

Much More than a Box Score:

Larry Doby's Integration of the American League
and the Destruction of Black Baseball

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Senior Division

Historical Paper

Word Count: 2,500

Process Paper Word Count: 500

Process Paper

As a dedicated, devoted, die-hard Cleveland Guardians fan, there's nothing I enjoy more than talking about my favorite baseball team. So, for National History Day, I was set on delving into the cultural, social, historical significance of 20th century baseball on American society, preferably one that took me down a Cleveland rabbit hole. With a topic like "Frontiers in History," I didn't have to look far into the rich history of Cleveland baseball. Larry Doby fits the very definition of a pioneer crossing a frontier, a Black man integrating the American League. Following Jackie Robinson, Doby is often overlooked, forgotten, or never taught— even within the baseball community. Regardless, Larry Doby created new opportunities and truly paved the way for the next generation of Black baseball players.

In my research, I spent significant time pouring through SABR's (Society for American Baseball Research) historical archives, listening to oral histories from the University of Kentucky, flipping through Genealogy Bank's trove of *Cleveland Plain Dealer* newspaper articles, and even communicating with a library director at the National Baseball Hall of Fame for Effa Manley's scrapbook. Through these materials, I discovered the true complexity of Doby's story. My thesis centers around debunking a simplified, one-dimensional, whitewashed version of integration adopted by the baseball community. Hidden by time behind the illustrious moments of White baseball was a treasured cornerstone of the Black community during the early 20th century, the Negro Leagues. My goal transformed into a heftier one, attempting to effectively tell Doby's story by providing the surrounding context and necessary nuance that comes with adding in those extra dimensions.

Despite the complicated questions surrounding the integration process, especially regarding its necessity even while requiring the dissolution of Black institutions, my most

interesting finding was how on-the-nose my quotes were. The situation wasn't simple, and yet, these historical figures had such an awareness, articulating their feelings and place perfectly—and perfectly for my research. Larry Doby and Effa Manley were thrust into difficult spots requiring them to be pioneers, and their quotes captured their feelings, experiences, legacies with such lasting confidence and consciousness.

My research question started with an initial asking of “Was Doby a pioneer?” and “If so, when? By whom?” But, as answers emerged as “yes” and “always, by everyone,” I had to change my approach. I instead examined stakeholders within Doby's integration: Negro League players and management, White players and owners, and Larry Doby himself. Selecting communities, I analyzed Doby's story from a more directed angle, finding richer, more sophisticated answers that were absent from a general, simplified view. I narrowed my focus again to three stakeholders that serve as the main characters for the Larry Doby case study of American integration: Larry Doby, Bill Veeck and Effa Manley. Following the Regional Competition, I incorporated the judges' feedback by emphasizing more of my own analysis and reducing my dependency on quotes. Subsequently, following the State Competition, I tweaked my thesis to include all three stakeholders and added further elaboration to my conclusion.

Much More than a Box Score: Larry Doby's Integration of the American League and the Destruction of Black Baseball

First Pitch

Larry Doby made his Major League Baseball debut on July 5, 1947, for the Cleveland Indians in the seventh inning of a game against the Chicago White Sox. Called off the bench for a pinch-hitting assignment, Doby's first plate appearance embedded itself into the history books. With a bat between his hands and his feet firmly in the batter's box, Doby was a Black man in a completely White league. He had broken the American League color barrier. Often overlooked in favor of his National League counterpart, Jackie Robinson, by the coverage both then and now, Doby served as the first Black baseball player to integrate the American League, a monumental moment in both major sports and American history. Larry Doby's breaking of the American League color barrier helped spearhead integration in Major League Baseball. However, White owners capitalized on this process at the expense of Black powerbrokers. While often presented as a one-dimensional narrative of pioneering racial heroism, the complex process of desegregation simultaneously enriched White baseball and devastated Black baseball.

Larry Doby, the Pioneer

Baseball, especially in 1947, goes well beyond the confines of the foul lines. A staple of American society, baseball served as a microcosm for American culture and values. As critic Gerald Early, professor of African-American and American Culture studies at Washington University explains, "There are three things that America will be known for 2,000 years from now: the Constitution, jazz music, and Baseball. They're the three most beautifully designed

things this culture's ever produced" ("Baseball History"). Much like the Constitution, and much unlike jazz, baseball is based on rules and tradition. Regardless of where the country found itself, the tradition of baseball persisted, "offer[ing] a sense of comfort during difficult times" ("Baseball History"). Yet, in 1947, the sport got a lot more complicated, not wavering in its place at the center of American life but instead doubling down, becoming a more accurate representation of the country grappling with racial segregation.

