From child's play to molder of men: the gendered narrative of nineteenth-century baseball.

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FROM CHILD'S PLAY TO MOLDER OF MEN:
THE GENDERED NARRATIVE OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY BASEBALL

by

Debra Ann Shattuck

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Thesis Supervisor: Professor Leslie A. Schwalm

Graduate College
The University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

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PH.D. THESIS

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This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

Debra Ann Shattuck

has been approved by the Examining Committee
for the thesis requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy
degree in History at the December 2015 graduation.

Thesis Committee: _____
Leslie Schwalm, Thesis Supervisor

_____
Allen Steinberg

_____
Linda Kerber

_____
Connie Berman

_____
Catriona Parratt

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ABSTRACT

Baseball did not become gendered as a man's sport overnight nor did any single group dominate the cultural metanarrative of baseball as it matured from infancy to adolescence during the nineteenth century. Baseball has never been simply a sport; it has always been a means to an end. It has provided recreation, excitement, income (for some), exercise, and social bonding. It has been used to inculcate and symbolize "Americanism," middle-class, Judeo-Christian values, and "manliness." Urban boosters have employed it to build civic pride; armies have leveraged it to entertain troops and to mollify former enemies; healthcare professionals have used it to pacify mental health patients; social reformers have employed it as an antidote for urban stress and a vehicle for assimilation; and physical educators have used it to promote health and fitness. This this focuses primarily on the gender *leitmotif* woven into the whole cloth of baseball narratives. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the twisted braid of the gender-neutral thread slowly unraveled so that male and female threads stood apart from one another. By century's end, men held almost exclusive control of the narrative of "official" baseball, while women controlled a parallel narrative for the baseball-surrogate called "women's baseball." Their game was precursor to the new "official" game of softball that would emerge in the 1930s.

The sport we call baseball today evolved from a diverse mix of children's bat and ball games; these games were, for the most part, a gender-neutral "blank slate" upon which adult men and women wrote their gendered narratives and then taught those narratives to their children. Upper class, middle class, and lower class, native-born and immigrant, white, black, Asian, and Hispanic, men and women, adults and children, gamblers, tradesmen, politicians, white-collar professionals, and theatrical entrepreneurs all embraced the sport and crafted their own unique narratives to reinforce the socio-cultural and gendered identities they valued. In the process each

contributed to baseball's elevation in status to national pastime and to its gendered identity as a man's game.

This thesis traces the evolution of baseball throughout the nineteenth century, focusing on the development of the formal structure of the sport and the cultural "creed" it shaped. To the extent allowed by available primary sources, each chapter highlights the perceptions of female players, particularly as they saw themselves in the context of baseball culture and social ideals of gender.

PUBLIC ABSTRACT

Baseball has not always been identified as a man's game despite the fact that its boosters began proclaiming it a "manly" pastime in antebellum America. This thesis reveals, for the first time, that baseball began as a gender-neutral sport. Countless girls and women across the country played the game in every decade of the nineteenth century that the game existed, organizing the same types of teams that boys and men did. The thesis explains how and why the gender-neutral game become so fiercely gendered as masculine and explains how this characterization persisted despite dramatic changes in gender ideals and roles over time.

Close scrutiny of nineteenth-century sources indicates that baseball's gendered character was neither inevitable nor quickly solidified. For decades journalists, scholars, and ordinary citizens unwittingly perpetuated the gendered narrative—a narrative introduced by men with a personal and financial stake in shaping the game for their own purposes and one accepted and reinforced in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth by female physical educators who organized a structure for girls' and women's sport that discouraged elitism and encouraged participation by individuals of all physical characteristics.

This thesis traces the evolution of baseball throughout the nineteenth century, focusing on the development of the formal structure of the sport and the cultural "creed" it shaped. To the extent allowed by available primary sources, each chapter highlights the perceptions of female players, particularly as they saw themselves in the context of baseball culture and social ideals of gender.

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PREFACE

> Women play baseball—after a fashion. Few play it well. The 'hardball' game is a man's sport and although members of the fair sex have tried it since 'way back when and there are teams of women players who still tour the country for exhibition games against men's teams, their chief stock in trade is novelty. It is decidedly unusual for a girl to be skilled in this sport.
>
> —Arthur T. Noren, *Softball* (1966)[1]

> What if we just admitted that softball and baseball are not, in fact, "separate but equal" but entirely different sports? There is no rational basis to claim that girls can't throw overhand, run 90 feet between bases or handle a hardball. And there is no reason but sexism to prevent them from doing so.
>
> —Emma Span, Senior Editor, *Sports Illustrated* (2014)[2]

Baseball has not always been identified as a man's game despite the fact that its boosters began proclaiming it a "manly" pastime from the moment it coalesced into a new sport from multiple bat and ball games in antebellum America. For most of the nineteenth century, girls and women actively (although not always consciously) resisted this gendered narrative by playing the game. Unfortunately, the record of female involvement with the national pastime became significantly distorted over the course of the nineteenth century; the intentional and unintentional distortion helped create and perpetuate baseball's identity as a masculine sport. Today, four decades after girls and young women filed over twenty-two lawsuits against the Little League Association and various youth and high school leagues for the right to play baseball, most Americans still assume that baseball is for boys and men and that softball is for everyone, but especially girls and women.[3] Modern feminism, which so successfully opened the door to countless opportunities for women in business, politics, economics, and sport, did little to open baseball dugouts to girls and women. Why is that?

"All play means something," says Johan Huizinga. It is a "special form of activity" that serves a social function.[4] As the so-called *national* pastime, baseball has been used by countless constituencies to serve diverse social functions over time. That is why the persistence of

baseball's masculinized identity fascinates me. The social functions baseball has performed have varied widely over the decades as socio-cultural contexts have continually evolved. Yet baseball still remains strongly gendered as a man's game. How do we account for the current association of baseball with masculinity long after other previously gendered sports like distance running, basketball, and competitive skiing have shed their masculine reputations? Why is the mantra, "baseball is for boys and softball is for girls" still so deeply engrained in the collective consciousness of our twenty-first century minds while news of women running corporations, ruling from the Supreme Court bench, presiding over cities, states and universities, and commanding military units is considered passé?

The history of baseball bears little resemblance to the past, as John Thorn presciently revealed in his study of how baseball's early power brokers and boosters constructed false stories about their sport to perpetuate particular socio-cultural narratives they wished to convey. In *Baseball in the Garden of Eden,* Thorn concludes that "in no field of American endeavor is invention more rampant than in baseball, whose whole history is a lie from beginning to end."[5] One of the most invidious inventions from baseball's past is that the game is and always has been a man's game. This is simply not true; there were always "Eves" in baseball's Eden.

This thesis addresses a number of key questions: How and why did the gender-neutral child's game of baseball become so fiercely gendered as "masculine?" Who were the historical actors (male and female) who consciously or unconsciously wielded the tools that gendered the sport? Why has this gendered identity persisted and can it ever be deconstructed to return baseball to a game for everyone? To answer these questions I spent years scouring nineteenth-century primary sources relating to female baseball players. I analyzed books, newspaper and periodical articles, letters, diaries, scrapbooks, photographs, and cultural artifacts in order to

determine which girls and women played baseball and why. I considered whether factors, such as age, social class, race, ethnicity, geographic region, timeframe, and family background influenced their actions, and I assessed how the players and others interpreted what they were doing in a broader social context.

Sport and Gendered Identities

Sport is one of many tools humans use to inculcate and express socio-cultural identities like race, gender, social class, and ethnicity. For the past forty years or so, sport historians, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, and economists have analyzed sport's multifaceted role as both catalyst and mirror of manufactured identities. They have demonstrated how women and men have used sport to instill idealized behaviors and to reinforce (or contest) hierarchies of power. Feminist scholars have been particularly interested in the process through which men have leveraged sport to promote gender ideals of dominant masculinity.

Sports can be characterized as gender neutral (recreational swimming, tennis, volleyball, etc.) or masculine (football, baseball, cricket, etc.) or feminine (synchronized swimming, rhythmic gymnastics, etc.).[6] These categories are fluid; the characterization of games and sports as masculine or feminine changes over time just as the ideals that humans associate with masculinity and femininity change over time. Basketball offers a good example of this process. When James Naismith first invented basketball in the fall of 1891, it was a gender-neutral game. It was played by both men and women on the same size court using the same rules and equipment. In other words, both the sport's identity and practices (its venues, rules, and equipment) were the same for everyone; there was initially no such thing as "men's basketball" and "women's basketball." That bifurcation came later and was not uncontested.[7] Newspapers around the country began mentioning the new sport of basketball by the spring of 1892.[8] Within

a year of its invention, editorialists were touting the game's healthful value for men and women and were contrasting it with the increasingly violent sport of football.[9] In April 1893, for example, the *Logansport (Indiana) Journal* published: "For Men and Women: A New Game Known as Basket-Ball; It is Something Like Foot-Ball, But is Devoid of Rough Features and is Very Full of Fun—How the Game is Played." The article commented that physical educators had long realized a necessity for a game "which could be played indoors by old and young, male and female," was "devoid of rough features," and would appeal to anyone from scholars and businessmen to athletes.[10]

Basketball retained its gender-neutral reputation for only a few years until physical educators like Senda Berenson and Clara Baer began developing and promoting special rules for women that minimized physical exertion, physical contact, and excessive competition. At that point, basketball began to diverge into two sports—one identified as masculine and one as feminine. The key distinction between the two lay in the rules which minimized running and physical contact for female players. Basketball retained its gendered polarity for almost three quarters of a century until a new generation of women's rights activists redefined what it meant to be feminine, and scores of women collegians vociferously demanded the right to play basketball by the same rules their male counterparts used. Though women's basketball had not been inherently inferior to men's basketball—it was immensely popular among women collegians and spectators—the daughters of modern feminism recognized that the existence of separate rules for women perpetuated a belief that women needed special protection from physical and mental overexertion. They rejected this premise and insisted on playing "men's" basketball. Within a decade, basketball had resumed its gender-neutral status. Note that I am speaking here *only* of the sport's identification as a man's or woman's game. I am not implying

that women have successfully inverted the structural hierarchy of basketball in which men control the governing bodies and reap the significant profits and benefits associated with sporting infrastructure, competition, and marketing. These aspects of the sport (like most others) remain highly gendered.

During the mid- to late-twentieth century, determined sportswomen successfully recast a host of previously gendered sports as gender neutral (or at least began the process toward that end). Marathons, decathlons and triathlons, bob-sledding, speed skating, and body building slowly lost their "men-only" identities as elite female athletes subverted their gendered narratives by proving that women could master them. This is not to say that demonstrated excellence automatically transforms a sport's gendered identity, or alters its hierarchical power structures, or changes its status within the broader culture.[11] Demonstrated excellence does, however, problematize and challenge the gendered identities assigned to particular sports, making it more difficult for groups to use those sports to perpetuate a particular gender ideal. Despite the continual presence of girls and women playing baseball during the same period that women were problematizing the gendered narrative of other sports, baseball retained (and still retains) its gendered identity.

Transforming a sport's gendered reputation generally takes decades to accomplish and is more complex than scholars of gender and sport first recognized. Early feminist approaches tended to emphasize the agency of men; they focused on the institutionalized, patriarchal frameworks that men constructed, and their collusion with mass media powerbrokers to disparage female athletes and to keep women in their places outside of locker rooms, fields, front offices, and dugouts. This analytical framework persisted for more than a decade; sociologist Lois Bryson's "Sport and the Maintenance of Masculine Hegemony" (1987) is a late exemplar of

this approach. Bryson argued that only by understanding how men have used sport to dominate women, could women ever hope to break that domination. Her assertion that sport has been so successfully "masculinized" that it will probably never be able to serve women's purposes resonated (and continues to resonate) with many feminists and elite female athletes.[12]

Even as Bryson's study appeared, other scholars were beginning to change the framework of gender analysis. Elliott Gorn, Steven Riess, Michael Kimmel, Michael Messner and others began analyzing how men used sport, not primarily to subjugate or belittle women, but to define and model ideals of masculinity.[13] Roberta J. Park, James A. Mangan, Jennifer Hargreaves, Susan Birrell, Mary McDonald, Patricia Vertinsky, Susan K. Cahn, and other scholars broadened analyses of gender and power relationships to include intersections of class, race, ethnicity, nationalism, age, and biology. Scholars like these explored how gender ideals are jointly constructed by men *and* women.[14] Cahn argues, for example, that women played a significant role in creating an enduring gender hierarchy of sport in the early twentieth century by creating separate rules for girls and women that minimized physical exertion and downplayed aggression and competition. "Efforts to create a separate, distinct women's brand of sport effectively defined 'feminine' sport as a lesser version of male sport," writes Cahn.[15] The parallel female hierarchy they established to oversee women's sports ultimately reinforced widely held assumptions about women's biological inferiority. It also played a role in codifying baseball's gendered identity as a man's game.

Baseball as Exemplar

This thesis uses baseball to explore how the process of gender transformation played out over the course of the nineteenth century as women and men negotiated gender ideals and structures of power. It explains how the gender-neutral child's game of baseball became gendered as a man's

game and why female physical educators at the turn of the nineteenth century chose to create the separate game of "women's baseball" rather than continue to perpetuate a gendered counter-narrative for the national pastime.

Baseball is a useful example for this study because, unlike other sports, it was labeled the "national pastime" early in the nation's formative period. Baseball was birthed and grew to adolescence at the same time the young United States was developing a national culture. Jules Tygiel argues that it is precisely because the U.S. was developing a national culture that the game evolved the way it did. Eschewing metaphorical theses that try to link the rules of baseball to esoteric notions of civilization and wilderness, safety and danger, urban and rural life, Tygiel emphasizes that baseball was popular, not because of inherent attributes that just happened to appeal to American circumstances, but because its creators "fashioned it in their own image."[16] The drive to equate baseball with American (U.S.) identity and values was so strong it even led to the fabrication of historical narratives about the sport's invention and evolution that erased any links to British antecedents and misrepresented women's participation.[17] Because ideals of nationalism and gender were so intertwined in baseball's development over the course of the nineteenth century, efforts to re-characterize it as a game for everyone have largely failed.

Historiography of Baseball and Gender

The history of women baseball players, like the origin of modern baseball, has been distorted by myth and misperception. Decade after decade in the nineteenth century, the popular press and baseball boosters perpetuated misinformation and historical amnesia about female players by labeling each new female player or team as a "novelty." Novelty implies oddity—something not seen before—something without a history. Each new generation of players thought it was the first because it had no historical memory of preceding generations of players. The letters,

diaries, and reminiscences of women players from the nineteenth century onward reflect their belief that what they were doing was out of the norm and "new." Because women players in succeeding generations were unable to establish strong links to previous generations of players, they were unable to alter the perception that they were interlopers in the masculine space of the baseball diamond. With each passing decade that journalists and social commentators labeled women players "novelties," baseball's reputation as a masculine sport became more deeply entrenched.

Although it was primarily the contemporary press and promoters of women's barnstorming teams in the nineteenth century that shaped the discourse about female players as novelties, modern historians often perpetuated this distortion of baseball memory by simply repeating the observations of past actors rather than recognizing that what each generation of observers was reporting as novel was actually a continuation of past practice. It is understandable how this great forgetting was prolonged. The dearth of information on female baseball players when I began my research on the subject in 1987 was striking. The previous year, McFarland press had published Myron J. Smith's 915-page, *Baseball: A Comprehensive Bibliography*, claiming that it left no aspect of baseball history uncovered. Yet neither the bibliography's Table of Contents nor the index to its 20,000+ entries included the category "women." The library at the Cooperstown Hall of Fame had only a smattering of newspaper clippings in its files about female players, and early scholarly histories of baseball, like David Q. Voigt's 3-volume *American Baseball*, published between 1966 and 1983, and Harold Seymour's first two volumes of his trilogy, *Baseball: The Early Years* (1960) and *Baseball: The Golden Age* (1971), did not discuss women players in any detail.

As the field of women's sport history evolved, and evidence of nineteenth-century women baseball players began to come to light, baseball historians began inserting vignettes about women players into their narratives, but still continued to portray them as unique (and rare) novelties. Beginning in the early 1990s, a number of scholars took up the subject of women's relationship to the national pastime in earnest. Much of the interest in women baseball players was generated by Penny Marshall's movie, *A League of Their Own*, which debuted in 1992, one year before the fiftieth anniversary of its subject—the World War II-era All-American Girls Baseball League (AAGBL). The impending anniversary and the movie sparked a flurry of popular and scholarly articles and books about the league, including Lois Browne's *Girls of Summer: The Real Story of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League* (1992), Sue Macy's *A Whole New Ball Game: The Story of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League* (1993), and Susan E. Johnson's *When Women Played Hardball* (1994). Most scholars of the AAGBL consulted the path breaking study of the league done by Merrie A. Fidler in the early 1970s for her Master's thesis. Fidler's, *The Origins and History of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League* was ultimately published in 2006.[18] Most studies of the AAGBL were written for general audiences and focused on the structure of the league, its business operations, and the players. Although most emphasized the rules requiring players to strictly adhere to prevailing social ideals about femininity, none included extensive analysis of the league in the context of gender and sport.

My own work in the field predated the AAGBL anniversary but was inspired by the league nonetheless. My master's thesis, "Playing a Man's Game: Women and Baseball in the United States, 1866-1954" (Brown University, 1988) was one of the first, if not the first, scholarly efforts to document the number and scope of early female baseball players and to try to

link them to the creation of the AAGBL. Despite finding examples of teams and players not previously highlighted in scholarly works, my methodology and conclusions reflected the commonly held assumption that nineteenth-century female baseball players were novelties who were generally disparaged for intruding on a "man's game." My early published articles perpetuated this thesis.[19] By 1992, I had completed detailed research on women baseball players at the "Seven Sisters" colleges and was able, for the first time, to analyze the diaries, letters, and writings of a subset of nineteenth-century female baseball players. My findings, published as "Bats, Balls and Books: Baseball and Higher Education for Women at Three Eastern Women's Colleges, 1866-1891" (1992),[20] convinced me that it was imperative that scholars conduct detailed research on nineteenth-century female baseball players because it was clear that there were far more players than anyone had previously thought and that their relationship to the game was different than that of men. My career in the Air Force necessitated that I put further research on hold until my retirement in 2008. Meanwhile, other scholars of women and baseball continued to expand our understanding of women and baseball.

The first books that sought to demonstrate the scope of women's involvement with baseball beyond the AAGBL were Barbara Gregorich's *Women at Play: The Story of Women in Baseball* (1993) and sociologist Gai Ingham Berlage's *Women in Baseball: The Forgotten History* (1994).[21] Written for a popular audience, Gregorich's book spans the century between 1890 and 1990 and contains brief sketches of twenty female players, seven women's baseball teams, and three umpires. Berlage was the first to publish a scholarly, socio-cultural analysis of women baseball players that sought to understand how society had been conditioned to accept baseball as a male domain. Berlage was doubtful that women would ever break through the "old boy network" that controlled the administrative structure of organized baseball but she hoped

that as girls and young women continued to organize their own teams and demand the right to play on Little League teams and school and college teams their experiences would be more positive.

Berlage's study was an important first step in understanding baseball as both a mirror and shaper of socio-cultural values and gendered identities, but it tended to emphasize the agency of men in keeping women from sharing fully in the national pastime. Subsequent books by Jean Ardell, John Kovach, Leslie Heaphy, and Dorothy Jane Mills, continued to fill in the holes in the historical narrative of women's involvement in the national pastime as players, team owners, umpires, sportswriters, and scouts.[22] Recent works, like Marilyn Cohen's *No Girls in the Clubhouse: The Exclusion of Women from Baseball* (2009), and Jennifer Ring's *Stolen Bases: Why American Girls Don't Play Baseball* (2009)[23] still emphasize patriarchy as the primary cause for women's exclusion from baseball.

My thesis seeks to incorporate advances in gender and sport studies to expand our interpretations about baseball's masculine identity beyond the patriarchal framework.

What About Softball?

The sport of softball has little bearing on the gendered narrative of baseball in the nineteenth century; the name "Softball" did not identify a baseball surrogate until 1926 and the sport itself was not officially codified with standardized rules until 1934.[24] Historians generally attribute the invention of softball to a group of men in Chicago who, in 1887, laid out a baseball diamond indoors in a gymnasium so they could continue to play during the winter months. In other words, contrary to a common misconception, softball was not invented as a game for girls and women so that they would stop playing baseball. It was invented by men for themselves and quickly became popular among men and women who played it at YMCA gyms and colleges

throughout the country. Almost immediately, male and female physical educators and recreation professionals recognized the game's potential to provide healthful exercise for girls and boys, and men and women of all ages and physical abilities. They moved the game outdoors and adapted the rules and equipment according to players' abilities and skills. Most of the games featured underhand pitching, smaller diamonds, and soft balls. By the early nineteenth century, softball precursors known by names like kitten ball, diamond ball, mush ball, and pumpkin ball, were played on makeshift fields at tens of thousands of parks and schoolyards across the country. In the mid-1920s, amateur sportsmen and women and physical educators began creating the governing bodies and organizational hierarchy to standardize rules and promote play in communities, schools, and colleges. So, while softball would play a major role during the latter half of the twentieth century in helping sustain baseball's masculine reputation, it was not part of the process of creating that identity in the first place.

Scope and Methodology

To some degree, this thesis harkens back to the early days of women's history when scholars sought merely to insert forgotten women back into the historical record. Because no published resource to-date accurately quantifies the numerical, temporal, and geographic scope of nineteenth-century women baseball players, a portion of this thesis is devoted to filling these historical gaps. In fact, it was the sheer number of previously unknown female players and teams that caused me to constrain my study to the nineteenth-century. Because the historical record is so full of holes where female baseball players are concerned, scholars of gender and sport and of women and baseball are basing their conclusions on faulty information and are perpetuating factual inaccuracies. The appendices provide details on specific teams and players

that played (or planned to play) during the nineteenth century. The lists of teams and players will undoubtedly grow as newspapers and archives continue to digitize their resources.

Simply documenting the existence of female baseball players does not answer the questions about baseball's gendered identity—in fact, the existence of such a large number of nineteenth-century female players problematizes that history. Thus, this thesis also considers why girls and women (many of whom played baseball before the sport acquired the institutional power structures that ultimately perpetuated its gendered identity) were not able to prevent baseball's characterization as a masculine sport in the first place. I use Michael Messner's "trilevel conceptual framework" to explore the complex process through which baseball became gendered. In *Taking the Field: Women, Men, and Sports* (2002), Messner describes how social structures, culture, and social interactions collectively create a "center" for a particular sport—the locus of money, power, and elite athleticism—against which all participants and related endeavors are gauged.[25] I explore how baseball's evolving rules and institutions (i.e. its *institutional structures*), the narratives crafted and perpetuated by players, team owners, the media, and baseball boosters (i.e. the *culture* or *creed* of baseball), and the actions of baseball players—both male and female—(i.e. *social interactions*) influenced the development of a "center" of baseball that privileged male participation and accomplishments by mischaracterizing and marginalizing female participants. Each of Messner's categories has a broader application as well and, throughout the thesis, I situate the discussion of the sport's institutional structures, cultural influences, and social interactions within the context of broader socio-cultural issues like nationalism, women's rights, and shifting gender ideals.

This historical reclamation project is not without its challenges, both philosophical and methodological. Philosophically, the question looms as to whether it is even possible to recover

the past—to restore historical memory. Historian Dan Nathan writes: "History is a human construct, a starting point that challenges us to recognize the contexts and purposes for which it is written. . . . [T]he past is always more ambiguous, complicated, and disordered than the prose used to describe and analyze it."[26] So, in one sense, we must begin by acknowledging that there is no single history of women baseball players to be restored—the best that can be hoped for is to construct a narrative that reflects more accurately the experiences of women baseball players than what has come down to us through the discourses crafted by others about them. That is much easier said than done. As Cahn reminds us, women's experiences are "not unmediated, not directly accessible, and certainly not universalizable."[27] Female baseball players came from varied social backgrounds and played in myriad temporal and physical spaces; they shared neither mental nor physical characteristics. Ultimately, groups of women baseball players shared more in common with other subsets of women than they did with each other. Late-nineteenth century female professional baseball players, for example, had more in common with female theatrical performers of the same era than they did with the women who organized pick-up teams and civic teams; female scholastic and collegiate players had more in common with their peers who played basketball and tennis than they did with female professional baseball players. Ironically, the one thing that nineteenth-century women baseball players did have in common was the one thing they lacked—an accurate sense of their place in the historical narrative of baseball.

Philosophical challenges aside, there are also numerous methodological hurdles to overcome as well—the most vexing of which involve the availability and nature of the primary documents needed to craft this narrative. Apart from a handful of diaries, letters, scrapbooks, and personal narratives of nineteenth-century women baseball players, everything we know

about them is mediated through other (mostly male) eyes. Newspapers are, by necessity, used extensively in this reconstruction of female baseball history, but with the full understanding that they are, in the words of media critic James W. Carey, usually "tissue-thin slices of reality."[28] For historians of women's baseball, these "tissue-thin slices of reality" are sometimes all we have to work with but, if carefully analyzed, they can help us reconstruct the social and cultural context in which women played baseball even if they cannot necessarily tell us much about the players as individuals.

Another methodological difficulty is more basic: we do not know the true identities of many players because scores of them, particularly those who played for money, used "stage names"; others became invisible to historians when they married and took their husbands' surnames. We know these women existed in flesh and blood, but without their real names, we cannot employ census records, city directories, and similar tools of the historian's trade to ascertain basic facts about them, such as ethnicity, social class, and family life, nor can we locate their descendants, some of whom may have access to firsthand documents or historical artifacts of their forebears' exploits on the baseball diamond.

The lack of historical artifacts poses another methodological challenge. There are few cultural repositories of memory for female baseball players. There are no shrines to women players on par with the National Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown; sportswriters of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not create national female baseball heroes for youngsters to emulate, nor did commercial businesses capitalize on baseball hero worship to hawk female baseball cards and memorabilia to eager fans to the extent they did for male players. There was no female counterpart to Henry Chadwick, whose standardization of baseball statistics facilitated record keeping and created, in Jules Tygiel's words, the "historical essence"

of baseball.[29] Because detailed statistics of male baseball players were preserved decade by decade, today's historians can compare male players from one era to another, gaining insights into how the game and its male players changed over time. This statistical tool is largely unavailable to historians of female players.

Baseball scholars sometimes invoke the concept of a baseball "creed"—a shared sense of (primarily mythical) beliefs that emerged over time about the power of the game to shape individual and national morals.[30] This creed was (and to some degree still is) passed down from generation to generation—primarily from men to men—on a personal level from fathers to sons and on a cultural level from sports writers, reporters, and philosophers to generations of fans. There is no feminine counterpart to the baseball creed that draws mystical, transcendent bonds between mothers and daughters and generations of women players. Women did not formally participate in "creating" the game of baseball nor did they shape its creed to any significant degree. Even though the creed was a cultural fiction, it nonetheless shaped the way men behaved and thought about the game and the game's relationship to society. From its earliest inception the creed's adherents held it sacred to such an extent that they went to great lengths to perpetuate it—verbally, and sometimes physically, attacking anyone (women, gamblers, detractors of all stripes) who tried to infiltrate their sacred spaces and tarnish the ideal image of baseball they were so meticulously constructing.

Despite the difficulties, this historical reclamation project is important if we are ever going to understand accurately the process through which baseball became gendered as masculine and why that identity has proven so resilient. This thesis focuses on the ways in which the experience of playing baseball was influenced by shifting gender ideals throughout the

nineteenth century. These shifting ideals affected the sports accessibility for women, how they approached the game, and responses to their actions.

This study is organized into five roughly chronological chapters, beginning in antebellum America and ending at the turn of the twentieth century. Most chapters begin with a description of baseball's development during a particular era with an emphasis on how male players adapted the rules and institutions of the sport (i.e. its structure) to perpetuate particular gender ideals. These chapters also describe the cultural context that shaped media discourse about the sport and public opinion about female players and how this discourse, in turn, shaped the culture of baseball. To the extent allowed by available primary sources, each chapter highlights the perceptions of the female players themselves, particularly as they saw themselves in the context of baseball culture and social ideals of gender. Chapter 1 focuses on the "birth" of baseball in antebellum America and early efforts to structure it as an adult male sport. It provides an overview of women's sporting heritage and explains how this heritage influenced girls in the United States to play baseball. Chapter 2 describes the continuing evolution of baseball's rules, its geographic spread after the Civil War, and the increasingly nationalistic tone of its proponents. It details the growing number of girls and women who played baseball in schools, colleges, and local communities between 1865-1879. Chapter 3 describes the professionalization of baseball between 1869 and 1889 and describes the emergence of professional female baseball teams which presented baseball as theatrical spectacle—provoking sometimes angry responses from those intent on establishing baseball as an exemplar of American civilization and masculinity. Chapter 4 explores the gendered narrative of baseball during the 1880s—a decade in which male boosters increasingly sought to use the sport to define and model idealized characteristics of white, native-born, masculinity. It demonstrates that girls and women

continued to problematize this narrative by playing baseball on community, school, and college teams. It analyzes the ways in which men shaped the discourse about women players through the media, fiction, poetry, art, music, and other cultural forms. Chapter 5 focuses on the 1890s—a seminal era in the evolution of baseball's gendered narrative when the emergence of a new ideal for femininity (the bold, athletic "Gibson Girl") supplanted previous ideals of meek, fragile middle- and upper-class white womanhood and provided women with an opportunity to lay claim to the coalescing "center" of baseball. It chronicles the varied types of girls' and women's baseball teams in the decade and describes how female physical educators ultimately chose to relinquish their claim for a voice in baseball's continued evolution by creating a separate baseball surrogate for girls and women.

CHAPTER 1 – CREATING A NATIONAL PASTIME

> The game of Base Ball is one, when well played, that requires strong bones, tough muscle and sound mind; and no athletic game is better calculated to strengthen the frame and develop a full, broad chest, testing a man's powers of endurance most severely.
> —*New York Times* (27 Sep 1856)[1]

> In the game of base ball as now played we undoubtedly have a strictly national pastime. What cricket is to an Englishman, base ball is to an American.
> —*Quincy Whig* (13 Jul 1868)[2]

Baseball is not a man's game. It is a game. At its most basic level this game satisfies a deep human need to play—a need that led Dutch historian Johan Huizinga to suggest in 1938 that perhaps *Homo Ludens* (Man the Player) might be a more descriptive title for humankind than the popular appellations, *Homo Sapiens* (Man the Reasoner) and *Homo Faber* (Man the Maker).[3] Human beings have always played and, for thousands of years, they have played games with balls or with bats and balls. In the *Odyssey*, Homer spoke of the princess Nausica and her maids who "threw off the veils that covered their heads and began to play at ball," and of Laodamas and Halius who entertained Ulysses and the Phaeacians by dancing nimbly as they tossed a ball between them.[4] Paintings on ancient Egyptian temples and medieval castle walls depict men and women playing bat and ball games—sometimes together and sometimes separately. In these depictions of ball play from times past, whether literary or artistic, there is no hint of impropriety that women are among the players. This began to change in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as *Homo Ludens* began to harness more systematically play as a training ground for social and civic virtue and to carve out distinctive play spaces for men and women—labeling some games "female" and others "male." Myth, memory, and history combined to transform gender-neutral bat and ball games into our deeply gendered national pastime.

A National Sport Emerges in Antebellum America

Baseball was not "born" on a particular date in a particular place; it emerged over time and spread over geographical space (like "dandelions," says John Thorn) from a variety of informal bat and ball games played mostly by children. As early as 1734, the rules for Harvard College Freshmen mentioned the accouterments of bat and ball games. In an era when college students were typically boys of 14 to 18 years of age, not only was a Freshman forbidden to "intrude into his Senior's company" or "laugh in his Senior's face" or "ask his Senior an impertinent question," he was also expected to "find [furnish] the rest of the Scholars with bats, balls, and foot balls."[5] As adults in the 1760s, the young men who furnished bats and balls for their classmates at Harvard may have purchased copies of John Newbery's *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book, Intended for the Instruction and Amusement of Little Master Tommy and Pretty Miss Polly* for their children. Newbery's book, first published in England in 1744 and in the American colonies in 1762, contains one of the earliest print references to the term "base-ball." Accompanied by a woodcut of boys playing the game, the book gives a rhymed summary of the rules: "The Ball once struck off, Away flies the Boy, To the next destin'd Post, And then Home with Joy."[6] Newbery's book also includes illustrations and poetic descriptions of other bat and ball games like stool-ball, trap-ball, and tip-cat.

Bat and ball games remained popular in the fledgling Republic. By the 1830s and 1840s increasing numbers of adult men, reluctant to give up the games of their youth, organized fraternal sporting clubs to continue playing their favorite ball games. The choice of game varied by region. Round ball (also called base ball) and rounders prevailed in New England, except in Connecticut where clubs preferred Wicket. Wicket spread to Connecticut's Western Reserve and into the territories that became Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa. Town ball was

the game of choice in Cincinnati and in Philadelphia where it competed for players with the popular British game of cricket. In September 1845, devotees of a New York variation of baseball organized the Knickerbocker Base Ball Club and codified rules that eventually evolved into the sport we recognize as baseball today.[7] As the New York game supplanted regional variations over the ensuing three decades, the organizational structures and creedal proclamations crafted to distinguish the sport from British antecedents and to validate it for adult play profoundly influenced the relationship of girls and women to the sport and shaped historical narratives about it.

Gender, Nationalism, and Baseball

Scholars of gender understand that concepts like "masculinity" and "femininity" are human constructs that change over time and are never universally defined. Michael Kimmel notes that it is more appropriate to speak of "masculinities" rather than masculinity because the concept means different things to different people based on factors like race, ethnicity, geography, and social class. Gail Bederman suggests that it is more useful to focus on the *process* through which gender ideals like "manhood" gain the status of "truth" rather than trying to precisely define a particular gender ideal at any given historical moment.[8] The process of gender formation is critical to this study because it was in the process of trying to define and redefine masculinity and femininity that nineteenth-century men and women transformed baseball from a gender-neutral game to a deeply-gendered sport.[9] As adult male baseball players transformed children's bat and ball games into a sport that could represent and inculcate their ideals for masculinity, women found themselves cast (along with children) as the antithetical "other" and increasingly distanced from baseball's shifting center.

The sport of baseball began assuming its modern form as the United States evolved from an almost exclusively agrarian society to a nascent urban-industrial one. Economic transformation wrought profound social changes as distinctions between public and private spaces became more pronounced and as men began defining their masculinity based on individual accomplishments rather than communal cooperation. E. Anthony Rotundo describes the resulting shift from an ideal of "communal manhood" in colonial America to an ideal of "self-made manhood" in early nineteenth-century America. According to Rotundo, as self-made men began to define their masculinity in terms of work roles rather than domestic roles, they placed a higher value on "ambition, rivalry, and aggression." Sport was one of the tools men used to carve out "all-male preserves" where they could reinforce and promote masculine identities—identities influenced as much by class, race, and ethnicity as by gender ideals.[10] Elliott Gorn describes how men of successive generations transformed the structure and culture of the ancient sport of boxing to suit their particular social, ethnic, and racial identities. He demonstrates how attitudes toward boxing, pugilism, and blood sports evolved as upper-, middle-, and working class Britons and Americans contested for control of the structure and cultural narrative of boxing during the nineteenth century.[11] While some men in the United States embraced prize fighting as the optimal platform for shaping and performing gender and class values, others turned to baseball.

Like boxing, baseball was contested ground between social classes. John Thorn has debunked the long-held baseball origins myth of "pristine amateurs cavorting on green fields for good fun and mild exercise," conclusively demonstrating that antebellum baseball teams reflected the ethnic, social, and moral diversity of the times.[12] Though cultural artifacts from immigrant and working class teams are in comparatively shorter supply to those of native-born,

middle-class teams, enough remain to demonstrate that saloon-keepers, political hatchet-men, and unskilled laborers were just as likely to consider baseball *their* game as the lawyers, bank clerks, physicians, and businessmen who organized the formal baseball clubs and associations that would ultimately shape the structure, culture, and historical narrative of the sport.

Structuring a Sport

As the forces of industrialization reordered the rhythms of life and imposed order and structure in the workplace, and as mass immigration and urbanization upset demographic norms and social class structures, middle class men and women adapted to these changes by trying to impose order and structure in other areas of their lives—including leisure activities. Between 1830 and 1860, young men in the growing merchant and middling classes in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York began organizing formal sporting clubs that mirrored the structure of their workplaces. They submitted themselves to formal constitutions, codes of conduct, and written rules to govern their actions on and off the field.[13] The emergence of formal sporting clubs mirrored the emergence of other types of clubs and societies organized by middle-class men and women to promote particular activities. Baseball, town ball, round ball, and wicket clubs flourished alongside moral reform societies, missionary societies, and anti-slavery societies. Working class men, plus boys, girls, and women of all social classes played bat and ball games too. Their teams were loosely organized, without the governing structures common to middle- and upper-class male sporting clubs. Working-class men's contests, much to the chagrin of middle-class moralizers, were often marked by gambling, cursing, and overzealous competition that sometimes resulted in violence on and off the field.[14]

This chapter focuses primarily on the middle-class fraternal baseball clubs of New York City, for it was their determination to bring order and structured growth to their sport that

ultimately enabled them to shape, codify, and control the future evolution of the modern spectator sport we know today. It was this commodified version of baseball that formed the "center" of the sport as Messner uses the term—a center that placed a premium on elite, adult male athletes and that valued financial profit over fraternal fun and camaraderie. This center coalesced even as school children and men and women of all ages and social classes continued to play the sport in all its forms—representing an alternate center whose viability and influence diminished over the course of the nineteenth century as the professional game for adult men gradually monopolized the cultural narrative of the sport.

The New York Knickerbockers were active in proselytizing their version of baseball. The club printed and distributed 100 copies of their rules throughout the country during the 1840s and 1850s. The New York game also got a boost from publications like *Porter's Spirit of the Times* and the *New York Clipper* which printed copies of the rules in 1856 and from businessmen and travelers who fanned out across the country from New York taking the game with them. By 1858 there were 125 baseball teams in and around New York and countless others scattered throughout the country.[15] *Porter's* commented that every empty lot within ten miles of the city was being used as a baseball field.[16] Most baseball teams in antebellum America grew out of informal social ties as boys and young men from the same school, neighborhood, or business got together for pick-up games whenever time permitted. There were, however, a growing number of formal sporting clubs, like the Knickerbockers, comprised of well-to-do businessmen and professionals whose members valued the long-term camaraderie membership brought them and who enjoyed hosting like-minded clubs for games and elaborate dinners afterwards. Concerned about the chaotic development of the sport and what they

perceived as the corrupting influences of working class interests, these clubs banded together and created a formal structure through which they could manage the sport's future.

In 1857, the New York Knickerbockers called for a meeting of local clubs to standardize rules and lay the groundwork for an overarching structure to manage the sport. They also hoped to continue spreading the New York game to other parts of the country. Sixteen clubs attended the convention and, sensing value in unity, founded the optimistically-named *National* Association of Base Ball Players (NABBP) the following year.[17] The NABBP grew quickly (it had 100 member clubs by 1865) and was the first of many governing bodies that would shape baseball's center during the nineteenth century.[18] Codifying rules for play on the field and standards for player behavior off the field, the NABBP laid the foundation of the formal structure of modern baseball. The media moguls who reported on and promoted NABBP decisions (and those of subsequent organizations) helped create the culture (creed) of baseball.

Shaping a Culture

No structure can become foundational without the means to promulgate it and defend it from detractors. For a sport structure to shape the center of a sport, it must be articulated and transmitted across society in such a way that it becomes integrated into what Messner calls "dominant symbols and belief systems" to the point that it shapes and influences even the day-to-day practices (social interactions) of all participants—not just those at the center of the sport.[19] Fortunately for baseball aficionados, the urban-industrial transformation that catalyzed the socio-cultural conditions for the rise of team sports also coincided with a technological revolution that transformed the way information was shared in the United States. The persistent expansion of canals, roadways, railroad lines, and telegraph networks during the antebellum period enabled the rapid physical and electronic transmission of news and facilitated the development of a

"national" culture that baseball boosters tapped into to market their sport. As the means of distributing news improved, so too did printing technologies and mass production techniques—both of which contributed to an explosion in the number of inexpensive newspapers, periodicals, and books available to all classes of society. The "Penny Press" was born in 1833 with Benjamin Day's founding of *The Sun* in New York City. During the 1840s, "Flash papers" surreptitiously informed male readers in big cities where they could find brothels and local establishments where they could gamble on sports contests ranging from horse races to walking matches to dog fights. Other publications like William Trotter Porter's *Spirit of the Times* (1831) provided sporting news to upper-class readers.[20] As baseball gained in popularity, the editors of sporting periodicals and local newspapers across the country increasingly included stories about contests and players which helped spark more interest in the game. By the late-1850s, just as the New York-area clubs were organizing the NABBP, editors like Frank Queen, who had founded the popular sporting and theatrical publication *The New York Clipper* in 1853, sensed the financial potential in baseball and began hiring dedicated sports writers to cover the game. In 1858, Queen hired Englishman Henry Chadwick—the man who would play a pivotal role in shaping both the structure and culture of baseball for almost half a century.[21] Newspaper editors and reporters became allies of players (and later team owners) in creating a narrative for baseball that eventually solidified its status as a cultural icon alongside motherhood and apple pie and that gradually displaced women outside of baseball's coalescing center.[22]

To begin the transformational process of regulating their sport and elevating it to the position of respectability enjoyed by other British pastimes like cricket, yachting, and horseracing, NABBP clubs had to overcome two primary challenges—both required changing cultural attitudes about appropriate leisure activities. The first obstacle adult male ballplayers

had to overcome was the widespread assumption that bat and ball games were childish activities; the second was the pious belief that wasting time on recreations was sinful and dangerous for the country. In the process of addressing these concerns, adult men crafted a structure for baseball that portrayed women, not as players, but as moral guardians who would protect baseball against evil excess.

Defining gender ideals tends to be a binary process; groups articulate desired behaviors and characteristics and then describe the contrasting "other." In the gender binary, for something to be manly, it cannot be feminine—nor can it be childish. In the case of baseball, the first "other" baseball enthusiasts had to address and vanquish was childishness. Throughout most of the antebellum era, there was a general lack of appreciation for the connection between physical well-being and exercise in the United States. Formal physical fitness programs, like those popular in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Britain at the time, were rare in the United States despite the fact that German, Swedish, and British immigrants had established indoor and outdoor gymnasia in eastern and Midwestern cities during the 1820s, 30s, and 40s.[23] Seeing little benefit in adult men exercising with Indian clubs and apparatus, most Americans perpetuated the sentiment put forth by the *Daily National Intelligencer* in 1822 that, while it was fine for boys to "buffet one another at schools, and amuse themselves with divers other gymnastic exercises" it was "unbecoming in men."[24] By 1846, Dr. John Collins Warren, who had helped found one of the first public gymnasia in the country in 1825, was decrying the fact that most gymnasia in the United States had fallen into neglect. He blamed the problem on a lack of understanding about the correlation between exercise and good health.[25]

For the most part, U.S. men lagged behind their British counterparts in seeing the possibilities for harnessing team sports to promote particular gender and nationalist ideals.

Lacking widespread public support for gymnastic exercise, and not yet attuned to the potential for exploiting team sports for socio-cultural purposes, the adult men who loved playing baseball in all its forms in antebellum America had to be willing to buck public opinion. "It required 'sand' in those days to go out on the field and play as prejudice against the game was very great," noted John Thorn. "It took nearly a whole season to get men enough together to make a team, owing to the ridicule heaped upon the players for taking part in such childish sports."[26] Middle- and upper-class gender ideals that ranked men's intellectual achievement and self-control over feats of physical strength and prowess exacted a high price on overall health and well-being. In 1856, the editor of *Harper's Weekly* observed that lack of exercise was turning American men into "a pale, pasty-faced, narrow chested, spindle-shanked, dwarfed race."[27]

Coupled with their general naivety about the benefits of exercise for adult men and women, many citizens harbored a deep-seated suspicion of any activity that did not produce a tangible benefit to the community, the church, or the soul. The United States was a multi-faceted collage of mixed races, tongues, and faiths long before millions of immigrants flooded into the country in the late nineteenth century. There was never a single, homogenous American culture or society, but there was a definite imprint of Protestant religious fundamentalism across the land during much of the nineteenth century. The response to early adult ball players must be understood in the context of a society where religious principles were not just promulgated in churches and schools, but were integrated into laws, popular literature, and social treatises. Adult men were not just criticized for playing children's games in antebellum America—they were criticized for playing, period. "[A] fowling piece, a fishing rod, and a ball club, have been looked upon as instruments of Satan," lamented a contributor to the Rochester *Union & Advertiser* in August 1858 as he explained the reluctance of many Americans to embrace

"healthful and innocent amusements" as mitigation for the debilitating stresses of urban-industrial life.[28]

The adult male players who organized the NABBP in the late 1850s had to shape the rules and ethos of their game to make it compatible with social ideals of masculinity, adulthood, and religious morality. The optimal way to counter charges that baseball was a tool of the devil was to demonstrate that the sport contributed to building "American" civilization. Fortunately for individuals who relished the excitement and bracing competition of a vigorously contested baseball game, a growing number of physicians, clergymen, and educators were endorsing a new ideal of masculinity that valued physical strength and morality over intellectual achievement and wealth. The narrative of "muscular Christianity" rejected the premise that recreation and play were antithetical to Christian service; it taught men that their highest duty was to strengthen their bodies along with their morals so that they would have the physical stamina to protect the weak and spread the gospel.[29] The *New York Times* urged its male readers to get outside into "God's open air, where health, strength and manhood may be earned."[30] Advocates of muscular Christianity promoted team sports and games that required physical strength, dexterity, and courage; conversely, they disparaged activities that reflected effeminacy—if women could excel at a sport or game, it could not be considered a "manly" pastime. Women became the antithetical "other" in antebellum narratives of muscular masculinity; they found themselves distanced from baseball's coalescing center as baseball boosters like Henry Chadwick promoted the sport as both an "invigorating exercise" and a "manly pastime."[31]

The muscular Christianity movement of the 1850s enabled baseball players and boosters to link their sport more closely with ideals of manliness, morality, and robust health. The *New York Sunday Mercury* advocated in October 1853 that more be done to promote baseball

because, like cricket, it could help "do away with pale faces, with emaciated frames . . . and premature demoralization and death."[32] Four years later, in an article describing the inaugural meeting of the NABBP, the *Spirit of the Times* urged schoolmasters and clergymen to "lend a helping hand" in making baseball "a great national institution" because so many young men were eschewing outdoor activities in favor of "the fumes of cellars and the dissipation of the gaming table."[33] The *Times* editor, like many reform-minded men and women of the day, believed there was a correlation between healthy outdoor sports, morality, and spiritual well-being. These men and women were the recipients of a reforming zeal birthed in the fiery preaching of the Second Great Awakening. Taught that they had a moral obligation to spread the gospel and correct social evils before Christ would come again, millions of men and women joined churches, missionary and Bible societies, temperance and abolition societies, prison and asylum reform organizations, and charitable concerns.[34] No aspect of life was untouched by the crusading zeal of Christian reformers—including leisure activities. The reformers who promoted baseball on the grounds that it would motivate players to "withdraw from the moral miasma of saloons and the enticements of rum" and would leave little room "for big crimes to grow among us" were invoking the prevailing spirit of moral reform. The majority also accepted a social hierarchy that emphasized the leadership of men in homes and public life. Narratives of manliness, reinforced by the broader muscular Christianity movement, enabled thousands of adult men to justify joining baseball, round ball, town ball, and wicket teams from California to New York, New Orleans to Canada between 1845 and 1860.[35]

Adult men understood, however, that it was not enough to just *proclaim* that baseball was a manly pastime—they had to transform its rules to make it more difficult so they could *prove* it was a manly pastime. Creating an adult image for a child's game required

demonstrating that only adult men were capable of mastering it. One of the rules of the early New York game that undercut this masculine narrative was the one allowing fielders to put out a batter by catching a ball on the fly or after the first bounce. The rule became increasingly controversial. Year after year, beginning in 1857, reformers in the NABBP tried to convince member clubs to change the "*boy's rule* of the catch on the bound" to make the game more "manly" (emphasis added). Henry Chadwick, the journalist turned baseball booster, was particularly critical of the bound rule noting that catching a ball after a hop was "a feat a boy ten years of age would scarcely be proud of."[36] The debate over the bound rule raged for seven years until 1864 when NABBP clubs finally voted to adopt the fly rule.

While many early rules changes were intended to distinguish baseball from childish pastimes, there was a subtle corollary that players could not have missed. In a culture that routinely attributed childlike emotions and physical weakness to women, advocates of the fly rule, longer base-paths, and (eventually) overhand pitching, must have realized that if their evolving game was not suited for children, then it was not suited for women, either. In 1860, Chadwick, the man Jules Tygiel credits with inventing baseball's "historical essence," identified the archetype baseball player: "[P]layers must possess the characteristics of true manhood," Chadwick insisted. "Baseball to be played thoroughly, requires the possession of muscular strength, great agility, quickness of eye, readiness of hand, and many other faculties of mind and body that mark the man of nerve."[37] The gendered "others" in Chadwick's narrative are children and women since neither possessed the characteristics of "true manhood" as his contemporaries described it. In the process of crafting a new narrative for their game, baseball proponents indirectly (and later, directly) influenced women's relationship to the sport.

Shaping Social Interactions

Both players and media supporters recognized the possibility of leveraging baseball to promote ideals of manliness, nationalism, and middle-class Protestant respectability. As increasing numbers of men persisted in characterizing baseball as "manly" (in contrast to childish or womanly), they wove a narrative that gradually distorted the gender-neutral narrative of the sport. These men ignored or suppressed the fact that European girls and women had been playing bat and ball games for centuries and that American girls and women shared their foremothers' sporting heritage.

David Block, an expert on early baseball antecedents, includes many references to girls and women playing early bat and ball games in his path-breaking book, *Baseball Before We Knew It*. Block establishes that in eighteenth-century Britain, "youths of both sexes" played the bat and ball games that spawned American baseball and that, in fact, the game known as "base ball" in Britain was primarily played by girls or by boys and girls together.[38] Block also cites examples of adolescent and adult women playing bat and ball games in Britain. Historian Catriona Parratt has documented the wide variety of sports and recreations enjoyed by working-class women in eighteenth- and early-nineteenth century Great Britain. "At fairs and hirings and festivals, as well as on other occasions," Parratt writes, "girls and women played ball games such as cricket, stoolball, trap-and-ball, handball, and 'folk' football. They ran in footraces, and battled one another in prizefights, quarter-staff fights, and sword fights."[39]

Girls and women in the early Republic and antebellum America would have had firsthand knowledge and shared memories of their own mothers' and grandmothers' sporting experiences and they would have been exposed to accounts of real and fictional sporting women, such as those described by Jane Austen, Mary Russell Mitford, Jane Marcet, and Joseph Strutt.[40] Strutt's

work was particularly informative. In 1801, Strutt published a comprehensive study of the sports and pastimes of the British people; his book became a classic of sorts, going through multiple printings in Britain and the United States during the nineteenth century.[41] At a time when historians rarely included women's activities in any meaningful way or applied the lens of social class to their topics, Strutt did both. Strutt's work was widely distributed in the United States and anyone reading it would have learned that, for centuries, British girls and women had been actively participating in a wide variety of sporting activities, including hawking, hunting, fishing, and ball games. Strutt included Homer's account of Nausica and her maids playing ball and, while it would certainly be an historical stretch to directly link ball-tossing girls in ancient Greece to baseball-playing girls in antebellum America, Strutt's description of medieval and modern girls and women engaging in early forms of tennis, hand-ball, field hockey, and baseball establishes an important historical backdrop for this study of female baseball pioneers. It reminds us that baseball's gendering as a masculine sport was not predetermined—something had to intervene in the historical flow of the past to push women outside of the coalescing center of the modern sport.

Strutt's book foreshadows the manipulation of cultural narratives that would ultimately recast baseball as a man's game. Immediately after a section in which he describes the co-ed game of club-ball in Britain, Strutt makes the following assertion: "From the club-ball originated, I doubt not, that pleasant and *manly exercise*, distinguished in modern times by the name of cricket (emphasis added)."[42] Why would Strutt call cricket a "manly exercise" right after describing its predecessor as a game played by men and women together? And why does he fail to mention female cricket players in his subsequent description of cricket? Strutt not only crafted a narrative describing cricket as a man's game but he suppressed the counter-narrative

that British women had been playing cricket for generations. It is inconceivable that Strutt, who was obviously well informed about the sporting activities of British women, did not know about Britain's female cricket players. Eighteenth-century British newspapers and sporting periodicals routinely published news about women's cricket matches to include information on challenges, outcomes, and gambling lines. Women's cricket was a normative activity—not an oddity—yet Strutt chose to describe the sport as "manly exercise" and to delete any mention of female players from his book.[43] By erasing women from the historical narrative of cricket he helped establish cricket as a male-only space where manly attributes could be practiced and promulgated. Writing at a time when Britons were simultaneously grappling with the social and economic ramifications of industrialization while trying to mitigate and explain an embarrassing defeat at the hands of some of its former American colonies, Strutt reflected the growing sense in Britain that sport could be wielded as a tool to reinforce British masculine identity and patriotism. Strutt's linkage of cricket and manliness presaged similar efforts by U.S. baseball players to structure their sport in such a way that women's participation would be discouraged and marginalized.

Girls and Women Problematize the Storyline

Gender ideals, like other cultural values, are constantly in flux. Anne Firor Scott notes that old and new social values "often exist not only side by side, but cutting across each other."[44] Such was the case with gender ideals and baseball's gendered-identity throughout the nineteenth century. Even as the NABBP and adult male baseball players and their supporters in the media crafted and honed a masculine storyline for baseball that persists to present day, athletically-inclined girls and women problematized that narrative by continuing to participate in a wide variety of outdoor sports and games, including baseball. Women baseball players and their

supporters leveraged cultural narratives that validated their actions just as men were doing to validate theirs. So, for example, as men used the rhetoric of muscular Christianity to deflect criticism that playing baseball was impious, men and women used the ideals of muscular Christianity to argue that rigorous outdoor activities, like baseball, were good for women because they would force them to abandon the cumbersome clothing styles that rendered women virtual invalids.[45] On June 18, 1859, the *Portland* [Maine] *Transcript* described a local men's ball club "enjoying the sport with great gusto." After wishing that more young men would choose "this manly game" over the saloons, billiard rooms and club rooms they frequented, the editor agreed with another newspaper that "ball playing would prove as agreeable and useful to ladies as to gentlemen," with the added caveat: "No doubt, but then the ladies must adopt the bloomer costume. A ball once lost under the circumference of crinoline would be very difficult to regain."[46]

The Portland newspaper was just one of several that weighed in on the suggestion that women would benefit from playing baseball. A month earlier, the *Albany Morning Times* had stated: "An exchange says there seems nothing violent in the presumption that ball playing would prove as agreeable and useful to ladies as to gentlemen. Bosh! Just think of looking for the ball every minute or two under the circumference of crinolined players."[47] The next day, the *Troy Daily Times* reprinted the *Albany Times* article and retorted: "Humbug! As if a woman must at all times and under every circumstance, be arrayed in the stiff and conservative propriety of drawing room attire." The editorial continued: "We are no advocates of the bloomer costume, but we can imagine that there are occasions on which short dresses minus the outlandish pantaloons—in brief, a rig permitting the free and natural exercise of the lower

limbs—would be both healthful and proper.—Why not, Mr. *Times*?"[48] Other papers reprinted the dialogue over the course of the next month.[49]

Despite suggestions in the 1850s that baseball could improve women's health, it does not appear that adult women played baseball in antebellum America. There is ample evidence, however, that school-age girls did. There was (and is) an age component to gender. Though children are often conditioned from a young age to begin emulating the gender ideals of their elders, adults frequently allow children latitude in exploring activities outside those prescribed boundaries.[50] Fortunately for the girls who loved romping and playing outdoors with the boys while their peers stayed inside hosting tea parties for their dolls, some nineteenth-century parents believed that vigorous play was as beneficial to their daughters as it was for their sons.

Though most antebellum and postbellum books and periodicals on games and sport for children usually segregated activities by gender, young children often ignored these informal gender boundaries and played together. Newspapers and periodicals matter-of-factly reported on the girls and boys playing baseball and regional variants of bat and ball games together. Sally Tice of Warren County, Missouri became a popular teammate for ball games at her school yard in the 1820s. According to county historians, Sally "was a splendid ball player, and played with the boys at school, who always chose her first, because she could beat any of them."[51] In December 1840, a non-native resident of Honolulu in the Kingdom of Hawaii commented that one of the most gratifying evidences of the "increasing civilization in this place" was that "native youth of both sexes" were playing the "same old games [including "good old bat and ball"] which used to warm our blood not long since."[52] About the same time that Hawaiian boys and girls were playing an early form of baseball, "rosy cheeked girls" in Macon, Georgia were serving as umpires at boys' baseball games.[53] Elias Molee, who attended school in Wisconsin in

the 1850s, recalled boys and girls playing One Old Cat and Two Old Cat together at school during their 20-minute recess period.[54] These primary sources, though rare, indicate general approbation of young girls participating in bat and ball games. While criticism and condescension toward adult women playing baseball would become increasingly common as the nineteenth century unfolded, the benevolent attitude toward juvenile girls playing persisted.

