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The survival of professional football in Green Bay, Wisconsin, 1921-1959

Craig Richard Coenen
Lehigh University

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The Survival of Professional Football  
In Green Bay, Wisconsin, 1921-1959

by

Craig Richard Coenen

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The accepted model for the development of professional sports leagues divides their growth into two stages. In the initial stage, many franchises appear and fold in an unstable league. A number of these organizations are in small cities which had successful semi-professional teams. The second stage of a professional sports league is characterized by exclusive membership from franchises in large cities. As a professional sport gains popularity, the economic stakes increase beyond the means of small towns and teams migrate toward areas of greater financial opportunity. Every professional sports league developed along this model.

However, there exists one glaring exception to the model, the Green Bay Packers. The Packers achieved what no other team in American sports history accomplished. They were a small town team that managed to survive and remain in their small community. The reasons for Green Bay's success have never been adequately addressed.

This paper addresses the reasons for Green Bay's survival in the NFL by comparing it with the only two other professional football teams from small towns in the 1920s and 1930s that also had successful won/lost records on the field: Portsmouth, Ohio and Pottsville, Penn-
sylvania. All these teams had to turn to their local community, particularly business leaders, for financial help. The first time the teams appealed to the community for money, they found a receptive response. Later, however, Portsmouth and Pottsville failed to provide help for their team while Green Bay did. The crucial difference lay in the economies of the three communities.

While, Portsmouth and Pottsville suffered economic decline, the paper industry provided Green Bay with economic growth. Even during the Depression, Green Bay's leading industry expanded. Therefore, when the ball club required additional funding, civic and business leaders realized the importance of a professional sports franchise in their town and met the Packer's need.
The Survival of Professional Football
In Green Bay, Wisconsin, 1921-1959

Introduction

The Green Bay Packers have been a member of the National Football League (NFL) from the outset in 1921. In the 1920s, small town franchises dominated league membership. However, by the middle of the 1930s, professional football developed into an exclusive league of organizations, primarily, from the largest metropolitan areas. The survival of a franchise in Green Bay suggests characteristics that other cities of a comparable size and even some larger communities lacked.

The model most accepted by those who have studied sports leagues postulated that at the beginning of an organized professional sports league many teams appear in cities of varying sizes. The best semi-professional clubs from small and large cities played in an organized league that required low capital and little investment to maintain operations. Since the sport was new at the professional level, player salaries were low. Through time, the league matured and the economic stakes increased beyond the means of the smaller metropolitan areas. Therefore, after the initial decade the original small town character died out. Unable to compete financially with the
drawing power of the largest urban centers, small town franchises either relocated to larger areas or folded. However, the continued existence of professional football in the city of Green Bay, Wisconsin challenged the argument that by the mid-1930s "football was becoming big business and only large metropolitan areas were able to financially support professional franchises." (1) How and why Green Bay survived reveals a great deal about the unique role of professional football in twentieth century cities as well as why only one small town held on to its franchise.

The trend way from small-town membership in professional sports leagues after a maturation period applies clearly to Major League Baseball and the National Basketball Association (NBA).

Professional baseball began in 1871 with the organization of the National Association (NA). The NA operated for five seasons, 1871-1875, and included franchises from both large and small cities. However, all teams, except the Boston Redstockings and the New York Mutuals, either moved or folded. During the history of the league, twenty-two separate franchises played baseball but never more than thirteen at any one time. (2) Small town entries in the league hailed from Fort Wayne, Indiana; Keokuk, Iowa,
Rockford, Illinois, Troy, New York; New Haven, Connecticut; and Middletown, Ohio. In addition, most major eastern metropolitan areas fielded an NA ballclub at some time (See Appendix). By the end of 1875, though, the league disbanded having suffered from gambling, bribery, financial losses, and the domination of the Boston Red-stockings, which won four consecutive championships.

In 1876, a new league, the National League (NL), formed. Franchise owners sought to avoid the many mistakes the NA had made. In its first year, the NL fielded teams from Chicago, Boston, New York, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Louisville, and Hartford. Of those eight original franchises, only Chicago survived without relocating or folding. Thirty-one separate franchises from twenty-two cities played in the National League through 1892 (See Appendix). Both New York and Philadelphia withdrew from the NL in 1877 while franchises from the smaller cities of Troy, New York and Worcester, Massachusetts entered in the following years.

When William A. Hulbert became the league's president in 1877, the NL was struggling to remain financially sound. The president and league owners realized that one of the major mistakes of the National Association was the presence of teams from small towns and the in-
ability to establish solid organizations in the largest metropolitan areas. In the early 1880s the NL set a population minimum of 75,000 residents for a city to join the league and raised the restriction to 100,000 in 1882 and dropped the teams from Troy and Worcester and added franchises from New York and Philadelphia.\(5\)

During this maturation period of the NL, the American Association (AA), in 1882, developed another professional baseball league. In some cities the AA directly challenged the National League. However, the American Association included franchises from smaller towns at the time the NL was purging them. The league survived for ten years with twenty-three franchises from nineteen cities (See Appendix). The AA succeeded originally because they charged just 25 cents, as opposed to 50 cents for National League games, and entered into an agreement over players with the National League. In 1891, the two leagues ended their agreement and the AA, with lower gate receipts and attendance, lost its best players and many fans. After the season, the league folded.\(6\)

Other professional baseball leagues formed, but they were, with the exception of the American League, short-lived. The American League, originating in 1901 in large cities, immediately entered an agreement with the well-
established National League not to raid each other for players. In American League history, only two franchises failed in their original city in the league's first 50 years (See Appendix).(7)

Professional basketball experienced a similar growth process. The first pro league, the American Basketball League (1926-1931), featured teams ranging in population from New York to Fort Wayne, Indiana. However, the league failed because of a talent imbalance and the Depression. Soon, two other leagues achieved success, the American Basketball League (1934-1947) in the east and the National Basketball League (1937-1949) in the midwest, but both remained regional and played mainly in small towns. The National Basketball League included teams from Anderson, Indiana; Oshkosh and Sheboygan, Wisconsin; and Waterloo, Iowa. Basketball teams remained almost semi-pro because most owners "were more civic minded and less profit oriented. Loyal fans appreciated management's efforts to provide high-quality sport with small town informality that encouraged community pride."(8)

In 1946, a number of eastern stadium owners with public relations connections sponsored basketball teams and formed the Basketball Association of America (BAA). The new league directly challenged and destroyed the Amer-
ican Basketball League. In 1949, the BAA merged with the National Basketball League to form the NBA. (9)

The midwestern teams of the National Basketball League made the NBA a truly national league. However, the size of the seventeen league entries ranged from New York to Sheboygan, Wisconsin. Rapidly, the NBA weeded out its small-town members. After the initial season, Anderson, Denver, Sheboygan, and Waterloo dropped out. Other movements included the disbanding of Providence and Indianapolis, while Tri-Cities moved to Milwaukee, Fort Wayne to Detroit, Rochester, Minnesota to Cincinnati, and Syracuse to Philadelphia. (10) Although the NBA has expanded into medium-sized areas in recent years, this earlier trend merely reinforced the model of leagues in professional sports. In the decade when the NBA tried to establish itself as a legitimate league, the movement of franchises went exclusively from small to large cities.

As professional football developed, the sport, largely, followed the same model. The NFL began in 1921 and consisted mainly of teams from small and medium-sized cities across the midwest. The majority of the franchises were located in heavy industrial areas with large working class populations. (11) In the NFL's first season, the league fielded franchises in thirteen cities ranging in
size from Chicago to Green Bay. Success at the semi-pro level characterized most NFL entries throughout the 1920s. However, low attendance and increasing resources needed to compete at a national level caused franchise instability throughout the initial decades.

As a profitable business venture, professional football initially failed. Originally, many teams received operating funds from a local individual or company in exchange for advertising their business on the team's football jerseys. This form of sponsorship characterized both large and small town teams. The Staley Starch Company supported the Decatur and later Chicago Staleys, precursor to the Bears, and the Staten Island Stapletons received financial backing from the Stapleton Staple Company. Despite playing in the two largest metropolitan areas, these teams illustrated the lack of national acceptance of professional football, as they required operating funds from local businessmen and struggled to make do on meager gate receipts. In small towns, the financial situation was similar. In 1921, the Green Bay team received $500 from the Acme Packing Company for equipment, travel, and player's salaries. By season's end, the Packers were broke. Meanwhile, the season-long earnings of each NFL player on the Packers totaled just $16.50. (12)
Player salaries increased substantially in the next two decades, but owners still struggled to turn a profit. One exception was George Halas’ Chicago Bears. The Bears turned a profit of $1,476 in 1922 and $20,000 in 1924. However, the losses came too. In 1932, Halas’ team lost $18,000 and “in 1934, midway through the season, George Halas told his players they would have to take a 50 percent cut or the franchise would shut down. The team was broke.” Other teams suffered even greater economic hardship.

Many franchises folded and those that continued endured the losses. In the 1920s, Chicago Cardinal’s owner, Chris O’Brien, found the team in constant financial trouble and even had to shut down the franchise for a brief period in 1928. In addition, the New York Giants lost $40,000 in 1925; Bert Bell, owner of the Philadelphia Eagles, lost $80,000 in his first three seasons; and the George Marshall’s Redskins lost $32,000 in 1932. Teams made a profit some years, but had to retain a monetary surplus to fall back on when an almost guaranteed financial crisis developed. Small areas, without a wealthy owner or supporter, were the most vulnerable.

Although some professional football teams received a high level of fan support in small cities and at least a
niche in larger areas, the college game garnered most of the public's attention. College football's origins dated back to the 1869 Princeton/Rutgers game. By the time professional football organized a national league, college football had developed a large and passionate following. Further, many college coaches, Notre Dame's legendary leader Knute Rockne among the most vocal, disliked the pro game because, in their view, it functioned solely for profit, rather than to instill proper values in young athletes. In addition, college coaches feared the pro league as a potential competitor for talent. The lure of pay for play carried with it the possibility of drawing away the best college players.(17) Realizing its inferior position to the college game, the NFL immediately took action to avoid a confrontation.

NFL president, Joe Carr, wanted to avoid controversy with college coaches. Carr prohibited any NFL franchise from using a college player until his class graduated. Carr enforced this restriction tightly and punished offenders with fines and franchise revocations. Also, the NFL decided to play the majority of its games on Sundays, leaving Saturday to the colleges.(18) Although Philadelphia and Pittsburgh could not initially play home games on Sunday, the rest of the NFL teams seemed to have few
problems with Blue Laws. Carr’s actions helped, but never fully convinced all influential college coaches of professional football’s legitimacy in the early decades.

Fan perceptions, too, were oftentimes biased in favor of college football. Even smaller areas without big-time college football programs favored the collegiates. A newspaper article from Appleton, Wisconsin in 1921 exhibited the public perception about professional football. It stated, "Green Bay surely has a bunch of wild football fans. At least 400 of the bugs will follow the Packers, their professional football team, to Chicago... The railroad fare from Green Bay to Chicago and return is $9.69, not including night accommodations, meals, and ticket to the game. When 400 fans are willing to spend that much money to see a professional team play, we wonder what they would do if they had a team that played real football, say like Lawrence College, in their town."(19) Professional football lingered in the shadow of the college games for many decades.

For many NFL franchises the initial years of the league proved very unstable. Dozens of teams drifted in and out of the league throughout the first decade. Throughout the 1920s, annual NFL membership ranged from as low as ten to as high as twenty-two franchises. In sum,
forty-nine separate organizations in thirty-three cities played in the NFL during the 1920s; however, by the 1932 season the league had just eight teams (See Appendix).(20) The pro game slowly caught on with the public, but, it still suffered a lack of exposure and respect. Attendance at early NFL games remained low in comparison to the turnout for large college football games. In the 1920s and early 1930s, professional football contests drew only a few thousand a game.(21) In larger cities attendance reached highs of forty thousand, but more frequently the gate averaged ten to twenty thousand. In smaller cities and for losing football teams, attendance rarely exceeded ten thousand. Meanwhile, attendance at major college football games soared past the pro totals. Ohio State University entertained crowds as huge as ninety thousand in 1926 and drew 287,024 fans to five games in 1933.(22) College games quite commonly drew crowds that surpassed 100,000 for traditional rivalries and bowl games; a figure that wasn't reached by the NFL until the 1960s.(23)

The lack of popular recognition for professional football is reflected in the famous incident when 1920s pro football star 'Red' Grange met President Calvin Coolidge at the White House. An Illinois Senator introduced Grange, "Mr. President...may I present...'Red'
Grange of the Chicago Bears. 'How do you do, Mr. Grange,' said President Coolidge. 'I am indeed delighted to meet you. I have always liked animal acts.'(24) Nonetheless, the NFL developed a niche, and franchises in larger metropolitan areas became relatively stable by the 1930s. Following the model of other sports leagues, the NFL's gain in stability coincided with a migration of franchises toward those areas with greatest economic potential.

