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BASEBALL: THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE GAME TO 1903

A Dissertation
Presented to the
Department of Physical Education
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

by

Jeffrey Lawrence Haven

April 1979

This Dissertation, by Jeffrey Lawrence Haven, is accepted in its present form by the Department of Physical Education of Brigham Young University as satisfying the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Education.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

American historians generally regard Leopold von Ranke, a nineteenth-century German scholar, as the "Father of the Critical Method" in historical writing. Few historians have had a similar effect on the development of historical scholarship as Ranke. This man was a master of the narrative, stressing objectivity to the fullest. However, he believed that the historian must not be a passive observer who simply records events, but must actually interpret occurrences through empirical observation. His conclusion was that ultimately a perception of truth or character could be penetrated when the historian rises from the inner structure of an event to its logical relatedness. This recognition of history served as both the method and purpose of Ranke's historical research and writing.

Given the Ranke theory of historical inquiry, it can be said that the basic and most common form of history is narration. In story account and derived from empirical observation of facts, the writer attempts to inform and entertain the reader. Re-examination of previous works is not tackled in a critical sense, only the record is brought forth. Deep questioning is noticeably absent with a basic exposure being the major aim. As Johann G. Droysen, noted German historian, pointed out in his book, Outline of the Principles of History (85), in writing an historical record of a period the main intent of the author is normally to expose the tale or to chronologize the events that occurred.

A higher level of history is interpretation. In this case the author criticizes past ideas with a fresh and fully documented piece of research. The approach is based on examination of the current material available, leads into alternative avenues of thinking, and terminates with either an acceptance or a rejection of a thesis. The conclusion is well-documented and the historian can testify that his study is scientifically presented through a valid procedure.

Following Ranke's procedure of inquiry and writing brings the historian to the most profound area of history, philosophy. Here the philosophical historian judges the worth of history on how society and individuals can better understand themselves. He believes that what we are today is the sum of our past experiences. Our present is dictated by our past while the future is determined by what we are doing today. John Hill and W. E. Stuermann, in their highly regarded work, Philosophy and The American Heritage (87), say that we are what we are, because of our past heritage or history.

This study's investigation into baseball's past attempted to incorporate all three levels of history. The author strove to present a narration of this period in a readable and entertaining fashion. He also ventured to interpret previous recitals in this area thereby creating a larger body of knowledge for future historians. And lastly, the investigator desired to expose, through an analysis of the history of an institution, an understanding of baseball's relationship to society as a whole in the nineteenth century.

"Whoever wants to know the heart and mind of America had better learn baseball." This quote by Jacques Barzun is truly indicative of the hold that the national game has on the American people. Like hot dogs and apple pie, baseball is America (72:2).

Competition is the soul of the United States; it has built this land into the most powerful nation in history. Baseball exemplifies this spirit as well as the traits of individualism and fair play. Winning and just playing the game are essential elements in both baseball and American life (61:7). Hard work with the chance for every American boy to eventually attain success is the code of our country and baseball still provides this opportunity (59:14). The need for excitement and team spirit lives in every citizen, this sport renders such outlets. Heroes are forever and today there is no better place to look for them than on the professional diamonds (55:345).

America's business is business; the national pastime is labeled likewise as seen through the recent development of contract negotiations and the millions of dollars of revenue received each year from gate, concession, and advertisement receipts (61:10). This activity provides entertainment of the first class for the whole family, a commodity that our nation increasingly seeks and demands with the new-found leisure hours we enjoy (62:xii). But most of all baseball brings out the little boy in all of us, that feeling of letting go and having fun (12:1-14).

We can see therefore that the national game is a microcosm of everything in which our country proudly consists. It is more than print on a sports page, or words on the radio, or pictures on television, and more than conversation in schools and on the streets. Baseball cannot be simply defined as a team game played with a bat and ball; baseball is America.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to narrate and interpret the history of baseball from its origins to the merger of the National and American Leagues in 1903. The author attempted to expose the true birth of the game, the expansion and development of the sport from amateur clubs to professional teams, the growth of professionalism under the National League, the commercialization of the business, and the dominant players and teams of that era.

Delimitations

This dissertation was concerned only with the period of baseball from the origins to 1903. This date was chosen because it served as a natural division between the early era of the game's development and its modern structure which was framed in 1903 when the innovative and extremely productive American League merged with the declining National League. Limiting the study to this period allowed for a future piece of research encompassing the period 1903 to the present.

A narrative and interpretive account seemed more valuable to focus upon in a project of this nature. For this reason only a limited amount of descriptive statistics are listed in the study.

Limitations

This study could have been enhanced if people involved in early baseball had been more articulate and prolific in relating their experiences. Professional players' careers were normally unpredictable and short-lived, causing diaries and other testimonies to be seldom penscribed.

A long span of time is encountered between the period covered and the present, making interviews with direct participants very limited.

As always exists, total impartiality on the part of the author must not be taken for granted. It is inherent in the penning of history that objectivity is essential to a well-written piece of scholarship; but by the same token a completely unbiased production is inevitably not within the realm of reality as Vivian Hunter Galbraith suggests in her book, An Introduction to The Study of History (86).

Writers are limited to their own selections of what material is most appropriate in a given project of specific proportions. An essay entitled "Quantification, Scientific History, and Scholarly Innovation," found in the American Historical Association's June, 1966 issue of Newsletter (90), describes this idea with the inference that only a small dent in the void of knowledge can be produced with the completion of each manuscript. In reality nothing is definitive. The task of touching all aspects of the game for every season has been impossible for a work of this caliber.

Justification

William Leo Lucey examined the meaning and value of history in his History: Methods and Interpretation (88). This scholar echoed the common belief of historians that every time a piece of original research comes to fruition, the existing body of knowledge grows geometrically. This is due to the contribution itself as well as the curiosity that is generated from the results of such a study. When a certain area is exposed, more research becomes inevitable and history has a much better chance of preservation. In theory, truth is discovered and fact is less likely to digress into legend.

Sport history is now being studied by historians and physical educators. It is quite respectable to lay claim to being a sport historian (61:ix). Today several societies have organized to research the history of sport including the American Historical Association, American Sociological Association, the International Symposium for the study of Sport History, the North American Society for the Study of Sports History, Popular Culture Association, and the Society for American Baseball Research (61:xi). The contributions of these groups and individuals will serve both professions of history and physical education as well as offering a growing body of information in sport history.

In this particular work the author endeavored to produce a study that was interesting to sports enthusiasts and informative to researchers. He attempted to relate the significance of the development of the institution of baseball to the progress of nineteenth-century American society in general. Parallels were drawn to enlighten the reader on the resemblance of the two phenomenons. By accomplishing this, the writer has added to the body of knowledge in this field while to some degree explained the sociological evolution of the United States over that period of time. This dissertation purports to meet the needs in the area of sports history by providing a comprehensive and interpretative piece of original research.

Definition of Terms

In order to better understand this study, the following terms are defined:

Primary sources. It is essential in writing history to use these original or firsthand evaluations and records of events and persons. This ensures that partiality and lack of precise recollection will not adversely affect the study.

Secondary sources. When it is not possible to use an original piece of evidence, secondhand investigations of the period or person will provide background material. The historian observing history through primary sources produces a secondary source.

Cooperstown. This small town in north, central New York, is the home of the Baseball Hall of Fame and National Baseball Library which was dedicated in 1939. It houses relics of the past days of baseball and a library of baseball material that is quite extensive and recognized as the most important center of information in existence on the sport. It is also the home town of and was named after James Fenimore Cooper, the first great American novelist.

Sport history. This area of history and physical education concerns itself with the perpetuation of research in the field of American sports. Many organizations now have been formed to conduct and sponsor study, and to bring about a greater knowledge and curiosity of sport history on the part of the American public and the academic community.

Descriptor. This term applies to a key-word analyzer used in a computer search of bibliographic material.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The early era of American baseball is a field which has only been lightly investigated in a comprehensive and interpretive manner. The most complete work in the period from the origins of baseball to the end of the nineteenth century is a doctoral dissertation which later was extended into a book. The account, "The Rise of Major League Baseball to 1891" (75), by Harold Seymour, investigated the social and commercial ramifications of the rise of this American sport. In his thesis, "Heritage of a National Game" (73), John Cleaver explored the social merits of baseball from 1845-1875. David Q. Voight's dissertation was also later published in book form. Voight's work, entitled "Cash and Glory: The Commercialization of Major League Baseball as a Sports Spectacular 1865-1892" (76), traced the effects of professionalism in the national game on the American public.

Two other dissertations were completed in 1974 on the history of baseball. Steven Riess, of the University of Chicago, produced a study dealing with early twentieth-century baseball which he labeled "Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era: Myths and Realities" (74). A doctoral study which covers the period 1919-1941, was penned by Richard Crepeau and is named "The Diamond Mind: God, Country, and Baseball."

Harold Wolf at Columbia University in 1962 wrote a dissertation on the history of baseball which he called "The History of Intercollegiate Baseball." One of the earliest doctoral compilations, "An Historical Dictionary of Baseball Terminology," was produced by Edward Nichols at the Pennsylvania State University in 1939.

A bibliographic computer search conducted by the author provided sixteen studies encompassing dissertations and papers dating back to 1939 on the history of sport. Twelve of these were presented in the 1970's. This fact, along with the surge of the North American Society for Sport History, demonstrates the recent impact that sport history has made on the Physical Education profession. Robert Barney's address at the annual convention of the North American Society for Sport History at Eugene, Oregon, in June of 1976, entitled "Of Rails and Red Stockings: A Vignette on the Extention of Baseball to the American West"

(72), was a source of reference that the author was able to utilize in this history. "Sports, Physical Activity and Recreation in Early American History" (71), a paper presented by Ralph Ball at a National Association for Sports and Physical Education convention in Milwaukee in 1976, produced an excellent treatment of the earliest origins of the activity.

The Baseball Hall of Fame director, Ken Smith (81), furnished several documents that clarified some areas. The names of these articles are as follows: "Abner Doubleday" (77), "Professional Baseball" (78), and "The Mills Commission" (79).

The history of baseball is a topic that is amply examined in most encyclopedias. Encyclopedia Britannica (82), contained the best piece on the founding and developmental period of baseball, and as such was used in the research.

Periodical articles, both primary and secondary, were numerous. Microfilm copies of the following newspapers having pertinent columns were discovered and in some instances noted: American Chronicle of Sports and Pastimes (15), Baseball Scrapbooks (16), The Ball Players Chronicle (18), National Chronicle (21), New England Base Ballist

(22), New York Clipper (23), New York Mercury (24), Official Baseball Record (25), and Sporting Life (26). Many other periodicals such as Harpers Weekly, Hobbies, Sports Illustrated, Life Magazine, Family Weekly Magazine, and Holiday, furnished secondary citations.

Guidebooks of the nineteenth century were found to be invaluable in their content of constitutions, rules, interesting anecdotes, players' descriptions, standings, statistics, listings of cities having teams, and predictions of coming campaigns. These serials were located at the National Baseball Library in complete sets. Some of the guides acquired in the Library were as follows: Beadle's Dime Baseball Player (27), Dewitt's Base-Ball Guide (28), Reach's Official Baseball Guide (29), Guide to Baseball Literature (30), and Spalding's Official Base Ball Guide (33).

While looking through the stacks of books and card catalog at Cooperstown, fourteen primary books and thirty secondary books were listed as containing enough information on baseball to the year 1903 to warrant classification in this study's bibliography. These fourty-four books may not be the only accounts which examine this field, but they were the fruits of an exhaustive screen. The librarian at the National Baseball Library, Jack Redding (80), stated that "if it is not found here, it probably doesn't exist."

The literature of books present at Cooperstown includes authors who spent most of their lives in baseball. Adrian Anson (1), Al Spalding (12), and John Montgomery Ward (14), were tremendous players. Henry Chadwick (2) and Alfred Spinks (13) were sport journalists. Connie Mack (6) and John J. McGraw (7) were excellent managers. Other people like Robert Henderson (42) and Ken Smith (57) dedicated their lives to the game. Arthur Bartlett (35) and Allen Lee (45) gave outstanding works in the field. Through the efforts of these men there is an existing body of knowledge in baseball literature. But much more research and writing is necessary in order to truly unveil this national sport that has meant so much to so many.

In researching the field of old-time baseball, the scholar finds that the existing literature tends to offer more of an explanatory nature of coverage than a re-examining one. It is usually limited to a precise topic and not extensive in its breadth.

A review of the related material in the field of pre-modern baseball suggests that although much material can be found on particular portions of the saga, more inclusive and critical histories must be written in order to fill the void that presently exists in telling the story of the early days of baseball. The intent of this dissertation therefore was to meet the need of a comprehensive and interpretive piece of original research that would narrate the historical record of baseball from the genesis of the sport to the merger of the National and American Leagues in 1903.

Chapter 3

PROCEDURE

Most historians possess their own categorization and organization of material, but in essence, historical method is primarily universal. One of the most popular handbooks on historical writing is Florence N. McCoy's Researching and Writing in History (89). This author chooses to sectionize historical research into the following four divisions:

1. Thoughtful consideration and selection of the topic, stressing the availability of primary sources and then secondary material.
2. Accumulation of an extensive bibliography including published bibliographies, periodical literature, books, book reviews, newspapers, diaries, guidebooks, documents, and dissertation indexes.
3. Taking of notes and formulation of an outline and working title.
4. Development of a rough draft, editing and correcting this first attempt, and the writing of the final copy.

The following account is a synopsis of the procedure employed in the selection, organization, development, and completion of this history.

A pilot study was inaugurated on sport history in the winter semester of 1978 under the leadership of Dr. Elmo Roundy. Through a fascination for baseball the author finally proposed to write in that field. Books, dissertations, and periodicals were examined and researched for an eventual paper.

After much planning and consideration, conferences were held with the graduate committee to determine the potential of such a project. The committee members gave approval of the project and the initial research began.

Through the direction of Dr. Glen Tuckett, a member of the graduate committee, addresses were obtained of people involved in baseball who could aid in the research. Most of their replies recommended the National Baseball Library at Cooperstown, New York, as the center of information that needed to be visited.

Taking the advice of these informed people, a trip to New York was outlined and carried out. At the Baseball Hall of Fame and National Baseball Library, a wealth of unique primary sources of books and microfilmed periodicals were discovered and noted. The collection there is regarded as the best of its kind, rivaled only by the Spalding Collection in the New York Public Library. Interviews held with Ken Smith and Jack Redding, administrators at the Hall of Fame, were found to be very informative as well as exceedingly interesting.

On the return trip to the Provo campus, a stop was made at the author's alma mater, Lamar University in Beaumont, Texas. There, more information was gathered and other material organized for the preparation of the thesis. Plans were also made to use the inter-library loan system in the fall of 1978 at Lamar's library because this is where the rough draft was completed.

At Brigham Young University, during the summer session of 1978, a bibliographic computer search on a nationwide hookup was ordered to trace additional dissertations, theses, and papers written on the subject. The computer scan was completed at the University's Harold B. Lee Library by Larry Benson. The main programs used were ERIC (Educational Research Information Center) and the Comprehensive Dissertation Index. Inserting several descriptors produced a computer printout on most of the dissertations ever written in the United States on baseball, as well as all of the educational papers and theses penned after 1966 on the history of baseball and on sport history.

After all of the research was completed, the investigator turned to the formation of the first draft of the manuscript. In the actual writing of the body of the work, the author interpreted the history of baseball in the nineteenth century by defending proposals in a chronicled account. The interpretations that developed were the result of careful scrutiny of all the material available for analysis. The following paragraphs specify the theses that were constituted during the development of this dissertation.

Baseball actually evolved from English ball-and-stick games, not as legend says from the mind of Abner Doubleday. The sport was not immediately played or watched by all classes of Americans, but rather it was a game in which only gentlemen were welcomed. The Eastern section of the country, especially New York, dominated the world of organized ball until the Civil War. That rebellion expanded this amusement into a competitive form of play which spread throughout the entire United States. It was only temporarily retarded by that conflict.

Professionalism did not emerge in 1869 with the Cincinnati Red Stockings as most records advise. It gradually developed after 1860 when talented participants sought a livelihood from the game and patrons demanded quality play. The year 1869 was the culmination of a steady progress of events that led to an environment where open professionalism could exist. Early professional baseball was a failure due to the lack of managerial skills on the part of the players who controlled the game.

In 1876, the National League organized the game under its leadership and quickly moved to correct the existing evils that haunted the sport. The League produced a favorable climate in which organized baseball prospered until the early 1890's. The League did not go completely unchallenged in its domination of baseball, but was effective in eliminating all rivals to its power until 1903. Owners failed to meet the challenges confronting them in that year and were forced to merge with the progressive and popular American League.

Throughout the entire latter half of the nineteenth century employers abused and completely ruled the professional careers of the players. Most performers were heavy drinkers with devil-may-care attitudes and reputations.

Umpires and negroes suffered constant insults and mistreatment. The game became an extravaganza in which city-dwellers flocked to the ballparks to watch the players in their spritely-colored uniforms. And finally, baseball became a lucrative profession in which newswriting, advertising, and business promoters, continuously prospered.

The rough draft of the manuscript was finished in the fall of 1978. A trip to the Brigham Young University campus was made at that time to present the original copy to the members of the graduate committee. Taking into account their recommendations, the author corrected the rough draft and presented a final form of the work to the committee. The dissertation was completed during the winter semester of 1979.

Chapter 4

PRESENTATION

The Roots

On a beautiful day in mid-June 1939, a number of living immortals gathered together to celebrate the centennial of that great American pastime called baseball. As the legend goes, exactly one hundred years prior, a young West Point cadet named Abner Doubleday laid out the first diamond and introduced a new game, which was to eventually become America's contribution to the world of sport. The place was a sleepy little village in north central New York state named Cooperstown, after its most famous citizen, James Fenimore Cooper. The centennial celebration dedicated a Hall of Fame and National Museum which has become a summer Mecca for millions of baseball lovers throughout the world (53:3-4). This event rightfully paid homage to a game that both young and old play and cherish; but one vital factor loomed ominously above Cooperstown that glorious day, General Doubleday had not invented baseball in 1839.

The selection of Doubleday and Cooperstown, creating the Doubleday myth, was an attempt by an investigatory body to create a purely American birth for the national game. General Doubleday, who never even wrote about the game in his memoirs, was perfect as the founder. He was a Civil War hero, firing the first cannon shots against the Confederates at Fort Sumter and serving valiantly at the battle of Gettysburg (12:20). Cooperstown had an all-American heritage that appropriately fit into the story of a home-grown origin for the game. The lure of making baseball 100 percent true-blue was too great for these men and as a consequence baseball's roots have been purposely distorted to this very day (62:30).

In 1905, a commission was called by the presidents of the National and American Leagues, Harry Pullman and Ban Johnson, to trace the game back to its beginning. The body was named after one of its chief researchers and a former National League president, Colonel A. G. Mills. Also, sitting on the committee were Morgan Bulkeley, charter president of the National League; Arthur Gorman, former United States Senator from Maryland; Albert Reach, former player and sporting goods magnate; James Sullivan, president of the Amateur Athletic Union; George Wright, former renown player; Nicholas Young, another past National League president; and Albert Spalding, retired playing star and sporting goods tycoon, whose name is often used in conjunction with the final report of the committee (79:1).

These men were well-known leaders but were careless investigators. It seems that the Commission primarily used the testimony of an aged friend of Doubleday named Abner Graves, a retired engineer living in Denver, Colorado. In his report to the Commission, Graves reminisced about the boys' militia training ground, where as teenagers, he and Doubleday played baseball. He also mentioned how Doubleday called the game "baseball" and how he limited the number of players and established four bases while providing definite sides in place of individual play (79:1).

The investigatory body failed to take into account the fact that Doubleday never mentioned baseball in his memoirs. Nor did they consider that in 1839, when he supposedly was at Cooperstown inventing baseball, cadet Doubleday was at West Point attending military college. No evidence was ever produced collaborating Graves' story of playing ball with Doubleday at Cooperstown. Little attempt was made at considering other possibilities of evolution from the many ball-and-stick games of the English.

Furthermore, most of the game rules credited to Doubleday's mind were plainly in use long before 1839 (50:5).

The evidence collected fell far short of being conclusive. In fact, it was at best negligent of the Commission to report any definitive findings, and at worst the study was deceptively engineered to produce accomodating results. The early twentieth century was a period of fierce nationalism and no better conclusion could have been drawn than that baseball was exclusively a product of the United States. This is exactly what the Committee concluded on the next to last day of 1907, and this inaccurate search has shrouded baseball's origin ever since. The report of the Mills Commission can be found in section E of the appendix.

To carry the origin of baseball to an extreme, it may be said that ball playing was an offspring of earliest man. In the twelfth Egyptian dynasty, four thousand years ago, a Coptic artist sculptured people throwing and catching balls on the temple of Beni Hassan. The British Museum in London has preserved a leather-covered ball found in the Nile Valley estimated to date back some forty-one centuries. The Greek historian Horace scribed that Malcenas "amused himself during his journeys by playing ball." The Greeks and Romans employed special ball playing areas called

Sphaeristerii (12:17). As crude or complex as these games may have been, they deserve some mention as forerunners of the modern type of ball playing.

The game of baseball with similarities as we know it today is most often associated with the English, the principal founders of our country. Evidence suggests that our forefathers played ball-and-stick games as far back as the fourteenth century. Cricket, an ancient form of ball, was transformed to suit English taste. The Scots practiced an activity known as fungo in which a striker paddled a ball which he had tossed into the air directly above him (59:32). A form of ball, very akin to baseball, called feeders in London and rounders in western England, was a prominent interest of the English people when they crossed the Atlantic ocean in the seventeenth century (82:224). The Pilgrims played ball at Plymouth while the Puritans did likewise at Boston (79:1). These immigrants simply transported their love of sporting competition with them when they traveled to the New World.

The word baseball was actually in use as early as the middle of the eighteenth century in England. In 1748, a passage is present in the Letters of Mary Lepell, a prominent English writer, satirizing Frederick Prince of Wales for his habits:

> The Prince's family is an example of cheerful and innocent amusement . . . they divert themselves at baseball, a play all who . . . have been, schoolboys, are well acquainted with.

Jane Austin wrote in her 1798 work, Northanger Abbey, that

> it was not very wonderful that Catherine, who had by nature nothing heroic about her, should prefer cricket, baseball, riding on horseback, and running round the country at the age of fourteen, to books (82:223).

Originally published in England in 1744, A Little Pretty Pocket-Book, contained twenty-six children's games. One sport listed under the letter B was baseball. Later, in 1823, Edward Moore's Suffolk Words, listed baseball as a game played in Suffolk (83:1·2-1·3).

There are numerous sources of information that give support to the contention that the term baseball and the game were practiced in eighteenth-century America. While at Valley Forge in 1778, George Ewing wrote of "playing a base." Prior to the Revolutionary War, some boys "playing at ball" in the Wall Street region of New York, left their game to join the riot which took place. The faculty of Princeton University "forbade the students to play with balls and sticks in the back common of the colleges" because of the latter's lack of concern for the academic (71:6).

The game continued to be recognized in the early nineteenth century prior to the ill-supported Doubleday birth. A New York editor, Thurlow Weed, wrote of "a baseball club organized about 1825." Samuel Hopkins Adams discovered one of Weed's newspaper articles stating "that the Rochester Baseball Club, with about 50 members, was in practice for its season's activities." Even the astute Oliver Wendell Holmes at Harvard in 1829 spoke of "playing baseball" in college at Cambridge, Massachusetts (82:223).

The first book printed in the United States describing baseball was Robin Carver's Book of Sports published by the Lilly, Wait, Coleman, and Holden firm in 1834. Carver acknowledged that most of his material was taken from an 1828 London publication entitled The Boy's Own Book. In truth, most of the rules of his base or goal ball were copied from the rules of rounders (83:1·3). The following year The Boys and Girls Book of Sports continued Carver's lead by using the popular American name of baseball to describe the rules of the English game of rounders (55:5).

Tracing the English roots of baseball brings the researcher to the point of making distinctions between the various titles and styles of the game as they existed in the motherland and in the colonies. English rounders came to be called town ball in the West because it was usually played on Town Meeting day and in the town square. Less often it was known simply as baseball because of the action of running to several bases after striking the ball. The terms rounders, town ball, and baseball can be used interchangeably.

Town ball or rounders was played with two sides of players who would change turns at bat when someone made an out (35:3). A single put out was often a major accomplishment considering the difficulty of retrieving a batted ball and hitting a moving runner. Only a bowler or pitcher had a certain position while the remaining participants were "scouts" scattered all over the field. The batter carried a four-inch, flat board bat to a position up the first-base line. The term feeders, describing the act of feeding or pitching the ball, was sometimes utilized in naming the game of rounders. The most prominent part of the game however was the necessity of striking the runner with the ball while he scurried between goals (35:7).

As time passed this game took on the title, the Massachusetts or New England Game, because of the abundance of play in that section of the country. The design of the

Massachusetts Game called for a quadrangle of posts, sixty feet apart. The runner could be plugged or hit by the ball if he were not in contact with the bases. The batter stood between home and first base while the feeder threw underhanded approximately thirty-five feet away. One hundred aces or runs produced a winner provided an even number of innings had been played. The first intercollegiate baseball game was played under the Massachusetts Game rules (59:16).

