

Arkansas Football Stadia: A Push and Pull toward Modernization

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Many universities and colleges during the early 1900s attempted to develop permanent football stadiums as part of an investment plan that would recruit alumni giving, produce revenue, and improve the "brand awareness" of the institution toward the effort to increase student enrollments.¹ Generally, the construction of football facilities followed the model established by Harvard University's Harvard Stadium, completed in 1903. Within this point, sport historian Ron Smith argued such stadia were to be aesthetically pleasing and funded through support provided by alumni, student fees, and profits emerging from gate receipts. In the case of Harvard, alumni graciously funded approximately one-third of the final cost of Harvard Stadium, while gate receipts covered much of the remaining costs. The end product, according to Harvard University athletic committee's faculty chairman Joseph Beale, was a facility that had all the "beauty and antique charm of the Greek stadia" to help dignify the game and school.²

College football historian Raymond Schmidt suggested confidence in college football was particularly strong during the 1920s as it "was believed to have an estimated drawing power of \$50 million a year with well over 50 percent of that representing profit" to cover both athletic and many other university expenses.³ Social historian Brian Ingrassia added college football's "commercial culture became manifested most concretely in campus stadiums."⁴ Moreover, "well intentioned progressives... made sport permanent by creating athletic departments, constructing

¹ Brian Ingrassia, *The Rise of the Gridiron University: Higher Education's Uneasy Alliance with Big-Time Football* (Lawrence, KA: University of Kansas Press, 2012), 9. See also Arnaud C. Marts, "College Football and College Endowment," *School and Society*, 40(1934): 14.

² Ron Smith, "Far More than Commercialism: Stadium Building from Harvard's Innovation to Stanford's 'Dirt Bowl,'" *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 25(2008): 1457

³ Raymond Schmidt, *Shaping College Football: The Transformation of an American Sport, 1919-1930* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 6.

⁴ Ingrassia, *The Rise of the Gridiron University*, 9.

concrete stadiums, and hiring a corps of professional experts” because consumerism combined with new communications technology (i.e., radio) transformed college football into a hugely popular cultural spectacle.⁵ Expectedly, many schools created plans to construct permanent stadiums to offset the commercial limitations that previous wooden facilities provided (i.e., inadequate seating capacities and quality along with spectator amenities like restrooms and concession stands).⁶

At the University of Arkansas, from 1901 to 1938, the Razorbacks football team played on an athletic field located atop “The Hill,” an area of campus which is presently occupied by Mullins Library and the Fine Arts center.⁷ Affectionately known as the “Hog Wallow,” the athletic field and 300-seat temporary wooden bleachers were rebuilt each season costing from \$200.00 to \$1,900.00 after a temporary grandstand was added during the late 1920s.⁸ Inadequate in its early years to meet growing interest in football and evolving consumer preferences, Hog Wallow underwent a number of minor improvements annually during the 1920s under the emphasis that the University needed to match the level of facilities offered by its peers.⁹

In November 1924, the *University of Arkansas Bulletin* published an article titled “A Building Program for the University of Arkansas,” that pushed for the 1925 state legislature to appropriate funds for new campus buildings. Within their position, the *University of Arkansas*

⁵ Ingrassia, *The Rise of the Gridiron University*, 171.

⁶ Schmidt, *Shaping College Football*, 5.

⁷ University of Arkansas Athletics, “Donald W. Reynolds Razorback Stadium Full History.” Accessed July 5, 2015 <http://www.arkansasrazorbacks.com/page/donald-w-reynolds-razorback-stadium-full-history>. See also John H. Reynolds and David Y. Thomas, *History of the University of Arkansas*, (Fayetteville, AR, University of Arkansas Press, 1910), 117. Reynolds and Thomas highlight football began in 1894 with the University setting aside 2.5 acres of land for baseball and football contest but expressed it would “expend no money on its improvement.”

⁸ B.N. Wilson, “Report of the Business Manager of Athletics for the Period July 1, 1923 to December 31, 1923. University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR. B.N. Wilson, “Report of the Business Manager of Athletics for the Period July 1, 1924 to December 31, 1924. University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR.

⁹ Gene Farmer. “Record crowd due for dedication,” *The Arkansas Traveler*, October 7, 1938, 1.

Bulletin suggested the campus has not produced a new building since 1905 when the enrolment was 400 compared to the 1,500 of 1924. Further, this article noted that the State was next to last in the United States in building expenditures for 1922.¹⁰ A second “Building Program for the University of Arkansas,” article authored by President John C. Futrall in November 1928 again highlighted Arkansas as last for 1925 on the average value of university buildings per student, suggesting the quality or value of campus buildings was low or inadequate. Futrall highlighted the importance of building a new athletic plant (e.g., stadium) to help meet the expectations created by others on what it meant to be a legitimate university.¹¹ The focus on analyzing building value was promoted in the 1930s as a demonstration of college’s financial wealth and endowment capability.¹²

In the 1920’s, the University of Arkansas did not build a new stadium but did make efforts toward the end of the decade to improve Hog Wallow. For instance, the University approved the erection of steel grandstands at the athletic field for a cost of \$15,200 and replanted the field with Bermuda athletic turf for \$1,500 to improve the quality of play and durability of the field.¹³ In 1928, President Futrall and Athletics Business Manager B.N. Wilson investigated the possibility of playing games at night and the need for lights to be erected at the athletic field.¹⁴ The gentlemen conceived the idea of erecting two strategically placed towers

¹⁰ “A Building Program for the University of Arkansas,” *University of Arkansas Bulletin*, 18(November 1924): 1.

¹¹ John C. Futrall, “A Building Program for the University of Arkansas,” *University of Arkansas Bulletin*, 22(November 1924): 1.

¹² Marts, “College Football and College Endowment,” 14.

¹³ Letter from John C. Futrall, President of the University of Arkansas to Jonathan A. Butler, Executive Vice President of the National Amateur Athletics Federation, April 22, 1931. Letter from B.N. Wilson, Business Manager of the University of Arkansas Athletics to President John C. Futrall. March 29, 1928.

¹⁴ Letter from B.N. Wilson to John C. Futrall, December 12, 1928. Letter from John C. Futrall to B. N. Wilson, January 15, 1929.

about 90 feet tall which would hold the lights and a new radio broadcast antenna.¹⁵ After researching several companies, Wilson discussed the estimate of \$7,755.44 for the production of the lights and radio antenna with Futrall and promulgated the use of the lights for other university-sponsored events. Night games were not common to college football at this time; however, the late summer heat and subsequent shorter fall afternoons meant start times for games needed to be early for spectators. Difficulties associated with travel to Fayetteville also made it undesirable and/or impractical for some spectators to travel the day of the game.¹⁶

With respect to radio, college football emerged as an attractive product to help sell advertisements because of its high interest to spectators. The production of advertising-supported broadcasts required specific equipment and facilities inside the stadiums by the start of the 1930s because radio broadcasts were something to be “negotiated, bundled, bought, and sold like any other commodity.”¹⁷ Advocates of radio like John L. Griffith, Commission of the Big Ten, argued “we should not retard its [i.e., radio] growth” because it could “become an asset to college athletics.”¹⁸ Specifically, radio provided important revenue during the depression and helped continue to advertise the school since newspapers provided less sports coverage during the 1930s.¹⁹ For the University of Arkansas, exclusive rights to the Humble Oil Company as the

¹⁵ Letter from John C. Futrall to B. N. Wilson, January 15, 1929.

