
Winner of the 2004 Seymour Medal.
Reviewed by Mark Lamster

Members of SABR's 19th Century Committee are undoubtedly familiar with the authoritative voice of Peter Morris. As a contributor to the committee’s newsletter and its internet email group, he can often be found sharing his encyclopedic knowledge of the early game with those working to advance its history. In July of 2003, his talk on the etymology of the term fan (no, it’s not derived from fanatic) was awarded the Best Presentation prize at the society’s annual convention in Denver. And in May of this year he was awarded the Seymour Medal for Baseball Fever: Early Baseball in Michigan, his monograph on the game’s emergence in his home state from, roughly, 1850 to 1875.

The book is a marvel of scholarship; a regional history of the game told in unprecedented detail and with a fan’s enthusiasm. As a researcher, Morris is tireless. No game played in Michigan during his period of study, be it professional, club, recreational, or youth, seems to have escaped his attention: A match between the Lapeer Tigers and the Flint Base Ball Club in 1866? The Flints took it 98-37, but the Lapeers were treated to dinner. The victor of an 1867 base-running contest in Kalamazoo? Frank Burlingham, in 16.5 seconds. In lesser hands, so much accumulated detail could make for a stupendously tedious, not to mention parochial, book. But to Morris’s credit, Baseball Fever is, for the most part, an engaging read with implications that extend beyond the confines of the Wolverine State.

For Morris, Michigan becomes something like the deep ice borings of an arctic geologist: a core that, if read with proper care, can illuminate a far broader history. “Precisely because Michigan was never at the forefront of baseball’s development,” he writes, “examining how its residents became passionate about the game will help us understand a vital and forgotten part of baseball history.” The result is a provocative account of the game’s progress that summarizes much of the latest scholarship, offers a wealth of new insights, and challenges many of the assumptions historians have either clung to or taken on faith for decades.

What may draw most attention to the book is Morris’s examination of the role played, or more accurately not played, by the Civil War in popularizing the game. Traditional histories, following Albert Spalding’s jingoistic America's National Game of 1911, have often held that the war galvanized American sentiment for baseball, and that veterans returning from the field contributed to its spread across the country, particularly in the North. But Morris finds little support for these assertions in the actual record, concluding that “it seems appropriate to regard the belief that the Civil War played a major role in the spread of baseball as an unproven theory or even as part of a legend that may have been specifically designed to ensure baseball’s status as the national game.”

Morris instead attributes the game’s spread to the migration of urbanites from the East—and in particular from New York City, where, in his words, “baseball first caught on as an adult activity”—to the cities and then rural areas of the Midwest. “Only when baseball became established in the country’s heartland did it truly become the national pastime.”

Baseball Fever is peppered with similarly compelling observations, and these nuggets, interspersed as they are in Morris’s text—some are even found in the notes—reward the reader who pushes through his Michigan-centric narrative. A full chapter is devoted to the trials and tribulations faced by women and African-Americans in baseball, the former being discouraged from play (but encouraged to watch) and the latter being first “welcomed” on the field “but then excluded when the possibility that they would outperform whites began to emerge.” Elsewhere, he tracks the logistical problems faced by tournament organizers and traveling clubs, rewrites the chronology of equipment adoption (he finds gloves used in 1867, two years earlier than previously recorded), and, as a parting gift to the reader, provides an appendix that clarifies some of the confusion surrounding the Doubleday Myth (it turns out there were two Abner Doubledays from the Cooperstown area).

The true heart of the book, however, is Morris’s study of recreational “muffin” games, and their contribution to the growth and sustained development of the sport. While professionalism in the postwar period has generally been understood as a boon to the game’s popularity—despite some of its unseemly elements—Morris argues that it conversely posed “a very grave threat” to the sport’s longevity by “disenfranchising” those unable to play competitive ball. Muffin games, so named for their frequently muffed plays, “offered both a belly laugh and a reminder that, in spite of the excesses of professional baseball, the game itself still belonged to everyone.” It’s a compelling argument, and Morris supplies a stream of amusing anecdotes as reinforcement, from a fairly hilarious account of an 1867 game between the staffs of two Detroit hotels to the story of a team of corpulent baseballists, known as the “Never Sweats,” who lived up to their moniker by commissioning surrogates to run the bases for them during then-common “Fats versus Leans” games.

The extent to which Morris’s conclusions regarding the game’s development in Michigan are applicable to other regions or to North America generally may well be the subject of some debate. But Morris has set the agenda and his book
will undoubtedly remain a touchstone for historians in the years to come.

Finally, it would be remiss not to dole out a bit of praise to Morris’s publisher, the University of Michigan Press. Avoiding some of the hokey pitfalls that too often bedevil books on the national pastime, they have provided a tastefully nostalgic cover, a clear typographic treatment, and scores of judiciously placed images that advance the narrative and make the book an even greater pleasure to read.

Mark Lamster, New York NY, is the author of Spalding’s World Tour: A True Story of Baseball, Adventure, and Clashing Culture in the Nineteenth Century, to be published next spring by PublicAffairs.

EDITOR’S NOTE. "The Other Abner Doubleday" by Peter Morris appears in 19cN 99:2, p6.

NINETEENTH CENTURY PINCH-HITTING AND PINCH-RUNNING: An Interim Report
by Clifford Blau

Prior to 1889, substitutions were allowed in major League Baseball only in the event of injury. This led occasionally to the use of pinch-hitters and pinch-runners on an emergency basis. Al Kermisch in the 1990 Baseball Research Journal reported that Bobby Clack of the Cincinnati was likely the first major League player to get a pinch hit, on May 13, 1876. In 1889 the rules were changed to permit each team to use one pinch-hitter and pinch-runner on an emergency basis. The new substitution rule permitted strategic use of pinch-hitters for the first time.

Although the Baseball Encyclopedia, first published in 1969, contained pinch-hitting at bats and hits for all players, it missed many early examples. In limited research, I have found six batters used as pinch-hitters in 1889: Charlie Buffinton, Henry Boyle, Ed Crane, Jim O’Rourke, John Clarkson, and Kid Madden (the last two are not certain). Most of these were relief pitchers on teams batting first, who were required to go up to bat in the top of the inning before they could go into the box. O’Rourke, however, went in for the Giants’ left fielder, due to Slattery’s injury. Kermisch in the 1992 Baseball Research Journal reported two successful pinch hits in 1889, one by Kid Gleason being an example of a pitcher hitting before taking the box. To that I have added O’Rourke and possibly Clarkson.

In 1890 the substitution rule was expanded to allow each team two non-emergency substitutes at any time. I have not yet looked for pinch-hitters in that season. The following year, the current unlimited substitution rule was implemented. While the Baseball Encyclopedia contains six 1891 pinch-hit at bats, it missed at least eight pinch-hitters. The most remarkable instance that year was the second game of the season for Louisville, when to counter the left-handed slants of Phil Knell, they substituted three right-handed hitters for lefties in the fifth inning. One of them, Paul Cook, drew a walk.

Tom Dowse, on April 30, 1892, made the second pinch-hit under the current rule (a day after Charlie Reilly’s historic first) when he singled in place of Farmer Weaver. That hit and Tom Daly’s pinch-hit home run of May 14, 1892, were not included in the Baseball Encyclopedia. In all, I have found at least eleven pinch-hitting appearances for 1892.

It is important to note that these pinch-hitters frequently did not appear in the box score. Many of them I found mentioned in the brief game summaries in Sporting Life.

In 1893 pinch-hitting became more common. I have found 36 instances and I am missing some included in the Baseball Encyclopedia. Four of the 36 weren’t in the book, including three who walked or were hit by a pitch. In 1894 there were at least 64 uses of pinch-hitters, with the Baseball Encyclopedia missing seven including a hit by Tuck Turner and three players who drew walks. I have not investigated later years.

Some of this is covered in Paul Votano’s book, Stand and Deliver, published by McFarland (2003). Subtitled “A History of Pinch-Hitting,” it is more a history of pinch-hitters. The bulk of the book consists of naming each year’s leading pinch-hitters, with some biographical information about them and an occasional anecdote. The chapter on the nineteenth century (which covers 1876-1899) highlights the first few successful pinch-hitters, as well as a few who hit homers and Duke Farrell, the best pinch-hitter of the nineteenth century. Votano does include some general information about pinch-hitting, including different hitters’ philosophies of how to do it and the effect of the designated hitter rule. He does not provide any new information about early pinch-hitting, as I have done above. Also, the book could have used better proofreading. For example, Votano contradicts himself twice in the first five paragraphs of the nineteenth century chapter, concerning the changes in the substitution rule.

I have only one unconfirmed instance of a pinch-runner for someone who was not injured. Kling of Philadelphia (NL) may have run for Keefe on August 25, 1891.

Any additional information will be welcome.

Thanks to John Lewis for research assistance and Paul Wendt for editorial assistance.