Another popular English and American pastime, similar to the present version of the game called scrub, was one-old-cat. Its name derived from a catapult which placed the ball for the batter to hit, eliminating a pitcher. The title took various forms of one-old-cat (59: 18). This game was used when only three to eight boys were participating. Simply, the ball was hit and the runner ran from base one to base two and then home. If the ball was caught in the air or on one bounce the batter was out and the players rotated. More bases and batters were added if the number of players increased thus creating two-, three-, or four-old-cat (55:7).

At different times and places these games of ball possessed peculiar distinctions, but basically all had the objective of striking a ball with a stick, running around bases, or back and forth between bases, and registering a score when reaching the home goal before being touched or hit by the ball, or before the ball could be returned to the base. Besides the common names, the following terms were coined to describe types of ball playing in England and America: burn ball, soak ball, street ball, round ball, and fives (58:8).

Controversy on the origin of baseball centers around two central figures, Albert Spalding and Henry Chadwick. Spalding was a powerfully influential man who hand-picked the members of the Mills Commission. He wanted to make baseball America's national sport and had the opportunity to select a national hero, Abner Doubleday, as the perfect inventor. Nothing short of a completely home-grown origin would satisfy the thirst for such a symbol of Americanism. To Spalding, baseball was America, and only a 100 percent American birth was pure enough to rate for his game (62:5-6).

Spalding's theory starts with one-old-cat and its allowance for village boys in the Colonies to slap the ball and run around the bases. As the game grew in popularity, so did town ball with its more complex rules and opportunities for greater numbers. Eventually, town ball was refined into a higher order of play as found in New England where it came to be called the Massachusetts Game. These three games all possessed elements of our present day game of baseball. Abner Doubleday was the "ingenious American lad" who organized the components of these games into a specific unit complete with modern rules.

The Spalding theory on Doubleday's accomplishment is summed up in the following:

> Some ingenious American lad naturally suggested that one thrower be placed in the center of the square, which brought nine players into the game, and which also made it possible to change the game into teams or sides, one side fielding and the other side batting. This was for many years known as the old game of "town ball" from which the present game of baseball no doubt had its origin, and not from the English children's picnic game of 'Rounders' (12:39).

Henry Chadwick, an English-born newspaperman, is known as the "Father of Sportswriting" for his lifetime devotion to the game. He served as the editor of _DeWitt's Base Ball Guide_, _Spalding's Official Base Ball Guide_, and _Beadle's Dime Base Ball Player_, for several decades. He also was baseball's unofficial historian and inventor of the score card. Chadwick asserted that baseball evolved from the old English game of rounders. He stated that the principle of the two games were very similar and since rounders came first, baseball evolved from it (40:21).

Baseball's greatest historian is Robert Henderson, retired chief of the main reading room of the New York Public Library. In his comprehensive study, Ball, Bat, and Bishop (42), Henderson fulfilled Chadwick's idea of an evolutionary origin with a fully documented piece of research. He stated that town ball and rounders were essentially the same and were both called baseball in England and America. The majority of evidence uncovered on the subject strongly agrees with the Chadwick theory of evolution while only the cursory Mills Report, creating the Doubleday myth, substantiates the Spalding thesis (63:24).

In this study into the roots of baseball, it has been shown that the term baseball was in use in England and America long before 1839. Although many names are encountered such as rounders, feeders, town ball, one-old-cat, and the Massachusetts Game, they are in gist very similar to our modern brand of the game. Disagreement becomes a matter of semantics because the objectives and rules are essentially the same for all of the different styles of play. It has also been pointed out that the Mills Commission was entirely negligent in its quest to expose the true origins of baseball and as a consequence, it cannonized a false prophet and birthplace.

Let it not be said however that Abner Doubleday was not instrumental in the development of the game. He probably did play the game and certainly was an innovative and heroic leader judging by his accomplishments as a Civil War officer. Beautiful Cooperstown is surely a perfect location for a valuable center of baseball nostalgia and information. Baseball is extremely fortunate to have had both of them. Although Spalding's theory is less than accurate, baseball fans everywhere must be thankful for his earnest contribution as a player and advocate to make this sport America's national game.

The Gentlemen

The period from 1845 through the 1860's was the age of gentlemen amateur players. Town ball grew into a highly sophisticated organization of baseball clubs, not yet to be seen were the well-paid professionals of the 1860's. The baseball scene was dominated by men of wealth who amused themselves with sport and most noticeably the festive celebrations that transpired after the contests. The Eastern section of the country, especially New York, dominated the game in the number of clubs and advocates (12:64).

Perhaps the real "Father of Baseball" was a civil engineer named Alexander Cartwright. He, along with a certain Mr. Wadsworth, devised rules of playing the sport which very closely resemble the ones in use today. Since 1842, a number of athletically-oriented New Yorkers had gathered together on a field which is now Madison Square in New York City (35:12). These men played each other by the haphazard rules of town ball which caused a frustrated Cartwright to develop standards by which they could more efficiently play. Thus in 1845, the first playing codes were adopted by Cartwright's comrades who also organized themselves into a club called the New York Knickerbockers. The rules established by the Knickerbocker Club on September 23, 1845, read as follows:

> Rule 1. Members must strictly observe the time agreed upon for the commencement of the game, and be punctual in their attendance.
>
> Rule 2. Before the commencement of the game the president shall appoint an umpire who shall keep the game in a book provided for that purpose, and note all violations of the rules during the game.
>
> Rule 3. The two captains shall toss for innings; the winner having the choice of sending his team to the bat or to the field.
>
> Rule 4. The bases shall be from "home" to second base, 42 paces; from first to third base, 42 paces equidistant.
>
> Rule 5. No stump (or scrub) game shall be played on the regular day of a match game.
>
> Rule 6. If a sufficient number of members should not be present at the hour named for

commencing the game, their places may be filled by gentlemen not regular members of the Club.

Rule 7. If members appear after the game has commenced, they may be chosen in if mutually agreed upon.

Rule 8. The game is to consist of twenty-one counts or aces, but at the conclusion an equal number of hands may be played.

Rule 9. The ball must be pitched, not thrown to the batter.

Rule 10. A ball knocked out of the field, or outside the range of the first or third base, is foul.

Rule 11. Three balls being struck at and missed and the last one caught, is a handout; if not caught it is considered fair, and the striker bound to run.

Rule 12. If a ball be struck, or tipped, and caught, either flying or on the first bound, it is a handout.

Rule 13. A player running the bases shall be out if the ball is in the hands of an adversary on the base, or the runner is touched with it before he makes his base, it being understood, however, that in no instance is a ball to be thrown at him.

Rule 14. A player running who shall prevent an adversary from catching or getting the ball before making his base, is a handout.

Rule 15. Three handouts, all out.

Rule 16. Players must take their strike in regular turn.

Rule 17. All disputes and differences relative to the game to be decided by the Umpire, from which there is no appeal.

Rule 18. No ace or base can be made on a foul strike.

Rule 19. A runner cannot be put out in making one base, when a balk is made by the Pitcher.

Rule 20. But one base allowed when a ball bounds off the field when struck (83:1·3).

Familiar rules in Cartwright's code were: the symmetrical ninety-foot basepaths, use of three outs per hand or inning, establishment of foul lines, allowance for a hitter to run to first base on a muffed third strike, and the putting out of runners if tagged while off the base or by the failure to beat the throw to base.

Most visually different from present day rules was Cartwright's use of twenty-one aces or runs as the victory mark. Absent also was the judgement calls of balls and strikes by the umpire. Perhaps the rule most experimented with in the nineteenth century was the one Cartwright made which required the pitcher to toss underhanded to the batter.

The first baseball contest took place on June 19, 1846, at Elysian Fields in Hoboken, New York. That day the Knickerbockers lost to a group of men known as the New York Club, 23 to 1. Five years passed before the Knicks played another game against an organized club because they found no suitable opponent. On June 3, 1851, the Knickerbockers defeated the New York Gothams 21-11. Two weeks later against the same opponents they won the first extra inning game ever played, 22-20 in ten innings (83:1·5).

The Knickerbockers' game was a sportsmanlike contest among members of the club and was purely amateur. In fact, it was these private clubs with their emphasis on gentlemanly activity that dominated baseball until the 1860's when professionalism crept in on the favorite pastime of their club members. The more refined style of Knickerbocker play was termed the New York Game as contrasted with the coarse pattern of the Massachusetts Game which remained in vogue in New England until the late 1850's.

Most of the gentlemen players of the New York Club did not intend to extend their game beyond a small circle of their own breeding. In fact, "a club like the Eckfords, made up of greasy mechanics," would not even be permitted on the same field. Only a few similar clubs of social standing like the Gothams, the Eagles, or the Empires, were considered proper opponents. Spectators were discouraged from viewing their matches and of the utmost importance was the disavowal of accepting money for playing. Absence from practice was considered inappropriate and carried heavy fines (58:10).

The Knickerbockers held exclusive rights on being called the only permanent baseball club until 1852 when the Gothams of Harlem reorganized into a close-knit team. Two years later three New York City clubs came into existence: the Eagles, the Empires, and the Excelsiors. The following is a list of clubs organized from 1845 through 1857:

Clubs	Organized	Location of Grounds
Knickerbocker	September 23, 1845	Hoboken
Gotham	Spring of 1852	Harlem
Eagle	April, 1854	Hoboken
Empire	October 23, 1854	Hoboken
Excelsior	December 8, 1854	South Brooklyn
Putnam	May, 1855	Williamsburgh
Newark	May 1, 1855	Newark
Baltic	June 4, 1855	New York
Eckford	June 27, 1855	Greenpoint
Union	July 17, 1855	Morrisania
Atlantic	August 14, 1855	Williamsburgh
Atlantic	August, 1855	Jamaica, L. I.
Continental	October, 1855	Williamsburgh
Harlem	March, 1856	New York
Enterprise	June 26, 1856	Williamsburgh
Active	October, 1856	Hoboken
Star	October, 1856	South Brooklyn
Independent	January, 1857	New York
Liberty	March 1, 1857	New Brunswick, N. J.
Metropolitan	March 4, 1857	New York
Champion	March 14, 1857	New York
Hamilton	March 23, 1857	Brooklyn
St. Nicholas	April 28, 1857	Hoboken
Mutual	June 24, 1857	Williamsburgh (12:64)

The sole rewards for the players' sporting efforts were simply fun and a small amount of glory. The home club's attempt after the contest to put on a feast with a variety of food, wine, ale, and ice cream, was the only tangible prize, but these humble offerings sufficed the pleasure-seeking players of baseball's gentleman era (59:23).

The jolly gentlemen of the 1840's and 1850's donned brightly colored uniforms much as the jockeys do in horse racing today. Identity was found in the clothing of the teams as well as in their colors. Trousers consisted of full pantaloons which were often tucked under high-top canvas shoes with cleats attached to the bottoms. Caps were short-billed, multi-colored, and at times, made of straw. Full length shirts with pinstripes were most prominent, with the name or initials of the team usually being printed across the chest. Wide-buckled, leather belts presented a unique distinction for each team's uniform. Clubs prided themselves on their dress which often characterized their style of play (59:18).

The early days of baseball, although in many ways identical to ours of today, would seem quite unusual to a modern-day spectator. First of all, no charge was made for admission until 1857, but this was offset by the fact that there were no grandstands. The few spectators that attended simply stood along the foul boundaries and in the outfield (35:17). The players stretched along the baselines and the umpire normally stood down the path toward first base. Sliding was considered inappropriate while profanity and arguing with the judgement of the umpire was a fineable offense. Defensive players stayed beside their base while the catcher positioned himself some thirty feet away from home base. The pitcher threw underhanded from forty-five feet away and was not allowed to jerk his body during delivery. In some instances he was even limited to tossing up the ball where the batter called for it. The fly-rule (catching the ball in the air before it bounced) eventually became custom replacing the one-bounce rule. Balls hitting fair and then going foul were considered fair balls. Most batters split their grips on the bat and tried to place the ball because a hit through the outfielders could mean a home run since there were no fences. Enjoying refreshments after the game was indulged in by the players and spectators. Few accounts of the game however could be found the next day in the local newspaper because there were very few sport pages (55:38-39). Baseball possessed a unique aura in those first days, but in a few short years it would expand into a bustling profession.

The Expansion

In 1849, Alexander Cartwright left his Knickerbocker team to seek gold in California. On his way, he preached baseball to all who would listen. Cartwright even established the game in Hawaii where he lived the rest of his life. He is sometimes called the "Johnny Appleseed of

Baseball" for his efforts of planting the seeds of the game out West (67:1).

Baseball took only a few years to become popular. The original idea of an exclusive game for private clubs vanished from the Knickerbockers' philosophy after their first decade and they began to help many teams to organize. The Knickerbockers by-laws were in such great demand that their secretary listed his address in the Sunday Mercury, a New York newspaper. An examination of the early clubs' constitutions unveils the fact that continuity existed in the playing regulations of the club system. This allowed teams to play on equal terms and consequently spread interest in the game (55:20).

Rule changes were somewhat limited at first, but the ones that were made added greatly to the excitement of the game. People could tell what was taking place on the field after a short exposure to the game. Greater player expertise and colorful trappings lured larger crowds to the fields. Much attention was paid to the game by the paper-reading city-dwellers when newspapers began to highlight the past days' results. In the middle of the century baseball began to monopolize the leisure-time entertainment of the urban working class. It was becoming fashionable to know about the game and its players (55:30-33).

Clubs began to spring up all over the country throughout the 1850's. The high social standards of the Knickerbockers began to crumble as the game became more widespread and commercialized (12:64). Realizing what was happening, in 1857, the Knickerbockers called a convention to regulate the game and this was followed a year later by a second revision assembly. Out of the 1857 convention came the National Association of Base Ball Players, the first representative body of the game of baseball. Amateurism retained its sanctified pedestal; but for the first time in history, an admission charge of fifty cents was allowed for spectators (35:17).

Baseball started to expand outside of New York quite extensively by the early 1860's. E. G. Saltzman, a member of the Knickerbockers, had brought the New York Game with him to Boston. Portland, Maine, formed a baseball club in 1858. Milwaukee and Chicago became centers of enthusiasm for the sport by the same year. The next year in San Francisco the game was established. The South was introduced to baseball in 1860 in New Orleans, which became the ballgame's haven of the South. The first touring team in history was the Excelsior Club of Brooklyn. This team created great interest with its Eastern tour in 1860 (83: 1·6-1·7).

Little did Abner Doubleday know on that fateful day of April 12, 1861, that the cannon shots he returned on the Confederates, would toll a distinct evolution on the game of baseball; but that is exactly what the Civil War did produce on the gentleman's game. By the end of the war and a little thereafter, all parts of the country had been exposed to the sport. Because of this growth, the activity would no longer be limited to gentlemen but to commoners alike. The days of amateurism were also coming to a close. Victory, instilled by the war, was so important that only paid professionals could command the skill necessary to produce a winner. Baseball rosters, drained by the call to arms, were rebuilt after the war with the best players that money would buy (62:12).

Al Spalding commented that

> thoughts of contests on fields of sport were banished from the minds of men in every section while all looked forward to a greater, fiercer struggle that should be decided by the arbitrament of arms on fields of battle (12:92).

Attendance at baseball contests during the war fell off sharply, and so did the ability of the participants as youngsters were chosen to replace veterans who left to fight the war. As the players returned, and as interest and knowledge of the game spread, baseball made a comeback that was to make it a universal concern in this country. Soldiers, who had learned the game while in the service, exported the sport to every section of the United States. As Spalding testified

> It was during the Civil War, then, that the game of Base Ball became our national game . . . from that day to this it has been played . . . in every section of our beloved country (12:95).

Baseball was played by both Union and Confederate soldiers during the war. Prison camps were centers of gusty competition between army regiments and at times between the two Armies. Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin troops watched Boston and New York squads play in Virginia and Tennessee camps, learning the game that way. New Orleans troops, who had been playing for several years, introduced baseball to soldiers from Georgia and South Carolina at a federal prison on the Mississippi (83:1·6-1·7). The 24th Alabama unit played ball "like schoolboys" while waiting to see what Sherman was going to do. The 71st New York Guard challenged the Washington Nationals to a contest behind the White House in 1861. While returning home from Appomattox, the 133rd New York Volunteers also played the Washington team. Northern prisoners partook of the game at Salisbury, North Carolina, in 1862, as demonstrated by a lithograph at the New York Historical Society (55:41). Future National League president, A. G. Mills, carried his ball and bat in his haversack "because he found as much use for them as for his arms." Even President Lincoln in 1862 was in attendance at a Washington ballgame (62:10-11). Perhaps the greatest instrument of baseball's expansion during the Civil War was an intersquad contest of the 165th New York Volunteers Infantry held at Hilton Head, South Carolina. Over forty thousand soldiers observed this event and carried it with them in their thoughts and stories back to their homes. News of such performances spread from camp to camp as soldiers conversed between marches and battles. Soon every company conducted its own competition (58:14). The seeds of baseball's growth had been spread and planted by the end of the Civil War.

The direct result of the spreading of the game's interest can be demonstrated quite readily by a look at the National Association of Base Ball Players' conventions during the 1860's. In 1860 at the outset of the war, forty-four team representatives, mostly from New York, attended the convention. During the war participation dipped very low until a small upsurge occurred in 1864. At the conclusion of the war, in 1865, ninety-one teams sent delegates. Two years later, 202 clubs from seventeen states and the District of Columbia were represented at the annual meeting (35:21). Baseball was definitely on the move and the Civil War was the main reason for its growth.

The Profession

The National Association, formed in 1857 to foster amateurism in organized baseball, tried unsuccessfully to curtail the growth of professionalism during the 1860's. The ultimate objectives of gentlemanly ball, good health and recreation, took a back seat to the financial remuneration that the profession had to offer to young men of ability. Token efforts, like the expulsion from baseball of James Roder in 1865 for "accepting pay," did not discourage the new breed of players from taking payment in return for their services (83:1·8). Payment for play continued to be made for [the most] part under the table until 1871, when a new National Association, dedicated to professionalism, was created. By the end of the 1860's, the gentlemanly sport had become a thriving business. As purist Henry Chadwick conceded, "Since professional baseball is a business, it should be pursued honestly and openly and above board" (61:31).

As time went by, money was placed on the outcome of contests. No longer was the game played for fun, but for money. This, along with the profits baseball entertainment possessed, brought a need for higher skilled players. Rule changes were adopted to speed up the tempo of play, making the attraction more luring and exciting for spectators to view. As men practiced longer hours and attained advanced proficiency, the need arose to supplement their financial situation (62:12). Players took time off from work and sometimes were given employment simply to practice baseball. Eventually amateurs, playing for the sport of it, were dropped by their clubs and more adept professionals took their places. This semi-professional period was a twilight zone between amateurism and professionalism (55:51).

Al Spalding, who was deeply involved in the transformation of baseball, wrote that "the determination of the founders to maintain it [baseball] as an amateur pastime had been only partially successful from the start" (12:129). He told of the early practice of drafting local junior players to perform for the senior clubs. This was followed by the inducement of rural stars to come to the larger cities to play on better teams. In the process, they would gain increased opportunities to financially prosper from the experience. It was just a logical step to the point of offering exceptional players commercial positions and finally, direct remuneration.

With the constant expansion of baseball to all points of the country during the 1860's, a novel, less genteel element entered the circles of the game. The new players came from all walks of life. Working-class youths found an opportunity and incentive to make it big in the cities playing professional ball. The New York Tribune's study of the 1869 Brooklyn players revealed that the team was composed of several compositors, a stonemason, a postal employee, a shipping clerk, and two without previous work experience. The Brooklyn team of the late 1860's was not an exceptional squad, but in fact was very typical of the composition of clubs during that period (62:19).

These lower-class, professional players did not mix well with their already established colleagues. As time passed, clubs replaced old-timers with young men of particular ability. Gambling soon infiltrated the ranks of the players and this led to the retirement of many honest players (12:130). Some seasoned members of well-known teams, like James Whyte Davis, who played for the Knickerbockers for twenty-four years, unhappily parted because of the "mistaken" practice of charging admission to the games (55:49).

The masses not only were given a chance to enter big-time ball but were also invited to view the spectacles. Communities took pride in their team and demanded that management seek out the best players instead of simply selecting local talent. Sporting goods companies headed by stars such as Al Spalding, Al Reach, and George Wright, reaped huge rewards from the public interest aroused by the entertaining styles of the fast-coming professionals. The newly-found leisure time of the urban proletarian class was diverted into this sport's attraction as demonstrated by the erection of ballparks with accommodating grandstands (55:47-48). The demand was great and with a steady supply of paid athletes who possessed ability and skill, teams could produce large profits from gate returns. Baseball was becoming a business in a most capitalistic way.

Jim Creighton, who in 1862 fatally injured himself while hitting a home run, is considered to be the first professional baseball player. In 1860, the Brooklyn Excelsiors paid Creighton a wage to pitch for their team and were rewarded by a most successful season. Al Reach of the Philadelphia Athletics was paid a yearly compensation for his athletic efforts in the 1864 season, marking him as the first salaried player (58:15).

Because of the improper connotation of paying men for athletic pursuits, most sportsmen of the time were given nominal employment for playing ball. Several New York City teams used jobs in the coroner's office to disguise payments to players. In Troy, New York, local industries provided cover and cash. Washington teams excelled in offering accomodations to players by using political positions, especially in the Treasury Department (62:18). Al Spalding received ten times the normal pay of a grocery clerk at Forest City, Illinois. George Wright, supposedly employed as a clerk at a cigar store in Washington, never was required to report for work.

The Buckeye Club of Cincinnati openly promised splendid rewards to many amateur players ready to make the leap to professional ball (58:15). Several athletes of the Atlantics of Brooklyn received ten dollars a week for their performances (83:1·8). In 1866, Harry Wright inscribed in his diary that he knew of four players on the Philadelphia Athletics who were compensated twenty dollars a week for their skills. Later, Henry Chadwick was to list ten professionals on the Brooklyn Eckfords (61:30).

Critics of professionalism argued that gamblers with big money were spoiling baseball by buying the consciences of players who lost games on purpose for money. Boss Tweed of the infamous New York political machine Tammany Hall, was part-owner of the New York Mutuals; his presence added fuel to the fire (61:31). To combat the evils of professionalism, the National Association at its 1868 convention, decided to acknowledge the existing problems and made efforts to eliminate them. After unsuccessfully grappling with alternative possibilities of action, the Association announced it was organizing into two separate ranks of athletes, amateurs and professionals.

A giant leap for professionalism and a severe blow against amateurism occurred in 1869. Harry Wright, a baseball player and organizer for over ten years, assembled the first all-salaried team in America. Many followers of the game mark this event as the initiation of professional baseball, but as it has been demonstrated, men had been playing for pay throughout the entire decade of the 1860's. Wright's calculated action culminated a period of mockery and facade more than it inaugurated a brand new enterprise.

The success of this venture proved beyond a doubt that to compete successfully on a major level of competition, only a team of fulltime professionals could capture victories and reap financial reward.

A twenty-six year old Cincinnati lawyer named Aaron Champion was the motivating force behind the creation of the all-professional organization in 1869. Champion saw the endless publicity opportunities his city could gain if his idea of selling championship athletics proved fruitful. He hoped that this gamble would lead to large dividends for all elements of the Cincinnati populace. Mr. Champion was able to secure financial support in the amount of $15,000. Champion launched an investment in that year through the sale of stock that today has become one of the largest businesses in the world (61:32).

Wright and company had to contend with several inhibiting factors that raised the likelihood of a very unsettled future for an all-professional course. First, a loss in character of the game was brought about by the introduction of lower-class players whose sole aim was financial profit. Also, much of the public retained the old conception of baseball for recreation and only begrudgingly relinquished their traditional attitude in a supporting role for professionalism. Next, the problem of the entrance of the seamy side of society, such as gamblers and exploiters, cast suspicion on the integrity of the sport. Finally, the likelihood of cooperation from players and management not consenting to the move, was in doubt. Wright knew without this influential segment's support, his adventure of bringing a championship team to Cincinnati would collapse (12:133-135). Without hesitation however, the Cincinnati team ventured on a course destined to uproot the very foundation of amateur baseball, substituting it with a caliber of play that made professionalism a foregone conclusion.

Harry Wright, a jeweler, had come to Cincinnati in 1868, leaving a high-salaried career in cricket in order to build a first class, competitive baseball unit. The next year he made the announcement he would pay all members of the squad and secure the best talent he could purchase. The following is a compilation of Red Stocking players, their positions, and salaries for the 1869 season:

Harry Wright	Centerfield	$1,200
George Wright	Shortstop	1,400
Asa Brainard	Pitcher	1,100
Fred Waterman	Third Baseman	1,000
Charles Sweasy	Second Baseman	800
Charlie Gould	First Baseman	800
Douglas Allison	Catcher	800
Andy Leonard	Left Fielder	800

Cal McVey	Right Fielder	$ 800
Richard Hurley	Utility	600

(83:1·8)

The season that year lasted from March 15 to November 5; by opening day Wright had molded his high-priced stars into an extremely efficient unit. The Red Stockings started play by easily conquering the local competition and then embarking on an Eastern tour to challenge a number of well-known clubs. After defeating all opponents, on June 14, a victory over the renown New York Mutuals impressed upon everyone that the Reds were for real. In Washington they continued their winning ways, and even took time out of their busy schedule to chat with President Grant. The Eastern campaign was marred only by a tie game with the Troy team, which left the contest after several innings so that their sponsors would not lose their bets on the outcome of the game (59:12). The Eastern trek proved to many critics that amateurs were no match for well-trained and well-paid professionals.

