

# **SABR Frederick Ivor-Campbell 19th Century Base Ball Conference**

**“THE FRED”  
April 22-24, 2021**



**Digital Attendee Packet**

**Hosted by Nineteenth Century Committee  
Society for American Baseball Research (SABR)**



## Welcome Message

Dear Attendees,

I wish to convey my appreciation and thanks to all of you, attendees and presenters alike, for your extraordinary patience and understanding over the past year.

This year's Ivor-Campbell Conference is a virtual event, due to the necessary health restrictions driven by the COVID-19 virus, which was declared a pandemic by the World Health Organization in early March 2020, just five weeks ahead of our planned "Fred" at the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, New York.

We asked for your patience and help as we began making plans to move the 2020 "Fred" into 2021. To the person, all presenters and attendees allowed us to transfer their commitment to present and/or their registration and fees to this year's virtual event. By last fall, we became disappointingly aware that our April 2021 event was still unlikely to be held in-person in Cooperstown. After discussions with SABR CEO Scott Bush, we were encouraged and given the resources to resume the 12th annual "Fred" as a virtual event. This plan included an optional 100% refund of registration fees for anyone not inclined to attend a virtual event, and a refund of all fees already paid for 2020, reduced by only a nominal amount to be applied as a special "virtual Fred" registration fee. Many of you were additionally generous, by donating (in full or in part) your refund amount to SABR's general fund. Thank you, again, for your support in these extraordinary and difficult circumstances.

In planning for this virtual "Fred," I would have been at a loss if not for the initiative and dogged attention to details from Bob Bailey, our committee's Vice Chair. By launching his idea of an online 19th Century Baseball Speaker Series, which involved past "Fred" research presentations delivered monthly via Zoom, it was that program which gave us the experience and confidence to go ahead and plan for this April's event.

Although we were at first encouraged to make this April's virtual event a four-day affair (Thursday through Sunday), we realized that by deferring two research presentations and tightening up some of the longer breaks, we could compress this virtual event into one short evening (Thursday) and two compact days (Friday and Saturday).

Whether you are a veteran of the "Fred" or a first-time attendee, we hope you will enjoy this event — one year later than planned and online instead of in-person, but still, I hope, an interesting, fun, and informative event. Several presenter handouts are included at the end of this Digital Attendee Packet. And please mark your calendars for the 13th annual "Fred" on April 29-30, 2022, when we'll return to the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown!

— **Peter Mancuso**

Chair, SABR Nineteenth Century Research Committee



## Conference Schedule

*Zoom webinar details will be sent by email to all registered attendees.*

*All times are listed in the Eastern Time Zone.*

### Thursday, April 22

- **7:45 – 8:00 p.m.:** Login
- **8:00 – 8:10 p.m.:** Welcome Remarks, Peter Mancuso and Bob Bailey
- **8:10 – 8:40 p.m.:** RP1—Tom Gilbert, “Baseball’s Man in Philadelphia, Col. Tom Fitzgerald”
- **8:40 – 9:10 p.m.:** RP2—Dennis Thiessen, “Sunday as the Day of Rest, Riot and Revolt”
- **9:10 – 9:20 p.m.:** Break
- **9:20 – 9:50 p.m.:** RP3—Craig Brown, “Elegant and Oddball: 19th Century Team Photos”
- **9:50 – 10:00 p.m.:** Closing Remarks

### Friday, April 23

- **11:45 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.:** Login
- **12:00 - 12:10 p.m.:** Welcome Remarks, Peter Mancuso and Bob Bailey
- **12:10 – 12:40 p.m.:** RP4—Edward Scahill, “Hugh Jennings, John McGraw and Allegany College (Class of 1894)”
- **12:40 – 1:20 p.m.:** Keynote Address, John Thorn, “How We Got Here”
- **1:20 – 1:40 p.m.:** Break
- **1:40 – 2:10 p.m.:** RP5—Marty Payne, “What’s in A Name (Individuals’ and Teams’)”
- **2:10 – 2:40 p.m.:** RP6—Bill Humber, “Baseball’s Roots Revisited: Lessons from Hockey and Football’s Modern Creation”
- **2:40 – 3:10 p.m.:** Lunch Break
- **3:10 – 4:10 p.m.:** Panel Discussion: “How Did William. Hulbert’s Early Death Impact the Development of MLB to 1900,” Moderator, Bill Ryczek; Panelists: Jack Bales, Bill Lamb and Richard Hershberger
- **4:10 – 4:20 p.m.:** Break
- **4:20 – 4:50 p.m.:** RP7—Matthew Leib, “Wringing Truth from Tragedy in the Life of Jim Devlin, ‘Terror of the West’”
- **4:50 – 5:20 p.m.:** RP8—Jon Popovich, “G.L. Werth: The Growth of Reconstruction Base Ball in Montgomery, AL, 1865-1875”
- **5:20 – 5:30 p.m.:** Closing Remarks



## Saturday, April 24

- **11:45 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.:** Login
- **12:00 – 12:10 p.m.:** Welcome Remarks, Peter Mancuso and Bob Bailey
- **12:10 – 12:40 p.m.:** RP9—Jack Bales, “He Will Do Just What is Best, No Doubt: William Hulbert’s Dismantling of the Chicago Base Ball Association”
- **12:40 – 1:25 p.m.:** Special Presentation: Jim Gates, Librarian Emeritus, National Baseball Hall of Fame & Museum, “The Penny Marshall Sheet Music Collection: New 19th Century Resources”
- **1:25 – 1:35 p.m.:** Break
- **1:35 – 2:05 p.m.:** RP10—Lauren Tuiskula, “Frank Bancroft and the Blackstone Valley’s 19th Century Base Ball Legacy”
- **2:05 – 2:35 p.m.:** RP11—Larry Phillips, “The Beginnings of Baseball in Cincinnati”
- **2:35 – 3:00 p.m.:** Lunch Break
- **3:00 – 3:45 p.m.:** Member Spotlight Interview: Bob Bailey Interviews Tom Gilbert
- **3:45 – 4:15 p.m.:** RP12—Chris Jones, “Wolverines vs. Wildcat Stand: A Battle Over Barn Top Bleachers”
- **4:15 – 4:25 p.m.:** Break
- **4:25 – 4:55 p.m.:** RP13—Justin McKinney, “Season on the Brink: The Finances of the Union Association”
- **4:55 – 5:00 p.m.:** Closing Remarks