¹⁶ Letter from B.N. Wilson to John C. Futrall, March 27, 1929). The discussed set of lights were to be similar to those eventually installed at Tiger Stadium in 1931 on the campus of the Louisiana State University. The cost was \$7,500 for two light towers 50-feet tall. Interestingly, each light tower was “a specially developed type of light” to help “insure the barring of all glare from spectators’ eyes on the very top seats in the stadium, and yet will diffuse the light to such an extent so far more perfect playing conditions will be offered.”

¹⁷ Kathleen O’Toole. “John L. Griffith and the Commercialization of College Sports on Radio in the 1930s.” *Journal of Sport History*, 40(2013): 242.

¹⁸ John L. Griffith, “Round Table Conference on Broadcasting,” (paper presented at the annual National Collegiate Athletic Association: Proceedings on the Special Convention, Pasadena, California, July 29, 1932) 44.

¹⁹ O’Toole, “John L. Griffith,” 248-249. See also Marts, “College Football,” 14.

official radio sponsor provided about \$3,500 to each school of the Southwest Conference and another \$300 to each school for every conference game it broadcast along with another \$150 for each non-conference contest.²⁰ Overall, the addition of a grand stand and steel bleachers, replanting of the athletic turf, and the erection of lights and a radio antenna make apparent the University's attempt to modernize the athletic field into a more permanent destination to promote the institution. Further, these additions represent the good faith effort of the University and athletics administration to transform Hog Wallow and, in the case of lights, advance the athletic field past many other football fields at a time when spectator attention to college football was on the rise.

This paper is organized to identify and criticize the various interconnecting components of modernization with respect to those football stadia used by the University of Arkansas beyond Hog Wallow. Social Historian, Colin Howell argued modernization "involves secularism, bureaucratization, quantification, specialization, formal organization, and record keeping."²¹ Richard Gruneau, in *Modernization or Hegemony*, added modernization also accompanies the creation of new occupations and involves the specialization of labor "coupled with new forms of technology."²² Interestingly, this work acknowledges some dispute about the usefulness of modernization exists.²³ However, Howell suggested modernization is "quite benign and even

²⁰ Letter from J.S. Waterman of KTHS Radio (Northwest Arkansas) to John C. Futrall, June 28, 1938.

²¹ Colin D. Howell, "On Metcalfe, Marx, and materialism: Reflections on the writing of sport history in the postmodern age." *Sport History Review*, 29(1998): 100.

²² Richard Gruneau, "Modernization or Hegemony: Two Views on Sport and Social Development," in *Not just a Game: Essays in Canadian Sport Sociology*, ed. Jean Harvey and Hart Cantelon. (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988), 11.

²³ Allen Guttman, "From Ritual to Record: A Retrospective Critique," *Sport History Review*, 32(2001): 2-11. Susan Brownell, "The Problems with Ritual and Modernization Theory, and Why We Need Marx: A Commentary on From Ritual to Record," *Sport History Review*, 32(2001): 28-41. Melvin L. Adelman, "Modernization theory and its critics." Mary K. Layton, Elliott J. Gom, and Peter W. Williams (eds.), *Encyclopedia of American Social History*. (New York: Scribner, 1993): 347-358.

useful in some respects...to understand the changing character of sporting practice.”²⁴ As an example, Allen Guttman’s *From Ritual to Record* (1979) identified modernization as a “major paradigm within the sport studies field not only in the United States but worldwide.”²⁵ More Specifically, Gruneau positioned sport as a useful context to use modernization because sport produces innovative products and services for consumption based on “capitalist social processes” that serve “as an expression of class power, social control, and the dominant ideology”.²⁶ Barrie Houlihan and Mick Green added modernization involves “continuous service improvement” and suggested that sport is capable of providing audit able to comment further on the concept.²⁷

College football stadia exist as great artifacts to study the concept of modernization because permanent sport facilities like War Memorial Stadium and Donald W. Reynolds Razorback Stadium are generally located on university campuses or within large communities and highlight a variety of changes over time to improve the desirability of product and service innovations.²⁸ Sport scholars, Chad Seifried and Donna Pastore, provide a legitimate example of how to apply modernization toward the study football facilities.²⁹ Within, Seifried and Pastore proposed the modernization of professional stadiums occurred with innovations in

²⁴ Howell, "On Metcalfe, Marx, and materialism," 100. Within these points, Howell cited the work of sport historians Melvin Adelman and Allen Guttman.

²⁵ Guttman, “From Ritual to Record,” 352.

²⁶ Gruneau, "Modernization or Hegemony," 9, 23-24.

²⁷ Barrie Houlihan and Mick Green. "Modernization and Sport: The Reform of Sport England and UK Sport." *Public administration*, 87(2009): 681. See also Vern Dickinson, "Modernization and Sport." *Quest*, 24(1975): 49.

²⁸ Ingrassia, *The Rise of the Gridiron University*, 12. See also Houlihan and Green, "Modernization and Sport," 679. Gruneau, "Modernization or Hegemony," 29.

²⁹ Chad Seifried and Donna Pastore, “Analyzing the First Permanent Professional Baseball and Football Structures in the United States: How Expansion and Renovation changed them into Jewel Boxes,” *Sport History Review*, 40(2009): 168. Chad Seifried and Donna Pastore, “This Stadium Looks and Tastes just like the others: Cookie Cutter Era Facilities from 1953-1991,” *Sport History Review*, 40(2009): 32. Chad Seifried and Donna Pastore, “Analyzing Baseball Facilities in the United States Pre-1903: The Temporary Homes,” *Journal of Sport History*, 37 (2010): 402-403.

communication, construction, and spectator amenities. Furthermore, they suggested modernization was useful as a conceptual framework to help organize data on sport facilities toward the providing of insight on future expectations regarding consumer preferences in sport and specific classes of paying customers.³⁰ Sport takes place in territory that has to pay for itself and consumerism prompts the continuous reorganization of space as a result of modernization.³¹ Throughout the paper, we will show the growing innovations and changes in sport at specific periods in time pushed and pulled Arkansas football stadia (e.g., Donald W. Reynolds Razorback Stadium and War Memorial Stadium) and by default the State and University toward modernization.

The Construction of Bailey Stadium in the 1930's

In September 1936, the University announced that winning bids had been granted to E. V. Bird Construction and J. H. Leveck and Son to build additional bleachers around the Hog Wallow athletic field. The bleachers were constructed with steel and formed the east side of the bowl for \$15,200. Construction of the bleachers began on October 1, 1936 and were part of a new dormitory, 3,500 to 4,000-seat field house, and auditorium project funded through a \$307,000 Works Progress Administration (WPA) loan and grant.³² In an October 1, 1936 letter, President Futrall addressed the decision to erect the aforementioned bleachers at Hog Wallow rather than build a new athletic field. In the letter, Futrall suggested that the new athletic field had not yet been approved by the WPA and the bleachers to be constructed were sufficient for

³⁰ John Bale. *Sport, Space, and the City*. (Caldwell, NJ, Routledge, 2001), 47. John Bale, "The Changing Face of Football: Stadiums and Communities," *Soccer & Society*, 1(2000), 91–101. John Bale, "International Sports History as Innovation Diffusion," *Sport History Review*, 15(1984): 39. Robert Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1986), 181.

