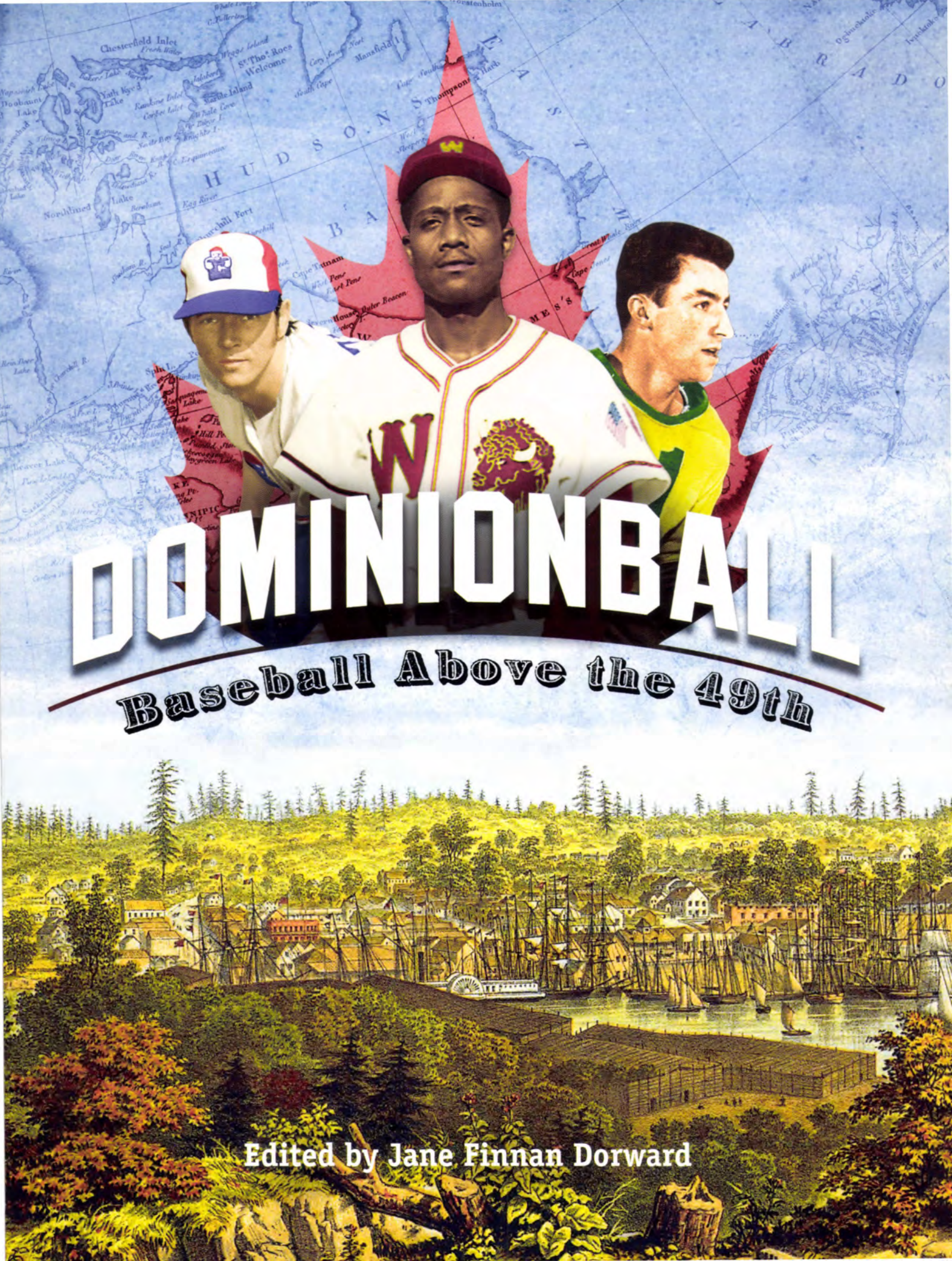
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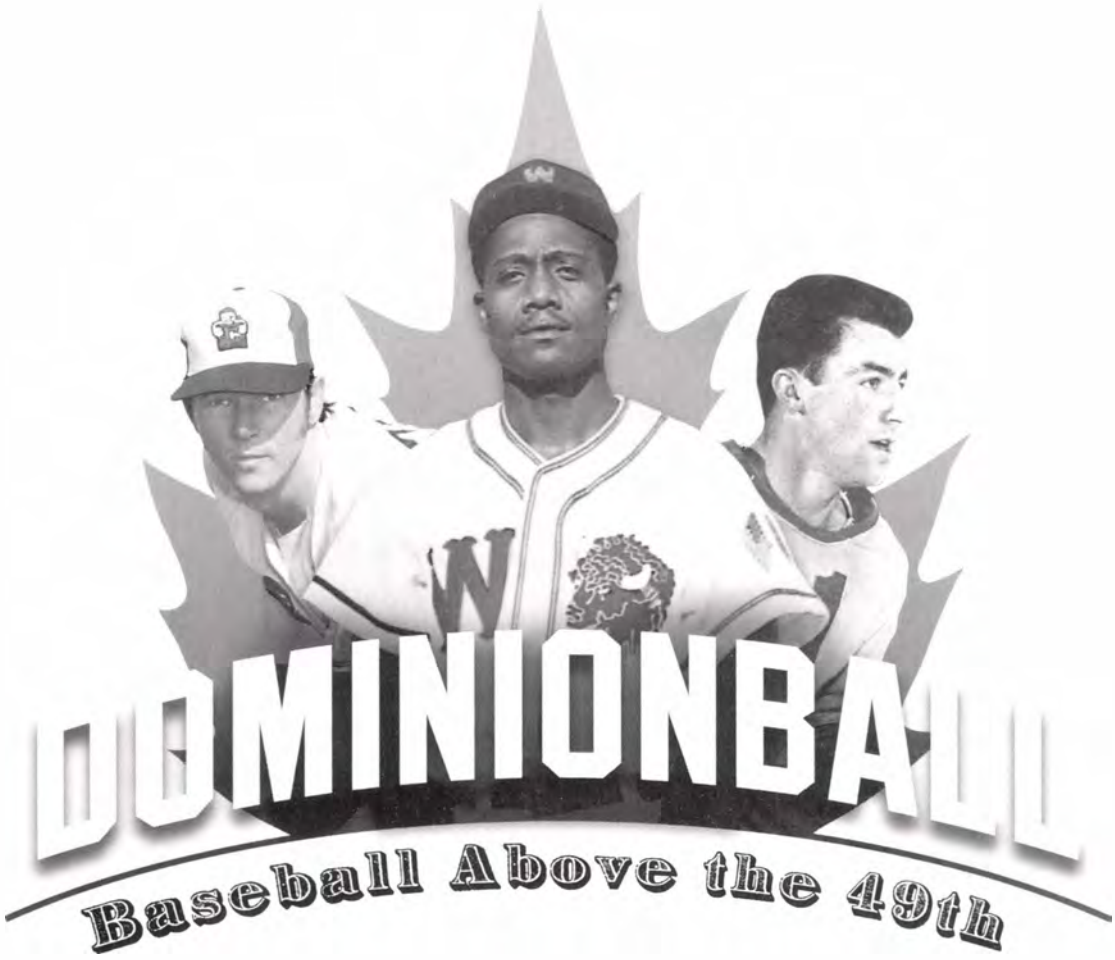
Baseball Above the 49th
Edited by Jane Finnan Dorward



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For Tom Cheek

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INTRODUCTION

In this country, where summers are short and winters are long, baseball is not regarded as our premier sport. Still, its hold on fans past and present has remained strong. As Canadians, we struggle with our cultural identity, and indeed this struggle may *be* part of our identity, for we often worry about our relationship to our southern neighbours. In the end, we have much in common, and the game is played the same on both sides of the border. However, the history and circumstances of the game are different. The border does matter, as much of Canada has existed in the shadows of organized baseball, beyond the bounds of authority. Teams in rural Canada offered jobs to older players, Cubans, and blacks, and even to those excommunicated by orthodox baseball south of the border. Our country's treatment of minorities has been far from perfect, but many players found acceptance and opportunity in Canada.

This volume contains essays that describe many leagues now long gone, and teams that fostered a love of the sport in communities where fans never saw or even heard a major league game. There are personal pieces by players and a coach, vignettes of their baseball careers in Canada. There is sadness in the account of the untimely death of Linus "Skeeter" Ebnet on the diamond in 1938. Humour is not lacking here, though, with lighter pieces by David McDonald on the WWI-era Canadian League, and Kit Krieger's account of his meteoric rise to PCL stardom. Before there were Expos and Jays, there were great International League teams in Montreal and Toronto, when the International League contained players of renown. The sport has a peculiar hold on the imagination of the French, as we see in Michel Nareau's piece on baseball in Québécois fiction. Inevitably, this journal is about the past rather than the present, but not always the distant past. Bill Young records his impressions of the final Expos game in Montreal last September—the end of an era. Canada has lost most of its minor league teams and the Expos, and much of the baseball seen by the young is via cable. Still, youth baseball thrives, and each year we watch for young Canadians to join the ranks in the major leagues. Baseball continues at Rogers Centre, and every year scouts search our diamonds for the next Ferguson Jenkins, Larry Walker, Corey Koskie, or Jason Bay.

Jane Finnan Dorward
June 2005

It's Our Game Too, Neighbour

William Humber

Nothing stirs Canadians into healthy debate like hockey—Leafs versus Canadiens, Gretzky versus Lemieux, fighting versus stickwork. The details are too arcane to interest anyone but Canadians. Recently a healthy and sometimes fractious debate has flared up on the origins of the country's national game (though not quite exclusively national, because with Solomon-like wisdom we have declared hockey the national game of winter and lacrosse that of summer, but I digress).

The Society for International Hockey Research has released a detailed report (www.sihrhockey.org) refuting Windsor, Nova Scotia's claim to be the birthplace of the modern game of ice hockey. The Windsor claim was founded, though not exclusively, on a fictional account from a novel by Thomas Chandler Haliburton, *The Attaché; or Sam Slick in England* (London: Bentley, 1844), in which he wrote:

> *And you boys let out racin', yelpin', hollerin', and whoopin' like mad with pleasure, and the playground, and the game of bass in the fields, or hurly on the long pond on the ice.*

The Windsor supporters claim that, though fictional, the description is based on Haliburton's personal recollection of his time as a schoolboy at King's College School in Windsor, from which he graduated in 1815. The reference for them is at least some kind of proof that the Irish game of hurley became the Canadian game of hockey on the ice of the Long Pond in Windsor, Nova Scotia.

The details of the debate are not of concern here, other than the reference in the story above to "the game of bass in the fields," which is surely a game of base and might be (though remember, this is a fictional account) a remembrance of something resembling primitive baseball or rounders being played in Windsor, Nova Scotia before 1815. So if one takes the Windsor claim seriously perhaps the town should not only be credited with inventing hockey but with discovering baseball as well.

There is at least some element of believability in the above as indicated by a later account of baseball play in Atlantic Canada from a July 1, 1841 reference to "games of ball and bat" in the *Nova Scotian*.[1] Over 800 members of the St. Mary's Total Abstinence Society of Halifax had sailed to nearby Dartmouth and participated in folk activities such as quadrille and contra dances on the green. While more than 25 years separate Haliburton's possible boyhood experiences from play reported in another Nova Scotia location, there is evidence that primitive forms of baseball existed in other parts of Canada around the time of his youth.

The 1803 "baseball" season in Upper Canada (what would eventually become the province of Ontario in the Dominion of Canada) provides two apparent

accounts. The earliest appears in the diary of Ely Playter, which now resides in the Public Archives of Ontario. In his entry for Wednesday, April 13, 1803, he writes, "I went to Town [i.e., downtown Toronto] . . . walk'd out and joined a number of Men jumping & Playing Ball, perceived a Mr. Joseph Randall [a farmer near Newmarket in Whitchurch Township, about 40 miles north of downtown Toronto] to be the most active."[2] Playter operated Abner Miles' tavern in the new community of York, which in 1834 was incorporated as the City of Toronto.

Three months later, on July 14, 1803, as recorded in the 1878 Belden Atlas,[3] a game of ball was played to decide who was to pay for the dinner following a three-day meeting of the First Court of the Quarterly Sessions held in Hope Township of Newcastle District (about 60 miles east of the site of Playter's game). The game was held on the property of former American resident Leonard Soper on Lot 22 Concession 1 of Hope Township.

There are no further details. The lineups are unclear. The rules are a mystery. Is the account to be believed? Was it even primitive baseball, as we know it? The 1878 Belden Atlas account calls the Hope Township game "ball," but that might reflect hindsight. The Playter reference may be to a different kind of ball-playing more akin to a primitive version of soccer or rugby.

This is all we have but there are later references to ball-playing in other parts of Canada, lending a certain credence to the "baseball" theory.

The notes Robert Sellar used in the preparation of his *History of the County of Huntingdon and Seigneuries of Chateauguay and Beauharnois*, printed in 1888, include references to a game of early baseball played in this part of Quebec between rival stagecoach drivers and merchants of American descent around the time of the 1837 Lower Canada Rebellion (the Quebec-based portion of the rebellion, in contrast to the Ontario-based Upper Canada one).[5]

In western Canada, Schofield's 1913 *History of Manitoba* describes games of "bat" played in the 1830s by Scottish immigrants to the Red River Settlement. According to Wilson Green, "All but one player (no set number under say eight) dug a shallow depression in which he kept his 'bat' until getting a swipe at the dead or rolling ball in any direction. While one was doing this, another could slip his stick into the vacated base."[5]

On Canada's Pacific coast James Robert Anderson's diary describes informal games of rounders played in Victoria (part of what would become the province of British Columbia) around 1849.[6]

Each of the above accounts is separated by sometimes more than a thousand miles, and describes communities either so isolated or differentiated by cultural peculiarities that there is no chance of even minimal communication between them. They are connected only because they all occur in territory managed by the British government.

The playing of games in different parts of what eventually became Canada speaks to the larger process of diffusion of bat-and-ball games throughout North America from a largely common source of the British Isles. Robert Barney argues that Canadian games of early baseball owe their genesis to the immigration of disaffected United Empire Loyalists from the United States, suggesting in the process that this was a game developed by Americans and then exported to the British territory north of them.[7]

This conclusion, however, makes too much of the development of the early game of baseball in America. More accurately, it can be suggested that though various types of baseball entered Canada from several sources, the major influence was English. Even direct American exports, such as the games described in Sellar's account, were regurgitations of fairly recent British import. The games of bat, ball, base, and rounders, such as those found in Nova Scotia, Ontario, Manitoba, and British Columbia, are more likely to be direct imports from the mother country.

Rounders, for instance, never had currency in the sporting language of the United States.[8] The two-word "base ball" was preferred, with its origins in southeastern England. Rounders games in Canada therefore almost surely were directly imported from England. The primitiveness as well of games dubbed "ball and bat" and others simply called "bat" or "base" speaks as well to a direct European importation—likely English but possibly influenced by other national strains.

These were games that had not as yet been "Americanized," owing much to their ancestral folk forms. Baseball-type play brought from the United

States in this period was only somewhat more American than say a letter posted for Toronto from Liverpool, which in its progress passed through the port of New York.

This point is significant, for it reinforces the often forgotten fact that in its developmental stages baseball passed from a folk stage, of half-remembered custom and no formal rules, through a regional stage in North America in which different more formal interpretations of the game were tried, to its eventual codification as what was at first called the New York game. This may seem obvious from the very names of early forms of the game which were dubbed the Philadelphia, the Massachusetts and of course New York. Because these all occurred in the territory of the United States, the tendency has been to forget the nature of the game's evolution. Canada's part in this process affirms the grassroots, regional origin of baseball and in large measure its later growth and popularity.

How might we make sense of so many accounts in widely separated locations and dependent on such loose historic validation? It is clear that there is no reasonable connection between any of these Canadian accounts. They are pieces—fragments really—of history, which like bits of myth are perhaps false in their specific detail and true in their larger authenticity.

The most famous account of an early baseball-type game in Canada involves a game played in Beachville, Ontario (near Woodstock) on June 4, 1838. The description of this game appeared almost 50 years later in a letter in the May 5, 1886, edition of *Philadelphia Sporting Life*.[9] Dr. Adam Ford of Denver, Colorado, was born on a farm in Zorra Township of Oxford County, probably in 1831, and wrote an account of the game following his exile to the American west after having been accused of poisoning a temperance leader in the doctor's office in St. Marys, Ontario.

The credibility of the Beachville game and Ford's account is undermined not by any lack of detail but by the opposite. They are almost too good to be true. Ford's version is most plausible in its account of the time, the general format, and the players. It becomes more questionable and subject to his later interpretation of events as he explains the rules. His description of distances between bases seems preposterous. Ford was after all a seven- or eight-year-old boy at the time. Yet before dismissing it entirely, one should pause to reflect that events occurring at this young age are sometimes remembered in far greater detail than those within the last fortnight.

His recollection of the players' ages and specific rules seems to be that of someone who has undertaken at least some research many years after the fact. Its greater authenticity, however, concerns the circumstances surrounding it. The June 4 game marked a traditional celebration of King George III's birthday (Ford errs in listing George IV) which was known as Militia Muster Day. Most significantly, this date was reserved, as Ford noted, for celebrating the government's victory over the rebels of the 1837 rebellion.

He recalled that a battalion of Scotch volunteers, off to fight the remnants of the previous year's rebellion, watched the game. Colonel A. W. Light had written Captain Gibson that month, stating, "We of Woodstock, Ingersoll, and Zorra are coming to you as soon as we can muster our men. . . . [T]he Lieutenant Governor at Niagara has taken nearly all the rascals who attacked the Lancers and I trust we shall do the same with the scamps near Zorra."

The game occurs in the midst of the only significant rebellion in the history of present-day Ontario. Better economic conditions and the promise of a simple, cheaper government had appealed to Upper Canada's reformers like William Lyon Mackenzie, who had visited the United States in 1829. The costly and speculative nature of land disbursement and patronage in Upper Canada, which was controlled by an educated Tory clique dubbed the Family Compact, left the region ill-equipped to develop its own resources. Many residents of southwestern Ontario looked to Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana for leadership in issues of concern such as non-sectarian common schools, roads and bridges, solemnization of marriage, the franchise and elections, tenure of office, and freedom of religion. And for the common person it was the tavern or inn where Americans who were passing through from Niagara or Detroit discussed new ideas. As likely as not one of those new things discussed was the emerging game of baseball.

Emigration from the United States had begun at the end of the 18th century and continued to the

War of 1812. Two groups of former Americans, one loyal to the crown and the other convinced the area would one day join the United States, swelled the census rolls of southwestern Ontario. They competed for influence in the region. A powerful anti-American sentiment spread throughout Upper Canada following the 1812 War but in this region American influence continued to penetrate. The fact that new Americans brought their informal bat-and-ball games with them should hardly surprise.

The Rebellion, led by those favouring a greater Americanization of the British colony of Upper Canada, was probably doomed to failure from the start. In 1836 the colony's governor Sir Francis Bond Head had blamed the region's political squabbles on Americans, and succeeded in attracting many people to the loyalist side, even those with limited sympathies for the Family Compact. A leading Tory newspaper, the *Toronto Patriot*, perhaps paraphrasing Bond Head, declared, "A cricketer as a matter of course, detests democracy and is staunch in his allegiance to his King."[10]

The early days of 1838 were dangerous times in southwestern Ontario. Though many in the region of Beachville would have sided with American popular opinion on a variety of issues, and a significant portion of them had American roots, this was not the time to be celebrating an American lifestyle. Why then would the citizens of Beachville publicly play such a quintessentially American sport in front of troops off to fight rebels whose cause was supported by American ideals and arms?

The reason quite simply is that Beachville citizens would have found nothing peculiar in their primitive baseball play of 1838 because as yet the game had no national identity. Though the term "national game" was first found in the August 22, 1855, minutes of New York's Knickerbocker Base Ball Club,[11] the game did not have such general standing in the United States until after the Civil War.

This non-aligned game, which made its way into Upper Canada sometime in the early 19th century, was adopted by new Canadians to meet their own needs and interests. Nor is the Beachville game, with its acknowledged American passage, the only reference to bat-and-ball games in the surrounding area. Accounts of rounders in nearby London, Ontario suggest a direct English link to at least some bat-and-ball games.[12]

Adding weight to baseball's non-aligned national character in this period is the place of cricket in the Canadian sporting landscape. That game, which had been formally organized in 18th-century England, remained popular in both the United States and Canada until well into the 1870s. At least until the American Civil War it was the preferred bat-and-ball sport in both countries. In fact, the first ever international cricket match in the sport's history was between these two countries in 1844.

If baseball's roots in Canada had been shallow and uncultured then an eventual choice between an American and an English game would most certainly have seen Canadians opt for cricket. Fears about American intentions were particularly strong after the Civil War. The Fenian threat across the border was one of the spurs to the promulgation of Canadian nationhood in 1867. Equally powerful were allegiances to the British crown and its associated symbols. To this day the Queen remains the head of the Canadian federation.

By the time baseball was firmly entrenched as the American national game, its roots were sunk too deep into Canadian experience to be torn out simply because it was American. But more significantly, Canadians were participants in its growth as it moved beyond its folk character and into its regional interpretations, leading to the modern and standardized game of baseball. And even in a modern form the game's regional character has remained resilient.

Baseball's transition, before the Civil War, from an informal folk game to one characterized by the adoption of semiformalized though regionally differentiated rules and play, largely within one's own club, made it a game still adaptable to local circumstance, unlike cricket, whose well-codified rules frustrated North Americans. They wanted a game that could be completed in several hours to conform to their busy work schedules and allowed for a greater exchange between offense and defense. Baseball was as well a game that still welcomed the unskilled, unlike cricket, where a generation of skilled English cricketing immigrants intimidated native Americans still learning the game. Given the choice, many North Americans gradually opted for what was then the easier game to play, baseball.

Organized teams had first appeared in Hamilton in 1854 and in London in 1855. Bill Shuttleworth (1833–1903), a Hamilton clerk, organized Canada's first formal team, the Young Canadians (later the Maple Leafs). His fellow players were a cross-section of Hamilton's working people. It was not surprising that Hamilton should be one of baseball's first strongholds in Ontario. It was a town experiencing all the boom, bust, and boosterism of similarly sized American cities. Its population had grown from 6,000 in 1846 to 16,000 ten years later. The Great Western Railway that arrived in 1854 gave Hamilton a temporary advantage over Toronto in exploiting the business potential of western Ontario.[13]

London, Ontario's first formal team, organized in 1855, restricted membership to 22 men so they could be divided into two squads of 11 men. The additional positions in the Canadian game were a fourth baseman and a backstop behind the catcher. This Canadian brand of baseball remained popular in Ontario until the end of the decade, as did the practice of playing games only against the members of one's club and not against other teams or towns. More significantly, Canadian adults were acknowledging by their participation that what was once a folk game had become a serious adult activity in North America.[14]

In its August 4, 1860, issue,[15] the *New York Clipper* recognized the game's distinct features in Canada: "The game played in Canada differs somewhat from the New York Game, the ball being thrown instead of pitched and an inning is not concluded until all are out, there are also 11 players on each side." This Canadian interpretation of baseball was part of the process of experimentation occurring throughout North America. Canada's game (a true misnomer on the *New York Clipper*'s part given the size and lack of connection at this time between Canada's eventual parts) differed slightly from the Massachusetts Game, in its strict adherence to 11 men on the field as opposed to the Massachusetts rules, which allowed 10 to 14. Also, all 11 men had to be retired before the other team came to bat.[16] Both games allowed the pitcher to throw the ball in the modern style, rather than underhand as in the New York rules.

In New York City, clubs were now defining a new style of play increasingly remote from the easy-going fraternal character of earlier days. By the late 1850s, large unruly crowds were common.[17] Perhaps not surprisingly, therefore, it was New York's rules which gradually won ascendancy among baseball players. The New York rules are essentially those of the game today. There were three outs, thus maximizing individual opportunities to play. They forbade "soaking," or the throwing of the ball at a player between bases as a means of retiring him. This meant a harder ball could be used that could be hit out of the infield. They limited the playing area to that bound by the 90-degree territory defined by third base, home, and first base. This allowed teams to use only nine as opposed to 11 men on the field, thus providing players with more opportunities to bat.

The New York rules, once codified and universally adopted, were not subject to regional interpretation. Teams from different regions could play each other. New York's general reputation even in those days as a cultural trendsetter further enhanced its power to direct baseball's future.

As late as 1860 the Young Canadian Club of Woodstock was playing the 11-a-side Canadian version of baseball.[18] In 1859, however, two teams from Hamilton and Toronto played the first recorded game in Canada using the New York rules.[19] Perhaps not surprisingly, given the standardization of play fostered by these rules, this game also is the first mention of a game in Canada between teams representing rival cities.

It was the Hamilton Burlingtons' loss to the Niagaras of Buffalo in 1860, in the first-ever international match, that sealed the fate of the regionally differentiated Canadian game.[20] Buffalo had adopted the New York rules in 1857 and the pragmatic young merchants and businessmen of the Burlington club, which had been formed in 1855 with 50 members playing midweek club matches on the grounds near Upper James Street and Robinson, willingly made the switch. The Hamilton Maple Leafs debated the merits of the new rules. Arthur Feast, a stonemason, supported Bill Shuttleworth's defense of the Canadian game. Charles Wood, a young innkeeper from the United States, won the day with his support of the New York game.

A year later Wood convinced the Woodstock players to switch to the New York rules and the

Canadian interpretation of baseball disappeared for all time. On May 31 the Young Canadians of Woodstock, led by Wood, played a picked nine from their town, winning 10–7 in the first match played there using the New York rules.[21]

The New York rules were popular and on July 30, 1861, more than 800 Hamiltonians watched the Maple Leafs, led by catcher Bill Shuttleworth, defeat the Burlingtons on their grounds 33–27. The first significant inter-town baseball rivalry in Ontario began that year between Woodstock and Hamilton.

These initial sporting encounters gave territorial significance to towns only a few generations old by breeding an "us against them" mentality. On a more profound level they were the glue that created a regional and in some cases a national sense of unity. By the 1860s the arrival of a visiting ball club by rail (it was a five-hour trip from Toronto to London) confirmed that Ontario towns were not only neighbours but linked in a common enterprise. In the mixed fortunes of regional competition was the implicit recognition that these new places made up of new immigrants or rural exiles were part of a larger whole known first as Upper Canada, then as Canada West, and eventually Ontario.

This participation in the regional evolution of the game from an informal folk activity to one with a universally recognized standard does not appear to have happened in other parts of Canada. In most cases they went directly from a folk-based play to the New York Game, or as in the case of areas settled later in the century, like Saskatchewan, adopted the modern game without any intermediary step. It would be a mistake however to suggest that these places were passive recipients of a game concocted elsewhere. There are enough tentative accounts of early ball-playing throughout Canada to indicate the game's standing in that largely unknown and unrecorded everyday world of 19th-century living.

More to the point, like their neighbours to the south, each part of Canada continued to recognize not only the game's abiding regional character, but also its distinct North American identity, even after one set of rules was adopted. They formulated cross-border rivalries with the nearest American states rather than organize in a pan-Canadian fashion, as was the case with other sports such as lacrosse and hockey. In the latter half of the 19th century, baseball continued to sink vital roots into the Canadian landscape. Players, organizers, and leagues from Canada were part of what was in some ways the game's second regional development process. It was at this time that the game's identity as the American national pastime was solidified (a designation of ironic import for Canadians and a simplification of the game's North American evolution).

Canadians for their part either knowingly or unconsciously recognized that this game was truly North American. It had developed at least some of its formative identity in the first half of the 19th century before the hyper-nationalism which swept nation states in the latter half of the century and which eventually led to two world wars. Baseball did not threaten a Canadian sense of national purpose. Canadians saw no need to continue with their own rules, as they did with football, or to wrap the game in a Canadian framework, as they did with hockey.

Over 200 Canadians have played major league baseball since 1871, with the greatest number, 28, appearing in 1884. Increasing Canadian major league participation over the past few seasons may soon threaten that record. Since the London Tecumsehs won the 1877 International Association championship, Canadian teams have been a part of organized baseball's major and minor league structure, with a peak of 24 teams in 1913.[22]

Yet baseball, unlike lacrosse and later hockey, never became a major part of the Canadian national identity, with the possible exception of the brief moment of the Toronto Blue Jays' World Series victories in 1992 and 1993. It was not uncommon for thousands of fans in Vancouver to travel to Seattle, or those from Manitoba to Minnesota, and even Atlantic Canadians to make the trek to Boston, to cheer on the Jays. The only serious fan violence after those World Series victories was in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan!

It hasn't done so because it isn't required. Canadians created the game as much as their American neighbours but are much too humble to claim the credit that is their due.

1. *The Nova Scotian*, July 1, 1841, 203.
2. Extracts from Ely Playter's Diary, from the Public Archives of Ontario, as found on p. 248, ed. Edith G. Firth, *The Town of York 1793–1815, A Collection of Documents of Early Toronto*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962.
3. *Historical Atlas of Northumberland and Durham Counties Illustrated*. H. Belden and Co., 1878; reprinted Belleville, Ont.: Mika Publishing, 1974, iii.
4. From a 1985 letter from Wayne McKell of St. Chrysostome, Quebec to the author describing a game in the late 1830s in Huntingdon, Quebec as recorded in a collection of notes taken down by Robert Sellar.
5. From a 1981 letter from Wilson Green of Winnipeg to the author describing the game of "bat" as likely played in the Red River Settlement, and Wilson Green, *Red River Revelations*, Winnipeg: Hignell Printing, 1974.
6. James Robert Anderson, *Notes and Comments on Early Days and Events in British Columbia*, Provincial Archives and Records Service of the Province of British Columbia, 167.
7. Kevin McGran, *U.S. Wins Battle of Baseball*, from the annual (1996) program of the Canadian Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum, 33. "'Whatever baseball we have in Canada came from the United States,' Barney said. Barney goes on to say, 'If baseball evolved in Canada as well as in the United States, then there should at least be some passing references to baseball in texts from the era in Canadian areas populated by the British or United Empire Loyalists prior to 1776.'"

   Since what we now know as Canada was only sparsely populated before 1776 (and then only in regions of Atlantic Canada and, what had been until only recently, French controlled Québec) and since no loyalists could exist in this period before the American Revolution, the observation is a confusing one. By setting such an early date Barney forecloses discussion on those primitive and folk games of early "base ball" which existed well into the 19th century.
8. *Philadelphia Sporting Life*, January 30, 1884: "But so far as we know, the old English title of 'rounders' was never used in America. The reason of this is that so many of our old New England settlers came from the eastern counties of England, where the term 'rounders' appears never to have been used. In Moor's 'Suffolk Words' he mentions among the ball games 'base ball,' while in the dialect glossaries of the northern and western counties no such word is to be found."
9. Nancy Bouchier and Robert Barney, "A Critical Examination of a Source on Early Baseball: The Reminiscence of Adam E. Ford." *Journal of Sport History* 15, 1 (Spring 1988), 75-90.
10. *The Patriot*, July 15, 1836, from p. 115, Jesse Edgar Middleton, *Toronto's 100 Years* (Toronto: The Centennial Committee, 1934).
11. Frederick Ivor-Campbell "The Earliest Known Reference to Baseball as 'The National Game.'" *Nineteenth Century Notes*, a newsletter of the 19th-Century Committee of the Society for American Baseball Research, April 1992, 5.
12. There are at least two significant references. (a) In *A History of Brighton: Being the Story of a Woodstock Settlement from the Early Thirties* (Oxford Museum Bulletin No. 7) there is the description of baseball-type play in the 1830s, in which "Every little fellow must have his bat and ball and many an old sock, and many an old rubber was ripped up, used up, and cut up, and wound up, and sewed in sheepskin or, when they had the coppers, in calfskin by friend 'Benjie.' The higher the bound the better the ball." (b) From Humber, *Diamonds of the North* p. 20, "Likewise in nearby London there is mention of the old English game of rounders. Interviewed by the London Free Press in 1911, 86 year old William Peters recalled that as a child on Ridout Street in the late 1830s or early 1840s he played rounders on the old courthouse square."
13. C. M. Johnston, *The Head of the Lake: A History of Wentworth County* (Hamilton: Wentworth County Council).
14. Melvin Adelman, *A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820–70*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986. Insights in this paper on the nature of play, unskilled players, and time limits are drawn from Adelman's work.
15. The August 4, 1860, *New York Clipper* describes a game played on July 18 between the Young Canadian Club of Woodstock and the Rough and Ready of Ingersoll.
16. From the *Rules and Regulations of the Game of Baseball*, adopted by the "Massachusetts Association of Base Ball Players," held in Dedham, May 13, 1858, and amended at the Annual Convention, April 7, 1860.
17. Ted Vincent, *Mudville's Revenge: The Rise and Fall of American Sport*, New York: Seaview Books, 1981.
18. *New York Clipper*, August 4, 1860.
19. *New York Clipper*, June 11, 1859.
20. Joseph Overfield, "Baseball in Buffalo Before the Civil War," *Niagara Frontier Magazine*, Summer 1964, 59.
21. *New York Clipper*, June 22, 1861.
22. William Humber, *Diamonds of the North: A Concise History of Baseball in Canada*, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Baseball in the Flatlands

Owen Ricker

SASKATCHEWAN IS THE HOME of famous baseball players like Gordie Howe, Emile "the Cat" Francis, Doug and Max Bentley, Bert Olmsted, Jackie McLeod, Clark Gillies. . . . "What?" you ask. "Weren't they hockey players?"

Come now, you don't really believe that old line about Saskatchewan having eight months of winter and four months of thin ice, do you?

All of the above men from Saskatchewan played baseball. All-time hockey great Howe used to take batting practice at Tiger Stadium, and Al Kaline thought that Howe would have been a natural at baseball had he wished,[1] while Gillies played minor league baseball from 1969 to 1971 before his Hall of Fame NHL career was established. Francis, Olmsted, and the Bentleys, too, were named to the Hockey Hall of Fame. Meanwhile, they all spent their summers on the baseball diamonds. Like young athletes across North America and elsewhere, those who played at the top level in one sport were usually gifted in others as well.

It could be argued that the most important figure in Saskatchewan baseball over the years has been long-time SABR member Dave Shury[2] of North Battleford. Despite having battled multiple sclerosis since 1955, he has served as founding president of the Saskatchewan Baseball Federation, founded the Saskatchewan Baseball Hall of Fame, edited the *Saskatchewan Historical Baseball Review*, and been named to the Canadian Baseball Hall of Fame. He has chronicled the history of Saskatchewan baseball in several books,[3] and has published numerous newspaper articles on the subject of baseball in the province.[4] The present article summarizes some of the historical ground he has covered, and highlights Saskatchewan players, both male and female, especially those who played at the game's highest levels.

Baseball has been played in what is now Saskatchewan since the 1870s.[5] Walter Scott, the province's first premier when it was formed in 1905, had a reputation as an excellent baseball player.[6] Writer Barry Broadfoot speaks of the pervasiveness of baseball in the early prairie society:

> *Baseball! God, if you came from the prairies you had to remember baseball. There was nothing else to do. You'd work your land and put in the seed and watch the Russian thistle knock out the new wheat and barley and then the blistering heat would come and you could just see everything shriveling. Then you'd get, maybe, the grasshoppers, and that was it for the year. No crop insurance, nothing, but there was always the baseball.*[7]

However, organized baseball graced the province only briefly in the early 20th century. The rest of the baseball was provided by semipro or amateur leagues, summer tournaments, barnstorming tours by past or present major leaguers, and local sports days in countless Saskatchewan communities.

The organized baseball phase of Saskatchewan's baseball history began in 1909 with the Western Canada Baseball League. That league was founded in 1907 with four Alberta teams and, after a hiatus of a year, reorganized with teams from Regina and Moose Jaw as part of a six-team circuit. Those two cities were joined by Saskatoon, as the Medicine Hat franchise was moved to the Saskatchewan city partway through the 1910 season.[8] Regina did not field a team in 1911,[9] and in 1912 the league again became an all-Alberta affair, but all three Saskatchewan cities rejoined the league for 1913 and 1914, before the league disbanded for the duration of World War I. In 1919, the league reformed, with the three Saskatchewan cities being joined by Winnipeg. Calgary and Edmonton rejoined the league for its final two seasons. The death knell for the league was sounded when the two Alberta cities joined the Western International circuit in 1922; however, that league folded in June. The pre-war Western Canada League was Class D; it became Class C in 1919 and Class B for its last two years. It is worth noting that Saskatchewan teams won four of the 10 pennants in the league's short history, Moose Jaw in 1911 and 1913 and Saskatoon in 1914 and 1919.

Although the league was geographically isolated and of low classification, many past or future major leaguers toiled on its diamonds. Hall of Famer Heinie Manush and long-time Dodger star Babe Herman were members of the 1921 Edmonton squad,[10] yet the team could manage only a fourth-place finish. Future Yankee shortstop Mark Koenig was part of the Moose Jaw team in 1921 and American League slugger Ken Williams played for Regina in 1913 and Edmonton in 1914. Many of the other major leaguers in the league were only "cup of coffee" players in the big leagues, but the league champion Calgary squad of 1921 had seven of them on their roster.[11]

Many of the Western Canada League players stayed on in Western Canada, taking up homesteads, finding other work, or continuing to play baseball for pay.[12] One of the most interesting of these cases, from a SABR standpoint, is Frederick Thomas Letcher, who, despite a 20-year minor league career and a brief stop in the American Association of 1891, remains among the most-wanted for the Biographical Research Committee. He ended his career in the Western Canada League in 1910 and 1911, later umpired in the league, and homesteaded in west-central Saskatchewan. He is known to have relocated to Saskatoon, and his wife's name still appeared in the Saskatoon city directory in the mid-1920s, but efforts to determine what became of him have so far been in vain.

Although Alberta cities were to rejoin organized baseball in the Western International League in the 1950s,[13] the Pioneer League in the 1970s,[14] and the Pacific Coast League in the 1980s,[15] Saskatchewan was never again to have a minor league team. Nonetheless, there were local amateur baseball leagues and teams, often including professional players,[16] as well as periodic appearances by barnstorming teams, to satisfy the needs of baseball aficionados. This writer has talked with several Negro Leaguers, including Buck O'Neil and "Double-Duty" Radcliffe, who had vivid memories of playing in Saskatchewan cities in the 1930s and 1940s. Other well-known Negro League players, including Satchel Paige and Chet Brewer, also played in the province on these travelling teams. Hap Felsch and Swede Risberg, banned from organized baseball in the wake of the Black Sox scandal, played in the northern plains states and in western Canada in the early 1920s, sometimes under assumed names.[17] In the 1927 season, the two became members of the Regina Balmorals.[18] Other banned teammates, including at least Lefty Williams and Ed Cicotte, apparently appeared in games in Saskatchewan as well.[19]

While holiday tournaments were a regular occurrence in most towns and cities throughout the province, the 1950s brought a number of major tournaments, with significant prizes. Players were imported from the U.S. or other parts of Canada[20] to supplement local resources, and competition was fierce. Small centres like Sceptre, Indian Head, and Delisle (with the Bentleys) became well known for their strong teams.

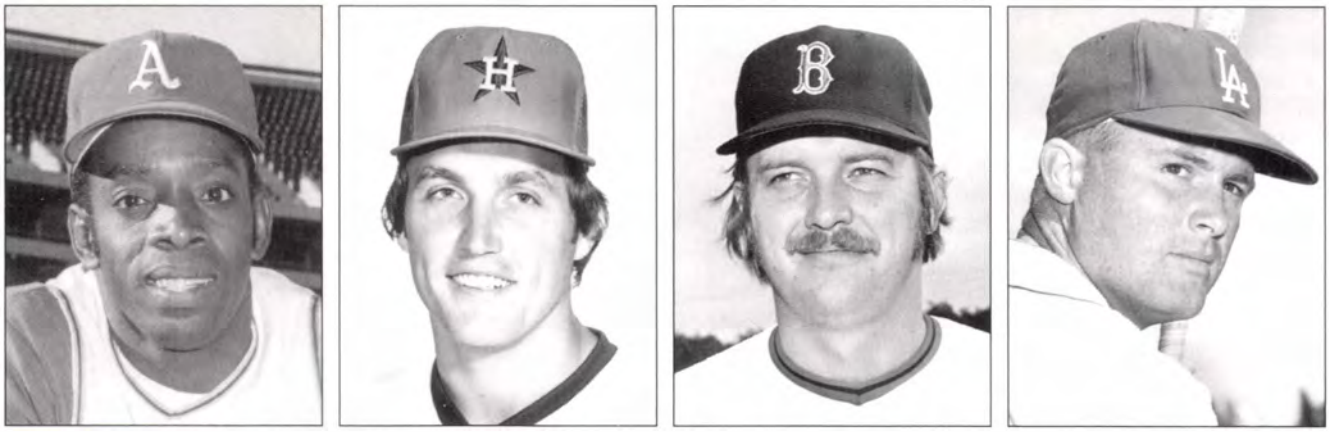
Later in the decade and on into the 1960s, there were high-quality semipro leagues with teams in Regina, Saskatoon, Moose Jaw, North Battleford, and border city Lloydminster, along with Alberta centres. In 1955, the Western Canada League teams played an interlocking schedule with the ManDak League, which at that time had teams only from North Dakota. These leagues drew on college talent from the U.S., especially California, and saw several of the players go on to major league careers. Among these were Ron Fairly, Tom Haller, Len Gabrielson, Don Buford, and Jose Tartabull. However, a number of local players were also on the rosters, including some of the hockey players mentioned above. Jackie McLeod, who later coached the Canadian National Hockey team, had a wicked screwball. An excellent chronicle of those years can be found on Jay-Dell Mah's web site, www.attheplate.com/wcbl, complete with rosters, standings, photos and statistics.[21]

North Battleford pulled out of the Western Canada setup by 1960 and a Northern Saskatchewan Baseball League was formed, which continued until 1974. It was similar to the Western Canada League, although most of the towns were smaller in size. Even so, there were several future major leaguers who played in that league: Joe Ferguson, Bob McClure, Roger Freed, Jerry Nyman, Bill Campbell, and Gorman Heimueller.[22] There were also other leagues in the province, both short- and long-term in duration,[23] although most of them were amateur.

The quality of baseball being played at the local level over the years made it possible for a number of Saskatchewan-born players to reach the major leagues. The best known of these were outfielder Terry Puhl and pitcher Reggie Cleveland, but others such as Ralph Buxton, Lefty Wilkie, Ed Bahr, and Dave Pagan also logged several games in the big leagues. The earliest Saskatchewan product[24] to reach the majors was Mel Kerr of Saskatoon, a prominent schoolboy athlete (especially track and field) in his hometown. Unfortunately, his major league career consisted of a single pinch-running appearance in 1925, in which he scored a run without having had a turn at bat.

Another Saskatchewan-born athlete, Joe Erautt, spent only a short time in the province before moving to the U.S. and going on to a baseball career. There were also players born outside the province who contributed to its baseball legacy. One such was Russ Ford, the old emery-ball pitcher for the Yankees in the 1910s. He was born in Brandon, Manitoba and was briefly preceded in the majors by his brother Gene, who was born in Nova Scotia. Eventually the family found their way to the Beverley district in southwestern Saskatchewan in 1909, where father Walter and Gene took homesteads, along with younger brother Walter Jr. The latter, a pitcher, played several years in the Western Canada League and eventually found his way to Alaska, where he died in the 1918 flu epidemic, according to the local history for the area.[25] There is no evidence that Russ himself took out a homestead,[26] but his father's homestead application mentioned three sons; the ages of the older two match those of Gene and Russ at that time. However, the local history also suggests that Russ took some time off from his baseball career, apparently because he was disturbed at having hit and injured a batter in 1912, and returned to the family Saskatchewan homestead, where he helped coach the local baseball team.[27] While Humber notes that Ford had a sore arm in 1913,[28] there is no evidence in the baseball record books that Russ took an extended period away from major league pitching until the outlawing of the emery ball in 1915 cost him his secret weapon and ended his major league career.[29]

Professional baseball, in the form of an independent league, finally came back to Saskatchewan in 1994, as teams from Moose Jaw and Regina became members of the North Central League. A year later, the league re-emerged as the Prairie League, with a team from Saskatoon among those added. Moose Jaw withdrew partway through the 1997 season. Former major leaguers like Darryl Boston and Juan Berenguer, along with subsequent major league discoveries including Kerry Ligtenberg and Shaun Wooten, took part in the four seasons the leagues operated. Regina won the league championship in 1995 and was in the league finals two of the other three years. Problems with organization led to the demise of the league, as was the case with the short-lived Canadian Baseball League in 2003. Saskatoon had the lone Saskatchewan franchise in that league.[30]



Jose Tartabull, Terry Puhl, Reggie Cleveland, and Ron Fairly all played in Saskatchewan at some point in their careers.

Saskatchewan was a major contributor of players to the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League.[31] That league has been extensively chronicled elsewhere,[32] particularly in light of the 1992 film *A League of Their Own*, but mention of the Saskatchewan contribution is warranted. There were 25 Saskatchewan women who participated in the league,[33] almost half the total number of Canadians who played.[34]

While most of the Saskatchewan players were in the league for at most two seasons, there were exceptions. Mary (Bonnie) Baker spent nine years as a player and served as a manager for part of one of those years, before the league mandated that managers must be male. Baker, a catcher, was a three-time league all-star.[35] Arleene Johnson (Noga) played for four seasons as a good-fielding third baseman. She was on the board of the AAGPBL Players' Association and has continued an involvement with alumni activities. A Saskatchewan documentary film, *All for One: The Story of Canada's All-American Baseball Girls*,[36] relied extensively on interviews with Noga. Another of the women interviewed in that documentary was four-year league member Terry Donahue, also from Saskatchewan. One other notable achievement by a Saskatchewan native was the winning of the league MVP award by Mildred Warwick (McAuley) in the league's first season.[37] She was from an athletic family as her brothers Grant and Bill played in the NHL. Her husband Ken McAuley was also an NHL goalie.

We've come full circle. We started with a baseball-hockey connection and now we end with one. That connection is sport in Saskatchewan. Hockey is a serious affair in the province, but baseball has been an equally important one over Saskatchewan's hundred years as a province and beyond.

1. See Jim Hunt's column on Slam! Sports at www.canoe.ca, April 1, 2003.
2. Shury is profiled in Dan Turner's *Heroes, Bums and Ordinary Men,* Toronto: Doubleday, 1988.
3. Dave Shury, *Play Ball Son: The Story of the Saskatchewan Baseball Association*, North Battleford, SK, Turner-Warwick Printers, 1986; Dave Shury, *Batter Up:The Story of the Northern Saskatchewan Baseball League*, North Battleford, SK, Turner-Warwick Printers, 1990; Paul Hack and Dave Shury. *Wheat Province Diamonds*, Regina, Saskatchewan: Sports Hall of Fame and Museum, 1997.
4. When Shury visited the writer in the fall of 1980, the event may have marked the first regional SABR meeting with 100% attendance!
5. Hack and Shury, *Wheat Province Diamonds*, 1.
6. *Regina Leader Post*, April 29, 1998.
7. From Barry Broadfoot, *Ten Lost Years*, reprinted in William Humber and John St.James, *All I Thought About Was Baseball*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996, 26.
8. Regina also dropped out before the end of the season, not without some rejoicing in other league cities (*Lethbridge Herald*, August 13, 1910, quoting the *Calgary Herald*). Regina management had developed a reputation as complainers, over everything from umpiring to the league schedule to player eligibility. The early season disqualification of Regina player Dick Brookins, because he was alleged to have "Negro blood," undoubtedly had a lot to do with the decline of baseball interest in Regina that year. (See Bill Kirwin's article, "The Mysterious Case of Dick Brookins," *The National Pastime*, 1999, 38 for more details on the story). His banning seems to have re-

sulted at least partly from the unpopularity of the Regina management with league officials, as the U.S.Census takers had declared his family to be white.

9. *Saskatoon Daily Phoenix*, March 31, 1911.
10. Brant E. Ducey, *The Rajah of Renfrew*, Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1999, 77.
11. Ibid. Appendix 2 contains a list of players who appeared on Edmonton diamonds during that time. This list is incomplete as far as the Western Canada League is concerned, since it excludes 1919, when Edmonton did not have a franchise.
12. Hack and Shury, *Wheat Province Diamonds*, 80.
13. Edmonton and Calgary joined the league in 1953. Calgary was forced to leave midway through the 1954 season and Edmonton had to drop out at the end of that season, because of travel distances.
14. Lethbridge was a league member from 1976 to 1983, Medicine Hat from 1977 until 2002 and Calgary from 1977 until it acquired a Pacific Coast League franchise.
15. Edmonton obtained the Ogden franchise in 1981 and continued until 2004, moving to Round Rock for 2005; Calgary took over the Salt Lake City franchise in 1985 and moved to Albuquerque for the 2003 season.
16. For example, Mort Cooper played for Moose Jaw in 1949 (Hack and Shury, *Wheat Province Diamonds*, 298).
17. Hack and Shury, 82-83.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Once again, a number of Negro League players were among those brought in. (Hack and Shury, 293.)
21. A personal note concerns a game seen by the writer, then a teenager in Edmonton in July, 1955 in which a Seattle teacher, Kirby Pain, pitched a no-hitter against Regina. Many years later, I learned that another young fan at that game was Bill Kinsella, who was later to become known for his baseball fiction, and especially the movie, "Field of Dreams."
22. Shury, *Batter Up*, 105. This book chronicles the 15-year existence of the league.
23. See Mah, www.attheplate.com as well as Hack and Shury, *Wheat Province Diamonds*.
24. Kerr was actually born in Souris, Manitoba, but spent his youth in Saskatoon.
25. Yellow Lake (SK) History Group, *Treasured Moments*, 1982, 134.
26. Nobody by the name of Russell Ford is listed in the Saskatchewan Homestead Records.
27. Yellow Lake History Group, ibid.
28. William Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1995, 92.
29. Jim Shearon, *Canada's Baseball Legends*, Kanata, ON: Malin Head Press, 1994, 37.
30. Two online analyses of the decline and fall of the Canadian Baseball League can be found in Brian Schecter, "Empty Field of Dreams," at www.thetyee.ca, April 6, 2004, and Bob Maclin, "CBL Receivership Not a Fall Classic," at www.vancourier.com, August 5, 2004.
31. Hack and Shury, *Wheat Province Diamonds*, devote Chapter 8 to the players in this league. Humber, *Diamonds of the North*, lists Canadian players by hometown in Appendix B, 198-200.
32. These include: Lois Browne, *Girls of Summer: In Their Own League*, Toronto: HarperCollins, 1992; Susan E. Johnson, *When Women Played Hardball*, Seattle: Seal Press, 1994 and two books by W. C. Madden, *The Women of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League*, Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1997 and *The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League Record Book*, Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2000.
33. Hack and Shury, ibid.
34. Humber, ibid.
35. Hack and Shury, ibid.
36. Regina, SK: Cooper Rock Pictures, 2002. The writer was privileged to attend the premiere showing of the film on March 26 of that year.
37. Hack and Shury, ibid.