Education is a primary vehicle through which one generation perpetuates its gender ideals to succeeding generations. One aspect of the debate over the proper educational approach for girls was the question of how much and which types of physical exercise were good for them. While most individuals advocated distinctive exercise regimens for boys and girls, a vocal minority argued that girls should be allowed to pursue the same vigorous activities boys did. Abolitionist and women's rights activist, Francis Dana Gage saw a correlation between a mother's physical fitness and her ability to raise physically healthy children. "If the mother is physically effeminate, can her children be physically strong?" she asked. "Why not begin at the beginning of this great work, and make more strenuous efforts to develop the physical powers of our girls, encouraging them to more active exercise and athletic sports?" She challenged her readers: "Why shall they not have gymnasiums and boat clubs, and lay off their cumbrous dresses, on the play ground at least, and join their brothers in a game of base ball or cricket?"[55] Gage's emphasis on "strenuous efforts" and "physical powers" directly challenged proponents of muscular Christianity who sought to reserve these descriptors for men by positioning women as the antithesis. In the parlance of the day, effeminacy implied weakness while manliness connoted strength. Gage rejected the premise that society benefited by keeping women in a perpetually weakened condition.

Though many agreed with Gage that girls and women needed to be physically fit, not everyone agreed on how the means to that end. Many insisted that girls and boys should engage in different types of physical activity tailored to their distinctive adult gender roles. Catharine Beecher was an influential advocate of this position. Daughter of the nationally-known, socially-active minister Lyman Beecher, Catharine, like siblings Harriet, Henry Ward, and Charles, enjoyed a ready-made public platform from which to espouse her viewpoints on education, physical fitness, and gender roles.[56] In 1848, Beecher lamented the "deplorable sufferings" she saw among young wives and mothers whose physical health had been neglected by their parents when they were young. In an effort to reverse the dangerous trend, Beecher published a textbook for girls' schools: *A Treatise on the Domestic Economy, for the use of Young Ladies at Home and at School*. Arguing that parents should devote their "principal attention" to the "physical and domestic" education of their daughters while reducing the "stimulation of the intellect," Beecher urged teachers to give school children ample time to play outdoors during the school day.[57]

Although she encouraged girls to get outdoors and play, Beecher, like many devout Christians of her day, assumed a natural boundary between many feminine and masculine activities. While Gage argued that girls should be encouraged to join the boys in rowboats and baseball games, Beecher took a more conservative stance. In her treatise she described gender-segregated recreational activities for girls and boys—things like making dolls and doll clothes for girls and building sleds and sledding for boys. Eight years later, in *Physiology and Calisthenics: For Schools and Families*, Beecher advocated that all children be trained in calisthenics and gymnastics (forms of exercise designed to promote "beauty and strength"), but cautioned against allowing girls to engage in "those severe exercises that involve danger, either

from excess or accidents" because those activities, while beneficial to the "stronger sex," were unsuited to the "female constitution."[58]

The antebellum girls who enjoyed the thrill of wielding a bat and chasing elusive spheres of yarn and leather with the local boys in the pastoral villages and burgeoning cities of antebellum America had no sense that they were problematizing a gendered narrative that adult men were trying to craft for their sport. Like their club-ball and stool-ball playing forebears in Britain, they simply loved to play. Some of these girls may have read Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* (written in 1798-99 and first published in 1817) and were emulating her fictional heroine, Catherine, who had "a thin awkward figure" and "by nature nothing heroic about her," but who, nonetheless, preferred "cricket, base ball, riding on horseback, and running about the country at the age of fourteen, to books."[59] Athletically inclined girls had other literary role models, among them Agnes Fleming, a character in Louisa C. Tuthill's, *The Young Lady's Home* (1839), who was not only fluent in Latin and well-read in the Classics by the age of 12, but also enjoyed riding horses, playing "ball," pitching quoits, and rolling nine-pins with her father who believed that active and athletic exercises would give "vigor" to her young mind and body.[60]

The girls fortunate enough to attend one of the many female academies and seminaries in the United States that utilized Jane Marcet's popular *Conversations on Natural Philosophy* (1819) would have found it perfectly logical for the book's female character to use a baseball analogy to explain the concept of inertia: "In playing at base-ball I am obliged to use all my strength to give a rapid motion to the ball; and when I catch it," explains the female student in Marcet's textbook, "I am sure I feel the resistance it makes to being stopped. But if I did not catch it, it would soon fall to the ground and stop of itself."[61] Schoolgirls across the United States had ample opportunities to read and emulate the engaging stories of British author Mary

Russell Mitford, who included frolicking girls who loved outdoor games like baseball in her celebrated tales about village life in early nineteenth-century Berkshire County, England.[62] Mitford's sketches first appeared in 1819 in *Lady's Magazine* and were so popular that they were compiled in book form and published in five volumes between 1824 and 1832. Sales were so strong that publishers in Britain and the United States reissued the volumes in multiple editions throughout the nineteenth century and newspapers reprinted excerpts.[63] Mitford mentions baseball in at least four of her stories; like Marcet's science textbook, they portray baseball as a normative activity for young girls.[64]

Though scholars continue to debate the genealogical linkages between bat and ball games like British base-ball, club-ball, cricket, stool-ball, Rounders, and American baseball, the fact remains that playing bat and ball games was a normative (not aberrant) activity for girls and young women in Britain for centuries. The same was true in the United States where countless girls played outdoor sports and games (including baseball). Baseball remained a popular game for schoolboys and girls throughout the antebellum era. In 1859, Francis Henry Guiwits, a 27-year old dentist living in Avoca, New York, wrote a letter to *Harper's Weekly* challenging a statement in a previous issue that baseball should not be considered the national sport because it was only played in a few eastern cities and not in the hinterlands. Describing baseball as he saw it played as a child, Guiwits asserted: "For twenty years (which is as long as I can remember about it) base-ball has been a 'popular game' wherever I have lived." He reported that it had been regularly played at "raisings" of buildings and "frames" in villages and rural districts of western New York and that it was still "*the* game (emphasis his) at our district schools during the intermission hours, and often engaged in by youths of both sexes."[65]

Schools provided an optimal location for girls and boys to play games together. Sometimes students organized teams for fun and recreation, independent of adult intervention; at other times, it was adults who organized the teams in order to promote the health and fitness of schoolchildren. Francis Gage lauded Eagleswood school, near Perth Amboy, New Jersey, as an exemplar of how co-education and shared recreational activities could benefit both boys and girls. She noted that Eagleswood administrators provided girls with the same opportunities to exercise, row boats and play "ball" that boys had. According to Gage, Eagleswood promoted the idea that running, rowing, riding, and jumping were not "unnatural for young ladies."[66]

Eagleswood School was a component of the Raritan Bay Union, a utopian community founded in 1853 by leading social activists, including nationally-renowned abolitionists and women's rights advocates Theodore Weld, Angelina Grimké (his wife), and her sister, Sarah Grimké. The provisional charter for the Raritan Bay Union promised that education would be a "central object" of the Union and that its system of training would include "gymnastic, industrial, scientific, literary, artistic, social, and spiritual" pursuits. The goal of the program was to prepare students "for whatever sphere the tastes and abilities of the young, of either sex, seem best to qualify them."[67] The Raritan Bay Union quickly attracted intellectuals, artists, abolitionists, and women's rights supporters from across the country. Leading cultural figures like Louisa May Alcott, Henry Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Horace Greeley relaxed and shared ideas there. As promised, the founders established a school for the community; by 1856 the proprietors, Marcus and Rebecca Spring, were advertising for a boarding school housekeeper to take care of 50 to 100 students. Theodore Weld served as principal of Eagleswood which, according to Gage, attracted the daughters of professors, ministers, merchants, and the "first families of Fifth avenue."[68] Gage reveled in the fact that these daughters of privilege were

allowed to "toss back their curls under their boating hats, put their ungloved hands to their oars, and bear away with steady sweep into the current," rowing for miles. After their invigorating physical exercises they could turn their attention to Greek and Latin studies just like their male counterparts at Cambridge and Yale.[69]

Eagleswood promoted an ideal for women that espoused healthy athleticism and rejected debilitating clothing styles and strictly ornamental education. The Springs, Grimkés, and Weld were actively resisting prevalent narratives about how "true womanhood" should behave and look in public. Athletic games like baseball were part of their strategy for transforming girls into vigorous, self-assured women. Gage was pleased with Eagleswood's emphasis on physical fitness for girls and hoped that other schools would follow its lead. She promised readers she would lobby the principal of New York's newly-opened Dansville Seminary to allow girls to play baseball, ride horses, and pursue any other "feat[s] of physical endurance" that would keep them from growing "weak or rickety."[70]

While schoolboys were generally free to pursue whatever athletic activities they chose to, schoolgirls needed the support of administrators if they wanted to play "rough" sports and games. At schools where administrators believed such activities were beneficial, girls found a supportive environment in which to organize baseball teams. They benefited from time set aside by administrators for student recreation. In 1862, the *Sacramento Daily Union* reported that students at the Young Ladies Seminary in Benicia, California, were required to walk and exercise on the school grounds for two hours every day, between three and five o'clock. Among the activities they enjoyed were "games of ball."[71] School catalogues referenced students playing "games *at* ball" (emphasis added) at the Benicia seminary for many years and, while it is impossible to determine definitively whether "games at ball" meant baseball, it is plausible given

the fact that the sport was well established in California by the time Benicia residents established their Young Ladies Seminary.

Benicia, the short-lived capital of California,[72] was situated across the bay from San Francisco where, as early as 1851, newspapers were reporting that boys and men regularly played baseball on the town plaza. At least one newspaper used the term "play at ball" to describe boys and men playing baseball—a term similar to that used by the Benicia seminary to describe its students' activities.[73] The New York form of baseball had arrived in California as early as 1847 during the Mexican-American War when soldiers from the New York Volunteer Regiment introduced the game to the Spanish-speaking inhabitants of Santa Barbara.[74] The game spread quickly beginning the following year when thousands of easterners began pouring into central California after the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill 40 miles northeast of Sacramento in Coloma. Newspapers in Sacramento and surrounding towns regularly reported on baseball clubs and matches throughout the 1850s, and reports of baseball matches and tournaments in San Francisco and Sacramento began appearing in eastern publications like *Porter's Spirit of the Times* and the *New York Clipper* by 1860."[75]

Another indication that the "games at ball" at Benicia may have been baseball is the fact that the administrators of the school during the period in question were all familiar with baseball and believed in the importance of physical fitness for young women.[76] Mary Atkins arrived in California in September 1854 to become the third principal of the Young Ladies Seminary at Benicia. Atkins transformed the school, which had been founded in 1852, into a thriving educational institution. Born and raised in Ohio, Atkins had been educated at Oberlin College—the first co-educational college in the United States.[77] After graduation, she taught in schools throughout Ohio where she developed a reputation as an excellent educator. Atkins was a strong

advocate of balancing mental training with physical exercise and when she accepted the invitation to run the seminary at Benicia she established mandatory recreation periods for students. She also procured "swings, parallel bars and other gymnastic appliances" for the fenced playground where her female charges did calisthenics, played "graces" and indulged in "games at ball."[78]

Whether they played in schoolyards, rural fields, or on city streets, some young girls enjoyed the thrill of running the bases, swinging bats, and throwing balls just like their male peers. Unconcerned about broader issues of gender relationships, women's rights, and changing definitions of manliness, these youthful baseball players unwittingly contested the narrative that baseball was unsuited for children and best left to men. They embodied a counternarrative that would endure throughout the nineteenth-century and into the twentieth. Few begrudged them the opportunity to play the sport they loved, but their daughters, granddaughters, and great-granddaughters would enjoy a less favorable climate on the baseball diamond.

CHAPTER 2 – 1865-1879: CONTESTING A NATIONAL PASTIME—THE AMATEUR GAME

> We hear on all sides of woman—of her rights and of her wrongs—we hear of her from our pulpits, we read of her in our novels and essays, we see her occasionally on the lecture—a speaker or at the meetings of politicians, we find her demanding her rights as a representative—and lately, some of the more favored portion of our rural districts have beheld her as a practical advocate of muscular Christianity and a player of base-ball.
>
> —(*The Days' Doings,* Oct 1868)

Union and Confederate soldiers had carried regional bat and ball games (including baseball) with them wherever they went.[1] By the end of the war, baseball was more popular than ever. There were at least 2,000 teams in the United States in 1867 and the New York version of the game was beginning to supplant some of the regional variations.[2] That year the children's periodical, *Oliver Optic's Magazine,* informed its youthful readers that baseball was "the most popular [game] in the United States."[3] Baseball was never the same after the Civil War. Society was changing and baseball was changing too. It was still primarily a game played by boys and men who paced off the boundaries of their diamonds in rural pastures and empty lots in America's growing cities and who made their bats and balls out of materials at hand. But the game was beginning to lose its innocent idealism as a friendly social event during which rival teams vigorously competed on the field for bragging rights and a silver ball or trophy, and then sat down for a congenial dinner afterwards. By the late 1860s, baseball had developed an alter-ego—a win-at-all-costs business for professional players whose win-loss records directly affected their future salaries. Just as women of the antebellum era had found themselves cast (along with children) as the "other" to adult men who wanted to play baseball, women of the immediate postbellum period found themselves further distanced from baseball's shifting center by professional interests whose narratives portrayed them, not as players, but as spectators and moral guardians of the bleachers.[4]

Structuring Baseball's Center in the Postbellum Era

Baseball players had proclaimed the sport to be a "manly" activity during the antebellum era in order to expand the sport's center to include adult men. They had added a nationalistic sub-narrative by changing rules to further distinguish the game from British antecedents and to make it more appealing to U.S. audiences. Having successfully recast the child's game as an adult activity, some entrepreneurs, players, and media supporters began to contemplate how they could turn pastime into profit. The postbellum period began with a new battle for the soul of baseball—one that pitted amateurs against professionals in a struggle for control of the structure and creed of the sport. This battle would ultimately shape a new governing structure and creed for baseball that would further marginalize women.

Economics and social class ideals were at the core of the contest between amateurs and moneyed interests. Those espousing amateurism considered amateurism a mark of gentility and upper-class morality; their narratives highlighted the fraternal nature of friendly contests between like-minded gentlemen. Amateurs looked down upon men who would eschew proper and honorable work in order to sell their services to a baseball club and they predicted the sport would be irreparably tarnished once it became a vehicle for lucre. They likened professional baseball players to the "worthless, dissipated gladiator[s]" who fought for money in the back rooms of saloons or in secluded spaces.[5] Banning payments to players ensured that only (moneyed) gentlemen could play—gentlemen whose on-field actions could (theoretically) not be bought by unsavory characters and gamblers.

The battle was brief; the voices of amateurism were quickly drowned out by the purveyors of professionalism who boldly proclaimed their passion to solidify the structure of the emerging national pastime by applying the same principles of capitalism and efficiency that were

powering U.S. industrial growth. By 1870, the divisive issue had torn the NABBP apart; when seventeen of the twenty-seven member clubs in the NABBP refused to support a resolution declaring the practice of paying players "reprehensible and injurious to the best interests of the game," the NABBP folded.[6] Within a year, the professional teams had formed a new structure for shaping the sport—the National Association of Professional Baseball Players (NA).

Numerically, the NA member teams constituted only a tiny fraction of the thousands of amateur civic, pick-up, school, college, semi-professional,[7] professional, and factory baseball teams thriving across the country, yet these voices of professionalism (and the moneyed interests behind them) began wielding a disproportionate influence on the evolving structure and culture of the sport. At their first convention in March 1871, member clubs passed resolutions creating the framework for a national championship.[8] They stipulated that only member clubs were eligible to compete for the championship and that only games against other member clubs counted toward the final standings. By constituting themselves as the *National* Association of Professional Base Ball Players even though they represented only nine baseball clubs, and by restricting competition for the *national* championship to member clubs, NA members were, in essence, claiming the mantle of leadership over the development of professional baseball in the United States and the right to define what it meant to be an elite baseball team. Though this organization would be supplanted by another *National* league five years later, it pioneered practices that later leagues would copy and adapt as they sought to control the structure and culture of baseball.

It did not take long for newspaper and sporting periodical publishers to recognize that they could profit from promoting professional baseball teams. Countless editors added sports coverage to their newspapers while entrepreneurs founded baseball-focused periodicals like *The*

Ball Players' Chronicle (1867) and the *New England Base Ballist* (1868). By century's end, even small town newspapers were routinely printing professional league standings and game results in their newspapers.[9] The disproportionate attention paid to professional teams and players helped solidify a cultural meaning for the sport that privileged the accomplishments of elite athletes and diminished those of less skilled players, including women. As the NA and follow-on organizations like the National League (1876), International Association of Professional Base Ball Players (1877) and American Association of Base Ball Clubs (1881) jockeyed to establish monopolies on professional baseball in key cities, they mandated rules that governed not only how the game was played on the field, but also who was eligible to play (whites, not blacks; men, not women, etc.), and how fans had to behave in the stands.[10]

Professional baseball did not immediately capture the hearts and minds of the American people; for much of the 1870s and 1880s, most professional teams struggled to turn a profit and voices of dissent continued to harangue professionals for ruining the (mythically) pure and healthful sport. Even though professional baseball lacked the national prestige it would one day enjoy, its power brokers still wielded enough influence to alter the historical narrative of the game. Even those who thought baseball was a perfectly acceptable activity for women increasingly began to make distinctions between legitimate players—i.e. those who could make home runs—and everyone else. In 1867, after reporting that "Female Base Ball Clubs are being formed in some portions of the State," the *Utica Morning Herald* pointed out that while women "have an undoubted right to play base ball" it was hard to imagine "a fair creature arrayed in all the paraphernalia of dress, hoop-skirts, and sun bonnet making a home run!"[11]

By the early postbellum period, the center of baseball had shifted enough that observers were beginning to internalize an increasingly rigid definition of what it meant to be a ball player.

They also began to categorize games qualitatively along a hierarchy of value ranging from children's' play to "third-nine" games to muffin (quirky or unskilled) games to amateur contests to professional contests. In 1866 the *Sunday Mercury* criticized as a "counterfeit affair" a game that used a female umpire and scorekeepers. The paper argued that the game should not have been labeled a "muffin" game because only those who "by excessive weight, lack of experience, or by some physical incompetency are *unfitted for ball-players*" could comprise a "genuine" muffin game (emphasis added). The reporter equated "second-class" players as those who "have ceased to equal the high demands of the game in these days of improved play."[12] In this case the reporter was not arguing that second-class players should not play baseball but that they should not represent themselves as belonging to a higher category of player. As the nineteenth century progressed, the general public increasingly regarded girls and women as the antithesis of "baseball player" and their games as child's play—not legitimate (valued) competition.

A *National* Pastime Begins to Take Shape

As the New York game displaced town ball, rounders, and other regional variations of bat and ball games in the early postbellum period, and as professional interests began their quest to commodify the sport, baseball began to show signs of becoming a truly national pastime. Between 1865 and 1879 the number of boys' and men's civic baseball teams, pick-up teams, muffin teams, business teams, school teams, college teams, and professional teams mushroomed.[13] One particularly exuberant observer gushed in 1871:

> [Baseball] is the great game of the middle class. Every city has its favorite club that travels leisurely over the country every summer, paying its way as it goes, by the gate-money of its admirers. . . .[Baseball] has passed from city to town, from town to village, till it has overspread the nation."[14]

What has long been overlooked in traditional histories of baseball is that each type of boys' and men's team had a female counterpart. Despite practical and socio-cultural deterrents, more girls

and women took up baseball during this era than had in any previous period. They played on over 100 baseball teams located in twenty-one of thirty-eight states plus the Kingdom of Hawaii. (Eighteen of the states had not had female teams prior to 1860.)[15] Every region of the country had girls' and/or women's teams except the southwest and, like boys and men's teams, the girls' and women's teams sprang up in urban and rural communities, on school yards and college campuses and, occasionally, on factory grounds. Sometimes young girls and women played each other on all-female teams; other times, they played with or against boys and men. Almost all female players were white although there are a handful of cases where black women played together.[16]

Baseball's Many Forms

Pick-up teams and civic teams came in many varieties. Girls and boys, men and women organized pick-up teams. They existed for a specific timeframe (often only a single game) and purpose (fun or fund-raiser). Team names often reflected player characteristics ("Fats" and "Leans," "Marrieds" and "Singles," etc.) more than geographic or cultural identity. Some pick-up teams were muffin teams that featured quirky competitions such as those between one-legged and one-armed men, married and single women, or between teams on ice skates or waist deep in water.[17] Civic teams linked their identity to a location; they could be composed of paid or unpaid players. Amateur civic teams were privately organized, either by *ad hoc* groups of men and women or by members of a formal sporting club. *Ad hoc* civic teams were informal, (i.e. members did not pay dues nor adopt a formal constitution and by-laws) and often short-lived. Teams associated with male sporting clubs were more structured and tended to endure longer. Some civic teams, like the Forest City Club of Rockford, Illinois and the Nationals of Washington D.C., became closely associated with the fortunes of their cities and were

increasingly funded and operated by city boosters and entrepreneurs anxious to capitalize on baseball's transformation to a saleable commodity. While the majority of civic teams in the nineteenth century never played more than a few dozen miles from their home towns and existed merely to facilitate spirited but friendly competition for local bragging rights, the top echelon of civic teams (like the Forest City Club and Nationals) evolved into the major and minor league teams of modern Organized Baseball.

Business teams were organized either by the employees of a particular business or industry or, increasingly in the late nineteenth century, by business owners anxious to provide wholesome and healthy entertainment for employees to keep them out of trouble and loyal to their companies. School and college teams of the 1860s and 1870s were organized and led by students, not faculty or staff; they provided a fun, healthy diversion from studies and promoted school or class *esprit de corps*. Male collegiate players often sought opportunities to compete against their peers at other colleges or on local community teams; female collegians generally eschewed matches with outside opponents in favor of intramural competition. Professional teams could be either civic teams or one of a growing number of male, female, or co-ed barnstorming troupes organized to entertain spectators across the country.[18]

The existence of this wide variety of teams throughout the nineteenth century must be factored in to any discussion of women's relationship to baseball. Peter Morris points out that traditional histories of baseball tended to focus on the development of the professional game, ignoring entire categories of baseball teams (like the muffin teams) that proliferated in the 1860s and 1870s.[19] The men who participated in muffin games were resisting narratives that professional baseball best represented the game they had played as youths; muffin players adapted the game to their abilities and emphasized the camaraderie and social aspects of the

game that had prevailed in antebellum America. Women did the same thing. By focusing predominately on the development of the professional game, historians of baseball helped to solidify a center for baseball that marginalized non-elite players and teams, and women especially.

Reinforcing the Cultural Narratives of Manliness and Nationalism

While amateurs and professionals argued vociferously about the sport's future, men and women were almost unanimous in believing that baseball was a sport best suited to men. In 1874, Henry Chadwick renewed the theme he had been espousing for almost two decades: "As before asserted, the American game of base ball requires a high degree of physical ability and the possession of manly characteristics to excel in it; for though in theory a schoolboy could readily comprehend the system, in practice an amount of manly vigour, courage, and physical endurance is requisite . . ."[20] Chadwick's efforts to contrast the "manly" game of *American* baseball from the British game of Rounders served a two-fold purpose. One was to continue to reinforce the theme that the sport was an adult pastime; another was to strengthen the nationalistic narrative that baseball was a wholly American invention that had the power to spread American "civilization." In an era when women were raised to believe that their physical constitution was inherently weak, it is understandable that Chadwick's words could deter women from playing baseball and similar rigorous sports.

Henry Chadwick was steeped in the tradition of muscular Christianity and persistently linked baseball to broader reform efforts. During the 1860s and 1870s he continued to promote baseball as an antidote to social ills. He called baseball a "moral recreation" and encouraged clergymen to support the sport "[as] a remedy for the many evils resulting from the immoral associations [that] boys and young men of our cities are apt to become connected with."[21] He

urged baseball clubs to pass strict rules against profanity and disrespect of umpires and team captains. For reformers like Chadwick, men and women had distinct social roles to play. Men preached and women learned—after which they passed on what they learned to their children in the home or in schools.[22] When men played, women watched—their inherently moral presence in the grandstands an important check upon the unbridled worldly nature of the male. In this cultural framework, for women to play baseball was to abrogate their responsibility to serve the greater social good.

It was no accident that baseball boosters increasingly spoke of their game as a "national" pastime despite the fact that it attracted only a fraction of the spectators that flocked to other types of leisure activities. Far more citizens attended walking and boxing matches, horse races, burlesque, vaudeville, and circus performances than attended amateur and professional baseball games during this era.[23] That inconvenient fact did not deter baseball boosters from spinning their nationalistic narrative in hopes of carving out a space for themselves in the burgeoning world of commodified leisure entertainment. In much the same way that the sporting press of the late nineteenth century would "create" the American game of football and turn it into a seasonal spectacle on college campuses around the country, the sporting press of the mid-nineteenth century created the "national" game of baseball and used it to promote national values, idealized masculinity—and its own fortunes.[24] Prior to the war, a handful of editors at newspapers in and around New York City like the *New York Clipper*, *Porter's Spirit of the Times*, the *New York Herald*, and the *Sunday Mercury* had reported on local baseball teams, matches, and the evolution of the New York game; *Beadle's Dime Base Ball Player*, first published in 1860, had covered both the New York and Massachusetts forms of the game.[25] After the war, local and national publications increasingly focused on the New York version.

Jules Tygiel attributes the popularity of the New York game to the development of a "national culture" that was emerging because of the growth of railroad and telegraph systems. Tygiel suggests that players and the media began crafting a narrative about the New York game that embraced American's new appreciation for all things "modern" and "scientific."[26] Teams like the Washington Nationals consciously worked to spread the New York game westward by organizing national tours to introduce the sport to new audiences. The Cincinnati Red Stockings promoted interest in the sport by heading east in the fall of 1868 to take on some of the powerhouse teams of Philadelphia, New York, Brooklyn, and Washington D.C.[27]

The emerging narrative of nationalism left little room for women. The related ideals of modernism, science, and American "civilization" increasingly invoked by male baseball boosters related to public spaces where men wielded power and authority. Woman's relationship to these concepts was ancillary, not primary, and as male baseball boosters proclaimed their sport's ability to heal social ills, transcend sectional differences, and forge a national identity, they linked this power to masculine ideals. "There is no nobler or manlier game than base-ball, and the more it is cultivated the better for the country," asserted *Harper's Weekly* in June 1865.[28] Three years later, the *Quincy (Illinois) Whig* reinforced the theme, celebrating the fact that so many Southerners were playing baseball: "[P]robably nothing could have been introduced into the south better calculated to benefit the southern young men than this our national game." Because the sport required "courage, nerve, pluck and endurance to excel in it," concluded the unnamed author, southern youth would find in baseball "the very field for exciting sport which they had previously sought in amusements of a more objectionable character."[29] Where grapeshot and Minié ball had once subdued a generation of rebellious Southern men, now wooden bat and horsehide ball would redeem and restore them to the national fold.

Not all Southerners welcomed northern baseball diplomacy; they had their own sporting pastimes. While northern youth grew up playing bat and ball games like Townball, base ball, One Old Cat, and wicket, Southern youth played other forms of bat and ball games like Chermany, Chumney, and Round Cat.[30] In 1874 George William Bagby, an unrepentant Southern secessionist whose humorous (and autobiographical) "Mozis Addums" letters were much loved in the South, communicated through the fictional character his determination to continue to teach Southern boys to play Chermany as a way to resist the encroachment of Northern culture and values: "My aim was to supplant the vile pastimes of base-ball and billiards which befell the Commonwealth as part of the loathsome legacy bequeathed us by the war," Bagby's alter-ego intoned. "I could not, indeed, believe that these debilitating and abnormal sports would perpetually exclude the time-honored and patriotic games to which Virginians had been accustomed . . ."[31] Bagby's voice was easily overwhelmed by the reality of baseball's popularity in the South. In October 1868, the KKK club faced off against "nine Carpetbaggers" in Fayetteville, Tennessee while teams from Macon and Savannah, Georgia vied for bragging rights the same year.[32] From Texas to Virginia, Arkansas to Florida, baseball teams sprang up in every one of the former states of the Confederacy in the decade and a half following the war.[33] By 1879, New Orleans had so many baseball clubs that one observer noted that there were not enough names to go around.[34]

The new narratives of manliness and nationalism were not uncontested. Advocates of amateurism continued to insist that the emerging professional game undermined, rather than reinforced ideals of masculinity and nationalism. Some sought to enlist the aid of women in grounding baseball's center in middle-class values. In August 1867, the Reverend J. T. Crane complained in *The Ladies' Repository* that adults were ruining baseball by turning the "innocent,

pleasant, healthful amusement" of his boyhood into a "ponderous and elaborate affair" in which grown men organized themselves into formal clubs with rules "as rigid as those which govern the proceedings of Congress."[35] Crane criticized baseball players who neglected their families and jobs to practice baseball and whose zealous drive to win games caused injuries and over-exertion. He was particularly upset by the rapidly increasing number of players who were being paid to play. By appealing to his female readers' sense of morality and Protestant work ethic, Crane hoped to mobilize their support for restoring the national pastime to what he believed had been a purer game.

Crane prefaced his remarks by commenting that baseball "would seem so far out of the line of feminine pursuits that nothing need be said of it in the columns of the *Repository*" but added that since baseball was being "styled the national game" and women were regularly invited to attend contests, they did have a stake in the sport.[36] Crane's sense that he needed to justify addressing an article on baseball to women indicates the extent to which narratives of gender crafted by the NABBP and its supporters were beginning to gain traction. Efforts to restructure baseball's center to privilege elite adult male players were only partially successful, however; the cultural narratives being spun to reinforce the new gendered structure of the sport were being covertly and overtly challenged by scores of female teams and players.

The same year that Crane solicited women's aid in restoring baseball to its less competitive roots, newspapers in Michigan, Ohio, New York, and New Jersey reported that girls and women in their communities and in Pensacola, Florida had organized teams.[37] The fact that girls and women continued to play baseball even as men tried to recharacterize the sport as masculine indicates the extent to which the structure and creed of baseball remained contested throughout this era. Though subsequent historians of baseball would apply later

characterizations of the sport as a man's game to this earlier period, in fact, the structure and creed of baseball were still evolving. News of the female baseball teams in Niles, Michigan and Pensacola, Florida gained nationwide coverage and eventually reached Henry Chadwick. On July 18, 1867, in his newly launched *Ball Players' Chronicle*, Chadwick quoted a statement from Delabere P. Blaine's *An Encyclopedia of Rural Sports*: "There are few of us, of either sex, but have engaged in base ball since our majority." Then Chadwick added skeptically: "Think of American ladies playing base ball!"[38] One week later, apparently appraised of the fact that American women *were* playing baseball, Chadwick reprinted an article from the *Albany Evening Journal* about the Niles and Pensacola teams.[39] By republishing the article about female baseball teams, whose existence undercut the narrative he and others were trying to propagate, Chadwick gave legs to a story that might otherwise have attracted less attention. Between July 1867 and January 1868 newspapers in Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Washington D.C., Kansas, and Missouri reported on women's baseball teams.[40] So many papers picked up the story about the team in Niles, Michigan that the *Niles Weekly Times* quipped in September that reports of the team had been "circulated from Dan to Beersheba; told in Gath and published in the streets of Ashkelon, for aught we know."[41]

Analysis of articles about baseball in the postbellum popular press indicates the extent to which efforts to propagate a particular structure and cultural creed for baseball were beginning to bear fruit. As the narrative that baseball was a man's game began to resonate more forcefully in public discourse, women players began to elicit sharply contrasting reactions in the press. Though matter-of-fact reporting and friendly teasing about women players continued, an increasing number of reports included editorial comments either supporting or criticizing adult women players. In August 1867, the editor of the *Wellsville Free Press* made his support of

women baseball players clear: "We go in for base ball among the women. It will give them what they so much need and so seldom get, a full breath of Heaven's bon-fresh air."[42] His perspective was not shared by the editor of the *Niles Weekly Times* who did his best to refute the multiple reports popping up around the country that women were playing baseball in Niles. "It is totally incorrect," he asserted. "The young ladies of Niles have not been infected by the base ball mania. . . . There is no such association and no ladies ball club."[43] One month later, a number of newspapers across the country were quick to repeat the story about a "Miss Howard" of Allen's Prairie, Michigan, who had allegedly died three days after over-exerting herself playing baseball. Several newspapers prefaced the story with the comment: "We have to record still another death from base ball folly."[44]

The reporters who considered Howard's death the result of "folly" may have internalized the gendered narrative of baseball emerging from the NABBP and its supporters or they, like Crane, could have been expressing disapproval of the increasingly cut-throat (and dangerous) nature of baseball competitions in general.[45] As it turned out, Amaret (or Amorette) Howard, the 20- or 21-year-old daughter of prosperous farmers had not died because she had played baseball; she had succumbed to typhoid fever which had swept through her family during the previous three months.[46] It is unlikely that newspapers outside the immediate vicinity of Allen's Prairie would have mentioned Howard's death had it not been for the report linking her death to baseball.

Another reason that postbellum articles about women baseball players began to include editorial comments was that efforts to recast children's bat and ball games as an adult male sport occurred simultaneously with the birth and growth of a major women's rights movement in the United States. U.S. women held their first formal women's right convention in July 1848 in

Seneca Falls, New York, just three years after young men in New York City organized the New York Knickerbockers—the club that would spearhead creation of the NABBP and standardization of rules for modern baseball. Over the ensuing decades, women like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony founded countless women's rights publications and traveled the country vigorously lobbying for greater social, political, and economic opportunities for women. Like-minded activists organized scores of local and state women's rights organizations and banded together to found the National Woman Suffrage Association in 1869.[47] Those working to recast baseball as a game best suited for men needed to portray women as physically and mentally unsuited for playing, and they needed to convince the public that it was appropriate to apply cultural conventions regarding gender to baseball-related activities. Women's rights activism problematized their narrative. While women's rights advocates and the women who took up previously male-only jobs and professions faced widespread derision throughout the nineteenth century, their actions undercut characterizations of women as physical and mentally inept.

Those who wanted to recast baseball as a male-only space had to expand their arguments beyond women's physical and mental abilities. A common strategy in the early postbellum period was to leverage fear of the social, political, and economic changes demanded by women's rights advocates. In the Fall of 1867, papers across the country reprinted an article from the *Home Journal* entitled, "Sexual Assimilation."[48] The article argued that the once well-defined boundaries between the sexes were being blurred: "Female physicians are multiplying; civil offices are filled by women; occupations which have hitherto been considered exclusively masculine are usurped by them," the article reported. Women "become painters and sculptors; they pop the question and institute proceedings for divorce; they look forward to the female

millennium of suffrage with an assurance that makes it a foregone conclusion," continued the unnamed author, horrified that "our New York girl *gamins* even are beginning to sell papers and polish boots."[49] After noting that women were "more out of doors" and mingling with men "in their hitherto exclusive amusements" such as driving and riding horses (astride), swimming, diving, hunting, fishing, walking, rowing, and gymnastics, the disgruntled author speculated that it was only a matter of time before "we shall hear presently of female base ball and cricket clubs."[50] The author and the many editors who reprinted this commentary understood that sport and recreation were arenas in which gender ideals were reflected and perpetuated. For many, the idea that women could one day invade even the leisure spaces that men had carved out for themselves was a grave concern; men had to be alerted and prepared to push back against the onslaught. Any instance of women playing baseball had to be viewed as a breech in social boundaries and resisted.

The author of "Sexual Assimilation" was apparently unaware that girls and women had been playing baseball for decades and that reporters were already beginning to conflate women baseball players with women's rights activists. Press coverage of women baseball players in the 1860s and 1870s often appeared alongside widespread coverage of the women's rights movement and women-led social reform movements, indicating that some editors (particularly those who opposed the objectives of those movements) equated women's foray onto the baseball diamond as another strategy to undermine traditional gender roles. On September 15, 1870, the Albert Lea, Minnesota *Freeborn County Standard* mentioned girl baseball players in the same issue in which it published a lengthy article describing the first election in Wyoming in which women had been permitted to vote. Newspapers reported stories about women baseball players (and women athletes in general) in the same manner that they reported news about the

emergence of women doctors, dentists, lawyers, postmistresses, railroad ticket agents, and telegraph operators. These women were newsworthy because they were engaged in activities traditionally defined as masculine. There is little indication in contemporary sources, however, that female baseball player were consciously challenging emerging narratives about baseball being a man's game. They were simply engaging in an enjoyable and healthful activity. One of the best examples of the dichotomy between baseball as normative activity and baseball as women's rights statement is revealed in the media coverage of the female baseball teams that played in Peterboro, New York in the summer of 1868.

Peterboro, or "Peterborough" as it was spelled for much of the nineteenth century, was a small community of about 350 individuals located 60 miles east of Seneca Falls on the banks of Oneida Creek in the rolling hills of picturesque Madison County.[51] The village, like many of New York's communities, had its own baseball teams. In 1859, 14-year-old Gerrit Smith Miller, grandson and namesake of the town's wealthiest and most respected citizen, organized the Bobolink Base Ball Club.[52] Nine years later, his then 12-year-old sister Nannie was elected captain of the senior nine of a girls' baseball club. According to some contemporary accounts, Peterboro's female baseball club had fifty members who organized senior and junior nines in the summer of 1868.[53] The teams purportedly played a number of practice games "outside the town and away from the gaze of the curious" to hone their skills before staging an exhibition game "before a large and anxious multitude of spectators" on Saturday, July 25, 1868.[54] Nannie was the most prominent member of the club. Her family's long-standing leadership roles in social reform initiatives provided her with the latitude to engage in activities some might have considered inappropriate. Nannie's grandfather, Gerrit Smith, had served in the U.S. House of Representatives, run for president, and helped fund John Brown's ill-fated raid on Harper's

Ferry. Gerrit Smith was a vocal supporter of the women's rights movement and believed that "[e]veryone should be left at entire liberty to choose an individual sphere—a man to choose to knit or sew—a woman to choose to fell trees or to be a blacksmith."[55] Nannie's mother, Elizabeth Smith Miller, was a well-known women's rights activist. She had designed and introduced the "short dress" (later called Bloomers) to second cousin Elizabeth Cady Stanton and friend Amelia Bloomer in 1851.[56]

The female baseball club at Peterboro is the best documented of all the women's teams of the 1860s. At least twenty-six newspapers across the country reported its existence between August 6th and October 3rd of 1868. Students at nearby Hamilton College (where Nannie Miller's grandfather had graduated as valedictorian in 1818) mentioned the Peterboro club in their literary journal:

> We are happy to learn, that a Young Ladies' B.B. Club, has been organized in Peterboro. The honorable and responsible post of Captain, is held by Miss Nannie Miller, grand-daughter of the Hon. Gerrit Smith, of '18. How much more sensible a few hours daily practice on the Ball Ground, than weeks of weary experiment with the 'Grecian Bend' now becoming so popular with the ladies. Should the charming athletes of Peterboro, wish to contest the palm with 'Hamilton,' the Senior Nine would be most delighted to receive a Leap Year challenge to a friendly game; surely the Young Ladies' would not be so inconsiderate as to dare us to a match, while we are alone and so far from our parents.[57]

All of the published reports about the Peterboro nines seem to be based on only two original sources—one written by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and another by an anonymous individual whose detailed description of the game and players indicates someone closely associated with the club and/or an eyewitness to its activities. Unfortunately for historians, these accounts contain conflicting details that make it difficult to determine the facts about the female baseball players of Peterboro. Further complicating matters, two illustrations published in the *Sporting Times* and

The Days' Doings portray erroneous information about the players, causing numerous errors to creep into the historical record over the years.

On July 20, 1868, Elizabeth Cady Stanton arrived in Peterboro for a three-week visit with her cousin, Gerrit Smith, and his wife Ann; Elizabeth and Nannie arrived about the same time to spend the summer. While in Peterboro, Stanton wrote three lengthy letters about her travels for *The Revolution*.[58] In her second letter, written on August 1st and published on August 6th, Stanton described Peterboro and Gerrit Smith's home life at length before adding, almost as an afterthought:

> We were delighted to find here a base ball club of girls. Nannie Miller, a grand-daughter of Gerrit Smith, is the Captain, and handles the club with a grace and strength worthy of notice. It was a very pretty sight to see the girls with their white dresses and blue ribbons flying, in full possession of the public square, last Saturday afternoon, while the boys were quiet spectators at the scene.[59]

Note from this account that Stanton found the club already in existence when she arrived. It was a baseball club of "girls" (not women) who had recently (the reference to "last Saturday" places the game on July 25, 1868) played a public game in front of a number of boys who watched quietly; the girls' uniform consisted of white dresses and blue ribbons.

After Stanton's letter about the Peterboro baseball game appeared in *The Revolution*, many other newspapers reprinted her account almost verbatim. The earliest known reprint appeared in the *Cleveland* [Ohio] *Plain Dealer* on August 11, 1868.[60] This article specifically cited "Mrs. Cady Stanton's" letter as the source of its story. Over the next five days, a flurry of almost identical articles showed up in the *Syracuse Daily Journal*, *The* [Baltimore] *Sun*, the *Buffalo Evening Courier & Republic*, the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, the *New York Clipper*, the *New York Herald* and the *Madison County Observer*.[61] On August 17th, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported simply: "There is a female base ball club at Peterborough, New York."[62] Reprints based on Stanton's letter continued to appear sporadically in newspapers throughout the

remainder of August and into September, with the last known example appearing in *The Boston Investigator* on March 3, 1869.[63] The widespread publication of Stanton's account of the baseball club came to the attention of a distant relative who wrote to Gerrit Smith on August 17th from Columbus, Ohio: "I see by the papers Mrs. Stanton is or has been at Peterboro. Her support of the girls base ball club has been widely copied throughout the West."[64]

The second, more detailed, account of the Peterboro club both supports and contradicts Stanton's description. The earliest known published accounts from this anonymous source appeared simultaneously in the *New York Clipper* and the *Chicago Daily Evening Tribune* on August 29th. Two days later, an article identical to the *Clipper* article, minus a box score, appeared in the *Syracuse Courier & Union*.[65] According to the articles based on the anonymous source, the Peterboro baseball club was composed of about 50 "young ladies" who organized the club because they were "jealous of the healthy sports enjoyed by the more muscular portion of mankind." It was the anonymous source who reported that the senior and junior nines had practiced outside of the town before playing an exhibition game in front of spectators. This source also provided the first and last names of the players on the senior nine and the last names of the players on the junior nine. It identified Nannie Miller as the captain of the senior nine but made no reference to her relationship to Gerrit Smith, as all the articles based on Stanton's letter had done. Another significant deviation between Stanton's account of the players and the anonymous source is that, in Stanton's account, the players wore "white dresses and blue ribbons flying," while the anonymous source reported that the girls wore "short blue and white tunics, reaching to the knee, straw caps jauntily trimmed, white stockings and stout gaiter shoes."

After the *Clipper*, *Daily Evening Tribune*, and *Courier & Union* articles appeared, another group of virtually identical articles, albeit condensed, based on the same anonymous

source, was published. Emily Howland, a nineteenth century women's rights activist from New York, pasted one of these articles from late August into her scrapbook.[66] Other articles appeared in the *Buffalo Evening Courier & Republic* on September 7th, the *Rochester Evening Express* and *Schenectady Daily Evening Post* on September 8th, the *Madison Observer* on September 16th, and in *The Days' Doings* on October 3rd. The widespread coverage of the Peterboro baseball game eclipsed that of the female teams in Pensacola, Florida and Niles, Michigan the previous year and is likely due to the connection of the team to Elizabeth Cady Stanton at a time when the women's rights movement was receiving extensive attention in the press due to a rancorous schism that was playing out over the issue of whether to subordinate the fight for woman suffrage to that for black men's suffrage.[67]

Most articles about the Peterboro players were positive. "Ball playing is as good a method for developing the girls as it is for the boys," insisted the *New York Herald* when it reprinted Stanton's account of the game.[68] Two months later, in a lengthy article explaining why baseball was "now universally admitted to be the national game of America," the *Herald* reported matter-of-factly that not only were many upper class gentlemen counted among the thousands of spectators who gathered to watch men's teams compete, but that "ladies often grace the scenes of contests in large numbers and even aspire—as in Peterboro, N.Y.—to wield the bat and sling the ball in a style remarkable and praiseworthy."[69] Clearly, the writer saw nothing untoward about women participating in the national pastime as spectators and players.

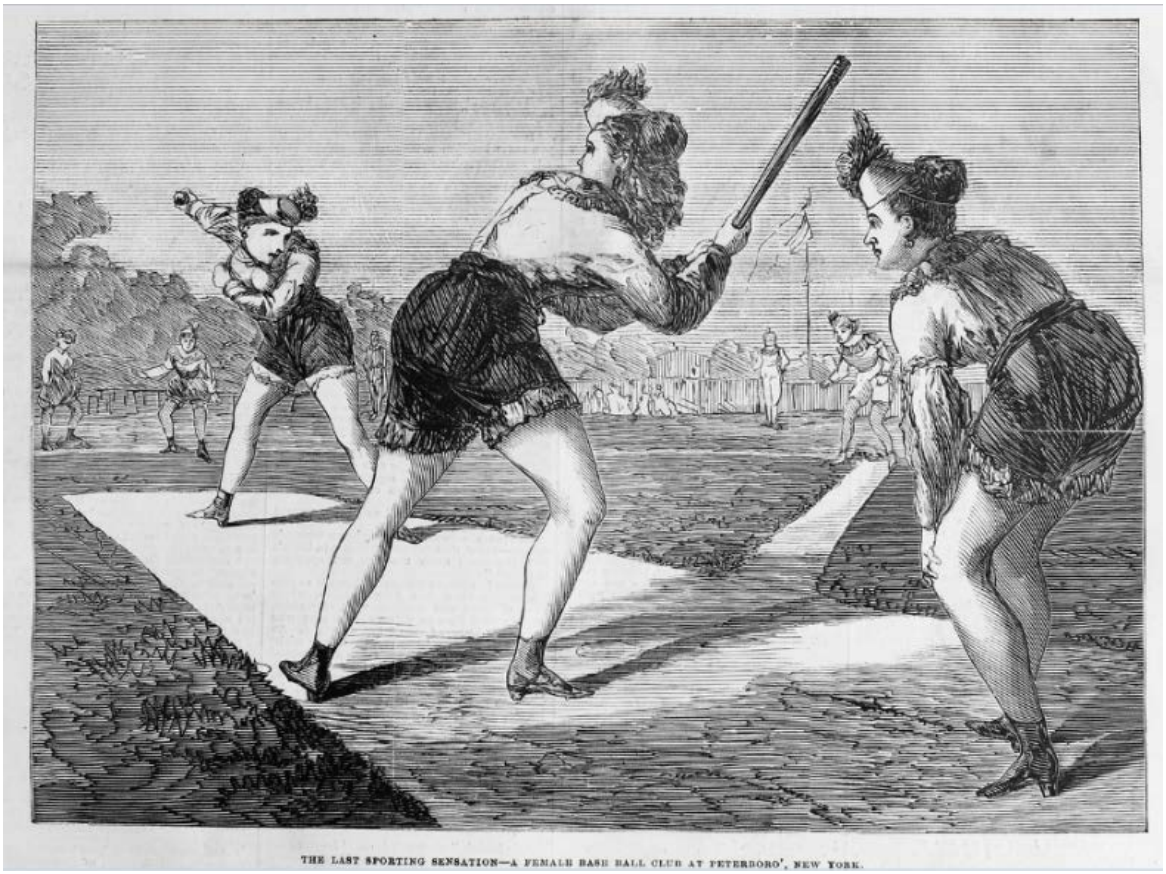

Figure 2-1. "The Last Sporting Sensation—A Female Base Ball Club at Peterboro, New York" Sporting Times (29 Aug 1868)

Not all observers were pleased. The *Sporting Times* and *The Days' Doings* printed misleading illustrations. The *Sporting Times'* illustration (Fig. 2-1) appeared on the front page of the paper on August 29th. It shows buxom players in provocative poses wearing frilly shorts and shirts, plumed hats, high-button heels, and earrings—a sexualized portrayal designed to titillate readers and embarrass the ball players.[70] *The Days' Doings* illustration (Fig. 2-2) appeared on October 3rd.[71] It shows neatly-dressed women wearing knee-length pantaloons under short tunics, with hats and earrings. The field is ringed by a large crowd of well-dressed men in suits and top hats and a smaller number of women wearing hoop skirts. The crowd was not unlike those that attended men's games. Though the players in *The Days' Doings* illustration are wearing more clothing than those in the *Sporting Times* illustration, they are still scantily clad by

the standards of the day—their legs are bare from knee to ankle and their tunics barely cover their hips.

Both illustrations of the Peterboro baseball game appeared in tabloid journals which, like their ubiquitous modern counterparts at grocery store checkout aisles, thrived on shocking their readers. Periodicals like *Sporting Times* and *The Days' Doings* used illustrations to attract

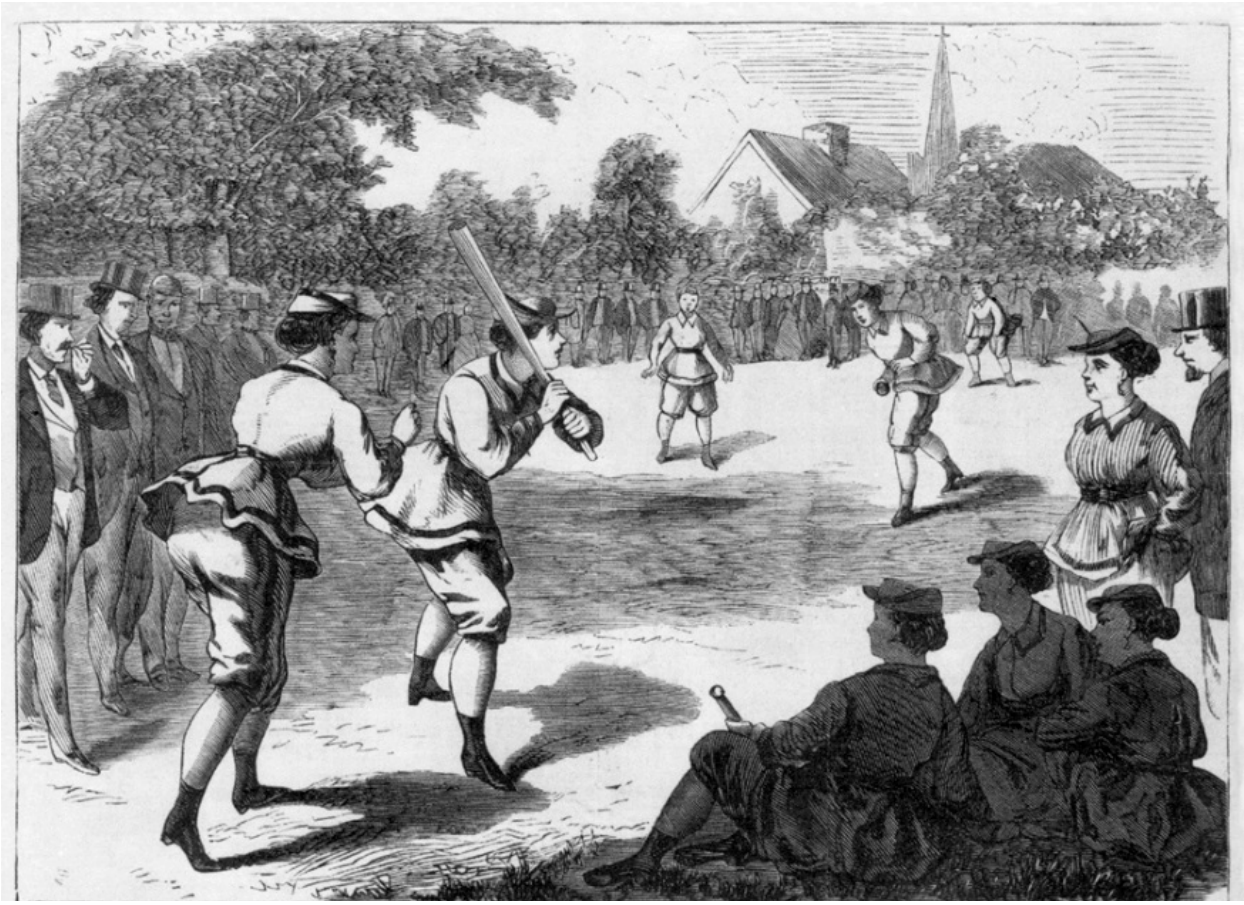

Figure 2-2. "The Last Illustration of Women's Rights—A Femele [sic] Base-Ball Club at Peterboro, N.Y The Days' Doings (3 Oct 1868).

(male) readers, not to accurately report news. The engravers who created the images were generally not eyewitnesses to the events they portrayed; they simply mixed a smattering of eyewitness details with a liberal amount of artistic imagination and editorial spin. Neither paper portrayed women baseball players in a positive light. The *Sporting Times* impugned the moral character of the players by showing them in risqué clothing and provocative poses. *The Days'*

Doings illustration was less sexualized but still implied that women baseball players were manly—they wore pants, not feminine fashions, and they played in front of a mixed audience—something no reputable woman of the day would do. The caption of *The Days' Doings* illustration linked the players with women's rights as did the appended editorial:

> We hear on all sides of woman—of her rights and of her wrongs—we hear of her from our pulpits, we read of her in our novels and essays, we see her occasionally on the lecture—a speaker or at the meetings of politicians, we find her demanding her rights as a representative—and lately, some of the more favored portion of our rural districts have beheld her as a practical advocate of muscular Christianity and a player of base-ball. In the latter capacity, at least, she deserves our unqualified attention and commendation. Physical exercise is one of the needs of American men, especially of American women. The Grecian Bend, and other kindred absurdities, have had their day, (so let us devoutly trust) and in their stead attention is being directed to physical sports of a bracing and healthful character. Every well-wisher of woman—(and what man with a wife, sweetheart, sister or daughter is *not* such a well-wisher)—will wish our female base-ball clubs, and similar organizations, all success, and only wish that there were more of them.[72]

The words of the editorial imply support for women's rights generally and female baseball players specifically, but given the nature of the paper, the writer may well have been employing sarcasm.

Sorting out historical fact from fiction regarding the Peterboro baseball game is difficult given the numerous variations in newspaper accounts and illustrations of the event. Why did the players organize their baseball club in the first place? Were they really just trying to improve their health or were they firing another salvo in the ongoing battle for women's rights? It is unlikely that the Peterboro game was staged as part of a broader women's rights campaign despite *The Days' Doings*' assertions to the contrary. Apart from Stanton's reference to the players being in "full possession of the public square," none of the other sources about the Peterboro female baseball club associated it with the women's rights movement.[73] The absence of a women's rights connection in Stanton's letter is particularly telling. Stanton knew that her letter would be published in *The Revolution* and would be read by women's rights activists

across the country, yet she devoted only a few lines to the game in an otherwise detailed account of her visit to Peterboro. She did not attribute any particular women's rights agenda to the players nor did she take the opportunity to advocate that other girls or women take up the game. If the Peterboro players had meant the game to be "the last illustration of women's rights" as *The Days' Doings* asserted two months later, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, one of the foremost advocates of women's rights at the time, would surely have articulated that motivation in her letter to *The Revolution*.

Even if space constraints in her letter of August 1st had precluded Stanton from elaborating on the potential ramifications of the Peterboro baseball game for women's rights, she had ample opportunities in subsequent letters, articles, and books to make this point—yet she did not.[74] Other women's rights activists, including Nannie Miller's mother, could have linked the game to their broader campaign for social justice, but they did not. After the initial flurry of newspaper articles about the club in August and September of 1868, virtually nothing else about it appeared in the prolific writings and speeches of women's rights activists of the day. A search of the scrapbooks of several prominent women's rights activists, including Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage,[75] yielded only the undated clipping about the Peterboro game in Emily Howland's scrapbook mentioned earlier. Neither Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Ann Smith (Nannie's grandmother), nor Elizabeth Smith Miller mentioned the baseball club in private correspondence written immediately before or after the public game.[76] The most noteworthy omission in family records is that Elizabeth Smith Miller's diary, which she kept sporadically between Nannie's birth in 1856 and 1869, does not include any mention of baseball.[77]

Whether women intended to challenge socio-cultural norms by playing baseball is not always evident from studying available sources; however, it is clear that their presence on baseball fields elicited responses similar to those used in broader debates about gender ideals and roles. In an era when women's rights activists were routinely vilified by men and women, it is not surprising that some would caricature and lampoon female baseball players as well.[78] Whatever their motivations, however, there is no question that female baseball players benefitted from the work done by women's rights activists to dismantle social and economic obstacles. One group of women in Kalamazoo, Michigan had the financial means and the business savvy to organize a baseball and croquet club in 1868 and to procure their own playing grounds and organize their own course of training.[79] The fact that there were enough members in the Kalamazoo club to field two baseball teams indicates the extent to which women in Kalamazoo considered baseball a *feminine* activity—as appropriate for them as croquet. Baseball was not yet a *man's* game; girls and women did not yet have to assert a right to play—they could simply play.