Judging by the tremendous crowds that came to see the Red Stockings play their local darlings, commercialized baseball had a whopping future. Throngs of Cincinnati fans greeted the news of the victory over the Mutuals with cheering in the streets. When their heroes returned, the people showered them with praise and a boisterous celebration (58:18). Baseball excitement had become a reality overnight, and the citizens of Cincinnati thought of themselves as winners.

After beating all contenders in the East and Midwest, the Reds departed for a barnstorming trip to the Pacific Coast with a stop-over in St. Louis. As their reputation grew, people came out in greater numbers to see these talented performers. Newspapers throughout the land wrote sensational descriptions of their victorious achievements. In San Francisco, where baseball had been played for a decade, they destroyed the local clubs by lopsided scores. Nevertheless, they were toasted by their California hosts and sent away with much esteem. On the way home the Red Stockings easily defeated teams in Omaha and Nebraska City. The season came to a close with hometown triumphs over the very able Philadelphia Athletics and a return match with the powerful New York Mutuals (12:138).

The Red Stockings' campaign reaped great personal rewards for the individual players and for the management, not to mention the frenzy their exploits produced in Cincinnati. They traveled twelve thousand miles by boat and rail, performed in front of two hundred thousand spectators on both seaboards, did not lose any of the games they played, and showed a $1.39 profit for their investors to equally divide among themselves (59:12). But most importantly this team had enlightened thousands of spectators on the game, stimulated the sporting appetite of the whole country from Boston to San Francisco, and proved once and for all what professional baseball was all about.

The Interim

The time between the Red Stockings' tour of 1869 and the formation of the National League in 1876, was a period loosely ruled by the National Association of Base Ball Players and by the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players. Baseball during this interim phase was characterized by weak player administration and insecure, shifting franchises. The growing evils associated with the game became insurmountable under player control. The creation of the National League of Professional Base Ball Clubs in 1876 brought stability under capable managers enabling baseball to enter an era of amazing growth and development.

The complexion of the game itself was constantly changing in the latter 1860's and early 1870's. For example, Charles Waitt in 1875 became the first player to perform with a glove (the fingertips being cut off). That same year Fred Thayer of Harvard University introduced the catcher's mask. The fair-foul bunt was inaugurated by Dickey Pearce in the late 1860's (46:60). Arthur Cummings in 1867 was said to have been the first pitcher to use the curve ball (46:30). About that same time Jim Creighton became an outstanding pitcher through the use of his change of pace pitch (46:43). The umpire, still working alone for $5 a game, was asked to call balls and strikes just prior to the development of these pitching techniques.

Although pitching improved during this decade, hitting was still the most dominant aspect of the game. In 1869, the highest score ever amassed by a team was recorded by the Niagara Club of Buffalo, New York, when it scored 209 runs against the New York Colombias. That same year the largest score ever totaled by professional clubs was 51 to 48, as the Brooklyn Atlantics slugged past the Athletics of Philadelphia (1:33-35).

Perhaps the most interesting episode of the interim period was the 1874 tour of England made by Harry Wright's Boston club and the Philadelphia team headed by Adrian Anson. The intent of the move was to interest "our English cousins" in the American national game and perhaps even to dabble in a game or two of cricket. As it turned out, the English press had designed the tour to be a series of cricket matches between America's and England's finest ballplayers. Although fourteen baseball games were played, it was the cricket matches, dominated oddly enough by the Americans, that gained the most notoriety. This goodwill mission proved to be one of the few bright spots in the era of the professional players' association (12:175-186).

The highly successful Red Stocking campaign of 1869 across the United States, sparked the imaginations of businessmen throughout the country. Encouraged by the Cincinnati venture, the Forest City Team of Rockford, Illinois, toured the East in 1870, winning thirteen out of seventeen games and much prestige. Tom Foley in Chicago offered $1200 to skilled players to join the White Stockings. The Red Stockings chose to repeat their travels in 1870, including a trip to New Orleans; but much to the disillusionment of their fans, they lost several games. Their first defeat did not come until June of their second season when the Brooklyn Atlantics snapped their winning streak in an extra inning contest (35:34-35). After the squad lost several more games that year, the management decided to resume amateur play in Cincinnati. By this time professionalism was firmly entrenched throughout the country and the Red Stockings players simply found another home on other professional teams.

Harry Wright, along with his brother George and two other ex-Red Stockings, went to Boston where that city anxiously awaited a championship club. Wright was able to persuade Al Spalding and a couple of other Forest City stars to join the Bostons by offering them large salaries. "The Father of Professional Baseball," Harry Wright, built the Boston Red Stockings into a dynasty of a team winning four consecutive titles from 1872-1875.

Although salaried players and teams existed in all parts of the United States, the East clung stubbornly to the pretense of amateurism until 1871. The long struggle between the Knickerbocker ideal of gentlemanly sport and the business transactions of professionalism greatly subsided on March 4, 1871, with the formation of the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players. One year later, the old guard banded together to bring amateurism back into baseball with the creation of the National Association of Amateur Base Ball Players. It was to last only one year however because the professional element had by that time complete dominance over the game (12: 156).

The original clubs of the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players included the Boston Red Stockings, Philadelphia Athletics, Chicago White Stockings, New York Mutuals, Washington Nationals, Troy Haymakers, Cleveland Forest Citys, Fort Wayne Kekiongas, and the Rockford Forest City. Only the first four teams remained in the Association for the entire five years. Fort Wayne did not even finish the 1871 season before being replaced by the Brooklyn Eckfords (83:1·9). Boston's total domination of the league unfortunately created despair among the other members. This lack of competition precluded any real interest in the championship races. The players' association was so crippled by the instability of franchises and the lack of permanent scheduling, that even its organizer, Harry Wright, was glad to see it die in 1876 (61:62).

Due to his scientific style of play, Harry Wright was able to direct his Boston Red Stockings to four consecutive pennants, as the prize for a championship was called. This mode of execution included pre-game warmup drills for batting and fielding, the backing-up of plays during the game, rotating in the infield and outfield in order to better play the batters, and the fundamental command of the basic techniques of performing the game. This baseball genius also possessed that special ability to lead undisciplined athletes with tact, patience, and persistence. Wright displayed extraordinary administrative leadership evidenced by the flawless execution of his $35,000 annual budget, a vast sum in 1875 (61:60-61).

Baseball prospered somewhat during the National Association's reign from 1871 to 1875, but unfortunately the solid accomplishments were by far overshadowed by the growing evils that its executives failed to correct. The most visible problem arising in this period of player control was the presence of gambling. From the outset of the Association, gamblers roamed the stands with wads of money taking bets and yelling obscenities. Eventually corrupt promoters offered bribes to athletes to throw games. Players of weak nature or loose morals lost their sense of personal responsibility when they saw their fellow performers accepting payoffs. The fans knew what was going on and they began to abandon the turnstiles (83:1·10).

The public's eroding faith in the integrity of the sport was further damaged by the unheroic behavior and temperament of the players themselves. Revolving of players from team to team, according to what club paid the highest salary, caused much concern among fans and investors. Contracts not being honored by the players produced instability for the various franchises and in the Association's framework. The baseball world thought very poorly of these mercenary contract-jumpers who would sell out their team for a few more dollars than they were getting (83:1·10). Not only were these men unfaithful to their teams, but were more often than not, confirmed alcoholics, whose sole claim to fame other than playing professional ball was their mundane ability to out-drink their peers in society (58:23).

The total domination of the Boston team destroyed public interest in the pennant races and caused profits to be nonexistent for the majority of also-ran teams. Weaker organizations on the verge of bankruptcy conveniently sold their players outright, like property. The Bechtel-Craven case, where the Philadelphia Centennials swapped these two men to their hometown rivals for $1500, is a good example of this policy. William Hulbert, a Chicago businessman, actually went out and purchased a championship by buying players from Boston and Philadelphia (35:73-74). These high-handed business practices left a bitter taste in the mouths of baseball lovers.

Although attendance at baseball contests continued to grow, no real sense of civic pride in a team existed during this period. Even the stable franchises in Boston and Philadelphia had their problems getting enough people out to the ballparks to pay their bills. So many games were cancelled that building interest in upcoming exhibitions was an exercise in futility. Due to the absence of fixed schedules, games were played by invitation. This posed a precarious situation whereby weaker teams would simply dissolve themselves toward the end of the season (55:60). Baseball was in trouble and everyone knew it.

The National Association of Professional Base Ball Players, a refuge for athletes, left the players in total control of their profession. Although club ownership was in the hands of the paternalistic employers, the actual administration was carried on by the players and field managers. Being a star on the field was not necessarily an indication of superior or even adequate leadership talent in the office. In most cases, to avoid quarrels, compromise was invoked, thus leaving unsettled disputes to fester (62: 53). Eventually the negative elements outweighed the positive factors of the game and baseball faced an uncertain future full of chaos and empty pocketbooks.

The condition of affairs in baseball by the centennial year of 1876 was equal to that of the state of the political Union, irresponsible and poorly executed. Those of the profession who wanted growth and stability knew that only a complete reordering of things could accomplish a reversal of the growing dissatisfaction with the game (12: 192). To the rescue came William Hulbert with a scheme to take control from the ill-suited players and give it to the more experienced executives in the front offices. Hulbert took matters in his own hands in the winter of 1875 by forming the National League of Professional Base Ball Clubs. He and the other owners in the National League aimed to establish sound business practices and to clean up baseball by eliminating gambling and revolving, thereby creating popular support and financial reward (83:1·10). This progressive step marked the beginning of a new era for baseball in which honesty and stability became synonymous with the national game.

The Establishment

The year, 1876, is a landmark in American history. It was the centennial year in which the United States celebrated its one-hundredth anniversary of freedom and independence. The Great Compromise gave Rutherford B. Hayes the United States presidency over the top vote-getter, Samuel Tilden. General George Armstrong Custer became immortalized with his "last stand" at the Battle of the Little Bighorn. Last, but certainly not least, the national game of baseball established itself as a permanent fixture in American society by the creation of the cohesive National League of Professional Base Ball Clubs.

William Hulbert set the wheels in motion in 1875 to take power away from the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players and to transfer it into the hands of professional executives. He hoped to gain wealth and prestige for himself and Chicago. Hulbert knew that the players could not handle the administrative aspects of the game as demonstrated by the chaotic atmosphere of the National Association (62:62-63).

With the aid of Al Spalding, Hulbert enticed several stars from the champion Boston club and two from the Philadelphia team to play for his White Stockings. This "big four deal," a direct blow at the National Association, was certain to cause great controversy, but Hulbert knew that the players were bigger than the association and proceeded to pirate them. Next, Hulbert and Spalding drew up a constitution for the new league. This constitution lasts to this very day. A closed-door meeting of the National Association club owners was then held on February 2, 1876. In this meeting Hulbert exposed the shortcomings of the Association to the men and received from them their hearty endorsement to carry out the necessary steps for the formation of a new conference. Morgan Bulkeley was elected the first president of the National League and Nicholas Young secretary (12:205-213).

So went the creation of the National League; it was born in conspiracy. The owners however were dedicated to the proposition that baseball deserved better organization, and they were determined to bring just that to the national game and to the public. High and mighty were Hulbert's proposals:

> Entrance fees were set at $100;
>
> A new club had to represent a city of 75,000, unless obtaining unanimous approval from the incumbents. Two blackballs could bar an applicant;
>
> Each team was to meet every other team 10 times between March 15 and November 15;
>
> The team winning the most games would be declared champion and would receive a pennant costing not

> less than $100. If two teams finished with identical win totals, then the team with the fewest losses would be declared champion;
>
> If a team used an ineligible player or was prevented from appearing for a game, that game should be forfeited;
>
> Each club was to provide a sufficient number of police to preserve order;
>
> After each game a complete score was to be submitted to the League secretary;
>
> Clubs straying from the constitution should be judged by their fellow owners and a two-thirds majority was sufficient to convict. Infractions vulnerable to expulsion were disbanding during the season, failure to obey a rule passed by the Board, directly violating the constitution, and the breaking of contracts with players, providing the athletes were not at fault;
>
> No club was permitted to play an exhibition against a non-league club in a city where a National League team existed;
>
> When a player was suspended, he was required to wait for the regular League meeting in December to obtain a hearing (52:5-7).

In using his impeccable judgement and by carefully examining the problems of the National Association, Hulbert was able to formulate these rules which succeeded in stabilizing the sport under the banner of the National League. Without a doubt, baseball is deeply indebted to William Hulbert, "The Man Who Saved The Game."

The National League experimented with the rules of baseball throughout the last three decades of the nineteenth century. By 1900, most of the rules as we know them today, had been established. The greatest concern of the League was to strike a balance between pitching and hitting so that the game could be performed for the audiences with excitement and expertise. Some of the rule changes and innovations of the period 1876 to 1903 are found in section F of the appendixes.

The League was a partial success from the beginning. As spectator interest increased due to club stability and rivalry, profits slowly rose. Although Chicago and Boston dominated the championships during the first years, the game provided excitement and entertainment to the fans who came to the ballparks to see their hometown boys battle the opposition. The newspapers began to exploit the reading markets of the big cities by introducing the players to the fans. Constant experimentation with rule changes hastened the day when the optimum performance level of professional play could be attained in respect to the playing codes. Refinement of playing skills and more comfortable stadiums were major factors in inducing people to come to the park. Even though the 1870's were financial depression years in the United States, the public demanded professional play, and got it (12:222).

League clubs paid membership fees of $100 initially and $10 per annum. The money was used to establish a Board (president, secretary, and three others) which solved disputes and punished violators of the codes. This Board acted decisively in its duties as indicated by the following actions: Philadelphia and New York were expelled in 1876; the "Louisville four" incident was settled in 1877; Milwaukee was kicked out for not paying its bills in 1878; the reserve clause was guaranteed in the following season; and in 1880 Cincinnati was dropped for refusing to stop the selling of beer and for renting its park for a Sunday game. Brooklyn was later fined $500 and ten victories for using an ineligible player. Numerous players were censured and cast out of baseball for a multitude of reasons (52:8-12). Later this body was active in settling disputes between owners and between management and players. It also provided the impetus in attracting fans by keeping records, insuring adequate police security, and encouraging owners to build better ballparks. The Board directed the League thoroughly and competently, but behind it all was William Hulbert and Al Spalding, who made sure that their creation would not run afoul (35:89).

Territorial rights were given to specific teams and guarantees were provided to entrepreneurs so that they would invest and know their investment was secure. To insure financial returns good enough to keep business running, the League mandated that a franchise could not enter unless it had a population of seventy five thousand. The large cities of Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Hartford, Louisville, New York, Philadelphia, and St. Louis, were the first representatives in the League. Before petitioners could be accepted into the League, they needed to receive approval of all teams, save two. At times, the population quota was waived, but for the most part, it was upheld and produced adequate results. Only one team per city (within a five-mile radius) was allowed to compete, thus limiting competition for the scarce money of the populace. No games could be played with non-League teams or teams not sanctioned by the National League. This exclusive policy precluded foreign ballclubs from gaining exposure and prestige thereby cutting in on the profits of League members.

Fixed schedules, fashioned by Hulbert and Wright, became an integral facet of the League's program of franchise security. They also served the purpose of allowing teams to build interest in coming attractions. Some teams even began advertising in newspapers. Philadelphia and New York, operating deeply in the red, were expelled at the end of the 1876 campaign because they failed to make their final road trip of the year. Hulbert knew that the National Association was unable to secure franchises and endear itself to local fans, because it lacked a plan for playing games. He was not about to fall prey to the same mistake (52:8).

The sanctity of the Lord's day, especially in the East, was upheld by the League's bureaucracy. At first no championship game could be played on Sundays. In 1878 steps were taken to keep all teams from performing any contests on Sunday as demonstrated by Cincinnati's loss of its franchise for despoiling the Sabbath. A stern rule was introduced expelling any club that "violated the Sabbath or failed to get rid of any man who participated in such games, either as player, umpire, or scorer." Continental Sunday, the term referring to the liberal attitude of European immigrants for Sunday activity, was popular in the West particularly among Catholics and litergical Protestants. It was not until the early twentieth century however that Sunday baseball was instituted in New England (62:212).

Although many teams petitioned for quarter admission price to their ballparks, the League demanded a fifty cent charge in order to keep out the mischievous elements. Higher League income, reaped from a half-dollar ticket, could also provide for smoother operation and a surplus of funds in times of need. The greater gate returns furthermore, meant that fatter salaries could be paid to players, satisfying their demands and lessening the temptation to take bribes (55:90-91).

Beer sales at the parks were labeled immoral by the Victorian leaders of the League. As in the Sunday-ball controversy, churchmen argued that baseball would condone a wicked practice if it tempted the weak public to be intemperant at the stadiums. They entreated that the standards of the game must be held high for all the young admirers of the diamond heroes. The association of baseball with alcohol was bad for the public image, so said the temperance leaders. In Cincinnati and St. Louis, where many German immigrants searched for relief from the hard week's work, the prohibition on the selling of alcohol was severely criticized (62:213-215).

In raising baseball from the depths to where it had sunk, William Hulbert, Al Spalding, and other directors of the League, attempted to bring honesty and sobriety to the game and its players. Fines and expulsion were levied for gambling, drunkenness, poor sportsmanship, jumping contracts and for throwing games.

Gambling's snarling tentacles enshrouded baseball from the conception of the game in the gentleman's era. The framers of the National League vowed to keep this evil out of baseball and to win back the respect of the public by promoting legitimate competition on the field. Pool selling, bidding on favorite teams and giving odds on the others, was prohibited by closing down the rooms in which they operated in the ballparks (62:83). In 1877 four Louisville players (Craver, Nichols, Hall, and Devlin) were permanently expelled from baseball for taking sashes or profits for throwing games. When Devlin came to his friend Hulbert on his knees asking reinstatement so he could provide for his family, Hulbert handed him a $50 bill and exclaimed

> that's what I think of you personally, but, damn you, Devlin, you are dishonest; you have sold a game, and I can't trust you. Now go; and let me never see your face again; for your act will not be condoned so long as I live (12:229).

The only umpire to be exposed for bribery and expelled for life was Dick Higham. He was convicted by a letter he accidentally dropped on a Detroit street. It gave vivid details of the code he employed to inform a gambler named Todd on how to place his money on certain games (58:28).

Consumption of alcohol, keeping late hours, and improper behavior with the ladies, gave baseball and baseball players a bad name. In order to end delinquent behavior and public drunkenness, the League in 1880, ordered suspensions for up to two years for misconduct and insubordination. Players were frequently fined, as in the case of the disorderly Chicago team where Al Spalding fined two players $10 each for "being out until 1:20 last night" and in Providence where Moose Farrell was charged $200 for a "drunken shore resort escapade which took place the night before he made five errors on the field." Spalding also penalized men for not hustling on the field as when Carpenter was ordered to pay $5 "for not running an infield hit out to first." On some teams pledges of total abstinence from alcohol during, and sometimes after the season, were required (55:125-126). These actions on the part of League officials served to keep many ballplayers in line, but professional athletes were a wild group who were most difficult to control.

The League decided that umpires should not be chosen from the stands to call the game. In 1879, a staff of umpires was introduced and arbiters were given the sum of $5 per game. Later this was changed to $10. Misconduct toward officials was chastised as seen in the Louisville incident where four Cleveland players (Tebeau $100, McAleer $75, Burkett $75, McKean $50) were fined for "disorderly conduct and assaulting an umpire" (52:42). Elevating the standards for treatment of umpires proved to be a very stabilizing stroke on the part of the League.

League bosses hoped to make their organization a more efficient unit by officially instituting the reserve clause in 1879. The basis of this act was to keep players from jumping from one team to another by binding the players for the duration of their careers to the original club with which they signed. It also restricted unscrupulous owners from stealing stars off of established teams. If the chiefs were successful in keeping their teams intact, then they could accrue larger profits, because of fan loyalty and patronage created by stability. The reserve clause also had the benefit of keeping salaries low due to the impossibility of players selling their services to the highest bidders (61:205-206). For baseball, this would mean growth and permanency, but for the players it signaled an end to their right to freely bargain with employers for greater compensation.

There was little opposition to the heavy-handed policies that the National League laid down and enforced. Players were too individualistic and disorganized to put up a concerted effort to protest their fines and banishments. Rival organizations proved weak and incapable of defeating the power politics of Hulbert and Spalding. Maverick owners were abruptly curtailed from forming opposition of any substance. To be sure, the League was far from being perfect during its early years, but adequate financial returns and popular interest were plentiful enough to keep the League above board (55:86). The first years of the National League were tough ones, but through the tireless efforts and accomplishments of William Hulbert and Al Spalding, baseball was back on its feet and becoming a success.

The Contenders

The inauguration of the National League in 1876 most appropriately opened with William Hulbert's Chicago team winning the championship. Only the Hartford club gave Chicago a run for its money with a late season winning streak. With the loss of their four outstanding players who were pirated by Chicago, the Boston Red Stockings, darlings of the National Association, closed out the season a dismal fourth out of an eight-team circuit.

The second season of existence showed steady progress toward consolidating the League into a sound structural unit. In reversing the previous year's position in the standings with Chicago, Boston regained its championship form. Much to their surprise, Philadelphia and New York were ejected from the League because they failed to complete their last road trips due to financial woes.

Boston won the pennant again the following season. The surprise team of the campaign was Cincinnati, a cellar-dweller the initial two seasons, finishing in second place. Providence, Milwaukee, and Indianapolis entered the League replacing Louisville, Hartford, and St. Louis.

The National circuit became an eight-team league again in 1879 with Indianapolis and Milwaukee withdrawing and Buffalo, Cleveland, Syracuse, and Troy joining. The schedule increased from sixty to eighty-four games with Providence edging out the defending champion Boston club for first place. The Cincinnati squad dropped to fifth place while Chicago finished in fourth place for a third time in four years.

Worcester came into the League for Syracuse in 1880. Chicago regained its old form when it established itself in first place with ten games remaining. Cincinnati was expelled because it refused to stop selling beer and allowed ball to be played on Sundays in their park. Boston dropped to sixth while Providence managed a second place finish.

Detroit substituted for the wayward Cincinnati club and finished a respectable fourth in 1881. Chicago continued their championship style with Providence being the first runner up once more.

The American Association, a legitimate rival of the National League, fulfilled its first campaign in 1882. Its winner, Cincinnati, tied the National League champions Chicago, one to one, in a post-season series of play-off games. This first World Series was enthusiastically supported by over seven thousand spectators present for the two games. Providence finished second, three games out, while Boston strengthened its forces and went to third place.

Boston made a remarkable comeback in 1883 by nudging out Chicago by three games. No post-season match took place after the schedule was completed because the American

Association champion Philadelphia, declined to take part. The National League dropped its Worcester and Troy losers and brought back the population-wealthy New York and Philadelphia franchises.

The 1884 season was a Cinderella story for the winning Providence club whose ace pitcher, Hoss Radbourne, won sixty games. Boston fell nine and a half games off the pace. Chicago sunk to their familiar fourth place position. This year marked a milestone in National League history as all eight teams remained from the previous season. Providence beat the American Association challengers, the New York Mets, all three games of the playoffs.

One change took place in the 1885 campaign, St. Louis replaced Cleveland. Chicago took first place while Boston and Providence trailed by substantial margins. Chicago and the Association contender St. Louis, battled to a three-all series.

Buffalo and the once powerful Providence team dropped from the picture in 1886 with newcomers Kansas City and Washington entering the pack and finishing at the bottom. Doubleheaders were introduced in Detroit that year and the League expanded its schedule to 124 contests. Chicago won its fifth title in seven years but lost to

St. Louis in their World Series rematch, four games to two.

The League's St. Louis franchise could not compete with its powerful sister-city club of the Association, and therefore disbanded, as did hapless Kansas City. Indianapolis returned to the League along with Pittsburgh in 1887. Detroit hit its way to the title and took ten of fifteen games in the playoffs from the Association's super-team, St. Louis.

In 1888 all teams were back, with Detroit falling to fifth and the New York Giants winning the championship. New York defeated four-time champion St. Louis, six to four in a ten-game World Series.

New York barely nudged out Boston for the 1889 pennant and defeated Brooklyn in the World Series by the same margin as the year before. Cleveland took Detroit's place in the League. The year 1889 proved to be one of the most successful seasons ever, attendance-wise and financially speaking.

The 1890 campaign was torn by player-management war which saw the formation of a third major league, the Players' League. The entire Washington franchise went to that body along with about 80 percent of the National League register of personnel. The League dropped unprosperous Indianapolis and disloyal Washington, and replaced them with Brooklyn and a familiar Cincinnati squad. The head-on competition between the National League and the Players' League hurt both sides and at the end of the year the Players' League was incorporated with the National League. Brooklyn captured the League title and split the Series with Louisville of the Association, three games apiece with one tie.