After the relocation of Portsmouth, Ohio's Spartans in 1934, Green Bay stood alone as a small town entry in the NFL. In that year the league contained ten franchises: two each in New York and Chicago, one each in Detroit, Pittsburgh, Boston, Philadelphia, Green Bay, and a team that shifted from Cincinnati to St. Louis in mid-season. A professional football team's continued existence in Green Bay did, according to Frank Deford, "what the other 10,000 gopher prairies in the United States didn't."(25) The Packers endured a number of crises that placed the organization on the brink of extinction, but professional football never ceased in the small town in northeast Wisconsin that has defied the model of professional sports league maturation.

Why did Green Bay do what no other city of a similar size has ever done in the history of professional sport?
Academic literature on urban or sport history has not addressed this question. The historical literature of football in Green Bay consists of a collection of chronicle histories and commemorative books. Authors writing about the Packers have either been local journalists or boosters who seek to glorify the Packer past rather than to explain it.(26)

Although literature on the early history of the NFL is abundant, it consists mainly of general works, commemorative histories, nostalgic autobiographies, and juvenile books. Academic works about professional football are rare. Only William Gudelunas and Stephen R. Couch's "The Stolen Championship of the Pottsville Maroons: A Case Study in the Emergence of Professional Football" attempted to address the relationship between professional football and urban development. However, Gudelunas and Couch focussed on the impact of the sport within a single community and simply dismissed the larger question explaining why the Maroons failed in Pottsville.(27)

When Gudelunas and Couch addressed the failure of the Maroons, they ignored the survival of Green Bay. The article applied the model of a professional sports league's development and claimed, "ironically the Maroon's eventual demise in Pottsville was the result of the
growing acceptance of professional football, which made the financial stakes grow to a point where only large metropolitan areas could support a team."(28)

To explain Green Bay's ability to remain in a league comprised solely of franchises in the largest metropolitan areas transcends an understanding of professional football. The fact that all major professional sports struggled through an initial growth process that weeded out all small town teams as the sport gained popularity, raises questions about Green Bay as a community as well as the dynamics of professional sport.

To understand why Green Bay continued in the NFL when others small towns did not, a framework of comparison must be developed. First, the win-loss-tie records and position in the league standings of teams from small towns must be examined. As stated earlier, the NFL in its initial decades suffered great instability. One of the hallmarks of a successful franchise was its on-field performance and competitive placement in the league standings.

Next, the level of local community support for professional football must be assessed. Many teams that entered the NFL carried over fan allegiance from success at the semi-pro level. The presence of a base of
supporters upon entry into the league aided in the commitment a community felt toward professional football.

Third, franchise leadership on the field and in the front-office needed to be rational, frugal, and football-orientated. With limited resources from which to draw, small town teams competed with larger ones directly for players. In the era prior to the league draft, the best players tended to migrate toward larger cities that promised higher salaries. Also, management that failed to represent a football team's best interests led the franchise into extinction. The Marion, Ohio Indians serve as an example of a team with an owner without football-minded objectives. Walter Lingo, owner of the Oorang Airedale Kennels, fielded a team of Native Americans, led by Jim Thorpe. "The team featured authentic Indian costumes for pre-game and halftime shows during which the players performed a variety of tribal dances."(29) The team became a novelty and turned a profit, but their owner pocketed much of the money and tired of football after just two seasons. Without a solid base at home and a poor team, the Indians folded.

Finally, professional football in small towns attracted smaller crowds than successful teams in larger cities. Despite the larger gate receipts, NFL teams in
large metropolitan areas failed to earn a profit each year. In turn, the franchises in small towns had similar expenses, but a lower income. What became essential in small towns in the NFL was direct economic assistance from local supporters.
Chapter One

The first step to uncover why Green Bay survived must be to compare the win-loss-tie records of all small-town NFL franchises in the 1920s and early 1930s. Other league entries from smaller cities included: Rock Island, Illinois; Kenosha and Racine, Wisconsin; Hammond and Evansville, Indiana; Duluth, Minnesota; Pottsville, Pennsylvania; and Akron, Dayton, Marion, and Portsmouth, Ohio (see Table 1).

TABLE 1 - Win/Loss/Tie Record of Small Town Teams
In the NFL, 1921-1933

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Wins</th>
<th>Losses</th>
<th>Ties</th>
<th>.pct</th>
<th>1920 pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Portsmouth</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.619</td>
<td>33,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Bay</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.588</td>
<td>31,017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pottsville</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.563</td>
<td>21,876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock Island</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>.455</td>
<td>35,177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racine</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.400</td>
<td>58,593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duluth</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.387</td>
<td>98,917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akron</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>.347</td>
<td>208,435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammond</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.200</td>
<td>36,004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dayton</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.191</td>
<td>152,559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marion</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.158</td>
<td>27,891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evansville</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>85,264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenosha</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>40,472</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Green Bay's record in the table was from their first five seasons in the league, 1921-1925, because a five year span represented an average longevity of teams that existed more than a single season. Green Bay's record for the entire period was 99-40-16; a winning percentage of .639


A distinction clearly appears between Green Bay,
Pottsville, Rock Island, and Portsmouth and the other small town franchises. Of the twelve cities, only the first four had an NFL team with a winning record.

Of these four teams, the success of Rock Island is deceptive. Only Green Bay, Pottsville, and Portsmouth garnered a winning percentage that signified more than half of all games as wins. In addition, when assessing position in the yearly standings, Rock Island did not measure up to the standard of the other three winning franchises. The place in the standings that a team held was important for late season gate receipts. Organizations that did not have a chance to win a championship in the season's final weeks suffered low attendance.

Rock Island never finished closer than fifth in any of its five seasons in the NFL (1921-1925). However, the other three teams established winning traditions early. Pottsville's Maroons finished second and third in consecutive seasons in the league and compiled a .563 winning percentage in its four year span in the league (1925-1928). The Portsmouth Spartans (1930-1933) earned a winning percentage of .619 and finished third once and second twice, including an appearance in the 1932 NFL Championship Game and a second place finish in 1933, their final year in Portsmouth. (1)

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Green Bay also established a winning tradition in its early years, but not any greater than that of Pottsville or Portsmouth. Through 1928, after eight NFL seasons, the Packers had not won a league championship and only finished second and third once. During this eight year span, though, only three franchises managed to remain in the league. These teams were the Packers, Cardinals, and Bears. However, both the Cardinals and Bears played in Chicago, the second largest metropolitan area in the country, and each had won a championship in one of the initial eight seasons.

Winning percentage and competitive finishes in the NFL standings separated the Packers, Spartans, and Maroons from all other small town entries in the league. Green Bay, Portsmouth, and Pottsville, too, had similar populations, between twenty and forty thousand in the 1920s and 1930s. In addition, prior to each city's entrance into the professional league, the towns supported semi-professional football teams and developed a strong community following that carried over into the pro ranks.

Green Bay sponsored semi-professional football as far back back as the 1890s. However, football competed for fan support with hockey, baseball, and basketball. In addition, sectional differences within Green Bay divided
the early semi-pro football teams and fan allegiances. As late as the mid-1910s, the city of Green Bay fielded at least six separate neighborhood semi-pro football teams: the South Side Skiddos, White City, Hillsides Sr., Hillsides Jr., Eastsiders, and Westsiders. These teams not only played each other or other area teams, but competed across Northern Wisconsin and Upper Michigan.

World War I served Green Bay by unifying many of its different sections into a more inclusive community. After a year without organized semi-professional football in the city due to the war, Green Bay attempted to field a single unified team in 1918. Even though the local newspapers reported that as the result of the war "there isn't much football material left in town," Green Bay organized a semi-pro team. The coach, Nate Abrams, practiced his team each night after work and established what was perceived as the strongest team in the region.

The 1919 team, led by a new captain, Earl "Curly" Lambeau, received funding from a local business, the Indian Packing Corporation, and adopted the name Packers. During their first two seasons the Packers played against other semi-pro teams from the region with great success, achieving a record of 19-2-1, and were recognized by Wisconsin sportswriters as the best semi-pro football
team in the state. In 1921, they entered the NFL with a strong base of supporters. (8)

Pottsville also developed a legacy for supporting sports before the Maroons entered the NFL. Semi-pro baseball and boxing clubs appeared in the city in the late nineteenth century and were quite popular. (9) Semi-pro football commenced in Pottsville in the early twentieth century. However, a number of separate teams played in Pottsville with affiliation to working class ethnic sub-communities within the city. (10)

Similar to Green Bay, following World War I a unified semi-professional football team represented the entire town. The Maroons originally played in a semi-pro league in Northeastern Pennsylvania that included teams not only from all across the anthracite region, but also the Allentown and Philadelphia area. (11) Pottsville became the dominant team in the league. In 1924, the Maroons swept through the Anthracite League with ease and played the NFL’s Frankford Yellowjackets to a 0-0 tie in an exhibition game. In addition, the 1924 season ended with the Maroons playing in a much publicized semi-pro championship in Atlantic City. When the Maroons commenced play in the NFL the next season, the local newspaper reported that the city was "virtually football Mad." (12) The team had

23
developed a large and devoted following for professional football.

Portsmouth, too, boasted a very successful semi-professional football tradition. Throughout the 1920s the Portsmouth Presidents, Shoesteels, and after 1928, Spartans, battled with the Ironton Tanks for supremacy of the Ohio Valley league. The original Spartan team, which included Jim Thorpe, drew as many fans as most small town NFL franchises. The Spartans played well in a number of exhibition games against NFL teams in 1929. They ended the 1929 season with a record of 12-2-1 and were proclaimed "Independent Champions of the Ohio Valley." The following season Portsmouth became a member of the NFL. The team's semi-pro success had developed a strong community following that eagerly awaited professional football. The Spartans first NFL game became a civic spectacle. The city erected a new press box, built additional stadium seating, and added lights. The mayor, city manager, and all community dignitaries filled the box seats at the ball park on gameday.

All three NFL teams achieved winning traditions and enjoyed a strong base of supporters. Another necessary component to a successful franchise in the early years of professional football was team leadership on and off the
field. To remain in the league, a team required a solid coach and front-office.

Recognized as one of the best pro football coaches of the era by colleagues and sports reporters, Portsmouth's head coach, George 'Potsy' Clark, lived up to his reputation by fielding a competitive team in every season he coached. The Spartans realized Clark's talent and awarded him with what was termed as a "huge salary of $5,000" (18) for a head coach at the time. The winning continued despite the financial problems of the franchise. Oftentimes Clark had to release several players in order to cut back the payroll. (17) Nonetheless, Clark remains the winningest coach in Portsmouth/Detroit history.

In addition, Harry Snyder, original owner and business manager of the Spartans, gained respect for his innovative ways to utilize the meager franchise funds. Snyder forced the team to take the bus instead of the train and offered the players I.O.U.'s instead of cash salaries. Snyder convinced the players that his efforts were done with the best interests of football in Portsmouth in mind and diplomatically averted a planned strike by the players. (18)

Also, Spartan boosters included many of the most influential Portsmouth businessmen. Business manager,
Harry Snyder, also was the owner and general manager of the Universal Contracting Company.(19) In addition, The Portsmouth Times reported that among the most active participants on the committee to save football in Portsmouth during the 1931 Spartan financial crisis were nineteen of the leading manufacturers, businessmen, and professionals in the community.(20) Homer Selby served as president of the franchise and became head of the Citizens Spartans Committee to rescue the bankrupt football team. He owned the Selby Shoe Company, one the three largest businesses in the city, which employed almost one-fifth of the city's workers. Others on the committee included Thomas, James, and Graves Williams who owned the second largest business in the city, the Williams Shoe Company.(21)

Pottsville's head coach, Dick Rauch, also organized and led successful teams. His reputation was expressed best by the Pottsville-Republican, which exclaimed "the Pottsville team made good because they had a coach who put success before the money."(22) In addition, the coach held team meetings and encouraged social gatherings in local establishments to endear good players to the Pottsville area. With limited financial resources, Rauch managed to maintain a high level of talent.(23)

Maroon's owner, J.G.Striegel, frequently loaned
personal funds to the team and spent the money carefully. Striegel tried to scheduled games against regional rivals at home and encouraged boosterism from the city. After the 1925 season, Striegel held a banquet to celebrate the Maroons on-field success and to raise money from those in attendance. Players, coaches, and league officials spoke about the team and the NFL. At the fund raiser, of the 160 individuals in attendance that could be identified, 115 held positions in Pottsville's business community. Meanwhile, 54 investors had a prominent role in the local economy (See Table 2 and Appendix).(24)

TABLE 2- Occupations of Those in Attendance at the 1925 Pottsville Maroon Fund Raiser

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Company President</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Owners</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Collar/Businessmen</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Collar</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Players/Coaches</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Occupation listed</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Report</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N=199</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Pottsville Republican, 17 December, 1925 and W.H. Boyd's 1924 Pottsville City Directory.