John Arthur Jones, a pitcher from Woodstock, blew in this morning, had three square meals at the expense of the club, and blew back tonight. He had nothing on the baseball but the cover.

—The *Ottawa Citizen* at the Senators' training camp in Chatham, April 21, 1914.

Island Baseball

Jane Finnan Dorward

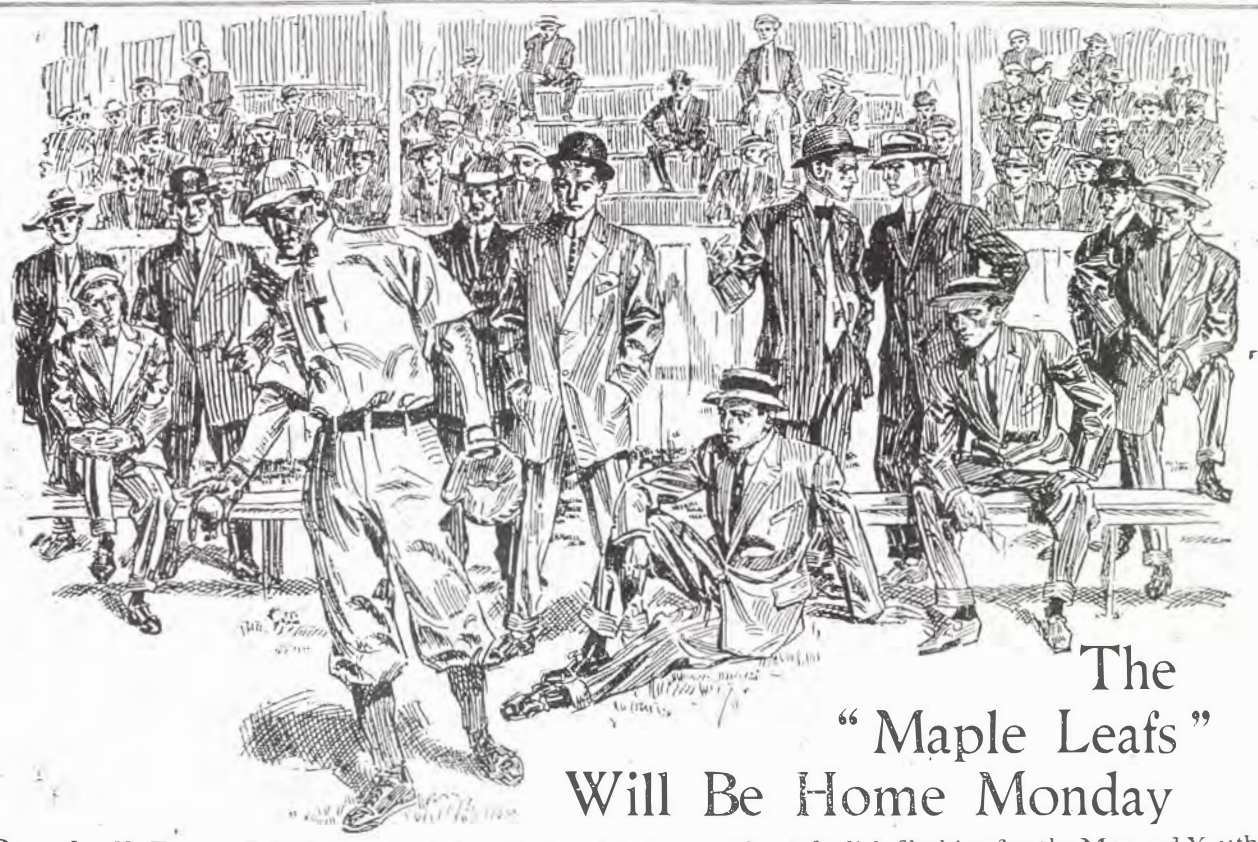
Hanlan's Point is named for the first year-round residents of the western end of Toronto Island. In the late 1850s, John Hanlan and his family moved from an area near Ward's Island to higher ground, and built a larger family home around 1865.[1] John's son, Ned, was becoming a world-famous rower, and in 1880 he built a two-storey summer hotel in Second Empire style. The family sold their share in the resort in 1894 to the Toronto Ferry Company for $50,000, and the land was developed into an amusement park. The park also featured a large oval lacrosse field and grandstand for the Toronto Tecumseh Lacrosse team. It was not ideal for baseball, but the stands were fairly large and the Toronto Maple Leafs decided to relocate for the 1897 season.

The move was based on business, and initiated by Pat Powers, president of the Eastern League. The team's future was uncertain at the end of the 1896 season. The club had been purchased by the Pittsburgh Pirates and used as a sort of farm team (the *Toronto World* referred to it as an "agricultural experiment station") but didn't prove very profitable, and the team was likely to move south of the border if a buyer could be found. Powers had financial interests in cycling and made a stop in Toronto in December of 1896 while touring prospective sites for his cycling exhibitions. The proposed lacrosse oval on Hanlan's Point was ideal for cycling, and it was not long before Pittsburgh team president William Kerr sold the Toronto team to Toronto native and former major leaguer Arthur Irwin and other investors.[2] Ned Hanlan's son-in-law, Lol Solman, a director of the Toronto Ferry Company, became involved with the team.

The first game at Hanlan's Point was played on May 21, 1897. Players had toured the grounds the day before, after a very rough ferry ride across the lake. It's clear that right field was fairly short, as outfielder Buck Freeman said anything hit over him would be a home run. A crowd of 2,000 braved the cold to see the team lose its opening contest to Rochester in 11 innings, helped by nine Toronto errors. No photographs of this park survive, and although it was praised at the time, it was no doubt fairly rudimentary. It was oval and home plate faced southeast, with the centre field stands going right to the water. The team played there until the 1901 season, when the team was sold and Ed Barrow encouraged the new team directors to secure grounds on the mainland.

The first Hanlan's ballpark was expanded to hold 10,000 fans, but was destroyed by fire on September 8, 1903. The blaze was discovered in the grandstand by Eddie Durnan (another champion rower and Ned Hanlan's nephew) just after a lacrosse practice, and before long the entire stadium had burned to the ground. The estimate of the damage to Island property was between $15,000 and $20,000.

EATON'S DAILY STORE NEWS



The "Maple Leafs" Will Be Home Monday

Baseball Fans Will Be Out in Gala Attire: Here's Stylish Clothing for the Man and Youth Who Must Spruce Up a Little for the Occasion

In large "American" cities the formal opening of the Baseball Season is a sign for the "Fan" to get out his Summer toggery and attend in his smartest attire, for the occasion is marked by the attendance of "My Lady" in her finery.

It is noticeable that Toronto is fast following suit, and with promise of a fine day the Grand Opening Monday should be an event of unusual brilliance—particularly as it marks the opening of the big new Stadium.

This store has prepared to fully satisfy the Clothing demands of men, young fellows and boys, and we give here a few instances of the good buying:—

Boys' Suits: A Few of the Very Choice New Summer Lines

Small Boys' Sailor Suits, 4.85—Fine quality navy blue Serge. Loose-fitting blouse, with deep sailor collar, trimmed with five rows black Soutache braid, adjustable front showing emblem, and black silk tie. Knee pants, white cotton lined. Sizes 23 to 26.

Fancy Russian Suits, in the favorite shepherd's plaid design. Smartly made in two styles, one with deep sailor collar, with adjustable front, showing emblem, and black silk knot tie and leather belt; the other fastens up the side close to neck, is trimmed with black Soutache braid, and has emblem on front and leather belt. Bloomer knickers. Sizes 21 to 25. At ..... 5.00 and 5.50

Fashionable Bloomer Suits at 8.50—Beautifully tailored from new importations of English Worsteds, in a very popular check pattern of medium grey. Double-breasted model, showing long lapels and cuffs on sleeves. Full-fitting bloomers, strap and buckle fasteners. Italian body lining. Sizes 29 to 34.

Dressy Bloomer Suit at 5.50—Imported Summer-weight Tweeds, in a pretty dark grey shade with neat stripe design. Double-breasted coat. Full-fitting bloomers, with strap and buckle fasteners. Good quality trimmings. Sizes 24 to 28.

Three-piece Double-breasted Suit, 6.00—Imported Tweeds, in the season's new patterns and favorite shades, such as brown and medium and light grey. Knee pants. Italian cloth lining. Sizes 28 to 33.

Main Floor—Queen St.

Get a Stylish Knock-About Hat for the Opening Game

The right Hat, men, for early Summer wear. It's light in weight, and can be worn in many styles—creased, dented or telescope, a full crown and roll, negligé or dip brims. The shade is a very pretty dark blue, called "Carrissa." Made of good quality fur felt, with cool and easy-fitting Russian calf leather sweatband. Price 2.00

Genuine Panamas, $3.75

This season's style, and a well-bleached Panama of fine, even braid, medium-high crown and dip front, black silk band 3.75

Main Floor—Queen St.

The Baseball Season "Bursts Open" Monday

WITH BALTIMORE AT TORONTO

That will start the game going in every vacant field and playground. And supplies of all kinds will be wanted. In this matter the new Sporting Goods Section on the Fifth Floor will be of real helpfulness to every man and boy who plays the game. Whether a Glove or a Ball, a Bat or a Mask, or a Chest Protector—and whether an inexpensive quality or a really high-grade article—this Store is prepared to supply it to your satisfaction, and often at decidedly favorable price. Take a trip to **EATON'S** Fifth Floor Sporting Goods Section.

Men's Outing Suits Coat and Trousers only), light-weight Worsteds, colored thread stripe on brown or grey ground; also fine diagonal weave in smoke grey. Single-breasted, three-button sack, with long lapels. Half-lined. Sizes 34 to 44. Price 10.50

Two-piece Suits of closely-woven, light-weight Cassimeres, handsome shades of grey, with pin-stripe and plain fawn. Smart single-breasted styles. Trousers are loose, easy-fitting, with cuffs on bottoms and belt loops. Price 12.50

Tropical Worsted Two-piece Suit in a pin-check with colored stripe, smoke ground. Superbly tailored with hand-padded collar and hand-made buttonholes. Single-breasted coat, with long lapels and slip front. A beautiful model. Price ... 13.50

American Models, New York make in those cool, soft flannel effects; light and mid-grey ground with colored stripe, and pin-check weave in plain fawn. Handsomely tailored and perfect fitting. Price 16.50

Black and White Shepherds' Check Suit in a Summer-weight, rich-finished fabric. A New York production in the latest three-button sack model, half lustre lined. Trousers easy-fitting at hip, wide at knee, finished with cuff on bottom. Price 20.00

Men's Outing Trousers, soft flannel-finished Tweeds in plain and stripe patterns. Well-fitting garments, cut with cuff bottoms, and side, two hip and watch pockets, and side strap and buckles. Sizes 32 to 42. Pair 3.00

Outing Trousers, in grey and green cast with stripe 1½ inches apart, and faint stripe between. Fine all-wool flannel finish. Highly tailored. Straps and buckle over hips, belt loops, side, hip and watch pockets. Pair 4.00

Young Men's Suits, for particular, dressy fellows. They are of those popular light-weight colored Worsteds, in nice shades of grey and light or dark brown, with faint stripe. Coats smartly cut in a single-breasted model that carries both good style and taste. Sizes 32 to 37 chest. Price 12.50

Young Men's Suits, the new diagonal weave with stripe, mid grey. Also brown and grey Worsted, with colored thread stripe. Tailored in our own work-shop, and every suit faultless in style and finish. Long roll single-breasted coat. Trousers just the style shown on latest fashion-plate. Price 15.00

Main Floor—Queen St.

During May, June, July and August
Store Closes SATURDAY at 1 P.M.
NO NOON DELIVERY SATURDAYS

THE T. EATON Co LIMITED

Eaton's department store fashion advertisement for the opening of the new Hanlan's Point ballpark.

Plans were filed with the city by December 1903, and the new and greatly expanded amusement park and grandstand was opened May 24, 1904.

The team returned there for the 1907 season, after the Toronto Ferry Company purchased stock in the club following Barrow's departure. The move was clearly motivated by the new ownership, but some fans complained about the extra fare (10¢) and the hassle of travelling by ferry. In fact, it was a hazardous undertaking. After the game on Victoria Day in 1907, one man was killed, another lost a foot, and two other fans were badly bruised when they were struck by a passing train at the railway crossing in front of the ferry gate. The ballpark was completely destroyed in the catastrophic Hanlan's Point fire on August 10, 1909. The fire began at the Gem Theatre around 3:45 in the afternoon. This theatre was constructed of little more than boards and canvas, and within minutes the fire had spread to surrounding frame structures, the roller coaster and the hotel. Within an hour, everything—including the ballpark—was gone. Firefighters were unable to save much, as the water pressure from the hydrants was too low. There was one fatality, Clara Andrews, the cashier of the Figure 8 roller coaster. The initial estimate of the damage to the amusement park and ball grounds was $200,000.[3] A day later, Lol Solman and the Toronto Ferry Company proclaimed that they would spend $500,000, perhaps $1 million, to rebuild the park out of fireproof materials. Solman wanted a 20,000-seat concrete stadium. There were no real building regulations for the Island and it was quite legal for the company to replace the grandstand and theatres using frame construction again. The acting city architect, Price, was quoted as saying "it would be practically impossible to build a brick or concrete grandstand . . . [as] the winter weather would be its test . . . when the water froze up and got under the foundation. It would heave the structure and make it unsafe."[4] Indeed, the Toronto Islands are mostly sand, and very susceptible to damage in bad weather. Still, Solman was undeterred, and the third Hanlan's Point ballpark was constructed, mostly of concrete, and ready for opening day on May 10, 1910.

The new park had seats for 16,000 fans, 9,689 of them in the grandstand. The exterior was stuccoed cement block, and it went right to the edge of the Point (you could dock a boat on the other side of the left field bleachers). The building materials of the interior were steel, concrete, and wood. Architect's photos from the 1928 restoration of the park (after the team had left for its new park) show that much of the seating was wood, and even the main entranceway seems to have been stucco on frame, so the park wasn't truly a concrete "fireproof" stadium as Solman promised. The complete dimensions of the park are unknown, but the right field fence had been moved back to 286 feet. This implies that the distance to the right field pole was very short in the second park (the path of the roller coaster may have been altered to lengthen the field after the fire).

It was a hitter's park, as Al Shaw led the league in home runs in 1910 with 11. In 1911 the team as a whole produced 57 (Shaw hit 16 and fellow left-handed batter Tim Jordan hit 20). Looking at the stats for the years the team played at the Island after 1906, we see that Toronto was well ahead of the league average each year in home runs (save 1916, 1921, 1923, and 1924). From aerial photos, it appears that the left field pole was a very long distance from home plate, perhaps more than 375 feet.

The city boasted of three pennant winners during the team's tenure at the new Island ballpark. Joe Kelley's 1912 squad had a strong pitching staff of Dick Rudolph (25–10), Bert Maxwell (19–12), and John Lush (17–9). When Nap Lajoie took over the team in 1917, he hit a league-leading .380, managing the team to a record of 93–61, with good pitching from Harry Thompson (25–11) and Bunn Hearn (23–9). In 1918, in a war-weakened league, Dan Howley's Leafs had excellent hitting from Eddie Onslow, Fred Lear, and Bill Purtell. There were some good second-place teams, including George "Mooney" Gibson's team in 1919, and Hugh Duffy's 1920 squad that went 108–46, second to Dunn's Orioles who were 110–43. In 1914, the stadium had a second baseball tenant, the Canadian League Toronto Beavers, managed by "Knotty" Lee. This team only survived a year, as they didn't draw well at home and the city could only support one professional ball club. The Leafs of the early 1920s were mediocre, but improved in

1925 under Dan Howley, largely on the strength of Charlie Gehringer's 206 hits and .325 average and Miles Thomas's 28–8 pitching record. This team also included Minor Heath, who would break out the next season in the new park on the mainland.

The 1925 season was Toronto's last at the Island. Ferry Company director Lol Solman had been plotting to leave the Island and build a new park on the mainland since his lease on the property ran out in 1922. He had built another amusement park at Sunnyside, and by 1925 he owed the city $6,500 in rent. His ballpark was showing its age but the primary concern was the condition of his ferries, which were barely seaworthy. Matters came to a head when the city declared the Bay Street docks unsafe. A decision had to be made whether to build new docks, or construct a bridge to the Island for streetcars. Engineers declared that the York Street bridge over the tracks wasn't strong enough for streetcar traffic. In the end, Solman made an unbelievable deal, which was to haunt the city for years: he gave the ferry service and equipment over to the city, along with the amusement park and the stadium, and received $337,500 in exchange. This sum went a long way towards the cost of the new stadium on a piece of landfill at Bathurst and Fleet. The city was left with no ball team. The city renovated (and largely rebuilt) the grandstand in 1928 and it was used for sporting events and picnics for several years. It was still standing in 1937, but the city received permission to build an airport on the island May 27 of that year, and it was soon demolished. This airport, named the Port George VI, was to be the main airport for the city, with the second one in Malton designed to take traffic when the Island was fogged in. The Island airport opened February 4, 1939. As it turned out, the Malton airport grew to what's now Lester B. Pearson International, and the Island airport now only handles small planes. The idea of building a bridge to the Island persists, as it was the focus of the 2004 municipal election, when David Miller was voted mayor because of his opposition to the Island bridge and airport expansion plans. The Toronto Port Authority may never live down its deal with Lol Solman in 1925.

1. Sally Gibson, *More Than an Island: A History of the Toronto Island*. Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1984, 64.
2. *Toronto World*, December 31, 1896 and January 5, 1897.
3. *Toronto Daily Star*, Special Edition, August 10, 1909.
4. *Toronto Daily Star*, August 11, 1909.

Hanlan's Point ballpark on Opening Day, May 2, 1923, Toronto versus Jersey City. First baseman Eddie Onslow fields the ball.

The International League Pennant Race of 1920

Peter Morris

With a month to go in the 1920 International League season, there were all the ingredients of an unforgettable pennant race. The Toronto Maple Leafs, managed by Hall of Famer Hugh Duffy, clung to the narrowest of leads. The Maple Leafs featured star moundsmen like 27-game winner Pat Shea and a pair of 19-game winners in Bill Ryan and Lore Bader. Their efforts were supported by a star-studded lineup led by first baseman Eddie Onslow, who would become the IL's all-time leader in numerous offensive categories.

Hot on their heels were Jack Dunn's defending champion Baltimore Orioles, who boasted a virtually unstoppable lineup of sluggers. Merwin Jacobson led the way with a .404 batting average and 161 runs scored, but he had plenty of company. Fritz Maisel and Otis Lawry combined to score 300 runs and steal 81 bases. First baseman and pitcher Jack Bentley managed a unique feat by leading the league in RBIs and ERA, while also posting a .371 batting average and a 16–3 win-loss record. His efforts on the mound were complemented by 27-game winner John Ogden, 25-game winner Harry Frank, and a youngster named Lefty Grove who led the league in winning percentage with a 12–2 mark.

As if any additional drama were needed, the Maple Leafs' outfield had recently been augmented by one of the game's more charismatic—yet shady—figures. Benny Kauff had torn up the Federal League in 1914 and 1915 and became known as "The Ty Cobb of the Federal League." He then signed with John McGraw's Giants amid widespread anticipation, but never quite lived up to those expectations. While his performance on the diamond was competent, he reminded nobody of Ty Cobb and instead attracted more notice for his flamboyant dress and lifestyle than his play.

Then in February of 1920, Kauff was arrested and charged with grand larceny. He had been operating an auto parts business and two of his employees had sold a stolen Cadillac. When arrested, both employees pointed the finger at their boss, who in turn denied any knowledge of the theft.

Kauff would eventually be acquitted of the charges, but would nonetheless be banned for life by Commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis. In the meantime, he entered the 1920 season with a cloud hanging over his head and then further alienated his teammates during spring training by getting into a fight with pitcher Jesse Winters. On July 2, with the Giants a disappointing seventh, McGraw traded his embattled outfielder to Toronto for Vern Spencer. Nobody believed that the trade had been made for baseball reasons, and this point was underlined when Kauff's first appearance for Toronto was in an exhibition game against the Giants. Kauff homered off Winters and led the Maple Leafs to a 4–3 victory.

Suspicion accompanied Kauff across the border and International League fans routinely taunted him by tooting automobile horns. When the Jersey City groundskeeper left his roller in the outfield, a fan hollered, "Hide that machine quick, here comes Kauff."[1] Nonetheless, the trade appears to have helped both clubs. Spencer contributed little to the Giants' cause, but the team surged in the second half to finish 18 games over .500. Meanwhile, Kauff caught fire for the Maple Leafs, batting .343 with 28 steals and 12 home runs in less than three months.[2]

The expectations of a historic pennant race would indeed be fulfilled, but not in the way that most anticipated. Led by Kauff, Toronto poured it on down the stretch and won 22 of their remaining 24 games to end the season with a 108–46 mark and a .701 winning percentage, the best ever posted by a Toronto team.

Yet it wasn't enough! The amazing Orioles captured their last 25 straight games to pass Toronto and end with a 110–43 record and a two-and-a-half game margin.

As with any exciting pennant race, it was both the best and worst of times. In Baltimore, the fans were rapturous over their unbeatable champions. When the Orioles clinched a share of the pennant with a 7–6 win at Jersey City, an enormous crowd gathered in front of a bulletin board in Baltimore to monitor the results. Even the fact that it was a weekday afternoon did not deter the crowd, although the *Baltimore Sun* noted, "The thoughtful expressions on many of the faces showed plainly that they were thinking up an excuse to tell the boss when they returned to the office."[3]

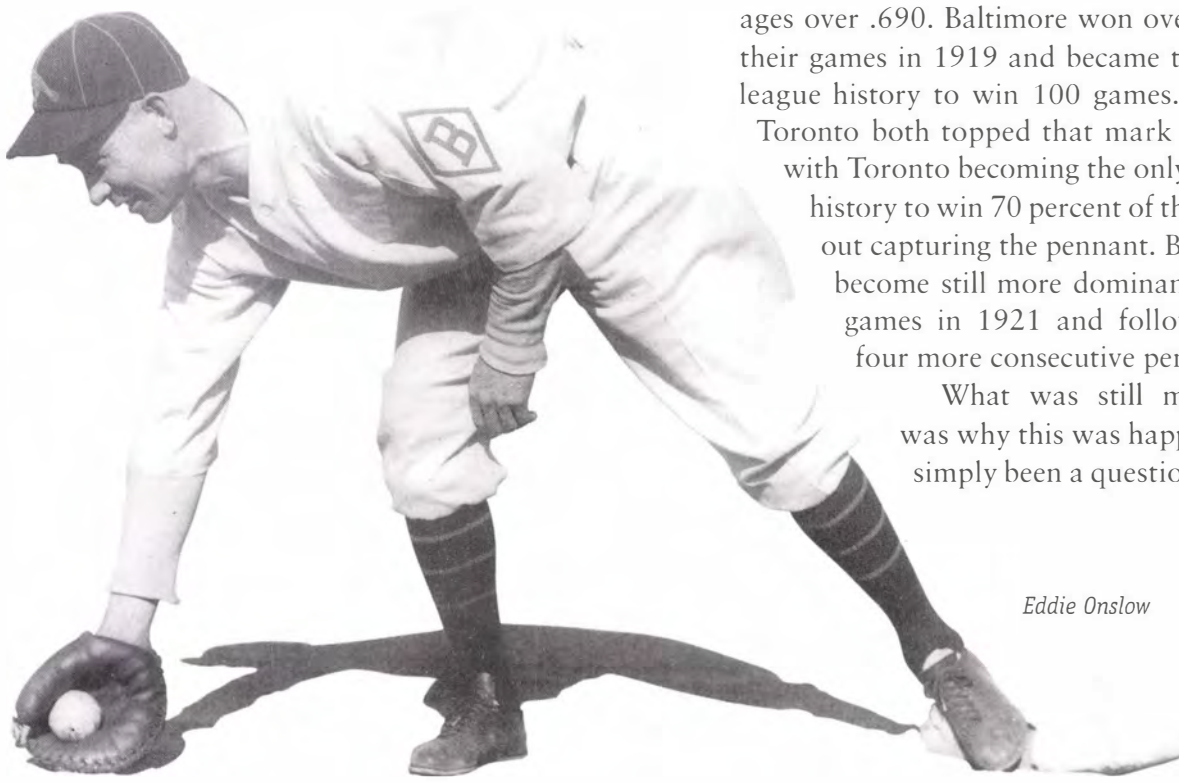
In Toronto, there was understandable despondency that the only two blemishes on an extraordinary stretch run had proved fatal to their team's chances. The frustration of helplessly watching the scoreboard as the Orioles posted victory after victory finally impelled the Toronto club to charge that Jersey City had deliberately transferred players and then fielded a noncompetitive lineup.[4]

The accusation was immediately denied, and there is no way to objectively evaluate its merits. However, what is clear is that there was a fundamental underlying problem with competitive balance that was rapidly getting worse.

Between 1896 and 1917, only two International League clubs had managed to win two-thirds of their games in a season. On five occasions during that span, not even the pennant winner played .600 baseball over the course of the season. There was good reason for every team in the league—and their fans—to feel that they were only one or two players away from being a contender.

Then everything changed. In 1918, Toronto and Binghamton both compiled winning percentages over .690. Baltimore won over two-thirds of their games in 1919 and became the first team in league history to win 100 games. Baltimore and Toronto both topped that mark easily in 1920, with Toronto becoming the only team in league history to win 70 percent of their games without capturing the pennant. Baltimore would become still more dominant, winning 119 games in 1921 and following that with four more consecutive pennants.

What was still more disturbing was why this was happening. If it had simply been a question of the weaker



Eddie Onslow

teams being mismanaged, then the imbalance could be assumed to be temporary. But instead two of the International League's weakest teams in 1920 were managed by highly regarded former major league managers Bill Donovan and George Stallings.

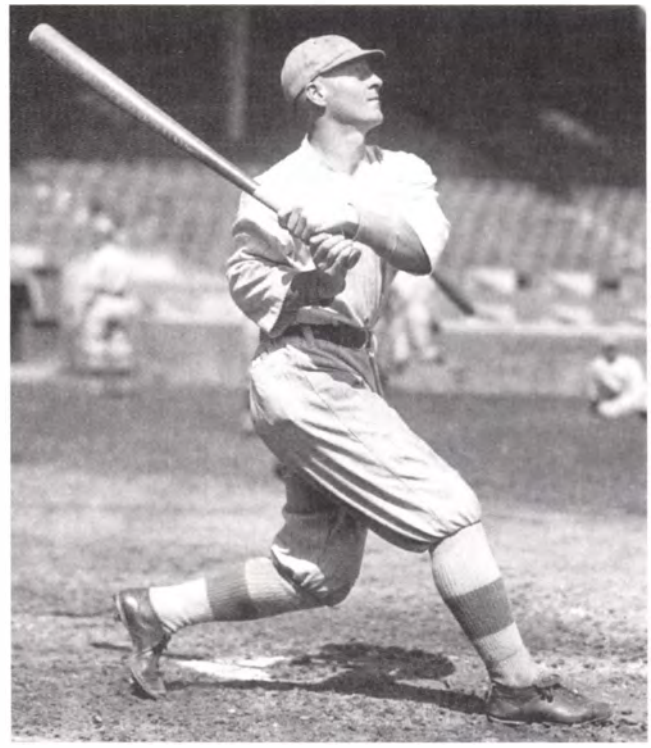
There was thus no mistaking the success of Baltimore and Toronto for anything other than a profound and systemic imbalance of talent. Moreover, the reason for that state of affairs was readily apparent.

As early as 1892, the National Agreement had incorporated the right of the major leagues to draft promising minor leaguers and pay the minor league club a predetermined draft price, while also allowing the high minor leagues to acquire talent from lower minor leagues in a similar fashion. Not everybody liked the draft, but it did have the important benefit of assuring relative parity in the minor leagues by skimming off each circuit's best players. That changed at the 1919 annual minor league meeting when Baltimore's Jack Dunn "effectively argued against any encroachment upon the minors' freedom of action; he was intent upon maintaining his profitable policy of selling his stars to the majors on an individual basis."[5]

Such economic determinism sounded good in theory, but other minor league owners soon found that what happened in practice was rather different. Instead of selling his stars, Dunn often asked exorbitant prices for players like Ogden, Bentley, and Grove and kept them if his demands weren't met, a policy that enabled him to capture seven straight pennants. When his fellow owners complained, Dunn responded: "Let the rest of the league build themselves up to the level of success enjoyed by the Orioles—rather than try to tear us down to their level."[6]

The effectiveness of this reasoning soon wore thin, particularly after the extraordinary conclusion to the 1920 International League pennant race. After that season, the National Agreement was up for renewal and the new version did not include any restriction on major league club owners also owning minor league clubs..

This omission attracted little attention at the time, making it impossible to be certain how directly it was linked to the Orioles' dominance and the Maple Leafs' frustration. Nonetheless, it



Benny Kauff

seems a reasonable assumption that it was a significant factor. Whatever the reason, the absence of restrictions on dual ownership would have enormous repercussions.

It is often stated that Branch Rickey invented the farm system in the early 1920s, but this is at best an oversimplification. Farm systems actually date back to the 1880s, and were common in the 1890s. By the turn of the century, there were active attempts to ban farm systems, usually by prohibiting dual ownership.

Major league owners often disregarded their own rules, so just as important as the prohibition was a growing perception that dual ownership was not cost-effective. Owners concluded that a minor league club developed too few players to justify the expense, and systems instead began to take the form of secret agreements between a major league club and a minor league club.

This remained the case until about 1920, when the pendulum began to swing back. With owners like Dunn demanding up to $100,000 for a star like Grove, Rickey recognized that low-budget teams like his Cardinals would never be able to acquire such players. In addition, Dunn's stubbornness drove up the price of talent and thereby made dual ownership more feasible.

This in turn led Rickey to realize that the system could become cost-effective by producing not only talent for his club, but also excess talent that he could sell to his rivals. Thus Robert Burk suggests that Branch Rickey was not an inventor but a man with a genius for organizational tinkering: "What set Rickey's approach apart from that of his predecessors was his early grasp of the importance of integrating within the same parent club office the signing of entry-level talent, management of the player promotion process at all levels, and maintenance of a deliberate surplus of young talent to leverage down the major league payroll and make additional profits through sales of surplus players."[7]

The combination of these two factors made the development of the farm system inevitable, but that would not come fast enough for the owners who had to compete with Jack Dunn's Orioles. In 1922, they voted to reinstate a limited form of the draft, and Dunn was squeezed between the major league clubs demanding his talents and rival International League owners, who became "increasingly more vocal in their protestations that Dunn's Orioles be 'broken up' in order to return an essential balance to the yearly pennant race."[8]

Dunn had to gradually part with his best talents, selling Jack Bentley to the Giants after the 1922 season for $72,500 and Grove to the Athletics one year later for $100,600. Even so, Dunn's Orioles hung on for one more pennant in 1925, but then their skein finally ended. Fittingly enough, it was the Toronto Maple Leafs who captured the 1926 International League flag and ended a streak that was historic in many senses.

1. Louis Cauz, *Baseball's Back in Town.* Toronto: CMC, 1977.
2. Craig Burley, "Free Benny Kauff." *The Hardball Times* (www.hardballtimes.com); David Jones, "Benny Kauff," *Deadball Stars of the National League.* Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, 2003.
3. *Baltimore Sun*, September 17, 1920.
4. *Baltimore Sun*, September 18, 1920.
5. David F. Chrisman, *The History of the International League, 1919–1960.* Self-published, 1981, 11.
6. Ibid, 31.
7. Robert Burk, *Much More than a Game*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001, 35.
8. Chrisman, 31.

Lester Patrick, shortstop, singled home the winning run yesterday as Nelson defeated the University of North Dakota, 5–3. The single was Patrick's third hit of the game, and the University of North Dakota's Bill Hennesey, who once played for the Baltimore Orioles in the National League, said the rangy shortstop was a fine professional prospect. He said he would so advise the Orioles, if Lester was interested.

—Quoted from the *Nelson* (British Columbia) *News* in *The Patricks: Hockey's Royal Family* (Doubleday, Canada, 1980). (Note: Bill Hennesey never played major league baseball. I am still hoping to determine if he actually played for the Orioles in the minor leagues. The Baseball Hall of Fame has a contract card for a Wm. J. Hennessey with Green Bay from 1910 to 1913.)

Integration in Quebec

More than Jackie

Christian Trudeau

While we now remember Montreal and the province of Quebec as the place where Jackie Robinson started his career in white organized baseball in 1946, the role of Quebec in the integration of black baseball players goes far beyond that.

While the black population in Quebec was very small (it still is only 2% in Quebec, 4% in Montreal), we find black players in white amateur teams as early as 1924, and since the news was covered so casually, there's a strong possibility that there were black players before then.

In the late 1920s, Chappie Johnson sponsored a black team in a Montreal league, where many future and former Negro Leaguers played, including Ted Page and Alphonso Lattimore. Later, in 1935, the Provincial League, a league that was at least semi-professional and would go on to be one of the better-known outlaw leagues, had three black players. Pitcher-outfielder Alfred Wilson was signed by Granby, while pitcher-infielder Charlie Calvert played for the Jos. Choquette of Montreal and second-baseman–catcher Chico Bowden played for Sorel. Wilson, who was 27 and signed away from Johnson's touring team, went 5-0 with a 3.56 ERA and hit .392 in 72 games. Calvert and Bowden seem to have been around for a while, playing for different teams over the previous decade.

The next season, Chappie Johnson, pleased with the experiment, sponsored a whole team, based in Montreal but playing only on the road, named the Black Panthers. Calvert was named player-manager. Filled with young, raw players, with frequent roster changes, the team had a decent record in 1936, finishing fourth at 13–16, but last in the round-robin playoffs. Those playoffs were quite eventful: after the Black Panthers fell out of contention, the Granby team added Panthers second baseman Ormond Sampson to their lineup for a crucial game against Sorel. Granby won the game 7–4, but their manoeuvre caught up with them: Sampson was declared ineligible, and the win became a forfeit.

There was one racial incident that season, and it involved the Montreal Royals of the International League. On August 3, they played an exhibition game against the Provincial League All-Stars, which had three Black Panthers among them. In front of a crowd of 10,000, a few Royals, among them Harry Smythe and Ben Sankey, refused to play with them. After a few minutes of discussion, the decision was to remove the Black Panthers from the game. The All-Stars won the game.

In 1937, the Black Panthers slumped to a 10–50 record and the team was disbanded after the season. Integration occurred for a lone game that year, as two Panthers joined the Granby team for an exhibition game against the barnstorming Canadian Clowns. A few Black Panthers stayed in the province, but they

played for town teams, as the Provincial League, probably as part of its attempt to join organized baseball, remained white until the war.

Alfred Wilson was the most notable of the black players during the war, returning to Drummondville in 1945 in a more or less organized wartime league.

The next season, Jackie Robinson was making headlines in Montreal, but three other teams were integrated that year, two of them in Quebec.

In Trois-Rivières, a farm club of the Dodgers in the Class C Canadian–American League, pitchers John Wright and Roy Partlow had great success after being demoted by Montreal, with respective lines of 12–8, 4.15 ERA and 10–1, 3.22 ERA.

The first team outside of the Dodgers system to integrate was the independent Sherbrooke Canadians of the Class C Border League, where shortstop Manny McIntyre first played on June 3. McIntyre, coming from the Maritimes, was better known as a hockey player, as one of the members of the "Black Aces," an all-black line on the Sherbrooke team. He had a solid .310–1–17 line in his only professional baseball season.

Integration was a slow process, and many veteran black players went to the outlaw Provincial League in the following seasons to test their skill against white players. The league developed young players like Dave Pope, Buzz Clarkson, and Vic Power. It also gave opportunities to Negro Leaguers and Latin Americans like Len Hooker, Lazaro Medina, Willie Pope, Maurice Peatros, Clarence Bruce, Nap Gulley, Terris McDuffie, Quincy Barbee, Claro Duany, and Silvio Garcia.

Garcia, once scouted by Branch Rickey, had seasons of .315–4–76, .365–21–116, and .346–12–82 for Sherbrooke from 1949 to 1951, while Duany, his teammate in Sherbrooke, hit home runs so long that people still talk about him in the area.

McDuffie, a veteran Negro Leaguer, had a 19–8 record for St-Jean in 1948, and hit .342–5–20 in only 76 at-bats. He followed that with a 12–10 record in 1949.

The league lost its edge in the early 1950s as integration was accelerating its pace, even though the league joined organized baseball in 1950. Still, it developed young players like Ruben Gomez and Ed Charles.

The league still had one innovation up its sleeve. Thanks to Branch Rickey, now in the Pirates organization, another great experiment took place in Quebec in 1951. Rickey used its Class C farm team in Farnham to name the first black manager in organized baseball. Sam Bankhead, brother of pitcher Dan, led the team, the only incident being his dismissal following the season, in which Farnham finished 21 games back. It would take 24 years before Frank Robinson became the first black manager in the majors.

The Provincial League collapsed after the 1955 season and was reformed as an outlaw league in the 1960s. A strong Latin American contingent helped bring it back to prominence among the many active outlaw leagues in the latter half of the decade, but it collapsed again following the birth of the Montreal Expos.

Finally, the Montreal Expos made history on May 22, 1992, when they named Felipe Alou manager. He became the first Latin American manager in the major leagues. Alou would go on to be the most popular figure of the organization in the late 1990s.

Quebec has a good record with other minorities in baseball, as the 1935 Provincial League had an all-Mohawk team from the Caughnawaga reserve, filled mostly with lacrosse players. In 1947, the league also welcomed Kaz Suga, former member of the Asahi team, an all-Japanese team from Vancouver. The team was of course disbanded after the Pearl Harbor attack, which led to confiscation of properties and internment of all people of Japanese descent. The team finally gained recognition in 2003 when it was elected to the Canadian Baseball Hall of Fame. Suga hit .311 with six home runs in 42 games for St-Jean.

In conclusion, while the 1946 Jackie Robinson season was the pinnacle of the relationship of Quebec baseball with black players, that link had been well-established for more than a decade and continued after that. Branch Rickey knew what he was doing by starting his great experiment in Quebec.

Skeets Killed by Pitch

Tom Hawthorn

IN THE BOTTOM OF THE FIRST INNING, Grand Forks pitcher Vince "Dutch" Clawson retired the first two Winnipeg batters with ease. Next up was Linus Ebnet, the Maroons' shortstop, better known as Skeets or Skeeter.

It was another summer Saturday doubleheader at 3,500-seat Sherburn Park, during which an afternoon tilt was followed by a second game squeezed in at twilight. Collecting admission to entertainments such as baseball was forbidden on the Sunday Sabbath, Depression or no Depression, so the Maroons had to earn money when they could.

On the mound at 6:45 P.M. on July 16, 1938, a pitcher was about to unleash a pitch which he undoubtedly would wish to have back; on the Winnipeg bench, a manager was about to witness yet another horrifying beaning; at the plate, a young infielder who had been playing professional baseball since age 17 was about to see the final pitch of his life.

Skeeter Ebnet was a 23-year-old teacher who had only been able to join teammates at the end of the school year. Earlier in the semester, he had replaced Fr. Dunstan Tucker, a Benedictine priest, as baseball coach at St. John's University at Collegeville, Minn., leading the Johnnies to an 8–3 record.

Jobs of any kind were tough to come by in the Depression. Ebnet was fortunate that his skill with the glove, and a talent for slapping singles, won him work in the Class D Northern League.

Memories would later differ as to the count on Ebnet—the pitcher recalled it as 2–0, while most others remembered it as the batter's first pitch. In any case, all agreed on what happened. An inside fastball rode in on Ebnet, breaking ever sharper as he ducked back, the ball "hitting the Maroon infield ace with a dull, ominous thud."

The reporter covering the game for the *Winnipeg Free Press* was Scott Young, at 21 already a three-year veteran with the daily. (He would become one of Canada's best-known sports writers as a columnist, biographer, and author of juvenile fiction. He died on June 12 this year at age 87. Music fans knew him as the father of rocker Neil Young.)

"Players of both teams crowded around the prostrate, twitching figure at home plate," Young reported. "Johnny Mostil, Grand Forks manager, forced them back, asking for air. Water was brought, and towels. Skeeter, a favourite with fans and players alike, regained consciousness for a fleeting instant, then again his head fell back, he went limp. Four of his teammates carried him from the field to a waiting ambulance, called less than a minute after the accident."

The scene must have been sickeningly familiar to Bruno Haas, the Maroons' owner and manager. Two years earlier, on August 27, 1936, at the same park, he

saw an infielder with the Superior (Wis.) Blues take a pitch in the face. George Tkach "dropped like an ox," the *Free Press* reported, after being struck by Alex Uffelman's fastball.

Tkach, of Streator, Ill., was taken to Winnipeg General Hospital. Prospects for his recovery were thought to be bright until facial paralysis developed a few days later. An emergency operation removed a blood clot from his brain, but he died shortly after noon on September 2.

The unhappy task of informing his family fell to park manager Arthur Morrison, whose telegram arrived after the player's mother and sister had already left Illinois for Winnipeg.

As fate would have it, Uffelman was the starting pitcher the day after Tkach's death. He did not get out of the first inning, as the Fargo-Moorhead Twins romped to a 19–0 victory at Fargo, N.D.

A coroner's jury examined the body of the second baseman before hearing testimony from the surgeons who treated him. The doctors concurred he was doomed by swelling after being struck in the upper left jaw. The coroner's jury ruled the death to be accidental and assigned no blame.

Uffelman, the pitcher responsible for the fatal pitch, attended the inquiry, but was not called to testify, although his batterymate, Alvin Bennett, did so. In answering a question from the jury foreman, the catcher said Tkach crowded the plate and, with the count 0 and 2, was likely expecting a curve or slow pitch. Bennett said the batter seemed to "step into" the pitch as it neared the plate.

Morrison, the park manager, told the jury he had asked the player in hospital what had happened. "I guess I forgot to duck," Tkach replied.

A benefit for the player's family was rained out, so fans were asked to contribute to a fund. The player was to be buried by his family in Streator.

For the players on the field when Tkach was beaned, the tragic incident must have seemed like a once-in-a-lifetime event.

Two years later, two of those men—Haas and Maroons first baseman Hugh Gustafson—would see another young infielder felled by a pitch.

The Maroons were a star-crossed team in 1938, suffering from injuries and poor play. Even Skeeter was not immune. Though he had committed only a single error in his 32 previous games, he bobbled two plays in the opening game of the doubleheader on July 16. The Maroons lost 11–8. It was not his day, although he did manage two singles in five at-bats to push his average to .280.

After Ebnet was taken away in an ambulance, Gaylen Schupe, who had been the losing pitcher in the first game of the doubleheader, took his place in the lineup and a spot at third base, while Walter Gilbert filled in at shortstop. (Gilbert would be traded to Superior before the season ended.) The Maroons scored seven runs in the bottom of the fourth to record an 8–4 win.

By then, Ebnet had been admitted to Grace General Hospital, operated by the Salvation Army, where he regained consciousness. "I know what this means," Ebnet told Grace medical superintendent Dr. F. A. Benner, "a fractured skull."

Dr. Benner twice tested fluid from the player's spinal column before an operation was performed by Dr. Oliver Waugh to relieve pressure on the brain. The beaning occurred on Saturday evening; by early Tuesday morning Ebnet's condition was described as grave. He was unconscious again.

That night at Sherburn Park, the umpire, a man named Blieding, called the game for darkness just 65 minutes after the first pitch. The decision, with Superior leading 3–0 in the top of the seventh, was unpopular with the hometown crowd, some of whom heckled the official as he left the field. The abuse continued after he left the clubhouse to catch a streetcar home.

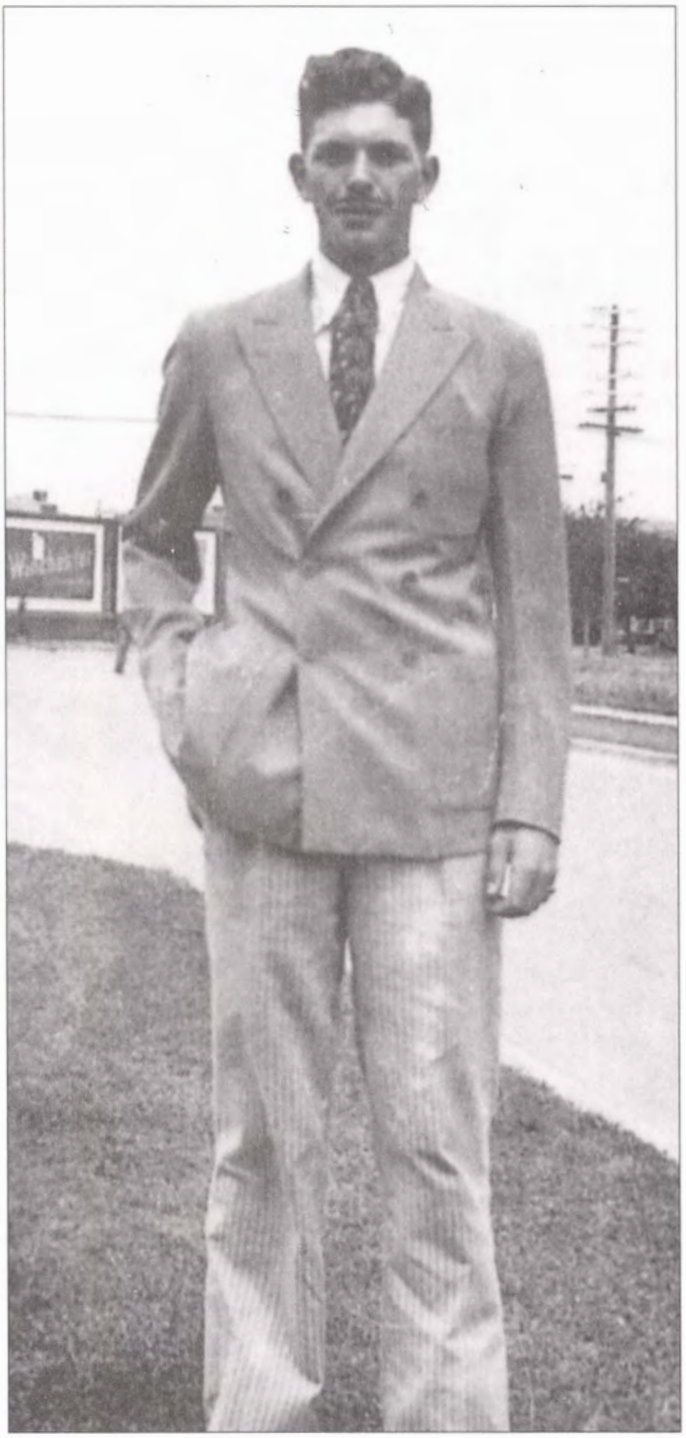
At least one of the Maroons agreed with the decision. "It is all right in the field in that kind of light," third baseman Wally Gilbert told reporter Scott Young, "but it's tough batting. I think Blieding had the right idea."

Austin McCarthy, who had been Ebnet's roommate at college, was saddled with the loss. He gave up just six hits, although one of those was a two-run homer by 19-year-old leadoff batter Pete Reiser, an up-and-comer who would win the National League batting crown three seasons later with a .343 average for the Brooklyn Dodgers.

The next day's game was a 11–10 roller-coaster in which the Wassau Lumberjacks survived several comeback attempts before recording the final out with the tying and winning runs on base. Among those in the stands was Bill Essick, the famed

scout whose persistence convinced the New York Yankees to purchase Joe DiMaggio.

On Thursday evening, as rain cancelled play at Sherburn Park, Linus Ebnet died in hospital. His passing came at 7:20 P.M. At his bedside were his parents, Michael and Mayme Ebnet, who had arrived in the Manitoba capital on Monday, as well as his hometown girlfriend, Lorraine (Honey) Wester. They were consoled by Morrison, the ballpark manager; teammate Wally Gilbert; and owner Haas and his wife, Martha. A Catholic priest administered last rites.



Linus "Skeeter" Ebnet

A game at Grand Forks against Duluth was interrupted by news of the death, as fans and players stood at attention to observe a moment's silence.

Back at the Ebnet home in Albany, Minn., Skeeter's siblings—two brothers and three sisters—awaited the return of their parents. "My folks came home with the body," recalled Vernon (Chub) Ebnet, who was seven years younger than the brother he idolized. "We held a wake at my folks' home. My dad was very generous with his beer and liquor for the men who joined him in the basement. That was an agonizing time."