In 1891, another war broke out. This one was between the National League and its satellite, the American Association. By December, the League directors had conquered the Association, absorbing four of their teams, Baltimore, Louisville, St. Louis, and Washington, into their midst. The remaining American Association teams, Boston, Chicago, Columbus, Milwaukee, and Philadelphia, sold their franchises for a total of $130,000. Boston, the National League's best drawing organization, beat Chicago by three and a half games for the championship. The war between the two leagues resulted in no playoff this year.

A split-season in 1892 registered Cleveland as winners of the first half. Boston won the second and had the best over-all seasonal record in the League. Boston captured five playoff games and tied one, with Cleveland coming up empty-handed. Since there was no competition between rival leagues, the National League administrators embarked on a salary-cutting campaign that left the players defenseless.

Further salary limits and slashes were ordered in 1893 and as a result baseball saw a lot of its stars fall from the scene. The powerful Bostons marched to the championship once again in 1893, rivaled only by the Pirates of Pittsburgh. No playoffs were scheduled for this season.

In 1894, a new post-season series was inaugurated when a wealthy Pittsburgh businessman, William Temple, donated a beautiful $800 cup for a playoff between the first and second place finishers in the League. Baltimore's exciting Orioles won the title but lost all four contests of the Temple Cup Series to New York.

The Temple Cup the following year went to Cleveland. They defeated the first-place Orioles, four games to one. Baseball entered the coarsest period of play in its entire history. The contenders of the decade, Baltimore, Boston, and Cleveland, were all noted for their rough, umpire-baiting, and win-at-all-cost attitude and style of play. The game was also falling under the control of a syndicate of wealthy manipulators who cared more about making money than spirited competition and rivalry.

The bitter Birds of Baltimore made it three straight pennants in 1896 by finishing nine and one-half games in front of the pack. They went on to demolish runner-up Cleveland in all four post-season contests. For the fifth consecutive year, no team changes occurred in the National League.

One of the rowdiest campaigns in baseball history was the one of 1897, as demonstrated by the large number of fines handed out to the players. Boston nudged out Baltimore for the pennant but the cantankerous Orioles brushed aside the Bostons by winning four out of the five Temple Cup games. This marked the third time out of four in the Temple Cup Series that the second-place challengers defeated the champions. Enthusiasm for the Series waned and Mr. Temple withdrew his cup from competition.

The 1898 season was clouded by constant bickering among club owners and between players and employers. Baltimore was barely defeated by Boston in the title race. No playoffs were held that year or the next.

Syndicates ruled baseball in 1899, destroying public confidence in the actual competitiveness of the League.

Attendance fell off, bickering continued, fines increased, and player dissatisfaction grew stronger. Cleveland recorded the worst record in major league history, 20-134. Home games were often cancelled and played where they could draw the biggest crowds. In this depressing atmosphere, Brooklyn won the pennant by combining the stars of the Baltimore team with their squad.

Seeing that a twelve-team league was failing to arouse competition and interest, the directors of the National League in 1900 dropped Louisville, Cleveland, Washington, and Baltimore. Each one was paid a varying sum and a solution was made for disposing of their personnel. Players organized into the Players' Protective Association which aided them in their contract negotiations. Brooklyn again won first place and took a three-to-one-game victory over runner-up Pittsburgh in a post-season finale.

The season of 1901 marked the emergence of a new and potent force in organized baseball, the American League. Previously, the American League was a minor division called the Western League. But under the leadership of the astute Ban Johnson, it became a progressive and powerful rival of the National League. The two leagues fought a personnel and financial war until a peace settlement was reached ending the conflict in the early part of 1903. No World Series occurred in 1901 nor the next year, but it resumed in 1903 when the two leagues merged. The National League witnessed an internal war also as the owners formed two cliques and fought over the idea of making a trust or monopoly out of the game of baseball. Pittsburgh handily won the pennant in 1901.

The final year of the dominance of the National League over organized baseball was 1902. Before the next season started, a combination of the National League with the American League would bring stability and integrity back to the national game. Pittsburgh completely dominated the League that season by winning 103 games. They finished twenty-seven and one-half games ahead of second-place Brooklyn, producing the largest margin in major league history.

The Extravaganza

Baseball, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, developed into a sports spectacle with far-reaching effects. Urban growth accelerated at a rapid pace; baseball satisfied these urbanites' needs for amusement. In response to the recreational demands of the city populace, League owners constructed extravagant stadiums and dressed their players in colorful attire. Sportswriters gave the paper-reading townspeople the sports page in order to solicit their patronage and provide an outlet of entertainment. The game produced its own appeal to the masses by creating a unique lexicon and establishing a system of guidebooks which kept the public informed on all matters of interest. New enterprises such as sporting goods companies and old commerce like transportation firms flourished when they associated themselves with the lucrative market baseball had to offer. And perhaps above all, this sport possessed a spell-binding fascination over the fans who witnessed spectaculars such as the World Series and international tours.

By 1900, one-third of the United States population was urban. Baseball offered a natural market of adventure and escape for the restless industrial workers and down-trodden slum-dwellers. Mark Twain described baseball as

> the very symbol, the outward and visible expression of the drive and push and rush and struggle of the raging, tearing, booming nineteenth century.

Cardinal Gibbon of New York proclaimed baseball as "a healthy sport and popular pastime." Positive endorsement for baseball's potentiality for physical fitness came from the United States Sanitary Commission. Not only did baseball provide low-cost entertainment for the city folks, but it also filled the void created by the want of other commercialized sports such as prize fighting, football, golf, and tennis, which were all to become heavily patronized a short time later (55:345-348). The national game was truly an urban phenomenon, bringing stimulation and recreation to many frustrated souls.

Ballpark construction was a liability that baseball owners assumed when they purchased a franchise. Because of the rising gate returns, limited players salaries, and the low cost of construction, most financiers possessed enough capital to build and refurbish stadiums during the 1880's and early 1890's. Baltimore built a five thousand-seat park in 1883 for the small sum of $5000. Later that year, Buffalo completely rennovated their ballpark at a cost of $6000. Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Philadelphia, raised beautiful constructions in the 1880's for very reasonable figures. The next decade Brooklyn, Chicago, and St. Louis, erected fabulous structures. The gem of baseball stadiums was in Chicago. Harper's magazine called it "indisputably the finest in the world in respect of seating accomodations and conveniences." After $40,000 worth of improvements were made in Philadelphia's park in 1896, the sixteen thousand seating capacity park was labeled "the best athletic ground in the world" (55:193-194).

There was a major problem with grandstands of the late nineteenth century: they were made of wood. Over the years, many clubs were closed or forced to move for the season due to fire damage. In 1894 alone, fire heavily wrecked three facilities during the season. At Boston, a pile of rubbish ignited a conflagration which three hours later produced approximately $1,000,000 worth of damage. In Chicago that same summer, two separate fires nearly burned that ballpark to the ground. A fire in Philadelphia, started by plumbers who left their heating arrangements burning in the ladies restroom, cost $80,000 to return the "finest baseball stands in the United States" to their original state (52:39).

Toward the end of the decade, stadium construction took on a more modern look by the erection of large, versatile, and relatively comfortable, steel ballparks. The horse-and-buggy area now became the horseless carriage parking lot. Telegraph wires stretching into these buildings heralded the coming of the electric age. Lighted playing fields were experimented with in 1883 at Fort Wayne, Indiana, making night baseball a possibility and offering the urban working class a new channel of entertainment (62: 210-211). Chris Von der Ahe in St. Louis, turned his grounds into an amusement park, "the Coney Island of the West." Many new ballparks were constructed with bicycle tracks around them. Restaurants, concession booths, and padded seats, became fixtures in grandstands throughout the National League and its satellites (55:198-200). Taking a trip to the ballpark was becoming much more than just witnessing an exhibition of baseball skill; it was a splendid outing.

At its winter meeting in 1881, the National League decided to enliven the atmosphere at the ballparks by differentiating teams by colors such as follows: Boston, red; Buffalo, gray; Chicago, white; Cleveland, dark blue; Detroit, yellow; Troy, green; and Worcester, brown. Most clubs believed that bright and contrasting colors aroused spectator curiosity. The teams were commonly referred to by the color of their uniforms. Belts, caps, and shirts were designated for each position: pitcher, light blue; catcher, scarlet; first baseman, scarlet and white; second baseman, orange and blue; third baseman, blue and white; shortstop, maroon; left fielder, white; center fielder, red and black; right fielder, gray; and substitutes, green and brown. Leather shoes were featured along with white pants and ties (52:14). Front laced shirts with high collars and neckties were the fad of the period. Blouses with breast pockets and belts with large buckles were also popular. Shoes with cleats, and starting in the early 1880's with spikes, were high laced and high heeled. Although it was easy to distinguish positions and teams by their colors, individuals were difficult to recognize due to the absence of numbers on their uniforms. Numbers first appeared on uniforms in the 1920's (83:1·19).

In doing research on nineteenth-century baseball, the historian is somewhat bewildered by the absence of a separate sports page. Cricket, racing, and rowing, were found to have better coverage than baseball in the early period of the game's development. It was not until the end of the 1870's that baseball coverage was substantially treated in many of the major newspapers in the United States (62:193).

The sportswriter entered the scene about the same time as newspapers started to include accounts of the game. With hackneyed cliche's and artificial re-creation, the sportswriter produced a vicarious enjoyment for the sports-thirsty urbanites who wasted little time in turning their newspapers to the sports page.

Francis Richter founded Sporting Life in 1883 and within a two-year period, he had a circulation of sixty thousand. By 1890, he was able to sell his paper for ten cents and increased his volume of pages from eight to sixteen. The first sports section of a major newspaper was inaugurated by William Randolf Hearst toward the end of the century (55:349-350). The New York World was purchased by Joseph Pulitzer who immediately recognized the value of operating a separate sports department. The Sporting News, first published in 1896 by the Spink brothers from St. Louis, became the "Bible of Baseball." This publication gave extended coverage of Western baseball with a moralizing bent. One of the oldest and most complete newspapers dedicated to baseball was the New York Clipper. Under the direction of Will Rankin, it produced inside stories on athletes, as well as general coverage of the game (62:194-195). The practice of publicizing baseball news intensified interest in the sport and brought civic pride to localities as well as providing the people with healthy amusement (55:346).

Official guidebooks were quite numerous and furnished excellent records of the various seasons as well as primary material for historical research. Henry Chadwick, "The Father of Sportswriting," edited two early guides: DeWitt's Base Ball Guide and Beadle's Dime Base Ball Player. They were allowed to dissolve in light of the fact that Spalding's Official Base Ball Guide, edited by Chadwick, became the official organ of the National League. It was so comprehensive that no other guides could challenge its popularity. The guide which echoed the players' activities, The Player's National League Official Guide, collapsed with the disintegration of their movement. Wright and Ditson Base Ball Guide was a child of the Union Association of 1884, but barely survived after the demise of that organization at the end of its initial season. The formation of the American Association in 1881 issued in an era of active competition between that league's voice, Reach's Official Base Ball Guide, and the National League's official organ, the Spalding Guide (62:195). Baseball benefitted vastly from the free publicity that these guides provided.

Baseball developed a language of its own in the late nineteenth century. Sportswriters compiled a jargon that spread throughout the land as fans religiously reviewed the sports columns of the local dailies. Stylized terms such as daisy cutter, fungoe, bounder, line drive, double play, passed ball, white-washed, shutout, and many others, were put into a baseball dictionary in 1874 by Henry Chadwick. Scanning the newspapers of this time, it seems that by the late 1880's, the ritualized descriptions of ballgames basically had become common to all sportswriters (62:93).

The sport of baseball provided a financial paradise for many industrious promoters. Al Spalding was without a doubt the greatest entrepreneur in the national game. His fame as a pitching hero of the pre-National League days aided him very nicely. In February, 1876, he and his brother Walter started the A. G. Spalding and Bro. partnership, dealing in baseball and general sporting goods. Operating with $800 initially, Spalding immediately began making money hand-over-fist. He secured the manufacturing rights to the National League's official baseball and official Book of the League (35:97-103). He quickly expanded into all areas of sports and even opened an office in London, England. Spalding became the head of a giant monopoly by buying out his competitors; it became as large as many industrial trusts of the era (35:146-147).

Other ex-stars followed the lead of Spalding by using their names for profit making in the world of sports business. Al Reach, the first salaried player, retired from the game to open a sporting goods business, A. J. Reach Company. Later he became owner of the Philadelphia team in the National League. His guidebook and baseballs became the official articles of the American Association. George Wright's company, Wright and Ditson, marketed its own guidebook and baseballs for the Union Association. He also specialized in equipment for the up-and-coming sport of tennis. Clark Griffith, Charles Comisky, Candy Cummings, and Connie Mack, went on to become club presidents and owners. There was a name to be made through heroic efforts on the diamond. If a star used his influence properly and showed initiative, a fortune was in the offing (35:11).

Far-sighted manipulators saw large dollar signs in their eyes when they thought of the money baseball advertising held. A well-known jeweler in Cleveland always advertised his product with baseball cliches and notices on the day's game. The Chicago Tribune carried team schedules in their paper and suggested that they could be extracted for future reference. Early score cards advertised clothiers, shoe stores, piano renters, bookstores, bat manufacturers, restaurants, taxidermists, milliners, undertakers, opticians, and dry goods establishments. Bicycle and railroad companies frequently advertised on stadium billboards. Businessmen in Baltimore, Cincinnati and Cleveland, were instrumental in obtaining franchises in their cities in order to reap the benefits of the sport's attraction (55:354-355). Streetcars, billboards, handbills, window hangers, posters, and young men walking the streets, were all employed to advertise directly and indirectly in association with baseball. Patent medicines and cigars were sold with baseball cards included. John Sage printed colored baseball score cards in twenty-four designs for a quarter a set in 1886. Buffalo exhausted $631.40 of their funds for displays in 1878. In 1884, the Philadelphia club spent $2,045.57 for advertising. Bands were hired and balloons rented to excite the populace about approaching homestands (55:196-197). By the end of the century, the sport of baseball had become a big business with the general community in major league cities having a financial stake in its progress.

Commercialization in the traveling arrangements for organizations crept into the baseball business in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Transportation of teams from city to city during the course of a season was done mainly by Pullman train. Adequate sleeping accommodations at substantially reduced rates, were provided by rail companies, owing to the fact that big league clubs presented a lucrative financial remuneration as well as advertising benefits. Due to a lack of rail connections in the South, teams like New York and Brooklyn in many instances went by ship to conduct exhibitions. Streetcars were an integral part of transporting fans and players to the ballparks. In fact, several baseball profiteers (Al Johnson, Frank Robison, and Henry Lucas) obtained rights to streetcar lines in order to better serve their patrons. Chris Von der Ahe in St. Louis gave the Lindell Railway Company two hundred feet of property adjacent to his Sportsman Park. Prominent hotels were proud to be graced by ballteams. They often wrote letters and sent representatives to solicit their business, while they also provided carriages to carry the players to and from the game. Traveling accommodations for athletes may not have been as exclusive as they are today, but they certainly were at least comfortable in most instances (55:202-204).

One of the greatest classics in sports is baseball's World Series. Originating in 1882, the champions of the

National League fought their newly-formed rivals, the American Association. From this year through 1890, with the exception of 1883, a post-season, inter-league extravaganza was performed to the delight of large audiences throughout the country (83:8·2).

The major league war of 1891 ended the World Series; no contest was played that year. The following season, the National League created a new but unproductive series between the first half-season winners and the second-half champions. After an absence of a post-season finale in 1893, a new playoff system was worked out in 1894 with a best-of-seven series between the first and second place finishers. William Chase Temple of Pittsburgh donated an ornate $800 cup for the winner of such an affair. In appreciation for this offer the playoffs took the name, the Temple Cup Series. The last Temple Cup contests were played in 1897. The first year of the twentieth century, 1900, recorded a playoff, but it was not until 1903, with the merger of the American and National Leagues, that an annual post-season championship was conducted on a regular basis.

An episode of considerable importance for baseball took place in the winter of 1888-89. Fourteen years earlier the first foreign tour of American baseball players to

England had successfully taken place. Now a more grandiose spectacle was launched with plans to circle the globe, bringing the gospel of baseball to people of far-off lands. Instigating the trip was an active participant of the first voyage, Al Spalding, president of the Chicago club. His team was to compete with a group of stars called the all-Americans, captained by John Montgomery Ward.

The troupe railed from Chicago to San Francisco, making game stops in Cedar Rapids, Des Moines, Omaha, Hastings, Denver, Colorado Springs, Salt Lake City, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Spalding recorded in his memoirs that "the Base Ball Missionaries received splendid ovations" everywhere they went on the journey (12:253).

The teams' exhibition travels won lasting recognition in Hawaii, New Zealand, and especially in Australia. The isolated islanders of Ceylon were "startled" on the occasion of a demonstration of performance by American ballplayers. Spalding describes their "flight into Egypt" as "a game on the desert's sands in front of the Great Pyramids, and near enough to use one for a backstop." The Italian campaign was rather hectic as curious spectators played havoc with the American boys' execution of the game. Under the "shadow of the Eiffel Tower" the players put on an exposition much to the delight of the Parisian onlookers. Spalding wrote, "the reception of our company in England was one of the great triumphs of the world tour." The English were thoroughly amused and sent the Americans back home in high spirits. The tour was very impressive and baseball now had a foothold throughout the world (12:251-268).

The Performers

In securing young talent and adequate replacements, the ownerships in the National League employed a corps of scouts to scour the country in search of promising athletes. Of course, there were many minor-leaguers and independent team players available, but there never seemed to be enough young stars to go around. At times, tryouts were given to walk-ons, but as Philadelphia manager Charles Mason pointed out, only a "very, very small" percentage made the team. The Sporting News allowed both players and teams to advertise freely in its periodical. Al Spalding even opened up centers in Chicago, Denver, and New York, to aid young athletes in finding employment opportunities in baseball. No longer was it possible for teams to stand pat with older talent. Victory could be achieved only at the cost of recruiting new players with natural ability (55:192-193).

One crucial step in raising the level of professional performance was the initiation of spring training. Before this, athletes simply worked out in local gyms to tone up their muscles and partook of Turkish baths to open up their pores and soak out the "evil spirits" that had accumulated in them during the listless winter months (62: 78).

In 1869, Boss Tweed of the New York Mutuals was the first to use spring training when he sent his players to New Orleans to get in shape for the coming season. The next year, Cincinnati and Chicago made spring journeys to New Orleans to "get the kinks out." In 1883, Detroit, Louisville, and Pittsburgh went to Savannah, Georgia, for their camps. Philadelphia chose Charleston, South Carolina, then Savannah, and later selected Cape May, a fancy resort on the New Jersey seaboard. In 1888, Washington started a trend by picking Florida as their training grounds, and many others began to follow them to that destination. Hot Springs, Arkansas, became a favorite site for major league teams because there the lushers could "boil out the alcohol microbes." Sometimes teams traveled throughout the South, playing local clubs whenever possible. The main objection to going to the sunshine of the South during the spring was that on returning to the cold environment of their homes, players were more susceptible to sore muscles and colds. All in all, however, teams by 1890 had accepted the idea of spring training in warm climates thereby assuring better playing conditions of their personnel (55:182-185).

The professional player's life was no bed of roses. The glorified days of staggering salaries and television endorsements were well in the future. Although they worked but a few hours a day and only seven months out of twelve, their careers were normally short-lived. If they were to fall sick, be injured, or become ineffective, their pay was cut off. In the early professional days, some clubs simply decided not to pay players for their services or made them wait for months before receiving payment. In 1885, a $2000 limit was put on salary ceilings and in the 1890's, players were subjected to numerous paycuts. Transportation was sometimes crude and at times an added expense for players. Marriage had to be forsaken because baseball was not a very good occupation for a family man. Constant abuse streamed in from fans, the press, opposing players, and even from their own managers and owners. The reserve clause limited the athletes' option to sell their services to more appealing franchises. Black-listing precluded many men from earning a living in baseball with another team once they had a falling-out with management. Young talented players were always waiting to step in and snatch away the positions of over-the-hill players (62:174-177). It was indeed true that many a youth would gladly exchange places with ballplayers for free. Nevertheless, a professional athlete's life was complicated and at times harsh.

The latter segment of the century was an era when men devoted much of their time in proving their masculinity. The macho gambit of the day ranged from the rich cultivation of whiskers to the profuse consumption of whiskey. Handlebar mustaches were waxed to a tee; sideburns sunk to the jawbone; wandering hair spread over the cheeks and chin; and full-grown beards were commonly kept. Smokeless tobacco was ejected from the mouths of many athletes. Imbibing in alcohol was the national gamesmen's favorite pastime. Professionals gorged themselves with large amounts of food before and after games. Staying out all night was a sure sign of an impervious soul. Impertinence toward umpires and intimidation of opposing players was a must for any courageous winner. Perhaps the most telling instrument for gauging the true merit of a man was his ability to bear pain and pressure; catching balls barehandedly and posing at the plate without flinching were without a doubt telltale signs (58:30).

Popular writer, Harry Palmer, described the average professional baseball player as "a devil-may-care character, who was careless of both his health and his money." Idle pursuit of happy days and careless expenditure of earnings on alcohol, caused the typical player to leave the game as poor as he entered it. To make it through the winter, players who had squandered their earnings, often drew advanced money on the coming year's salary at 6 to 8 percent interest (63:83).

German tea or liquor caused many a prospective star to go astray. Louis Sockalexis was a tremendous hitter his rookie year but was wasted by the drink to the point of no return by the end of that season (62:172). Turkish baths were often employed by managers to "chase the whiskey out of the drunken no-gooders," not only in spring training after a winter of boozing, but even before games during the season (35:172). The most popular star of the day, Michael Kelly, was not only the king of all players, but also the king of all drunks. On one occasion, Kelly was seen just prior to a game drinking beer in the grandstands with disreputable characters. Indianapolis once lost a game 24 to 0 mainly because most of the team was drunk the night before. Louisville players were "particularly requested" not to associate with prostitutes (55:331).

A baseball man's reputation was definitely less than favorable with much of the public. Superstar Bill Lange had to leave the game at the height of his career to win the hand of a California maiden (58:110). A certain Annie Burn's mother disallowed her daughter's marriage to a ballplayer because she "did not want a ball player for a son-in-law." President Charles Eliot of Harvard, an active critic of the sport, forbade his college team members to associate with professional players in fear that his boys might drop to "the lowest level of depravity." In the stage production, The Runaway Colt, the family being characterized was reluctant to allow a major leaguer in its home (55:331-332). Although there were notable exceptions, the bad publicity the professional players received was deserved.

Contrary to popular belief, not all ballplayers of the pioneer days were fit only for saloon keeping during their careers or after their playing days had waned. Many men came into the profession directly from college, such as Christy Mathewson, Harry Taylor, and others. Harry Taylor, Jim O'Rourke, Jim White, Harold McClure, and John Montgomery Ward, read law during their careers and some were able to complete the requirements for the bar. Arlie Pond was a doctor while Al Bushong and Dick Allen became dentists. Harry Wright was a jeweler. Al Spalding, George Wright, and Al Reach, became sporting goods entrepreneurs (55:332-333). Connie Mack, Charles Comiskey, and Clark Griffith, owned teams after their playing time expired. Yale Murphy, Huyler Westervelt, and John Morrill, were stockbroker clerks. Joe Kelley was a superintendent of a draying business. John Reilly and a Buffalo player were artists. One player even ran a school of dance and kept his father's brewery business books. William Hassamaer helped direct his father's coal enterprise. Mike Kelly, Arlie Latham, and Tony Mullane, turned their field performances into opportunities for stage appearances. Billy Sunday became a noted evangelist. Cy Young and Tim Keefe sold real estate. Many others served as clerks, printers, farmers, and some even ran their own small businesses (62:171-172).

Hoping to sell more papers, reporters lionized players and made their feats bigger than life. The New York Tribune assigned baseball five hundred columns in the summer of 1886; much of it was sensationalism (55:349). The public's astonished imaginations turned to the diamond characters with untiring enthusiasm and wonderment. Baltimore's first pennant evoked an amazing display of civic pride, and New York fans went wild when their heroes won their initial championship. Mike Kelly and Arlie Latham were so popularized in the newspapers that songs were written about them. Interesting stories about athletes' private lives, such as John Clarkson's vile temper and Cy Seymour's unusual habit of eating with two hands, were welcomed by the readers. Hilarious anecdotes on the naivete of country boys entering the sophisticated cities of the big league were sprinkled in news columns. The divorces of John Ward, Amos Rusie, and Tony Mullane, made popular reading. Episodes like Pete McNabb's murder of another man's wife and his subsequent suicide made the headlines (55:325-328). The hero worship and sensationalism created by the press, permitted the people to know the players and made the game a central force in the journalism of the late nineteenth century.

Baseball was the dream of many working-class boys who wished to rise above the squalor of the tenement and make something of themselves. But unfortunately for negro players, baseball offered no opportunities for rising young stars. A half-dozen black athletes participated in the National League prior to 1888, the year when negroes were semi-officially outlawed. There were independent clubs made up of all blacks, however. Such a team, the Cuban Giants, defeated several National League teams in 1887. Following their example, a number of other clubs sprang up and eventually an all-black league was formed. Most athletes of African descent played the game for the love of the sport because their salaries of around $15 a week were no more than a waiter's (58:315-318). It was not until 1947 when Jackie Robinson broke in with the Brooklyn Dodgers that black players were once again allowed access into the major leagues.