In Green Bay, Press-Gazette sports editor and Packer public relations/manager, George Whitney Calhoun, managed the team. His promotion garnered positive
recognition by many sports writers and NFL executives. Also, wealthy businessmen and civic leaders always were on the Packers' executive council. (25)

In addition, in the early years, 'Curly' Lambeau must be considered as a large part of the explanation for the success of football in Green Bay. Lambeau, the head coach, excelled as a recruiter in the first two decades. During the era of professional football as a part-time occupation, the Packer coach attracted good players at below average pay because "instead of firing pro stars when they are too old to play, he finds them regular jobs, enables them to have a home and settle down in Green Bay." (26) Lambeau's paternal leadership led to on-field success throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

Nonetheless, the front-office and coaching of both Pottsville and Portsmouth avoided problems faced by the Packers. Green Bay did not have internal problems in the 1920s, but in the 1940s, when the Packers were the lone surviving small town franchise, it did suffer severe management turmoil. In the late 1940s professional football no longer remained a part-time occupation. Salaries for average players were below $10,000 per year, however, the NFL's best players were paid nearly $100,000 a year. Football salaries for the average player allowed him to
live comfortably throughout the year. No longer would top flight pro stars work for low wages and tolerate Lambeau’s paternalistic leadership. Lambeau’s inability to recruit reflected on the playing field. The Packers’ win/loss record declined each season from 1945 to 1949. (27) Losing hurt the financial status of the franchise. Rumors stirred about the possible end of NFL football in Green Bay. According to Lambeau’s biographer, he "expressed grave doubts about Green Bay’s future. He was convinced the game had outgrown the little northern Wisconsin town with its population of 46,000 people." (28)

As the Packers lost more games and the rival All-American Football Conference (AAFC) challenged the NFL for players, increased salaries, and threatened NFL gate receipts, Lambeau’s unchanging coaching style merely added to the problem. The future of professional football in Green Bay appeared bleak.

Rumblings throughout the league re-inforced the possibility of an end to NFL football in Green Bay. In the late 1940s, rumors, hearsay, and serious discussions among NFL owners and league executives forecasted the Packers future to be in another, larger, city. (29) NFL Commissioner Bert Bell and many owners wanted to place a
team in San Francisco to compete directly with the new AAFC's Forty-Niners. Bell and the owners perceived Green Bay to be a drag on the league. (30) Other cities mentioned as a possible destination for the Packers in the late 1940s and early 1950s included: Buffalo, Houston, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Dallas, New Orleans, Baltimore, Los Angeles, and Milwaukee. (31) Yet, despite the poor on and off field performance of the Packers and the dissatisfaction of other NFL owners with a franchise in tiny Green Bay, the Packers survived.

Despite the similar characteristics and histories of the Pottsville Maroons, Portsmouth Spartans, and Green Bay Packers on and off the football field during their respective NFL tenures, the fate of each organization differed. After the 1928 season, Pottsville's franchise folded because of financial woes. (32) Portsmouth's Spartans, after a second place finish in 1933, found themselves hopelessly mired in debt and sold out to a wealthy businessman from Detroit, George Richards, for $21,500. The team immediately relocated to the home of their new owner and were renamed the Detroit Lions. (33) Meanwhile, NFL football in Green Bay continued, uninterrupted, into the present.
What, then, differed about these three franchises that led to their distinct fates? All had good teams, fan support, and solid leadership. However, their financial fortunes were miserable. The NFL, until the late 1950s, was not a profitable endeavor. Bankruptcy plagued both winning and losing franchises. The financial burden fell especially hard on communities with a smaller potential gate.

In the early 1930s, NFL teams charged an average of just under two dollars per ticket. However, smaller and losing teams did not draw as many fans. The successful Chicago Bears and New York Giants had crowds as high as 30,000, but the losing franchises in Newark and Cincinnati drew only a few thousand for early season games and just a few hundred for late season games when they no longer had a chance to compete for the league championship. Although Green Bay, Portsmouth, and Pottsville had winning teams, they were unable to draw as many supporters as successful teams from large cities. Their gate ranged between just a few thousand and ten thousand, but remained about one-third of the attendance of the Giants and Bears. (34) Thus, the pressure to fold or move away from smaller areas for financial reasons became common throughout the league.

Continued monetary support from the local community
played an essential role in retaining NFL membership in small towns. Individual owners in the league, in the early years, needed to be able to withstand possible annual financial crises. Therefore, team owners usually hailed from among the wealthiest members of an area. Oftentimes, the wealthiest residents of small towns paled in financial stature with even the moderately affluent in large metropolitan areas. Therefore, as operational costs rose and franchise debts accumulated, small town teams faced two options: either they sold out and moved away or sought financial support from as many local supporters as they could.

Pottsville, Portsmouth, and Green Bay all sought funding from their local communities. In Portsmouth, the Spartans were organized from the start with the assistance of the local community. The franchise entered the NFL prior to the 1930 football season and required capital to meet the league franchise fee and the increased operating costs to compete at the national level. The team went public and held a stock offering. The goal was to sell 250 shares at $100 each. All stock carried with it voting privileges to select a board to handle football operations and, although profits were not expected, it was dividend paying stock. General Manager of the Univeral Contracting
Corporation, Harry Snyder, purchased 91 shares in the Spartans. Meanwhile, other businessmen and civic leaders bought 67 additional shares. Although the Spartans were capitalized with just $15,800, they entered the league.(36)

The Spartans achieved on-field success in their first two seasons in the league, but the financial picture for the franchise revealed a large debt. During the 1931 season, Spartan team management made the players take the bus instead of the train to league games, packed picnic lunches rather than provide players with meal allowances, and eventually resorted to a very unpopular policy of withholding players' salaries and offering them I.O.U.'s.(37) At the conclusion of the 1931 season, the team owed 21 players and coaches money. Head coach George 'Potsy' Clark had an annual salary of just over $5,000, but the team paid him just $1,130.15 for the season.(38)

After the 1930 and 1931 seasons, the Spartan's board of directors sponsored 'The Annual Spartan Dance' to raise money. In 1931, 1000 couples attended, but the team still needed more money from the local community.(39) An audit of the Spartan's finances in December 1931 illustrated the depth of the team's financial problem. In 1931, the team entered the year with an excess of liabilities over assets
of $27,719.05. Although the team did better financially in 1931, the Spartans suffered a final net loss of $16,562.98 for the season. (40) The combined net deficit for the team's first two years in the NFL totaled $44,282.03 (See Appendix).

Spartan stockholders held meetings starting on December 4, 1931 to determine how to get the football corporation back on sound financial footing. The board of directors announced at a "mass meeting of 700" (41) in Portsmouth that the team would be re-organized. The board hoped that a stock offering appealing to more of the community could rescue the franchise. Each share cost ten dollars, carried voting privileges, and shared in any team profits. The board placed stock coupons in the local newspaper and issued a statement which read, "if only a comparatively few coupons are signed, then these businessmen will know that professional football is not for Portsmouth." (42)

The 'Save the Spartans Committee' wanted to sell 3500 shares in the new Spartan football corporation. (43) After the initial two weeks, 879 individuals purchased 1179 shares of stock in the franchise (44). After that time the stock sale slowed down and status reports in the Portsmouth Times disappeared, but the team did receive
Save The Spartans!

Save The Spartans Committee,
Chamber Of Commerce,
Portsmouth, Ohio.

Gentlemen:

I am interested in helping to keep the Spartans football team in Portsmouth and I agree to buy when and if issued at least — shares of stock ($10 par) in the present Portsmouth Football Corp., which, if sufficient interest is shown, either will be reorganized, or an entirely new corporation formed.

I understand it is the intention that if sufficient people show a willingness to become stockholders arrangements will be made for monthly payments and payroll deductions in leading industrial and mercantile concerns.

I am checking with an X the payment method I prefer if the stock is issued:

- [ ] Monthly Payments.
- [ ] Payroll deductions.
- [ ] Cash.

(Name) ........................................

(Street address) .................

(City) ..........................

NOTE:—Mail to Citizens Spartans Committee, care Portsmouth Chamber of Commerce.

Source: Portsmouth Times, 14 December, 1931.
enough money to continue NFL football in Portsmouth in 1932. In addition, the city of Portsmouth's businessmen provided funds to build a new playing field. Renovated Mound Park, renamed Universal Stadium, failed to meet the need of an NFL football team and construction began on a new Universal Stadium.(45)

Pottsville, too, assisted their Maroons with financial support. The Maroons required $5,000 for salaries, equipment, traveling expenses, and the NFL franchise entrance fee prior to the 1925 season. J.G. Striegel, a local physician, became the largest investor in the club when he put up $1500 to support the team.(46) Additional funds came from the public sale of stock in the Maroons. The Pottsville Republican reported that after the first two days of the stock offering over $2000 in sales flooded in.(47) The paper soon reported that through "purchases of ownership stock and game admission tickets--up to 100 percent of the operation"(48) costs were satisfied.

In Pottsville, like Portsmouth, the franchise sponsored fund raisers to aid the team. Much of the business community attended these events to pay homage to the team and donate money to ensure that the team could continue operations.(49) Also, funds for stadium costs and maintenance came from the business community.
The Green Bay Packers, over its seventy-five years tenure, desperately required community financial assistance during three distinct periods. During the 1920s, the Packers suffered net losses after almost every season. The team's first four seasons were funded from a different source each year. The Indian Packing Company, the Acme Packing Company, the Claire family, and 'Curly' Lambeau himself each supported the team for a season. However, each found the burden of supporting a professional football franchise too great to handle.

Bankrupt and facing extinction in 1923, the Green Bay Packers opted for a public non-profit stock offering to raise money to keep the franchise going. The Green Bay Press-Gazette described that the "financial program includes combination sale of stock and box seats for all home games."(50) Although only a few business and civic leaders purchased stock, the local community responded with over $5000 that enabled the Packers to pay their debt and field a team. The Green Bay Football Corporation revived this fund raising format throughout the 1920s, whenever a monetary need arose (See Appendix).(51)

In the early 1930s, Willard J. Bent, a spectator at a Packer game, fell from the stands, sued the team, and eventually won over $5000 in damages.(52) The Packers, as
GREEN BAY FOOTBALL CORPORATION

STOCK COUPON

I hereby purchase .................. shares of stock
in the GREEN BAY FOOTBALL CORPORATION, and
agree to pay therefor at the rate of Five Dollars ($5.00)
per share, cash immediately.

It being understood that with each purchase of five
shares of stock the purchaser will receive as a bonus one
box seat to all football games played by said GREEN BAY
FOOTBALL CORPORATION at Green Bay, Wis., during
the season of 1923.

.................................(SEAL)

Dated this .................. day of August, 1923.

ACCEPTED BY

GREEN BAY FOOTBALL CORPORATION

NOTE—Communications directed to the GREEN
BAY FOOTBALL CORPORATION, care of The Green
Bay Press-Gazette, will be handled immediately.

Source: Green Bay Press-Gazette, 20 August, 1923.
other franchises in the NFL, operated much of the time at the brink of bankruptcy. Before the law suit, the Packers maintained a small surplus from their annual combination of stock and season ticket sales. However, the 1934 case and settlement caused a major financial crisis for the team. The Packers re-organized the franchise and a non-profit stock drive, separate from season ticket sales, saved the Packers once again as the community came to the team's aid.

Public support of the Green Bay Packers continued in the post-war era. The stock offering of 1950 and 1951, authorized by the Packer executive council, allowed for the issuance of $200,000 in team non-profit, voting stock. (53) Again, local supporters met the Packer's need and saved NFL football in Green Bay.

Despite the similarities between Portsmouth, Pottsville, and Green Bay, the Green Bay community met their team's call for assistance at each request. Meanwhile, the Spartan supporters failed to bail out their franchise after the 1933 season and witnessed the team move to Detroit. Pottsville’s citizens, following the 1928 season, did not give the Maroons the money they required to continue professional football in the city, so they folded.

