

*Baltimore's Ballpark Debates and Their Legacy:
The Orioles' Relocation from Memorial Stadium to Camden Yards*

Marshall Civin

Junior Division

Historical Paper

Process Paper Length: 394 Words

Paper Length: 2499 Words

May 15, 2022

Process Paper

I chose this topic because it combined baseball and architecture, two of my favorite pastimes. I wanted to learn about the story behind the relocation of the Orioles from Memorial Stadium, which had hosted the team since its major league debut in 1954, to Camden Yards, which opened in 1992. As a baseball fan, I have attended Orioles games since I was born, and I became interested in Camden Yards' history, architecture, and impact on my hometown and the world.

Based on my primary research in newspaper archive databases, I discovered that the biggest debates were over where to construct a new stadium and whether to use government resources to move the team from a northeast Baltimore neighborhood to downtown, as well as the impact of the move on the neighborhoods surrounding the old and new stadiums. Local leaders had to use diplomacy to convince the city and its citizens to relocate the Orioles and get what they wanted for the new stadium. I interviewed five people who played integral parts in the ballpark debates, including: Mark Hyman, a sportswriter; Sandy Rosenberg, a longtime state legislator; Anne Perkins, a former state legislator; Joe Foss, a former Orioles chief operating officer; and Mark Wasserman, the former chief of staff for Maryland's governor during the debates. I was able to interview some of these individuals in person and others online. I prepared for the interviews by researching my interviewees and drafting a set of questions for each. I recorded all of the interviews and took notes. Then I analyzed the recordings to discern key quotes and information that I used to write my paper. I also examined secondary sources, including four books and several articles.

The controversies over the Orioles' relocation are important because Camden Yards changed the way stadiums were constructed across the United States and how urban areas

developed around their stadiums. Camden Yards also contributed to debates about the benefits of government investments in sports and other cultural attractions to promote tourism downtown, as opposed to neighborhood redevelopment. Mark Wasserman, one of the people I interviewed, asked to share my paper with Baltimore business leaders to provide historical perspective as the Orioles' lease on Camden Yards is expiring, and they are seeking additional state funding for renovations, with another implicit threat that they will leave Baltimore if they do not receive continued support.

On March 29, 1984, in the middle of the night, the Baltimore Colts fled for Indianapolis. Residents were devastated. The Colts had been a Baltimore institution. From that moment, city leaders vowed to recruit another football team, and they knew they had to keep Baltimore's other major league team, the Orioles, at all costs. But there was a big problem. The stadium that the Colts and Orioles shared was part of the fabric of Baltimore, but its aging, outdated features were a serious liability.

Over the next decade, Baltimoreans debated vigorously over whether a new stadium should be built, its location, and how it should be funded. These debates mobilized citizens and spilled into neighborhood protests, city and state government, political campaigns, and the courts. It took tremendous diplomacy and determination by two key figures, William Donald Schaefer, who was first Baltimore's mayor, then Maryland's governor, and Edward Bennett Williams, the Orioles' owner, to successfully construct a new ballpark. Camden Yards changed the fate of Baltimore and contributed to the city's success in regaining a football team. Baltimore's ballpark debates also changed the nation's approach to stadium construction, which continues to generate controversy over the benefits of public investment in sports as an engine of urban development. Moreover, Baltimore's experiences demonstrate the difficulties of involving ordinary citizens in critical decisions about their cities.

I. Memorial Stadium's Fans and Critics

Shortly after the Orioles moved to Baltimore in 1954, the team began playing in Memorial Stadium. Over the next 30 years, the Orioles were a highly competitive team, winning three World Series titles. Memorial Stadium was home to Brooks Robinson, Frank Robinson, Jim Palmer, Eddie Murray, and other baseball legends.

There was much to love about Memorial Stadium. It was in the center of a residential neighborhood in northeast Baltimore. According to Anne Perkins, a former state legislator who lived nearby, going to games was a family activity. She remembers Sunday doubleheaders with her kids catching fly balls from batting practice.¹

Yet Memorial Stadium had challenges. There was little parking, cramped seating, bad concessions, minimal advertising, and no sky boxes.² According to Mark Hyman, a local sportswriter, the one elevator in the press box “was used by anyone who happened to be on that level, including the owner, his guests, and other team officials. So, it was ridiculous trying to get from the press box to the clubhouse after the game.”³

At the same time as Memorial Stadium was declining, so was Baltimore. As manufacturing moved abroad, Baltimore lost key industries. Its port faced competition globally. In addition, residents moved out of the city to suburban homes. These factors threatened Baltimore’s status as a first rank city.⁴

Concerns about Memorial Stadium had been voiced since the early 1970s,⁵ but they increased after the Orioles were sold to Williams, a legendary D.C. businessman and lawyer. Williams advocated that substantial investment was needed for better amenities so the Orioles could “generate more significant revenue in order to compete” against teams in modern stadiums.⁶ Today, television fees provide substantial funding for sports teams, but at the time,

¹ Anne Perkins, Interview conducted by author, December 11, 2021.

² Joe Foss and Mark Wasserman, Interview conducted by author, December 11, 2021; Robert Facht, “Orioles’ Ballpark Takes Shape,” *Washington Post*, December 29, 1989.

³ Mark Hyman, Interview conducted by author, December 21, 2021.

⁴ Matthew Crenson, *Baltimore: A Political History*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017, p. 480.