When the American Association was formed in 1882, it decided to employ a full-time staff of umpires. The National League, when it was started in 1876, devised a system whereby a staff of three umpires was chosen in each city that possessed a franchise. Before each game, one of these three men would be selected by the competing teams to call the contest. However, the League saw the advantages that the Association system had to offer and decided to hire four men on a permanent basis. This action provided more consistency in the officiating and won approval from the fans and players (35:161).

Umpires officiated the games by themselves until 1892. It was not until 1895 that the dual-umpiring system became an established feature. It must have been pure havoc for an umpire to work single-handedly during an era of ever-changing rules and furious umpire-baiting. Most umpires went by the wayside quickly, but a few like John Gaffney did a respectable and commendable job. Gaffney's system of umpiring was characterized by working behind the plate until a runner reached base, whereupon he went behind the pitcher. There were other notable umpires such as Bob Ferguson, Ben Young, Bob Emslie, John Heydler, and Tom Lynch. Each had their peculiarities in officiating, but all of them had one thing in common, persistence (62:189-192).

There was no fixed procedure for securing umpires in the early days of the game. Many times wornout players were allowed to stay around the game for a few years by accepting the blue coats and caps. President Nicholas Young did open an umpire's school in Washington to help officials learn the art of calling the game. Often a letter from an owner put a man on the list of game judges (55:339).

It was a wonder why anyone wanted to become an umpire. The official's job was not a pleasant lot; as Billy McLean put it, "We get it from all sides." Club owners and even League presidents, such as Chris Von der Ahe and Al Spalding, were not above stepping into the umpire's dressing quarters to reprimand them. Mob him! Stone him! and Kill the umpire! were familiar cries from the grandstands. The press incited the public against the umpires by boldly scribing in their headlines, "We were robbed" (46:126).

Most umpires fearlessly held their ground behind homeplate and simply suffered the indignities performed against them. In Cincinnati one day, a player attacked the referee. The player's brother jumped from the seats to aid in the fight. And while the police tried to secure the poor umpire, the mob in the bleachers began pelting him with beer bottles (55:340). Constant arguing came from managers like John McGraw and Cap Anson who tried to bulldoze their way to victory (35:162). In 1884, John Gaffney sustained a cut eye in a fight with normally mild-mannered player John Montgomery Ward. This fracas prompted the

League to stop the attacks on umpires by instituting a policy of fining offenders $200 for their misconduct (62:186).

Only on a very few occasions did umpires retaliate against assaults performed on them. Billy McLean once threw a bat into the stands when a vindictive mob directed a barrage of objects at him (62:90). Tim Hurst picked up a beer mug thrown at him and hurled it back into the stands. Tom Lynch struck a player who was heckling him while another umpire attacked a reporter who continuously criticized his decisions (55:341).

The majority of umpires were honest men who kept in good physical shape. Richard Higham, expelled for working in conspiracy with gamblers, was the only official ever found guilty of a major offense. Several were discharged for chronic drunkenness and incompetence. However, most referees stayed in a healthy state. Billy McLean's walk from his home in Boston to judge a game in Providence, was not atypical of the amount of endurance displayed by umpires (62:90).

On the whole, umpiring provided an exciting and worthwhile career. As umpire Tim Hurst said, "You can't beat the hours." The salary of $1500 for seven months' work also was pretty good in those days (62:192). During the depression years of the 1890's, one person was quoted as declaring that "death on the diamond is preferable to dying of starvation" (55:340-341).

The Controversy

The reserve rule, devised by Arthur Soden of Boston, was the focal point of the controversy between owners and players in this era. The clause stipulated that once a player signed with a team, he was bound to that team forever. A franchise could sell him or trade him, but the athlete had no option of his own to seek a better salary or more favorable playing conditions. As Chicago director Jim Hart haughtily pronounced, the players could take it or "retire from the business" (52:34). Occasionally a star like John Ward would simply refuse to go when traded. Owing to his success as a player he got away with it, but most others were not so fortunate. The aspirations of many players were solidly checked by the iron-clad chains of the reserve system.

Dissipation or general insubordination were reasons for black-listing a player. This strangle hold was not as drastic as permanent expulsion, but it did tend to make players think twice before committing acts not in accordance with club policy. Mainly the owners used black-listings as a threat to players who contemplated jumping leagues during periods of war with rival associations. Salaries could also be kept down with this method of discipline. There were several situations that could land a player on the blacklist. However in most cases it was simply a matter of the athlete not accepting the management's contract offer. At one stage, the names of thirty-four players and one umpire appeared on the lists (55:130-131).

The buying and selling of slaves was a distasteful saga in the history of the United States. It was also an inglorious aspect of the history of baseball. The selling of players from one team to another was a major grievance of the Brotherhood of Professional Players. Team owners simply bartered for human flesh and felt no compulsion to interview the players before they were sold to a far-off franchise. Today this practice is still employed, with several avenues of checking a deal; but in the nineteenth century there was no channel of disapproval.

Chicago, the main target of the critics, was condemned by one paper stating that "the purchase and sale of human beings inaugurated by the Chicago Club is disgusting." A case in point was the Jim McCormick episode in 1886. McCormick, a popular player with the fans, was bought for $600 from Providence by Chicago. The next season he was sold to Pittsburgh along with George Gore and Abner Dalrymple for less than his initial purchase price. He received no compensation for all of his inconvenience (46:98-99).

One of the most spectacular transactions of the century was the 1885 sale of four outstanding athletes from Buffalo to Detroit. Buffalo, knowing its days were numbered, sold Dan Brouthers, Jim White, Dave Rowe, and Hardie Richardson, to Detroit for $7,000. This gave Detroit the championship in 1886. On the heels of this sale, the wealthy Boston team purchased the entire Providence club for $6,600. These auspicious sales moved League owners to write an agreement controlling such deeds. The owners persisted however in using political tactics to curb their fellow directors' appetites of buying pennants (35:165-173).

The teams of the National League constantly sought ways to lower the costs of operating their investments. One such plan to minimize expense began in 1877, when players were required to pay fifty cents a day for board while on road trips. Initially $30 was deducted from players' salaries for uniforms, but then the League stipulated that players had to furnish their own uniforms as selected by the club. Players also were responsible for the cleaning, repair, and replacement of their suits (55: 121). Shoes never were handed out by the franchise. Although players did not like the League's policies regarding these expenses, there was no recourse but to pay the money.

The Limit Agreement of 1885 curtailed club expenses by limiting a player's take-home pay to a maximum of $2000. This rule was circumvented for outstanding players like Mike Kelly, who received $3000 from Boston for his picture. Other clubs showed their disdain for the law by handing players money under the table (55:120). Another act, in 1887, forbade players to draw on their future earnings and gave added emphasis to the $2000 ceiling established in 1885. Baseball franchises were enjoying a period of great prosperity, but owners saw to it that the bosses and stockholders would corner the lion's share of the profits (1:287-288).

The Brush Classification Plan of 1889 graded players from A to E, according to their "habits, earnestness, and special qualifications." By this plan salaries were allowed to fall within a $1500 to $2500 price range. Personal conduct became an integral ingredient in the formulation of a player's pay. This directive infuriated many athletes and alienated many others who believed that their personal life was solely their own concern.

Although stifled by numerous ploys of their employers, big leaguers of the 1880's saw their salaries steadily rise. Contracts were normally written for six or seven months and averaged around $1500. Al Spalding records show that his 1881 player payment for his best sixteen men averaged $1243 and rose to $2670 in 1889. This was way above industrial workers' salaries who made around $2 a day. Star Buck Ewing's salary went from $1000 in 1881 to $5000 in 1889. Even though many athletes received big money for their endeavors, the players' share was well below the profits being reaped by League management (55:114).

In 1881, President Hulbert announced that "at no time since the beginning of the league have the clubs been in so healthy a financial condition." Average operating costs of teams in the 1880's were around $32,000, while profits netted about $6000. Chicago, New York, and Boston, made annual gains of $100,000 between 1885 and 1889. Eight successive seasons of mounting attendance records brought in large profits for shareholders and directors. Although part of this boom was due to aroused enthusiasm about the game's exciting play, much of the gain was the result of heavy-handed tactics of the owners in keeping down the prosperity of the players (55:118-119).

Profits continued to soar even in the depression years of the 1890's. The 1893 season was marked by the cancelling of all League debts and a $2500 surplus was recorded. The next year was even greater, as good as the 1889 season. The following campaign, 1895, was the pinnacle of the League financial returns. From then on baseball's fortune declined due to poor management and a loss of respect and interest on the part of the public (55:274). The players continued to ask why they did not receive their fair share of the dividends. With the collapse of the Players' League in 1890 and the fall of the American Association in 1891, no answers were forthcoming from their employers.

The Opposition

The austere and moralistic National League did not go unchallenged in its quest to bring baseball into focus in the eyes of the American public. Several rival organizations were created with varying degrees of success. These minor and major leagues were predominantly the result of either dissatisfaction with the policies of the National League or a desire to initiate a branch of semi-professional ball.

Many associations of minor league status came into existence during the early years of National League baseball. Their revenue was secured from league competition and exhibitions with teams of the National League. Although indirectly regulated by the National League under its League Alliance plan, these minor leagues actually operated independently. Most of these organizations played their games wherever and whenever they could be arranged. A centralized administration was usually absent or weak. Disrespect for contract and territorial rights was quite evident. Loose structure and lack of funds normally precluded any advanced attempt to drain power from the National League or create a higher level of play. It was not until 1901, with the formation of the National

Association of Professional Baseball Clubs, that the minor leagues were systematized. This organization brought stability and a more reputable status to that level of organized baseball (46:162).

The first opposition to the National League came in the second year of its existence. The International Association, united in Pittsburgh in 1877, was formed in order to break the monopoly held by the National League. The Chicago Tribune condemned the new organization as a class of club managers who originated the idea of a new league because the National League had left it out (55:98). The International Association lacked cohesiveness and never really posed any threat to the National League. It was composed of Columbus, Lynn, Manchester, Pittsburgh, and two Canadian clubs, Guelph and London. L. C. Waite was the principal organizer and Candy Cummings was chosen as the charter president. In 1879, the Canadian clubs were dropped and the name was changed to the National Association of Base Ball Clubs. The re-created league was supplied with franchises in Albany, Holyoke, Manchester, New Bedford, Rochester, Springfield, Utica, Washington, and Worcester. It failed to attract interest and disbanded at the close of the 1880 season.

A second junior circuit was formed in 1877 called the League Alliance. This league was a collection of thirteen professional clubs from the Midwest. In actuality, the League Alliance became a satellite division of the National League and thus enjoyed protection from player raids and territorial encroachments. Most minor leagues took part in the Alliance in order to retain their independence through franchise stability. In 1883, the League Alliance was disbanded, but this organization represented the first attempt of the National League hierarchy to extend its power over organized baseball (46:85).

The Western League, consisting of Davenport, Dubuque, Rockford, and Omaha, was formed in 1879 and lasted two campaigns. The Eastern Championship Association was created in 1881, but failed to carry on after its first year as a unit. The Northwestern League, established in 1879, included clubs from Peoria, Springfield, Quincy, Bay City, East Saginaw, Grand Rapids, Fort Wayne, and Toledo. In 1882, this organization was fortunate enough to be included in a triple-alliance pact with the American Association and the National League.

The Inter-State Association was formulated in 1882 with teams located in Brooklyn, Camden, Harrisburg, Pottsville, Reading, Trenton, and Wilmington. At about the same period the American Alliance was created in the mid-Atlantic states. The Texas and California Leagues sprang up in 1883. By 1884 there were eight minor circuits in the United States. Two years later, Canada, New England, and New York, instituted their conferences.

The first true rival to the National League was the American Association, created in October, 1881. It was labeled as the "Beer and Whiskey League" because of its insistance on selling alcohol and operating its schedule on Sundays. The League was composed of mostly Western teams where the people, many of German descent, were liberal-minded and associated drinking and Sunday entertainment as a major part of life. It also was characterized by twenty-five cent admission, open opportunity to play non-Association teams and Association teams on off-days, percentage as the determining factor for championship, and a permanent staff of umpires. The American Association's sovereignty lasted ten years and brought competition in the national game to the outposts of the West, as well as the strongholds of the East (46:84).

Harmer "Denny" McKnight of Pittsburgh was the man responsible for the formation of the Association's coalition of teams. The Cincinnati management, which was inscensed over being expelled from the National League because of its liberal policies, took the lead in combining the various franchises into a new league (12:240). The lineup of cities represented included Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Louisville in the West, with Baltimore and Philadelphia from the East. The Association served as a healthy competitor for the National League and kept that organization on its toes and receptive to new ideas on improving the game.

Although the Association's constitution differed in many ways from the League's, most of the major articles were nearly identical. For instance, wayward organizations could be removed from the Association for failure to complete their schedules, not paying dues, neglecting to award the visitors their share of the purse, employing disqualified players, and violating the constitution. Dues were set at $50 the initial year and in 1883 were doubled. Visiting teams received $65 per game. Gambling was expressly forbidden and territorial rights were guaranteed by allowing only one team per city. Although the two groups displayed similarities in their constitutional framework, they differed vastly in operation.

The American Association, offering an alternative to the purist National League, was called the workingman's alliance. Several of the owners like John Hauck, John Park, Chris Von der Ahe, and Harry Vonderhorst, were brewery magnates who basically purchased their teams to sell their product to the less puritanical-minded Westerners (46:84). The lower admission price of only a quarter allowed larger crowds to attend the spectacle in spite of the working class' limited incomes. Although the owners of the American Association demanded fair play on the part of the participants, they were not above allowing the players to grandstand or dicker with the umpires. The high-spirited immigrants of the West enjoyed a rowdier type of play and got it. The fans endorsed the new league's policies and proved it by attending Association games in droves. The Cleveland Leader wrote that "five of the six association clubs drew larger crowds than the National League's top gate attraction, Chicago" (55:143).

Since the National League did not recognize the status of the American Association, the American teams did not feel morally bound to respect League contracts. Immediately, League ballplayers took advantage of the situation by jumping to Association teams offering healthier contracts. A trade war ensued with the athletes being the chief beneficiaries.

A meeting was held in February, 1883, to establish a truce by settling the differences of opinion between the two organizations. The Northwestern minor league also was allowed to attend. The compromise reached became known as the Tripartite Pact. Shortly afterwards it was called the National Agreement to demonstrate the universality of the first major peace-pact of organized baseball (12:244).

The National Agreement toddled on shaky footing the first couple of years that the accord was in effect. In the spring of 1885, it was at the point of collapse due to several controversies between the owners of the Association and the League. Nevertheless, a compromise committee was able to tentatively iron out the problems and a new National Agreement was ratified in October. The two leagues agreed to specify how athletes were to be considered when they were released from their contracts. Neither league was permitted to talk to players before October 20 on matters of switching teams. Post-season, inter-league games were to be continued. The reserve clause was guaranteed. However, the heart of the problem, the direct sale of contracts from one club to another, was not resolved. It was left to fester in an unhealthy state of confusion and argument (55:169-170).

The National Agreement was no God-send for the professional players. It meant an end to the biding warfare which produced lucrative contracts. In respecting the validity of the hated reserve clause, the owners of the two leagues reaped the venom of the players (61:46).

In 1884, the players lashed out at the reserve clause by forming the Union Association as a third major league. The "Father of the Association," Henry Lucas of St. Louis, was a player's owner who sought ways to free the enslaved athletes by allowing them to seek out their rightful worth in an open market. He was able to corral about fifty players from the two leagues; but when the time came to unite, about ten actually jumped to the Union Association. Five out of the twelve teams finished the one-and-only year of the Union's existence. Lucas' St. Louis team was the sole prosperous franchise. They won their first twenty games. By the end of the season it was evident that the Union could continue no longer. Mourned by very few, the new league died an ungracious death. Lucas amalgamated his St. Louis organization with a faltering Cleveland team and moved into the National League for the 1885 race (1:120-122).

Still riled by the enslaving reserve clause and other unanswered grievances, the professional players of the Association and League formed the National Brotherhood of Professional Players in 1885. Dues were set at $5 per month to cover operational expenses. The outward objective of the union was to aid its sick and needy. The Brotherhood petitioned the owners for formal recognition in 1887. Since the group was not militant in nature, the bosses agreed to accept it (1:287).

John Motgomery Ward, a successful player and attorney, headed the Brotherhood from its inception in 1885 to its demise at the end of the 1890 season. When Ward returned from the World Tour of 1888-89, he was greeted with the news of the obnoxious Brush Classification Plan. He realized that the 1889 season was too close at hand to formulate immediate plans for action, so he pleaded with his fellow Brotherhood cohorts to wait a little longer "for the time was coming" (62:159).

Rejected by the ambiguous and unfulfilled promises of the administrators to consider the grievances proposed by the Brotherhood, Ward went to work building his own league. In November, 1889, Ward and the Brotherhood declared war against organized baseball and published an eight-point proviso as their Declaration of Independence. The next step was marked by the organization of the Players' League, which received financial backing from entrepreneurs in Boston, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh. Boston won the first and only championship (1:289-291).

The Players' League quickly disavowed the dreaded reserve clause and began signing players to three-year contracts at their 1889 salaries. Their wages could not be cut but were allowed to float higher. A central fund was established to run the League as well as to fight the members of the National Agreement. Stockholders received the first $10,000, and the next $10,000 went to the players. The remaining gains were distributed equally among all teams. A pro-rated incentive plan based on final standings in League competition was devised and financed by a general fund coming from a percentage of gate returns. This organization was so inviting that it was estimated that 80 percent of the players in organized baseball came over to the Players' League (1:28).

The National League and American Association had to get by on their reputations and with help from the minor leagues. The new League had taken its toll on their forces, but National Agreement leaders were not ready to throw in the towel. As the 1890 season began, a press war on attendance took place with each side claiming greater attendance. In truth, both leagues greatly stretched their figures (12:285). The National League even went as far as rescheduling their contests in order to directly coincide with Players' League engagements in the same cities.

Al Spalding chaired a war committee which attempted to instigate defections among the stars of the new League. As Spalding put it, "The League was determined to win if it took every dollar that had been made and saved." He went on to say that "meanwhile the public had become utterly disgusted with both sides to the controversy, and all clubs were losing money right and left" (12:293). Although he refused it, Mike Kelly was offered a bribe of $10,000 by Spalding to jump back to the National League. Some self-seeking players were not as honorable as Kelly and gladly took large sums of money to betray the Brotherhood (46: 122).

The Players' League was popular with the athletes, but it was not a financial success. The inexperienced and weak-hearted owners decided that they had taken a financial whipping and sued for peace. Although the National League was also at the point of crumbling, it quickly took up the peace feelers and accepted a compromise. Spalding agreed to purchase several of the Players' League franchises and allowed three of their most prosperous clubs, Chicago, New York, and Pittsburgh, admittance into the National League. As Spalding remembered, "We had been playing two games all through--Base Ball and bluff" (12:288). Spalding took the lead in the negotiations and called for the "unconditional surrender" of the delegation from the Players' League. Surprisingly they went like sheep to the slaughterhouse and agreed to his terms.

The players were left holding the bag. At least contract-jumpers were not penalized when they returned to their original teams. The players' movement died at the close of 1890. It would be another decade before the athletes would get another chance at freedom.

Following the players' rebellion of 1890, the National League magnates decided to crush their remaining rival, the American Association. The League leadership, under the direction of Spalding, moved to eliminate the Association by undermining its solidarity and by offering compromise to complete the dissolvement.

The Players' League war was the direct cause of the collapse of the American Association; its flower taken, it could no longer stand on its own two feet. Profits were non-existent for most clubs and the future did not look bright. Only a trace of capital remained in Association coffers. But even worse than these blows was the internal discord and absence of sound leadership at the top to smooth over the rising tide of chaos. When the financial burdens mounted to great heights, there was no Al Spalding to save the day for the Association (46:124).

In 1891, Spalding paid $130,000 to the weak teams of the Association to disband. Next, he consolidated Baltimore, Louisville, St. Louis, and Washington, into the National League, which already boasted eight clubs in its ranks. The newly-merged league was to be called the National League and American Association of Professional Base Ball Clubs. This title was short-lived however and served only as a pretext for the absorption of its remaining rival. No longer were the League owners simply paternalistic patrons of the game; they now were hard-nose financiers and empire-building promoters, not so very unlike their industrial counterparts (63:86).

From 1892 to 1901, the National League reigned supreme over organized baseball. An abortive attempt to reorganize the American Association transpired in September, 1894. The League however was having none of it and quickly crushed the ringleaders (61:215). The final assault against the League directors came in June, 1900, when the Protective Association of Professional Baseball Players was organized. This body originated in order to present grievances to the League management. Their petitions fell on deaf ears until Ban Johnson's newly-formed American League acceded to their demands in 1901 (82:230).

The Fall

The National League began to lose prestige with the public during the 1890's. Gambling returned to the parks. Drunkenness became most apparent among the ranks of the players. Athletes were considered too rowdy by a large segment of the public; Baltimore, Boston, and Cleveland, literally fought their way to the top. Sportswriters, tired of the demeaning treatment they received from the owners, vented their resentment by writing poisonous articles in their newspaper columns. Fads and appealing new sports were focusing in on the American interest and entertainment dollar. The Depression of the 1890's and the Spanish-American War, also hurt the popularity of the game. But the gravest opposition to the progress of the game came from the owners themselves.

With the end of league warfare and thus healthy competition, League directors began a policy of retrenchment and monopolistic practices. Players were treated like pawns, having their salaries cut and personal conduct regulated by their employers. Disrespect for the players' past services left many a former star off of his team's roster. Front office personalities were cold and punitive, yet an extremely aggressive and dirty style of play was allowed to continue and was even encouraged at times. Constant bickering led to gate-sharing and admission-price warfare between the prosperous and not-so-prosperous franchises. Through syndicatism, competition was limited, making solid teams stronger and poor teams weaker. By the end of the century, baseball was in a feudalistic age. Owners considered themselves barons over their own empires, unwilling to compromise and lacking understanding of the mood of the country. The National League and baseball were at their nadir, yet salvation was just a couple of years away when the reform-minded American League was created.

Gambling was so prevalent among participants of the game that little could be done to stop it. Gambling came to be openly encouraged as had been the case in the early days. Boston betters assembled along the third base line and congregated in clusters throughout the ballpark. In Chicago, betting was so common, that it was portrayed in a play, The Runaway Colt (55:295). The public was not so pure as to be abhorred by such actions, but it certainly did not help the image of baseball to allow this type of activity to flourish.

The so-called he-man of the 1890's could imbibe large quantities of alcohol. Many a brilliant star, like Louis Socalexis and Hoss Radbourne, lost their battles with the bottle, while at the same time losing their grips on their performances. The greatest star of the age, Mike Kelly, was booed off the field when his drinking orgies finally got the best of him (58:36-38). Things got so bad that a Purification Resolution was passed in 1898 to expel the drunkards and other professionals who were prone to misconduct.

Many fans were discouraged from patronizing baseball because of the rowdy style of play which dominated the game. Umpires took the brunt of the invective as seen in the fact that in 1898 several hundred dollars of fines were levied against League players for abusing the men in blue (52:45). Some owners encouraged umpire-baiting. Chris Von der Ahe of St. Louis, paid the fines of his players and was even known to step out onto the field in a rage just to excite the fans (61:187).

The Purification Plan simply became a token instrument of enforcement because it was seldom invoked. Critics like Henry Chadwick wrote that "hoodlumism" was killing the game. Joe Villa, a popular sportswriter, suggested that mugs like John McGraw, who only wanted to fight and use foul language, "should be chased out of the business" (62:253). When Boston beat Baltimore in the Temple Cup Series of 1897, Richter wrote in Sporting Life, "old fashioned, clean, legitimate style, had victored over modern, noisy, rowdy" play (62:263). It is difficult to ascertain the effect that the disorderly play had on the game's attendance. But in fact, it brought the art of playing baseball to its lowest ebb, and alienated many fans who longed to see the forgotten scientific style of play.

The power of the press turned against organized baseball in the 1890's. Tim Murnane writing for the Boston Globe in 1896 sung out, "Where, oh, where is the National League drifting to?" The Sporting Guide warned that abusive baseball was "keeping nice people away from ball games." The Chicago Times-Herald hinted that Chicago and Brooklyn had deliberately thrown games to build a larger pot by extending the playoffs. Henry Chadwick attacked League director Andrew Freedman in the New York Journal for barring a reporter from the Giant's camp. The Philadelphia Record accused League management of antagonizing "every influence calculated to promote the welfare of baseball." The New York Sun, showing animosity toward the trust plan of Freedman, disclosed a vivid account of how baseball was being corrupted. In Philadelphia, the Inquirer offered the idea that a total "change of methods" might possibly deliver the League from its present sad state. In 1898 the New York Press called for "far-reaching and vigorous condemnation of the League officers" upon the part of public and press. Sporting Life in 1899 talked about "the present internal disorder of the League" and the necessity of changing "its evil humors and restoring it to its pristine health and vigor." The Baltimore Sun believed that the demeaning brand of baseball that had infiltrated the game was the fault of the "magnates who are chiefly to blame for the trouble" (58:251-275).