NATIONAL ASSOCIATION RECORDS THAT ARE STILL MAJOR LEAGUE RECORDS
by Bob Tiemann

The 1871-1875 National Association should be considered the first major league. Most of the NA records that still stand as major league records concern high scoring or poor fielding. Since virtually all NA players played barehanded, errors were legion throughout its history.

Many of the offensive records were set in one game played at Troy on June 28, 1871. The hometown Haymakers presented a Van Dorn ball, which was a well-known lively brand of the time. But it turned out to be much livelier than others and resulted in an unbelievable offensive game that the Athletics won by a 49-33 score. (A box score is far below.) Records for runs, innings scored in, hits, at bats, and total bases set in this game will likely never be threatened. In their next game, on July 3, the Haymakers insisted on a Van Dorn ball again and this time beat the Mutuals 37-16.

EDITOR’S NOTE. Bob Tiemann sent “National Association Records” to me and Lyle Spatz of the Baseball Records Committee in Spring 2003. Spatz published about one-third of the records without commentary in the BRC newsletter, August 2003 (available in print from the SABR Office and in a web archive http://sabr.org/sabr.cfm?a=cms.c.282.5.0). That first selection covers consecutive wins and losses (for teams only) and scoring. This one covers batting and stealing. Pitching and fielding records remain.

The first nine of these 17 records were set in the game that is featured in the commentary and box score. Grey color marks a tie; the NA record equals the subsequent high.
**AT BATS and PLATE APPEARANCES**
Most At Bats (and Plate Appearances) by One Player in One Game (NL & AL Records 8)
10 – West Fisler, Athletic, June 28, 1871. Scored six runs, put out three times, left on base once as the #5 hitter.

Most At Bats (and Plate Appearances) by One Team in One Game (NL Records 66 & 71)
73 AB (80 PA) – Athletic at Troy, June 28, 1871. W 49-33. Had seven bases on balls and four left on base

Most At Bats (and Plate Appearances) by Two Teams in One Game (NL Records 106 & 125)
137 AB (150 PA) - Athletic at Troy, June 28, 1871. Athletics won 49-33. 13 bases on balls and 14 left on base

**HITS**
Most Hits by One Team in One Game (NL Record 36)
42 – Athletic at Troy, June 28, 1871. W 49-33. Opposing pitcher John McMullin set the record for hits allowed.

Most Hits by Both Clubs in One Game (NL Record 51)
75 - Athletic (42) and Troy (33) on June 28, 1871, at Troy. Athletics won 49-33

Most Hits by One Player in One Game (NL Record 7)
7 – John Radcliff, Athletic vs. Troy on June 28, 1871. Went 7-for-7 with 1 double and 2 walks. W 49-33
7 – Scott Hastings, Baltimore vs. Atlantic on October 5, 1872. Went 7-for-9 with 1 double and 1 triple. W 39-14
There were 21 other times when a player had 6 hits in an NA game.

**REACHED BASE SAFELY BY A HIT OR A WALK**
Most Times Reaching Base Safely by Hit or Walk by One Player in One Game (NL Record 8)
9 – John Radcliff, Athletic vs. Troy on June 28, 1871. Went 7-for-7 with 1 double and 2 walks. W 49-33

**TOTAL BASES**
Most Total Bases by One Team in One Game (AL Record 60)
66 - Athletic at Troy, June 28, 1871. Had 27 singles, 8 doubles, 5 triples, and 2 home runs. W 49-33

Most Total Bases by Both Clubs in One Game (AL Record 79)
118 – Athletic (66) at Troy (52) on June 28, 1871. 48 singles, 14 doubles, 10 triples, and 3 home runs. A49-T33

**EXTRA-BASE HITS**
Most Extra-Base Hits by One Player in One Game (AL & NL Records 5)

**DOUBLES**
Most Doubles by One Player in One Inning (AL & NL Record 2)
2 – Andy Leonard, Boston vs. Atlantic, September 6, 1873, 7th inning. W 23-1
2 – Candy Nelson, Mutual vs. Athletic, October 21, 1873, 6th inning. W 15-3

**TRIPLES**
Most Triples by One Player in One Inning (NL & AL Record 2)
2 – George Wright, Boston vs. Forest City of Cleveland, September 2, 1871, 8th inning. W 31-10 (8 innings)

**HOME RUNS**
2 – George Wright, Boston vs. Baltimore on July 26, 1871, in the 3rd inning. L 14-17. One homer over the fence, one inside the park

**STOLEN BASES**
Most Stolen Bases by One Team in One Game (AA Record 19, NL Record 17)

Most Stolen Bases by One Team in One Inning (AL & NL Record 8)
12 – Boston vs. Resolute on July 4, 1873 p.m. game, bottom of the 9th inning. None caught stealing. W 32-3

Most Stolen Bases by One Team on One Pitch (NL Record 4)
4 – Boston vs. Athletic on July 7, 1875, 8th inning. On a double steal, George Wright and Ross Barnes both advanced two bases. W 12-4. Opposing pitcher Dick McBride, catcher John Clapp, second baseman Bill Craver

Most Times Stealing Home in One Game by One Player
2 – Art Allison, Washington at Boston, May 12, 1875, in the 4th and 6th innings. L 4-23. Opposing pitcher Jack Manning, catcher Cal McVey
National Association playing records including these "mosts and leasts" were researched using the game accounts and score sheets collected mainly by Michael Stagno and converted to modern box scores by SABR researchers (mainly Bob Tiemann and Bob Richardson). In almost all cases the records were confirmed by more than one source or by a complete play-by-play or score sheet.

A special word of thanks goes to Richard Puff, whose search of Troy newspapers found play-by-play for the 49-33 game. Here is an expanded box score in a standard format that is attainable for many but not all NA games.

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Wednesday, June 28, 1871, at the Union Grounds, Troy

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Left on Bases – Athletic 4, Troy 10
Reached First on Error – Athletic 8 (McBride 2, Malone, Fisler, Sensenderfer 3); Troy 6 (McGeary 2, York, Flowers, Bellan, Craver)
Earned Runs Allowed – McBride 23, McMullin 31
Wild Pitches – McBride 1, McMullin 5.
Passed Balls – Malone 4, McGeary 6
Stolen Bases – Athletic 4 (Cuthbert 2, Meyerle, Heubel)
  Troy 11 (McGeary 4, Flowers 2, Flynn 2, King 2, Pike)
Caught Stealing – Athletic 1 (Sensenderfer), Troy 1 (Bellan)
Double Plays – Troy 1 (Flowers to Craver to Flynn)
Grounded Into Double Play – Athletic 1 (Fisler)
Estimated Attendance – 1000. Time of Game – 3:55
Umpire – D. Edw. Tighe of the Putnams (quit after the 4th inning)
then Saml. Holley of the Buffalo

Bob Tiemann, St. Louis MO, chaired the 19th Century Committee 1987-1992 and directed the NA project completed in 1996.

Interested readers who account for plate appearances will find that the Athletics fifth batter West Fisler alone appeared ten times, among 80 PA for the team. If no one batted out of order by contemporary rules, Fisler led off one inning after Fergy Malone made the preceding third out on the bases. (The same is true of Pike and McMullin for the Haymakers.)
150 YEARS AGO

1854

Early in 1854 the Knickerbocker, Gotham, and Eagle Clubs adopted a revised version of the Knickerbocker rules. Representatives of the three clubs had agreed upon the new code in a conference called for that purpose by the Gothams and Eagles, the first known sharing of baseball governance. The 1854 rules are reprinted in Dean Sullivan, Early Innings: A Documentary History of Baseball, 1825-1908 (U of Nebraska Press, 1995).

Even for base ball clubs, most games were played between teams chosen on the occasion from those present. The Eagles may have been rookies but they were not novices when they played and won their first known matches, two in November with the Knicks.

At least two more base ball clubs were organized in the Fall, the Empires in New York and the Excelsiors in Brooklyn. Neither played a match that year. According to Spink, the Atlantics organized in Spring 1854 but did not practice among themselves until August 1855 (The National Game, 2d ed. 57).

In the prelude to The National Association of Base Ball Players, 1857-1870, Marshall Wright provides basic data for matches played by the clubs before 1857. For 1854 he lists only five, all between the Knicks and the Gothams or Eagles. Because the Knicks participated in each one, they can all be represented in a simple "game log" for that club.

1854 MATCHES from a Knickerbocker perspective

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<th>Score</th>
<th>Innings</th>
<th>Decision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>06/30</td>
<td>Gotham</td>
<td>21 16</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09/20</td>
<td>Gotham</td>
<td>24 13</td>
<td></td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/10</td>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>4 21</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/17</td>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>21 22</td>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The matches were played to 21 runs. Perhaps Wright logged the number of innings only when greater than nine, by routine. The Knicks-Gothams match played to a 12-12 score was both a draw and a tie if I understand the cricket terminology.