⁵ Theo Lippman Jr., “Why the Camden Stadium Won’t Be Built, Despite All the Hoopla,” *Baltimore Sun*, June 3, 1973.

⁶ Foss and Wasserman, Interview.

most revenue came from ticket sales, concessions, ballpark advertising, and parking.⁷

Baltimore residents feared that Williams' advocacy for stadium investment was backed by an implicit threat. If the Orioles did not get what they wanted, Williams would move the team to D.C., which had lost its own baseball team, the Senators, in 1972.⁸

This threat weighed heavily on Schaefer, who served as mayor of Baltimore from 1971 to 1987, when he was elected governor.⁹ Schaefer was a man with strong opinions. According to Sandy Rosenberg, a state legislator representing Baltimore, Schaefer "did not want to be the mayor when the Colts left and the governor when the Orioles left."¹⁰ Schaefer was willing to do whatever it took to build a new ballpark.¹¹

II. Debating Ballpark Locations

The most prominent alternative ballpark location in Baltimore was downtown at Camden Yards.¹² In August 1985, during his campaign for governor, Schaefer announced his preference for this site. As he had throughout his political career, Schaefer prioritized revitalizing downtown, insisting that it was critical for the Orioles to remain in Baltimore.¹³

In contrast, the Special Advisory Commission on Sports and the Economy preferred a

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Thom Loverro, *Home of the Game: The Story of Camden Yards*, Taylor Publishing Company, 1999, p. 19.

⁹ Michael Dresser, "William Donald Schaefer, Governor and Mayor, Dies," *Baltimore Sun*, April 19, 2011.

¹⁰ Sandy Rosenberg, Interview conducted by author, December 4, 2021.

¹¹ Foss and Wasserman, Interview.

¹² Sandy Banisky and Luther Young, "Mayor Prefers Camden Yards as Stadium Site," *Baltimore Sun*, August 23, 1985.

¹³ Ron Davis, "Camden Lukewarm to Stadium: Residents Fear Traffic If Mayor's Choice Wins," *Baltimore Sun*, August 26, 1985.

suburban location south of Baltimore in Lansdowne.¹⁴ This site was endorsed by Schaefer's Democratic primary opponent in the 1986 governor's race, Stephen Sachs, who was Maryland's attorney general. Sachs appealed to voters in the rest of Maryland by arguing that he was less Baltimore-centric than Schaefer was.¹⁵

Initially, Williams, the Orioles' owner, preferred a location somewhere between Baltimore and D.C. Yet he was open to another site with ample parking for fans from D.C. Williams was also concerned that the Camden Yards site had a school in the middle of it. However, Schaefer convinced Williams that Camden Yards was strategically located with many transit options, and he promised that the school would close regardless.¹⁶

Renovating Memorial Stadium was still a possibility. Jack Lapidus, a state senator who represented the Memorial Stadium area, argued that "[a] proposal to build at Camden or Lansdowne stadium is a proposal to disinvest in the Memorial Stadium neighborhood."¹⁷ The relocation of the Orioles from Memorial Stadium would be a big hit, economically and socially, to the surrounding neighborhoods. Gwyn Gibson, the owner of the Northside Bar, said: "If we lose the Stadium, we are going to lose business."¹⁸ Bill Cunningham, a local civic association president, added: "We look at the stadium as a stabilizing influence on the community."¹⁹

Whereas neighborhoods surrounding Memorial Stadium feared losing their stadium, the Camden Yards site raised concerns among downtown residents. They protested at a public

¹⁴ Banisky and Young, "Mayor Prefers Camden Yards as Stadium Site."

¹⁵ Perkins, Interview; Gwen Ifill, "Politicians Hitting Hard on Stadium: Schaefer, Sachs Go to Bat for Favored Sites of New MD. Facility," *Washington Post*, October 16, 1985.

¹⁶ Banisky and Young, "Mayor Prefers Camden Yards"; Loverro, *Home of the Game*, pp. 20-22.

¹⁷ Arthur T. Johnson, "The Stadium Debate," *Baltimore Sun*, February 8, 1986.

¹⁸ Katie G. Kodat, "Stadium Neighborhoods Uneasy Over Life Without It," *Baltimore Sun*, December 7, 1987.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

hearing before the Maryland Stadium Authority about the prospect of increased traffic and reduced parking.²⁰ They also expressed concerns about the closure of local business properties that needed to be condemned to make space for a Camden Yards ballpark.²¹

III. Debating Stadium Funding in the Legislature and Courts

Equally as controversial as the location of the stadium was how Baltimore would fund it. The Orioles advocated for a baseball-only ballpark, which meant that a separate football stadium was also needed; the price tag for both ultimately exceeded \$440 million, about equal to \$880 million today.²²

There were a wide range of views among elected officials at the state and city levels.²³ Schaefer mobilized support to pay for the project with taxpayer dollars because he thought he had little leverage to require the Orioles to contribute significant funding.²⁴ State Representative Rosenberg believed the state had more bargaining power. He stated: “Williams can’t move in the middle of the night, like the Colts did, because of the anti-trust law.”²⁵ Unlike football, baseball is exempt from anti-trust law, and thus, owners needed approval of other owners to move their teams, which would have been difficult for the Orioles to obtain.