Social Interactions and Baseball

While cultural perceptions of baseball as a man's game had not yet solidified in the mid-nineteenth century, socio-cultural norms and the emerging gendered narratives about the sport *did* influence the ways in which women interacted with the sport as players and/or spectators. There were, no doubt, many women who decided not to play baseball simply because socio-cultural narratives about their physical abilities and their responsibilities as women deterred them. Though only a small minority of women played baseball during the nineteenth century, those who did had to make a decision about whether to conform (or not) to prevailing gender norms. Some conformed—playing baseball in corsets and long dresses on smaller fields by

modified rules; others wore Bloomers (or even pants) and played on regulation fields by regulation rules.[80]

Schoolgirls and Baseball. Children rarely considered how their sports and games fit into the grand scheme of gender relationships—that was their parents' concern. On April 8, 1869, 12-year-old Charles Hurd, a student at the West Lebanon Academy in Lebanon, Maine, wrote a letter to his uncle, Charles Berry in which he reported: "The great excitement over here is base ball and jumping rope. The boys play at morning, noon and after school in the after noon and the girls play ball as well as the boys[;] them that are not large enough to play ball jump rope. The teacher likes it as well as we do[;] he sent after three or for [sic] base balls to day..."[81] The girls and boys at the West Lebanon Academy played baseball together with the full support of their teacher; young Charles Hurd saw nothing unusual about this. Why would he? Children routinely played together. Annie Howes, Vassar Class of 1874, recalled that she had played "hop-scotch on the sidewalks in Boston, and baseball and prisoner's base with the children of the neighborhood."[82]

It was primarily the boys and girls of the nation's public and rural schools who played baseball together. The adolescent sons and daughters of the nation's elite were usually educated separately in institutions tailored to prepare them for their appropriate social and gender roles as adults. Wealthy boys generally attended elite college preparatory or military academies; their sisters went to finishing schools and seminaries. Even in communities where boys' and girls' academies and seminaries existed in close proximity, adults strove to ensure that students intermingled only under tightly controlled conditions with plenty of chaperones on hand.[83] Though girls and boys, young men and women, often found ways to rebel against the moral and social restraints imposed upon them by adults, it was more difficult for them to do so at boarding

schools where they were subjected to the round-the-clock, hyper-vigilance of administrators and faculty acting *in loco parentis*. The financial solvency and reputation of boarding schools depended on administrators providing a safe and wholesome atmosphere that conformed to parental expectations. Invariably, the students at female schools were subjected to more intense scrutiny and control than young men; it would have been difficult for them to play baseball on school grounds without the approval of administrators and parents.

Try as they might, boarding school administrators could not anticipate every situation that might arise during a school year. When an unexpected situation arose, like a group of girls wanting to organize a baseball club, administrators had to decide on-the-fly whether that activity was compatible with their schools' educational philosophy and try to anticipate how parents might react when they found out about it. Some administrators decided that baseball was inappropriate—girls at their schools did not get the opportunity to play baseball. But at schools where administrators were more open minded to new experiences for girls, some students did get the chance to play baseball, albeit temporarily and under controlled circumstances. Grace Aspinwall, a student at Miss Porter's School in Farmington, Connecticut, in the mid- to late-1860s recalled that she and her fellow students had organized a baseball club during her final year at the seminary—but only after persistent lobbying of the school's proprietor. "Baseball was introduced at Miss Porter's School while I was there,—I think my last year in the spring of 1867," wrote Aspinwall. "A group of girls, including myself, after many consultations, approached Miss Porter on the subject, and notwithstanding many hesitations on her part for a time, fearing we would 'attract too much attention,' she gave her permission, if we would select a field approached by going through other fields where there were no 'passersby'!"[84] Aspinwall

felt deeply honored by her selection as pitcher and proudly reported the fact when she "talked over the latest baseball news" with her seven brothers.[85]

Aspinwall was fortunate to attend a school where the proprietor allowed female students to play baseball. It is evident from her account that Sarah Porter was initially hesitant to allow her students to organize baseball teams, but eventually relented. Porter could rationalize that playing baseball was a healthful activity for her students even as she anticipated backlash from those who believed baseball was either inappropriate (unladylike) or dangerous for young women.[86] Porter advocated a healthy lifestyle for her students that included mandatory daily walks and calisthenics plus vigorous outdoor activities such as sledding and skating in the winter and horseback riding and rowing in the spring. Porter demanded feminine decorum from students yet she did not hesitate to deviate from social norms when they were counterproductive to her students' present and future well-being. She refused, for example, to allow her students to wear bustles and long trains on their dresses because she knew bulky clothing would limit their physical activity.[87]

Despite Porter's liberal attitude toward exercise for young women, she still had to be convinced to allow her students to play baseball. This indicates the extent to which structural changes to baseball and the accompanying narratives of the sport as a manly pastime were beginning to affect cultural change in the United States that influenced women's participation in the sport. Kate Stevens, captain of the student-organized Tunxis Base Ball Club at Porter's school, later wrote that her team had only played, "or tried to play," a few games before "sundry, rather preemptory letters from our parents put a stop to that somewhat strenuous exercise."[88] Note that the parental criticism focused on how strenuous baseball was, not that it had a reputation as a man's game. In this case, the narrative of baseball as a game best suited to

strong, vigorous adult men provoked fear in some parents who agreed with then-prevalent assumptions that vigorous exercise for postmenarchal young women could seriously harm their reproductive organs. There is no hint in nineteenth-century sources that parents of female players were worried that their daughters would pick up the bad habits of cursing, gambling, and drinking associated with baseball players—particularly professional players.

Along the spectrum of cultural attitudes toward baseball, school girls and young women found plenty of justification and opportunities to play baseball. Baseball continued to be a popular sport at the Punahou School in the Kingdom of Hawaii where former New York Knickerbocker, Alexander Cartwright, enrolled his three sons.[89] Male and female students played baseball at Punahou before the school bell rang and during the one-hour noon recess. In May 1875, the school newspaper, the *Punahou Mirror*, reported: "The young ladies of Punahou play ball now. Their mothers played before them and their grandmothers before that period, probably, and why shouldn't they play . . .?"[90] The article provides insights on contemporary attitudes about girls playing baseball. Note the challenge implied in the retort, "and why shouldn't they play?" and the comment that love of baseball was passed from mothers to daughters and sometimes even from grandmothers to granddaughters.

Like boys and men, girls and women used baseball as a medium for camaraderie and socialization. In April 1872, fourteen-year-old Alice Stone Blackwell, daughter of women's rights leaders Henry Blackwell and Lucy Stone, wrote in her diary: "At recess Sadie and the rest of us played catch, and she and Hattie Burdett planned a base ball party, which Sadie asked me to join, saying she was sure I should make a good player. Of course I said yes."[91] Blackwell's use of the term "party," rather than "team," implies that baseball was serving a social role for the young teenagers. Later entries indicate the extent to which Blackwell had internalized narratives

about baseball's special place in the broader culture. Watching her school friends play a game at Harris Grammar School, she sadly realized that she was "absolutely and utterly ignorant of the game."[92] Blackwell learned to play baseball by watching her friends play. She and her school mates played baseball regularly at recess throughout the school term whether it was cold and wet or "stewing hot."[93] The process of team selection for games was an opportunity for Blackwell and her peers to visibly demonstrate social loyalties—loyalties that went beyond athletic ability. On May 4th, Blackwell lamented to her journal that she was the last player team captain Mary Scholonbach selected even though Blackwell's best friend Sadie kept urging her to choose Alice.

Alice Blackwell's journal is one of few personal accounts of nineteenth-century girls playing baseball. It provides important insights into how the players viewed what they were doing. Blackwell made over a dozen references to baseball in her journal in 1872 and a handful more in 1873. Each was recorded in the same matter-of-fact manner in which she spoke about playing croquet (something she did frequently during summer months), rowing, swimming, and reading. For Blackwell, playing baseball was a natural activity for girls—it merited no special editorial comment. As the daughter of two ardent and vocal women's rights advocates, Blackwell grew up in a home where dismantling gender barriers for women was a priority. Steeped in social consciousness, if Blackwell had perceived that baseball was not a gender-neutral activity for school girls, she likely would have commented in her journal how she and her friends were challenging social mores by playing. Baseball was not the central focus of Blackwell's life any more than it was for the thousands of girls and boys across the country who played. It was just one of many enjoyable diversions that filled time during the long passage of childhood. Blackwell played baseball frequently enough that her mother made it a point to

mention it during a speech she gave at her daughter's graduation from Harris Grammar School as valedictorian, but it was not so important to Alice that she continued to play as an adult.[94]

During the 1970s, schoolgirls would have to sue for the right to play on Little League baseball teams but, a century earlier, girls like Blackwell and her friends could freely engage in the sport many were proclaiming the national pastime without fear of criticism or reprisal. Nineteenth-century school girls benefitted from the fact that baseball's reputation as a man's game had not yet solidified and that few baseball boosters considered them a threat to the emerging structure and cultural creed of baseball. As gender norms came under increasing attack from determined women's rights activists in the late nineteenth century, however, juvenile female baseball players sometimes unknowingly became symbolic pawns in the ongoing battle over gender ideals and women's rights. In 1873, the *Woman's Exponent* announced: "Ohio girl students play base ball, and the newspapers talk of it. Well?"[95] The "Well?" in this Morman women's rights publication reflects the readiness of adult women to defend youthful female baseball players from all who would question their motives.

Female Collegians and Baseball. Even if they played baseball only for fun, and not to challenge gender mores, adult women were sensitive to how they might be perceived and consciously sought to deflect potential criticism. Deference to public opinion was particularly common on college campuses. Whether they played at all-women colleges or coeducational colleges, female collegiate baseball players ignored the swelling chorus of voices asserting that baseball was a man's game and played anyway—but they did so in a way that tried to accommodate prevailing gender ideals. They often hid their games from the public gaze, navigated shorter basepaths, and wore long dresses and even corsets on the field.[96] Even if they only played for fun and tried to conform to feminine ideals, female collegiate baseball players

were symbolically challenging evolving narratives about women's supposed biological frailty and baseball's socio-cultural function. Those who attended college in the 1860s and 1870s were particularly influenced by attitudes toward women's perceived physical and intellectual weaknesses.

Only a small percentage of nineteenth-century women ever had the opportunity to attend college.[97] Not only did many believe that college was a waste of time for women, some believed higher education would kill or maim them. In March 1869, the Director of Physical Culture at Vassar College observed that physicians and critics of women's higher education were convinced that four years of vigorous study would leave young women prepared only "for the physician or the grave."[98] Some women scoffed at such doomsaying; they understood that social custom, not biology, was the greatest obstacle to women's aspirations for higher education and success in politics, sports, and professions. Neither side knew for certain if it was right, however; consequently the first generations of women collegians understood that they were under intense scrutiny. Francis A. Wood, who joined Vassar's faculty as instructor of music in 1866 and remained on staff for over forty years, remembered that it was "impressed upon the whole [Vassar] family that the higher education of women was an experiment, and that the world was looking on, watching its success or defeat. The good of the college was the watchword, and not mere gratification of individual preferences."[99] It is in this context of uncertainty that some collegiate women played baseball.

Several patterns emerge from an analysis of women's collegiate baseball no matter when or where it was played. First, nineteenth-century players generally represented a cross-section of the student body at any given school at any given time. For example, of the thirty-six students at Vassar College whose names appear on the rosters of the Laurel, Abenakis, and Precocious ball

clubs in 1866 and 1867, fourteen (39%) left school before the end of their second year while eleven players eventually graduated. Seventy-two percent of the twenty-five players who never graduated were "special" or "preparatory" students—the same percentage of students enrolled in the special or preparatory courses at Vassar during the 1866-67 school year.[100] There was nothing to distinguish baseball players socially, politically, or culturally from their fellow students. Marriage and childbearing rates for former players and non-players were indistinguishable and the same percentage of players as non-players went on to work outside the home (or not). The vast majority of collegiate baseball players, like the majority of female collegians, was white. In fact, there is no evidence to-date of black women collegians organizing baseball teams—whether this is because they did not organize teams or because they lacked the means to preserve the records of their actions remains to be discovered through future research.

A second consistent pattern is that baseball was never the most popular sport on college campuses. Throughout the nineteenth century, would-be collegiate baseball team organizers sometimes struggled to field teams, especially after tennis, golf, and basketball appeared on campuses. From baseball's first appearance at colleges like Vassar, Smith, Olivet, and the University of North Dakota, it remained primarily a sport played only sporadically on student-organized teams, by a small percentage of the female students. Even after physical educators began offering baseball as part of their curricula, only a small percentage of students signed up to play. Lilian Tappan reported that only 25 of 338 (7%) students selected baseball as their optional form of exercise during Spring term in 1877. Only gardening, with 24 students, attracted fewer. The other options in their order of popularity were: Walking (116), Croquet (108) and Boating (94).[101] Despite the relatively small numbers of nineteenth-century female college baseball players, it is clear from their surviving yearbooks, school newspapers, letters,

diaries, and scrapbooks, that those who did play thoroughly enjoyed it. Some considered their playing days such an important aspect of their collegiate experience that they fondly wrote about them decades later.[102]

A third pattern characterizing nineteenth-century female collegiate baseball is that the majority of players tried to conform to prevailing gender ideals about femininity while playing baseball. They hid their games from male spectators and wore the latest feminine fashions. "Men's sports were played before stands full of spectators; women's sports were played behind hedges," writes historian Pamela Dean. "The fields were carefully screened and 'no papas or even grandpapas' ever saw those bloomers."[103] Though Dean was referring to athletic games on southern campuses in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, her comments apply throughout the nineteenth century. The baseball players at women's colleges had little difficulty segregating their activities from the male gaze because many of their colleges had been purposely constructed in secluded, rural areas. Female baseball players on coeducational campuses had a more difficult time avoiding the male gaze but could mitigate their circumstances by wearing feminine clothing and avoiding aggressive, overly-athletic play. Newspaper articles about female college baseball games sometimes mentioned players stopping games to attend to stray hairpins or torn skirts. As late as 1901, Livinia Hart, a former collegian, recalled that students at several women's colleges had organized baseball teams "some years ago" but that none lasted a full season because players had found it an "utter impossibility" to play ball and "attend to the train."[104] On rare occasions, corsets and heavy skirts could protect female ball players. Minnie Stephens, who played on a baseball team at Smith College in 1880 recalled one such moment: "One vicious batter drove a ball directly into the belt line of her

opponent," Stephens wrote years later, "and had it not been for the rigid steel corset clasp worn in those days, she would have been knocked out completely."[105]

Livinia Hart's comment about the short-lived baseball teams of the 1890s reflects another consistent pattern of nineteenth-century female collegiate baseball teams. Most teams lasted only a few weeks to a couple of months. For most of the century, women's college baseball teams, like most other sports teams, were organized and led by students. Students formed teams for pick-up games or competitions between "houses" (dormitories) or classes. Even after physical educators began integrating student sports teams into their programs, female baseball teams did not represent their institutions as men's sports teams did. Thus, team duration was tied to a set period in the physical education curricula, not to a season of intercollegiate competition. It was only after the turn of the twentieth century when "Women's Baseball" (and later, softball) became an official intercollegiate sport that colleges and institutions began fielding women's teams year after year. Baseball was just one of myriad new activities nineteenth-century female collegians could explore during their time at college so it is not surprising that students did not devote themselves extensively to the sport.

Another reason female collegiate baseball teams were short-lived is that many of the collegiate players were not willing to endure the criticism sometimes heaped upon them by fellow students or by male peers convinced they were trying to emulate men or push a women's rights agenda. In the *Class Book* for 1878 an unnamed Vassar student recalled how difficult it had been finding enough students willing to play baseball:

> After hesitation on the part of some,
> Who feared it really couldn't be done
> With the prudence and propriety due
> From ladies, in Miss Terry's view;
> And some who feared the 'cold world's' sneer,
> That is, the part of it which is here,

> and some who thought the Po'keepsie papers
> Would bristle all over with scandalous tapers,
> Our energetic captain succeeded
> In getting all the recruits she needed.[106]

Even twenty years later, Vassar students recalled how opposition to young women playing baseball deterred some students. In 1896 the *Vassar Miscellany* included a retrospective article about the Vassar Athletic Association. It noted that at one point students had organized class baseball teams at the prompting of the gymnasium instructor and were enjoying the game thoroughly. "The conservative world, however, looked upon this as a step beyond its ideas of propriety," lamented the anonymous writer, "and one by one the girls dropped out, influenced, doubtless, by the opposition of family and friends. Thus base-ball was given up."[107]

By and large, female collegians did not play baseball to protest their exclusion from certain social and cultural spheres—they played baseball for the same reason male students did—because it was fun. Nonetheless, because cultural narratives about baseball were changing, female collegians had a different relationship to the game than their male peers did. Even commentators who seemed favorable to the idea of adult women playing baseball often teased them or likened them to children. In October 1869, the *Chicago Times* announced that students at the Northwestern Female college, at Evanston, had organized the Diana Base Ball Club. It printed a challenge to the team made by the "Baltics"—a junior (boys') team. The tone of the invitation was patronizing and dripping with gendered allegory: "Hoping that as ancient Diana was goddess of the chase, so may you, the modern goddesses, consent to become the protecting deities of our national game in this vicinity, and, with goodness that goddesses and the ladies, their equals, are famous for, accept this challenge."[108] The adult players declined the invitation, informing the *Times* that they were seeking an "older game" and would happily play any "regular senior organization." Baseball at Northwestern Female College was short-lived

because, that same year, the trustees of Northwestern University decided to admit female students and enrollment at the all-female institution declined sharply.[109]

The thirty-six students who had played baseball at Vassar in the Spring of 1866 and 1867 had done so with the tacit support of administrators who believed in the importance of outdoor exercise for women. By the time baseball returned to Vassar in the Fall of 1875, cultural attitudes toward the sport had changed to the extent that students had to consider the potential negative ramifications if they chose to play. In October 1875, *The Vassar Miscellany* asked its readers, "Could baseball be called improvements or the reverse? As mankind is divided on that subject, we will not enlarge on our advancement in that respect."[110] The student paper was responding to a sudden (but short-lived) surge of interest in baseball, promoted by Vassar's new resident physician, Dr. Helen Webster. With Webster's encouragement, students organized seven or eight baseball teams with names like the Sure-pops, the Daisy-Clippers, and the Royals.[111] In early November, Katharine Griffis wrote to her friend, Mary: "Ball playing is all the rage at present; there are a number of clubs . . ."[112] Not only were students playing baseball at Vassar, but students were turning out in droves to watch them. The games became a highlight of the social scene on campus. "[T]he ball ground is the prettiest sight in the P.M. that you can imagine," Griffis continued. "All the clubs have different costumes & their crowds of girls with their bright shawls, pretty camp chairs, etc., go out to watch the games & it looks so cheerful & lively."[113]

The initial enthusiasm for baseball waned on campus after the 1875-1876 school year despite the fact that Lilian Tappan, Vassar's Director of the Department of Physical Education, oversaw a mandatory physical fitness program that included baseball as one of the optional activities. *The Vassar Miscellany* reported in October 1876 that the baseball clubs had been

"consolidated and reorganized."[114] In fact, Sophia Foster and others "who had learned the value of rigorous play" managed to reconstitute only two of the baseball teams. Foster's identification of the baseball players as students who had "learned the value of rigorous play" indicates the extent to which young women of her generation continued to worry about claims that they might kill or permanently maim themselves by overtaxing their minds and bodies. Foster and her teammates also had to consider the increasingly gendered reputation of the national pastime. The students who played baseball at Vassar in the latter half of the 1870s were challenging the emerging ideal that baseball was a tool for shaping masculine identity. Few students were willing to contend with the backlash that ensued when word got out about their games. Foster recalled that "the public, so far as it knew of our playing, was shocked" even though the students played on the secluded grounds of the campus. After a player injured her leg running the bases, Foster and the others who carried her to the infirmary were certain this would put an end to their games. They were surprised when Dr. Webster told them that they should keep playing even though the public would likely condemn the game as too "violent" for women. Parents had their say about baseball too. Foster believed the reason so few students continued to play baseball was because "there was too much pressure against it from disapproving mothers."[115]

It was not just mothers who deterred students from playing baseball—peer pressure played a role too. In January 1876, editors of the school newspaper observed: "After a senior class has indulged in base ball clubs, and spent the autumn in displaying its Gym suits and powers of running at match games,—after that, its reputation for dignity among the under graduates may be regarded as a minus quantity."[116] In July, the editors mentioned the "much condemned base ball clubs" and acknowledged that archery was far more popular because it "had a flavor of aristocracy that base-ball lacked."[117] Some of the peer pressure came from

students at other campuses. Male students enjoyed poking fun at female students whenever they perceived those students were overstepping their gender boundaries. In 1880, for example, Princeton students joked about the athletic activities of Vassar students:

> Quoth he to chaff her, I've heard they row,
> Play base ball, swim and bend the bow,
> But, really now, I'd like to know—
> If they play foot-ball at Vassar?[118]

It required a good deal of self-confidence to continuing to play baseball in the face of this kind of peer pressure.

Apart from the students at Vassar and the female colleges in Evanston, Illinois, there is no evidence of students at other women's colleges organizing baseball teams between 1865 and 1879. There is only one example of female students at a coeducational institution organizing teams during this period. In the Fall of 1873, male and female students and teachers at Whittier College in Salem, Iowa each organized their own baseball teams.[119] Annie Packer, who had graduated in Whittier's inaugural Class of 1871 and was currently heading up the female department and teaching mathematics, was a member of the women's team; C.C. Picket, principal of the men's department, was on the men's team. Whittier College was a Quaker school; it was an offshoot of Salem seminary which had been founded in 1841.[120] The seminary had grown so much by 1867 that Iowa Quakers decided to open a College as well. Whittier College opened for students in April 1868; it specialized in preparing teachers. It is uncertain how many students attended Whittier in 1873 when the baseball teams played, but the graduating Class of 1874 had only eight students in it—three women and five men. Given the small number of students at the college, it is likely that the baseball teams were organized to promote camaraderie amongst students and faculty members. Whittier College was quite isolated—accessible via a 10-mile stagecoach ride from the nearest railroad station in Mount Pleasant. The

male and female teams most likely scrimmaged each other rather than challenging teams from other communities. Their activity posed little if any challenge to the emerging cultural narrative about baseball as a sport best suited for adult men.

While it might seem logical that women on coeducational college campuses would be more likely than students at all-female colleges to play baseball, since they would have regular opportunities to watch male students play, there are several reasons why this was not the case. First, because women collegians were under significant scrutiny from critics convinced that higher education would "unsex" or physically harm them, most women collegians scrupulously sought to demonstrate that they could be both feminine *and* intellectual. This meant conforming their dress and behavior to the prevailing gender guidelines of their era. For women on coeducational campuses bold enough to try their hand at the increasingly masculinized sport of baseball, finding a place to play where male students could not watch was much more difficult than it was for those at women's colleges.

Another reason why female baseball players were not as numerous at coeducational institutions as they were at all-women schools was that relatively few women attended any given coeducational institution at any given time. While all-women schools like Vassar, Wellesley, and Smith had 200 to 300 female students *each* on campus in the 1870s, private and state schools of the time generally had only a few dozen women at most. The University of Nebraska had one of the largest populations of female students in the 1870s; it fluctuated between a low of 27 female students in 1873-74 to a high of 123 in 1875-76—the only academic year prior to 1880 when it had over 100 female students. Michigan State University had 10 or fewer women throughout the 1870s. Iowa State Agricultural College (the future Iowa State University), the first coeducational state college, welcomed its inaugural class in 1869—it had 173 students, only

37 of whom were women. On the women's campuses, where young women were often encouraged to try their hand at non-traditional activities, only a small percentage of students ever expressed an interest in playing baseball; it would have been difficult to field a team of nine players at a coeducational institution where only small cadres of women attended at any given time.

Another deterrent to women's baseball teams on coeducational campuses was the fact that many of the female students who attended them were commuters or lived off-campus in privately procured housing. It took decades before most coeducational institutions of higher learning provided dormitories for their female students. At the women's colleges, where the majority of the students lived and dined together on the campus, it was much easier for them to form social bonds, which then led to the creation of extracurricular clubs and teams. Women who commuted to coeducational institutions had more difficulty forming the strong social ties that bound other college students together.

Most nineteenth-century female baseball teams at coeducational institutions did not debut until the 1890s when there were enough women attending individual institutions to make it possible to find enough willing to play. There do not seem to be any common threads between the schools where female students played baseball—some were secular institutions, others were denominational; some were located in the East and Midwest, others in the West and South. Some offered women degrees on the same basis as men; others allowed women to attend but only granted them diplomas or certificates, not full-fledged degrees. Some had dormitories for female students on campuses; others did not.

Adult Women and Baseball. While female collegians had little inclination (or opportunities) to play baseball on campuses during the 1860s and 1870s, there was no shortage

of teenagers and adult women who played on civic and pick-up teams throughout the country. They found baseball to be an enjoyable and exhilarating activity. Girls and women organized over fifty civic and pick-up teams between 1865 and 1879.[121] Because newspaper articles about these teams were usually exceedingly brief, it is often difficult to determine the ages of players. However, there is no question that adult women did play baseball during this era. Many, if not most, played simply for fun and exercise, although a pick-up game in Cincinnati between the Invincibles and Woman's Suffrage Base-ball Clubs in September 1869 may have been inspired by a major meeting of woman's rights activists, including Lucy Stone and Susan B. Anthony, that the city had hosted two weeks earlier.[122] Just like many of the amateur men's teams of the era, women's teams sported clever names like, "Longstockings," "Leap Year Winners," "Striped Stockings," "Young Independents," and the "Calicos."[123]

Most women's civic and pick-up teams of the 1860s and 1870s were located in the Northeast, East, and Midwest. This reflected the popularity of men's baseball in those regions. There is scant evidence of women organizing teams in southern or western states during the 1870s even though men's teams were fairly common in those regions by the end of the decade. The only known western and southern states with women's civic and pick-up teams at this time were Kansas, Iowa, North Carolina, and Kentucky.[124] The lack of evidence of women's baseball teams in the West and South may be due more to the relative paucity of digitized newspaper sources for those areas rather than to a lack of teams; time will tell as historians explore newly digitized sources in those regions. It is possible, however, that there simply *were* fewer female baseball teams in the West and South due to demographic and cultural differences of those regions.

One early women's civic baseball club in the Midwest garnered a fair amount of press despite the fact that players banned spectators from their only known game. The *Rockford Weekly Register-Gazette*, *Chicago Tribune*, and *New York Clipper* all carried articles about the game played by the "Marrieds" and "Singles" of Rockford, Illinois, on August 16, 1870 on the grounds of the local men's team; the Singles prevailed, 33-3.[125] The fact that the women barred spectators indicates that they were not trying to use the sport to openly challenge women's exclusion from many public realms—they were simply having a good time. The women who played on the Rockford teams had had ample opportunities to watch quality baseball matches in their home town before they organized their own teams. Rockford, a city of about 15,000 residents, was blessed with a talented men's baseball team—the Forest City nine. Some of the women had probably witnessed the game in which the 16-year-old future Hall of Fame pitcher, sporting goods magnate, and National League co-founder, Albert Goodwill Spalding, pitched the Forest City nine to victory against the visiting Washington (D.C.) Nationals in 1867—that team's only defeat during its Midwestern tour.

Although most pick-up and civic teams in the 1870s were short-lived and played only intra-squad games, a handful of reports indicate that girls and women did sometimes play female teams from other cities or local boys or men's teams. In July 1871, a paper in Indiana reported that the Louisville *Commercial* was thinking about challenging the female baseball team of Crawfordsville.[126] There is no word on whether this game ever took place but, five years later, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* reported that the Leap Year Winners, a female base ball club in Virginia, Cass County, Illinois had recently "vanquished" a men's team in a match game.[127] In June 1877, a team of "young ladies" in Kinsley, Kansas played a "spirited" game with the "Kinsley Free Booters." The following month a group of young ladies in nearby Fredonia

defeated a team of young men (the paper alternately called them girls and boys) in a 3-inning match, 28 to 9. The paper reported that the Fredonia "ladies" were planning a match against the ladies nine from Neodesha in the near future.[128] Sometimes individual female baseball players challenged men in head-to-head competition. The *Elk County Advocate* of Ridgway, Pennsylvania reported in June 1875: "Reading has a beautiful female base ballist, who challenges 'Jhonny' Briton of Lewistown."[129]

Newspaper coverage of nineteenth-century women who played baseball with or against men differed based on the social class of the players. Reporters generally wrote matter-of-fact articles about middle- and upper-class women playing baseball in mixed company or in front of men; their unspoken assumption was that these women were only having fun—not challenging social mores about women's proper place. In contrast, commentators frequently excoriated the working class women who joined barnstorming baseball teams and played in front of male spectators and (sometimes) against men's teams.[130] In this case, the assumption was that women who would accept money to play (or work) in mixed company were dangerously immoral.

Contesting the Center—Women Embrace Baseball On Their Own Terms

While most nineteenth-century girls and women persistently conformed to prevailing gender norms while playing baseball, some did so only reluctantly. In 1900, Jeannette L. Gilder, a former newspaper reporter and popular literary figure in and around New York City, wrote *The Autobiography of a Tomboy* in which she recalled the fun she and other girls had had playing baseball in New Jersey in the early 1860s. "There were two clubs in Birdlington [Bordentown], composed entirely of girls," she wrote, and we played a lively game."[131] As was the case with many of the games played by girls and women during the nineteenth century, Gilder and her teammates played on a ball field "within our own gates," to keep them private. Gilder also

recalled that she and the others had played baseball for hours on end in the hot sun; so long, in fact, that she jokingly wondered how she was alive "to tell the tale!" Gilder related that her hands were as hard as the boys who played baseball, a fact of which she was proud. To her disappointment, however, while "there wasn't a boy in the village who hadn't a crooked finger" all of hers were perfectly straight. It was a "fly in my ointment," she related, that she had not broken a finger playing baseball.[132]

Writing thirty-three years after-the-fact, during an era when physical educators were adapting games like basketball and baseball to the "special needs" of women, Gilder wanted her readers to understand that the game she and other girls had played in the 1860s was "real" baseball. "I can assure you that we played with the hardest balls and seldom 'muffed,'" she insisted. She also reported that after a newspaper reporter in a neighboring town got wind of their games and published a wholly fictitious account of their playing (claiming they "knocked the ball into each other's eyes, punched one another's heads, and behaved in a generally outrageous manner"); they were forced to give up baseball and amuse themselves with activities appropriate for "well-regulated girls."[133] Gilder's account of her baseball playing days may have been somewhat idealized after the passage of so much time, but the fact that she recorded the activity in her autobiography indicates the importance she attached to playing baseball at a time when girls were expected to be "well-regulated." Gilder was proud that she had resisted societal definitions of proper gender boundaries and wore the label "tomboy" as a badge of honor. After playing baseball as a youth she went on to a career in the male-dominated world of journalism, further indication that she continued to contest gender roles as an adult.

Another group of women who felt little compulsion to conform to middle-class gender ideals were the female employees of a mill near Manayunk, Pennsylvania. These women

challenged middle-class cultural values by challenging male employees to a game of baseball in August 1878. It is unclear whether the teams were sponsored by the mill or whether they fell into the "pick-up" game mold, but the fact that the women would play against men challenged middle-class social mores about proper decorum for women. Thousands of women worked outside the home in industrial jobs by this time but middle-class moralists remained averse to women directly competing against men.

Critiquing the Counternarrative

The public did not know quite what to make of female baseball players. Many believed that baseball was both fun and fashionable and that it was as useful for the physical health of girls and women as it was for boys and men. Others were not so sure. The cultural narratives about baseball being a manly pastime that were endlessly repeated by the men forging the emerging structure and creed of baseball did influence public perceptions about the sport. Like the editorialist in *The Days' Doings* who had associated the female baseball game in Peterboro, New York with the women's right movement, some began to assume that women's increasingly common participation in vigorous sports like baseball was really a covert tactic in the battle for equal rights. They believed women were using athletics as a wedge to open a breach in the male sphere through which women could pour to capture occupations and public roles previously reserved exclusively for men.

Depending on their opinion about the impending rupture in gender role boundaries, some vociferously protested against athleticism in women while others welcomed it. Both groups suspected that physically robust women could wrest away from men what verbal banter on the lecture circuit had failed to deliver—the vote. In July 1870, the *New York Times* described the "novel spectacle" of a group of young women from Pittsburgh competing in a mile and a half

rowing competition. The reporter could not decide whether public exhibitions like rowing would improve women "mentally and morally, or even physically," but he was confident of one thing—if women continued to demonstrate their physical strength in public, they would be able to overcome male opposition to their demands for equal rights and suffrage. "No doubt it will take many boat-races *and base-ball matches* (emphasis added) to harden feminine muscles to successful competition with the monopolists of the ballot-box," he concluded, "[b]ut of this the champions of female suffrage may be sure: that they will find more account in one such victory as we have suggested than in a dozen triumphs of the rostrum."[134]

Many were appalled by the idea of physically robust women wresting the ballot from men and barging into masculine preserves *en masse*. A month after the *Times* article appeared, the *Morning Oregonian* of Portland reported that women in Detroit were learning to play baseball. "What with female ball clubs, female boat clubs and the like it would seem that the fair sex are likely to secure their 'rights' quite as rapidly as the most radical would desire."[135] In 1871, a male baseball booster named William R. Hooper erroneously reported that baseball was standing in the breech against further encroachments of women into the masculine sphere: "And not only is the game health-giving, but we point with pride to its moral influence," Hooper wrote. "It is the conservative power of American society. While woman is soliciting office and demanding the franchise, base-ball clubs are only accessible to men."[136]

Hooper's assertion that only men played organized baseball was wrong, but the fact he *believed* that baseball was standing strong against the assaults of women's rights activists is important. He was relieved that while men were finding it increasingly difficult to justify denying women access to professions and the ballot box, they felt no pressure to admit women to their baseball clubs. "Whether this arises from that innate love of the graceful that would keep a

woman from jumping loftily into air after a ball on the fly," he wrote, "or that catching in laps is forbidden by the rules of the game, or that the rapid running of the bases is inconsistent with the stability of chignons and waterfalls," he was not sure. Despite the undisputable reality that countless women still believed baseball was an appropriate *feminine* activity, Hooper held out hope that baseball would continue to be a safe haven for men: "Our female Canutes are told by the wave of base-ball now rolling over the land, 'Thus far mayest thou go, and no farther.'"[137]

Hooper's hope that baseball would continue to serve as a line in the sand against women's rights encroachments was a relatively rare perspective. Public opinion about female pick-up and civic baseball teams continued to be generally positive, although some reporters teased women for their lack of athleticism or belittled the idea of women engaging in serious athletic competition. The *Iosco County Gazette* commented that while some of the young women on the Amateur Base Ball Club in East Tawas, Michigan, were "quite proficient" at the game, most were poor batters.[138] James M. Bailey's comical tale about six inept female baseball players in Danbury, Connecticut proved so popular in 1878 that Mark Twain incorporated it into his *Library of Humor* a decade later. Twain's reprint included an illustration showing grown women awkwardly trying to pitch and throw while another stands nearby fixing her hat.[139]

The use of humor to demean female baseball players was a tactic commonly employed by opponents of women's suffrage. Reporters frequently portrayed women's rights activists as either masculinized or overly concerned with their physical appearance to the point that it prevented them from giving proper attention to serious matters (like casting an informed vote).[140] As the structure and cultural creed of baseball began to take on a masculinized reputation, more and more commentators sought to discount or diminish women's relationship to the sport. In 1876, for example, papers in Michigan teased that players on the female base ball club in

Manitowoc, Wisconsin "stop when running the bases to fix their bustles" and the New York *Evening Telegram* reported that just because Gilead, Connecticut had a female base ball nine "doesn't make it a femi-nine game, for all that. Gilead can't bamboozle the public mind that way."[141] The *Evening Telegram's* comment indicates the extent to which the cultural center of baseball was shifting as increasing numbers of individuals internalized the narrative that baseball was a man's game. This unwillingness to acknowledge that baseball was as much a woman's game as it was a man's game would play a decisive role in creating the myth of baseball's gendered heritage. No matter how many girls and women played baseball, those who wished to reserve baseball for men could simply argue that just because women played did not make baseball a woman's game

CHAPTER 3 – 1865-1879: COMMODIFYING A NATIONAL PASTIME—THE "PROFESSIONAL" GAME

> If those who really enjoy base ball as a sport desire to retain for it the interest of the respectable classes, they must sternly set their faces against the professional player. In every point of view he is an eminently undesirable person, and he ought to be peremptorily and completely suppressed.
>
> —*New York Times* (8 Mar 1872)

> About 1,500 people, including half-a-dozen ladies, assembled at the ball grounds on Tuesday afternoon, attracted thither by the announcement that two nines composed entirely of female players would contend for the mastery. Those who attended the game with the expectation of witnessing an exhibition of low character were disappointed, for the women conducted themselves with entire propriety, and paid no attention whatever to the crowd, except to join now and then in the laugh arising from some of their many errors.
>
> —*Boston Post* (30 Jul 1879)

George E. Vaillant once observed that "the passage of time renders truth itself relative. . . . It is all too common for caterpillars to become butterflies and then to maintain that in their youth they had been little butterflies."[1] Today, Major League Baseball (MLB)[2] is a multi-billion dollar business dominated by male players and team owners.[3] Over the years, many have assumed that the modern structure of the MLB is simply a larger-scale version of early professional baseball. Nothing could be further from the truth; in fact, there are few parallels between modern professional baseball and early professional baseball. Perhaps the most significant distinction between the two is that the early professional game was gender-neutral—both men and women earned their livings on baseball diamonds in the nineteenth century. This startling fact is virtually unknown to modern audiences because, while both men and women participated in the early commodification of baseball, it was men who ultimately constructed a structure for the professional game that marginalized and later erased women's involvement with the developing business. While today's elite professional baseball players are often idolized as heroes, early professional players (male and female) were often condemned—the former for introducing filthy

lucre into the supposedly pristine pastime, and the latter for subverting gender ideals of femininity by playing in public for money.

Scholars have written volumes about the evolution of professional baseball, but no one has yet highlighted the gender-neutral aspects of the nascent professional game. By applying modern definitions of professionalism (i.e. elite athletes paid to compete at the highest levels of a sport) to the past, many scholars have misrepresented the early professional game and denied the mantle of professionalism to women who earned their living playing baseball in the nineteenth century. Even those scholars who have recognized the distinctions between early and modern professional baseball have not explored the similarities between men's and women's professional baseball teams.

Technically speaking, neither male nor female baseball players met the criteria of "professionals" in the strictest sense of the word as it was defined in the latter half of the nineteenth century. While eighteenth-century dictionaries granted the status of "profession" to any "calling, vocation or known employment," those published in the latter half of the nineteenth century linked the term to callings, vocations, and employments that required "a learned education."[4] This semantic distinction evolved during a period of social and cultural upheaval in the United States when the forces of industrialization, urbanization, and immigration were transforming society and cultural institutions. One of the ways the emerging middle class sought to distinguish itself from the masses was to develop more stringent credentialing requirements for "professions." Education became the locus of distinction between respectable professionals and charlatans pretending to be respectable.

Dictionary definitions aside, however, the basic understanding of a professional in the nineteenth century was someone who earned money doing something—particularly something

that required practiced skill. When members of the National Association of Base Ball Players (NABBP) began arguing about amateurism and professionalism in the 1850s and 1860s, no one claimed that paid players were not really professionals because they lacked a "learned education." A person who played baseball for pay was a "professional" as far as advocates of amateurism were concerned. Countless teenage girls and young women met this criteria.[5] However, because female professional baseball players did not organize themselves into professional players' associations or create enduring league structures, as men did, scholars have tended to place them in a separate analytical category from male professional players based solely on gender. A different historical narrative emerges when this artificial distinction is removed and scholars shift the focus from gender to the early professional game itself. The new narrative reveals that male and female professional baseball players had more in common with each other than they did with those who championed amateur baseball.

Adult male players who sought to legitimize baseball as a scientific and godly recreational choice for adult men had successfully portrayed children and sluggards as the undesirable "other" during the 1840s and 1850s. By the late 1860s, however, the line between male players and "other" became blurred as amateurs and professionals wrestled over the future of the sport. Supporters of amateurism reserved the mantle of respectability for themselves; their "other" was professionalism and they railed against those who would risk corrupting the game for personal gain. The girls and women who continued to play baseball on civic and pick-up teams and at schools and colleges were theoretically aligned with those upholding the amateur spirit of the sport; those who played baseball for money on barnstorming teams were squarely in the camp of the professional "others." They too were accused of corrupting the game for money, but they faced the added charges of perverting morality and undermining feminine virtue.

Professional baseball had to overcome significant cultural obstacles in order to became a multi-billion dollar business. During its infancy, both men and women played on teams whose managers had to craft marketing narratives emphasizing the exciting and respectable nature of their entertainment product in order to attract middle- and upper-class audiences. Managers tried to convince potential spectators that players' behavior was respectable on and off the field and that the entertainment product offered was suitable for women and children.[6]

> *Advertisement for women's professional game (1889)*: These exhibitions are first-class in every particular, moral in every sense, free from every objectional [sic] feature, and can be visited by anyone, even the most refined and fastidious, and these games and pastimes by ladies have been endorsed by leading newspapers of the country, also by noted clergymen and the leading medical faculty of the country.[7]

> *Advertisement for men's professional game (1882)*: No beer, liquors or cigars will be allowed in the grand stand, where an attendance of ladies will be especially invited. The desire is to make this division of the ground so attractive and inoffensive that ladies will find it a pleasure, as they did some years ago, in patronizing the game.[8]

Despite these marketing strategies, the majority of spectators at most male and female baseball games in the nineteenth century came from the ranks of the working class and newspapers routinely noted the "rough" nature of crowds at women's contests.

Efforts to market early professional baseball were largely unsuccessful. While championship matches could sometimes draw tens of thousands of spectators, most professional games (male and female) were sparsely attended. If success as professionals was measured in terms of fan interest, then women professionals actually had a slight edge over their male counterparts. In 1879, for example, six of the eight teams in the National League averaged less than 1,000 fans per game. The Red Stocking and Blue Stocking professional women's teams (which traveled together playing games against each other) played in seven of the eight cities that had National League franchises, drawing an average of 1,130-1,335 fans—more than the NL

team in each city (Fig. 3-1).[9] The fact that these women's teams outdrew men's teams is particularly noteworthy because of the differences in how men's and women's professional teams scheduled games. Men's teams played approximately forty home games and forty road games—scheduled in advance. These teams could develop loyal fan bases because they repeatedly played in the same eight cities. Female teams did not have this luxury. The Red Stockings and Blue Stockings traveled over 3,000 miles and played at least twenty-eight games

NATIONAL LEAGUE TEAM	FINAL STANDINGS	NL ATTENDANCE (40 Home games)	NL AVERAGE (Total / 40)	FEMALE TEAM ATTENDANCE IN NL CITY
Chicago White Stockings	4	67,687	1,692	DID NOT PLAY
Providence Grays	1	47,595	1,189	1,200
Boston Red Stockings	2	36,501	913	600-800 or 1,500
Cincinnati Reds	5	28,000	700	1,000-1,700 Game 1 4,000 Game 2
Buffalo Bisons	3	26,000	650	About 1,000
Cleveland Blues	6	25,000	625	800 - 1,000
Troy Trojans	8	12,000	300	1,500
Syracuse Stars	7	9,000	225	300

Figure 3-1. Attendance for Red Stocking and Blue Stocking games in NL cities (1879)

in twenty-seven cities between July 4th and September 1st, 1879. Many of their games were scheduled on-the-fly as advance men traveled ahead of them negotiating terms with the owners of playing venues near the rail lines. While numerical attendance figures are available for only twenty-three of the women's games, the total of 34,500 spectators for those games is more than attended all forty of the home games in five of the seven major league cities where they played. Only the pennant-winning Providence Grays and the second place Boston Red Stockings attracted more spectators—and they needed 40 games to do it.

Male and female professional baseball teams struggled to turn a profit in the first decades of the professional game. Profit margins were exceedingly slim; travel was difficult and

inclement weather could (and did) wreak havoc with team finances. In April 1875, Harry Wright, arguably one of the most successful early professional players and managers, had to inform Boston Red Stockings treasurer Frederick Long, that the team had run out of money in Washington D.C. due to rain-outs and needed an infusion of funds to pay the hotel bill and to purchase tickets to get to the next scheduled stop. Scholar Richard Hershberger notes: "The scary thing is, this was the Bostons: by far the most efficiently run club in the NA."[10] It was not unusual for professional men's teams to forfeit away games at the end of a season rather than incur the necessary expenses to travel to a distant venue. Many of the early women's professional teams collapsed for lack of funds mid-season, leaving players to appeal to charity to get home.[11]

Professional baseball was the product of emerging social, cultural, and economic changes; it struggled for legitimacy for decades while amateur baseball's popularity grew exponentially. Professional baseball was an unsightly caterpillar in the 1860s and 1870s with little indication that it would one day transform into a butterfly. By the time it did, men had redefined what it meant to be a professional baseball player (white and male) and created formal governing structures (and informal "gentlemen's agreements") that excluded the undesirable others (blacks and women).

Baseball for Sale—the Emergence of Commodified Entertainment

The restructuring of baseball's center from an amateur pastime to a business operation occurred concurrently with the transformation of leisure activities in general in the United States. The 1870s brought a confluence of factors that spawned a perfect storm of profitable prospects for entertainment entrepreneurs, including baseball team owners. A revolution in mass media production motivated newspaper editors in large cities and small to begin adding sporting and

leisure sections to their papers; businessmen and women took advantage of lower costs to expand their print ads for a host of products, including theatrical and sporting events. Meanwhile, the same ever-expanding, interconnected web of railroads that made it possible to supply thousands of cities, villages, and hamlets with fresh food and inexpensive consumer products, also streamlined the process for transporting theatrical troupes, sports teams, and circuses—thus expanding the customer base for those entertainment businesses. Most importantly, economic and demographic changes sparked by the industrial revolution, urbanization, and immigration created an unprecedented mass audience with leisure time and expendable cash for entertainment entrepreneurs to woo. The leisure opportunities available in this decade were unprecedented in scope and variety, and millions of men, women, and children from every social strata and geographical region of the country surrendered their hard-earned nickels, dimes, and quarters to attend sporting events, circuses, freak shows, and a vast array of itinerant theatrical productions.[12]

By the 1870s, showmen like P. T. Barnum and Adam Forepaugh were harnessing emerging transportation and communications tools to organize and transport the infrastructure and personnel needed to stage spectacular entertainment extravaganzas anywhere the railroads ran. In cities large and small, and in rural towns and railroad whistle-stops, residents were periodically assailed with gaudy and bellicose promotions for circuses, carnivals, minstrel shows, variety shows, and theatrical productions. Every newspaper and magazine advertisement, colorful handbill and sign plastered on buildings and fences in the community, promised citizens an exciting, one-of-a-kind show they would never forget. When the big day arrived, promoters staged grand parades through town centers to heighten anticipation and draw even more spectators to the main event.

Baseball boosters joined the emerging entertainment business. Novelty and excitement were the hallmarks of successful entertainment enterprises and baseball aficionados experimented with a number of schemes to promote one or both. Town boosters staged comical muffin games while politicians, businessmen, and media interests joined forces to begin promoting professional civic teams and entertainment entrepreneurs began experimenting with barnstorming baseball teams of various sorts. Some of the civic teams would eventually evolve into the modern major and minor league teams of Organized Baseball, but in their infancy their commercial success depended on the same factors common to other entertainment forms. Novelty and excitement sold tickets whether the entertainment product being hawked was men's and women's baseball, balloon ascensions, boxing, sharpshooting, weightlifting, long-distance cycling, or bearded ladies. Some scholars have recognized the links between early professional baseball and other entertainment forms. James E. Brunson III notes that, by the end of the 1860s, baseball had already become "an ideal object of minstrelsy and professional entertainment," and he identifies strong ties between a number of successful "minstrel barons" and professional baseball clubs like the Forest Citys of Cleveland and the Philadelphia Athletics.[13] Benjamin Rader writes that "colorful pageantry was a conspicuous part of the early pro game" as teams rode through city streets in horse-drawn omnibuses to parks festooned with brightly colored pennants and flags and brass bands entertained spectators with team songs and popular ditties while vendors hawked scorecards and food. Teams wore gaudy uniforms, like the bright red stockings of the Cincinnati Reds and yellow silk jerseys of the Baltimore Canaries of the National Association.[14]

Virtually all of the pioneering female professional baseball players, and many of their male counterparts, understood that their livelihood depended on entertaining fans, not just

playing the game well. Many early female professionals came from the ranks of theatrical performers and could make the transition to "performing" baseball with relative ease. Male players, who relied on athletic skill to obtain their spot on team rosters, had to find creative ways to stand out from the crowd. Michael Joseph "King" Kelly, became a fan favorite in the 1880s in large measure because of his antics on (and off) the field. In his autobiography, *Play Ball*, Kelly wrote that he made it a point to engage in "kicking" during games because he knew the crowd loved it. "People go to see games because they love excitement and love to be worked up. . . . The people who go to ball games want good playing, with just enough kicking to make things interesting thrown in."[15] Rader contends that the professionalization of baseball in the late 1860s led to the rise of a new class of professional players "whose roles resembled more the actors and actresses of the day" than the boys and young working class and white collar men who had played for fun and fraternity in the previous decades.[16]

Rader's description of players as "actors" is particularly relevant to a study of early professional baseball because it is this link to the entertainment business that blurs lines of distinction between female and male professional baseball players. Early female professional baseball players were not elite athletes, nor did they develop a formal structure to promote competition as men did. They did, however, work in the same criticized profession as male players and they shared the same financial uncertainties. Their erasure from historical narratives about the early development of professional baseball mirrored that of women in general whose place in history has only recently been reestablished. For female baseball players, the structure of Organized Baseball and modern cultural ideals about athletic professionalism have hindered their reintegration into the historical record.

The Early Structure of Men's Professional Baseball

By the late 1860s, it was no secret that many NABBP teams were paying players under the table; a common practice was to hire (and pay) men for jobs that did not actually exist in exchange for their services during baseball matches. As baseball competitions and championship victories became more important to communities, town leaders began luring players from other teams to join theirs. Soon elite players began "revolving" from team to team as new financial opportunities presented themselves. Revolving was so common by 1867 that the NABBP adopted a rule requiring players to wait 30-days before playing a game with a new club. The rule had minimal effect as players and teams found creative ways around it in their quest for victories.[17] In 1868, recognizing that they had little hope of halting the covert practice of paying (and stealing) players, and concerned that uncontrolled professionalism would irreparably subvert the narrative they were trying to sustain of baseball as a healthful and morally uplifting sport, the majority of delegates to the NABBP voted to support a measure that authorized member teams to begin openly paying players.[18] They hoped to end the financial subterfuge and bring stability to member teams. The Cincinnati Red Stockings were the first openly professional team to take the field under the new rules. During the Fall and Winter of 1868-1869, manager Harry Wright recruited the best players he could find, creating a baseball powerhouse that amassed a perfect record of sixty-five wins and zero losses in 1869. The positive press the Red Stockings generated for Cincinnati in newspapers nationwide led scores of city boosters and entrepreneurs throughout the country to organize professional baseball teams to attract attention (and businesses) to their locales. The genie of professionalism was out of the bottle and nothing would put it back in. Shrewd businessmen moved quickly to restructure the sport for maximum efficiency and profit.

As advocates of amateurism lamented what they considered the corruption of *their* pastime, professional baseball became a commercial success—not for teams initially, but for ancillary businesses. While the financial fortunes of even the most successful professional baseball teams swung wildly from boom to bust throughout most of the nineteenth century, the men who manufactured and sold sporting goods, produced the newspapers and periodicals that promoted baseball, and operated the other businesses that catered to baseball fans consistently enjoyed the fruits of the new baseball business.[19] By 1870, two baseball manufacturers in Natick, Massachusetts were producing almost 400,000 baseballs a year; a company in New York added another 162,000. Others produced tens of thousands of baseball bats, uniforms, spiked shoes, rulebooks, scorebooks, and many other baseball-related products. Sporting goods stores multiplied in large cities and smaller communities to hawk the new products.[20] As profits accrued for ancillary businesses, and as successful teams enjoyed the occasional lucrative payoff, supporters of professional baseball sought to apply scientific techniques of business management to the sport in order to structure it for long-term growth and success.

The National Association of Professional Base Ball Players (NA) that had succeeded the NABBP in 1871 was ill-equipped to manage the development of the professional game. The NA was a cooperative—not a corporation; member clubs were primarily interested in regulating competition between teams in order to determine an annual champion; they were not focused on turning baseball into a commercially-successful business. That fell to Chicagoan William Ambrose Hulbert who, as president of the NA's Chicago White Stockings team, was becoming increasingly concerned about the immoral reputation professional baseball had developed. Newspapers routinely reported on players throwing games for gamblers and other illicit activities occurring on and off the field. As a wealthy coal merchant and member of Chicago's Board of

Trade, Hulbert understood that, if professional baseball was ever going to get on solid financial footing, it had to be well regulated and free from the taint of immorality that was driving away middle- and upper-class customers.[21] Hulbert's motives were not entirely idealistic—he was also fed up with powerhouse teams in the east, like Boston, stealing the best players from other teams. He knew that the loosely affiliated NA structure would never be able to regulate baseball the way it needed to be regulated if it was going to become a profitable and stable business.

In 1876, Hulbert, with the assistance of star pitcher Albert Goodwill Spalding, organized the National League and promptly set out to restructure baseball for the future. Hulbert saw to it that NL member teams were run like stock companies, with leadership clearly invested in team owners, not shared amongst investors and players. This was the foundation of the business model known as "Organized Baseball" that would come to dominate cultural narratives and social interactions related to baseball. Hulbert and other NL team owners controlled which cities could have NL teams. A key component of Hulbert's plan to regulate development of the sport was to limit the size of the NL. Whereas the NA had welcomed any team that could pay its $10 entry fee, Hulbert stipulated that only teams in cities with a population of 75,000 could join the new league. He also guaranteed each club a monopoly in a particular territory by requiring new teams to get permission from existing members before joining the league and by preventing any city from having more than one league team. To stabilize finances, Hulbert specified that NL clubs could only play other NL clubs and that host teams had to pay half of the base admission collected to the visiting team. In an effort to distance the NL from the immoral reputation of the NA and professional baseball in general, Hulbert also saw to it that the NL banned Sunday games, gambling, and liquor sales in its parks. In an effort to promote attendance by middle- and

upper-class patrons, the NL set admission prices at fifty cents a game—double the price for NA games.

The National League commenced its inaugural season in 1876 with eight teams located in Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Hartford, Louisville, New York, and Philadelphia. Though the intentions of team owners were good, because they did not yet have clear legal standing, it proved difficult for them to regulate the development of the sport or the behavior of players and spectators. The drive to win trumped most other objectives and some member teams routinely ignored league rules or found ways to skirt them when it was in their individual best interest. NL overseers could not prosecute unruly players or teams that failed to enforce rules against drinking and gambling. Most importantly, the NL had no influence over the myriad unaffiliated professional baseball teams that continued to operate throughout the country. The public judged professional baseball as a whole—not just baseball as envisioned by Hulbert and others who wanted to package it in a morally-appealing way. In 1877, eighteen professional baseball clubs organized the International Association of Professional Base Ball Players. The IAPBBP was just one of many leagues that would be formed during the nineteenth century to try to exert control over the evolving center of baseball.[22]

It took a quarter of a century for the National League to solidify its status as arbiter of "organized" baseball. During the twentieth century, it had to make peace with another upstart league, the American League (est. 1903). Together, these two organizations, along with a Commissioner of Baseball, would come to dominate the structure of baseball in such a way that they ultimately influenced its place in the broader culture.[23] None of this was yet settled in the nineteenth century, however, and the would-be power brokers of professional baseball in the 1870s, 80s, and 90s, had to contend with the proliferation of organized leagues and men's and

women's professional baseball teams—each seeking the opportunity to profit from baseball's commodification as a leisure entertainment product.

Women's professional baseball teams were especially irksome to those trying to package baseball as a sport in which elite male athletes competed on behalf of a community. Not only did women baseball players undercut the evolving narrative of the game's inherent masculinity, but they represented direct competition for spectators' leisure dollars. The men who organized professional women's baseball teams in the nineteenth century were not interested in duplicating the formal structure of groups like the NL and IAPBBP in order to promote and govern the development of women's baseball. They were independent entrepreneurs who engaged in cutthroat competition with one another and with purveyors of men's professional baseball teams as they sought to cash in on an emerging entertainment and leisure culture.

Women's Professional Baseball—Burlesque *al Fresco*

The earliest professional women baseball players *performed* baseball. Their games were theatrical productions announced by elaborate advertisements and parades and staged with costumes and circus-like spectacle. Though professional men's games featured some of these same theatrical aspects, there was a marked difference between the male and female game on the field. Though women's teams promised fans a competitive match, early female professional players lacked the practiced, athletic skills to deliver it at a level the men did. The theatrical trappings of female professional baseball games *were* the entertainment whereas the theatrical trappings of men's professional games were merely adjuncts to the serious competition on the field. The most successful men's professional teams were the ones which consistently dominated the competition through physical skill and "scientific" play. Lacking the experience and practiced athleticism of male players, professional female baseball players found other ways

to attract and entertain spectators. They put on a show for fans—mimicking male players' mannerisms while adding their own feminine twists. They "kicked" at umpires, stopped on the base paths to fix their hair, caught balls in their skirts, formed "bucket brigades" to relay balls from the outfield, and even downed glasses of beer while seated on the bench during games.[24] Their antics entertained crowds and helped direct attention away from their often poor playing skills.

Early professional female baseball teams grew out of a theatrical form known as burlesque. Burlesque had arrived on American shores in August 1868 when Lydia Thompson brought her "British Blondes" to New York City. Thompson's burlesque troupe set multiple attendance records in New York's fashionable theaters as it played to sold-out, middle- and upper-class audiences for a year before departing on a tour of some of America's largest cities. Early burlesque featured biting, sarcastic comedy—not striptease and Cooch dances; those came later. In early burlesque, women played men's roles and performed song, dance, and dialogue to lampoon politicians, celebrities, and social customs. As Robert Allen explains in *Horrible Prettiness: Burlesque and American Culture*: "Initially dominated by women writers and producers as well as performers, burlesque took wicked fun in reversing roles, shattering polite expectations, [and] brazenly challenging notions of the approved ways women might display their bodies and speak in public."[25]

The popularity of Lydia Thompson's burlesque troupe sparked the creation of home grown burlesque troupes. These theatrical companies lampooned U.S. politicians and social movements, such as woman suffrage. Not surprisingly, the initial good humor and acceptance of burlesque by middle- and upper-classes soon gave way to scathing criticism of the art form as the wealthy increasingly found themselves the butt of the jokes and as female performers began

displaying more and more skin on stage. According to Allen, by the mid-1870s, burlesque was increasingly shunned by the *nouveau riche* and embraced by the working class. As the target audience changed, so too did burlesque. Thin, petite female leads performing dialogue or songs, gave way to silent actresses whose performances were limited to modeling their voluptuous bodies. By the late 1870s, (the same period in which several female professional baseball teams were organized), burlesque was all about "sexual titillation for the common man," as Allen put it.[26]

Though most nineteenth-century female baseball teams did not overtly market "sexual titillation," to attract audiences, critics insisted that this was what they were covertly promising. Middle-class moralists railed against the working class women who performed on theatrical stages for mixed-sex audiences. These women ignored social mores about proper feminine behavior; by symbolically trading the security of the home for the public space of a theatrical stage, they were making themselves sexually available. The women who took their performance outdoors to ball fields where theater walls no longer shielded them were doubly guilty. Women's professional baseball in the 1870s was burlesque *al fresco*—performance removed from an enclosed wooden stage onto a pastoral, grass-covered diamond, and gender roles reversed. Women ran the base paths and men cheered (and leered) at the players' gaudily costumed bodies from the grandstand.

