this paper....it was simply the result of humane public opinion, acting on an intelligent and humane body of representatives."¹²⁵

¹²¹ Picayune, "Dog Fighting vs. Decency," 3 March 1879, p.2

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Picayune, "Enforce the New Law," 10 February 1879, p. 6.

¹²⁵ Picayune, 5 April 1879, afternoon edition, p. 1.

Publicly, Nicholson gave credit to the Picayune for influencing the legislation preventing animal cruelty. Privately, she claimed chief responsibility: "It was through my efforts that the bill was passed, and I feel that I have done some good thereby in the world."¹²⁶ Having connections in political circles, Nicholson had contacted the Governor, urging him to sign the bill "as soon as [she] heard of the arrival of the dogs."¹²⁷ She also communicated with the Mayor and Chief of Police concerning Jennings. Nicholson's efforts to stop Jennings' dog fight extended throughout Louisiana and into Mississippi where, as a native, she held "some influence" with authorities.¹²⁸

An interest in dog fighting was, the Picayune argued, "simply the cropping out in an age of civilization and refinement of the brutal instincts of an originally barbarous nature."¹²⁹ The Picayune appealed to the police to enforce the law and called on "good citizens" and "all humane people, to lend their active aid to the work of suppressing the odious offense which this law undertakes to punish."¹³⁰ The law read as follows:

¹²⁶ As quoted in the summary by Edward Buffet from a personal correspondence with the ASPCA, 14 June 1995.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Picayune, "Enforce the New Law," 10 February 1879, p. 6.

Whoever shall wantonly, maliciously, or cruelly beat, maim, disable, starve or otherwise ill-treat any domesticated animal shall upon conviction, be fined not exceeding \$100, or imprisoned not exceeding three months, or both, at the discretion of the court.¹³¹

Unfortunately, this law was easily subverted by both dog fighters and cockfighters because their activities were not specifically cited by it. Further, as Henry Bergh pointed out to Nicholson, use of the term 'maliciously' narrowed its effectiveness.¹³² Perhaps this is why the Picayune printed an accompanying appeal throughout 1879 which read:

We hope that all humane persons will be prompt in giving information of any instance of cruelty that may come under their observation, or within their knowledge, and that our police will be prompt in making arrests. We hope also that our criminal judges will interpret the spirit as well as the letter of the law, and be prompt in executing sentence on all offenders.¹³³

Repeated exposure of the public to the *spirit* of the law, may have had more of an impact upon private mentalities regarding animal cruelty than the legislation itself.

Despite this anti-cruelty law and the obvious disapproval of certain members of the New Orleans public, Jennings did stage a dog fight. It was broken up by the police. Roger Murphy, the owner of the cock-pit in which

¹³¹ Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana at the First Session of the Sixth Legislature, January 6, 1879 (New Orleans, Democrat Publishing Co., 1879), 15.

¹³² As quoted by Edward Buffet in the personal correspondence from the ASPCA, 14 June 1995.

¹³³ Picayune, "The Cruelty to Animals Law," 9 July 1879, p. 4.

the dogs were pitted, argued that the police, in breaking up the entertainment, "committed some gross outrage against the inalienable and imprescriptible rights of the citizens."¹³⁴ The Picayune ridiculed Murphy for his belief that dog fight is some "grand moral spectacle, the right to exhibit which is assured to him by some fundamental organic law."¹³⁵ Although Jennings and his associates were arrested under this law, he was released on a writ of habeas corpus that found the law unconstitutional.

To lessen his victory over anti-cruelty activists, The New Orleans Daily Picayune, the New York Evening Post, and the New York Sun each presented Harry Jennings as Other by associating him with a lower criminal class. The Post called Jennings a "noted ruffian."¹³⁶ The Sun characterized Jennings as an outsider of Cockney birth, reproducing a narrative of his "misadventure in New Orleans in his own language," with a liberal redistribution of the letter "h" representing his accent.¹³⁷ Before his arrival, the Picayune labeled Jennings a vagrant and exaggerated his threat to the community. The threat posed by Jennings was lessened further when the Picayune referred to him as "gentle Jennings" after his efforts to stage a dog fight proved unrewarding.

¹³⁴ Picayune, "Dog Fighting vs. Decency," 3 March 1879, p. 2

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ As reprinted in the Picayune, "The New Orleans Dog Fight," 8 March 1879, p. 8.

¹³⁷ As reprinted in the Picayune, "A Disgusted Sport," 7 April 1879, p. 2.

Upon his return to New York, "gentle Jennings" informed the press that "dog fights do not seem to take with the New Orleans public."¹³⁸ He complained that he was unable to cover his expenses; a poor population and the threat of yellow fever had kept people away.¹³⁹

Despite an anti-cruelty law and an edict from the Mayor prohibiting dog and cockfights and the continued disapproving discourse of the press, they were still a common occurrence in 1882. In that year, the New Orleans Mascot observed that,

the susceptibilities of the respectable element of our citizens are liable to be shocked every Sunday, when traveling in the St. Charles street cars, by the companionship of certain bag-bearing individuals carrying fowl favorites to the well-known places where there brutal pastime may be indulged in without fear of interference on the part of the authorities.¹⁴⁰

By 1882, the Picayune ceased to print results of cocking mains and condemned dog fights and animal baits.

In a larger attempt to improve sport, the Picayune condemned other 'brutal exhibitions' like the prizefights which had gained in popularity among spectators who sounded a "deafening clamor for fiercer onslaughts and more blood."¹⁴¹ Perhaps the interest in blood sport was quenched through prize

¹³⁸ Picayune, 5 April 1879, afternoon edition, p. 1.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Mascot, 8 April 1882, p. 61.

¹⁴¹ Picayune, "Sporting Notes," 6 September 1882, p. 4.

fights. Certainly the battle must have appeared similar. One fight was described as a "long and brutal one;" the fighters with cuts and swollen faces.¹⁴² In 1882, New Orleans had no specific law to prevent prizefights but could stop them on the grounds that they were illegal assemblies.¹⁴³ Within eight years, city officials had brought prize fights under control. Boxing matches were legalized in Louisiana in 1890 assuming they conformed to certain standards: the observation of the Sabbath, a compliance with temperance laws, a compliance with humanitarian impulse, and a bond set in case of disorder.¹⁴⁴

But unlike human blood sports, cockfights and dog fights were not easily contained. By 1884, cruelty to animals had yet to be stopped in New Orleans. The Picayune believed that, "there is more cruelty practiced toward animals in New Orleans than in any other city in the United States, and yet we have a good law on the subject. But, unfortunately, the law is not enforced."¹⁴⁵ The creation of a society to prevent animal cruelty was believed the necessary step toward changing behavior toward animal cruelty. The Picayune questioned why New Orleans did not have a "Bergh" to take the

¹⁴² Picayune, "A Fierce Fight," 26 March, 26, 1885, p. 8.