A variety of new sports and fads were chipping away at baseball's dominance of the sporting world. Dr. James Naismith of Springfield College in Massachusetts invented a new game called basketball which immediately won interest throughout the country. College football and the emerging professional game of football, loomed ominously over the gates of baseball. The bicycle craze of the 1890's forced many owners to build tracks around their playing grounds. Tennis and golf, although limited to the upper classes during this era, posed a possible threat to the popularity of the game. Horse racing and boxing, although considered of ill-repute by many, drew crowds away from the ballparks. Movie-viewing, diverting the leisure money of the urbanites from the turnstiles, was becoming a valid competitor to the game's attraction (61:186).

The 1890's were not gay days for America nor for baseball. Economic depression hit the country in 1893, and a depression of spirit toward baseball slowly began to appear. After several bonanza years in the early and mid-1890's, attendance began to level off, with prosperity eventually transforming into financial decay. For example, attendance figures for Philadelphia, a very sound team, show a near all-time low of $49,000 profits in 1898. In that same year only five of twelve teams made any financial gains. In 1899, League attendance fell off five hundred thousand (62:232-233).

Management was able to keep debts to a minimum however by limiting salaries, cutting traveling expenses, and curtailing bonuses. The League in 1893 devised a system of guarantees and percentage sharing to strengthen the weaker teams. To reap the spoils of the growing numbers who kept the Continental Sabbath, the directors instituted Sunday ball, which turned away many traditional-minded followers of the game. Teams trying to economize commanded managers to keep a minute record of equipment and traveling expenses. This action strained relations between the front offices and the field leaders. Baseball was in desperate straights and lacked the managerial skills to divert its reckless course (55:294).

The Spanish-American War broke out in 1898, drawing many spectators and players away from the game. With the departure of many top professionals, youngsters were brought up who lacked the ability to display major league skills.

Interest turned away from the national game and toward the war effort. The press limited space for baseball. Although the "Splendid Little War" lasted but a short period of time, it did drain baseball's participation and attendance in the summer of 1898 (63:92).

By 1892 the League owners, having defeated all external rivals, laid claim to a monopoly of organized baseball. They were now barons in the kingdom of baseball. These men truly believed that they knew what the people of this country wanted from the game, and they proceeded to do what they deemed necessary to accomplish their ends.

With the extinction of competition in the major leagues, players' conditions became intolerable. In June, 1892, the owners cut squad membership from fifteen to thirteen. This put a large number of athletes out of work. It also angered a large number of fans who saw many of their popular heroes leave the game. Simultaneously with the roster depletions came a reduction of players' salaries by 30 to 40 percent. Louisville even sliced their payments in half. In October, nearly all teams gave their men ten days notice that they would be released at the end of the playing season. This maneuver would subtract two weeks pay from their contracts which ran to the first of November (55:266-267). Players were over a barrel; some fought back but most just acquiesced.

Amos Rusie, a popular New York player, held out a whole year over a salary cut he received from the tight-fisted Andrew Freedman. The notorious Tony Mullance refused to take a $700 slash in his contract and went West to play in the minors. Tommy Lovett of Brooklyn lost $3000 for sitting out the year rather than taking a cut in pay. George Haddock and Charles Buffington did not come to terms for months when requested to take setbacks, even though they had enjoyed successful seasons. When a Pennsylvania court awarded him a $1500 settlement out of his $4500 contract, Tom Burns became one of the few lucky ones who won a court battle (52:32). Baseball leaders did not care about their men because they figured there were always bright young stars waiting around the corner to take the players' places.

Owners had the players where they wanted them. With nothing to do and nowhere to turn, athletes became completely dissatisfied. Players had to pay for their uniforms and some training and traveling expenses. During periods of illness or injury they received no money, as the saying went, "no play, no pay." Benchwarmers had to serve as gate watchers and ticket takers on some teams. Even winning franchises like Boston were poor payers, evidenced by O. P. Caylor's remark, "if the Boston club lost money it would certainly not be because of generosity in paying members of the team" (58:388). Players like Charles Jones of Boston might not even receive their checks and some were expelled when they protested such treatment. Boston signed a fellow named Buttercup Dickerson and later decided not to honor their promissory note when time came for payment. Eddie Nolan missed a contest to attend a funeral and was fired for leaving the team (58:388-389).

There were a few generous owners like Henry Lucas of St. Louis, but they were in a minority. Lucas once gave a benefit for three of his players which netted each man $500. He also was known for tossing out a large amount of money to his players on Saturday nights with instructions to "clear out, have a good time and come around sober and ready to play ball" (52:21).

By the 1890's the baser elements of society were back in baseball. Rowdyism, drunkenness, gambling, and disrespect for umpires and opposing players, all characterized the game. Louisville instituted a conduct code to discipline players at home and on the road. Pittsburgh drew up a set of ten rules which tried to end joking on the field and complaining to the management about working at the gate when not playing (62:236). The greatest attack against the players' freedom was the Brush Purification Plan of 1898. This proviso allowed for expulsion of any player who argued with the umpire or used profane language on the field. The League censured few players with this law but used it as a threat to keep athletes in line. Professionals were antagonized by this resolution which curtailed their independence, but again, there was nothing they could do but abide by it (63:151).

Traditionally the visiting team received 30 percent of the home gate during regular championship contests. This hurt the more prosperous clubs because the percentage of their away games would be low while weaker teams would receive substantial sums when on the road. Al Spalding put it in vivid terms when he said that the well-off clubs were "tired of carrying along a club like Detroit" which drew few spectators at home or on the road. In 1887, a plan was worked out whereby a $125 guarantee per game would be granted to visiting teams. However, an uproar was made by the weaker teams in every board meeting that year. In the following off-season convention a compromise was accorded giving visitors 25 percent of the turnstiles' take, but guaranteeing them at least $150 (55:209). Controversy never really waned over this point and gate exchanges remained a sore spot for the League ownerships.

During the 1890's the struggle between the wealthy and poor franchises in the League raged on constantly. The financially weaker teams of the League were known as the "little seven." This list included Baltimore, Brooklyn, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Louisville, St. Louis, and Washington. Temporarily, they were able to outvote the "big five," Boston, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh, in moves to get a fifty-fifty sharing of admission money and to choose between fifty and twenty-five cent admission (62:230-233).

Not only was the percentage of gate returns an unsettled question with the owners, but so was the price on admission to athletic exhibitions. The Association had been inclined to charge twenty-five cents to attract large crowds who in turn spent their money on beer and other concession products. The League opted for a fifty cent entrance charge in order to safeguard larger gate profits. They did not sell alcohol so their concession intake was much lower. This controversial item was partially settled in the 1880's by allowing some freedom of choice on behalf of the home team (46:84).

Dickering never ceased on this matter and the admission war raged on until the demise of the League at the turn of the century. Many tottering League clubs petitioned for lower admission rates to attract bigger crowds. However, most of the time they were denied this by the administrators in power. The same problem occurred when petitions would arise concerning Sunday ball and beer concession. The League decided on a heads-I-win-tails-you-lose course; sometimes the limits on entrance fees were lifted, while on other occasions they were not. What it really amounted to was politics. If the petitioner was influential, or if his organization was desperately needy, then the Board would grant the request (55:261-262). The history of nineteenth-century baseball is the story of the National League, employing such tactics to perpetuate and expand the national game.

Besides these last two problems, constant warfare flared up between the two franchise cliques over the appointment of a League president, umpires, schedules, rules, salaries, territorial rights, Sunday ball, alcohol sales, and a host of other items. In 1900, profits were so bad in Baltimore, Cleveland, Louisville, and Washington, that these financially-depressed franchises were dropped by the more prosperous ones. This act allowed the newly-formed American League to add these cities to its register of teams, thus giving it a truly major league complexion (82:225).

A pooling maneuver to insure large profits, called syndication, was employed by the League magnates in the last two decades of the century. This scheme was first used in the early 1880's when the New York Giants and the New York Mets were owned and operated by John Day, who stocked his Giants with the best talent. Chris Von der Ahe owned both St. Louis and Cincinnati, giving him the opportunity to strengthen his St. Louis club at the expense of the Cincinnati franchise. In 1898, Ferdenand Adell of the Brooklyn club won the championship by bringing over the best players from his Baltimore squad. These two teams were run independently but had interlocking directorates, which allowed them to switch players from one team to the other. Frank Robison in 1898 bought the St. Louis Browns and transferred all of his capable Cleveland performers to that team. He wanted to punish the Cleveland fans who did not support his team. This action left Cleveland with such a bad drawing team in 1899 that they were forced to play most of their second-half games on the road (62:238-239).

Another step in consolidating teams was the system of buying entire minor-league teams to strengthen the parent team. This activity was called Brushism after owner John Brush of Cincinnati who started the practice. These conglomerations worried many owners. They were also distasteful to the paying public who saw their teams stripped of their stars (46:162).

In 1899, Andrew Freedman, a wealthy New York businessman and owner of the Giants, proposed a trust plan for the more profitable teams of organized baseball. He wanted to place organizations only in the largest cities and redistribute the players among the teams so that competition would be controlled. It was anticipated that such action would stabilize financial returns. Two of the magnates, Rogers and Soden, took his idea to heart as a feasible way of making money and conquering all rival leagues. This Freedmanism, as it was called, was typical of business practices of the time. But Freedman was depicted as the "Talleyrand of Baseball," a robber baron who selfishly ventured to kill the competitive spirit of the sport in pursuit of profit (46:155).

Many League owners had no respect for players, umpires, fans, baseball, or their fellow directors. For instance, Andrew Freedman, who held sway over half of the League, without a qualm declared his intention of destroying the game. He deliberately weakened his club in a scathing attempt to prove to the world that organized ball could not prosper without the benefit of a New York City team. He embittered fans and embroiled players in his illogical proceedings. His bullying tactics insulted his fellow magnates while his brash confrontations snubbed sportswriters (12:303). The beloved penman of baseball, Henry Chadwick, felt the vindictive edge of Freedman's blade when the "Baron of Baseball" tried to cut off Chadwick's pension. Much to the New York owner's chagrin, however, every director disclaimed any sympathy with the tycoon's ploy (35:265). Leadership of the National League was barren at this point.

Al Spalding, who had not been in the thick of baseball in recent years, was one of Freedman's detractors and bitter enemies. He claimed that men like Freedman were in baseball "for what they could get out of it" and "they were absolutely devoid of sentiment, cared nothing for the integrity or perpetuity of the game beyond the limits of their individual control thereof." Greed dominated their "suicidal" policies, "no wonder that this destructive element in those years worked havoc to our national pastime" (12:302). Spalding attacked the trust plan as characterized by the black-listing of players and boycotting of cities without justification. It involved syndicate methods causing "demoralization of our national sport in its every interest, everywhere the scheme was denounced as outrageous" (12:306).

An inter-League war broke out between the Freedman coteri (New York, Boston, Cincinnati, and St. Louis) and the Spalding faction (Brooklyn, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh). In December, 1901, Spalding succeeded in getting himself elected president of the League in a mock convention (46:155-156). The new leader then sinisterly retrieved the valuable League documents away from the presiding president, Nick Young. A bitter struggle ensued with Spalding leaving New York state in order to escape an enjoining order brought against him by Freedman (35:279-282). At this point a compromise was reached. Spalding resigned from the presidency while Freedman sold his baseball stock and left the game in disgust. Baseball was free from Freedman and monopoly, opening the way for competition and public confidence to return to the game (46:160).

In response to the declining merits and interest in the National League, came a new organization out of the West. This organization was dedicated to preserving baseball by instituting a new government for the game that would save the interest of the fans and bring security to the venturing franchises (63:94). This Western League was a minor league organized in 1892. It had been directed by Ban Johnson since 1894. This man was an organizational and operational genius who guided his League to a level second only to the National League in the period of a few short years. In 1900, the Western League changed its name to the American League. It then became quite evident that Johnson had plans of seeking major league status (82:225).

Johnson was careful not to upset National League owners and was willing to make compromises for the 1900 season. He established clubs in Cleveland, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Detroit, Indianapolis, Kansas City, Milwaukee, and Minneapolis, and made sure that the National League franchises were guaranteed their territorial rights. The new American League, although still a minor division, had a prosperous financial and attendance campaign in its first year.

In 1901, Johnson declared war on the National League by dropping out of the National Agreement and announcing that his League was claiming major league status. Much to the anger of the National League directors, Johnson immediately moved into the League's forsaken cities of Baltimore and Washington (82:225). His friend and ally, Charles Comiskey, moved his Minneapolis franchise to Chicago. These moves gained a stronghold for the American League in the East and in the West. Then Johnson secured the lucrative market of New England by landing a team in Boston. Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, and Philadelphia, were retained from the previous year. In 1902, the American League remained stable, except for a switch of the Milwaukee franchise to St. Louis. For over fifty years the new League remained completely intact.

The American League became a haven for professional baseball players seeking relief from the inequitable salary limits and harsh treatment amassed on them by the rulers of the National League. Although the American League refused to sign players with National League contracts, they quickly signed those who were tied to their League clubs only by the reserve clause (43:152). National League players were not only attracted to the American circuit because of high salaries and better playing conditions, but they also saw relief from the rowdy type of ball condoned by the senior organization. American League attendance outdistanced National League audiences in 1902 by a total of 2,206,457 to 1,683,012. Not only were players coming over to the new group, but so were the fans (55:314).

Meanwhile the National Leaguers were in complete disarray. They could no longer agree among themselves and could not even elect a president in 1902. One of the first tactics employed by the Nationals to stop the raiding of players by the Americans was the renouncement of the National Agreement. They immediately began stealing players from their satellite minor league teams. This led to the destruction of many minor circuits which caused the National League to lose face with many people inside and outside of baseball (35:278).

A monumental blunder of the National League leadership came in the winter of 1901, when the League convention split into the Freedman and Spalding factions. Bitter warfare occurred, prompting National League directors to concentrate on each other instead of the outside threat presented by the American League.

The traditional National League method of consolidating with other rival leagues was offered to Johnson, but shrewdly he turned it down. This pathetic effort was the only attempt of the older association to end the conflict between the two organizations (46:161).

Ban Johnson was noted for running a tight ship. He expelled drunkards, gamblers, and umpire-baiters like John McGraw, who tried to bring rowdyism into the American League (58:76). The American League director acted immediately to save the Baltimore franchise when its financial situation took a sharp decline. Johnson adroitly secured rights for a ballpark site in New York from the Tammany political machine. Most importantly, he quietly sat back and bided his time when he saw that the National League owners were cutting each other's throats (55:322).

With profits dwindling, players escaping, and owners fighting among themselves, National League executives petitioned Johnson for a peace conference to be held on January 9, 1903, in Cincinnati (35:271). Following two days of compromise, the main issues of controversy were settled. The reserve clause was to be sanctioned according to the possession of players in 1902; since most National Leaguers had already departed for the American League, this was to the benefit of the junior partner. A uniform player-contract was written for both leagues. Territorial rights were guaranteed by exchanging promises on non-consolidation in any city where there were two teams. The two leagues solved a serious matter of contention by agreeing not to change any franchises unless they had the permission of a majority of clubs in both leagues. The lucrative New York franchise was to remain in the American League while the Pittsburgh club would enjoy the privilege of being the only team in that well-supported city and would be represented in the National League. Agreement was reached to cooperate on playing rules and schedules. The evils that plagued the National League, gambling, drunkenness, player dissatisfaction and misconduct, were to be eliminated by strictly enforcing existing codes with fines and banishment. Finally, the presidents of each league, with the aid of the minor leagues' president, P. T. Powers, were to form a new agreement for regulating all of organized baseball. These regulations produced a rock-ribbed cornerstone of permanency that allowed organized baseball to progress and imbed itself as America's favorite spectator sport (82:226).

Little did the makers of this compromise know that they were laying the groundwork for seventy-five years of stability and prosperity; but that is precisely what was accomplished by the merger of the National and American Leagues in 1903. For over fifty years, no franchise move took place and only a handful of changes occurred in the playing rules (61:6). Public popularity was immediately forthcoming. The leadership was once again competent and respectable (46:149). Those early days of baseball had come and gone, and with them came a sport which is today enjoyed by millions of sports lovers throughout the world.

The Society

In this segment of the dissertation an examination is presented on what is considered to be the eleven most important similarities between nineteenth-century baseball and American society. The facts and figures concerning baseball that follow have already been stated and documented in the body of the paper and shall not be referenced in this particular section. The historical data in this section are taken from the widely used history textbook, American History: A Survey (39) by Richard Current, T. Harry Williams, and Frank Freidel.

The sport of baseball mirrored the historical events and reflected the social values that existed in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century. The eleven similarities between baseball and the social conditions in America are identified as: (1) professionalism, (2) commercialism, (3) monopolization, (4) unionism, (5) apparition, (6) immigration, (7) urbanization, (8) progressivism, (9) racism, (10) imperialism, and (11) economism.

Pre-Civil War America was a period in which the rural and urban populations of the United States lived a less-complicated and more chivalrous existence (39:450). Baseball went through the same transition as society did during and after the Civil War. That conflict disillusioned the American public while ending the gentlemanly style of play that dominated the game. The game and the country passed into a robust stage in which winning at all cost, instilled by the War, was considered to be essential in getting ahead in life (39:450-451). Recreation and healthy exercise took a back seat to making money and developing skills to enter a profession.

New enterprises, which could readily be identified with baseball, sprang up overnight after the Civil War. Newspaper circulation grew phenominally; the newly-created sportspage was a major cause of this increase. Businessmen recognized the value of advertising their services to the expanding population. It was not long before they discovered that profits rose when goods were sold in association with sports. The companies which produced electric-trolleys, streetcars, subways, and Pullman cars, all prospered because of the game's attraction of crowds to the ballparks and the need of teams to travel from city to city. Electricity was put into use at stadiums as soon as it was developed. Telegraph lines strung into every park. Grandstands were being transformed by the availability of steel. Long-standing commerce like breweries, were greatly enhanced by the game, while totally new enterprises such as sporting goods businesses became instant successes (39:436-441).

Trade during the latter half of the century fell into a pattern of monopolistic practices such as syndication, pooling, and trust building. The objective of these business maneuvers was elimination of competition, thereby providing complete domination of the market (39:436).

Social Darwinism allowed competitors to break all rules and forget about the injustices they were performing on their workers (39:451). Mark Twain characterized this period as the "Gilded Age": one in which industrial barons reigned over their factory kingdoms with insatiable greed. Simple proprietorships, where employers dealt personally with employees, were no longer common. This anonymity permitted big-businessmen to exploit their workers and feel no remorse (39:483). These tycoons were builders however, and led the United States to supremacy on the world market. They also produced a higher standard of living for most Americans (39:439).

Baseball owners in the last half of the century guided the fortunes of the game in a similar fashion, but to different results. Through salary limitations and cuts, the reserve clause, black-listing, behavior restrictions, fines, and suspensions, baseball entrepreneurs were able to limit expenditures on employees. These practices created greater profits and business stability. By instituting Brushism and Freedmanism, the owners attempted to end competition and create a huge monopoly of the game. Although these employers were partners in the leagues' management, they were not above cutting throats to meet their own ends. This is demonstrated by the cases of the trade wars, admission-price controversy, gate-sharing conflicts, and territorial rights arguments. The magnates, like their counterparts in the industrial world, were gradually eliminated during the early days of the twentieth century, but the effect they had was to bring the sport to the point of total collapse.

Employees, whether in industry or baseball, failed to effectively unite in solving their grievances during this era. These were the days when hearty pioneers were conquering the West, attempting to prove their manlihood by going it on their own. Social Darwinism and a traditional agrarian heritage, aroused distrust of unions and encouraged rugged individualism (39:453-455). The Brotherhood, Union Association, Players' League, and the Players' Protective Association, were all examples of the players futile attempts to sustain adequate resistance to the tyrannical owners. The reserve clause hindered the athletes from bargaining freely with competing employers and reaping their just worth on an open market. Blacklisting, salary cuts, and the absence of workmen's compensation and security, were effective tools in keeping the ballplayers and proletariats from becoming economically independent. Court decisions and government units favored laissez-faire, that is the right of businessmen to run their operations without any interference (39:450-451). As the century came to a close however, the employers' domination began to erode, but baseball players continued to suffer the indignity of working under the inequitable rules of their owners.

Nineteenth-century ballplayers looked no different from their fellow Americans. In fact, most players' careers were so short-lived that only during a brief period would they be called professional athletes. Men of the age sported bushy sideburns and thick mustaches; baseball performers tended to exaggerate these cultivations. Rugged individualism was part of a he-man's character, in and out of the game. Continuous consumption of alcohol played a large part in the lives of the populace; participants of baseball seemed to be most proficient at becoming inebriated. Smokeless tobacco was a favorite among many men of the age. Gambling and a devil-may-care attitude characterized the era in most areas of society (39:483-484).

The new immigration of the 1880's brought a more liberal attitude of life to America. The American

Association was founded in 1882 to offer these newcomers Sunday ball, beer sales at the parks, rowdier play, and lower admission price. Immigration tended to weaken the more conservative influences in society and created an environment where professionals could be accepted. As Americans became more tolerant, no element of the community seemed to be less restricted than professional baseball players (39:478-479).

In 1870, 25 percent of the population lived in cities. By 1900, that figure had risen to 40 percent. Many farm people left the rural life to seek diversions and excitement in the city; baseball provided fun and amusement at a reasonable cost for these new arrivals (39: 444-445). Large ballparks were built to accommodate the crowds, while trolleycars and subways supplied easy access from all parts of the city. The industrial proletariats, with their newly-found leisure hours, received vicarious recreation from watching sports spectacles. Newspapers transformed players into idols and afforded dreams of grandeur to many urban youths who longed to play professional baseball someday. The immigrants, huddled into city ghettoes and sought relief from the workweek's demanding price by filling the stadiums, drinking beer, and yelling for their hometown favorites. Baseball grew in response to the demand of the surging urban populace for cheap and arousing entertainment (39:486-488).

The Progressive Movement was an urban phenomenon of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The leaders of this plan aimed at ending the privileges bestowed on business and making government more responsible to the people (39:546-547). The founders of the National League wanted to eliminate the abuses that existed in the national game by making management more influential in the execution of the sport's administration. Al Spalding's tactic of compromising with powerful rivals was very akind to Theodore Roosevelt's "half-a-loaf" maneuvering during his "Square Deal" administration (39:553). Ban Johnson came to the aid of professional ball at the turn of the century, just as Roosevelt did for the United States government. National League leaders wanted to change the rules to make the game more equitable and exciting; civic directors also intended to rewrite the laws in order to make them fair to all concerns. Officials sought to purify the game by refusing to allow Sunday ball, beer sales at the parks, and drunkenness on the field. Many Progressives were also supporters of temperance and traditional rural values of conduct (39:550). The creators of the National League, Union Association, Players' League, and the American League, were forward looking people who wanted to clean up baseball, just as the backers of reform desired to correct the evils present in society and government.

The Progressive leaders refused to come to the aid of the American negro. They did not even recognize his plight (39:552-553). Baseball directors likewise failed to support blacks by denying them access to the game. Only seven black players made it to the majors prior to 1888, when negroes were completely excluded from participation in the sport. The Civil Rights cases of the 1880's and the iron-clad Jim Crow laws of the 1890's, condemned blacks to a position of inferiority in American society (39:228-230). "Separate but equal" was also prominent in the major leagues as demonstrated by the fact that negroes were required to play in their own less-prosperous association.

Racism in the 1890's could also be discovered in American imperialism toward other people throughout the world. President William McKinley had a dream, telling him of America's mission to save "our little brown brothers" to the south (39:518). The Spanish-American War in 1898 in Cuba and President Theodore Roosevelt's "big stick" policy, further embroiled the United States in Latin American affairs (39:576). The Open Door policy of the government in regard to China demonstrated our interest in exploiting the yellow race. Dollar Diplomacy established an aggressive principle toward international business, especially in regard to oil exploration and production in Mexico. Once America had fulfilled its "manifest destiny" on this continent, the rest of the world was ready to be conquered (39:517).

Baseball in the 1890's was a reflection of American foreign policy. Latin and negro players were considered inferior and were not permitted to play in the major leagues. The idea of territorial rights for franchises was very similar to the "territorial integrity" of China sponsored by the United States in the Open Door policy. Commercial imperialism in baseball created a thriving trade for financiers throughout the nation. The formation of the American League meant that major league ball had expanded westward, all the way to the limits of the Mississippi River. But mostly in the rowdy style of play that infiltrated baseball in the 1890's did the game cast an explicit image of agressive American imperialism.