A key indication that male organizers of professional female baseball troupes were influenced by the rise of burlesque as a distinct entertainment form is the fact that burlesque troupes were already incorporating female baseball skits into their shows before the first professional female baseball teams were organized in 1875. The first known female baseball burlesque act debuted at Tony Pastor's Opera House in New York City in September 1868 (just

one month after Lydia Thompson's British Blondes" arrived). Pastor, whom theatrical historians would later christen the "Father of Vaudeville," promoted his new show in the local papers, announcing: "A new sensation to suit the times, called BASE BALL or the CHAMPION NINE, in which the great match game between the Female Base Ball Club and Tony Pastor's Club for a Prize Bat, [will be] played by a full nine on each side."[27] These types of indoor female baseball burlesque acts continued to be staged around the country well into the 1880s. The Theatre Comique in Cleveland advertised a "Female Base Ball Nine" in February 1872 and "the Forest City Female Base Ball Club" in May 1878.[28] In Brooklyn, Hank Darley advertised for performers to stage his female baseball club act in August 1875—the same month Frank Myers's Springfield Blondes and Brunettes began practicing for their outdoor baseball performances.[29] Out west, theaters in Los Angeles, Denver, Central City, (Colorado), Salt Lake City, and Reno featured female baseball clubs and "Beauty at the Bat" in burlesque acts between 1876 and 1879.[30]

Another indication of burlesque's influence on professional female baseball is the fact that early teams, like Frank Myers's Blondes and Sylvester Wilson's English Blondes, adopted names reminiscent of Lydia Thompson's troupe. It is impossible to determine whether the promoters of women's professional baseball teams consciously sought to leverage the popularity of burlesque to attract spectators, but it is clear that middle-class critics of women's professional baseball frequently accused women's teams of making a burlesque of the sport. Male professionals were chastised for exposing baseball to gambling and corrupting influences, but female professionals alone bore the charge that they were subverting baseball's ability to inculcate qualities of godly manliness and American virtue. On July 8, 1879, the *Baltimore Sun* printed an article entitled, "Women at the Bat—A Base Ball Burlesque in Baltimore." Two days

later, the same paper reprinted news about the teams' game in Washington D.C.: "Everyone enjoyed the exhibition except those who are up in the 'thirty-third degree' of the sport, and they are very much shocked at what they called a burlesque on the national game."[31] In mid-August, the *Detroit Tribune and Post* continued the theme remarking about the teams' game there: "It was the worst burlesque upon the national game imaginable, and not even funny."[32] Even newspapers that did not specifically call the female baseball games burlesque, frequently depicted women as "performing," rather than "playing," baseball and wearing "costumes," as opposed to "uniforms." They printed announcements of games in the "Amusements" column, rather than including them with the sporting news.

Blondes and Brunettes (Springfield, Illinois). In late July 1875, the Chicago *Daily Inter Ocean* notified readers that female baseball clubs from Boston and Montreal were negotiating to reserve Dexter Park for a game that September.[33] Apart from this notice, there is no evidence that these teams existed. The inquiry for the venue likely originated with 28-year-old Frank Myers of Springfield, Illinois who, along with five associates had recently organized a "National Amusement Association" and recruited women in Chicago to join a troupe of female baseball players that would barnstorm the country later that summer.[34] Like managers of other barnstorming entertainment troupes, Myers and his associates tried to schedule performances months in advance of launching a tour. Claiming that their teams originated in Boston and Montreal was a way to heighten interest and attract spectators. Rebuffed by Chicago venues, Myers and his partners organized the Blondes and Brunettes of Springfield, Illinois in August 1875. These are the earliest known female professional baseball teams.

Newspapers identified Myers as the Business Manager and Treasurer of the National Amusement Association and Lewis Rosette as "President." Rosette was an attorney in

partnership with his brother, John, who had moved to Springfield in 1855 at the request of Abraham Lincoln. The other men affiliated with the female baseball enterprise were Seth B. Brock, Thomas Halligan, Frank Simmons, and "Reddy" Stevenson. Brock was Justice of the Peace in Springfield; local papers did not specify his role in the organization but the *New York Clipper* credited him (and Thomas Halligan) with conceiving the idea of the female baseball troupe in the first place. Halligan had lived with Myers's family since at least 1869 and was a long-time employee at Myers's store. Twenty-five-year old Frank Simmons ran his own business selling books, stationary and periodicals; he also sold tickets for the Blondes and Brunettes games. "Reddy" Stevenson worked for the Springfield *Daily Journal* and was a member of the local men's team, the Watch Factory Nine. He helped teach the Blondes and Brunettes to play, ensured they got plenty of coverage in the local media, and occasionally served as scorekeeper for games.[35]

Four years before helping found the first women's professional baseball teams, Frank Myers inherited the thriving mercantile operation his father had built up in the Illinois state capital. A shrewd businessman in his own right, Myers expanded the family business until it became one of the largest retail stores in central Illinois. He knew the value of advertising in promoting a business and, in early September 1875, he and his partners launched a media blitz in Springfield and surrounding towns to promote the Blondes and Brunettes. In marketing his female baseball enterprise, Myers established a pattern that would be duplicated by most professional women's teams from the 1870s to the era of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League in the 1940s. He promoted female baseball as a "novelty," emphasized the femininity of the players, and advertised games as wholesome family entertainment—suitable even for proper "ladies" and children.

On September 2, 1875 the *Illinois State Register* included a short account of a practice game played the previous day by the Blondes and Brunettes and included the teaser: "The female ball tossers wear striped hose." The next day it printed another teaser: "Jacksonville is filled with envy, because of Springfield's female base ball tossers."[36] Within days advertisements and articles about the team appeared in numerous papers throughout Illinois and, within a week, in Missouri, Indiana, Ohio, New York, and Georgia.[37] Several of the papers identified the teams as the "Diamond Garters" and the "Lace-Top Stockings." On September 9, 1875, the *Illinois State Register* formally introduced the teams to the public, announcing them as the "Sensation of the Age."[38]

Unlike many organizers of subsequent women's professional teams, who were more interested in making a quick buck (even if it meant stealing players' wages), Myers tried to field a quality, enduring, business enterprise. Not only did he purchase fancy "costumes" for his players, he also paid to have a special canvas fence built to enclose the diamonds wherever his teams played.[39] William H. Cammeyer had constructed the first enclosed ball field in 1862 by converting an ice-skating pond in Brooklyn to a baseball venue. By the mid-1870s, many professional teams were playing on enclosed diamonds, but few amateur teams had them.[40] Myers knew that in order to turn a profit on women's baseball he had to exclude all but paying customers from the grounds. His Blondes and Brunettes are the earliest known women's teams to travel with their own enclosure. Many of the women's teams that followed did the same. While men's professional baseball teams played "home" and "away" games on fields with permanently fixed infrastructures, female professional teams had no home fields. They had to carry canvas enclosures and (sometimes) grandstands everywhere they went in order to protect their entertainment product from the unwanted gaze of freeloaders. These items required a

significant financial investment. Not only did managers have to purchase them, but they also had to pay for additional train cars and laborers to transport, assemble, and disassemble them. Operating a professional female baseball team was not cheap—or easy—as Myers and his partners quickly learned.

The Blondes and Brunettes (sometimes called Blue Stockings and Red Stockings by journalists) played a private practice game on September 1st followed by five public games (all in September). Three of the games took place in Illinois and one in St. Louis, Missouri. The location of the fifth game may have been New York City but that has not been definitively established. Games were preceded by a parade. The Blondes and Brunettes played their first public game in front of 200-500 spectators on Saturday, September 11, 1875 in Springfield. On the 13th and 14th they played their second and third games in Decatur and Bloomington, Illinois. The crowd in Decatur was described as "not large" while the Bloomington paper described the spectators in their city as: "a motley crowd of some two hundred or more gentlemen who paid their half dollars for admission, and several hundred more deadbeats who took reserved seats on fences, and wagons, and trees, and stole their amusement at the expense of a discouraged manager."[41] (Canvas fences were no match for determined freeloaders.)

Myers scheduled two games in St. Louis, Missouri for Saturday and Sunday, the 18th and 19th, but, after the first game, law enforcement officials threatened to arrest the players if they tried to play again. Local papers in St. Louis, which had provided favorable announcements about the upcoming games, were incensed once the first game took place. The *St. Louis Republican* called it "a revolting exhibition of impropriety" and the *Globe-Democrat* called it "a disgrace to the city."[42] Moral reformers demanded that police step in and prevent the teams from desecrating the Sabbath. (The *Daily State Journal* noted sarcastically that the ban on Sunday

games apparently did not apply to men's teams, two of which entertained 1,000 of the 5,000 spectators who had shown up for the women's game on Sunday.)[43]

Myers had envisioned a European tour following a U.S. tour.[44] That dream quickly evaporated. The disappointing size of audiences at the first four games and the harassment from law enforcement officials in St. Louis necessitated that he scale back his expectations. Player attrition also contributed to his decision; it was a constant problem. There were seventeen players on the team rosters for the first game in Springfield on September 11. Two days later, Myers had added an eighteenth player plus two substitutes for the game in Decatur. The following day, he was scrambling to replace seven of those players for the game in Bloomington on the 14th. Ultimately, he managed to field only sixteen players, four of whom had not appeared on previous rosters. Bloomington reporters observed that the names "Blondes" and "Brunettes" no longer applied because so many players had been injured in the first two games that the teams now consisted of a hodge-podge of players with different hair colors and complexions.[45] By the time the teams arrived in St. Louis, Myers again had to augment the rosters with local actresses.[46] After police halted the second game, a number of players left the troupe to return to their former variety shows; the Chicago-based players pawned their luggage to buy train tickets back to the Windy City.[47]

Despite the rocky first week of operation, Myers was unwilling to abandon his plans to promote a profitable baseball enterprise; he consolidated his remaining players into a single team and headed east. Newspaper coverage leading up to the team's fifth game is sketchy, making it difficult to determine precisely where this game was played. The *Syracuse Daily Courier* reported on September 20th that the Blondes and Brunettes would play in Syracuse soon and the *New York Times* announced the next day that the teams would play a game on Union Grounds

"in about two weeks."[48] No articles about a game at Union Grounds have come to light and it is possible the consolidated troupe never made it all the way to New York City. It did play one final game somewhere out East. On September 30th, the *New York Varieties* carried a story sub-titled, "The Blondes and Brunettes' Take to the Field—A Friendly Contest with a 'Picked Nine' of the Male Persuasion." The article included an illustration (Fig. 3-2) and reported that a women's team had defeated a men's team, 11 to 10; it does not specify when or where the game took place.[49]

Figure 3-2. New York Varieties (30 Sep 1875)

Unlike the illustrations of the Peterboro game, the *New York Varieties* image seems to be fairly accurate. It shows the women wearing knee-length pantaloons, short-sleeved blouses, caps, and high-topped shoes. Their legs appear to be bare, however, even though descriptions of the Blondes and Brunettes uniforms from various newspapers indicate that the women's legs were covered by striped stockings. The *Bloomington Pantagraph* noted that the Blondes wore a

"jaunty white hat, blue pants trimmed with white, reaching a little below the knee, blue jackets, similarly trimmed, confined at the waist with a black belt, and white hose striped with blue." The Brunettes wore the same hat but their suits were white, trimmed with blue, and their stockings were white striped with red. Several accounts mentioned that the players wore light leather gloves. (Some male players were just beginning to adopt gloves too.) One paper described their outfits as "Zouave" style. and the *Boston Investigator* added that the women were "attired in fashion not often seen off the stage . . ."[50] It was highly unusual at the time to see women wearing anything resembling pants unless they were performing in a variety show or circus.

The Springfield Blondes and Brunettes apparently did not play again after their fifth game, although numerous newspaper accounts in October and November published misleading information that the teams were preparing to set out on tour or were still playing. On September 30th a paper in Buffalo reported that a "New York female nine" would play there during the first week of October. A St. Louis paper reported the same day that women in Buffalo were organizing a team. No record of this team or game exists; both of the articles were likely referring to Myers's organization which was still out East at the time. On October 2d, almost three weeks after Myers's troupe departed Springfield, *The Days' Doings* mistakenly informed readers that two female baseball nines were practicing in Springfield in anticipation of departing on a playing tour. In mid- and late-October, papers in Missouri and Illinois stated that Springfield had two female teams—the "Diamond Garters" and the "Lace Top Stockings." The last reference to the Springfield teams appeared in Michigan's *Jackson Citizen Patriot* on November 20th. It erroneously identified the teams' home city as Springfield, Ohio and noted that the teams had "recently" played their first public game.[51]

Myers's National Amusement Association was short-lived, playing all of its games in a two-week period. By late September, Myers and his associates realized their female baseball enterprise was not the profitable gold mine they had envisioned and pulled the plug on the Blondes and Brunettes. The following spring Myers became president of Springfield's first men's professional baseball team, the Liberties.[52] The remaining partners and players went their separate ways.

Public opinion about the nation's first professional female baseball troupe ran the gamut from supportive to brutally negative. Those who understood that the games were intended to be theatrical entertainment, not athletic contests, were generally supportive; those who viewed scantily-clad women performing in public as immoral were brutally negative. The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* asserted that the residents of Springfield were "not at all ambitious" to have the teams identified with their city, but the Springfield papers did not reflect this opinion.[53] After the teams' first public game in Springfield, the *Daily State Journal* (where Reddy Stevenson worked) politely minimized the poor quality of play and emphasized the entertainment value of the exhibition. It observed that the players had been quite nervous at first but had improved as the game went on. It emphasized that "no immodest act—save female base ball playing be so considered—obtruded itself, nor was their other objectionable features."[54] The *Illinois State Register* agreed, reporting that everything was done "decently and in order" and that "the contest seemed to be greatly enjoyed by the spectators." It added that the women were not particularly good players but that "there was nothing, save, perhaps, the exhibition of female anatomy, to which exception could be taken, and even that is frequently discounted in first-class theaters."[55] Supportive editors generally agreed that there was "no indecorous action or language on the part of the players," despite their unorthodox profession."[56]

Despite favorable reports in Springfield, Decatur, and Bloomington papers regarding the morality of the entertainment product Myers was selling, other papers were not buying the storyline. The *Harrisburg (PA) Telegraph* commented that no matter how people differed on this issue of baseball's influence on young people, "there is no room for doubt as to the impropriety of women engaging in it."[57] The *Inter-Ocean* reported that, after the teams' "performance" in Bloomington ended, "a crowd of roughs gathered around and insulted the girls by abusive language."[58] After the teams played in St. Louis, the papers excoriated them. The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* railed: "This is an age of fraud, and if the stereotyped remark was ever applicable to any community it is to St. Louis." The "fraud" alluded to was the Blondes and Brunettes baseball game and the paper identified the thousand spectators who had attended the event as "victims" who were "mourning the loss of their misspent half dollars."[59] The *St. Louis Republican* was even more blunt in its derision: "The whole affair was a revolting exhibition of impropriety, possessing no merit save that of novelty, and gotten up to make money out of a public that rushes to see any species of semi-immorality."[60]

The criticism of the Blondes and Brunettes in many newspapers reflected two trends—one fairly new and another well established. The new trend was the growing perception of baseball as a man's game. The *Harrisburg Telegraph's* assertion that "there was no room for doubt" that it was improper for women to play baseball was disingenuous considering the fact that scores of women's civic and pick-up teams were receiving favorable press from other publications. The real basis for most criticism about nineteenth-century professional female baseball players related to the long-standing assumption among middle- and upper-class moralists that most women who performed in public for money were sexually promiscuous. Those who earned money playing a sport that was closely associated with gambling and drinking

were particularly suspect. While Myers and his associates in Springfield seem to have been upstanding citizens, the reality was that many nineteenth-century managers of professional female baseball teams were exactly the type of men that Victorian moral reformers worked tirelessly to thwart—they were indeed unscrupulous charlatans who exploited young women for personal gain.

English Blondes and American Brunettes (New York City). Within a year after Myers's operation collapsed, businessmen and theatrical managers in various parts of the country tried their hand at organizing professional female baseball operations. In February 1876, a newspaper in Bristol, Pennsylvania reported that a ladies' baseball club had been organized in Philadelphia. A few days later the *St. Louis Republican* commented that the "speculative genius" who was responsible for the new team was "unmindful of the fate of a similar enterprise in St. Louis last year"—a likely reference to Myers's troupe.[61] In March, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* announced: "Look out for the Female Base Ball Club, for it will soon make its appearance."[62] It is uncertain whether the St. Louis paper was announcing that the Philadelphia team would play there or that someone was organizing a new female team in the city. It is also uncertain whether female baseball teams ever materialized in either Philadelphia or St. Louis in 1876. There was a tantalizing clue published in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* three years later that the female club in Philadelphia in 1876 may have been the brainchild of Sylvester Franklin Wilson. The newspaper reported that Wilson was preparing to launch a new baseball operation in New York City in the Spring of 1879 and added: "He does it every spring."[63]

Sylvester Wilson, was an on-again, off-again newspaper publisher, aspiring theatrical manager, and petty criminal. He moved to Philadelphia (and then Camden, New Jersey) from Cincinnati in April 1876 to seek his fortune during the nation's Centennial Exhibition. The

baseball team mentioned in the Pennsylvania and St. Louis papers may have been part of his money-making plan for the year. It was not unusual for Wilson (and others considering starting female baseball teams) to begin issuing press releases and placing advertisements for players during the winter months. He could have planted the stories in newspapers in February and March in order to gage interest in his scheme. Apparently the 1876 team never materialized; instead, Wilson turned his attention to a variety of other get-rich-quick schemes—a pattern he followed most of his life. He had already been arrested at least three times in Nebraska and multiple times in Cincinnati for blackmail, slander, impeding justice, impersonating a U.S. Marshal, and assault before moving to Philadelphia.[64]

After his release from jail in late 1877 or early 1878, Wilson's whereabouts are hard to pin down. He drifted from place to place, getting as far west as Kansas City. By April 1879 he was in New York City, attempting to launch another female baseball troupe. A month earlier, Wilson had sent out press releases to heighten anticipation for his baseball business. On March 27th the *Lowell Daily Citizen* reported that Wilson's "English Blondes," and "American Brunettes" who were "handsomely costumed in silk and woolen," would be departing on a world tour after playing two games a day for one week in New York City beginning on May 5th. Three days later, the *Chicago Tribune*, printed another one of Wilson's press releases, noting that he had been "particularly reckless in the use of capital letters."[65] Wilson claimed he had organized the teams "not only to entertain the People and make money" but to "popularize open-air exercises among the Women of the land."[66] The *Boston Globe* and *Broome Republican* (Binghamton, N.Y.) also mentioned Wilson's new venture, with the latter adding, "Who says woman's sphere is contracted?"[67]

Wilson and his business partner, team treasurer William B. Powell, organized the English Blondes and American Brunettes under the auspices of the "Ladies Athletic Association" in May 1879. They recruited variety actresses and young girls to play baseball and claimed they were making plans to offer women such healthful activities as "base ball, lacrosse, archery, polo, walking, running, velocipede riding and everything."[68] Like Myers, Wilson had grand plans for his baseball operation. Even before he had recruited a full complement of actresses to fill out his teams, he was publicizing a "world tour."[69] Wilson knew that the success of his operation necessitated attracting middle- and upper-class spectators to the baseball performances. Consequently, like Myers before him, he marketed his female teams as novel entertainment suitable for the most fastidious taste and he insisted that his players were completely moral. He even sent gilt-edged invitations for the female baseball games to physicians and clergymen in the city in hopes that their attendance would motivate other upper-class clientele to turn out.[70]

Anyone reading Wilson's press releases would have thought that he and his players were the scions of high society and that he was a kind-hearted benefactor anxious to improve the health and welfare of women everywhere. Wilson told one journalist: "These ladies are all cultivated women, who, off the field, are able to grace any drawing-room."[71] In press interviews Wilson "put his hand upon his heart" and swore that, while turning a profit and entertaining the public was a goal, his primary motivation in organizing the female baseball teams was to "popularize open-air exercises" among women in order to improve the health of "our Sisters and Daughters" and to have a "Beautifying influence" on them. In a trope he would revisit continually during his decade-plus career as a female baseball showman, Wilson reminded the public that the ancient Greeks had encouraged their women to participate in "open-air Gymnastics" and that this was how they had produced those "beautiful and graceful figures" that

artists immortalized in marble.[72] Wilson claimed that doctors worried that his success would "knock seven-eighths of their business sky high" and swore that he was going to "work a revolution in this country and the world," adding, "I tell you that it is the biggest thing that has ever occurred for the women of America."[73] In reality, Wilson was a serial scam artist who tried to swindle the baseball-loving public the same way he swindled countless other marks over the course of his three-decades plus criminal career.[74]

Wilson had an uphill battle convincing his target audience that he was offering a respectable entertainment. Many middle- and upper-class moralists were wary of professional baseball in any form. The fact that Wilson launched his baseball operation from an area in New York that had a decidedly unsavory reputation because of the gambling dens, rat pits, and seedy businesses located there did not help his cause. James William Beul, a contemporary of Wilson, called New York City "The Great Maelstrom of Vice."[75] Though Wilson stressed the morality of his players and his baseball operation in advertisements, the reality was that he thrived in New York City's seedy underbelly. He boarded at Hamilton House, located in the heart of the city's "Tenderloin District" where saloons, lowbrow theaters, and brothels abounded. At least one of his players, outfielder, Mary Callahan, lived in the same area. The New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NYSPCC) reported that Wilson's baseball headquarters at the Hamilton House had been the scene of "midnight carousals, can-can dances, etc. [that] surpassed the high revels of any dive in the Bowery."[76] Wilson's players were not the demure damsels of drawing rooms he claimed they were. Most were veteran entertainers and street-wise teenagers who earned their livings working in the theaters, saloons, and dance halls that moral reformers decried. The captain of the Brunettes had previously starred in theatrical productions and two of

the Blondes had performed in Barnum's hippodrome. Other players were female trapezists, singers, and dancers. At least two were runaways.[77]

For a few weeks in April and early May 1879, the press dutifully parroted Wilson's marketing narrative, helping him erect a façade of respectability around his enterprise. When the English Blondes and American Brunettes first faced off on May 10th, reporters generally treated the affair positively. They understood that Wilson was marketing a theatrical performance staged as a stylized competition. An article in the *New York Herald* on May 13th was typical: "One of the most picturesque and graceful exhibitions ever given in New York was witnessed by those who assembled yesterday afternoon to attend a game of base ball played by eighteen young ladies trained by Mr. Sylvester F. Wilson, at the Athletic grounds [on the] corner of Madison avenue and Fifty-ninth street."[78] Though Wilson's media campaign was carefully tailored to put his entertainment commodity in the best possible light, no amount of flim-flammery on his part was going to lure residents of New York's grandest neighborhoods to his make-shift baseball diamond even if he did claim it was located at "the very center of the aristocratic part of the metropolis."[79] A large crowd did turn out for the first game but reporters noted that the audience was definitely not composed of the "clergy and medical faculty" Wilson had sought to entice with embossed invitations.[80]

The large crowd that attended Wilson's baseball exhibitions did enjoy the show. The *Washington Post* described how "eighteen young women pranced about, essaying base ball until the audience roared itself hoarse." [81] It described the "picturesque" changes of innings when a "cloud of blue skirts and a forest of blue legs" would advance to the shelter tent while "a flock of red legs and caps soared out over the field."[82] It also reported that when the band struck up a waltz, the first and second baseman of the Brunettes began waltzing around the bases and that

when it played "Killarney," four of the fielders kept time with their feet.[83] Other reporters playfully highlighted the competitive theme of the entertainment, describing the antics of the "Jennies, and Gracies and Josies" on the field.[84] Most reports ended with a line score and roster, just as was done for men's games.

All told, Wilson's teams played six games between May 10th and May 17th. Reporters noted that crowds at three of the first four games were large. The contests ranged from seven to nine innings—the English Blondes won four of six games. Wilson seemed to have found a winning entertainment formula but three days later his baseball enterprise came to an abrupt end when officers of the NYSPCC arrested him and Powell for "engaging girls under sixteen years of age for the purpose of taking part in immoral performances," having sexual relations with two of their players, and for abducting one of the players from her home.[85] Newspapers around the country carried the sensational story.[86] Wilson and Powell were arraigned in Police Court on May 24th where the judge set bail at $1,000 each—a huge sum in 1879. Their case came up in the Court of Special Sessions a week later. According to NYSPCC records, a grand jury indicted both, but neither was ever tried. They were ultimately released due to lack of evidence.[87]

Many of the women who made their living in the entertainment business in the nineteenth century were routinely exploited by unscrupulous managers. Wilson's players, some of whom were as young as 14, were particularly victimized. One player described their ordeal to a sympathetic reporter three months after she had joined a new baseball troupe in Philadelphia. The 16-year-old informed the reporter that she had answered Wilson's advertisement in May for "pretty and well-formed ladies" to learn to play baseball. She and twenty others were hired and told to return the next day to pick up their "costumes," the cost of which would be deducted from their salaries. The costumes consisted of a "tight-fitting bodice, a pair of short pantaloons, a kilt

skirt, high-cut shoes, and striped stockings." When asked whether she enjoyed playing baseball she informed him that it had been an ordeal. Most of the young women had never played baseball and were quickly black and blue with bruises. They were so sore and lame that they could only practice twice a week. She noted that they had played a public game but that they had done much better in "rehearsals." Adding insult to (literal) injury, the players never received a penny of their salaries.[88]

While both male and female professional baseball players faced economic exploitation by team owners and managers, only female players faced sexual exploitation as well. Male players chafed under the reserve agreements that bound them to a particular club and kept them from selling their services to the highest bidder;[89] they protested the fees team owners charged them for uniforms and travel expenses, but they did not have to contend with lecherous employers who routinely demanded sexual favors from their female employees. The players on the English Blondes and American Brunettes were only the first in a long line of female professional baseball players whose ability to earn a livelihood on the diamond was interrupted by the arrest of their employers. While Wilson and Powell sat in jail, some of the players returned to the theater while others joined a new baseball team starting up in Philadelphia. Powell disappeared from the historical record of women's baseball after his release, but Wilson began planning his next women's baseball operation almost immediately. By October he was managing another women's baseball troupe in Chicago under the alias U.S. Franklin and making plans to send two more teams on the road.[90]

Lady Nine of Baltimore and Lady Nine of Boston (New Orleans). Not all paid female baseball teams were barnstorming teams. There are a few examples of men paying women to play baseball in single exhibition games. In 1879, New Orleans businessman H.E. "Abraham"

Hezekiah, attempted to cash in on the baseball frenzy in his city by organizing the city's "First Grand Female Base Ball Festival." Baseball mania was at fever pitch in New Orleans in early May 1879. One observer noted, "The epidemic of base ball playing has broken out in this city with great virulence." [91] The *New Orleans Daily Picayune* estimated that there were more than 100 baseball clubs in the city and the *New Orleans Times* said that teams were organizing and reorganizing so quickly that it would have to stop publishing club details and limit itself to printing scores of games."[92]

Large ads in the *New Orleans Times* beginning on May 27 trumpeted Hezekiah's plan for the "First Grand Female Base Ball Festival Ever Exhibited in the South," scheduled for Sunday, June 15th at the Fair Grounds. The ad promised attendees they would witness a pony race, a mule race (with female baseball players riding the mules), and a contest of Blind Man's Bluff featuring "fat men, 200 pounds and over." The festivities would conclude with an evening of dancing under electric lights after which organizers would award a beautiful fan to the best lady waltzer and a walking cane to the best male waltzer. Cost to attend the Festival was 50 cents (free for children under 12) and patrons were informed that ten percent of the proceeds would be donated to the newly-organized Auxiliary Sanitary Association—a privately-funded public health organization.[93]

Like Myers and Wilson before him, Hezekiah targeted the sophisticated elements of society with his marketing campaign. He used the local media, particularly the *New Orleans Times*, to portray himself as a "gentleman" concerned about citizens' health and welfare, and his players as professionals from large, cosmopolitan cities up North. He emphasized the novelty of his show but assured the public that his players would uphold the strictest standards of feminine

decorum. An article in the *Times* a week before the Festival reflected Hezekiah's promotional strategy:

> The gentleman who has the festival in charge, assures the *Times* that he has secured the services of some of the most courageous, active and skilled young ladies in the country, and that such a game as that to be presented at the Fair Grounds has never been witnessed in the South. The ladies are now in practice and handle ball and bat with startling skill—for females, be it remembered. They have regular base ball costumes and aside from the sporting side of the affair, present a most agreeable view to the spectator. [94]

Hezekiah was marketing a lie. The "ladies" he employed were not recruited from across the country or even from Boston and Baltimore. The "Lady Nine of Baltimore" and the "Lady Nine of Boston" were home-grown teams from New Orleans, likely recruited through newspaper ads and word-of-mouth solicitations in saloons, theaters, and brothels. This fact alone, if known to the general public, would have dissuaded many from attending. No self-respecting Southern Belle would ever play the manly game of baseball in public, especially while wearing a short skirt, baseball cap, and brightly colored silk stockings. By the same token, no self-respecting Southern gentleman or lady would financially support such an affront to southern gentility. Hezekiah pretended his players were northerners to deflect criticism that he was undermining Southern mores and culture.

At first Hezekiah had the tacit support of some of the local newspapers but, despite his attempts to spin his operation as morally pure, truth soon overcame his version of reality. His plans for the Grand Female Base Ball Festival were almost derailed on Friday morning, June 13th, by the grand procession he led through the streets of New Orleans to promote the Festival. Newspapers described the parade, (and its unintended consequences) in detail.[95] Though he was merely copying standard practice for advertising baseball games and other entertainments, Hezekiah's gaudy procession caused some offended citizens to complain to the acting mayor (Mr. Isaacson) who immediately summoned Hezekiah and demanded that he produce a license

showing that he had obtained the proper permits for his Festival.[96] Hezekiah admitted he had only a certificate from the Charity Hospital indicating that its license fee had been paid. Isaacson informed Hezekiah that, unless he could get a petition for permit signed by at least a dozen "gentleman of standing" in the community, he would not be granted a permit for his Festival. Convinced that Hezekiah would never succeed in the impossible task, Isaacson sent him on his way. A few hours later, Hezekiah returned with the requisite signatures from some local merchants and representatives of four newspapers, the *Times*, the *Democrat*, the *City Item*, and the *German Gazette*. Isaacson reluctantly issued the permit, stipulating that no further parades were permitted and that at least twenty policemen had to be present at the Fair Grounds to keep order during the event.

The Female Base Ball Festival was held as planned on June 15th. The *New Orleans Times* reported that about 1,000 people attended "and seemed to enjoy the entertainment immensely." The mule race, which featured three of the female baseball players, and a horse race went off without a hitch. The baseball game got off to a rocky start when some of the players struck for their wages which had not been forthcoming. The game was delayed an hour while management and labor negotiated a settlement. Eventually Hezekiah found an acquaintance willing to put up a stake of $10 per player and the women took the field.[97] While many young women on nineteenth-century female professional baseball teams did become victims of unscrupulous managers, others, like the players on Hezekiah's team who refused to "work" until they were paid, actively resisted exploitation.

Spectators seemed to have enjoyed the Female Baseball Festival but it turned out to be a financial disaster for Hezekiah. Although he reportedly took in $594 for the event, he was unable to satisfy all his creditors who were vociferous in their displeasure. The day after the

game, the *Picayune* quipped: "Whom the gods would destroy they first make organize a base ball club."[98] It detailed the mayhem that descended on Hezekiah Monday morning as "female base ballers, gate keepers, boys, trainers, flunkeys and others yelled in unison for their lucre."[99] The *Daily Picayune* summarized the matter on June 20th when it quipped: "Female base ball games have come to a short stop."

Female Blue Stockings of Philadelphia/Female Red Stockings of New York. As H.E. Hezekiah fended off his creditors, a group of men in Philadelphia launched another female professional baseball operation. The Female Blue Stockings of Philadelphia and Female Red Stockings of New York played their first practice game on June 23rd at Philadelphia's Oakdale Park.[100] The team organizers included William Gilmore, owner of the Grand Central Theater. They recruited their players from Philadelphia and New York City where some had played on Sylvester Wilson's English Blondes and American Brunettes teams.[101] Gilmore and his associates had the financial means to launch their teams on an ambitious cross-country tour that covered thousands of miles, eleven states, and the District of Columbia. At a time when most professional men's teams averaged fewer than 1,000 spectators per game, Gilmore's baseball operation scored a stunning success when it drew 5,000 spectators to its first public exhibition game on July 4, 1879 in Philadelphia.[102] Three days later, the female teams drew a "crowd of thousands" to a match in Baltimore, earning $1,400 in gate receipts. On July 9th, they played in front of over 3,000 in Washington D.C. It seemed that Gilmore had finally figured out how to field a financially successful professional baseball franchise—something most purveyors of the men's professional baseball product were still unable to do.

The players in Gilmore's entertainment troupe were not sharing in the profits they were generating—a persistent theme of labor-management relationships to this day. Gilmore's theater

was of the decidedly "low-brow" type and when the female players were not on the road playing exhibition games they had to perform their baseball act onstage and provide post-show companionship to men who purchased special 50 cent tickets for what was billed as the "grand promenade." One curious reporter visiting Philadelphia from New York City spotted Gilmore's advertisement for a show featuring the "Female Base Ball Players" and bought the special ticket. He described the preliminary performance as a standard variety show "generously interlarded with base ball playing by a number of gaudily dressed but somewhat awkward young women." When it ended at 10 o'clock, he was amazed at how quickly the theater was "metamorphosed" into a "typical concert saloon" featuring a well-stocked bar just off stage. As soon as he sat down, one of the 16-year-old baseball "players" tripped over to him and boldly asked to be treated to a drink. She was more than happy to provide him with the backstory on the female baseball troupe.[103]

The teenager explained that two weeks after her troupe in New York collapsed she and other players received an offer to travel to Philadelphia to join a new one. They were promised $10 a week plus expenses (including free board) but had to pay an agent's commission plus train fare and baggage costs themselves. That left them with $7. Then the nickel and diming that was so rampant in the theatrical business began. The agent informed the women that he had been mistaken when he told them their board would be paid—they would have to pay $5 per week for lodgings. Additionally, until they reached a high enough level of proficiency on the baseball diamond that managers could launch a road tour, the players would be expected to help with other facets of the operation. That meant hawking drinks at the midnight promenade concerts. Once on the road, players would receive only $7 a week plus expenses. The girls and young women who had traveled from New York to join Gilmore's theatrical company quickly realized

that they were trapped. With only $2 left from the original $10, they did not have enough money to return home. They had no choice but to stay. The young woman told the reporter that when some of the players fell behind on board payments, managers turned them out into the streets. They also informed the remaining players that their salaries were being cut to $5 a week (only enough to cover board) but that they could earn extra money giving "promenade midnight concerts" like the one the reporter was attending.

The teenager's account provides a rare behind-the-scenes glimpse into the challenges of the working class women who tried to earn a living in the entertainment industry. Unscrupulous managers used promises of fame and riches to entice them to join their companies and then found ways to manipulate their earnings to the point that they became completely dependent on them. Gilmore cut players' salaries yet still required them to purchase their costumes (white shirts, pink sashes, sailor hats, and fancy slippers) out of their remaining meager pay; he pressured them to supplement their income by using their sexual allure to cajole men into spending money at his bar. The commissions the players earned hawking drinks at Gilmore's midnight "concerts" became their primary source of income. The young women were virtual prisoners. Any rebellion or violation of company policies meant instant ejection. One player demanded that theater doors be unlocked so she could leave prior to one of the midnight concerts; Gilmore immediately kicked her out of the company. The remaining players pooled their money and bought her a return ticket to New York. Soon afterwards, the baseball troupe began its first tour (Fig. 3-3).

Date	Place	# of Fans
Fri., July 4	Philadelphia, PA	5,000+
Mon., July 7	Baltimore, MD	approx. 5,000
Tues., July 8	Baltimore, MD	approx. 250
Wed., July 9	Washington DC	3,000+
Thurs., July 10	New Brunswick, NJ	300+
Sat., July 12	Jersey City, NJ	1,200+
Mon., July 14	New Haven, CT	600-1,000
Wed., July 16	Providence, RI	1,200

Figure 3-3. Initial Schedule of the Blue Stockings and Red Stockings

Life on the road posed a new set of challenges for troupe members. Twenty-three of them, accompanied by Gilmore and three other men, traveled over 800 miles in 12 days after their initial successful exhibition in Philadelphia on July 4th. The players had no female chaperone looking out for their interests. The crowds the women entertained were "composed chiefly of the rougher element," as one newspaper put it. At the game in Philadelphia, so many men swarmed onto the field that it took a squad of police officers wielding baseball bats to push them back.[104] Two weeks later, in New Haven, Connecticut, Gilmore barred police from the grounds and hired his own security to manage the crowd of 600 spectators. It was a mistake; they could not keep order. A group of ruffians drove people from the stands, attacking a black woman in the process. They surged onto the field and pelted the players with stones and mud as they made their escape in a wagon.[105] To add insult to injury, Gilmore abandoned the players almost penniless at the hotel. The players managed to keep their engagement in Providence, Rhode Island two days later, but when a tornado halted their game after two innings, they straggled back to Philadelphia, leaving a number of unpaid bills behind them.[106] Despite the large crowds that had attended some of their games, the players did not receive their promised riches. Even though the teams grossed $1,400 at their first game in Baltimore, only about 250

spectators showed up for the second game and the company ended up having its equipment "attached for $200" in travel expenses it could not pay.[107]

Gilmore's baseball operation had gotten off to a shaky start; reviews were mixed, but mostly negative. One paper described the baseball troupe as nothing more than "a party of broken down variety performers."[108] After their game in Washington D.C., one reporter claimed that the audience had thoroughly enjoyed the game, while another pronounced the affair "simply disgusting."[109] Gilmore was encouraged by the size of crowds that had turned out for some of the exhibitions and decided to regroup and launch another tour. The second tour covered almost 2,500 miles and lasted just over a month (Fig. 3-4). The young women played games back-to-back-to-back while traveling almost continuously.[110]

Crowd sizes in Massachusetts were smaller than those on the initial tour and players found themselves again victimized by Gilmore as he, his wife, and two other team agents, jumped off their train as it departed the Worcester station, leaving them without tickets or money to get to Pittsfield.[111] Somehow the troupe and remaining managers managed to continue their journey. They initially planned to make their way back to Philadelphia, but the $100 gate receipts at Pittsfield and the arrival of a new manager (possibly Sylvester Wilson) convinced them to continue.[112] The games in New York were fairly profitable and would have been more lucrative if heavy rain and the threat of thunderstorms had not dissuaded fans from attending in Buffalo.[113]

As was the case with the previous tour, players were subjected to taunting and jeering during performances and sometimes faced physical harm. By eschewing their "proper" place in the social hierarchy, these women had forfeited the cultural protections available to the "weaker

Date	Place	# of Fans
Mon., July 28	Boston, MA	Unknown
Tues., July 29	Boston, MA	600-800 or 1,500
Wed., July 30	West Lynn, MA	500+
Thurs., July 31	Lowell, MA	approx. 1,000
Fri., Aug 1	Lowell, MA	Unknown
Sun., Aug 3	Manchester, MA	Unknown
Tues., Aug 5	Worcester, MA	approx. 300
Wed., Aug 6	Pittsfield, MA	400
Thurs., Aug 7	Albany, NY	"large crowd"
Fri., Aug 8	Troy, NY	1,500
Sat., Aug 9	Utica, NY	1,100-1,500
Tue., Aug 12	Rochester, NY	1,200
Wed., Aug 13	Buffalo, NY	1,000
Thurs., Aug 14	Syracuse, NY	300*
Fri., Aug 15	Rocky River, OH	800-1,000
Sun., Aug 17	Detroit, MI	"a large crowd"
Tue., Aug 19	Fort Wayne, IN	Unknown
Thurs., Aug 21	Logansport, IN	"large number"
Fri., Aug 22	Lafayette, IN	Unknown**
Sat., Aug 23	Indianapolis, IN	Unknown**
Mon., Aug 25	Louisville, KY	1,200
Tue., Aug 26	Cincinnati, OH	1,000-1,700
Aug 28, 29, or 30	Columbus, OH	Unknown**
Sun., Aug 31	Cincinnati, OH	4,000
Mon., Sep 1	Springfield, OH	approx. 1,000
Wed., Sep 3	Wheeling, WV	Game cancelled
Unknown	Pittsburg, PA	Game cancelled

* Syracuse paper stated game had been cancelled; others said it had been played.
** Game may not have taken place.

Figure 3-4. Schedule for Second Half of Blue Stockings and Red Stockings Season

sex" in the nineteenth century. They could not perform in public and then expect to be treated with the deference accorded to "ladies." In Pittsfield, Massachusetts, young men crowded around the bench where players sat awaiting their turn to bat and verbally abused them until police intervened. Three other toughs laid down in the base paths and leered as the players ran

past; they, too, were ejected by police.[114] In Rocky River, (where newspapers erroneously reported that five men had drowned in Lake Erie while sailing to the game) fans behaved well for two innings and then surged close to the diamond while police did their best to hold them back.[115] The same scenario was repeated in Louisville where police could not keep the "roughs" in the crowd subdued. The game was called early and players escaped in their omnibus amidst a hail of stones.[116] The worst violence occurred in Springfield, Ohio where manager Frankhouse and a friend got into a fight with a group of black men who were verbally abusing the players. Frankhouse struck Ben Hayes on the head with a board inflicting what some newspapers erroneously reported was a fatal blow.[117] The violence continued later that night when Frankhouse and his companion were being escorted to jail. A mob intervened and the pair escaped in the melee.

Frankhouse's near escape from jail was the last straw. The beleaguered manager bought train tickets for the players to Columbus and then skipped out with the remaining funds from the $250 gate money. Stranded in Columbus, many of the players walked hundreds of miles east before they were able to obtain help from politicians and charities in various cities along the way to get train fare home.[118] The Female Blue Stockings of Philadelphia and Female Red Stockings of New York who had begun their season with such promise just two months earlier, were permanently defunct.

The Social Interactions of Professional Female Baseball

For the most part, during the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, proprietors of male and female brands of the professional baseball product faced the same obstacles when trying to expand their customer base by attracting middle- and upper-class audiences. Both had to overcome the unsavory reputation of a sport still associated with hard drinking, gambling, and

carousing players. Proprietors of women's professional baseball had the added burden of overcoming significant antipathy to women who performed for audiences for money. Neither group of baseball entrepreneurs was particularly successful at expanding the demographic base of their fans. Working class men consistently made up the majority of spectators at nineteenth-century professional baseball games despite the fact that male and female promoters consistently offered reduced (or free) ticket prices for women and children and advertised special grandstand seating to isolate them from the "rougher" elements in the crowd. The presence of large numbers of women in the stands was so unusual at both men's and women's professional games that reporters generally commented on it.[119]

The working class men (and smaller numbers of women and children) who attended men's and women's professional baseball games in the nineteenth century were openly resisting middle-class moralists' efforts to steer them into more "acceptable" leisure pursuits. Reading rooms and public health lectures were unappealing substitutes for dance halls and female baseball burlesque shows. Middle-class moralizers sought to distance themselves from the working classes who frequented professional female baseball players games by asserting that such games only attracted lecherous men (i.e. "bald heads") and the dregs of society. "Police Commissioners and ex-Commissioners were sandwiched in with pimps and thieves," claimed the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* after a game in its city, "while bank burglars and garrotters might have been seen in proximity to city and county officials in various parts of the field."[120]

National League moguls and their media allies recognized that women's professional baseball teams posed direct competition for a limited fan base; consequently, they worked tirelessly to distinguish the male baseball product from the female product. They hyped the competitive nature of the men's professional game while belittling the physical abilities of

women to deliver the same quality product. After watching the Red Stockings and Blue Stockings play in Detroit, a reporter concluded that the players' "awkward antics demonstrated that while there are many things a woman can accomplish, playing base ball is not one of them."[121] The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* reached a similar conclusion, commenting: "Girls will never play base ball to advantage. Their collar bones are too long, to say nothing of other impediments."[122] These types of reports resonated with many readers who were upset by the efforts of women's rights activists to revise gender mores. Women entered the workforce in previously unprecedented numbers during the 1870s as government departments, businesses, and industries expanded across the nation. Activists doggedly chipped away at political, economic, and legal restrictions on women. By emphasizing that women were biologically unsuited to playing quality baseball, proponents of the men's game were reinforcing their unsuitability for other "manly" occupations as well.

Just as some individuals had sought to link women's pick-up and civic teams with the broader women's rights movements during the 1860s, now others warned that professional women's baseball teams were part of the broader women's rights movement. In September 1875, the *Bloomington (IL) Pantagraph* chose the headline, "Female Ball Catchers: The Divine Right of Woman's Suffrage Extended to the Green Diamond" for its report on the Blondes and Brunettes game there. Later that month, a journalist in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania asserted that "there is no room for doubt as to the impropriety of women engaging in [baseball]. By so doing they forfeit the respect which is due to the sex, and which is all that gives its members a greater moral influence than is wielded by the sterner sex."[123]

The strategies of male baseball boosters to disparage the physical abilities of female players and to link them to the women's rights movement were ultimately successful. By the

1880s, increasing numbers of individuals began to characterize baseball as a man's game. This gendered characterization grew steadily as interest in men's professional baseball grew. The slowly increasing popularity of professional men's baseball was not immediately reflected in ticket sales. Most middle- and upper-class men and women still avoided baseball stadiums but they did follow their teams vicariously through their local newspapers; sometimes they joined the throngs crowding around the storefronts of local businesses that posted the scores of away games updated via telegraph.

While the promoters of men's professional baseball were eventually able to heighten interest in the men's game, they were unable to put their female competitors out of business. Women's professional baseball teams continued to multiply in the 1880s and 1890s. Male managers of these teams had a ready pool of players to choose from. Despite the hardships of life on the road and not infrequent abuse at the hands of unscrupulous male managers and cruel crowds, scores of young working-class women and a few rebellious middle-class teenagers, continued to seek opportunities to practice their chosen profession—"performing" and playing baseball. For them, "the show must go on" was more than a trite phrase—it was their ticket to adventure and a livelihood away from mind-numbing factory work, demeaning domestic service, or life in the gilded cage of feminine propriety. While these women sought their livelihood on professional female baseball teams, the purveyors of the male game adopted a new strategy to thwart them. While continuing to disparage their morality and their physical abilities, these men increasingly tried to erase them from cultural narratives about the game.

CHAPTER 4 – THE 1880S: MOLDING MANLY MEN; DISAPPEARING WOMEN

> The now national field-game of the United States known as base-ball was evolved from the old English school-boy game of 'rounders' which is almost obsolete. Beyond the fact that the form of the field on which both games are played is similar, there is scarcely any resemblance between them, the original sport being a mere boyish pastime, while the American game of base-ball is a sport requiring the trained skill of manly athletes to excel in it.
>
> —*Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia* (1886)[1]

> Why shouldn't the girls play ball? It was originally a woman's game, and the men have stolen it from them. Go to any country school, and at noon you will see the girls playing ball with great vim and relish. It is the best sport they could engage in.
>
> —*Pittsburg Dispatch* (23 Sep 1889)[2]

By the 1880s, increasing numbers of citizens were claiming that baseball was truly a national pastime—a critical glue that could preserve American "civilization" at a time when successive tsunami-sized waves of immigrants were pouring into the country. At decade's end poet Walt Whitman waxed eloquent about baseball, asserting: "It's our game: that's the chief fact in connection with it: America's game: has the snap, go, fling, of the American atmosphere—belongs as much to our institutions, fits into them as significantly as our constitutions, laws: is just as important in the sum total of our historic life."[3] Unprecedented numbers of girls, boys, women, and men played, watched, and followed baseball during the 1880s—blacks and immigrants of every stripe among them. References to the game appeared in books, poems, theatrical skits, songs, games, cartoons, cigarette cards, and many other cultural forms. Both amateur and professional baseball flourished, though players and promoters of the latter still found it a challenge to secure consistent profits.[4] Those who manufactured and sold the accouterments of the game and those who launched baseball-related periodicals or incorporated regular coverage of the amateur and professional games into their existing publications, reaped ever larger profits as the sport spread.

The 1880s was also a decade when native-born, middle- and upper-class citizens began contemplating a role in the world beyond their national borders. Flushed with nationalistic pride about industrial and technological advancements and exuding Social Darwinist-fueled confidence in the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon "race," countless missionaries and businessmen launched crusades abroad to harvest souls and plumb new markets. As they watched the European powers carve up Africa and force their way into Asian markets, some recommended baseball as a tool of foreign diplomacy and commerce. In 1888, Albert Spalding, whose last name would become synonymous with a global sporting goods empire, led the nation's premier players on an ambitious six-month long world tour of baseball to showcase the game and, hopefully, spread its popularity.[5] Sports journalists across the country covered the tour in detail, fully expecting that "America's game" would soon be "known in every civilized part of the globe fully as much as cricket is."[6] The team returned home to a hero's welcome. National League president, A.G. Mills, lauded the players as "gladiators" who were "covered with their American manhood."[7]

During the 1880s, the oft-repeated mantra about baseball inculcating masculinity took on new prominence as Americans' worries about floods of immigrants and the emasculating nature of office and factory work grew. With the issue of professionalism versus amateurism largely settled (both were clearly there to stay), narratives of "otherness" increasingly focused on women, blacks, and immigrants. With Anglo-Saxon manhood and American civilization seemingly under assault from every side, both amateurs and professionals had a stake in portraying baseball as a morally-pure, culturally uplifting sport capable of inculcating masculinity in its practitioners. Those who controlled the structure of professional baseball went a step further and portrayed the game as one best suited to white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon

manhood. Alan H. Levy notes that by the 1880s, major and minor league teams were slowly forcing black players out, reflecting a shift in team owner, fan and (white) players' racial sensibilities. Newspaper coverage reflected the change. "Races began to be more emphasized," Levy writes, "and the emphasis was often decidedly vicious—former phrases like 'that dark-skinned receiver' were sometimes replaced by words like 'that N____ catcher.'"[8] Though it was relatively easy to incorporate Jim Crow into organized baseball, it proved impossible to profit without immigrants. With middle- and upper-class citizens still not wholeheartedly embracing the professional game the way they would in the twentieth century, professional team owners had to rely on working class spectators to fund their bottom line. As teams began hiring talented first and second generation immigrant players, these players developed loyal and enthusiastic fan bases that boosted team revenues.[9]

Women had not yet played with men on their professional teams (that would occur sporadically in the ensuing decades)[10], but it was nonetheless the men's professional teams (or more precisely the structure of organized baseball and the cultural hegemony it established over the sport) that led to the "disappearing"[11] of women from historical narratives about baseball and that ultimately solidified its gendered heritage as a "man's" game. Girls and women who played baseball for fun on school, college, and other amateur teams posed little threat to narratives of elite athleticism and manliness that organized baseball boosters were crafting because social convention deterred most women from pursuing the elite form of athleticism that characterized male professional players. Professional women baseball players *did* pose a threat to professional baseball, however. It was not because they were elite athletes, but because their teams competed for fans in major and minor league cities and because their association with working-class

burlesque entertainment forms visibly undermined narratives of middle-class morality that leaders of organized baseball were trying to promote about the sport.

It was difficult for purveyors of the men's professional game to gain traction with a marketing strategy that portrayed professional baseball matches as exciting, family-friendly spectacles of elite, manly, "American" athleticism when teams of working-class women, blacks, Chinese, and other un-elite, un-manly, and purportedly un-American counterfeits continued to hawk their brand of baseball across the country.[12] By and large, the threat to organized baseball posed by black and ethnic muffin teams was minimal; black teams tended to cater to black audiences and the ethnic teams were relatively few in number. As women's professional teams continued to proliferate, however, and to draw thousands of spectators who might have otherwise have spent their scarce leisure dollars on men's baseball, the men whose livelihoods were bound up in the evolving structure of organized baseball felt compelled to do something to undermine the appeal of the women's teams or to at least make it crystal clear that they were not *real* baseball teams and that their members were not *real* baseball players.

Newspaper editors—particularly those whose fortunes were tied to the success of men's professional baseball, often made it their personal mission to use their publications to shape public attitudes about women baseball players. Francis C. Richter was one such man. Born and raised in Philadelphia, Richter had enjoyed playing amateur baseball as a young man. As an adult, he stayed connected with the game by helping organize the American Association in 1882. A year later, he helped organize the Philadelphias as a new entry for the National League and launched a new sporting periodical called *The Sporting Life*. The masthead read: "Devoted to Base Ball, Trap Shooting and General Sports." Richter's paper found a ready audience. Subscriptions soared from 2,800 to 21,000 in less than a year. After three years, the publisher

was distributing 40,000 copies a week across the United States and Canada.[13] Clearly, Richter's financial fate was tied to the success of men's organized baseball and he was determined to promote the game however possible. Through his association with both the structural and cultural sides of baseball, Richter became one of the most influential advocates for professional baseball (and fiercest opponent of professional female baseball) during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In the process, he helped solidify baseball's gendered reputation as a man's game.

For over two decades Richter followed the fortunes of dozens of professional female baseball teams criss-crossing the United States, frequently printing accounts of their failings in his paper along with his own editorial comments about the appropriateness of baseball for women. Richter was a thorn in the side of men like Sylvester Wilson who tried to make their living selling women's baseball. In the inaugural issue of *Sporting Life*, published on April 15, 1883, Richter mentioned advertisements Wilson had placed the previous month for an investor to help him start another female baseball team. Richter kept a wary eye on Wilson's operation, predicting in August that the venture would fail, just as all previous female baseball troupes had failed.[14] He was only partially correct. Before it failed, Wilson's new baseball organization attracted tens of thousands of spectators to games in eleven states.[15] Meanwhile, men like Richter continued to work hard to establish a solid business model for the professional game.

Codifying the Structure to Control the Game

By 1880, William Hulbert and his fellow baseball magnates in the National League recognized just how difficult it was to achieve their grand vision for baseball. They had structured the National League to try to ensure profit to all member clubs by providing a full season of competitive matches for fans, adapting rules to make the game more exciting for spectators, and

by crafting an image of middle-class morality for professional baseball. None of the objectives had yet been fully realized. Most league clubs, particularly those that languished far back in the standings for most of the season, had trouble turning a profit; competitive parity remained elusive. Last place teams finished twenty to forty games back in the standings and only two or three teams were still in the running for the league championship late in the season. Uneven competition and financial problems caused a revolving door of clubs into and out of the National League.[16] The challenge of controlling the structure and culture of professional baseball grew even more difficult after 1882 when other aspiring baseball entrepreneurs formed two new professional leagues—the American Association (1882—6 teams) and the Union Association (1884—12 teams).[17]

The American Association, in particular, undermined National League influence over the structure and culture of baseball; AA leaders had an entirely different vision for the future than NL leaders. While most NL club owners at least paid lip service to the idea of upholding Victorian morality at their ballparks, AA club owners chafed at restrictions on alcohol and Sunday baseball. Owners of the Cincinnati Reds led the charge to organize the rival league after NL leaders expelled them after the 1880 season for playing non-league games on Sundays and for trying to overturn the league's ban on alcohol. The new "Beer and Whiskey League," as the AA would come to be known, represented a rival to the NL's claim on the center and soul of professional baseball.[18]

The new baseball power structure shared many of the characteristics of emerging business corporations and trusts. Affiliated leagues worked to ruin competitors and to exert hegemonic control over their own workforces. Baseball's laborers (the players) found themselves financially squeezed and marginalized in the decision-making process. Player

resentment grew over the reserve rule, blacklists, and the gentlemen's agreements that bound them to specific clubs, forced them to pay fees over which they had no say, and artificially depressed their wages.[19] Eventually, league officials recognized that there was strength in numbers and, while still at odds with one another over the culture of the game, they allied as management against the laborers. In 1883, NL owners signed an agreement with AA and Northwestern League (a minor league) officials to respect each other's reserve rules and blacklists. Labor fought back when team owners announced a salary cap in October 1885. A group of players organized the Brotherhood of Professional Base Ball Players and, within a year, 90 percent of NL players had joined. Frustrated in its attempts to curb owners' growing power, the Brotherhood established the Players' League in 1890 but it folded after only one season.[20]

When these birth pangs of "Organized Baseball" ended, the structural center of baseball was firmly in the hands of management. The soul of baseball was still up for grabs, however. Organized Baseball owners could control the structure of their business model, but they could not wield autocratic authority over the culture of baseball—that belonged to baseball players and fans writ large. Every boy, girl, man and woman (no matter what their race, ethnicity, or social status) who played and watched the sport had a share in the evolution of baseball culture at the grass roots level. That did not stop those at the center of baseball business from trying to shape the ideological center of the sport to position it as a man's game and a symbol of American "civilization." Their campaign to control the meaning of baseball encompassed a broad array of strategies—from "disappearing" and disparaging women players to shaping cultural imagery about them. Professional players were particular targets of efforts to recast baseball as a man's game, but no female player was completely insulated from the fallout of attacks on professionals.