While technically no longer a "White man's sport," Doby was still immersed in a sport of White men. When Doby made his debut, being selected by Cleveland owner Bill Veeck, he was subjected to hostile attitudes and poor treatment. Doby recalls signing his contract, entering the locker room and his new teammates refusing to shake his hand. In retrospect, Doby attributes this refusal of his White teammates to ignorance, fear of losing their job, or having never dealt with Black people. Despite these conclusions, Doby hesitated to reveal all his feelings regarding his interactions, explaining that he "didn't want to delve into the unpleasant things that stem from prejudice," and refusing to "get involved" as "prejudiced people are sick" (Doby, "Interview with Lawrence E. Doby"). Doby faced similar hostility from opposing fans, players, and managers who hurled racist slurs at him, and hotels or restaurants on the road refusing to serve him. Doby couldn't eat, use the bathroom, or sleep in the same hotel as his White teammates (Doby, "Larry Doby (1994)").

Many baseball fans believed that Doby would be accepted as one of their own on one condition: if he was a good addition to the team. Eight days following Doby's debut, the Cleveland Plain Dealer published collected thoughts from Cleveland locals. One contributed that "the acceptance of Larry Doby by his teammates, solely on his ability to play baseball, will serve as a fresh reminder that we are all Americans. It was 'a natural' for the improvement of race

relations.” Several others echoed the same sentiment around Doby’s ability to contribute to the success of the Cleveland Indians being the main proponent to Doby’s acceptance, and subsequent positive contribution to race relations (Gillespie).

Personal accounts from Doby and his White teammates demonstrate that Doby was not only judged by his skills, citing the racial prejudice hounding Doby from his debut and stalking him from ballpark to ballpark. However, his acceptance did come and strongly because of his exceptional ability. As a key contributor to the Cleveland Indians’ 1948 World Series victory, including hitting the first home run in a World Series game by a Black player, Doby garnered respect (“Larry Doby, Class of 1998”). The bar was set high for Doby, and he leapt over it, gathering both team and personal accolades. In 1998, Doby was inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame, where they cited his dual impact on the game — as a player and a pioneer. Playing thirteen Major League seasons, seven All-Star games, including the inaugural integrated Midsummer Classic, leading the American League in home runs twice, and finishing second in AL MVP voting in 1954, Doby retired with a substantial stats sheet (Muder). The Baseball Hall of Fame heralds his “unmatched courage and bravery” that propelled him over the hurdles in his path. Doby himself credits his own perseverance, reflecting that “part of being a pioneer in this situation, most pioneers have to suffer some things before people recognize what you’ve done or how you’ve done it” (Doby, “Interview with Lawrence E. Doby”).

“Veeck as in Wreck”

Bill Veeck was the owner of the Cleveland Indians during Doby’s tumultuous first season and subsequent 1948 World Series win. While Veeck’s decision to integrate the American League served as a landmark for Civil Rights, Veeck’s motives are uncertain. Despite *The Sporting News*

giving Veeck the nickname “Abe Lincoln of Baseball,” a weighty moniker with significant social implications, Veeck admitted in a 1977 interview that his intentions were never to be a “crusader,” and that he “just doesn’t care.” Offering up an analogy about the equality of money, and how “it’s all green,” Veeck downplays his desegregationist status (Veeck, “Interview with William Louis ‘Bill’ Veeck”). By claiming that he signed players simply for their skill and to make money, Veeck provides a whitewashed, simplistic narrative, failing to include the wholistic view of what integration entailed.

However, in his 1962 autobiography, *Veeck as in Wreck*, Veeck shares a very different perspective from his colorblind attitude, instead presenting how he felt compelled to break down color barriers, armed with moral intentions. He details his 1942 attempt to purchase the Philadelphia Phillies and “stock the team with Black players” (Corbett). Veeck claims that he’d wanted to integrate baseball first, before Branch Rickey ever signed Jackie Robinson, and with *many* players. While Veeck’s story was widely accepted and recognized, baseball historians have questioned the veracity of Veeck’s dedication to integration or whether he’s retroactively shaping his legacy (Gerlach et al.).