The sport of baseball fully entered its professional state in the early 1870's. These were times of depression in the United States which effected attendance and profits for major league franchises (39:422). The game rose to great economic heights by the end of the 1870's, just as the country left behind its financial woes during this period. The 1880's were bonanza years for both the nation and the game. Although the country was bogged down in monetary problems again by 1893, it did not seem to hinder the financial stability of baseball until 1896 (39:508). This suggests that the American people were searching for relief from deprivation and destitution during these years. They found it in the vicarious entertainment that baseball contained (39:514). Thus, society in the latter half of the nineteenth century and baseball as well, were critically effected by the economic fortunes of the times.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to narrate a history of baseball from its origins to the merger of the National and American Leagues in 1903. The author attempted to expose the true birth of the game, the expansion and development of the sport from amateur clubs to professional teams, the growth of professionalism under the National League, the commercialization of the sporting business, and the dominant players and teams of that era.

This work interpreted the history of baseball in the nineteenth century by defending proposals in a chronicled account. The author strove to present a narration of this period in a readable, informative and yet entertaining fashion. He also ventured to interpret previous recitals in this area thereby creating a larger body of knowledge for future historians. And lastly, the investigator desired to expose, through an analysis of the history of an institution, a historical reflection of society as a whole in the nineteenth century.

Conclusions

The following paragraphs summarize the various areas of origins and developments treated in the text of the dissertation.

1. The sport of baseball evolved from various forms of ball-and-stick play such as cricket, one-old-cat, rounders, town ball, and the Massachusetts game. Abner Doubleday did not invent the game in 1839, although his name is associated with its origin due to a cursory study by the 1907, Mills Commission.

2. In 1845, a man of gentlemanly means, Alexander Cartwright, systematized the several styles of play into a sophisticated activity with specific rules and dimensions. His companies organized with him in an association known as the Knickerbocker Club. These athletic-minded New Yorkers were interested in recreation and exercise; no thought was given to participation for compensation other than a celebration of food and ale after the contests. These amateurs' performances were quite spotty, but it made little difference to anyone because fun was the objective and spectators were seldom permitted anyway.

3. Teams of limited ability characterized the 1850's and to a great extent, the 1860's. In 1857, the

National Association of Base Ball Players was created in order to organize baseball and preserve its amateur status. During this period, the majority of the best clubs were found in the Eastern portion of the United States, especially New York. The Civil War however, changed the participation in the game by expanding it to all corners of the land. Baseball truly became the national game because of this event.

4. The National Association lost its hold on the sport during the 1860's. By the end of the decade amateurism on the major league level was nearly extinct. The ranks of baseball in this era were dominated by working-class men who sought to make a profession out of playing the game. Attendance at these sport spectacles grew so large that clubs began to realize that a substantial profit could be accrued by building better teams to attract sizable crowds, charging admission, and providing concession services in the ballparks.

5. As the 1860's progressed organizations began to pay their stars money under the table to play. On many teams the employers gave the players token employment while they allowed them to spend all their time playing ball. Jim Creighton is considered the first professional baseball

player because of the money he received in 1860 for pitching games for the Brooklyn Excelsiors. Al Reach was given regular payments for his athletic efforts in 1864 by the Philadelphia Athletics, making him the first salaried player.

6. Teams of semi-professional athletes dominated the game after the late 1860's. It was the Cincinnati Red Stockings in 1869 that became the first full-salaried team in baseball history. With an unblemished tour throughout the country in their inaugural season, they inspired other organizations to go all-professional. In 1871, the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players was originated to direct the best professional talent in the nation.

7. Gambling, drunkenness, contract-jumping, the absence of fixed schedules, and poor player management, were unsolvable problems for the National Association. In response to this dilemma, a new organization was formed in 1876 to clean up baseball and get it running smoothly once again. This new league, the National League of Professional Base Ball Clubs, adopted stringent regulations that brought honesty, sobriety, and franchise stability into the game. It also instituted a type of play that aroused

spectator approval and interest in most of the large cities in the Eastern half of the United States.

8. The expansion of baseball in the nineteenth century ushered in an era of commercial marketing associated with the game's name. Newspapers catered to the public's thirst for sport columns. Streetcar and railroad companies actively sought close commercial ties with organized baseball. Hotels and other businesses exchanged favors with ballclubs to reap the benefits of advertising connected to athletics. And gigantic sporting goods enterprises arose to meet the demand of the populace for balls, bats, gloves, and other items sponsored by the sport.

9. The game became an extravaganza of entertainment and business in the latter half of the century. Rule changes were numerous in order to hit a happy medium between pitching and hitting. Colorful uniforms and scientific play added extra amusement to the spectacle, inducing throngs of fans to enter the turnstiles. Newspapers lionized the players' exploits, and provided vicarious thrill for thousands of weary urbanites. The expanding leisure-hours of the urban proletariat were captured by the game's potentiality for recreation and excitement. Spectaculars

like the World Series and two international tours highlighted the era of baseball's expanding years.

10. League officers spared no one when it came to reaping profits and insuring control of organized ball. With the institution of the reserve clause in 1879, the players were relegated to the status of property. Other methods of servitude were employed by the administrators such as black-listing, salary limitations and cuts, sobriety pledges, and outright selling of players. Umpires were literally attacked by players, managers, fans, and even owners, without any compensation or refuge whatsoever. Only a few negroes ever made it to the big leagues, and in 1888, they were barred permanently during this era.

11. The National League's fiercest competition came from the American Association which was organized in 1881. It presented a recourse to the moralist National League by offering lower admission prices, freer limits on exhibition games, Sunday ball, beer sales at the parks, and greater opportunities for players to negotiate their contracts. Seeing that the Association posed a valid threat to their dominance, the League enticed their rival organization to contract an understanding of cooperation among all of professional baseball. This truce, called the National

Agreement, lasted nine years before the League took steps to crush the Association in 1891 and regain total control of organized baseball. Besides the American Association and some minor-league organizations, only the Union Association in 1884 and the Players' League in 1890, offered any resistance to the League's domineering rule.

12. The National League's financial situation slowly improved during their initial years of competition in the depression-laden 1870's. Starting in the early 1880's however, a boom came to the sport in a most spectacular way. As attendance soared, many entrepreneurs erected grandiose ballparks in franchise cities. Ballplayers' salaries gradually rose as profits ascended to great heights for the ownerships of successful teams. Depression riddled the country again in the middle years of the 1890's however, and caused attendance to wither away after 1895 to the point of economic doom.

13. Many unsolvable problems existed in the National League in the 1890's which caused owners to lose financial control of their investments. Gambling, drunkenness, rowdyism, outside fads, and the Spanish-American War, all tore away at the prestige of the League. Spectator and player dissatisfaction rose to great heights due to

management's refusal to settle the issues which confronted them.

14. The inability of League administrators to cooperate on pressing matters resulted in the loss of complete sovereignty by the National League. A paradox existed between major league owners. In one instance they were partners in the administration of the League, but in another sense they were competitors in a sporting enterprise. To eliminate competition and create a monopoly, Andrew Freedman of New York devised a plan for syndicating all major league teams in an immense trust to pool talent. His idea split the leadership of the League into two cliques. When the newly-formed American League challenged the National League's superiority, it could not fight back effectively, and was forced to combine with the American League in 1903.

15. The American League was formed in 1900 by the astute Ban Johnson. A year later he declared major league status for his association. In its first two years of play, the American League successfully restored the confidence of the public by not allowing the abuses that existed in the National League to enter into the American. His organization became a haven for discontented athletes

who envisioned a return to free bargaining rights and higher salaries. When the two leagues combined in 1903, the National League was able to shed its problems and baseball went on to many years of franchise stability and financial prosperity.

Recommendations

As a result of this study it is recommended that:

1. A study be completed encompassing the period 1903 to the present.

2. Studies be written comparing and contrasting baseball and American society.

3. Studies be written on each of the thematic sections of this dissertation.

4. A comparative study be completed on amateur and professional players of the time.

5. A series of articles on the important figures of the time be published in a scholarly journal.

6. A study be completed containing the biographies of the important baseball figures of the time.

7. A study be completed on the history of umpires.

8. A study be completed concerning the structure of the minor leagues which arose in 1877.

9. Biographies on Henry Chadwick (The Father of Sportswriting) and Harry Wright (The Father of Professional Baseball.)

10. A study on the formation of the American League.

11. An effort to replace the "Doubleday Myth" in reference books with the "evolutionary theory."

12. A concerted effort on the part of the profession to emphasize the foundations of sport and physical education.

13. A comparison of the leisure-time recreation activities of American society with the development of sports.

14. Encouragement of physical educators and historians to research and write in the field of sport history.

15. A study supporting the overall significance of baseball in American society.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A

LETTER OF INQUIRY SENT TO INDIVIDUALS DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN BASEBALL HISTORY

275 North 725 West
Orem, Utah 84057

Dear ____________________.

I am a doctoral student of Physical Education at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. Your name has been given to me by Dr. Glen Tuckett in the hope that you may be able to assist me in the research of my doctoral dissertation.

The topic I have chosen is the early days of the American game of baseball. In your relationship with this sport, Dr. Tuckett feels that you might possess information that could lead me to people or material vital to my study.

Any advice you can render me on this matter would be deeply appreciated. Dr. Tuckett and I want to thank you for your consideration and wish you good fortune in your future endeavors.

Sincerely yours,

Jeff Haven

Appendix B

LIST OF IMPORTANT DATES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF BASEBALL TO 1903

LIST OF IMPORTANT DATES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF BASEBALL TO 1903

1839	Abner Doubleday credited with originating American baseball.
1845	Alexander Cartwright organized first baseball team (Knickerbockers) and drew up first rules.
1846	First baseball game, Elysian Fields, Hoboken, New York.
1849	First uniform is adopted by Knickerbockers.
1857	First baseball convention (New York).
	Displacement of the Massachusetts game in New England by the New York game.
	Nine inning games replaced twenty-one aces.
	National Association of Base Ball Players formed with sixteen teams.
	First official rule book published, edited by Henry Chadwick.
1860	Jim Creighton became first paid (professional) player.
1862	Union Grounds in Brooklyn became first enclosed baseball park.
1869	Cincinnati Red Stockings made national tour as first professional team.
1871	National Association of Professional Base Ball Players formed.
1876	National League of Professional Base Ball clubs formed.
1877	International Association organized as first minor league.

1879	Reserve clause initiated.
1882	American Association formed.
	First World Series took place.
1883	National Agreement combined National League, American Association, and minor leagues.
1884	Union Association formed.
1885	National Brotherhood of Professional Players formed.
1890	Players' League formed (lasted one year).
1892	Merger of National League and American Association.
1900	American League created from the Western League.
1901	American League declared major league status.
1903	Merger of National and American Leagues.

Appendix C

REGISTER OF ACCOMPLISHED PLAYERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

REGISTER OF ACCOMPLISHED PLAYERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

Adrian Anson - "Cap" was the most famous and most liked player of early baseball, playing from 1871 to 1897. Anson had a lifetime average of .339 and hit for a high .421 in 1887. Adrian was famous as a coach and captain for the Chicago club. "Pop" was an avowed negro-hater who was responsible for keeping negroes out of professional ball during this time period.

Ross Barnes - Barnes was a good fielder who became the first batting champion and .400-hitter of the National League when he hit .403 in 1876. He came to Chicago from the champion Boston Red Stockings in 1876 in the "big four" deal.

Charles Bennett - Bennett was an outstanding catcher who had his career cut short when he lost his legs in a train accident.

Joseph Borden - "Joe Joe" pitched the first no-hitter on record, in 1875. He also tossed the first victory in the new National League the following year. Later that season Borden fired a no-hitter but failed so miserably after that occasion that the Boston management put him to work as a groundskeeper.

George Washington Bradley - In 1876 this St. Louis artist pitched the first National League no-hitter while recording a 44-19 record with sixteen shutouts. This was a feat to be tied forty-one years later by Grover Cleveland Alexander.

Asa Brainard - Asa was an original member of the 1869 Cincinnati Red Stockings, the first professional team. He was their ace pitcher who worked nearly every game.

Dennis Brouthers - "Dan" was one of only four major leaguers at one time who stood over six feet tall. His hitting demonstrated his strength as he led the profession four times in percentage and once totaled three home runs in one game. In 1887 he hit .419 and finalized his career with a .348 average.

Lewis Browning - "Pete" was known as the original "Louisville Slugger." He averaged .341 for his thirteen major league seasons. "The Old Gladiator" batted .471 in 1887 when walks counted as hits. He completed his history with the third highest lifetime average of any professional player.

John Brush - Mr. Brush was the owner of the New York Giants and also was a strong figure in the machinery of the National League for several decades. His Classification Plan and Purification Plan were instituted to show more decorum on the ballfields of professional baseball. Brushism, the act of major league teams buying complete minor league clubs, was named after him.

Morgan Bulkeley - Mr. Bulkeley helped to organize and was the first president of the National League.

Jesse Burkett - Burkett holds the hitting record of batting .400 three times. He also topped the National League in average three times.

Alexander Cartwright - Mr. Cartwright is known as the "Father of Baseball." He organized the Knickerbocker Baseball and Social Club in 1845 which was the first team ever. In that same year, he and a Mr. Wadsworth drew up the rules for the game which in many cases remain the same today. Alexander Cartwright was a missionary disciple of the game who brought it to the Western states and Hawaii.

Oliver Caylor - O. P. Caylor was second only to Henry Chadwick as the greatest sportswriter of his time. In his industrious career he worked as a lawyer, baseball manager and owner, editor of several newspapers, and closed out his professional existence as baseball editor of the New York Herald.

Henry Chadwick - This ex-Englishman, known as the "Father of Sportswriting," became baseball's foremost pioneer scribe in the nineteenth century. He invented the first box score and authored the first rule book in 1858. He was editor of the Spalding Guide, wrote many magazine and newspaper articles, was baseball's chief philosopher and critic, and chaired several (as well as the first) national baseball meetings.

Frank Leroy Chance - "The Peerless Leader" was an outstanding coach of the Chicago Cubs. He also was an excellent first baseman who finished a long career with a .297 mark.

John Chesbro - Jack Chesbro pitched one victory shy of two hundred for his career of eleven years. In 1902, Chesbro went 28-6, giving him the pitching title and leading his Pirates to the pennant.

Fred Clarke - Fred Clarke was a Hall-of-Famer who played, managed, and worked in the front office for thirty-two years. He had a .315 lifetime average and won four pennants as a manager of the Pittsburgh Pirates. Clarke batted .406 in 1897, stole thirty or more bases eight times, and once had a thirty-seven game hitting streak.

John Clarkson - Clarkson was one of the seven nineteenth-century pitchers to win three hundred or more games. In 1885 he pitched seventy games (622 innings) and won fifty-three of them.

Jimmie Collins - Collins was noted as the developer of modern techniques for playing third base. Although being credited as the greatest fielding third sacker ever, he was also a good hitter.

Charles Comiskey - Charles Comiskey is known as the owner of the Chicago White Sox team and builder of their stadium. However, in the olden days, the "Old Roman" was a star first baseman who initiated the practice of leaving the bag to cover more ground. He served as player, captain, and most prominently as manager of many teams, especially the St. Louis Browns.

Larry Corcoran - Between 1800 and 1884, Corcoran won 167 games or nearly thirty-six wins per season, as well as pitching three no-hitters. Playing shortstop in 1884 he earned a dubious place in the recordbooks by committing ten errors.

Jim Creighton - Jim is credited with being the first baseball professional by being paid under the table in 1860 by the Brooklyn Excelsiors. He died a tragic death a few years later when he was ruptured while hitting a home run.

Arthur Cummings - "Candy" was a slight man with a lot of knowledge concerning the game. He was one of the first men inducted into the Hall of Fame because of his invention of the curve pitch. He also is credited with being the first man to win a doubleheader.

Hugh Daly - Daly was a one-armed player who climaxed a twenty-four victory season in 1883 with a no-hitter for Cleveland. The next year he won twenty-two games and once struck out nineteen batters.

John B. Day - Through his Metropolitan Exhibition Company, John Day owned both the New York Mets and New York Giants. He used his ownership to aid the National League in keeping superiority over the American Association. Day also sat on the war committee against the Players' Union and in 1884 his Day Resolution, for strengthening the reserve clause, was adopted.

Edward Delahanty - "Big Ed" was the greatest part of the four-brother act of Cleveland. He had a lifetime batting average of .346, twice went six-for-six in one game, once hit four two-baggers in a game, had ten consecutive hits in two games, and had four home runs in a single contest in 1896. In 1894, he placed second in hitting even though he had a .400 average; but he won the title with a .408 in 1899.

Abner Doubleday - General Abner Doubleday is credited with inventing the game of baseball in 1839. He did not mention the sport in his writings, and was at West Point when he supposedly invented the game. He was a Civil War General who served with distinction at Fort Sumter, firing the first Union shots, and later as a division commander at Gettysburg.

Hugh Duffy - This man has the distinction of recording the all-time highest hitting percentage in a single season when he hit .438 in 1896. Although a very small man in stature, he was a good hitter with a lifetime mark of .330. Later Duffy became a coach, scout, teacher, and good-will ambassador for the game of baseball.

Fred Dunlap - "The King of Second Basemen" was a small but unusually strong performer at second base. "Sure-Shot" had perhaps the best arm of any fielder in history.

William Ewing - "Buck" was known as the greatest nineteenth-century catcher. He was a superb captain and had perhaps the best arm of any catcher ever. He also was a home run hitter.

Elmer Flick - Three-time triple champion, Flick was a ball-hawking outfielder with a shotgun arm, and had a lifetime average of .315. Elmer's banner year of 1900 saw him three points from the batting title, one hit from the total hits championship, and one homer short of the home run crown.

Andrew Freedman - This New York millionaire in 1895 bought the New York Giants. During his eight years in baseball the game reached its nadir. He tried to syndicate professional baseball unsuccessfully. Freedman quarrelled with many umpires, owners, pressmen, and players. His plans eventually were crushed by Al Spalding and a group of National League owners in 1902 when Freedman sold his team and went back into business.

James Galvin - Jim was a fine pitcher who completed fifty-six games, a record. Friends of Galvin had to raise funds for his burial which initiated talks of a players' pension plan.

Clark Griffith - Over half a century Cal Griffith was in baseball as a pitcher (more than two hundred victories), as a manager (four teams), and as an owner (Washington).

Billy Hamilton - Exciting Billy held the career base-stealing record with 937 total thefts. He led the majors four times in stolen bases, twice going over the century mark.

Ed Hanlon - "The Napoleon of Baseball Managers" led the Baltimore Orioles to five championships between 1894 and 1900. He believed in a strong bench and a very rough style of play. "Ned" also performed thirteen years as a steady player.

Jim Hart - Mr. Hart was Al Spalding's president of his Chicago club. He was a very conservative director whose aim was to slash players' salaries.

Guy Hecker - Guy won fifty-two games in 1884 for Louisville of the American Association. He also played first base and became the only player in major league history to score seven runs in one game. In that 1886 contest, Hecker made six hits including three home runs, two doubles, and a single, for a grand total of seventeen bases.

William Elsworth Hoy - The "Dummy" played fourteen years in the majors with a .291 average and stole 514 total bases. Hoy was a deaf-mute who was responsible for inducing umpires to proclaim a strike by raising the right arm and thereby making it easier for the spectators to differentiate the calls.

William Hulbert - William Hulbert, the owner of the Chicago team, was the person chiefly responsible for founding the National League and carrying it through the first crucial years. He had a forceful personality and made the club owners the power of baseball, taking from the players their control of the game.

Hugh Jennings - "Hughie" was a popular player who later became a very successful coach. "Eee Yah!" was his trademark. He approached .400 several times and stole sixty or more bases three different seasons.

Byron Bancroft Johnson - "Ban" Johnson was the innovative and domineering president of the Western League who transformed that minor circuit into the American League in 1901. He was the person chiefly responsible for merging the National and American Leagues in 1903.

Bill Joyce - In an 1897 game, Joyce lashed out four triples. He ended his nine-year career with a respectable .293 average.

Tim Keefe - In 1880, Keefe won nineteen games in a row, a record. He threw 346 big leagues victories with forty-two and forty-one successes in 1886 and 1887.

William Henry Keeler - "Wee Willie" was a five feet, four inch athlete who led the League in hitting twice, batting a high .432 in 1897. He hit .300 the first sixteen years of his nineteen seasons and ended with a .345 lifetime percentage. Keeler and John McGraw of the champion Orioles of the 1890's, invented the hit and run play. When asked about this tactic, Wee Willie said he just "hit 'em where they ain't." One year this Hall-of-Famer broke a record by connecting in forty-four straight contests. He also averaged sixty-four stolen bases over a three-year stretch.

Michael Kelly - Kelly was the most spectacular base-runner before Ty Cobb, and the most potent home run hitter before Babe Ruth. The "King" was exceptionally colorful and beloved by the players and fans. He was sold for $10,000 by Al Spalding in 1887; an act which the players' association took up as their symbol of slavery created by the reserve clause. Kelly prided himself on being a hard drinker and as such was a perfect example of those early players. "Slide Kelly, Slide!" was the cry of Kelly's heroes throughout baseball during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Napoleon Lajoie - "Nap" Lajoie was a versatile second baseman who hit .300 the first eleven years of his career and ended up with a .338 average. In 1901, Napoleon batted .422 and led the League in home runs. Lajoie topped the majors in percentage three times. He had a thirty-two game hitting streak in 1900. Also, Lajoie once made four double plays in a game. Napoleon Lajoie played for the Philadelphia Athletics and the Cleveland club, where that team became known as the Naps in his honor.

Bill Lange - "Little Eva" was a large man who won fame by stealing over one hundred bases one year and eighty-three the next. Bill was the idol of the ladies, leaving baseball at the height of his glory days for a California maiden.

Walter Latham - "Arlie" had one of the strongest arms in baseball but was especially known for his strong language as a coacher (heckler). Latham was involved in baseball from the time he was seventeen to almost ninety. His popularity was testified to by a song written about his exploits, "The Freshest Man on Earth!"

Bobby Lowe - On May 30, 1894, little Bobby Lowe, in a makeshift Boston ballpark, became the first major leaguer to hit four home runs in a single contest. All were in succession and two came in one inning. He also had a single that game for a total of seventeen bases. In his eighteen-year career, Lowe batted over .300 five times.

Henry Lucas - Mr. Lucas was a wealthy St. Louis businessman who backed the Union Association of 1884 and became its first president. He was a respectable amateur player who laid out a field at his mansion so as to be able to invite friends to play and feast.

Connie Mack (Cornelius McGillicuddy) - Mr. Mack spent sixty-six years in baseball as an owner, manager, and player. He also authored a book and is a charter member of the Hall of Fame. Mack played eleven years as a catcher and batted .251. Connie's real genius however was shown by his managing of championship teams, winning nine pennants.

Edwin McAlpin - Colonel McAlpin was the president of the Players' League of 1890.

Thomas McCarthy - Tom McCarthy was an excellent fielder who originated the trap fly ball and holds the National League record with fifty-three assists for an outfielder. He stole 109 bases in 1880.

Joseph Jerome McGinnity - The "Iron Man" of pitching set a record by throwing two games in one day five times. In one year he faced 1,658 batters and pitched 434 innings. The year before he threw forty-four complete games. Joe's thirty-two years in organized baseball was christened with twenty-seven victories (a rookie record) by using his baffling round-house curve.

John McGraw - McGraw was a scrappy player-coach for many professional teams. He encouraged victory at all costs. He starred as a third baseman for the great Baltimore Orioles of the 1890's. In 1902, McGraw started a string of coaching years which went to thirty.

James McGuire - "The Deacon," as very upright players were called in those days, spanned a career of twenty-eight seasons in baseball. An iron molder of exceptional strength, McGuire caught barehanded most of his professional days and was called the best catcher in the League.

Harmer McKnight - "Denny" was a successful Pittsburgh businessman who created the American Association in 1881 and became its first president.

Calvin McVey - "Cal" was one of the original Cincinnati Red Stockings of 1869. In 1871 he went with Harry and George Wright to Boston. In 1876 he followed Al Spalding to Chicago and eventually ended his playing time back in Cincinnati. Although Cal McVey pitched and played first base, he never was noted as being a superstar, but did have the good fortune of performing on the best three teams of the early professional days.

Abraham G. Mills - A. G. Mills, a Civil War veteran, served as a strong National League president from 1883 to 1884. He is also noted for heading the commission that investigated the origin of baseball.

Tony Mullane - "The Count of Macaroni" was a famous pitcher who won over thirty games five times. Tony also was a polished character whose defiance of the reserve clause in 1884 caused a great controversy. During his career, Mullane was accused of throwing games, jumped several contracts, was expelled for a while from the game, sat out half a season in protest over salary cuts, performed on the stage, and created headlines by his divorce.

Jim Mutrie - "Truthful James" managed his 1888 and 1889 New York Metropolitans to championships. The "Sweet Singer of Manhattan" was involved with the formation of the American Association in 1881 and was accused of spying for the National League in its struggle to maintain prominence over the American Association.

Charles Nichols - "The Kid" was a fastball pitcher with good control who became the star pitcher of the great Boston teams of the 1890's. Nichols won thirty or more games a year seven times, pitched four hundred innings in each of several seasons, and acquired three hundred victories in his career.

James O'Neill - In 1887, when a base on balls counted as a hit, "Tip" O'Neill batted the all-time major league high percentage of .492.

James O'Rourke - Longevity was the name of the game for O'Rourke who caught his last game in 1904 at the age of fifty-one. He had a vibrant personality and never hit under .300 in his career. James also served as owner, manager, League secretary, and president.