³¹ Sack, *Human Territoriality*, 163. Adelman, *A Sporting Time*, 7. Bale, "International Sports," 41. Gruneau, "Modernization or Hegemony," 27.

³² "Contracts for Buildings Let by UA Heads," *The Arkansas Traveler*, September 22, 1936, 1.

the crowds expected at Arkansas football games for the next few years. However, additional WPA grants totaling \$17,600 came in December 1936 and with another \$37,000 in funding from the University, movement on the construction of a new stadium soon occurred. The project began in January of 1937 through the “removal of the present stands” and the building of “driveways (i.e., roads) to the new field, fences, a 2,000-car parking lot, and incidentals.”³³

Opened in October of 1938, the 8.5 acre horseshoe-shaped Bailey Stadium, named after Governor Carl Bailey, was constructed for a cost of \$300,000 on the original proposed site west of the existing Hog Wallow athletic field.³⁴ The University of Arkansas was responsible for approximately 22 percent of the \$300,000 in funds to build the 13,520-seat stadium, with the WPA covering the rest. To save costs, the University donated the use of some tools and equipment to WPA workers while the State of Arkansas, through effort by Governor Bailey, secured use of highway equipment from State Highway Engineer W.W. Mitchell, and State Highway Commissioners George Appleby and Paul Sheridan to assist construction.³⁵ Approximately 98 percent complete at the time of dedication, only an additional \$192,000 was left for landscaping on the stadium, parking, and roads.³⁶ At 98 percent, Regional WPA Supervisor, James Rutledge of Fort Smith, Arkansas suggested there was still enough work for several hundred employees for one more year.

³³ Letter from John C. Futrall to Beloit Taylor of the Denaghay Building from Little Rock, Arkansas, October 1, 1936. See also “Further Funds Granted for New Football Bowl,” *Arkansas Traveler*, December 11, 1936, 1. Farmer, “Record crowd due for dedication,” 1. Surrounded by sixty-five acres of hill-featured land, the stadium site was designed to resemble a park, the landscape featured a system of bridal paths as well as 3.5 miles of roads independent from the 15 acres of parking.

³⁴ The stadium hosted its first game on September 24, 1938 in a 27-7 Razorbacks win over Oklahoma A&M.

³⁵ Edwin P. Hicks, “Arkansas New Stadium to Cost about \$500,000 when Complete,” *Southwest Times Record*, October 9, 1938, B4.

³⁶ Marts, “College Football and College Endowment,” 14.

The WPA is important to recognize at this point because it provided money for actual work on public works projects and under a need-based prioritization system to avoid illegitimate projects on the backs of taxpayers.³⁷ Harry Hopkins, national director of the WPA, added that the money distributed to projects emerged where it could do the most good but only in states “with sound administrative practices and minimal political corruption.”³⁸ Hopkins also suggested WPA work was important because it helped eliminate idleness and presented the projects “accomplished all over America should be an inspiration to every reasonable person.”³⁹

On October 7, 1938, Gene Farmer of the *Arkansas Traveler* wrote about the stadium’s dedication, saying “Bedecked by an imposing list of nationally and sectionally known officials, Arkansas dedicates tomorrow its new stadium, the \$300,000 WPA project that lifts its football activities from the insignificance of the old Hog Wallow into big time classification.”⁴⁰ As for the design of the stadium, the south end was left open while the north end was enclosed with a grass covered berm. The east and west sides of the stadium were erected with 16 rows of concrete seating, backed by 15 additional rows of steel seating. Beneath the seating, the stadium featured fully functioning men and women’s bathrooms, concession stands, public telephones, a first-aid facility, an official’s house, and a “half-house” (i.e., dressing room) for the players. The playing field was Bermuda grass which enjoyed ten inches of topsoil underneath and an earth and gravel drainage structure below that. Because the stadium’s playing field was lower than the

³⁷ Gavin Wright, "The Political Economy of New Deal Spending: An Econometric Analysis," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 56(1974): 30-38. See also Tracie Dungan, “A Familiar Ring to it: Files on ’38 Stadium Tout Design, Impact,” *Arkansas Democrat Gazette*, September 2, 2001, 4B.

³⁸ Amenta, Edwin, Kathleen Dunleavy, and Mary Bernstein. "Stolen Thunder? Huey Long's" Share Our Wealth," Political Mediation, and the Second New Deal," *American Sociological Review*, 59 (1994): 692.

³⁹ “Hopkins, Crutcher Featured Speakers at Dedication of L.S.U. Stadium Addition,” *Times-Picayune*, November 29, 1936, 18.

⁴⁰ Farmer, “Record crowd due for dedication,” 1.

surrounding land, a large stone aqueduct was built beneath the drainage gravel to help combat flooding and with an eye toward future expansion all the way up to 100,000. Finally, a one-quarter mile track, modeled after one recently constructed at Louisiana State University, surrounded the field. The east side of the track consisted of eight lanes and a straightaway of 220 yards while the west side consisted of seven lanes and a straightaway of 150 yards.⁴¹

Just as the track was used as a benchmark to compare the quality of Arkansas' athletic facilities to competing schools, so too was the stadium's press box. According to Edwin Hicks of the *Southwest Times Record*, the stadium's press box was "one of the best equipped in the nation" and the stadium overall was "one of the most beautiful recreation centers in the Southwest."⁴² A double-decker design, the state-of-the-art press box was sixty feet in length and featured 30 areas and special rooms for writers, photographers, telegraphers, scouts, motion picture operators, and scoreboard operators.⁴³ The electric scoreboard, designed by University of Arkansas physics professor Dr. Wesley Roberds and graduate assistant Leonard Russum, was controlled in the press box through use of a remote control to change the score, down and distance, etc.; the game-clock was operated using a remote control from the field by officials. The electronic scoreboard served as a revolutionary device that provided significant information regarding the game and created more interaction with the fans through the immediate access to game information.⁴⁴ As part of the University's 100-year plan, the new football stadium was

⁴¹ Hicks, "Arkansas New Stadium," B4. See also Farmer, "Record crowd due for dedication," 1. "Under Construction," *Arkansas Traveler*, September 17, 1937, 2.

⁴² Hicks, "Arkansas New Stadium," B4.

⁴³ Marts, "College Football and College Endowment," 14. See also Hicks, "Arkansas New Stadium," B4.

⁴⁴ Chad Seifried, "An Ideal-type for the Evolution of Sport Facilities: Analyzing Professional Baseball and Football Structures in the United States," *Sport History Review*, 41(2010): 64.

recognized as a major feature of campus in postcards, the yearbook, and other promotional material aimed to attract students and athletes from around the region to a big time university.⁴⁵

1940's and 1950's: The Emergence of War Memorial Stadium

On May 17th 1941, the University of Arkansas made a decision to rename their football venue Razorback Stadium, following the 1940 election loss of Bailey for the Arkansas Governor position. Homer Adkins, his replacement, installed a new board of trustees, who decided to change the facility name to Razorback Stadium.⁴⁶ Other changes were slower to emerge as material shortages suffered during World War II prevented further modernization of Razorback Stadium and other university buildings across the country during the 1940s.⁴⁷

The eventual effort to improve the Razorback Stadium interestingly corresponded with the emergence of War Memorial Stadium in Little Rock, Arkansas. Following the conclusion of World War II, an improving economy (e.g., low unemployment, rising manufacturing, and higher salaries) and dramatic population shift occurred throughout the United States. For example, according to the U.S. Census, the population of the United States' southern region averaged a gain of more than 20 percent between from 1940-1960. Moreover, following the conclusion of the war, the United States entered the 1950s as the strongest economy in the world, producing about 40 percent of the world's goods that resulted in a Gross National Product of \$482.7 billion by 1960.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Dugan, "A Familiar Ring," 4B. See also Hicks, "Arkansas New Stadium," B4.