How many 1854 game reports of all kinds have been discovered? How many are extant, perhaps remaining to be discovered? I certainly don't know. But the number of known clubs and match games even in Greater New York is still small in 1855. (Wright knows eleven matches played by eight clubs.) The year may help define "pilots" for projects that would cover all clubs, all games, all players, all newspapers—or all locales. Let us consider pilot projects.

1855? Contact me if you would like to write an article on 1855. Coverage of a single event is welcome. So is broad scope such as John Thorn's in "1853" (2003, 1). But this short item titled "1854" is less than I have in mind—else it would merit a byline. Consider it a placeholder, reminder, and point of entry to something else. One article on 1854 is still expected. A subtitle or a title entirely other than "1855" is appropriate. The date alone might function as a section header covering more than one item. Anyway, it will be used more than once.

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**Nineteenth Century Notes** is the newsletter of the Nineteenth Century Committee, one of 24 research committees in SABR—the Baseball Research Society. The two preceding numbers are 2003 and 2004.1, ed. Paul Wendt. They are available in pdf format and in print from the editor and available in two electronic formats on the "19c Resources" website.

**Thank you,** Cliff Blau and our three reviewers. Please accept my personal apology for the delayed publication of your works.

**What next?** The layout of this number is consistent in one crucial respect. Every note about the newsletter itself appears in a box, as these four paragraphs are boxed. Most of them call for material or for help setting priorities regarding material. I received essentially zero replies to the boxed notes in #2003, which are all essentially repeated here.

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**BORN in 1854**

A bountiful year for baseball birthdays followed a bad one. The founders of *Sporting Life* and *The Sporting News* were born in 1854, Francis Richter on January 26 in Philadelphia and Albert Spink on August 24 in Quebec. Richter wins the laurel here, for he remained at the helm of *Sporting Life* until it closed during the War, 1883-1917. Meanwhile, Spink shared leadership of *TSN* with his younger brother Charles and sold his stake to Charles in 1894 (Mark Cooper on Spink in *First Stars*). In 1910/11 and 1914, Spink and Richter wrote histories of baseball that have recently been reprinted.

The greatest 150-year old player may be Charley "Old Hoss" Radbourn, a pitcher who won 59 games in 1884 and 309 in his major league career. Will White won 229 games. How many would he have won without eyeglasses?

Premier catcher Charlie Bennett played longest in the majors, until 1893 when he lost both legs in a railway accident. He leads the cohort in doubles, triples, home runs, walks, RBI; Blondie Purcell leads in games, at bats, hits, runs, and steals.

Sam Crane played in the majors but earned his fame as a baseball writer in New York City. In his history, Spink wrote that "Sam Crane and Tim Murnane . . . are the only simon pure baseball players who make use of the pen as a steady diet to earn their livelihood." (Will Rankin admonished him for that. See Spink, *The National Game*, 2d ed., 324 and 356.)

Sources: Baseball-Reference; *19th Century Stars* and *Baseball's First Stars* (SABR, 1989 and 1996).

---

**1904 – THE MODERN RECORD**

In the Winter, both major leagues scheduled 154 games for each team, 22 against each of 7 opponents. That was an increase from 140 games, 20 times 7, the choice for 8-team major leagues since the late 1880s. The National League had used 154 previously, in 1892 and 1898-1899, with 14 games against each of 11 opponents. After 1904 neither league returned to a shorter schedule except in emergencies.

Jack Chesbro worked for the New York Highlanders (AL) under Clark Griffith. In 1904 he mastered the spitball and pitched 455 innings in 55 games including 48 complete games. He was credited with 41 wins, which may be the best known so-called modern record. "Modern records" are those major league mosts and leasts since 1900 or 1901 in categories where earlier players and teams hold the all-time records. Chesbro set modern records with his 1904 workload, too, and he still holds some of them (spitballer Ed Walsh holds the others), but he is famous today for the 41 wins.
"NEGLECTED STARS" ON THE VINE

A few years after completing Nineteenth Century Stars, the 19c Cmte took up a sequel. Baseball's First Stars, edited by Frederick Ivor-Campbell, Robert L. Tiemann, and Mark Rucker covers 153 people including every member of the Hall of Fame whose major league career began before Bobby Wallace's debut in 1894. Again a list of recommended subjects accompanied the announcement, write-ins welcome.

Jointly, the originating editors of the two Stars projects and the contributors identified 333 subjects and covered 289 of them. The 44 nominees not covered are "neglected stars" still, with a few caveats.

SUBJECTS RECOMMENDED FOR BUT NOT COVERED IN TWO BOOKS OF STARS

Bechtel, George          Martin, Phonnie
Birdsall, Dave           McFarland, Ed
Boyle, Jack              McMullin, John
Carroll, Cliff           Mills, Everett
Casey, Dan               Mulvey, Joe
Corkhill, Pop            Nops, Jerry
Crane, Cannonball        O'Brien, Pete
Daily, Con               Pabor, Charlie
DeBost, Charles          Peitz, Heinie
Dowd, Tommy              Pinkney, George ("Pinckney")
Driscoll, Denny          Purcell, Blondie
Ely, Bones               Seymour, Cy
Farrell, Jack            Somer, Joe
Freeman, Buck            Staley, Harry
Ganzel, Charlie          Stricker, Cub
Gelston, Joe             Taylor, Brewery Jack
Grim, John               Tebeau, George
Hughes, Jim              Turner, Tuck
Irwin, Charlie           Vaughn, Farmer
Knight, Lon              Wadsworth, Lewis
Kuehne, Willie           Watt, Charles
Malone, Fergie           Wolters, Rynie
DeBost, Gelston, O'Brien, Wadsworth played only before 1871. The others are in the major league baseball encyclopedias, albeit a few with trivial careers.

Are they "neglected"? One caveat is that Lon Knight and Jack Taylor are the subjects of biographies by Ralph Berger and Peter Mancuso, published on the web by the BioProject (http://bioproj.sabr.org; see also 19cN 2004.1, 9). Another is that Buck Freeman and Cy Seymour are "Deadball Stars" covered in the Deadball Era Cmte project whose second, AL volume is underway. And it should be noted that the major league careers of catchers Heinie Peitz and Ed McFarland spanned the two centuries about equally. (No one else played in the majors after 1902.)

The 289 subjects of our Stars books are listed on the web (http://world.std.com/~pgw/19c/19cN.biographies.html). Poke around there and you will find the Deadball Stars listed, too.

BETWEEN 19TH CENTURY AND DEADBALL STOOLS

A while ago, I searched the expertise, research focus, and interests that SABR members optionally list in the Membership Directory (a single field, hereafter "interest"). I wrote to everyone with a likely-19c entry such as "Providence Grays" who did not also mark interest in the 19c Committee.

One person with turn of the century interests did not mark the 19c or Deadball Era Cmte, he wrote to me, because 1899-

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19c Cmte newsletters. The entire run is available on paper at cost of copying and mailing, 232 pages or so. The cover guide to contents is available on the web: "Newsletter Archive" (http://world.std.com/~pgw/19c/19cN.archive.htm).

The master set is unmarked but not original; a few items have been lost in copying. Much of the set will probably be scanned (photographed digitally) and made available by internet in pdf format. Something will be lost in scanning, too.

Price: SABR members $15; nonmembers $25. Send a check or money order payable to Paul Wendt (64 Riverside St #3, Watertown MA 02472-2652).
1902 is not really covered by either one. Of course, many 19c and DEC members have interest in that time. But as far as I know, the only research committee rather than personal focus on those years has been the occasional entertainment of major status for AL 1900 by the 19c and Baseball Records Cmtes.

Historical events take time and some span the turn of the century, such as the establishment of the American League. That event may be understudied because of its timing, although I guess the concept of "modern baseball" has been more critical than the structure of SABR. But it may be true too that single-season events during those years tend to be little-known. Consider pennant races and champions: we have that single-season events during those years tend to be little-known. Consider pennant races and champions: we have that single-season events during those years tend to be little-known.

Judging by ‘19cBB’ and ‘deadball’ email traffic, which does not typically concern committee business, it appears that there is a dearth of interest in a period more like 1892-1902 than 1899-1902. Of course, someone with interest specifically in that period alone may have tried 19cBB and dropped out.

---

WRITERS AND BROADCASTERS

Some interest in researching baseball writers and broadcast announcers has been expressed time and again during this young millenium. The Deadball Era Cmte has toyed with a project on baseball writers of the aughts and teens. ‘SABR-Media’ (http://yahoogroups.com/group/SABR-Media) is an egroup devoted to baseball broadcast announcers and writers. The name reflects the hope of founder Rod Nelson (co-Chair, Scouts Cmte) that it would foster a new SABR research committee but did not take off and is not affiliated with SABR.

Several BBWAA membership lists are known. William Burgess has posted a "Baseball Writers Index" at sabr.org (select "Research"; then "Member Research"). The Index is his compilation of vital and career data for about 600 writers and 60 announcers. It is rather complete for members of the BBWAA in 1908, its first year, including many 19c writers of course. Burgess has expressed interest in finishing that.