**SUNDAY AS THE DAY  
OF REST, RIOT, AND REVOLT**

**NOTES ON PRESENTATION**

**DENNIS THIESSEN**

**2021 Frederick Ivor-Campbell 19<sup>th</sup> Century Base Ball Conference (Virtual)  
Thursday, April 22, 2021 via SABR Zoom Meeting**

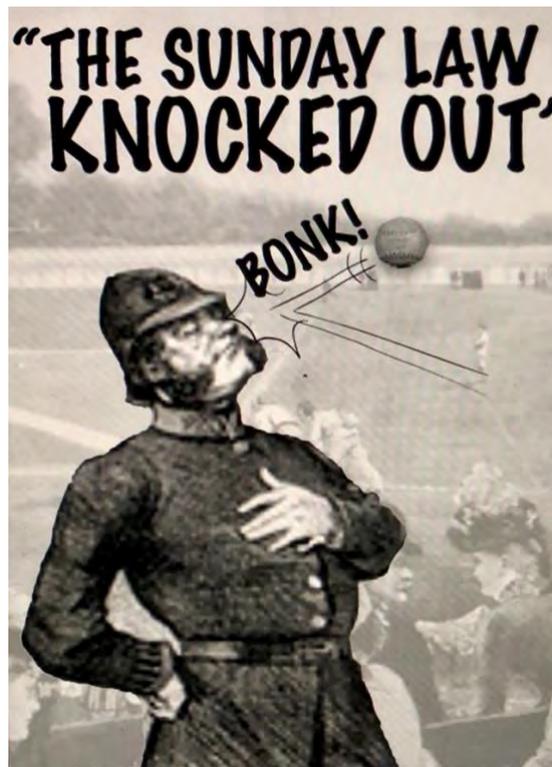
## NOTES ON SUNDAY BASEBALL PRESENTATION

**Introduction:** The focus of this presentation is on Sunday baseball in the American Association (AA). I describe games on three Sundays during the 1887 season—which I dub the “Day of Rest,” the “Day of Riot,” and the “Day of Revolt”—to illustrate some of the challenges AA teams faced in their ongoing efforts to play baseball on Sundays. Though the AA will be forever remembered as the first major league to play baseball on Sundays, its struggles to do so were also part of the reasons for its eventual demise in 1891.

Some of the following notes duplicate slides from the PowerPoint I used in my presentation. Other notes provide additional information on a statement I make about Sunday baseball. In a few cases, the notes address points that are relevant to this topic but were not part of the presentation.

### SUNDAY AS THE “DAY OF REST”

**“Day of Rest:”** On Sunday, July 10, 1887 the St. Louis police stopped the game after one inning of play. Chris Von der Ahe, the owner of the St. Louis Browns, was arrested for violating the Sunday laws. The 7000 fans and the players were given a “day of rest.” Von der Ahe was acquitted five days later.



**Decision by Judge Noonan:** The following excerpt is from the decision rendered by Judge Edward A. Noonan in *State v. Chris Von der Ahe*, Missouri, 1887. The full text of the decision appeared on the front page of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* on Friday, July 15, 1887. The three-column article entitled, “Sunday Base Ball,” had the following three sub-heading: “Judge Noonan Opens the Parks for the Game,” “Another Defeat for the Police Board,” and “Blue Laws of 1835 Applicable to the National Game.” In his opening remarks on the evidence for the defendant (Chris Von der Ahe), Noonan observed “that the game of base ball has been known and played in many parts of the country as recreation and entertainment many years; that it has never been regarded as labor or work, as that word is commonly understood.” After citing various sections of statutes pertaining to those activities disallowed on Sundays, Noonan declared:

In none of these sections do we find recreation or entertainment, such as the evidence shows the game base ball as conducted by the defendant in this case, prohibited...[Sunday laws] have not prohibited either expressly or by construction base ball carried on decently, orderly and quietly on Sunday.

...and while evidence showed that money was taken and money paid to players, it in my mind is not within the meaning of this statute any more than would be the paying of any piano player or singer that might come into the home of a citizen on Sunday to contribute to his entertainment...

I therefore find the defendant, under the laws and the evidence, not guilty and discharge him.

**Top Four American Association Teams in the Number of Sunday Games Played:** In slide 6 of the PowerPoint presentation, I include the following table listing the Sunday game records, at home and away, of the St. Louis Browns, the Louisville Colonels, the Cincinnati Reds, and the Brooklyn Grays:

Teams (games)	Seasons	Home W-L	Home W-L%	Away W-L	Away W-L-%	Home +Away W-L %
St. Louis (191)	10: 82-91	97-32	.752	32-30	.516	.675
Louisville (197)	10: 82-91	79-43	.648	39-36	.520	.599
Cincinnati (109)	6: 84-89 (8yr-AA)	45-27	.625	20-17	.541	.596
Brooklyn (96)	4: 85-89 (6yr-AA)	36-28	.563	18-14	.563	.563

NOTE: In the first column, the figure in parentheses is the total number of home and away games played on Sunday by the team (e.g., St. Louis played a total of 191 Sunday games, 129 games at home and 62 games away). In the second column, the first number is the number of years that the team played Sunday games at home as well as the years in which these games occurred. In parentheses, in the line below, it shows the number of years the team played in the AA. For example, while Cincinnati was in the AA for 8 years, it played Sunday games in only 6 of those 8 years.

**10 (about 40%) of the 26 teams that played in the American Association between 1882 and 1891 never played Sunday games at home.**

## SUNDAY AS THE “DAY OF RIOT”

**“Day of Riot:”** On Sunday, September 4, 1887, the St. Louis Browns travelled to Monitor Park in Weehawken, New Jersey, for a game against the New York Metropolitans. The two teams were replaying a game that ended in a 2–2 draw on July 22. Over 6000 fans, many of whom were gang members, gamblers, and thieves, arrived at the park that could only accommodate 2000 cranks. The playing conditions were deplorable. The grounds were in poor condition and unprepared. There were not enough staff to sell tickets or direct fans to their seats or standing areas and not enough police to ensure a safe and orderly contest. When the two teams and the umpire refused to play the game, the fans stormed the field. Though the game went ahead, play was regularly interrupted when fans crowded on to the field, balls were lost, or fights broke out along the sidelines. The game was called after six innings and was eventually declared an exhibition game.