⁴⁶ "Razorback Stadium," Fayettevillehistory.com, accessed July 2, 2012, <http://www.fayettevillehistory.com/pc/2007/09/razorback-stadi.html>

⁴⁷ Brady M. Banta, "Football, Fiefdoms, and Frustration: The Political Reality of Planning a New Library for Louisiana State University 1941-1956," *LLA Bulletin*, 56(1994): 187-196. Razorback Stadium experienced only one minor renovation, the addition of 2,500 seats to the north end of the stadium.

⁴⁸ William H. Young and Nancy K. Young. *American Popular Culture Through History: The 1950s* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2004), 3-6.

Within this growth, the Arkansas Industrial Development Corporation led by Winthrop Rockefeller (Governor of Arkansas from 1967-1971) spearheaded a campaign to invite large and small companies to establish factories within the State.⁴⁹ Similar to other states competing for such business, Arkansas was compelled to invest public money into the construction of buildings that would enhance its image. Sport facilities were identified as one approach offered throughout the United States to help communities suggest they were a modern.⁵⁰ In 1948, a \$1.25 million 31,000-seat War Memorial Stadium was opened in an effort to jump start the image building of the State.⁵¹ Dedicated as a tribute to those soldiers from Arkansas who sacrificed their lives during World War I and II, the facility was also promoted as the State's premier football stadium through its two large grand stand seating areas on the east and west sides and various amenities (e.g., restrooms and concessions) highlighted as legitimate.⁵²

Little Rock was identified as a preferred site for the State's football stadium because it was "located at the center of the State's transportation network and in the heart of its greatest concentration of population and economic activity."⁵³ Arkansas followed the model presented by states like Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Texas from the success they generated from the construction of their own municipal stadiums. As an example, Mississippi Veteran Memorial Stadium was built in 1945 and placed in Jackson, a similarly populated and economic engine for

⁴⁹ Information collected from the Little Rock Regional Chamber of Commerce, 1 Chamber Plaza, Little Rock, AR 72201.

⁵⁰ Seifried and Pastore, "This Stadium Looks and Tastes," 48.

⁵¹ Supra note 46. Arkansas beat Abilene Christian in Memorial Stadium on September 18, 1948, 40 to 6 in front of 31,075 people.

⁵² Aaron Horton, "War Memorial Stadium," *The Encyclopedia of Arkansas History & Culture*, accessed July 2, 2015, <http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entrydetail.aspx?entryID=7365>

⁵³ Sportstudy '80 Group, "Football Feasibility Study Prepared for War Memorial Stadium Commission," Greater Little Rock Chamber of Commerce and University of Arkansas Athletic Department, (Little Rock, AR, The Group, 1980), 3. Little Rock grew 22.4 percent between 1940 and 1960 and made significant efforts to attract manufacturing.

the State of Mississippi, in expectation that it would host the popular Mississippi State College and University of Mississippi rivalry and neutral site games with the playing of other marquee institutions.⁵⁴ In the case of War Memorial Stadium, the goal was to host the most important contests of the University of Arkansas and other local/regional schools (i.e., college and high school) as transportation to and the quality of other stadiums in Arkansas remained problematic toward enhancing commercial attractiveness.⁵⁵

Activity of John Barnhill, University of Arkansas Director of Athletics, supports this claim as he moved the 1947 Arkansas-Texas game to Memphis' municipal facility (i.e., Liberty Bowl) in an effort to save their neck financially.⁵⁶ More specifically Barnhill explained building War Memorial Stadium was important because it "enabled us to stay in the Southwest Conference. Other conference teams were getting tired of playing big crowds in Texas and getting much less money for playing to our small crowds in Fayetteville." Without a bigger and more modern facility to attract customers, Arkansas was susceptible to getting relegated to a lower football playing conference and thus institutional status in the mind of Barnhill and others.⁵⁷ Before the end of 1950s, bleachers were reconstructed on the south and north ends of War Memorial Stadium in 1958 and 1959 respectively for a total cost of \$89,056.03 assuring all the State of Arkansas was fully committed to supporting football in Little Rock each week.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Rusty Hampton and Butch Jones, "Memorial: Mississippi State, Ole Miss Officials Concerned with Stadium Procedure," *The Clarion Ledger*, December 23, 1984, 1D, 3D. Cities such as New Orleans, Shreveport, Dallas, and Memphis in neighboring states often attempted to host major Southern Conference matchups.

⁵⁵ "Football" *Arkansas State Press*, October 8, 1948, 5.

⁵⁶ Nate Allen, "Barnhill, John Henry," in *Arkansas Biography: A Collection of Notable Lives*, ed. Nancy A. Williams, (Fayetteville, AR, The University of Arkansas Press, 2000), 18.

⁵⁷ "Unpaid Stadium Kept Arkansas in Conference," *Rome News-Tribune*, April 29, 1954, 4.

⁵⁸ Balch, Pratt, Priddy & Co. *Arkansas War Memorial Stadium Accountants Report*. (Little Rock, AR: Balch, Pratt, Priddy, 1966): 10. The cost difference emerged because donations covered labor costs of carpenters.

Since not all games played in War Memorial involved the University of Arkansas, Barnhill also promoted the modernizing of Razorback Stadium to offset losses suffered when not playing in Little Rock. Barnhill argued the need for renovations to Razorback Stadium was a result of the current facility “working with the necessities” but without the “trimmings” to capitalize on the rise in state-wide interest in Razorback football that “pyramided since the construction of War Memorial Stadium in Little Rock” and organization of the Razorback Network (i.e., radio system for Arkansas sports).⁵⁹ It should be noted that the Razorback Network was one of the first statewide radio networks established in the United States for intercollegiate athletics and well understood to correspond with improvements in the financial stability of Arkansas athletics along with student-athlete recruiting.⁶⁰

Renovations to Razorback Stadium began in 1950 when 5,000 seats were added to the existing west side of the structure and a new press box for the working press and radio broadcast partners was constructed.⁶¹ In 1956, the Board of Trustees approved for Barnhill to investigate the possibility of adding onto the east side of Razorback Stadium to increase the seating capacity again.⁶² In March 1957, Razorback Stadium continued the process of expansion following the opening of bids by T. C. Carlson, Vice President of University Finance and the subsequent construction of 5,200 seats on the east side of the field. Interestingly, the University reserved and organized 5,000 seats for the student body into their own separate section at this time. Additional

⁵⁹ “Athletics to Receive Trimmings,” *Arkansas Traveler*, February 7, 1958, 1.

⁶⁰ Allen, “Barnhill,” 18.

⁶¹ “John Barnhill Fieldhouse Stands as a Token to Prowess of Porkers,” *The Arkansas Traveler*. November 5, 1957, 3.