Michael Ebnet ran several small business ventures, some successful, others less so, to support his family. His main enterprise was a meat market, where Linus (born April 1, 1915) once injured his left leg with an axe while chopping wood for a fire needed for preparing sausage.

A growth spurt in the summer between junior and senior year in high school saw a scrawny, pint-sized Linus stretched into a gangly, 6-foot-2 frame. His fielding reflected some of his ungainliness, as he committed 40 errors in 106 games at second base for a .940 fielding percentage in 1933.

He joined the East Grand Forks (Minn.) Colts in the Northern League's inaugural season at age 17. He had 81 hits, including a dozen doubles and a triple, in 363 at-bats for a .223 average.

He had family along the Manitoba-Minnesota-Wisconsin-South Dakota circuit, and a cousin, Ambrose "Lefty" Ebnet, pitched for the Maroons. They played together in Winnipeg in 1937.

As he matured, growing into his body, Skeeter displayed the good range and true arm that would be his trademarks. Despite his height, he rarely displayed power of any kind.

Baseball was a summer job for a St. John's student whose dream was to be a dentist. Skeeter had "a nice, easygoing personality," remembers brother Chub, and "didn't have an enemy in this world."

Similar tributes were received as word spread of the death. "Skeets Ebnet, whose tragic death is so greatly deplored, was the type of player who has made baseball so popular," *Free Press* sports editor Bill Allen wrote in his "Snapshots on Sport" column. "A hustler and hard fighter every minute he was on the field, he never forgot his early training, and his demeanor was such as to make him a general favourite."

"He was a really good ball player and genuinely fine chap," E. A. Armstrong wrote in his column, "In the Realm of Sport," on the same page.

At Sherburn Park, flags were lowered to half-staff, while the Maroons cancelled a Friday game against the Duluth Dukes. At Grand Forks, players from the home team and the visiting Superior Blues joined a crowd of 2,000, the largest of the season, in standing at attention for a brief memorial service.

Grand Forks manager Johnny Mostil, a former Chicago White Sox centre fielder so fast he once caught a foul ball, said of Ebnet: "He was a gentleman, both on and off the field." (The same could not be said of Mostil, who had an affair with the wife of teammate Red Faber, a future member of the Hall of Fame. The affair led to Mostil's attempting suicide by slashing himself with a razor during spring training in 1927.)

Dutch Clawson spoke about the fatal pitch. "It was entirely an accident and unavoidable," he said. "There were two balls called on Skeets at the time, and my only thought on the third pitch was to get the ball over the plate—but it broke inside and Ebnet ducked into it."

Chub Ebnet, who was 16 at the time of his brother's death, remembers his mother being devastated by the loss of her middle son.

"When they closed the casket, someone reminded my mother she had two other sons. She couldn't be consoled, of course."

A requiem mass officiated by two of Skeeter's former St. John's teachers was held at the Church of the Seven Dolors, a magnificent building with carved oak pews facing a 37-foot butternut altar.

Among the pallbearers was Austin McCarthy, his old roomie and Winnipeg teammate. The day before, the Maroons had swept a Saturday doubleheader from the Dukes while wearing black crepe armbands out of respect for their fallen comrade. McCarthy's older brother Eugene would be elected to the U.S. Senate in 1958 before campaigning for the Democratic presidential nomination as a peace candidate in 1968 during the Vietnam War.

Austin McCarthy was one of the stars of the Johnnies' 1936 rotation, joined by lefthander Ernie Sowada and fellow righty Vedie Himsl, all of

whom were offered professional contracts. None made the majors as a player, although Himsl, who died March 15, 2004, at age 86, was part of the Chicago Cubs' notorious College of Coaches experiment of 1961, going 10–21.

The other Maroon in attendance at the funeral was owner Bruno Haas. Back on June 23, 1915, the stocky pitcher hurled his way into the major-league record book while making his professional debut. Haas, a recent graduate of Worcester (Mass.) Academy, pitched the second game of a doubleheader for the Philadelphia Athletics at Shibe Park. In nine innings of work for Connie Mack, Haas issued 16 walks to New York Yankees batters, a record-tying mark for incompetence. He also threw three wild pitches and committed an error in taking the 15–7 loss. He only pitched another 5⅓ innings that season, ending his big league career with a 11.93 earned-run average.

He found redemption on the diamond as an outfielder, batting .323 over 11 seasons with the St. Paul (Minn.) Saints. Haas, who stood just 5-foot-9 and weighed 190 pounds, also played pro football, scoring a touchdown as Jim Thorpe's teammate on the Cleveland Indians in 1921, as well as pro hockey, as a spare goaltender for St. Paul of the American Hockey Association.

Haas brought the Northwestern League to Winnipeg for the 1933 season, hitting .241 as owner, manager, and outfielder. He sold the club for just $12,000 in 1939.

Manitoba coroner Dr. H. M. Speechly conducted an inquest in Winnipeg the day after Ebnet's funeral. A coroner's jury returned a verdict of accidental death, adding a recommendation that a doctor be present at all games at Sherburn Park.

It is not known if this second coroner's jury was aware of the similar incident two years earlier in which Tkach died after being struck by a pitch.

In any case, on the same night as the inquest was held, Eau Claire manager Ed Gharitty was ejected from the game by umpire Blieding. In the bottom of the tenth inning, with the score tied 1–1 and the bases loaded for the home side, the last of the game balls was fouled into the stands. The umpire introduced a shiny, new ball, which Gharitty felt would be an advantage for the Winnipeg batters. As he argued with the ump, one of the used game balls was tossed back onto the field. The manager tossed it to his pitcher, but the umpire ordered the pitcher to use the new ball.

Gharitty was tossed from the game and, when he refused to leave, the umpire spun around to face the grandstand. "Ladies and gentlemen, I forfeit this game to the Winnipeg club," he said. The manager was fined $15.

Considering a two-minute silence in Ebnet's memory was observed by players and fans midway through the game, the dangers of pitching a soiled ball at dusk should have been obvious.

At the end of the season, Clawson's record was 1–7 in 17 games. He recorded more bases on balls (51) than strikeouts (36). He also threw five wild pitches and plunked six batters. Ebnet's season totals included a lone hit by pitch, the final entry in an interrupted career.

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Ruth Comes to Canada In Search of . . . ?

William Humber

Babe Ruth's life betrayed a peculiar affinity to Canada, which at times was a matter of pure irony, but in other ways suggested something stronger. Was it a yearning for a lost childhood, an attraction he could not understand, a desire to be celebrated beyond his own country? Ruth was never an introspective man and didn't talk of such things, so we'll never know. But it is worth considering how this buried Canadian connection transcended any personal understanding and became one of the underlying themes of his life.

It is a fact of small consequence in the larger story of Ruth's career that his first home run in organized baseball and his only minor league home run was hit as a member of the Boston Red Sox's International League affiliate, the Providence Grays,[1] on September 5, 1914, at Hanlan's Point Stadium in Toronto. He barely acknowledges the event in his autobiography written with Bob Considine[2] and does not even indicate its location. Greater attention is given to a home run hit in an exhibition game in Fayetteville earlier that season. The Toronto event is significant in Ruth's career only because it was an early revelation that Ruth the pitcher could also hit for power.[3]

More significant from the perspective of a Canadian influence on the Babe, however, was an earlier episode in Ruth's life. Ruth acknowledges the central role that Brother Matthias of St. Mary's Industrial School played in his development. During Ruth's most impressionable years, from the age of 7 to 19, Matthias taught him about baseball and the world outside St. Mary's, and the lessons were never forgotten. He was the most important person in the Babe's life.[4]

Matthias played at least some role on working with Ruth on the fundamentals of hitting and throwing. Others like Brother Gilbert may have been more important in instilling some of baseball's more complex principles, but no one was of greater impact in terms of Ruth's later life and the broad outline of his future baseball exploits.

In the fall of 1994, while perusing the files of the Canadian Baseball Hall of Fame, I came upon a one-sentence reference to Brother Matthias. It noted that prior to his entry into the Xaverian Order, he had been a Walter Comfort[5] from Halifax, Nova Scotia. Yet neither Creamer[6] nor any of Ruth's other biographers tell us anything about this most important of men either in reference to his real name or beyond his time at St. Mary's. This omission was puzzling and was not assuaged by calls to the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown or the Babe Ruth Museum in Baltimore, which both, with some sense of embarrassment, had no details. Finally Matthias's Order in Ellicott City, Maryland revealed that Brother Matthias was in fact Martin Boutlier from the coal-mining town of Lingan, Cape

Breton in Nova Scotia, where he was born in 1872 and apparently resided until well into his teens.[7] His father Joseph was a coal-mining engineer who arrived at a time when the local coal industry was based on pickings from rock outcroppings. By the end of the century the work of men like Joseph Boutlier had helped create the Dominion mine operation.

Baseball had been played in Nova Scotia at least as early as 1838, according to a diary reference to a game resembling New England townball reported in Joan Payzant's history of Halifax.[8] The earliest newspaper account of any type of baseball game in Canada is found in the July 1841 issue of Joseph Howe's newspaper the *Nova Scotian*, a reference to a "game of ball and bat" played at a temperance picnic in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia.[9] By the 1870s the game was well-established in Halifax and there is little doubt that at least informal unrecorded versions of the game were played in all regions of the province, including the island of Cape Breton.

We can only guess as to how Ruth was shaped by the influences of Boutlier's early life in Cape Breton. In his youth, Boutlier would likely have played sandlot baseball, which may account for the variety of skills he passed on to Ruth, since strong all-around pitching and hitting skills were necessary in the informal circuit of gamesplaying in Cape Breton.[10] By the early 1890s, however, Matthias, having lived for a while in Halifax where he no doubt picked up additional features of the game, had joined the Order and moved permanently to the United States, eventually arriving at St. Mary's.

At the end of the 1914 season, the Babe married his first love, Helen Woodford, a young woman Ken Sobol describes as "rather pretty in an unspectacular way."[11] She had a noticeable Maritime accent, a product possibly of either an upbringing in Nova Scotia or family roots there. Much of this however is still speculation. Ruth, who had a real family in only the broadest sense of the term, found in Brother Matthias a father to take the place of the man who had abandoned him at St. Mary's, and now in Helen a replacement mother (if that is perhaps not too Freudian to suggest). By the 1920s she was a wife only in the legal sense. As the Ruthian legend grew, so did his appetite for life, exhibition, and the attention of other young women. By 1926 he and Helen had separated, and she died three years later in a house fire. Ruth was free to marry the woman who would tame his wilder public exploits and with whom he would spend his remaining years. But in Matthias and Helen he had a surrogate family of two people with varying degrees of Canadian connection.

In the next decade, Ruth became more than a star. He emerged in the early 1920s as the game's greatest sensation, and is generally credited with revitalizing the game following the 1919 Black Sox scandal. During these years Ruth found as much satisfaction on the well-developed barnstorming circuit as in Yankee Stadium, a ballpark built for his dimensions. He was as happy wearing the makeshift baseball costume of the Bustin' Babes as he was in Yankee pinstripes.

Through the decade, the postseason was an opportunity to meet his adoring public. As often as not, his journeys took him to Canada, and such was his fame that he had to turn down a $25,000 offer to barnstorm through Canada after the 1925 season as part of his periodic episodes of reform and to more adequately prepare for the coming season.[12] In October 1926, he returned to Montreal, which he had first visited as a player with Providence in 1914,[13] and hit a monstrous 600-foot home run before 4,000 at the Guybourg Grounds.

The Yankees were themselves often partners in these ventures, particularly in midseason affairs such as the games played in early July 1927 in Buffalo and Toronto by what is generally recognized as the greatest team of all time. Toronto's minor league International League team, the Maple Leafs, was in its second year in a new stadium to which they had moved from the Hanlan's Point ballpark. They actually beat the Yankees 11–7, but what is most noteworthy was the adulation of Toronto fans. Young boys jumped Ruth after the game and literally brought him laughing to his knees.[14] The cover of the July 8, 1927 *Toronto Globe* features magnificent photos of the young Gehrig breaking from the batter's box after slashing a ball to the infield, while Ruth is caught in full swing wincing at what appears to be a monstrous pop-up.

By the 1930s, as Ruth's career approached its end, he took advantage of his international appeal to travel with other major league all-stars to Japan after the 1934 season. He had only 28 major league games remaining but his fame was never greater. The great man arrived to a hero's welcome at the tour's departure point in British Columbia after meeting his teammates several days before at a Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan train station.[15] Unfortunately a torrential rain drenched the Vancouver field where an exhibition game was scheduled for October 19. Recalling the event a few days after Ruth's death in 1948, sportswriter Jim Coleman wrote, ". . . we never again saw rain fall so heavily in Vancouver. The players literally sloshed through water, which was ankle-deep in the thick grass."[16]

In any other circumstances the game would have been cancelled, but surveying a drenched crowd, which estimates of the day placed at 3,000, Ruth turned to his teammates and said, "Come on boys, let's go. If these people can take the weather, so can we. We're gonna give 'em a ball game."[17] Ruth played the entire nine innings in the rain and at one point Lefty O'Doul told a reporter, "If it hadn't been for the Babe none of us would be here, you can bet your wet shirt on it."[18]

Ruth's major league career ended in 1935. It is a matter of no small irony given the thrust of this essay that the Canadian-born George Selkirk replaced him in the Yankee outfield. Despite news accounts of likely managerial jobs, an offer never came. In retirement, a favourite retreat was Nova Scotia, the home province of his first wife and the Babe's old mentor. Ruth visited perhaps six to eight times to hunt bear and moose. Robert Ashe's book *Even the Babe Came to Play* is largely about a superb senior team in St. Stephen, New Brunswick, but a chapter recounts the Babe's vacation in Nova Scotia in the summer of 1936 with his wife Claire. On July 7, his party interrupted a game between the Westville Miners and Liverpool Larrupers so that the Babe could give a hitting exhibition. The crowd watched as Ruth's drives fell short of the fence, until he hit one onto the streets of Westville, at which point the demonstration abruptly ended.[19]

Ruth made at least one more Canadian visit. Older now and certain that no job awaited him in baseball, perhaps aware that time had left him behind, he arrived once again in Nova Scotia in August 1942. This was part of "a gala sports weekend marking the official opening of a new Navy recreation centre at Wanderers Grounds [in Halifax], which Navy brass hoped would provide servicemen with an alternative to less salutary forms of leisure."[20] (One notes the irony of Ruth appearing as an alternative to less salutary forms of leisure.) Prior to a game featuring an all-star Toronto Navy team and one from the Halifax Navy, the now rotund and terribly out of shape Ruth appeared in street clothes to hit a few pop-ups and weak line drives before distributing a dozen autographed balls.

Over the years Canada had given Ruth another, more real, set of substitute parents, one of his great miracles, and, as confirmed by his travels over the years, a second national home. What, if anything, did he give back to Canada?

Sports coverage in Canadian newspapers shows that during this period baseball gradually supplanted lacrosse as the country's dominant summer game. Historian Alan Metcalfe concludes that baseball was effectively Canada's national game.[21] Its only serious rival was ice hockey, and the two sports operated in opposite seasons. In 1915, baseball received the highest percentage of all sports coverage in Halifax (37.6%), Montreal (18.6%), Winnipeg (21.2%), and Edmonton (32%). In Toronto, its 23.5% coverage made it the second most reported sport.[22] A study by Evelyn Waters of the period 1926 through 1935 ranked baseball and hockey as virtually even in newspaper coverage from coast to coast.[23]

Ruth dominated this newspaper reporting. Hardly a day went by without some reference to him regardless of the Canadian paper one chooses to peruse. There was less need in Canada after the Black Sox scandal for Ruth to perform the saviour's role, since Canada had no major league presence to be threatened by the scandal. Perhaps more significantly, at least two of the disgraced Chicago stars, Hap Felsch and Swede Risberg, had distinguished barnstorming careers in both Manitoba and Saskatchewan throughout the 1920s, suggesting that Canadians took a somewhat more tolerant view of the affair.[24]

Ruth's presence in Canada was that of a pop culture figure. As such he joined a long list of American entertainers from P. T. Barnum to Elvis and Madonna who have captured Canadians' imaginations and curiosity. By 1927, Robert Ayre, writing in a leading Canadian intellectual magazine, *The Canadian Forum*, said that when Canadian children "bowed down to Babe Ruth," they demonstrated that Canada had been integrated into the "American Empire."[25]

If Ruth was important in the larger trends of the sport in Canada, his influence in the game's evolution and day-to-day character was more equivocal. There are few accurate means of plotting the game's everyday position in society. We have for instance few reliable statistics on participation levels and only scattered anecdotal reference points.

We do know, however, that from a peak of 24 minor league teams in 1913, by 1927, Ruth's peak year, there was but one Canadian minor league team, and that was the one visited by Ruth on July 7. Whatever accounts for such ups and downs, there can be no doubt that they are a product of commercial forces far bigger that even the profound presence of Babe Ruth.

Likewise, the number of Canadian participants in major league baseball never at any time from 1916 to 1940 (the effective years of Ruth's major league career and a considerable period thereafter) surpassed the annual average number (5.77)[26] for the 20th century, suggesting that Ruth had little impact on the development of Canadian major league talent.

In conclusion, what can we make of this peculiar connection between Ruth and Canada? He visited Canada often and, at border crossings, would have been aware of entering another country. It was not only a country that shared his own nation's baseball love and which he graced with public displays of athletic ability in Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal, and Halifax, but from which had come an imagined second family. It hardly seems far-fetched to posit a latent Canadianism in the Behemoth of Blast—or might we say, the Canuck of Clout.

1. Ruth signed in 1914 with Jack Dunn's Baltimore International League team but was sold during that season to the Boston Red Sox, owned by Joseph Lannin (who also owned the minor league Providence Grays). Lannin was born in the Canadian province of Quebec and at the age of 15 arrived in Boston where he worked his way up in the hotel business. Other Canadian connections from this period include Ed Barrow, who switched him from pitching to the outfield. Though an American, Barrow had had a partial ownership in Toronto's Eastern League team in the early years of the century. And who should Ruth face first in his major league pitching debut but batter Jack Graney from St. Thomas, Ontario.
2. Babe Ruth as told to Bob Considine, *The Babe Ruth Story*. New York: Dutton, 1948.
3. A plaque commemorates the location of the home run, and annual newspaper stories and an expensive lithograph produced by the Canadian Baseball Hall of Fame in the 1980s have given the event an almost mythological significance in Canada's baseball history. When a ball signed by Ruth was stolen from the Canadian Baseball Hall of Fame in 1987, many believed it to be Ruth's first home run ball. Over the years local bars have displayed what they claimed was the first ball. At the very least stories abound that Ruth's monstrous blast reached Toronto's inner harbour. All such claims are of course absurd. In 1914 Ruth was a nobody. A brief account in *Toronto Star Weekly* (September 5, 1914) noted that the sixth-inning drive landed in the right field bleachers. Most certainly any fan who retrieved it would have had little reason to retain it.
4. "It was at St. Mary's that I met and learned to love the greatest man I've ever known." While the language is Considine's, the sentiment was undoubtedly Ruth's, as quoted on page 4 of Ruth's autobiography with Considine.
5. According to Colin Howell, the *Halifax Herald* in 1923 claimed that Matthias was a Haligonian named Walter Comeford, a former star of local amateur baseball in the 1890s, whose family still resided on Brenton Street. Over the years the Comeford myth has undergone its own evolution in nomenclature.
6. Robert Creamer, *Babe: The Legend Comes to Life*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974.
7. Colin Howell, *Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Maritime Baseball*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
8. Joan Payzant, *Halifax: Cornerstone of Canada*. Halifax: Windsor Publications, 1985.
9. *The Nova Scotian*, July 1, 1841.
10. Recreational games leave few records. Written accounts of games on the island awaited the development of the coal-mining industry, when organized baseball flourished despite the misgivings of mine owners who decried the lost work time of ballplaying miners.

11. Ken Sobol, *Babe Ruth and the American Dream*. New York: Ballantine, 1974, 66.
12. Creamer, 302.
13. The 1914 road trip to Toronto and Montreal (Ruth's first to a foreign country) occurred as Canada was just entering the Great War alongside Great Britain. Montreal, with its French language and lifestyle, more associated with that of a European city than anything Ruth had experienced before, must have been a revelation to the young man. Sexual and drinking habits were both more casual and modern. For a young impressionable man incarcerated for most of his life in a virtual prison and just now leaving his teens, the experience must have been profound. The 1926 trip is referenced in Paul V. Post's "Origins of the Montreal Expos," *The Baseball Research Journal* 22. Cleveland: SABR, 1993, 107.
14. From George Gamester's column in the *Toronto Star*, July 20, 1989.
15. From an unpublished series of reminiscences provided by David Shury of the Saskatchewan Baseball Hall of Fame. The quote incorrectly notes the year was 1933 and then says, ". . . an American baseball team bound for a Japanese tour, came up the 500 line by train. An eight-year-old Moose Jaw boy stood on the steps of the Pullman sleeper and asked for an autograph of the heavy-set player, a mighty man at the bat, now standing in the vestibule between the coaches. 'Sure, kid,' said Babe Ruth."
16. *Toronto Globe and Mail*, August 19, 1948, 16.
17. *Vancouver Daily Province*, October 20, 1934, 23.
18. Ibid.
19. Robert Ashe, *Even the Babe Came to Play*. Halifax: Nimbus, 1991, 101.
20. Howell, 198.
21. Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807–1914*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987, 97.
22. Ibid, 85.
23. Evelyn Janice Waters, *A Content Analysis of the Sport Section in Selected Canadian Newspapers: 1926 to 1935*. Master's thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1981.
24. William Humber, *Diamonds of the North: A Concise History of Baseball in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1995.
25. Robert Ayre, "The American Empire," *The Canadian Forum* 7, no. 76 (1927), 105. Ironically, the best theatrical or film portrayal of Ruth may be Canadian John Candy's hilarious bedside promise to a sick child in an SCTV satire of the famous story.
26. In the period of Ruth's greatest years before 1926 and 1929, only one Canadian-born player played in the majors and Frank "Blackie" O'Rourke, despite a birthplace in Hamilton, Ontario grew up in New Jersey. There were 2.2 Canadians in the majors per year in the 1920s and 2.5 per year in the 1930s, a period unequalled for low Canadian participation. In fairness, major league participation rates are an inconclusive basis for analyzing the game. Participation in one era is more often a reflection of the game's condition a generation earlier. In Canada, at Ruth's peak, those of major league age had been in their formative years during the Great War when baseball organization was limited. This trend continued throughout the 1930s, however, forcing us to think twice about attributing the game's growth or decline to any one person or event. We do know (Ojala and Gadwood, "The Geography of Major League Baseball Player Production: 1876–1989," *Minneapolis Review of Baseball* 10, no. 1, 1991) that in general terms major league participation by American states such as New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio contiguous to the ballplayer-producing provinces of eastern Canada declined from over 500 in the first decade of the 20th century to 350 in the 1920s, and below 300 in the 1930s, barely ahead of the recruits from California and Texas, which had numbered 60 just 30 years before.

Oh, it's a fine game, I think, should you want to get killed! Why some of the players have to wear a cage to stop the ball from being thrown down their mouths.

—British MP Will Crooks, after attending his first baseball game at Ottawa's Lansdowne Park, quoted in the *Ottawa Citizen*, August 22, 1913.

My PCL Career

Kit Krieger

Long before I had heard of Charles "Victory" Faust, we led parallel lives. I flatter myself, perhaps, as Faust's Walter Mitty experience earned him a place in *Total Baseball* and other weighty tomes reserved for major leaguers. The residue of my fantasy surfaces in three lines (pages 328, 335, and 337) of the 1969 *Sporting News Guide*: one line for each inning hurled for the 1968 Vancouver Mounties of the Pacific Coast League.

My baseball lineage is modestly impressive. My father grew up in San Francisco and watched the Seals at both Recreation Park and Seals Stadium. My mother lived at 320 Riverside Drive, across the hall from Mel Ott, and a distant cousin, Don Taussig, played for the Giants, Cardinals, and Houston Colt .45s between 1958 and 1962.

There was little in my early years to indicate a professional ballplayer in the making. I pitched and played first base in Little League, a middling player on perennial cellar-dwellers. I quit after one year of Babe Ruth ball because I never got to play.

At 18 was asked if I wanted to work as the assistant to the clubhouse attendant for the Mounties. It was 1967 and the Mounties were the Triple-A farm club of Charlie Finley's Oakland A's. The club, which featured Joe Rudi, was pennant-bound until a visit by A's minor league pitching instructor Bob Shaw. Shaw insisted everybody learn to throw a changeup and ordered them to throw at least one to every hitter. Hitters quickly detected a pattern and lit up Mountie pitchers. The club finished two games back of Spokane.

I would arrive at the park early to unpack bags, shine shoes, do the laundry, and compose a clubhouse quiz, which offered a free beer to any player who could answer a daily baseball trivia question. I recall that former Cub bonus baby Danny Murphy, trying to return to the big leagues as a pitcher, was very good at this game. After completing these chores, I would take the field to shag flies.

One day, I was observed tossing the ball on the sidelines at Capilano Stadium and was asked by another bonus baby, Ernie Fazio, to throw him some batting practice. This soon became a routine. Rene Lachemann was another Mountie who liked facing my offerings. I was a left hander, and like many portsiders, had trouble throwing a ball straight. When I threw with all my might, I could throw a little harder than most 60-year-old BP pitchers.

My arm stretched, my muscles toned and I learned to make the ball move differently by adjusting the position of my fingers on the seams. Mountie righthander Jack Lamabe, who would wrap up a seven-year big league career with the Cubs the next year, taught me to throw a slider, advising me to release it by pre-

tending to pull down the drawstring on a window shade. I was probably throwing in the very low 80s with a fastball that moved almost as much as my slider. (A scout would have said that my slider moved more like a fastball.)

The 1968 season saw me cast aside the role of assistant and advance to the status of full-fledged "clubby." The 1968 Mounties were a sorry lot. They were the Triple-A team of the soon-to-be expansion Seattle Pilots and Montreal Expos. The team was eliminated by Queen Victoria's birthday (May 24) and went on to finish last in their division.

How did a clubhouse man who doubled as a batting practice pitcher get to play professional baseball one step below the major leagues? The answer is beer. Vancouver did not allow the sale of beer at the ballpark. Vancouver fans were willing to tolerate a dry ballpark in the first days after the Oakland Oaks were transplanted to Vancouver. The 1959 club featuring Brooks Robinson, Ron Hansen, and Chuck Estrada drew well. But by the late 1960s, the combination of a terrible team and ballpark prohibition proved fatal for Vancouver baseball. The club folded after the 1969 season, not to return to town for nearly a decade.

I digress. Back to the beer-career connection. A crowd of some 250 was in attendance on a beautiful summer's night as I walked through the stands with the Mounties' assistant GM, "Lefty" Dennis. Dennis bemoaned the sparse grouping and asked if I had any idea how to improve attendance. Giveaways, "brown bag nite," a cow-milking contest, and a host of other Veeckisms ran through my brain. "Let me pitch," I replied.

Dennis asked how that would help. I insisted that I had a lot of friends and family, and that they would surely buy tickets to see me make my professional debut. Dennis did some mental calculations. He thought I was a nice guy and he had met my mother. Surely there must be more people who knew me. He surveyed the stands and listened to the PA announcements ricochet off empty seats. "How many, do you think?" he queried. "Two thousand," I replied, displaying a grasp of mathematics that had manifested itself when I scored 11% (I thought it was 24%) on the provincial math exam a year earlier.

Lefty's eyes lit up. Two thousand fans represented an entire homestand. He probably considered making the stadium kitchen kosher in case some of my New York family decided to come to town for the game.

To make a long story just a little longer (I get paid by the word), Dennis went to GM Lew Matlin, who went to Mountie skipper Mickey Vernon, two-time AL batting champion, who at 50, took batting practice once a month and embarrassed all the Mounties prospects by hitting line drives off the right field wall. "Can Kit pitch?" Matlin asked the pride of Marcus Hook, PA. The taciturn Vernon, who was President Eisenhower's favourite ballplayer, said that I was no prospect, but would not embarrass myself.

After promising to sell as many tickets as I could, I signed a professional contract calling for $500 a month. Pro-rated for a single day, it meant a paycheque of $20. Like my boyhood hero, Willie Mays, I would have played for nothing, except in my case I would have been worth it.

It was decided that I would pitch the last game of the season, a September 8th tilt against the Hawaii Islanders. The Islanders were the Triple-A affiliate of the Angels and had a veteran roster that included Gene Freese, Bill Fischer, Don Nottebart, Danny Murphy, Jimmy Stewart, Larry Sherry, and Bo Belinsky. As clubhouse man, I knew these guys and got along with them well. I liked Bo a lot. I loved to unpack his equipment bag at the start of a series. It would be filled with letters and revealing photos from female fans.

September 8th was a beautiful day. I wasn't going to let it be spoiled by telling Matlin and Dennis that I had fallen about 1800 tickets short of expectations. I arrived at the ballpark early so that I could complete my clubhouse chores before switching clubhouses and beginning my pregame ritual. It was a getaway game, which meant that bags had to be packed. The Islanders arrived on their bus. Somebody asked who was pitching for the Mounties. "I am," I responded, without interrupting the rhythm of buffing Angel Bravo's shoes. "Sheeeee-it," said somebody who obviously had seen my fastball high and in. Most of the Islanders were sanguine, except for outfielder Joe Gaines. "This is how we make our living, son," he glared. "It isn't a joke."

My pitching opponent was to be Bill Fischer, who had played with the inaugural edition of the Mounties in 1956 and held the major league record of 84⅓ consecutive innings pitched without surrendering a base on balls. He had started his professional career in 1948, the year that I was born. He extended his hand. "Get into your uniform and I will help you get ready to pitch," he offered, and added a promise to throw at my head when I came up to bat.

My brother took over the clubhouse tasks and I sauntered across the field, into the third-base dugout and into the Mounties clubhouse. Doc Bastrire led me to my locker and offered uniform #27, which had been worn all season by George Lauzerique, before his call-up to Oakland. I was elated, and undressed. Ignoring both tradition and good sense, I put on my pants both legs at a time, until I was reminded that I needed a cup. A teammate quickly came to the rescue.

A second saunter took me to the field. "Fish" spotted me and ran up to me. "Here's how to get loose," he advised, and began rolling balls to my left and right, which I would pick up and toss back to him. After several hundred pick-ups, I realized I was being hazed. Fischer lost interest after I collapsed. I walked back to the dugout and went to warm up.

As I prepared to throw my first pitches on the sidelines to Rene Lachemann, someone called out for an autograph. Unschooled in contemporary baseball PR etiquette, I obliged. I often think back with some embarrassment that somewhere in someone's attic is a slip of paper or a baseball signed by Kit Krieger on the sweet spot, a name that would stump the most obsessive SABR member.

The lineups were announced and the anthems (both Canadian and American) were played. My catcher, Woody Huyke, came to the mound to settle down his nervous rookie. "What do you throw?" asked Huyke, who would go on to a long career as a minor league manager in the Pirates organization. "Fastball, slider, and knuckleball," I whispered. "Break my fuckin' fingers and I'll fuckin' kill you," advised Huyke. There is something about the com-

I have received a copy of my 1968 Vancouver contract

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
PROFESSIONAL BASEBALL LEAGUES

PAGE ONE

IMPORTANT NOTICE

The attention of both Club and Player is specifically directed to the following excerpts from Professional Baseball Rule 3(a):

"No Club shall make a contract different from the uniform contract and no club shall make a contract containing non-baseball clause, except permission be first secured from the... President of the National Association. The making of any agreement between a Club and Player not embodied in the contract shall subject both parties to discipline."

Uniform Player Contract

Parties — The VANCOUVER BASEBALL Club, herein called the Club, a member of the Pacific Coast League, and ERNEST JAY KRIEGER herein called the player, of 6070 Athlone Street, Vancouver 13, B. C., Canada are parties of this contract.

Recital — The League of which the Club is a member is a league of the National Association of Professional Baseball Leagues (hereinafter referred to as the "National Association"). As such, and jointly with other clubs of its League, it is a party to the Constitution and By-Laws of the League of which it is a member; and is subject to and governed by the Agreement of the National Association of Professional Baseball Leagues (hereinafter referred to as the "National Association Agreement"), and the Professional Baseball Agreement and Rules, between the National Association, on the one hand, and the American League of Professional Baseball Clubs and its constituent clubs and the National League of Professional Baseball Clubs and its constituent clubs, on the other hand. The purpose of [illegible] Agreement, Rules, Constitutions and By-Laws is to promote the public welfare of organized professional baseball by affirming the relationship between Club and Player, between Club and League, and between League and Association and in the League President, broad powers of control, of discipline, and of decision in case of disputes.

Agreement of Employment — YEAR 1968 — In consideration of the facts above recited and of the promises of each of the other, the parties agree as follows:

1. The Club hereby employs the Player to render, and the Player agrees to render, skilled services as a baseball player in connection with all games of the Club during the year 1968, including the Club's training season, the Club's exhibition games, the Club's playing season, any official series in which the Club may participate, and in all games or games in the receipts of which the Player may be entitled to share. The Player covenants that at the time he signs this contract he is not under contract or contractual obligation to any baseball club other than the one party to this contract and that he is capable of and will perform with experience, diligence and fidelity the service stated and such other duties as may be required of him in such employment.

Payment — 2. For the service aforesaid subsequent to the training season the Club will pay the Player at the rate of $500.00 (Five Hundred Dollars) per month, as follows: in semi-monthly installments, after the commencement of the playing season covered by this contract, unless the Club is "abroad", in which event the amount then due shall be paid on the first day (other than a Sunday or legal holiday) after the return "home" of the Club. The terms "home" and "abroad" mean, respectively, at and away from the city in which the Club has its baseball park.

The obligation to make such payment shall begin with the commencement of the Club's playing season [illegible] subsequent date as the Player's service may commence) and end with the termination of the Club's scheduled playing season and any official league play-off series in which the Club participates, except that if the Player is in the service of the Club for part of the playing season only, he shall receive such proportion of the payment above stipulated as the number of days of his actual employment to any month bears to the number of days in said month.

Loyalty — 3. (a) The Player agrees to serve diligently and faithfully the Club, or any other Club, to which this contract may be assigned, as provided in paragraph 6 hereof; to keep himself in first-class physical condition, and to observe and comply with all requirements of the Club respecting conduct and service of its team and its players at all times, whether on or off the field, and pledges himself to the public to conform to high standards of personal conduct, fair play and good sportsmanship.

Baseball Promotion — (b) In addition to the service in connection with the active playing of baseball, the Player agrees to cooperate with the Club and participate in any and all promotional activities of the Club and its League, which, in the opinion of the Club, will promote the welfare of the Club or Professional baseball.

Pictures — (c) The Player agrees that, while in the Club's uniform, photographs, whether still or action, and motion pictures may be taken and telecasts made, of himself, individually or with others, at such times or places as the Club may designate, that all rights therein shall belong to the Club, and that they may be used, reproduced or otherwise disseminated by the Club, directly or indirectly, in any manner the Club desires. The Player further agrees that during the playing season (as defined in paragraph 1 of this contract) he will not make public appearances, participate in radio or television programs, permit his picture to be taken, sponsor commercial products or services, or write or sponsor newspaper or magazine articles, without in each case the written consent of his Club, which, however, shall not be withheld except in the reasonable interests of the Club or Professional Baseball, provided, however, that at no time shall the Player, while in the Club's uniform, engage in any of the foregoing activities without the written consent of the Club.

Player Representations — 4. (a) The Player represents that he has no physical or mental defect known to him, which would prevent or impair performance of his services.

(b) The Player represents that he does not, directly or indirectly, own stock or have any financial interest in the ownership or earnings of any Major League or National Association Club, except as hereinafter expressly set forth, and covenants that he will not hereafter, while under contract to the Club, or any assignee thereof, acquire or hold any such stock or interest, except in accordance with Professional Baseball Rule 20 (e).

Playing for Others — 5. (a) The Player agrees that, while under contract and prior to expiration of the Club's right to renew the contract, and until he reports to his Club for spring training, if this contract is renewed, for the purpose of avoiding injuries he will not play baseball otherwise than for the Club, except that he may participate in post-season games as permitted in the National Association Agreement.

Other Sports — (b) The Player and the Club recognize and agree that the Player's participation in other sports may impair or destroy his ability and skill as a baseball player. Accordingly, the Player agrees he will not engage in professional boxing or wrestling and that, except with the written consent of the Club, he will not play professional football, basketball, hockey or other contact sport.

PACIFIC COAST LEAGUE OFFICIAL LINEUP CARD

Authenticate with date and signature at bottom

HOME CLUB BATTING ORDER

1	LA RUSSA	2B
2	NOSSEK	CF
3	DRISCOLL	SS
4	BOROS	3B
5	CHAVARRIA	1B
6	ROWE	LF
7	NORTON	RF
8	HUYKE	C
9	KRIEGER	P

DATE: SEPT. 8 1968

M. Vernon

Certified by (Signature)

PAC. VAN. BATS. HAW. FISCHER. AND. BOCKER. VAN. KRIEGER. AND. HUYKE

munication between pitcher and catcher that is almost mystical to those outside the fraternity.

I threw my warmup tosses, only one of which eluded Huyke and went to the backstop. I was semi-conscious and so nervous that my fastball lost maybe 15 mph. The Islander lineup was impressive. Everyone in the lineup had played or would play in the major leagues. Angel Bravo led off and lined the first strike into centre field for a single. It was then that I faced my first and only reservation about my fantasy. I suddenly realized that I hadn't pitched since I was in Little League. No leadoffs are allowed in Little League and I had never pitched from the stretch. Bravo stole second without drawing a throw, one of five stolen bases in my three innings. With one out and runners on first and third, a sacrifice fly scored the first Hawaii run. The fly had been caught in very shallow centre field by flyhawk Joe Nossek. However, Nossek had pitched seven innings the previous night and couldn't raise his arm above his waist. He flipped the ball to second baseman Tony LaRussa, who I resent to this day for not having waved Nossek off the ball. I got the third out and walked off the field trailing 1–0 and owning a gaudy 9.00 ERA.

The second inning got off to a bad start. I plunked Hawaii first baseman George Kernek in the ribs. He took the blow with the same silence my fastball exhibited when glancing off his side. I blurted out an un-big-league-like "sorry." The bases were soon loaded and Gene Freese strode to the plate. Freese had played third base for the NL champion Reds of 1961 and was a very nice guy. He was called "Augie" because that's what an announcer had called him in error when he started his professional career. Freese fouled off a few pitches and then bounced into a 5–4–3 inning-ending double play. My ERA had been halved to 4.50 and I was feeling more confident.

In the third, I retired the side in order, finishing the inning by striking out Gail Hopkins on a slider in on his hands. I remember showing no elation and walking off the mound in journeyman fashion. My thoughts turned to renegotiating my contract.

Mickey Vernon awaited me as I stepped into the dugout. Instead of the expected pat on the butt, he said "That's all, son" and called for a pinch hitter. My disappointment lasted the second it took for me to recall Bill Fischer's warning. "Thanks," I murmured, and sat down.

Ossie Chavarria took the mound for the Mounties in the fourth. The Panamanian Chavarria, who had two cups of coffee with the A's, was to play all nine positions that day. I showered and returned to the visiting clubhouse to finish packing the Islanders' gear for the getaway.

In the bottom of the seventh, Steve Boros hit a three-run homer to get me off the hook. The game ended in a 3–1 Mounties victory with Don O'Riley picking up the win in relief. But the real story of the game was not my debut, Chavarria's iron-man feat, or the Gail Hopkins punchout. (Note: Hopkins struck out only 83 times in 1,213 big league at-bats.) Bill Fischer, as always, was throwing strikes. In my nervousness, I was taking little time between pitches and the Mounties bullpen followed suit. The players, all anxious to go home and forget dismal seasons, started swinging at first pitches after my departure. The game ended in only one hour and four minutes, probably the fastest game played since the days of Eppa Rixey and the Big Train. Several fans, in the habit of arriving in the fourth inning to avoid having to buy a ticket, arrived at the ballpark in time to collide with fans going home at game's end. The paltry gate resulting from my tepid ticket sales, went to giving refunds to irate fans who missed half the action if they went to the restrooms or bought a hotdog at the concession.

I held my head high. I had started on seven years' rest and acquitted myself well. Three innings pitched, one run (earned), a strikeout, a walk, and a 3.00 ERA. I had made perhaps the largest jump in classifications in the hundred seasons since the Red Stockings in going from Little League to the venerable PCL.

The next few weeks brought a flurry of game-related correspondence: a letter from the club notifying me that I had been placed on waivers, and another from PCL prexy Bill McKechnie, Jr., informing me that I had not been claimed and that I was released unconditionally. Three months after that, I received a letter from Sy Berger at Topps. A five-dollar cheque was enclosed along with a letter congratulating me on becoming a professional ballplayer and offering me the five bucks in

exchange for giving Topps exclusive rights to use my image on cards for eternity. Looking back, it is good that there was no internet, which would have let them know that my career ended before they ever knew it started.

Four years later, I played in the city's senior amateur league, "fashioning" a deceptive 1–7 record that included a no-hitter in a ballpark that extended only 155 feet to right field, and a one-hit loss in the playoffs. By this time, I was a grizzled 23-year-old getting by on guile and a forkball taught to me by Elroy Face when he came to Vancouver with the 1969 Expos for an exhibition game.

Thirty-seven seasons have passed since I fanned Gail Hopkins with a slider in on his hands. I don't think about it other than the two or three times a week that I listen to the last line of a tape of Jim Robson's play-by-play account on CKWX. "Struck him out," screams Robson in a style that betrays his first love, hockey. I am never stopped in the street and asked if I am the Kit Krieger who played for the Mounties and I have never had a gig at a card show.

Occasionally, I come into contact with someone connected to the game. When I was in St. Louis three years ago, I wrote a note to LaRussa, reminding him of the game and asking for box seats to a Cardinals game. I spoke to Mickey Vernon in 2001, prior to a visit to see his old teammate, Conrado Marrero, in Cuba. Mickey remembered the game well and recalled that he had received a call shortly after the game from Bowie Kuhn, who was impressed with the one-hour-and-four-minute contest. He asked Vernon for ideas on speeding up the game.

The bottom line is that I played professional baseball. If I don't get into the details, and let the numbers in the 1969 *Sporting News Guide* speak for themselves, people are pretty impressed.

PACIFIC COAST BASEBALL LEAGUE

3320 EAST VAN BUREN
P. O. BOX 5560
PHOENIX, ARIZONA 85010
602 - 267-0603

September 16, 1968

TO ALL PACIFIC COAST LEAGUE CLUBS:

The Vancouver Club requests waivers on the following player:

ERNEST JAY KRIEGER

Claiming period expires September 26, 1968, 4:30 P.M., M.S.T.

Yours very truly,

WM. B. McKechnie, Jr.
President

Managing in Woodstock, N.B.

David Jauss

I CAN ONLY PASS ALONG FIRST-HAND EXPERIENCE as a sign of my fondness, respect, and dedication to Canadian baseball. I have been fortunate to have had a lot of success in baseball at both the college and professional level. My first head coaching position was with the Woodstock Shiretowners in the New Brunswick Senior League in 1980 and 1981. The opportunity I was given those two years was both enjoyable and invaluable in allowing me to pursue my career in this great game.

As always, people are the reason my experiences were so lasting and unforgettable. I was a 22-year-old non-native (at that time the first ever in the league), living in a foreign country and coaching/managing a team made up of 16- to 38-year-old players. In addition, I was living with the 6,000 citizens of friendly and quaint Woodstock. (Later on this turned out to be great preparation for coaching in Wilson, NC as a "Yankee" from up north and managing in both Venezuela and the Dominican Republic as a "Gringo.") Every day on the field and in the town was a new adventure, and the experience moulded how I manage both my baseball teams and life.

Right from the start, it was memorable. I left Amherst, MA after our last baseball game of the regular season for the college where I was assistant coach. I had just bought my first car, an AMC Matador (not the ideal gas-saving vehicle for a young, broke individual), and had finished final exams at the graduate program. So I was excited and prepared to get to Woodstock and be the next Earl Weaver or Billy Martin, *now*. I had played at all three colleges in the Portland area, Colby, Bates, and Bowdoin, and thought I knew where I was going. However, after getting to Portland and letting out a sigh that I was almost there, I continued to drive and drive and drive. I didn't realize that I was still closer to Amherst than Woodstock. Later on, when I lived in Chicago as a field coordinator with the Orioles, my night trips driving to Baltimore, Bowie (where the Eastern League team was) or Frederick, Maryland (where the Carolina League team was) never fazed me after that initial trip to Woodstock.

The first night I had practice, the MVP from the previous finals, Bobby English, was absent. All the players told me that he was retiring since he was 33 years old, had a wife and two kids, and needed to spend more time at home in the summer when he had time off from his regular job as a high-school English teacher. So after practice I decided to go to his house to find out what the story was and see if I could convince him to play another season, since I had already had four or five other veterans retire during the winter and we were going to be the youngest team in the league. I knocked on his door and got to meet his lovely wife and talk with him as his kids played with his balding head. He was obvi-

ously reluctant to play, but the longer we talked and the more we talked about baseball, the more his eyes gleamed. By the end of the evening we had thrown a bullpen and taken ground balls in the street, and he had committed to play. We ended up winning the pennant with a team that, except for Bobby English, was brand-new. He ended up being MVP, and led our team in batting average.

The entire league was very talented, but most players had played ten times as many softball games as baseball—fast-pitch softball was considered "big-time" level in the province—and had been on skates a hundred times more than in baseball cleats. Therefore, training was the most important thing, and it started from the basics. I always remember trying to tell these players that it was *not* appropriate to clothesline the first baseman if you grounded out to end an inning! In addition, there was the proper way to use the equipment. Some catchers had played so much slow pitch they didn't use chest protectors. Then there were the basics like holding a bat properly; I was never able to get my first baseman to stop using a split grip. He consistently hit over .300 in his career, and his slugging percentage was exactly the same as his batting average, though I won money from him by betting he couldn't throw a ball up and hit it even given three chances. I always used the "swing it like an axe" phrase since they had to all know how to chop wood for the long, cold winters.

It was early on that I learned what it took to be a good hitter: strength and fearlessness. They were mostly right-handed throwing, left-handed hitting from their hockey backgrounds, which assisted in their ability to hit. (I believe a strong right hand as the bottom hand of a bat grip is a crucial to success.) Then you add to the mix their fearlessness as a culture and as athletes ("hockey breeds"). They didn't take the best-looking swings, or stay back well on off-speed, but they hit the ball hard and all could hit the fastball (again, preparing me for teaching and working with hitters from the DR).

It was my job, as described earlier in my first meeting with Bobby English, to recruit players. I had to go to a farm and ask the father of a 16-year-old if his son, a very talented young infielder, could take some time off from his farming chores to play ball. This was a training ground for my future in recruiting at colleges since if I hadn't won over his mother, the young man, Mike Campbell, would have never gotten a free pass from his dad. I was also able to convince two high-school coaches from Houlton, Maine to play for me, though later I realized that they came so they could learn drills to teach their high-school players rather than pay the $50 clinic fee that the club charged when I gave instructional clinics during the summer. It also foreshadowed how many times I would later get duped by high-school coaches when I was recruiting their players ("oh yes, what a great kid this young man is," or "his parents are so nice and always stay out of your business," or "girls, that's the last thing this young man is interested in"). Another lesson I learned was the benefits some players brought you outside of the field. There was a great young player from Bath, N.B., which was 30 or more miles outside of Woodstock, who didn't own a car. There was another player in the area, who wasn't very good, who made the club because he had a car and could get the good player to the game. Later on, the less talented player with the car became a good friend and would stock me up with good food as he was a McCain, of McCain frozen foods.

There was a great experience in bonding up there that rivals any clubhouse I have ever been a part of. We played on a nice but plain field in town with a few sets of aluminum bleachers, a small press box behind the backstop, open dugouts, and a giant parking lot down the right field line (made to hold the cars for the big hockey stadium adjacent to the baseball field). Within three minutes after every game or practice, the trunk of one of the players' cars was popped and flats (the term used for cases) of Schooner or Alpine, the local beer, were brought out so we could discuss the intricacies of baseball, women, and politics. There was many a night that we ended up turning double plays or running bunt defenses back on the field when we couldn't agree or I couldn't verbalize my thoughts on baseball. And in turn, there were even more nights that our inadequacies regarding women were exposed as girlfriends and/or wives came screeching into the parking lot hours after the game wondering where their men were.

The first summer I was there, we were in first place, eventually winning the pennant, which al-

lowed me to manage the provincial team for the national Senior League tournament. New Brunswick had failed miserably for the previous ten years and again was not expected to do anything in the tournament, which was being held in Trois-Rivières (still one of the most beautiful places I have ever seen in my life). As was the case with my club in Woodstock, I stressed the influx of new young talent, adding many new players from the other clubs throughout the league. We held practices and workouts, stressing the fundamentals in all areas, thus making them more prepared, all-round ball players. (This ended up hurting us in the playoffs within our provincial tournament later, because these players from the other clubs learned more baseball in one week than they had their entire careers.) We caught the other provinces by surprise and with our youthful and unorthodox tactics: stealing bases, playing five infielders in the bottom of extra innings, and using our first baseman, also a right-handed pitcher, to get a right-handed hitter out late in the game (then moving him back to first base). We enjoyed the night life until the wee hours of the morning and we ended up taking second place in the 1980 National Tournament.

In conclusion, I can tell you how long friendships have lasted with the players I met 25 years ago. When I coached the Woodstock club, the Fredricton team had the premier player of the league, Scott Harvey, who had reached Triple-A in the Cardinals system. He played for the provincial club I managed when we went to the tournament in Trois-Rivières. Scott has a daughter and son working in Boston and he roots for the Red Sox. When Boston won the World Series, he sent me an email congratulating me and the team on winning the title. Scott was the best pitcher and hitter for our rivals, and his fine play helped New Brunswick to one of its highest finishes in history.