Crafting a *Manly* Culture—"Disappearing" and Disparaging Women Players

Efforts to "disappear" female baseball players predated the 1880s. After reporting on the existence of the Springfield Blondes and Brunettes professional teams in September 1875, the *Utica Morning Herald* instructed:

> Now, if Springfield regards this female ball club as discreditable, it must not undertake to write it down. Women who take to base ball, minstrel performances, bloomer costumes or suffrage advocacy, are not to be written down. They exist on adverse criticism; they thrive on opposition and newspaper protest. The only effectual way of inducing them to observe the sex line is to let them alone. Calling names will do no good. Denunciation will, sad to say, only excite curiosity, and keep alive the evil. And, after all, playing ball is a part of 'women's rights.' We are not sure it is not the least objectionable feature of their assertion.[21]

Three years later, the *Chicago Tribune* took a similar approach, denying that there was any such a thing as a real female baseball team: "Now, as a matter of fact, there never was such a thing as a female base-ball nine except in a show,—and, more, there never will be."[22]

Attempts to erase women baseball players from the historical record continued during the 1880s. In 1888, John Montgomery Ward, an elite player in the NL and founding member of the Brotherhood of Professional Base Ball Players, published a book for aspiring baseball players and fans.[23] Ward wanted to help popularize the sport by explaining the rules to aspiring players and fans, but he also wanted to squelch the long-lived and annoying assertion that America's national pastime was really just an off-shoot of an earlier British game of the same name. With nativism and nationalism at a fever pitch, it simply would not do for America's national pastime to be a British import. So Ward, born and raised in Pennsylvania, joined an increasingly vocal group of baseball businessmen and journalists who rewrote baseball's history. They created a myth that the game was a wholly American invention and, in the process, pruned many of the feminine branches off baseball's ancestral tree.

Ward had a distinctive approach for proving that baseball was a wholly American invention. While others focused on highlighting the differences in rules between American baseball and British games like baseball, cricket and Rounders, Ward argued that since *girls* had played British baseball, it simply could *not* have been the precursor of the American game. He cited three references to British girls playing baseball. The first was the letter Mary Lepel (Lady Hervey) had written in 1748 that mentioned the Prince of Wales playing baseball indoors with both male and female family members during chilly winter days. The second was Jane Austen's inclusion of a female baseball player in her novel *Northanger Abbey*; his third reference was a comment in the 1852 edition of Blaine's British encyclopedia of sport that "there are few of us of either sex but have engaged in base-ball since our majority."[24] Based on this evidence Ward concluded:

> The fact that in the three instances in which we find the name [baseball] mentioned it is always a game for girls or women, would justify the suspicion that it was not always the same game, and that it in any way resembled our game is not to be imagined. Base-ball in its mildest form is essentially a robust game, and it would require an elastic imagination to conceive of little girls possessed of physical powers such as its play demands.[25]

In one brief paragraph, Ward acknowledged that women *had* played the British game of baseball while he simultaneously "disappeared" hundreds of American girls and women who had been playing American baseball for decades. Ward's verbal slight-of-hand aimed to preserve both the masculine reputation of his "robust" game *and* its home-grown ("Made in the USA") credentials.

John Ward was a highly educated man; he graduated from Columbia Law School in 1885. He certainly would have read newspapers and the popular press; it is inconceivable that he did not know that American girls, like British girls, played baseball. By 1888, when he wrote his book, newspapers and periodicals across the country had already published countless articles about girls and women playing baseball in school yards, on college campuses, on local civic and

pick-up teams, and on professional barnstorming teams. Surely Ward would have had knowledge of at least some of the 150+ different baseball teams in 20 states and four territories that girls and women had organized since his birth in 1860. It is possible that Ward missed newspaper coverage of the Female Blue Stockings of Philadelphia and Female Red Stockings of New York when they staged an exhibition game in Providence, Rhode Island, in July 1879. (Ward was a member of the National League's Providence Grays baseball team that year. He and the team were away on an extended road trip when the women's teams were in town). But, surely, Ward could not have missed the extensive reporting on the Young Ladies' Base Ball Club four years later when it played three exhibition games in front of thousands of people in New York City in September 1883. By that time, Ward was a member of the New York Gothams who were hosting a series of games with the visiting Chicago White Sox while the female players were in town. It seems certain that Ward willfully suppressed information about female baseball players because it undercut his belief that baseball was a wholly American game that could only be mastered by those endowed with masculine strength and virility. By manipulating the history of baseball to validate his narrative of American exceptionalism, masculinity, and sport, Ward was perpetuating a decades-old strategy of male players and baseball boosters to gender baseball and to place it securely within the mythical male "sphere."

Another strategy some used to manipulate the narrative of baseball was to distort imagery of women baseball players in popular culture. Baseball was not just a game played in a particular physical space. It was also an ideal that lived in peoples' imaginations—part of the cultural triad of "baseball, motherhood, and apple pie." Baseball transcended emerald diamonds and wooden grandstands; it found its way into poetry, literature, songs, theatrical performances, and novels. The sport spawned board games, card games, cigarette cards, and countless other

collectibles. By the late 1860s, enough women were playing baseball that images of them in popular culture began to appear across the country. Some of the cultural references took the form of jokes or quips; some were advertisements for consumer products, and a fair number were lines or lyrics about female players in songs, poems, books, and theatrical productions. Many of the cultural references to women baseball players were fairly innocuous, but a significant number were covert efforts to advance and reinforce the false message that baseball was, and always had been, a man's game.

The gendered references in cultural artifacts targeted both women and men. Those aimed at women invoked prevalent perceptions about women's innate physical weaknesses and capriciousness; the subliminal message was that, even though they might play *at* baseball, they could never truly *be* baseball players. If, by some chance, they achieved the proficiency of male players, they did so only by surrendering their femininity—becoming "unsexed" Amazons. Gendered references targeting men implied that, because they had failed to uphold traditional boundaries between the social spheres—allowing women to make inroads into male professions and public spaces—they were to blame for the increase in the number of women baseball players. The implication was that if they would re-assert their manly prerogatives and actively keep women off the ball field, out of colleges, and away from male occupations, social ills would cease and life would get back to "normal."

Quips. Female baseball players were integrated into quips as early as 1870. The quips (ostensibly crafted merely to entertain) reinforced and perpetuated gender stereotypes about female frivolousness, sexuality, and patriarchy.

> "New Lisbon, Ohio, has a female base ball club. One of the girls recently made a 'home run.' She saw her father coming with a big switch." (1870)[26]

> "Speaking of base ball, says Quiz, Kate Field plays left Field, with nobody to take her." (1875)[27]

> "Mercersburg has a female base ball club. They want a young man for catch 'er." (1878)[28]
>
> "Women are too easily put out to play baseball successfully." (1879)[29]
>
> "The female Base-ball Clubs are coming West. Shoo! Shoo! And have we escaped cholera to come to this?" (1879)[30]
>
> "A Mormon elder is the happy husband of nine wives and the happy father of five nursing babies. It will be seen that he has both a female base ball club and a vocal quintette [sic] in his family." (1881)[31]
>
> "There are sixteen female base ball clubs in Kansas. Just imagine eighteen angry and excited females engaged in a discussion with one poor, unprotected umpire." (1889)[32]
>
> "If they cannot make a living tossing the ball why not take to tossing dishes and bottles?" (1889)[33]
>
> Charlie—"How was it you didn't allow Miss Yellowleaf to join your female baseball club?" Jennie—"Because, being an old maid, she wasn't a good catch." (1889)[34]
>
> "A Texas baseball club has a pretty young female pitcher, with a figure of perfect mold. Of course everybody gets onto her curve." (1897)[35]

These quips reached a broad audience, often appearing in multiple newspapers across the country over a period of many months and sometimes years. For example, the joke about a female player making a "home run" when she saw her father (or mother) coming with a "big switch" ran in dozens of papers across the country between 1870 and 1871.[36]

Photographs and Illustrations. The most effective tool for shaping cultural attitudes toward female baseball players was to propagate false images of them. The fictionalized illustrations of the female baseball players in Peterboro, New York published by the *Sporting Times* and *The Days' Doings* in 1868 (Figs. 2-1 and 2-2) are examples of gender marking through visual media.[37] The strategy continued throughout the century. A particularly egregious example of how men used photography to control public perceptions of female baseball players was the introduction of cigar and cigarette cards depicting female players as either masculinized

or sexualized. Sporting goods companies had been using baseball imagery on "trade cards" since the late 1860s when Peck and Snyder first used them to advertise products.[38] In the mid-1880s, tobacco companies, which had promoted their products (snuff, cigars, and smoking tobacco) primarily through simple, unadorned, black and white print advertisements in newspapers and periodicals for much of the century, began leveraging new printing technologies and color lithography to publicize their products with ever more elaborate, colorful and creative

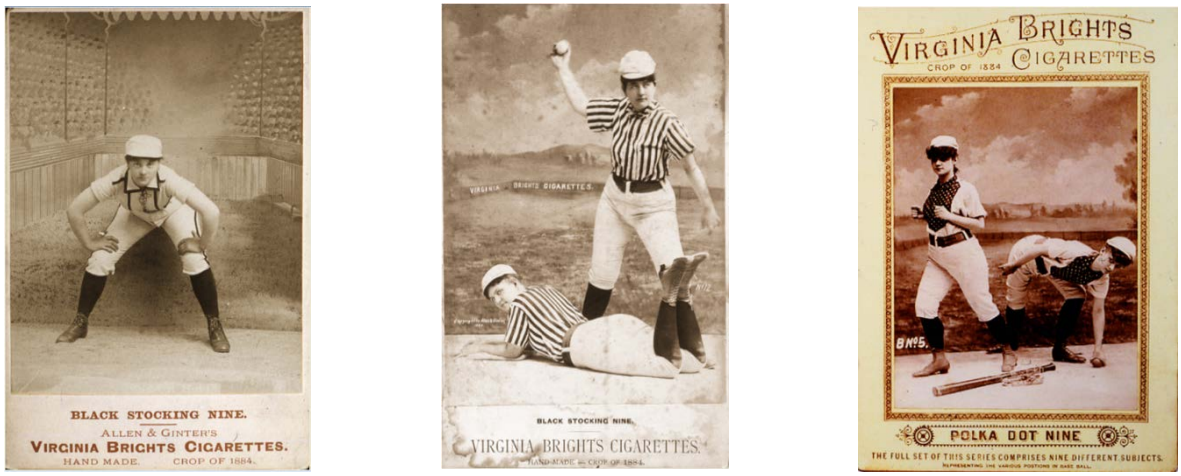

Figure 4-1. Allen & Ginter Tobacco Cards (1884-1886)

means. One of the most innovative companies in this respect was Allen & Ginter of Richmond, Virginia.[39] Among the many and varied card sets the company produced were three sets of nine cards purporting to feature the players of two different female baseball teams—the "Black Stocking Nine" and the "Polka Dot Nine" (Fig. 4-1). (No such teams existed at the time although Sylvester Wilson would organize a troupe called the Black Stocking Nine in 1890.) All three sets of cards featured the Virginia Brights brand name. The first set of Black Stocking Nine cards was printed in grayscale and depicted women wearing masculine-style baseball uniforms, complete with knee-length pantaloons, rolled up shirt sleeves and high stockings. The second set was also done in grayscale and showed the female ball players in similar knee-length pantaloons but with a different style belt and vertically-striped short-sleeve shirts. The Polka

Dot Nine cards were more artistically designed and printed with a rose-colored hue. The players on these cards are wearing similar uniforms to the second group of Black Stocking Nine players but with the addition of a polka-dotted bib. Many of the cards include baseballs and bases, and some have bats and catcher's masks.

The Allen & Ginter cards depict the female players with serious faces in the act of catching, running, hitting or sliding just as similar sets of male baseball cards did. That is precisely what makes these images a distortion of reality. There are no known examples of female baseball players wearing this type of uniform during this era. In fact, the women depicted in the baseball card sets were not even baseball players—they were actresses hired by photographers to pose for themed pictures.[40] While male baseball cards featured actual players like John Ward, female baseball cards depicted nameless women mimicking male activities and dress. The female baseball cards proved so popular that Allen & Ginter issued several additional sets in subsequent years. In 1886, they reused some of the images from earlier sets (including

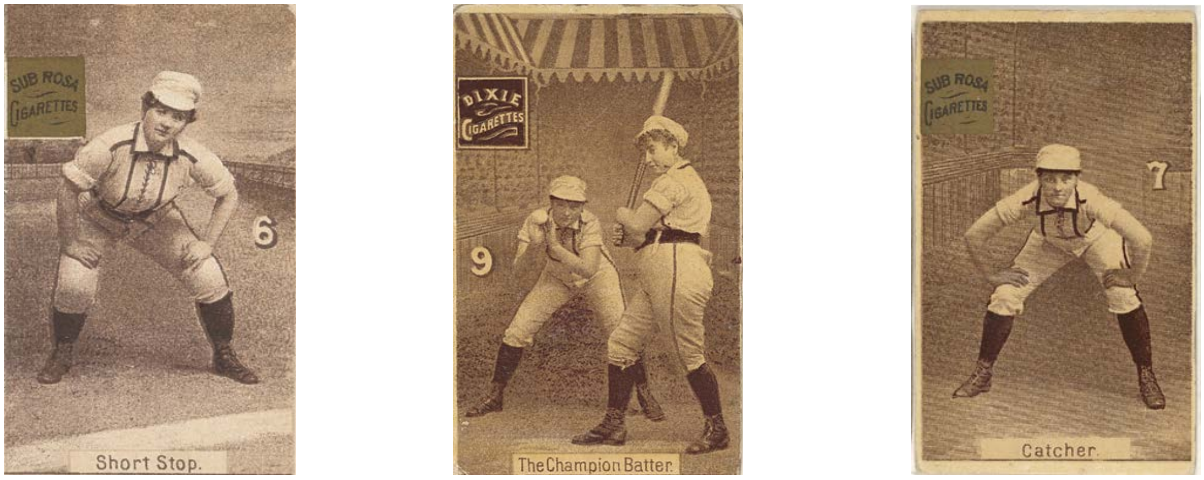

Figure 4-2. Pacholder Tobacco Cards (1886)

the polka-dotted bibs) but added a number of new poses with players in two new styles of uniform. Other companies incorporated women baseball players into their card sets as well.

Because tobacco companies purchased photographs from dealers, some of the same women appear on cards issued by Pacholder Tobacco (a major competitor of Allen & Ginter) in 1886 (Fig. 4-2). The Pacholder cards have different captions and feature Pacholder's Sub-Rosa and Dixie cigarette brand names, but the backdrops and uniforms of the players are identical to many of those used in the Allen & Ginter cards. Images produced by S.W. Venable, another tobacco company, in the late 1880s and early 1890s were drawings, not photographs. They were extremely risqué by the standards of the day (Fig. 4-3). Each card included a month-long

Figure 4-3. S. W. Venable Company Tobacco Cards (c. 1890s)

schedule for men's major league baseball on the back and advertised either the company's "Ideal Cut Plug," "Pluck Cut Plug" or "Smoke and Chew—Little Rhody Cut Plug," brands.[41] The players' uniforms were more appropriate for a vaudeville show or circus than for a baseball diamond.

The S.W. Venable female baseball cards mirrored sexualized images of women popular at the time. In July 1887, newspapers across the country reprinted an expose written by a Boston-based reporter about the proliferation of nude photography. The reporter classified indecent photographs into three categories, the first, and "least objectionable" of which depicted "the cigarette girls, with skirts pulled up to their knees, and *the female baseball players*"

(emphasis added).[42] He noted that these images were "printed by thousands" at a local "fashionable" studio "for the edification of morbid erotomaniacs whose sexual appetite is stimulated by views of thick ankles and striped stockings." The second category comprised the "gross" and disgusting variety of pictures sold surreptitiously in bar rooms, and the third included nude and semi-nude images of women posed like the women in classical paintings and sculptures. The reporter noted that not all the women who posed for these types of photographs were disreputable; many factory workers or "young girls of good reputation" sought the work because it paid so well—up to 5 dollars an hour.[43] The implication that female baseball players would demean themselves to appear in photographs targeted by moral reformers like Anthony Comstock undermined efforts by female players themselves to control perceptions about them.[44]

Cigarette cards were not the only visual medium used to distort perceptions about female baseball players. On 18 July 1885, the *National Police Gazette* published a satirical illustration of a female batter and catcher purportedly playing a game at Wellesley college; both players are dressed in exceedingly short skirts, long stockings, and caps (Fig. 4-4).

Figure 4-4. National Police Gazette (18 Jul 1885)

Well-dressed male and female spectators look on. The caption reads: "Maidenly Muffs. The Freshmen of Wellesley Female Seminary Organize a Baseball Nine Like Real Little Men."[45] The illustration and caption were parodies, meant to disparage Wellesley students specifically and female baseball players generally.

Images of female baseball players created by players bear little similarity to those produced by their critics. The photograph of a baseball team at Allegheny College in Meadville, Pennsylvania (Fig. 4-5) stands in stark contrast to the image of Wellesley players published by the *Police Gazette*.[46]

Figure 4-5. Baseball Team at Allegheny College Meadville, Pennsylvania (1890)

The young women's appearance conforms to prevailing ideals of femininity; each player's hair is neatly coifed, and all have the waspish waists associated with the ideal female physical form of the day—several players appear to be wearing corsets. If it were not for the baseball bat and ball included in the image, the photograph could be interpreted as a group of young women getting ready to attend a chapel service or a social event with a group of young men. Team photographs of female collegiate baseball players (and non-professional, civic teams) reflect the social bonds players shared and the pride they felt in what they were doing—a pride that motivated them to

preserve tangible reminders they could revisit when their playing days were over. Photographs invariably show players wearing either long dresses or approved female gymnastic uniforms, an indication that players were visibly contesting the notion that femininity and baseball were incompatible. For historians, team photographs provide insights into how female baseball players tried to carve out a space for themselves in the increasingly masculinized national pastime—and to control (to the extent possible) how outsiders perceived their actions.

The distorted imagery of female baseball players on tobacco cards and fictitious illustrations of them in newspapers and pulp serials negatively influenced attitudes about them. Apart from the professional baseball players, who were often forced to wear sexualized clothing and *had* to play in public, the vast majority of nineteenth-century female baseball players tried to conform to prevailing gender ideals; they wore feminine clothing when they played and often tried to keep their games hidden from public view. Yet, the proliferation of the female baseball cards contributed to a growing perception that women who played baseball were engaging in a masculine activity that would inevitably masculinize or "unsex" them. The covert message was that women baseball players were dangerous because they upset the social order.

Poetry and Fiction. Not all cultural imagery of female baseball players merited the attention of moral reformers, but even innocuous references in poems and novels still influenced readers to perceive female players and the sport of baseball in a certain way. Though entertainment of an audience was the primary objective of these cultural artifacts, they provide clear evidence that the history of baseball cannot be divorced from the history of gender roles in the United States. This poetic verse described one woman's attempt to find her niche in life:

> I've tried to make boxes; I can't.
> A sewing-machine run? I shan't.
> I've stood as a model for cloaks;
> I don't like the ton's pointless jokes.

I've sung in the chorus—small pay!
Sold needles and pins for a day.
I've canvassed for books for a week,
But, alas, was too awfully meek;
I've worn a white cap, watched the kid,
N. G., very tame, and I slid;
I've been a wall-flower upon hire,
I aspired to something much flyer;
A female base-ball club I tried,
I never could learn how to slide;
I'm told that my form's very neat,
I know I have got pretty feet.
Thank heaven! A chance yet remains
Where I can get paid for my pains:
In a cigarette-factory I'll pose,
And the charms of my ankles disclose.

-- H. S. Keller (1886)[47]

[Horace] Keller's subtle message seems to be that women who continually sought to succeed in areas outside of the traditional roles of women as homemaker and mother were in danger of sinking to the level of posing for immoral photographs as a way to make a living.

Women's relationship to baseball comprised a major plot element in Mary Prudence Wells Smith's novel, *The Great Match* (1877).[48] In the novel, two rival towns, Milltown and Dornfield, act out their competitive rivalries through their baseball teams. While Milltown is generally wealthier than Dornfield and has received an all-important branch on the railroad line, Dornfield residents console themselves with the knowledge that their baseball team can best Milltown's team even though Milltown businessmen are paying their players. Smith employs common gender stereotypes throughout her story, particularly as they related to the proper relationship of men and women to the national pastime. In her book, men are expected to woo their women and uphold the honor of the town by joining and exceling on the local baseball team. Those who do not are ostracized. In one scene, Smith's heroine, Miss Molly Milton, chastises the aptly named, Dick Softy, for refusing to join the local baseball team. Annoyed by

Softy's excuse that he does not want to go through life "with only one eye, and fingers like potato-balls," Milton blurts out: "If I were a man, I'd play my part; and if base ball were the part, I would play until all my fingers were as crooked as an eagle's claw."[49]

Mary Smith had no intention of upsetting the gender-roles apple cart; though her heroine talks boldly about playing baseball, she knows her proper place. On the evening of the grand baseball fête, Molly appears elegantly dressed and wearing a blue sash matching the Dornfield team colors. She revels in the attention of team Captain, Ned Black, while the other young ladies fawn over the other players. Taking a baseball in hand, Molly tosses it to various players, coquettishly ducking behind Ned each time the ball is thrown back.[50] She talks boldly to Softy about playing baseball until her fingers are crooked, but the fictitious Milton plays her role as the demure, timid female, unable to catch a baseball. Smith's novel reflects a prevalent belief of the day that baseball was a tool for reinforcing social values. Many believed that baseball could reinforce "natural" gender roles by inculcating values of virtue and morality in male participants while their female contemporaries looked on.

Like Smith's portrayal of Molly Milton as a girl who could throw a ball but not catch it, many of the short poems and quips about female baseball players in the 1880s and 1890s emphasized their incompetence as athletes. "Young ladies pitch base ball and *occasionally catch* [emphasis added] at Asbury Beach," wrote the *Titusville Herald* in 1887.[51] The *Saginaw Evening News* reprinted a poem entitled, "The Maiden Base Ballist," in which the anonymous poet writes:

> There was Mary and Katie and Nan,
> Mollie and Josie and June;
> Maud and Carrie and Fan,
> But they couldn't hit a balloon.--[Exchange][52]

Sporting Life sarcastically pointed out that Cora Tenner's new play, "One Error" was not about "the performance of a female base ball club."[53] The *Ogdensburg Daily Journal* observed: "Lillian Nordice, it is said, hammers the life out of a piano once a month. If she ever loses her voice, she ought to make a capital pitcher for a female base ball club."[54]

As the structure of men's professional baseball solidified during the 1880s and 1890s and as increasing numbers of men and women became indoctrinated with the cultural themes promoted by supporters of the professional game, a gendered imagery of female baseball players emerged in comical quips, fictitious photographs and illustrations, poems, and novels, that bore little relationship to reality. These contradictory images further strengthened the cultural narrative of baseball as a man's game and affected women's relationship with the national pastime.

The Social Interactions of Women's Baseball—Contesting the Coalescing Center

Despite attempts by some to pretend they did not exist, scores of girls and women across the country (many of whom would have considered female baseball burlesque teams and cigarette cards shockingly immoral) continued to play baseball and to organize civic and pick-up teams, factory teams, and school/college teams. Four states (Alabama, Colorado, West Virginia, and Maryland) and four future states (Montana, New Mexico, South Dakota and North Dakota) got their first female baseball teams during the 1880s. As in the past, most of the scores of female baseball teams organized during the 1880s were short-lived—enduring only for a few days or weeks.

Newspapers and periodicals had been reporting on female baseball players for over two decades by 1880, yet the myth that women could not understand or play the game continued to pervade press coverage. In March 1880, *Chicago Tribune* informed its readers that Sallie Van

Pelt, editor of the *Dubuque Times*, had reported on over 60 baseball games for her paper in 1879. The *Tribune* then gushed: "She is the only lady in the United States who understands every point of the game and is able to report on them. She is also considered the best authority in Dubuque on the National game."[55] While the *Tribune* may have been correct about Van Pelt being the only woman regularly reporting on baseball games in 1880, it was mistaken about Van Pelt's singular status as a student of the game. From the earliest days of the modern game, when men first began displacing boys on baseball fields, men's teams of all stripes (social and competitive, amateur and professional) had been encouraging women to attend games. Baseball matches were not just athletic contests; they were part of a complex tapestry of social rituals through which men and women defined the roles and hierarchies of gender, race and social class. Male baseball players, black and white, enjoyed performing feats of masculine strength and virility for the "weaker" sex, and many women enjoyed attending the games to witness these displays of masculinity and to reciprocate with complementary displays of femininity.[56]

By the 1880s, thousands of women across the country were avid baseball fans and understood the game's finer points. In August 1885, Francis Richter observed that the "base ball boom" in New York had so affected local women that they were regularly attending games at the Polo grounds. Richter noted that the women were as invested in the game as much as male spectators, noting: "they bring out their score cards and pencils, argue over the merits of the coming players, and consult their little diaries, in which they have entered records of past League games. Hundreds of them "stood on the seats and screamed and waved their handkerchiefs and brandished their fans in ecstasies of applause."[57]

Though it is questionable whether many of the women who attended baseball games went because they agreed with the narrative of baseball boosters that women's presence in the stands

would deter immoral behavior of players and fans, the fact that they *did* attend invariably strengthened the narrative. Connie Mack, who spent sixty-six years in professional baseball wrote in his memoirs that when he first began playing baseball in the mid-1880s, it was not as respectable as it became; he attributed the improvement to women—"a powerful moral influence in raising its tone."[58] John Ward noted in 1888 that baseball was, "for a long time thought not a proper sport for the patronage of ladies," but that the "illusion" had been dispelled due to the large number of women who were attending "every principal contest."[59]

Even as some newspaper editors recognized the existence of competent and enthusiastic female baseball fans, many continued to dismiss the notion that women could and did also *play* baseball. In his article about female fans in New York, Francis Richter insisted that "none of them ever play it" even though he knew full well that girls and women regularly played baseball and must have suspected that some of those players were also fans of the game. Like Ward, Richter sought to disappear female baseball players from public consciousness.[60] Nineteenth-century journalists routinely made sweeping assertions about women's interests and capabilities based on cultural assumptions rather than on careful research or unbiased observation. In the process, they perpetuated those (frequently false) assumptions. When it came to women's relationship to baseball, journalists freely employed adjectives like "unique," "novel," and "only." By reporting assumption as fact—even in the face of obvious evidence to the contrary—they grafted another gendered twig onto baseball's ancestral tree, distorting its history in ways that caused (and still cause) persistent problems for girls and women who wanted (and want) to play baseball.

Baseball for Schoolgirls in the 1880s. While adult female baseball players were increasingly criticized in the 1880s, school-aged girls continued to receive favorable press. In

January 1884, the Honolulu *Saturday Press* reported on a game between the Good Girls' Base Ball Club and the Good Boys' Base Ball Club of Punahou School. The reporter wove an entertaining account that began with a chance meeting he had with one of the 13-year-old female players three days before the game. He noticed the girl riding toward the school atop a pile of coal in a wagon. When he asked her where she was heading on such an unusual perch she replied, "I go to practice a manly game." She explained that she had chosen her uncomfortable seat to experience how it would feel "to be obliged to sit down 'suddin' on the diamond field." When she asked the reporter if he had ever heard of the game of "base ball," he showed her his "knotted digits" as proof that he had played frequently. When he added that, when he was a lad, girls didn't play baseball, she responded seriously, "The world advances, gentle sir, and we girls intend to keep up with the procession."[61] The dialogue between the reporter and the female baseball player reflects the extent to which baseball continued to be identified as a game for boys and men despite the fact that many girls and women played it too. This particular reporter saw no harm in the girls challenging the boys at Punahou School, as his subsequent light-hearted and balanced account of the game demonstrates. He praised the boys for making several home runs and the girls for making the only "fly catches" in the game.

School-age girls organized scores of baseball teams across the country—mostly in the Midwest and the East. Bridgton Academy in Maine had five boys baseball teams and two female teams in 1884; the following year, female students at Tallmadge High School in Ohio practiced throughout the month of May in preparation for their upcoming game at the end-of-term picnic in early June.[62] There were exceptions to the general rule of geography. In July 1883, a group of nine young women in Huntsboro, Alabama defeated a male nine and, in 1887, the *Wichita Globe* reported: "In Galt, Cal., all the high-school girls play ball with the young

men."[63] Though doubtless exaggerating the number of girls playing baseball in Galt, California, the *Wichita Globe's* announcement that male and female high school students were playing ball together reflects changing social mores about gender, and the new-found confidence of many young women in their athletic abilities. It is often young people who catalyze social change; their desire to distinguish themselves from their parents' generation often emboldens them to openly contest established norms in order to carve out a new social spaces for their generation. One of the most obvious signs of change in the late nineteenth century was the number of young men and women who eschewed the single-sex activities of their parents' generation in favor of hetero-social leisure pursuits in which groups of young men and women played croquet, tennis, golf, and, even baseball, together.

Baseball at Colleges in the 1880s. The women fortunate enough to attend college in the 1880s benefitted from new understandings about the relationship between physical fitness and women's reproductive health, and from the fact that a generation of female graduates who preceded them had survived the rigors of higher education. Women arrived on college campuses to find newly-constructed gymnasia and professional physical educators and/or physicians waiting to teach them the latest scientific methods of health and hygiene. Though most collegiate physical fitness programs in the 1880s continued to focus on calisthenics, walking, and individual activities, some promoted team sports like baseball. Whether they played on teams in physical education classes or on informal student-organized teams, female collegians found in baseball an activity that reflected and solidified social bonds.

Students at Smith College organized "house" (residence) teams as early as 1880. "We have formed two Base Ball nines," Evelyn Jean Forman, a resident of Hubbard House, confided to her journal on April 27, 1880. "Ella Flynt, Minnie Stephens, Florence Harrison, Ella Stetson,

Mame Clarke, Anna Morse, Mame Van Ausdal, Mira [Hall—Forman's roommate] and I are the members of one nine. And the 'other set' have a nine. We are going to play match games after we have practiced longer. We have heaps of fun playing nights after supper."[64] The social nature of the Smith house teams comes through clearly in Forman's journal. As was the case with many of the early men's baseball teams, the Hubbard House teams grew out of social ties that prefigured athletic ties. (The 'other set' to which Forman referred were fellow residents of Hubbard House, led by team captain Mary P. Winsor, who became their chief opponents on the baseball diamond.) Few of the women on Smith's earliest baseball teams had any experience playing the sport. Mary H.A. Mather, a member of Winsor's team, described the organization of her team in her Memory Book. She related that only four of the "nine unsophisticated maidens" who first met behind Hatfield Hall "knew anything about the mysteries of 'Base Ball.'" It was not long, however, before their "revered captain" had "initiated them into the secrets of 'batting + bases' and the playing began in ernest [sic]," she wrote.[65]

Mather's narrative and Forman's comment about the "heaps of fun" she and her teammates enjoyed playing baseball, make it clear that the students reveled in their "mysterious" sport and were delighted with the new physical sensations they experienced as a result. "Ah! What tales could be told of 'hands' and 'stiffness'," Mather noted gleefully. "[A]t the breakfast table a prevailing remark was—'Are you stiff today?' But the nine played on and the stiffer they became, the more they played. Soon 'nines' became the fashion."[66] Baseball's masculine reputation was well solidified by the 1880s, however, and not everyone was enamored with the idea of cavorting around a baseball diamond, even when pressed by friends to do so. In May 1880, Smith College freshman Mabel Allen informed her mother: "Two ball-nines have been

formed here. They practice half an hour every night after supper. I was asked to join one of the nines, but refused."[67]

Those players who did enjoy their brief foray into the male sporting sphere seemed rather proud of the attention they were attracting. Mather noted that during a match between her team and Stephens's team, "the neighbors were much edified—and tramp[s], carriages, and small boys also appreciated it." She went on: "The paper of Springfield noticed the fact that the Smith students had invested in numerous balls and bats and would soon enter the field of national competition. So much has our club done. Long may it wave and may its acts be worthy of mention."[68] As long as the players were discreet about their activity, Smith College administrators tolerated the sport on campus. Once their activities became public, however, school officials banned the sport on campus. Minnie Stephens recalled: "We were told . . . the game was too violent, and also there was great danger in breaking the windows in Hubbard House, so we were politely ordered to give it all up."[69] According to Stephens, "the fire of the base ball club still smouldered [sic]" within the former players but the twelve players from the Hubbard House teams who returned to Smith the following year did not reorganize their teams. It was over a decade before students began regularly organizing House teams and Class teams.

While administrators at Smith were temporarily squelching baseball on their campus, nine of 287 students enrolled at Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in South Hadley, Massachusetts organized the "Mount Holyoke Nine." The *Class Book* of 1886 gives the players' names and a vignette of each players' characteristics and personality. It identifies Anna Fitch as the "gallant captain" of the team and notes that "the way in which she wielded the bat and threw the ball proved that there was great power" within her.[70] The statement implies that the players were consciously contradicting gendered narratives that claimed strength and power as

masculine attributes—a fact not lost on observers for whom this claim represented a challenge to their vision of proper social hierarchy.

Female Civic and Pick-up Teams of the 1880s. Whether on campus or off, baseball was a vehicle for social interaction and fun for most nineteenth-century female players. This was true no matter what social class or geographic region the players came from. It is often difficult to determine the social class of female baseball players, but enough evidence exists to indicate that players came from all social classes. In May and June 1882, newspaper reports about the Striped Stockings and Fancy Stockings of Quincy, Illinois made it a point to inform readers that the players on those teams were "society girls."[71] The *New York Clipper* mentioned female workers at a Philadelphia shoe factory organizing a baseball club, and the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* described the arrest of two black women baseball players who had assaulted a man with a bat.[72]

Girls and women across the country played baseball during the 1880s. The game became increasingly popular in the West where several states and territories got their first homegrown female teams. In addition to the inaugural female team in Glendive, Montana Territory in 1884, young women in Denver, Colorado and Blunt, Dakota Territory organized their first baseball teams that year too, while their counterparts in Utah played townball.[73] Young women in the future state of North Dakota established its first female baseball team in November 1886 in Bismarck and the New Mexico Territory got its first female team in August 1888. A Rochester, New York, newspaper reported that the latter team was planning to barnstorm through Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. It is uncertain that this ever occurred, but a group of young women in San Antonio, Texas discussed organizing their own team—the state's first—in April 1889.[74] Young women in Pocahontas, Iowa had a baseball club in June 1889 and baseball remained popular in Kansas. The *Fort Worth Daily Gazette* claimed in August 1889 that there were

sixteen female baseball clubs in Kansas, but this may be an exaggeration based on a flurry of reports in Kansas newspapers that summer about female teams in Haddam, McPherson, and Colby.[75] The year before, the *Nicodemus Cyclone*, an African American newspaper in Kansas, reported that women in Hope had organized a team.[76] It is uncertain whether the team was organized by whites or blacks. Californians, like the young women in Soquel who organized a civic team in August 1887, continued to play baseball too.[77]

Even as male baseball moguls strengthened their monopoly over the sport's formal structure, and as other men and women propagated cultural imagery of baseball as a masculine game, middle- and upper-class gender traditionalists continued to embrace the sport. On 24 Sep 1886, a group of married and single women held a game in Gilmore, Pennsylvania to raise money for local churches. Six hundred spectators turned out for the game in which the married women defeated the single women, 25 to 17 in seven innings. All of the players wore long dresses.[78] Young women played baseball at a resort on Asbury Beach in Asbury Park, New Jersey, in 1887 and, in 1888, girls and women organized teams in Nyack, Utica, and Elmira, New York. The young women in Utica had the financial means to purchase matching "costumes" of blue and white and to play on an "admirable" diamond with a "neatly marked" field and well-manicured grass.[79] In July 1889, the *Manistee (Michigan) Democrat* reported that baseball was becoming quite popular with the young ladies in that town. The young women had organized two teams and were practicing and scrimmaging regularly on a vacant lot near Oak and Fifth streets. The paper teased that the site had been renamed "Crinoline park"—a likely reference to the traditional feminine garb the players were wearing.[80] In October 1889, a Kanas City newspaper reported that nine young ladies, "well known in the society of Mount

Washington" (near Baltimore) had fallen in love with baseball and established their own team.[81] This is the earliest known female team organized in Maryland.

One of the best publicized of the upper-class female civic teams of the 1880s was the one created by society women in Norwich, Connecticut. The *Boston Daily Globe* described the players as "cultivated, wealthy and refined members of the old-time families of Norwich" and reported that they practiced regularly on the lawn of a local farmer, Hezekiah Rudd, a "wealthy gentleman of leisure." The newspaper claimed that the women had taken up baseball because they were tired of the "flavorless feminine diversions" of croquet, tennis, and tea parties.[82] As was the case with most upper class women's teams of the nineteenth century, the women in Norwich tried to keep their activity out of the public eye. Rudd's yard had a thick wall of hedges around it; nonetheless, a few "wicked boys and wickeder young men" occasionally managed to catch a glimpse through the foliage of the women playing.[83]

Keeping their activities hidden from public view was a key strategy female baseball players employed to contest narratives that they were trying to mimic men or encroach on their sporting spaces. This strategy was not available to the women hired to perform baseball for money. By their very existence, these players provided a potent tool shapers of baseball's masculine creed could use to misrepresent female players in the public's mind.

Women's Professional Teams of the 1880s. The gap between men's and women's professional baseball grew exponentially during the 1880s for a number of reasons. First, as the popularity of amateur baseball grew, men's teams had access to an ever-expanding pool of talented male players and thus could increasingly market competition rather than theatrical spectacle to sell their product. Women's teams had to continue marketing novelty and theatrical-style entertainment because it was difficult for managers of women's professional teams to find

(and keep) women willing to endure social humiliation to play baseball in public for money. Though managers did sometimes find talented female athletes, for the most part they had to continue filling rosters with anyone they could find.

A second widening distinction between men's and women's professional baseball was that as male entrepreneurs focused on building an enduring, formal baseball business structure that mirrored contemporary business models, the men who organized women's teams continued to maintain a short-term focus. They wanted to make as much money as possible as quickly as possible without encumbering themselves with long-term legal responsibilities and relationships. Rather than joining forces to promote and legitimize women's professional baseball, managers engaged in cutthroat competition for players and fans.[84]

A third distinction between men's and women's professional baseball related to the relationships between labor and management. Male league officials had to deal with players who did not hesitate to express their dissatisfaction with management decisions or to organize themselves to gain leverage over their conditions of labor. While there were a handful of incidents when female players took managers to court or refused to play until they were paid, by and large, purveyors of women's professional baseball rarely faced concerted resistance from players.[85] This was perhaps a reflection of socio-cultural gender norms that emphasized female submissiveness to male leadership and youthful deference to elders.

The final, and perhaps the most significant difference between men's and women's professional baseball, was the fact that men's professional baseball (and men's baseball in general) enjoyed the loyal support of an ever-expanding network of media outlets and ancillary businesses whose financial fortunes were linked to baseball's growing popularity. Newspapers, periodicals, sporting goods stores, profited when baseball proliferated. The print media, in

particular, played a major role in shaping public opinion about sports, culture, and gender roles. Once the majority of newspaper editors bought in to the narrative that men's professional baseball was a good thing (and that women's professional baseball was not), they solidified the gendered future of the sport through consistently positive coverage of the former and consistently negative coverage of the latter.

There were at least two dozen professional women's baseball teams organized during the 1880s. The majority of teams were comprised entirely of white players but, in 1883, John Lang, a white barber living in Philadelphia who had already organized several black men's teams and a Chinese nine, organized three teams of black women—the Dolly Varden No. 1, the Dolly Varden No. 2, and the Captain Jinks club.[86] Some women's professional teams played only a single exhibition; others, like Sylvester Wilson's Young Ladies Base Ball Clubs, played entire seasons and reconstituted annually. Like the professional female teams of the 1870s, the barnstorming teams of the 1880s continued to emphasize the theatrical side of baseball, although, by decade's end, some tried to promote competition against men's teams as a selling point. No matter how managers of women's professional teams tried to market their teams, the overwhelming message of the media was that professional women's baseball was an abomination—an affront to the idealized prestige of the national pastime; the parallel message was that female professional players were hopelessly inept, unfeminine, and immoral.

Like media coverage of white female professional teams, articles about John Lang's black women's teams were satirical, but they also included openly racist descriptions of the players and their speech patterns. Newspapers also emphasized the novelty of the teams. Black female players were doubly novel—they were women and they were black. Though black men, like white women, had been playing baseball since its earliest inception, and though scores of

highly talented black players had made their mark on white teams or all-black teams from the 1860s forward, the white press of the 1880s frequently lampooned both black and female players. The myth undergirding their narrative was that blacks and women were baseball novices who could offer spectators only comic relief, not serious athletic competition. In a typical article about black male ballplayers in the white press, the *New York Times* described an "amusing" game of baseball played by the Orions of Philadelphia and the Washingtons of Long Branch in September 1882. Though conceding that the quality of play was "better than what was expected," the paper marginalized the black men by describing the "mirth-provoking spectacle" of their uniforms and the entertainment value of their "misplays."[87]

There is probably no single individual in the nineteenth century who did more to harm the image of professional female baseball players than Sylvester F. Wilson. Wilson organized female baseball troupes in at least 10 of the 24 years between 1879 and 1903. (He was in prison or on trial for 8 of the remaining 14 years.)[88] Wilson had talents—he was able to manage the logistical operations of multiple teams simultaneously, he was a skilled marketer, and he had no problem finding investors (although he frequently cheated them). He was a theatrical genius to some degree—he recognized the potential for professional women's baseball teams to attracts tens of thousands of spectators annually and shrewdly invoked classical tropes and contemporary themes of health reformers to market his baseball product. But Wilson also had serious character flaws, including an insatiable desire to surround himself with teenage girls and young women with whom he routinely took sexual liberties. In modern parlance he was a pedophile and sexual predator and over 130 girls and young women came under his control during the years he ran baseball teams.[89] Instead of going down in history as the man responsible for helping solidify women's professional baseball as a praiseworthy and respectable profession, Wilson tarnished

the image of professional women players for over a decade, making it exceedingly difficult for the businessmen who followed him in the 1890s to distinguish their legitimately talented and morally upstanding professional female teams from Wilson's.[90] That he rose to infamy at the same time that men like William Hulbert were building a solid structure for Organized Baseball was particularly unfortunate since an honest businessman who sincerely cared about the future of women's professional baseball might have changed the fortunes of women players considerably.

Apart from damaging the reputation of professional female players, Wilson solidified the gendered narrative of baseball as a man's game by promoting his women's teams as highly competitive even though they were not. This gave critics ample opportunity to point to professional female baseball players as exemplars of women's inherent physical and mental weaknesses in order to justify maintaining traditional gender relationships and responsibilities. Rather than simply focusing on the lack of talent of specific players on Wilson's teams—as reporters covering men's baseball did—critics of women's baseball made blanket statements about all women. Had Wilson hired talented female athletes, it would have been more difficult for critics to use women's baseball as a negative exemplar to support traditional gender roles.

In August 1883, Wilson and his business partners signed seventeen girls, ranging in age from 15 to 25, to contracts to make a lengthy tour throughout the East and South giving baseball exhibitions. Most of the troupe members were variety actresses; two had graduated from the Normal School of Philadelphia.[91] Encouraged by the number of individuals who sneaked glimpses through the fence enclosing the first scrimmage game between the female teams, Wilson began charging a 25 cent admission fee to practice games (the same price American Association teams charged); he admitted women for free and gave children a reduced rate of 15 cents.[92] Wilson (using the alias H.H. Freeman) was so confident that his venture was going to

succeed that he began publicizing plans for the tour in newspapers across the country and sending letters to managers of men's teams in southern and Midwestern states asking them to commit to games.[93]

As in the past, Wilson worked to craft a public image for his teams that would attract middle- and upper-class spectators. He designed advertisements that emphasized the "Elegant and Appropriate Costumes" of players and that touted the "Revival of the Ancient Greek and Roman Open-air Gymnastics for Ladies." He claimed that the "open-air exercises" they promoted were "indorsed by the Press, Pulpit and leading Medical Faculty of the country" and insisted that their "entertainment is first class in every particular, moral in every sense, and free from any objectionable feature, and can be visited with propriety by any one, even the most refined and fastidious."[94] He had yellow handbills containing the same message printed and distributed at games and in cities where he hoped to schedule games. The *New York Tribune* noted that this practice "threw a classical air" over exhibitions.[95]

Though Wilson had only slightly more success than he had had in 1879 convincing middle- and upper-class men and women to attend his games, he did still attract large numbers of spectators—including many women. Several thousand individuals attended the games at Merritt Grounds in Camden, New Jersey on August 28th and at Jumbo Park in Philadelphia on the 29th. There were nearly 1,000 women at the latter game—almost a third of the audience.[96] When Wilson took his teams on a quick out-and-back to Atlantic City on September 2d, they drew another 3,000 spectators[97] The women played another series of games in Camden and West Philadelphia between September 3rd and 5th and then ventured out on a short trip to Chester, Pennsylvania and Baltimore, Maryland. Half of the eight hundred spectators in Chester were women, some of whom brought their infant children with them. Almost 4,000 men and women

paid their quarters to watch the newly-styled "Belles of the Bat" and "Queens of the Emerald Diamond" play at the Oriole Ball Ground on September 8th.[98]

Though Wilson's new troupe did not outdraw men's major league teams as his 1879 troupe had done, it did attract approximately twenty thousand more spectators than the 1879 teams. Approximately 37,000 spectators turned out for the twenty-one games of the Young Ladies' Base Ball Club for which attendance figures are available in 1883. The average of 1,762 per game exceeds by 262 the average number of spectators who had attended women's professional games in 1879. If the 1883 average holds true for the sixteen games for which no attendance figures are available, that means that approximately 65,200 spectators in eleven states saw Wilson's female baseball troupe play its thirty-one games in 1883. The 1879 teams had drawn approximately 42,000 spectators for 28 games.[99]

Richter followed the progress of Wilson's female baseball troupe throughout the 1883 season and occasionally published his comments. On September 10th he reported on the "comical playing" of the players. Two weeks later, no doubt disturbed by the fact that the women had attracted over 10,000 spectators to their games in just over a month, he printed his strongest attack to date on the "miserable burlesque of the National game" perpetrated by Wilson's troupe. "These women cannot play a little bit," Richter emphasized. They "depend upon the vulgar curiosity of the mob to draw. The spectacle of eighteen faded, awkward women, in their ungraceful garments, is a positive disgrace and should be frowned upon by all lovers of the game." Three pages later, in the same issue, Richter insisted that the teams, which were trying to arrange games in Cincinnati, were unwelcome there. "This miserable aggregation should disband and the members thereof go back to their original avocations," he wrote.[100]

Francis Richter wanted professional women's baseball teams to fail; he considered them an embarrassing sideshow that was hurting the reputation of his beloved national game. He must have been supremely disappointed when a huge crowd of 4,000-5,000 Cincinnatians turned out to see the women play on November 11th despite his insistence in late September that they were not welcome there. Richter was pleased when Wilson and his partners inexplicitly changed their route after the Cincinnati game to head west instead of south to New Orleans as they had planned.[101] The change proved financially disastrous. Bad weather and brutally negative press in St. Louis drastically curtailed crowd sizes and, by the end of the month, railroads and hotels were seizing the troupe's property for debts. By early December, individual players were seeking public charity to get back to Philadelphia. Richter was delighted, predicting in mid-December: "This settles female base ball clubs for good."[102]

Richter came to loathe Sylvester Wilson both for the financial threat Wilson's teams posed to men's professional baseball, but also for reinforcing middle-class criticisms that professional baseball (men's and women's) was immoral at its core. It is clear from his coverage of non-professional female baseball players that Richter was not only opposed to professional female teams but that he did not believe that women could be legitimate baseball players at all. In 1892, for example, Richter reprinted a lengthy article from the *Boston Globe* about a baseball game played by upper class women against young men at a resort in Sconset (Siasconset), Massachusetts. The article was written by a "girl" who wrote an account detailing the silly antics and muffin play of the participants. Richter prefaced the article with the comment that the game represented "[n]ot such a game as the sporadic traveling female base ball combinations play for filthy lucre, but a real ladies' game."[103] Clearly the game was not "real" in any sense—players used a tennis ball, sat on bases, allowed some batters ten strikes and as many balls. By

calling it a "real ladies' game" Richter was diminishing the accomplishments of truly talented girls and women who played baseball on school and college, civic and pick-up teams around the country. Even when Richter came across the highly talented Lizzie Arlington in 1898, the best Richter could allow was: "For a woman she did nicely."[104] Because he operated a periodical that had tens of thousands of readers, Richter's spin on women's baseball likely swayed some opinions about female baseball players—it undoubtedly reinforced even more.

Wilson quickly disproved Richter's assumption that female baseball was "settled for good." Confidence and bravado are the hallmarks of any truly gifted scam artist and huckster and Wilson had both in spades. Within a week of Richter's pronouncement on the demise of women's professional baseball, Wilson (still using the alias, H.H. Freeman) was in New Orleans trying to organize another team.[105] Initially unsuccessful, he headed north, casting about for a lucrative theatrical gig. On January 24th, Richter wrote that Wilson and his partner had put on a "snide entertainment" in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania and, by early April, the pair was in Buffalo, advertising for players to join "The One and Only Young Ladies' Baseball Club."[106] The advertisement specified that applicants had to be "young, good looking, active and of good form." They were to send photographs "and all particulars, age, height, color of hair and eyes" to "Freeman and Phillips."[107] With the plight of the 1883 team still fresh in their minds, numerous newspaper editors responded with anger that Wilson was trying to resurrect the traveling women's baseball teams. The *Cleveland Herald* wondered why the Buffalo police were not intervening. The *Quincy Daily Journal* urged that the "female base ball nuisance" be "suppressed."[108]

Wilson and Phillips had apparently been working behind-the-scenes with a new partner, Edward E. Everett, to gather players even before their advertisements appeared in newspapers in

Buffalo and Philadelphia because, on April 5th, teams of women called the "Blondes" and "Brunettes" played a game in Manayunk, Pennsylvania—scene of the game in 1878 between male and female factory workers.[109] Four days later, Richter lamented, "Not satisfied with last year's experience, the female base ball nines will again be in the field this year."[110] The game in Manayunk proved something of an aberration; Wilson, Phillips, and Everett struggled to find enough women to sign on for a full season of touring. They had to cancel games scheduled in Richmond and Chester, Pennsylvania in late April—a large crowd had already gathered at the field in Chester before word spread that the troupe was a no-show. A similar scenario was repeated in Watervliet (West Troy), on May 9th when 1,000 spectators showed up at the gate before the local hotel proprietor received a telegram from Newburgh cancelling the troupe's accommodations.[111] Newburgh was 40 miles south of Kingston. Apparently deciding to forgo traveling the entire 237 miles north to Watervliet from their base in Philadelphia, Wilson had his teams play in Kingston on the 9th instead. Still short of players, the teams failed to keep an engagement in Poughkeepsie, just 19 miles southeast of Kingston, on the 12th. Ever the huckster, Wilson claimed in advertisements in Poughkeepsie papers that over 30,000 people had seen the teams play during their first week in Philadelphia. This was a complete fabrication; there is no mention of Wilson's teams playing in Philadelphia in early 1884, let alone drawing 30,000 spectators.[112] Instead of playing in Poughkeepsie, Wilson and his players boarded the steamer *Miller* for a trip down the Hudson River to New York City. Newspapers predicted the teams would disband there. They were wrong.

Linking up with Emile Gargh, another theatrical entrepreneur, Wilson somehow organized multiple female baseball teams and sent them on the road in two troupes with Gargh, Phillips, and Everett. Both groups played on May 17th—one in Poughkeepsie for 300 spectators

and the other, 82 miles south in Newark, New Jersey for 400 spectators.[113] Everett proved to be as unscrupulous as Wilson—running off with his team's gate money ($92.40) after the Newark game. He justified his actions in a letter to Richter's *Sporting Life* by claiming that he only took what was owed to him and that he knew that Gargh had the financial means to get the players home.[114] Once again, female baseball players had to appeal to charity for transportation back to Philadelphia.[115] Richter learned that a number of the players stranded in Newark had been with Wilson's 1883 troupe. Observing that they had not "profited by experience," he added: "Females cannot play base ball even a little bit, and all attempts to organize and run such clubs must end in disaster and disgrace. Let us hear no more of female base ball clubs. The public want none of it."[116] Perhaps hoping to deter other aspiring professional female base ball performers, Richter reported that the players had not been paid in over a week and were penniless.

As the summer baseball season got into full swing, Wilson tried to arrange another western tour. He contacted managers in Auburn and Oswego, New York and in Atchison, Kansas in early June.[117] The *Atchison Globe* reported on 9 June that the "Female Mastodon Base Ball Club of Philadelphia" would play the local Delmonicos sometime in July.[118] The 1884 season of the Young Ladies' Base Ball Club was rocky throughout. Managers struggled to keep eighteen players on their rosters and never raised sufficient capital for the western tour. Six weeks after Everett abandoned his players in Newark, Emile Gargh could muster only fourteen players for an exhibition on July 4th at the Oriole's ball grounds in Baltimore. The 500-600 men and boys who turned out for the game were a far cry from the nearly four thousand who had shown up the previous September; receipts were not nearly enough to pay expenses. When the teams staged a follow-up game the next day at Baltimore's Monumental Park, only 32 spectators

turned out. Rather than deal with the creditors, Gargh simply abandoned the penniless players. Once again, players found themselves appealing to a mayor and local charities for money to get home.[119]

After a number of disappointing forays into New Jersey and Maryland, Wilson decided to play a series of games in and around Philadelphia. Audience turnout was low and interest in Wilson's female baseball troupe waned throughout the summer. Newspaper reports were sparse until September when the *St. Paul Daily Globe* printed a much delayed account of the Baltimore fiasco. Calling female baseball players the "crude fruit" on the baseball tree, the *Globe* reprinted a scathing editorial from an unnamed paper excoriating female baseball as a "public nuisance."[120] A new flurry of articles accompanied Wilson and his players as they set out on another road trip beginning 78 miles northwest of Philadelphia in Lebanon, Pennsylvania on 9 October. Originally billed as an exhibition between two female teams, Wilson fielded a single nine against a local men's team.[121] The troupe drew a respectable crowd of 400 but its fortunes took a quick downturn in Allentown and Easton, Pennsylvania where it earned only $10 and $5 in gate receipts respectively on the 13th and 14th. Wilson found himself lacking funds to pay for meals and lodging and, once again, women baseball players found themselves beholden to sympathetic citizens to get them home. Wilson pawned his watch and a group of railroad employees collected enough money to feed the players and send them home.[122] This "boom and bust" pattern was a hallmark of professional female baseball well into the 1890s.

Undaunted as always, Wilson pressed on with plans to take his "Great and Only Young Ladies Base Ball Association of Philadelphia" on a southern tour to New Orleans. He had informed his wife the month before that he was leaving her for good. As his distraught and penniless wife packed up her belongings and took their 8-year-old son to live with her sister in

September 1884, Wilson began contacting baseball team managers in numerous cities along the planned route to New Orleans. He booked a game in Mountain City, Maryland for 23 October and arranged two games in Washington D.C. on the 25th and 26th.[123] Two weeks later, the *Wilson (North Carolina) Advance* reported that the Wilson's team had played a men's team from Henderson at the Weldon Fair on 12 November. The reporter lauded the Fair organizers for keeping gamblers off the grounds that year but decried the "shameful scene" and "indecency" of the baseball game. He was relieved that "no Southern women have yet descended to such depths."[124] Wilson was undeterred by the initially poor reception in the South, taking his teams back to New Orleans several years running.

As the team headed south, newspapers announced two games for Augusta, Georgia on November 19th and 20th, two games for Atlanta on November 29th and December 1st, a game in Americus, Georgia on December 15th, and another in Albany for the 17th. It is uncertain whether any of these games was played but numerous publications, including Richter's *Sporting Life*, carried reports of the female players being ejected from the Artesian Hotel in Albany after the proprietor learned what sort of troupe the 15- to 19-year-old girls comprised.[125] Wilson and his players arrived in New Orleans on the 19th and scheduled a series of games with the Bachs for Christmas week. They made a brief foray, 186 miles north to Jackson, Mississippi for a game with the Mutual Base Ball Club on the 23rd, returning home to rainy weather that forced cancellation of their Christmas games.[126]

Richter had been relatively quiet about Wilson's embarrassing affronts to the national pastime for most of the 1884 season. He had commented on the troupe's stranding in Easton, and followed up with a report about how it had "disgusted audiences" in Washington D.C. By late November, however, Richter redoubled his efforts to discredit professional women's

baseball by exposing Wilson for the criminal he was. On 26 November, Richter informed his readers that he had received a postcard "over the signature of that notorious deadbeat and swindler, H.H. Freeman, manager of the Female Base Ball Club, now beating their way to New Orleans." The postcard contained a "lying and scurrilous" attack on Richter and his paper. Addressing Wilson by his real name, Richter warned the "ticket scalper" that if he returned to Philadelphia he would charge him with criminal libel and have him returned to Moyamensing prison."[127] On Christmas Eve 1884, Richter took the "scamp Freeman" to task for nauseating the public with the spectacle of his "tramps" playing baseball. He reported that Wilson had taken his troupe to New Orleans in order to exploit the huge crowds expected to turn out for the World's Industrial & Cotton Centennial Exposition [128]

The pot of gold Wilson hoped to find in New Orleans never materialized. The *Daily Picayune* noted in early January that the players were "drawing fairly at the Sportsmen's Park" but that two of the nine players had quit.[129] By the middle of January, Wilson was in a battle for players with a rival named P.S. Tunnison. Tunnison stole five of Wilson's players and put them in the field with four local amateurs for a game at Sportsmen's Park on Sunday, January 11th. He called the troupe, Tunnison's Texas tour team, and began planning exhibitions in Texas.[130] As the number of professional female baseball teams increased in the late 1880s and 1890s, competition between managers for players and spectators became ever more heated. Unlike the magnates of professional men's teams, managers of female teams never banded together into leagues to manage competition.[131] Meanwhile, Wilson assured the *Daily Picayune* that he had retained the best four players and that more were on their way from Philadelphia to fill out the roster. Two weeks later the *New York Clipper* reported that Wilson was planning to take his team to Havana.[132] The trip to Cuba never panned out. Instead, Wilson tried to organize a major

western tour that would take his team to San Francisco. When his abandoned wife contacted him by letter in New Orleans asking him how she was supposed to support herself and their son, he responded that he was heading for San Francisco and that she would never see him again. He advised her to do what other women in her situation do—go out and find another woman's husband.[133] Wilson's depravity knew no bounds.