⁶² “Board of Trustees Ok’s Appointment, ZTA Construction,” *Arkansas Traveler*. October 16, 1956, 1

construction to Razorback Stadium initiated on the west of the stadium included a large brick dressing room to rebrand the stadium as more than just a large high school field.⁶³

In 1958, Barnhill continued to support the explosive growth of Arkansas football by spending another \$12,000 on other minor improvements focused on communication (e.g., television) and other trimmings. For instance, press brochures presented a unique modernization of the dressing room and press facilities, the installation of modern scoreboards and time clocks, and resurfacing improvements to the parking area and steps from the upper gate to the lower level of the stadium.⁶⁴ During the 1950's television ownership and consumption increased which repositioned American sport to relocate "leisure from public places to private spaces."⁶⁵ Correspondingly, television imposed changes to existing sport venues because older facilities (i.e., less modern) did not provide space to accommodate television broadcasters, cameras, or the other associated auxiliary equipment. The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) broadcast of a 1953 October 24th contest between Arkansas and Mississippi as part of their regular Game of the Week provided Arkansas a check for \$90,000 and Barnhill to believe "television has a future."⁶⁶ Such money was available because advertisers recognized the opportunity to market their products and services, not only to the live attendees, but the remote viewers through the popularity of football.⁶⁷

⁶³ Scotty Scholl, "Expansion of Stadium Further Improves U of A's Athletic Facilities," *The Arkansas Traveler*, February 28, 1957, 1. See also George Schroeder, *Hogs! A History* (New York, Simon & Schuster, 2005), 207. Razorback Stadium was described as looking like "a really large high-school stadium... desperate need of an upgrade." These additions ultimately brought the total capacity to 30,000 with temporary seating on the berm included.

⁶⁴ Scotty Scholl, "Athletics to Receive Trimmings," *The Arkansas Traveler*, February 7, 1958, 1.

⁶⁵ Seifried, "The Evolution of Professional Baseball and Football Structures," 66.

⁶⁶ Orville Henry and Jim Bailey, *The Razorbacks: A Story of Arkansas Football* (Fayetteville, AR: The University of Arkansas Press, 1996), 125.

⁶⁷ Seifried, "The Evolution of Professional Baseball and Football Structures," 66.

1960's and 1970's: Expansion, Press Facilities, other Improvements

In June of 1964, the State continued its investment into War Memorial Stadium and its effort to support it as Arkansas' premier football facility through another \$8,933 spent on construction of restrooms for the press box under the north end bleachers.⁶⁸ Expansion of the press area was recognized as important since the popularity of college football continued to reach higher and higher levels.⁶⁹ It also did not hurt that the University of Arkansas football program was starting to see some dividends from the Razorback Network and the hiring of Frank Broyles as head coach in 1958.⁷⁰ Beginning with the 1959 season, Broyles took the Razorbacks to three first-place finishes in the Southwest Conference before 1964 and to postseason games such as the Gator, Cotton, and Sugar Bowls. Building on such momentum, Broyles coached the University to the 1964 National Championship following a win at the Cotton Bowl, which shortly thereafter prompted more expansion of War Memorial Stadium to address the incredible ticket demand emerging at that time. As an example, new south end bleachers costing \$150,121.98 increased the capacity to 53,555 and helped to fully enclose the building.⁷¹

In 1965, the Arkansas State Legislature passed Act 9 during the second extraordinary session to appropriate \$200,000 toward construction costs of a new elevator, press box, and press box seats that would be completed before the fall 1966 season. Additional concession equipment costing \$2,600 further enhanced the service capability to other seating areas of War Memorial

⁶⁸ Balch, Pratt, Priddy, & Co. *Arkansas War Memorial Stadium Accountants Report*, 10.

⁶⁹ Sportstudy '80 Group, "Football Feasibility Study," Table 2-8. See also NCAA Statistics Service, *College Football Attendance All 4-Year College Varsity Teams*. (Kansas City, MO, National Collegiate Athletic Association, 1979). College football attendance increased the greatest from 1963-1968 with 22.3% increase amongst four-year university programs.

⁷⁰ Frank Broyles would finish his coaching career at Arkansas (1958-1976) with a record of 144–58–5.

⁷¹ Balch, Pratt, Priddy, & Co. *Arkansas War Memorial Stadium Accountants Report*, 10.

Stadium to improve profits from 1964 (\$10,336) to 1965 (\$20,955). To help pay for the expansion a 10% stadium ticket tax was implemented during the 1965 season which collected almost \$66,000. Prior to June 30, 1966 the Stadium Commission collected another \$130,000 from the sale of press box seats. The sale of a limited number of press box seats acted as potential renewable source of revenue for the State and University athletic department because of the various luxuries those accommodations provided (e.g., air conditioning, privileged restroom access, and special concession options). Collectively, the seating addition, press box improvements, and concessions helped to increase the total value of War Memorial Stadium to \$1.76 million and to be recognized as one of the finest football facilities in the country.⁷²

Razorback Stadium also saw major renovations in the 1960s to increase the capacity and improve the spectator experience simultaneously happening at War Memorial Stadium. In 1965, two new sections were added on the south end and new half sections were added on the north end above the existing concrete stands through help of the design efforts of architect Paul Young, Jr. With these additions there were 8,204 seats added to bring the capacity of Razorback Stadium to 40,000.⁷³ Along with the additions of seating, several parking lots were added around Razorback Stadium to accommodate the larger venue. By 1969, an addition of more seating increased the capacity to 42,678, which would stay the same for the next 16 years.⁷⁴

The incorporation of Astroturf began before the start of the 1969 season and followed a national and regional trend by universities, municipalities, and professional organizations to be less weather dependent and save money. Astroturf, first installed in the Houston Astrodome in

⁷² Balch, Pratt, Priddy, & Co. *Arkansas War Memorial Stadium Accountants Report*, 10. The subsequent press box was voted as the best press box in the country.

⁷³ "More Seats," *Northwest Arkansas Times*, January 22, 1965, 9.

⁷⁴ Jennifer Cook, Tracie Dungan, and Greg Moody, "What the Hogs Call Heaven," *Arkansas Democrat Gazette*, September 2, 2001, B1, B5.

1966 as a result of dying grass within the dome, was an “artificial...durable, cheap, and modern alternative to natural grass” laid over concrete that “allowed facility owners to maximize the use of the sport facility.”⁷⁵ Expectedly, universities and municipalities were attracted to AstroTurf because it reduced maintenance costs.⁷⁶ However, the University of Arkansas installed AstroTurf in Razorback Stadium (\$300,000) because it was promoted as able to reduce knee injuries and other mishaps which could affect the health and performance of the Razorback football team. More specifically, AstroTurf was recognized as a solution for bad weather and advertised as “clearly better than rain-soaked mud would have been” for both spectators and athletes.⁷⁷

Interestingly, AstroTurf also changed the product of football by making the game faster, which enhanced big play opportunities and the force of collisions.⁷⁸ Television remained attracted to college football as the game changed and approved of the surface because it helped assure them contests would take place as scheduled. Such additions to Razorback Stadium ultimately allowed Arkansas and Texas to move their annual conference scheduled game to the last week of the regular season (i.e., December 6th) without fear the late season weather would play havoc on the Fayetteville field. The request to move this game to December emerged in in mid-March with anticipation that the 1969 contest would serve as the unofficial national championship for Arkansas football teams that continued to be outstanding.