Nonetheless, Schaefer pressed ahead with state legislation to “designate Camden Yards

²⁰ Ron Davis, “Camden Lukewarm to Stadium”; Jane A. Smith, “Opponents of Camden Yards Pack Hearing,” *Baltimore Sun*, March 10, 1987.

²¹ David Harrison, “Stadium Sites Count Weeks to Takeover,” *Baltimore Business Journal*, October 28, 1996.

²² Neil DeMause, and Joanna Cagan, *Field of Schemes: How the Great Stadium Swindle Turns Public Money into Private Profit*, University of Nebraska Press, 2008, p. 11; Loverro, *Home of the Game*, pp. 22-23.

²³ Katie G. Kodat and Ann LoLardo, “The Stadium Controversy Divides City Council, Fuels Resentment of State’s Role,” *Baltimore Sun*, February 15, 1987.

²⁴ Loverro, *Home of the Game*, p. 23; DeMause and Cagan, *Field of Schemes*, pp. 10-12.

²⁵ Rosenberg, Interview.

as the site of the new stadiums [for the Orioles and a potential NFL team], authorize the Maryland Stadium Authority to borrow up to \$235 million for the land acquisition and construction costs, and grant the authority ‘quick-take’ condemnation powers to seize properties.”²⁶ One of the most prominent opponents was State Senator Lapidés, who also led the campaign to keep the Orioles at Memorial Stadium. According to Lapidés,

It is simply unconscionable that cities are forced to succumb to blackmail by pro football and baseball. You should not capitulate to blackmailers. You don’t deal with hostage situations. You don’t deal with terrorists. I put these teams in the same category.²⁷

To rebut this strong opposition, Schaefer requested Williams to testify in the legislature. Although Williams was dying of cancer, he used his diplomatic skills as a lawyer to sway legislative support for public funding.²⁸ State Representative Perkins was persuaded by Williams and Schaefer, although she recognized that “it was a tough vote because of where the communities around Memorial Stadium stood.”²⁹

After the state legislature approved public funding, the ballpark debates shifted to another stage. Lapidés and other opponents of public funding, such as Bill Marker, who led an anti-stadium citizen’s organization called Marylanders for Sports Sanity (“MASS”), argued that if the taxpayers were going to pay, they should be able to vote on the new stadium.³⁰ They gathered signatures for a petition to place a referendum on public funding on the ballot. Schaefer campaigned against the referendum, arguing: “A signature on the petition is a signature to

²⁶ John W Frece, “Effort to Kill Stadium Loses 32-14,” *Baltimore Sun*, March 31, 1987.

²⁷ DeMause and Cagan, *Field of Schemes*, p. 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11; Loverro, *Home of the Game*, pp. 25-26.

²⁹ Perkins, Interview.

³⁰ Smith, “Opponents of Camden Yards Pack Hearing.”

destroy professional sports in Maryland.”³¹

Despite Schaefer’s opposition, Marker gathered over 45,000 signatures, more than enough to place the referendum on the ballot. Statewide polling for ballpark funding did not look good: 39% opposed, 29% supported, and the remainder were undecided.³² Fearing a public defeat, Schaefer challenged the referendum in court. He initially lost in circuit court, but in September 1987, the Court of Appeals, Maryland’s highest court, rejected the referendum. In a 6-1 vote, the Court ruled that the legislation was an “appropriation,” and thus, under Maryland’s constitution, it was not the proper subject of a referendum.³³

IV. Debating Camden Yards’ Impact and Legacy

Schaefer’s victory in the courts meant that a new ballpark would finally be built at Camden Yards for the Orioles. For fans and players, the final game at Memorial Stadium in 1992 was bittersweet.³⁴ But there was broad consensus about “the sheer magnificence of the Orioles’ new home.”³⁵ Mark Wasserman, Schaefer’s chief of staff, reminisced: “In the aftermath, it is difficult to find anyone willing to admit that they opposed Camden Yards.”³⁶ Jeff Barker, a local journalist, noted: “The red-brick park’s retro design, urban location and overnight popularity made it stand out, transforming how big league baseball fields have been built — and where they

³¹ John W. Frece, “Don’t Sign Petitions on Stadiums, Schaefer Urges,” *Baltimore Sun*, April 30, 1987.

³² Robert Barnes, “Stadium Foes Win Round 1: Judge Says Voters May Decide Issue,” *Washington Post*, July 3, 1987.

³³ Joel McCord, “Appeals Court Bars Stadium Referendum,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 9, 1987.

³⁴ William Gildea, “In Sad Memorial, Orioles Bid Goodbye to a Stadium,” *Washington Post*, October 7, 1991.

³⁵ John Eisenberg, *From 33rd Street to Camden Yards: An Oral History of the Baltimore Orioles*, McGraw-Hill, 2002, p. 423.

³⁶ Foss and Wasserman, Interview.

are located — ever since.”³⁷ Baltimore become the leading example for cities using stadiums to facilitate urban renewal.

The Orioles’ beautiful ballpark contributed to Baltimore achieving another overarching goal.³⁸ The NFL relocated the Cleveland Browns to Baltimore a decade later. Schaefer used the same strategy to mobilize public funding for a stadium next to Camden Yards for the new team, which was renamed the Ravens.