**Weehawken Game:** The following description of the game at Monitor Park in Weehawken, New Jersey, comes from my book, Dennis Thiessen, *Tip O’Neill and the St. Louis Browns of 1887*:

Monitor Park had the capacity to house about 2,000 fans, around 500 in the grandstand and another 1500 standing around the outside of the field. The organizers were totally unprepared for the over 6,000 fans who turned out for the game. Furthermore, the grounds had not been satisfactorily groomed and marked for a major league game. There had also not been sufficient arrangements made for managing ticket sales or helping spectators to their seats or standing room areas. And, as stipulated in the “National Playing Rules,” the New York club had failed to “furnish sufficient police force upon its own grounds to preserve order.” Under such appalling conditions, the game was destined to face challenges, the biggest of which were the size and nature of the crowd.

In their reports of the game, many of the newspapers’ headlines succinctly captured the problems presented by the majority of the fans at the game:

*New York Star*: “Batters and Toughs. The St. Louis-Metropolitan Game Stopped by a Mob”

*New York World*: “Roughs at a Ball Game. An Unruly Mob Have Fun on the Weehawken Grounds”

*The Sporting News*: “A Riot in New York. The St. Louis Browns Tendered a Very Warm Reception at Weehawken”

*St. Louis Chronicle*: “The Browns Mobbed. Weehawken Roughs Throw Rocks at the Champions”

*St. Louis Republican*: “Won at Weehawken. The Browns Beat the Mets Among Untamed Jersey Natives”

Most of those in attendance were men and boys, some from “New York’s toughest gangs,” some con men and petty thieves, a significant number of whom “must have come from the alleys and byways of the worst quarters of the city, and who had ruffianly instincts developed to the highest degree.” These hooligans were as or more likely to turn on each other, though they also were ready to threaten the players should a reason arise, which it did.

Troubles began even before the game, first in the ferry on the way to Weehawken and then in the rush to find a seat or a place to stand once the fans entered Monitor Park. On the ferry, Captain Swipes, one of the gang leaders, insisted that a young man give him the cigarette he was smoking. When the young man refused to part with his cigarette, Swipes, aided by twelve of his compatriots—two who went by the names of “Mickey the Fish” and “Giblets”—pounded the victim until they were “satisfied they had given the young man enough.” As the fans arrived, they soon realized that the grandstand was full and the only option left was to scurry about to find a place to stand. Some boys climbed nearby trees while others made their way to the roof of the grandstand, which caused the roof to creak and sway, prompting those below to worry about buckling. The seated cranks screamed at those on the roof: “Get off! Get off! Get off the roof!” The persons overhead responded: “Let her go! Let her go! We’re on top!” With no seats available and no room on the grandstand roof, the remaining fans swarmed the field, jostling for spots where they could see the players. As the park rapidly filled, the fans who gathered near the foul lines started to encroach on to the field to the point that the umpire could not clearly see first or third base. In the outfield, the throngs grew so large that they pushed the outfielders close to the infield such that once the game began, the left fielder and center fielder “were about four feet back of the bases and occasionally played second base, shortstop, and third base, as well as covering their own territory.” The game could not proceed until the crowd was no longer on the playing field. After appeals to the fans to move back failed, players armed with bats “shoved the fans outside the diamond lines.”

Although Bob Ferguson, the umpire, was reluctant to proceed with the game under such adverse conditions, he nonetheless, agreed to call, “Play,” with the ground rule that any ball hit into the crowd would be a single. However, it soon became apparent that there was no way to keep the crowd off the field. At the request of both captains, Ferguson ended play after one inning and called the game a draw. The crowd erupted, shouting, “Play ball!” with some fans rushing to the ticket office to demand their money back and others surrounding the Browns as they tried to board their carriages to leave to park. Wanting the teams to resume play, the infuriated youths overturned Von der Ahe’s carriage. With the players’ carriages, they “began unhitching the horses and threatened to throw the vehicle over the cliff.” Fearing a riot, the teams decided to play the game. Two deputies mounted two of the unhitched horses and trotted them into the crowds in an attempt to clear the diamond. “Play” was called once again, this time by Joe Battin, an International League player, who agreed to act as the umpire when Ferguson was nowhere to be found.

Much of the crowd welcomed the resumption of play. Other spectators were pleased with the extra time to play their own “games.” The *New York Times* described the shenanigans on the sidelines and in the stands:

During the game all sorts of devices that are used to lessen the bank accounts of the gullible public were brought into execution. The young man with the “sweat” board was there; the young man who tells you to put your money “below, above, or on seven” was on hand; the young man with three innocent-looking shells was in attendance, and, in fact, the ground appeared to be a Mecca for the unemployed “fakirs” of New-York and vicinity. Then there were the light-fingered gentlemen who rushed up against a person and made him keep his hands in his pockets, not that the weather warranted that act, but because if he didn’t he probably would not be able to tell the time of day or pay his fare across the ferry.

For some, the non-baseball “pitches, thefts, and hits” of these “games” were likely more exciting than the baseball game that presumably had drawn them to Weehawken in the first place.

The game itself was variously described as a “farce with a bat and ball,” “a very tiresome exhibition of the national sport,” “a series of comic, tragic and rowdy features,” and “a burlesque on base ball.” The game was called on account of darkness after six innings with the Browns in the lead by a score of 16–6. Those watching the baseball game—following the ground rule that awarded a batsman one base for any ball hit into the crowd in the outfield—witnessed 34 singles in the six innings. Under normal circumstances, some of these “singles” would have been easy fly outs while other balls that soared deep into the crowd would likely have gone for extra bases. Any ball hit into the crowd was not returned. On one occasion, four balls were lost to the crowd. The *New York Star* reported that

Tip “did the heaviest batting,” an observation that suggested that his three singles were among those that landed in the crowd well back of the diamond. In the end, the game did not count in the standings for the teams or in the individual statistics of the players. Unbeknown to the fans and the press, at the beginning of the game, the teams recognized that “the ground was in such wretched condition and the enormous crowd encroached upon the playing ground to such an extent that a satisfactory game was out of the question,” and consequently, “mutually agreed to play an exhibition game.”