It is tempting to explain Green Bay’s survival with
the simple argument that they were not truly a small town team because they played a portion of their home schedule in Milwaukee. However, Green Bay is 110 miles north of Milwaukee and has no larger city or area within that radius. Portsmouth is as close to two large cities, Cincinnati and Columbus; neither of which had a successful NFL team during the Spartans tenure in Portsmouth. In addition, Pottsville is less than 100 miles from Philadelphia and 150 miles from New York. Also, Portsmouth and Pottsville had surrounding areas that had a population larger than or similar to the Green Bay area. Schuylkill County, home to Pottsville, had a 1920 population of 217,000, when Green Bay's Brown County and Portsmouth's Scioto County each had a population around 60,000. Further, Huntington and Charleston, West Virginia had populations of 50,000 and 40,000 respectively and were within easy rail distance from Portsmouth. (54)

It is possible to assess the importance of the Milwaukee market to the staying power of the Packers. Until 1933, the Packers played all their home games in Green Bay. This was the most unstable period in the history of the league when both Pottsville and Portsmouth lost their NFL franchises. In fact, Milwaukee had its own NFL team from 1922 to 1926, the Badgers, but failed to support it.
In 1933, Packer team president, Lee Joannes, and 'Curly' Lambeau decided to play some home games in Milwaukee for financial reasons, but, in fact, attendance at Packer home games in Milwaukee over the years demonstrated that playing in Milwaukee was of no particular benefit to the club.(55)

Between 1933, the year of the first Packer home game in Milwaukee, and 1959, the beginning of a new era in the NFL of television contracts and rivalry with the AFL, the overwhelming majority of franchise revenue came from gate receipts. Therefore, if Milwaukee home games explain why the Packers continued in the league, the attendance figures for the years 1933-1959 should illustrate that Green Bay's home portion of the schedule was a drag on the franchise.

The Packers always played at least fifty percent and as many as eighty-three percent of their home games in Green Bay. Over the course of those twenty-seven years, attendance figures indicated that Green Bay drew more fans and collected more revenue from home games than did Packer games in Milwaukee. In Green Bay, the Packers drew an average of over twenty thousand fans per game from 1933-1959. For the same period, Milwaukee averaged just under eighteen thousand spectators per game and were outdrawn by
Green Bay, in average attendance, in fifteen of the seasons. Meanwhile, Milwaukee outdrew Green Bay in just ten seasons and they compared equally in two. (56) In addition, season ticket sales, a source of guaranteed revenue, in 1959 totaled 28,000 in Green Bay. Milwaukee sales were only 7,500 for Packer games. (57)

The most telling statistic that illustrated Milwaukee's lack of support arose during the Packers' lean years in the late 1940s and early 1950s. During the deepest economic crisis in Packer history in 1949, the average attendance in Green Bay was double that in Milwaukee, 23,000 to 11,600. Green Bay retained a three-to-two advantage in attendance until 1953. (58) In 1949, the governor of Wisconsin made a plea to Milwaukee fans to support the Packers, who had just revealed their financial problems. The governor "said he would attend the Packer-Pittsburgh game in Milwaukee Sunday and hoped that other fans will join him in filling the State Park Stadium." (59) Only 5,483 fans attended the game. Meanwhile, over 12,000 supporters came to Green Bay's City Stadium in a winter storm on Thanksgiving Day to help pay off the Packer's debt for what AAFC's Buffalo Bills owner, James F. Breuill, called "a phony exhibition game." (60) In fact, the game featured the Packers playing themselves.
In addition to attendance, the Packers sought funding through stock sales. The Packers offered non-profit stock to any supporter wishing to assist the ballclub in meeting their financial need. Packer stock has always been more a charitable donation than a financial investment. Every stock offering in team history sold non-profit, non-dividend earning ownership of the franchise. In fact, if a stockholder ever wished to sell their shares, by the Packers articles of incorporation, all profit over the shareholder’s initial investment must be given to local charities.(61)

In the 1920s, stock and season tickets combined to supply the Packers with sufficient funds. There were no supporters from Milwaukee in the earliest years, which had their own NFL franchise until 1926. In 1934, a year after the Packers began playing in Milwaukee, the team held another stock subscription drive. Nonetheless, almost all of the 200 stockholders in the Packers hailed from Green Bay.(62)

The last, and most widespread, stock offering in Packer history lasted from late 1949 through 1951. Over 4000 shares were purchased by 1666 individuals and businesses. The Packers are often considered a state team, and they do have fans from across Wisconsin. However, the
investors, the people who kept the team operating during the franchise's most desperate period came overwhelmingly from the immediate Green Bay area.

Of the 1666 individual stockholders who purchased from a single share to two hundred shares during the 1949-1951 Packer stock drive, 1318 came from Green Bay and its surrounding communities in Brown County. (63) Although Milwaukee supporters probably accounted for a majority of the 348 stockholders outside Brown County, almost eighty percent of the financial support originated in Green Bay. Green Bay has not needed and never received an imbalance in the money earned from Milwaukee games and stock investment. Thus we can conclude that the Packers survival in Green Bay was not dependent on Milwaukee.

Indeed, one might ask why the Packers continued to play in Milwaukee? NFL owners and league officials believed Green Bay's size would eventually force the team to move. Although league officials were not responsible for the initial games in Milwaukee, in the early 1940s they forced the Packers to add an extra game there. Many, Lambeau included, saw the future of Packer football in a larger city. Milwaukee appeared to be the most likely destination for the franchise. In 1940, a rival league formed, the second AFL, and placed a team in Mil-
A strong professional team in Milwaukee could have disrupted fan loyalty in the Packers' assumed future home. Therefore, the Packers were forced by NFL executives to add an extra game in Milwaukee to dilute the fan base of the rival league's franchise.

The Packers reduced the number of their home games in Milwaukee as soon as the new league folded after 1942. The Packers might have stopped playing games in Milwaukee in the 1940s had it not been for Lambeau. Many Green Bay residents complained that they wanted the Packers to play their entire home schedule in Green Bay. However, Lambeau was a powerful figure within the Packer organization in the early 1940s and adamantly refused to abandon Milwaukee games. Instead, he wanted a gradual movement away from the small town to Milwaukee.

The NFL struggled for stability during the 1920s and early 1930s. During this period, franchises entered and folded regularly. Small towns suffered most. The three teams compared here all had four common attributes: they were from small towns and posted winning records, developed a strong base of supporters, employed sound management, and turned to their community for financial assistance. However, two of the three teams did not survive.
Chapter Two

Four main factors explain why Green Bay, Portsmouth, and Pottsville were different from other small town NFL franchises. However, Green Bay's community repeatedly gave the team money to keep the Packers in the city while Portsmouth's and Pottsville's citizens initially lent monetary support but ultimately could not sustain their teams. Why did the people of Green Bay rescue the Packers while the call for assistance from Portsmouth and Pottsville fail?

To answer this question, recent trends in the relationship between professional sports organizations and cities must be examined. Since the late 1940s, expansion and franchise relocation has brought professional sports to many developing medium-sized areas that never had a team. Perceived by league officials as financially able to support a professional franchise, the growing metropolitan areas of the South, West, and Sun Belt regions have become the benefactor of most expansion and franchise relocations.(1) Between 1950 and 1982 eleven relocations occurred in baseball, forty in basketball, fourteen in hockey, and thirteen in football. Almost every franchise shift indicated the tendency of teams to move from stagnant or declining large cities to places that may have
been smaller, but promised more economic and population growth. (2)

These southern and western cities have viewed the acquisition of a professional sports franchise as a stepping stone to being hailed as a major metropolitan area. Both business and political leaders felt that a pro team would assist the overall appeal of their city and encourage further urban development. According to one sport sociologist, "many people believe that the mere presence of a professional sports team in their city enhances the community's prestige... No place really can be considered to be a 'big town' if it doesn't have a professional baseball or football team." (3)

The benefits of having a team can be expressed through direct and indirect advantages to a metropolitan area. Some direct benefits to a city include: rental income, tax revenues, team expenditures within the community, and more jobs. Indirectly, a professional franchise impacts a city through business generated in the service sector by fans and other secondary effects that create additional jobs. (4) These benefits can be seen in every city that has a professional franchise and makes obtaining a team a top priority for cities.

Many communities seek professional franchises to
promote civic pride and "to stimulate economic activity in non-sport enterprises."(5) Oftentimes, cities offer deals to lure an existing team or an expansion committee that includes a number of publically funded projects. Cities loan teams money, guarantee ticket sales, absorb team debts, and give tax incentives. "The competition for teams has become so intense that cities are investing tens of millions of dollars in new sports complexes with only a hope-no promise-of a tenant to help repay their cost."(6)

Many cities try desperately to obtain franchises. Expanding or developing areas of varying size succeed most. The existing population means less to league expansion and franchise relocation than prospects for future population growth and a promising local economic forecast. These factors have become the stimulus to lure professional sports to an area. "Prior to the 1950s a sports franchise usually moved from a smaller city to a larger one simply because the new site had more potential fans. However, since the 1950s, established teams have relocated in wealthier cities...The process of saving or attracting sports franchises became an important task for urban politicians and other civic leaders concerned with boosting hometown pride, business, and reputation."(7)

In the 1950s, California became the destination for
many professional franchises. From 1948-1994 that state acquired sixteen professional teams in baseball, basketball, hockey, and football. Cities that received teams have expanding populations and a prosperous economy (See Appendix).

The 1970s and 1980s continued this trend. Cities with high rates of population growth actively sought and received franchises, while more established urban centers with stagnant or declining populations, even though they were larger, have been denied expansion teams and lost some teams to relocation. Of the cities that lost professional sports teams in baseball, basketball, and football in the late 1970s and 1980s, only Oakland's immediate area experienced a sharp increase in population. However, the Oakland Raiders franchise relocated to an area that experienced greater growth and economic opportunity for the team. Meanwhile, cities that lost teams, St. Louis (NFL), Baltimore (NFL), Buffalo (NBA), New Orleans (NBA), and Kansas City (NBA) declined in population from 1980 to 1990: by 12.4, 6.4, 8.3, 10.9, and 0.3 percent respectively. In addition, their metropolitan area population grew either less than ten percent or declined. (8)

Cities that received these teams and expansion franchises experienced rapid periods of urban growth. Of the
thirteen cities that have obtained franchises from 1976-1994, they all placed in the top forty-two fastest growing metropolitan areas. In fact, with the exception of the Indianapolis metropolitan population increase of 7.1 percent, every other city that received a professional team experienced a metropolitan growth rate between 15.3 and 53.3 percent from 1980 to 1990. (9)

The trend that only growing urban areas received professional franchises in the current era may explain, but at an earlier period, the survival of the Green Bay Packers in the NFL and the demise of Portsmouth and Pottsville. The cities of Green Bay, Portsmouth, and Pottsville were of a smaller scale than the metropolitan giants and developing areas of today, but the pattern of an expanding and prosperous community for favorable professional sport investment is reflected in this earlier period.

In the 1920s, Portsmouth’s population approached 35,000 and Pottsville’s totaled 21,876. (10) Both cities met the initial request for financial assistance from their NFL team. However, over time the cities’ residents were unable to repeat their initial bail out. Why? First, the population base of the two areas declined since their entrance into the league; in 1990 the population of Portsmouth and Pottsville stood at 22,676 and 16,603 respect-
Second and most importantly, both cities suffered from an economic base that peaked in the 1920s and has declined ever since.

Portsmouth, located on the northern side of the Ohio and Kentucky border, had a large working class population in the early twentieth century. Fifty-three percent of the city's workers labored in the steel, shoe, and railroad industries in 1920 in comparison to a forty-one percent manufacturing average in the industrial state of Ohio. The three largest manufacturing plants in the city were the Selby Shoe Company, Williams Shoe Company, and the Wheeling Steel Corporation-Portsmouth Works. Combined, these companies employed over sixty percent of manufacturing workers in Scioto County.

The Spartans entered the NFL in 1930 and moved to Detroit prior to the 1934 season. The Depression dictated their ultimate demise in the small Ohio town. In addition, Portsmouth experienced a major flood of the Ohio River in 1933. However, in 1920 the "citizens of Portsmouth viewed their hometown as a city on the move." The city's population had been growing since the late nineteenth century and business experienced a time of development and prosperity. In the 1920s, the city completed a new bridge, flood wall, and city hall. Initially, professional foot-
ball found a favorable environment. (15)

However, since 1930 Scioto County "has not experienced the same growth and economic prosperity as the state as a whole." (16) The Depression paralyzed Portsmouth's industries. National production numbers for the city's two major manufactures illustrate sharp a decline (See Tables 3 and 4).