The final debate over Camden Yards involves its benefits for Baltimore. Foss, the Orioles’ former chief operating officer, stated: “It was more than just the revenue from the ballpark; the whole city had major positive economic impact.”³⁹ However, the Memorial Stadium site and its surrounding neighborhoods struggled to recover, and economists continue to debate the long-term financial benefits for the entire city.⁴⁰ While Camden Yards generated a surge in tourism, attendance has been difficult to sustain, especially after a major league baseball team returned to Washington, D.C., in 2004. The creation of jobs from Camden Yards has also been less than original predictions.⁴¹ In *Field of Schemes*, Neil DeMause and Joanna Cagan broaden this criticism to a wide range of stadiums, including Camden Yards, arguing that they have not benefitted the communities that invested significant taxpayer resources to fund them.⁴²

These debates deserve close consideration as the Orioles are again asking for substantial

³⁷ Jeff Barker, “Impact of Camden Yards is Debated as it Turns 25,” *Baltimore Sun*, April 1, 2017.

³⁸ Perkins, Interview.

³⁹ Foss and Wasserman, Interview.

⁴⁰ Barker, “Impact of Camden Yards is Debated”; Louis Miserendino, “Was Camden Yards Worth It?” *Baltimore Sun*, March 26, 2012.

⁴¹ Bruce W. Hamilton and Peter Kahn, “Baltimore’s Camden Yards Ballparks,” in Robert G. Noll and Andrew Zimbalist, editors, *Sports, Jobs, and Taxes: The Economic Impact of Sports Teams and Stadiums*, Brookings Institution Press, 1997, pp. 245-281.

⁴² DeMause and Cagan, *Field of Schemes*, p. 11.

public investment to renovate Camden Yards, once more with the implicit threat of leaving if they do not get what they want.⁴³ Any evaluation of the costs, however, needs to consider that Camden Yards has been critical in maintaining the identity of Baltimore as a city. Equally important, the ballpark debates mobilized a broad range of citizens to participate in urban decision-making. With the courts' blessing, Schaefer and Williams restricted statewide voters from having their say, but Baltimoreans actively engaged on all sides, just like they do at all Orioles games, with their chants of "O" for the home team during the national anthem.

⁴³ Jeff Barker, "State Eager to Accommodate Orioles' Needs," *Baltimore Sun*, January 8, 2022.

Appendix A



These two images show William Donald Schaefer (right) and Edward Bennett Williams (left). These two men shaped the debates around the Orioles' stadium. It is thanks to them that Baltimore has Camden Yards.

Sources:

“William Donald Schaefer (1921-2011),” *Maryland State Archives*, Photo from Maryland Manual Collection, MSA SC 1198,

<https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/001400/001489/html/1489image.html>.

“Edward Bennett Williams,” *Georgetown University Law Library*,

<https://www.law.georgetown.edu/library/about/edward-bennett-williams/>.

Appendix B

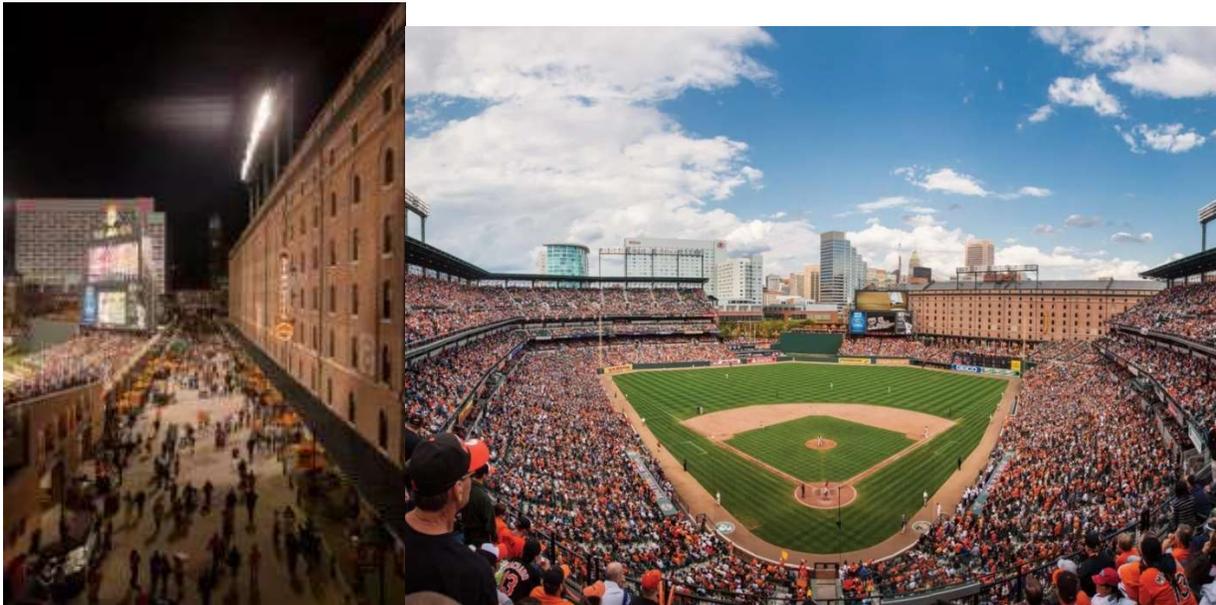


This image shows the once great Memorial Stadium during the World Series in 1966. At Memorial Stadium, the parking was cramped. The stadium was also an odd shape because of the very different fields needed for the two sports played there: baseball and football. Baseball is played on a massive diamond while football is played on an extremely long rectangle. Memorial Stadium did not have optimal seating either. The seats were small and farther away from the field than fans preferred.