⁷⁵ Seifried and Pastore, “This Stadium Looks and Tastes,” 39.

⁷⁶ Balch, Pratt, Priddy, & Co. *Arkansas War Memorial Stadium Accountants Report*, 11. As an example, field maintenance and other building operating expenses was about \$60,000 in 1966, which most of was required to be paid off through stadium revenue according to Act 5 Section 7 Article 3 titled “Stadium Operation, Maintenance, and Depreciation Fund.”

⁷⁷ Schroeder, *Hogs!: A History*, 70. Just in time for the 1970 season at War Memorial Stadium lights and AstroTurf were added. A new artificial playing surface called SuperTurf in 1974 replaced the first original AstroTurf from 1970. SuperTurf was considered the mid-quality artificial turf at this time.

⁷⁸ Seifried and Pastore, “This Stadium Looks and Tastes,” 40.

ABC Sports, official broadcast partner of the NCAA, reaffirmed Barnhill's previous statement that "television has a future" by contracting to pay the Southwest Conference \$1.5 million during 1969.⁷⁹ Such revenue from television was often reinvested back into athletics and used to help with other facility additions to enhance the spectator and participant experience. For example, the Broyles Athletic Complex was completed in the north end zone for a cost of \$5 million in 1975. This multipurpose complex housed athletic administration offices, coaches' offices, the game day football locker room, and an indoor workout area.⁸⁰

1980's: Establishing Standards through the War Memorial Stadium Commission

In 1979, there were 643 teams competing in collegiate football, which generated a total attendance of 35,020,284, a figure 83% higher than total attendance for 1948 when War Memorial Stadium surfaced.⁸¹ The construction of War Memorial Stadium and increased quality of Razorback football prompted renovations to Razorback Stadium and assisted the annual improvement of college football's popularity in the State. As an example, from 1958-1979 the combined attendance between War Memorial and Razorback Stadium increased by 200%; the average attendance was 51,437 per game in 1979 and the percentage of capacity was at 99.1 exceeding the averages of peers in the Southwest Conference for the first time since 1960.⁸² Beginning in 1977, few unsold tickets were available for either stadium because of advanced sales; however, there was a large demand from ticket holders to upgrade their seating as nearly

⁷⁹ Henry and Bailey, *The Razorbacks*, 243. The agreement required ABC to broadcast three additional games (i.e., one each for Texas, Arkansas, and the other ABC's choice).

⁸⁰ Cook et al., "What the Hogs Call Heaven," 5B. The Broyles Athletic Complex was named after Frank Broyles who became the athletic director in 1977 after he left coaching.

⁸¹ Sportstudy '80 Group, "Football Feasibility Study," 19.

⁸² Sportstudy '80 Group, "Football Feasibility Study," 20.

10,000 customers between War Memorial Stadium and Razorback Stadium returned their tickets due to poor quality.⁸³

The War Memorial Stadium Commission sought to address this problem and capitalize on the continued interest in Arkansas football by seeking to appreciate a variety of factors within their feasibility study to better understand the options available with either the renovation of War Memorial Stadium or Razorback Stadium, and/or the construction of a new facility in a downtown location within Little Rock.⁸⁴ In the War Memorial Commission Report, comparisons were made to other regional and conference peer stadiums of the University of Arkansas along with those supported by other municipalities (e.g., Legion Field- Birmingham, AL; Liberty Bowl- Memphis, TN; Mississippi Memorial- Jackson, MS) to recognize industry standards within the decision to renovate or build new. Specifically, information about the quality of seating, parking, attendance capacity, income potential (e.g., concessions), press facilities, VIP amenities, and stadium sightlines were recorded on Baylor, Nebraska, Rice, Texas A&M, Texas, Texas Christian, and Texas Tech to compare campus and municipal facilities.

The Commission recognized the location of War Memorial as a real strength regarding the decision to stay in its current location and as meeting many industry standards. For example, their study found 80% of fans preferred to travel by car to the stadium and that 200 buses from the Central Arkansas Transit could service roughly 8,000 passengers which would account for 15% of the stadium's existing 53,555 capacity. With respect to automobile traffic, the

⁸³ Sportstudy '80 Group, "Football Feasibility Study," 21. Individually, Razorback Stadium produced high average attendance and an average capacity of 94.5% during the last three years of the 1970s, which actually underestimated the crowds for both Razorback Stadium and War Memorial Stadium since "seats used by the Razorback Marching Band and visiting bands are considered not sold." This figure for two bands was 388.

⁸⁴ Sportstudy '80 Group, "Football Feasibility Study," 3. The commission argued predicting attendance is "inexact due to many factors" such as "team standing, weather, time of day, availability of good seats, television broadcast of games, personalities, strength of alumni group, rank of opponents, cost of gasoline, population and disposable income."

Commission's study found an average of 3.5 persons per car traveled to University of Arkansas football games, a figure near industry averages regarding parking construction of one car for every four people.⁸⁵ Traffic consultants Pinnell, Anderson, Wilshire, and Associates, Inc. highlighted agreement on this point and that it would impose considerable costs on to the State to build new road/highway infrastructure for a new stadium able to provide tolerable congestion following a dispersal time.⁸⁶

Additional information from the report covered the quality of amenities for spectators to prompt their return to the facility. For example, the Commission suggested future restroom modifications follow industry goals of one urinal for every 150 men and one toilet for every 300 females/500 males. Further market research on the facility's attendees required those numbers be used on a 60/40 male to female ratio. Thus, a 53,555 War Memorial Stadium should have 214 urinals and 64 toilets for men and 72 toilets for women.⁸⁷

With respect to concession stands, the Commission recognized one point of contact should be provided for every 450 spectators. Moreover, concession space should be large enough to support "fixed equipment such as cookers, warmers, beverage storage, freezers, coolers, and plumbing fixtures." The Commission also noted there should be a large general kitchen area on all levels for vendors/hawkers to roam the stadium following a ratio of 200 spectators to one vendor/hawker.⁸⁸ Furthermore, space for 100 public-use telephones along with 1,000-1,500

⁸⁵ Sportstudy '80 Group, "Football Feasibility Study," 29.

⁸⁶ Sportstudy '80 Group, "Football Feasibility Study," 30. See also Highway Research Board, "Highway Capacity Manual," Special Report 87, Washington, D.C., 1965: 196, 252-253, 284.

⁸⁷ Sportstudy '80 Group, "Football Feasibility Study," Appendix A-3

⁸⁸ Ibid.

square feet of space for a permanent security force and first aid care area should be established for paying customers.⁸⁹

The War Memorial Commission Report also recognized top of the line press facilities to include air-conditioned and private restrooms to the following specifications: 2,000 square feet for 120 workers of the writing press with amenities such as telephone jack, electrical outlets, and viewable televisions; 240 square feet for two radio broadcast teams with special acoustical wall treatment; and 200 square feet for television broadcasting teams with a camera platform and acoustical wall treatment. For coaching staffs of major NCAA college football institutions, both home and away team boxes should provide 400 square feet of space for approximately 12 individuals. Next, space for the VIPs (400 square feet), scoreboard operators (120 square feet), and public address announcers (100 square feet) should be provided in the press facility.⁹⁰ Finally, large state-of-the-art facilities were to also include approximately 5,400 and 3,400 square feet of space for the home and away team players (n=60), coaches, and trainers and 400 square feet for eight officials, in addition to two 500 square foot rooms for player interviews in lower or field-level area of state-of-the-art facilities.⁹¹

In the 1980s, the War Memorial Commission only approved waterproofing of War Memorial Stadium in 1980, a preservation project to cost \$498,000. Instead of renovating War Memorial Stadium, efforts were concentrated on adding changes to Razorback Stadium based on these recommendations generated by the War Memorial Commission. For instance, in 1983, the 32-year old press box was enlarged and added an elevator for easier access for personnel or

⁸⁹ Sportstudy '80 Group, "Football Feasibility Study," Appendix A-5. The 2014 industry standard point of contact per person is 1/150 in facilities that sell beer and 1/350 for those that do not.