Fred Pfeffer - "Uncle Fritz" was a star second baseman who attempted but failed to revive the old American Association in 1894. Pfeffer penned a book, Scientific Ball, which was liberally consulted as a manual for managers of the 1890's.

Charles Radbourne - "Old Hoss," the handle-bar mustached hero of the 1884 Providence club, won sixty games out of seventy-two that year in leading his team to a surprising championship. Radbourne won over three hundred games, including a no-hitter in 1883.

Thomas Ramsey - "The Toad" entered professional ball at seventeen, the exact number of strike outs he performed in each of many contests. An accident early in life left his hand bent so profoundly that the only way he could throw the ball was as a knuckleball; this was credited as being the reason for his exceptional strike out ratio.

Albert Reach - Al Reach is acclaimed as being the first full-salaried professional player. After his days on the Brooklyn and Philadelphia teams came to a close, he opened a sporting goods business which eventually became one of the largest in the world.

Wilbert Robinson - Robinson was so popular as manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers that the name of the team was changed to the Robins. He also had the distinction of going seven-for-seven in a single contest. "Uncle Robbie" was a fine catcher on the invincible Baltimore Orioles of the 1890's.

Amos Rusie - Rusie was a popular star pitcher for the New York Giants of the 1890's. He became one of the few players in baseball history to hold out for an entire season when in 1895 he protested the salary cuts that the team owners instituted throughout the League.

Frank Selee - Manager Selee was the renown Boston general who led his team to five championships between 1891 and 1898. He believed in devious tactics and intimidation to win games.

Ben Shibe - Mr. Shibe was a business partner of Al Reach and is known for his invention of machines for making baseballs. He also erected a grandiose baseball stadium in Philadelphia.

Arthur Soden - Mr. Soden served briefly as president of the National League and of the Boston Red Stockings. He was known as one of the most conservative and penny-pinching directors in the game. Soden also invented the infamous reserve clause.

Albert G. Spalding - Spalding was one of the greatest underhanded pitchers of all time, winning fifty-six games in 1875 and forty-seven the next year. He established one of the largest sporting goods businesses in the world in 1876. Spalding was famous for his ownership and management of the Chicago White Stockings. His Spalding Guide served as the storehouse of baseball records. The establishment of the National League as a permanent organization was due mainly to the direction of this man.

Walter J. Spalding - W. J. Spalding was Al Spalding's brother and partner in their sporting goods company. Al had the creative ideas and Walter the ability to execute the business end.

Alfred Spink - Al Spink was a baseball promoter who later in life wrote a history of the game. He also served as editor of the Sporting News, a favorite baseball periodical.

Joe Start - "Old Reliable" played twenty-eight years with the best baseball teams in the country, ending his career in 1886 with a lifetime average of .309. Start is known for initiating the deployment of leaving the first base bag and guarding the area around it.

Harry Stovey - In 1888, Harry Stovey stole 156 bases, an all-time high. He jumped from the Philadelphia team to the Pittsburgh organization in 1891, giving the steel city club its nickname, the Pirates. Stovey played fourteen campaigns with a .320 lifetime batting mark.

Billy Sunday - The fleetist ballplayer of his time, Billy Sunday eventually became a famed evangelist. He never was a good hitter, but Billy delighted the fans with his amazing speed and spectacular catches.

Patsy Tebeau - P. Tebeau was the hard-fighting manager of the successful and brawling Cleveland Spiders of the 1890's.

William C. Temple - Mr. Temple was a Pittsburgh businessman who donated an $800 cup for the winner of a post-season series in the years 1894 to 1897.

Christopher Von der Ahe - Von der Ahe was the flamboyant owner of the pennant-winning St. Louis Browns of 1885-88 in the American Association. Speaking with a German accent, acting eccentrically, spending money liberally, dressing extravagantly, using penny-pinching tactics, employing innovative projects, and expressing a bullying but colorful personality, were Chris' trade marks. He helped to form the American Association and later, when financial woes and losing seasons plagued the Browns, he conspired to disband it. Although once a millionaire brewery magnate, Von der Ahe turned to saloon keeping and died in near poverty.

Harry Vonderhorst - Mr. Vonderhorst was a wealthy brewery entrepreneur who owned the famous Baltimore club of the American Association.

George Edward Waddell - "Rube" was an irresponsible pitching genius for several teams over a fourteen-year professional existence. Waddell held records for single game strike outs, seasonal strike outs, and won nearly two hundred games as a major leaguer.

Honus Wagner - The Hall of Fame's greatest all-time shortstop entered the profession for Louisville in 1897 and concluded his career in 1917 with Pittsburgh. While compiling a batting average of .329, Wagner hit over .300 the first seventeen years he suited out. Honus Wagner was an all-around athlete who led the National League a record eight times in hitting and five seasons in stolen bases.

Moses Fleetwood Walker - M. F. Walker, the first black professional ballplayer, caught for Toledo of the American Association in 1884. He was an intelligent professional who attended Oberlin College and formed a great drawing card for Toledo with his battery mate Tony Mullane. His brother Welday, along with William Higgins, George Stovey, Bud Fowler, James Jackson, and Frank Grant, were the only black professional players allowed in major league baseball before the semi-official prohibition in 1888.

John Montgomery Ward - John Ward was an intellectual who also starred on the diamond. He pitched a perfect game for Providence in 1880. Ward managed the very successful Dodgers and Giants. John Ward is mostly known as an attorney for the players' association, starting the Players' League, and for helping to organize and carry out the international tour of American baseball players, which was designed to spread the gospel of baseball throughout the world. John Montgomery Ward led the National League in stolen bases three times.

James White - "The Deacon" played every position on the field, but starred at third base and catcher. During his twenty years on the field, White hit over .300

eleven times and his .385 was good enough to lead the National League one season.

Ed Williamson - Eddie was a fine shortstop whose twenty-seven homers in 1884 held up as the highest mark until Babe Ruth broke it in 1919. The many-times controversial Williamson died in poverty.

George Wright - George, the brother of Harry Wright, was a star of baseball's first professional team. He was one of the greatest baseball players in history. Wright captained the champion Boston Red Stockings in the first years of the National League and the Providence titlists of 1879. He later opened a famous sporting goods chain, Wright and Ditson.

Harry Wright - Harry was the brother of George Wright and is called the "Father of Professional Baseball." His greatest success laid in his ability to organize and manage teams. He organized the first professional team, then two years later developed the Bostons into consistent champions, and proceeded to develop teams and players until the end of the century. He created the scientific style of baseball which meant agressive fielding and intelligent hitting. Harry Wright was a capable player who in his later days, served as the chief of the umpire staff.

Denton Young - This great pitcher's career stretched over both the old and new eras of baseball. Breaking into baseball in 1890, "Cy" went on to win five hundred games. He pitched three no-hitters and in 1904 a perfect game. The Cy Young award is given to the best pitcher in baseball each year.

Nicholas Young - Mr. Young was president of the National League in the 1880's and 1890's. During his tenure baseball acquired its modern design. He also served on the commission which investigated the origin of baseball.

Charles Zimmer - "The Chief" became president of the Protective Association of Professional Baseball Players in 1900. Charley was a battery mate of Cy Young and batted .272 over his twenty years of baseball.

Appendix D

TEAM AND INDIVIDUAL RECORDS

TEAM AND INDIVIDUAL RECORDS

The excerpts that are listed in this section were extracted from the Ronald Encyclopedia of Baseball (83). They are used in order to better inform the reader on records established in the game from the formation of the National League in 1876 to the merger of that league with the American League in 1903. A section dealing with the origins of club nicknames and a roster of major league franchises, introduce this part of the work. They are followed by National League leading batsmen, home run hitters, stolen base champions, and pitching leaders.

Club Nicknames - Their Origin

The oldest nickname belongs to the Cincinnati Reds. It goes back to 1869. Baseball's first real professional club started as the Cincinnati Red Stockings. Since then, all of Cincinnati's teams, except one, have been called the Reds or Redlegs. The sole exception was Mike (King) Kelly's Killers of the American Association in 1891. The first Cincinnati team wore red stockings.

Boston's nickname of the Braves was first given the club on the suggestion of John Montgomery Ward when James E. Gaffney, a Tammany Hall politician, became president in

1912. Before that, the club was known as the Doves, because of its owners, the Dovey brothers, and also the Beaneaters, Red Stockings, and Red Caps.

Contrary to some reports, the Dodgers nickname was not applied to the Brooklyn team until 1911. It is a contraction of Trolley Dodgers. In 1889 and 1890, when the club won pennants, it became known as the Bridegrooms, because married athletes outnumbered the single ones on the club. When Ned Hanlon moved from Baltimore to take over the Brooklyn club in 1899, the nickname was changed to Superbas. At the time, there was a road company traveling through called "Hanlon Brothers' Superbas" and the advance agent grabbed the opportunity to get the name of his attraction into the sports columns.

The Cubs originally were called the White Stockings. Later, the Chicago team became the Colts because its manager, Cap Anson, starred in a picture called A Runaway Colt. The nickname was discarded in 1898, after Anson's career came to an end, and the team was called Orphans because of the passing of their long-time manager. In 1899, a Chicago newspaper held a contest to select a new name and the Cubs were born.

Jim Mutrie, the New York manager, is credited with giving the team the nickname Giants. The year was 1886. The nickname was inspired by the unusual size of a number of players on the team. The nickname first appeared in a St. Louis paper in 1886 after the team had played an exhibition game in Newark. Joe Pritchard, a St. Louis baseball writer, referred to them as the Gotham Giants.

The Phillies have been called that ever since the Philadelphia city entered the National League in 1883. Philadelphia's Union Association team in 1884 was called the Keystones.

From 1887 until 1890, the Pittsburgh team was simply called the Pittsburghs. That year, because of 113 losses in 136 games, the team was shackled with the appelation "Innocents." During the winter of 1890, Pittsburgh signed Louis Bierbauer and Harry Stovey, whom the Philadelphia Athletics of the American Association had unknowingly neglected to reserve. Because of that act, the Pittsburgh club became known as the Pirates.

The nickname Cardinals was first given the St. Louis team in 1898 by a woman fan who admired the team's new uniforms with their cardinal red trimming. William McHale baseball writer of the St. Louis Republican, overheard the remark and used it in his story that day. When the team first entered the National League, it was called the Reds, then the Maroons when they returned to the National League in 1885. In 1892, they were known as the Browns, a name they kept until 1889.

The Chicago American League team, when it entered the American League in 1900, simply revived the White Stockings nickname, which had been discarded by the Chicago National League team several years earlier. Si Sanborn, a Chicago newspaperman, was responsible for it.

Cleveland got its nickname Indians in 1915 through a newspaper contest. Prior to that, Cleveland's American League entry was known as the Blues, Naps when under the direction of Napoleon Lajoie, and the Molly Maguires when managed by Jim McGuire. When the city was in the National League, the team was known as the Spiders.

A Detroit city editor, Philip J. Reid, tagged the Detroit team the Tigers back in 1889 when that city was in the National League. The inspiration was manager George Stallings' idea of striped stockings as part of the players' uniform.

Athletics was first used by a Philadelphia team at the origination of the National League. Later, a

Philadelphia team was called the Athletics in the American Association. When president Ban Johnson changed the title of his Western League to American League, he took the name Athletics for the Philadelphia team.

When the St. Louis team came into the American League in 1902, it took the name of Browns, used by Charles Comiskey's 1885-88 championship St. Louis team of the American Association.

Major League Cities

From the formation of the National League in 1876 to 1903, twenty-nine different cities held major league franchises. More than one team, throughout the years, has represented various cities in the major leagues. The following list shows the leagues and teams for each city through the history of the major leagues to 1903.

The letters in parentheses indicate the league: (N) National; (a) American Association; (U) Union Association; (p) Players League; (A) American League.

Altoona: (U) 1884.

Baltimore: (a) 1882-91; (U) 1884; (N) 1892-99.

Boston: (N) 1876-1903; (U) 1884; (p) 1890; (a) 1891; (A) 1901-1903.

Brooklyn: (a) 1884-90; (p) 1890; (N) 1890-1903.

Buffalo: (N) 1879-85; (P) 1890.

Chicago: (N) 1876-1903; (U) 1884; (p) 1890; (A) 1901-1903.

Cincinnati: (N) 1876-80, 1890-1903; (a) 1882-89, 1891; (U) 1884.

Cleveland: (N) 1879-84; 1889-99; (a) 1887-88; (p) 1890; (A) 1901-1903.

Columbus: (A) 1883-84, 1889-91.

Detroit: (N) 1881-88; (A) 1901-1903.

Hartford: (N) 1876-77.

Indianapolis: (N) 1878, 1887-89; (a) 1884.

Kansas City: (U) 1884; (N) 1886; (a) 1888-89.

Louisville: (N) 1876-77; 1892-99; (a) 1882-91.

Milwaukee: (N) 1878; (U) 1884; (a) 1891; (A) 1901.

New York: (N) 1876, 1883-1903; (a) 1883-87; (p) 1890.

Philadelphia: (N) 1876, 1883-1903; (a) 1882-91; (U) 1884; (p) 1890; (A) 1901-1903.

Pittsburgh: (a) 1882-86; (U) 1884; (N) 1887-1903; (p) 1890.

Providence: (N) 1878-85.

Richmond: (a) 1884.

Rochester: (a) 1890.

St. Louis: (N) 1876-77, 1885-86, 1892-1903; (a) 1882-91; (U) 1884.

St. Paul: (U) 1884; (A) 1902-1903.

Syracuse: (N) 1879; (a) 1890.

Toledo: (a) 1884, 1890.

Troy: (N) 1879-82.

Washington: (a) 1884, 1891; (U) 1884; (N) 1886-89; (A) 1901-1903.

Wilmington: (U) 1884.

Worcester: (N) 1880-82.

Leading Batsmen (National League)

Year	Player	Club	G	H	Pct
1876	Barnes	Chicago	66	138	.404
1877	White	Boston	48	82	.385
1878	Dalrymple	Milwaukee	60	95	.356
1879	Anson	Chicago	49	90	.407
1880	Gore	Chicago	75	114	.365
1881	Anson	Chicago	84	137	.399
1882	Brouthers	Buffalo	84	129	.367
1883	Brouthers	Buffalo	97	156	.371
1884	O'Rourke	Buffalo	104	157	.350
1885	Connor	New York	110	169	.371
1886	Kelly	Chicago	118	175	.388
1887	Anson	Chicago	122	224	.421
1888	Anson	Chicago	134	177	.343
1889	Brouthers	Boston	126	181	.373

Leading Batsmen continued

Year	Player	Club	G	H	Pct
1890	Glasscock	New York	124	172	.336
1891	Hamilton	Philadephia	133	179	.338
1892	Brouthers	Brooklyn	152	197	.335
	Childs	Cleveland	144	185	.335
1893	Duffy	Boston	131	303	.378
1894	Duffy	Boston	124	236	.478
1895	Burkett	Cleveland	132	235	.423
1896	Burkett	Cleveland	133	240	.410
1897	Keeler	Baltimore	128	243	.432
1898	Keeler	Baltimore	128	214	.379
1899	Delahanty	Philadelphia	145	234	.408
1900	Wagner	Pittsburgh	134	201	.381
1901	Burkett	St. Louis	142	228	.382
1902	Beaumont	Pittsburgh	131	194	.357

Leaders in Home Runs (National League)

Year			HR
1876	George Hall	Philadelphia	5
1877	George Shaffer	Louisville	3
1878	Paul Hines	Providence	4
1879	Charles Jones	Boston	9

Leaders in Home Runs continued

Year			HR
1880	James O'Rourke	Boston	6
	Harry Stovey	Worcester	6
1881	Dennis Brouthers	Buffalo	8
1882	George Wood	Detroit	7
1883	William Ewing	New York	10
1884	Edward Williamson	Chicago	27
1885	Abner Dalrymple	Chicago	11
1886	Harding Richardson	Detroit	11
1887	Roger Connor	New York	17
	Thomas O'Brien	Washington	17
1888	Roger Connor	New York	14
1889	Samuel Thompson	Philadelphia	20
1890	Thomas Burns	Brooklyn	13
	Michael Tiernan	New York	13
1891	Harry Stovey	Boston	16
	Michael Tiernan	New York	16
1892	James Holliday	Cincinnati	13
1893	Edward Delahanty	Philadelphia	19
1894	Hugh Duffy	Boston	18
	Bobby Lowe	Boston	18
1895	William Joyce	Washington	17

Leaders in Home Runs continued

Year	Player	Club	HR
1896	Edward Delahanty	Philadelphia	13
	Samuel Thompson	Philadelphia	13
1897	Napoleon Lajoie	Philadelphia	10
1898	James Collins	Boston	14
1899	John Freeman	Washington	25
1900	Herman Long	Boston	12
1901	Samuel Crawford	Cincinnati	16
1902	Thomas Leach	Pittsburgh	6

Leaders in Stolen Bases (National League)

Year	Player	Club	SB
1886	George Andrews	Philadelphia	56
1887	John M. Ward	New York	111
1888	William Hoy	Philadelphia	82
1889	James Fogarty	Philadelphia	99
1890	William Hamilton	Philadelphia	102
1891	William Hamilton	Philadelphia	115
1892	John M. Ward	Brooklyn	94
1893	John M. Ward	New York	72
1894	William Hamilton	Philadelphia	99
1895	William Hamilton	Philadelphia	95

Leaders in Stolen Bases continued

Year	Player	Club	SB
1896	William Lange	Chicago	100
1897	William Lange	Chicago	83
1898	Fred Clarke	Louisville	66
1899	James Sheckard	Baltimore	78
1900	James Barrett	Cincinnati	46
1901	John Wagner	Pittsburgh	48
1902	John Wagner	Pittsburgh	43

Leading Pitchers (National League)

Year	Name	Club	W	L	Pct
1876	A. Spalding	Chicago	47	13	.783
1877	T. Bond	Boston	31	17	.646
1878	T. Bond	Boston	40	19	.678
1879	J. Ward	Providence	44	18	.710
1880	F. Goldsmith	Chicago	22	3	.880
1881	C. Radbourne	Providence	25	11	.694
1882	L. Corcoran	Chicago	27	13	.675
1883	J. McCormick	Cleveland	27	13	.675
1884	C. Radbourne	Providence	60	12	.833
1885	M. Welch	New York	47	11	.810
1886	J. Flynn	Chicago	24	6	.800

Year	Name	Club	W	L	Pct
1887	C. Getzein	Detroit	29	13	.690
1888	T. Keefe	New York	35	12	.745
1889	J. Clarkson	Boston	49	19	.721
1890	T. Lovett	Brooklyn	32	11	.744
1891	J. Ewing	New York	22	8	.733
1892	D. Young	Cleveland	36	11	.766
1893	F. Killen	Pittsburgh	34	10	.773
1894	J. Meekin	New York	34	9	.783
1895	W. Hoffer	Baltimore	30	7	.784
1896	W. Hoffer	Baltimore	26	7	.788
1897	A. Rusie	New York	29	8	.784
1898	E. Lewis	Boston	25	8	.758
1899	J. Hughes	Brooklyn	28	6	.824
1900	J. McGinnity	Brooklyn	29	9	.763
1901	J. Chesbro	Pittsburgh	21	9	.700
1902	J. Chesbro	Pittsburgh	28	6	.824

Appendix E

MILLS COMMISSION REPORT

As I stated, my belief had been that our National Game of Base Ball originated with the Knickerbocker club, organized in New York in 1845, and which club published certain elementary rules in that year; but, in the interesting and pertinent testimony for which we are indebted to Mr. A. G. Spalding, appears a circumstantial statement by a reputable gentleman, according to which the first known diagram of the diamond, indicating positions for the players was drawn by Abner Doubleday in Cooperstown, N. Y., in 1839. Abner Doubleday subsequently graduated from West Point and entered the regular army, where, as Captain of Artillery, he sighted the first gun fired on the Union side (at Fort Sumter) in the Civil War. Later still, as Major General, he was in command of the Union army at the close of the first day's fight in the battle of Gettysburg, and he died full of honors at Mendham, N. J., in 1903. It happened that he and I were members of the same veteran military organization, the crack Grand Army Port (Lafayette) and the duty devolved upon me, as Commander of that organization, to have charge of his obsequies, and to command the veteran military escort which served as guard of honor when his body lay in state, January 30, 1903 in the New York City Hall, prior to his internment in Arlington.

In the days when Abner Doubleday attended school in Cooperstown, it was a common thing for two dozen or more of school boys to join in a game of ball. Doubtless, as in my later experience, collision between players in attempting to catch the batted ball were frequent, and injury due to this cause, or to the practice of putting out the runner by hitting him with the ball, often occurred.

I can well understand how the orderly mind of the embryo West Pointer would devise a scheme for limiting the contestants of each side and allotting them to field positions, each with a certain amount of territory; also substituting the existing method of putting out the base runner for the old one of 'plugging' him with the ball.

True, it appears from the statement that Doubleday provided for eleven men on a side instead of nine, stationing the two extra men between first and second, and second and third bases, but this is a minor detail, and, indeed, I have played, and doubtless other old players have, repeatedly with eleven on a side, placed almost identically in the manner indicated by Doubleday's diagram, although it is true that we so played, after the number on each side had been fixed at nine, simply to admit to the game an additional number of those who wished to take part in it.

I am also much interested in the statement made by Mr. Curry, of the pioneer Knickerbocker club, and confirmed by Mr. Tassie, of the famous old Atlantic club of Brooklyn, that a diagram, showing the ball field laid out substantially as it is to-day, was brought to the field one afternoon by a Mr. Wadsworth. Mr. Curry says 'the plan caused a great deal of talk, but, finally, we agreed to try it.' While he is not quoted as adding that they did both try and adopt it, it is apparent that such was the fact; from that day to this, the scheme of the game described by Mr. Curry has been continued with only slight variations in detail. It should be borne in mind that Mr. Curry was the first president of the old Knickerbocker club, and participated in drafting the first published rules of the game.

It is possible that a connection more or less direct can be traced between the diagram drawn by Doubleday in 1839 and that presented to the Knickerbocker club by Wadsworth in 1845, or thereabouts, and I wrote several days ago for certain data bearing on this point, but as it has not yet come to hand I have decided to delay no longer sending in the kind of paper your letter calls for, promising to furnish you the indicated data when I obtain it, whatever it may be (12:20-21).

Appendix F

RULE CHANGES

RULE CHANGES

Pitching

The pitcher was required to throw underhanded until 1884, but then he still was limited to taking one step before delivering his pitch. In 1881, the pitching distance was increased from forty-five to fifty feet and in 1893 to the present distance of sixty feet six inches. At first the pitcher's box was four feet by six feet; but this was abolished in 1894 for a twelve feet by four feet area. The next year it was changed to twenty-four feet by six feet. The current balk rule went into effect in 1889.

Batting

The length of the bat was limited to forty-two inches from the start. In the 1877 campaign the hitter became exempt from a time at bat if he walked. In 1886 he was exempt if hit by a pitch and in 1894 exempt if he sacrificed. Initially, nine balls gave first base to the batter: eight in 1880, seven in 1881, six in 1884, seven in 1885, five in 1887, and finally four in 1889. In 1883 fouls caught on one bounce were no longer outs. Batters could not call for high or low pitches starting in 1887. Runners could run safely past first starting in 1889. In 1893, flat bats were considered illegal. The next year, bunts rolling foul were called strikes. The infield fly rule and foul-tip strikes came into effect in the 1895 season. In 1901, fouls were called strikes.

General

Heavily padded gloves came into use in the 1880's but it was not until the 1890's that they were widespread. Chest protectors were first employed in 1885 while catchers were forced to stay directly behind home plate in 1901. Initially, fifteen-inch square, white canvas bags were chosen as markers for bases and in 1886 they were put inside the baseline. Originally no player could be substituted for after the start of the fourth inning unless someone was injured; but in 1891 free substitution was allowed at any time. The ball was the same size as it is today, nine and one-half inches in diameter and five and one-half ounces. The double-umpire system went into effect in 1880. In 1886, umpires no longer had to wait five minutes to find a lost ball before throwing out another one. Starting in 1881, managers were required to give umpires their batting orders before the game. Five years later, coaches were limited to standing in designated boxes down the lines. In 1898, the schedule was fixed at 154 games. In 1900, the five-sided home plate was introduced.

VITA

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CIVIC POSITIONS:	Clear Lake (Houston, Texas) Softball Association organizer and charter president. Clear Lake political youth sponsor.
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BASEBALL: THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE GAME TO 1903

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to narrate a history of baseball from its origins to the merger of the National and American Leagues in 1903. The author endeavored to produce a work that was interesting to sports enthusiasts and informative to researchers. He also attempted to relate the significance of the development of the institution of baseball to nineteenth-century American society.

Based on accepted historical research and writing procedures, a study was completed which exposed the true birth of the game, the expansion and development of the sport from amateur clubs to professional teams, the growth of professionalism under the National League, the commercialization of the business, and the dominant players and teams of that era. The work interpreted the history of baseball in the nineteenth century by defending proposals in a chronicled account.

By accomplishing his goals, the writer has added to the body of knowledge in this field. To a limited degree he explained the sociological evolution of the United States over that period of time.

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