Source: “Now-and-Then Pictures: Memorial Stadium,” *Baltimore Sun*, March 2, 2017.

<https://www.baltimoresun.com/features/retro-baltimore/bal-nowandthen-pictures-memorial-stadium-20170302-htmlstory.html>.

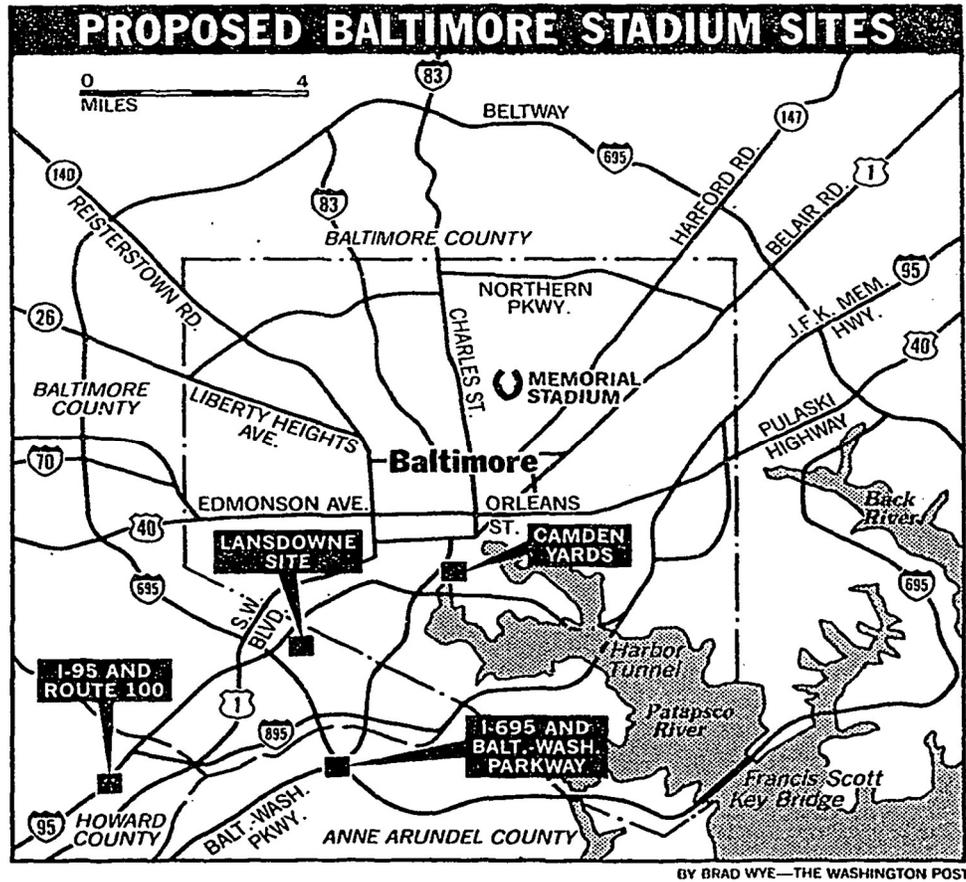
Appendix C



These three images show Camden Yards. The first image (top) shows Camden Yards in Baltimore's skyline. Camden Yards is right in the center of Baltimore near the Inner Harbor. The second image (bottom left) shows Eutaw Street, as well as the B&O Railroad warehouse that was incorporated into Camden Yards' blend of old and new. Running adjacent to the warehouse, Eutaw Street has numerous vendors and other activities. The third image (bottom left) shows a view of the baseball diamond from the upper deck. Seating 48,000 people, Camden Yards includes many different settings from which to watch the game, including skyboxes and bars.

Source: "Everything You Need to Know About Camden Yards," *Visit Baltimore*, Retrieved from <https://baltimore.org/what-to-do/our-insiders-guide-to-camden-yards/>

Appendix D



This map, taken from a contemporary newspaper article, shows the two primary locations under consideration for the Orioles' new stadium: Lansdowne and Camden Yards.

Source: Ifill, Gwen, "Politicians Hitting Hard on Stadium: Schaefer, Sachs Go to Bat for Favored Sites of New MD. Facility," *Washington Post*, October 16, 1985.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary SourcesA. *Interviews*

Foss, Joe and Mark Wasserman. Interview conducted by Marshall Civin, December 11, 2021.

I interviewed Mark Wasserman, one of the top lieutenants for Mayor, then Governor, Schaefer, and Joe Foss, vice president and chief operating officer of the Orioles from 1993 to 2007. Both Wasserman and Foss believe that the new ballpark at Camden Yards has been beneficial to Baltimore, and it needed to be built to keep the Orioles in the city and allow them to generate revenue that would help keep the team competitive. This interview allowed me to learn about what was going on in the Governor's office and the Orioles organization during this time, as well as the critical role that each played in the debates and diplomacy regarding the relocation to Camden Yards.

Hyman, Mark. Interview conducted by Marshall Civin, December 21, 2021.

I interviewed Mark Hyman, a sportswriter who covered the Orioles in the seasons leading up to and after their move to Camden Yards. He shared key details about the events leading up to the Orioles' relocation, such as that Schaefer was eager to get Williams to sign a 30-year lease for a new stadium before he died, so there would not be the threat of the next owner moving the Orioles out of Baltimore. The interview helped me because Hyman provided a firsthand view from someone whose job was to closely observe and report on the ballpark debates.