⁹⁰ Sportstudy '80 Group, "Football Feasibility Study," Appendix A-7-8.

⁹¹ Sportstudy '80 Group, "Football Feasibility Study," Appendix A-9

handicapped individuals. Lon Farrell, the Assistant Director of Athletics, declared that members were complaining for management to create a steel structure for the press box. Concession stands and restrooms were renovated for around \$550,000 for the convenience of the fans and to meet the aforementioned recommendations of the War Memorial Commission. In 1985, the State agreed to support an addition to the west stands in the upper deck of Razorback Stadium which included about 10,000 new seats and 36 sky boxes for about \$10 million. This addition brought the total capacity of Razorback Stadium to 51,000 and closer to that offered by War Memorial Stadium. Finally, lights were added for \$450,000 to increase access to the facility by both remote and live spectators. In the case of live spectators, roads were improved into Northwest Arkansas which allowed greater ingress and egress to and from the stadium. For remote spectators, lights provided more opportunity to watch the Hogs on television as competition for night broadcasts were generally reserved only for the best football playing institutions.⁹²

1990-2000's: Moving to the SEC and the Rise of a Modern Commercial Sport Stadia

During 1990, University of Arkansas Athletic Director Frank Broyles announced that the school would be leaving the Southwestern Conference after decades of membership to join the Southeastern Conference. Following extremely successful seasons in the decades of the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s, the Southwestern Conference had been rocked by scandal in the early through mid-1980s, most notably the NCAA's assignment of the "death penalty" on Southern Methodist University's football program in 1987. As a result, the competitiveness and image of the conference declined and statistics showed that attendance for Southwestern Conference football games decreased almost 50 percent during this time. According to Broyles, "If we

⁹² Sherri Ward, "Razorback Stadium Scheduled for Renovation; Price Tag for Press Box, Turf Could Reach \$1 million," *Arkansas Traveler*, January 14, 1983, 1.

thought the [Southwestern Conference] could change its direction and get competitive for the 90's (Arkansas would have stayed). But we don't know what they could do."⁹³

The same year it was also announced that the University of South Carolina would join the Southeastern Conference, giving the conference 12 members. With 12 members, the Southeastern Conference would soon make the decision to hold a conference championship game and in 1995, a television contract with CBS assured each conference member increased financial security for years to come. Like previous financial benefits produced from television and their conference affiliation, Arkansas decided to reinvest their revenue to join their peers in the SEC to see who could build the best on-campus football facility. Throughout the early to mid-1990s, the University spent approximately \$6.3 million on renovations to Razorback Stadium. Specifically, the athletic department spent \$300,000 in 1991 toward refurbishing the stadium's restrooms and another \$200,000 reconstructing the stadium's lower box seats. In 1993, the visiting team's locker room was renovated for \$400,000 while the Broyles Complex was renovated for \$4.6 million in 1994. Finally, in 1995, the stadium's Astroturf was removed and natural grass was re-installed at a cost of \$800,000.

In 1997, consecutive successful seasons generated enough new additional season ticket requests from the Razorback fan nation to allow Broyles to lay the ground work for Razorback Stadium's largest, most expensive, and ambitious renovation. Heery International of Atlanta, Georgia and designer of the Georgia Dome were contacted to design the expansion and on August 4, 1999, Broyles presented the design to the Board of Trustees. The design included plans to enclose the horseshoe, add seating to existing grandstands, and construct a 14,000 square foot academic center for student-athletes within the stadium. The Board of Trustees

⁹³ Gene Wojciechowski, "Arkansas Joins SEC; There May be More: Colleges: Miami, Texas, Florida State, South Carolina, Texas A&M also Might Wind up in Southeastern Conference," *Los Angeles Times*, August 2, 1990, accessed July 2, 2015, http://articles.latimes.com/1990-08-02/sports/sp-1412_1_southeastern-conference

accepted the design and in May 2000, construction began on the expansion of Donald W. Reynolds Razorback Stadium. The Donald W. Reynolds Foundation provided the most significant gift (i.e., \$20 million) to help complete the 2001 stadium renovation and subsequently the name of the stadium was change to Donald W. Reynolds Razorback Stadium.⁹⁴

From 1999 to 2001, the estimated cost of the renovation and expansion of Donald W. Reynolds Razorback Stadium increased from \$62.2 million to \$110.16 million. The additions to Donald W. Reynolds Razorback Stadium were substantial and included more than 22,000 seats to increase the stadium's capacity to 72,150. Within, 9,000 club seats and 12,300 general seats were added to the stadium; the rest involved luxury sky boxes. With respect to the luxury amenities, a 3,600 square foot Letterman's Club provided 1,594 outdoor seats and 2,200 inside club seats, while 40 new luxury suites were also added to the east expansion. The south lower club area held 3,720 outside seats, 1,700 inside club seats and 30 luxury suites. Collectively, the average revenue from home games in Fayetteville increased \$10 million a year primarily from increases to premium seating and the corresponding advertising revenues that frequently accompany stadium renovation.⁹⁵

In addition to the various seats, several other amenities were incorporated into the stadium for all other classes of paying customers. For instance, a "shopping mall-style food court" with room for four vendors emerged within the renovated venue. Several other amenities included 24 concession stands, 811 toilets/urinals, 400 televisions, and ten elevators created a continuous and wider concourse to help enclose the horseshoe, which also importantly allowed for easier and safer access (i.e., horizontal circulation) to other parts of the stadium for all able

⁹⁴ Jennifer Cook, Tracie Dungan, and Greg Moody, "Stadium," *Arkansas Democrat Gazette*, September 2, 2001, B4.

⁹⁵ Schroeder, *Hogs!: A History*, 209.

and disabled spectators and operations personnel. Within the connected and wider concourse, the east side was redesigned to become “Championship Alley” as it held displays of various conference championships, the 1964 national title trophy, and lists of every football letterman during the University’s history. The south end concourse was branded as “All-American Alley” and dedicated to honor all Razorbacks that achieved All-American status. Finally, the west concourse was developed as “Bowl Alley” and provides recognition to each bowl team.

Stadium technology was also improved significantly during this renovation as a 30 foot by 107 foot “Smartvision” high definition video display, which at the time of its construction was the largest in professional or college sport stadia, brought Donald W. Reynolds Razorback Stadium to the forefront of college football stadiums in the United States.⁹⁶ Moreover, the various additions to Donald W. Reynolds Razorback Stadium meant the facility would “gross about \$3 million per game, \$2 million more than War Memorial” because that facility lacked luxury boxes, high definition video board, and other modern amenities. Furthermore, such a revenue disparity prompted the movement of the most important contests and most games in general to Fayetteville and away from Little Rock.