¹⁴³ William H. Adams, "New Orleans as the National Center of Boxing," Louisiana Quarterly 39 (1956): 92.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Picayune, "Everybody's Business is Nobody's Business," 23 March 1884, p. 4.

lead in issues of animal cruelty.¹⁴⁶ The Picayune offered its services, believing that the other newspapers would "help the good cause...for the gentlemen of the press are notably generous and humane."¹⁴⁷

In 1885, the Picayune questioned the future of cockfights and dog fights in Louisiana:

Shall Louisiana continue to be the headquarters of cock fights, dog fights etc.? Let us prove that beneath the gallantry that distinguishes our men, hearts full of kindness throb as strongly as in any other country. Let us not be behind our sisters States, behind Canada, England, Spain, France, Australia and China in kindness to animals!¹⁴⁸

A Louisiana State Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals [LSSPCA] was founded in March of 1885.¹⁴⁹ The minutes of its first meeting stated its objective as:

to provide effective means for the prevention of cruelty to Animals throughout the United States; to enforce all laws which are now, or may hereafter be enacted for the protection of animals; and to secure by lawful means the arrest, conviction, and punishment of all persons violating such laws.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Picayune, "Everybody's Business is Nobody's Business," 23 March 1884, p. 4.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Picayune, "Nature's Dumb Nobility," 9 March 1885, p. 2.

¹⁴⁹ See, the Constitution and By-Laws of the LSSPCA (1885). Thomas Dabney, however, dated the founding of this SPCA to October 9th, 1888. See Dabney, One Hundred Great Years, 312.

¹⁵⁰ Constitution and By-Laws of the LSSPCA (1885).

President William Preston Johnston of Tulane University, in his address to the founding meeting of the LSSPCA, predicted the movement would cause a "great revolution in society" that would benefit not only animals but also mankind:

If the people were educated to be kind to animals, they would naturally become kinder and more generous to their fellow-men, and the effect would prove very beneficial to the community at large. The reaction would certainly be a great one, and make the people more observant of the law and of order.¹⁵¹

Educating the community in kindness toward animals was the key function of the LSSPCA in its early years. It supported public lectures on cruelty to animals and distributed circulars explaining its objectives to the people of New Orleans.¹⁵²

Public education occupied a key role in ideological production in late nineteenth century America. Campaigns to affect conceptions of cruelty among school children were encouraged in the belief that targeting youth was one way to successfully indoctrinate a future generation in kindness. An article published in the 'Nature's Dumb Nobility' column of the Picayune suggested that, "Children should be taught kindness at home and at school,

¹⁵¹ Picayune, "Prevention of Cruelty to Animals," 25 March 1885, p. 4.

¹⁵² Picayune, "The Louisiana State S.P.C.A.," 18 February 1889, p. 6.

and should be discouraged in amusements which inflict pain on any living creature. Such education will surely tend to make good men and women."¹⁵³

A discourse of kindness to animals was spread throughout the public school system of New Orleans, encouraged by the visit of George Angell, a participant in the 1884 World's exposition, founder of the American Humane Association, and president of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.¹⁵⁴ Angell attended the New Orleans World's Fair of 1884 as a superintendent of the Humane Division of the Department of Agriculture. His "missionary work" included the distribution of forty thousand pamphlets concerning the establishment of State and local societies "having humanity for their aim and aspiration."¹⁵⁵

Along with his active role in establishing the LSSPCA, Angell protested a bull fight while in New Orleans, although he had been forewarned that it was a "dangerous thing to do."¹⁵⁶ City authorities denied consent for this proposed bull fight, perhaps because of Angell's influence.¹⁵⁷ Instead of the fight being canceled, it was moved to St. Bernard parish on the

¹⁵³ Picayune, "Educate the Children," 1 October 1888, p. 6.

¹⁵⁴ Picayune, "Nature's Dumb Nobility," 16 March 1885, p.2. Thousands of children in both the black and white school systems were targeted.

¹⁵⁵ Picayune, "An Angell's Visit," 3 December 1884, p. 2.

¹⁵⁶ Angell, Autobiographical Sketches, 86.

¹⁵⁷ Picayune, "The Bull Fight," 8 January 1885, p. 4.

outskirts of New Orleans. Often rural parishes in Louisiana provided such cloistered settings for geographically marginalized activities, suggesting that as long as blood sport was removed from those who found it offensive, it could continue. Nicholson did not expect to completely reform blood sport enthusiasts. She was, instead, content with their marginal status:

It is exceedingly gratifying and encouraging...to those who seek to encourage a proper public sentiment and to enforce those humane statutes of the State which protect the dumb and the helpless, to know that chicken-fighters, dog-fighters and other such violators of the law are compelled to seek the darkness of the night, and secret and out-of-the-way places for indulgence in their so called sport. This is the unwilling tribute which vice ever pays to virtue.¹⁵⁸

During his visit to New Orleans, Angell resided with Nicholson. After hearing George Angell speak on the effectiveness of the concept of Bands of Mercy, Nicholson wrote that, "A great deal of good can be done by the teaching of such principles in the schools. Parents will be reached through their children, and the children grow up into better men and women."¹⁵⁹ Through the Picayune, Nicholson encouraged children to form Bands of Mercy in the style Angell had set in 1882.¹⁶⁰ Members of the Bands were given a five pointed star symbolizing a rising star with the inscription 'Kindness, Justice, Mercy to all.' By 1885, the Picayune reported that Bands of

¹⁵⁸ Picayune, "Nature's Dumb Nobility," 30 March 1885, p. 2.

¹⁵⁹ Picayune, "Bands of Mercy Pledge," 20 April 1885, p. 2.

¹⁶⁰ Angell, Autobiographical Sketches, 78.

Mercy had "exerted a most beneficial influence" over children, bonding them in the common cause of sympathy.¹⁶¹

The pledge of the Bands of Mercy: "I will try to be kind and merciful to all living creatures and will try to persuade others to do the same," was printed in the Picayune's weekly column, 'Nature's Dumb Nobility,' that began in December of 1884 coinciding with George Angell's visit to New Orleans.¹⁶² In the column the public was encouraged to relate incidents of animal cruelty, progress reports of the establishment of Bands of Mercy, and stories about the heroic acts of animals. The column was a weekly avenue through which Nicholson influenced public opinion on blood sport and encouraged an "improved moral tone of the community."¹⁶³

In 1888, an act of legislation gave the LSSPCA the power to appoint its own agents, who had "the usual power of policemen and peace-officers; provided, that no city, town or parish shall be liable hereunder for any compensation to such special officers."¹⁶⁴ Appointed police officers were required to aid Society agents. According to the 'Nature's Dumb Nobility'

¹⁶¹ Picayune, "Bands of Mercy Pledge," 20 April 1885, p. 2.

¹⁶² See, for example, "Band of Mercy Pledge," Picayune, 18 February 1885, p. 6. The column reappeared in 1888.

¹⁶³ Picayune, "Nature's Dumb Nobility," 30 March 1885, p. 2.

¹⁶⁴ Louisiana Session Laws, 1888, Acts and Resolutions passed by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, at the Regular Session. 14 May 1888 (Baton Rouge, 1888).

column published in the Picayune every Monday in 1888, the Society had received "much assistance from Chief Hennessey's police."¹⁶⁵

The Society also received assistance from the city clergy who, in 1888, addressed their congregations on the subject of cruelty to animals upon the request of the LSSPCA. A sermon by Rev. Dr. H.H. Waters, printed in the Picayune, noted the association between blood sport and moral tone:

You will find that communities in which bull fights and such like cruel sports are tolerated are always very low down both in moral tone and in religious life; and on the other hand you will find that the communities which are most moral and most civilized are those in which such degrading spectacles are forbidden.¹⁶⁶

Reverend Waters noted the "astonishing progress" New Orleans had made in his thirteen years of residency.¹⁶⁷ As a result of this progress, he noted, "a change has come over men's minds in relation to the responsibility which rests upon them as regards the dumb creatures who cannot protect themselves."¹⁶⁸ Reverend Waters claimed that, given this changed climate of opinion, acceptance of an SPCA was part of the "natural order of things." The protection of animals and disapproval of blood sport had become part of the collective mentality of New Orleanians.