TABLE 3- United States Shoe Production and Value of Product, 1929-1933

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Shoes Manufactured (1000s of pairs)</th>
<th>Value of Product (millions)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>225,100</td>
<td>$965.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
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<td>1931</td>
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<td>653.8</td>
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<td>1932</td>
<td>188,400</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>219,500</td>
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TABLE 4- United States Steel and Iron Production and the Number of Workers Employed in the Industry, 1925-1933

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tons Produced (In 1000s)</th>
<th>Workers</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>33,387</td>
<td>882,037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>41,069</td>
<td>920,882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>19,176</td>
<td>826,331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>16,735</td>
<td>586,410</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


More locally, Portsmouth's industrial decline was
more severe than the national average. The Selby and Williams Shoe Companies laid off many employees. Following the national production figures for shoes, Portsmouth's shoe industry picked up again in 1933, but the employers still struggled. The Selby Shoe Company called back workers, but paid them with I.O.U.'s. In addition, the Williams Shoe Company picked up production but decreased quality and employee wages. (17)

The local steel industry in Portsmouth, too, declined more than the national average. The Portsmouth Works of the Wheeling Steel Corporation was the only steel mill of the corporation's ten mills outside a short radius of Wheeling. Portsmouth's mill suffered most because the Wheeling Steel Corporation favored employing workers closer to home. In late 1933, a pivotal period in the history of the Spartans, the Portsmouth Times reported that 600 men were employed by the Portsmouth Works. They continued to comment that this was the most employed in months. Nonetheless, 600 workers at the mill made up only twenty percent of the mill's potential work force. (18)

In addition to the economic decline caused by the Depression, a flood in 1933 added to the hard times in Portsmouth. Other businesses shut down and both businessmen and workers left the city.
After the 1933 NFL season, the Spartans needed money. The players scheduled a barnstorming tour in December and January to earn money that the team withheld from their salaries. (19) Harry Snyder went to the league meetings in Chicago in late December and actively sought an investor in the Spartans. In early January, he traveled to Pittsburgh, New York, and Detroit to entertain offers from prospective buyers. (20) The Spartan's board of directors met early in 1934 to examine the franchise's options. The board determined that the debt was too much for the local community to bear. Instead of opting for a stock offering as the team did two years earlier when it had a similar situation, the Portsmouth Times revealed that the "directors are convinced the Spartans will not remain in Portsmouth." (21) The day before the board gathered to assess the franchise's future, the local newspaper reported that "Detroit is after a franchise in the NFL and would not be adverse to taking over the Spartans bags and baggage." (22)

In the initial years, the businessmen in Portsmouth supported the Spartans because they understood the benefits of having a professional football team. However, Portsmouth did not have a sufficiently strong local economy to sustain the team over the years. After months
of negotiating, the Spartans were sold early in the summer of 1934 and moved to Detroit.(23)

As soon as the NFL franchise left Portsmouth, local boosters wanted to re-establish a semi-professional football team in the city. The *Portsmouth Times* printed a remark by former Spartan owner and business manager, Harry Snyder, that, "Portsmouth would turn out in sufficiently large crowds and the game could be played on a paying basis, but not with a $2500 salary limit for every game and guarantees as high as $4500. Those days have passed, brother, so far as Portsmouth is concerned."(24) Football continued in Portsmouth, but the NFL did not. Semi-professional salaries and visiting team guarantees were considerably less than NFL standards and within the limited means of the depressed city.

Pottsville, an anthracite coal town in northeastern Pennsylvania, experienced a similar economic decline. In the early years of Pottsville's NFL tenure, the community believed their perceived prosperity could sustain a professional football team. Minersville Park, the Maroons playing field, failed to meet the team's need. In big games, overflow crowds set up their own seating or stood. In addition, the park was more than a mile from the center of Pottsville. Therefore, in 1925 businessmen and civic
leaders proposed to build the Maroons a larger stadium in the city. The Pottsville Republican exclaimed "we could support a stadium."(25) Their confidence was re-inforced by the successful 1925 Maroon stock drive to fund the football team. Monetary assistance was essential and forthcoming in the franchise's first couple of years.

The stadium project never materialized and business investment dropped off because the local economy started to decline. The Maroons did not fall victim to the Great Depression, as did the Spartans; they folded after the 1928 season. Pottsville became a victim of technological change. Anthracite production peaked in the early 1920s and by 1930 output had dropped over twenty percent (See Table 5).(26) "Many companies forced to close...never reopened and those that survived were hurt by the growing inefficiency or traditional mining methods and increased competition from oil and other fuels."(27)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Tons Mined</th>
<th>Anthracite Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>19,238,222</td>
<td>37,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>15,673,000</td>
<td>33,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>12,911,938</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>4,297,000</td>
<td>2,646</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Gudelunas and Couch, "The Stolen Championship", 64. Taken from the Pennsylvania Department of Mines Annual Report, 1924, 1930, 1935, and 1968.
By 1935, employment in the anthracite coal industry had declined by over forty percent since 1924. The economic disaster had an impact on other businesses as well and proved catastrophic to the area.

Pottsville failed as an NFL town largely because the city experienced a sharp decline in its major industry. Like Portsmouth, business investment in a community prestige marker, a professional sports franchise, was not a priority in a declining economy.

Meanwhile, Green Bay, a city of 31,017 in 1920, similar to Portsmouth and Pottsville in size, experienced a very different history. By 1980, the city's population had doubled to 62,888, and by 1990 it reached nearly 100,000. Every decade since the Packers began playing professional football in Green Bay, the population of the city and the immediate surrounding area increased in excess of ten percent (See Table 6). (28)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>County</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>25,236</td>
<td>54,098</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>62,888</td>
<td>125,082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>31,017</td>
<td>61,889</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>75,133</td>
<td>158,244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>37,415</td>
<td>70,249</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>87,809</td>
<td>175,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>46,235</td>
<td>83,109</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>96,468</td>
<td>194,594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>52,735</td>
<td>98,314</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, paper served as the industrial base of the Green Bay economy. Although no paper mills existed in the city until 1892, the area had been manufacturing paper since the 1870s. By the time the Packers entered the NFL, paper had developed into Green Bay's main industry. Employment in the industry in Brown County equaled forty-one percent of the manufacturing jobs, while the surrounding counties of Outagamie and Winnebago employed sixty-five and forty-five percent, respectively, of its manufacturing workers in paper production.(29) During the Depression, the national paper industry did not exhibit a sharp decline in production and has experienced remarkable growth since (See Table 7).

**TABLE 7- National Paper Production, 1920-1937**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Production</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Production</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>7,671</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>13,643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>10,505</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>13,972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>11,623</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>13,728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>13,428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>12,536</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>13,888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>12,933</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>14,458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>13,704</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>15,573</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Locally, the largest paper producer in the Fox River Valley region, Kimberly-Clark Corporation in Outa-
Outagamie County, experienced "tremendous growth during the Depression" and increased employment from 2,836 to 4,067 between 1929 and 1935. (30) In addition, Green Bay specialized in toilet tissue. By the 1920s, Northern Paper had become the nation's largest toilet paper producer and the city was known as the toilet paper capital of the world. (31) The toilet tissue industry doubled production between 1925 and 1935 alone (See Table 8).

**TABLE 8- United States Toilet Tissue Production, 1925-1935**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Production</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>108,847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>119,777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>142,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>150,652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>202,861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>223,721</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The boom in toilet tissue manufacturing offset the sixty percent decline in farm prices. Although the Depression's impact was felt in the area, the region did very well in relation to the rest of the nation. Brown, Outagamie, and Winnebago counties rated, in relative financial condition in 1934, in the top twenty percent of Wisconsin counties. A local historian commented that "Green Bay
never saw any bread lines or soup kitchens."(32)

In the 1920s, the favorable economic climate enabled city leaders and local businessmen to seek ways to advertise their city and become Packer football boosters. Much like civic leaders today, they saw a professional sports franchise as an indication of urban growth and development. The small city received national recognition from the Packers. Therefore, each time the franchise required financial assistance, the economically sound and growing business community of Green Bay was able to rescue football.

To adequately explain the survival of professional football in Green Bay, it must be shown that the Packers were perceived by business leaders as an essential element to the city early in the team's history and that those with a financial stake in the Green Bay economy were the majority of investors in the team. Although Portsmouth and Pottsville exhibited similar characteristics at first, these cities did not, indeed, could not, sustain their support. Business and civic boosterism and financial aid needed to be present throughout each crisis.

Urban boosterism can be observed from various articles from the Green Bay Press-Gazette during the team's first financial crisis of 1922-1923. Green Bay
Mayor, Wenzel Weisner, commented, "The Green Bay professional football team has given our city considerable national advertising." (33) A Green Bay businessman and assistant chair of the Association of Commerce stated, "one doesn't begin to appreciate what importance the Green Bay pro eleven is looked upon until they get in touch with some of the people who live out of town." (34) An out of town businessman suggested, "I think your pro team does more to keep Green Bay in the public eye than any other civic project." (35) Meanwhile, in 1923, over 150 businessmen from Green Bay formed the Businessmen's Commission to raise money to pay off the Packer's debt. To urge the city to save the Packers, prominent companies placed full-page advertisements in the local newspaper to show pride and confidence in their team. (36)

Once again, during the Packer's financial crisis in the 1930s, boosterism from local businessmen was evident. A letter from attorneys Gerald Clifford and LaVerne Dilweg, written on July 27, 1933, described the Packers in much the same way as modern cities view a professional sports franchise's role in a community. The letter stated the Packers were a "charitable institution...for the purpose of furthering the interests of the city of Green Bay, advertising it and the community, and developing
community spirit."(37) During the 1934 stock offering, Packer game programs stressed that the team was an asset to the area.(38) Two hundred businessmen responded to the stock drive and invested in the Packer's future and for the first time paper industry executives sat on the team's board of directors (See Appendix). According to Lambeau's biographer, the stock sale "went well right from the start because the business community had the money and the spirit."(39) Portsmouth and Pottsville may have had the same spirit, but lacked the money.

The Packers suffered a huge debt again in the late 1940s. Losing seasons and front-office turmoil plagued the franchise. Former Packer President Lee Joannes claimed that Lambeau had used team funds for personal expenses and spent Packer money on extravagant items, such as Rockwood Lodge, a former seminary converted into a practice facility which was over ten miles from town. Joannes believed that if Lambeau had not left after 1949, in two years the Packers would have been bankrupt.(40)

Nonetheless, the Packers experienced an economic crisis in 1949 and once again called for community support. Competition from the new All-American Football Conference (AAFC) escalated player salaries and raised the overall expenses of professional football franchises,
while drawing away NFL fans. Many local residents and nearly everyone involved in the NFL believed the days of professional football in Green Bay were numbered. Even though many debated the legality of the Packers relocating because of their unique stock arrangement, NFL owners, Packer management, and local supporters understood that if the team went bankrupt and insufficient funds came in from the local community, the Packers could and would suffer the fate of Portsmouth and Pottsville. (41)

Packer attorney Gerald Clifford commented prior to the 1950-1951 stock offering, "I cannot be a party to asking the people of Green Bay to pour another $100,000 into what looks like a hopeless cause." (42) Nonetheless, after nearly thirty years of supporting a professional team, many realized that the Packers were unique and an advertising asset that could not be replaced. The first Packer President and local newspaperman, A.B. Turnbull, stated in the late 1940s, "it's a privilege to have a team like the Green Bay Packers in Green Bay...and we want to do everything in our power to keep them here. We must promote and boost them. If we ever lose the Packers, we will never get them back. There will never be another team like the Packers." (43)

From 1949-1951, the Packers coordinated and held
their largest stock drive in team history. Green Bay's businessmen, once again, poured money into 'this hopeless cause'. The local economy was "really impressive" and showed signs of "significant expansion" at the time of the stock offering."(44) Investment in the Packers, understood to be a civic project because no profit or dividend could ever be obtained through the stock, could only take place if the city's businessmen had the money to invest. An analysis of those that purchased stock in the 1950-1951 sale indicated that businessmen with a stake in the promotion of the local economy represented the overwhelming majority of investors. The Green Bay metropolitan area employed 40,975 people in 1952. Of these, 28,185 had non-agricultural occupations, 12,615 worked in manufacturing, and the remaining jobs entailed business owners and office workers.(45)

One thousand six hundred sixty-six separate investors purchased stock in the Packers during the sales drive. Three hundred forty-eight of those were not from the Green Bay metropolitan area. In addition, 89 stockholders either had no occupation or were retired. Therefore, of the 1229 investors with a discernable occupation, only 43 could be considered working class. Only 3.5 percent of stockholders made up 44.7 percent of those
employed in Brown County. The remaining 55.3 percent of those employed in the area’s business class comprised 1184 buyers, or 96.3 percent of identifiable investors. In addition, of the 1184 non-working class stockholders, 939 investors were businesses, proprietors, high ranking executives, or area professionals. The Packers had many fans within the working class, but to retain the franchise in the city, a successful local business community was essential (See Table 9).

TABLE 9- Occupations of Stockholders in 1950-1951

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Stockholders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct Business Investment</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietors</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Executives</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Managers</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salespersons</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Employees</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisors and Foreman</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual Laborers</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Occupation/Retired</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of Brown County</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(n=1666)

Note: Up to 200 shares could be purchased by any individual or business. A proprietor could buy 200 shares for himself and in the name of his business. However, data on how many shares each investor purchased is not available. The total number of shares purchased was just over 4600.