Perkins, Anne. Interview conducted by Marshall Civin, December 11, 2021.

I interviewed Anne Perkins, who served in the Maryland House of Delegates from 1979 to 1992, representing northeast Baltimore, including the area where Memorial Stadium was located. She stated that the residents of neighborhoods around Memorial Stadium did not want the Orioles to move, in part, because they did not want change, but she believed that the Orioles would have left in the middle of the night, like the Colts, if they had not obtained a new ballpark. Perkins provided extensive firsthand perspective about how a local political leader thought the move would affect Baltimore, as well as a behind-the-scenes look at the political and community debates around this issue.

Rosenberg, Sandy. Interview conducted by Marshall Civin, December 4, 2021.

I interviewed Sandy Rosenberg, who has represented northwest Baltimore in the Maryland House of Delegates since 1986. In the legislature, he voted against Governor Schaefer's proposal for public funding for the construction of Camden Yards, believing that the Orioles, unlike the Colts, would have had a hard time moving quickly in the middle of the night. Due to baseball's exemption from antitrust laws, relocation of franchises required approval from the owners of the other teams in the league, which would have been difficult for the Orioles to obtain, and as a result, Baltimore had more leverage than its leaders thought, when bargaining with the Orioles for a new stadium.

B. Other Primary Sources

Banisky, Sandy and Luther Young. "Mayor Prefers Camden Yards as Stadium Site." *Baltimore Sun*. August 23, 1985.

This article reports that William Donald Schaefer, then mayor of Baltimore, announced his preference for the Camden Yards site in a radio interview while attending a conference in Ocean City on August 22, 1985. His preference contrasted with the recommendations of a commission appointed by the governor, which favored a site south of Baltimore. The article also explains that Edward Bennett Williams expressed some interest in Camden Yards, but his primary concern was parking, so that fans from D.C. could access the stadium.

Barnes, Robert. "Stadium Foes Win Round 1: Judge Says Voters May Decide Issue."

Washington Post. July 3, 1987.

This article describes the Circuit Court's initial ruling that the issue of funding could go to a referendum for the Maryland voters. Opponents of stadium funding had gathered more than 45,000 signatures on their petition for a referendum. This source helps me understand the initial court ruling, which was subsequently overturned by the Court of Appeals.

Davis, Ron. "Camden Lukewarm to Stadium: Residents Fear Traffic If Mayor's Choice Wins."

Baltimore Sun. August 26, 1985.

This article reported on opposition from residents around Camden Yards and the harbor about the construction of a new stadium near their homes. Neighborhood leaders, such as Charles E. Horne, president of the Ridgely's Delight neighborhood association, did not want to have to deal with the travel concerns, which they feared would reduce parking, increase traffic, and clog public transportation. The article presents the views of ordinary residents who weighed into the debates over the stadium championed by politicians.

Fachet, Robert. "Orioles' Ballpark Takes Shape." *Washington Post*. December 29, 1989.

This article describes the new, innovative design of Camden Yards, focusing on replicating old-fashioned brick and steel stadiums and incorporating local architecture, as well as the skyline of Baltimore. In contrast to the concrete structures that had been built for stadiums since the 1950s, Orioles management toured the country, taking the aspects of different ballparks they liked and combining them into something new and improved. The article also explains that the price tag for the ballpark increased to \$105 million to pay for the distinctive features and shows that there was "surprisingly little disagreement" among Eli Jacobs, Williams' successor as owner of the Orioles, and others regarding the design of the ballpark.

Frece, John W. "Don't Sign Petitions on Stadiums, Schaefer Urges." *Baltimore Sun*. April 30, 1987.

This article explains the petition launched to send the issue of funding Camden Yards to a referendum for the voters of Maryland, as well as Schaefer's strong opposition. This source helps me understand that the debates continued even after the legislature approved of Schaefer's plan for the funding of Camden Yards.

Frece, John W. "Effort to Kill Stadium Loses 32-14." *Baltimore Sun*. March 31, 1987.

This article explains debates in the Maryland state senate over "bills that would designate Camden Yards as the site of the new stadiums [for the Orioles and a potential NFL team], authorize the Maryland Stadium Authority to borrow up to \$235 million for the land

acquisition and construction costs, and grant the authority ‘quick-take’ condemnation powers to seize properties.” The opposition was led by Maryland State Senators Jack Lapidés and John Coolahan, who argued that the Orioles were “blackmailing” the state, that the move was in direct contrast to what the neighborhoods around the two stadium locations wanted, and that funds for the new stadium would require spending too much on the Orioles, which was a private organization. Senators Lapidés and Coolahan proposed an amendment to require renovation of Memorial Stadium, rather than construction of Camden Yards, but they lost the vote 32-14.

Gildea, William. “In Sad Memorial, Orioles Bid Goodbye to a Stadium.” *Washington Post*.

October 7, 1991.

This article tells the story of the Orioles’ final game at Memorial Stadium, as well as the ceremony afterwards, which brought back many team legends. Former players and fans had mixed emotions about moving to Camden Yards, while Orioles management and many current players were happy to get a new stadium. This article helps me understand the culmination of the entire affair of building a new stadium, which ended with the opening of Camden Yards.

Harrison, David. “Stadium Sites Count Weeks to Takeover.” *Baltimore Business Journal*.