¹⁶⁵ Picayune, "The Louisiana State S.P.C.A.," 18 February 1889, p. 6.

¹⁶⁶ Picayune, "Cruelty to Animals," 31 December 1888, p. 7.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

Full acceptance of the work of the LSSPCA by the state was secured in 1889. In that year, agents of the Society claimed they were "received almost universally with favor" while canvassing New Orleans for subscriptions.¹⁶⁹ In 1892, an act of legislation gave one half of all money collected from fines for cruelty back to the Society.¹⁷⁰ Within two decades, New Orleans progressed from ridiculing the efforts of anti-cruelty agents to publicly funding them.

Blood sport continued in New Orleans into the twentieth century, but increasingly failed to attract upper and middle class patrons whose support it required to maintain a respectable position in society. Dale Somers argued that attacks on cockpits throughout the 1880s reduced the popularity of cockfights.¹⁷¹ By the 1890s, the Spanish cockpit and the Louisiana cockpit had passed out of existence.¹⁷² In 1893, a party of "Southern gentlemen" leased the "old Spanish cockpit" with the intention of staging three large mains.¹⁷³ Although they enjoyed "several days' sport," their efforts to arrange these

¹⁶⁹ Picayune, "The Louisiana State S.P.C.A.," 18 February 1889, p. 6.

¹⁷⁰ Wolff, Revised Laws of Louisiana, 397.

¹⁷¹ Somers, The Rise of Sports, 205.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ As cited in an article by A. P. O'Connor, "Artificial Cock Spurs," unknown source from the personal files of Dan Wallace.

mains were thwarted by the police.¹⁷⁴ Along with attacks from SPCA agents, conflict between classes concerning the direction cockfighting should take, led to a decline in interest among upper class Southerners. Ted Ownby argued that the greatest challenge to the survival of cockfighting in the South was mounted from within the sport:

During the late nineteenth century, when elites felt their influence threatened in many ways, some upper class cockfighters mounted what could almost be considered a reform movement, proposing to take control of the sport and thus restore it to a respectability they felt it had lost.¹⁷⁵

Unlike in England, formal recreational reform campaigns were not responsible for the marginalization of blood sport. According to Ann Maden, deliberate attempts to direct leisure only began in 1896.¹⁷⁶ The establishment of city parks, a popular method of reform in other urban centers, was greeted with enthusiasm among New Orleanians. No city was better fitted than New Orleans, the press believed, to have a park to "contribute to the pleasure, comfort and health of its people."¹⁷⁷ But city parks were overgrown with weeds. Maden claimed that New Orleans parks were overgrown because

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ted Ownby, Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in the Rural South, 1865 - 1920 (Chapel Hill, and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 86.

¹⁷⁶ Ann Maden, "Popular Sports in New Orleans, 1890 - 1900" (M. A. Thesis, Tulane University, 1957), 7.

¹⁷⁷ Picayune, "Our City Park and Its Abuses," 25 March 1879, p. 1

Orleanians failed to grasp, as Northerners had, the idea of exercise.¹⁷⁸ It is more plausible that, because even the healthiest residents of New Orleans were susceptible to yellow fever, people were afraid to use public parks because they were generally located near mosquito infested swamps. As a result, indoor sports and beer gardens remained the most popular forms of leisure among Orleanians.¹⁷⁹

The final step in the marginalization of blood sport came with increased exposure to new forms of leisure. As Orleanians entered the twentieth century they were less and less able, and perhaps unwilling, to resist the abundant leisure choices available in mass culture.

SUMMARY

The Picayune was a key element in changing opinions regarding blood sport in late nineteenth century New Orleans. In particular, Eliza Nicholson was significantly empowered to have her opinions regarding animal cruelty and animal blood sport heard by others. In speaking out about civilization and morality, Nicholson fashioned herself a custodian of 'proper' moral values. She relied upon the coercive power of the educational system and the power of the state to ensure kindness to animals. Her individual power was combined with that of clergy and influential anti-cruelty activists Henry

¹⁷⁸ Maden, "Popular Sports, 7.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 8.

Bergh and George Angell. Through discourse and legal action, they marginalized blood sport to the status of a sub-cultural activity.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS:
AN ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL CHANGE

Cultural change is a polite euphemism for the process by which some cultural forms and practices are driven out of the centre of popular life, actively marginalised.¹

The marginalization of blood sport in late nineteenth century New Orleans involved the act of pushing a traditional cultural element outside of the acceptable sporting culture. Marginalization was achieved through the manipulation of popular discourse, through humane education campaigns, through legislation aimed at suppressing animal cruelty, and through the promotion of civic identity.

A new urban-industrial environment and its emerging middle class population were largely responsible for this marginalization. Attempts to suppress blood sport in New Orleans were instigated by members of an urban professional group who expressed their disapproval of animal cruelty and influenced the development of a new sporting culture. Sport historians have typified the rise of modern sport as a triumph of the middle class, but few have identified members of this group. This study found they were urban

¹ Stuart Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing 'the Popular'," in People's History and Socialist Theory, ed. Raphael Samuel (London, Boston, Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 227-228.

professionals with access to the official cultural institutions of the press, the law, the schools, and the churches.

Within these cultural institutions, urban professionals convinced the public that blood sport was inappropriate and drove it from the center of popular life. The institutional associations of this urban professional group are more important than their class status; however, their motivations were intimately tied to a bourgeois desire for economic progress, moral reform, and municipal improvement. They were editors, journalists, governors, legislators, educators, clergy, and anti-cruelty activists.

As with any attempt at cultural hegemony, the efforts of representatives of the dominant culture rested upon winning the consent of the public. At times their opinions were shared by members of the public, city council, and state legislature. At other times they were opposed or, at best, tolerated. But, by the early twentieth century, Orleanians recognized blood sport as cruelty to animals. Their waning moral acceptance resulted in its ideological marginalization.

Peter Stearns's model of modernization informed this study of marginalization. Stearns's model best described the process of modernization as one of changes in the larger socio-economic structure combined with changes in attitudes that were informed by shifts in the official culture. Representatives of the official culture in late nineteenth century America promoted a belief in order, progress, and the ethic of hard work and helped

determine appropriate public behavior. A study of the development of other urban cultural institutions (i.e., carnival, theater, and ball park) would aid in an understanding of both the creation of dominant cultural values and the process through which they are disseminated to the public. A study of the impact of Darwinism, in particular a fear of an inner beast, would aid in understanding shifting attitudes toward manliness and sport. Although the idea that an inner beast could be tied to the marginalization of blood sport seemed plausible, no evidence was found to support this.

The marginalization of blood sport in New Orleans began in expressions of public disgust concerning the uncivilized nature of blood sport. The New Orleans Daily Picayune played an obvious role in presenting blood sport as a brutal and uncivilized activity. Its discourse was aimed at ideologically marginalizing patrons of blood sport from the dominant culture. Cultural theorists Peter Stallybrass and Allon White argued that "control of the major sites of discourse is fundamental to political change."² It is also fundamental to cultural change. A discourse of progress, humanitarian sentiment, and order was the 'hegemonic cement' that unified Orleanians against blood sport and created a new mentality.³

² Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, The Politics and Poetics of Transgression, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1986), 202.

³ The term 'hegemonic cement' was coined by Alun Munslow. See Munslow, Discourse, 16.