Prosecutions will follow if the deliberate appropriation of baseballs continues at Lansdowne Park. Yesterday no fewer than four which went into the grandstand were pocketed by souvenir-hunting fans or youngsters. The balls cost about $1.50 each, and the supply is one of the biggest items of expenditure which the Ottawa club has to foot. Chief Ross has instructed the men to keep a sharp lookout on the thieves.

—*Ottawa Citizen* (of which Senators' co-owner Tommy Gorman was sports editor), August 19, 1913.

Tales from the Canadian League, 1911–1915

David McDonald

In the years immediately before the Great War, baseball was by far the most popular spectator sport in Canada. In 1913, a record 24 Canadian urban centres sported minor-league ball teams. Six of these teams—the Brantford Red Sox, Hamilton Kolts, London Tecumsehs (a.k.a. Cockneys), St. Thomas Saints, Guelph Maple Leafs, and Berlin (now Kitchener) Green Sox—came out of the baseball hotbed of southwestern Ontario.

Two years earlier, they had banded together to form a Class D professional loop they christened, rather presumptuously, the Canadian League. The circuit played a 110-game schedule and charged 25 cents to get in. After an opening day loss in 1911, the Green Sox led the first CL pennant race wire to wire, eventually finishing 11 games ahead of second-place London.

In 1912, the circuit added two clubs from the eastern half of Ontario, the Ottawa Senators and the Peterborough White Caps, and, by dint of total population represented, moved up to Class C. Each team had a monthly salary limit of $1,200, exclusive of managers. Most managers were active players and some, like Ottawa's Frank Shaughnessy, were even part-owners of their teams.

The CL pennant race wrapped up early in 1912, with the fledgling Senators clinching the pennant on August 17. Brantford finished second, nine games back. That fall, four Senators—pitchers Joe McManus, Erwin Renfer and Fred Herbert, and shortstop Artie Schwind—were drafted by teams higher up the baseball food chain. All would eventually make it to the majors, albeit for a collective total of five games.

In 1913, the champion Senators languished in fifth place in late July, before a 13-game winning streak vaulted them into first. Second-place London, however, stayed on their heels. The pennant wasn't decided until the second game of a doubleheader on Labour Day, the final day of the season, when the Senators crushed the White Caps before 7,000 hometown fans and edged the Tecumsehs by a single game.

The advent of the Federal League in 1914 created panic and paranoia throughout organized baseball, the Canadian League included. Anxious to prevent the new big league from invading its turf, the Toronto Maple Leafs of the besieged International League—the Feds had already invaded three IL cities, Buffalo, Baltimore, and Newark—purchased the ailing Berlin franchise in the CL. They renamed it the Beavers and installed it in the Leafs' home park at Hanlan's Point. The move was intended to discourage a possible Federal League incursion by tying up the facility while the Maple Leafs were on the road.

As part of a strategy to fend off the marauding Feds, organized baseball also encouraged the Canadian League to expand into the United States. In 1914, London

businessman George O'Neil paid $2,500 for a CL franchise and placed it in Erie, Pa. With Toronto and Erie in the fold, the circuit applied for and received a Class B designation from the National Commission. The 1914 season also marked the debut of Sunday baseball in the Canadian League. Erie played at home on Sundays, the Senators in neighbouring Hull, Quebec.

As it happened, the Canadian League's biggest challenge wasn't the Federal League or Ontario blue laws. Rather, it was the worsening situation in Europe. On August 4, 1914, Canada joined Britain in declaring war on Germany, and, in very short order, the conflict cast a heavy pall over baseball. The Senators, in fact, soon found themselves sharing their field at Lansdowne Park with young men who were flocking to the capital to enlist. "Soldiers added a heavy touch of the realities of war as they were camped around the outfield," said the *Ottawa Citizen* in its report of the Senators' August 18, 1914, game against Brantford. "Hits into volunteers went for two bases only." The war had become a ground rule, and from that moment, the Canadian League's days were numbered.

The Senators, benefitting from a breakout season by Urban "Herbie" Shocker (20–8), clawed their way to a third straight league title in 1914. To do it, they had to overcome a nine-game deficit in the final six weeks of the season. Again, the battle for the flag came down to the final day of the season, and again it was the Tecumsehs of London who were nipped at the wire. (See "Let's Play Three!" *The National Pastime* 23, 2003.) But in the capital, and elsewhere, the drama of the pennant race was largely drowned out by the war. "Should it continue after next spring," said the *Citizen*, "people won't pay much attention to baseball or any other branch of sport."

Even the draft that fall, usually a chance for minor league clubs to recoup a few dollars on their best players, failed to offer much financial relief from the poor season at the gate. After having been designated a Class B circuit (Double-A was the highest tier in 1914), the Canadian League was perplexed to receive less than it expected in fees for their drafted players. It came out that the league had neglected to remit an increase in dues to the National Commission to cover its elevation to Class B status, and was still regarded by the powers that be as Class C. After some deliberation, CL president James Fitzgerald decided not to press the issue. He felt it would be prudent to go into a new season as a more modest C organization—especially when the franchises in Toronto, Erie, and Peterborough dropped out.

Thus, in 1915, a shrunken, six-team Canadian League—the Guelph Maple Leafs re-upped after a year on the sidelines—struggled through one final, indifferent season. Ottawa cruised to yet another pennant, their fourth in four tries, this time by 12½ games over Guelph. Once again, spitballer Herbie Shocker led the way for the Senators, winning 19 and losing 11, and, in the September draft, he was taken by the New York Yankees for $750.

Ottawa's Shaughnessy, for one, wanted to play ball in 1916, but in March, the newly formed 207th Infantry Battalion took over Lansdowne Park. The Senators now had no place to play, and the league had little choice but to suspend operations for 1916. A year later, Frank Shaughnessy signed up with the very battalion that had displaced his ball club and was assigned to the Canadian Siberian Expeditionary Force. The league his Senators dominated for four seasons never resumed.

Kid, What Did I Tell You About Hitting the Cutoff Man?

During a game in Ottawa in June, 1912, a Hamilton infielder was loping towards the Senators' dugout in token pursuit of a pop foul, when suddenly a glove came flying at him. The umpire immediately ruled interference and called the Ottawa batter out. Hamilton held on to win the game 4–3.

Senators acting manager Louie Cook was incensed. After the game, he announced that the glove-tosser had been released. What Cook called into question was not so much his intentions, but rather his judgment in interfering with an opponent who had absolutely no chance of making a play. The team's eight-year-old mascot was out of a job.

Drive-in Baseball

When it came to accommodating the emerging fashion for automobiles, the Ottawa Senators were miles ahead of the pack. Before the advent

of drive-in restaurants, movies, and even drive-in gas stations, the Senators welcomed motorists to Lansdowne Park. Fans could motor right into the stadium, park along the foul lines, and take in a ballgame without ever having to leave the comfort of their own flivvers.

As one newspaper account of the game that clinched the 1912 pennant for the Senators put it, "there was such an outpouring of 'buzz-wagons' that it was necessary to agree on some ground rules and to make many line up on the east end of the field, which had hitherto not been used for that purpose."

The following year, for a May 24 holiday game against Brantford, the Senators drew 52 cars—about 10 percent of the entire city's automobile population at the time.

Drive-in baseball even attracted royalty. The Governor-General (Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught) and his daughter, the popular Princess Patricia, took in the Senators' 1914 home opener in their automobile, with the Senators' bullpen corps of pitchers Herbie Shocker and Pete Peterson and catcher-singer-dancer Eddie Wager (he worked the vaudeville circuit in the offseason) hanging around the royal limo to provide the pretty 28-year-old princess with a primer on the game. Nervous club officials announced that a viceregal box would be installed for next time.

Definitely Not the Kitty League

On the morning of July 27, 1912, just as St. Thomas ace Skipper Jacobson arrived at Pinafore Park for the first game of a doubleheader against the visiting London Tecumsehs, a small black cat scurried across his path. Unsure of what to do to ward off the bad luck that would surely plague him, Jacobson grabbed the cat and shoved it inside his sweater jacket. The cat quieted down, and Jacobson, not scheduled to pitch that morning, soon took up his position in the third-base coaching box.

A few batters into the game, one of Jacobson's teammates smacked a wicked liner right at him. He tried to spin out of the way, but the ball struck him hard in the midsection. The fans gasped, thinking their star pitcher must certainly be hurt. But Jacobson just smiled, picked up the ball, and tossed it back to the London pitcher. As he did so, his sweater fell open, and the cat dropped out, stone dead.

No one seemed quite certain what effect the demise of Jacobson's cat would have on his, or his team's, long-term fortunes. But St. Thomas did take two from London that day, and Jacobson went on to win 19 games.

Typhoid Joe

Senators pitcher Joe McManus, a 24-year-old farm boy from Palmyra, Ill., was one of a number of players of the day derailed not by lack of talent or by a baseball injury, but by illness spread by dodgy water supplies and inadequate medical treatment.

McManus lost the Senators' first-ever game, against St. Thomas on May 14, 1912, but bounced back to win his next 14 decisions. By mid-July, the papers were calling him "the Rube Marquard of the Canadian League," after the New York Giants great who had just tied a major-league mark of 19 straight victories.

On July 16, McManus was pressed into relief service against visiting Hamilton. Despite feeling a little under the weather, he pitched a scoreless ninth that afternoon to preserve a 7–6 Senators win. The next day, McManus took the mound for his scheduled start against the same Hamilton club, but found he had little on the ball, and lost 6–5. His streak was ended.

A week later, McManus was feeling even worse. Finally, he was diagnosed with "a light attack of fever." It was typhus. In late August of that year, the Department of the Interior finally got around to recommending inoculations and the boiling of drinking water in some urban areas, but it was too late for McManus and hundreds of other victims of the outbreak. Given his age and physical condition, however, McManus was expected to bounce back quickly.

In mid-August, the Cincinnati Reds bought McManus's contract, even though it was by now clear he would not play again that season. The fever had melted 35 lbs. off his 180-lb. frame. While the National Agreement only stipulated half-pay and half-expenses for a sidelined player, the Senators graciously offered to pick up all of McManus's salary, expenses, and medical bills until the end of the

season. The club covered his transportation back home to Illinois. Said McManus, as he left Ottawa, "I won 14 straight this season and I will make it 20 straight if I play for Ottawa next season."

McManus started the 1913 season in Cincinnati. On April 12, still suffering from dizziness and other after-effects of his illness, he saw his first major-league action. He was touched for four runs in two innings of relief against the Pirates. Manager Joe Tinker said the poor outing wouldn't affect McManus's standing with the club, but he never pitched in the majors again.

The Reds soon shipped McManus off to Nashville, then to Guelph in the Canadian League. But Guelph didn't like what they saw, and let him go, too. He turned to Ottawa, but he was in such a poor state that the unsentimental Shaughnessy refused to even offer him a tryout. McManus bounced around for a couple more seasons in the minors, but never again recovered the touch that had made him practically unbeatable in the summer of 1912.

As it turned out, the microbes weren't much kinder to the man who eclipsed McManus's record-winning streak the following year. Right-hander Erwin Renfer won 17 straight for the Senators on his way to a 21–6 season. His performance earned him a ticket to Detroit, where he appeared in one game for the Tigers in the fall of 1913. The following spring, while in the Southern United States, Renfer was stricken with malaria and was unable to report for spring training. Like McManus, he never got another shot at the majors.

The Death of Jimmie Louden

It was thanks to some daring base running by a rookie named Jimmie Louden that Ottawa clinched its first Canadian League pennant, on August 17, 1912. The Senators had squeaked out a 2–1, 10-inning win over arch-rival London in the morning half of a Saturday twin bill at Lansdowne Park. All they needed now was a win in the second game. Late in the afternoon, with the score tied 1–1, Louden rapped a single, stole second, stole third, and scored on a wild throw to give Ottawa a 2–1 win and the flag.

Ottawa expected more of the same from the promising Louden in 1913. Already, the Chicago White Sox were said to be interested in him. But several days before the Senators were to open spring training in Fort Wayne, Ind., word came from Chicago that Jimmie Louden was not really Jimmie Louden but a 21-year-old University of Illinois electrical engineering student named George Kempf, and George Kempf was dead. He had died, said his mother, of an old baseball injury.

Whether Kempf qualifies as a baseball-related fatality is difficult to determine. Several years previously, according to Mrs. Kempf, her son had been struck on the jaw during a game, but thought little of it. Later, she said, he had developed a "malignant growth" at the spot where he had been hit, and three operations had failed to halt its spread.

Other reports said Kempf had developed "ulceration," then "blood poisoning," following the removal of several teeth in the spring of 1912, and that this, exacerbated by "galloping consumption," had led to his untimely death. Only one Ottawa teammate, fellow Chicagoan Mike Callahan, attended "Jimmie Louden's" funeral.

The Human Rabbit's Foot

He must be the only player in professional baseball to have been a member of three pennant-winning clubs in a single season. Frank "Cubby" Kubat was a left hander who caught on with the Ottawa Senators in 1912 after a stellar amateur career in Chicago. He was the star pitcher on at least half a dozen championship teams at the city high-school level (both indoors and outdoors), in senior indoor competition, and in Banker's League sandlot play.

In Kubat's first professional season, the Senators clinched the pennant by mid-August and began to sell off their best players. Kubat was shipped to Fort Wayne, where Senators part-owner Frank Shaughnessy was managing that season. Fort Wayne captured the Central League title, and, in early September, Kubat was sold again, this time to the Toronto Maple Leafs of the International League. He arrived back in Canada in time to help the Leafs wrap up the IL flag. In the span of five weeks, Kubat had won three pennants.

The Senators re-acquired Kubat in 1913. Over the next three seasons, he won three more Canadian League flags, giving him a total of six pennants in his first four professional seasons.

The Big Flag Flap

By July 1915, Canada had been at war for almost a year, and the notion that some young men should continue playing baseball while their contemporaries were dying in the trenches of France was becoming increasingly untenable. It was even beginning to gnaw at some of the players, especially the small number of homebrews in the Canadian League. British-born, Toronto-raised pitcher Bobby Auld was one of them. Auld had gone 12–5 for the Toronto Beavers in 1914, before joining Guelph for the 1915 season.

On July 12, 1915, Auld was walking down the main street in St. Thomas in the company of teammate Billy Brown. (Brown was centre fielder William Verna Brown, a Texan who had played nine games for the St. Louis Browns in 1912.) During a discussion, presumably about the war, Auld waved a little Union Jack in Brown's face. The Texan grabbed the flag and tore it up. It was an unfortunate gesture in a nation at war, especially for someone from a non-combatant country (the United States would not join the conflict for another two years).

A passer-by witnessed the incident and filed a complaint with the St. Thomas police. A couple of hours later, Brown was rousted out of his bed at the Grand Central Hotel and jailed overnight. The next day, he was handed over to military authorities. If convicted in military court of defacing the flag, Brown would certainly have been deported.

Frank Shaughnessy's Senators tried to capitalize on the flag flap by advising league headquarters that Brown—and presumably his bat (he would hit .327 that season, second in the CL)—would not be welcome in the capital for the big Guelph-Ottawa series coming up. Ottawa went as far as to demand Brown's expulsion from the league. The flag flap even made the pages of the *Washington Post*.

Brown apologized profusely to Auld and to anyone else he could think of, and that appeared to put an end of the matter. The following week, Brown was in the lineup as Guelph visited Ottawa. Despite his presence, the Senators took three of four from the Maple Leafs to leapfrog into first place. A few weeks later, Bobby Auld announced he was abandoning his baseball career to enlist in the army.

Hold Those Tigers!

As part of its city's centennial week celebrations in August 1913, the Hamilton club arranged an exhibition match with the nearest big-league ball club, the Detroit Tigers. Bolstered by a pair of Ottawa Senators, the Hams might have upset the Tigers had it not been for a single, a pair of doubles, and a base on balls from one Ty Cobb. Detroit won 4–2. Hamilton catcher Red Fisher did manage to throw out three Tiger base runners—Cobb, George Moriarty, and Paddy Baumann—who would combine for 88 AL stolen bases that summer. The game marked the return of future Hall of Famer Wahoo Sam Crawford to a park he had played in many times as a $65-a-month outfielder for the 1899 Chatham Reds of an earlier version of the Canadian League.

Never On Sunday

From his first involvement with the Ottawa club, Frank Shaughnessy was anxious to play ball on what was potentially the most lucrative day of the week, Sunday. The capital itself may have been out of the question—no one dared play anything on the sabbath in true-blue Protestant Ontario—but just a short tram ride across the Ottawa River lounged the capital's slightly disreputable little brother, Hull, Quebec, where, after Sunday Mass, practically any form of diversion, including baseball, was tolerated.

Shaughnessy floated the idea of playing Sunday games in Hull in 1912, but backed down at the last minute. "Ottawas Have Yielded to Wishes of Better Element," said the *Ottawa Citizen*. It would take two years for Shaughnessy to work up the courage to defy this "better element." Finally, on Sunday, May 17, 1914, the Senators hosted the Toronto Beavers at Parc Dupuis in Hull. Five thousand fans jammed the 4,500-seat facility. The overflow sat on the grass in front of the grandstand, with cars parked two deep down the left field line.

While Sunday ball was a big hit with fans on both sides of the river, a watchdog group called the Lord's Day Alliance decided to challenge its legality under seven-year-old federal legislation that, in essence, outlawed having fun outside of a church on Sundays. The case, charging the Ottawa Baseball Club with "conducting a certain performance on

the Lord's Day for gain," would kick around Hull Police Court for more than a year before Judge Goyette rendered his decision.

Goyette, undoubtedly more concerned with protecting provincial rights than advancing professional sport, finally ruled that the federal Lord's Day Act could not be used to deprive Quebeckers of the liberties they had enjoyed prior to its passage in March 1907. Sunday ball, he noted, had been a fixture of Quebec life for 30 years, and, since provincial law did not expressly prohibit such activity, federal legislation was inapplicable. Case dismissed, with costs.

Ships in the Night

The Canadian League was a place where players on their way up met players on their way down, but mostly they met players who weren't going much of anywhere at all. Five on the rise:

Ray Keating (1891–1963). In 1911, the 20-year-old Keating joined the CL Hamilton Kolts, where manager Knotty Lee taught him the secrets of the spitball. Keating's 14–11 mark caught the attention of the New York Highlanders, for whom he debuted in 1912. In a seven-year big-league career, he won 31 and lost 51 with a 3.29 ERA.

Andy Kyle (1889–1971). Perhaps the most talented homegrown athlete to come out of the CL, Torontonian Kyle's 1911 season for London (.327 with 47 SBs in 85 games) landed him in Cincinnati in 1912, where, in nine games, he batted .333, ran up a .440 OBP, and played an errorless outfield. That was his only big-league experience, however. Kyle also played pro hockey—the first major-league baseball player to do so—with the Toronto Blueshirts of the National Hockey Association, the forerunner of the NHL.

Jim "Wickey" McAvoy (1894–1973). A catcher who batted .303 for Berlin in his first pro season, 1913, before being purchased by the Philadelphia A's, McAvoy went on to play 235 games in the American League, batting .199.

Merlin Kopp (1892–1960). The switch-hitting centre fielder played for 4½ seasons with the St. Thomas Saints, earning a reported $120 a month. Kopp would go on to steal 604 bases at the minor league level—195 for St. Thomas. In July 1915, London manager Doc Reisling brokered a deal for St. Thomas to sell Kopp, 23, to the Washington Nationals for $1,000. In 187 major-league games for Washington and the Philadelphia A's, he batted .232 with 39 SB.

Urban "Herbie" Shocker (1890–1928; some sources have him born in 1892). Probably the best player to come out of the Canadian League, Shocker, a converted catcher, won 39 games in two seasons with the Senators before being drafted by the Yankees in 1915. The ill-starred Shocker won 187 games during a 13-year big-league career, before being felled by a heart ailment at age 37.

Five on the way down:

Frank Bowerman (1868–1948). After 15 years in the majors, including eight years with the New York Giants and half a season as playing manager of the Boston Braves, the 43-year-old catcher signed to pilot the London Tecumsehs in 1912. In mid-July, after having been booed mightily at home, Bowerman quit the Canadian League and went home to Michigan.

"Twilight Ed" Killian (1876–1928). Once the ace of the Detroit Tigers (103–78, with a 2.38 ERA in eight big-league seasons), Killian, a 35-year-old sore-armed southpaw, had a brief stint with the Guelph Maple Leafs in 1912.

George "Rabbit" Nill (1881–1962). A speedy little utility player from Fort Wayne, Ind., who lasted five years in the American League (.212 batting average, 36 stolen bases), Nill was 32 when he landed the second base job for the champion Ottawa team in 1914. Asked after the season about Frank Shaughnessy's Simon Legree management style, Nill replied: "We would rather be driven to the pennant than petted into the cellar."

Carl "Doc" Reisling (1874-1955). Reisling didn't reach the majors until he was 30, and pitched regularly only in his final season, with Washington,

in 1910 (10–10, 2.54 ERA). One of two practising dentists (the other being Robert "Doc" Yates) to manage in the CL in 1914, Reisling, then 40, compiled a 9–2 record as a spot starter for the second-place Tecumsehs. His plans for a 1914 postseason tour of England with a team of London and Ottawa players were ruined by the outbreak of the War. Reisling resigned from London in August 1915, and later pursued a long career in dentistry.

Fred Payne (1880–1954). A backup catcher in the AL for Detroit and Chicago, 1906 to 1911, Payne got into two games in the 1907 World Series, where his Tigers were swept by the Cubs. As a 34-year-old, he batted .311 and helped the Senators to the 1915 Canadian League pennant. His 1911 baseball card is now reportedly worth $65.

Canadian League Hall of Famers

For a short-lived bush league, the Canadian League featured a remarkable number of future members of major Halls of Fame, albeit none situated very close to Cooperstown, N.Y. Among them:

George "Knotty" Lee and Frank "Shag" Shaughnessy, Canadian Baseball Hall of Fame, St. Marys, Ont. The Toronto-born Lee (1877–1962) spent most of his life in baseball as a pitcher, manager, league organizer, scout, and sporting goods magnate. He was player-manager of Canadian League clubs in Hamilton, Toronto, and Guelph.

Shaughnessy (1883–1969), the former Notre Dame quarterback, had a couple of sips of major league coffee before settling in Canada in 1911, where he became manager, centre fielder, and part-owner of the perennial champion Senators. After a long and chequered career managing and coaching baseball, college football, and even hockey, Shaughnessy became president of the International League in 1936. The *New York Times* once described him "as big as all outdoors, and as hearty as a brisk north wind."

Tommy Gorman, Frank Ahearn, and Edwin "Chaucer" Elliott, Hockey Hall of Fame, Toronto. Gorman (1886–1961), an Ottawa newspaperman and 1908 Olympic gold medallist in lacrosse, and Ahearn, scion of a wealthy Ottawa family, were, along with Shaughnessy, principal owners of the baseball Senators. Gorman went on to coach or manage seven Stanley Cup-winning hockey teams in Ottawa, Chicago, and Montreal. Ahearn (1886–1962) owned or co-owned the NHL Ottawa Senators between 1920 and 1934. Elliott (1879–1913), a native of Kingston, Ont., was best known as a hockey referee and a football coach. Part-owner of the St. Thomas Saints, he managed the club in 1912 before cancer forced him out of the game. He died at age 34.

Earle "Greasy" Neale, Professional Football Hall of Fame, Canton, Ohio. After two solid seasons with London, including a .335 average in 1913, Neale (1891–1973) went on to a respectable eight-year major league baseball stint (.259 in 768 games). He is best remembered, however, for his long career as a football coach. He is the only man to play in a World Series (batting .357 for the Reds in the 1919 debacle), coach a football team in the Rose Bowl, and win an NFL title.

Edmund Lamy, Speed Skating Hall of Fame, Minneapolis, Minn. Lamy (1891–1962), the world professional speed skating champion, played a speedy centre field for London in 1914 and 1915, where he batted .325 and .311.

Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport in Canada*, 1987.

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Private correspondence with SABR members Gord Brown, Kitchener, Ont., and Steve Steinberg, Seattle, Washington, and with Honora Shaughnessy, Montreal.

Crossing Borders: The MINT League

Marshall Wright

In the world of minor league baseball, several different leagues—because of their unwieldy titles—became known by short, catchy acronyms. For instance, the Kentucky-Illinois-Tennessee circuit was known as the Kitty League, while the Kansas-Oklahoma-Missouri entity was called the KOM League. Another league—straddling the state of Michigan and the province of Ontario—was officially called the Michigan-Ontario League. The lengthy name was quickly shortened to a logical and easily remembered contraction. For most of its history, the Michigan-Ontario circuit was simply known as the MINT League.

Although the MINT League was one of the first leagues to include both Canadian and American teams, other circuits blazed this trail earlier. In 1877, in what many consider to be the first minor league, two of the seven International Association teams (London and Guelph) hailed from Canada. London's Tecumsehs (13–4), behind the efforts of future major leaguer Fred Goldsmith, finished with the best record in the nascent circuit. After the 1885 season, the two strongest teams of the Canadian League (Hamilton and Toronto) joined the New York State League to form the International League in 1886. During 1892–1911 it was known as the Eastern League, before reverting to its original name, under which it continues to this day. In 1900, another Canadian League took in several Michigan members (Port Huron, Grand Rapids, and Saginaw), forming another International League. Nearly 20 years later, another Canadian-American League was formed, following much the same blueprint as the 1900 International League.

As minor league baseball returned to normalcy following World War I, two brand-new circuits were formed in the spring of 1919. One of the leagues was an eight-member circuit formed out of four Canadian locales, augmented by a quartet of Michigan cities. The four Ontario members were the Hamilton Tigers, Brantford Red Sox, Kitchener Beavers, and London Tecumsehs. The American contingent consisted of the Saginaw Aces, Battle Creek Custers, Bay City Wolves and Flint Halligans. The new Class B circuit, under the tutelage of President Joseph Jackson, would be officially known as the Michigan-Ontario League, but would soon be more familiarly known as the MINT.

At first glance, a league comprising Canadian and American teams would seem to be an odd mix, requiring members to cross international borders to face one another. This was not the case. The Canadian teams in the MINT were all located in southern Ontario, with easy access to their counterparts in Michigan either by train or by steamer. In many cases, the Michigan clubs were nearer to the Ontario contingent than were other locales in the far-flung province.

As the 1919 MINT race unfolded, the Saginaw Aces and Hamilton Tigers pulled away from the pack. Eventually, the Aces prevailed (77–32, .706) by three games over Hamilton (75–36, .676). Battle Creek (67–45, .598) and Brantford (61–46, .570) rounded out the first division, while none of the second (Bay City, Kitchener, London, and Flint) managed to cross the .400 barrier.

Individual batting honours were bestowed on Battle Creek's Ted Kaylor for the best average (.376) and Andy Lotshaw, who spent time with both Flint and Brantford, for the most home runs (13). Pitcher John Glasier (Hamilton) posted the most wins (25) and struck out the most batters (213), the latter an all-time single-season league high. London's Len Okrie also set a loop benchmark, posting the lowest ERA (1.29). (Note: From 1919 to 1924, ERA in the MINT was computed using an earned-runs per game formula. These totals have been recalculated with the time-honoured (ER × 9) ÷ IP method. As a result, some of the original ERA leaders have either been displaced or their records greatly changed.)

In 1920, while the defending champion Aces slid into obscurity, the London nine rose from the depths and clubbed the rest of the MINT into submission. From a 41-win club in 1919, the Tecumsehs (86–32, .729) engineered a remarkable turnaround and finished with the highest winning percentage in league history. Hamilton (71–46, .607) again fielded a strong club, but the Tigers still finished 14 games in arrears, four games ahead of third place Brantford (65–48, .575). Kitchener and Flint tied for fourth (53–63, .457), while Bay City, Battle Creek, and Saginaw latched onto the final three rungs. In an interesting anomaly, over the course of two seasons, the Tecumsehs improved by 45 wins, while Saginaw saw 44 victories disappear from its win column.

That year, Flint's Frank Wetzel took home most of the batting hardware, winning the Triple Crown (.387–12–72). From the mound, London's George Carmen (26–2, 1.55) enjoyed a season for the ages, earning the most wins, posting the lowest ERA, and finishing with the best percentage (.929). The win and percentage marks both serve as all-time single-season league records. Tiger hurler William Morrisette fanned the most batters (181).

The 1921 season brought several changes to the MINT. The first franchise shift occurred before the season, when Battle Creek was transferred to Port Huron (Michigan) and Sarnia (Ontario), which would share the club. Not only did this trim nearly 100 miles off the travel schedule, it gave birth to one of the more unusual home club arrangements in minor league lore. This was the first time that two different countries (albeit only separated by a few miles) had shared the same franchise.

When the London Tecumsehs continued their winning ways over the first part of the 1921 campaign, league directors stepped in and decided to split the season. This practice, commonplace at the time, was designed to add interest with a second pennant race. The plan worked. Although London (41–21) won the first half by a half-dozen games over Port Huron–Sarnia, the defending champions faded over the second half and finished fourth. Taking its place was the club from Bay City (34–22), which bested perennial runner-up Hamilton by 2½ games. Overall, London (72–46, .610) sported the best record, followed by Brantford (64–52, .552) and Bay City (65–53, .551). Hamilton (64–55, .538) claimed the final first division spot, while the second division comprised Port Huron–Sarnia, Saginaw, Kitchener, and Flint. Saginaw's Frank Nesser won the batting title (.385), Frank Emmer (Flint) poled the most home runs (15), and Ted Kaylor, playing for Port Huron–Sarnia, knocked in the most runs (92).

After the regular season ended, the two half-season pennant winners squared off in a best-of-seven series to decide the pennant. Led by Frank Herbst's three pitching wins, the Tecumsehs claimed their second straight flag, four games to two. After vanquishing Bay City, London turned its attention to Central League champions—the Ludington Mariners. In a best-of-nine series, the Tecumsehs prevailed again, besting its sister Class B champions, five games to three. In a few years' time, the Central League would again play a key role in the history of the MINT.

With the success of the 1921 split season fresh in their minds, MINT magnates decided to implement the plan from the outset in 1922. Over the first half of the season, Saginaw, London, and Hamilton waged a spirited battle for the bunting.

Hamilton, which had enjoyed a slim lead through much of the first half, was finally caught in the final week by Saginaw. The Aces (45–26) won on the final day to clinch the 1½ game win over London. The Tigers faded and finished 3½ out. In the second half, Hamilton (43–20) rebounded, beating the Tecumsehs by three lengths. Saginaw did not contend in the final half of the season and finished fifth.

Overall in 1922, Hamilton (84–49, .632) compiled the best combined record, followed by London, Saginaw, Bay City, Port Huron–Sarnia, Brantford, Flint, and Kitchener. The Terriers, who staggered through a 46–88 season, suffered from attendance woes, and turned operating control of the franchise over to the league late in the campaign. In the postseason championship series, Hamilton defeated Saginaw, five games to three.

During a campaign which witnessed a plethora of .300 hitters, several individual offensive records fell by the wayside. London's Jack Shafer (.410) raised the bar of the all-time batting average mark, while Hamilton player-manager Ernie Calbert swatted a league-record 28 long balls. In addition, Calbert also plated the most runs (110). From the hill, Herman Schwartje (Saginaw), who won 18 of 20 first-half decisions, collected the most victories (23). Brantford's John Saladna struck out the most batters (164) and Richard Glazier, from Port Huron–Sarnia, garnered the lowest ERA (1.43).

After the 1922 season, there was some talk of a merger between the Central League and the MINT. Instead, the MINT absorbed the Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, and Muskegon clubs from the disbanded Central, in turn dropping Kitchener, Brantford, and Port Huron–Sarnia. This amalgamation changed the international makeup of the league profoundly, as it left only two Canadian franchises (London and Hamilton) in the mix. This imbalance was casually tossed aside by comments in *The Spalding Guide*: "Only two clubs of Canada remained in the circuit, but they gave an international atmosphere to the games, and were so situated that travel was convenient and their location helpful to the development of interest in the race." It would be a few years more before Canadian interests would be equitably felt in MINT circles.

Abandoning the split-season format, the 1923 MINT race evolved into a three-team race among Bay City, Saginaw, and Muskegon. Eventually, the Wolves (80–51, .611) prevailed by 2½ games over Saginaw and by 6½ over Muskegon. Flint and Kalamazoo also finished over .500, while London, Grand Rapids, and Hamilton finished well under the break-even mark. One notable event occurred on June 15: London hurler Russell Haines tossed an 11-inning no-hitter against Flint. The 2–1 victory was the longest of nine no-hitters thrown by MINT pitchers during the tenure of the league.

Batting laurels were earned by Flint's Frank Luce for the highest average (.382), Art Jahn (Flint) who socked the most home runs (18), and by Saginaw slugger Ernest Jeanes who amassed the most RBIs (108). Bay City twirler Seraphin Good recorded the most victories (20) and fanned the most batters (168). Teammate John Zeigler posted the lowest ERA (2.15).

With the same roster of clubs participating, the 1924 MINT returned to the split-season format. Flint (47–21) won the first half by a comfortable five-game bulge over Saginaw and Bay City. In the second series, the third-place Wolves (44–23) outlasted a stubborn Hamilton nine by two games. Overall, Bay City (86–50) compiled the best record, followed by Flint, Hamilton, Saginaw, London, Grand Rapids, Muskegon, and Kalamazoo. In a competitive championship series, Bay City edged Flint, four games to three, to become the second MINT team to win two consecutive titles.

At the plate, Leo Payne (Grand Rapids) showcased the second best average in league history (.397). Frank Luce, the 1923 batting titlist, demonstrated his versatility by winning the home run crown (23). Hamilton's Frank Gleich plated the most runs (95). Bay City pitcher Joseph Kiefer won the most games (19), Ovila Lahaie (Bay City) struck out the most batters (148), and Elton Rynearson, who threw for Muskegon, garnered the lowest ERA (2.51).

Before the 1925 season, the trio of Central League leftovers (Kalamazoo, Muskegon, and Grand Rapids) left the MINT. In their stead, a lone Canadian franchise was admitted—Kitchener, who had graced the circuit earlier. Although the loop would now be a six-team unit, the Canadian and American franchises would be equally represented.

Once again utilizing a divided-season format, the first half was won with ease by Hamilton (42–25), after which the second was dominated by London (47–21) in a similar fashion. Overall, London (83–52), courtesy of an all-time best .304 team batting average, amassed the best record. Hamilton, Saginaw, Bay City, and Flint ended near the .500 mark, all well ahead of Kitchener (35–103) who won only 11 of 70 second-half games and finished with the worst mark in league history. In a hard-fought postseason matchup, Hamilton eventually edged London, four games to three.

Batting laurels in 1925 were collected by London's Joe Klein (.363), who hit for the highest average, and Guy Froman (Hamilton), who poled 18 homers and plated a record 112 runs. From the slab, Will Coogan (London) was credited with the most wins (24) and the lowest ERA (2.48). Bay City hurler Joe Marty struck out the most batters (137).

Before the 1926 season, the MINT found itself in further trouble. Following its dismal 1925 campaign, Kitchener decided to call it quits. In its stead, a team was to be added from Port Huron—with unfair conditions, at least as far as the Canadian contingent was concerned. In a meeting held in early 1926, members of the MINT decided to give the new Port Huron club a financial break, requiring them to pay only half of the usual guaranteed gate receipts to the visiting teams. MINT stalwarts London and Hamilton, suffering at the gate like the other clubs, were outraged by the unfolding events. W. Rhodes, writing in *The Sporting News*, stated: "The Canadians listened in on the proceedings and from the tenure [sic] of the happenings saw only futility of their position in trying to legislate along business lines with four clubs lined up behind [President] Halligan. . . . Hamilton probably would have gone ahead to retain membership in the M & O for the ambitious city fans had Port Huron come into the league on the same basis as the other clubs." Outgunned, the two decided to pursue their baseball interests elsewhere. The "NT" of the MINT league ceased to exist, leaving the circuit with only four Michigan clubs.

Meanwhile, in another part of Michigan, the Central League was resurrected, with three former MINT teams (Kalamazoo, Muskegon, and Grand Rapids). Ludington was added to make the league work. With the MINT now operating exclusively in Michigan along with the Central, competition was keen in the state for the paying fan. Soon it became apparent to the operators of both leagues that Michigan would be better off with just one league. In mid-June, that is precisely what happened. On June 13, with Port Huron (20–10) holding a one-game lead over Saginaw, both the MINT and Central Leagues ceased play. Two days later, a new league was born—the Michigan State League—which included all eight teams from the two defunct entities. With that merger the remnants of the MINT League officially died.

In the truncated final season, the MINT's final batting leader was Saginaw's Ed Zupancic (.349), while the most home runs were smacked by Karl Weber (Bay City) (5). Pitchers Frank Matuzek (Saginaw) and Frank Tubbs (Port Huron) collected eight wins apiece, with the former also ringing up the most strikeouts (44).

It would be nice to say that the MINT was sacrificed to make the Michigan State League one of the premier circuits in the land, with a long and fruitful life. Sad to say, that just didn't happen. When the bell rang to start the 1927 minor league season, the Michigan State League didn't answer the call. It had expired after only one round. However, the legacy of former MINT cities met with much more success, as all but Kitchener placed teams in other leagues in years to come.

Overall, Hamilton won the most games during the tenure of the MINT (497), edging Saginaw (496). Saginaw and Bay City were the only two teams that participated in every campaign. Hamilton posted the highest cumulative percentage (.560), a notch better than London (.551) despite the latter's three first-place finishes.

In its eight-year history, several future major league stars, including Charlie Gehringer (1924 London) and Joe Kuhel (1924–1925 Flint), passed through the MINT. In addition, a future NHL Hall of Famer, Babe Dye (1920–1921 Brantford) served time in the league. However, as with many minor circuits, the best players in the league's history didn't come from the major league elite. Instead, the best performances came from the bats and arms of career minor leaguers. Of the four dozen

players who spent at least four years in the MINT, several performances stand out.

Overall, most of the top batting honours were claimed by OF Ted Kaylor, OF Richard Dodson and IF John Carlin. Kaylor, a six-year player in the MINT, posted the highest career average (.323) and collected the most hits (830), edging out OF William Whaley (.320) in the former category. Dodson, over the space of seven seasons, amassed the most RBIs (349), doubles (163), and triples (75). Carlin, the only MINT player who played in all eight seasons, participated in the most games (798), scored the most runs (447), and received the most walks (280). Only two batting marks eluded the above trio: most home runs and stolen bases. Instead, two four-year players captured those laurels as Ernie Calbert smacked the most long balls (56) and George Stutz pilfered the most bases (155).

The bulk of MINT pitching records were claimed by a pair of hurlers. George Carmen, in six years of work, pitched in the most games (194), recorded the most innings (1,385), struck out the most batters (616) and was the only MINT twirler to finish with over 100 victories (106). (Carmen, who also played in the outfield, was also an outstanding batter, accumulating a .313 average—the fourth best of any player with at least four years in the league.) Pete Behan, over four seasons, finished with the highest percentage (63–25, .715) and lowest ERA (1.81). Frank Matuzek was saddled with the most losses (61) and Berlyn Horne walked the most batters (394).

After the demise of the MINT, other experiments with Canadian-American hybrid leagues were attempted. Probably the most successful of these experiments occurred in the 1930s with the Canadian-American League. Formed in 1936 with teams in Ontario and New York, the loop later added clubs from Quebec and Massachusetts. The Can-Am League lasted until 1951, albeit with a three-year break during WWII. In 2005, the Can-Am was reborn, as the independent Northeast League renamed itself in honour of its Canadian members.

Although lasting a short eight years, the MINT League added an important chapter to Canadian–American co-operative history. Building on the legacy of the 1900s International League, leading to the Can-Am and beyond, the MINT filled a niche. By not seeing an international border as a barrier, the Michigan-Ontario League brought together a region's cities—providing baseball fans in each country an opportunity to enjoy the game.

I always wanted to be a professional baseball player. I always dreamed of being a Detroit Tiger because Detroit was just a few hours from Brantford. I loved Mickey Lolich. Ferguson Jenkins of the Cubs was another hero, like he was to every kid in Canada.

—Wayne Gretzky in *Gretzky: An Autobiography*. Gretzky also writes that each year when the most famous backyard rink in hockey melted, a pitching mound went up.

Bob Brown and the Northwestern League

Geoff LaCasse

Baseball has never been highly regarded in Vancouver. The class of men who are associated with it are of questionable integrity.

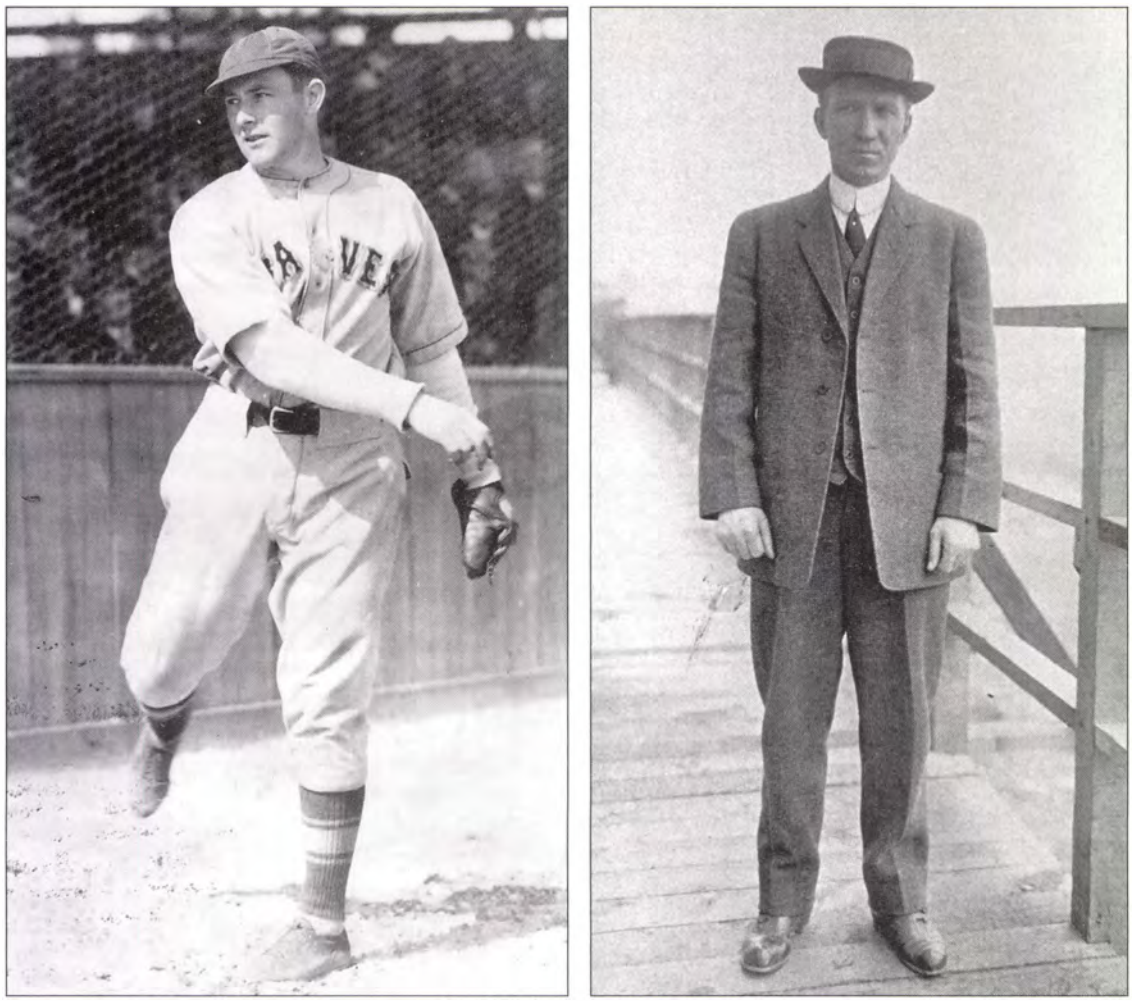
—J. S. Matthews, c.1910

BASEBALL HAS NEVER BEEN the most popular sport in British Columbia. The sport first appears in 1862, nine years before B.C. joined Confederation and became part of Canada. Its early appearance does not suggest great popularity, however, as it trailed more traditional British sports like horseracing and cricket from the 1860s through to the turn of the century. Hockey and lacrosse, amongst other sports, supplanted these older sports and became very popular before the Second World War. There have been brief moments in time, however, when the terms "baseball" and "popularity" could be combined in the same sentence. Four distinct periods stand out as notable: the 1870s and 1880s; the decade before the First World War; the decade after the Second World War; and finally, the exploits of the Pacific Coast League Vancouver Canadians in the 1980s and 1990s. Each produced worthy international champions.

Our telescoped sense of time and its impact on our appreciation of local baseball history has perhaps created an undeserved warmth for the more recent era. If the Vancouver Canadians are the most celebrated B.C. team of the century, its exploits were surely eclipsed by the baseball being played just before the First World War. The beginnings of professional baseball in B.C. tell of success, failure, drama, mystery, fraud, and legal wrangles. It was during this period that Bob Brown entered the baseball scene in B.C., holding a central role for nearly fifty years. At this time, baseball's popularity relied only on the loyalty of its fans, which in turn was dependent on the quality of the product management put on the field. What more can we ask of our passion?

The Northwestern League

The early historiography of professional baseball in the Pacific Northwest remains largely uncharted. During the 1890s a number of leagues appeared, starting with the Pacific Northwest League in 1890. This league had charter members in Seattle, Tacoma, Portland, and Spokane. These clubs changed names, memberships, and ownerships for the rest of the decade. In 1901, one of its successors, the Pacific Northwest League, was a founding member of the National Association of Professional Baseball Leagues and earned a Class C rating. Renamed the Pacific National League in 1903, it underwent a further substantial reorganization in early 1905 to become the Class B Northwestern League.



Bob Brown, in and out of uniform

The Northwestern League is an important step in B.C. professional baseball history because it fielded not one but two B.C. teams (Victoria and Vancouver). Victoria had fielded the first overtly professional team in B.C., the Amity, which was a founding member of the unsuccessful 1896 Pacific League. Vancouver, despite occasional mentions in the local newspapers as a possible site for a professional team, was never a member of any professional league before 1905.

The Northwestern League emerged as a result of a struggle between two factions in the Pacific Northwest League. The reasons are obscure but may have stemmed, in part, from a desire by one faction to expand the league north beyond the 49th parallel into Canada rather than east into Montana.

The faction that favoured expansion to Canada included some of the most influential baseball people in the area. Walter McCredie, long-time owner of the Portland teams in the Northwestern and Pacific Coast leagues and president of the Pacific Northwest League in 1904, was a co-founder of the Northwestern League. He was aided by John McCloskey, ex-major league manager and founder of the Texas League in the late 1880s, and Fielder Jones, former major leaguer and manager (his 1906 White Sox won the World Series).

Whatever the intent, in April 1905 the Northwestern League, comprising teams from Bellingham and Everett in Washington State and Vancouver and Victoria, began operations. After 1906, the Northwestern League, despite some initial franchise instability, quickly went from strength to strength, the period 1910–1914 being the league's "golden age."

The league survived a challenge to its control of the lucrative markets of Seattle and Portland by the

rival Pacific Coast League. The question of ownership ended up before the National Board which arbitrated in such matters. The Northwestern League retained Seattle but had to share Portland.

The league survived despite losing a few metropolitan centres in the Pacific Northwest. Aberdeen, Bellingham, Butte, Everett, Gray's Harbor, and Great Falls were American boom towns, whose existence generally depended on lumber (Bellingham and Everett in Washington) or mining (Butte and Great Falls in Colorado). Teams declined when the reason for their existence failed. One example was the failure of Butte's copper mine in 1909, which caused a precipitous decline in population from its height at 40,000. The remaining population was insufficient to support a baseball team.

The Northwestern League succeeded because it offered quality players. A typical team would contain three types of players. First, there were career minor leaguers. These players lacked the talent, were not given a chance, or were unwilling to move east to play in the major leagues, but earned a living in the minors. William "Dode" Brinker, for example, played briefly (nine games) for the major league Philadelphia Phillies in 1912 but spent most of his career in the Northwestern League: 1905 with Bellingham, 1906 with Gray's Harbor, from 1907 to 1908 with Aberdeen, 1909 with Spokane, and from 1910 to 1916 with Vancouver.

The second sort were players finishing their careers, in some cases ex-major leaguers past their prime. Joe McGinnity, enshrined in baseball's Hall of Fame in Cooperstown in 1946, pitched for ten years in the majors ending in 1908, and then another fifteen in the minors, finishing his career in 1925 at the age of 54. He played for Tacoma from 1913 to 1915, Butte from 1916 to 1917, Great Falls in 1917, and Vancouver in 1918.

The third type were players who used the Northwestern League as a stepping stone to the major leagues. According to J. D. Foster in the *Spalding Official Guide 1915*, "It appears as if the Northwestern League is one of the best of the smaller leagues for the development of players, since the quota which went out in 1914 [for example] was fully up to the standards of other years, and perhaps better, considering all the conditions." The more notable included Hall of Famers Stan Coveleski, who pitched for the 1913 Spokane team, and Harry Heilmann, who was with the 1913 Portland team. We could also add Jack Fournier, Aberdeen-Seattle-Portland 1908 to 1909; Dave Bancroft and Carl Mays, 1913 Portland; George Kelly, 1914 to 1915 Victoria; Ken Williams, 1915 to 1916 Spokane; and Dutch Ruether, 1914 to 1915 Vancouver. There were also a significant number of marginal major league players. Ham Hyatt, for example, spent two years with the Beavers, 1907 to 1908, before moving on to Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and New York (AL), 1909 to 1918.