As frustrating as it was to endure such aggravating conditions for naught, the Browns were more upset by their inability to escape Weehawken without incurring further injury. In the fourth inning, as Tip O’Neill swung at a pitch the bat slipped out of his hands, hitting Curt Welch, a fellow player, squarely on the nose while he was sitting on the bench waiting for his turn at bat. The force of the blow caused his nose to bleed profusely and, when he was taken to the clubhouse, the ensuing pain was so great that he blacked out. The preliminary assessment of the doctor was that Welch’s nose was not broken, but, based on the damage and trauma of the blow, it would likely take several weeks before he could play again. Although O’Neill was distraught by the sight of a teammate felled by a blow from his bat, others were critical of Tip’s bat-throwing habits:

So “Tip” O’Neill accidentally smashed Welch in the nose with a bat. I was not surprised to hear that piece of news. I have been expecting that Tip would kill someone before the season was over. It’s a common occurrence for him to throw a bat out toward the pitcher, up toward first base and back toward the Players’ bench. But the boys have always been lucky enough to get out the way of that flying sapling.

The Browns returned to New York, limping into their final game of the series down yet another core player.

**Sunday-Only Parks:** When it was not possible to use their Monday-to-Saturday home parks for a Sunday home game, some teams arranged to play the game in a park outside their city limits, sometimes in a nearby state. The three teams that played the most Sunday home games in these Sunday-Only parks were as follows:

<b>Teams</b>	<b>Years</b>	<b>Number of Sunday Home Games</b>	<b>Location of Park</b>
<b>Brooklyn</b>	1885–89	64	Newton, Queens County, NY-initially at Grauer’s Ridgewood Park, then at Wallace’s Ridgewood Park
<b>Philadelphia</b>	1888-90	30	Gloucester City, NJ-Gloucester Point Grounds
<b>Indianapolis</b>	1884	11	Broad Ripple, Indiana-Bruce Grounds

**More Teams, More Games, Fewer Fans (1888–90):** The following table provides a season-by-season list of the number of AA teams, the number of teams who played five or more Sunday home games, and the total number of Sunday games played. Between 1886 and 1891, 50+ % of the teams played five or more Sunday home games. In 1888 to 1890, the addition of Sunday-Only parks contributed to a significant increase in the number of games played on Sunday. However, it was a period of uncertainty and unrest: attendance never again reached the level of 1887 (e.g., unsuccessful attempt in 1888 to increase the basic ticket price from 25 cents to 50 cents drove many fans away); at the end of the 1889 season, Cincinnati and Brooklyn, two of the leading teams in Sunday games at home, moved to the National League; 1890 was a chaotic season- AA was in competition with two other major leagues, was weakened by the addition of four small-market teams (lasted only the one season), and faced increased pressure from the Sabbatarians against the AA requirement that all teams must play Sunday home games). In these

three years, more AA teams played more Sunday games but in front of fewer fans and consequently, did not yield the same revenue from Sunday games than it did in previous years.

Year	Teams	Teams- 5 or more Sunday Home Games	Sunday Games
1882	6	2	19
1883	8	3	33
1884	12	5	54
1885	8	3	41
1886	8	4	52
1887	8	4	53
1888	8	5	84
1889	8	7	84
1890	9	8	92
1891	9	5	53
<b>10 years</b>	<b>84 teams</b>	<b>46 teams</b>	<b>565 Games</b>

### SUNDAY AS THE “DAY OF REVOLT”

**“Day of Revolt:”** On Sunday, September 11, 1887, the St. Louis Browns were supposed to play the Cuban Giants at West Farms, New York. In a letter to Chris Von der Ahe, the Browns’ owner, eight of the Browns’ players declared that they would not play the Cuban Giants. The letter read as follows:

*To Chris Von der Ahe, Esq.:*

Dear Sir: We, the undersigned members of the St. Louis Baseball Club, do not agree to play against the negroes tomorrow. We will cheerfully play against white people at any time, and think, by refusing to play, we are only doing what is right, taking everything into consideration and the shape the team is in at present.

W.A. Latham, John Boyle, J.E. O’Neill, R.L. Caruthers, W.E. Gleason, W.H. Robinson, Charles King, Curt Welch

The game was cancelled. On Monday, September 12, the *New York Times* reported the story, including the letter, on the front page in an article entitled, “A Color Line is Drawn in Baseball.” In the following days, newspapers around the country condemned the players for their open defiance of Chris Von der Ahe.

The following excerpt from my book, *Tip O’Neill and the St. Louis Browns of 1887*, describes some of the reactions of the press to the Browns’ refusal the play the Cuban Giants:

Although drawing the color line was featured in the headline when the story first broke, there were many reporters who doubted that color had much to do with the players’ refusal to play the Cuban Giants. In one of the more considered and progressive comments on the color line, the *New York Evening Sun* questioned whether the eight signatories to the letter really objected to playing a colored club:

The color line has been drawn in and across and around pretty much everything else in the United States, and at length it has been drawn on the base ball field. The Cuban Giants is the name of a base ball nine composed of colored men, which started in New Jersey a year or two ago, and has

played in various towns near New York. The Cuban Giants have played with such clubs as the Detroits, Chicagos, Louisvilles, and Athletics, nor was any objection made to them on account of their color until the other day, when a game had been arranged between them and the St. Louis Browns. President Von der Ahe had prepared for the game, but his players informed him by letter that they did not agree to play against negroes.

Unfortunately for the consistency of the St. Louis players, it seems that they have played several times played against colored nines without making any objections. "I think some of the boys wanted a day to themselves," says Comiskey. That is a harmless want enough, but would it not have been more manly not to raise against the colored club an objection not really felt? It may be admitted that the emoluments and renown of a successful white base ball player may entitle him to his own estimation to look down upon his colored brother, yet base ball is a science in which no color line should be drawn save in the matter of uniforms. Indeed, if colored players of phenomenal skill should be found, Boston or Chicago or St. Louis would be glad to hire them. If a man is a good batter, fielder, or base runner the crowd does not care whether he is green or yellow, white or black. His ability to "get there," and not his hue, is considered. Perhaps in a few years some of the big cities may be represented in the League by a colored nine.

Most sportswriters accused the players of using the color line as a ruse to divert attention from the real reasons for refusing to play the Cuban Giants, namely to have a day away from exhibition games so they could pursue their own interests.

**Drawing a Workload Line on Playing Exhibition Games:** Von der Ahe was especially fond of arranging exhibition games. In 1887, the Browns played 175 games, the most in the major leagues. Thirty-seven of the 175 games were exhibition games (Exhibition games included those in pre-season, in-season, and post-season). Von der Ahe reported that he cleared over \$10000 from exhibition games.