Despite the later exaggerations of racial aspirations, Veeck still remains responsible for shepherding Doby into the Major Leagues, a watershed moment for integration. This duality represents the crux of Bill Veeck, a complicated man who was extremely dedicated to putting on the best show possible: he was responsible for ballpark staples like fireworks nights, gameday giveaways, and “Take Me Out to the Ballgame” during the seventh inning stretch. Aware of the big crowds of Black fans coming to see Jackie Robinson, Veeck sought to bring a new demographic of fans to his show.

Doby credits Veeck's reputation of theatrics for making his integration possible. Branch Rickey was a "god, baseball-wise," allowing him to sign Jackie Robinson as "nobody would challenge him." Veeck was a "clown, a circus act," equally allowing him to enjoy extra freedom, including signing Doby (Doby, "Interview with Lawrence E. Doby"). Bill Veeck was under no requirement to integrate, and for that decision, he should be highlighted as a proponent of this necessary American process. However, Veeck's retroactive shaping of his perspective and embellishments demand a more nuanced evaluation of his legacy for the sake of Doby himself and the sacrifices of the Black baseball community.

"Queen of the Negro Leagues"

While the national narrative often starts with Doby integrating the American League, Doby's story starts well before, in the Negro Leagues. Before the Cleveland Indians with Veeck, it was the Newark Eagles with Effa Manley. Manley, a pioneer in her own right, was the first woman inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame, marking her lengthy life in professional baseball. Unlike her Hall of Fame counterparts, Manley's distinguished career took place exclusively in the Negro Leagues. Dubbed the "Queen of the Negro Leagues" in an article she pulled for her scrapbook, Manley and her husband, Abe, were the proud owners of the Newark Eagles, a "Negro National League powerhouse" that was Larry Doby's home prior to his debut in Cleveland ("Effa Manley's Scrapbook").

Being unable to play in the Major Leagues didn't stop Black athletes from playing professionally in competitive, thriving environments. They established their own teams and front offices known as the Negro Leagues. Despite substantive differences in funds, infrastructure, and

media attention, Doby testifies that there was no real difference in skill. When asked about “difference in caliber of play” between the Negro Leagues and Major Leagues, Doby replied that there was none (Doby, “Larry Doby (1994)”). One museum exhibit captures the cultural significance, explaining that “The Negro leagues once sat at the center of Black communities across America. Remnants of the surviving Negro league facilities are reminders of a time when fans, dressed in their Sunday best, filled stadiums to witness Black baseball” (*Triple Play*).

Newark was home to one of those bustling stadiums where Black talent played, overseen by the Manleys. Effa Manley wielded substantial power over both her team, overseeing baseball operations, and the entirety of the Negro Leagues. Doby boasted about Manley’s business abilities, contributing that she had the “gift of gab that you need, the personality, the diplomacy, the whole works” (Doby, “Interview with Lawrence E. Doby”). Rumors of her influence flew, with spectators believing that it extended onto the playing field itself, speculating that “Effa crossed and uncrossed her legs to signal a player when to steal or when to take a pitch” (“Effa Manley’s Scrapbook”). In a time when few women worked outside of the home, Effa Manley’s prominence remains remarkable. In her scrapbook donated to the National Baseball Hall of Fame, Manley named her “outstanding achievement in baseball” to be “Winning the Negro World Series in 1946” (“Effa Manley’s Scrapbook”). Above all, Manley prioritized winning games and successful teams just like Veeck and the countless other male and White owners whose names, legacy, and prized accomplishments haven’t disappeared from public memory.

Despite Manley’s great esteem in the Negro Leagues, White owners were quick to dismiss her and her business, an attitude that directly influenced its subsequent rapid dismantling. Branch Rickey referred to the Negro Leagues as “having the semblance of a racket” and Bill Veeck described them as “marginal” and that they “just scuffled” (Veeck, “Interview

with William Louis ‘Bill’ Veeck). This demeaning attitude towards the Negro Leagues allowed White owners to swoop in and sign their players without due diligence. While Veeck boasts about paying for Doby’s contract, Manley offers a counter perspective, mentioning the overwhelming societal pressure. Negotiating with Veeck for Doby, she responded to his offer of \$10,000, replying “Mr. Veeck, you know if Larry Doby were White and a free agent, you’d give him \$100,000 to sign with you merely as a bonus” (Essington). Yet, Manley accepted, knowing that she was in no position to refuse.