The Vancouver Beavers

Vancouver was an obvious choice for the new league. It had a magnificent harbour which made it the service depot for the region, and it was soon the largest city in western Canada, its population growing from 1,000 in 1886 to 45,000 in 1905 and 125,000 in 1920.

Vancouver was a latecomer to high-level baseball in B.C., the sport only making its appearance there in 1887. New Westminster, Victoria, Donald, Kamloops, and Nanaimo all preceded it as baseball powers. By 1900, however, Vancouver's dominant economic position allowed it to control the very strong local semi-professional baseball scene. As part of the B.C. League, Vancouver consistently defeated the three other teams in the league (New Westminster, Victoria, and Nanaimo) from 1901 to 1903. Vancouver was so strong that the other teams often accused Vancouver of fielding semi-professional players (which it almost certainly did).

Vancouver, however, was not the first semi-professional team. The Victoria Amity (noted above) was a dominant and popular team in the 1880s, regularly beating its American counterparts. The Amity was a semi-professional team perhaps as early as 1883, its members paid or given sinecure positions in exchange for playing ball. In the absence of a professional league, this was a common practice for many Northwest teams, including Port Townsend in Washington, and Kamloops in central B.C.

In 1905, McCredie and McCloskey persuaded a number of influential Vancouver businessmen and sports enthusiasts, led by A. E. Tulk, to form a franchise, the Vancouver Base Ball Club

(later known as the Beavers), in the newly formed Northwestern League. The Beavers withdrew at year's end because of $7,000 in losses, brought on by a dismal last-place finish, poor management, and poor weather. After reorganization, the team re-entered the league in 1907.

In 1907, the team was purchased by Spokane dentist and businessman A. R. Dickson. With Dickson himself as manager, Vancouver won the 1908 pennant. In 1909, the Beavers had a poor year, and Dickson sold the team, first to a group in Vancouver, and later to Bob Brown at the end of 1909. The full details of ownership transfer and double-dealing have yet to be sorted out, but they involved several rather nasty lawsuits from various parties. By the end of 1910, Brown was majority owner.

Bob Brown

Robert Paul "Ruby Robert" Brown is considered the father of professional baseball in Vancouver, a title justified by his guiding Vancouver teams for more than four decades, beginning with his purchase of the Beavers. By his retirement in 1954, he had been a player, a manager, an owner, and a league president.

College-educated, Brown was somewhat atypical of the turn-of-the-century minor league manager. Born in Scranton, Ohio in 1876, he played two years of baseball at Notre Dame, the last year interrupted by the Spanish-American War. In 1900, after finishing school, he played professional ball in Helena in the Montana State League, where one of his teammates was Joe Tinker. In 1901, he was with Portland, in the Pacific Northwest League; in 1902, captain and manager of Pendleton (Oregon), Western Tri-State League; and in 1903, with Helena and Seattle, Pacific National League. Retired for two years (he owned a shoe store), 1903 to 1905, he returned to become player-manager of Gray's Harbor, Northwestern League, 1906; Aberdeen in 1907 and 1908; and Spokane in 1909, where he purchased a quarter interest in the team. At the end of the season he sold his share in Spokane and moved to Vancouver as the new owner.

Brown turned the team around on and off the field. Minor league franchise success before World War I depended on two factors: fan attendance and quality of players. Northwestern League attendance remained high because of close pennant races, particularly in 1907, 1912, and 1914. Vancouver attendance was aided by team championships in 1908, 1911, 1913, and 1914. Revenue generated by these successes led in turn to local investment. The Beavers originally played in Recreation Park, Vancouver's first enclosed stadium when it opened in 1905. Some sources state McCredie owned the park. Located in what is today the downtown core, by 1913 the land on which it sat had become too valuable to remain a sports venue. As a replacement, Brown built Athletic Park in near-wilderness on the south side of False Creek. Despite difficulties of access—it could only be reached by bridge and a plank road—Opening Day, April 15, 1913, drew 6,000 customers.

The revenue generated from player sales to other leagues (including the majors) represented, at times, a substantial part of total club profits. In Vancouver's case, the team's on-field success abetted sales. Approximately 20 players were sold from its championship teams for as much as $25,000 in total. Brown was successful in Vancouver because he was an obvious leader. For example, Dode Brinker (noted above) played for Brown in Gray's Harbor/Aberdeen, Spokane, and Vancouver. Brown also had extensive connections throughout the major leagues and other minor leagues, which allowed him to swap, sell, or otherwise attract players.

The Northwestern League and the Vancouver Beavers reached their apex of success in 1914. Unfortunately, it rested on a financial foundation which would prove unable to resist a severe external shock.

The league had weathered earlier crises. Franchise changes (including a complete turnover after 1905) were an accepted, albeit unwelcome, fact of life. In B.C., the Lord's Day Act forbade the playing of professional sports on Sundays (a law not repealed until 1958). This was a severe financial handicap for Vancouver when competing with their American counterparts, and may have contributed to Vancouver's losses during the initial 1905 season. The work week in Vancouver at the turn of the century generally consisted of ten-hour days, with a half-day off on Saturdays. Games generally started at either 3:30 or 4:30. Vancouver

home games, consequently, were scheduled to include Saturdays if possible. In 1912, a depression, and resulting regional unemployment in the Pacific Northwest, briefly pushed down attendance and depressed revenues.

Individual cities had their own unique problems. Baseball was Vancouver's fourth most popular sport in the city behind cricket (popular given the area's British heritage), hockey (the Vancouver Millionaires won the Stanley Cup in 1915), and especially lacrosse. Baseball found it a great challenge to field a team which could rival the popularity and success of professional lacrosse (crowds of 10,000 were not unknown), the Canadian champions at this time being either neighbouring New Westminster (perennially) or Vancouver (once).

Unfortunately, the Northwestern League could not survive adverse conditions arising from the outbreak of war. This was not one of the easiest circuits in the world to operate, owing to travel conditions and uncertain weather which confronted the owners of the clubs. The First World War further focused attention away from baseball in Canada in 1914, and the entry of the U.S. into the war in April 1917 led to manpower losses, as almost all the players were American. Train travel was restricted, a severe blow for a league with far-flung franchises. Poor weather compounded the problem, causing severe schedule dislocations during the early part of the 1915 season. Fan attendance, and as a consequence revenues, declined precipitously. The Northwestern League folded halfway through the 1917 season.

Aftermath

In 1918, Brown and others attempted to revive the league under a new name. Unfortunately, the Pacific Coast International League proved unable to survive wartime restrictions and poor attendance. Two teams dropped out the second month, and the Beavers were forced to shift operations to Vancouver, Washington. The league ceased operations halfway through the season.

From 1919 to 1922, Brown and his Beavers participated in a succession of financially unsuccessful leagues. In 1919, the International North Western League was formed with Vancouver (B.C.), Victoria, Seattle, and Tacoma. Vancouver won the pennant, its last, on the final game of a shortened season. In 1920 a new league appeared under an old name, the Pacific Coast International League. Initially successful in 1920 with Brown as president, the 1921 postwar depression quickly ended its second season midway through the schedule. In 1922, a final attempt to establish a viable league by combining the two surviving teams of the Pacific Coast International League, Vancouver and Tacoma, with the two survivors of the Western Canada League, Edmonton and Calgary, to form the Western International League, also failed. The Beavers played their final game on June 16, 1922, defeating Tacoma 6–4. Two days later the league collapsed when Tacoma went bankrupt. Professional baseball would not reappear in Vancouver until 1937.

Summary

The conditions which made it possible for a Northwestern League and the Vancouver Beavers to survive and prosper in the Pacific Northwest occurred for a brief period between 1907 and 1914. Although plagued by persistent problems throughout its history, brought on by long travel, small centres, and poor weather, the league and its teams were an on- and off-field success as measured by the standards of the time, and only failed under the most extreme conditions.

If the Vancouver Beavers were ultimately a financial failure, the team did provide a glorious period of excellence for the sport of baseball, and create an environment through the personage of Bob Brown in which professional baseball could flourish successfully again in the future. Baseball will never be the most important sport in Vancouver, but the record of the Beavers, with its five pennants in 17 years, is a proud one. For his efforts, Bob Brown was made the inaugural member of the B.C. Sports Hall of Fame in 1961.

Canadian-Born Major Leaguers

Richard Malatzky and Peter Morris

THERE have now been approximately 200 major leaguers born in Canada. The necessity of using the word "approximately" would seem to imply a lack of research on the subject. In fact, it is precisely because there has been so much recent research on this topic that the tally of Canadians continues to fluctuate.

Of course there are new Canadians who reach the major leagues each year. Simon Pond, Shawn Hill, Jesse Crain, and Jeff Francis debuted in 2004, while Jason Bay, Justin Morneau, Chris Mears, Rich Harden, and Pierre-Luc LaForest made it to the Big Show in 2003. Nine new players in two seasons is an impressive number, surpassing the number of Canadians who debuted in four previous *decades* (the 1910s, 1920s, 1930s, and 1980s).

However, this comparative flood of 21st-century ballplayers is not what makes it difficult to arrive at an accurate count of the total number of Canadian-born major leaguers. The problem, paradoxically, is not with the most recent players but with the earliest ones. It is an issue rooted in the 19th century, when the compilation of vital records was still in its infancy and many births were recorded only in a family Bible. People were rarely asked to provide birth information and if, as frequently happened, they provided contradictory information, it can be difficult or impossible to sort the matter out. This is compounded by the reality that Canada was frequently a stopping-off point—often a very brief one—for European emigrants on their way to the United States.

As a result, the Biographical Committee of SABR regularly moves at least a few players in or out of the column of Canadian-born players, which makes it necessary to put a disclaimer on any count. (Most SABR members consult encyclopedias for players' demographic information, and frequently assume that those sources do their own research. However, none of them do, instead relying upon the research of the Biographical Committee of SABR.)

Here are some recent examples of players whose status has been changed: Albert J. "Abbie" (or "Abe") Johnson was an infielder for Louisville in 1896 and 1897. (He is not to be confused with an 1893 one-game Chicago pitcher who is listed as Abe Johnson—this player was actually a local amateur whose first name is unknown.) Abbie Johnson grew up in London and spent almost his entire life in Canada. A profile in the *London Free Press* indicated that he was born in Chicago but grew up in London, so his birthplace was changed. Then a descendant located a census listing that suggested that he was indeed born in London, so he is now again recognized as a Canadian by birth.

Jeremiah Moore played for three teams in 1884 and 1885. He was the son of Irish immigrants William and Margueretta Moore, who spent time in Canada be-

fore settling in Michigan. Census records indicate that Jerry was one of their children who was born in Canada, and researcher Eves Raja was able to confirm Windsor as his place of birth.

Edward "The Only" Nolan, a very well-known pitcher of the 1870s, is listed as being born in Paterson, New Jersey, because that is what is stated on his death certificate. However, censuses consistently list him and all his siblings as having been born in Canada. It appears that his parents, like so many Irish emigrants, stopped in Canada before settling in the United States.

Pat Murphy, an outfielder for Washington in 1891, was long listed as Lawrence Patrick Murphy, with no date or place of birth or death. The Biographical Committee identified him as actually being Patrick Lawrence Murphy from Indianapolis and determined that he died there in 1911. Further research determined that, as with Moore and Nolan, Murphy's Irish-born parents had most of their children while in Canada. Interestingly, two of Murphy's Canadian-born siblings became famous groundskeepers. Tom Murphy was the groundskeeper of the celebrated Baltimore Orioles of the 1890s, and became notorious for such tricks as putting clay in front of home plate so that the Orioles could use the Baltimore chop. John Murphy was the long-time groundskeeper at the Polo Grounds during the heyday of John McGraw's Giants.

James Pirie was a shortstop from London, Ontario, who played for a top independent team in Port Huron, Michigan, in 1883. When the Port Hurons beat Philadelphia's National League entry, this made quite an impression and Pirie was used by the National League team at season's end. Unfortunately, "Pirie of the Port Hurons" somehow became "Pierre of the Grand Havens" and it took years to correct the mistake.

Like Pirie, Bill Mountjoy and Jon Morrison were also natives of London who played for the Port Hurons in 1883. Somehow both became incorrectly listed as being born in Port Huron.

Mike Brannock debuted in 1871, and was long listed as the first Canadian major leaguer, on the basis that he once played for Guelph. He was raised in Chicago by Irish immigrants, but his actual place of birth remained unknown. Recently researchers Bruce Allardice and Dave Lambert determined that he was born in Massachusetts.

If Brannock wasn't the first Canadian-born major leaguer, then in all likelihood it was James Leon Wood, who also debuted in 1871. Wood is listed as being born in Brooklyn, but the censuses almost always listed his birthplace as Canada.

Census data demonstrate that Fred Osborne, a pitcher and outfielder in 1890, was born in Canada, although his family moved to Hampden, Iowa, when he was an infant and Fred grew up there.

Bill Hogg, a moderately successful pitcher for the New York Highlanders between 1905 and 1908, is a particularly curious case. His parents, William and Ada, were Canadians who moved frequently because the elder William was a railroad employee. Their first son was born in Canada in 1879 and his birth record gave his name as William, leading to the natural assumption that this was the major league ballplayer. However, at some point, the family began to refer to this son as Andy and their second son was born in Port Huron, Michigan, in 1881 and again named William. Perplexed researchers eventually determined that this one was the major league pitcher.

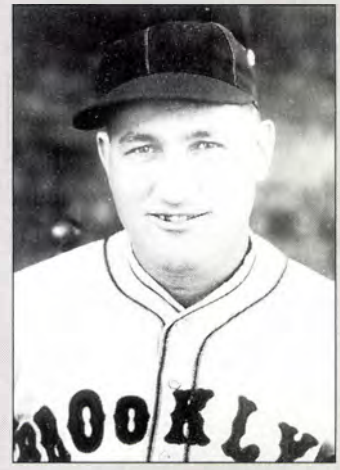
George "Reddy" McMillan, who had a cup of coffee in the majors in 1890, was another long-time mystery. When he was finally identified and determined to have spent most of his life in Cleveland, researchers discovered that he had actually been born in Ontario.

Larry McLean and Billy Magee were early 20th-century major leaguers who claimed to have been born in New England. Vital records, however, clearly establish that both were born in the Canadian Maritime provinces and emigrated to New England at young ages. This raises the possibility that some Canadian-born players thought it might hurt their career to admit to a foreign birthplace and deliberately lied. If this is the case, there could be numerous additional Canadian-born players yet to be discovered. George Wood, for instance, is listed in the encyclopedias as being born in Massachusetts, but the 1870 and 1880 censuses list Prince Edward Island as his birthplace.

As a result, the number of Canadian major leaguers continues to fluctuate, even by the narrow definition of considering only place of birth. If one

tries to take account of the underlying question of what makes someone a Canadian, it becomes still harder to pin down a precise figure. It might be agreed that Abbie Johnson, whatever his birthplace, was a "real Canadian" and that a player like Osborne or McMillan shouldn't count, but there is no clear place to draw the line. Does one include a player who moved to the States at age 5? 10? 15? And should one count American-born players like Eddie Kolb and Tom Letcher who eventually settled in Canada and acquired Canadian citizenship? There is no way to resolve these questions and thus the number of Canadian major leaguers will continue to change. Moreover, even though diligent SABR members are determining the birthplaces of many previously unidentified players, new research just as often undermines confidence in an earlier listing. Consequently, it will always be necessary to attach the word "approximately" to any count of Canadian major leaguers.

Ike Boone was purchased from the Dodgers by the Toronto Maple Leafs in January of 1933. Boone, an outfielder, had played the 1932 season with Jersey City. He was a left-handed hitter with a superb eye, hitting .407 with 55 home runs in the PCL in 1929. He had played a few years in the majors, and hit .337 in 1924 and .330 in 1925 with the Red Sox. It's a bit of a mystery why Boone logged so little time in the majors, and some have blamed his defence. This may not be the whole story, as major league teams often hid better players they couldn't use in the minors. Boone was an instant hit with the fans in Toronto, hitting .357 in 1933, and became player–manager the next season, leading the league with a .372 average. The team finished third in 1934, but won the Governor's Cup. Boone's average for 1935 was a solid .350. His final season with the Leafs was in 1936. The team gave him his release in November of that year, to the consternation of many fans.



Why did the team release Boone? This has more to do with the team than Boone himself, alas. The Leafs had been in financial straits for some time (not unusual during the period) and the owners considered an offer from the U.S. for the team in September. In the end, the solution was new local ownership, and a complete financial restructuring of the management. The biggest casualty was Boone. Dan Howley was brought in as both GM and field manager. Although the details are unknown, this decision came because of pressure from the park's owner, the city Harbour Commission (which had taken over the park in lieu of unpaid taxes).

The team had not been a great success on the field under Boone, but part of the blame lies with the Cincinnati Reds, who owned several key players (Lee Handley, George McQuinn, and Eddie Miller). Boone certainly had coaching ability. However, there was no real stability in the team when its best players (and the core of its infield) were being shipped back and forth at the whim of the parent club. Indeed, the case of Handley finally went to Commissioner Landis, who ruled that the Reds were trying to cover up the second baseman in the minors to avoid losing him. Handley was granted free agent status and joined the Pirates the next season. Boone himself found a job for 1937 with the Jackson Senators of the newly-formed Southeastern League. After that, little is known about his career.

Boone remained a favourite of Toronto fans to the very end, and in a twist of fate, died of a heart attack the night before he was supposed to attend a Toronto Old Timers' Game, in August of 1958.

The Fleet Street Flats

Jane Finnan Dorward

Maple Leaf Stadium was constructed for the beginning of the 1926 season on a piece of landfill on Fleet Street (later renamed Lakeshore Boulevard), at the foot of Bathurst Street. The estimated cost was $750,000. It was designed to seat 30,000, but in reality it only held 19,224. It was constructed of stuccoed cement and was largely designed by T. R. Loudon, a professor of applied mechanics at the School of Practical Science at the University of Toronto. Loudon had been a college athlete, and still coached the varsity rowing team. He was also involved in the design of the east side of Varsity Stadium and Varsity Arena during this period.[1] Loudon later became head of the aeronautical engineering department.

The site chosen was part of a recent landfill project and was owned by the Toronto Harbour Commission. Development in the area was just beginning in 1926, and the stadium was one of the first structures in the area. It would be joined in 1928 by Crosse and Blackwell to the east and Canada Malting to the southeast, and in 1929 by Tip Top Tailors to the west and the Rogers-Majestic Radio factory across the street. The consulting engineer from the Harbour Commission was E. L. Cousins (chief engineer of the Commission), and the work was undertaken by the T. A. Russell Construction Company. Construction was begun on December 2, 1925, and involved driving hundreds of premade concrete piles, or caissons, down to the rock stratum 20 feet below. As it was far too cold to allow proper drying, the concrete piles were made indoors in wooden forms. There were over 700 piles, placed in clusters, with each cluster capped in concrete. These supported the steel girders which supported the stadium. The entire project took only four months, as the building was essentially complete for Opening Day in April. By today's standards, this doesn't seem unusual, but in the earlier part of the century, there were no additives to allow proper drying of concrete in winter.[2] Without calcium chloride accelerators (or the more recent non-alkali types) concrete does not dry properly, as it takes too long and the surface tends to flake off. By precasting the concrete piles, this was avoided, but it required a huge labour force of about 300 men. There were 150 carpenters engaged in making hundreds of forms. Aside from cranes and mechanical shovels, many horses were used during the construction.

For the construction forms, Russell used the large building at the Dominion Shipbuilding plant, which was located between Spadina and the Western Gap. As the space was unheated, they had to install around a hundred small heating units (like small stoves) to keep the temperature above freezing, and cordoned off sections of the building with tarpaulins where concrete was setting in forms. This was much like the practice of keeping fruit trees in tents with heaters to guard

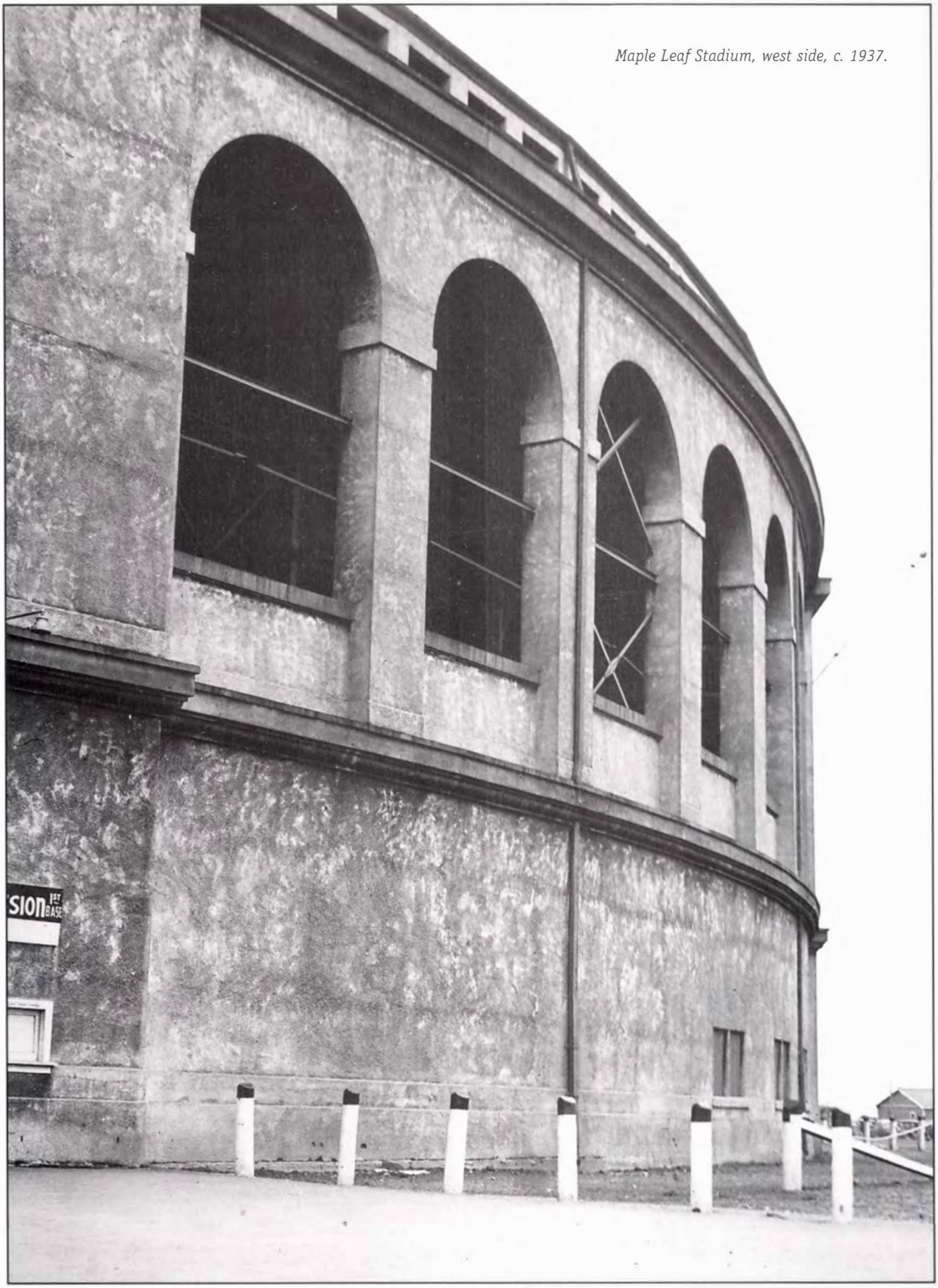
against frost damage. The slabs which comprised the actual stadium were also formed in this manner, and these curved pieces had to fit the exact measurements of the design so they would fit properly when finally assembled. They were moved by a tower on a special carrier and placed on the steel frame using cables.

There were setbacks, including labour troubles in February. The American Federation of Labor was in a dispute with the International League and the Toronto Building Trades Council was threatening to boycott the park. Club president Lol Solman refused to sign contracts for the plumbing and plastering work for the dressing rooms and other parts of the stadium, saying that he had no desire to fight organized labour. Initially, he had not insisted on employing union men, although he did agree to the insertion of a clause which guaranteed the union wage scale.[3] The contract (worth $100,000) did not remain unsigned for long, but the incident prevented the park from being complete by Opening Day. From photos taken five days before the home opener, it's clear that things were behind schedule: the scaffolding was still up at the main entrance and east side.

The playing surface was 16,000 square yards of sod from Scarboro Beach, salvaged when that park was wrecked and turned over to developers.[4] The infield was a mixture of loam and burnt moulder's sand, recommended by the Detroit club. The team continued to employ Arthur Coombs, the groundskeeper at the Hanlan's Point stadium, whose work was highly regarded throughout the league. The grass was laid on nine inches of loam, which since it sat on sandy landfill was ideal for drainage.[5] The field itself was in reasonable shape, as it had been surveyed in the fall, and the dimensions were more in tune with the rest of the league, with no short right field fence that put pitchers at a disadvantage. The stands were constructed as a single deck with 42 rows of seats, with 24 aisles.[6] Instead of large staircases, there were ramps going up to the higher levels. In addition to the bare structure, there were other interesting features planned for the building. Lol Solman wanted to erect a bronze tablet to honour soldier ballplayers of the United States and Canada who lost their lives during World War I, incorporating the two countries' flags in relief, to symbolize the link between the two nations in war and in the International League.[7] No photo exists of this monument, so it's uncertain if it was ever built.

The opener was postponed by rain to April 29, but more than 14,000 sat in the drizzly 33°F weather as the team inaugurated the park. Admission was still 80 cents, as it had been at the old Hanlan's Point Stadium. It seemed like the crowd was in for a poor game, as the woeful Reading Keystones hit starter Lefty Stewart pretty hard and were soon ahead 5–0. Owen Carroll was pitching when the Leafs rallied in the ninth, tying it with hits by Claude Satterfield, Babe Dye, and Mickey "Minor" Heath. Del Capes, a late addition to the line-up in place of Lena Styles, bunted in the winning run in the 10th. This proved to be a harbinger of the season, as the team won the pennant, going 109–57, behind the pitching of Carroll (21–8) and the batting of Minor Heath (.335), Otis Miller (.345), and Bill Mullen (.357).[8] One member of the pitching staff, though mediocre in 1926, would later make his mark: Carl Hubbell went 7–7 with an ERA of 3.77 (this was without his screwball). This was his only season with Toronto, as the Tigers sent him to Decatur of the Triple-I the next season, where he went 14–7 (14–8 overall with three teams). The Leafs were not the beginning of any dynasty, however, as they did not win another pennant until 1943, under Burleigh Grimes.

Night baseball came to Toronto in 1934. The Leafs were fairly late in joining the trend, as the first lights in the International League were in Buffalo in 1930. Ownership concerns may have caused the delay, but it's clear that night baseball wasn't very popular with the team. In "owl contests" the team was winless by June 28, and true to form, the team lost that first night game to Rochester, 8–2. There were two towers on the grandstand on the first base side and another two on the east side, plus one in right field, and one in left field. The outfield towers were 93 feet high and weighed 7½ tons, and had 29 1,000-watt floodlights on each tower. The grandstand towers nearest home plate had 17 1,000-watt floodlights 105 feet from the ground, and the other two towers had 44 light projectors of the same capacity. They had silver mirror reflectors and stippled heat-resisting glass lenses, and



Maple Leaf Stadium, west side, c. 1937.

Toronto's Mayo Smith scores the winning run in the 10th against Baltimore on Opening Day, May 6, 1937.

the total candlepower was 19,260,000.[9] Work on installing the lights began on June 9, finishing June 20. There was a good crowd at the night opener, as nearly 13,000 fans were glad for the darkness (the province was suffering from a heat wave at the time, with temperatures over 100°F recorded in some places). The ceremonies didn't start until after it was completely dark, as broadcaster "Red" Foster introduced Harbour Commissioner Gagnon and club president George Oakley, who flipped the switch to turn on the lights. Nick Altrock (a Leaf from the 1901 squad) and "Hap" Watson did their comedy routine, but the game was a disappointment and fans didn't get out until after 12:30. Although it's clear that the Leafs were a poor team in the mid-1930s, they managed to draw decent crowds because of night games and ladies' nights during the week.

After the building of the stadium in 1926, the team went through several changes of ownership. Lol Solman ran into financial troubles by 1931, and sadly died of pneumonia in March of that year. His legacy in Toronto has largely been forgotten, but one of his greatest ventures, the Royal Alexandra Theatre on King Street, remains. After Solman's death, ownership was transferred to George Oakley, who owned a contracting firm and was a member of provincial parliament. Oakley too found it a losing venture, and the club was taken over by Donald G. Ross and Percy Gardiner in January 1937. Gardiner was a native of Mount Forest, Ontario, and made his fortune as a stockbroker. It's worth noting that Gardiner still had strong links to his home town up in Wellington County, and arranged to have stands built to hold a regular season game in Mount Forest in 1937. The team went north with the Syracuse club on the Wellington-Grey-Bruce Railway and played before 5,000 of Gardiner's family, friends and neighbours on August 3, 1937, the Leafs winning the game in the 10th, 7–6. This is, I believe, the only home game the team played outside its own park (save the end of the 1909 season after the Island stadium was destroyed by fire). Gardiner eventually sold his shares in the team to Ross, and Ross sold the team to Jack Kent Cooke in July of 1951.

1948 Leafs with manager Eddie Sawyer, Opening Day, May 4, 1948.

The Cooke years were the most colourful period in Toronto's minor league history. Straightaway, Cooke sought to improve attendance and make Maple Leaf Stadium the most important summer attraction in the city. He instituted Family Night on Thursdays, and offered prizes (a car, a television, a fur coat, and all sorts of small appliances) to draw in crowds. He also had promotional stunts, like the flag-pole sitter in July-August of 1951. Cooke hoped to prove that Toronto was a great baseball town by boosting attendance, in hopes that he could lure a major league team to the city. The team's best year was 1952, when 446,000 fans attended games at the stadium. Cooke's first real hope for major league ball was the Philadelphia A's in 1954. However, Maple Leaf Stadium was showing its age, and was just too small to be a big-league park. Cooke was unsuccessful in luring the A's, and so set his sights on the Continental League. When it failed in August of 1960, Cooke gave up on the team, and the city.

For the remaining seven seasons of the team and ballpark, things went from bad to worse. The team's ownership was community-based, fans deserted the club, and there was never another pennant after 1960. The team did make the playoffs in 1963, and won the Governor's Cup in 1965 and 1966. In 1967, the team only drew about 97,000 fans, and the final game at Maple Leaf Stadium was played on September 4, when a paltry 802 fans saw the team lose to Syracuse by the score of 7–2. There was some talk of hockey team owner Harold Ballard putting up some money to keep the team in town, but the club was sold to Walter Dilbeck, a real-estate developer in Louisville, for $65,000. The uniforms and equipment were sold off, and that was the end of Toronto's long association with the International League, which began in 1886. The Harbour Commission scheduled the demolition of the stadium for mid-May, and only one Toronto newspaper took note when the building was torn down. Under the headline THE RISE AND FALL OF A WATERFRONT GHOST the *Globe and Mail* ran photos from all stages of the stadium's lifespan: during construction; in its heyday with a full house; and at its demise: "only rubble lines the base paths as Maple Leaf Stadium becomes a parking lot."[10] The city has erected low-cost housing on its site. The Canada Malting Plant, just behind the outfield fence, still stands, and the Tip Top Tailors building is being renovated and turned into condos. No marker exists to say a ballpark ever stood at the foot of Bathurst Street.

1. Varsity Stadium, once the home of the CFL Argonauts team, was demolished in 2004, but Varsity Arena, once used by the WHA Toronto Toros from 1973 to 1974, is still in use.
2. In comparison, Yankee Stadium was constructed in 284 days, but all the concrete work was done in the warmer months in 1922.
3. *Toronto Globe*, February 16, 1926.
4. Scarboro Beach was another great amusement park like Hanlan's Point, with rollercoasters, a motion picture theatre, a scenic railway, a lacrosse field, and a baseball diamond.
5. Or so they thought. The *Globe* photo archives has a shot of Tony Lazzeri burning the outfield with gasoline in 1940, so the drainage obviously wasn't perfect.
6. *Toronto Globe*, April 13, 1926.
7. *Toronto Globe*, March 10, 1926. Solman wanted to hold a contest for the best inscription, the winner to receive an engraved season's pass for two.
8. For an account of the season, see Marshall Wright and Bill Weiss's article on minor league baseball at www.minorleaguebaseball.com/pages/?id=186.
9. *Toronto Globe*, June 22, 1934.
10. *Toronto Globe and Mail*, May 23, 1968, sec. 4, 37.

Hits "Plentiful as Grasshoppers"

Tom Hawthorn

A NORTHWEST GALE ripping across the Manitoba flatlands promised miserable conditions for players and fans at the ball park in Winnipeg. Few customers showed up, but the players had little choice but to take the field. The Eau Claire (Wisconsin) Cardinals were in town to face the Maroons for a midweek doubleheader on Thursday, August 16, 1933.

Starting pitcher Leroy Goldsworthy, chasing his 18th victory for Winnipeg, was soon in trouble. By the time manager-owner Bruno Haas pulled him with one out in the first inning, Goldsworthy had surrendered seven runs. His replacement, Ambrose (Lefty) Ebnet, fared little better. After the top of the second inning, the visitors led 11–2.

But the gusting winds at Sherburn Park were full of mischief for infielders tracking pop-ups and outfielders chasing fly balls. Easy outs became circus plays, while routine flies carried over the fence. After four innings, the score was 14–14.

Then the Maroon batters found their groove, knocking home 12 runs in the bottom of the fifth. They added two more in the sixth, five in the seventh and another two in the eighth. In desperation, the visitors had an infielder (third baseman Willis Janda) and an outfielder (centrefielder Frank Rendler) take to the mound. The latter surrendered 13 hits in 3⅓ innings. After the final Cardinal was retired in the ninth, some two hours and 37 minutes after Goldsworthy threw his first pitch, the Maroons emerged as 35–19 victors.

The teams combined for 54 runs on 49 hits (19 by Eau Claire, 30 by Winnipeg) for 93 bases. "It is just possible a hit or two may have been overlooked as it was a tough day on scorers as well as pitchers," wrote sports editor W. G. (Bill) Allen of the *Winnipeg Free Press*. "But what does a mere hit matter when they were as plentiful as grasshoppers in the wheat fields."

The Maroons smacked five home runs, including two by first baseman Gene Corbett, while the Cardinals had three. Maroons centre fielder Elmer Greenwald went 5-for-6, with a triple and a homer. He scored five runs and batted in six. The Cardinals bounced back to win the evening game 7–4, as the Maroons, perhaps tired from their afternoon exertions, managed only four hits.

Goldsworthy got the start the next night, as well, holding back the Cardinals for an 8–6 victory. (The right hander, who was born in Two Harbors, Minn., ended the season at 22–6, following his pitching success by winning a Stanley Cup championship the following spring as a right winger with the Chicago Black Hawks.) The oddball event in Northern League play that day came at Brandon, Manitoba, when the visiting Superior Blues managed to score five runs in an inning on only one hit. Roman Bertrand, a left-handed pitcher for the Greys, was author of his own misfortune, issuing two walks, throwing two wild pitches, and making an error. His teammates

chipped in with a passed ball and two more errors. Back in Winnipeg, the free-swinging Cardinals and Maroons had another date with the record book just two days after the 54-run spree. Winnipeg starter Jimmy Brown, "a plain sort of fellow with a plain sort of name," in the words of editor Allen, struck out 17 Eau Claire batters, a league record. The former mark was 12. The feat was worthy of a brief notice in the *New York Times*. The week's events culminated with an Appreciation Day for Bruno Haas, the owner, manager, and sometime right fielder of the Maroons. He was presented with a trophy of Manitoba marble topped by a bison.

"Brown of Winnipeg strikes out 17," *New York Times*, August 19, 1933, p. 7.

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"Jimmy Brown sets new strikeout record," *Winnipeg Free Press*, August 19, 1933, p. 9.

"Maroons and Eau Claire 'say it' with 54 runs." *Winnipeg Free Press*, August 17, 1933, p. 16.

"Maroons cut Brandon's lead to two and one-half games," *Winnipeg Free Press*, August 18, 1933, p. 17.

"Overflow crowd sees Maroons beat Crookston Pirates 6–1," *Winnipeg Free Press*, August 21, 1933, p. 6.

Home Runs in Canadian Ballparks

Data collected by David Vincent from the Tattersall–McConnell Home Run Log

Parc Jarry (Montreal, QUE)

First HR: Mack Jones (MON), 04/14/1969
Last HR: Greg Luzinski (PHI), 09/26/1976
Total HR hit in park: 980
Most home runs: Ron Fairly (58)
Most home runs (visitor): Willie Stargell (17)

Stade Olympique (Montreal, QUE)

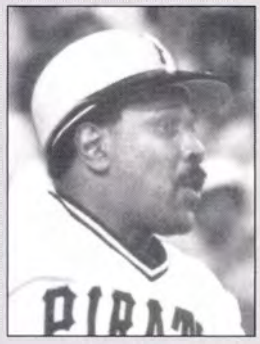
First HR: Ellis Valentine (MON), 04/15/1977
Last HR: Miguel Cabrera (FLA), 09/29/2004
Total HR hit in park: 3,312
Most home runs: Vladimir Guerrero (126)
Most home runs (visitor): Barry Bonds (30)

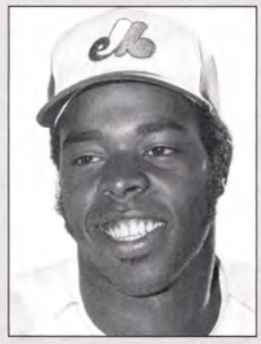
Exhibition Stadium (Toronto, ONT)

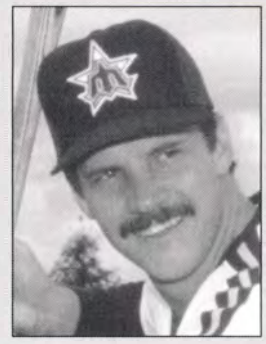
First HR: Richie Zisk (CHI–AL), 04/07/1977
Last HR: Lloyd Moseby (TOR), 05/28/1989
Total HR hit in park: 1,742
Most home runs: Jesse Barfield (99)
Most home runs (visitor): Jim Rice (18)

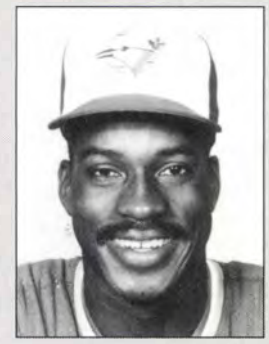
SkyDome

First HR: Fred McGriff (TOR), 06/05/1989
Total HR hit in park: 2,669
Most home runs: Carlos Delgado (175)
Most home runs (visitor): Alex Rodriguez (23)


Willie Stargell


Ellis Valentine


Richie Zisk


Fred McGriff

Jimmy Williams
The Early Years

Julie Williams-Cipriani

In Toronto, in the early 1930s, a "Blue Law" prohibited professional baseball games from being played on Sundays. This meant there was always a Saturday doubleheader when the Toronto Maple Leafs were in town. Jimmy Williams vividly remembers these Saturdays. The Maple Leafs were part of the Double-A International League, and though Jimmy and his dad could not afford tickets to the game, they never let this stop them from enjoying the day at the park. They would get to the stadium early enough for batting practice, knew exactly where to wait—the shortest part of the outfield was 309 feet down the right field line—and after they had snagged a couple balls that happened to make it over the fence, they would trade them in at the gate for admittance to the game for free. It was a ritual that began Williams' lifelong love of the game.

All in the Family

Jimmy Williams comes by his love of baseball naturally. His father, John "Jake" Williams, played in a semipro western Ontario league in the early 1920s. Towns like London, Waterloo, Woodstock, and Guelph were home to some of the most competitive baseball of the time. The Detroit Tigers would send their most promising prospects to play in this league; the young players would get experience and Detroit would be able to keep a close eye on their progress. Jake and the other semipro Canadians would make $15 to $20 per week to play ball. They seemed a mismatch to the football-lineman-sized Detroit players with their fancy bags and new equipment, but the level of competition was welcomed.

Jake coached a softball team as well. More accurately, it was called fastball, played just like baseball but with a softball and less equipment. In west end Toronto all the kids were playing fastball instead of baseball because of the minimal equipment needed: a ball, a bat, a catcher's mitt, and a first baseman's mitt. Nobody in the field used a glove, so you learned to have good hands. St. Andrews Playground, Stanley Park Playground, and East Riverdale Playground were the breeding grounds of future pro-ball players or Canadian Baseball Hall of Famers: Dick Fowler, Goody Rosen, Bobby Prentice, Frank DeLuca, Stan Lipka, and Pete Karpuk, to name a few. These were Jimmy Williams' teammates, neighbours, and competitors.

Trinity Kiwanis and the Columbus Boys Club

Gordon Fowler was the athletic director for the Trinity Kiwanis Club. He scouted softball playgrounds in west end Toronto for the best players and put together a powerhouse baseball team for Trinity K in 1942. Williams was 15 years old at that time. When he was asked to play on the team, he didn't have a glove and thought that might be a deterrent. Not to worry; Gordie had bats, balls, gloves, and uniforms.

The Columbus Boys Club team, Niagara Falls, 1946. Williams is in the front row, left.

The boys practiced every day at the fields inside the old iron gates of Trinity College. They would play from 10:00 A.M. to noon every morning, take a break for lunch, and then come back for another hour in the afternoon. Sometimes Gordie was there, and sometimes he wasn't. It didn't matter, since they all knew who played what position (Williams was third base) and revelled in the repetition of the hitting and fielding games they played. If there was a league game that night, they would either walk or take the streetcar to the fields across town.

Jimmy Gruzdis, a player from the Toronto Maple Leafs, was a regular visitor to Trinity Kiwanis. He eventually became a sort of mentor to the team, helping them with their baseball knowledge and skills. Gruzdis even convinced some of the boys to come to the stadium to help shag balls during batting practice before the Maple Leafs games. The clubhouse manager was so worried about the boys stealing baseballs, however, that he made them change into uniform in the laundry room instead of the clubhouse. As Williams recalls, they didn't need the baseballs; what they took instead was sanitary socks (the dirty ones, since they wouldn't be missed) and soon had enough sanitary socks for the whole Trinity K team.

Williams and his Trinity Kiwanis teammates won the Ontario Baseball Association Championship in 1943 and 1944, and while doing so, amassed an impressive 28-game winning streak spanning the two seasons. Most of the team moved on to play for the Columbus Boys Club Junior Classification Team as 18- and 19-year-olds. Carmen Bush was their coach, a man who would later be inducted into the Canadian Baseball Hall of Fame for his prodigious contributions to teaching baseball and developing baseball leagues in the Toronto area. Bush also coached the senior-level (no age restriction) team, called the Columbus Grads, who made it all the way to the finals in 1946 before losing to the Mahers. The winner moved on to the North American Baseball Congress series, but all was not lost. Two months later the Columbus Boys Club team won the OBA Championship in Niagara Falls, and a man named Dick Fischer, who owned a sporting goods store on the New York side of Niagara and who was scouting for the Brooklyn Dodgers, had seen enough of the playoff games to know that he needed to talk to Jimmy Williams.

The Scout for Brooklyn

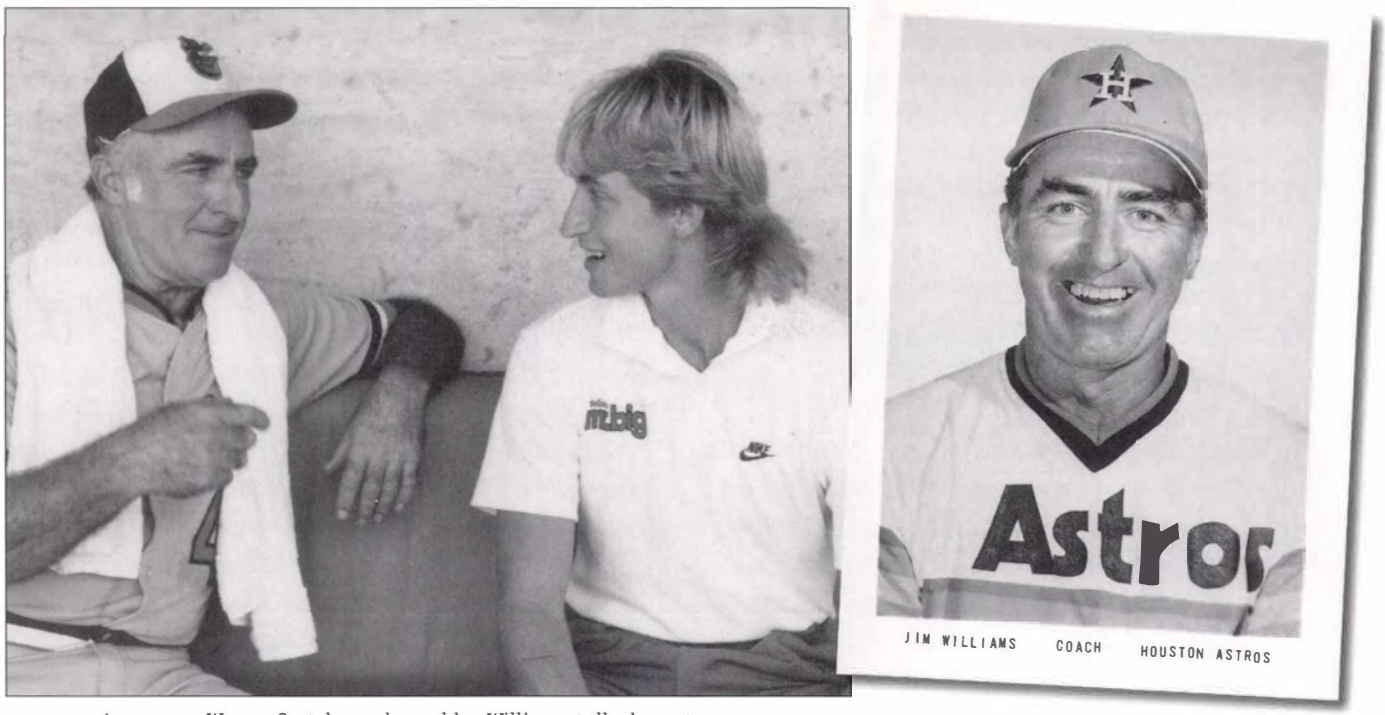
"How would you like to play for the Brooklyn Dodgers?" asked Dick Fischer.

Williams recalls thinking, "How much would I have to pay?"

The tryout camp was held in Cambridge, Maryland the following spring of 1947. Two hundred people had been invited to the camp. The Dodgers rented a small hotel for the week to house all of the ball players. There were army cots everywhere: in the hallways, in the dining room, in the foyer. Still, for 19-year-old Williams, an army cot in a hotel dining room and a $2.50 per day food allowance was heaven.

In camp, competition was tough. After three days, half of the players had been sent home. After five days, the original 200 players had been whittled down to two teams of about 15 players each and they began to play actual games. There were other measures of talent as well, and as Williams won race after race, he came to be known as the fastest man in camp. Two years later, in 1949 when he played for the Pueblo Dodgers, Williams broke a Class A Western League stolen-base record by successfully stealing 42 out of 43 attempts.

On the seventh morning, nine people from the camp were asked to report to the scouting office;



A younger Wayne Gretzky and an older Williams talk shop at an Orioles-Blue Jays game in Toronto.

the rest got on a bus to go home. Williams was one of the chosen nine and he remembers waiting in the hallway outside the office with the other prospects as each would venture in, one by one, to talk contracts. While they were waiting, an older player, a pitcher who had been in the Cardinals system for a few years, told Williams to hold out for more money on his contract, no matter what they offered. "You were the fastest in camp. They want you. Make sure they pay you what you're worth," he instructed.

Turk Karam was one of the scouts negotiating contracts with the new players. He told Williams he had a good chance to play in the pros, maybe even make it to the big leagues, and that the Dodgers wanted to sign him. The offer was $150/month and the cost of transportation back home to Toronto. Williams was thinking about the conversation in the hallway and suggested that he would need more money to be able to send some home to help out his family.

"How much do you want?" asked Karam.

"$160," said Williams, confidently.

Years later, whenever they ran into each other, Karam would still give Williams a hard time. "We thought you were going to ask for $500, and we probably would have paid it."

First Year in the Pros

His dad seldom missed a game of his while Williams was growing up in Toronto, but now that he had signed with the Dodgers and was travelling far from home, he had to find a different way of keeping in touch. Phone calls were too expensive, so Williams would get a subscription to the local newspaper and mail it home regularly. There was always the off-season to sit around the kitchen table and talk baseball like old times. Williams remembers coming home after the first year in Sheboygan, where he hit .385, and telling his dad, "Pro baseball is not that tough, it's almost like playing at Christie Pits," one of the parks he had played in as a junior-level ball player.

After his second year at Danville, the conversation around the kitchen table went something more like this: "Dad, somewhere over the winter, the pitchers learned to throw curveballs, sliders, and change ups. . . ." Williams had hit .251 that year.

An all-round athlete, Williams had an offer to sign with the Toronto Maple Leafs hockey team at this same time. There were only six teams in the NHL then (Detroit, Chicago, New York, Boston, Montreal, and Toronto) and the farm system was sparse as well. He chose to play, instead, for the Cleveland Barons in the AHL, and then later for the Boston Olympics. There was not a lot of time

between the end of hockey season and the beginning of spring training, and even less time when the hockey team would make it to the playoffs, which he swears the team did just to spite him. After three years of playing dual seasons, Williams decided he had to pick one sport or the other, and baseball had always been his first love.

What Position Do You Play?

In Williams' own words:

My first year started at Kingston, New York and within the first month I was sent to a Dodger farm club at Sheboygan, Wisconsin. My travel instructions were to take a bus to Albany, a plane to Buffalo, change planes to Chicago, head to the train station and catch a train to Sheboygan. Call the GM when you get there, and he will pick you up.