By late March, Wilson had abandoned his plan for a trip to California, instead informing the *New York Clipper* that his reorganized troupe would play in Florida, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisville, and Cincinnati.[134] As with most of his other schemes, plan and reality bore little resemblance; this trip was fraught with endless financial problems and difficulties for the players. The young women played a series of games at the New Orleans Base Ball Park in mid-April before heading out as the newly-christened, "Philadelphia Young Ladies' Base Ball Club," to Donaldsonville and Baton Rouge on April 19th.[135] The *Galveston Daily News* announced a series of scheduled games for late April and early May in Palestine, Austin, Houston, and San Antonio but none of these games seem to have been played.[136] Instead, Wilson and his team showed up just over the Texas border in Texarkana, Arkansas on May 2nd and played against a local men's nine the following day. The *Daily Arkansas Gazette* reported that "a number of worthless male partners accompany the beauties" and it advised persons "of any respectability" to steer clear of the party.[137] Two weeks later, having learned that Wilson's team had collapsed again in Little Rock, Richter pointed out that Wilson's perseverance was "worthy of a better cause" and that if he would put the same energy into an honest calling he would be well-to-do.[138] The *New York Clipper* reported that the team had disbanded in Hot Springs but that Wilson was already planning to reorganize it in Cincinnati on June 1st.[139] As he headed north with two of his most loyal (and talented) players, Pearl Emerson and May

Lawrence, who shared pitching and catching duties, Wilson arranged for them to form the battery for a male amateur team in Memphis on May 15th for a game against other amateurs. Richter claimed that "a more disgusted audience could not be found anywhere."[140]

Despite the shaky start to the 1885 season, Wilson refused to throw in the towel. Even before arriving back in Cincinnati to reorganize his troupe, he began contacting men's teams in Kentucky, Michigan, and Wisconsin to arrange games for June and July. In late May, the *Kalamazoo Gazette* urged city boosters to book the female baseball players (or a balloon ascension or some other "scheme") for the Fourth of July so that local citizens would not travel to Grand Rapids and spend their money on that city's festivities. Newspapers in Oshkosh and Janesville, Wisconsin reported in late May and early June that the female teams might visit their cities, while the Maysville, Kentucky *Evening Bulletin* informed disappointed spectators that the female team had been detained in nearby Portsmouth and would not play as scheduled on May 30th.[141]

It took Wilson almost a month to reorganize his baseball troupe, but he apparently obtained some significant funding because he was able to launch his new teams on an impressive tour that covered over 3,000 miles in three months with stops and planned stops in over fifty cities in ten states—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, and Missouri.[142] Shortly after departing Cincinnati, the team stopped in Kokomo, Indiana where they played a game and were measured for "new suits." Descriptions of the players' uniforms varied, depending on the point editors hoped to make. The *Kalamazoo Gazette* reported that the players wore "exceedingly short skirts and phenomenally long stockings" while the *Wisconsin State Journal* was enamored with their "shoes of every variety, from the neat-fitting button boot to the most dilapidated run-down-at-the-heel slipper." It was

also captivated by the first basewoman's "diamond ear-drops" and "almost buttonless shoes." The *Eau Claire Daily Free Press* gave the most complete description, noting that the players wore "short knee skirts of striped red and black material, black and red stockings, small baseball shoes or light slippers, black jerseys and little red caps."[143]

At some point in the season, Wilson had enough money to hire a private rail car to transport his large troupe which consisted of twenty-four women, nine of whom played baseball. The other women comprised the "Imperial Cadets" (a.k.a. "Amazonian Cadets") and gave military drill exhibitions after ball games beginning in September.[144] Two, and possibly four, of the women on the 1885 team had played on Wilson's 1884 teams.[145] One of the new players, Elsie James, joined the team in Indianapolis in late June; her season almost ended as soon as it began. Her father, a well-to-do citizen of that city, was furious about her decision and tried to head her off at the team's game in Fort Wayne in early July. James caught wind of his intentions and fled to Chicago where she laid low until she could rejoin the troupe. She was still with the team in mid-August for games in Wisconsin.[146] An enterprising reporter from the *Omaha Bee* had the opportunity to visit the troupe at its railcar; he was impressed with the railcar's accommodations which included separate eating, sleeping, and exercise areas.[147] According to the reporter, most of the players were from Chicago. Some were married and their husbands occasionally visited them as they traveled.

The fact that Wilson was able to procure a private railroad car for his players reflects on his talents as a theatrical man and logistician. It was no small feat (and certainly not inexpensive) to transport the people and equipment needed to operate any sort of entertainment company. The fact that Wilson also had the foresight to add a military drill team to his operation indicates that he was a showman at heart who genuinely wanted to entertain audiences. Now

into his fourth season as a manager of female baseball nines, Wilson added a new twist to his baseball show—he had women's teams play men's teams rather than each other. Not only did the audiences enjoy the added sense of competition a "battle of the sexes" brought, but playing men's teams had the added benefit of reducing the number of women Wilson had to find who were willing to stick with the baseball troupe for months on end. It also gave him the flexibility to occasionally split his teams into two troupes when advance men scheduled two games in one day.[148] The idea of competition invariably went out the window almost as soon as the first pitch was thrown, however, when the audience and male players realized that the women were entertainers, not skilled baseball players. Many of the spectators lowered their expectations and settled in to enjoy the baseball burlesque performances, but others expressed outrage at the deception and demanded their money back.

The women on Wilson's 1885 troupe experienced the same exuberant highs and embarrassing lows that characterized other seasons. Things began on a high note. Attendance in Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan numbered in the hundreds for games in July and early August. As the troupe moved on to Wisconsin and Minnesota it began drawing its best crowds of the season. One of the largest assemblages ever seen at Milwaukee's League Base Ball Park on a weekday—2,800 persons—saw the women play on August 15th and another large group turned out the next day for a second game against a different team.[149] Large and "immense" crowds filed into the team's canvas enclosure at fairgrounds in Oshkosh, Waukesha, and Madison, Wisconsin the following week. The game in Waukesha was staged at the annual military encampment of veterans of the 1st Wisconsin Regiment. Almost the entire regiment, 500-600 strong, turned out for the game. On August 28th, Wilson's players entertained the biggest crowd that had ever played on the ball grounds in Eau Claire.[150]

On August 29th, the troupe crossed into Minnesota where either 3,000-4,000 men or 700 men and 8 women (depending which newspaper article got its facts straight) watched them play "a scrub team of homely Minnesota boys" on the grounds at the corner of Nicollet Avenue and Lake Street in Minneapolis.[151] On Sunday, August 30th, Wilson took his team 24 miles northeast of Minneapolis to Stillwater where cold, wet weather had forced cancellation of many planned events during the first three days of the Washington County Fair. On the fourth and final day of the fair, Wilson's team attracted an impressive crowd of 1,200 to 1,300 men, women, and children. A reporter for the *St. Paul Daily Globe* observed that the entire police force, minus its chief, had turned out to keep order but that the crowd was well behaved. The team cleared a respectable $300 for the event. Wilson had apparently not yet acquired the special railroad car employed later in the season; instead the team stayed at the Sawyer hotel where the players spent part of the next day at the windows flirting with male passersby.[152] The team's good fortunes continued in nearby St. Paul where they drew 1,500 fans, including "quite a number of ladies" to the old ball grounds for a match against a picked nine of men. The day was marred by some violence as five or six policemen tried in vain to hold back the crowd of men who tore down the team's canvas fence as it was being erected around the diamond. The atmosphere remained uncomfortable; all of the women in attendance left after only one inning, and Wilson called the end of play after just four innings.[153]

Wilson's team had mixed success after leaving Minnesota and, apart from a successful showing in the Nebraska state capitol on 23 October where the baseball team defeated a "scrub nine of boys" in front of an "immense crowd of statesmen and others," the 1885 troupe never again matched the financial success it had enjoyed in Wisconsin and Minnesota.[154] Perhaps emboldened by their proximity to so many legislators and legal authorities, the women in

Wilson's troupe chose their visit to Lincoln as the place to try to force Wilson to pay them the $200 he owed in back salaries. They had local law enforcement seize the troupe's equipment and a share of the previous day's gate receipts until he paid them.[155] Newspapers do not specify which players took this legal action but it is logical to assume that it was the older players—possibly the married players. Wilson seemed able to keep the young teenagers under his thumb (and in his bed) but older players were more savvy and able to force him to honor his financial agreements with him.

Wilson somehow managed to scrape together enough money to settle the players' claims and the troupe continued its travels, playing games in St. Joseph, Missouri on the 29th and in Severance and Atchison, Kansas on the 30th. Wilson split his team for the games in Severance and Atchison and augmented them with young men dressed in female clothes—a fact not lost on a reporter for the *Atchison Daily Globe* who commented that a number of the players on the female team looked like they needed a shave.[156] By the time Wilson's two baseball teams reunited in Kansas City on November 1st, its fate was sealed. Though Wilson confidently announced games for November and December (including a trip to Havana and a tour of Texas), it was clear that the troupe was in trouble. On November 2nd, Wilson had his assistant, Charles Sporr (or Spoor), and advance agent, Jules Lyons, arrested, claiming they had stolen the $125 gate money from the game in Leavenworth and that they had been trying to lure his players away to form another group. Sporr claimed that the money was rightfully theirs for back salary and notified the press that H.H. Freeman was really the notorious ticket scalper from Philadelphia, Sylvester Wilson.[157] The legal battle between Wilson and Sporr divided the women in the troupe, twelve of whom marched up Main Street in formation, and made a neat flanking movement into the courtroom, to give their testimony on the matter. Some supported Sporr and

others supported Wilson. The judge sided with the former and released Sporr with no punishment.[158]

Wilson and Sporr went their separate ways, each taking some of the players. His team in a shambles once again, Wilson tried to arrange some games in and around Kansas City to obtain enough funds to resume travels. He placed ads announcing games against a team in the Commercial League at Kansas City's League Park for November 8th and 9th and against the "fat men's base ball nine" of Independence, Missouri, for the following week.[159] On November 11th, apparently unaware of the team's situation, Francis Richter informed his readers that "the female base ball club is ravaging Nebraska."[160] At some point, Wilson received an infusion of cash. Newspapers in Charleston, South Carolina and Sherman, Texas reported that a female baseball team had played local men's teams on November 21st and December 25th and a newspaper in Nebraska reported that they had played in Denison, Texas on the 26th. Anxious to make up for lost revenue, Wilson increased ticket prices in Charleston to 50 cents each, but 1,700 individuals still paid the entry fee for the privilege of watching the women play. Another 7,000 sat on nearby house tops, telegraph poles, and fences, much to Wilson's chagrin.[161] Richter, finally appraised of the team's collapse in Kansas City, belatedly reported the fact on December 30th and implored "manager Freeman, alias Sylvester" to "return to his devoted wife and child in this city."[162] Wilson had no intention of doing any such thing. Instead, he added a female military drill company to his entourage and launched them on a major tour of Texas.

On New Year's Day 1886, Wilson and his players traveled 72 miles south of Denison for a game in Dallas. They followed that up with games in Waxahachie and Waco and Lampasas.[163] On January 20th, Richter, who had informed readers a month earlier that Wilson's baseball team was "ravaging" Nebraska, now informed them that the team was "ravaging" Texas. He added

that Texans probably welcomed its recent blizzard with the hope that it had "stiffened those female base ball cranks."[164] The *Oswego Daily Times* was more sympathetic, observing that the players were "forced to suffer continual abuse from the rougher element" who were attending their games.[165] On January 27th, Wilson and his troupe arrived in San Antonio for a five-night engagement at the Fashion Theater where they headlined with M. Bertrand, "the champion trick skater of the southwest," and several other song and dance acts.

After wrapping up their engagement in San Antonio, Wilson and his troupe headed east for games in Seguin, Houston, Brenham, and Galveston. They drew a large crowd of 1,200 in Galveston on February 28th before disappearing from the historical record for almost two months.[166] In April, the *New Orleans Daily Picayune* reported that Wilson's teams were playing again but that four of its best players had left the troupe. Player turnover was a continual challenge for Wilson and other managers of female barnstorming teams. Wilson set up shop in New Orleans to rebuild his teams. As he contacted baseball managers in various cities and sent out his advance men to arrange more games, newspapers around the country began to pick up the story. In mid-March, a Georgia paper warned that the country would be "threatened with two or three female base ball clubs" that season and, on April 24th, Tucson's *Arizona Weekly Citizen*, reported that Mark Lully, a former resident, was working as the advance man for the Young Ladies' Base Ball Club and was making plans for them to play in there in the near future.[167]

Wilson's engagement in New Orleans got off to an inauspicious start when, during his team's first game at Spanish Fort, a young man ran out of the crowd, grabbed the third basewoman by the back of her neck, and dragged her off the field yelling that she was his sister and he was taking her home. Francis Richter was just one of dozens of editors who reported the story in their publications over the next seven months.[168] The startling incident was just a

precursor of what was to come. On May 4th, New Orleans police received a request from their counterparts in Cincinnati to detain two of Wilson's players, Ella Burke and Fannie Crambert, because they were runaways. Wilson had provided the girls with train tickets from his base in New Orleans. Ticket broker Martin Mercer later testified that he had lent Wilson the money for the tickets and that Wilson had beat him up when he had second thoughts about how the money was being used. As the negative press about Wilson and his operation mounted, Wilson began taking to the stump in Beach Park to make loud rants about "lying and blackmailing newspapers" to anyone who would listen.[169] The brash offensive was Wilson's *modus operandi* whenever he felt threatened.

As legal authorities dug further into Wilson's background and that of the twenty girls working for him, they recognized Wilson for the predator he was. Most of his players were minors. The court case provided details on some of Wilson's players. Investigators discovered that five of the girls were from Chicago, one was from New York City, one hailed from Detroit, two were from Philadelphia, two were from Cincinnati, and at least two, Lizzie Clifford, and Florence Harris, were from New Orleans. Harris's father was a deaf mute who was upset when he learned that she had joined the base ball club. He intended to pull her off the team but, after Wilson cajoled him, he agreed to let her drill with the military company. Two of the players, Pearl Emerson and May Lawrence, had been with Wilson all three seasons. All of the players had suffered many privations under Wilson. Davey released the older players but sent the minors to the House of the Good Shepherd until their parents or guardians could collect them. He bound Wilson over for arraignment the next day on charges of vagrancy and being "a dangerous and suspicious character."[170]

Never one to miss an opportunity to fulminate for the press and legal authorities, Wilson pled his cause loudly in the courtroom. Davey was not swayed by Wilson's portrayal of his high moral character and innocent intentions, nor was he moved by the copious tears shed by five of Wilson's players who attended his hearing to support him. Davey ordered Wilson to pay a fine of $25 or serve 30 days in jail. Unable to pay the fine, Wilson was remanded to the local jail. He did not stay long. Within days, Wilson had obtained a reprieve from the mayor in exchange for his promise to leave the city by May 8th. He initially planned to head for Mobile, Alabama, but immediately began lobbying the mayor for more time so he could regroup his troupe for a trip to Pensacola. On May 14th, still in New Orleans, Wilson wrote the mayor asking him to provide armed protection for him and his troupe so they could depart without molestation from law enforcement. Judge Buisson, acting on the mayor's behalf, ordered the Chief of Police to escort Wilson and his players to the train station and make sure they got on board.[171]

Wilson got in trouble again almost immediately. Still angry about his perceived persecution in New Orleans, he began publicly slandering Judge Davey and New Orleans's law enforcement officials as soon as he arrived in Pensacola. He was arrested but managed to escape while out of jail on a writ of *habeas corpus*. Wilson headed north to Birmingham with the nine players who had stuck with him after the debacle in New Orleans. These young women were devoted to Wilson and trusted him when he promised that their fortunes would improve. This pattern of devotion continued with future players too, some of whom testified at Wilson's abduction trial in 1892 that they loved him and that he had always treated them like a father—(a father who routinely molested them!).[172] The players eventually had to petition Birmingham legal authorities to force Wilson to pay the three months back salary he owed them. Wilson was

arrested for the third time in a month—not only for failing to pay his players but also for failing to pay his lodging bill.

Wilson again fled prosecution, abandoning six of the players penniless in Birmingham. One of the players, a 15-year-old from Detroit, was taken in as a servant by a sympathetic family. Her mother eventually learned about her location from newspaper articles about Wilson's arrest and sent money to bring her daughter home.[173] For parents whose daughters fell prey to Wilson's silver-tongued promises of riches and ran away with him to seek their fortunes, national publications offered one of the few avenues they had for tracking down their daughters. Fortunately for them, editors like Francis Richter kept close tabs on Wilson. On May 26th, O.P. Caylor, one of Richter's regular correspondents from Cincinnati provided an update on Wilson, reminding readers that he had once been run out of Cincinnati for inciting anarchy and that he had abandoned his wife and children in Camden. He concluded: "The penitentiary will never be a success till all such as he are pulled into it."[174]

For the remainder of the year, Wilson and Lally had competing teams on the road; Wilson, at one point, had only a pitcher and catcher who he hired out to pitch for men's teams as trio headed north. As fall turned to winter, Wilson finally abandoned female baseball and headed for Kansas City, where he took a break from the baseball business for several years to run a newspaper scam. Others filled the void while he was gone.

In January 1886, Victor E.M. Gutmann, a man described by one newspaper as a "champion dead beat" who traveled the county fair circuit in the mid-1880s scamming audiences who paid to see his (fake) "half lady," organized the Blue Stockings of Frisco and the Red Stockings of Chicago female baseball teams.[175] The teams debuted in public on Sunday, February 14th, attracting several thousand spectators in San Francisco's Central Park; a week

later they drew approximately 1,200 spectators to Sacramento's Agricultural Park.[176] The *Sacramento Daily Record-Union* noted that many of the spectators were prosperous doctors, businessmen, and lawyers who left during the first inning when they realized what type of show they had paid to see.[177] As he watched embarrassed spectators streaming out of the park during the game in Sacramento, Gutmann must have realized that he was not going to be able to make enough money to pay the salaries and expenses of his female baseball troupe on a regular basis. He abandoned the enterprise and went on to his next "nefarious catch-penny scheme."

It is possible that Gutmann headed south to try to recreate his initial success in San Francisco. In August 1888, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that a man named "E. Gaudin" had recently arrived from San Francisco and announced that he was going to organize a female baseball nine to compete against a nine already organized by Sam Devilbiss. Sylvester Wilson frequently employed aliases when organizing his female baseball teams and it is possible that E. Gaudin was really E.M. Gutmann. The *Times* did not make that connection, but was intent on warning its middle- and upper-class readers about the true nature of Gaudin's and Devilbiss's teams. It reported that many of the players had recently been employed as "beer-jerkers" at the White Elephant saloon and warned that the types of "macs, prostitutes, disreputables and cut-throats" who would attend female baseball games would make the usual crowd at a prize-fight seem to be a Sunday-school picnic.[178] Apparently, the bad press was enough to deter Gaudin and Devilbiss from attempting to rent a venue for their proposed exhibitions; there is no evidence their teams ever played.

On July 4, 1887, professional mesmerist "Professor" E. G. Johnson, staged a baseball game between the "Queens of the Diamond" and "The Climax" (a team of boys aged 10-18) at the South Side baseball grounds. Johnson, who had impressed 200 students and faculty at

Chicago's Rush Medical College four years earlier with a demonstration of his talents, had organized the teams specifically for the event, which he hoped would prove profitable. Jokingly advertised as a demonstration of women's rights, the game drew 5,000 of the 30,000 Chicagoans who celebrated the Fourth of July at special events throughout the city. Not everyone was pleased with the spectacle. Many were put off by the brevity of the skirt of the red-white-and-blue uniform worn by the female players which, according to one reporter "was not long enough to be on speaking terms with [their] knees."[179] Scores of disgusted spectators had left by the third inning; another thousand departed during the second inning when a fight that had begun in the stands spilled outside the park onto Portland Avenue.

Guttman and Johnson were cut from much the same cloth as Wilson. It is not surprising that Wilson's notoriety in the national press would motivate others of his proclivities to try to profit from female baseball. The future of professional female baseball teams would likely have been different if early managers had been upstanding citizens who established professional female baseball on a firm moral and financial footing. But for many of these men female baseball teams were just a short-term means to the short-term end of making a quick buck. Most of them quickly turned to other money-making schemes; Wilson, however, returned again and again to female baseball. The money was sporadic, but his access to young girls more than made up for it in his twisted mind.

After spending two-and-a-half years running scams out of Kansas City, Sylvester Wilson decided to return to female baseball. Employing a new alias—W.S. Franklin—Wilson moved to Chicago in May 1889 and began advertising for players to form two female baseball teams for the 1889 season. Using his favorite Classical trope, he placed an advertisement in the *Sporting and Club House Directory*—a publication that prided itself on guiding subscribers to the best

whorehouses and gambling dens in the city: "Young Ladies Base Ball Club and Revival of the Ancient Grecian-Roman Open-Air Pastimes for Women. Wanted, at all times, young and handsome girls who can play ball. Liberal salary and all expenses to the right people."[180] By June, Wilson was instructing amateur and youth baseball teams to contact him at the Cosmopolitan Hotel on Clark Street to schedule games with his "ladies" club. On the 21st, he announced three games at three different venues in Chicago for the 29th, 30th, and July 1st.[181] The day before their Chicago debut, Wilson took his new female team 36 miles northwest to Elgin where they lost to the Elgins, 14-11.

Local papers do not seem to have reported on the women's early games in Chicago but, by July 3rd, Francis Richter had discovered that Wilson was back in the baseball business and he was not pleased. "Chicago is about to inflict another female base ball team upon a long-suffering public," he wrote. "Female teams have been sent tramping over the country before, but all efforts to make these ventures pay proved a merited failure, and the same fate will surely await the present contemplated venture, so why degrade these women and disgrace the game anew?" Richter concluded with the same theme he had espoused after Wilson's 1886 team went belly up: "Women can have no place in professional base ball, save as spectator and patron." Two weeks later, the editor of Chicago's *Daily Inter Ocean*, who had been dutifully printing Wilson's notices in his paper, echoed Richter's tone when he asserted: "The female base-ball club should be suppressed."[182]

Ignoring his critics as he had so many times in the past, Wilson left Chicago with his team for a lengthy tour of Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Canada, and New York between July and mid-September. After a game in Detroit on August 18th, the troupe crossed over into Canada, where they played a series of games as they headed east toward a game scheduled in Buffalo on

September 7th. During this period, the troupe traveled over 2,000 miles attracted crowds ranging in size from a few hundred to almost 5,000 in Cleveland, Ohio.[183] Discounting Wilson's exaggerated claims that 6,000 and 8,000 fans had witnessed games at Maroon Park in Chicago on June 30th and July 4th, there is no question that the 1889 female baseball team was routinely drawing large crowds.[184] After re-entering the United States, the team remained in New York for two weeks playing games in and around the Finger Lakes region.[185] Many of the spectators in New York were women—including half of the audience of 800 who attended the game in Oswego on September 9th. After a successful run in New York, Wilson headed for Pittsburg, hoping to take advantage of the crowds gathering in the area for an exposition. Two days after his team's arrival, Barnum's Circus drew 15,000 customers to performances in Allegheny on the 23rd and 24th. Wilson must have been salivating at the possibilities for his club.

Wilson never stopped recruiting players. While the team played games in Pittsburg and Allegheny on the 21st and 23rd, he placed ads in local papers seeking twenty young women, aged 16 to 20, to join his "show company." The *Pittsburg Dispatch* reported that twelve aspiring actresses had visited Wilson (W.S. Franklin) at the Hotel Crescent, thinking he was promoting a theatrical company. In reality, he was trying to organize a second team. The *Dispatch's* coverage of Wilson's attempts to secure more players provides useful insights into his overall strategy. He freely informed the reporter that he always paid attention to how applicants looked because he wanted them to make a "good appearance" on the field. He did not want girls who were too skinny or too fat. He acknowledged that some of the players had theatrical backgrounds but stated that players came from all stations of life and backgrounds. Some still lived with their parents while others had held jobs outside the home. Most of the applicants had never played baseball but, occasionally, he found some with a lot of experience. He claimed it

was not difficult to teach the rest how to play.[186] (Wilson had no intention of fielding a highly skilled team. His idea of teaching the rest "how to play" meant ensuring they understood the basic rules of the game, where to stand on the field, how to bat and run bases. This, indeed, was not difficult to do, but it certainly did not prepare the players to live up to the billing he gave them as superior players.)

The stop in Pittsburg marked the beginning of a new phase in the 1889 season. Having learned from past mistakes about trying to prolong a season into late Fall in northern climes, Wilson charted a route that headed east across Pennsylvania, and then south through Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee to Atlanta, Georgia between early September and late November. One of the most unusual games of the season took place in Williamsport, Pennsylvania on September 27th when the women played an exhibition game with a picked nine of "gentlemen of color."[187] This is the first and only time that a nineteenth-century women's professional baseball team is known to have played a black men's team.[188]

In late October, the *San Antonio Daily Light* reported that Wilson had been planning to bring his team to town for a series of six games in early December but that he had rescheduled the visit to November 5th to the 15th to synch their visit with the International Fair. The *Silver City (New Mexico) Enterprise* reported that the women would play there on December 19th.[189] Clearly, Wilson intended to prolong the 1889 season indefinitely. Instead, Southern audiences continued to resist Wilson's brand of entertainment and his troupe came to another inglorious end in Atlanta on December 2d. As the team traveled south into Virginia and North Carolina they found it difficult to recoup their expenses. The *Shenandoah Herald* described the players' pre-game parade in Winchester as "demoralizing" and their conduct on the field as "disgusting." It noted that the exhibition the players gave "along the road" in Woodstock as they passed

through the town *en route* to Staunton was "just the kind that southern people don't care to witness."[190] Reviews were no better in North Carolina. The *Biblical Recorder*, the official organ of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina, described the female baseball team as an example of the "downward progress" of society. "Years ago no sane person in the South could have imagined such degradation possible," it lamented. Asserting that "female lecturers, female preachers, &c., have had their natural effect on the humbler classes of women in the South," it concluded: "The bottom is not yet reached."[191]

Gender and religious traditions were powerful forces in the post-bellum South and Wilson's troupe of scantily-clad female baseball players had little appeal to Southern audiences. The team canceled a game in Goldsboro, North Carolina on October 29th when they collected only $8 at the gate despite the fact that there were 400 men milling around the venue.[192] Recognizing that he was not going to be able to support the troupe if he continued further South, Wilson turned West, hoping that audiences in Tennessee would be more welcoming. They were. The team had a good turnout in Greeneville on November 5th and drew at least 200 to its game in Knoxville on the 6th.[193] After playing another game in Athens, Tennessee on November 7th, the troupe disappears from newspaper accounts until December 3rd when the *Atlanta Constitution* reported that the "Ladies' Champion Baseball Club is no more. It died a painful and unnatural death yesterday. The struggle was long—it lasted more than a week, but at last the club struck out, and to-day the members will hit the grit for other fields."[194] The paper reported that some of the players, including May and Emma Howard, were returning to Chicago to await the start of the 1890 season, but that others were heading to New Orleans or remaining in Atlanta to look for work. Wilson was not in Atlanta when his team collapsed. He was on the road with a second club billed as the Philadelphia Female Baseball Club. That club failed too. Undeterred

by defeat, Wilson would return again in the 1890s to organize still more female baseball teams. They would prove his downfall, but not before his depraved behaviors became national news—news that Francis Richter happily published.

CHAPTER 5 – THE 1890S: NEW WOMEN, BLOOMER GIRLS, AND THE OLD BALL GAME

> What are our American girls coming to? The next thing I suppose we shall be having 'lady' jockeys on our race tracks. 'Ladies' Baseball League,' indeed? In many other lines of business ladies are being introduced, and with the best of success, but surely the men are able to take care of this peculiar branch.
>
> —Anonymous Woman, *Sporting News* (20 Sep 1890)[1]

> The new woman is coming to the front in the most unexpected directions. Century runs by bloomer girls are as common as dirt, and female base ball, foot ball and tennis enthusiasts are found on every hand.
>
> —*St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (Oct 1896)[2]

The 1890s were watershed years for the final gendering of baseball as a man's game. Though the fault line separating "men's baseball" from "women's baseball" (and later softball) would not be specifically demarcated until 1929 when physical educator Gladys Palmer published *Baseball for Girls and Women* to standardize and promote an official "women's" version of the sport, it was during the 1890s that baseball's road not taken most clearly presented itself.[3] The decade afforded women a previously unparalleled opportunity to stake a decisive claim on the national pastime just as tens of thousands of female cyclists and smaller numbers of golfers, swimmers, tennis players, and other athletic women were doing in other sports.[4]

Baseball was more popular than ever in the 1890s. Unprecedented numbers of Americans of all social classes were embracing the game as a uniquely American, fun, and wholesome activity that had the ability to inculcate manliness in participants. As the final decade of the nineteenth century approached, the *Marquette Daily Mining Journal* observed: "Almost every class of persons has its representative base ball club in this country, demonstrating the great favor in which the game is held by Americans and its right to the distinction of being called the national game."[5] Newspapers in sprawling metropolises and tiny rural hamlets regularly carried stories about civic and collegiate teams as they faced off for local bragging rights. Baseball games were regular features at Sunday School picnics, county fairs,

and Independence Day celebrations. Baseball was no longer the national pastime in name only; more women than ever followed the fortunes of their local teams or tried their hand at playing themselves.

The context in which women played baseball in the 1890s differed from previous decades. Few living in the United States during the turbulent years preceding the dawn of the twentieth century were unaware of (or untouched by) the seismic shifts occurring in the nation's socio-cultural landscape. Many of the unsettling changes centered on gender roles and ideals. The anonymous woman who wrote to *Sporting News* in 1890 wondering, "What are our American girls coming to?" sensed that something had changed. The *St. Louis Globe Democrat* recognized that "new woman" was reshaping the cultural landscape.[6] "New Women" seemed to be everywhere. Clad in Bloomers, business attire, or the latest French fashions as circumstances warranted, and exuding confidence, robust health, and a progressive vision to solve social ills, talented, ambitious, athletic white, middle- and upper-class women redefined femininity, sweeping away ideals of frail, tightly-laced Victorian ladies as the model for "true womanhood" in America.[7] Unprecedented numbers of girls and women eagerly enrolled in high schools and colleges and countless women assumed leadership roles in colleges, governments, professions, and progressive reform organizations. By 1900, 20 percent of U.S. women were in the workforce and 40 percent of college students were women.[8]

Every generation has had its own version of the 1890s "New Women" (women unwilling to settle for less than they believe they can achieve and who refuse to conform to prevailing gender conventions), but the sheer number of women who embraced the waves of gender transformation sweeping over the country in the late nineteenth century caught the attention of social commentators and inspired the sobriquet, "New Woman." Joseph Dana Miller captured

the mood of the times in 1896: "Ignore it as we will, deplore it as we may, the status of woman in society is undergoing, by the action of irrepressible forces, an astonishing and formidable change" he wrote.[9] As cultural commentators like Miller described the phenomenon of the New Woman in print and speeches, graphic artist Charles Dana Gibson, gave her a face and a name—the Gibson Girl.[10]

Gibson's name became irrevocably associated with New Women, but it was Bernarr Macfadden who taught her that athleticism could be beautiful and that it was, in fact, a prerequisite for beauty. "[T]here can be no beauty without fine muscles," Macfadden counseled feminine readers of *Physical Culture*, his newly launched periodical on health and fitness.[11] Inspired by the example of British strongman Eugen Sandow, who wowed crowds at the World's Columbian Exhibition in 1893, Macfadden transformed himself into a muscular, healthy man and made it his life's work to teach men and women how to find happiness and beauty through physical fitness. Sandow and Macfadden were influential in transforming ideals about physical beauty—Macfadden in particular helped free women from the idea that "true" women were weak and helpless.[12]

Macfadden's success was made possible by a confluence of trends that had been building in the United States for over a decade. The growing influence of Social Darwinism was particularly important as it drove innumerable reform impulses, one of which was to improve the physical health of white, native-born, middle- and upper-class men and women on whom the future of American civilization ostensibly depended. The belief that physical health and vitality were prerequisites of social stability and financial success helped spur the professionalization of physical education and the development of "scientific" programs aimed at teaching everyone

how to live healthier lives. As educators at all levels began integrating physical education into their formal curricula, adults and children internalized new ideals about physicality.

It was not long before "new" women simply became "women" as new behaviors displaced traditional ideals. Commenting on the transformation in 1895, *Godey's Magazine* observed: "Ten years ago a woman who rode a bicycle, played golf or football, was supposed to be without the pale of decent society. Now the most modest women in the land amuse themselves in this way, and independence has got to be such a feature of the new woman that no one dreams of finding it unwomanly."[13] Social transformation is never a painless process because most people view change as a zero-sum proposition. One group's sense of progress and achievement is generally mirrored by another group's sense of loss and regression. For every New Woman who proudly enrolled in college, earned her credentials as a doctor or lawyer, wheeled freely about the countryside on her bicycle, or marked her ballot in school board and state elections, there were men and women watching with alarm—convinced that New Women were unraveling the fabric of society and threatening civilization itself.

Newspapers and periodicals were full of articles either lauding or condemning New Women. As concerns over "race suicide" multiplied, some blamed her desire to attend college for the fact that birthrates for white native-born women were plummeting while those of immigrant women soared. Herbert Spencer attributed the "deficiency of reproductive power" of upper-class women to "overtaxing of their brains."[14] Others pointed to the millions of women who entered the workforce instead of fulfilling their responsibility to stay home and direct well-ordered families. The fact that the rate of women entering the workforce during the 1890s exceeded the birthrate was cause for alarm for those who believed American civilization itself was at stake.[15] Occasionally, social commentators cited female baseball players as proof of the

ongoing transformation in gender roles and ideals. "We are going very fast," observed Charles Dudley Warner in a frequently reprinted article. Society has "ceased to be astonished at finding women in unexpected places." In fact, he concluded, it had been "more shocked some years ago by the appearance in the field of female baseball clubs than it would be now by the advent of female football teams."[16]

New Women and the Old Ball Game

Society had "ceased to be astonished" by female baseball teams in the 1890s not only because gender ideals were changing but because girls and women were organizing baseball teams in unprecedented numbers. There were scores of schoolgirl and adult female baseball teams in the 1890s in at least twenty-five states, including five (Arizona, South Carolina, Georgia, Wyoming, and Nebraska) that had never had homegrown teams previously.[17] Over forty professional teams barnstormed the country at various times during the decade playing in most of the states in the continental United States. Players came from all social classes and ranged from school age children to middle-aged matrons. Factory workers in Rockford, Illinois enjoyed baseball, as did the city's upper-class women who staged a well-publicized baseball game between married and single women as a fund raiser for their Ladies' Aid Society.[18] Black women's teams from Fort Valley and Atlanta, Georgia were the featured entertainment at a Fourth of July celebration in 1891 while upper class young men and women routinely organized co-ed baseball teams at various colleges and vacation resorts throughout the decade.[19]

Due to Americans' growing acceptance of vigorous physical activities for women and the increased emphasis on physical education in schools and colleges, many female baseball players of the 1890s demonstrated impressive skills on the diamond—so much so that some were hired to play for men's teams as a way to attract spectators to those contests.[20] Professional women's

baseball teams which had counted on theatrical spectacle and novelty to sell tickets in the 1870s and 1880s increasingly turned to marketing genuine competition to draw spectators. While many of the teams continued to hire only marginally talented players, a growing number of "Bloomer Girl" teams were able to deliver the promised competition because they made it a priority to hire talented female athletes—and because they were not above having "toppers" (men in wigs and dresses) play key positions (pitcher, catcher, and shortstop).[21]

The more talented female professional teams and players tended to receive favorable press in the 1890s,[22] but the theatrical teams continued to generate so much criticism that civic players sometimes took pains to distinguish themselves from those teams.[23] In July 1891, a group of "society" girls in Washington Court House, Ohio, traded tennis racquets for baseball bats and challenged a team of local boys to a game. In an effort to differentiate themselves from the much-condemned troupes of working-class female baseball players touring the country challenging men's teams, the society women assured the press that they would not "play in public or travel" and that their game would be umpired by a prominent Presbyterian minister. Despite players' efforts to be discreet, word of their game appeared in newspapers in Georgia, Tennessee, Illinois, and Pennsylvania. Francis Richter published the *Sporting Life*'s story about their game with the sub-title, "Respectable Ladies to Spoil Their Hands at the Sport."[24]

The thousands of girls and women, boys and men, playing baseball on civic and pick-up, school and college, factory and barnstorming teams throughout the decade had the potential to influence the culture of baseball and to reaffirm its natal gender-neutral character. That they were unable to do so was due, in large measure, to the disproportionate influence of the powerbrokers of organized baseball.

The Enduring Structure of Organized Baseball

The Old Ball Game fell on hard times in the 1890s—at least at the elite level. The *Utica Saturday Globe* declared 1890 to be "unquestionably, the most disastrous year, financially, the national game has experienced since 1876." The following year, noting that only one or two minor leagues expected to finish the 1891 season, it wrote: "Never in the history of the national game has disaster been so rife in minor league circles as this season."[25] Things were no better at the major league level. Both the American Association and Players' League collapsed in 1891, and two years later the owners of the twelve National League teams found themselves struggling to fill seats during a debilitating national economic depression.[26] NL owners continued to battle the players over the reserve rule and other management decrees. Desperate to shore up their dwindling finances, most National League team owners dropped their bans on Sunday games and relaxed their vigilance against gambling, drinking, and rowdiness in the stands. The result was predictable. The league "acquired a notorious reputation for brawling, both on the field and in the stands," writes Rader, and concerned observers lamented that the violence and obscenity that proliferated at the parks was deterring "respectable women" from attending.[27]

Despite the travails of individual professional teams and leagues, the structural foundation of organized baseball laid by the National League in 1876 was secure and would endure. Major league team owners firmly controlled the evolving rules of the game and they retained the mantle of *de facto* leadership of the professional baseball business. By the end of the 1880s, they had driven blacks out of the major leagues and, in the ensuing decades, they would exert pressure on professional and semi-professional teams to withhold contracts from female players. Their vision for a stable business model for professional baseball was finally

beginning to coalesce and their influence over the culture of the game was solidifying its gendered character.

When Cultures Collide: Women, Men, and Baseball

Throughout the nineteenth century, baseball had been a contested space where narratives of gender, race, ethnicity, social class, economics, and cultural practices played out on rural and urban, amateur and professional diamonds across the nation. By the 1890s the sheer number of women baseball players (and the tens of thousands of "New Women" invading colleges, law libraries, medical schools, businesses, and polling places) caused some to abandon their attitude of benevolent tolerance toward female players. These concerned citizens worried that the fabric of society was coming apart and that masculinity itself was under assault. When humor and sarcasm failed to stem the tide of New Women and female baseball players, some critics began putting down their joke books and picking up their poison pens.

A number of themes are apparent in the contemporary commentaries about female baseball players written by those who viewed baseball as a vehicle for conferring masculinity on its practitioners and for promoting American exceptionalism abroad. Some of the themes focused on the role men needed to play in upholding male prerogatives while others targeted female players and any who might aspire to join them as serious athletes.

Women's Baseball = Women's Rights. This theme equated professional women baseball players with the legions of female shock troops trying to batter down the walls of gender tradition in the 1890s. Increasing numbers of articles linked women baseball players to women's rights initiatives. "The equal suffragists in Kansas should approve the female base ball club," noted the *Atchison Daily Globe* in 1892. "Equal rights means an equal right to dress up in stripes and tear over a field after a ball, as well as it means the right to vote."[28] A year earlier the *Sioux*

County (IA) Herald had observed: "The efforts of women to break into the national game and into Yale College are met with continual discouragement."[29] The *Herald's* comment reflected the growing numbers of individuals who saw no difference between a woman who insisted upon invading the sacred halls of an Ivy League college and those who invaded the sacred spaces of the national game. Another example of critics conflating women's rights with female baseball teams took place during the World's Columbia Exposition of 1893. Thousands of visitors flocked to exhibits on the Midway Plaisance featuring exhibits of "primitive" people living in supposedly authentic villages; meanwhile, thousands of women attended a World's Conference of Representative Women held at the Exposition. The *Chicago Times* unkindly wondered whether the "short-skirted reformers" attending the Congress were part of the Midway exhibits or members of a female base ball club.[30]

Hold the Line, Men. This theme targeted men, urging them to hold the line against encroachments of women into their social spaces. On 18 September 1890, a female reader in St. Louis wrote a letter to *Sporting Life* decrying the proliferation of professional female baseball teams. She enclosed a copy of one of the advertisements Sylvester Wilson had placed in a New York newspaper the previous week promising excellent salaries to 50 "good looking" young women who would join his new baseball league. Unimpressed that talented female athletes could earn a lucrative salary playing baseball, and making a clear distinction between women's entry into other previously male professions, "M.S." wrote: "'Ladies' Baseball League,' indeed? In many other lines of business ladies are being introduced, and with the best of success, but surely the men are able to take care of this peculiar branch." Issuing a final challenge to professional male baseball players "who are not in favor of women's rights," she asked, "Are

you going to say nothing while the 'ladies' take your places on the diamond, in the sporting world, etc.?"[31]

Stay on the Pedestal, Ladies. For centuries, a common theme used to justify women's subordinate status in political, legal, economic, and social structures was to argue that the often corrupt, brutal, and winner-take-all nature of activities within these spheres would tarnish women's purity and expose them to unnecessary mental stresses that God (or nature) had not equipped them to handle. Many believed that women were divinely or naturally endowed with superior moral purity. Critics of barnstorming women's baseball teams insisted that players besmirched the inherent moral dignity of *all* women, not just themselves. The *Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette* said as much after a barnstorming team entertained spectators there in August 1892. Its reporter conceded that the players had done nothing, either through their behavior or speech, that could be considered vulgar, but insisted that such exhibitions should not be encouraged because they "can not fail to have the effect of lowering the dignity of woman and removing her from her natural sphere."[32] The *Dorchester (Maryland) Democrat-News* agreed. After complimenting the members of the Young Ladies Base Ball Club of New York for their "gentle and quiet" behavior, the editors nonetheless admitted that they still regarded the exhibition as "demoralizing and as a step far downwards from the eminence upon which we love to place feminine modesty and true womanly character."[33]

Say It Ain't So. For some men, the best way to prove that baseball was too rigorous and scientific for women to master was to vigorously and repeatedly deny that there was any such thing as a talented female baseball player or a knowledgeable female fan. This was the approach John Ward had taken in 1888 when he claimed that American baseball could not possibly be linked to any English predecessors because girls had played English baseball. With girls' and

women's teams proliferating all around them, it must have been difficult for men like Ward to sustain the narrative that the game was too difficult for women—but that did not stop them from trying. In 1895, the *Evening Post* of Denver reviewed the brief history of female baseball in Denver, acknowledging that a few female clubs had been organized. It then claimed, however, that the girls quickly gave it up when they discovered they could "make better and surer hits with a pretty hat than a ball club."[34] The following year, the *Philadelphia Ledger* simply denied that the city had any female players: "Rival cities are never tired of petty flings at Philadelphia. The latest calumny on this city is that it is the home of the female baseball player."[35] With girls and women playing on numerous school and civic teams in Philadelphia in the 1890s, the *Ledger's* denial was completely false—but that did not stop numerous newspaper editors across the country from reprinting it in their papers.

It's Not You, It's Them -or- If It Is You, You're a Freak of Nature. This strategy alternately targeted men and women, telling men that if they did not play well against female teams, it was not their fault, and telling women that if they did play baseball well it was because they were freaks of nature. The *Quincy Herald*'s description of W.P. Needham's Boston Bloomer Girls players as "female freaks" was typical.[36] As newspaper articles about talented female baseball players proliferated, it became more difficult for critics to assert that women were physically and mentally ill-suited to play baseball well. Those determined to hold the line against female players sometimes claimed that women's baseball teams had an advantage over men's teams because the latter could not concentrate on playing when they had to compete against women or because social custom dictated that they not embarrass the women by beating them. In June 1895, the *New York Herald* claimed that the Hackensack Giants had been helpless against the "petite plump pitcher" of the All Star Ladies' Baseball club during a recent game

because none of the male players could keep his eye on the ball; they were too distracted by the "curves" her bloomer uniform revealed.[37] In July the Minneapolis *Penny Press* titled its story about Lizzie Arlington's team's victory over a picked nine of local amateurs, "Were Too Polite to Win," and concluded: "The boys could have won if they so desired."[38] The theme of male gallantry in the face of female presumptuousness pervaded reporting on bloomer girl games—the persistent message was that female baseball players might be brazenly challenging social convention, but male players would maintain the high moral ground by treating them like ladies anyway.

Even those who acknowledged the athletic talents of select female baseball players sometimes refused to concede the possibility that women as a group could become talented baseball players. Instead, they propagated a narrative that the occasional woman who managed to mimic the skills of a male player was simply a freak of nature. The *Daily Register Gazette* of Illinois put it this way:

> Once in a while nature turns out in the way of a female physique something of a prodigy, just as she turns out freaks for the side shows. Occasionally a woman is seen who can hold up several hundred pounds in her teeth, or strike a sledge hammer blow, or perform on the trapeze or row, or ride, or swim, or do a variety of things that men usually do, much as men do these things, but at the best they are imitators of the feebler sort. Nature rarely turns out a woman who can throw a ball with a reasonable certainty of hitting a side of a barn at 10 paces, and therefore there never was and never will be a female ball team that can play ball.[39]

The *Des Moines Register* agreed, qualifying its statement that the team that visited Des Moines "play a very good game" with the caveat, "when the fact is taken in mind that it is an absolute and natural impossibility for a woman to play base ball."[40]

Are You a Woman or a Man? The most effective and prolonged strategy employed to deter women from playing baseball was (and is) to convince them that athleticism and femininity are incompatible. Though some critics continued to cling to the biological argument that

"women were never intended for baseball players," by the 1890s their words began to ring hollow as talented and athletic women golfers, archers, swimmers, sharpshooters, boxers, sprinters, cyclists, jockeys, tennis, basketball, and baseball players proliferated across the country.[41] As the argument that rigorous athletic activities were dangerous for women weakened in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, critics slowly adapted their argument. Instead of claiming that athletics were dangerous to women's reproductive health, guardians of the gender *status quo* increasingly claimed that athleticism, femininity, and beauty were mutually exclusive characteristics. Women could not have it both ways, they argued; sportswomen had to choose between athleticism and femininity/beauty.

M. Straube's song, "Who Would Doubt That I'm a Man?" (1895)[42] captures the essence of this challenge to athletic women (Fig. 5-1). The lyrics describe a self-confident woman who

Who Would Doubt That I'm A Man?

VERSE 1:
If any meddling person should perchance suspect my womanhood,
I simply would assert that I can catch a ball when on the fly;
And you know well that no one can bring better proof that he's a man.
And you know well that no one can bring better proof that he's a man.
Where is the lady who would snub a member of a baseball club?
And where's the man who don't attach importance to a baseball match?
Judicious people all support this most exhilarating sport.
Judicious people all support this most exhilarating sport.

VERSE 2:
When I am standing in the field The luckless batsman's fate is sealed.
If he should chance to bat his ball, So that within my reach it fall;
I'd make a point without a doubt, I'd catch his ball and put him out.
I'd make a point without a doubt. I'd catch his ball and put him out.
I'll catch, I'll pitch, I'll bat, I'll run. I'll play as well as anyone.
Just look! ah, ah, that hurts! that pains! But he's a coward who complains.
Here is the ball! 'Tis surely fun to catch a high fly on the run.
Here is the ball! 'Tis surely fun to catch a high fly on the run.

VERSE 3:
But now I'll have to take the bat, I am expert and skilled at that;
I grasp it firmly with my hand; a high or low ball I demand.
No ball! No ball! That is no strike! Strategic pitching I dislike!
No ball! No ball! That is no strike! Strategic pitching I dislike!
But that's a go! with matchless grace I ran from home to centre base
A most extraordinary run! A noble manly deed well done!
I scored a run! And well I run! Now who would doubt that I'm a man?
I scored a run! And well I run! Now who would doubt that I'm a man?

CODA:
Admired, ay envied and renowned. Are heroes of the baseball ground!
And I? Have I no right to claim that I've just won a startling game?
Well, Mr. Umpire, tell me now, to your decision I shall bow.

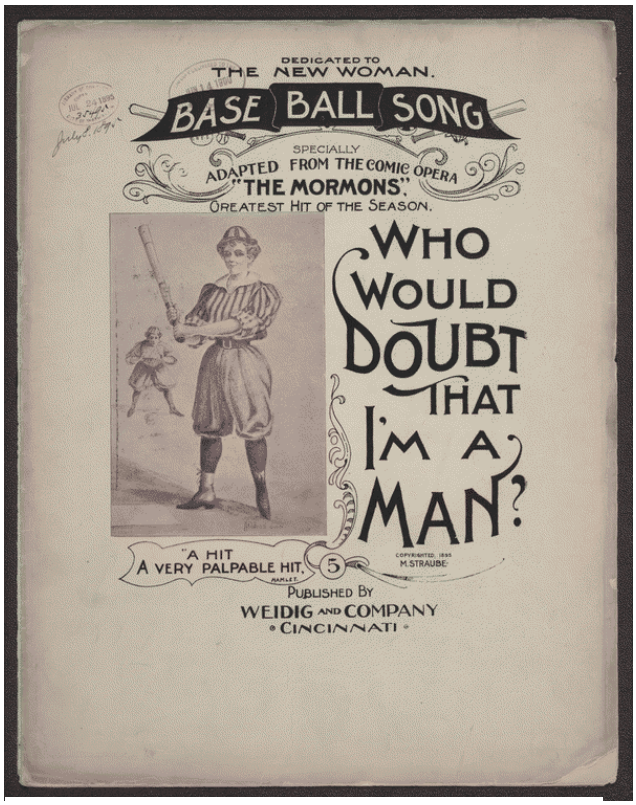

Figure 5-1. Cover of Sheet Music to "Who Would Doubt That I'm a Man?" (1895)

not only loves attending baseball games but who also fancies herself a superb player. An expert on batting, catching, and throwing, she likens herself to the "heroes of the baseball ground" who are "admired, ay envied and renowned." After slugging a double and gracefully running to second base she celebrates this "noble manly deed well done." In Straube's song, baseball is a metaphor of masculinity—for "no one can bring better proof that he's a man," than to "catch a ball when on the fly." The songwriter, rather than celebrating the athleticism of the New Woman and her mastery of the national pastime, seems intent on reminding her that her victory in the "startling game" has come at the cost of her womanhood. By arguing that skill on a baseball diamond epitomized masculinity, the songwriter repeats a persistent theme of the nineteenth- and twentieth centuries that baseball is a zero sum game when it comes to gender. It cannot be used to reinforce both masculine and feminine qualities. If women want to play, they must forfeit any claims to womanhood.

Performing Masculinity and "Americanism" Through Baseball. There was a reason that men like Straube sought to shame women into giving up supposedly masculine activities; masculinity seemed under assault in the 1890s. As women displaced men or crowded alongside them in countless occupations, colleges, and sporting venues, social commentators increasingly fretted about the "feminization" of the age.[43] It was hard not to worry with scientists like Alpheus Hyatt warning that if women gained suffrage, equality of education, and access to the same professions as men, it could inaugurate a period of "retrogressive evolution." Men would become "effeminized" and women would become "virified," he predicted.[44] While Hyatt approached the social issues of his day through the lens of the physical sciences, other critics of gender transformation focused on demographics and history. In 1893, historian Frederick Jackson Turner, argued that the disappearance of the domestic frontier threatened the future

development of the country. According to Turner, the process of "crossing a continent" and "winning a wilderness" had shaped American institutions and government. The steady and repetitive progression of civilizing the "savage" spaces of the eastern, Midwestern, and then western frontiers had created "a composite nationality for the American people" that Europe would never have.[45] Turner believed that the nation's highly mobile population had strengthened American nationalism and democracy by simultaneously reinforcing ideals of rugged individualism and locally-based, popular democracy.[46]

Turner's association of the frontier with the nation's ability to sustain and spread democracy while absorbing and assimilating millions of immigrants was a clarion call for the men and women who were already preoccupied with worry over the perceived feminization of society. Reading between the lines of Turner's essay, these individuals concluded that the frontier had been a proving ground for masculinity—a place where strong, courageous, "civilized" men had conquered all manner of perceived and actual dangers on behalf of weak, innocent women and children. With no domestic frontiers left for men to conquer, some began transforming sporting arenas into surrogate frontiers where gender roles could be reinforced and displayed. Influential psychologist and educator G. Stanley Hall, argued that the seemingly passive role played by fictional and real-life women on the sidelines of sporting contests was not passive at all—it was an active service nurturing masculinity. "The presence of the fair sex gives tonicity to youth's muscles and tension to his arteries to a degree of which he is rarely conscious," Hall wrote in 1906. "[A girl] performs her best service in the true role of sympathetic spectator rather than as fellow player."[47]

It was during the 1890s that the American Physical Education Association spearheaded the integration of formal physical education programs into academic curricula at grammar

schools, high schools, and colleges across the country. It was also during this decade that scores of colleges organized athletic departments and supplanted many student-led sports teams with highly structured programs, "scientifically" managed by experienced coaches and professional physical educators.[48] More than ever before, Americans transformed sport into a vehicle of social change just as they had once transformed the untamed frontier into a civilized, "Americanized" space. Baseball was one of the sports some harnessed to spread "American" civilization.

For those who viewed baseball as a tool for conferring masculinity and symbolizing American exceptionalism, the possibility that New Women might undermine its important social function sparked renewed efforts to shore up the game's gendered narrative. As increasing numbers of girls and women played baseball on civic teams, school and college teams, and on barnstorming teams in the 1890s, guardians of baseball's narrative of masculinity pushed back. "Woman is nowhere on earth more out of place than on a base ball diamond," insisted Francis Richter in 1890. "The formation of female base ball clubs should be discountenanced."[49] The editor of the *Haverhill (MA) Bulletin* agreed. "Base ball is a game requiring skill, agility and athletic qualities of the highest sort," he insisted. "It is not a ladies game and the fair sex have never succeeded in solving its mysteries. Neither is it a game which should be burlesqued . . ."[50] In April 1892, a group of women in Huntington, Long Island, New York contacted the Society for Prevention of Vice to try to halt a series of games featuring female players. The following year the mothers of the male players on a Bloomfield, New Jersey team that was scheduled to play the all-women Cincinnati Reds, tried to prevent the game. Both groups of women were unsuccessful and the games went on as planned. The *Newtown Register* of Queens praised the women in Huntington for their effort, urging "people everywhere, parents especially" to follow

their lead and to "set their faces as a flint against this outrageous business." The paper considered it "a shame to our civilization" that anyone would encourage female baseball teams to challenge men.[51]

Gender role transformation is a complex process of cultural negotiation. Even as some women and men decried the shifting socio-cultural landscape they perceived, others embraced it. Women continued to play baseball for fun or wages and thousands of male baseball players on teams across the country accepted the good-natured challenges of barnstorming and civic female baseball teams and joined them on the diamond for friendly competition. Sometimes this meant directly opposing parents, spouses, clergymen, and friends. The men who took the field on Long Island in 1892 to compete against a female baseball team did so despite the outcry against it from some of the local citizens. The captain of the boys' nine in Bloomfield, New Jersey insisted that his team (comprised primarily of members of the local Y.M.C.A.) was going to play the female Cincinnati Reds even if "all Christendom turned out to protest."[52]

Social Interactions—Female Baseball Players of the 1890s

Baseball remained a popular sport among women of all social classes and backgrounds in the 1890s. As in the past, women in the East and Midwest continued to organize teams; they were joined by increasing numbers of women in the West. Southern women remained in the minority of female players. The female baseball teams of the 1890s mirrored those of the 1870s and 1880s with the majority comprising civic and pick-up teams. Factory teams appeared, but not in great numbers. The biggest increase came in barnstorming female teams, but far more women played on school, college, civic, pick-up and business teams than played on the professional teams. For non-professional players, having fun and maintaining good health inspired them to play. Many of the articles that reported on new civic and pick-up teams specifically addressed

the players' motivations in this respect. An article in the *Grand Rapids Press* in August 1894 was typical. It reported that the group of young women in Brooklyn who were practicing baseball at least three days a week were not "playing ball to attract attention" and would not challenge other teams. They played solely "for the fun and healthy exercise the national game affords."[53]

Women Playing on Men's Teams. The majority of female baseball players in the 1890s played on all-female teams; some played on mixed teams of men and women or boys and girls. After the turn of the twentieth century, there was a sharp rise in the number of young women who played baseball as the only female on otherwise all-male teams.[54] It is an irony of history that the growing influence of the narrative of baseball as a man's game actually opened up opportunities for women like Lizzie Arlington, Maud Nelson, Ruth Egan, Carrie Moyer, Alta Weiss, and Myrtle Rowe to earn a living or achieve notoriety by playing baseball on boys' and men's teams in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[55] When it came to making money, some men used the masculinized narrative of baseball not to isolate the game from women but to temporarily invite selected women in. These men had no intention of transforming the gendered narrative of baseball; they sought only to leverage it for personal gain.