Since the adoption of Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony among some American historians, an effort has been made to acknowledge "the role of the intellectual as an agent of historical change, as well as the importance of discourse and ideology in cultural formation."⁴ For Alun Munslow the intellectual was a key agent of historical change in America from 1870 to 1920.⁵ As one of these intellectuals, Eliza Nicholson created and promoted a discourse that shaped new attitudes toward animals and sport.

As co-editor of the Picayune, Eliza Nicholson wrote degrading accounts of the brutal and uncivilized behavior among those attending blood sports. In her commentary of blood sport, she appealed to the reader's desire for civility and cultural progress; she equated violence with lower animals and denounced blood sport as uncivilized. By typifying enthusiasts of blood sport as Other, the dominant cultural group minimized their threat.

Anti-cruelty campaigns, along with the press, were also preventative in nature and aimed at harmonizing the masses in a devotion to kindness. Kindness to animals was part of a broader humanitarian reform movement that initiated revolutionary changes in the way people treated the weak and underprivileged. In late nineteenth century New Orleans, there was an obvious hierarchy to the order in which cruelty to animals was approached.

⁴ Alun Munslow, Discourse and Culture: The Creation of America, 1870-1920 (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 15.

⁵ Munslow, Discourse, passim.

The desire to contain animal cruelty began with large draft animals and progressed to include the protection of game cocks. Cruelty to larger animals was suppressed before cruelty to smaller animals and cruelty to work animals was suppressed before those used for entertainment. The amount of protection extended to an animal appears also to have been influenced by the amount of blood shed. The amount of blood shed by a game cock is minimal as compared to a bear, bull, or dog.

Societies organized to suppress cruelty to animals played a crucial role in educating the public in kindness to animals. To ensure the safety and moral advancement of the New Orleans community, legislators gave anti-cruelty agents and police officers the power to suppress blood sport. Finding their efforts to suppress blood sport limited, SPCA agents returned to campaigns to improve humane education aimed at children. Education campaigns were preventative in nature rather than prohibitive. Rather than controlling the present generation, they attempted to socialize the next generation.

Attempts to prevent cruelty to animals in New Orleans in the latter nineteenth century may seem inconsequential in relation to the cruelties and inequalities experienced by African Americans in the same period. On the contrary, they were inextricably tied to changing moral attitudes toward cruelty and violence within a white culture that had recently endorsed slavery. Many Southern men questioned the role of violence in their lives

after the Civil War. The marginalization of blood sport was also influenced by shifting personal mentalities concerning cruelty and violence that escape the historical record.

The marginalization of traditional sport has been overlooked by sport historians in favor of studies examining the development of modern sport. The development of modern sport and the decline of traditional sport were not mutually exclusive. The modernization process involved both the removal of traditional cultural forms and the creation of more suitable modern forms. Most sport historians dismiss modernization as a causal absolute - blood sport declined because society modernized. Modernization is more beneficial if it is approached as a process. This study employed a concept of modernization that married changes in the structure of society with shifting popular mentalities. Modernization was more than the structural constraints of time and space imposed by industrialization and urbanization.

A history of attempts to suppress blood sport demonstrates the process of modernization, at the same time providing an understanding of the marginalization of a traditional leisure practice. Although sport historians tend to separate traditional sport from modern sport, the two vied for cultural superiority in the New South. The coexistence of blood sport with modern sport throughout the nineteenth century presented a constant challenge to dominant values.

Attempts to suppress blood sport in late nineteenth century New Orleans are obviously some of the less dramatic symptoms of modernization; nonetheless, they act as a barometer with which to measure the pressure of larger economic, demographic, political, social, and cultural transformations in the urban South. This dissertation uncovered more than the marginalization of blood sport; it informed an understanding of the emergence of the modern South. The civilizing of sport paralleled the development of modern New Orleans. The tensions in society between an Old South and New South were reflected in the struggle over an appropriate sporting culture.

A central historiographical issue in Southern history is that of continuity versus change. Proponents of a cultural transformation thesis within Southern history argue that new, less regional, cultural forms replaced Old South traditions. Conversely, proponents of a cultural persistence thesis maintain that traditional beliefs and values were perpetuated in slightly altered roles and institutional structures to maintain continuity with a suitable historical past. Did the South foster a new sporting culture after the Civil War or did its traditions survive in much the same way as before, affected only slightly by structural changes?

While the North entered the modern era after the Civil War, conditions throughout much of the South returned to that of a frontier.⁶ Some historians argue that the South "reverted to a primitive, violent, individualistic, provincial life."⁷ This regression may explain the increase in interest in blood sport in New Orleans in the post-bellum period. As a traditional cultural institution, cocking mains between states allowed Southerners to enjoy pride and victory in a familiar manner. But because of its status as a traditional institution, blood sport attracted the attention of proponents of a New South. Nicholson, for example, believed that in order for New Orleans to flourish, it was first necessary to direct cultural growth away from backward-looking institutions like blood sport. Finding the old ones inappropriate, New Orleans required and found new forms of recreation. But, not all traditional sports were devalued. The associated manliness and violence of blood sport persisted in new culturally approved forms of sport like boxing.

The pattern of events in New Orleans that led to the marginalization of blood sport are similar to but do not mimic the suppression of traditional pastimes throughout America. Although most historical studies cite a fear of moral decay as the reason for reform campaigns in urban centers, this was not

⁶ W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York: Vintage Books, 1969; first printed, 1941), 4.

⁷ Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris, eds. Encyclopedia of Southern Culture (Chapel Hill, N. C. and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 588.

the case in New Orleans. Attacks on blood sport in New Orleans were part of a greater effort to improve an already morally decayed city. Most important was the need to provide an image of a moral and progressive city to Northerners. This was achieved by removing blood sport from the center of acceptable sporting culture and promoting new cultural institutions in its place. The most drastic period of change for blood sport occurred from 1870 to 1900. It was during this period that New Orleans confronted its 'savage' and 'immoral' stereotype. The "need for sport" that historian Dale Somers claimed Orleanians experienced was a need for moral and rational sport.⁸

If we follow the logic of the civilizing process we must conclude that blood sport died a slow death on the 'Long March to Modernisation,' a victim of a humanitarian sentiment dating from the Enlightenment.⁹ In a 1972 paper presented to the American Historical Association, sport historian Jack Berryman argued that cockfights were made extinct in favor of more rational sports.¹⁰ Yet, cockfights are not extinct. They continue, despite a marginal status. Driven underground, cockfighting has developed into a sub-culture, complete with its own language, norms, and values. Although it does not fit

⁸ Dale A. Somers, *The Rise of Sports in New Orleans* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), 4.

⁹ The phrase, 'Long March to Modernisation,' is attributed to Stuart Hall in his "Notes on Deconstructing the 'Popular'," 228.

¹⁰ Jack W. Berryman, "The Ending of American Blood Sports." Paper presented at the Eighty-Sixth Meeting of the American Historical Association, New York, December, 1971.

most modern conceptions of sport, cockfighting is not unlike most modern sports in its organizational structure. Cockfighters have trade journals, international competitions, organized leagues, and published rules. It is, however, illegal in most states, a felony in some, and a misdemeanor in others. For the most part, it has been geographically marginalized to rural areas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES:

Archival and Manuscript Collections:

An Annotated Index of the Acts of the Legislature from 1870-88. New Orleans: F. F. Hansell and Bro., 1890.