I arrived in Sheboygan at 6:00 a.m. and thought it was too early to call, so I got my bags and sat down in the waiting room. There was a guy mopping the floors and when he saw my baseball bag, he asked if I was joining the Indians. I said I was.

"What position do you play?"

"Third base."

"No way," he answered, "the best player on the team is the third baseman."

"What about shortstop?"

"Well," he said, "that kid is going to be the Rookie of the Year and probably the league All-Star shortstop."

I asked about second base.

"Good luck," he answered, "he's been here a few years already and he drives the team bus."

Around 8:00 a.m. I called the GM and he came to pick me up. He took me to meet the manager. His name was Joe Hauser, the guy who hit all the home runs in Triple-A at Minneapolis and Baltimore.

After the introductions, Joe asked, "What do you play?"

I asked, "What do you need?"

"I need a left fielder."

"That's what I play."

Ironically, later that year I was named as the left fielder to the All Star Team.

That's a Career

Williams played on various minor league teams, through AAA, in the Brooklyn Dodgers organization from 1947 to 1964 (the last two years with the Dodgers he was a player-manager). From 1965 to 1969 he was a manager in the Kansas City A's farm system (the A's moved to Oakland during that period). In 1970, Williams joined with the Houston Astros, managing in their minor leagues and finally making it to the majors as third-base coach in 1975. In 1976 and 1977 he was back with the Dodgers (now of Los Angeles). 1978 saw a move to the American League with the Baltimore Orioles. From 1981 through 1987 he was with the Orioles' big club, as first-base coach, third-base coach and one of the defensive coordinators. Williams will tell you he owes a lot to the Orioles club, for the 1983 World Series ring he wears proudly, and for the time spent with one of his very best friends, Cal Ripken Sr. In his final year in baseball, 1988, he was the Minor League Field Director for the Cleveland Indians.

Jimmy Williams was inducted into the Canadian Baseball Hall of Fame in 1991, along with Jackie Robinson and Pete Ward. Currently he lives in Joppa, Maryland with his wife Carole, his son Jamie, and a fairly serious golf habit. Williams' 13-year-old grandson, Riley, a resident of Fort Collins, Colorado, has every intention of carrying the family baseball legacy into future generations.

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Jim Crow Comes North

David McDonald

On the eve of Jackie Robinson's debut with the Montreal Royals in April 1946, an editorial in the black newspaper the *Chicago Defender* remarked: "It is ironical that America, supposedly the cradle of democracy, is forced to send the first two Negroes in baseball to Canada in order for them to be accepted."

More ironical than the *Defender* realized. For Robinson and his Royals teammate, pitcher Johnny Wright, were not the first black players in baseball. Far from it. More than 70 unequivocally black players (as opposed to those who may have "passed" as Cuban or native or even white) had performed in organized ball before the turn of the century, including two in the major leagues. What's more, some 60 years before Montreal welcomed Robinson, Canada had played a shameful role in the institutionalization of baseball apartheid.

In the spring of 1887, baseball's racial attitudes were amorphous, not exactly fluid, not yet hardened. No openly black players had appeared in the major leagues since 1884, when the sons of a Ohio physician, Moses Fleetwood Walker and his younger brother Weldy, played for the American Association Toledo Blue Stockings. Still, there were tantalizing hints that several National League clubs might be willing to employ black players, should the ambivalent winds of public—and, more importantly, baseball—opinion turn in a favourable direction.

There were reports, for instance, that the Philadelphia Athletics had offered catcher Arthur Thomas of the all-black Cuban Giants a contract in June of 1886, but that Thomas, for whatever reasons, had declined. And, that same summer, the New York Giants had apparently arranged for the purchase of George Stovey from the Eastern League. New York wanted Stovey—described by the late Jerry Malloy as "an ill-tempered, left-handed flame-thrower"—to pitch in an important series against Chicago. Ultimately, however, the Giants opted to duck a nasty confrontation with arch-bigot Cap Anson, the loud-mouthed field boss of the whiter-than-White Stockings, and cancelled the Stovey deal.

In 1887, as in 1946, baseball's "third league," the International League, would be integration's proving ground. American cities with significant black populations, like Newark, Buffalo, and Rochester, would be involved in the experiment. But equally crucial to its outcome would be the actions and attitudes of the league's more racially homogeneous Canadian cities, Toronto and Hamilton. By season's end, the prospects for integrated baseball would sink like a stone.

Fully half the clubs in the ten-team International League recruited black players in 1887. All told, at least nine would take the field that summer, including arguably the best black player of the 19th century, second baseman Frank Grant, who was back for a second season with Buffalo; veteran all-rounder Bud Fowler

with Binghamton; and ex-major leaguer Fleet Walker and almost-major leaguer George Stovey in Syracuse. "How far will this mania for engaging coloured players go?" cracked *Sporting Life*. "At the present rate of progress the International League may ere many moons change its title to 'Coloured League.'"

If signing "coloured" players had indeed become a mania, it was one that showed no evidence of spreading north of the border. Professional baseball had been part of the Canadian sporting scene for more than a decade, but black players had been unable to establish any kind of beachhead in this country. Binghamton's Bud Fowler, regarded as the first black professional, was no stranger to racial attitudes no doubt endorsed by a majority of Canadians of the day. In 1878, Fowler, a highly promising young pitcher (he had beaten Tommy Bond and the Boston Red Stockings 2–1 in an exhibition game earlier that season), joined the Lynn Live Oaks of the International Association, then, arguably, a major league-calibre circuit. Immediately, Fowler came up against the defending champion London Tecumsehs and their rookie manager Ross Barnes, the famous former major-league batting champ, who had spent the previous two seasons playing for Cap Anson in Chicago. Irked by the presence of Fowler on the mound, Barnes "kicked" so loudly throughout the match that the umpire finally forfeited the game to Lynn after seven innings. Fowler had a 3–0 lead at the time, having allowed Barnes and company just two hits. Several weeks later, when the Lynn and Worcester franchises merged, Fowler, despite his demonstrated abilities, was let go.

Fowler's second recorded experience with Canadian racism came in July 1881, when Guelph beer magnate George Sleeman recruited him to pitch for his Maple Leafs in the Canadian Association. As the *Boston Herald* reported, "When he reached Guelph and the members of the club found he was a coloured youth, they snobbishly refused to play with him." When the rival Petrolia Imperials indicated they might be a bit more open-minded, Fowler signed on with them. In his first start with his new club, Fowler's teammates sent him a message by committing 19 errors behind him. For the umpteenth time in his career, he was forced to pack his bag and ply his trade elsewhere. "The poor fellow's skin is against him," said *Sporting Life* in 1885. "If he had a white face [he] would be playing with the best of them."

Tellingly, the only black players employed by a Canadian team in those years was a "very small and very fat coloured boy" named Willie Hume, "about 14 years old." The Toronto club of the International Association had virtually press-ganged the unfortunate Hume as their mascot on a road trip to Syracuse in May 1886. Beyond initial reports in the Toronto papers, Hume was never referred to by name. He became, like some organ-grinder's monkey, an amusing cipher, simply "the fat Mascot in his gaudy new suit" or "the Torontos' coloured cupid."

Canadian press treatment of visiting black players was scarcely more dignified. In the *Toronto Globe*, the brilliant Frank Grant was the "coloured mascot" or the "maroon" second baseman, while Bob Higgins of Syracuse was "the sable pitcher." But nowhere in the International League was there a paper more obsessed with race than the *Hamilton Spectator*, published by former London Tecumsehs organizer Bill Southam.

"That sunburned second baseman of the Buffs is an amusing person," the *Spectator* said of Grant. "He is as limber as a jumping-jack, and has lots of fun with himself." But if Grant was "sunburned," then George Stovey, of mixed parentage, wasn't sunburned enough: "Stovey is not very black," read the *Spectator*. "He is everlastingly smoking cigars when he is off duty, and looks as if he had just succeeded in colouring himself a trifle."

When Newark visited Hamilton on June 8, 1887, the *Spectator*, seemingly intoxicated by its previous racial witticisms, pulled out all the stops. "Walker, the coon catcher of the Newarks, is laid off with a sore knee," it said. "It is insinuated by envious compeers that in early life he practiced on hen roosts until he got the art of foul-catching down fine."

And, in a separate item: "Yesterday the Newarks only played half of their coon battery, and the Hams were shut out with one run. There is ground for suspicion that it is a case in which two blacks would make a white-wash. Anyhow, it is generally admitted that the coloured pop. have a

monopoly on the calsimine [sic] business."

This time the calcimine hit the fan. On June 10, the *Spectator* ran an apology to Hamilton's tiny black community for the "two items referring to Newark's coloured battery." Bill Southam blamed the slurs on a freelance contributor and a careless editor.

There is a story that "the coon catcher of the Newarks" had taken personal exception to the *Spectator* piece and had sought out its publisher. Fleet Walker, who had attended Oberlin College and the University of Michigan, and was one of the few ball players of his day to have studied Latin, Greek, French, German, natural philosophy, and logic. By this point in his career, he abandoned polite discourse in such matters and had taken to packing a gun. To what extent armed persuasion was responsible for eliciting Southam's apology isn't known, although it seems highly unlikely. Regardless, a week after *l'affaire* Walker, the unrepentant Hamilton rag was back in fine form. First it reprinted a self-serving item from another paper dismissing the whole Walker incident as "a harmless little joke," then suggested (in response to an imminent appearance by Binghamton's Bill Renfroe) that Hamilton "rub burnt cork on one of [its own] pitchers—just to be in fashion."

But if black players had it tough in the press, they had it immeasurably tougher at the ballpark. Both Fowler and Grant were said to have worn wooden shinguards under their stockings to guard against intentional spikings at their second-base positions. And if opposing players weren't enough to worry about, there were always one's own teammates. "Race prejudice exists in professional baseball ranks to a marked degree," said *The Sporting News* in 1889, "and the unfortunate son of Africa who makes his living as a member of a team of white professionals has a rocky road to travel."

On May 25, 1887, 19-year-old Bob Higgins made his first start for the Syracuse Stars in a game at Toronto. His fielders casually committed 16 errors, and he lost 23–8. Then in June, several of Higgins's teammates refused to sit with him for a photo. When Stars manager Joe Simmons confronted the anti-Higgins clique, its Mississippi-born ringleader, pitcher "Dug" Crothers, punched Simmons in the face. A sympathetic *Hamilton Spectator* provided the suddenly unemployed Crothers with a platform to proclaim: "I would rather have my heart cut out [than] consent to have my picture taken in that group." Dropped by Syracuse, Crothers was immediately engaged by Hamilton.

Even league officials were not above wearing their prejudices on their sleeves. In May 1887, umpire Billy Hoover boasted that on a close play he always ruled against "a team employing a coloured player." When the *Binghamton Daily Leader* suggested Hoover "be driven out of the league at the toe of a boot," the *Toronto World* jumped to his defense, calling him "the best of them all."

By the end of June, reports from Syracuse said that four International League clubs, including Toronto and Hamilton, had begun a campaign to institute a complete ban on blacks in the league. Some emboldened Toronto fans took to chanting "kill the nigger" when Grant came to town.

On July 14, 1887, bully-boy Anson struck again, this time refusing to allow his club to take the field for an exhibition game with Newark if Stovey or Walker were in the lineup. They sat out. It was a double whammy that season for "the coloured battery." In April, the New York Giants had apparently made another offer, this time for both Stovey and Walker, only to be informed by Newark management that they were not for sale.

The same day as Anson's hollow victory, International League officials met in Buffalo. One of the items on the agenda was the problem of "the coloured element" in the circuit—by now about as rare as ytterbium. It consisted entirely of Grant in Buffalo, Higgins in Syracuse, and Stovey and Walker in Newark. The other black players, including the .350-hitting Fowler, had already been released. The league's directors decided 6–4 "to approve no more contracts with coloured men," with Toronto and Hamilton swinging the vote.

While the press in league cities south of the border was virtually unanimous in its condemnation of the colour line, Canadian newspapers treated the issue with a ho-hum callousness. The *Syracuse Star* labelled the league's action "shameful," the *Newark Call* called it "ridiculous," and the *Binghamton Daily Leader*, wondering whether black spectators would also be barred from the local ballpark, said the league had "made a monkey of

itself." The *Newark Journal* editorialized that "if Stovey, Walker, Grant or any other coloured man is refused a position . . . on account of his complexion he can make things very warm for the league. It has been decided that every man in this country is entitled to a living if he can earn one." To which the *Toronto World* stupidly replied: "You can't compel a club to engage you as a ball-player whether you are black or white."

Of the nine black players who began the tumultuous 1887 season, only four were around on closing day. Stovey, despite establishing the all-time International League record of 34 wins, was released. However, Grant (.366, with walks counting as hits that season), Walker (.263), and Higgins (20–7) were reserved for 1888. The *Toronto World* called the retention of the "coloured element . . . hard to understand." The *Newark Register* shot back: "Read the emancipation proclamation, Canadian brethren, and become enlightened." The *World* responded smugly—and falsely—that the Canadian clubs in the league had had nothing to do with the drawing of the colour line.

The revamped International Association of 1888 featured three Canadian clubs—Toronto, Hamilton, and newcomer London—among its

eight teams. It didn't take long for Toronto manager Charlie Cushman to toss out the first racial bomb of the season. On May 23, a Syracuse player complained about the overflow crowd seated on the edge of the playing field in Toronto. Cushman responded by peevishly insisting that everyone not wearing a uniform—including the injured Fleet Walker, who had been seated in civvies on the Stars' bench—be turfed from the playing area. Subsequently, the irate Walker got into a confrontation with some fans out behind the stands. According to *Sporting Life*, he "flourished a loaded revolver and talked of putting a hole in someone in the crowd." Another version of the story said that Walker's threats were directed towards Cushman, and that a police detective found a pistol in his pocket. In any event, Walker's gun was impounded, and he spent the night at No. 4 police station.

Three weeks later, the *Buffalo Courier* reported that Walker's erstwhile target, Cushman, was "engineering a scheme to have coloured players ousted from the International Association." The *Courier* surmised that "Cushman's scheme will hardly go. There are only three coloured men in the Association . . . and they behave themselves."

By season's end, only Walker and Grant (.331, 11 HR) remained, Higgins having gone home to Memphis in early August rather than endure further abuse. In November, the league's directors met in Syracuse, where Hamilton and London agitated, unsuccessfully, for the immediate expulsion of the remaining black players. A compromise was reached: the clubs agreed not to sign any more black players. They also agreed that should either Grant or Walker be released, no other team be allowed to pick them up. The fate of blacks in organized baseball having been decided, the delegates, among them Thomas S. Hobbs of London and James Dixon, a Hamilton alderman, adjourned to a banquet given by the Syracuse club.

The reiteration of the International League colour bar had repercussions far beyond the circuit itself. It meant that the major leagues were now effectively closed to blacks. Now, without having to formally enact a racial policy of their own, the majors could simply shrug and point to a dearth of black talent at the highest minor-league levels. The Hobbses, the Dixons, the Southams, et al. had done much of the dirty work for them. By helping rid the International League of black players in the 1880s, they had done their part in floating baseball's Big Lie, namely that it was a paucity of black talent—and not an abundance of white racism—that accounted for baseball segregation.

So effective was this solution to the challenges of integrated play that, as late as 1944, Commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis could still say, with a straight face, "There is no rule, formal or informal, no understanding subterranean or otherwise, against black ball players in the majors." And other members of the baseball establishment, such as Cleveland owner Alva Bradley, could make this dim-witted statement to explain the lack of black Indians (and Tigers and Dodgers): "They have simply never been able to get into the minor leagues to get the proper training for major-league competition."

"Propaganda is a terrible thing," Negro Leagues star Dave Malarcher once said. "[T]he propaganda of keeping the Negro out of the major leagues made even some of the Negroes think that we didn't have the ability. It started them to thinking it, too."

In 1889, amid reports that his Buffalo teammates would strike if he returned, Frank Grant signed on with the Cuban Giants. However, Fleet Walker put in one final, lonely season with Syracuse. The first openly black player in the major leagues would be the last in the International League, until Canadians, in an unwitting act of expiation, embraced Jackie Robinson more than half a century later.

An earlier version of this article appeared in *All I Thought About Was Baseball*, William Humber and John St. James, eds., University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Now Pitching for Drummondville: Sal Maglie

Bill Young

On Tuesday, October 4, 1949, Sal Maglie took the mound under the lights at Drummondville's Piste de Course ballpark and delivered one of the most memorable moments ever in that city's baseball history.

The Drummondville Cubs, the class of the Quebec Provincial League, were hosting the resilient Farnham Black Sox in game nine—the last game—of the league finals. Knowing that the fate of their entire season was riding on the outcome of this one match, more than 3,500 Drummondville fans had braved the evening chill and now huddled together within the massive grandstand behind third base, shivering in nervous anticipation. Tonight, the winning team would walk away with the League trophy; the losers would just walk away. The hopes and expectations of the entire town, not to mention the odd wager or two, and indeed, Drummondville's very reputation as a sporting centre, hung in the balance. And they were counting on Sal Maglie to deliver.

Today Sal Maglie occupies a place in baseball history, remembered for his outstanding exploits with baseball's National League New York Giants of the early 1950s. But that came later. In 1949, Sal Maglie was a 32-year-old pitcher whose career appeared to be on a downturn. He was well aware that he was running out of time, that he might never again have a chance to play on a championship team—and so he took this opportunity very seriously.

A native of the Niagara Falls, NY area, Sal Maglie had been a career minor league pitcher who eventually worked his way up to the 1945 New York Giants, where he enjoyed modest success. However, with the end of World War II, former players began returning to their respective clubs, and Maglie saw that there would be little chance of his keeping a spot on the Giants' roster. Thus, when given an opportunity to jump to the Mexican League—at this time actively recruiting players from the majors and high minors—he took the plunge.

A significant number of other players also made the same decision, such that the game's supreme authorities, led by High Commissioner Happy Chandler, decided to set an example and banned them from all organized baseball for a period of five years. The jumpers would not be eligible to return until 1951.

After two years in Mexico, Maglie and most of the imported players called it quits and returned home—only to find they had run out of places to play. By 1949, Sal Maglie was at the nadir of his career. Now completely out of baseball, he was pumping gas at the service station he owned in Niagara Falls, low on hope and desperate for some kind of salvation.

Fortunately for him, salvation took the form of the Quebec Provincial League, poised to embark on what many would regard as its greatest year ever.

A stellar pool of players had become available—Quebeckers, displaced major leaguers, young Latins, Negro League veterans, Mexican League jumpers—and every team in the loop was bent on recruiting the best talent it could find.

The Drummondville Cubs manager, Montrealer Stan Bréard, himself a career minor leaguer and jumper, had known Sal Maglie from their days down south and signed him on for $600 a month.

Sal Maglie was not Drummondville's only high-profile signing. The legendary Quincy Trouppe, perennial All-Star in the Negro Leagues, came on board. So did ex-Giants Danny Gardella and Roy Zimmerman; and pitcher Max Lanier, a former All-Star with the St. Louis Cardinals. Other regulars included Victor Pellot, who would later gain fame in the major leagues as Vic Power; Roger Bréard, younger brother of Stan; Joe Tuminelli, a Dodger farmhand who preferred Quebec; and Conrado Perez, a Latin breaking into integrated baseball.

The Cubs got off to a great start, as did the league, and in spite of certain surprises along the way, interest remained high throughout the season. Commissioner Chandler unexpectedly rescinded his ban on Mexican jumpers in mid-June, and while this did affect some teams—Lanier was the only one of the Drummondville nine to leave—the league continued to deliver excellent ball and draw good crowds.

Sal Maglie remained behind for several reasons. He was earning good money, he did not yet consider that he was ready to compete for a position with the Giants, and of greatest import, he believed he was honour-bound to fulfill his commitment to Drummondville.

The regular season ended in early September, and although the Sherbrooke, St-Jean, and Granby sides had all taken their run at the Cubs, Drummondville walked away with the pennant, finishing eight games ahead of second-place Granby. Maglie led the league in pitching with an 18–9 record. And now, Drummondville's post-season run, an inconceivable circus of highs and lows, was about to begin.

The Cubs had every right to feel confident going into the league playoffs, if for no other reason than that their first round opponents would be the lowly St-Hyacinthe Saints who had ended the season 27 games out.

As a result, the Cubs were not prepared for the rude awakening that greeted them, and while, ultimately, they did manage to slip past the Saints, it took them the full nine games and more than a little luck. Their less-than-stellar performance prompted whispers in certain quarters that not was all on the up-and-up. Rumours that some players, or even umpires, had taken money were exacerbated when Jean Barette, writing in *La Patrie*, branded the Cubs/Saints series "*Arrangé!*"

These rumblings ceased to be relevant, however, once Sal Maglie had bested St-Hyacinthe's Walter Brown, formerly of the St. Louis Browns, to nail down the series. In a twinkling, despair had turned to joyous celebration. *The Sporting News* reported that admirers had showered Maglie with gifts and money worth $700 following the last out.

But the hard part still lay ahead. The Farnham Black Sox would see to that. Anchored deep in the league's second division throughout the regular campaign, the Black Sox had been the surprise of the post-season. Handily, they had first dispatched St-Jean in the quarterfinals, and then Granby, and were now poised to pull off the greatest upset of all, besting the powerful Cubs. Farnham had a solid formation made up of experienced veterans, several of whom had survived the rigours of the Negro Leagues and winter ball. They were not easily intimidated.

Through the first eight games, fickle momentum played no favourites. The Cubs took the first two games, lost the following pair, won game five on Sal Maglie's four-hit, 2–0 shutout, split the next two, and then with victory in their grasp, lost game eight. The stubborn Black Sox had succeeded in neutralizing Drummondville's strengths and were still in the hunt. Once more, fortunes were about to rest on a last, winner-take-all, final game.

Sal Maglie had been outstanding throughout the playoffs. In five starts he had won four, lost none, saved another game in relief and maintained


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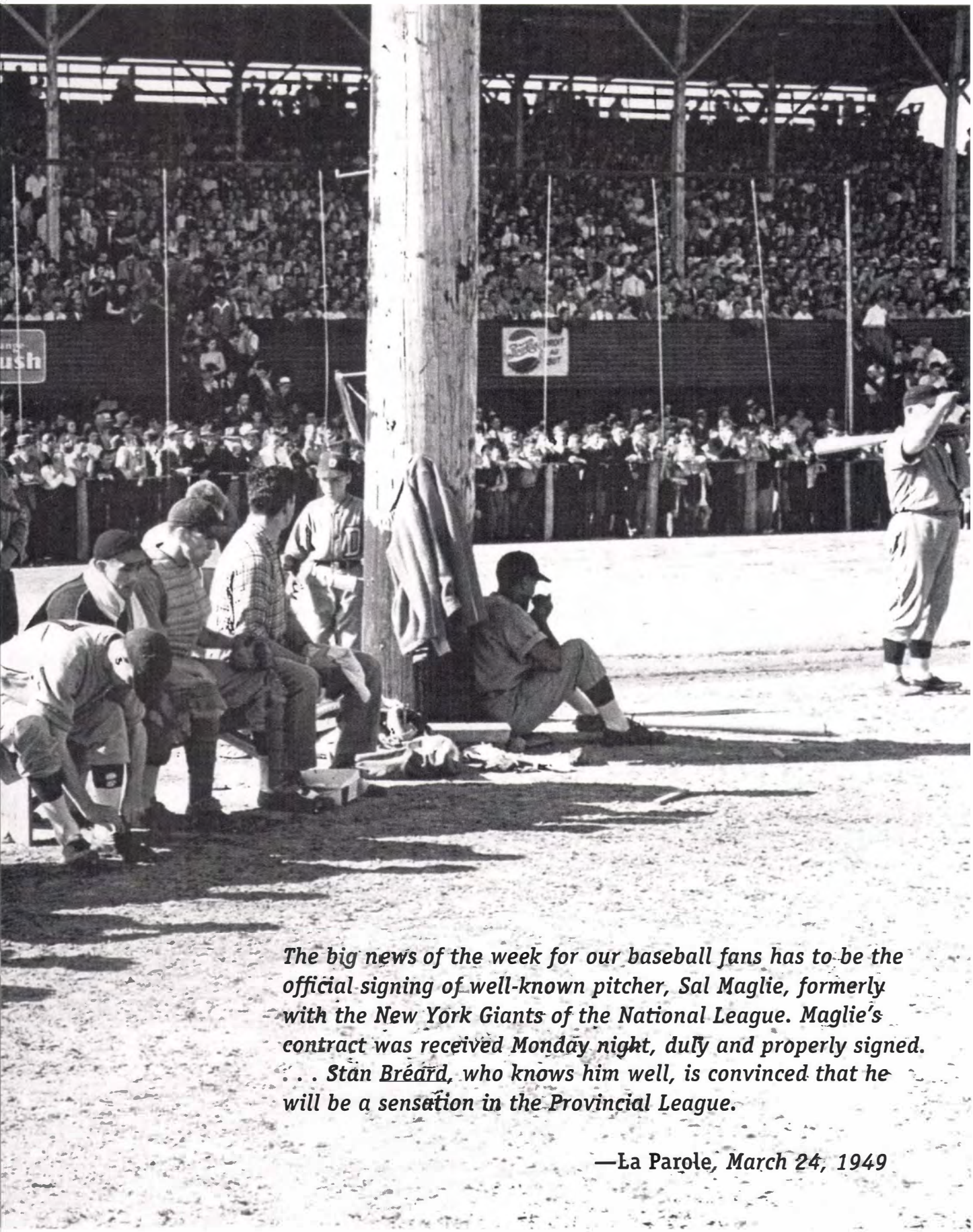


The big news of the week for our baseball fans has to be the official signing of well-known pitcher, Sal Maglie, formerly with the New York Giants of the National League. Maglie's contract was received Monday night, duly and properly signed. . . . Stan Bréard, who knows him well, is convinced that he will be a sensation in the Provincial League.

—La Parole, *March 24, 1949*

a batting average that was among the best on his team. Against Farnham, in two encounters, Maglie was yet to concede a run. And tonight, in the autumn chill, with everything on the line, he was being called upon one more time.

The game is still remembered as everything one could hope for in a final contest. Facing Maglie on the mound was the venerable Willie Pope, long a stalwart of the Negro Leagues and ace of the Farnham staff. Both had come to win, and for inning after pressure-filled inning, both bore down, giving away nothing. Maglie struck out ten batters in the game, Pope nine. Maglie issued no walks: Pope surrendered one, intentionally.

Farnham was first to put up a run, capitalizing on what the local papers called a lucky home run. In the fourth inning, Al Wilson hammered a long drive to centre field and as Pellot and Gardella converged on the ball, it dropped between them and rolled to the fence. By the time Pellot could recover it, Wilson had rounded the bases and scored.

Pope managed to hold the lead until the seventh, when Drummondville finally rallied. When the dust had settled and the cheering stopped, five runs had crossed the plate, enough to seal the victory. They had done it. At last, the Cubs were truly champions.

One more time, Sal Maglie had prevailed: four hits, 10 strikeouts and a 5–1 victory. His last game in Drummondville, and it was a masterpiece. The Cubs had required 10 wins to earn the title. Maglie had delivered five of them. *La Parole* spoke for the fans:

> *The baseball season now concluded will long be remembered in Drummondville. It offered some of the most brilliant play that we could ever hope to see in a community like ours. It brought us the championship, and glory to the name of Drummondville and to its citizens.*

The town held a reception for the team the following day. Head table guests included Stan Bréard, Sal Maglie, and Sal's wife Kathleen. The league trophy was presented, and Maglie was lauded for the contribution he had made to the city.

His year in Drummondville had run its course, but not his career. In 1950, in New York, Sal Maglie would experience the rebirth that for several years placed him among the premier hurlers in the National League. Drummondville, or so the locals insisted, had prepared him for this challenge. And that made his friends in town very proud.

I was playing ball one day, and there were men on second and third. I came to bat with our team three runs behind and, taking a mighty swing at the pill, landed it far out in deep centre. Seeing that it was a long hit, I put my head down and ran like the wind. And would you believe it, I beat both men to the plate.

—Story told by Cyclone Taylor to his Renfrew Millionaires teammates while the team was in New York City in March of 1910. First reported in the *Ottawa Citizen* in December of 1911. During this same gathering, fellow future Hockey Hall of Famer Fred Whitcroft boasted of hitting .700 with Deacon White's Young Liberals team in Edmonton two summers before.

Quebec Baseball Outside of Montreal

Christian Trudeau

For almost forty years, from the time Montreal embarked on its second stint in the International League to the moment it secured a major league franchise, there was some very interesting baseball played in the province of Quebec, much of it involving the remarkable Provincial League, or as it was called in Quebec, la Provinciale. The first league to use that name did so more than a century ago and the Provincial League had many different formats over the years, switching from amateur to professional ball, and in and out of organized baseball, almost at will. But by the 1930s, it was ready to get serious.

The Development Years

After the failure of the Eastern Canada and Québec-Ontario-Vermont Leagues, where travel costs were prohibitive, Quebec baseball in the second half of the 1920s consisted mostly of town teams challenging each other rather than organized leagues.

Still, strong teams emerged in Sorel and Granby, and with many clubs claiming provincial supremacy, there soon was a definite need for an organized league. It was not until late 1934, however, that a league was formed, with teams from Sherbrooke, Granby, Drummondville, Sorel and Lachine, as well as two teams from Montreal, one sponsored by local sportsman Jos. Choquette, the other by the city's police force. There was also a Mohawk team from Caughnawaga, now Kahnawake.

The inaugural season, 1935, was quite eventful. The league only had three players who played in the majors: Elmer Miller, briefly with the 1929 Philadelphia Phillies, and local boys Roland Gladu and Paul Calvert, who would reach the majors later. Gladu, an infielder, was with the 1944 Boston Braves, while Calvert, a pitcher, would go on to play with the Indians from 1942 to 1945, before returning with the Senators and Tigers between 1949 and 1951. However, the league compensated for the lack of major-league talent with a lot of diversity. In addition to the all-Mohawk team, three black players also signed on that year (see my other contribution to this volume, "Integration in Quebec").

Even though the league was so dense geographically that most teams returned home after each game, financial problems soon arose. Fortunately, many team owners, like Granby's Homer Cabana, had contacts in black baseball. Apart from bringing some players to the league, those links, notably with Chappie Johnson, paid huge dividends. Johnson made sure that some of the best barnstorming teams visited Quebec that summer of 1935, giving the Provincial League teams a much-needed boost. In addition to Johnson's team, the Zulu Cannibal Giants,

the Cleveland Clowns, the Boston Black Giants, the Hawaiian All-Stars, the Boston ABC, and the House of David all came to the rescue as well.

With the league now in sound financial shape, play resumed and was dominated by Sorel, which would go on to be the team to beat for the rest of the decade, winning the league playoffs from 1935 to 1938 and the pennant in all those years except 1937. They were so dominant that their team nickname became the Champions.

In 1936, the league offered a purse of $1,000 to the playoff winners, and it was said that $4,000 to $5,000 changed hands in bets for each playoff game.

Over the next two years, consolidation took place, as the league moved east, away from Montreal. A new team, Trois-Rivières, joined the league in 1937, and Quebec City did the same the following year, adding two big cities to the league, where there was no International League to compete against. The league also added its own black barnstorming team, the Black Panthers (see "Integration in Quebec").

While the level of play increased steadily and seasons got longer, there were still some ugly incidents: players hitting umpires, fights with crowds, and teams going on strike. League officials, wanting to transform the circuit into one of the best "outlaw" leagues and casting an eye toward joining organized baseball someday, worked toward bringing order to the way things were done. They put a stop to the league tradition of raiding American colleges, the Black Panthers were dropped, and greater effort was made to attract bigger names to the league.

One of the players recruited by the league was former Dodger Del Bissonette, who grew up in eastern Quebec and was player-manager for the Quebec City team in 1939, leading them to the championship. There were also former A's shortstop Joe Boley; one-armed Pete Gray, who once hit an out-of-the-park homer; and catcher Pinky Hargrave, formerly of the Senators, Browns, Tigers, and Braves. The hardest hitters were Howie Moss and Joe Cicero, two veteran minor leaguers who never had more than brief opportunities in the majors. Herbie Moran, veteran outfielder of seven major league seasons between 1908 and 1915, was brought in by Trois-Rivières to manage its 1937 team.

Those efforts paid off as the league was accepted into organized baseball for the 1940 season, as a Class C loop. The act of reconciliation that made this possible was the removal of Howie Moss, who had been suspended by organized baseball.

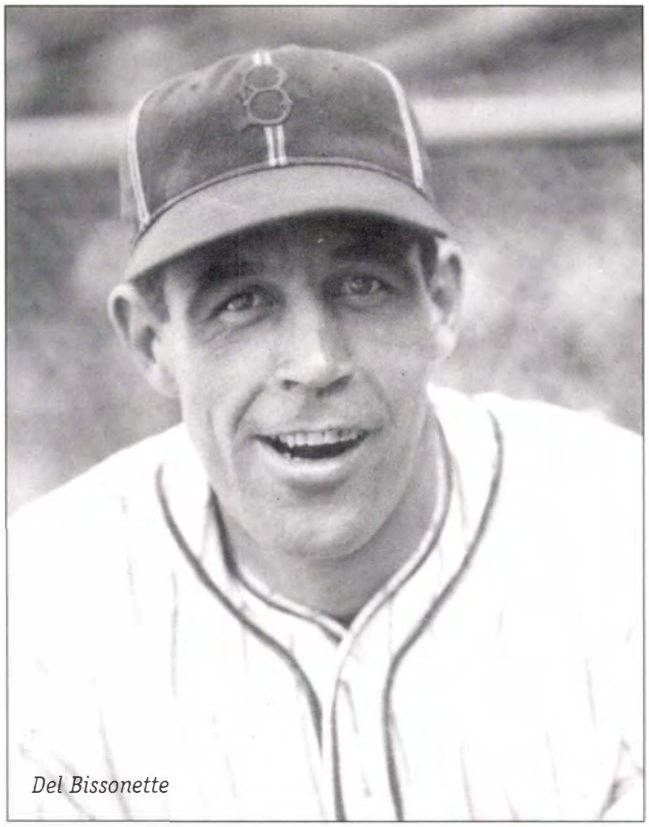
That 1940 season was a complete disaster. Higher salaries for players not much better than before, few big names, terrible weather, and the war all contributed to this fiasco. Drummondville folded after only 32 games, and Sherbrooke did the same on August 1. Pennant winner St-Hyacinthe went under after the first playoff game. Only the big cities of Trois-Rivières and Quebec really thrived that year, and as the Provincial League folded, both joined the Canadian-American League for the following season.

On the field, the few players of note included such major league veterans as Johnny Bassler, 45 years old; Del Bissonette, 41; Joe Boley, 44; and Wally Schang, manager of Trois-Rivières, who at 51 caught a few games due to a player shortage. This was also the rookie season of future local legend and Expos broadcaster Jean-Pierre Roy, who went 10–8 with a 3.28 ERA for Trois-Rivières and who would win 25 games for the Montreal Royals five years later.

Rebuilding from Scratch

During the war years, baseball was quite disorganized in Quebec. The Can-Am League stopped play after the 1942 season, and apart from the Royals in Montreal, baseball was mostly a local affair, with several more or less organized leagues springing up on Provincial League territory, including on a few army bases.

In 1946, Granby and Sherbrooke joined the Border League, which was another failure. Long and costly trips doomed the Quebec teams, and Sherbrooke finished last in the standings and at the gate, while Granby barely did better. The Can-Am league also resumed play with both Trois-Rivières and Quebec City back in the fold. Quebec City would go on to have a great team, its 1950 edition being named in the top 100 minor league teams of all time for the 100th anniversary of Minor League Baseball.



Del Bissonette

Joe Boley

Meanwhile, in 1947, the Provincial League was ready to form again, and Sherbrooke and Granby were welcomed back with open arms. No longer part of organized baseball, the league was at this point strictly a more structured version of the amateur circuit of the war period.

The biggest event of the season was the presence of Maurice "Rocket" Richard in the Drummondville lineup. Coming off a 45-goal season with the Canadiens, Richard, then 25, had just lost the Stanley Cup finals to the Maple Leafs, but was the winner of the Hart Trophy, given to the league's most valuable player. Starting late because of a hockey exhibition trip to Western Canada, Richard arrived in mid-June, as a third baseman. In one of his first games, a grounder broke his nose, but he was back in the lineup almost immediately, although not long after that he would move to the outfield. He left the team for good in early July, and it's not clear if the Canadiens put pressure on him to prevent him from getting injured. Stats are incomplete, but it seems that the Rocket hit .241 with 11 RBIs in 54 at-bats. He showed considerable power, with at least two triples and a home run, which was the first one hit out of the park in Sherbrooke that year.

Richard's presence in the Provincial League was the culminating point of the league's relationship with pro hockey players. Leroy Goldsworthy (1936, Sorel), Normand Dussault (1947–1950, 1955, Sherbrooke) and Gilles Marotte (1965, 67, Plessisville) are other notable NHL players who spent time in the league. Over the years, the league also gave opportunities to Canadian Football League Hall of Famer Frank Morris (1947, St-Jean), and future Harlem Globetrotter and Canadian Basketball Hall of Famer Fred Thomas (1948–1949, Farnham/Sherbrooke).

The Golden Age

In 1948–1949, circumstances favoured the loop. Following the war, with the surplus of players available, Mexican millionaire Jorge Pasquel started his own major league and signed many major leaguers and high-level minor leaguers, including Quebeckers Roland Gladu, Jean-Pierre Roy, and Stan Bréard. Gladu returned to St-Hyacinthe late in 1947 and quickly started talking to club owners about signing the Mexican jumpers, many of them really unhappy in Mexico and now suspended from organized baseball.

By 1948, the teams in St-Jean, Drummondville,

and Sherbrooke were convinced. Sherbrooke signed Gladu to manage the team, then added pitcher and former Giant Adrian Zabala and three Cubans whom Gladu had met in Mexico. Bobby Estalella signed with St-Jean and would hit .375 with 23 home runs. Drummondville waited until nearly the end of the season, but signed Danny Gardella and Stan Bréard. Farnham used its black baseball connection, signing Dave Pope, Joe Atkins, and Willie Pope. St-Hyacinthe acquired Buzz Clarkson, who hit .399 with 28 round-trippers.

Sherbrooke cruised through the 1948 season with a 61–37 record, but faced tough opposition in the finals against St-Hyacinthe (54–46). Down 4–2 in a best-of-nine series, Sherbrooke fought back to tie it up. The final match in Sherbrooke drew 5,147 spectators to a crazy game, which included a second-inning brawl involving the two teams, policemen, and part of the crowd. Down 9–7 in the ninth inning, St-Hyacinthe tied the game, but local player Pierre Taillefer plated the winning-run in the bottom of the inning with a single.

While the 1948 season, with its 39–58 record and a first-round exit in three straight games from the playoffs, was disappointing for the Drummondville Cubs, it proved very useful for the following season. Bréard, who couldn't change the team's fortunes late in 1948, helped bring in many of his teammates from the Max Lanier All-Star team. During the winter they not only signed Max Lanier himself, but also fellow Mexican League jumper, pitcher Sal Maglie. Lanier, who had enjoyed two All-Star seasons in 1943 and 1944 where he went a combined 32–19 with a 2.29 ERA for the St. Louis Cardinals, was the better known of the two at the time. He was 33. Maglie had only one major league season under his belt, a 5–4 record with a 2.35 ERA in 84⅓ innings for the 1945 Giants. He was only two years younger than Lanier, but, as it turned out, there were still 114 major league wins left in his arm.

That wasn't the end of it for Drummondville. The team added veteran Negro League catcher Quincy Trouppe; a young Vic Power, who hit .345–9–54; pitcher Roberto Vargas, who would have a brief major league career; and first baseman Roy Zimmerman, who had tasted big-league action. They joined returning jumpers Gardella and Bréard, who was also managing, forming a team that could have rivalled some of the best minor league teams that year.

Among other players new to the league were former Senators pitcher Alex Carrasquel and Cards infielder Lou Klein (St-Jean), former Giants pitcher Harry Feldman (Sherbrooke), and former Reds second baseman Woody Williams (St-Hyacinthe). Remarkably, between 1947 and 1949 roughly 40 former and future major leaguers played in the Provincial League.

As predicted, Drummondville jumped to a quick start, en route to a 63–34 record. However, the bubble burst for Drummondville and the whole league in June, as the suspended major leaguers were reinstated by commissioner Happy Chandler. Klein, Feldman, Fred Martin, and Adrian Zabala left quickly, along with Max Lanier, who at the time was 8–1 with Drummondville.

However, the league was able to keep a few stars, like Sal Maglie, who was paid somewhere around $20,000 to stay in Drummondville. He would go on to win 18 regular season games. The league tried to sign a few big names to replace the departing players, and players with brief major league careers like Ralph Schwamb (Sherbrooke), Don Savage, Glenn Gardner, and Walt Signer (St-Jean), Charles Brewster and Larry Drake (St-Hyacinthe) were brought in.

Even if the level of play dropped a little, the league continued to draw good crowds. Again, it delivered very interesting playoff games, as Farnham emerged as the Cinderella team, reaching the finals despite a fifth place standing. Drummondville needed the maximum nine games to eliminate last-place St-Hyacinthe in the semifinals, prompting game-fixing rumours.

Once more, the best-of-nine final went the limit, before Sal Maglie out-duelled Willie Pope for a 5–1 victory. This was Maglie's third win of the finals and fifth of the playoffs. It was said that $20,000 had been bet on that last game alone.

The Organized Years

Following the 1949 season, the league was readmitted as a Class C loop. At first few things changed. Teams kept many of their veterans and in 1951, Trois-Rivières and Quebec City rejoined the league.

That season, however, did seem to mark the beginning of the end. Sherbrooke won another championship in spectacular fashion, punctuated by a fire that destroyed their stadium in the hours following the final game. Unable to build a new stadium in time for the 1952 season, they withdrew from the league. By the time they came back, in 1953, the league had changed drastically. Many local icons like Roland Gladu and Jean-Pierre Roy were gone, and the league was now a full partner in the minor league system. That meant less control over player selection, longer seasons, and a declining fan base and level of play.

Quebec City dominated on the field, winning the playoffs every year between 1952 and 1955. Farnham, Drummondville, Granby and St-Hyacinthe all dropped out of the league one after the other, and while they were replaced by a solid baseball town in Thetford Mines and the first team from outside the province of Quebec (Burlington, Vermont) the league finally collapsed after the 1955 season. As with so many other minor leagues, the increasing competition offered by television was a factor.

One More Cycle

Over the next few years, baseball returned to its community-based roots in Quebec, but soon a new Provincial League emerged again. While strictly local at first, the league started allowing American players, as one of its teams was situated along the border, and soon, each team was permitted a certain number of non-local players. By the second half of the 1960s, it was wide open and the league was filled with young Latin Americans.

The Provincial League developed a few major leaguers this time, among them Jesus "Pepe" Frias, while extending the careers of former All-Star Felix Mantilla, local boys Tim Harkness and Raymond Daviault, and veteran minor leaguer and brief major leaguer, Nick Testa.

The arrival of the Montreal Expos struck a severe blow to the league, and after a tough 1970 season, with only five clubs remaining, the league disbanded.

Four of the five remaining teams would be rewarded a few years later, as they all obtained Eastern League franchises: Quebec City and Trois-Rivières from 1971 to 1977, as farm clubs of the Expos and Reds respectively, Sherbrooke from 1972 to 1973, and Thetford Mines from 1974 to 1975.

Still in Rebuilding Mode

Strong junior leagues have covered the territory of the Provincial League since then, and senior leagues re-emerged in the late 1980s. A nine-team league is now solidly in place across Quebec, covering a territory much bigger than the original Provincial League. We have also seen a return of the independent leagues, as Quebec City joined the Northern League in 1999 and is now in the CanAm League.

Rebuilding from the ground up brought an end to the drought of major league players born in Quebec, as Denis Boucher in 1991 was the first pitcher to play in the majors since Claude Raymond's retirement in 1971. Pierre-Luc LaForest was, in 2003, the first position player born in Quebec to play in the majors since Paul Hodgson in 1980. And then, there is Eric Gagné's success story.

With the loss of the Expos, a return to a league similar to the Provincial League could well be a possibility. The Canadian Baseball League was a failure, but a league within a smaller territory like the Provincial League just might work.

Even though baseball tradition and knowledge in La Belle Province is sometimes questioned by outsiders because of the Expos' problems, there is no doubt that baseball has deep roots in Quebec. While the loss of the Expos may be tough on baseball fans, the game itself will most certainly survive in Quebec.

Thanks to Merritt Clifton on the wonderful job he did in Disorganized Baseball Vol.1 : The Quebec Provincial League, *which served as an inspiration and a basis for this article.*

"Not an Edifying Spectacle"

The Game that Helped Establish Toronto Baseball

Peter Morris

It is always difficult to pinpoint when baseball became firmly established in a particular city or locale. And yet in Toronto, far more than in most towns, a single game can be identified as having played a pivotal role in baseball's gaining a permanent foothold.

Part of the reason that this is the case is that baseball was very late in becoming established in Toronto. In the 1850s, a wide array of ball and bat games were being played in North America, with no one set of rules and customs predominating. In the early 1860s, these variants were coalescing into a single game—the "New York" version of baseball—in all of the major eastern cities of the United States. The rest of the country gradually acquiesced and by the 1870s professional baseball had emerged.

Just as importantly, the many bat and ball games that had existed in the 1850s in the U.S. were rapidly disappearing. Cricket continued to have adherents, but was becoming a niche sport. Variants of baseball were still played when there were not enough players for baseball, but regional bat and ball games were giving way to a single national version.

Things were different in Canada. By the 1870s, baseball had successfully been established in a few midsize Ontario cities, most notably London and Guelph. And yet much of Canada had not greeted the American national pastime with similar warmth. This phenomenon was most obvious in Toronto. Large cities had been the most fertile grounds for spreading enthusiasm about baseball in the United States, but Toronto showed few signs of catching the "base ball fever."

There were sporadic efforts to start baseball teams in Toronto during the 1870s, but none of them had much staying power. Even an 1876 meeting in Toronto to establish a Canadian Association of Base Ball Players stimulated interest around the province, but had little effect in its largest metropolis. The reasons for this are harder to determine, but presumably the fact that the climate meant for a shorter playing season played some role. It seems plausible to assume that the situation might have been different had a major proponent of baseball in Toronto emerged, but that didn't happen.

In addition, at least in part because of Canada's cultural ties to Great Britain, there was competition from other sports. Louis Cauz cites an unidentified writer of the period who observed, "Cricket is for elders; lacrosse is for younger socialites; but baseball is just a sandlot sport, usually played by undesirables."[1]

Whatever the reasons, baseball interest in Toronto in the early 1880s lagged far behind comparable American cities. By 1884, there were three major leagues in the United States and almost every decent-sized community in the east and northwest boasted a representative in a professional baseball league. The south

too was starting to fall in love with baseball.

In contrast, not only had Toronto never supported an entry in a professional league, but each passing year made it appear more unlikely that it ever would. As the town grew into a metropolis, all available land was snatched up and it became increasingly difficult to find a suitable yet affordable place to play. Given the additional impediments presented by the culture and the climate, a dispassionate observer might well have concluded that baseball would never catch on in Toronto. Then, suddenly, the situation changed.

In 1884, a baseball club representing Toronto established a home at the Jarvis Street Lacrosse Grounds and began playing matches, which marked "the first time that any interest of any account was taken by the public in the game."[2] The club was part of an informal league of Canadian nines and played throughout the summer, facing opponents from such towns as Guelph, London, and Hamilton, as well as some touring American clubs. A rivalry developed with the Clippers of Hamilton, which deepened when a Toronto paper described Hamilton's star pitcher Pete Wood, a future major leaguer, as "the most conceited jackanapes that ever stood in a pitcher's box."[3]

With the season drawing to a close, the Torontos decided to capitalize on this rivalry by playing a game that was billed as being for "the championship." It is hard to be sure whether these clubs had actually earned the right to contest for the championship, but the point does not seem to have bothered the public. Nearly three thousand spectators turned out on Jarvis Street on October 4, 1884, to see the Torontos host the Hamilton Clippers. Unfortunately, the start of the game was delayed by a lengthy dispute over the lineups.

The Toronto side "gave out the names of Connors, lf; Shepard, 1b; Lyons, p; Macklin, 3b; Delaney, rf; Scott, 2b; Glossey, c; Andrus, ss; Purvis, cf."[4] Most of these were familiar names, including Wiman Andrus, who, like Pete Wood, was a University of Toronto medical student who would play briefly in the major leagues the following season. But the names of the pitcher and catcher were new ones, and they were soon recognized as Charley Buffinton and Mert Hackett, the battery of the Boston entry in the National League. The visiting club understandably objected to the use of these ringers, since their own players—who included Pete Wood and his brothers Fred and Jeff—were all locals.[5]

The debate intensified when the Toronto management offered the lame excuse that "they had heard on good authority that the Hamiltonians intended to ring in a league battery, and that they thereupon engaged the Boston pair to protect themselves." Finally, after the start of the game had been delayed for over an hour, the home team withdrew the imported duo and replaced them with homegrown players.

In the meantime the match had been further marred when the police arrested a very small boy who had attempted to scale the fence without paying for admission. This apparently led to an "anti-policeman riot," during which the shins of at least one policeman were kicked black and blue. The *Toronto World*, in an understatement, observed that this "was not an edifying spectacle."[6]

The game finally began at 4:10 with a pitcher named James McKinley in the box for Toronto. For five innings, he thwarted the Hamilton batters, while the home side hit Pete Wood hard to build a seemingly safe 5–0 lead. But then in the sixth, the tables were turned. After Hamilton strung together several hits, the Toronto players became rattled and made several errors, allowing the Clippers to score five times and tie the game.