Manley understood the team she owned, the game she managed, and the community she invested in, both economically and socially. Handicapped by an inability to stand in the way of integration, Manley was conscious of her extreme personal and professional dilemma, sharing that “We couldn’t protest. The Negro fans never would have forgiven us for keeping a Negro out of the major leagues” (“Effa Manley’s Scrapbook”). A Black man breaking into the Major Leagues would be monumental for the Black community, but Manley would be sacrificing her greatest players, and her life’s work. Integration became the “overwhelming Black priority,” forcing Manley to make these agonizing sacrifices repeatedly until the Negro Leagues disbanded several years later (“Effa Manley’s Scrapbook”). The Black community flocked to see themselves cross a brand-new frontier. A Black sportswriter in Cleveland wrote, “I recall how it affected my wife. The first time he played with the Indians she had her ears glued to the radio when I came into the house. ‘We’re going to see Larry Doby play when they come home,’ she said. ‘I thought you didn’t like baseball.’ ‘I do now,’ she replied” (Gillespie). As Doby found success in the Major Leagues, the Negro Leagues took the opposite path, economically floundering and losing their foothold within the Black community.

Larry Doby, in retrospect, blames himself for the devastation to the Leagues he once inhabited, sharing “I know the thing that destroyed [the Negro Leagues] was the moment we got involved, Jackie and I, the major leagues were getting the best players and minor leagues were open to Black players, it destroyed the Negro Leagues” (Doby, “Interview with Lawrence E. Doby”). From the “center of Black communities” to merely a steppingstone to more advantageous and fruitful career opportunities, the Negro Leagues’ grasp on their audiences loosened and fell away (*Triple Play*). Effa Manley voiced her own personal displeasure at the too often erasure of the Negro Leagues, explaining “It makes me ill to realize the present generation doesn’t know Negro baseball ever existed. It was a very worthwhile, outstanding chapter in Negro history. All those great Negro ballplayers would have had no place to show their talents. And they were drawing big crowds, and making lots of people happy” (“Effa Manley’s Scrapbook”).

Final Score

Larry Doby paved the way for future generations of Black baseball players to make their own marks on America’s pastime. However, it’s also undeniable that the effects of integration, with Black players leaving the established Negro Leagues to assimilate into the Major Leagues led to the inevitable demise of that treasured Black institution. The Negro Leagues couldn’t coexist with an integrated MLB as their best players were poached and their audiences were lured away. While Bill Veeck got credit for smoothing the process of integration, Manley saw the dissolution of her life’s work, as a relegated bystander. With the dissolution of Black baseball, opportunities for minorities in management were effectively eliminated. To this day, people of color, and women like Effa Manley, in positions of power is exceedingly rare. For successful

integration, Black people must continue to sacrifice and face additional unintended consequences, a pattern seen across industries throughout the country (“What Black Children Lost”). Black players sacrificed their authentic playstyles and behavior. The concept of Black baseball, as an industry and as a community, faded into obscurity.

Through the assimilation of Black players into the White league, the potential for Black players to be authentically represented on the other side of this frontier was lost, with lasting ramifications enduring into the 21st century. Today the best player in the sport is arguably Shohei Ohtani. A “unicorn” thanks to his dual prowess as a Cy Young level pitcher and a Silver Slugger batter, Ohtani is the most incredible baseball story. Yet, him being the “face of the League” is fiercely debated, simply because of his Japanese nationality. Foreign players are pressured to fulfill expectations of “grateful immigrants,” simply “lucky” enough to play baseball in America with no room for mistakes or protests. They must maintain this attitude even if they are underpaid or undervalued, much like Doby as he was poached from Manley by Veeck. Additionally, Latino Players are often subjected to thinly veiled judgements of their culture, regarding the “boldness” of their jewelry and clothing. Despite a significant portion of contemporary Major League Baseball being comprised of players of color, their performance, language proficiency, and expressions of their culture are heavily dissected and critiqued by the standards of a perennial White league.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources:

"Cleveland Indians vs. Chicago White Sox July 5th, 1947 Box Score." *Baseball Almanac*,
www.baseball-almanac.com/box-scores/boxscore.php?boxid=194707050CHA.

I used this source to corroborate Doby's first Major League at-bat and provide the necessary context for the groundbreaking debut game on July 5th, 1947.