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"MAJOR" LEAGUE

The scope of the "major leagues" is the broad subject of a leading class of questions to me as 19c Cmte Chair, always by email and usually from nonmembers within SABR and outside. Which leagues are "major"? Who decided, when and why? It should be . . ., shouldn’t it? Can we change it?

By policy occasionally breached, I note what it means for SABR to recognize a league-season as major. Namely, the Biographical Research Cmte pays the same attention to its players and managers that it does to the personnel of the National League in 1900. (See 19cN 2004.1, 3-4 on the scope and nature of that attention.) The Baseball Records Cmte focuses on the record of that league-season’s play same as it does on the record for NL 1900. That focus covers season total playing statistics for teams and players and also the all-time mosts and leasts, the notable low-hit games and streaks, and so on, that occurred during the season. Yes, we SABRen can change that!

Perhaps "SABR" should be in quotation marks to cover the possibility that those two committees act differently. We the 19c Cmte may also act differently. We would do that by undertaking work of "Biographical" or "Baseball Records" nature for AL 1900, for the International Association in 1877, or for the professional teams of the NABBP in 1870, to give three examples with varied qualities in that other debate about major leagues. We did that with playing records for NA 1871-1875, at the game level, in the National Association Box Scores and Statistics project, or "NA project" for short. What next, if any? (Note, I wouldn’t say based on our practice that SABR recognizes a league as major, for Biographical Research and Baseball Records have responsibility for the major leagues.)

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"MINOR LEAGUERS" IN THE AMERICAN LEAGUE, 1900

Thirty of 201 players in the 1900 American League never played in the majors. They are the "career minor leaguers" who participated in that league-season (I think).


About most of these players, researchers know some stints with other minor league teams or some appearances on annual reserve lists. I know some of the "researchers" and I have some of that data myself. No doubt, some of them have already been traced to date and place of birth or death, as that is a common means of ascertaining names.

So no one should simply dig into learning more about these men from scratch—from contemporary sources alone. That said, researching and compiling their biographical data in the sense of the Biographical Research Cmte (19cN 2004.1, 3) is one way that we or some of you might cover an important league.

Bob Hoie has been an important source here. In effect, he confirmed or provided numerous corrections to the rosters published in S.C. Thompson, All-Time Rosters of Major League Teams (1967) or in the Great Encyclopedia of MLB by David Nemec. Hoie does not sanction the list as a whole.

In October, I sent this list to Joe Wayman and Lefty Blasco, who have researched AL 1900 (and do not use email), and to Nemec. I distributed it as part of "Notes on 1900 American League Players" (16 Oct 2004, 8pp, paper only). Except for the list of minor leaguers' names, that comprises (1) numerical distributions covering everyone, such as length in years of each player's "gap between MLB appearances" and
numbers of games for each "team usage of minor leaguers by fielding position"; (2) similar material covering "regular" players in a few senses. It is available from me by mail.

BASEBALL IN 1791
John Thorn working with Pittsfield, Massachusetts, librarians and some lay confederates discovered a 1791 by-law prohibiting baseball and several other ball games near a new meeting house with glass windows. The Pittsfield Prohibition is now the first known "instance of the game of baseball being referred to by that name on the North American continent."

The City of Pittsfield issued a press release May 11 and there was much news coverage that week. Thorn told the Berkshire Eagle, "The way I like to put it is, baseball is like a field of dandelions. It was growing up everywhere in the late 18th century anyway. Looking back from the vantage point of 200 years, it's impossible to identify the first dandelion."

The City of Pittsfield has created a "Baseball" section in its History of Pittsfield website where a pdf image of the 1791 document is available along with related material. [http://www.pittsfield-ma.org/subpage.asp?ID=226](http://www.pittsfield-ma.org/subpage.asp?ID=226)

CLASSIFICATION OF GAMES
Has anyone classified sports and games by their features? Or even sketched a classification system by listing numerous analytical features and providing some organization?

"Stick and ball" is two features. Some other features of baseball are bases or "safe havens" (Larry McCray's term), two teams, and the "score" in points.

Analytical classification should be contrasted with lineal or, more broadly, classification by historical development.

JOHN E. BASS MEMORIAL
Jay Sanford of SABR and Cliff Dougal of Riverside Cemetery, Denver CO, organized and led a memorial service for John Bass at the cemetery, 18 Sep 2004. Sanford delivered a presentation on Bass and a gravestone was dedicated at the previously unmarked and unknown site.

John E. Bass, born 1850, was the regular shortstop for the Forest Citys of Cleveland in 1871, the first season of the professional National Association. He played three more games in the majors, last in 1877 with Hartford. In 1888 he moved from Brooklyn to Denver, hoping to recover from tuberculosis there, but he died September 26. He is the first major leaguer known to have died in Colorado, three months before Asa Brainard.

As far as I know, there has been no centralization of work or information on baseball-related monuments and markers within SABR, except by the Ballpark Cmte project on former ballpark sites. Many particular monuments and markers have been sponsored by a regional chapter.

MEMBER WEBSITES
Do you have a website related to 19c baseball? If you would like to list it here and on the web, send me its title, address, and brief description of scope. Some websites might be reviewed here (I hope so), but now I mean a listing without review open to all 19c Cmte members.

"All baseball web projects by SABR members" qualify for one listing in the Member Links section at sabr.org (select "SABR Online"; then "Links"). Send title, address, suggested category, and "some descriptive text" to [info@sabr.org](mailto:info@sabr.org).

ARTICLES AVAILABLE IN PRINT
A few articles are available to 19c Cmte members in print from me. We have a fund replenished by donations, $37 when Fred Ivor-Campbell transferred it to me. A dollar value listed in parentheses is a cost estimate, rounded down, for donor reference. Dollar bills sent by mail are welcome.

These are not research materials for committee projects in progress, whose distribution to volunteers is reimbursed by SABR, but "finished" articles albeit commonly unpublished.

"1871 National Association" (1995) and four other reports by the NA Box Scores and Statistics project, one for each season 1871-1875. By Bob Tiemann. 1995 and 1996. 19, 21, 19, 19, and 34 pages ($2 for one or $7).

Most of the content is season Batting, Pitching, and Fielding totals for players, teams, and the entire Association. Slightly out of date because there have been revisions since 1995, reflected in the new [Baseball Encyclopedia](http://www.baseballencyclopedia.com) and the later editions of [Total Baseball](http://www.totalbaseball.com). Yet a few of the records have not been published in any print or web encyclopedia and are not in the baseball databank. If nothing else interests you, it may be best for you to tell me what you hope for.

Season stats include games worked for umpires (expected Spring 2006 from Retrosheet) and attendance for clubs (published in TB6, at least). Other season data is names of club and Association officials down to team captains. No box scores or play-by-play. All game-level data except the Home Run Log is incidental to the season records.


One page of narrative and two pages of playing statistics compiled from scratch. Season Batting and Pitching for players and teams, win-loss for managers. NA 1880 is the fourth and final season of the Inter/national Association founded in 1877.

Playing statistics for other 19c leagues have been completed, rarely compiled from scratch, by other SABR members. Usually Batting and Pitching only. I have asked the Minor League Cmte whether any league-season is available, complete; evidently, none is available from the MLC now. Compilers are listed by league-season in [The SABR Guide to Minor League Statistics](http://www.sabr.org) by Carlos Bauer (1st 1995, 2d 2003).


Final standings for each season in team v. team format. Notes on protests and forfeits, team withdrawal and expulsion, and other problems, all with a focus on which games should be counted in the playing records. One of Pete Palmer's sources.


This supplements the notes made available through the 19c Cmte and the SABR Research Library several years ago (contrary to Library maintainer Len Levin's description). The focus is biographical information about Davis's family and about Davis before and after professional baseball. Lamb's short biography of Davis is the cover story in BRJ 1997.


The Charles W. Mears Collection covers almost a century of baseball history. It was donated to the Cleveland Public Library in 1944 and is now incorporated with later material in the Cleveland Baseball Collection. Among other things, Mears claimed "all the box scores of the 130,000 big league games played since they began in 1871." Thanks to Fred Schuld.
The 1875 Philadelphia White Stockings Regular Season Game Log

Date       Opponent  Result Record  Starter Opposing
4-21-1875 At CEN n  W  7-5  1-0 Fisher Bechtel
9-15-1875 Vs ATH n  W  5-4  29-26 Zettlein Knight
9-21-1875 Vs HAR n  W  13-9  30-26 Zettlein Bond
9-22-1875 Vs STL n  W  1-5  30-27 Zettlein Bradley
9-23-1875 At CHI n  W  5-0  31-27 Zettlein Devlin
10-17-1875 Vs STL n  W  17-2  37-31 Weaver Bradley

These "Game Log" webpages do not show all the data that has been compiled by the Game Logs project. For example, the first and last of the four listed September games were played at the home ballparks of the Philadelphia and Chicago clubs, which fits the conventional usage of "Vs" and 'At'. But Philadelphia hosted Hartford and St Louis at neutral sites in Covington KY on the 21st and Ludlow KY on the 22nd.