Charter of the City of New Orleans of 1896. Act No. 45 of the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana. New Orleans: L. Graham and Sons, 1896

Constitution and By-Laws of the Louisiana State Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. New Orleans, LA.: Picayune Office Printing, 1885.

Cotonio, Thoedore. Annotations to Louisiana Reports, Constitution (1898), Revised Civil Code, Code of Practice, Revised Statutes, and Acts of Louisiana : Supplement no. 2/ Compiled Under the Direction of Theodore Cotonio. New Orleans : Louisiana Publishing Co., 1911.

Flynn, Robert. Flynn's Digest of the City Ordinances, together with the Constitutional provisions, Acts of the General Assembly and Decisions of the Courts Relative to the Government of the City of New Orleans. New Orleans, 1896.

Jewell, Edwin L. Jewell's Digest of the City Ordinances, together with the Constitutional provisions, Acts of the General Assembly and Decisions of the Courts Relative to the Government of the City of New Orleans, Compiled by Edwin L. Jewell. New Orleans, 1882.

_____. Jewell's Digest of the City Ordinances, together with the Constitutional provisions, Acts of the General Assembly and Decisions of the Courts Relative to the Government of the City of New Orleans, Compiled by Edwin L. Jewell. New Orleans, 1887.

Leovy, Henry J. and C.H. Luzenberg. The Laws and General Ordinances of the City of New Orleans Together With the Acts of Legislature, Decisions of the Supreme Court and Constitutional Provisions Relating to the City Government. Revised and Digested, Pursuant to an Order of the Common Council. New Orleans: Simmons and Co., 1870.

Louisiana Session Laws, 1870. Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana at the Third Session of the First Legislature and at the Extra Session. Baton Rouge, 1870.

Louisiana Session Laws, 1878. Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana at the First Session of the Sixth Legislature. Baton Rouge, 1879.

Louisiana Session Laws, 1888. Acts and Resolutions passed by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, at the Regular Session. Baton Rouge, 1888.

Marr, Robert Hardin. An Annotated Index of the Acts of Legislature of Louisiana, Compiled and annotated by Robert Hardin Marr. New Orleans, F. F. Hansell, 1895.

Ray, John. Digest of the Statutes of the State of Louisiana: Collated and Arranged Under Appropriate Heads, And Embracing All The Statute Laws of the State of a General Character, Inclusive of the Acts of One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy, Except What are Contained in the Revised Civil Code and Code of Practice, Adopted in One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy, Compiled by John Ray. New Orleans: Republican Office, 1870.

Wolff, Solomon. Revised Laws of Louisiana : Containing the Revised Statutes of the State (Official Edition, 1870) as Amended by Acts of the Legislature, from the Session of 1870 to that of 1896 Inclusive, and All Other Acts of a General Nature for the Same Period : All Annotated with the Decisions of the Supreme Court of Louisiana Contained in Annuals 39 to 48 and a Part of 49, Compiled and Annotated by Solomon Wolff. New Orleans: F. F. Hansell, 1897.

Zawistowski, Stephen. Senior Vice President and Science Advisor of The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Personal correspondence. 14 June 1995.

Newspapers and Magazines:

Harper's Magazine; select issues.

The London Times, 18 June 1875.

The New Orleans Daily Picayune; select issues

The New Orleans Mascot; select issues.

The New Orleans Times-Democrat; select issues.

The New York Evening Post; select issues.

The New York Sun; select issues.

The New York Times; select issues.

The Semi-Weekly Creole; select issues.

SECONDARY SOURCES:

Books:

Aday, David P. Social Control at the Margins: Toward a General Understanding of Deviance. Belmont, CA.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1990.

Adelman, Melvin. A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820-1870. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986.

Angell, George Thorndike. Autobiographical Sketches and Personal Recollections, by George T. Angell. Boston: The American Humane Education Society, 1898.

Bailey, Peter C. Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978; reprint, New York and London: Methuen, 1987.

Barth, Gunther. City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America. Oxford, New York, Toronto, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Becker, Howard S. Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance. New York: The Free Press, 1973.

- Bender, Thomas. Toward an Urban Vision: Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century America. Lexington, KY.: The University of Kentucky Press, 1975.
- Berry, Brian J. L. The Human Consequence of Urbanization: Divergent Paths in the Urban Experience of the Twentieth Century. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973.
- Betts, John Rickards. America's Sporting Heritage: 1850-1950. Menlo Park, CA. and London: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1974.
- Blumin, Stuart M. The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Modern History Series, ed. Robert Fogel and Stephan Thernstrom. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Boase, Paul H., ed. The Rhetoric of Protest and Reform, 1878-1898. Athens, OH.: Ohio University Press, 1980.
- Boyer, Paul. Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920. Cambridge, MA. and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Brailsford, Dennis. Sport, Time, and Society: The British at Play. London and New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Bridges, Thomas. The Culture of Civilization: Inventing Postmodern Civic Culture. Albany, N. Y.: State University of New York Press, 1994.
- Brinton, Crane. A History of Western Morals. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1959.
- Brown, Richard D. Modernization: The Transformation of American Life, 1600 - 1865. New York: Hill and Wang, 1976.
- Burrow, J. W. Evolution and Society: A Study in Victorian Social Theory. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.
- Cash, W. J. The Mind of the South. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941; Vintage Books, 1969.
- Cashman, Sean Dennis. America in the Gilded Age: From the Death of Lincoln to the Rise of Theodore Roosevelt. Second edition. New York and London: New York University Press, 1988.

- Chambliss, J. J., ed. Enlightenment and Social Progress: Education in the Nineteenth Century. The Burgess History of Western Education Series. Minnesota: Burgess Publishing, 1971.
- Coates, Willson H. and Hayden V. White. The Ordeal of Liberal Humanism: An Intellectual History of Western Europe, Volume II since the French Revolution. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970.
- Cobb, James C. Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877 - 1984. Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1988.
- Cohen, Stanley. Folk Devils and Moral Panics. New York: MacGibbon and Kee, 1972.
- Coleman, Sydney H. Humane Society Leaders in America: With a Sketch of the Early History of The Humane Movement in England. Albany, N. Y.: The American Humane Association, 1924.
- Corrigan, Philip. Social Forms/Human Capacities: Essays in Authority and Difference. London and New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Cozens, Frederick W. and Florence Scovil Stumpf. Sports in American Life. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.
- Cunningham, Hugh. Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c.1780 - c.1880. London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1980.
- Daniel, Pete. Standing at the Crossroads: Southern Life Since 1900. Publication of the American Century Series, ed. Eric Foner. New York: Hill & Wang, 1986.
- Darton, Robert. The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History. New York: Randon House, 1985.
- Davis, David Brion, ed. Ante-Bellum Reform. New York, Evanston, and London: Harper & Row, 1967.
- Donajgradzki, A. P., ed. Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain. Totowa, N. J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977.
- Eaton, Clement. The Growth of Southern Civilization, 1790-1860. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961.