Sources: *Green Bay Packer Program* (September 17, 1950) and *Wright’s 1949 and 1951 Green Bay City Directory*.

The final act of community support for the Packers
in Green Bay before the television era was the construction of a new football stadium with the use of public funds. The building of Lambeau Field, a 32,000 bleacher seat stadium, "was critical to the future of the franchise."(47) After more than a decade of losing teams, the city still supported the Packers with the stadium project. Taxpayers approved a 1955 referendum by a 11,575 to 4,893 margin.(48) In 1957, the stadium opened with local, state, and national dignitaries in attendance and the Packers no longer had to share their field with a local high school.

Since the era of NFL television contracts began in the early 1960s, the Packers future in Green Bay has been secure. Initially, though, television hindered professional football in Green Bay. The 1950s ushered in this new source of revenue for professional sports. The early television contracts with professional football were made through a network and each individual franchise. Revenue NFL teams received from television in 1952 ranged from $15,000 for the Chicago Cardinals to the New York Giant's $158,000.(49) The Packers received the second lowest total at just $24,000. Teams with losing records or smaller potential audiences could not bargain on the same level as metropolitan giants for television money. Lucrative contracts went to winning teams from large markets. As long
as the same teams received more money each year, the teams with fewer television dollars would be unable to compete.(50)

The Green Bay Packers suffered due to its very small television market. Each year, the Packers received one of the smallest shares of television revenue in the NFL. For example, the Green Bay Packers won the Western Conference Title and received $75,000 for their 1960 television rights. Meanwhile, the Pittsburgh Steelers had never won a title in their thirty year history and were 5-6-1 in 1960, but earned $225,000 for their 1960 television rights.(51)

However, beginning in 1960 the NFL faced a new challenge, the third American Football League (AFL). The new rival league established a policy that aided all franchises in their struggle to gain stability. The AFL became the first professional sports league to initiate a revenue-sharing television plan. In 1960, each AFL franchise received $88,000 from ABC-TV for the rights to their games; $13,000 more than the Green Bay Packers.(52)

In an attempt to secure financial stability for losing and smaller city teams, NFL Commissioner, Pete Rozelle, convinced league owners that a revenue-sharing policy similar to that of the AFL would be in the best interest of the league. The CBS-NFL contract for the 1962
season was the NFL's first negotiated for all franchises and divided revenue equally. Naturally, teams in the larger areas received a smaller amount than that which their market generated, but the AFL challenge prompted many owners to surrender their right to negotiate independently in favor of league stability. Relocation or bankruptcy of a NFL team at the time the league competed against the AFL for players and fans would have given the rival league an upper hand. In the first year of the CBS-NFL contract, the Packers television revenue increased three hundred percent (See Appendix).(53) Ultimately, what the NFL did with television revenue saved professional football in Green Bay.(54) The television era and profit sharing guarantees each professional football team about the same amount of revenue to field a squad and virtually assures each franchise a profit.
Conclusion

The answer to the question of why the Packers survived in Green Bay lies in the economy of the local area as well as the community's perception of professional football. Whenever the Packers lacked necessary operating funds, the city rescued the team. The bailouts occurred throughout the Packers first thirty years in Green Bay; the final one came at a time when the team was in disarray on and off the field. Nonetheless, civic leaders and businessmen saved football and even built the franchise a modern football stadium. The community invested in the Packers, first, because business leaders understood that a professional sports franchise signified a certain status and a necessary component to any city that wanted national recognition, and second, unlike Portsmouth and Pottsville, the money was available because the local economy prospered and grew. The businessmen of Green Bay knew what they were doing when they kept funding the Packers because "football is what made this town. Who would have ever heard of Green Bay if it wasn't for the Packers?"(1)
Notes to the Introduction


3. Ibid, 43, 73.


7. Two franchises failed in the American League in their original city in the league’s first fifty seasons. They were a team from Milwaukee that played in 1901 and an organization from Baltimore in 1901 and 1902. However, both these franchises were relocated. In 1902, the Milwaukee team became the St.Louis Browns and later, the Baltimore Orioles. Meanwhile, Baltimore’s franchise transferred to New York in 1903 and eventually became the Yankees.


12. Ernest L. Cuneo, "Present at the Creation: Professional Football in the Twenties," *American Scholar* (1987), 487. Although players salaries were very low in the 1921 season for Green Bay, they increased quickly. By
the middle of the decade average players received between $100 and $200 a game. By 1920 standards, solely playing football would enable a professional player to achieve lower middle class income status. Many players supplemented their football salaries with off-season occupations. However, not until the 1940s did all the best college players opt for professional football rather than a business career. Very few players played football in the early years solely for the money.


16. Ibid, 226, 246, 290. The Cleveland Rams won the NFL Championship in 1945 and still lost over $50,000. They moved to Los Angeles the next season and in the next three seasons they lost another $250,000.

17. In the initial years of the NFL, college players took fake names and played for a pro team a couple of games a year. In a conversation with Russ Zacko, son of Pottsville Maroon equipment manager, Joe Zacko, he revealed that the Maroons had a few players in that situation, the most famous of which was Johnny 'Blood' McNally, who played under the name Johnny Blood because his college class had not yet graduated.

18. NFL Commissioner Joe Car enforced restrictions against using eligible college players as tightly as he could. In fact, the Green Bay Packers used 'Hunk' Anderson, a Notre Dame star, and a few of his college friends in a 1921 contest against the Bears in the last game of the season. The Bears won 20-0, but Bear coach George Halas wanted Anderson for his team in 1922; after 'Hunk' had graduated. Halas reported the Packers to the Commissioner and the Packers franchise was temporarily suspended. The Packer paid a sizeable fine and barely were accepted back into the league. The Milwaukee Badgers were caught for a similar infraction and the franchise was revoked. Although Blue Laws existed in Pennsylvania, the Pottsville Maroons played on Sundays regularly. Meanwhile,
the Frankford Yellowjackets in Philadelphia played home games on Saturday.

19. *Appleton Post-Crescent*, 18 November, 1921. The article was in reference to the Packer/Cardinals game of November 20, 1921. 400 fans traveled to the game from Green Bay. Meanwhile, total attendance at the game in Chicago was only 1000.


23. Reiss, *City Games*, 144-145.


three volume series ended after the 1949 season. At that point, the future of football in Green Bay appeared bleak at best. In order to obtain a complete understanding of the Packers from an urban standpoint, an analysis of the 1950-1951 stock sale and an explanation of the new television era must be examined in addition to asking the right questions about the earlier period.

27. The Gudelunas and Couch article focussed on the impact of professional football on ethnic differences within a community. In addition, they discussed what former players did after their football career.


Notes to Chapter One

1. The same team was transplanted to Detroit in 1934 and won a championship in 1935.


4. Names, The Lambeau Years, Part One, 35.

5. Green Bay Press-Gazette, 24 October, 1918.

6. Green Bay Press-Gazette, 18, 18, 19, 21, 24, and 26 October, 1818 and 3 and 4 November, 1918. The Green Bay Semi-Pro team practiced every evening at 8:00. They could only find eighteen qualified players due to the war, but still managed to be the strongest team in the region. They beat Kaukauna 84 to 0 and Oshkosh 48-0 in their most lop-sided victories.


10. Ibid, 56.

11. Ibid, 56.

12. Pottsville Republican 28 October and 14 September, 1925.

13. "Pro Football: Once a Small Town Sport" (Film), (Huntington, West Virginia: WPBY-TV, 1984).


16. "Pro Football: Once a Small Town Sport" (Film).

17. Portsmouth Times 20 November, 1930.


22. Pottsville Republican 18 December, 1925.

23. In a conversation with Russ Zacko, he discussed how Rauch organized parties and social events for the players at local restaurants and home. The effect was that a number of players found Pottsville to be a good place to play.

24. This was discovered from a list of those in attendance at the Maroons fund raiser in 1925. The list was submitted in the Pottsville Republican on 17 December, 1925. Then, the names were matched with W.H. Boyd’s Pottsville City Directory (Philadelphia: W.H. Boyd Publishing Company, 1924).


30. Names, The Lambeau Years, Part Three, 32.


32. There has been a considerable controversy over the fate of the Pottsville Maroons. Despite having only six players out of twenty from the 1928 Pottsville roster, the NFL recognized that the franchise in Boston, with a new owner, was the same that operated in Pottsville from 1925-1928. However, the Boston franchise folded after the 1929 season. Thus, the NFL recognized history of the Maroons ended. Many Pottsville citizens insist that today's Washington Redskins were once the Pottsville Maroons. However, after the 1929 Boston franchise folded, there was no NFL team in Boston during the 1930 and 1931 seasons. In 1932, a new franchise, the Boston Redskins began. In 1937 that team moved to Washington. The 1929 and 1932 Boston franchises were recognized by the NFL as different.

33. Encyclopedia of Pro Football, 170. Richards sold the Lions in 1939 to Fred Mandel for $225,000, a profit of over $200,000. However, Mandel sold the team in 1948 for just $185,000. In 1992, the Lions were valued at just over $118 million.


36. Portsmouth Times 8 September, 1930 and 20 November, 1930. Also, Journal of Portsmouth, 107, 331, Scioto County, Ohio, 43, "Pro Football: Once a Small Town Sport" (Film), and 1930 Portsmouth City Directory. It is my speculation that Harry Snyder initially invested so much in the Spartans because he knew that entry into the NFL would make it necessary to build a new stadium in the city. As a contractor, this was a very lucrative business venture. His Universal Contracting did renovate Mound Park and received the contract to build the new Universal Stadium in 1932. However, the Depression ended the project.
and it was not completed until 1937 with the aid of the WPA. The field was renamed Spartan Stadium in 1970.


40. Portsmouth Times, 23 December, 1931.

41. Portsmouth Times, 10 December, 1931.

42. Portsmouth Times, 14 December, 1931.

43. Portsmouth Times, 14 and 28 December, 1931.

44. Portsmouth Times, 24, 28, and 31 December, 1931.

45. Born, The Way We Were, 7 and Portsmouth Times 16 December, 1931. Also, in a conversation with Bob Jordan, Portsmouth Spartan collector, he revealed that the Spartans never played in the new stadium because the project became too costly during the Depression.

46. Gudelunas and Couch, "The Stolen Championship", 57 and also discussed in Jerry Izenberg, "The Pottsville Maroons: Persistent Pretenders to a 46 Year Old Throne" Gameday (October 3, 1971), 3D, 4D, 7D.

47. Pottsville Republican, 17 October, 1925.


49. Pottsville Republican, 17 December, 1925.


52. Willard J. Bent vs. The Green Bay Football Corporation. The official verdict is located in the special collections area at the Cofrin Library, UW-Green Bay.

53. Green Bay Press-Gazette, 1 December, 1949. Although
$200,000 of stock was issued, only $118,000 sold. The club was only $100,000 in debt.


60. Ibid.


63. Stock data for the 1950-1951 stock drive was derived from a list of stockholders in the September 17, 1950 Packer program and a short list from the 1951 program. The names of the stockholders were then matched with the listings in Wright's Green Bay 1949 and 1951 City Directory (Milwaukee: Wright Directory Publishers, 1949 and 1951).

64. Encyclopedia of Pro Football, 115.

65. Names, The Lambeau Years, Part Two, 170.

Notes to Chapter Two


7. Reiss, *City Games*, 258.


and Frank H. Rowe, *History of the Iron and Steel Industry in Scioto County* (Columbus: The Ohio State Archive and Historical Society, 1938), 106.


15. "Pro Football: Once a Small Town Sport" (Film).


30. *Four Men and a Machine: Commemorating the 75th Anniversary of the Kimberly-Clark Corporation* (Neenah, Wisconsin: Kimberly-Clark Corporation, 1952), 32-33.


37. Letter from attorneys Clifford and Dilweg, July 27, 1933. The letter accompanied with other files from the court case, Willard J. Bent vs. The Green Bay Football Corporation are located in the special collections area, Cofrin Library at UW-Green Bay.

38. *Green Bay Packer Program* (September 23, 1934), 19.


41. Legally, for the Packers to relocate it would take a majority vote of the stockholders. Since Packer stock is non-profit, there would be no motive for the local community to vote the team to relocate. However, it is accepted that if the team went bankrupt, and no support came from the area, the league could move the franchise.