Information about game sites is not displayed but it is in the data from which each page is derived. That fundamental and abstruse data has also been published under the name "Game logs" as a homepage heading. The pages for human readers, such as the one quoted and a great variety of others, are published under the homepage heading Boxscores++.

Among the variety of other "Boxscores++" is a set of daily pages linked to the "Date" column in each Regular Season Game Log. The page for any day during the baseball season displays the scores of all major league games played, the standings for each league or division at the close of the day, and often something more such as a player transaction. For example, here is the record for a day in 1877 (quoted from http://retrosheet.org/boxesetc/08131877.htm with navigational aids deleted, severely compressed again).

Events of Monday, August 13, 1877

LOU N  8
CHI N  2
CIN N 10
STL N 13

Standings At Close of Play of August 13, 1877

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Team Name</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>PCT</th>
<th>GB</th>
<th>RS</th>
<th>RA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Louisville Grays</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>.675</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>202</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis Brown St'ngs</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>.575</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston Red Caps</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>.564</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartford Dark Blues</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>.487</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago White St'ngs</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>.436</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati Reds</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>.229</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On this day, the Grays won their 14th of 16 games played at home, in St. Louis, and in Chicago. They proceeded to travel East and to reap only a tie and a win in twelve games with Boston, Hartford, and lowly Cincinnati. The club and later the League expelled everyday pitcher Jim Devlin and three other players for selling games. None played again.

The Retrosheet Game Logs are based on a complete set researched and compiled by Bob Tiemann. Frank Vaccaro independently completed a set of major league season game logs and the reconciliation of differences between the two has been the single most important method of revision. Tom Ruane leads that effort and he is both the designer and generator of the web edition.

Vaccaro's work is available in print from him under the name All Games Baseball. He includes games and outcomes that were counted in newspaper standings for a while but later thrown out or overturned.

LEAGUE OPERATING RULES

Cliff Blau has worked on the history of "League Operating Rules" such as those governing rosters and has published some of the work in progress on his website (http://mysite.verizon.net/brak2.0/rules.htm). His treatment of a rule family typically includes both narrative and a chronological record with quantitative dimensions—dimensions such as roster sizes and deadline dates in the article on roster limits.

ROSTER LIMITS, a selection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>In-season limit</th>
<th>Off-season limit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>5 reserve limit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>11 reserve limit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>12 reserve limit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>14 reserve limit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/1892</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>18 reserve limit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901N</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>opening day + 28 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901A</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Blau welcomes corrections of his entries and interpolations between them. Other sections of "League Operating Rules" cover options, the disabled list, and so on.

SPORTING LIFE, March 1899–March 1900

Sporting Life 33-34 is available on the SABR website in a set of 52 pdf files, one for each issue of the weekly newspaper (http://sabr.org/sabr.cfm?a=cms,c,1018,5,177). The span is March 25 to March 17, which covers the 1899 baseball season and nearly the whole following offseason. Jon Frankel prepared and uploaded the files.

This was a pilot project. I understand that the method will not be pursued despite its low cost. The copy is mediocre in quality and it cannot be searched automatically. SABR hopes to make a clean and searchable edition of Sporting Life available by internet, perhaps in cooperation with ProQuest.

This pdf pilot edition is almost all legible and you will find it valuable for many 1899-1900 research purposes, especially if you have no convenient access to SL on microfilm.

Resources

Retrosheet (http://retrosheet.org) is a non-profit corporation distinct from SABR but a close neighbor. Its primary project is collection, compilation, and publication of play-by-play data for major league games (19cN 2004.1, 12).

Retrosheet also provides a major league encyclopedia on the web. My favorite feature is the game logs. For example, here is a selection from the game-by-game record for one team-season (http://retrosheet.org/boxesetc/VPH201875.htm). I have severely compressed the reader-friendly format.

Cliff Blau has worked on the history of "League Operating Rules" such as those governing rosters and has published some of the work in progress on his website (http://mysite.verizon.net/brak2.0/rules.htm). His treatment of a rule family typically includes both narrative and a chronological record with quantitative dimensions—dimensions such as roster sizes and deadline dates in the article on roster limits.

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<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>12 reserve limit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>14 reserve limit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/1892</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
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Blau welcomes corrections of his entries and interpolations between them. Other sections of "League Operating Rules" cover options, the disabled list, and so on.

SPORTING LIFE, March 1899–March 1900

Sporting Life 33-34 is available on the SABR website in a set of 52 pdf files, one for each issue of the weekly newspaper (http://sabr.org/sabr.cfm?a=cms,c,1018,5,177). The span is March 25 to March 17, which covers the 1899 baseball season and nearly the whole following offseason. Jon Frankel prepared and uploaded the files.

This was a pilot project. I understand that the method will not be pursued despite its low cost. The copy is mediocre in quality and it cannot be searched automatically. SABR hopes to make a clean and searchable edition of Sporting Life available by internet, perhaps in cooperation with ProQuest.

This pdf pilot edition is almost all legible and you will find it valuable for many 1899-1900 research purposes, especially if you have no convenient access to SL on microfilm.
NINETEENTH CENTURY TRANSACTIONS

David Ball completed the third version of his "Nineteenth Century Transactions Register" in August. It is featured on our 19c Resources website.

The extensive scope is player transactions between major league clubs. With a few exceptions, it covers trades, sales, and loans between majors rather than club-player or major-minor transactions. In another dimension, the scope is 1875 to May 1900, the aftermath of NL contraction. My count for three of 28 pages suggests that about 300 transactions are reported. A few examples will indicate the intensive scope. The first two are the first two entries in the Register.

**before mid February, 1875:** After a contract dispute involving a double contract signing by catcher Tom "Reddy" Miller, a compromise settlement was effected, St. Louis paying Hartford to yield its claim. Such a payment to compromise a double contract signing by catcher Tom "Reddy" Miller, a compromise settlement was effected, St. Louis paying Hartford to yield its claim. Such a payment to compromise such a dispute is not a player sale in the strict sense, but such compromises may be considered an example of the sort of "proto-transaction" that probably preceded and paved the way for more conventional purchases.

**May 26, 1875:** The Centennials of Philadelphia disbanded after officials of the Athletics of the same city paid $1,500 of the Centennials' debts to buy second baseman Bill Craver and outfield-pitcher George Bechtel. Since the 1880's, this has been regarded as the first player sale.

**August 7, 1884 or slightly earlier:** Cleveland purchased outfield Gurdon Whiteley from Chicago for a price quoted later by two Cleveland sportswriters as $200 or $250. Whiteley had not played for the White Stockings but had been a member of the disbanded Chicago Reserve team. The reserves were farm teams organized by many of the major league clubs in 1884 to play in their ballparks while the major league teams were on the road. The players were under regular contract to the big league teams.

**April 18, 1889:** Chicago loaned utility player George Decker from St. Louis. As was often the case with loans, the deal was originally reported as a straight purchase, the price being quoted as $1,500 by the St. Louis club, and was regarded as the first purchase of a major league player by the impecunious Browns in many years. However, the transaction turned out to have included an option for Chicago to reclaim Decker or receive an equivalent in cash or players on the following October 15. In the middle of the season St. Louis released Decker, who then signed as a free agent with Louisville. At the National League meeting in November Chicago filed an official protest: Louisville was allowed to keep Decker and St. Louis was fined $1,000.

The Register does not include source notes but Ball knows the evidence in "the great majority of cases" and "often" has more explanatory information; he offers to share both. Systematic listings extracted from the second edition, at least, have been incorporated in Retrosheet's Transactions Database (19cN 2004.1, 13).

THE NEYER-JAMES GUIDE TO PITCHERS

Bill James and Rob Neyer worked for more than a decade developing a database of pitcher repertoires. They introduced it in a special session at SABR33 and it underlies their book, *The Neyer/James Guide to Pitchers* (Simon & Schuster, 2004). Immediately below is a good description of the book's contents by Jeff McFarland, edited to fit this different context. It is a good description, not a great one. One flaw is saying simply that the Pitcher Census "lists everybody" (19ers will be doubly suspicious). Thus it doesn't explain the scope of the principal section of the book.


Permit me to post a brief note here about *The Neyer/James Guide to Pitchers*, just some bullet points:

* 75% of the book is a pitcher "census" that is focused exclusively on what type of pitches a pitcher threw, and how hard he threw them (when such data is available). It lists everybody, with career records, years pitched and what pitches he threw, and citations of the sources with some quotations.
* 10% of the book consists of essays on various types of pitches (e.g., what is a forkball, who invented the screwball, is the inshoot the same as the cut fastball, etc.)
* 10% of the book consists of 4-6 page essays on ten pitchers who were good but maybe not great: Bond, Mullane, Wilbur Cooper, Rommel, Harder, Warneke, Bridges, Walters, Pierce and Friend. Interesting reading.
* 5% of the book consists of a longish essay on pitcher abuse points (the *Baseball Prospectus* measure) and a responding essay from Keith Woolner. Then there's a Bill James "toy formula" used to predict the actual Cy Young winner. Rather than saying who SHOULD win the award, it is simply trying to predict who will win the vote.