- Eisenstadt, S. N., ed. Patterns of Modernity, Volume I: The West. New York: New York University Press, 1987.
- Elias, Norbert. The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization, Translated by Edmund Jephcott. Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994. Previously published as Über den Prozess der Zivilisation as two separate volumes in 1939 by Hans zum Falker, Basel.
- Elias, Norbert and Eric Dunning. Quest For Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986.
- Escott, T. H. S. Social Transformations of the Victorian Age: A Survey of Court and Country. London: Seeley and Co. Limited, 1897.
- Federal Writers' Project. New Orleans City Guide: Written and Compiled by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration for the City of New Orleans. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1938
- Fein, Albert., ed. Landscape into Cityscape: Frederick Law Olmstead's Plans for a Greater New York City. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967.
- Finlayson, Geoffrey. Decade of Reform: England in the Eighteen Thirties. Foundations of Modern History Series, ed. A. Goodwin. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1970.
- Fossier, Albert A. New Orleans, The Glamour Period, 1800-1840: A History of the Conflicts of Nationalities, Languages, Religions, Morals, Cultures, Laws, Politics and Economics During the Formative Period of New Orleans. New Orleans: Pelican Publishing, 1957.
- Foucault, Michel. Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason. Translated by R. Howard. New York: Vinatge Books, 1965.
- _____. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- _____. Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977. Edited by Colin Gordon. Translated by Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham, and Kate Soper. New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.

- Fraser, Derek. Power and Authority in the Victorian City. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979.
- Friedman, Lawrence M. Crime and Punishment in American History. New York: Basic Books, 1993.
- Frykman, Jonas and Orvar Löfgren. Culture Builders: A Historical Anthropology of Middle-Class Life. Translated by Alan Crozier. Foreward by John Gillis. New Brunswick, N. J. and London: Rutgers University Press, 1987; second paperback edition; 1990; first published in Swedish by Liberförlag, 1979.
- Garraty, John A., ed. The Transformation of American Society, 1870-1890. Columbia S. C.: The University of South Carolina Press, 1969.
- Geertz, Clifford. The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- Gluck, Peter R. and Richard J. Meister. Cities in Transition: Social Changes and Institutional Responses in Urban Development. New York: New Viewpoints, 1979.
- Gorn, Elliott. The Manly Art: Bare-knuckle Prize Fighting in America. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- Gramsci, Antonio. Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci. Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International Publishers, first edition, 1971; ninth printing, 1987.
- Grantham, Dewey W. The South in Modern America: A Region at Odds. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1994.
- Gray, John. Liberalism. Second edition. Concepts in Social Thought Series, ed. Frank Parkin. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.
- Green, Harvey. Fit For America: Health, Fitness, Sport, and American Society. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.
- Greene, John C. The Death of Adam: Evolution and its Impact on Western Thought. New York: The New American Library of World Literature, 1961; first published in Ames, IA.: Iowa University Press, 1959.

- Griffin, C. S. The Ferment of Reform, 1830-1860. The Cromwell American History Series, ed. John Hope Franklin and Abraham S. Eisenstadt. New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell Company, 1967.
- Gruneau, Richard. Class, Sports, and Social Development. Foreward by Charles H. Page. Amherst, MA.: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1983.
- Guttman, Allen. From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports. New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.
- Hardy, Stephen. How Boston Played: Sport, Recreation and Community, 1865-1915. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1982.
- Hargreaves, John. Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986.
- Hays, Samuel P. The Response to Industrialism, 1885 - 1914. The Chicago History of American Civilization Series, ed. Daniel J. Boorstin. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1957.
- Hebdige, Dick. Subculture: The Meaning of Style. London and New York: Methuen, 1979.
- Herman, Edward S. and Noam Chomsky. Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media. New York: Pantheon Books, 1988.
- Himmelfarb, Gertrude. The De-Moralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. Industry and Empire: From 1750 to the Present Day. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1969; First published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968; Reprint, 1981.
- Hofstadter, Richard. Social Darwinism in American Thought. Revised edition. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944; reprint, Boston: Beacon Hill, 1967.
- Holt, Richard. Sport and the British: A Modern History. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

- Huxley, Thomas. Man's Place in Nature and Other Anthropological Essays. Akron, OH.: The Werner Company, n.d.
- Jackson, Joy J. New Orleans in the Gilded Age: Politics and Urban Progress, 1880-1896. Baton Rouge, LA.: Louisiana State University Press for the Louisiana Historical Association, 1969.
- Johnson, David R. Policing the Urban Underworld: The Impact of Crime on the Development of the American Police, 1800-1887. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979.
- Johnson, Paul. The Birth of the Modern: World Society, 1815-1830. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1991.
- Johnson, Paul E. A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837. New York: Hill and Wang, 1978.
- Kaestle, Carl. Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860. New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.
- Kasson, John F. Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776-1900. New York: Penguin Books, 1977; reprint, 1982.
- _____. Rudeness & Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America. New York: Hill and Wang, 1990.
- Katz, Michael B. The Irony of Early School Reform. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Larsen, Lawrence H. The Rise of the Urban South. Lexington, KY.: The University of Kentucky Press, 1985.
- Lears, T. J. Jackson. No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920. New York: Pantheon Books, 1981.
- Levine, Lawrence. Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America. Cambridge, MA. and London: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Macdonell, Diane. Theories of Discourse: An Introduction. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986.

- Malcolmson, Robert W. Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
- Mangan, J. A. and James Walvin., eds. Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.
- Marcus, Alan I. Plague of Strangers: Social Groups and the Origins of City Services in Cincinnati, 1819-1870. Foreword by Henry D. Shapiro. Columbus, OH.: Ohio State University Press, 1991.
- Martin, Bernice. A Sociology of Contemporary Cultural Change. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981.
- Meller, H. E. Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1914. London, Henley, and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976.
- Mennell, Stephen. Norbert Elias: Civilization and the Human Self-Image. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989.
- Mintz, Steven. Moralists and Modernizers: America's Pre-Civil War Reformers. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.
- Mitchell, Timothy. Blood Sport: A Social History of Spanish Bullfighting. With an Essay and Bibliography by Rosario Cambria. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
- Mohl, Raymond A. Urban America in the Industrial Age, 1860 - 1920. The American History Series, ed. John Hope Franklin and Abraham S. Eisenstadt. Arlington Heights, IL.: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1985.
- Morazé, Charles. The Triumph of the Middle Classes: A Political and Social History of Europe in the Nineteenth Century. New York: Anchor Books, 1968.
- Morgan, H. Wayne. Industrial America: The Environment and Social Problems, 1865-1920. The Rand McNally Series on the History of American Thought and Culture, ed. David D. Van Tassel. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1974.

- Morgan, William J. Leftist Theories of Sport: A Critique and Reconstruction. Sport in Society Series, ed. Benjamin G. Rader and Randy Roberts. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994.
- Mort, Frank. Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-moral Politics in England Since 1830. London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987.
- Moss, Arthur W. Valiant Crusade: The History of the R.S.P.C.A. London: Cassill, 1961.
- Mrozek, Donald J. Sport and American Mentality, 1880 - 1910. Knoxville, TN.: University of Tennessee Press, 1983.
- Munslow, Alun. Discourse and Culture: The Creation of America, 1870-1920. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Noble, David. The Progressive Mind, 1890-1917. The Rand McNally Series on the History of American Thought and Culture, ed. David D. Van Tassel. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1970; reprint, 1971.
- Odum, Howard. The Way of the South: Toward The Regional Balance of America. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947.
- Ownby, Ted. Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in the Rural South, 1865 - 1920. The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies. Chapel Hill, N. C. and London, England: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990.
- Papke, David Ray. Framing the Criminal: Crime, Cultural Work and the Loss of Critical Perspective, 1830-1900. Hamden, CT.: Archon Books, 1987.
- Perkins, Harold. The Origin of Modern English Society, 1780-1880. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969.
- Platt, Anthony M. The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency. Second edition, enlarged, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1977; first published 1969, Chicago.
- Pugh, David G. Sons of Liberty: The Masculine Mind in Nineteenth-Century America. London, England and Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1983.
- Rader, Benjamin G. American Sports from the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1983.