In the top half of the seventh, Andrus scored to give Toronto the lead again, but then the late start came back to haunt the home side. Hamilton catcher Fred Wood dislocated his finger and by the time play was ready to resume, the Clippers contended that it was too dark to continue. This led to a ten-minute dispute, and when the argument was finally settled it really was too dark to resume play, so the score reverted to the last completed inning and the game was declared a draw. There was talk of a rematch, but it proved too late in the season for one to be scheduled.

Such an unsatisfactory resolution would hardly seem a building block for baseball in Toronto. The breaches of conduct were particularly disturbing at a time when so much emphasis was placed upon proper behaviour. It must be stressed that, in many respects, the behaviour at the match was

very dignified. An outstanding catch by Hamilton outfielder Charles Wilson, for example, earned a round of applause from the Toronto spectators. However, in an era with such high expectations for conduct, any instance of impropriety was a serious matter.

As a result, while the supportive *World* contended optimistically that "baseball is looking up in Toronto," even it had to acknowledge that the game was "still in the sensitive stage of its existence" in the city. Considering that the sport was already struggling against the perception that it was "usually played by undesirables," an objective observer might have reasonably assumed that this game would prove the death knell for baseball in Toronto.[7]

Instead, the controversy had a salutary effect on baseball interest in Toronto. Previously the sport elicited little passion from Canadians, but this time was different. The heated emotions stirred up by the unsatisfactory result kept everyone talking about baseball well into the winter.

Baseball aficionados in Toronto and Hamilton became "very much excited" over the controversial ending and particularly over the attempt of the home team to use Buffinton and Hackett.[8] Charges flew back and forth between the two cities, until finally the *London Advertiser* sought to put the question in context.

The *Advertiser* asked rhetorically, "isn't there a good deal of unnecessary hypocrisy in all this? Is there a purely amateur club in the whole Canadian league? We doubt it. It may be granted that clubs like Hamilton and London are composed of city-born players, but do they play solely for relaxation or with a prospect of some pecuniary reward? Toronto tried to do a 'sneak' act in playing the imported men under false names, but anyone who has kept track of baseball in Canada since the good old days when such places as Ingersoll, Woodstock and Dundas had the leading clubs, it seems just a little bit childish to raise a howl about 'professionalism' in itself."[9]

Not only had talk about baseball continued into the winter but, more importantly, the following spring found Torontonians ready to translate their passion into action. On May 12, the *Toronto World* observed, "Last year's experience has proved that there is ample encouragement in the city for a baseball club run on a first-class scale."[10] The next day, a baseball company was formed to finance such a team, and players were soon being signed.[11]

The next month, Toronto's first entry in a professional league[12] took the field, prompting the *World* to remark that Canada now had "twin national games—lacrosse and baseball."[13] Another journal predicted that, should "the general public begin to understand the points in baseball (which comparatively few in the city do as yet) then the attendance at the games will equal that of first class lacrosse matches."[14]

That prediction would be exceeded by a considerable margin. Toronto joined the International League the following year and, in the years since, Toronto has had a rich—although not continuous—baseball tradition, culminating with the Blue Jays' capturing consecutive World Series in 1992 and 1993. There is no way to know for sure how things would have been different had the controversial game in October of 1884 had not taken place. It would be mere speculation to suggest that the start of Toronto's baseball tradition would have been prevented entirely, but at the very least it would have been delayed. Either way, this now forgotten game certainly started the ball rolling.

1. Quoted in Louis Cauz, *Baseball's Back in Town*, 11.
2. Ibid., 13.
3. *Toronto World*, August 25, 1884.
4. *Toronto World*, October 6, 1884.
5. *London Advertiser*; reprinted in *Toronto World*, October 9, 1884
6. *Toronto World*, October 6, 1884.
7. *Toronto World*, October 6, 1884.
8. *London Advertiser*; reprinted in *Toronto World*, October 9, 1884.
9. London *Advertiser*; reprinted in *Toronto World*, October 9, 1884.
10. *Toronto World*, May 12, 1885.
11. *Toronto World*, May 13, 27, 1885; Louis Cauz, *Baseball's Back in Town*, 13.
12. Cauz refers to the league as the Canadian League, but Miles Wolff and Lloyd Johnson's *Encyclopedia of Minor League Baseball* lists it as the Ontario League.
13. *Toronto World*, June 16, 1885.
14. Quoted in Louis Cauz, *Baseball's Back in Town*, 13.

The Ex

Jane Finnan Dorward

ALTHOUGH we associate Exhibition Stadium with the Jays' first game on April 7, 1977, the grandstand at the Ex had a long history. The Canadian National Exhibition began as the Toronto Industrial Exhibition in 1879, when the Province of Ontario passed an act that created a permanent annual exhibition on city lands in the southern part of the village of Parkdale, at the foot of Dufferin Street. It was primarily an agricultural exhibition, but soon expanded to include buildings devoted to machinery, arts and crafts, food, and horticulture. A small wooden grandstand, holding about 5,000 spectators, was soon built on the site. It was succeeded by a second grandstand, built in 1892, which held around 10,000. This structure was destroyed by fire in 1906, and one was designed by G. W. Gouinlock for the 1907 season. It held 16,400 and was used for races, livestock judging, musical performances, and other events at the exhibition. This structure stood until it was destroyed by fire on April 14, 1946.

There was considerable debate over the rebuilding of the grandstand, and CNE directors wanted a 50,000-seat Memorial Stadium plus a Civic Auditorium built on the site of the old Stanley Barracks at the eastern end of the Exhibition grounds. One city controller, H. E. McCallum, thought it would be better to erect a stadium north of the lake, as the weather was too cold for spectators in early spring and in the fall. The area suggested was Riverdale Park, not too far from the original Toronto Baseball Grounds (Sunlight Park), but on the opposite side of the Don River.[1] Plans for a new 25,000-seat grandstand, costing $1 million, were approved July 19, 1946, and the north grandstand of Exhibition Stadium was completed in 1948. Not surprisingly, the stadium was over budget, and the final cost was $3,400,000. Its shape was gently curved, and it was built of concrete, with an exterior of red brick reinforced with Queenston limestone. It was 800 feet long and 75 feet high, and had 20,663 seats. The trusses of the cantilevered roof allowed for fewer steel supports, and so there were few obstructed seats. There were four entrances, and four washrooms for each sex. It had five dressing rooms, and it was equipped with 300 floodlights and spotlights for shows. In addition, the roof was considered "almost pigeon-proof."[2] The building was considered a great architectural success. It won the Massey Medal for architecture, and a model of it was sent to the Olympic art competition by the Royal Architecture Institute. It should be noted, however, that it was designed primarily for shows and concerts, not sporting events.

The North Grandstand stood alone for 11 years until 1959. The long-established Canadian Football League team, the Toronto Argonauts, were unhappy with their field at Varsity Stadium and wanted the city to build a south grand-

stand. An editorial in the *Globe* entitled "A Bad Investment" expressed dismay at this plan, which would increase the seating capacity of the Ex by 16,000 and cost $1,125,000. It added "this proposal has been advanced as the first phase of several in the piecing together of a sports stadium which would also serve as a home for major league baseball" but stated that no single facility could be satisfactory for both sports.[3] There were also issues concerning public transit and parking. More editorials followed, suggesting that the city could "reduce the ransom" to $450,000 if the Argos paid a much higher rent ($87,400/annum). The project went ahead, and by October 15 of that year, proposals for the scoreboard were being solicited. The addition was ready on August 7, 1959 for a pre-season game between the Argonauts and the Chicago Cardinals of the NFL. A crowd of 27,770 attended the game, seeing the Argos lose 55–26. A huge traffic jam followed the game, as cars leaving the game met traffic leaving Maple Leaf Stadium along the Lakeshore. City officials scrambled to solve the problem through increased streetcar and bus service. The Ex became the home of the Argos for the next thirty years.

There was little talk of modifying Exhibition Stadium after Jack Kent Cooke sold the Maple Leafs in 1961, but the loss of Maple Leaf Stadium in 1968 left no place for baseball, even if a team could be obtained by purchase or expansion. Metro Chairman Paul Godfrey began talking to local politicians about the problem in late 1973, and he began to formulate a plan to redesign the Ex. There was no hope of attracting a team if there was no viable stadium. To justify the cost of expanding the Ex, people wanted to know what income this would generate.[4] The *Globe* spoke against publicly funded stadiums, and asked, "should we be satisfied with ballpark figures, just because the topic under discussion is a stadium?"[5] Still, the proposal was approved by a vote of 23–6, and the city hoped its $15 million investment would be recovered in 25 years. In reality, the facility was designed to bring a team to Toronto and serve as its home for 10 years, until a proper stadium could be built. The new Ex was completed in time for the football season in 1975, and could have been used for baseball in 1976 if the Toronto Giants had not been stillborn in February of that year. Although some considered the new Ex a waste of money at the time, it would become a real money-maker for

New CNE Grandstand under construction, July 2, 1948.

the CNE and the city over the years because of concerts and shows, rather than sporting events.

The architect for the expansion of the stadium was William Sanford, of Marani, Rounthwaite, Dick & Hadley. The task was to create an addition that would incorporate the curved north grandstand as the outfield stands. This curious configuration meant that the bleachers were the only covered part of the stadium. The concrete foundation was set in early March of 1975, and the seat deck was precast in 36 sections. Precasting enabled the construction to proceed quickly, but it had disadvantages. The seat deck was essentially the roof of the concessions under the stands, and when it rained, water would seep between the sections. A system of drains was designed to alleviate the problem, but these drains would occasionally become clogged with peanut shells. The budget for the project ($17.8 million) did not include the scoreboard, private boxes, or concessions, so several companies undertook their construction in exchange for a share of the revenues and advertising. Much later, the same would be done with SkyDome. The cost of the stadium eventually reached $20 million because the team dressing rooms cost an additional $2 million. The field was Monsanto's Astroturf, but this was not the first artificial surface at the Ex, as the stadium had installed "Tartan Turf" made by 3M in the late 1960s. The Ex had switched to an artificial surface because the grandstand stage ruined the grass when it was dragged back and forth, and football games tore it up between the 35-yard lines. One interesting feature of the stadium was the design of the light poles. They were 180 feet tall (three times taller than the grandstand) and because most of the weight was at the top, they tended to sway when the wind blew. The architects worked around this problem by placing a pendulum of heavy chain attached to a concrete weight encased in rubber tires inside the hexagonal pole. The swing of the pendulum would counter the frequency of the pole, and you could actually hear the thud of the weights when the wind was strong.

The team logo for the never-was Toronto Giants.

Fans could only see the field properly from the west section of the grandstand, as the eastern section was about 50 yards from the centre field fence. Despite the poor view, the bleachers were more comfortable, as they had more protection from the elements and the seats were wooden. The new stands extended beyond the right field foul pole too, and fans had to crane their necks or even stand to see home plate. These seats were on the lake side, and fans along the first base line had to sit on aluminum benches, which were miserable at the best of times, and freezing cold when the wind came in from the lake. The reason there were benches was not so much cost, but the football team's desire for a greater seating capacity, as they could fit five rows of benches in a space that would fit four rows of individual chairs. The first base line had chairs in the lower section up to first base, but in the upper section the benches extended from the curve of the stands. The right-field side of the park was cold, as the wind came right in on the open east side. For any seasoned fan of Canadian football, this was no big deal, but expansion-team baseball lacked the excitement of a November Grey Cup game and would hardly distract fans from their frostbitten fingers. The seats along the third base line were also aluminum but more bearable, as they were actual chairs, and the new eastern side of the park provided some break from the wind.

For the younger fan, the most popular spot was the North Grandstand, out in left field. A grocery store chain, Dominion, sold undated general admission seats for the grandstand (normally $4) for $2 apiece at its stores, and many young fans (including this writer) kept a stash for days when the weather was good and an afternoon at the ballpark seemed preferable to school. From August until Labour Day, these $2 grey tickets were particularly useful, as they included free admission to the Exhibition itself, giving you nine innings of baseball and a whole day at the Ex full of midway rides, exhibits, and food. In addition, it was always cooler by the lake in Toronto's hot and muggy summers. The stands changed over the years, as the wooden double seats in the North Grandstand were replaced by plastic chairs. At one point, the architects were asked to provide a design that added a second deck to the stadium, although this was never seriously considered. When the 1985 American League playoffs were held in Toronto,

the architects designed a temporary stand wedged between the left field addition and the old grandstand to add 500 seats for visiting members of the press.

One interesting issue in the early years was the sale of beer at Exhibition Stadium. The Province of Ontario had very strict liquor laws (and still does, in comparison with many places), no doubt a reflection of the heavy influence of conservative Methodists at the turn of the century. Liquor was only available for sale in stores called "The Liquor Control Board" and was not then available on open shelves in most stores. Beer was sold in a similar fashion in the Brewers Retail stores. Considering Toronto's reputation for being teetotal, it shouldn't be surprising that there was considerable opposition to beer sales in the ballpark.[6] In March of 1977, the province refused to allow the Labatt-owned Jays a licence to serve beer at the stadium. On that first opening day, fans greeted Ontario premier Bill Davis with the chant "we want beer" but people had largely taken the matter into their own hands, and brought liquor in paper bags. While the stadium was "dry" it was common to see glass mickeys littering the ground under seats after each game. Beer finally came in July of 1982, when the province announced it would test beer in three stadiums until 1983. The three stadiums were the Ex, Ivor Wynne (home of the CFL Hamilton Tiger Cats), and Landsdowne Park (of the CFL Ottawa Rough Riders). Interestingly enough, beer would not be permitted in indoor facilities like Maple Leaf Gardens. Beer was in the stadium for good, as patrons were no more rowdy with their Labatt's Light, and were probably more sober than when they were sneaking in liquor.

Looking back on the early days of the Jays at the Ex, we realize that the building was never suitable for baseball, nor specifically for any other sport. The North Grandstand stood 51 years, and when it was finally demolished in February of 1999, it was mourned by few. The older generation had a greater sentimental attachment to its predecessor, a smaller and more charming Edwardian building contemporary with the Coliseum and the buildings on the west side of the exhibition grounds. The 1949 grandstand was too large for the park, and a poor shape for football, let alone baseball. Nor was it popular with the media, who recognized it as a white elephant. Still, its great longevity was a testament to its solid construction and utility, and it deserves to be remembered more fondly than the appellation "the mistake by the lake." It was the first home of Toronto's major league team, where many young fans learned to love the game, and the flat markers on the site, now a parking lot, hardly do it justice.

1. *Toronto Globe and Mail*, April 19, 1946.
2. *Toronto Globe and Mail*, August 2, 1948.
3. *Toronto Globe and Mail*, January 8, 1958.
4. *Toronto Globe and Mail*, May 11, 1973. This article contains an early mention of a domed baseball stadium.
5. *Toronto Globe and Mail*, March 12, 1974.
6. It appears that there was a stand for O'Keefe beer outside the 1910 Hanlan's Point Stadium, but it's doubtful that beer was actually allowed inside the park.

Yesterday was "boys day," but the youngsters did so much damage to chairs in the East end of the stand that it will be cut out unless the Board of Control agrees to take out the chairs and replace them with wooden benches, nailed down. The Ottawa club is anxious to encourage the little fellows, but in the future they will have to behave in a more orderly way.

—The Senators wage a never-ending battle with unruly young fans, *Ottawa Citizen*, May 16, 1914.

The ManDak League, 1950–1957

Barry Swanton

In 1946, Jackie Robinson broke the colour barrier, entering organized baseball to play for the Montreal Royals in the Brooklyn Dodgers organization. This sounded the death knell for the Negro Leagues. The last Negro Leagues East-West All-Star game would be played in 1950 and from then on the league was considered to be "minor league." Good young black players were entering organized baseball and the older players were looking for some place to continue their careers. In 1950 they just had to look north to Manitoba, Canada, and North Dakota, where the ManDak League was just starting up. In its first season the league would consist of the Winnipeg Buffaloes, Elmwood Giants (Winnipeg), Brandon Greys, and Carman Cardinals in Manitoba and the Minot Mallards in North Dakota.

The year before, in 1949, a number of Negro League players had joined the ManDak's predecessor, the Manitoba Senior League (for players over the age of 21). Teams in the league were allowed three imported players at the beginning, but the Elmwood Giants, Brandon Greys, and Carman Cardinals had more than their allowance by season's end.

The legendary Hall of Famer Willie Wells had played for the Elmwood Giants in 1949, and the following year he signed on as manager of the Winnipeg Buffaloes. As the league had no limit on the number of imports, Willie Wells' Buffaloes looked like a who's who of the Negro Leagues. He signed Lyman Bostock Sr., Spoon Carter, Leon Day, Jim Newberry, Frazier Robinson, and Andy Porter. Elmwood would sign Cowan Hyde, Al Preston, Cy Snead, and 19-year-old outfielder Solly Drake. Six years later Drake would be playing centre field for the Chicago Cubs. Negro Leaguers Gentry Jessup and Ron Teasley joined the Carman Cardinals. Brandon had a Cuban contingent with Armando Vasquez, Pedro Naranjo, and Ramon Rodriquez. Minot would sign Ted Strong, Andy Anderson, and some lesser known Negro League players. Satchel Paige was signed to pitch three innings in the Minot Mallards' first three games. This was done to increase fan interest and Paige didn't disappoint. Besides drawing many fans to the Minot ball park, Paige pitched a scoreless nine innings, giving up three hits and striking out 13 batters. This got the league off to a good start.

The teams played a 48-game schedule in 1950. There were no Sunday games as the new league didn't want to offend the local religious community. However, this didn't stop them from playing tournament games on Sunday in many small Manitoba and Saskatchewan towns. These tournaments offered prize money of between two and five thousand dollars, giving teams a chance to make some extra money. The league did have a salary cap of $8,500 a month and players were paid between $300 and $1,000 a month. Reports said that Carman paid pitcher

Gentry Jessup $1,000 a month that first season. The teams played a number of exhibition games against barnstorming teams such as the Memphis Red Sox, New Orleans Creoles, Omaha Rockets, and Brooklyn Cuban Giants.

Prior to the start of the 1950 season much of southern Manitoba was flooded as the banks of the Red River overflowed, and the first games had to be cancelled. When the green light was given to start the season the league played an All-Star game to raise funds for the flood victims. The teams were named after the two local newspapers at the time, the *Winnipeg Free Press* and the *Winnipeg Tribune*. The *Tribune* team was the victor over the *Free Press* by a score of 8–4. This worthy effort raised $2,643 for the flood victims, a goodly sum considering the tickets were priced between 50¢ and $1.00. Another $266.25 was raised when a ball signed by Joe DiMaggio was sold at a raffle during the game. *Free Press* sportswriter Maurice Smith had approached DiMaggio with the request and he was more than eager to help. The tickets were sold for 25 cents each.

The Brandon Greys finished in first place in 1950, seven games ahead of the Winnipeg Buffaloes, and the two teams would meet in a best-of-seven league final. Pitcher Jim Newberry of the Buffaloes was the star in the first three games, winning the first two and saving the third. Brandon's Dirk Gibbons won game four and this left the series at three games to one for the Buffaloes. Game five went 17 innings before the Buffaloes came out the victors with a 1–0 win and become the ManDak's first champion. What was interesting is that both winning pitcher Leon Day of the Buffaloes and loser Manuel Godinez of Brandon pitched all 17 innings. That kind of pitching performance is unheard of today.

The Winnipeg Buffaloes dropped out of the ManDak League after the 1951 season. Early in the 1951 season the St. Louis Browns were looking for talent to bolster their Toronto Maple Leafs farm team in the International League and sent their head scout Rip Collins to Winnipeg on a scouting trip. He was impressed with what he saw and left town with Charlie White, the youngest Buffaloes player. The Buffaloes then made a deal with Bill Veeck of the Browns for Leon Day, Butch Davis, and Jimmy Newberry, some of the team's youngest players. The Buffaloes owner Stanley Zedd became disillusioned after that and folded the team after season's end. That left one Winnipeg team, and it dropped out of the ManDak League after the 1953 season. Two Manitoba teams remained, Brandon and Carman, but they too would cease operation after the 1954 season. The Williston (North Dakota) Oilers joined the league in 1954, followed by the Bismarck Barons and Dickinson Packers, two other North Dakota teams, in 1955. For the 1955 and 1956 seasons all the teams were in North Dakota, but the league retained the ManDak name. In 1957 Brandon Greys would return to the league for the league's final season.

During the eight seasons of play, fans in Manitoba and North Dakota would see 130 ex-Negro Leaguers. The ManDak would also attract 44 ex-major leaguers, including Jerry Adair, Preston Gomez, Solly Drake, Sammy Drake, Lloyd Gearhart, Ken Heintzelman, Bobby Hogue, Don Lee, Al Lyons, Charlie White, Dee Moore, Mickey Rocco, Harry Taylor, Dewey Williams, and Roy Weatherly.

The ManDak attracted many long-time minor league stars. Many of these players had been tied to major league clubs by the reserve clause. If a major league team didn't want to let a player go to another organization he was condemned to stay in its system with no recourse. By going to the ManDak League, players were able to continue their careers and make more money than they were making in organized baseball. In an interview, Ron Teasley recounts an occasion at a card show when he talked to Negro League players Andy Porter and Frank Evans about their days in the ManDak; they all agreed they made the most money playing ball in the league. Bill Hockenbury, a long-time minor league star, said he was making more money playing for Bismarck then he was in organized ball. Twenty-two local Manitoba players would also play in the league.

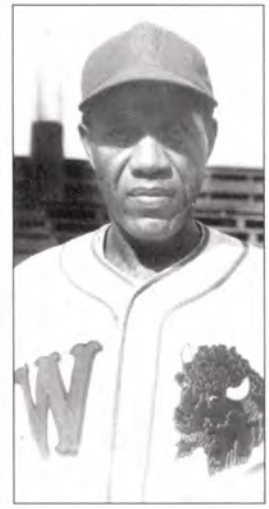
In 1953 the ManDak League established an interlocking schedule with the Western Canada semi-pro league. This league comprised four teams, the Moose Jaw Maples, Regina Braves, North Battleford Beavers, and Saskatoon Gems. This was done with the idea of joining both leagues

Lyman Bostock Sr.

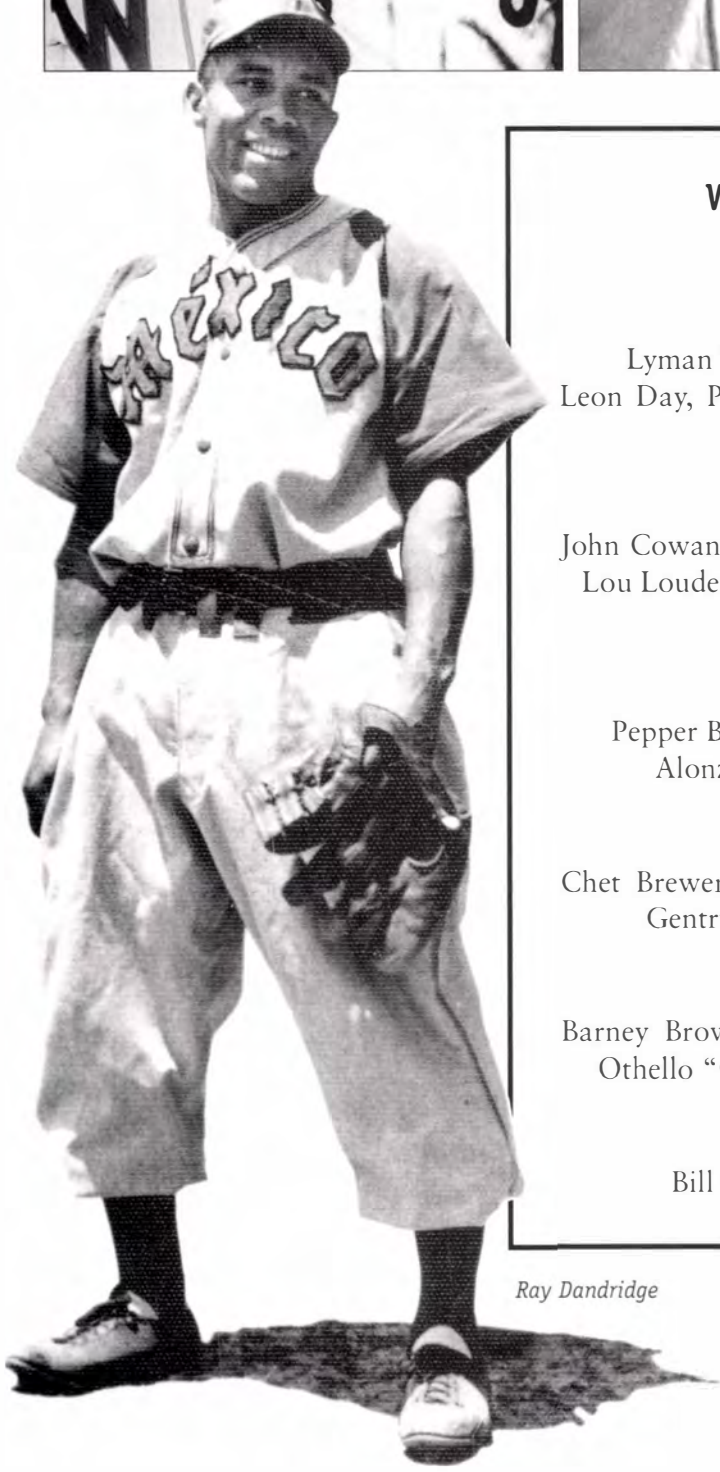
Chet Brewer

Art Pennington

Willie Wells



Leon Day



Ray Dandridge

Well-known Negro Leaguers in the ManDak League

Winnipeg Buffaloes

Lyman Bostock Sr., Pee Wee Butts, Spoon Carter, Leon Day, Pee Wee Jenkins, Jim Newberry, Andy Porter, Frazier Robinson, Willie Wells

(Winnipeg) Elmwood Giants

John Cowan, Ducky Davenport, Joe Greene, Bubba Hyde, Lou Louden, Barney Morris, Tom Parker, Pat Patterson, Ted "Double-Duty" Radcliffe

Brandon Greys

Pepper Bassett, Howard Easterling, Pedro Naranjo, Alonzo Perry, Curly Williams, Wilmer Fields

Carman Cardinals

Chet Brewer, Lester Lockett, Herb Souell, Al Spearman, Gentry Jessup, Chick Longest, Curly Williams

Minot Mallards

Barney Brown, Sugar Cain, Lefty Gaines, Satchel Paige, Othello "Chico" Renfroe, Ted Strong, Willard Brown

Bismarck Barons

Bill Cash, Ray Dandridge, Art Pennington

into one strong league. During its years of operation, the Western League mainly used players from American colleges. When the college season was over this was a chance to make a few dollars in the summer before the players had to return to university. College players like Pat Gillick, Tom Haller, Ron Perranoski, John Boccabella, and Ron Fairly are names baseball fans will recognize. The college players were still diamonds in the rough when they played, and many went on to fine major league careers. The league did have a few Negro League and Cuban players, but not of the quality or quantity that were in the ManDak. The superior talent of the ManDak was evident, as its teams won 28 of the 32 games played. In one game the Minot Mallards pounded the Regina Braves 22–3. The teams found the travel conditions rough as the players were travelling in cars, mostly station wagons, and were on the road for extended periods. At season's end the league decided not to continue the interlocking schedule for the 1954 season.

Over the league's eight seasons the Minot Mallards would win four championships. A strong nucleus of returning players ensured a high quality of play year after year. The Winnipeg Buffaloes, Brandon Greys, Williston Oilers, and Bismarck Barons would each win one championship during the league's existence.

With attendance dwindling and operating costs rising, all teams were in financial trouble at the start of the 1957 season. In an article in the *Bismarck Tribune* it was reported that the Barons' expenses were $54,000 and their goal for the 1957 season was to reduce costs to $25,000. Many old Manitoba fans claim that when Williston and Bismarck entered, they altered the competitive balance of the league. People thought that these new teams used their "oil money" to sign some of the better players, exceeding the league's salary cap. In 1957 all teams were feeling the financial pinch, and at the end of the season the league ceased operation.

The ManDak League was a glorious time for baseball in Manitoba and North Dakota, as the quality of play was very high. Over its eight years of operation there was much speculation about what classification it would have in organized baseball. Many knowledgeable baseball people believed the league was somewhere between Class A and Triple A. In 1950, Minot's manager Lefty Lefebvre, who pitched briefly in the major leagues, was quoted in the Minot paper as saying the ManDak League was equal to Class B ball. He claimed that Brandon's Rafe Cabrera was the best all-round player and Gentry Jessup was the best pitcher in the league. At that time he hadn't seen the Winnipeg Buffaloes with Leon Day, Willie Wells, and company. In 1951 Minot's manager and ex-major leaguer Otto Huber stated he thought the calibre of play was between Class A and Class B. In 1957, former major leaguer Al Lyons was quoted in the *Williston Herald* as saying, "I could take a respective squad from the ManDak League into the Pacific Coast League and make a real race for the pennant." To this day the argument continues, but there can be no real answer. What is known is that baseball fans in Manitoba and North Dakota saw some of the big stars of the Negro Leagues and the quality of play was excellent.

There are not many minor leagues that can boast three Hall of Fame players like Leon Day, Willie Wells, and Ray Dandridge, and if you count Satchel Paige and his brief appearance with Minot in 1950, there were four. If the league had been in larger cities in the U.S. and Canada, rather than in North Dakota and Manitoba, it would attract more attention from baseball historians. It truly is one of baseball's best-kept secrets!

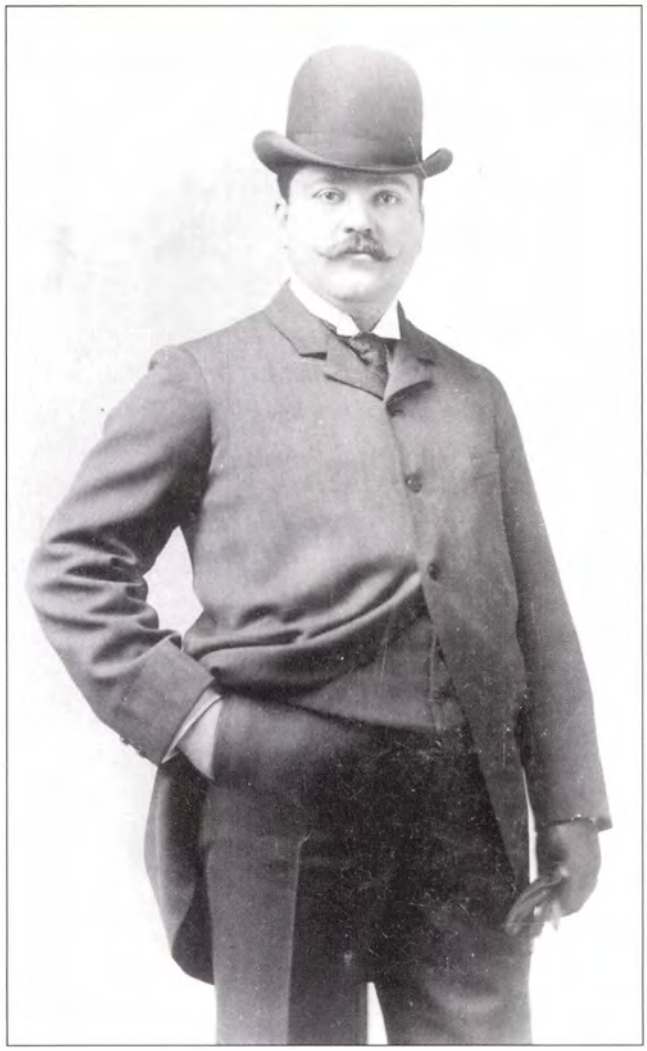
Ed Barrow's Toronto Years

Jane Finnan Dorward

Most fans with a passing acquaintance with 20th-century baseball history know that the man behind the 1918 Red Sox and the Yankee dynasty that began in the 1920s was Ed Barrow. Few know how he started his career in the sport, and even fewer know that he spent part of the first decade of the century in Toronto, managing the Eastern League Maple Leafs. These were important years in his development as an executive as well as a field manager, and he did manage the team to one pennant, in 1902. The building of that team is an interesting and largely forgotten story, but the most intriguing part of the story is how he quit baseball for a time, at low ebb in 1906. However, let's not get ahead of ourselves.

In his autobiography, Ed Barrow explains how he first became involved in baseball. His baseball managing experience was limited to fielding teams in Des Moines when he worked for a newspaper, and his first contact with professional ball came in Pittsburgh. As Barrow tells it, the reason he went to Pittsburgh was that he and his brother Frank fancied making their fortune selling soap, and when this venture failed, Ed stayed on at the Staley Hotel on Penn Avenue to recoup his losses. He began working for scorecard concessionaire Harry Stevens and got to know many members of the Pirates, making friendships with Al Buckenberger and Connie Mack. In the fall of 1894, Barrow became part-owner (with Buckenberger) of a team in the new Inter-State League in Wheeling, West Virginia. The league didn't survive the season, but Barrow was hooked, and he wound up co-owning an Atlantic League team in Paterson, New Jersey in 1895. He became president of that league in 1897, and held that job until it folded in 1899. Looking for a new berth, Barrow looked to his friends for advice.

At this point, Barrow entered into a Canadian connection that would last for ten years. He only lived in the city for about six of those years, but had close associations with the team and people in the city. A close friend was Toronto native Arthur Irwin (brother of John Irwin, who had managed in the Atlantic League). Arthur Irwin had played 13 seasons in the major leagues, mostly as a shortstop. While still playing, he managed the Senators in 1889 and the American Association Boston franchise in 1891. He managed the Phillies in 1894 and 1895 and then the Giants for much of 1896. His last stop in the majors was Washington, where he remained from 1898 until the team folded at the end of 1899. Irwin found himself on the move again (eventually going to Syracuse) and decided to sell his interest in the Toronto team that he had managed in the early part of 1898. He approached his friend Ed Barrow to see if he were interested. According to Barrow's autobiography, Irwin believed his friend would do well: "why, they will love you in that town. I bet you could be mayor."[1] Irwin realized



that his hometown fans needed a manager with a winning attitude (the club had finished fourth, playing .500 ball under manager Wallace Taylor[2] that season).

Barrow's entrance into the Eastern League came at a critical point in the league's history. Plans for a second major league had many owners in the circuit nervous, and rightly so: increased competition for players and general instability could bring down some of the weaker clubs, putting the whole league in jeopardy. The Canadian teams were particularly vulnerable, and their fears were well grounded. It had happened before in 1890 when the Players League's encroachment into International League territory tipped the first domino, leading to the collapse of the entire league by July 8. The three Canadian franchises (Toronto, Hamilton, and Montreal) were the biggest casualties, and Toronto was the first to return—but not until 1895. During this four-year period, Toronto had to make do with a Canadian League club. It played at Sunlight Park, the home of the old team, but the public's taste for baseball had increased to the point where patrons wanted a higher calibre of play. Once the city re-entered the league, it still had trouble attracting crowds as the team played poorly against better American clubs. Barrow's old friend, Al Buckenberger, managed the team in 1896 to a fourth-place finish, and Irwin brought them up to second place in 1897. Still, Toronto fans wanted to see a winner, and the club needed a manager with connections not only in the Eastern league, but other circuits as well. Barrow seemed an ideal candidate.

By the fall, Barrow was already in Toronto with Irwin, and had begun signing players. The *Globe* reported these transactions, but also noted that Barrow and Irwin were interested in the new American league (Irwin wanted a club for Boston). By mid-November, Barrow had much of his 1900 team chosen, and there was some talk that the club might move from the Island to a new ballpark in the west end of the city which would be controlled by the Toronto Street Railway Company. This did not occur until the 1901 season, but it's clear that Barrow was in on it from the very beginning. He was largely responsible for engineering this move, and getting the new park built. Barrow had overseen the construction of two other parks, one in Wheeling and another in Paterson, and it appears that once the decision to move was made, Barrow was in charge of the new facility. It didn't happen right away, however.

Barrow's 1900 team comprised pitchers Williams, Alloway, and Bill Duggleby, catcher Harry Bemis, Charlie Carr at first, Wally Taylor at second, Jim Cockman and Robert Schaub at third, infielder Lou Bruce, and outfielders Jimmy Bannon (and later his brother, Tommy) along with Rome Grey[3] and Jim Hannivan. The team continued to play at the old Hanlan's Point park, which had been the home of the team since 1897. The 1900 Leafs finished sixth, certainly a disappointment as the team had slipped further rather than improving. Barrow's impact on that team was minimal, as he lacked the finances to go after better players. Many blamed the Island ballpark, and the lack of

revenue resulting from its poor location. To afford better players, Barrow needed a new ballpark on the mainland, and changes in ownership would soon allow him to move the team to the western part of the city.

Hopes ran high at the end of the season and in September of 1900, as Barrow offered a $6,000 option on the players and franchise from the main stockholder, the Toronto Ferry Company, and hoped to raise funds by selling $10,000 in stock to shareholders. Barrow's optimism went further, as the *Globe* reported that "an effort will be made to secure admittance into the American League, and Mr. Barrow has every reason to believe that Toronto will be welcomed into that strong organization with open arms by President Ban Johnson."[4] A club meeting held on November 20 at the Rossin House decided little, but the list of shareholders included several names that would remain on the Toronto baseball scene for many years. These include local entrepreneur Lawrence "Lol" Solman, Ed Mack, Jess Applegath, and J. J. McCaffrey. Barrow was also scouting out new players. One notable player was Al Wagner, brother of Honus, who had played for Toronto in 1899. Barrow knew Honus well from his Wheeling days (and later claimed credit for "discovering" him) and hoped to draw Al away from Kansas City back to Toronto, where he'd been very popular. However, Wagner didn't sign. The most interesting signing that didn't work out occurred at the end of the year, when the *Globe* reported that Barrow had signed Christy Mathewson to a contract.[5] As we know, Mathewson returned to the Giants in the spring and went 20–17 in 1901. He is not mentioned again in connection with Toronto, so we can only assume that the contract held little weight and the Giants made a better offer. Barrow had seen him play football when he and Connie Mack attended a game at Franklin Field, when Mathewson kicked three field goals for Bucknell against Penn.[6]

The 1901 home opener was held on May 10, against Worcester, and there was a grand parade of 13 horse-drawn carriages through the streets. They went to City Hall first, for introductions and speeches, before the players and officials went to the ballpark. Barrow's team played well that year, but finished second, nine games behind Al Buckenberger's Rochester team. The 1901 Leafs featured Charles and Lew Carr, Jimmy Bannon, Lou Bruce, William Hargrove, Robert Schaub, George Browne,[7] Harry Bemis, and pitchers Williams, Nick Altrock, and Sullivan. The obvious key to the team's improved performance was Barrow's signing of Altrock, who had pitched for Irwin's last-place Syracuse Stars the year before. Altrock had gone 3–3 with Louisville in 1898. With Toronto, Altrock went 16–13, and was the second-best pitcher on the club. The next year, he was signed by Milwaukee of the American Association for 1902, but he soon wrote Jimmy Bannon to say he wanted to return to Toronto.[8] This didn't pan out, and he was signed by Boston of the American League in 1902. He was sold to the White Sox in 1903 (after going 0–2) and won 62 games for them between 1904 and 1906.[9] Williams was the star pitcher, going 19–13. He'd been a stalwart with the Toronto team since 1897, but was gone by the 1902 season. It was a strong hitting team, with Carr, Bonner, Bruce, Brown, and Bemis over .300, but it was poor defensively, as Bruce was not a natural shortstop and Schaub was lousy at third. The 1901 club was a tremendous improvement over past clubs, as it placed second, behind Al Buckenberger's Rochester Hustlers.

For the 1902 season, Barrow made some big changes. The Hartford team had folded (replaced by Newark) and Barrow signed several players from the club. Most notably, he took Bill Massey, who played first, and pitcher Jim Gardner.[10] The other great pitcher of 1902 was Buttons Briggs, who went 20–8. Briggs had spent three years in Chicago, from 1896 to 1898, and would later play with the Cubs in 1904, to go 19–11 that year, and 8–8 in 1905. Barrow also had the veteran Duke Esper, who pitched 13 games, going 5–8.[11] The pitching rotation was rounded out with Ed Scott, formerly of Cleveland (6–6 in 1901) and Cincinnati (17–20 in 1900) who pitched 18 games in 1902, going 8–9. The real surprise of the season was Lou Bruce. A Mohawk from New York State, Bruce at five feet, five inches was fairly small for his natural position as outfielder, but aside from his good bat, his throwing arm was his great strength.[12] Once Barrow landed Jim Downey for the shortstop position, Bruce could move to the outfield, where he

played 55 games that season.

Not content with that, Barrow tried him on the mound and discovered that he baffled many batters. Bruce went on to an astonishing 18–2. Despite his inexperience on the mound, and his secondary role as an outfielder, Bruce proved quite durable, even winning both ends of a doubleheader on September 2 at Rochester, and a six-hit shutout versus Buffalo six days later. He was signed by the Athletics in 1904 and played 30 games, mostly in the outfield. He never started a game for Philadelphia, and acted as a reliever on two occasions. 1902 seems to have been his only year in professional baseball as a pitcher. Barrow had no doubt tried Bruce on the mound out of desperation, as he continued to sign pitchers who didn't work out (he had 14 starters that season).[13] With his exertions on the mound, it's surprising that Bruce's hitting didn't suffer, but he hit .313 that season, and in late June had hit safely in all games but one.

Barrow's enthusiasm on the diamond was evident, but it's clear that he had a terrible temper. On May 21, he was involved in a fight with umpire Thomas B. Kelly at Worcester. Kelly had blown a call at third, calling Toronto's shortstop Downey safe and allowing three runs to score. Later in the game, Kelly tried to square himself by calling the next play in favour of Worcester, but the final straw came in the ninth when Kelly called Miller out at home plate. Barrow and Kelly got into a fistfight and the incident was talked about for much of the season. Kelly went downtown under police escort to file a report, and Barrow was later fined $50.[14] Barrow's personality conflicts weren't restricted to the field either, and his bad temper continued throughout his early career. Later, he would be referred to by "Hotspur" of the *Buffalo Enquirer* as "one of the brainiest men in the Eastern League,

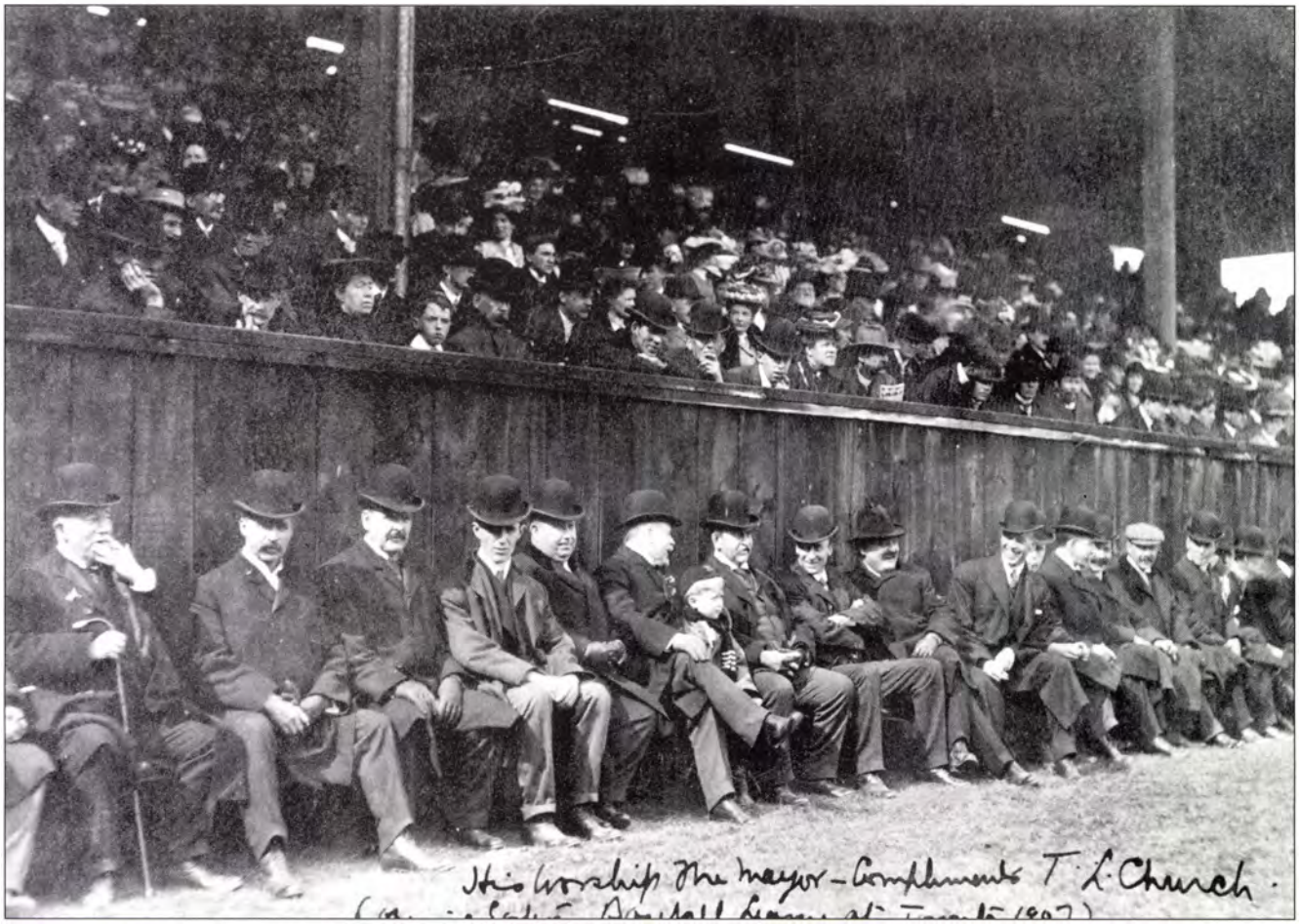
and a fighter from the drop of the hat. He had much to contend with last year in his own club, and especially among the directors, but he soon informed the kickers that he was the manager of the team and as the manager demanded his rights . . . [but] the better class of directors upheld him and put a winning team in the Canadian city."[15] Barrow recounts several incidents where he fought on field in his autobiography, including a dust-up with the umpire Moriarty after he left Toronto.

From the start of 1902, it appeared that Barrow's team had the pennant in hand, but things ended with a photo finish between Toronto and Buffalo. Local writer Joe Manley wrote that "Toronto's baseball supporters are enraptured over their team and the manner in which the games are patronized is decidedly pleasing to players, directors and shareholders."[16] This success on the field improved the team's finances, and hopes were high for the future. As it turned out, Stallings' Buffalo club made a real race of it by midsummer, and Toronto was awarded the pennant on the strength of its record, 85–42 (.669) although Buffalo won three more games, finishing 88–45 (.662). In the modern era, the pennant would be decided by a playoff, but the deciding factor was Toronto's better winning percentage.[17] Barrow had brought Toronto a pennant, but only by a hair.

A new contract between Barrow and the team was signed in mid-October. *The Sporting News* reported, "the remuneration offered Mr. Barrow was largely in advance of his last season's stipend, and the directors made a decidedly wise step, for Manager Barrow's services are invaluable." The writer (again, Joe Manley of the *Globe*) added, "at a meeting of the shareholders of the Toronto Base Ball Club last week at the Rossin House, with President Ed Mack in the chair, it was decided to exercise an option held by the club and purchase the grounds on Fraser Avenue. When the grounds were secured they were leased for five years, with a three years' option, in case the club concluded to purchase the property."[18] This was how the club decided to use its surplus from the 1902 season, making the small wooden ballpark its permanent home. In December, the *Globe* reported Barrow's interest in signing several prospects for the team, including Yencer Weidensaul and Maurice Wolfe.[19]

The situation in Toronto would change rapidly in mid-January, and no one could have predicted the following turn of events. Newspaper reports on January 13 tell of the sad end of Win Mercer, the manager of Detroit, who had committed suicide in a hotel room in San Francisco the day before. Two days later, the *Globe* reported that Mercer had been short in his accounts as treasurer of the All-American and National teams to the extent of $2,000, and added that Barrow had been approached to take Mercer's place as manager. It was a *fait accompli* by January 17, and Toronto was again in search of a manager.[20] The club held a meeting on the 16th, and the directors judged that they should accept his resignation, although it would be difficult to find a manager to fill his shoes. There was some talk of giving the job to Jimmy Gardner, but he was considered too high-strung, and some had the idea of approaching Art Irwin again. As it turned out, this is exactly what happened, with Gardner starting the season, and Irwin finishing it.

And what of Barrow's time in Detroit? It began poorly, as he suffered a serious bout of the flu and pneumonia in Toronto, but he soon recovered and began seeking Eastern League stars for his new major league team. Although a peace had been declared between the leagues, there was considerable ill feeling and Barrow was criticized for his actions. His tenure with Detroit was relatively short-lived, as the team finished fifth in 1903 at 65–71, and Barrow quit midway through the 1904 season, as he couldn't stand working under Frank Navin. After a 21-game stint as manager in Montreal at the end of the season, Barrow signed a two-year contract with Indianapolis, but that didn't work out and Toronto came calling in August of 1905. Manager and centre fielder Dick Harley had the team on its way to finishing dead last and he resigned August 26, leaving Toronto to join Providence. Barrow was hired as his successor and was expected to make his appearance on September 1. The team was in poor financial shape again, and according to team president J. J. Seitz, the club would be about $3,000 in the hole and a contribution of $400 from each stockholder would be necessary to make good.[21] As it turned out, Barrow didn't arrive in Toronto until the end



Spectators at Diamond Park, circa 1907

of the Eastern League season, but there was little he could do with the club at that point, as it finished a woeful 48–88.