Cobbledick, Gordon. "Plain Dealing." *Cleveland Plain Dealer* [Cleveland], 6 July 1947.

Genealogy Bank,

<https://www.genealogybank.com/nbshare/AC01220824163632151851678751620>.

Using Genealogy Bank as a database, I searched for newspaper articles from the Cleveland Plain Dealer, the local newspaper of Cleveland, around the time Doby made his debut to gauge the community's published reactions and feelings towards both Doby and integration. Gordon Cobbledick was the Plain Dealer Sports Editor, and his opinion as a prominent local White Sportswriter is valuable to the characterization of the community reaction.

Doby, Larry. "Larry Doby (1994)." Interview by Tom Harris. *Society for American Baseball Research*, sabr.org/interview/larry-doby-1994/.

In order to properly characterize Doby's experience and evaluate the impact of the prejudice and racism thrown at him, I turned to the SABR archives for an interview with Doby himself. I used this interview to depict Larry Doby's personal experiences prior to, during, and following his debut in the Major Leagues. From this interview, I pulled Doby's descriptions of Bill Veeck, the

Major Leagues, the Negro Leagues, and particularly Doby's quote on the lack of difference between the White and Black leagues.

Doby, Lawrence E. "Interview with Lawrence E. Doby, November 15, 1979." Interview by William J. Marshall. *Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History*, U of Kentucky Libraries, kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt7q5717nx51.

From the Kentucky Oral History collection, I found this interview with Larry Doby from 1979 looking back at his time with both Newark and Cleveland, along with commenting on the integration process and his relationships with Bill Veeck and Effa Manley. I used this oral history with several of Doby's quotes as a significant part of my characterization of Doby, and to support my depiction of his integration process. I also used Doby's recollections of Veeck and Manley in order to put them both in terms of Doby and his story.

Doyle, James E. "The Sport Trail." *Cleveland Plain Dealer* [Cleveland], 8 July 1947. *Genealogy Bank*, www.genealogybank.com/nbshare/AC01220824163632151851678739829.

This article, published in the Cleveland Plain Dealer on July 8th, days following Larry Doby's Cleveland debut showcases a personal opinion of "the Man in the Street" and supports my depiction of many in the general public believing Doby would be accepted as long as he was a good baseball player.

"Effa Manley's Scrapbook." National Baseball Hall of Fame.

I acquired this from a Library Director, Cassidy Lent, at the National Baseball Hall of Fame. This PDF is a scanned copy of Effa Manley's scrapbook which she donated to the Hall. Included within the scrapbook are clippings from magazine

and newspaper articles about Manley, personal notes and correspondence and interview transcripts that Manley herself had pulled and kept.

Gillespie, Roy L. "Community Relations." *Cleveland Plain Dealer* [Cleveland], 13 July 1947, p.

29. *Genealogy Bank*,

<https://www.genealogybank.com/nbshare/AC01220824163632151851678751740>.

Also from the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, I pulled this article written by Roy L. Gillespie, a Black writer in Cleveland, to share both his perspective, as a Black Sportswriter within the Cleveland community and his collected findings. Specifically, I used both the testimonials by locals whose direct opinions about Doby provide valuable insight about local Cleveland Indians fans, but also the anecdote regarding Gillespie and his wife's newfound interest in the Indians now that Doby has made his debut.

"Pulling for Larry Doby." *Cleveland Plain Dealer* [Cleveland], 4 July 1947. *Genealogy Bank*, www.genealogybank.com/nbshare/AC01220824163632151851678740153.

This article, published the day before Larry Doby's Cleveland debut, provides an overview of the characters involved in this baseball transaction along with the historical significance, and a quote from the Cleveland manager, Lou Boudreau, emphasizing Doby's ability and character over his race. The piece also adds how Black athletes have previously succeeded, how Veeck deserves praise, and how fans will be "pulling for Larry Doby."

Sauerbrei, Harold. "Larry Can Make Big Hit With Bat." *Cleveland Plain Dealer* [Cleveland], 4 July 1947. *Genealogy Bank*,

www.genealogybank.com/nbshare/AC01220824163632151851678740424.

An article published in the Cleveland Plain Dealer the day before Doby's debut, this piece gives the local Cleveland fans some biographical information about Larry Doby and optimistically speculates on Doby's addition to the Cleveland Indians. Additionally, the piece interviews community members and comments on race relations, along with contributing photographs of Doby playing baseball with neighborhood kids and at home with his wife.