Lizzie Arlington was not the first female baseball player to join a male team (a baseball club in Texas had a "pretty young female pitcher" in 1897),[56] but she was the first to garner prolonged national attention as an elite female player. Arlington enjoyed a decade-long career as the star of her local civic team, marquee athlete on numerous female barnstorming teams, and as the featured pitcher for a number of men's teams in Philadelphia and in the Atlantic League during the Spanish-American War. Arlington was born Elizabeth Stride on August 31, 1877.[57] She grew up in Mahanoy City, about 43 miles north of Reading in the heart of Pennsylvania's

anthracite coal region. Her parents, Henry and Mary Stride, had emigrated from Great Britain; Lizzie was their youngest of six children. Henry made his living operating a hotel but also enjoyed athletics. When he and his sons played baseball, raced horses, and did competitive shooting, they included Lizzie. Lizzie was a natural athlete; she became the first girl in town to learn to ride a bicycle and, by age 11, was giving roller skating exhibitions at rinks in Pennsylvania. She played polo, raced horses, and became an amateur champion shooter.[58] She also held down the box for the local Mahanoy City baseball team at the tender age of 13. Her brother, Harry, was the catcher.

On June 20, 1891, two months shy of her fourteenth birthday, Lizzie and her brother took the field as the battery for the Mahanoy City team against the visiting Cincinnati Reds—one of two professional women's baseball team barnstorming through the area.[59] After just one inning, the Red's manager, Mark Lally, announced that his pitcher was injured and he recruited Lizzie and Harry to play for his team. With Lizzie pitching, and Harry catching, the Reds won the contest 20-11 despite the poor play of its regular players. Lally knew a good thing when he saw it, and immediately signed Lizzie to join the Reds. Within days, newspapers in nearby Hazleton and Freeland, Pennsylvania, were praising Stride's skills after she homered in games in both towns.[60]

Lizzie initially played for the Reds under her real name; however, by August 1891 she was using the stage name, "Lizzie Arlington." She was a featured player on the Cincinnati Reds for three seasons. During her second season with the Reds, Lizzie was joined by another rising star on the female baseball circuit, Clementine Brida, who alternated the pitching duties with her. The earliest evidence of the two playing together is a roster published in the *Bedford Mail* on 8 July 1892.[61] It lists Arlington as catcher and Maud Bradi (Brida) as pitcher. The two played

together on the Reds during the 1892 and 1893 seasons. Lizzie and Maud had known each other for about five years by the time they began traveling together with the Reds. Brida and her family had settled in Mahanoy City in 1887 after arriving in the United States from the Austrian Tyrol aboard the USS Noordland. Maud listed her occupation as "servant" on the ship's manifest and may have worked for Henry Stride at his hotel.[62] Brida, who was five years older than Stride, adopted the stage name, Maud Nelson for the 1893 season. Nelson would eventually surpass Arlington as the premier female baseball player in the country, enjoying a four-plus decade career that included owning and managing her own female baseball teams, and sometimes pitching for men's teams, but in 1892, the nineteen-year-old Italian immigrant was just beginning to make a name for herself as a ball player (Fig. 5-2).[63]

Arlington and Nelson's baseball careers diverged in 1894 as Lizzie joined the Young Ladies Base Ball Club of New York and Maud joined the Young Ladies Champions of the

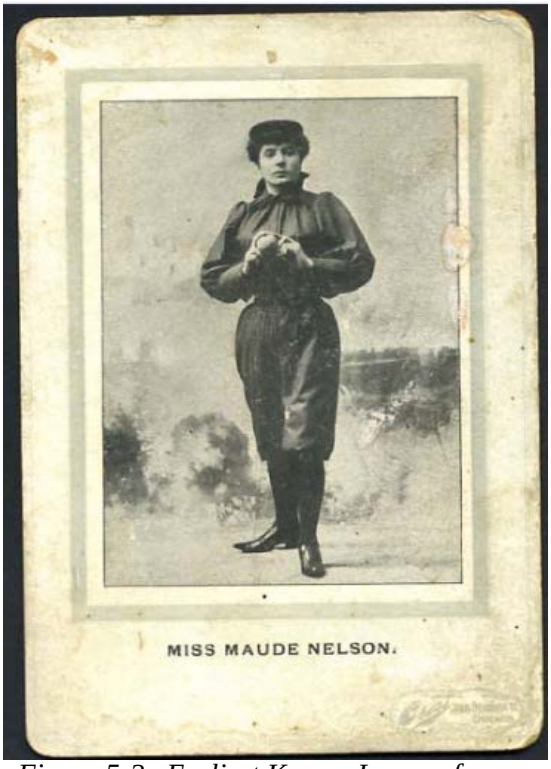

Figure 5-2. Earliest Known Image of Maud Nelson in Uniform

World Base Ball Club. Arlington played for the another Young Ladies Base Ball Club of New York (a.k.a. New York Stars) team in 1895 before disappearing from newspaper accounts for the next two years.

The year 1898 marked a milestone for Arlington (and women baseball players) as she became the first woman paid to play baseball for professional men's teams. The National League and minor leagues were struggling financially due to the Spanish-American war and unseasonably bad weather.[64] The twenty-two year old Arlington was at the height of her game and newspapers frequently lauded her play. Her talents attracted the attention of sporting and theatrical promoter Captain William J. Conner, who convinced Arlington to sign a contract with him. He promised to arrange exhibitions for her to pitch for men's teams and to pay her $100 per week—a tremendous sum at the time.[65] Conner had big plans for Arlington; he negotiated with Edward G. Barrow, President of the Atlantic League, (and future general manager of the New York Yankees), to hire Arlington to pitch for Atlantic League teams. He also hoped to convince Barrow's counterparts in the New York State League and Western League to feature Arlington in games.

Atlantic League president Edward Barrow was a showman at heart who knew how to fill seats at league ballparks. In 1897 and 1898, Barrow periodically featured professional boxers James J. Corbett and John L. Sullivan in league ball games as a way to boost attendance.[66] While other teams struggled during the war, Barrow's Atlantic League held its own. Barrow believed that a talented female pitcher would keep turnstiles turning so he signed Conner's female pitching star to a minor league contract that would have her pitch for different teams in the circuit that season. On 1 July, the *Philadelphia Press* broke the news that Arlington would debut with Atlantic League teams the following week and that she would play for the New York

State and Western leagues after that.[67] The latter games never materialized, but Arlington did appear in numerous games with Atlantic League and non-league men's teams that summer, including a game on June 25th in which Arlington pitched for the Norristown men's team against the Pottstown Club.[68]

On July 5, 1898 Lizzie Arlington became the first woman to play for a professional men's team in organized baseball when she pitched the ninth inning for the Reading Coal Heavers, who defeated league rival Allentown Peanuts 5-0. Arlington gave up two hits, but no runs. She had an assist in the field but did not get to bat.[69] Arlington went on to pitch in scores of other games for men's teams, but she lost the opportunity to play in official Atlantic League games because the Hartford Cooperatives' managers balked at Barrow's money-making scheme for fear that the female pitcher might cause them to lose an official league game.[70] Barrow and team managers compromised by featuring Arlington in exhibition games with Atlantic League teams.

At some point in 1898, Arlington began wearing a distinctive uniform that marked her status as a woman and as a baseball player (Fig. 5-3).[71] Contemporary newspaper articles about Arlington repeatedly referred to her as the *only* female professional baseball player in the country. This was incorrect. She was the only female baseball player paid by a men's league but she was not the only woman who made her living playing baseball. Arlington had scores of contemporaries who played baseball professionally on the barnstorming female teams that crisscrossed the country from the late 1870s on. The number of teams and the number of female professionals only increased as the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth. The fact that newspapers were ill-informed (or willfully ignorant) about Arlington's female professional counterparts indicates the extent to which contemporary accounts of female baseball players

skewed reality and strengthened the myth of baseball's gendered identity. As long as baseball boosters could label female players as novelties, they could continue to protect the myth that baseball was a "man's" game.

Figure 5-3. Lizzie Arlington (c. 1898)

Characteristics of the Barnstorming Female Baseball Teams of the 1890s. Female professional baseball teams continued to benefit from the public's interest in novel entertainment spectacles and their fascination with New Woman feats of athleticism.[72] Over forty female baseball teams barnstormed around the country during the 1890s, many of them operated by Sylvester F. Wilson under various aliases. While the 1890s saw its fair share of burlesque *al fresco* baseball troupes, it was also the decade that saw the origin of professional female baseball teams featuring talented female athletes who competed head-to-head against men's amateur and semi-pro teams across the country. These teams were the precursors of the long-lived, competitive Bloomer Girl baseball teams of the 1900s to 1930s. It is often difficult to

differentiate between the two types of teams because of the widely divergent press accounts of female baseball in general during this period. Reporters sometimes disparaged the playing of the competitive teams in the same terms used for the burlesque *al fresco* teams simply because they opposed the idea of women traveling around the country playing baseball. An effort is made in the following sections to differentiate between teams organized strictly as burlesque troupes and those organized with a view toward fielding truly competitive female barnstorming teams.

It is also challenging to trace a particular female baseball team through a season or series of seasons. Newspapers in various locales often gave different versions of a team's name—if they bothered to name it at all. In 1890, for example, newspapers covering one of Sylvester Wilson's teams called it alternately "The Young Ladies' Base Ball Nine of Chicago," a "female aggregation," "a Cincinnati female base ball club," "The Young Ladies Athletic Club of Cincinnati," "champion young ladies base ball club," "Black Stockings," and "the Young Ladies Base Ball Club of Cincinnati." Wilson himself called the team "my No. 1 club, the Chicago Black Stockings" in advertisements, and labelled it "Young Ladies' Base Ball Club No. 1" in a team photograph. It appears that Wilson fielded two teams simultaneously at times using the names interchangeably. He also used advertisements calling the teams the "Belles of the Bat" and "Queens of the Emerald Diamond."[73]

The difficulty tracking teams is compounded by the fact that managers sometimes had multiple teams on the road simultaneously or would split a single troupe into two groups for games in a particular region and then merge them back together. They also employed team names that had no relation to where teams originated. W.P. Needham organized his long-lived "Boston" Bloomer Girls team in Chicago in 1892; at least six female barnstorming teams in the early 1890s used variations of names linking them to New York City, even though some of the

teams originated elsewhere. William C. Clyde and Robert Bey organized their New York Champion Ladies Base Ball Club in St. Louis in May 1894.[74] The two had also been affiliated with Joseph Bruckner's New York Champion Young Ladies Base Ball Club in 1892.[75] That team does seem to have originated in New York City and was alternately called the Young Ladies Base Ball Club of New York and the New York Champion Young Ladies (or Female) Base Ball Club in newspapers throughout the season. Between 1891 and 1894 there are newspaper reports about the New York Champion Young Ladies Base Ball Club, the Young Ladies Champions of the World Base Ball Club, the New York Giants, the New York Brunettes, and the Young Ladies Base Ball Club of New York. Rosters and travel schedules indicate that the teams were distinct although it appears that the New York Champion Young Ladies Base Ball Club of 1894 was really just a new name for the Cincinnati Reds.[76]

Sylvester Wilson's Continuing Involvement With Women's Professional Baseball. After Wilson's 1889 baseball troupe collapsed, he return to his old haunts in Cincinnati and began advertising for players in early May. He had a new team on the road by May 20th.[77] Known alternately as the Black Stocking Nine and the Young Ladies Base Ball Club No. 1, the team was composed of players from Cincinnati and Chicago, including veteran players May Howard and Kitty Grant. Before they departed on tour, Wilson hired a professional photographer in Cincinnati to make postcards of the team that could be sold at games and distributed by advance men to promote the team (Fig. 5-4). One of the postcard designs listed the name of each player along with her position and identified "W. S. Franklin" (Wilson) as manager. Most of the players' stage names (Effie *Earl*, Rose *Mitchell*, May *Howard*, Annie and Kittie *Grant*, Nellie *Williams*, and Alice *Lee*) invoke masculine imagery as do the poses players strike—leaning on bats, slouching, laying down, sitting with legs apart, etc. The use of

Figure 5-4. Sylvester Wilson's Black Stocking Nine (c. 1890)
Courtesy Mark Rucker

masculine surnames and poses is striking considering Wilson's persistent efforts to market the morality of his players. In August 1890, as he made plans to organize "The American Young Ladies' Baseball League for the 1891 season, Wilson publicized some of the rules he had for his players:[78]

> Rule 7.—Any 'kicking,' quarreling or demonstrative complaints while traveling, or about rooms at hotel, will subject offending party to 20 cents fine for each offense.
>
> Rule 8.—'Flirting,' 'mashing' or making the acquaintance of gentlemen on trains, steamboats, at depots or hotels, or permitting the least familiarity, will subject each offending member to a fine of 25 cents to $1 according to the gravity of the offense.
>
> Rule 17.—No notes from dudes or would-be 'mashers' will be permitted to be sent to the rooms of the lady members of the company.
>
> Rule 25.—The proper place for lady members of the company at hotels is in their rooms or the ladies' parlor, and in no case should they make a habit of running through or occupying the office of the hotel or the gentlemen's sitting or waiting room; 25 to 50 cents will be imposed for violating this rule.

> Rule 26.—No lady member of this company will be permitted to enter, either day or night, any saloon or bar room where intoxicating drinks are sold, under fifty cents to $1 for each offense.

Considering the fact that Wilson's advertisements for the new league invited aspiring players to report either to the Dramatic Agency or to his personal residence between the hours of eight and ten p.m., it is quite likely that these rules were for public consumption only and not actually enforced.[79]

Wilson's 1890 season was his most successful ever, despite the usual run-ins with the law in various venues. He and his players were arrested in Danville, Illinois for playing a game on Sunday.[80] In Akron, officials seized players' luggage until the home team received its promised share of the gate money.[81] Wilson and his players traveled over 1,800 miles between mid-May and late August, playing over 30 games in Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and Canada. The team drew over twenty thousand spectators to their games.[82]

Feeling supremely optimistic, Wilson launched his greatest scheme yet—a league of professional female baseball clubs. In August 1890 he placed advertisements looking for enough experienced young women baseball players to organize four to nine clubs for "The American Young Ladies' Baseball League" for the 1891 season.[83] A female baseball league would have posed at least a symbolic challenge to the monopoly organized baseball magnates held over the structure of professional baseball. Wilson's plan to organize a female baseball league is the first and only known time that someone contemplated copying the structure of men's organized baseball.

Wilson's league never materialized, but just the thought that it might was enough to invoke sharp criticism from Francis Richter who headlined an article on the subject: "A Disgraceful Move: Introducing Females Into Professionalism."[84] Hoping to prevent Wilson

from profiting further from his unsavory profession, Richter wrote: "No reputable base ball club should degrade itself and the game by renting these female ball players and their managers their ballpark to play in. Instead, all should imitate the example of President Charles Byrne of the Brooklyn Club who refused to lease his grounds for such a disgusting exhibition at any price whatsoever."[85] Richter reprinted one of Wilson's advertisements for players and reported that Wilson had already received a big batch of letters and numerous in-person applications. Wilson told Richter that many of the applicants were "too fat" or "not well developed" or, worse yet, "too old" but that he had signed twelve of them to a contract to play an upcoming game at Monitor Ball Park in Weehawken, New Jersey.[86] Wilson was lying about having hired new players for a new team. All of the women whose names appear on the roster of the Weehawken game had been with Wilson's team for at least six weeks—seven of them were in the photograph taken in Cincinnati at the start of the season.[87]

Richter's condemnation of Wilson's scheme did little good; he was an influential baseball booster but even he could not control public opinion about female baseball. The day after Richter's article appeared in *Sporting Life*, Wilson enjoyed his greatest triumph ever as a female baseball manager when a huge crowd of 7,000-10,000 spectators turned out to watch his Black Stocking Nine play the Allertons at Monitor Park in Weehawken, New Jersey. Wilson had been planning the event for some time, working with future Tammany Hall leader Charles Murphy, who managed the venue.[88] Though profitable, the game mirrored the rough and tumble nature of men's professional baseball at the time. The exhibition was marred by violence from the start as 500-600 "hoodlums" tore boards off the fence or climbed over it to gain entry to the park. Hundreds of spectators trampled the inner fence surrounding the diamond and surged closely around the field while the game was in progress. The teams managed to get seven innings of

play in while two policemen struggled to keep unruly fans under control. Eventually, the unmerciful harassment from the hundreds of young men crowded around the diamond got to the female players and some of them began punching offenders, setting off a series of fights among the crowd. As brawling fans surged onto the field, Nellie Williams grabbed a baseball bat and began swinging it to clear a safe haven for her teammates. She continued brandishing her bat in the carriage that whisked the players off to safety as a group of young toughs chased after them on foot.[89] It was an inauspicious conclusion to an otherwise historic day for women's baseball.

The size of the crowd at the game in Weehawken—a record for female baseball in the nineteenth century—must have been supremely satisfying for Wilson. After a decade of planning and scheming, setbacks and triumphs, he finally seemed to have found the winning formula for making it big in the entertainment business. The guardians of social morality, gender traditions, and the sanctity of the national pastime were mortified by Wilson's newfound success. Added to the chorus of warnings from moral watchdogs were the voices of professional baseball aficionados who noted with horror that Wilson's teams were outdrawing at least one of the professional male leagues. "The attendance at the female base ball games down East makes the Brotherhood managers look sick," one wrote.[90]

Anxious to build on the success of the Weehawken exhibition, Wilson ramped up efforts to recruit players (and spectators) for his female baseball league. He launched a bold advertising campaign that included a full sheet broadside with the large headline: "COMING! THE CHAMPION LADY BASE BALL PLAYERS OF THE WORLD!" Claiming to be one in a series of weekly periodicals entitled the *Young Ladies' Athletic Journal*, with a daily circulation of 1,000-6,000, the publication is a perfect showcase of Wilson's talent for blarney and bluster (Fig. 5-8). "Immense Crowds Everywhere: Draws As Many People As a Circus!," he boasted.

Figure 5-5. Sylvester Wilson's Female Baseball Publication (1890)

He bragged that the beautiful red, white, and blue canvas wall his operation employed enclosed more ground than the "mammoth tents" of Barnum and Forepaugh combined and that as many as a fourth to a third of audiences in many venues were women.[91] Ironically, just as Wilson seemed to have finally discovered the formula for making money from women's baseball, his narcissism, hubris, and flagrant disregard for morality and decency finally brought him down.

One month before his Weehawken triumph, Wilson had passed through Binghamton, New York with his Chicago Black Stocking Nine and an entertainment troupe called the "Little Countess." While there, the 40-year-old Wilson became infatuated with 15-year-old Elizabeth "Libbie" Sunderland. Spinning tales of the riches she could earn and the beautiful dresses she would wear, Wilson convinced Sunderland to join his Little Countess troupe. Sunderland was Wilson's constant companion from that point on. Some newspapers reported that she was a sort of "mascot" for the team, selling score cards and photographs of the players, rather than playing.

Others stated that she became an expert player and played shortstop on occasion.[92] As he had done in Kansas City to avoid attracting the attention of child protection agencies, Wilson kept Sunderland on the move between various boarding houses. On March 4, 1891, Sunderland's 16th birthday, Wilson presented her with a diamond engagement ring. Five months later, officers of the NYSPCC finally tracked him down and arrested him. Along with Sunderland, they found 500 photographs of nude women in his room.[93]

Though Wilson's future fate was sealed from the moment he conspired to bring Libbie Sunderland to New York City, the arrest that would set the stage for his final downfall was still a year in the future. He and his team finished out the 1890 season playing in New Jersey, New York, Canada, Pennsylvania, and Washington D.C.[94] In late March 1891, Wilson began planning for the 1891 season; he had two teams on the road by April 25th.[95] They regularly drew crowds of 1,000 or more. As he had done in the past, Wilson hired a photographer to produce team postcards that could be used to promote games and earn extra money. This time, he posed with his players, proudly displaying his distinctive "Dundreary" whiskers (Fig. 5-6).[96]

It is difficult to track Wilson through the summer of 1891; one of his teams made a circuit of Iowa and the Midwest in June; another played in Pennsylvania, and one team played in Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, and the Canadian Maritimes. Francis Richter reported that Wilson had spent most of the summer in New York City, busying himself "obtaining fresh material for his ball clubs" and working various theatrical operations. At some point in late July or early August, Wilson joined the team touring New England. When he returned from Boston in mid-August, NYSPCC officials arrested him.

Wilson's arrest and trial captivated the nation. Newspapers in at least two dozen states and territories, including African American newspapers, and in Canada kept readers appraised of

Figure 5-6. Sylvester Wilson and his Chicago Black Stocking Nine (1891)
Courtesy Joann Kline

progress in the case. Francis Richter covered Wilson's trial in great detail in the pages of *The Sporting Life*.[97] On August 22d he headlined one report: "In Jail at Last: A Disgrace to Base Ball Probably Now Ended—A Notorious Manager of Female Base Ball Clubs Now at the End of His Rope."[98] Unable to raise his bail, Wilson sat in the Tombs throughout the Fall of 1891 while NYSPCC agents worked to strengthen the legal case against him. On August 28th they introduced Justice Meade to Sylvester F. Wilson, Jr., the 11-month-old son of Wilson and one of his players, Annie (Ella) Long. Long was 15-years-old when she joined Wilson's Young Ladies' Base Ball Club in Philadelphia in 1889. She played under the stage name, Lottie Livingston and traveled with Wilson during the 1889 season until she became pregnant. She went home to Philadelphia where her son was born at her parents' home in September 1890. Long turned him over to "Mrs. La Burt," who ran one of many unlicensed "baby farms" in the city, and returned to baseball.[99] Wilson made weekly payments to La Burt for his son's care until his arrest.

Wilson's case progressed slowly through the court system. During the well-publicized trial, the sordid details of Wilson's criminal behavior were finally exposed and the extent to which his female players had been sexually exploited became clear. James W. Cameron, who had answered one of Wilson's advertisements for a business partner in February 1891, reported that he had seen Wilson in bed with Sunderland on numerous occasions. He testified that he had told Wilson that he considered his team "a traveling house of prostitution."[100] Mrs. J. W. Davenport, who lived on the floor above Wilson's flat on Seventh Avenue, heard him say things to Sunderland that were "too disgusting to repeat."[101] The most damning evidence against Wilson came from Libbie Sunderland herself. Sunderland provided the graphic details about how Wilson had engaged in sexual intercourse with her on or about Christmas Day of 1890. She reported that he continued to have sexual relations with her regularly until the second week of January 1891.[102] ADA McIntyre introduced a series of letters into evidence that Wilson had written to Long. Even the Wilson's attorney admitted later that the letters were "vile and filthy" and that the man who wrote them "merits the severest condemnation."[103]

The shocking details of players' exploitation at the hands of their male manager provide insights into the economic context of the times. Countless thousands of families lived in poverty in America's cities with little hope of bettering themselves and with few options when circumstances turned dire. Parents would (and did) turn their daughters over to men like Wilson, on the promise that he would feed, clothe, educate, and employ them. Wilson lived in an era when attitudes toward childhood, marriage, and sexual crimes little resembled our own. Child labor laws were rare and ineffective. Child protective laws were relatively new and enforcement agencies, like the NYSPCC and its counterparts, were in their infancy. Financially destitute parents sometimes gave young daughters in marriage to older men or sent them out to find

whatever work they could. The abduction law Wilson had broken reflected the social context of the times; it stipulated that the kidnapper had to have intended to have sex with a girl *under the age of 16* for a crime to have been perpetrated. Had Wilson waited until Sunderland's 16th birthday in March 1891 to have sex with her, he would have been innocent in the eyes of the law.

Rescued from desperate circumstances, many of the teenage girls and young women on Wilson's teams considered themselves fortunate to be part of a family with Wilson as their patriarch. Despite Sunderland's sworn testimony that Wilson had molested her, she insisted that Wilson had always acted as a kind father to her and had given her a better life than she had ever had in Binghamton.[104] When her teammate 16-year-old Sadie Burnell took the stand, she affirmed Sunderland's assertion that Wilson always treated his players kindly.[105] Many of Wilson's players genuinely loved him and stayed with him for years even though they hated what he did to them. Trial transcripts and depositions make it clear that the girls took care of one another—teaching each other rudimentary birth control techniques and giving each other hints on how to avoid Wilson's sexual advances.[106]

On October 16, 1891, the jury in Wilson's case delivered a guilty verdict after less than ten minutes deliberation. Newspapers across the country and in Canada trumpeted the news.[107] Shocked by the outcome of his trial, and facing a $1,000 fine and five years in Sing Sing, Wilson wrote a letter to Judge Martine from his cell in the Tombs the next day, begging to marry Sunderland in return for dismissal of the case, and promising to support Ella Long and her child until she could marry "someone worthy of her."[108] Martine was unmoved. On October 21st he gave Wilson the maximum sentence—5 years in prison and a $1,000 fine. Richter was delighted: "The sentence of Sylvester Wilson . . . will likely put an end to all the female base ball clubs," he exulted on October 31st. "For this relief much thanks."[109] Richter celebrated too

soon. For the next fourteen months, Wilson and his attorneys exploited numerous legal loopholes as they filed appeals with courts and judges in multiple boroughs.[110] As the courts rendered conflicting judgments and argued over jurisdiction, Wilson managed to stay one step ahead of detectives who were trying to bring him in. On December 23, 1892 his luck ran out. As he and George Francis Train walked into Koster & Bials Concert Hall to celebrate a recent legal victory, Detective John J. O'Brien placed him under arrest.[111] On Christmas Eve 1892, New York City detectives accompanied Wilson on his long-delayed trip to Sing Sing.

Wilson was imprisoned at Sing Sing from December 24, 1892 to September 11, 1896 (part of his sentence was reduced for "good behavior"). He then languished in New York City's Ludlow Street Jail for almost two years because he could not pay his $1,000 fine. On August 2, 1898, Wilson finally convinced Justice Newburger to release him due to ill health.[112] NYSPCC officials immediately began tracking Wilson's movements again. Over the course of the next four years, Wilson was in and out of jail and prison. He continued to prey on young girls and on gullible marks. Shortly after Wilson organized his female baseball team in May 1899, the parents of a 9-year-old girl reported to the NYSPCC that Wilson tried to talk them into letting him become her guardian so he could give her a "superior education."[113] In August 1899, the Philadelphia Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children had Wilson arrested after the parents of Lena Goldfriend complained to them that Wilson was "annoying" their daughter.[114] Wilson was sentenced to a year in Moyamensing prison.[115] In January 1903, he reappeared as Frank Hartright in an advertisement in New York City newspapers soliciting a partner to put up $500 to help fund a female baseball team. On April 29th, NYSPCC officials spotted an advertisement in the *New York Herald* for "Girls for stage; young, small, stout; experience unnecessary; salary." The ad instructed applicants to report to "Hartright" at the stage entrance

of Bon Ton Music Hall, a seedy theater located at 112 West 24th Street. The same issue included an advertisement for a young man to a coach girls' basketball club. He was to report to the same location.[116] NYSPCC officials immediately suspected that Wilson was behind the ads.[117] They were right. After another trial revealed that Wilson had molested or tried to molest his players, aged 13 to 18, and had shown hard-core pornographic photographs to some of them, he was sentenced to nine years in Sing Sing.[118] He did not realize at the time that it was actually a life sentence. Wilson spent the next several years lobbying judges and governors for clemency.[119] None assented and Wilson disappeared into the faceless crowd of inmates at Sing Sing and the State Mental Hospital in Dannemora where he was transferred sometime before 1910.[120] On 7 December 1921, over 18 years after he had entered Sing Sing to serve his 9-year sentence, Wilson died at the age of 69.

Sylvester Wilson represented the dark side of women's professional baseball. The men's side had a dark side too, but it revolved around gambling, fixing games, drinking, smoking, and cursing. Those were moral indiscretions that the power brokers of organized baseball were ultimately able to control in large measure. There were no power brokers for women's professional baseball—there was no governing body to protect female players from managers who sexually abused them, frequently cheated them out of their promised wages, and occasionally abandoned them to make their own way home. Fortunately for aspiring female professional players, the increasing appreciation for female athleticism in the 1890s motivated sportsmen to begin organizing female teams. Over time the sportsmen outnumbered the theatrical entrepreneurs and female athletes could sign on with teams whose managers treated them better and built lasting franchises that played year after year. These new baseball franchises were called Bloomer Girl teams.

Here Come the Bloomer Girls

Though baseball historians often mention Bloomer Girl baseball teams when they discuss women's involvement with the sport, it was actually *bicycles* and bloomers that were first linked in the public's mind.[121] For most people in the 1890s, a "Bloomer Girl" was a woman who rode her bicycle while wearing voluminous pantaloons or split skirts, not a woman barnstorming around the country playing baseball games against men's teams. The Boston Bloomer Girls, Chicago Bloomer Girls, and short-lived Trilby Bloomer Girls baseball teams debuted in the 1890s, but it was not until the first decade of the twentieth century that Bloomer Girl baseball teams like the Star Bloomer Girls, New England Bloomer Girls, Maximo Bloomer Girls, American Bloomer Girls, and Kansas City Bloomer Girls began to proliferate.

With criminals like Sylvester Wilson bringing discredit upon professional female baseball, Bloomer Girl team managers initially found it difficult to distinguish their teams from the burlesque *al fresco* troupes. They also occasionally had to distinguish their teams from similarly-named salacious entertainment troupes like "The Bloomer Girl Big Burlesque and Minstrel Company."[122] By the mid- to late-1890s, however, teams like Mark Lally's Cincinnati Reds, W.P. Needham's Boston Bloomer Girls, and the various iterations of the Young Ladies Base Ball Club of New York were featuring at least a few highly-talented, disciplined women (like Lizzie Arlington and Maud Nelson) who *played*, rather than performed, baseball, and reporters were noticing. "The Boston Bloomer Girls surprised every one," wrote a reporter for the *Daily Statesman* of Austin, Texas. "[T]hey really know how to play ball and some of the plays they made would have been creditable to men. Their batting and fielding were excellent."[123]

Unlike their theatrical counterparts, Bloomer Girl team managers marketed athletic competition. By fielding teams of talented female (and male) athletes in order to provide audiences with an exciting and quality contest, these managers established a winning formula for women's professional baseball that endured into the twentieth century. Scores of Bloomer Girl baseball teams played in the early 1900s, providing hundreds of women the opportunity to earn a living playing baseball.[124]

Hardships of Life as a Bloomer Girl. Even when players worked for honest and conscientious managers, it still required a major commitment and personal sacrifices to make a living as a female baseball player in the nineteenth century. Frequent criticism was just one of the many trials professional women baseball players faced. The endless travel, the physically-demanding occupation, the mental stress of dealing with unruly spectators, patronizing opponents, and sometimes abusive and dishonest managers, made life as a professional female baseball player extremely challenging. Life on the road was grueling; players traveled thousands of miles on trains, wagons, and other conveyances during the season. Because many of their games were arranged on-the-fly by advance men, players faced constant uncertainty as to what the future held. Professional male players knew in advance when and where they would travel in a given season and also knew that absences from home would be relatively brief; their female counterparts knew only that they would likely be away from home and loved ones for months at a time (or up to a year if they were on one of the teams barnstorming in the South). Even players who enjoyed the nomadic life on the road must have found it challenging to keep themselves, their uniforms, and clothing clean and presentable in an era before air conditioning, plentiful modern sanitation facilities, and coin-operated laundries.

The men who tried to sustain the narrative of baseball's inherent masculinity liked to remind all who would listen that baseball was a physically demanding sport—particularly for professional players who competed in scores of games every season. They were right. Whether barnstorming female baseball players were talented athletes or theatrical entertainers rounding out a roster, they all endured the hardships of playing baseball day after day, week after week, month after month, in all manner of weather and field conditions. (Newspapers periodically commented on the sunburned and weather-beaten visages of the players—particularly late in the season.)[125] By the end of a four to five-month-long season, players were exhausted—and it showed on the field. When the Boston Bloomer Girls played in Rock Island, Illinois in early August 1895, a reporter noted that the game ended after only five innings because the "Beantown girls became fatigued." He also stated that all the players except for the pitcher, first basewoman, and second basewoman were "too lazy to move with any degree of sprightliness." He chalked it up to "advanced years," but it is more likely the players were simply worn out from months on the road.[126] Six weeks later, their exhaustion was even more apparent to a journalist in Little Falls, Minnesota who reported that only the pitcher and first basewoman played well. The rest "seemed too tired to even try."[127] While some reporters commented on the physical toll the women's occupation took upon them, others marveled at players' stamina. A reporter from the *Anaconda (Montana) Standard* saw Maud Nelson pitch a game in Butte in early September 1897. "It is a pretty hard thing for any man to pitch nine innings of baseball," he wrote, "but she did that, and pitched hard, swift, and straight all through."[128] Nelson and her athletic counterparts belied the myth that women were physically weak and lacked the mental toughness to persevere through demanding circumstances.

Injury and illness were ever-present risks for barnstorming female baseball players. Newspapers of the day were filled with reports of fiery trains wrecks and virulent epidemics sickening residents in various parts of the country. Transportation accidents and illnesses were a hazard of the job for female baseball players. A paper in Raleigh, North Carolina reported in August 1895 that a local doctor was attending a seriously ill player from the visiting Young Ladies Base Ball Club. When Maud Nelson's Boston Bloomer Girls visited San Francisco in October 1897, catcher Nelly Bly was unable to play due to a "charley-horse, tonsillitis, or some other, ailment" and Gustie Habeck was out with an undisclosed illness (her time of the month?). The team's male manager played for the injured Bly while Habeck worked the ticket gate.[129]

Illness was usually a short-term problem; injuries could be more serious. Whether athletes or theatrical performers, professional female baseball players were subject to a range of injuries ranging from charley horses, dislocated fingers, and sprained ankles to concussions and broken limbs. In June 1891, Agnes Carman of the Cincinnati Reds broke her collar bone in four places when she collided with the opposing first baseman. Two months later, one of her teammates was hit in the mouth by a swiftly pitched ball in Little Falls, New York. During the same game, two other players suffered black eyes from ground balls, and the catcher left the game with "puffed hands." The injury-plagued season continued the following month when Lizzie Arlington, who had joined the Reds after Carman was injured, was disabled during a game in Watertown from a "blow on the leg." Eight days later she was knocked unconscious for 20 minutes by a pitched ball. She was removed from the field in an ambulance.[130]

The Cincinnati Reds were not the only team to lose players to injuries. In June 1892, "Miss St. Joe" of Denver's barnstorming team suffered a broken nose when she collided with a male opponent during a game in Cheyenne. Two years later, Maud Nelson's teammate, Lizzie

Haines, suffered a season-ending injury in Cedar Rapids, Iowa when she was struck over the eye by a pitched ball. Haines remained "delirious" in a local hotel while the rest of her teammates departed for their next game.[131] The show had to go on. On rare occasions, female baseball players caused injuries to male opponents. The pitcher of the male nine in Rushville, Indiana lost several of his teeth when he was struck in the face by a line drive hit by one of the Boston Bloomer Girls.[132] On July 9, 1898, 23-year-old first baseman, Frank Winder, of Olathe, Kansas collapsed during a game against the Bloomer Girls. The coroner attributed his death to heart failure; the *Denver Evening Post* unkindly announced in its headline: "Fell Dead on the Ball Field: Crossing Bats With the 'Bloomer Girl' Team Was Too Much for Winder."[133]

Players adopted various strategies for mitigating the hardships of the road and the threat of illness or injury. The women on Denver's barnstorming team of 1892 sat in a covered wagon when they were not in the field, drank water with oatmeal in it (for their complexions), and carried sponges soaked in water to help prevent heat-related illness.[134] Some players refused to slide or field sharply hit balls. The athletes among them wore protective gear such as catcher's masks and gloves to prevent injury as much as possible. The New York Champion Young Ladies Base Ball Club provided its catcher with an inflatable "breast protector," but she refused to wear the bulky appendage.[135] Due to the nature of their business, players sometimes had to protect themselves from physical assaults; they used all available means to do so. At least one player in Cuba had protected herself with a gun; Sylvester Wilson's player, Nellie Williams, had wielded a bat during the brawl in Weehawken, and four years later, a player on W.P. Needham's Boston Bloomer Girl club knocked a male spectator down with a bat after fans in Anderson, Indiana stoned them after a game.[136]

Players did not submit passively to unruly fans or abusive/thieving managers. In June 1892, teammates Annie St. Clair and Flossie Atwood filed a report at police headquarters in Wheeling, West Virginia, charging their manager, Joseph Bruckner, with firing them in violation of their contract. They claimed that Bruckner had been cheating them out of their pay by levying excessive fines (up to $5 per incident) for minor infractions like talking to men or attending a post-game picnic without permission. When fines exceeded their salaries he fired them and stated they would have to pay their own expenses from that point on. The judge who heard the case agreed with the women that Bruckner had violated their contracts and had the police seize "five bales of canvass fence, three bundles of fence poles, a lot of stakes, an axe," and other team equipment until Bruckner restored their players and paid their salaries.[137] Sometimes players took matters into their own hands. In September 1892, when players on the New York Giants suspected that a manager was going to run out on them in Warsaw, New York and stiff them for their back salary, they refused to turn over their uniforms to him after a game. A physical brawl ensued and police were called to break up the melee. The manager emerged with a badly blackened eye; he had two of the players arrested and then skipped town.[138]

Dollars and Cents. By the 1890s, professional female baseball operations, like professional and semi-professional men's baseball leagues, were well-established leisure businesses. The Bloomer Girl-style teams of the 1890s and beyond were well-financed and generally well-managed businesses that marketed sport as entertainment. There were fewer accounts of teams collapsing mid-season; a number of teams owned and traveled in their own customized Pullman cars—evidence of significant capital investment. The size and complexity of barnstorming female baseball troupes varied depending on the financial resources of their managers. Those operating on a shoestring budget had nine or fewer players plus a male

manager and a single advance man. The best-funded operations carried a full roster of women plus substitutes, several managers, multiple advance men, plus canvas fencing, grandstands, and other equipment designed to make spectators comfortable and secure teams against freeloaders. These troupes traveled in custom railroad cars that served as mobile hotels. Some teams incorporated other acts into their program, necessitating transport and support of additional people and equipment. The New York Champion Young Ladies' Base Ball Club of 1892 traveled with 24 people—four men, ten female baseball players, and ten female band members who played for pre-game parades and during games.[139] W. P. Needham paid to transport a bullfighting act and a band of Mexican musicians with his team for at least part of the 1899 season.

Working class women were especially attracted to barnstorming baseball teams because they could make a good living at a time when most had limited options for gainful employment and even fewer options for enjoyable work.[140] Baseball players could earn far more money playing on the barnstorming teams than they could in a factory or store. Salary figures for working women in the early twentieth century indicate that most earned between $4.50-$8.00 per week. In contrast, Maud Nelson reportedly earned $18 a week for the Boston Bloomer Girls in 1895.[141] Nelson's high salary was likely an aberration, and even she would have been subject to the financial uncertainties that plagued barnstorming teams. Nonetheless, given a choice between wasting away in a tenement sweatshop, doing menial work as a domestic or waitress, or enduring the boredom and constant pressures of factory work, scores of young working class women decided that life on the road with barnstorming female baseball teams was far preferable.

Many Bloomer Girl baseball teams did well financially. Attendance at female baseball games in the 1870s and 1880s had almost always fallen off if teams tried to play a second game

in the same location, but the barnstorming female baseball teams of the 1890s and early twentieth century received steady support from loyal fans who enjoyed watching talented female athletes compete against their local men's nine in a baseball battle-of-the-sexes. This enabled teams to play profitable doubleheaders and to visit the same locations year after year. One indication of the popularity of the Bloomer-style teams is the fact that unscrupulous men and women sometimes tried to make a quick buck by foisting counterfeits upon an unwary public. W.P. Needham took to calling his team the "original" or "only genuine" Bloomer Girl team as counterfeits multiplied. In Fresno, California, a large crowd gathered at a Field Day competition in 1894 to watch the featured event—a female baseball game. Attendees were quite upset when the female team turned out to be a group of children dressed in women's clothing. The whole thing had been a fake, designed to draw more people than would have attended just to watch the track and field and bicycle races.[142]

Player Demographics. It is difficult to analyze the demographic composition of nineteenth-century barnstorming female baseball teams because even the talented athletes of the Bloomer Girl teams generally used stage names as their predecessors had in the 1870s and 1880s. Newspaper accounts rarely mentioned the race or ethnicity of players, many of whom, like Maud Nelson, were first or second generation European immigrants.[143] Immigrants comprised the majority of working class families in large urban areas like Chicago, New York City, St. Louis, and Philadelphia, where baseball entrepreneurs advertised for players.[144] Irrespective of ethnic origins, almost all nineteenth-century professional female baseball players were white. Nineteenth-century newspapers invariably identified individuals as "colored" if they were black; apart from the short-lived Dolly Varden and Captain Jinks teams of 1883, no other reference to black women playing on barnstorming baseball teams has come to light.

Bloomer Girl Legacy

The Bloomer Girl teams of the 1890s paved the way for the Bloomer Girl teams that followed in the twentieth century. They also spawned copy-cat barnstorming athletic organizations, such as a traveling female soccer team in San Francisco in 1893.[145] Talented female baseball players inspired countless other girls and women to try their hand at baseball. It was no coincidence that teams sprang up in numerous communities in Canada after Sylvester Wilson's female baseball teams staged exhibitions there in the early 1890s. The young women of Cherokee, Iowa organized their team in August 1895 after learning that the Boston Bloomer girls were coming to town.[146] In April 1898, young women in Morris, New York organized a baseball team and began practicing daily in order to "rival the record of the famous Cincinnati Reds of several years ago."[147]

More than a century has passed since the New Woman burst onto the scene in her voluminous bloomers—straddling her bicycle, swinging her tennis racket, and sliding into bases. We have the benefit of hindsight to know that she did not destroy the nation or emasculate men, but her contemporaries did not possess this long view; for them, New Women posed a dire threat to the survival of American "civilization" and "manly" men. Fortunately, as increasing numbers of talented, athletic female baseball players crisscrossed the country in the 1890s, earning the praise and respect of spectators and opponents, and as schoolgirls, college women, and civic baseball players decisively demonstrated that athleticism improved rather than harmed women, the general public began to embrace what it had once feared. In December 1893, the *Sunday Item* of Philadelphia acknowledged that athletic training was improving women's minds and greatly enhancing their "judgment and nerve."[148] The changing attitude about the value of vigorous physical exercise for women gave countless thousands of girls and women the

opportunity to play baseball in the final decade of the nineteenth century. Their enthusiasm for the national pastime, coupled with persistent ideals about the importance of gender distinctions, helped spark the creation of surrogate baseball games for women that ultimately solidified the gendered narrative of baseball as a man's game for the next century.

Baseball for Schoolgirls. Young girls loved to play baseball and many became quite talented. A classmate of Elizabeth Virginia Wallace (the future first lady, Bess Truman) recalled that Wallace was "the first girl I ever knew who could whistle through her teeth and bat a ball as far as any boy in the neighborhood."[149] Wallace played third base and was the "champion slugger" for her brother's sandlot baseball team in Independence, Missouri almost a century after schoolgirls in the United States had mimicked characters in Jane Austen's, Mary Russell Mitford, and Louisa Tuthill's stories. Goodridge Wilson, Jr. remembered male and female students playing all sorts of games together at his rural school in Virginia in the 1890s. He related that boys often chose girls first for teams, not from "motives of chivalry but because they were better runners" and he noted that the girls who enjoyed running races, playing Townball, wrestling, and holding jumping contests at schools had grown up doing the same things on their farms and lawns with male and female playmates.[150]

Upper-class students played baseball at places like Miss Porter's School, the Prospect Hill School, the Burnham School, and Mrs. Hazen's Suburban School for Girls in Pelham Manor, New York.[151] Students attending parochial and denominational schools played baseball too. In 1896, reporters lauded the skills of the "picked nines from the various convents" in Philadelphia who challenged each other to games and touted the benefits of baseball over basketball."[152] The following year the *Wilkes-Barre Times* reported on the heated competition between Quaker students from the Walnut Lane Boarding School and the Germantown Friends'

School. The noisy cheering of assembled students drew many male spectators to the scene of the nine-inning contest. Teams played by standard baseball rules—pitches "were shot across the plate with remarkable speed," base runners stole bases, and catchers wore chest pads and "muzzles." The only deviation from the norm was that each side had only eight players.[153]

Baseball was particularly popular among students at the Ogontz School in Philadelphia. Originally known as the Chestnut Street Female Seminary, the school was located in the heart of Philadelphia's most prestigious neighborhood. It took the name of Jay Cooke's luxurious 40-acre rural estate when it relocated there in 1883.[154] A rare action photograph of nineteenth-century girls playing baseball shows students playing at Ogontz circa 1890 (Fig. 5-7).[155] Another photograph depicts eleven serious-looking young women posed for a team shot with bats, balls, and a catcher's mask. Several of the players sport military rank on their sleeves, designating their status in the girls' military drill company.

Figure 5-7. Baseball Game at Ogontz School, Philadelphia, c. 1890

Baseball thrived for many years at Ogontz. In April 1895, the school newspaper reported: "The craze for ball playing this spring has broken out violently. Two base-ball nines

have been organized, and the cries of the enthusiastic players assail the ears of the drowsy inmates of the house at absurdly early hours." After listing the names of the twenty-six students comprising the managers, players, and substitutes on the team rosters, the paper concluded: "The exercise thus gained will be highly beneficial, and it is to [sic] hoped that no bad bruises will be received in the zeal for feats of strength and for fun."[156] Ogontz School baseball players came from across the country—from Colorado, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey. They used regulation base balls, and bats that were only slightly lighter than those used by men.

By century's end, adults were playing a more active role in student athletics and a minority of them advocated interscholastic competition for girls. Dr. Milo S. Walker, who taught chemistry at Chicago's West Division High School, was a proponent of indoor baseball for girls and helped establish an interscholastic league.[157] Indoor baseball for girls debuted at West Division High School in 1895; Joseph Medill High School organized its team soon after. Initially students played only intra-scholastic games but, beginning in the winter of 1899, they were training for interscholastic competition with area schools. By 1903, Chicago and Cook County physical educators were operating a scholastic indoor baseball league.[158]

The female students in Chicago initially used the same official indoor baseball rules that men did—a fact that concerned some gender traditionalists. Soon after the female students at West Division High School began playing the sport, the *National Police Gazette* printed an unflattering illustration, depicting them as buxom and scantily clad damsels in short pants and short-sleeved blouses (Fig. 5-8). Like the 1868 image of the Peterboro girls baseball team in *The Days' Doings*, the *Police Gazette* image bore no resemblance to the reality taking place in Chicago-area high school gymnasiums; its purpose was to scandalize.

Even those who supported vigorous physical activities and team sports for girls, often did so within the constraints of gender prescriptions. Walker may have embraced interscholastic competition for indoor baseball players, but he also promoted special rules for girls. He experimented with a "lighter, softer and quite elastic ball" supplied by A.G. Spalding & Bros. and banned sliding, which he believed introduced "certain roughness entirely out of harmony

Figure 5-8. National Police Gazette (16 Mar 1895)

with the true sport."[159] The modified equipment, diamond size, and rules that Walker and other male and female physical educators promoted to meet the "special needs" of girls and women, eventually evolved into separate baseball games for women, thus solidifying the narrative of baseball as a man's game.

Though countless schoolgirls played baseball in the United States during the nineteenth century, they comprised only a small minority of their peers. In 1895 and 1896, J.R. Street conducted a survey to determine what sorts of recreational activities young men and young women had enjoyed as schoolchildren. Of his 183 respondents, mostly from Massachusetts and Maine, 160 were women. While 14 of the 23 young men who responded reported that they had

played baseball as schoolboys, only 15 of the 160 young women had—in fact, baseball was at the bottom of their list of eleven activities. Favorite games of the girls were Hide and Seek, Croquet, Tag, and Tennis in that order. Dolls, House, and Cards ranked just above baseball.[160] Street's findings confirm that school girls in the late nineteenth century generally conformed to prevailing gender expectations. By embracing gender-appropriate leisure activities, they helped solidify the gendering of baseball as a boys' and man's game. Even the girls who persisted in playing the game they loved, despite reluctant headmistresses and teasing boys, understood that their days of carefree cavorting with the boys on baseball fields would be fleeting. The bonds of womanhood awaited them.[161]

Baseball for Female Collegians in the 1890s. The third generation of young women who attended the nation's colleges after 1890 benefitted from the pioneering work of predecessors who had demonstrated that women *could* engage in rigorous intellectual study without physically harming themselves. Nonetheless, even as late as 1897, female college students were still uncomfortably aware that not everyone wished them well: "As women, and at a woman's college, the criticism to which our every act lies exposed, is invariably severe, and might even with justice be called unfriendly," commented an unnamed student in the Bryn Mawr yearbook."[162] Fortunately for this student and her peers, increasing numbers of Americans were embracing the image of exuberance and athleticism embodied in the "New Woman," thus opening up new opportunities for collegians to explore their athleticism. In 1897, Wellesley alumna Millicent Peirce Potter (Class of 1895), confidently asserted: "The purely intellectual woman, so prone to nervousness and despondent views of life, has at last given place to the *normal* woman, who has or who strives to have an abundance of good spirits as well as muscle to

balance her developing thought [emphasis added]."[163] Potter attributed the new harmony between mind and body to the "growing influence of athletics" on her campus.

Most of the female baseball teams on college campuses continued to be organized by students. They organized house and class teams at Wellesley, Smith, Mills College, the University of Arizona, and the Women's College of the Western Reserve in Cleveland, Ohio, for example. Even southern students tried their hand at the national pastime. Baseball was one of the most popular sports played by students at the all-women Converse College in Spartanburg, South Carolina during the 1890s. Students proudly posed for team photographs (Fig. 5-9.)[164]

Figure 5-9. Class Baseball Team, Converse College, S. Carolina (1899)

Though most female baseball teams on college campuses in the 1890s were organized by students, a growing number of colleges began incorporating athletics and team sports into their official physical education curricula. Professionally-trained physical educators encouraged their female students to take up sports like tennis, rowing, basketball, and baseball. Baseball was never the most popular sport on college campuses in the 1890s but the young women collegians who played the national pastime thoroughly enjoyed themselves. Because baseball's center had,

by this point, begun to coalesce around the ideal of the elite, professional male game, students understood that to play baseball was to tacitly resist gender ideals. Like the first generation of female collegiate baseball players, students in the 1890s often wore the latest female fashions while they played and frequently hid their practices and games from outsiders. They also jokingly disparaged themselves in order not to appear to be overtly challenging the superiority of male athleticism. In June 1891, for example, Mount Holyoke College seniors who had brought baseball back to the college memorialized their experiences in their Class Book: "Baseball has had its victories, and several stock companies have been formed," they wrote, "and the skillful way in which eyes are blackened and fingers bruised is only one more additional evidence as to the inability of a woman to throw."[165]

Female collegians of the 1890s were more willing to play baseball with or in front of male students. In May 1893 the *Grand Forks Herald* reported that the female students at the co-educational University of North Dakota played baseball "every evening after supper" and were determined not "to be surpassed by the boys this spring."[166] This was an interesting claim considering that three of the players on the female team were male students.[167] The same month that the *Grand Forks Herald* noticed the co-educational team in North Dakota, the *Kalamazoo Gazette* reprinted an announcement from Ann Arbor that the "*co-ed* base ball team" (emphasis added) was hosting a "Grand Ballet" and that all were invited.[168] In 1897, numerous female and co-ed baseball teams appeared at Olivet College in Michigan. The school newspaper attributed the surge of teams to the success of the men's intercollegiate baseball team.[169] Though many women's collegiate athletic teams banned male spectators from practices or competitions, the Olivet boarding house teams welcomed men to the game they played as a fund raiser. One caveat was that men had to sit in the grandstand; only women were allowed on the sidelines or in

the bleachers. (This was a reversal of practice at typical non-collegiate games where women were given a privileged place in the grandstand and men crowded around the field or sat on bleachers.)[170]

The Road Not Taken

By century's end, men held almost exclusive control of the structure of "official" baseball, while women created a parallel structure for the baseball-surrogate known as "women's baseball." This structural transformation took place on the nation's college campuses. The new sport of women's baseball grew out of the professionalization of physical education in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century. When schools, colleges, and communities began spending large sums of money to train and hire professional educators, these professionals began using sports, particularly team sports, to inculcate social values and to reinforce gender ideals. Eventually professional physical educators took control of what had previously been student-led collegiate athletic programs; they blazed sharply divergent paths for men's and women's athletics. Male athletic directors created a tiered structure of competitive athletics that featured sharp divisions between elite athletes and everyone else; female physical educators developed athletic programs that emphasized equal participation for all and that adapted sports to meet the "special needs" of women.[171]

Feminist scholars sometimes decry the fact that female physical educators chose the path they did. They lament that these women did not seize the opportunity to undermine stereotypes about women's supposed biological inferiority by encouraging and celebrating mental toughness and physical athleticism in girls and young women. In the context of late nineteenth century feminism and collegiate sport, however, their vision for women's athletics made sense. Biological determinism and Social Darwinism were powerful influences at the time. Rosalind

Rosenberg notes that the "ancient belief in feminine uniqueness" was so pervasive that "liberation could only be conceived in terms of it." Thus even women trying to expand women's social roles did so while "defending the traditional conception of her nature."[172]

The majority of late nineteenth-century feminists understood that physical fitness was essential to women's continued social advancement yet, like their predecessors, they could not agree on the best way promote that objective. Should athletic and recreation programs for girls and women mirror those of boys and men or should they employ different objectives and strategies? Ultimately, the professional female physical educators who developed the formal structure of female physical education and athletic programs in the early twentieth century rejected the pattern of elitism and commodified competition that was beginning to characterize men's athletic programs. They focused on creating fitness and recreational programs that *all* girls and boys, women and men could enjoy no matter what their level of fitness.

Put off by what they saw as overemphasis on competition in men's programs, and convinced of biological distinctions between men and women, female physical educators adapted the rules for sports like basketball, football, and baseball to minimize running, jumping, and physical contact. (Ironically, they simultaneously embraced and promoted the English sport of Field Hockey which required players to run the length and breadth of a large field repeatedly.) Occassionally, physical educators invented new sports for girls and women as an alternative to popular competitive sports. In 1894, renowned physical educator Dudley Sargent introduced "Battle Ball." The sport combined features of bowling, base ball, cricket, foot ball, and tennis. Within a year, advocates were touting it as a more socially-appropriate substitute for football for women.[173] Physical educators also promoted baseball surrogates. In 1896, the *Washington Post* described "Lang Ball" as a cross between kickball and baseball. Players hung from a parallel bar

at home plate and put a 6" diameter rubber ball into play by kicking it. Pitchers could put the "batters" out by throwing the ball past them. The *Post* lauded Lang ball as "just the game for women" because, while including "all the health-giving features of baseball," it posed no risk of knocking them senseless or hurting their "pretty fingers."[174]

Lang ball did not catch on with female collegians but they did play baseball in increasing numbers. By 1929, so many college women were playing so many different forms of baseball that physical educator Gladys Palmer published *Baseball for Girls and Women*. The book symbolically marked the decisive split between men's baseball and women's baseball—there were now two sports where there had once been one. Two sports, divided by gender.

CONCLUSION

Baseball did not become gendered as a man's sport overnight nor did any single group dominate the cultural metanarrative of baseball as it matured from infancy to adolescence during the nineteenth century. Upper-, middle-, and working classes, elite athletes and theatrical entrepreneurs, native-born and immigrant, white, black, Asian, and Hispanic, men and women, girls and boys, urban dwellers and rural pioneers, white collar and blue collar, educated and uneducated—all embraced the sport and tailored narratives to reinforce the socio-cultural and gender ideals they valued. In the process each contributed to baseball's elevation in status to national pastime.

Not every group had equal influence on the ultimate character and culture of baseball, however. Early in its history, a small minority of white, male businessmen and elite players seized hold of the sport from children and adult amateur players and constructed an enduring organizational structure that attracted the support of publishers and other businessmen who recognized in the structure opportunities to expand their own influence and profits. Gradually the voices promoting baseball's professional structure drowned out the voices of the nameless millions who played the game for fun and other reasons unrelated to financial gain. The culture of the game they developed was highly gendered and hierarchical.

Every decade of the nineteenth century saw more girls and women playing and watching baseball than in previous decades. Nonetheless, the narrative of baseball as a man's game became so pervasive (and persuasive) by the end of the nineteenth century that it would endure well into the twentieth. By 1909, former semi-professional baseball player (and soon to be nationally-renowned adventure writer) Zane Grey could confidently assert: "All boys love baseball. If they don't, they're not real boys."[1] Grey's comment made perfect sense to a

generation coming of age at a time when professional physical educators were harnessing play to inculcate gender values in children. William A. McKeever echoed baseball's gendered theme in 1913, insisting: "No boy can grow to a perfectly normal manhood today without the benefit of at least a small amount of baseball experience and practice."[2] The men who organized Little League Baseball in 1939 perpetuated the gendered theme, writing a charter that reflected their determination to use baseball to develop "citizenship, sportsmanship, and manhood" in boys.[3] No organization in the twentieth century reinforced the gendered characterization of baseball more than Little League Baseball. The organization epitomized the belief that baseball was an essential part of male development; Congress and President Johnson reinforced its message when they granted it a tax-exempt, federal corporate charter.