In the week prior to the proposed Sunday game against the Cuban Giants on September 11, the Browns played New York in Weehawken on Sunday, September 4 (which was declared an exhibition game), six regular season games (Monday to Saturday), as well as a mid-week exhibition game in Danbury, Connecticut (train to Danbury in morning for a mid-morning exhibition game, then back to Brooklyn to play a regular championship game in the afternoon). For many reporters, the headline should have read: "A Workload Line is Drawn in Baseball."

**Issues that Players Had with Ownership:** Workload was only one of many issues that players—and the Brotherhood of Professional Baseball Players—were concerned about. Others included freedom of movement (e.g., reserve clause, trades and sales of players), salaries, and discipline (arbitrary use of fines and even suspensions). The Browns' players had locked horns with Von der Ahe on these issues before and throughout the 1887 season and would continue to do so in subsequent years.

## CONCLUDING COMMENTS

**Sunday Baseball in the American Association:** The AA struggled to implement Sunday baseball. For the most part, the engagement of AA teams in Sunday baseball—especially in home parks—was not widely or regularly practiced.

**Common Man:** To what extent did Sunday games make baseball more available to the "Common Man"? No doubt, it did for some, but probably not for as many as some claimed in the

1880s or others subsequently argued in the decades that followed when they claimed that one of the enduring contributions of the AA was to make baseball more accessible to the working man. For blue-collar workers, the availability of Sunday games was at best uneven. **The Common Man had:**

**>No Sunday games available to him in the 10 cities where teams did not play Sunday games in a home park or in a Sunday-Only park;**

**>Some difficulty attending games in the seven cities where teams played in Sunday-Only parks (e.g., travel to and from the park were too time-consuming and/or costly).**

Furthermore, in four of the seven teams with Sunday-Only parks, Sunday home games were not available to the Common Man in nine of the 10 AA seasons. Three of these teams folded after one year (Rochester, Syracuse, Toledo) while the other team (New York) played in a Sunday-Only park in only one of its five seasons in the Association.

**>More opportunities to attend Sunday games in the nine cities where teams played in their home park.** However, even with these clubs, it depended on when and/or how often Sunday games were scheduled (i.e., on average, Sunday home games were played 1-2 times a month in four of these cities and about once a month in the other five cities e.g., St. Louis, Louisville). In addition, five of these nine teams were in the AA for three years or less, so in these cities, Sunday home games were not available to the Common Man in seven-to-nine of the 10 AA seasons.

**25-Cent Ticket:** Even on those Sundays when there was a home game, it is possible that the Common Man could not afford 25 cents to go to the game. In an article entitled, “A Statistical Portrait of Baseball Spectators in Cincinnati, 1886–88,” published in the *Journal of Sport History*, Dean Sullivan examined attendance data for 229 games according to the day of the week and the number of tickets sold for each of three seating sections: the terrace (25 cents), the pavilion (40 cents), and the grandstand (50 cents). He discovered the highest attendance occurred on the 41 Sundays (average of 4075 fans per game). The average attendance on the other days of the week were: Monday (1905), Tuesday (1408), Wednesday ((1316), Thursday (1451), Friday (1274), and Saturday (1843).

In terms of where the fans sat, 43% of those who attended Sunday games sat in the terrace. A similar percentage of spectators were in the terrace on the other days of the week (ranged from 40.3% on Friday to 46.9% on Monday). Who were these 25-cent-men? Sullivan argues that since the 500 men who sat in the terrace during the week were not likely blue-collar workers, then the 1750 spectators in the terrace on Sunday were not likely exclusively blue-collar workers (Common Man). He also noted that, in 1885, a skilled worker with a family of five earned on average \$623 per year. 91% went to essentials, with only 2.1% or \$13 for recreation of all kinds (including alcohol)—which works out to about 25 cents per week. This Common Man was not likely to spend many of his quarters to go to ball games, especially if he also wanted to buy a beer and/or had to pay for travel to get to and from a Sunday-Only park. In Sullivan’s view, the majority of spectators in the terrace were probably white-collar workers (e.g., shopkeepers) who preferred not to spend more than a quarter on a baseball game or blue-collar workers who earned

more than the average wage noted above and thus would have the means to attend the occasional game.

**In sum, providing Sunday games, 25-cent tickets, and cheap beer may not have been enough to attract as many working men and fellow immigrants as the architects of the AA envisioned...but it was a start.**

**American Association and Sunday Baseball:** If an innovation fails the first time, it can reappear years later, at a time and place and under conditions when it can thrive... Thus the valiant attempt by the American Association deserves some credit for opening the door to Sunday baseball. **The St. Louis Browns was the “model” Sunday team**, showing the best that could happen on Sundays: playing “winning” baseball to large crowds both home and away. After the AA ended in 1891, Sunday baseball limped along in the 1890s, slowly gained a foothold in the first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and then, after 1934, eventually found its place in the hearts and viewing habits of cranks everywhere.

## SELECTED REFERENCES

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# Tip O'Neill

and the  
St. Louis  
Browns  
of 1887

**DENNIS  
THIESSEN**

*Foreword by*  
**MARK O'NEILL**





**Hugh Jennings, John McGraw  
and Allegany College (Class of 1894)**

**By Edward Scahill**

2021 SABR Frederick Ivor-Campbell  
19th Century Conference

12<sup>th</sup> Annual Virtual Frederick Ivor-Campbell 19<sup>th</sup> Century Base Ball Conference  
April 23, 2021

1

Hugh Jennings, John McGraw, Allegany College  
(Class of 1894)  
Edward Scahill  
Edward.Scahill@Scranton.edu

2



3



4

**John McGraw**

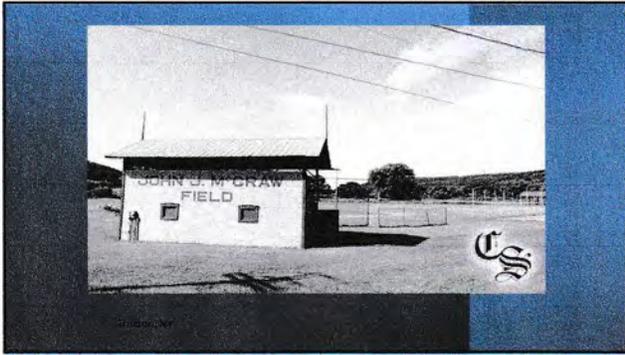
- Born April 7, 1873 – Truxton, NY
- Died February 25, 1934 – New Rochelle, NY