Veeck, William Louis. "Interview with William Louis 'Bill' Veeck, February 23, 1977."

Interview by William J. Marshall. *Kentucky Oral History*, U of Kentucky Libraries, kentuckyoralhistory.org/ark:/16417/xt74b853h07j.

This interview with Bill Veeck, the owner of the Cleveland Indians during Doby's debut, served as a significant component to my characterization of Veeck's attitudes toward Doby, integration, Manley, and just race in general. I used several quotes from this Veeck interview, including him not seeing himself as a "crusader" and how "all money is green."

Secondary Sources:

"Baseball History, American History and You." *National Baseball Hall of Fame*,

[baseballhall.org/baseball-history-american-history-and-](http://baseballhall.org/baseball-history-american-history-and-you#:~:text=From%20the%20Civil%20War%20to,pride%20and%20even%20heals%20cities)

[you#:~:text=From%20the%20Civil%20War%20to,pride%20and%20even%20heals%20cities](http://baseballhall.org/baseball-history-american-history-and-you#:~:text=From%20the%20Civil%20War%20to,pride%20and%20even%20heals%20cities).

Again, pulling from the National Baseball Hall of Fame, I pulled this article for a more general context of the significance of baseball on American culture.

Specifically, from this piece, I pulled Dr. Gerald Early's quote about baseball, the

Constitution, and jazz that supported my analysis on how intertwined baseball is with America.

Brewster, Mike. "Bill Veeck: A Baseball Mastermind." *Bloomberg*,

www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2004-10-26/bill-veeck-a-baseball-mastermind.

Linked from another article regarding Bill Veeck's various tactics to increase attendance at his ballpark, I used this article about Veeck for a specific quote about how Veeck's talent as an executive to get fans to come to the games of the teams he owned.

Coffey, Alex. "Bill Veeck Holds 'Grandstand Managers Night.'" *National Baseball Hall of Fame*,

baseballhall.org/discover-more/stories/inside-pitch/grandstand-managers-night.

This piece from the National Baseball Hall of Fame speaks directly to Bill Veeck's commitment to showmanship, and the extent to which he'd go to put on the best show. I used the example of "Grandstand Night" to support my characterization of Veeck throughout the second section.

Corbett, Warren. "Bill Veeck." *Society for American Baseball Research*,

sabr.org/bioproj/person/bill-veeck/.

Another article housed on SABR's website, this is an additional biographical piece on Bill Veeck regarding his various exploits and his overall persona. I used this article to support my claims about Veeck's dedication to putting fans in the stands, the controversy regarding the 1942 attempted sale of the Philadelphia Phillies, and my overall characterization of the Cleveland Indians manager.

Dickson, Paul. "Bill Veeck: The Maverick Who Changed Baseball." *American Heritage*, vol. 62, no. 1, summer 2017, www.americanheritage.com/bill-veeck-maverick-who-changed-baseball.

An article from *American Heritage*, a publication that writes on history, travel, and American culture, this piece on Bill Veeck and his classification as a "maverick," served as both a resource for Veeck's various extravagant promotions and also his extravagant character. This article details Veeck's long career and impacts on the game, supporting my claim about how built up Veeck's reputation and legacy has become.

"Effa Manley, Class of 2006." *National Baseball Hall of Fame*, baseballhall.org/hall-of-famers/manley-effa.

Another descriptive piece posted by the National Baseball Hall of Fame in association with the plaques within the Hall, I used this piece to support my characterization of and claims made about Effa Manley and her relentless dedication to baseball and pioneering actions taken within the sport. This piece also comes from the perspective of the league itself, a league that took players from Effa Manley, devastated her business and one that she never got the chance to work with, despite desires to, which adds an interesting layer to my research and analysis.

Epplin, Luke. *Our Team: The Epic Story of Four Men and the World Series That Changed Baseball*. Flatiron Books, 2022.

This book chronicles the stories of Larry Doby, Bill Veeck, Bob Feller, and Satchel Paige, and provided valuable context and insight into both Larry Doby's

and the Cleveland Indians' Management's paths to integration, and then the tremendous 1948 World Series win. I also used Eppin's references and bibliography to find more sources, specifically personal accounts and newspaper clippings.

Essington, Amy. "Effa Manley." *Society for American Baseball Research*, sabr.org/bioproj/person/effa-manley/.