October 28, 1996.

This article provides details about how the Maryland Stadium Authority acquired the land for Camden Yards, M&T Bank Stadium, and their huge parking lot. The Maryland Stadium Authority used the government power of condemnation to take control of the

small businesses on the huge property, which was a significant cost of the stadium project. This journal article gave me insight into how the Maryland Stadium Authority obtained the land for the stadiums and their parking lots, as well as what was in the area before these behemoth buildings were constructed.

Ifill, Gwen. "Politicians Hitting Hard on Stadium: Schaefer, Sachs Go to Bat for Favored Sites of New MD. Facility." *Washington Post*. October 16, 1985.

This article explains that the location of a new stadium impacted the campaign for governor leading up to the 1986 election. Shaefer, then mayor of Baltimore, supported Camden Yards because he was adamant that the new stadium must be in Baltimore, while his opponent in the Democratic primary, Stephen Sachs, then Maryland's attorney general, preferred Lansdowne, south of Baltimore. This source helps me understand the role the ballpark debates played in the 1986 governor's election.

Johnson, Arthur T. "The Stadium Debate." *Baltimore Sun*. February 8, 1986.

This source explains the economic and political debates over relocating the Orioles to either Camden Yards or Lansdowne, as well as a third alternative of renovating Memorial Stadium. The author, a professor of political science at the University of Maryland Baltimore County, asks whether a new stadium would serve Baltimore better than Memorial Stadium. The author analyzes other claims about possible new stadium sites and rebuts them because, in his view, a renovated Memorial Stadium would have been better for Baltimore.

Kodat, Katie G. "Stadium Neighborhoods Uneasy Over Life Without It." *Baltimore Sun*.
December 7, 1987.

This article details the opinions of citizens of the neighborhoods around Memorial Stadium about the Orioles' possible move. People were worried about the loss of business, as well as the social status that Memorial Stadium gave to the area around it, but their protests were drowned out by Governor Schaefer's overwhelming support of a new stadium.

Kodat, Katie G. and Ann LoLardo. "The Stadium Controversy Divides City Council, Fuels Resentment of State's Role." *Baltimore Sun*. February 15, 1987.

This article examines the Baltimore City Council's engagement on a possible new ballpark. The City Council members had a wide range of views on the stadium issue, ranging from supporting relocation to Camden Yards, to believing that a renovation of Memorial Stadium would be sufficient, but they all felt excluded and undermined by the state government's approach. This article sheds light on the debates and controversies among Baltimore City politicians, as well as tensions between the state and local governments, regarding the stadium issue.

Lippman Jr., Theo. "Why the Camden Stadium Won't Be Built, Despite All the Hoopla." *Baltimore Sun*. June 3, 1973.

This article shows that prominent Baltimore citizens were thinking about the construction of a new stadium for the city's athletic teams for over 20 years before Camden Yards was completed. In the 1970s, some argued that a new stadium downtown would increase commerce and parking; however, an argument against the new stadium, at the time, was

that taxpayers would have to pay for the upkeep of the new stadium if it failed to produce sufficient revenue. This source sets the stage on which subsequent arguments about a potential stadium were built.

McCord, Joel. "Appeals Court Bars Stadium Referendum." *Baltimore Sun*. September 9, 1987.

This article describes the ruling of the Court of Appeals, Maryland's highest court, rejecting efforts to send the issue of funding Camden Yards to the Maryland voters. In a 6-1 vote, the Court ruled that the legislation was an "appropriation," and thus, under the Maryland constitution, it was not the proper subject of a referendum. This source helps me understand the role the courts played in the ballpark debates.

Smith, Jane A. "Opponents of Camden Yards Pack Hearing." *Baltimore Sun*. March 10, 1987.

This source explains protests about the Camden Yards site during a Maryland Stadium Authority hearing on March 9, 1987. Opponents argued that the money for the stadium should go to other causes, and they also protested that the new stadium would detrimentally change the neighborhoods around Camden Yards. This article helps me to understand the ballpark debates from the perspective of those living near Camden Yards, many of whom were opposed to relocation of the Orioles, and it notes support for Camden Yards from business groups, including the Greater Baltimore Committee.

"William Donald Schaefer (1921-2011)." *Maryland State Archives*,

<https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/001400/001489/html/1489image.html>.

This website, maintained by the Maryland State Archives, contains numerous pictures of Schaefer from different points throughout his career. I used this source to find a picture of Schaefer.

Secondary Sources

Barker, Jeff. "Impact of Camden Yards is Debated as it Turns 25." *Baltimore Sun*. April 1, 2017.

This article examines the longstanding impacts of Camden Yards on the area around it and how this ballpark is perceived around the nation. The article helps me understand the ballpark's effect over time on the area around it.

Barker, Jeff. "State Eager to Accommodate Orioles' Needs." *Baltimore Sun*. January 8, 2022.

This article helps me understand that the issues raised in the ballpark debates about the relocation of the Orioles to Camden Yards continue to this day. The Orioles' original lease started in 1992 and ended in 2021, but the Orioles and the Maryland Stadium Authority agreed to extend the lease through 2023, while they renegotiated another potential long-term deal. The team's owners have assured the city that they intend to stay, but as was the case when the ballpark debates occurred 25 years ago, there are concerns that the Orioles will leave if their demands for upgrades to the ballpark's amenities are not met, especially because the team has lost revenue due to the pandemic and its losing record.