The Guide has a lot of never-before collected data on who threw what. I'm not disappointed I bought it, but it is mostly a reference work of limited scope (sort of like the SABR Home Run encyclopedia).

<<

McFarland means "limited scope" in what the book says about each pitcher who is included; earlier, "it lists everybody." Scope is not one-dimensional like length and it will be useful to distinguish intensive and extensive dimensions. *The Guide* has severely limited intensive scope and remarkably broad extensive scope.

The entry for Tommy Bond is typical of hundreds.

**Tommy Bond**

5’7” 160-pound righty

193-115, 2.25, 0 saves 1876 1884

Pitch selection: 1. Curve 2. Fastball

Sources: *The National Game* (Alfred H. Spink, pages 122-124); *Nineteenth Century Stars* (SABR, 1989, article by Bob Richardson)

In contrast, John Clarkson's entry is not far short of a two-column page like this one. The "pitch selection" with sources gives three conflicting assessments, two by Clarkson contemporaries from memory: drop curve, rising fastball, and change, by Cap Anson; fastball, by Billy Sunday; curve, by Harold Kaese in the *Boston Braves* (1948). Six paragraphs follow: three "descriptions" and two "comments" that are mainly quotations with sources and one "commentary" by the authors. The commentary in turn covers four shorter observations with sources. The authors have seen thousands of ballgames in the designated hitter era and they have studied both ballgames and game accounts closely. For pitchers of their own time, the "commentary" is more frequent and often without source notes.
The database that underlies the published census includes everyone who pitched 1000 innings or 400 games in the major leagues from 1876 plus "hundreds" of others—its extensive scope. Unusually for a baseball database, it includes source notes—an aspect of its intensive scope.

After "an aggressive outreach program to fill in the gaps," they say they were able to include 98% of pitchers with "substantial major-league careers" in the book. Does anyone wonder whether most of the 2% are from the 19th century, like the missing from some SABR databases that are nearly complete? It's true! (but I can't vouch for the 2% measure).

What about counting work only after 1875 toward passing the threshold? First, note that no one in the 19th century (or long after) worked 400 games without working 1000 innings, so the threshold is practically innings alone.

Six pitchers worked 1000 innings in the 1871-1875 NA among 116 who did so 1871-1900. Three of the six are in the book: Spalding, first in NA innings; Mathews, second; Cummings, fifth. Tommy Bond, seventh in NA innings with 849, is also covered. Mathews and Bond worked more than 1000 major innings after 1875; Spalding and Cummings are two of the "others" included.

The following table lists the NA career innings leaders at right. At left it gives fifteen prominent pitchers from the late sixties in rough chronological order, with NA innings for those who pitched in the NA but are not among its innings leaders.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROMINENT PITCHERS</th>
<th>INNINGS LEADERS</th>
<th>INNINGS</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861-1870 (IP '71-75)</td>
<td>NA 1871-1875</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom Pratt</td>
<td>Al Spalding</td>
<td>2351 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dick McBride</td>
<td>Bobby Mathews</td>
<td>2222 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asa Brainard</td>
<td>Dick McBride</td>
<td>2048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonney Martin (156)</td>
<td>George Zettlein</td>
<td>1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Zettlein</td>
<td>Candy Cummings</td>
<td>1778 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry Wright (99)</td>
<td>Chauncey Fisher</td>
<td>1081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elias Cope</td>
<td>Tommy Bond</td>
<td>849 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ed Pinkham (10)</td>
<td>Jim Britt</td>
<td>816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rynie Wolters</td>
<td>Bill Stearn</td>
<td>705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlie Pabor (51)</td>
<td>Asa Brainard</td>
<td>698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candy Cummings *</td>
<td>George Bradley</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauncey Fisher</td>
<td>Rynie Wolters</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Pratt (329)</td>
<td>Al Spalding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John McMullin (284)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* covered in the Neyer/James "Pitcher Census"

Of these twenty pitchers, only Mathews, Bond, and Bradley worked 1000 major innings after 1875 (each about 2500). Bradley is not in the book for lack of information; he is one of 47 on a Missing list distributed at SABR33 (the majority still missing). One other man who worked 2500 innings by 1900 is missing: Red Ehret, the hero of the 1890 World Series. Chick Fraser went over 3000 innings in the 19-aughts.

Three NA pitchers not in this table worked 1000 innings after 1875: Jim Devlin, Jim Galvin, and Sam Weaver. Devlin pitched almost every game for three seasons before he was expelled for selling games late in 1877. Galvin and Weaver pitched trivially in the NA. Devlin and Galvin are in the book, not Weaver.

The major league criterion works in another way. George Stovey is not covered. He was a principal in several incidents drawing the color line. On the other hand, "Harry Buckner, Negro Leagues 1896-1918" is here.
McDonald’s does not. Fleitz alone offers appendices. A list of his sources. The Fleitz and Rice books contain indices; bibliographies and notes. McDonald provides neither notes nor troubleshooting. The works of Fleitz and Rice contain of Sockalexis’ baseball career and an explanation of his short, appeared a year later. Each offers a sympathetic examination of the fleet, strong-armed Penobscot outfielder in 2002. The who does not mention the Salisbury work, published his study career. Fleitz, the author of “Freely modeled” on the life of Sockalexis. David Fleitz, who does not mention the Salisbury work, published his study appeared a year later. Each offers a sympathetic examination of Sockalexis’ baseball career and an explanation of his short, troubled life. The works of Fleitz and Rice contain bibliographies and notes. McDonald provides neither notes nor a list of his sources. The Fleitz and Rice books contain indices; McDonald’s does not. Fleitz alone offers appendices.

In large measure, questions that have interested historians forge the approach of each author. Was Sockalexis the prototype for Gilbert Patton’s (writing under the name Burt L. Standish) popular Frank Merrwell? Fleitz concludes that it’s possible, but more likely that Merrwell’s sidekick, Joe Crowfoot was a “thinly veiled homage” to Sockalexis (pages 34-35). McDonald says both conclusions are “unlikely” (19). Rice believes that the evidence confirms the connection with Merrwell (4, 97). Was Sockalexis the first full-blooded American Indian to play professional baseball? Arguing that Sockalexis was not a “full-blooded” Penobscot, Fleitz notes that part-Indian, James Madison Toy, played in 1887 and that Moses Yellowhorse, who pitched for Pittsburgh in the 1920s, deserves to be recognized as the first full-blooded Native American to play in professional baseball (68-69). McDonald gives the latter honor to Sockalexis (ix, title). Rice, after questioning Toy’s Indian ancestry, agrees with Salisbury that Sockalexis was certainly the first professional baseball player “known and treated” as an Indian (26-27). Was Sockalexis responsible for the Cleveland club being called the Indians? Fleitz says yes (182ff). Rice (172) and McDonald (58) concur. The three authors also agree that when sober and healthy Sockalexis exhibited exceptional baseball skills, and for a brief moment in 1897 was among the best of his contemporaries. Still, it is the inner battles fought by Sockalexis that finally compel readers, not the competition on the field.

Though fictional, Salisbury’s account was anchored in solid research and the story he laid out familiarized historians and fans with the general outlines of Sockalexis’ life and career. Fleitz, the author of “Shoeless: The Life and Times of Joe Jackson” (McFarland, 2001), dug deeply into contemporary newspapers and magazines, and acquainted himself with the secondary literature touching Sockalexis’ life. The result is a well-written and carefully documented story of the Penobscot Indian who flashed onto the national baseball scene in 1897 and, almost as quickly, faded from glory. After brief but impressive careers at Holy Cross and Notre Dame, Sockalexis was signed by the Cleveland Spiders. Fleitz devotes four chapters to Sockalexis’ life before his signing with Cleveland, six to Sockalexis’ three years in the majors, two to his meteoric fall from grace because of injuries and alcoholism, and two chapters to establishing his place in the history of the game and within the Indian community. Because Fleitz asked the right questions of his subject and pursued answers from primary, secondary, and living sources, his is an informative and useful book.

McDonald, who aimed at general readers, has garnered the widest publicity and distribution of the three. This is unfortunate, because his is the least reliable. Throughout, his treatment of nineteenth century baseball is shaky. He describes Jesse Burkett, who stood 5’8” and weighed 155 pounds, as a “large” man (233). He mistakes Toy for “Troy” (xx). Also, McDonald’s determination to place Sockalexis in context leads him to discussions of life in nineteenth century Maine, rowdy baseball, training methods, alcoholism, racism, Sunday baseball, and Indian wars, much of it extraneous. In spots he offers his readers more detail on his background subjects than on Sockalexis himself. At times his coverage is more imagined than factual (142-144).