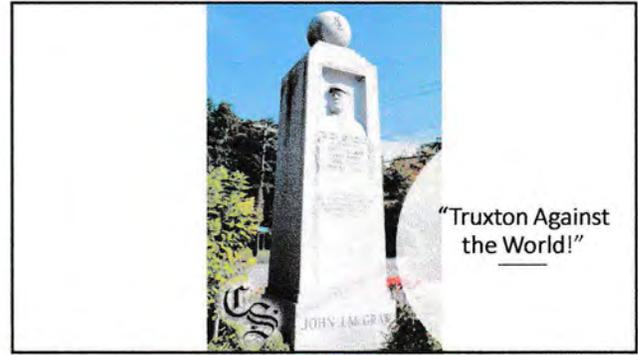
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7



8

**John McGraw**  
 John McGraw was one of the millions of youngsters...who not only fantasized about playing baseball professionally but practiced endlessly and played as often as they could in the hope that somehow, some kind of opportunity would come along. (Alexander, p. 15)

9

In the winter of 1884-85 a diphtheria epidemic would claim the lives of John Sr.'s wife Ellen and four of the McGraw children. As young John grew older, his father expected him to share the responsibility of raising his family, but his son had developed a passion for baseball his father could not abide. In the fall of 1885, after learning that his son had broken yet another of their neighbors' windows, John flew into a rage. Young John left home and found refuge with Mary Goddard, a widow who ran the Truxton House. (Alexander, pp. 9-13)

10

John helped run the Truxton House, but this left time for baseball. In 1889, he began playing ball for a local team managed by Bert Kenney. Around this time Kenney bought into a new franchise that would be located in Olean, New York as a member of the New-York Pennsylvania (NY-Penn) League. Upon hearing that Kenney was recruiting players, McGraw successfully lobbied for a contract for the 1890 season. (Alexander, pp. 13-15)

11



12

Although McGraw's tenure with Bert Kenney's Olean ball club in 1890 did not end well, McGraw had become friends with a young Franciscan faculty member from nearby Allegany College. The Reverend Joseph F. Dolan also served as the school's athletic director. One evening while having dinner together at the college, Dolan spoke to McGraw about the advantages of a college education for a young man who may, or may not, have a future in professional sports. Two years later McGraw thought that, rather than spend his off-season in Baltimore or Truxton, he would offer Father Dolan and the college a proposal:

13

### McGraw's Proposal

If the college would let him enroll... let him take some courses, waive his tuition, and provide him room and board, then he would be willing to coach the college baseball team after the first of the new year. With consent from the Reverend Joseph Butler, the college's president, Dolan shortly let McGraw know that he was welcome to come under the arrangement he'd proposed. (Alexander, p. 32)

14

By the fall of 1892 Allegany College was renamed Saint Bonaventure College. The school had two classroom buildings, one of which - Alumni Hall - McGraw, and later Jennings, would use for night practice. McGraw "I find wrestling with the books... much harder than I find wrestling with the umpire." (Alexander, p. 44)

Joseph Broderick, the manager the Bonaventure baseball team described McGraw as "...an earnest student, rating especially high in mathematics... John McGraw had no bad habits. So far as I know he never smoked in his life...his word was his bond, and we all respected him for it." (Broderick)

Alumni Hall was demolished in December 1961.

15

### Alumni Hall - Used for Indoor Practice



16



17

### Hugh Ambrose Jennings

- B - April 2, 1869 in Pittston, PA
- D - February 28, 1928 in Scranton, PA



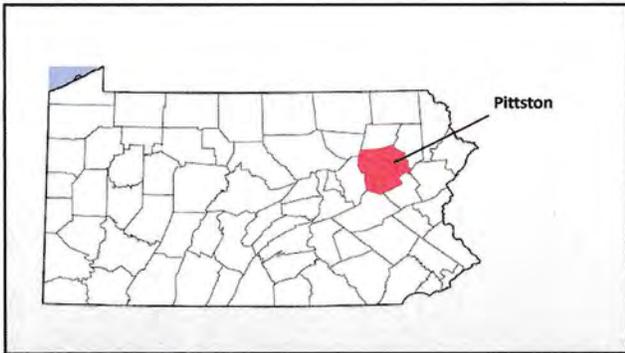
18



19



20



21

**Hugh Jennings**

I worked hard to make good, because I had a goal set and wanted to realize an ambition...I worked to attain a certain end. That end was to be free of the mines once and for all. (Smiles, page 19)

22

**Hugh Jennings Joins McGraw at St. Bonaventure**

Jennings: "During the winter of 1893-94 McGraw had attended St. Bonaventure's College...and he arrived in camp in the spring of 1894 exceedingly enthusiastic...he kept preaching to me on the subject of the advantages of education and finally I decided to join him... We applied ourselves to our studies and in February we began to coach the base ball team. This...continued until we had to leave for the spring training camp of the Baltimores... We both returned for three more years... In 1898 I went back to St. Bonaventure again, but McGraw did not; the following February (1899) I accepted a position as coach of the Cornell University team."

23



24



25

**McGraw at Dedication of Athletic Field - 1927**

It would be an injustice to me, to the baseball world, and the college and what is most important to Hughey...The most pleasant experiences of my life were in the company of my friend here on these same grounds, which you would dedicate in my name today in the absence of my chum, an invalid. I consider it not only inappropriate but unfitting to call this McGraw field...I will not consent to it. (Smiles, p. 182)

26

**Frank Early (SB Captain), Bill Murphy, Rogers Hornsby, June 1927**

27

**McGraw-Jennings Baseball Cover - Acknowledgement**

28

From the Saint Bonaventure *Laurel*, Spring 1950.

During the years 1892-95, McGraw spent his off-seasons at St. Bonaventure, and persuaded Hughie Jennings to join him in 1893. The two attended school in the fall and winter, coached the college team as player-managers in the spring, and played for the Orioles in the summer...Jennings was a student at St. Bonaventure from 1894, the same year he became a Baltimore regular, until 1897...After his death, Mrs. Jennings recalled: "Hughie and I would have long talks about his career and he always said that some of his happiest days were spent during his three years at Bonas. He loved athletics and people, and there (Bonas) he had a chance to enjoy both at their respective, unsoiled best."