44. Frank C. artier, ed., *What Goes On In Green Bay: Green Bay in the Last Ten Years* (Green Bay: City of Green Bay, 1953), 1.
46. Green Bay Packer Program (September 17, 1950) and Wright's Green Bay 1949 and 1951 City Directory. Of the 1666 separate stockholders, 348 have no listing and 89 are either retired or have no occupation. The 1229 remaining stockholders are broken down into: 392 businesses, 283 business owners, 147 executives (company presidents, vice-presidents, general managers, and treasurers), 117 professionals (doctors, lawyers, teachers), 108 business managers, 69 salesmen, 39 office employees, 29 supervisors and foreman, 43 workers (manufacturing, mining, and construction), and 2 agricultural workers.

47. 1987 Green Bay Packer Yearbook (Green Bay: Green Bay Packers, Inc., 1987), 55. Since Lambeau Field opened in 1957, seating capacity has increased from 32,000 to just under 60,000. However, all seats remain bleacher seats.


52. Tim Cowlishaw, "The Brain Behind the AFL-NFL Merger" Football Digest (November, 1986), 75.


Note to the Conclusion

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6-A. Those in Attendance at the Pottsville Maroons 1925 Fund Raizer and Their Occupation, 111-119.

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## National Association Membership and Team Records 1871-1875

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Franchise</th>
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Appendix 3-A
American Association Membership, 1882-1891

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## Appendix 4-A

American League Membership, 1901-1994

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Columbus Tigers 1923-1928
St. Louis All-Stars 1923
Akron Indians 1923-1926
Cleveland Bulldogs 1924-25, 1927
Frankford Yellowjackets 1924-1931
Buffalo Bisons 1924-25, 1927, 1929
Kansas City Cowboys 1924-1926
Kenosha Maroons 1924
Pottsville Maroons 1925-1928
New York Giants 1925-
Detroit Panthers 1925-1926
Providence Steamroller 1925-1931
Los Angeles Buccaneers 1926
Duluth Eskimos 1926-1927
Buffalo Rangers 1926
Hartford Blues 1926
Brooklyn Lions 1926
Louisville Colonels 1926
New York Yankees 1927-1928
Detroit Wolverines 1928
Boston Bulldogs 1929
Orange/Newark Tornadoes 1929-1930
Staten Island Stapletons 1929-1932
Minneapolis Red Jackets 1929-1930
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New England Patriots 1970-
Buffalo Bills 1970-
New York Jets 1970-
Cincinnati Bengals 1970-
Houston Oilers 1970-
Oakland Raiders 1970-1981
Denver Broncos 1970-
San Diego Chargers 1970-
Kansas City Chiefs 1970-
Tampa Bay Buccaneers 1976-
Seattle Seahawks 1976-
Los Angeles Raiders 1982-
Indianapolis Colts 1984-
Arizona/Phoenix Cardinals 1988-
Carolina Panthers 1995-
Jacksonville Jaguars 1995-

Notes: Frankford is a section in the city of Philadelphia.
Franchise relocations: Canton Bulldogs became Cleveland Bulldogs, Pottsville became Boston Bulldogs, Portsmouth Spartans became Detroit Lions, Boston Redskins became Washington Redskins, Cincinnati Reds became St.Louis Gunners, Cleveland Rams became Los Angeles Rams, Dallas Texans became Baltimore Colts, Chicago Cardinals became St.Louis Cardinals, Oakland Raiders became Los Angeles Raiders, Baltimore Colts became Indianapolis Colts, and St.Louis Cardinals became Phoenix Cardinals.

APPENDIX 6-A

Those in Attendance at the Pottsville Maroons
1925 Fund Raiser

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<td>J. OREN BEARSTLER</td>
<td>MAYOR-DENTIST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.W. BECHTE</td>
<td>LAWYER</td>
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<tr>
<td>H.K. BEECHER</td>
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<td>WILLIAM BELLES</td>
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<td>A.C. BENAN</td>
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<td>EDDIE BENNIS</td>
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<td>D.M. BERGEN</td>
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111
L.P. BRENNEHAN  CLERK
H.W. BREWER  MINING ENGINEER
L.H. BUCHER  PLAYER
PAUL H. BUECHLER  CLERK
JACK CARLIN  STUDENT
DR. O.J. CARLIN  PHYSICIAN
P.J. CLOSE  ENGINEER
J. COOKSON  SPORTSWRITER
J.A. COOKSON  SALESMAN
WILLIAM COLES  WAITER
L.W. CONRAD  SUPERINTENDENT
VICTOR CORNELIUS  MANAGER
ALBERT A. COX  AGENT
GRiffITH DAVIS  LABORER
W.J. DECHERT  NO REPORT
C.C. DEENEY  NO REPORT
J.H. DEIFENDERFER  DISPATCHER
PAUL DENGLER  OWNED DENGLER BROTHERS
FREDDY DE VECCA  NO REPORT
FRANK DEWALD  HORSESHOEIR
JESSIE G. DEWALD  BLACKSMITH
HARRY DIAMOND  CLOTHIER
CHARLES DIETY  NO REPORT
CLAYTON C. DIMMICK  LABORER

112
W.E. DONALDSON
THOMAS DOVE
WILLIAM T. DOVE, Jr.
FRANCIS DOYLE
DR. W.F. DOYLE
M.A. DUNLAP
LOUIS M. EBER
J.G. EICHERLY
FRANCIS P. ELLISON
W.H. ENT
W.F. EPTING, Jr.
HARRY EVANS
S.M. EVANS
WALTER E. FARQUHAR
ED S. FERNSLER
JOHN FERTIG
E.C. FISCHER
HARRY FRIEDMAN
WALTER E. FRENCH
PAUL R. GARBER
EDWARD GILLESPIE
DR. W.R. GLINNEY
THOMAS B. GOLDEN, Sr.
THOMAS B. GOLDEN, Jr.

OWNED GROCERY
MANAGER
NO REPORT
PLAYER
PHYSICIAN/SURGEON
OWNED DUNLAP AND JONES
OWNED H.L. EBER'S SONS
NO REPORT
NO REPORT
ADJUSTER
LABORER
CLERK
OWNED OFFICE EQUIPMENT CO.
SPORTSWRITER
OWNED PHARMACY
CARPENTER
NO REPORT
NO REPORT
PLAYER
SALESMAN
PLAYER
PHYSICIAN
NO OCCUPATION
CLERK
WILLIAM GOLDEN
DR. J.J. GORMAN
THOMAS M. GRANEY
JOHN GREEN
GEORGE HAISLEY
DR. M. HAMDI
RUSSEL G. HATHAWAY
R. HECKMAN
CONRAD K. HOCK
ROBERT C. HOCK
JACOB HOEPSTINE
J.W. HOEPSTINE
FRED W. HOFFMAN
H.C. HOFFMAN
WILLIAM J. HOFFMAN
HILBERT E. HOPPE
DR. M.C. HOUSEHOLDER
D.H. HOUER
J.M. HOUTZ
DENNY HUGHES
ROBERT L. HUMMEL
JAMES H. HUPPERT
WILLIAM HURLEY
N.B. ISECOVITS

MANAGER
DENTIST
MANAGER
IRONWORKER
NO REPORT
DOCTOR
PLAYER
BRICKLAYER
PRESIDENT MERCHANTS BANK
SALESMAN
CLERK
ALDERMAN
ELECTRICIAN
ASSISTANT EDITOR
BRICKLAYER
LABORER
PHYSICIAN
NO REPORT
NO REPORT
PLAYER
MACHINIST
MANAGER
OWNED AVERY AND HURLEY
MANAGER

114
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ROBERT E. JENKINS</td>
<td>SHERIFF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEORGE R. KALBACH</td>
<td>CLERK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CECIL KANE</td>
<td>WAITER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAMES R. KANE</td>
<td>OWNED KANE QUALITY PRETZEL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. KENDRICK</td>
<td>NO REPORT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WILBUR C. KENNEY</td>
<td>CLERK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ED KLINE</td>
<td>LAND AGENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.C. KLINE</td>
<td>TRUCK DRIVER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.R. KNAPP</td>
<td>OWNED HARNESS, GLOVES CO.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TONY LATONE</td>
<td>PLAYER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUNGY LEBENGOOD</td>
<td>CLERK</td>
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<tr>
<td>P.P. LECHER</td>
<td>NO REPORT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THEO K. LEIPINGER</td>
<td>NO REPORT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALBERT LEWIS</td>
<td>CLERK</td>
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<tr>
<td>CLAUDE LORD</td>
<td>OWNED FUNERAL HOME</td>
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<td>A.J. LOTZ</td>
<td>DRIVER</td>
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<tr>
<td>W.W. LYNCH</td>
<td>CLERK</td>
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<tr>
<td>RICHARD MACK</td>
<td>STUDENT</td>
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<tr>
<td>GORDON MACKAY</td>
<td>SPORTSWRITER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARMIN MAHRT</td>
<td>NO REPORT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.E. MANHART</td>
<td>MACHINIST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UZAL H. MARTZ</td>
<td>STENOGRAPHER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEORGE MAUGER</td>
<td>NO REPORT</td>
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<tr>
<td>STONEY NCGLINN</td>
<td>REPORTER</td>
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LEROY A. MCGLONE
H.F. MCKNIGHT
E.A. MEAD
C.H. MERVINE
F.W. MESSERSMITH
HARRY MILLER
HARRY C. MILLER
H.W. MILLER
J.A. MILLER
G.A. MOOTZ
JOHN F. MOOTZ
JAMES L. MORAN
F.S. MORRISON
G.W. MORRISON
LEONARD NICHOLAS
JOHN O'HARA
BUCK O'REILLY
JOS. A. ORF
S.P. POPE
FRED PORTZ
H.K. PORTZ
WILLIAM PRETTYMAN
E. PRYM
WILLIAM PUGH

MACHINIST
NO REPORT
POSTMAN
ELECTRICIAN
NO REPORT
PRES. BLEACHING AND DYEING
OWNED LOUIS MILLER AND SON
CLERK
CIRCULATION MANAGER
OWNED GROCERY
CLERK
LAWYER
OWNED GROCERY
DRIVER
NO REPORT
WRITER
SALESMAN
OWNED PLUMBING CO.
NO REPORT
MANAGER
DRAFTSMAN
INSURANCE AGENT
NO REPORT
OWNED POTTS. CONSTRUCTION

116
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J.V. Purcel</td>
<td>Salesman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dick Rauch</td>
<td>Coach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malcolm Rees</td>
<td>No Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Reider</td>
<td>No Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.A. Reilly</td>
<td>Chemist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.G. Rhoads</td>
<td>Advertising Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norman Rich</td>
<td>Owned Real Estate Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. J.B. Rogers</td>
<td>Physician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.C. Rummel</td>
<td>Salesman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. A.S. Ry</td>
<td>Physician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Scharadin</td>
<td>Owned Knitting Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.J. Schick</td>
<td>Freight Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.F. Schlitzer</td>
<td>Owned Drug Store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George H. Schmeltzer</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Schneider</td>
<td>Owned Drug Store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.K. Schultz</td>
<td>Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Schuster</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James M. Seitzinger</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Seltzer</td>
<td>Salesman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur A. Schoener</td>
<td>No Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guy F. Schoener</td>
<td>No Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George T. Smith</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Stallman</td>
<td>Player</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howard Starr</td>
<td>Salesman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EDGAR STAUFFER
HERBERT STEIN
DR. N.H. STEIN
R.F. STEIN
H.J. STEINBURN
ELMER S. STELLBURN
ARTHUR C. STERNER
P.A. STERNER
EDWARD STEVENS
W.L. STEVENSON
G.E. STRICKLAND
DR. J.G. STRIEGEL
JOHN TYSON
HOBART UHL
H.W. WADINGER
F.W. WAGNER
GEORGE T. WAGNER
CHRIST WARD
CHARLES P. WARNER
WILLIAM F. WEBER
C.E. WENSEL
HAROLD WENSEL
HERBERT E. WENSEL
BYRON WENTZ

NO REPORT
PLAYER
PHYSICIAN
CLERK
OWNED WHOLESALE DRYGOODS
NO REPORT
NO OCCUPATION
PAINTER
IRS COLLECTOR
CHIEF FIREMAN
NO REPORT
PHYSICIAN/ TEAM OWNER
BANK TELLER
SALESMAN
REPORTER
LABORER
NO REPORT
LABORER
CLERK
OWNED FUNERAL HOME
OWNED DRYWALL CO.
LATHER
OWNED DRYWALL CO.
PLAYER
FRANK WERNER                  CARPENTER
HARRY F. WERTLEY              OWNED PLANNING MILL
JAMES A. WERTLEY              OWNED JOHN HOUSER AND CO.
F.H. WETTER                   SALESMAN
BUD WHITEHOUSE                LAWYER
RAY WIDERMUTH                 NO REPORT
JOSEPH H. WILLIAMS            NO OCCUPATION
G.R. WILSON                   NO REPORT
L.A. WINGERT                  NO REPORT
CLAUDE YEAGER                 NO REPORT
JOSEPH ZACKO                  SALESMAN
ED A. ZWEIBLE                 NEWSPAPER EDITOR