Rice, a native of Maine and a journalist as well as a teacher of journalism, has had a lifelong interest in his fellow Maine athlete. He has read widely and closely in his research, but he seems not to have fully digested his material. Often his chapters are a series of long quotations. He relies heavily upon Salisbury’s work and quotes it frequently, and at some length. Too often for this reader’s taste, he recounts Sockalexis’ story through Salisbury’s—and others’—eyes. He informs us, for instance, that while writing on Sockalexis John Phillips observed that “When teams [in 1897] traveled, they used an omnibus or a bus that was horse-drawn” (34)—a fact that most readers will not need Phillips to establish. Like Fleitz, Rice carefully charts Sockalexis’ brief major league career.

There is little doubt that Sockalexis’ ethnicity and the attention given it contributed to his emotional and psychological difficulties and, subsequently, to his alcoholism. Each author might have probed more deeply in comparing the coverage of Sockalexis’ play in the various major league cities. To point out the racism that characterized much of it is only the obvious first step. This reader suspects that analyzing the nature of that racism and local differences in it both in terms of symbols and depth would identify important nuances in tone and imagery.

All three biographies offer something for their readers. Neither Rice nor McDonald mention Fleitz’s work, but their own studies suffer in comparison to his. It is not their fault that Fleitz’s work undercut the originality they both clearly hoped for. Nor perhaps was it possible for them to consult Fleitz’s work so that they could seek fresh approaches or a novel context. Fleitz, McDonald, and Rice agree that Sockalexis’ story is difficult to unravel because by now deeply rooted myths obscure him. There is also a paucity of local records touching him, his relatives, and his tribe. But for the next scholar to assume the task, it is Fleitz who best lays out the evidence. He tells his story carefully and at the same time provides the scholar wherewithal to check his facts, to weigh his evidence, and to probe his interpretations.

Gail Rowe, Greeley CO, is a retired Professor of American History at the University of Northern Colorado. He is writing a biography of Tim Murnane; while engaged in that work he has completed three mysteries featuring Murnane and the Boston Beaneaters between 1897 and 1901. Best Bet in Beantown, Squeeze Play in Beantown, and Double Play in Beantown.
Reviewed by David Ball

The late 1870’s may be as important as any period in baseball history, a time when the leaders of the National League, enduring numerous trials and many errors, brought their fledgling organization through a period of weak attendance and economic recession while developing many of the institutions and practices that later became known as Organized Baseball and still underlie professional baseball’s organization today. Yet these years have been something of a dark age in baseball history, a time for which we have no Sporting Life or extensive local newspaper coverage to provide copious primary source material, no entertaining and informative modern studies by the likes of William Ryczek to make the period easy and pleasurable to explore, little attention from the scholarly historians who have turned their attention to cultural history and the period of the amateur clubs. Tom Melville’s Early Baseball and the Rise of the National League has recently done much to fill the gap, but that work is an interpretive analysis that makes no attempt at coherent narrative history and Melville’s dry and awkward prose and dense argumentation may be better suited to winning awards than to attracting readers. In The League that Lasted Neil MacDonald has now produced a more accessible account of the creation of the National League and its first year in operation.

As MacDonald observes in his preface, two versions of the history of the League’s foundation have fought for acceptance. The League’s early propagandists such as Albert Spalding had considerable success in establishing a version of the League’s early history in which wise founding fathers created an organization that banished game-selling and set right the relations between capital and labor. In recent decades, however, a revisionist version has emerged, in which the League founders are seen as robber barons with a shaky grasp of intelligent policy but a monopolist’s firm hold on the throats of the players and public. As MacDonald says, “the truth, of course, is somewhere in between,” and the purpose of The League that Lasted is in large measure to locate the truth about the League’s founding on a continuum between those two views.

However, only about the first quarter of his text is devoted to preliminary organizational maneuvering, from Chicago’s signing of the Boston Big Four in the middle of the 1875 season to the League’s first meeting in February 1876. As the 1876 season approaches, MacDonald’s primary focus changes to the game on the field, carrying the story of the first season through to the annual meeting in December. He does not stint attention to organizational problems that arose as the season went on, particularly the expulsion of the Athletics and Mutuals and the desire of the League to address the problem of game-selling.

The account of the 1876 season contains occasional analytical set pieces such as an interesting analysis of George Washington Bradley’s pitching style. Most of this portion of the book is structured chronologically, however, and is rather episodic. The result is at times something like reading a longer, more detailed and thorough version of Preston Orem’s *Baseball through the Newspaper Accounts*, this time with endnotes. As with Orem, a reader will come away from The League that Lasted with a great deal of entertaining and instructive information. There is an interesting account of the first doubleheader and a more detailed recounting of the pool seller Fred Seibert’s attempt to bribe Bobby Mathews than I have seen before. Yet the primarily chronological organization to some extent obscures important and interesting themes that might have been emphasized by a more topical structure. A chapter might profitably have been devoted, for example, to the remarkably bad team put together in Cincinnati, and even Chicago’s exceptionally good team is a little obscured.

MacDonald has consulted a large number of secondary sources and a variety of primary ones, but he tends to employ them somewhat erratically. At times he seems to accept the authority of his secondary sources uncritically. Ryczek’s *Blackguards and Red Stockings* appears in his bibliography and occasionally in his notes, for example, but one would expect to see the best work on the 1871-75 National Association cited far more often. In his chapter on the League’s crucial first meeting, the work of historians like David Voigt and Harold Seymour seems to be given equal weight with a variety of other books, even including Damon Rice’s obscure historical novel *Seasons Past*.

MacDonald has consulted the Chicago Historical Society’s collection of the correspondence of William Hulbert, the League’s guiding spirit and strongest force, and anyone who dips into the Hulbert correspondence comes up with some gems. We get an interesting glimpse of Hulbert fencing with Athletics president G.M Thompson over Cap Anson’s desire to skip out on his promise to sign with Hulbert’s Chicago club. Another quotation shows Hulbert warmly reciprocating Henry Chadwick’s dislike, writing that he did not intend to prevent Chadwick from expressing critical views but “we do mean to strip him of the Official character he has assumed.” Unfortunately, MacDonald appears to have used the Chicago archive only for the period leading up to the League’s founding. A few quotations from the correspondence appear in the later chapters, particularly on the failure of the Mutuals and Athletics to make their final western swings in the fall of 1876, but there they are all in the form of citations from Melville’s and Harold Seymour’s work.

The failure to use Hulbert’s correspondence more fully, and the complete absence of Harry Wright’s, deprives MacDonald of what would have been important sources for the events of the 1876 season. This is all the more unfortunate in view of the fact that, in addition to the *Clipper*, MacDonald uses only six daily newspapers, one from each League city with the exceptions of St. Louis and Boston (for the latter city he fills in with Harold Kaese’s team history of the Braves in the old Putnam series). Anyone who has done much newspaper research in this period knows that two newspapers, even in the same city, will offer versions of a given incident that sometimes differ radically. One can sympathize with MacDonald’s difficulties in conducting research on a nineteenth century major league from his residence in Blaine, Washington, but it ought to be said that the rather narrow basis of his primary research may be partially responsible for a number of errors.

He attributes the expulsion of George Bechtel, to begin with, to excessive drinking rather than to accusations he had played to lose and had solicited Jim Devlin to do the same, as other writers have it (for example, Ginsburg, *The Fix Is In*, and Orem). This may well result from the failure to read a wide enough variety of sources to get all the versions of the story.  

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**The League that Lasted: 1876 and the Founding of the National League of Professional Base Ball Clubs.** By Neil W. MacDonald. McFarland (above). 2004. viii+255p, photos, notes, bibliography, index; $29.95 paper

Reviewed by David Ball

The late 1870’s may be as important as any period in baseball history, a time when the leaders of the National League, enduring numerous trials and many errors, brought their fledgling organization through a period of weak attendance and economic recession while developing many of the institutions and practices that later became known as Organized Baseball and still underlie professional baseball’s organization today. Yet these years have been something of a dark age in baseball history, a time for which we have no Sporting Life or extensive local newspaper coverage to provide copious primary source material, no entertaining and informative modern studies by the likes of William Ryczek to make the period easy and pleasurable to explore, little attention from the scholarly historians who have turned their attention to cultural history and the period of the amateur clubs. Tom Melville’s *Early Baseball and the Rise of the National League* has recently done much to fill the gap, but that work is an interpretive analysis that makes no attempt at coherent narrative history and Melville’s dry and awkward prose and dense argumentation may be better suited to winning awards than to attracting readers. In *The League that Lasted* Neil MacDonald has now produced a more accessible account of the creation of the National League and its first year in operation.

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To be fair, MacDonald’s citations seem as authoritative as Ginsburg’s—Orem, as usual, names no sources—and it could easily be said that MacDonald has found an aspect of the Bechtel affair overlooked by others. Still, catching the game-selling angle would have served him well, because the League’s uphill battle against corruption and the perception of corruption is an important theme in *The League that Lasted*.