- Rich, Norman. The Age of Nationalism and Reform, 1850-1980. The Norton History of Modern Europe Series, ed. Felix Gilbert. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970.
- Riess, Steven A. City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989.
- _____. Sport in Industrial America, 1815-1920. The American History Series, ed. John Hope Franklin and A. S. Eisenstadt. Wheeling, IL.: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1995.
- Rojek, Chris., ed. Leisure for Leisure: Critical Essays. New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Rosenzweig, Roy. Eight Hours For What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Modern History Series, ed. Robert Fogel and Stephan Thernstrom. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Rothman, David J. The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic. Boston, Toronto, and London: Little, Brown and Company, 1971; paperback edition, 1990.
- Rotundo, E. Anthony. American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era. New York: Basic Books, 1993.
- Rudé, George. The Crowd in History: A study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730-1848. Revised edition. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1981; reprint, 1985.
- Rule, John. The Labouring Classes in Early Industrial England, 1750-1850. London and New York: Longman, 1986.
- Said, Edward W. Culture and Imperialism. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993.
- Singer, Peter. Animal Liberation: A New Ethics for our Treatment of Animals. New York: Avon Books, 1977.
- Somers, Dale A. The Rise of Sports in New Orleans, 1850 - 1900. Baton Rouge, LA.: Louisiana State University Press, 1972.

- Stallybrass, Peter and Allon White. The Politics and Poetics of Transgression. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- Stevenson, John. Popular Disturbances in England, 1700-1832. Second edition. London and New York: Longman, 1992; Longman, 1979.
- Sumner, William Graham. Social Darwinism: Selected Essays of William Graham Sumner. Introduction and notes by Stow Persons. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963.
- Talmon, J. L. Romanticism and Revolt: Europe, 1815-1848. History of European Civilization Library, ed. Geoffret Barraclough. Norwich, England: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1967.
- Teaford, Jon C. The Municipal Revolution in America: Origins of Modern Urban Government, 1650-1825. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1975.
- Thomas, Keith. Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility. New York: Pantheon Books, 1983.
- Thompson, E. P. The Making of the English Working Class. New York: Vintage Books, 1963.
- _____. Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture. New York: The New Press, 1993.
- Thomson, David. England in the Nineteenth Century (1815-1914). The Pelican History of England Series, Vol. 8. Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1963; first published, 1950.
- Trachtenberg, Alan. The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age. American Century Series, ed. Eric Foner. New York: Hill and Wang, 1982.
- Trattner, Walter I., ed. Social Welfare of Social Control?: Some Historical Reflections on Regulating the Poor. Knoxville, TN.: University of Tennessee Press, 1983.
- Traub, Stuart H. and Craig B. Little. Theories of Deviance. Second edition. Itasca, IL.: F. E. Peacock Publishers, 1980.

- Turner, James. Reckoning With the Beast: Animals, Pain, and Humanity in the Victorian Mind. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.
- Twitchell, James B. Preposterous Violence: Fables of Aggression in Modern Culture. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Vovelle, Michel. Ideologies and Mentalities. Translated by Eamon O'Flaherty. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press and Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.
- Walvin, James. Leisure and Society, 1830-1950. London and New York: Longman, 1978.
- Webb, R. K. Modern England: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present. New York, Hagerstown, San Francisco, London: Harper & Row, 1968.
- Wiebe, Robert H. The Search for Order, 1877-1920. The Making of America Series, ed. David Herbert Donald. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967; reprinted, 1990.
- _____. The Segmented Society: An Introduction to the Meaning of America. London, Oxford, and New York: Oxford University Press, 1975; reprint, 1979.
- Williams, Raymond. The Long Revolution. New York: Penguin Books, 1961; paperback edition, 1977.
- _____. Marxism and Literature. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Wilson, Charles Reagan and William Ferris, eds. Encyclopedia of Southern Culture. Chapel Hill, N. C. and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
- Woodward, C. Vann. Origins of the New South, 1877 - 1913: A History of the South. Vol. IX, ed. Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter. Baton Rouge, LA.: Louisiana State University Press and The Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas, 1971; reprint, 1990.
- Wright, Gavin. Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War. New York: Basic Books, 1986.

Wyatt-Brown, Bertram. Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South. Oxford, New York, Toronto, and Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1982; paperback edition, 1983.

Articles:

Abercrombie, Nicholas and Bryan S. Turner. "The Dominant Ideology Thesis." In Classes, Power, and Conflict: Classical and Contemporary Debates, ed. Anthony Giddens and David Helm, 396-414. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982.

Berryman, Jack W. "The Ending of American Blood Sports." A paper prepared for the Eighty-Sixth Meeting of the American Historical Association, New York, December, 1971. Unpublished.

Betts, John Rickards. "The Technological Revolution and the Rise of Sport, 1850-1900." Mississippi Valley Historical Review Vol. XL (September, 1953): 231-256.

Brady, Patricia. "Literary Ladies of New Orleans in the Gilded Age." Louisiana History 33, no. 2 (Spring, 1992): 146-158.

Butsch, Richard. "Introduction: Leisure and Hegemony in America." In For Fun and Profit: The Transformation of Leisure into Consumption, ed. Richard Butsch, 3-27. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990.

Clarke, Alan. "Civic Ideology in the Public Domain: Victorian Ideology in the 'Lifestyle Crisis' of the 1990s." In Sport in Social Development: Traditions, Transitions, and Transformations, ed. Alan G. Ingham and John W. Loy, 245-265. Champaign, IL.: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1993.

Curtis, James. "Isn't it Difficult to Support Some of the Notions of 'The Civilizing Process'? A Response to Dunning." In Sport and Social Theory, ed. C. Roger Rees and Andrew W. Miracle, 23-28. Champaign, IL.: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1986.

Dunning, Eric. "The Figurational Approach to Leisure and Sport." In Leisure For Leisure: Critical Essays, ed. Chris Rojek, 36-52. New York: Routledge, 1989.

_____. "The Sociology of Sport in Europe and the United States: Critical Observations from an 'Eliasian' Perspective." In Sport and

- Social Theory, ed. C. Roger Rees and Andrew W. Miracle, 29-56. Champaign, IL.: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1986.
- _____. "Sport in the Civilising Process: Aspects of the Development of Modern Sport." In The Sports Process: A Comparative and Developmental Approach, ed. Eric G. Dunning, Joseph A. Maguire, and Robert E. Pearton, 39-70. Champaign, IL.: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1993.
- Ferguson, Moira. "Elizabeth Heyrick and Cruelty to Animals: Gender, Class, Nationalism." The Centennial Review 37, no. 2 (1993): 325-354.
- Gruneau, Richard S. "Modernization or Hegemony: Two Views on Sport and Social Development." In Not Just a Game: Essays in Canadian Sport Sociology, ed. Jean Harvey and Hart Cantelon, 9-32. Ottawa, Canada: University of Ottawa Press, 1988.
- Hahn, Steven. "Hunting, Fishing, and Foraging: Common Rights and Class relations in the Postbellum South." In Crime & Justice in American History: Historical Articles on the Origins and Evolution of American Criminal Justice, Volume 7, The South, Part 1. Series editor Eric H. Monkkonen, 122-150. Munich, London, New York, Paris: K.G. Saur, 1992.
- Hall, Stuart. "Culture, the Media and the 'Ideological Effect'." In Mass Communication and Society, ed. James Curran, Michael Gurevitch, and Janet Woollacott, 315-348. Beverly Hills and London: SAGE Publications, 1977; second printing, 1981.
- _____. "Notes on Deconstructing 'the Popular'." In People, History, and Socialist Theory, ed. Raphael Samuel, 227-240. London, Boston, Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981.
- Hardy, Stephen. "The City and the Rise of American Sport: 1820-1920." Exercise and Sports Sciences Review 9 (1981): 183-219.
- Hargreaves, John. "Sport and Hegemony: Some Theoretical Problems." In Sport, Culture, and the Modern State, ed. Hart Cantelon and Richard Gruneau, 103-140. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- Harrison, Brian. "Animals and the State in Nineteenth Century England." The English Historical Review LXXXVIII (1973): 786-820.