Sources: Pottsville Republican, 17 December, 1925
         and W.H. Boyd's Pottsville 1924 City Directory.
APPENDIX 7-A

Auditor's Report of the Portsmouth Spartans
(January 15, 1931 to December 10, 1931)

INCOME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gross income from games</td>
<td>$ 63,463.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of players</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donations</td>
<td>369.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash over the year</td>
<td>68.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL INCOME</strong></td>
<td><strong>$ 64,001.64</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

EXPENSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expense</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Players' salaries</td>
<td>$ 32,889.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salary, coach</td>
<td>5,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salary, business manager</td>
<td>1,800.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salary, clerk</td>
<td>505.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salary, trainer</td>
<td>375.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting team guarantees</td>
<td>19,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Club traveling to foreign games</td>
<td>5,454.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stadium Rent</td>
<td>6,219.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publicity</td>
<td>1,022.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Players' travel expense to Portsmouth</td>
<td>936.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equipment and athletic supplies</td>
<td>1,010.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial insurance</td>
<td>553.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salary and expense of officials</td>
<td>903.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National League, 1 percent tax</td>
<td>413.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National League dues</td>
<td>200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical Supplies</td>
<td>506.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing</td>
<td>372.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Players purchased</td>
<td>300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gatemen</td>
<td>219.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police help</td>
<td>161.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising</td>
<td>249.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postage</td>
<td>180.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissions to season tickets sellers</td>
<td>309.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissions to foreign ticket agencies</td>
<td>93.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expense to schedule meeting</td>
<td>111.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office rent</td>
<td>180.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous expense</td>
<td>677.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL OPERATING EXPENSES</strong></td>
<td>$ 80,071.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NET OPERATING LOSS</strong></td>
<td>$ 16,070.03</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interest expense</td>
<td>492.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FINAL NET LOSS</strong></td>
<td>$ 16,562.98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX 8-A

Green Bay Packers, Inc.
Selected Articles of Incorporation

Article I:
The undersigned have associated and do hereby associate themselves together for the purpose of forming a corporation under Chapter 180 of the Wisconsin Statutes, and that this association shall be a community project intended to promote community welfare, and that its purposes shall be exclusively charitable, and that incidental to its purposes, it shall have the right to conduct athletic contests, operate a football team, or such other similar projects for the purpose of carrying out its charitable purposes.

Article VI:
The corporation shall be non-profit sharing and its purpose shall be exclusively for charitable purposes. No stockholder shall receive any dividend, pecuniary profit or emolument by virtue of his being a stockholder.

Should there be a dissolution of the Green Bay Packers, Inc., the undivided profits and assets of the Green Bay Packers, Inc., shall go to the Sullivan-Wallen Post of the American Legion for the purpose of erecting a proper soldier's memorial either by building, clubhouse,
hospital or other charitable or educational program, the choice of which the directors of this corporation shall have advisory control.

Article VII:

The Board of Directors shall have the right to create a capital reserve to provide for the acquisition and maintenance of its plant, equipment and players and said funds shall be preserved and no distribution made to any donee under the charitable clause of the Articles of Incorporation, except when in the judgement of the Board of Directors it shall be deemed advisable.

### APPENDIX 9-A

**Population of American Cities and Metropolitan Areas with a Professional Sports Franchise, 1995**  
*(1990 Population Numbers)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Metropolitan Area</th>
<th>Professional Teams</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York-NJ</td>
<td>7,322,564</td>
<td>18,087,251</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>3,485,398</td>
<td>14,531,529</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>2,783,726</td>
<td>8,065,633</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>723,959</td>
<td>6,253,311</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Jose</td>
<td>782,248</td>
<td>6,253,311</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oakland</td>
<td>372,242</td>
<td>6,253,311</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>1,585,577</td>
<td>5,899,345</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>1,027,974</td>
<td>4,665,236</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>574,283</td>
<td>4,171,643</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington D.C.</td>
<td>606,900</td>
<td>3,923,574</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dallas</td>
<td>1,006,877</td>
<td>3,885,415</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston</td>
<td>1,630,553</td>
<td>3,711,043</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miami</td>
<td>358,548</td>
<td>3,192,582</td>
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<tr>
<td>Atlanta</td>
<td>394,017</td>
<td>2,833,511</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cleveland</td>
<td>505,616</td>
<td>2,759,823</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seattle</td>
<td>516,259</td>
<td>2,559,164</td>
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<tr>
<td>San Diego</td>
<td>1,110,549</td>
<td>2,498,016</td>
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<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>368,383</td>
<td>2,464,124</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>396,685</td>
<td>2,444,099</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baltimore</td>
<td>574,283</td>
<td>2,382,172</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pittsburgh</td>
<td>369,879</td>
<td>2,242,798</td>
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</table>

124
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Retail</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>983,403</td>
<td>2,122,101</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tampa Bay</td>
<td>280,015</td>
<td>2,067,959</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver</td>
<td>467,610</td>
<td>1,848,319</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati</td>
<td>364,040</td>
<td>1,744,124</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>628,088</td>
<td>1,607,183</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas City</td>
<td>435,146</td>
<td>1,568,280</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacramento</td>
<td>369,365</td>
<td>1,481,102</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>437,319</td>
<td>1,477,695</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Antonio</td>
<td>935,933</td>
<td>1,302,099</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indianapolis</td>
<td>741,952</td>
<td>1,249,822</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Orleans</td>
<td>496,938</td>
<td>1,238,816</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>328,123</td>
<td>1,189,288</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlotte</td>
<td>395,934</td>
<td>1,162,093</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartford</td>
<td>139,739</td>
<td>1,085,837</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orlando</td>
<td>164,693</td>
<td>1,072,748</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salt Lake City</td>
<td>159,936</td>
<td>1,072,227</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jacksonville</td>
<td>672,971</td>
<td>906,727</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Green Bay</td>
<td>96,466</td>
<td>194,594</td>
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</table>

## APPENDIX 10-A

### Packers Executive Board Membership, 1923-1989

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>George W. Calhoun</td>
<td>Sports editor</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Henry Cleereman</td>
<td>Pres. Cleereman Lumber</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joseph Clusman</td>
<td>Grocer</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Enos Colburn</td>
<td>V-P Amer. Lumber Company</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>George DeLair</td>
<td>Owned DeLair’s Cafe</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lee Joannes</td>
<td>Treas. Joannes Bros.</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W.W. Kelly</td>
<td>Physician</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E.M. Krippner</td>
<td>Sec. Treas. Oldenburg-Krippner</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marcel Lambeau</td>
<td>City Building Inspector</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J.H. McGillian</td>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emmett Platten</td>
<td>Owned Platten Bros.</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A.B. Turnbull</td>
<td>Sec. Tr. Green Bay Newspaper</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wenzel Wiesner</td>
<td>Mayor</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A.C. Witteburg</td>
<td>Pres. Beaumont Hotel Co.</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>H.J. Bero</td>
<td>City Electrical Inspector</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gerald Clifford</td>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fred Cobb</td>
<td>Pres. Cobb’s Bakery</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E.R. Fischer</td>
<td>Pres. Atlas Warehouse</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lee Joannes</td>
<td>Pres. Joannes Bros.</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leslie Kelly</td>
<td>Pres. Green Bay Food Co.</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W.W. Kelly</td>
<td>Physician</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fred Leicht</td>
<td>Owned Leicht Transfer</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Harvey Lhost</td>
<td>Sales Mgr. F. Hurlbut Co.</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Charles Mathys</td>
<td>Owned Green Bay Glass+ Paint</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Moffett</td>
<td>Mgr. Wadhams Oil Company</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J.E. Paeps</td>
<td>Treas. Murphy Supply Co.</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C.A. Raasch</td>
<td>Mgr. H.C. Prange Co.</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arthur Schumacher</td>
<td>Owned Schauer + Schumacher</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ed Schuster</td>
<td>Owned Schuster + Sons</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H.J. Stoltz</td>
<td>Treas. Morley-Murphy Co.</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A.B. Turnbull</td>
<td>Treas.-G.M. Green Bay Newp.</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frank Walker</td>
<td>Owned Walker’s Cleaners</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Henry Wintgens</td>
<td>V-P Hoberg Paper + Fibre</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L.G. Wood</td>
<td>V-P-G.M. Northern Paper Mills</td>
<td>Green Bay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1951
H.J. Bero Green Bay Police Chief Green Bay
Russell Bogda Pres. Bogda Motor Company Green Bay
E.R. Fischer Pres. Green Bay Packers, Inc Green Bay
Lee Joannes Pres. Grocers Equip. Service Green Bay
Fred Leicht Pres. Leicht Transfer Green Bay
Verne Lewellyn Retired Packer/ Standard Oil Green Bay
Maxwell D. Murphy Treas. Murphy Insurance Green Bay
Gene Ronzani V.P.-G.M./Head Coach Packers Green Bay
William Servotte V.P.-G.M. Bay West Paper Co. Green Bay
John Torinus News Editor, Green Bay News. Green Bay
Fred Trowbridge Lawyer Green Bay

1967
Jerry Atkinson G.M. H.C. Prange Co. Green Bay
Richard Bourguignon Pres.Treas. Pressen Co. Green Bay
Tony Canadeo Retired Hall of Fame Packer Green Bay
Dominick Olejniczak Owned Real Estate Co. Green Bay
Clarence Renard Sec. Nameco Co. Green Bay
Leslie J. Kelly Chairman, Green Bay Food Green Bay
John Torinus Ed., Appleton Post-Cresent Green Bay
Fred Trowbridge Lawyer Green Bay

1989
Tony Canadeo Retired Hall of Fame Packer Green Bay
John Fabry Chairman, Glove+ Mitten Co. Green Bay
Robert Harlan Exec V-P Green Bay Packers Green Bay
Donald Harden Sec. Bellin Memorial Hosp. Green Bay
Phil Hendrickson Retired Businessman Green Bay
Peter Platten, III Chairman, Platten Bros. Green Bay
Donald Schneider Pres. Schneider National Green Bay

### APPENDIX 11-A

**Green Bay Packers, Inc.**

**Condensed Profit and Loss Statement, 1961**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ticket Sales</td>
<td>$1,348,984.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of Town Games</td>
<td>626,308.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio and Television</td>
<td>113,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Advertising</td>
<td>28,035.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest Income</td>
<td>16,388.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gain on Sale of Capital Assets</td>
<td>29,366.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>9,899.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenses:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visiting Team's Ticket Share</td>
<td>$641,371.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training Expenses</td>
<td>74,654.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Season Expenses</td>
<td>746,594.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overhead and Administration</td>
<td>352,502.51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Profit Before Income Taxes           | $357,360.40 |
| Less California and Federal Income Taxes | 182,284.94 |
| Net Profit for Year 1961             | $175,075.46 |
| Surplus January 1, 1961              | $398,066.14 |
| SURPLUS DECEMBER 31, 1961            | $573,141.60 |

Source: *1962 Green Bay Packers Yearbook, 34.*
## Condensed Profit and Loss Statement

### Year 1962

#### Income:
- **Ticket Sales**: $1,489,631.20
- **Out of Town Games**: 712,656.02
- **Radio and Television**: 357,673.57
- **Program Advertising**: 27,854.12
- **Interest Income**: 18,608.91
- **Gain on sale of capital assets**: 33,333.34
- **Miscellaneous**: 33,036.60

#### Expenses:
- **Visiting Teams' Ticket Share**: $756,660.45
- **Training Expenses**: 87,896.94
- **Season Expenses**: 850,456.72
- **Overhead and Administration**: 467,912.92

#### Profit Before Income Taxes: $509,862.73

#### Less California and Federal Income Taxes: $254,360.92

#### NET PROFIT FOR YEAR 1962: $255,501.81

#### SURPLUS, DECEMBER 31, 1962: $828,642.21

BIOGRAPHY


Coenen attended the University of Wisconsin at Green Bay and received his Bachelor of Arts degree in May 1992. He majored in History and minored in Social Change and Development. While at the University of Wisconsin at Green Bay, Coenen interned as a teaching assistant in History of the United States from 1865-present, Spring 1991 and 1992, and interned as parking director at Austin Straubel International Airport in Green Bay, Wisconsin, Fall 1991.

In the fall of 1992, Coenen entered Lehigh University to commence graduate study in the Department of History. He served as Vice-President of the Graduate Student Council, April 1993-January 1994.


During the 1993-1994 academic year, he served as a teacher's assistant in the History of the United States from 1600 to 1877 and Public History. Coenen received his Master of Arts degree from Lehigh University in May 1994.
END
OF
TITLE