More clearly a mistake is his assertion that the National League instituted a formal color line at its inaugural meeting. That issue certainly did not show up on the organization’s radar screen at the time, and MacDonald or one of his sources is undoubtedly misplacing the resolution to this effect adopted by the amateur National Association about a decade before. MacDonald also makes the remarkable suggestion that Bob Ferguson’s elevation to the National Association presidency in 1872 was a Machiavellian plot by William Cammeyer to embroil the captain of the Atlantics in NA politics, thereby distracting Ferguson from his own club’s affairs and effectively eliminating a local rival to Cammeyer’s Mutuals. Everyone else who has studied the matter believes Ferguson as NA president was a figurehead with virtually no official duties (for example, Ryczek, 73–74).

A besetting sin of baseball historiography in recent decades has been the tendency to pick out a few unlucky individuals for scapegoating, even demonization. The most noteworthy examples of this phenomenon are those great rivals of the 1880s, Cap Anson and Charlie Comiskey, who have been subjected to endless exaggerated, almost ritualized denunciations for actions that represent only very limited parts of their long careers. William Hulbert and the National League’s founders have not suffered to the same degree, but there is no doubt that the reaction against the earlier established and idealized version of their accomplishments has produced a conventional wisdom that is as equally naïve in its own way. MacDonald’s essential accomplishment here is to find and depict a more plausible and well-rounded, more realistic and believable version of William Hulbert, a hard-headed businessman with real principles that life in the real world compels him to compromise but not abandon.

This is not to say I agree with every interpretation in *The League that Lasted*. His interpretation of the expulsion of the Mutuals in particular seems to depend on needlessly complicated analyses of the motivations of Cammeyer and his relations with the other League owners. Rather than struggling to save his Mutuals, it is clear that Cammeyer happily let them die in order to bring Hartford’s team to Brooklyn in 1877. That story is well and convincingly told in David Arcidiacono’s *Grace, Grit and Growling*, and in fact it emerges pretty clearly in MacDonald’s own text (see especially page 158).

Readers will disagree with this or that particular argument in *The League that Lasted* without detracting from the book’s considerable merits. MacDonald has written an interesting account of the National League’s first season, and at the same time he has provided us with an essentially sound basis for understanding the actions of Hulbert and his associates. If we build on the start he has made, plausible and workable interpretations of their actions will naturally follow—which will certainly be a good thing for baseball history.

David Ball, Cincinnati OH, is the author of the “Nineteenth Century Transactions Register” (featured above) which covers player transactions between MLB clubs, and he is a student of 19c ballclub business in general. He reviewed Tom Melville’s *Early Baseball and the Rise of the National League* here recently (2003, 8-9).

**Which books should we review?** Any new book (2003-2004) related to baseball before 1901 is a candidate for review in 500-1000 words, or more. Contact me before you undertake it. We should try to review all new books about 19c baseball in some genres. All non-fiction for adults?

We should still review some other books published 1998-2002 (call them "recent" rather than "new") because they are important. Please nominate important recent books that the 19c Cmte should review, in your opinion.

**What else should we review?** This number includes three reviews of books about 19c baseball and others will follow.

The print encyclopedias are fair game. We should also review in some fashion internet resources such as ProQuest historical newspapers and web encyclopedias at Baseball-Reference, Retrosheet, and BaseballLibrary.

What else? Traditional archives and special collections? Some short articles? Statistical studies or new statistics?

**Help Wanted**

Please send me Help Wanted items. "Help" should be interpreted broadly. This is probably the most valuable material to submit quickly. –Ed.

**VITAL STATISTICS OF EARLY BASEBALLS**

Robert Loeffler (loefflerrd@aol.com 6 Calle Vaqueta, Rancho Santa Margarita CA 92688; 949-766-7478) seeks sizes, weights, and photos of baseballs used during the 19th century.

**BOX SCORE AND LINE SCORE LAYOUT**

Frank Vaccaro (vaccaro@earthlink.net 536 47th Ave #1R, Long Island City NY 11101; 718-729-8374) would like to compile information about box score and line score layout. He has noted a pattern for "horizontal" box scores whose two teams are listed side by side: the team that used more players is on the left. Call it the typesetter’s rule because it may be easier to set the longer list on the left margin. How widely is that rule followed? Where and when is it broken? Please report any box score or line score pattern that you have noticed in any newspaper and year. Other patterns may be home team on the left, winning team on the top, and so on.

**BOX SCORE PRODUCTION**

Frank Vaccaro (vaccaro@earthlink.net 536 47th Ave #1R, Long Island City NY 11101; 718-729-8374) hopes to learn about the production of box scores for any newspaper any year. Did one person complete a scorecard during the game and afterward write a box score on paper? Was telecommunication used, probably telegraph? Ernie Lanigan worked as a "box score copy boy" for the Philadelphia Record. What did he do? When and how did newspapers use box scores compiled by others?

**Help Offered**

Please send me Help Offered items. Consider "Help" an abbreviation: Do you have any special services, data or materials that you would like to offer to other members? –Ed.
SABR AWARDS for work on 19c BASEBALL

The SABR awards program now comprises a few discretionary awards and eight annual ones: the Bob Davids Award and seven that honor as many as 11 specific works. Most of the awards are announced at the Annual Convention banquet, in the summer, which ends the awards season. A few works on 19c subjects were honored in 2004. Congratulations, authors!


Robert Schaefer. McFarland-SABR Award for "The Great Baseball Match of 1858, Base Ball's First All-Star Game."
Available from the SABR Research Library.

Available from the SABR Research Library.


The Morris and Schaefer titles adequately convey the scope of those works. Bevis begins the story of Sunday doubleheaders with the separate biographies of their parents, Sunday baseball and doubleheaders, beginning in the 1880s. Armour and Levitt present the development of great teams in twelve case studies. The earliest is Ned Hanlon's Brooklyn Superbas, NL champions in 1899 and 1900.

The Seymour Medal honors the best book on baseball history or biography published during the preceding calendar year. McFarland-SABR Awards honor usually three papers on baseball history or biography completed during the preceding calendar year. Sporting News-SABR Awards honor usually three projects that do not fit the "history and biography" criteria for the Seymour and McFarland-SABR. For more information, visit sabr.org ("Awards"), read the SABR Membership Directory (2001), or follow the annual cycle in the SABR Bulletin.

The Jack Kavanagh Memorial Youth Baseball Award honors one work by an author under age 21, to be published by SABR. Last year I listed the 2001and 2002 winners and marked them "temporarily unavailable." I had read them on the web but they had been removed. The 2002 winner has been restored; "Baseball's Transition to Professionalism" by Aaron Feldman (http://sabr.org/sabr.cfm?a=cms,c,134,43,0). The 2001 winner is still unavailable: "Harry Wright: Was He the Most Important Baseball Figure of the 19th Century?" by Chris Devine. McFarland published Devine's book biography of Wright in 2003.

COMMITTEE AND CHAPTER AWARDS

Some of SABR's research committees and regional chapters make annual or occasional awards. Please report them when they recognize work on 19c baseball.

In 2004 the Negro Leagues Cmte awarded Peter Morris its first "Find of the Year" for his work on William Edward White, who played one major league game in 1879. Census data shows that White was the son of a mulatto mother and white father. He is the first known African-American in the majors.

MORRIS WINS SEYMOUR MEDAL

Peter Morris received the 2004 Seymour Medal for Baseball Fever: Early Baseball in Michigan (University of Michigan Press). The annual award recognizes the best book of baseball history or biography published during the preceding year. Baseball Fever is reviewed by Mark Lamster above. Morris is a former English instructor who reviewed a few books here in the late 1990s. For "Origins of the Word 'Fan'" (Denver, 2003) he won the Award for best oral research presentation at the Annual Convention, now the Doug Pappas Award. His work is frequently recognized as the bimonthly "Find of the Month" by the Biographical Research Cmte and his work on William White was featured by The Wall Street Journal in a page one story, 30 Jan 2004 (see preceding item). Subscribers to 19cBB and some other email lists know his contributions well, and treasure them. Congratulations again.

INTERNET RESOURCES are listed in the index of SABR research committees (http://sabr.org; "Research"; column heading "WebSites & Other Internet Resources"). That should be a stable route for all committees as addresses change. Presently,

Website "19th Century Resources"
http://world.std.com/~pgw/19c

Egroup or email list '19cBB'
http://groups.yahoo.com/group/19cBB Join this mutual distribution email list by sending any email message to 19cBB-subscribe@yahoogroups.com. There are Daily Digest and No Email (web only) options.

(Contact data continues in wide format on the next page.)
Contact Data, continued

SABR no longer distributes a print membership directory. By policy, 19c Notes provides contact information that enables both email and no-email readers to communicate with people named (in some contexts). The "Help Wanted" and "Help Offered" articles alone include full contact data. This section fills the gap. This month, it covers #2003, too.

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