There was a lot of controversy with the movement of most home games to Fayetteville rather than the centrally located Little Rock. As an example, “the topic buzzed on radio talk shows and on Internet message boards. Politicians, including the governor, got into the act. A group called Don’t Hog the Hogs was formed.” Warren Stephens, an investment banker in Little Rock, sought support from the University to expand War Memorial Stadium to 64,500, primarily through the addition of luxury boxes. However, the best Stephens and other advocates could find was a compromise by the University to respect the historical importance of Little Rock and the

⁹⁶ Cook et al., “What the Hogs Call Heaven,” 1B.

importance War Memorial Stadium played toward the elevation of the University of Arkansas Razorback football though an agreement that the Razorbacks would play two games every year at the Little Rock stadium through 2016.⁹⁷

More recent evidence suggests this agreement will not be modified to prompt more games to be played in War Memorial Stadium. For instance, the University upgraded the stadium in 2012 by contracting with LSI Industries to increase the size of the LED video screens to 38 x 167 feet.⁹⁸ Next, the University announced a \$300 million athletic facilities plan which involves enclosing the north end of the Donald W. Reynolds Razorback Stadium and the addition of other spectator amenities for various classes of spectators at an estimated \$78 million to \$95 million. Within, the renovations to the stadium would feature 5,000 new seats on the north end with field level suites that enjoy access to indoor and outdoor club areas similar to other areas the stadium but uniquely possess space for the players to walk to into and off of the field of play. Jeff Long, Athletics Director for the University of Arkansas, suggested the feature was “borrowed” from Arkansas alum, Jerry Jones, owner of the Dallas Cowboys, and the walkway path between their players’ locker room and the field at AT&T Stadium. Finally, electronic video boards in both the north and south end along with an underground parking deck to be constructed north of the stadium would finish off the renovation. Funding for the athletic facilities plan would come through previously successful approaches such as private donations, gate receipts, sponsorships,

⁹⁷ Schroeder, *Hogs!: A History*, 207. The prompt by Stephens came in the form of a threat to “discontinue his family’s considerable financial support for the program [i.e., athletic] (almost \$150,000 in annual donations, and more than \$1 million in additional annual support the company had helped raise).” In January of 2000, the University Board of Trustees voted 9 to 1 to keep two games (one conference and non-conference) in Little Rock. See also Associated Press, “Arkansas Unveils Athletic Facilities Plan,” *ESPN.com*, October 18, 2011, accessed July 2, 2015, http://espn.go.com/college-sports/story/_/id/7120140/arkansas-unveils-300-million-plan-expansion-athletic-facilities

⁹⁸ “Jump up: New Video Display for Razorback Stadium,” *Athletic Media Relations ArkansasRazorbacks.com*, May 21, 2012, accessed July 2, 2015, <http://www.arkansasrazorbacks.com/>.

and television money (i.e., from the SEC).⁹⁹ Again, the goal of this renovation and others was to brand the University of Arkansas, Donald W. Reynolds Razorback Stadium, and the State of Arkansas as among the elite in the country.

Conclusion

Since its original construction in 1938 as the University of Arkansas' first permanent football venue, Donald W. Reynolds Razorback Stadium experienced several modernizing renovations focused on the seating of more spectators (i.e., both live and remote) and embracing various amenities (e.g., luxury suites, lights, restrooms, concessions, radio, television, video boards) for various classes of those spectators and the media based on their evolving preferences. Importantly, the flexibility of reinforced concrete and steel and the choice of a large piece of land allowed the expansion necessary to adequately capitalize on the growth of college football as a viable financial engine. This was particularly important during the 1930s and 1940s as the construction of football stadia was regularly employed, elsewhere in the United States as investment.¹⁰⁰ However, the original Bailey and later Razorback Stadium required a push to catch up to other peers regionally and around the country so that the University and State could be perceived as first-class.

War Memorial Stadium played a significant role in the developmental history of Razorback football and toward the modernization of Donald W. Reynolds Razorback Stadium. The State of Arkansas built War Memorial Stadium in an effort to allow the University of Arkansas to play a portion of their games in a location with a higher populated, better economy, and more centralized location within the State (i.e., Little Rock). The movement of games to War

⁹⁹ Associated Press, "Arkansas Unveils Athletic Facilities Plan."

¹⁰⁰ J. G. Taylor, "College Revenue Bonds to Finance Self-Supporting Projects," *Journal of Finance*, 4 (1949): 328-341.

Memorial Stadium produced significant financial gains for the University to help the University avoid relegation to a lower football playing conference. Eventually, as the population of the University as well as Northwest Arkansas continued to grow, improvements to the local road infrastructure made hosting home contests in Fayetteville more viable but not desirable without more investment into Razorback Stadium. From this, War Memorial Stadium compelled changes to Razorback Stadium to offset the losses when the Razorbacks did not play in Little Rock and Additions to the evolving Razorback Stadium initially focused on expanding seats since gate receipts were the primary source of revenue in the early days of college football. However, the University innovatively sought improvements that involved such things as the installation of scoreboards, time clocks, and modern dressing facilities to improve the product or quality of spectacle for all attendees (i.e., live or remote through radio and television). Moreover, they added more concession stands and restrooms but also built lights to provide alternate start times for traveling fans and television, who desired to broadcast highly anticipated match-ups involving one of the country's finest football programs that their fan base that created one of the most unique and intimidating environments within college football.

Appropriately, the Razorback nation frequently sought to produce one of the "best press boxes in the nation" for the local, regional, and national media (e.g., television and radio) to enjoy. Within this structure, new luxury amenities were introduced to VIPs. The multiplication of luxury amenities (e.g., luxury boxes and club suites) eventually surfaced as a result of recognizing that there are wealthier members of the Arkansas fan nation willing to pay more for their spectating experience. Various communication platforms (e.g., high-definition video boards and LED screens) also improved in-stadium communication to maximize interaction between fans, participants, stadium personnel, and sponsors. Such a point is important to recognize as

Australian sociologist John Goldlust argued the introduction of the “giant video screen” helped “ensure that by attending they will not be deprived of the television experience.”¹⁰¹ All together, the combined, sponsors, communication technology, and luxury seating (i.e., luxury and club seats sales) provided new sources of revenue to help not only support their construction but they now serve as Donald W. Reynolds Razorback Stadium’s most noticeable features.¹⁰²

Finally, the evolution of Donald W. Reynolds Razorback Stadium shows the business of college football is a highly organized and formalized operation. Moreover, the evolving nature of college athletics as a commercial opportunity ultimately produced sport managers concerned about customer service for the various types (i.e., live or remote) and classes of spectators, participants, and media. Appropriately, space became restricted and intensely managed so that it could not only pay for itself but also treat each stakeholder group with a satisfying experience. Together these groups made Donald W. Reynolds Stadium into an important social anchor for Fayetteville and Northwest Arkansas and War Memorial Stadium a significant feature of the Little Rock community. Game days at the stadium make Fayetteville and Little Rock produce one of the largest populations for the State and the spectacle attached to the pilgrimage to join friends and family entices generations to stay in Arkansas and for others to think the State is a first class operation.

¹⁰¹. John Goldlust, *Playing for Keeps*. (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1987), 174.

¹⁰² The 2001 renovation and future addition from the athletics facilities plan accommodate a variety of highly identified fans across a wide path of socio-economic demographics.