29

**L to R: Rev. Brian Lhota, SBU president. Robert Sipos, Thomas Welch, Blanche McGraw (widow), Grace McWilliams (niece of H. Jennings). October 12, 1958**

30

Post-Script: February 24, 1904

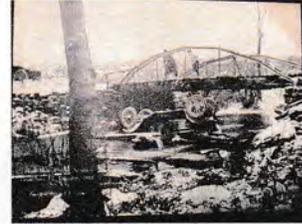
**HUGH JENNINGS IS  
BADLY INJURED IN  
SWIMMING POOL**

(PHOTO BY THE EDITOR) — Hugh Jennings, star of the Cornell base ball team, manager of the Baltimore Orioles and one of the best hitters in the country, was badly injured in the Cornell swimming pool.

Jennings, who was the champion swimmer of the Cornell team, was injured while swimming in the pool at the Cornell campus. The fall resulted in a serious injury to the left leg, which was broken. Both arms, however, were unscathed. The injury is expected to keep Jennings out of the game for some time.

31

Site of Car Accident - December 1911 - Gouldsboro, PA



32

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33



# Baseball's Roots Revisited: Lessons from Hockey and Football's Modern Creation

## Essay in support of presentation - Baseball or "base ball": The Co-Evolved North American Game, with helpful asides from "ice" hockey and "gridiron" football

by William Humber

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Thomas Gilbert's **Playing First: Early Baseball Lives at Brooklyn's Green-Wood Cemetery**, presents Mel Adelman's typology of folk and modern games. Adelman, however, did not include the crucial proto-modernity stage leading to the modern. Mike Huggins (p. 1 -17, **Associativity, Gambling, and the Rise of Protomodern British Sport, 1660-1800**, *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 47, No. 1 Spring 2020) describes proto-modernity as the period preceding and preparing for "modern" sport. "It had some but not all of the features of the modern, but [was] not coherently linked in the ways described in its ideal types ....".

**FOLK** – The ancestral "folk" nature of baseball-type games goes back thousands of years. They were ritualistic, predictable, of a "looking back" character, child-like in seriousness, and connected to religious custom or an associated culturally-ordained celebration. They were introduced from the United States (US) into the Ontario portion (then known as Upper Canada) of the British Empire's Canada by Loyalist and other settlement beginning in the 1790s (The focus here is only on Ontario but it was played out in other "Canadian" regions). Such play however arrived as an English/European custom not as an American developed/owned one. It was more like the traditional "Old Christmas", also English and European, and brought to Ontario from the US before its refashioning in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as Gregorian replaced Julian calendar observances. The "British Empire" title was important because the settled Loyalist and Europeanized land of Ontario was a proxy for the world's supreme military power until the US Civil War. The US/British rivalry, politically and militarily, lasted until the 1871 Treaty of Washington. British clout gave this Canadian region unusual prominence and security assurance despite a small population and limited territorial disbursement. Brothers-in-law David Rogers and Ely Playter oversaw the first "ball" games in Ontario, played in York (Toronto) and Hope Township (near Port Hope) in 1803.

**PROTO-MODERNITY** – Baseball as a co-evolving sport throughout the United States and the British provinces of Canada occurred roughly between the 1820s through mid-1850s. Not until the mid-1850s did the two worded "base ball" at last receive continuous media coverage. The above 30-year period also roughly corresponds to the time when cricket finally took off as a popular and fully modern game in North America, having been inherited, as such, long after its modernization in Britain. What we know about baseball for this period however is sporadic, often long after the fact, and clouded in mis-remembered chronologies. It often requires a reverse engineering of the historic process so that what it was, is only known by what it had become in the late stages of its transition to full modernity. The proto-modern saw the tentative beginning of continuity and regularity driven by human agency not old custom. An early example of this continuity in Upper Canada was "old-fashioned" baseball on two Militia Muster days, 4 June 1819 in Hamilton, and then the disputed (by some) 1838 game in Beachville (in the Gregorian calendar it was the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of George III's birth). Throughout North America local practices developed. Player performance was gradually considered. Civic support for regionally-defined oversight, and early club organization, emerged. These changes copied cricket's organization and its use of a harder ball but cricket's head start in North America, at a time when proto-modern baseball was still experimenting, was only by a few decades. It was not enough time for cricket to embed itself as the preferred bat and ball sport. This applied to Canada as well as the US. Significantly the former, despite

being unabashed Anglophiles, opted for baseball not only because they contributed to its evolution, but because, frankly, it was a better bat and ball game.

**MODERNITY** – Modern sports are defined by human agency, looking to the future, always evolving, progress, scientific measures, and formal structures (leagues etc.). Experimental aspects of proto-modernity either became permanent or were discarded. Full modernity included private commercial ownership and public oversight casting aside any lasting folk tradition and its residual religious meaning so that what remains is a folksy sentimentality surrounding modern sport. The fan, to this day, psychologically discounts the reality of teams as private businesses while retaining feelings of personal proprietorship. Modernity reflected a secular consciousness as its proponents entered into a new relationship with games. It was further characterized by specialization and professionalism, scientific rationalization of performance, links to gambling, bureaucratic decision-making, financial and symbolic rewards, public media coverage, and quantitative measurement and recording of personal and group (team) performance. Uniformity has not been a bar to change.

As noted the modern game of cricket was inherited by both the US and the British Empire's province of Canada (Canada from 1 July 1867 on), but the emerging "modern" sports of "ice" hockey and "gridiron" football, were North American initiatives, without exclusive ownership by US or Canadian proponents. Baseball had a similar fate. It evolved regionally in multiple locations throughout North America and from a national perspective co-evolved in the emerging nations of the United States and Canada. Places in North America tested and refined distinct approaches. What we know as the Massachusetts Game, Philadelphia townball, variations of the Canadian game, and the New York game were akin to the human evolutionary process in which not one but many types of human forms emerged. In the case of ... well us ... the best known of these forms, though not the only ones, were Homo sapiens and Neanderthals.

Alternative versions of baseball are sometimes seen as Johnny-come-latelys to the game's evolutionary process but this makes no sense since they explicitly (i.e. in media reports) appear only after the New York game had already won the interpretative battle. The losers, as it were, by the time of their explicit appearance were already fading from popularity in their home bases, but they had been part of a long proto-modern process, giving baseball a leap beyond its folk character. They are significant because they provided landing places for the New York version, without which that game might always have remained just the narrow plaything of Manhattanites and their near geographic friends. Like the Neanderthals of the human race story however, for whom small amounts of their DNA reside in the victorious Homo sapiens, so do aspects of other proto-modern regional ball games find traces in contemporary baseball.