Yet another piece from SABR's rich collection of articles, this biography of Effa Manley provided valuable context to Manley's personal and professional life. I used this piece to corroborate Manley's support of civil rights, success in the 1946 Negro League championship, and dealings with Bill Veeck regarding Larry Doby's contract. Also, this piece includes depiction of Manley's dedication to preserving the history of the Negro Leagues. Specifically, I used this piece for Manley's quote about Doby being valued much higher than how much Veeck offered, and how she had no standing for further bargaining.

Gerlach, Larry, et al. "A Baseball Myth Exploded: Bill Veeck and the 1943 Sale of the Phillies." *Society for American Baseball Research*, sabr.org/research/article/a-baseball-myth-exploded-bill-veeck-and-the-1943-sale-of-the-phillies/.

Linked in a previous SABR article, I stumbled on this piece attempting to debunk Bill Veeck's claims of an attempted purchase of the 1942 Philadelphia Phillies. While the original article made no definitive conclusion about the validity of Bill Veeck's claims, this article aimed to do just that, making the accusation that Veeck was merely exaggerating. Originally, I had believed Veeck's statements, but through this and several other evaluations of "the veracity of Veeck," I began to

add layers to my characterization of Veeck, and analysis of how the national narrative has been shaped by questionable claims.

Goldman, Doron. "1933-1962: The Business Meetings of Negro League Baseball." *Society for American Baseball Research*, sabr.org/journal/article/1933-1962-the-business-meetings-of-negro-league-baseball/.

This article from the SABR archives details a chronological look at the behind-the-scenes executive meetings between Negro Leagues owners, providing valuable context to how integration within the Major Leagues affected the Negro Leagues directly. This piece also gives good insight into Effa Manley's influence and participation within the upper echelon of Negro League management, along with displaying how the executives' true feelings weren't reflected by their public statements.

Kivette, Andrew. "Doby Made History with Indians." *National Baseball Hall of Fame*, baseballhall.org/discover/inside-pitch/doby-made-history-with-indians#page.

I used this article, published by the National Hall of Fame themselves, for the necessary context to Doby's significance within the baseball community, as seen by the baseball community itself.

"Larry Doby, Class of 1998." *National Baseball Hall of Fame*, baseballhall.org/hall-of-famers/doby-larry.

This biographical piece of Larry Doby, an inductee from the Class of 1998 comes directly from the National Baseball Hall of Fame's digital collection of its plaques and inductees. I used this piece to support Larry Doby's legacy as presented by the Hall of Fame, and how he has a dual legacy as a player and a pioneer.

Muder, Craig. "Doby's Pioneering Path Earned Hall of Fame Plaque." *National Baseball Hall of Fame Plaque*, baseballhall.org/discover/inside-pitch/dobys-pioneering-path-earned-hall-of-fame-plaque.

Used in conjunction with the various other National Baseball Hall of Fame articles, this piece written by the director of communications for the National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum, provided supportive details to Doby's illustrious career and speaks to the perseverance required of Doby.

Triple Play. 18 Oct 2022.-Present, Money Museum and Learning Center of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, Cleveland.

While visiting Cleveland, I went to an exhibit about the Negro Leagues at the Money Museum at the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland. The exhibit examined the prominence of the Negro Leagues within the Black community with photographs, testimonials, and information about the Leagues themselves. Specifically, I used a quote about how central the Negro Leagues were to the Black community that was prominently posted on the main wall of the exhibit.

"Veeck, William (Bill) L." *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, Case Western Reserve University, case.edu/ech/articles/v/veeck-william-bill-l.

In order to better contextualize Bill Veeck and his role as the owner of the Cleveland Indians from 1946-1949, I turned to this general biography of Veeck. This article adds details speaking to Bill Veeck's nature of a showman and also contributes to the story regarding Veeck's alleged attempted purchase of the Philadelphia Phillies in 1943.

"What Black Children Lost." *Teachers College*, Columbia University, 25 Aug. 2016,
www.tc.columbia.edu/articles/2016/september/what-black-children-lost/.

This article published on the Teachers College of Columbia University's website served to corroborate my claim about the pattern of integration having a breadth of unintended consequences for the Black people who must assimilate for truly successful integration. This source, and the example of integrating schools, also shows how baseball served as an example of a greater American process, and how it exists as one of many industries or spaces undergoing this process and pattern of integration.