The press paid close attention to Barrow's movements from his March 14 "reporting notice" and covered the club's spring training at Preston Springs, near Galt, Ontario (now part of the city of Cambridge). The club was in a bad way, and even lost an exhibition game against the local Galt club, champions of the Canadian League. Despite the headline "Toronto Team Fairly Strong," and Barrow's hopes for a good season, it was clear that no one expected much of the team. In mid-April, Barrow signed Jack Thoney from Indianapolis of the American Association, and he was pencilled in for left field, with Riggs in centre and John White in right. Neither Riggs nor White worked out, but Thoney became the star of what would become a terrible season, batting a league-leading .294.

The home opener was May 15, and after great ceremony and the presentation of a floral horseshoe, a paying crowd of 4,491 watched Toronto win in the tenth as Thoney hit a triple and scored on a wild pitch, making the final score 2–1. On the 24th, the papers were crowing over the team's three-game sweep against Providence, winners of last year's pennant. However, by mid-June, the team had sunk to last place, and Barrow began making moves to bolster the team's offense, although it made little improvement. It's clear that he didn't have the cash to go after better players and was signing college prospects in hopes that any change would improve the club. The headline on June 28 said it all: "Toronto Didn't Lose"—but of course, they didn't win the game either, as the umpire called a tie game in Buffalo when rain began to fall. After winning two 11-inning one-run games on the Dominion Day holiday on July 1 against Rochester at Diamond Park, the Leafs dropped eight straight. During this stretch, Barrow traded away Clarence Currie and White. Even after signing Wood to replace the weak-hitting catcher Toft[22] (.151) he

went after a second catcher, Jack Slattery, who played for the White Sox in 1903. Barrow made other moves, but the team's hitting was abysmal. Attendance was poor, and the club held a promotion that admitted children under 12 for free on July 27. This filled the stands, and the team rose to the occasion, as Thoney batted in the winning run in the 10th to make it 3–2. The season ended miserably, as a Saturday doubleheader was rained out on September 22. In a *Globe* article on the 24th, the team's president J. J. McCaffrey claimed that attendance had been surprisingly good, and that the club would lose only about $3,000 (an improvement over the $12,000 the club lost the year before). Still, the team planned to trade or sell off seven players, but keep Thoney. This is important, as Thoney was central to the team's rise from worst to first the next season, when he hit a league-leading .329. However, the 1907 team would not be managed by Barrow.

Buried in the "Liners" column of the *Globe* on October 15 was a notice that said "Manager Ed. Barrow has bought the Windsor Hotel on Church Street, and the Torontos will probably have a new director next season." It's a bit odd that Barrow, whose moves were so closely chronicled in the paper during the spring, would slip away so quietly. The team was undergoing changes, and perhaps Barrow saw this as a good time to leave. In the spring of 1907, the team was considering a return to the Island, and there was talk that the ballpark at Fraser and Liberty would be sold and razed to make way for a factory. Undoubtedly this move signalled the rise of Lol Solman, who would profit from the team's return to Hanlan's Point, as he owned the ferry company and had other interests in the amusement park. It's clear that Solman wasn't the problem, as the two men remained friends for years. Barrow's Windsor Hotel was located at 124 Church Street, on the southwest corner at Richmond Street. It was (and is) a small three-storey brick building, constructed in 1882. It was originally owned by Daniel Whale and belonged to Lawrence Shea when Barrow purchased it in 1906.[23] The hotel was undoubtedly named for the more famous Windsor Hotel in Montreal.[24] It's hard to know what Barrow did during this period of exile. Although not involved with the team, Barrow kept his name in the news during his exile, as he wrote a piece from Toronto for *The Sporting News* detailing his role in the early career of Honus Wagner.[25] Barrow was not officially involved with the Leafs' pennant-winning team of 1907, as he no longer held stock in the club, but he gave advice to members of the club, and was still friendly with players, whom he boarded at the hotel for $1 a day.[26]

The years Barrow spent in Toronto with the team were clearly very frustrating, as he never really had the financial resources to construct winning teams in consecutive years. This was a perennial problem in the league, however, as the best players would rarely stick at that level but rise to the next level. Still, Barrow's last season with the Leafs was a great disappointment to him, and his departure from the diamond was curiously underplayed in the press. He had been popular with the local press, and generally well liked by players. In his autobiography, Barrow claims that he lost confidence in his ability to judge talent or manage on the field, and that this was the low ebb of his career. It's interesting that the failed squad of 1906 was reformed and became a pennant-winner in 1907, and seven players were common to both teams. It all came down to pitching, as Barrow had laid the groundwork for the team, and with the addition of Larry Hesterfer, Dick Rudolph, and Elmer Moffitt, it was a first-place club.

Why did Barrow buy that hotel and stay in the city so long? There were undoubtedly teams looking for his talents, and he had many contacts throughout the league that could find him another managing job. However, he chose to pack it in and have a regular job. Was he really turning his back on baseball, or did he have other motives? It wasn't so much an attachment to the team, but to a young lady named Frances Elizabeth Taylor. He had met her in 1902, and they were finally married in Buffalo in 1912. Although he doesn't discuss it in his autobiography, Barrow had been married before, and so had she (her surname would have been Briggs by this time, and she had one child, a daughter named Audrey). Barrow's purchase of the Windsor Hotel may have been an excuse to stay in the city to be near her, although the two were not free to marry at the time. His return to baseball

came in the fall of 1909, when he accepted an offer to manage the Montreal Royals the following season at the urging of George Stallings. A notice of a meeting to consider the transfer of the licence on the Windsor Hotel to a new owner appeared in the *Globe* in early November, and that was the end of Barrow's premature retirement from baseball.[27]

His return wasn't exactly victorious. Montreal finished fifth (71–80), having chased last place much of the season. In December of that year, team owners pressed Barrow to replace League President Pat Powers, who had fallen into disfavour. Barrow had considerable support from the Toronto contingent of Solman, McCaffrey, and manager Joe Kelley and was voted in. One of Barrow's acts as president was returning the circuit to its previous name, the International League. He remained president for seven years, during difficult times when the Federal League encroached on league territory, but finally quit in 1917 when the League was set to decrease his salary from $7,500 to $2,500. And his old Canadian friends were present at the meeting in New York when he did so, and Toronto team owner Jim McCaffrey prevented Barrow from punching Buffalo owner J. J. Lannin in the nose at the end of the fracas. As Barrow left the hotel, he ran into Harry Frazee in the lobby. Frazee had heard of the blowup, and had a job for him in Boston, if he liked . . . and so began Barrow's famous career in the major leagues.

1. Edward Grant Barrow and James M. Kahn, *My Fifty Years in Baseball*. New York: Coward-McCann, 1951, 49.
2. Taylor had played second base under Irwin in 1898 and took over the reins for 1899. After the 1899 season, he signed with Syracuse (where Irwin now managed), but returned to Toronto, then was off to Montreal before the end of the season.
3. This was Zane Grey's older brother, who led the IL in homers the next year when he played for Rochester and Buffalo. Barrow already knew Zane, who had played for him in Wheeling, WV.
4. *Toronto Globe*, September 19, 1900.
5. *Toronto Globe*, December 29, 1900. Mathewson had finished the season in Norfolk, having gone 0–3 with the Giants, and was not satisfied with the contract offered by New York for the next year.
6. Barrow, 45.
7. This was probably the Browne who played for the Phillies at the end of the season, spent his best years with the Giants (1902–1907) and played his last year in 1912, again with the Phillies.
8. *Toronto Globe*, April 30, 1902.
9. He had a famously long career, and pitched in his final game, for Washington, in 1924 at the age of 57.
10. Gardner had been with Pittsburgh from 1895–1899 and played three games for the Cubs in 1902. He died in 1905, at the age of 30, from an ear abcess.
11. Esper played for six teams, including Philadelphia (AA), Pittsburgh (NL), Philadelphia (NL) in 1890. He stayed with Philadelphia (NL) until 1892, when he returned to Pittsburgh during that season. Washington (NL) was his next stop in 1893 and part of 1894, then Baltimore (NL, 1894–1896). His last two years were with St. Louis, 1897–1898.
12. *Toronto Globe*, April 22, 1902.
13. *Toronto Globe*, September 17, 1902.
14. *Toronto Globe*, May 22, 1902, and *The Sporting News*.
15. Quoted in the *Toronto Globe*, January 20, 1903.
16. *The Sporting News*, June 28, 1902, 7.
17. Marshall D. Wright, *The International League 1884–1953*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1998, 109.
18. *The Sporting News*, October 25, 1902, 7.
19. *Toronto Globe*, December 15, 1902.
20. The financial aspect of this has never been proved, and modern sources believe that Mercer was despondent over ill health.
21. *Toronto Globe*, September 7, 1905.
22. Jack Toft retired and was asked to umpire for the Eastern League for the remainder of the season.
23. The building still stands, operating as McVeigh's New Windsor Tavern, an Irish pub.
24. The Windsor Hotel in Montreal was a grand Second Empire building, built in 1878 by the Windsor railway station at Dominion Square (now Dorchester). It burned down in 1953, but its annex remains. The Windsor Hotel in Montreal has its own sports association, as it was there that the NHL was founded in 1917.
25. *The Sporting News*, March 26, 1908, 3.
26. A gold medal was made for the players and directors of that team, and the one given to Barrow by the team surfaced on eBay last year.
27. *Toronto Globe*, November 5, 1909. The meeting was held next day, and the new owner was J. J. McCaffrey.

Identity in Quebec's Baseball Novel

Michel Nareau

Baseball's presence in Quebec fiction seems tenuous at first glance, maybe even chimerical. Since no one has studied this topic, it might appear that the representation of baseball in Quebec literature is non-existent or irrelevant. In my view, however, there is an Ariadne's thread connecting certain literary works through their use of baseball in order to talk about Quebec identity. Through baseball, writers have been able to evoke linguistic conflict, to examine the tension between memory and nostalgia, and to reveal the otherness at the heart of competitive sports.

Without claiming to be exhaustive, this paper will provide a chronological journey through a few baseball-oriented works of fiction in order to identify the representations of the sport that are sources of friction in the context of Quebec identity—Quebec being a primarily Francophone society that exists within Canada, an essentially English-speaking country. In this unique linguistic context, baseball raises two kinds of issues: in the first place, it is articulated in English and supported by the discourse of American popular culture; in the second place, it is part of a construction of identity defining it as America's National Pastime. This double discourse makes baseball a foreign practice in Quebec, where it is viewed as a borrowed sport—the Trojan horse of Quebec's Americanization.

Why did Quebec's conservative, Catholic Francophone elite object so vehemently to baseball? A major reason was that baseball had been quickly adopted by college students. Don Morrow states that "[b]etween 1900 and 1920 baseball was Canada's most popular sport. Even in Quebec the game spread via the league system of competition among Anglophones in urban areas. French Canadians, who were playing in small colleges in Montreal and Trois-Rivières in the 1870s and 1880s, adopted the challenge and tournament format of the game."[1] Donald Guay notes that "in 1876, baseball was part of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day festivities in Saint-Hyacinthe. Strange day of national celebration for French Canadians that includes acceptance of America's national sport. . . . It does indeed seem that sports are an important factor in reducing ethnic divisions. . . . [T]he sporting spirit, which requires that the best man win, carries the day over nationalism or ethnocentrism."[2] Towards the end of the nineteenth century Trois-Rivières, like Saint-Hyacinthe, became a baseball town, because it was inhabited by many students enrolled in *collèges classiques*.[3] The students imported the sport through the migratory movement of Franco-Americans; Nap Lajoie was a major figure with whom they identified.[4]

In fact, as Éric Coupal has shown, baseball was Francophones' favourite sport from 1860 to 1914.[5] What was the meaning of this period of popularity? Was baseball the source of a renewed identity, building bridges between Francophones and

Anglophones, or was it a destabilizing influence on the French Canadian identity of the period, based on loyalty to Church, family, and language—three values partly challenged by the Québécois appropriation of baseball? We cannot answer this question directly, but an examination of several novels will allow us to shed light on how baseball has been used in Quebec literature to define identity.

The Origins of a Figure

Baseball in Quebec literature brings out many tensions. Thus, it is often used to emphasize linguistic antagonism. This conflict is apparent in the first Quebec novel in which baseball plays a key role, Roger Lemelin's *Les Plouffe* (1948).[6] This work is one of the first realist urban narratives in Quebec literature. It is not surprising that baseball entered the Quebec novel at a time when writers were attempting to provide a truer reflection of real life, especially working-class experience. In this novel, the story of a Catholic family dealing with poverty, two tensions structure the characters' relations and actions: the split between popular and high culture, and the opposition between nationalist Francophones and Anglo-Saxon power. These binaries are explored in the novel through the rivalry of the brothers Ovide and Guillaume Plouffe, which contrasts Ovide's adherence to the elite French cultural heritage and Guillaume's infatuation with American mass culture, as embodied in his interest in baseball and athletic prowess. Lemelin's sympathies ultimately seem to lie with Guillaume, who becomes a good enough pitcher that he is offered a contract by the Cincinnati Reds scout, rather than with Ovide's old-world values. Linguistic antagonism is also mediated by baseball on two occasions. First, a Protestant minister, a recruiter for the Reds, comes to assess Guillaume's abilities. His presence annoys the parish priest, who seeks to maintain his ascendancy over his parishioners, and a baseball game is organized as a duel between the two men of the cloth. The Catholic priest strikes the minister out, thus consolidating his ascendancy and uniting the community of the faithful. Francophones succeed in vanquishing an Anglophone Protestant: the linguistic conflict is symbolized by the baseball skills of Francophones in a realm previously occupied by the United States. Baseball abilities are at the heart of the second moment of conflict, when the English Queen visits her French-speaking subjects at the beginning of the Second World War. Nationalist resistance is organized and Guillaume uses his pitching skills to attack the Queen (and by extension, Anglo-Saxon cultural supremacy) by throwing a ball at the royal car.

Other Quebec novels similarly make use of baseball to explore issues of history, community, and belonging. In Jean Fugère's 1965 novel *Les terres noires*,[7] for instance, territory is defined through baseball. The narrative revolves around a vacant lot used by teens in a Montreal neighbourhood, which serves both as a place to play baseball and as a way of participating in the wider community. The arrival of a young female runaway who is an outsider to the teens' world changes their relationship with this protected space, ultimately eroding its sense of innocence. By playing baseball in the lot, the teenagers emphasize their own belonging to the community, but the presence of the strange young woman creates dissension among them as each tries to help her out in order to prove himself to the others. Only when she leaves can baseball regain its communal power. In other words, baseball is associated in this novel with a community formed around a commitment to shared values. Which amounts to saying that baseball is a form of Montreal communal practice, belonging to young Francophones, rather than just a cultural borrowing from the United States. It is interesting to note that a similar treatment of baseball appears in an English-language novel written around the same time, Mordecai Richler's *St. Urbain's Horseman* (1966).[8] In Richler's novel, the field where baseball is played—Hampstead Heath—becomes a space of cultural passage and celebration of a fragile community.

New Formulations

After the figure of the vacant lot, the figure of translation is used to question identity through baseball. In 1978, Jacques Poulin published *Les grandes marées*,[9] an account of how urban big business encroaches on the pastoral landscape. It is not surprising to find that the novel refers to baseball, a figure intimately associated with what Leo Marx calls the "middle landscape"—the balance between cities and the great outdoors.[10] Teddy is a

translator who lives alone in the middle of the St. Lawrence River, plying his trade in solitude. The island belongs to Teddy's boss; he sends artists to the island who invade Teddy's privacy. In the struggle between individuality and community, questions of belonging and language take on key importance. The same problems turn up in Teddy's translation work: how can he render the world of baseball in French as he labours over *Peanuts* comic strips? In questioning word choices, he shows how difficult it is to appropriate this sport from mass American culture, at the same time as another island-dweller is attempting to write the Great American Novel by bringing together French and American experiences. Jacques Poulin's own novel continues the work of reflecting on identity and the translation into French of a North American reality that constantly threatens to elude him.[11]

Michel Albert's *Les bon neighbors* (1984) poses the problem of translation differently. Baseball is written into a collection of poems in which themes of childhood and community predominate and where the English and French languages are juxtaposed. In combining memories of baseball and his community with an evocation of the multilinguistic culture of Montreal, Albert attempts to unite the two languages and their often opposed histories. Baseball has an undoubted community-building power, building its own autonomous field where social and cultural divisions are reconciled by the shared practice of a game that shifts from one language to the other.[12]

The Multiple Other

The experience of otherness in baseball is at the heart of the fictions of Raymond Plante and Gilles Pellerin, who explore it through the medium of the American city and intertextual references to canonical baseball fiction. By calling on the great baseball texts these writers open up the Québécois imaginative realm and put it in dialogue with the United States. In this sense, baseball seems exterior to Quebec reality, but also better integrated into a denationalized culture. In Plante's novel *Avec l'été* (1991), baseball serves to unite two estranged childhood friends. In organizing a trip for them both to New York, Martin tries to patch up their friendship: "But I'm going to make up for it. You'll see. When I invite you to a baseball game, it'll be at Yankee Stadium."[13] Baseball seems to be a place of reconciliation, or to embody the desire to return to childhood and innocent friendship, far from the vagaries of the unstable present. However, the visit to Yankee Stadium, their common childhood dream, is deeply disappointing; the game seems less interesting to them than in their youth and they find themselves unable to talk to each other, so they watch the game in silence. Their mutual estrangement cannot be bridged by baseball.

This is also what happens in the journey through an imaginary Boston of baseball summoned up by Gilles Pellerin in his short story "La vérité de Nicole" (1991). Nicole and the narrator rub shoulders, but have little in common; both are in Boston, and as they lose themselves in the city's streets, a disagreement about baseball arises between them. According to the narrator, baseball reflects the erratic layout of the city. Quoting Bernard Malamud and Robert Coover, he tries to associate culture and baseball, but his demonstration comes up against his partner's reservations: "Baseball doesn't contain all of culture," she says.[14] The conversation is broken, as the narrator cannot convey to Nicole how baseball gives shape to his path through the city and his life; she rejects his viewpoint as obsolete. The gap between the two characters shows how baseball can evoke a variety of conflicting cultural levels.

Current Issues

With David Homel's novel *Rat Palms*,[15] published in English in 1992, baseball fiction in Quebec takes a resolutely contemporary turn. In what may be Quebec's finest novel on the topic of baseball, Timmy Justice is a teenager torn between the conflicting legacies of his parents. His mother, Evangeline Master, embodies the conservative values of the South, whereas his father, Zeke Justice, is a Massachusetts baseball player of Québécois ancestry, choking in the racist environment of Savannah. The parents force Timmy to choose between these two opposing ways of life. Oblivious to Zeke's Québécois origins, Timmy witnesses his father's beaning by a pitcher's ball, an accident which restores his father's memory of the French language. The son refuses his father's new language and cultural identity, and leaves with his mother for California. Once there, he realizes that he must make up with his father. He chooses to do so by playing catch with him, but Zeke, wounded, is

unable to make a single good pitch. The treatment of baseball in this novel calls up questions of linguistic conflict, otherness, and problematic memories, without finding in baseball an ability to resolve these tensions. Baseball itself appears to be an antagonistic referent, carrying controversial legacies.

In *Cette grenade dans la main du jeune Nègre est-elle une arme ou un fruit?*[16] Dany Laferrière touches on the playful side of baseball. For the narrator, a Montreal-based Haitian writer working to produce a media story on the mythologies that sustain the Americas, baseball is an area of investigation that cannot be ignored. Baseball as a sports spectacle is mediated by television: the narrator explores America's passion for baseball by watching a game in a small bar with strangers. As the action of the game goes on, baseball is read as a reservoir of desires, a ritual that unites America and bears witness to the country's cultural diversity. In this respect, Laferrière's vision is close to that of several American novels in which baseball is the perennial vision of American civilization. However, Laferrière's comic representation of baseball also includes the Queen of England, who attends the game without understanding the rules and the action occurring on the field. At one moment, a woman embraces her in front of the crowd. Neither the Queen nor the narrator understands the woman's enthusiasm. Laferrière makes the sport into a game in which specifically American values are revealed.

In Alain Denis's *Bidou Jean, bidouilleur,*[17] baseball is a paternal memory reactivated by language. Haunted by the absence of his father, a writer committed to a psychiatric ward, Bidou tracks his traces, appropriating the father's discursive authority to recreate the moments spent with him. As a childhood game, baseball is one of those fugitive memories that invade Bidou and that pour themselves out in inventions of words and stories. Talking about baseball like a sportscaster allows him to make puns like his father. He doesn't play baseball; he talks about it, even to God, and dreams of it. Baseball becomes a compensation, a reservoir, a bridge linking him to the father; it is a way of telling oneself stories so that the loss of the father never becomes real. Exchanges through sports provide access to a way of speaking that saves the son from despair.

The last major narrative I will discuss, Marc Robitaille's *Un été sans point ni coup sûr,*[18] explores the memory of a boy who discovers the world through the Montreal Expos during their inaugural season in 1969. Published in 2004 (the year the Expos' odyssey came to an end), Robitaille's account deals with the impact of baseball, its language, and its imaginary sports world on the development of a young boy who takes stock of the world through a new team that is a microcosm of global diversity. The team, filled with cast-offs and inexperienced players, undergoes a series of defeats but still manages to overcome a far better club. Associating the Expos' wretched season of 1969 with his first season in an organized league, the young narrator foregrounds the small victories that punctuate childhood and that appear as milestones in his discovery of history in the making, such as the moon landing. Baseball and its rules offer the narrator a point of view on world events. Without nostalgia, but with an insistence on the contribution of memory and history, Robitaille brings together personal and collective experience through the story of a young boy impressed by the exploits of his heroes, but who becomes a hero as well.

It seems to me that this narrative is part of a new opening of Quebec fiction to contemporary culture. Robitaille, following Homel, makes baseball into an orienting element that calls up discourses of difference and collective memory in order to establish new figures of Quebec identity. Robitaille, Lemelin, Fugère, Albert, and Poulin locate baseball in Quebec, unlike Pellerin, Homel, and Plante, who locate it in the United States. Thus for Robitaille, baseball has become an assimilated cultural element in Quebec. This is the context in which we can view the increasingly important presence of baseball fiction in Quebec literature, which now extends beyond canonical novels into popular genres such as children's fiction,[19] essays,[20] and memoirs.[21]

1. Don Morrow et al., *A Concise History of Sport in Canada*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1989, pp. 126-7.
2. Donald Guay, *Introduction à l'histoire des sports au Quebec*, Montréal, VLB editor, coll. "Études québécoises," 1987, p. 16.
3. Jean-Marc Paradis, *100 ans de baseball à Trois-Rivières*, Trois-Rivières, J.-M. Paradis editor, 1989, p. 164.
4. Sylvain Guindon "Les Franco-Américain de Woonsocket, R. I. L'importance du baseball dans la culture populaire d'une communauté immigrante (1895–1910)", Université de Montréal, MA, 2001, f. 114.
5. Eric Coupal, "Baseball, américanité et culture populaire. Histoire du baseball à Montréal (1860–1914)," Université du Québec à Montréal, MA, 2001, f. 109.
6. Roger Lemelin, *Les Plouffe*, Montréal, La Presse editor, 1980 [1948], p. 395.
7. Jean-Paul Fugère, *Les terres noires*, Montréal, Éditions HMH, coll. "L'arbre", 1965, p. 199.
8. Mordecai Richler, *St. Urbain's Horseman*, Toronto, Bantam Books, 1972 [1966], p. 436.
9. Jacques Poulin, *Les grandes marées*, Arles, Actes Sud, coll. "Babel," 1995 [1978], p. 209.
10. Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden. Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1970 [1964], p. 392.
11. In Jacques Poulin, *Chat sauvage*, Montréal/Arles, Leméac/ Actes Sud, 1998, p. 115, the translation is similarly seen as highly problematic.
12. Michel Albert, *Les bons neighbors*, Montréal, Michel Albert editor, 1984, n.p. In another book, this time in French, Albert uses baseball as a communal bond finishing in the defeat of the Montreal Expos in 1981 against Los Angeles Dodgers. (Michel Albert, "Baseball 20. Le jour où la grande noirceur est tombée sur Montréal," David McFadden, George Bowering et Michel Albert, *Poèmes et autres baseballs*, Montréal, Triptyque, 1999, p.108.)
13. Raymond Plante, *Avec l'été*, Montréal, Boréal, 1991, p. 60.
14. Gilles Pellerin, "La vérité de Nicole," *Principe d'extorsion*, Quebec, L'instant même, 1991, p. 116.
15. David Homel, *Rat Palms*, Toronto, HarperPerennial, 1993 [1992], p. 276.
16. Dany Laferrière, *Cette grenade dans la main du jeune Nègre est-elle une arme ou un fruit?* Montréal, VLB editor, 2002, p. 354.
17. Alain Denis, *Bidou Jean, bidouilleur*, Montréal, Lanctôt editor, 2003, p. 178.
18. Marc Robitaille, *Un été sans point ni coup sûr*, Montréal, Les 400 coups, 2004, p. 142.
19. Alain M. Bergeron, *C'était un 8 août*, St-Lambert, Soulières editor, 1999, p. 167.
20. Mordecai Richler, *Dispaches from the Sporting Life*, Toronto, Vintage Canada, 2003 [2002], p. 295 et Bernard Arcand et Serge Bouchard, *Du pâté chinois, du baseball et autres lieux communs*, Montréal, Boréal, coll. "Papiers collés," 1995, p. 210.
21. Marc Robitaille (ed.), *Une vue du champ gauche*, Montréal, Les 400 coups, 2003, p. 192.

The first Canadian chosen for an All-Star Game was Yankees outfielder George Selkirk in 1936. However, the initial Canuck named to a NL All-Star squad never had a chance to take the field. Toronto native Goody Rosen was actually selected for the 1945 midsummer classic at Fenway Park. However, wartime travel restrictions forced a cancellation of the contest. Canada had to wait until 1967 to see one of their own represent the senior circuit. Chatham's Fergie Jenkins worked three innings, tying the All-Star record with six strikeouts including Harmon Killebrew, Mickey Mantle, and Rod Carew.

The Quebec Braves

A Baseball Dynasty

Daniel Papillon

From 1949 to 1955 Quebec City was represented in organized baseball by the Quebec Braves, initially in the Canadian-American (Can-Am) League (1949 to 1950), and later the Provincial League (1951 to 1955). Throughout this seven-year period the team enjoyed brilliant success—in sharp contrast to their recent past when, for three straight years, the Braves had wallowed in the basement of the Can-Am League.

Following the 1948 season, team owner Ulysse Ste. Marie decided that his club had been an also-ran for too long. He changed the team name—formerly the Alouettes, it now became the Braves—and terminated his working agreement with the New York Giants. There is no doubt that the Giants' management had been less than generous in directing talent toward their Quebec affiliate. Now with the team once again independent, Ste. Marie made it clear that he wanted success, and quickly.

A number of veterans from the minor leagues and a few former major leaguers were soon recruited. And, of even greater significance, a new manager, Frank McCormick, for many years an outstanding first baseman with the Cincinnati Reds, was brought on board. McCormick later made his mark with the Philadelphia Phillies and the Boston Braves as well, and with Boston had participated in the 1948 World Series a few months earlier.

Frank McCormick had a very successful career in the National League. He played more than 1,500 games and retired with a lifetime batting average of .299. He took part in three World Series (1939, 1940, and 1948), winning in 1940. He was part of six All-Star teams, and was named the National League's Most Valuable Player in 1940.

Under McCormick's guidance in 1949, the Braves registered 90 wins, which was 34 more than the previous year. They were crowned Can-Am League champions after sweeping the play-offs in eight games. McCormick, however, was only passing through. In 1950 he stepped down, making way for George McQuinn, another veteran first baseman from the big leagues (mainly with the St. Louis Browns and the New York Yankees). During McQuinn's tenure (1950 to 1954) the team's accomplishments continued to grow.

The 1950 Quebec Braves were honoured in 2002 as one of the top minor league teams of all time. In conjunction with the 100th anniversary celebrations of Minor League Baseball (formerly National Association) historians Bill Weiss and Marshall Wright produced a list of the 100 best minor league clubs of all time, and included the 1950 Quebec Braves, placing them in the 96th position.

That team ended the 1950 season with a record of 97 victories and 40 defeats (.708 ball) and led the league in both batting and earned-run average. It is worth

Municipal Stadium in Quebec City in the early 1970s

noting that the team also garnered 1,009 walks, representing almost one walk for every five plate appearances. Garland "Butch" Lawing, who had played a few games in 1946 with the Cincinnati Reds and the New York Giants, was the team's leading hitter (.346, 19, 141), while on the mound, two pitchers earned 20 victories—Fred Belinski (22–6) and Hal Erickson (20–7). Erickson eventually carved out a spot with the Detroit Tigers in 1953, at the age of 33.

During the offseason, an agreement was reached between the Canadian-American League and the Provincial League that allowed the teams from Trois-Rivières and Quebec to join the Provincial circuit. This change was brought about for economic reasons, especially the increased cost of travel.

The 1951 season was somewhat more difficult for the Braves. They finished in fourth place, with a record of 65 wins and 58 losses. Nevertheless, in the post-season playoffs, Quebec trounced Granby 4–0 in the first round before losing out, four games to one, to the Sherbrooke Athletics.

Quebec Braves pitcher Carlton Willey, later with the Milwaukee Braves and the Mets, dominated the league with an earned-run average of 1.95. History was made in 1951 when the Farnham Pirates signed Sam Bankhead (brother of Dan Bankhead of the Brooklyn Dodgers) as player-manager, thus making him the first African-American to manage a team in organized baseball.

In 1952 the Braves enjoyed a much better season. They wrapped up the campaign in second place with a slate of 78 wins and 51 losses. Following the playoff elimination series, the Braves emerged as league champions, their third title in four years. Victory did not come easily, however. The Trois-Rivières Yankees took them right to seven games in the semifinal, as did the St-Hyacinthe Athletics in the league final.

The following year, the team slipped back to third in the Provincial League, at 71 and 52. The Braves were, nevertheless, able to hold on to their championship trophy by shutting down first Sherbrooke (4–1) and then Granby (4–3). Two members of the Braves found themselves among the league leaders, John Werner with 118 RBIs, and pitcher Al Dumouchelle, who had an earned-run average of 2.29.

On July 15, 1953, the Braves welcomed their parent team from the National League, the Milwaukee Braves, to an exhibition game organized to take advantage of the All-Star break. The Milwaukee club won easily, 8–0, in front of 7,368

The 1950 Quebec Braves. First row : batboy, John Nansteel, Bill Sinram, Ed Hamel, Waldon Williams, Mike Fandozzi, Lou Palmisiano, and George McQuinn. Second row : John Ambrose, John Werner, Fred Belinsky, Jim Younger, Chuck Alltop, Hal Erickson, Butch Lawing, Alex Danelishen

spectators. Remarkably, none of the six different pitchers (Spahn, Bickford, Burdette, Surkont, Wilson, Jay) used by Milwaukee's manager, Charlie Grimm, surrendered even one hit.

Milwaukee's final pitcher was a young prospect, Joey Jay. He was only 17 years old and this was his first game in organized baseball. Over the last four innings of the game, he limited Quebec's hitters to a single base on balls.

In 1954, the Quebec Braves enjoyed an excellent year, finishing first in the Provincial League with a total of 80 victories against 48 losses. For the third season in a row, the Braves walked away with the league championship. Their road to the title took them first past Trois-Rivières (4–3) and then Drummondville (4–2).

The diminutive Mike Fandozzi, who had played in Quebec since 1949, experienced an outstanding season. He led the league in hitting with a .331 average, in runs (110) and in hits (173). Among the pitchers, the young Matt Peoplis was the runaway leader in ERA (2.34) and strikeouts (220).

After spending five years in Quebec, manager George McQuinn was promoted to the Atlanta Crackers. As his successor the team named veteran Boston and Milwaukee Braves utility player Sibby Sisti. Once again, the Braves had a fine season, closing with an 81–48 record, although they could finish no better than in second place behind the St-John's Canadiens. In the post-season playoffs, Quebec first eliminated Trois-Rivières four games to two, and then demolished the surprisingly successful Burlington Athletics, who had just completed their first campaign in the Provincial League, in five games.

At the individual level, Braves outfielder Bill Robertson, experienced a remarkable season. First among batters with a .342 average, he also led in hits (173) and runs batted in (108).

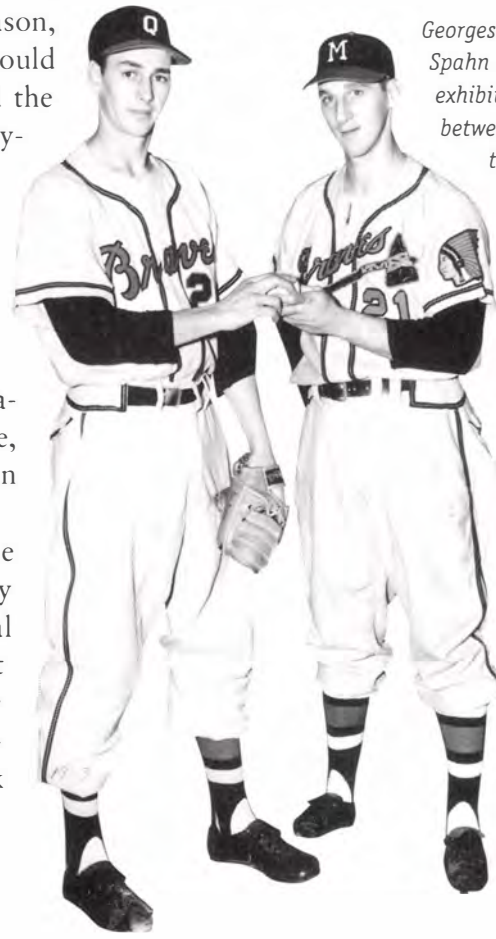
Toward the end of May 1955, the Milwaukee Braves returned to Quebec to play another exhibition match against their local affiliate. This game went 10 innings, and it took a hit by Bobby Thomson for Milwaukee to come out ahead, 5–3. The fans were treated to only one home run in this game, struck by future home run king, Henry Aaron.

This trip included an incident in the skies over Montreal that could have had tragic consequences, when the airplane carrying the Milwaukee squad to Quebec narrowly missed colliding with a Canadian Air Force fighter jet. Had this happened, the history of baseball would have been completely altered. There were several future members of baseball's Hall of Fame travelling on that plane, notably Eddie Mathews and Hank Aaron, who were both early in their careers.

Following the 1955 season, the Provincial League ceased operations. The Quebec Braves had been in existence for seven years. In six of these years, they had emerged as league champions, accumulating an overall record of 562 victories against only 346 defeats, for a winning percentage of .619.

The team had also enjoyed great success at the Municipal Stadium box office, drawing a total of 838,550 spectators, for an average of almost 120,000 per year. In every year of operation, Quebec led the league in attendance.

These were the glory years of professional baseball in Quebec; of that there is no doubt.



Georges Maranda and Warren Spahn before a July 15, 1953, exhibition game in Quebec City between the Quebec Braves and the Milwaukee Braves.

A Shocker on the Island

Steve Steinberg

During an abbreviated stay in Toronto in 1916, spitball pitcher Urban Shocker put together one of the most impressive runs in hurling history. He had won 39 games for Ottawa the previous two seasons, leading them to back-to-back Canadian League pennants. He started the year with the New York Yankees. The team was so well-stocked with pitching talent (or so it seemed at the time) that manager Wild Bill Donovan sent Shocker to Toronto on May 15, "with strings attached" (formally known as an Assignment with an Option to Repurchase). Another young pitcher the Yankees had—and released after spring training—would not win his first major league game for six more years. His name was Dazzy Vance.

On May 18, Urban Shocker arrived on the island around noon and went to the mound for the home opener of the 2–12 Toronto Maple Leafs against the 13–1 Newark Indians. With International League President Ed Barrow in the stands, Shocker served notice on the damp and blustery day with a 5–3 win over former Yankee pitcher Cy Pieh.

Shocker quickly hit his stride for the Leafs and their manager Joe Birmingham. Pitching every third or fourth day (usually Wednesdays and Saturdays), Urban seemed to be "designated as the Toronto pitching staff," as the *Toronto Evening Telegram* put it on June 7. He tossed four-hit shutouts against Rochester on May 29 and Buffalo on June 11, as the Leafs climbed toward the .500 mark.

On Saturday, July 8, Shocker began a sensational two weeks of pitching, after he was scored on in the final inning in his previous outing. He shut out Richmond 3–0 with another four-hitter, as the Hustlers walked Urban with the bases full for the first run. On Wednesday, he came back to shut out Baltimore 4–0 and up his record to 11–2. Former New York Giants star Red Murray led the way with a double, sacrifice, stolen base, and run scored. He also showed he could still cover ground in the outfield, making "one of the greatest catches seen around here in years," pulling down a "hit that was labeled a homer" in the ninth inning (*Toronto Mail and Empire*, July 13).

Urban then took two days rest and tossed his third straight whitewash, a three-hitter against Providence. The game was scoreless until the Leafs pushed over a run with two outs in the ninth. It was Toronto's tenth win in 12 games on a long homestand at the island stadium. On July 19, Shocker blanked Newark on yet another four-hitter, along with 12 strikeouts.

Thirty-six consecutive scoreless innings. Four straight complete game shutouts. What more would the young hurler do? On Saturday, July 22, Shocker took to the mound in Rochester and tossed an 11-inning no-hitter against the Hustlers. Their pitcher, former St. Louis Brown Walt Leverenz, was almost

equally impressive and saw the game's only run score on an error. There was now talk of Walter Johnson's scoreless streak of 56 straight innings, which was within striking distance. The papers also noted Harry Wormwood's 11-inning no-hitter for Fall River against Worcester in 1910. The New York press was taking notice too. The *Sun* wrote about the no-hitter on July 23, "He [Shocker] had his spitter snapping over the plate in such a way that it appeared to hypnotize the local batsmen."

Two days later, the Leafs returned home for an exhibition game against the world champion Boston Red Sox (it ended in a 5–5 tie), right after the Leafs beat Leon Cadore and the Montreal Royals, 1–0. It was Bill Carrigan Day, and he received a gold watch from Toronto's mayor. The Red Sox manager had come out of Holy Cross to star on Joe Kelley's pennant-winning Maple Leafs back in 1907.

On July 26, Shocker pitched seven innings of shutout ball against Montreal in the searing Toronto summer heat. Between innings, the Leafs' trainer treated Urban for "partial prostration" with sponges and ice water. Finally, with two outs in the 8th, he gave up two runs, the first he had allowed in 54⅔ innings, a new International League record. The game was called for darkness, a 2–2 tie. Toronto papers noted that Kaiser Wilhelm, remembered most for losing 20 or more games three times with the Boston Braves, held the all-time record, with 59 straight scoreless innings for Birmingham in 1907. Leaf fans knew Wilhelm, for he had also pitched for Rochester.

Urban Shocker had brought the Leafs close to the International League lead, just behind first-place Providence and the eventual champions, Buffalo. For most of the month of July, the New York Yankees had surprisingly held onto first place in the American League, until an incredible rash of injuries knocked them from the top perch. In late July, there was much discussion about Urban Shocker's impending recall. He was needed in New York. While the Toronto club and its fans were outraged at the prospect of losing their star for the stretch run, the Yankees were well within their rights.

In his final two starts for Toronto, in early August, Urban Shocker was ineffective. Perhaps he lost focus, with his sights set on New York City. Perhaps he was weary; he had pitched more than 170 innings in just over ten weeks. Whatever the reason, he gave up five runs in a complete game win over Montreal and another five runs in only 3⅔ innings against Buffalo. His earned run average "ballooned" from below 1.00 to 1.31. He finished his stay on the island with a 15–3 mark, and that 1.31 ERA remains today the lowest official mark ever in an upper-tier minor league (per minor league historian, Marshall Wright).

On August 5, the Yankees exercised their option to recall Shocker. A week later, he started for New York and gave up one run on two hits in eight innings against the Athletics. He left the game to the cheers of the fans. "Shocker surely is ripe for fast company," wrote the *New York Evening Journal*. He was back in the Bigs to stay.

Note: In 2004, Brad Thompson of the Tennessee Smokies tossed 57 straight scoreless innings. The press reported that he had broken Shocker's minor league record, with no mention of Wilhelm, until minor league researcher and executive Dave Chase uncovered his mark.

A Chatham scribe is responsible for the assertion that pitcher Shocker, of the Ottawas, has a lot of electricity up his sleeve. Time will tell.

—*Ottawa Citizen*, April 24, 1914.

Up, Up and Away: September 29, 2004

Bill Young

UP, UP AND AWAY . . . for 30 years this was how Expos announcer Dave Van Horne would call a home run hit by a Montreal player. "Up, up and away!" No matter where we were, at home, or in the car, or out someplace where the radio was playing, whenever we heard Dave's velvet voice make this call, the ears would perk up and we would smile. "Up, up and away!" It was a sound of our summers past, a sound of joy, a sign that something good was happening.

But on Wednesday night, September 29, 2004, "up, up and away" took on a different connotation. This time, more than just the ball was leaving the park: this time, the whole Expos team was on its way out—and they were taking with them 36 years of memories, of life experiences, of traditions. They were taking a piece of us with them, and frankly, it hurt. (And as if the sting were not sharp enough, our beloved Dave Van Horne is currently the voice of the Marlins. He was in town, doing this game!)

And so on this final night, over 30,000 of us gathered together at Olympic Stadium one last time to wish them all *au revoir*. But it wasn't a going-away party; it was a wake. There was little joy in this Mudville.

Some of us were still in denial—one poster read "My head says *au revoir*, my heart says see you in 2005." Others were angry, with a typical placard calling this date Black Wednesday (as opposed to that other day of infamy, Blue Monday). There was resignation, there was gratitude, there was plenty of nostalgia, and there was sorrow.

In the beginning, there was a surprising amount of bitterness in the air—and it was directed in an amorphous sort of way at those faceless, heartless men in suits who had allowed this thing to happen. It is convenient to blame the fans, but you might as well blame the passengers for the state of modern train service. The fans were the last to give up.

And so when local legend Kim Richardson began to sing the American national anthem, she was greeted with an extended round of boos. It was disrespectful, to be sure, but it was not meant as an insult to our U.S. neighbours. Rather, or so I believe, those doing the booing were seeking an outlet to express their profound distaste at the way Bud Selig and his American partners in crime had done us in, and this seemed to be the best response. The booing was greeted immediately by an equally loud round of clapping and cheering, as if to say, "Hey! This is Montreal. We don't do things that way here."

The Canadian national anthem was received respectfully, and when Ms. Richardson reached that part where she sings the English words, you could hear many voices from the crowd joining in.

The pregame ceremonies featured a muted celebration of the 1994 Expos—the team destined to become world champions, except for the fact that the series of which they were to become champions was never played—with starter Ken Hill the only key member present. He threw out the first pitch.

We were all hoping for a victory—a rout would have been nice—and in the beginning the Big "O" was rocking once again. After all, the visitors were the hated Florida Marlins, the Expos nemesis, now owned by the detested Jeffrey Loria. Unfortunately, by the second inning, thanks to some shoddy pitching and sloppy defence, the Marlins had scored four runs and taken our side right out of the game.

The crowd reacted badly to this turn of events, and after another round of booing, accompanied by several objects tossed onto the field, including a golf ball or two, the umpires issued a warning that any more of this and the game would be forfeited. Forfeiting the last game—now there's a threat!

Frank Robinson, who had fallen deeply out of favour with the fans, overreacted and pulled his players off the field—which just stirred things up all the more, and for a few moments it looked as though the situation might truly get out of hand. Fortunately, the androgynous Youppi, long-serving mascot and best-loved Expo of them all, reacted heroically by leaping up on the dugout roof and leading us in a remarkable and extended orgy of clapping and cheering and singing, reminding us once again why we were here. It worked; the sourness of the moment passed and the game went on.

As the Expos took the field at the top of the ninth, we all rose as one, and began cheering yet again, a standing ovation in a 9–1 ball game. And when they played Sarah McLachlan's "I Will Remember You" over the loudspeakers, even the toughest among us lost it.

After the game, the players gathered on the field, for picture-taking and to say goodbye. While the cheering continued, now more subdued, the forever-classy Claude Raymond addressed the crowd, *en français*, super sub Jamey Carroll followed with more words of thanks, and the heroic Livan Hernandez, a throwback to baseball's golden era (he had nine complete games this year!) spoke in Spanish.

We all just hung around, for a long time. Nobody was in a rush to leave—players, fans or staff. Nobody was ready to close the door.

When I finally made my way out sometime after 11:00 p.m. there were, even still, several hundred folk milling around. Every now and then one player or another would come back out and wave. And then disappear.

It was very sad. It was also very final. It was over.

For the record the Marlins won 9–1. Former Expo Carl Pavano was the winning pitcher; Sunny Kim took the loss. Juan Rivera had the last-ever hit by an Expo player at home, his third of the night. Termel Sledge (best-ever baseball name?) made the final out. Fittingly, he popped weakly to third.

Do French Canadians love baseball? Well rather. The crowd at the opening of Dupuis Park [in Hull, Que., where Ottawa played Sunday games] was sufficient proof of that. Jean Dubuque [sic], Detroit's great pitcher, claims that a major league club, catering to the French fans of Montreal, would prove an immense success.

—*Ottawa Citizen*, May 19, 1914.

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Jane Finnan Dorward began studying Toronto baseball history at the age of 11 when she won the door prize at the 1978 Blue Jays Breakfast. The prize, a copy of Louis Cauz's history, *Baseball's Back in Town*, was drawn by Jays radio broadcaster Tom Cheek. Tom, you gave the book to the right kid that day. This one is for you.

Tom Hawthorn is a reporter and magazine writer who lives in Victoria, B.C. His nickname is E5.

William Humber has been a member of SABR since 1978. He has taught an annual Baseball Spring Training for Fans subject at Seneca College for 27 years and is author of 10 books, his latest being *A Sporting Chance: Achievements of African-Canadian Athletes* (Natural Heritage, 2004).

David Jauss is the advance scout for the Boston Red Sox and has been with the team for nine years. Among his past baseball occupations are major league bench coach, first base coach, farm director, and field coordinator. David also worked in the Expos system as a minor league coach and manager, Felipe Alou's spring training coordinator, and advance scout.

Kit Krieger takes SABR members on baseball tours of Cuba and is open to invitations to play in old-timer games.

Geoff LaCasse is a computer consultant (with a minor in flight instructing) who specializes in 19th-century British Columbia baseball. The interest came from a history degree and a stint working with the B.C. Sports Hall of Fame and Museum in the early 1990s. His next project is a book on the 1903 Victorias semi-pro baseball team and Hal Chase.

Richard Malatzky received a degree in Accounting from Queens College and is a retired picture framer. He first joined SABR in 1975 and is a member of the Biographical Research Committee. His other interests include art and travel.

David McDonald is an Ottawa writer, filmmaker, and TV producer who grew up in Toronto as a die-hard fan of Rocky Nelson and the International League Maple Leafs. His baseball writing has appeared in *The National Pastime*, the *Globe and Mail*, the *Ottawa Citizen*, and in the University of Toronto Press anthology *All I Thought About Was Baseball*. He has been a SABR member since 1991.

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Michel Nareau is a student from the University of Quebec in Montreal (UQAM) in a doctoral program where he researches baseball fiction. He has published in several reviews (*Postures*, *Main blanche*, *Figura*) and wrote a chapter in two collections from Nota Bene. He works as an editorial assistant for *Voix et Images*, a review about literature in Quebec.

Daniel Papillon has been a SABR member since 1995 and is co-chair of SABR's Quebec chapter. He graduated from Laval University with a degree in Political Science.

Owen Ricker has been a baseball fan for nearly 60 years and a SABR member since 1973. He is a Professor Emeritus in the Faculty of Business Administration at the University of Regina. The 2005 SABR convention will be his twentieth (his first was the 1981 gathering in Toronto).

Steve Steinberg's feature article on Miller Huggins appears in the *New York Yankees 2005 Yearbook*. His book *Baseball in St. Louis: 1900-1925* was published by Arcadia in 2004. He has a baseball history web site (www.stevesteinberg.net) and lives in Seattle with his wife and three children.

Barry Swanton was employed as a supervisor with Canada Post. He is a big ManDak League and Cleveland Indians fan, coached baseball in Manitoba, and was an executive in the Manitoba Baseball Association for a number of years.

Christian Trudeau has been a SABR member since 2002 and is a Ph.D. candidate in Economics at Universite de Montreal. While he does appreciate having spare time while pursuing a Ph.D., he misses the time spent at Olympic Stadium.

Baseball has always been an integral part of Julie Williams-Cipriani's life. Growing up with a dad in the minor leagues, including some years in winterball, was a great way to see the world, not to mention learning to spit correctly. She claims baseball is also responsible for her prowess at math, as she began helping with player statistics at the ripe old age of seven.

Marshall Wright was an employee of Howe Sportsdata (SportsTicker) from 1994 to 2004. His books include *19th Century Baseball*, *The American Association*, *The International League*, *The National Association*, *The Southern Association* and *The Texas League*. A graduate of the Bill Kinnamon Umpire School (1980) and a member of SABR since 1987, he served as the official scorer for the Brockton Rox in 2004. Marshall lives in Quincy, MA, with his wife and son.

Bill Young is a founding member of SABR's Quebec chapter. A retired college administrator and curator of a historic family museum in Quebec, he is a Quebec City native and doggedly followed the fortunes of the charmed Quebec Braves in his youth. The birth of the Montreal Expos in 1969 was his dream come true. He continues to grieve over their departure.

Eric Zweig has been writing professionally since 1985, and is an author/editor with Dan Diamond and Associates, consulting publishers to the NHL. A former member of the Toronto Blue Jays grounds crew, he still has a champagne bottle from the club's first AL East Division title celebration.

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