Ontario is simply one, of many places, in which the evolutionary process occurred. By reverse engineering the historic process in Ontario, we can finally see the role played by Canadians. By 1859 baseball in Ontario, as in other US regions, was beginning to adopt the New York rules, while three years before (1856) proponents of the game in Ontario had begun sending updates to New York sports papers. Significantly however, for a 20 year period (1854-1873) Canadian lineups, organizers and "national" competitions were almost wholly homegrown. From the reverse engineering perspective it is a remarkable demonstration of the long independent and co-evolving nature of the game in Canada confirming a Canadian role in baseball's proto-modern and fully modern emergence as a North American game. Ultimate integration with the American baseball order did not occur until 1877 with London and Guelph's entry in the International Association (IA). At first, it promised a continent-wide alignment from San Francisco to Canada despite requiring a full commitment to hiring imported

itinerant American players within a US majority business enterprise. It would turn out to be the highest expression of Canadian baseball team play until 1969, but its failure contributed to the false impression of baseball being a solely American creation, imposed as an early demonstration of cultural imperialism, on a pliant Canadian public. It is a perspective Canadians have contributed to, and continues to this day.

Had the Association-model succeeded, and it was perhaps for this reason it was extolled by Henry Chadwick (despite his inherent peevishness) and the New York Clipper, the IA might have challenged the National League's eventual caste system of cities and leagues. Its membership was open minded about a Pacific Coast entry from San Francisco (not attained by the National League until 1958). It crossed the border with two Canadian entries (not attained by the National League until Montreal in 1969 and by the American League in Toronto in 1977). Most significantly it inaugurated Black player participation in the case of Bud Fowler despite the objection of at least some IA players (and was briefly practiced later by the American Association in the 1880s but not realized in the modern era until 1947).

Instead, the IA has been dismissed as a major league because its good "exhibition" record against the National League is deemed irrelevant though in its age such matches had less of the marginal, warm up character they now have. Such games were in fact closer to the general norm. On the other hand if the National League had won significantly more games against IA teams that would no doubt have been used as a factor in their being designated as a higher grade entity. In other words the IA could not have won this argument regardless of results so it must be dismissed as a legitimate critique.

Largely however the IA has been downgraded because it had too many second and third tier cities but that was its very point. It offered a place for all teams. By 1878, the Spalding's guide listed upwards of 50 professional entities (possibly there were more) of varying quality, financial wherewithal, and payment arrangements. Given the IA's liberality of membership it might have become something different from the National League's model. Curiously, English soccer, while adopting the National's "league" structure in the late 1880s, instituted an inclusive tiered regime not only for the promotion and relegation of teams, but also for its Cup competitions, as if to say, "The marketplace of play, not a cartel of a chosen caste, will sort out these matters". English and European soccer still have few limits on the number of members from a geographic region. London UK as an example has six teams in the highest level, or Premier League, in its 2020-21 season and many others below them. Canadian football's Grey Cup initially used such an umbrella-like system. Universities challenged professional and town teams into the 1920s, and smaller places like Sarnia and Balmy Beach played Canadian Football League teams into the 1950s. Men's and women's college basketball in the United States is one of the closest entities to this pairing of larger and smaller urban centres, just as is junior hockey in Canada along with its cross-border affiliates. Currently Major League Soccer (MLS), though a franchise model, accepts some of the English/European system of all-inclusive competition.

Unlike hockey and football, Canadians came to view baseball as a game imposed upon them, ignoring their role as co-evolutionists. Baseball historians have complied giving Americans sole creative primacy in baseball, just as Canadians have done with hockey. While the historic record can be corrected as is beginning to happen (still more to go) with organized baseball's long-time apartheid-based record-keeping, what has not changed is the long tolerated caste system of major, minor and independent organizations. For them further retribution has been exacted against many second and third tier cities and towns with the elimination of teams, entire leagues, and the names of historic entities as part of an apparent interest in rationalizing player development. Only Bernie Sanders seemed to object.

## **Coda: A Baseball Research Initiative**

I reviewed, through the worldwide documentation of Ancestry.com, players making up the lineups and administration of leading Canadian (really Ontario-based) teams in the 1854 through 1873 period. They included:

- Hamilton Young Canadians (later Maple Leafs),
- London baseball club and Delaware (old style)
- Hamilton Burlingtons,
- Woodstock Young Canadians (old-style and New York game rules),
- Ingersoll Rough and Ready (old style),
- Ingersoll Victorias,
- Dundas Independents,
- Guelph Maple Leafs,
- London Athletics and Tecumsehs,
- Kingston St. Lawrence,
- Bowmanville Victoria and Royal Oaks,
- Newcastle Beavers,
- Port Hope Silver Stars,
- Cobourg Travellers,
- Ottawa Mutuals, and
- Early Toronto teams such as the Young Canadians and Dauntless.

With one significant exception (Woodstock's Charles Wood) these teams, both players and off-field leadership, consisted of those born in Canada or Great Britain, or arrived at such a young age from the United States as to be considered essentially Canadian. They all learned the game in Canada. Even Bob Addy fit this mold. The 1854-1873 years were the beginning of baseball's regular media coverage, and the tail-end of proto-modern experiments from which regularity and modernism emerged. What does this mean? From a reverse historical engineering process, based on Canadian independence of play and operation between 1854-1873, a Canadian claim to be co-evolving North American participants in the game's creative process is valid. If driven by American leadership in the proto-modern phase we would not have expected to see that engagement so abruptly disappear in the 1854-1873 period. Recordings of the proto-modern era in Canada, though limited, show the makeup of its baseball proponents generally matches the profile of those between 1854-1873. Finally, the remnants of the proto-modern period after 1854 consist largely of distinct but fading local interpretations of baseball. In one Canadian case it was even labelled as such. The roots of proto-modern games were in folk baseball play from England and Europe. Each region in North America experimented with variations on this play from which the New York version ultimately succeeded. The arrival of itinerant American professionals in Canada only began in 1872 but was a significant minority until 1875. Canadian integration in a majority American baseball enterprise (International Association) did not occur until 1877. Until then Canadians, except for adopting the New York game like everyone else, were creative masters in their own, and the larger, baseball domain.