Crenson, Matthew. *Baltimore: A Political History*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017, Baltimore, Maryland.

This book by Matthew Crenson, a professor of political science at Johns Hopkins University, thoroughly explains the history of Baltimore from its founding in the eighteenth century up into the twenty-first century. I used this book to understand the broader historical context in Baltimore while the stadium debates took place, including the city's decline in the late twentieth century and Schaefer's efforts to spur reinvestment.

DeMause, Neil and Joanna Cagan. *Field of Schemes: How the Great Stadium Swindle Turns Public Money into Private Profit*. University of Nebraska Press, 2008, Lincoln, Nebraska.

This book, written by prominent journalists, argues that sports stadiums revolve around and take advantage of public money. The chapters about Camden Yards and Memorial Stadium tell the story of some of the political debates surrounding the Orioles' move. The authors compare the debates over Camden Yards to the controversies about other stadiums around the country, and they forcefully argue that stadiums, including Camden Yards, have not benefitted the communities that invested significant taxpayer resources to fund them.

Dresser, Michael. "William Donald Schaefer, Governor and Mayor, Dies." *Baltimore Sun*. April 19, 2011.

This article commemorates the life and legacy of Schaefer, who is described as "the dominant political figure of the last half-century of Maryland history." The source recounts the story of Schaefer's life, as well as how he "changed the face of Baltimore" through projects such as Camden Yards and the Inner Harbor, and it quotes opinions from friends and prominent politicians about his career as mayor, governor, comptroller, and "tireless

promoter of Baltimore.” I used this source to learn about Schaefer’s background, who he was, and how he achieved some of his greatest accomplishments.

“Edward Bennett Williams.” *Georgetown University Law Library*,

<https://www.law.georgetown.edu/library/about/edward-bennett-williams/>.

This website includes a brief summary of the life of Edward Bennett Williams, an alumnus of Georgetown University Law School, who provided financial support for the school’s library. The website includes an excerpt from the *New York Times* obituary when Williams died in 1988, which states that, in addition to owning the Orioles, Williams founded a prominent law firm in D.C., was the president of the Washington football team, and represented many prominent politicians. I used this website to find an image of Williams in front of a courthouse to reflect his career as a “brilliant superlawyer” and “a pillar of the Washington establishment.”

Eisenberg, John. *From 33rd Street to Camden Yards: An Oral History of the Baltimore Orioles*.

McGraw-Hill, 2002, London, UK.

This book, written by John Eisenberg, a sportswriter and reporter, recounts the entire history of the Orioles — from their debut in 1954 as a major league team, through their last game at Memorial Stadium on October 6, 1991, to their accomplishments at Camden Yards. The book uses a unique perspective of combining different players’ experiences and views into a cohesive narrative. This book helps me with my project because it situates the team’s move from Memorial Stadium to Camden Yards in the context of the Orioles’ entire history.

“Everything You Need to Know About Camden Yards.” *Visit Baltimore*,

<https://baltimore.org/what-to-do/our-insiders-guide-to-camden-yards/>.

This website, maintained by a non-profit that markets Baltimore, includes everything a tourist would need to know about Camden Yards. This information includes its attractions, history, how to purchase tickets, and concessions. I used this website to find pictures of the ballpark.

Hamilton, Bruce W, and Peter Kahn. “Baltimore’s Camden Yards Ballparks.” In Robert G. Noll and Andrew Zimbalist, editors. *Sports, Jobs, and Taxes: The Economic Impact of Sports Teams and Stadiums*. Brookings Institution Press, 1997, Washington, D.C.: pp. 245-281.

This article explains the monetary side of the Orioles’ move to Camden Yards from Memorial Stadium, and it critically examines whether there was statistical support for the argument that Camden Yards boosted attendance because it was located near other attractions in downtown Baltimore. The authors also explain the honeymoon effect, which occurs when new ballparks generate increased attendance in their first years of operation. For Camden Yards, this effect threw off calculations about the long-term success of the Orioles.

Loverro, Thom. *Home of the Game: The Story of Camden Yards*. Taylor Publishing Company, 1999, Dallas, Texas.

This book, written by a sportswriter, examines the history of Camden Yards. For example,

the author explains some of the issues that were part of the various debates over the construction of Camden Yards, including funding, location, and construction materials. This source helps me understand the multitude of debates involved in Camden Yards' construction.

Miserendino, Louis. "Was Camden Yards Worth It?" *Baltimore Sun*. March 26, 2012.

This article, written by a visiting fellow at the Maryland Public Policy Institute, summarizes evidence about whether Baltimore and other cities saw economic benefits from public subsidies for downtown athletic stadiums. According to the author, after taxpayers funded Camden Yards, Baltimore continued to suffer population loss and economic decline, whereas Boston, which did not subsidize the redevelopment of Fenway Park, has thrived. The author concludes that public subsidies for downtown stadiums is the wrong approach to urban renewal.

"Now-and-Then Pictures: Memorial Stadium." *Baltimore Sun*. March 2, 2017.

<https://www.baltimoresun.com/features/retro-baltimore/bal-nowandthen-pictures-memorial-stadium-20170302-htmlstory.html>.

This source is an interactive graphic which shows the site of Memorial Stadium in 1966, when it was thriving, as well as in 2017, once the stadium had been demolished.