- _____. "Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth-Century England." Past and Present 38 (December, 1967): 98-125.
- Haskell, Thomas L. "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 1." The American Historical Review 90, no. 2 (April, 1985): 339-361.
- Hauser, Philip M. "Urbanization: An Overview." In The Study of Urbanization, ed. Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore, 1-47. New York, London, and Sydney: John Wiley & Sons, 1965; third printing 1967.
- Helmes, Richard C. "Ideology and Social Control in Canadian Sport: A Theoretical Review." Working Papers in the Sociological Study of Sports and Leisure. 1, no. 4 : 1-54. Sports Studies Research Group, Kingston, Canada: Queen's University, 1978.
- Higham, John. "The Reorientation of American Culture in the 1890s." In Writing American History: Essays on Modern Scholarship, ed. John Higham, 73 - 102. London and Bloomington, IN.; Indiana University Press, 1970.
- Ingham, Alan G. "Hero/ines, Sport, and Social Transformation: Issue of Incorporation and Resistance." Paper presented at the North American Society for Sport History Conference, Banff, Alberta. May, 1990. Unpublished.
- Ingham, Alan G. and Stephen Hardy. "Introduction: Sport Studies Through the Lens of Raymond Williams." In Sport in Social Development: Traditions, Transitions, and Transformations, ed. Alan G. Ingham and John W. Loy, 1-19. Champaign, IL.: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1993.
- Ingham, Alan G. and Robert Beamish. "The Industrialization of the United States and the 'Bourgeoisification' of American Sport." In The Sports Process; A Comparative and Developmental Approach, ed. Eric G. Dunning et. al., 169-206. Champaign, IL.: Human Kinetics Publishers, 1993.
- Jones, Gareth Stedman. "Class Expression Versus Social Control? A Critique of Recent Trends in the Social History of 'Leisure.'" History Workshop 4 (1977): 162-170.

- Le Goff, Jacques. "Mentalities: A History of Ambiguities." In Making History, ed. Jacques Le Goff and Pierre Nora, 166-180. Paris, 1974.
- Mayer, John A. "Notes Towards a Working Definition of Social Control in Historical Analysis." In Social Control and the State, ed. Stanley Cohen and Andrew Scull, 17-38. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983.
- Muraskin, William A. "The Social-Control Theory in American History: A Critique." Journal of Social History 9 (June, 1976): 559-569.
- Nelson, Benjamin. "Conscience and the Making of Early Modern Cultures: Beyond Max Weber." In On the Roads to Modernity: Conscience, Science, and Civilizations, ed. Toby E. Huff, 67-79. Totowa, N. J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1981.
- O'Connor, A. P. "Artificial Cock Spurs," [1920]. Unknown sources from the personal files of Dan Wallace.
- Olmstead, Frederick Law. "The Beginning of Central Park: A Fragment of Autobiography." In Landscape into Cityscape: Frederick Law Olmstead's Plans for a Greater New York City, ed. Albert Fein, 46-60. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967.
- Passmore, John. "The Treatment of Animals." Journal of the History of Ideas 36 (1975): 195-218.
- Reid, Douglas A. "Beasts and Brutes: Popular Blood Sports: c. 1780-1860." In Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain, ed. Richard Holt, 12-28. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.
- Riess, Steven A. "From Pitch to Putt: Sport and Class in Anglo-American Sport." Journal of Sport History 21, no. 2 (Summer, 1994): 138-184.
- _____. "Sport and the Redefinition of American Middle-Class Masculinity." The International Journal of the History of Sport 8, no. 1 (May, 1991): 5-27.
- Sheblé, Mary Ann and Jill K. Shannon. "Thomas Payne Thompson and His Louisiana Library." Louisiana History 34, no. 3 (Summer, 1993): 275-287.
- Sjoberg, Gideon. "Cities in Developing and in Industrial Societies: A Cross-cultural Analysis." In The Study of Urbanization, ed. Philip M. Hauser

and Leo F. Schnore, 213-263. New York, London, and Sydney: John Wiley & Sons, 1965; third printing 1967.

Somers, Dale A. "The Leisure Revolution: Recreation in the American City, 1820-1920." Journal of Popular Culture vol.V, no.1 (Summer, 1971): 125-147.

Stearns, Peter. "Modernization and Social History: Some Suggestions, and a Muted Cheer." Journal of Social History 14, no. 2 (1980): 189-210.

Thompson, F. M. L. "Social Control in Victorian Britain." The Economic History Review vol. XXXIV, no. 2 (May, 1981): 189-208.

Turner, Ralph E. "The Industrial City: Center of Cultural Change." In The Cultural Approach to History, ed. Caroline F. Ware, 228-242. Port Washington, N. Y.: Kennikat Press, Inc., n.d.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. "Revitalization Movements." In Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach, third edition, ed. William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt, 503-511. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.

Whitson, David. "Sport and Hegemony: On the Construction of the Dominant Culture." Sociology of Sport Journal 1 (1984): 64-78.

Wiener, Martin J., ed. "Humanitarianism or Control? A Symposium of Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Social Reform in Britain and America." Rice University Studies 67, no. 1 (Winter, 1981): 1-8.

Wilson, John. "Cleaning up the Game: Perspectives on the Evolution of Professional Sports." In Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process: Critique and Counter-Critique, ed. Eric Dunning and Chris Rojek, 65-95. London: Macmillan Academic and Professional Ltd., 1992.

Dissertations and Theses:

Berryman, Jack W. "Anglo-American Blood Sports, 1776-1889: A Study of Changing Morals." M. A. Thesis, University of Massachusetts, 1974.

Maden, Ann. "Popular Sports in New Orleans, 1890-1900." M. A. Thesis, Tulane University, 1957.

VITA

Barbara Susan Green was born Barbara Susan Pinto on October 31st, 1964 in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. She attended the public and separate school systems of Toronto and graduated from St. Joseph's High School in June of 1982. Upon graduation, Barbara entered The University of Western Ontario in London, Ontario where she graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in Social Science in October of 1985. After completing two years of course work in the Faculty of Physical Education, Barbara entered the Master's program in Sport History at The University of Western Ontario. In May of 1990 she received her Master's degree in Physical Education. From September 1990 to January of 1992 she was a doctoral candidate in the Department of History at The University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Barbara left Winnipeg to return to the study of sport history. In August of 1992 she was admitted to the doctoral program in the Sociocultural Foundations of Sport at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville. In August of 1994, Barbara married Michael David Green and exactly three years later, gave birth to their first child, Madeleine. After a leave of absence, Barbara completed her dissertation and in May of 1998 received a Doctor of Philosophy degree with a major in Cultural Studies in Education from The University of Tennessee, Knoxville.