Feminists of the 1960s and 1970s recognized the powerful symbolism of Little League Baseball's ban on female players and supported numerous lawsuits aimed at overturning it. The visceral emotions these lawsuits unleashed reflected just how deeply baseball's gendered narrative of masculinity had rooted itself in the broader culture. Baseball had become a symbol of masculinity—a "private" space where boys and men could go to bond with one another, free from feminizing influences.[4] When a New Jersey court ruled in favor of the National Organization of Women in a lawsuit against Little League Baseball's all-male policies in 1972, the emotional backlash across the nation was widespread and intense. Commenting on the outcry, sportswriter Frank Deford opined that girls trying to get into Little League were not just "monkeying with men's baseball but with men's childhood."[5]

For decades most modern scholars of sport assumed that baseball was and always had been a man's game. They unwittingly perpetuated the gendered narrative introduced in the nineteenth century by men with a financial stake in shaping the game for their own purposes—a

narrative accepted and reinforced in the early twentieth century by female physical education professionals who built a structure for girls' and women's sport based on the assumed priority of biological distinctions between men and women. Even feminist scholars who railed (and rail) against the exclusion of girls and women from scholastic, collegiate, and Organized Baseball structures and teams generally assumed that baseball had always been a man's game and that women never had a chance to make it otherwise because men simply overpowered them in the battle for control of the sport's center. The truth was clearly more complex.

Close scrutiny of nineteenth-century sources about baseball indicate that its gendered future was neither inevitable nor quickly solidified. Men *and* women shaped the gendered narrative of baseball and a large majority of both groups ultimately acceded to its characterization as a man's game. The characterization was contested. Throughout the nineteenth century, men and women rejected the narrative of masculinity spun about the game, arguing that baseball could benefit all who played it. There is little if any evidence that women viewed baseball's masculine reputation as an oppressive symbol of their exclusion from other facets of public life; women's rights activists brought no lawsuits against Organized Baseball during the nineteenth century nor did they mount a concerted campaign to end discrimination against female baseball players. By and large, girls and women expressed their confidence in baseball's gender-neutral benefits by simply playing it. Theirs was a lived, not a verbal or written, counternarrative. It was a gender-neutral narrative that may have ultimately displaced the masculine narrative had a new culture and structure for scholastic, collegiate, and civic (playground) sports not emerged in the early-twentieth century. A culture that believed it was more important to create women's baseball than to persist in playing the "genuine" national pastime.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: First Female Teams and Players By Date/State

Date+	Place	State/ Terr.	Type of Team^	Comments
1820s	Warren County	MO* (1876)	n/a	Sally Tice "was a splendid ball player, and played with the boys at school, who always chose her first, because she could beat any of them."[1]
"	Kingdom of Hawaii	HI* (1875)	Co-ed Private School	A resident from Boston describes native boys and girls playing "good old bat and ball," just the same as had been played on school grounds and the Common back in Boston.[2]
early 1850s	Southern Wisconsin	WI* (1876)	School	Elias Molee describes girls and boys playing One Old Cat and Two Old Cat together during school recess.[3]
late 1850s	Steuben County	NY	Public Schools	Baseball is "*the* game at our district schools during intermission hours, and often engaged in by youths of both sexes."[4]
1859	Perth Amboy	NJ	Co-ed Private School	"We are glad to record that there is one school in this country . . . where girls are encouraged to take vigorous physical exercise; where boys and girls are educated together; where the girls have boat clubs and play ball, . . ."[5]
1862	Benicia	CA	Private Girls' Seminary	"games of ball . . . form a part of the regular daily exercises."[6]
Nov 1865	Harrisburg	PA** (1871)	Civic	". . . Already we hear faint whisperings of a Ladies' Base Ball Club, and next summer will probably launch the Spinsters' Barge Club on the Schuylkill."[7]
Spring 1867	Farmington	CT	Private Girls' School	Students organized the "Tunxis" baseball club.[8]
Jul 1867	Dowagiac	MI	Civic	"A young ladies' base ball club is being organized at Dowagiac."[9]
"	Pensacola	FL	Civic	"The Baseball Disease has attacked the women, the young ladies of Pensacola, Fla., having organized a baseball club."[10]
Sep 1867	McConnelsville	OH	Civic	"Some of the ladies of this place have organized a female Base Ball Club. The married members are said to be good "catchers," and are instructing the unmarried."[11]

+ Appendix A lists the earliest known date when female residents of a state/territory played baseball or a variation of baseball. It does not include dates when female players from other states played baseball there before residents organized their own teams.

^ It is not always possible to distinguish the type of team with certainty.

* The bat and ball games played by girls and boys in these locations were precursors of the modern game of baseball. The earliest confirmed dates when females played the New York or Massachusetts forms of baseball are listed in parentheses.

** Existence of team not confirmed; date of earliest confirmed team in parentheses.

Mar 1868	Boston	MA*** (1872)	--	"I don't like girls. Girls is different from what boys is. Girls don't play marbles, and also don't play hooky. I played hooky once, and got whipped for it. Girls sometimes gets whipped, but not so much as boys; their clothes ain't so well suited for it: this is the reason, I suppose. I never sees girls play base-ball, but they say they do in Boston. . . ."[12]
Nov 1868	Plymouth	IN	Civic	"The young ladies of Plymouth are organizing a base ball club."[13]
Apr 1869	West Lebanon	ME	Co-ed Private Academy	"The great excitement over here is base ball and jumping rope. The boys play at morning, noon and after school in the after noon and the girls play ball as well as the boys. . ."[14]
Fall 1869	Evanston	IL	Woman's College	"The Diana Female Base Ball Club, composed of young ladies connected with the Northwestern Seminary, at Evanston, Ill., have been challenged by the Baltics of Chicago, a junior club, but it is probable the ladies will decline."[15]
Jun 1872	???	MN	--	"The swiftest 'pitch' in the country is a young woman, aged 23, belonging to a Minnesota female base ball club."[16]
1873	Wichita	KS	Civic	Secondary source reports there was a ladies baseball club organized in Wichita in 1873.[17]
May 1873	Iowa City	IA	Civic	"Iowa City's female base ball club is ready to receive proposals—we should say challenges."[18]
Jul 1874	Pittsfield	NH	Civic	"Pittsfield has a female base ball club."[19]
Aug 1874	Tarboro	NC	Civic	"A female base ball club has been organized in Tarboro."[20]
Late 1875	--	KY	Public Schools	"The baseball mania is prevalent in Kentucky, and even the girls at school join in to make up nines."[21]
Jul 1876	Providence	RI	--	"It is the fashion now for girls to play baseball & I think it is the best fun ever invented."[22]
May 1879	New Orleans	LA	Pick-up/ Theatrical	"First Grand Female Base Ball Festival Ever Exhibited in the South, at the Fair Grounds, on Sunday, June 15, 1879, on which occasion there will be a Grand Game of Base Ball Between the Lady Nine of Baltimore and the Lady Nine of Boston."[23]
Jul 1883	Huntsboro	AL	Pick-up/Civic	"Miss Walker and eight other young ladies of Huntsboro, Ala. defeated a male nine there July 25 by a score of 20 to 11."[24]
May 1884	Glendive	MT	Civic	"The young ladies of Glendive have bought a ball and bat, and intend organizing immediately. If there are any other female base ball clubs in the Territory we should like to hear from them with a view to getting up a match."[25]
Jun 1884	Denver	CO	Civic	"The North Side is ahead again! This time it's the champion female base ball player. It is understood that the 'giddy girls' will form a club in the near future, in which case some boys will have to look to their laurels."[26]

*** May be a fictional account. Earliest confirmed date for female team/player is listed in parentheses.

Oct 1884	Blunt (Dakota Territory)	SD	Civic	"A female base ball club flourishes at Blunt, Dakota."[27]
c. 1885	--	UT**** (n/a)	School/ Pick-up	"At twelve I thought more of pleasure and fun and played all kinds of games including town ball, steal stick, and, of course, foot races. . . I'll never forget the good times my chums and I had together during these years."[28]
Oct 1885	Romney	WV	School/ Pick-up	"Romney has a juvenile female base ball club."[29]
Nov 1886	Bismarck (Dakota Territory)	ND	Civic	"The last advertised game of ball by the Bismarck female base ball club was played last evening in Meadowland park, but owing to the beautiful weather the young ladies expect to continue the healthful and amusing sport for several weeks."[30]
Aug 1888	Albuquerque (New Mexico Territory)	NM	Civic/ Barnstorming	"Albuquerque, New Mexico, has organized a female base ball team. They are uniformed in a neat sailor waist and navy blue short skirts, and are now undergoing thorough practice before making a tour through Colorado, New Mexico and Texas."[31]
Apr 1889	San Antonio	TX (1896)	--	"There is considerable talk of organizing a female base ball nine in the city."[32]
Oct 1889	Mount Washington	MD	Civic	"There are nine young ladies, well known in the society of Mount Washington, in this county, who are so enthusiastically in love with base ball that they have formed themselves into a nine of their own."[33]
Early 1890s	Marion	VA**** (n/a)	Woman's College	"I know that they played town ball because a lady who was one of them told me they did and she said that Lizzie Painter was a star town ball player."[34]
Jun 1891	Blair and Tekamah	NE	Civic	"We understand that pitcher Brott has organized a female base ball nine, composed of the following . . . They intend to play the Tekamah nine in a few weeks. Glad to know Blair can support a female and male nine."[35]
Aug 1892	Evanston	WY	Civic	"A female base ball club has been organized at Evanston."[36]
Jul 1894	Fort Valley and Atlanta	GA	Pick-up	Fourth of July celebrations in Atlanta included a game between black women's teams from Fort Valley and Atlanta.[37]
"	Spartanburg	SC	Woman's College	Baseball was one of the most popular sports at Converse College.[38]
Jan 1898	Safford (Arizona Territory)	AZ	--	"Mr. Wm. Kirtland and Henry Nash of Safford have left for the Klindyke country. They are old time Arizonans. There is not much wonder at the movement as Safford has organized a female base ball club."[39]

**** The game played by girls in Utah and Virginia was Townball, a variation of baseball. There is no evidence of women in either state playing the New York version of the game during the nineteenth century although barnstorming female teams occasionally played in both states.

States Without Identified Homegrown Female Baseball Teams in the Nineteenth Century:

Arkansas	Tennessee
Delaware	Utah
Idaho	Vermont
Mississippi	Virginia
Nevada	Washington
Oregon	

Future States Without Identified Homegrown Female Baseball Teams in the Nineteenth Century:

Alaska
Oklahoma

Appendix B: Female Baseball in the 1850s and 1860s

Date	Place	State/ Terr.*	Type of Team	Comments
late 1850s	Steuben County	**NY**	Public Schools	Baseball is "*the* game at our district schools during intermission hours, and often engaged in by youths of both sexes."[1]
1859	Perth Amboy	**NJ**	Co-ed Private School	"We are glad to record that there is one school in this country . . . where girls are encouraged to take vigorous physical exercise; where boys and girls are educated together; where the girls have boat clubs and play ball, . . ."[2]
1862	Benicia	**CA**	Private Girls' Seminary	Students at the Benicia Young Ladies' Seminary played "games of ball" as part of their regular daily exercises.[3]
1864-65	Benicia	CA	Private Girls' Seminary	School catalogues for the Benicia Young Ladies' Seminary state that students play "games at ball."
Nov 1865	Harrisburg	**PA**	--	"Already we hear faint whisperings of a Ladies' Base Ball Club, and next summer will probably launch the Spinsters' Barge Club on the Schuylkill . . ."[4]
Spring 1866	Poughkeepsie	NY	Women's College	First and second year students at Vassar College organized the Laurel and Abenakis baseball clubs.[5]
Spring 1867	Poughkeepsie	NY	Women's College	First and second year students at Vassar College organized the Precocious baseball club. None had played on the Laurel and Abenakis teams in 1866.[6]
"	Farmington	**CT**	Private Girls' School	Students at Miss Porter's School organized the Tunxis baseball club.[7]
Jul 1867	Dowagiac	**MI**	Civic	"A young ladies' base ball club is being organized at Dowagiac."[8]
"	Saranac	MI	Civic	"The *Cassopolis Democrat* says a base ball club has been organized at Saranac in this State,. . . .The ladies are also organizing a base ball club."[9]
"	Niles	MI	Civic	"A young ladies' base ball club has been organized at Niles, Mich."[10]

* Bold font indicates first year state/territory is known to have had a female baseball team or player.

“	Pensacola	**FL**	Civic	“The Baseball Disease has attacked the women, the young ladies of Pensacola, Fla., having organized a baseball club.”[11]
Aug 1867	Hallsport	NY	Civic	“We are informed the Ladies B. B. C. of Hallsport, indulged in a spirited practice game Saturday afternoon last. Will they please send us an invitation to witness a game; or the score of one to publish?. . .”[12]
* Sep 1867	McConnelsville	**OH**	Civic	“Some of the ladies of this place have organized a female Base Ball Club. The married members are said to be good “catchers,” and are instructing the unmarried.”[13]
Sep 1867	Bordentown	NJ	Civic	“In Bordentown, base ball is rampant. There is hardly a man, woman, or child, who is not more or less interested in one or more of the clubs. The enthusiasm on this subject has reached the female persuasion, and two base ball clubs have been organized among the young ladies.”[14]
Oct 1867	Allen’s Prairie (Coldwater)	MI	Civic	“We have to record still another death from base ball folly. In Allen's prairie, Michigan, there is a ladies' base ball club. One day last week they played a game. Miss Howard was made ill by the over-exertion, and died in three days thereafter.”[15]
“	--	NY	Civic	“Female Base Ball Clubs are being formed in some portions of the state . . .”[16]
1868	Kalamazoo	MI	Civic	“A number of ladies of this place have organized a base ball and croquet club.—They have secured grounds and are putting themselves through a thorough course of training. The two nines played a spirited little game a few nights ago, and the score showed some good playing. We shall expect to hear shortly of a challenge being given to some of our old clubs. The boys will have to look out for their laurels.”[17]
Mar 1868	Boston	**MA**	--	“. . . . I never sees girls play base-ball, but they say they do in Boston. . . .”[18]
Jul 1868	Peterboro	NY	Civic	“We were delighted to find here a base ball club of girls. Nannie Miller, a grand-daughter of Gerrit Smith, is the Captain, and handles the club with a grace and strength worthy of notice. . . .”[19]
Sep 1868	Brooklyn	NY	Civic	“Following in the example of the ‘Gushing Girls’ of Peterboro, a movement is on foot in Brooklyn to organize a Club of female base ball players. They are to discard hoops and skirts utterly, and appear in a genuine Arab rig. Most of them are undergoing physical discipline, and all of them are making preparations for a match.”[20]
Nov 1868	Plymouth	**IN**	Civic	“The young ladies of Plymouth are organizing a base ball club.”[21]
Apr 1869	West Lebanon	**ME**	Co-ed Academy	“The great excitement over here is base ball and jumping rope. The boys play at morning, noon and after school in the after noon and the girls play ball as well as the boys. . .”[22] (Charles Hurd, West Lebanon Academy)

Sep 1869	Cincinnati	OH	Pick-up	"A Match game of base-ball was played on Monday last between the Invincibles and Woman's Suffrage Base-ball Clubs, on the Relief grounds, which resulted in a bad defeat for the Invincibles, with the following score:…"[23]
Oct 1869	Evanston	**IL**	Women's College	Students at the Northwestern Female College organized a base ball team.[24]
"	Sedamsville	OH	Civic	"We fear that the religious war going on in Cincinnati is extending its demoralizing effect to the neighboring townships inasmuch as a telegram mentions the fact that a squad of female base ball players were engaged in their favorite pastime, near Sedamsville, Ohio, *last Sunday*." [Emphasis original.][25]

Appendix C: Female Baseball in the 1870s

Date	Place	State/ Terr.	Type of Team	Comments
Aug 1870	Jackson County	IN	Civic	"We learn that there are several female Base Ball Clubs in this State. . . ." "Two female base ball clubs are reported in Jackson County.[1]
"	Detroit	MI	Civic	"Detroit has a female base ball club." "The women of Detroit are learning to play base ball."[2]
"	Rockford	IL	Pick-up	"Word from Rockford that a base ball club, composed of married ladies . . . played a game yesterday with a picked nine of single ladies, on the grounds of the Forest City Club."[3]
"	New Lisbon	OH	--	Quip about a female baseball club. "One of the girls recently made a 'home run.' She saw her father [mother] coming with a big switch."[4]
Fall 1870	Cincinnati	OH	Grammar School	Girls at a grammar school in Cincinnati organized two baseball teams, the Favorites and Mountain Maids.[5]
"	Lancaster	OH	Grammar Schools	Girls at the South Senior and South Junior grammar schools in Lancaster organized teams and scrimmaged each other.[6]
Jan 1871	Cincinnati	OH	Civic	"Cincinnati has two female base burning [sic] clubs."[7]
Jul 1871	Crawfordsville	IN	Civic	"Crawfordsville has a female base ball club, and the Louisville *Commercial* proposes to match its printing office nine against the Amazonians."[8]
Jul 1871	Evanston	IL	Women's College	A team from the Evanston College for Women played a team from Northwestern University as part of a Fourth of July fund raising event organized by College president, Frances Willard.[9]
Aug 1871	Evansville	IN	Civic	"A female base ball club has been organized in Evansville."[10]
Sep 1871	Elgin	IL	Civic	"Elgin now boasts two base ball clubs, composed entirely of ladies. They are known respectively as the Originals and the Independents . . ."[11]
Sep 1871	Pittsburgh	PA	Civic	"Pittsburgh boasts of several female base-ball clubs."[12]
1872	Boston	MA	Grammar School	Alice Stone Blackwell, daughter of Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell, played baseball with peers at the Harris Grammar school during recess.[13]
Jun 1872	--	**MN**	--	"The swiftest 'pitch' in the country is a young woman, aged 23, belonging to a Minnesota female base ball club."[14]
Fall 1872	Oakland	CA	Private Female Seminary	Baseball was the "first outdoor sport" at Mills Seminary when it opened in 1872.[15]
1873	Wichita	**KS**	Civic	Secondary source reports there was a ladies baseball club organized in Wichita in 1873.[16]

“	--	OH	Schools	“Ohio girl students play base ball, and the newspapers talk of it. Well?”[17]
May 1873	Iowa City	**IA**	Civic	“Iowa City’s female base ball club is ready to receive proposals—we should say challenges.”[18]
Fall 1873	Boston	MA	Private School	Alice Stone Blackwell continued to play baseball with classmates after her parents moved her to Chauncy Hall School in the Fall of 1873.[19]
“	Salem	IA	Co-ed College	Whittier College, a coeducational Quaker institution had two baseball teams, one all-male and one, all-female.[20]
Apr 1874	Rhinebeck	NY	Civic	“South street boasts of a female base ball club. They challenge the world.”
May 1874	Greenfield	MA	Female Boarding School	“A female boarding school in Greenfield has produced a base ball club. . . .”[21]
Jul 1874	Pittsfield	**NH**	Civic	“Pittsfield has a female base ball club.”[22]
c. Aug 1874	East Tawas and vicinity	MI	Civic	“The young ladies of East Tawas have organized an Amateur Base Ball Club that bids fair to eclipse all other organizations of the kind in this vicinity.”
Aug 1874	Tarboro	**NC**	Civic	“A female base ball club has been organized in Tarboro.”[23]
Sep 1874	Harmonsburg	PA	Civic	“Happy Harmonsburg—they have the velocipede fever now for the first time; they are looking for the potato bug; and boast of a female base [ball?] club.”
1875	Honolulu	**HI^**	Co-ed Private School	Four teams comprised of 21 students, aged 15-19, and two teachers played at least two baseball matches in 1875.[24]
Jun 1875	Reading	PA	Civic	“Reading has a beautiful female base ballist, who challenges ‘Jhonny’ Briton of Lewistown.”[25]
Jul 1875	Laporte	PA	Civic	“Laporte has a female base ball club named Longstockings.”[26]
Fall 1875	Poughkeepsie	NY	Women’s College	Students at Vassar College organized seven or eight teams.[27]
Aug-Sep 1875	Springfield	IL	Professional/ Theatrical	“The Female Base Ball Club, which was recently organized in Springfield and has been playing in the interior of Illinois, is composed of eighteen players, a blonde nine and a brunette nine.”[28]
Late 1875	--	**KY**	Schools	“The baseball mania is prevalent in Kentucky, and even the girls at school join in to make up nines.”[29]
Feb 1876	Philadelphia	PA	Civic	“The ladies’ base ball club has been organized in Philadelphia and will play during the Centennial year.”[30]
Mar 1876	St Louis	**MO**	Professional/ Theatrical	“Look out for the Female Base Ball Club, for it will soon make its appearance.”[31]

^ Kingdom of Hawaii

Apr 1876	Virginia	IL	Civic	". . . Virginia, Cass County, has a female base ball club, and it is name "The Leap Year Winners." This club has vanquished a male club of that place in a match game the other day."[32]
"	Lafayette	IN	Civic	"Lafayette has parlor concerts. Also, a female base ball club."[33]
May 1876	Manitowoc	**WI**	Civic	"Manitowoc, Wis., has a female base ball club known as the Striped Stockings. But the girls will stop when running the bases to fix their bustles."[34]
Spg-Fall 1876	Poughkeepsie	NY	Women's College	Baseball was one of the sports physical educators taught students during the Spring term and summer gym program. The clubs were reorganized in the Fall of 1876.[35]
Jun 1876	Brooklyn	NY	Civic	"The suggestion has been made that a female base ball club be originated and that ladies who wish to distinguish themselves this Centennial year be permitted the opportunity."[36]
"	Providence	**RI**	--	"It is the fashion now for girls to play baseball & I think it is the best fun ever invented."[37]
Jul 1876	Paris	KY	Civic	"Now they are happy at Paris, Ky. They have a female base ball club."[38]
Aug 1876	Erie	NY	Civic	"The little city of Erie has only thirty-three base ball clubs, but it has taken all the available men of the community and now the matrons are seriously considering the question of organizing themselves into the thirty-fourth nine."[39]
Sep 1876	Gilead	CT	Civic	"Gilead, Conn., boasts a female base ball nine. It doesn't make it a femi-nine game, for all that. Gilead can't bamboozle the public mind that way."[40]
c. May 1877	Kingston	NY	Civic	"Nine young ladies in Kingston, N.Y. have organized a baseball club."[41]
Spring 1877	Poughkeepsie	NY	Women's College	Twenty-five of 338 students selected baseball as their optional form of exercise during the Spring term.[42]
c. Jun 1877	Neodesha	KS	Civic	"There is a project on foot to arrange a match game of base ball between nine ladies of Neodesha and nine of Fredonia."[43]
Jun 1877	Kinsley	KS	Civic	"Our enterprising lady bucks, of Kinsley, have organized a Base Ball Club. . . . We understand they will practice daily until the 4th of July and then will be ready to give or take challenges from any quarter."[44]
c. Jul 1877	Fredonia	KS	Civic	"From the scoring around Fredonia about that match game of base ball between the 9 young ladies and as many young men, one's curiosity is aroused to know how many innings were made and who furnished the bat and ball."[45]
Aug 1877	Williamsport	PA	Civic	" . . . Williamsport is credited with a female base ball club."[46]
Sep 1877	Neodesha	KS	School	"Since school has commenced the female ballist [sic] are up and doing."[47]
Jan 1878	Auburn	NY	Civic	"….Our citizens need not be at all surprised this year if they see a lady base ball club on the diamond…." "Auburn is anxious for a female base ball club." [48]

“	Rochester	NY	Civic	“A female base ball club is to be organized in Rochester.”[49]
Apr 1878	Phoenix (Oswego County)	NY	School	Articles across the country carried articles about a team of school girls known as the Amazons. One article stated that a female baseball team would play a men’s nine.[50]
c. May 1878	Poughkeepsie	NY	Women’s College	Poem in Vassar College Class Book for 1878 reported the difficulty one of the baseball team captains had finding enough players for her team.[51]
Jun 1878	Mercersburg	PA	Civic	“Mercersburg has a female base ball club. They want a young man for catch 'er.”[52]
“	Bayfield	MI	Civic	The *Marquette Mining Journal* reported that “none but married men are allowed to umpire and watch the girls slide in on the home base.”[53]
“	Danbury	CT	Fictional	“The only attempt on record of Danbury trying to organize a female base ball club occurred last week. It was rather an incipient affair, but it demonstrated everything necessary, and in that particular answered every purpose. The idea was cogitated and carried out by six young ladies.”[54]
“	Syracuse	NY	Civic	“Syracuse is happy because she has a genuine female base ball club, under the name of ‘Young Independents,’ and an investigating exchange says its members wear red and white striped stockings.”[55]
Aug 1878	Jefferson	WI	Civic	“Jefferson has two female base ball clubs—the Calicos and Striped Stockings.”[56]
“	Manayunk	PA	Factory	“There was recently played at Manayunk a singular base ball match. The females in one of the mills challenged the young men working in the same establishment to play a game of base ball.”[57]
Nov 1878	--	--	--	“There are ten female base ball clubs batting their way through the world.”[58]
Mar 1879	New York City	NY	Professional/ Theatrical	“A female base ball club, including two nines—handsomely costumed in silk and woolen—of ‘American brunettes’ and ‘English blondes,’ under the management of Sylvester F. Wilson of Camden, N. J., has lately been organized, . . .”[59]
c. May 1879	Philadelphia	PA	Professional/ Theatrical	A group of men organized the Female Base Ball Club of New York and Female Base Ball Club of Philadelphia using some of the players from Wilson’s defunct teams.”[60]
May 1879	New Orleans	**LA**	Pick-up/ Theatrical	Businessman H.E. Hezekiah organized the Lady Nine of Baltimore and the Lady Nine of Boston and promoted a “Grand Female Base Ball Festival” in the city on Sunday, June 15, 1879.[61]
Jun 1879	Belfast	ME	--	“Two Belfast girls play ball with as much grace and energy as the sterner sex. One is pitcher and the other catcher.—[*Bangor Commercial*.] That takes the cake. Even Chicago doesn’t boast a belle fast enough to do that.”[62]

Jul 1879	Iowa City	IA	Civic	"Iowa City has a female base ball nine. We are not informed as to their 'rig,' and have a curiosity to know if they play in the regulation dress skirt. If they do, we have still a greater curiosity to see them run."[63]

Appendix D: Female Baseball in the 1880s

Date	Place	State/ Terr.	Type of Team	Comments
early 1880s	Honolulu	HI	Co-ed Private School	Alice Love (b. 1865) and Cara Isabel Carter (b. 1869) played baseball at Punahou in the early 1880s. Carter sometimes played on boys teams.[1]
c. 1880s	--	OH	Civic/ School	"In an Ohio village near my old home, there was a very flourishing Girls' Nine, some years ago. I well remember seeing part of a match game between the Girls' and Boys' Nines . . ."[2]
Jan 1880	--	--	--	"There are ten female base ball clubs batting their way through the world."[3]
Apr 1880	Northampton	MA	Women's College	Residents of Hubbard House at Smith College organized two teams in April 1880.[4]
May 1881	Clayton	MI	Civic	"Clayton girls will have a base ball club. Two dozen pairs false calves and a car load of hickory clubs have been ordered."[5]
"	Richmond	IN	Co-ed College	"The base ball fever is coming on both sides of the house. The ladies have organized a club and are practicing daily."[6]
Nov 1881	North Edmeston	NY	Civic	"The female base ball club of this vicinity met for practice on Wednesday afternoon at the premises of Delos Giles."[7]
Apr/May 1882	Silver Creek	NY	Civic	"Silver Creek has a female base ball club."[8]
May/Jun 1882	Quincy	IL	Civic	"Several society girls residing south of Maine street have organized a base ball club and will begin practicing the festive game at once."[9]
1883	Philadelphia	PA	Factory	"The young women employed in a shoe factory in Philadelphia organized a club . . ."[10]
"	Philadelphia	PA	Civic	" . . . and an amateur team in that city gloried in the appellation of the 'Mrs. Jane Duffy Club,' that lady being the manager and secretary."[11]
"	Scranton	PA	--	". . . . Three comely young women who could 'sting the first-baseman's hands from the home-plate, knock a ball beyond the diamond or throw it through a six-inch hole at a distance of 30 feet' tested the descriptive powers of gallant Scranton reporters."[12]
"	Pottsville	PA	--	"In Pottsville, Pa. they had a girl twelve years old who could pitch a baseball with as much skill, dexterity and accuracy as the average amateur pitcher."[13]
Apr 1883	--	--	--	"Female base ball clubs without number have been inflicted upon a long-suffering public."[14]
May 1883	Rockport	IN	High School	"Rockport has a female base ball club. The first game was played last week on the college grounds."[15]

May 1883	South Chester and Philadelphia	PA	Theatrical	Newspapers advertised upcoming games between the Dolly Vardens 1 and Dolly Vardens 2, two teams of black women organized by John Lang, a white barber who had already organized a number of black men's teams and a team of Chinese men as money-making ventures.[16]
"	South Chester	PA	Theatrical	Twelve days after reporting on the Dolly Vardens 1 and 2, newspapers announced a game between the Dolly Vardens and Captain Jinks teams of Chester and Philadelphia. Lang had likely renamed the two clubs in anticipation of launching a barnstorming tour. It never materialized.[17]
Jun 1883	Erie	PA	Civic	"Nine young women in Erie have formed a base ball club, and have offered to play with any female base ball club in the State." A subsequent article expanded the challenge to teams in New York as well.[18]
Jul 1883	Huntsboro	**AL**	Civic	"Miss Walker and eight other young ladies of Huntsboro, Ala. defeated a male nine there July 25 by a score of 20 to 11."[19]
"	Olean	NY	--	Discussions in paper about whether to organize a team.[20]
Aug-Dec 1883	Philadelphia	PA	Professional/ Theatrical	Using the alias, H.H. Freeman, Sylvester Franklin Wilson organized two barnstorming teams called by various names including Young Ladies' Base Ball Club of Philadelphia, the Blondes and Brunettes, and the Belles of the Bat and Queens of the Emerald Diamond. They played at least 34 games in twenty cities in nine states, drawing over 20,000 spectators. The team collapsed in Chicago and players were left to arrange charity to get back home to Philadelphia.[21]
Aug 1883	Quincy	IL	Civic	Two women's teams organized; one on August 5th and a second circa August 23rd.[22]
"	Almond	NY	Civic	"The Blondes and Brunettes, two female base-ball clubs of Almond, played a match game of ball at that place one day last week."[23]
"	Fort Wayne	IN	Civic	"The Fort Wayne *Sentinel* is authority for the statement that Daisy Slack, a pert young lady living in Lagro, recently applied for a position in the female base ball nine now being organized in Fort Wayne.[24]
Dec 1883 – Dec 1884	Brooklyn and Philadelphia	NY and PA	Professional/ Theatrical	While most members of his 1883 team tried to get back to Philadelphia, Wilson and a core group of players headed south to New Orleans to organize another barnstorming troupe. The new teams played off and on from early April through December in at least six states and the District of Columbia. There are long gaps in the schedule during which it is unknown whether the teams were playing or not. Attendance was sparse. Wilson also partnered with at least three other men, William Phillips, Edward Everett, and Emile Gargh, who took these and other teams on the road for him.
1884	North Bridgton	ME	Co-ed Academy	The school paper reported: "The boys had five baseball nines, the girls two"[25]

Jan 1884	Honolulu	HI	Private School	The "Good Girls' Base Ball Club" of Punahou School played the "Good Boys' Base Ball Club" on 8 Jan 1884.[26]
Spg 1884	South Hadley	MA	Women's College	Players from the classes of 1885, 1886, and 1887 posed for a baseball team photo.[27]
May 1884	Glendive (Montana Territory)	**MT**	Civic	"The young ladies of Glendive have bought a ball and bat, and intend organizing immediately. If there are any other female base ball clubs in the Territory we should like to hear from them with a view to getting up a match."[28]
Jun 1884	Denver	**CO**	Civic	"The North Side is ahead again! This time it's the champion female base ball player. It is understood that the 'giddy girls' will form a club in the near future, in which case some boys will have to look to their laurels."[29]
Oct 1884	Blunt (Dakota Territory)	**SD**	Civic	"A female base ball club flourishes at Blunt, Dakota."[30]
1885	Ayer	MA	Civic	". . . last summer the girls of my age who lived here got up a base-ball nine."[31]
"	Wellesley	MA	Women's College	*The Police Gazette* published a racy illustration purportedly depicting Wellesley freshmen playing baseball "like real little men."[32]
Jan-??? 1885	New Orleans	LA	Professional/ Theatrical	P.S. Tunnison [or Tunison] recruited five of Wilson's players to organize Tunnison's Texas tour team. The team played one game on January 11th before heading for Texas. It is unknown whether they played any games there.[33]
Apr-May 1885	New Orleans	LA	Young Ladies' Base Ball Club	From January to March Wilson worked on reorganizing his team and arranging a tour of the South. His reorganized team played its first game of the season on 12 April before heading for Baton Rouge, Texas, and Arkansas where it collapsed in Hot Springs. Kentucky. With only two players remaining, his pitcher and catcher, Wilson staged exhibitions in which the two women played for amateur men's teams in Memphis and Portsmouth, Kentucky before the trio made it back to Cincinnati where Wilson began organizing another team.
May 1885	Alton	IL	Civic	"The young lady base ballists are practicing and becoming very proficient, especially as pitchers and 'catchers.'"[34]
Jun 1885	Kirkwood	IL	Civic	"Kirkwood has a female base ball club."[35]
"	Tallmadge	OH	High School/ Pick-up	"There is to be a grand game of ball—the only female base ball club in the surrounding country . . ."[36]
"	Concord	NH	High School	The school paper reported that "some of the young ladies are quite expert in the national game"[37]

Jul-Dec 1885	Cincinnati	OH	Professional/ Theatrical	Undaunted by the financial collapse of his previous teams, Wilson organized another club. The teams barnstormed through Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Illinois, Nebraska, Missouri, Kansas, South Carolina, and Texas. At some point Wilson added a female military drill company to his entertainment troupe.
Oct 1885	Romney	**WV**	Civic/ School	"Romney has a juvenile female base ball club."[38]
1886	--	--	Professional/ Theatrical	Still using the alias, H.H. Freeman, Wilson took his combination female base ball club and military drill company, "Freeman's Young Lady Imperial Cadets" on another barnstorming tour of Texas, Louisiana, and Georgia. Reports on the team are sporadic with long gaps between engagements after February. In July, Wilson's pitching battery played on a men's nine in Indiana after which both were injured in a buggy accident. One of the women was believed to be fatally injured.[39]
"	South Hadley	MA	Women's College	Class Book of 1886 lists the "Senior representatives of the base ball nine.[40]
Feb 1886	Tuskegee	AL	Women's College	Students at the Alabama Central Female College organized a baseball club that attracted notice in the local press.[41]
"	San Francisco	CA	Professional/ Theatrical	Scam artist Victor E.M. Gutmann, who had previously "perambulated about the country fairs with the wonderful (fake) half lady" organized two base ball teams called the Chicago Blue Stockings and San Francisco Red Stockings. The teams drew a few thousand fans to several exhibition games in San Francisco in February but seem to have disbanded shortly thereafter.[42]
May 1886	New Moorefield	OH	Civic	"[A]nother attractive feature that they are proud of is the charming female base ball club, recently organized. The young ladies are all expert players."[43]
Jun 1886	Ashton	IA	Civic	". . . Ashton, with a female base ball club, is bustling around for an opponent worthy of her willow."[44]
Aug 1886	Norwich	CT	Civic	A group of society women organized a team. Kwai Pahn Lee, former secretary for the Chinese legation in Washington D.C. and a skilled knuckleball pitcher, coached them. He later married one of the players.[45]
Sep 1886	Gilmore	PA	Pick-up	Six hundred spectators attended the game organized and played by married and single women as a fundraiser for local churches.[46]
Nov 1886	Bismarck	**ND**	Civic	"The last advertised game of ball by the Bismarck female base ball club was played last evening in Meadowland park, but owing to the beautiful weather the young ladies expect to continue the healthful and amusing sport for several weeks."[47]
Mar 1887	Galt	CA	High School	"In Galt, Cal., all the high-school girls play ball with the young men."[48]

May 1887	Chicago	IL	Professional/ Theatrical	"The formation of an unusual number of female base-ball clubs this season is noted by a Western contemporary. The management of the Chicago club with its customary alertness, is understood to be already negotiating for several promising female pitchers, and has strong hopes that the champions of '86-7 will be the champions next year."[49]
Jul 1887	Chicago	IL	Queens of the Diamond	Professional mesmerist, "Professor" E.G. Johnson, organized the Queens of the Diamond to play an exhibition game against a team of boys aged 10-18 for July 4th festivities. About 5,000 spectators attended.[50]
Aug 1887	Soquel	CA	Civic	"Soquel has a female base-ball nine."[51]
Sep 1887	Ashbury Beach	NJ	Civic	"Young ladies pitch base ball and occasionally catch at Asbury Beach."[52]
Apr 1888	Nyack	NY	Civic	"It is said that a female base ball club is to be organized in Nyack this season."[53]
May 1888	Utica	NY	Civic	"Utica has a promising female base ball club. The girls practice in a ground so walled in that no one can see them, but they intend to cross bats with their brothers in a short time."[54]
Jul 1888	Hope	KS	Civic	An African American newspaper reported that a female team had been organized in Hope. It is uncertain whether members were black.[55]
"	Elmira	NY	Civic	"Elmira has two female base ball clubs, and they recently played a game on Sunday. Naughty girls."[56]
Aug 1888	Albuquerque (New Mexico Territory)	**NM**	Civic/ Barnstorming	"Albuquerque, New Mexico, has organized a female base ball team. They are uniformed in a neat sailor waist and navy blue short skirts, and are now undergoing thorough practice before making a tour through Colorado, New Mexico and Texas."[57]
"	Los Angeles	CA	Professional/ Theatrical	Two men organized two teams of women and asked newspapers to promote their games. *Los Angeles Times* reported that a number of the players had recently been employed as "beer-jerkers" at a local saloon until forced out of their jobs by the local police.[58]
c. 1889	Farmington	CT	Private Girls' School	Archives at Miss Porter's School has a photo of a school baseball team dated c. 1889.
Feb 1889	Bangor	ME	School/ Church	The President of the Children's Christian League urged the girls present at a social gathering to reconsider their plan to organize a female baseball team for that season.[59]
"	Meadville	PA	Co-ed College	A newspaper reported that Allegheny College would have a female baseball team that year.[60]
Apr 1889	San Antonio	**TX**	Civic	"There is considerable talk of organizing a female base ball nine in the city."[61]
May 1889	Haddam	KS	Civic	"Haddam has a female base ball club."[62]

June 1889	Pocahontas	IA	Civic	"Pocahontas has a female base ball club and the *Record* says the bald heads watch them from a distance through spy-glasses. What's the matter with the front seats?"[63]
Jun-Nov 1889	Chicago	IL	Professional/ Theatrical	Using the alias, W. S. Franklin, Sylvester Wilson began organizing a new female team which went by the names Great and Only Young Ladies' Base Ball Club, Chicago Black Stockings, and Young Ladies Athletic Club of Philadelphia. Unlike past teams which played each other, this new team played men's and boys' teams. It even played a colored team in Williamsport, Pennsylvania. The team played in Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Tennessee, and Windsor, Canada. Wilson planned to take them to Georgia and Texas during the winter but the team disbanded in Atlanta in November.[64]
Jul 1889	Manistee	MI	Civic	"It is not generally known, but it is true all the same, that there is a growing tendency on the part of the ladies of Manistee to adopt base ball as a recreation."[65]
"	Brooklyn	NY	Civic	"Two colored women, named Mary E. Thompson and Mary Jackson, who live in the classic precincts of Crow Hill, are members of a ladies' base ball club.[66]
Jul/Aug 1889	McPherson	KS	Pick-up/ Co-ed College	"Another amusing game of ball was played last evening between the female base ball club and the men." "Another ball club has been organized by the women, christened the Sun Flower Club."[67]
Aug 1889	--	KS	Civic/ Pick-up/ School/ College	"There are sixteen female base ball clubs in Kansas. Just imagine eighteen angry and excited females engaged in a discussion with one poor, unprotected umpire."[68]
"	Near Colby	KS	Co-ed Normal School	"The matter of organizing a female base ball club among the teachers attending the institute has been spoken of. They will challenge a nine to be organized from among the male teachers."[69]
"	Pittsfield	MA	High School	"The female base-ball team of Pittsfield, Mass., high school will challenge a nine from the Fendle Mound Company of Poughkeepsie, some time."[70]
"	Camp Shafter (Santa Cruz)	CA	Pick-up	"A baseball game was played here to-day between the ladies of the camp, assisted by Piccinnini, the colored mascot of Company B, and a nine under Lieutenant Ormsby.[71]
Sep 1889	Unnamed Seaside Resorts	--	Pick-up	Upper class women at summer resorts routinely played baseball in the nineteenth century. In 1889, writer Howard Fielding penned a humorous account of serving as umpire for a game between two women's teams.[72]
"	Various	--	Schools	"Go to any country school, and at noon you will see the girls playing ball with great vim and relish."[73]

Oct 1889	Mount Washington	**MD**	Civic	"There are nine young ladies, well known in the society of Mount Washington, in this county, who are so enthusiastically in love with base ball that they have formed themselves into a nine of their own. . . . Their practice is kept very quiet, but the existence of the nine is well known to the friends of the players, and an invitation to witness a game is rarely declined. Twice a week they go out into the country to play, and it is said they are becoming very proficient at the game."[74]

Appendix E: Female Baseball in the 1890s

Date	Place	State/ Terr.	Type of Team	Comments
c. 1890	Haverhill	MA	College Prep	Photograph taken c. 1890s shows students playing baseball on the lawn in front of Academy Hall.[1]
1890	Abington	PA	Private Girls' School	Photograph shows students at the Ogontz School playing baseball on a large, grassy field in 1890.[2]
Apr 1890	Nevadaville	CO	Civic	"Mr. Mark G. Kobey . . . will secure suits for the recently organized female base ball club of Nevadaville."[3]
"	--	--	Pick-up/ Civic	Women's rights publication, *The Woman's Journal* prints a lengthy fictional account of a girls' baseball club organized at the suggestion of a mother.[4]
May 1890	Central	CO	Civic	The members of a newly-organized young ladies athletic club were preparing to form a base ball club.[5]
May - Oct 1890	--	--	Professional/ Barnstorming	Sylvester Wilson organized the Young Ladies Base Ball Club No. 1 (a.k.a. Chicago Blackstockings) with players from Cincinnati and Chicago in early May.[6] They barnstormed through seven states and two Canadian provinces.[7]
Early June 1890	Chicago	IL	Professional/ Theatrical	"Manager Elliott" organized two baseball clubs for public games during the first week of June. Though Elliott had promised the players $10 a week for the entire summer, he stole the gate money and disappeared after the teams' first game on 7 June.[8]
June 1890	Utica	NY	Civic	The local newspaper reported that townswomen were in the process of organizing a team.[9]
Jul 1890	Beatrice	SD	Civic	"A female base ball club has been organized at Beatrice, Beadle county."[10]
"	South Atchison	KS	Civic	"There is a young ladies' base ball nine in South Atchison that plays nearly every evening. The boys are trying to find out where they play."[11]
Aug 1890	Norwich	CT	Civic	A group of 16-year-old girls from the same neighborhood on North Cliff Street organized the Polka Dots and Merry Maids. They sometimes allowed local boys to join games to help them work on their skills.[12]
Aug 1890	Staten Island	NY	Civic	"Another baseball game, in which women figured as the attractions to draw crowds, was played at Huguenot, S.I. Both 'teams' were composed of women who are members of an east side organization known as the Harvard Social Association. The young women had been in training for some time."[13]
Apr-Sep 1891	--	--	Professional/ Theatrical	Wilson purportedly organized four female baseball teams for the 1891 campaign. One team was called the Female Champions of the World, another was the Chicago Black Stocking Nine, and another was the Young Ladies Base Ball Club.[14]
Spring 1891	South Hadley	MA	Women's College	Students at Mount Holyoke reported that they had organized another base ball club.[15]

c. Jun-Sep 1891	--	NY	Professional/ Theatrical	Mark Lally organized this team which posed direct competition with Wilson's team; in June, Lally's team and one of Sylvester Wilson's teams were in the same section of New York and newspapers covered the "female baseball war" that ensued.
Jun 1891	Emporia	KS	Civic	"There are some parties in town who are agitating the organization of a female Base Ball Club. They have struck the wrong town."[16]
"	Caledonia	NY	Civic	"The girls of Caledonia have organized a base ball nine, and they term themselves 'Belles of the Bat.'[17]
"	Blair	**NE**	Civic	"Pitcher Brott has organized a female nine . . . . They are being taught the national game by their manager. . . . They were out practicing twice this week and before long they expect to cross bats with the Tekamah nine, which is also composed of girls."[18]
"	Tekamah	NE	Civic	"Tekamah's female base ball club says it can 'just beat the Blair girls too awfully quick.' If the ladies will come to Omaha and play a game the *World-Herald* will guarantee a 10,000 crowd."[19]
Jul 1891	Washington Court House	OH	Civic	"The society girls near Washington [Court House], . . . have dropped the tennis racquet and taken up the base-ball bat. An exciting and amusing game was played to-day between a nine they have just organized and a picked nine of the society young men."[20]
Jul/Aug 1891	Stowe	PA	Civic	Mary Gemperling organized a female team and was trying to arrange games with other women's teams.[21]
Early Aug 1891	--	MN	Barnstorming	"A man named Armstrong, who says he lives in Cleveland, is in Minneapolis with the view of getting up two base ball teams composed of female players. If he succeeds in securing the services of eighteen foolish women he will have them play exhibition games in Minneapolis and St. Paul. He also intends taking them on a tour through the West."[22]
Early Aug 1891	Glasgow	PA	Civic	Pottstown, PA *Ledger* carried an article about this team and gave the players' names.[23]
"	Mt. Morris	NY	Civic	"Mt. Morris has a female base ball club. When the giddy girls assemble for practice all the storekeepers take a holiday."[24]
Mid-Aug 1891	Rockford	IL	Factory	"It is reported that the girls on the second floor of the factory will organize a base ball club."[25]
Aug 1891	Johnson (City)	NY	Civic/ Barnstorming	"The Johnson female base ball club will play a picked nine in this city, on Monday, Aug. 24."[26]
Sep 1891	Philadelphia	PA	Barnstorming	"Help Wanted: Female. Young Ladies to join a female base ball club. correspondence strictly confidential. Address by letter, stating age, to Mr. P. Callahan. 1829 Lambert street."[27]
Early 1890s	Northampton	MA	Women's College	Students in the Class of 1895 at Smith College posed for a team photo.[28]
"	Westwood	NJ	Grammar School	"James E. Demarest is the principal of the [District 21] school with its more than one hundred scholars. . . Miss Claude Ottignon interested the girls in baseball, which the boys played vigorously at noon and recess…"[29]

1892	--	--	Barnstorming	The Young Ladies Base Ball Club of N.Y. (future New England Bloomer Girls) began its first season, playing 154 games with a record of 56-98.[30]
Mar 1892	Los Angeles	CA	Barnstorming	Police and Humane Society officials intervene to stop John Doyle from completing his plot to exploit 14-16 year old girls by promising them $30-$90/month to travel with a baseball team.[31]
"	Blair and Tekamah	NE	Civic	The *Omaha World Herald* announced in March that the teams would reorganize again. By June it reported that the Tekamah team had "resolved itself into a tennis club." In August it noted that the team in Blair had not yet reappeared on the scene.[32]
Apr 1892	Lodi	WI	High School	"Lodi has a female base ball team under the title of the 'Lodi High School Unrivalled Female Base Ball Club."[33]
"	Ovid	NY	Civic	"Ovid has a female base ball club."[34]
Spring 1892	Northampton	MA	Women's College	Students in at least two of the Smith College Houses (cottages) had baseball teams. The Freshman and Sophomore classes also had teams.[35]
Apr-??? 1892	New York	NY	Barnstorming	The Cincinnati Reds opened the season on April 23rd. Soon thereafter, papers began calling it "Miss Lillie [sic] Arlington's Cincinnati Reds" in honor of its star pitcher, Lizzie Arlington. The team also included Maud Nelson.[36]
"	Denver	CO	Barnstorming	Clara Wilson organized the Chicago Reds (Colts) and Denver Blues to play exhibition games in Colorado. By June, eight of the players appeared on a new team (The Denver Female BBC) that began playing men's teams.)[37]
May-Sep 1892	New York	NY	Barnstorming	The New York Champion Young Ladies BBC (a.k.a. Young Ladies BBC of New York) had multiple managers, including three men who were arrested in Missouri for attempting to defraud their players out of their earning. Some of the players had played on Wilson's teams the previous year.[38]
Jun 1892	Alton	IL	Civic	"A female baseball nine is being organized in the eastern part of the city and the battery practices every day. Their grounds are near the foot of Henry street, opposite the Big Four freight house. A challenge is open to any other female nine in the city."[39]
"	Andover	SD	Civic	"Andover [SD] has a ladies base ball club. Constant practice with the rolling pin make them experts with the "stick."[40]
Jun-Sep 1892	--	--	Barnstorming	New York Giants (a.k.a. "Champion Female Base Ball Club") play games against men's teams throughout New York.[41]
Jul 1892	--	--	Barnstorming	"The manager of the . . . [American Stars] club has gone to considerable expense to get a good club of lady ball players together for a tour of the states, and good ball playing is assured."[42]
Aug 1892	Evanston, WY	**WY**	Civic	"A female base ball club has been organized at Evanston."[43]
Sep 1892	Sconset (Siasconset)	MA	Co-ed Pick-up	Teams of wealthy men and women played a pick-up game against each other using a tennis ball instead of a baseball and parasols and a chair for the bases.[44]

Fall 1892	Bryn Mawr	PA	Women's College	Students played at least one game during Fall term.[45]
1893	Thief River Falls	MN	Co-ed Civic	The Pennington County Historical Society of Thief River Falls has a studio portrait of a women's baseball team taken in 1893.[46] The photo depicts ten young women dressed in uniforms and posing with bats, a catcher's mask and two men.
"	Abington	PA	Private Girls' School	Students at the Ogontz School posed for a team picture. Some of the players wore the military rank of their military drill team.[47]
"	Alinda	PA	Civic	Players posed for a team photograph sometime in 1893.[48]
"	--	--	Barnstorming	Second season for the YLBBC of NY (future New England Bloomer Girls); team played 125 games with a record of 49-76.[49]
"	Chicago	IL	Barnstorming	W. P. Needham's Boston Bloomer Girls tour as far west as Deadwood, South Dakota during their inaugural season.[50]
Feb-Mar 1893	New York	NY	Barnstorming	American Female Base Ball Club (former American Stars) kicks off its second season by embarking on a tour of Cuba. The tour ends after only one game when unruly spectators attack the players and destroy the playing venue in Almendares, Cuba.[51]
May 1893	Ann Arbor	MI	Co-ed College	Co-ed baseball team hosted a Grand Ballet at the University of Michigan.[52]
"	Grand Forks	ND	Co-ed College	Women's teams played baseball every evening after supper at the University of North Dakota.[53]
May-??? 1893	--	--	Barnstorming	Third season of the Cincinnati Reds. Maud Nelson is still with the team. Earliest known game of the 1893 season was 6 May in Bloomfield, NJ.[54]
Jul 1893	Greenwich	NY	Civic	"I hear that some of the ambitious society 'buds' are organizing a female base ball club."[55]
Aug 1893	Milwaukee	WI	Barnstorming	Rose Royal's Female Base Ball Club played to general praise in Milwaukee on August 13th but had only four players available to travel to Waukesha for a game on August 26th.[56]
"	--	GA	Barnstorming	An unidentified female team played games in Georgia in late August.[57]
"	Lenox	MA	Pick-up	Wealthy young men and women summering at the Lenox cottages organized two teams and played each other in front of a large crowd.[58]
1894	Oakland	CA	Women's College	The Mills College yearbook states that baseball was first introduced at Mills in 1894.[59]
"	--	--	Barnstorming	Third season for the YLBBC of NY (future New England Bloomer Girls); team played 167 games with a record of 86-81.[60]
"	New York City	NY	Barnstorming	Young Ladies Champions of the World Base Ball Club (newly renamed) began its third season in Brooklyn in early May. Several members of the team that caused a riot in Cuba in 1893 were also on this team.[61] Maud Nelson was on the team as were several of Sylvester Wilson's former players.

“	St. Louis	MO	Barnstorming	Two more of Wilson’s former players, May Howard and Kittie Grant, played for the St. Louis-based New York Champion Young Ladies Ball Club as it toured Illinois, Kansas, and Iowa in May and June during its first season. The team collapsed when the manager abandoned the team after a game in Dubuque.[62]
“	Chicago	IL	Barnstorming	W.P. Needham’s Chicago-based Boston Bloomer Girls play their second season.[63]
“	New York City	NY	Barnstorming	Bertha Gordon, a member of the team that traveled to Cuba, pitched and caught for the newly-organized New York Brunettes.[64]
May 1894	Ames	IA	Co-ed College	The junior class at the Iowa State Agricultural College included the rosters of two teams and a humorous illustration of a baseball game in its school yearbook, *The Bomb*.[65]
“	Ottawa	KS	Co-ed College	The local newspaper reported that the female students at Ottawa University had organized a baseball team.[66]
Jun 1894	New York City	NY	Pick-up	Newspaper article described the activities of the estimated 200,000 persons who visited Central Park one Sunday in June. Included the statement that “half grown girls played baseball with their full grown brothers.”[67]
“	New York City	NY	Pick-up/ Fund-raiser	“About 1000 people went to Outing Park yesterday afternoon to see a female base ball club from New York contest with a scrub team representing the clerks on Main Street. The proceeds were given to the striking lasters at J W Walcott & Co.’s factory. The female players won by a score of 20 to 18...”[68]
Jul 1894	Fort Valley and Atlanta	**GA**	Pick-up	Fourth of July celebrations in Atlanta included a game between black women’s teams. “Several excursions from over the State have added crowds to the streets, and rejoicing is in full blast among the colored brethren. A big affair is on at Brisbane Park, and the feature of the day was a game of base ball between negro girls from Fort Valley, Ga., and several negro women from this city.”[69]
“	Rhinebeck	NY	Civic	“A female base ball club is being organized. It will be called the ‘Ostrich Feathers’ and play its first game with the Pond Lillies on the home grounds on the 28th at 3 P.M.”[70]
Aug 1894	Brooklyn	NY	Civic	“[N]ine enterprising and sport-loving girls of Brooklyn have organized a club with the intent of knocking a leather-covered sphere about a field diamond. . . . They will not challenge other teams, and are not playing ball to attract attention, but do it for the fun and healthy exercise the national game affords.”[71]
Oct 1894	--	--	Women’s College	A Mills College student wrote about baseball at a “sister” college. “The idea of a baseball nine in a girl’s college may shock the fastidious taste of some, but a sister college has proved that such a team can be supported and a young woman’s dignity not suffer.”[72]
1894 or 1895	Northampton	MA	Girls’ Boarding School	Edith Hill’s photo album (1894-95) contains photos of girls playing baseball at Mary A. Burnham School.[73]

1895	Chicago	IL	High School	Milo S. Walker, high school teacher at West Division High School taught female students to play indoor baseball. The *National Police Gazette* published a risqué illustration of the players.[74]
"	--	--	Barnstorming	Fourth season of the YLBBC of NY (future New England Bloomer Girls); played 154 games with a record of 72-82.[75]
"	--	--	Barnstorming	Maud Nelson joined W.P. Needham's Boston Bloomer Girls for its third season. The team played in Minnesota, Illinois, Iowa, South Dakota, Indiana, and Ohio.[76]
"	--	--	Barnstorming	A team billed as the Trilby Bloomer Girls played games in Minnesota and Iowa.[77]
Apr 1895	Lawrence	KS	Civic	"*The Lawrence Gazette* is responsible for the statement that a home talent girls' baseball club is to be organized in that city this summer."[78]
May 1895	Rockford	IL	Civic	"A great game of ball was played in the South Side park yesterday. A team of young ladies who call themselves the South Side Stars defeated a team of boys by a score of 12 to 1.[79]
Jun 1895	Philadelphia	PA	Barnstorming	Advertisement: "Two young ladies to join traveling ladies' base ball club. Call Greiner's Hotel, sixth above arch, to-day, between 2 and 5 P.M. R.C. Johnson."[80]
Aug 1895	Chicago	IL	Pick-up	"At the Lakeside Hotel a female baseball nine is the latest thing the young women have got up. May Bourcaren is pitcher and Mrs. F. Murphy is catcher."[81]
"	Cherokee	IA	Civic	"We understand that a number of Cherokee young ladies have organized a female base ball club. . ."[82]
Sep 1895	Hooper	NE	Civic	"….Hooper has a female base ball club and the girls have a record of beating a team made up of boys by a score of 9 to 3…."[83]
1895-96	Various	ME and MA	Grammar	J.R. Street surveyed students at schools in Maine and Massachusetts to learn what types of games they played. Eighteen girls responded that they played baseball.[84]
"	South Hadley	MA	Women's College	Students at Mount Holyoke organized an Athletic Association. One of the sports offered was baseball.[85]
c. 1896	Pelham Manor	NY	Private School	Students at Mrs. Hazen's School pose for a team picture.[86]
1896	--	--	Barnstorming	Fifth season of the YLBBC of NY (future New England Bloomer Girls); played 136 games with a record of 64-72.[87]
"	--	--	Barnstorming	Maud Nelson continued to play with W.P. Needham's Boston Bloomer Girls for the team's fourth season.[88]
Spring 1896	Cleveland	OH	Coordinate College	Students at the Women's College of Western Reserve University played their inaugural baseball season.[89]
"	Poughkeepsie	NY	Women's College	From article about Vassar College in *Harper's Bazaar*: "In athletics, football, baseball, and basket-ball divide popular attention."[90]
Jul 1896	Galveston and Houston	TX	Civic	"Yes; I will bring Galveston's and also Houston's base ball clubs up [to Fort Worth]."[91]

1897	--	--	Barnstorming	Sixth season of the YLBBC of NY (future New England Bloomer Girls); played 198 games with a record of 109-89.[92]
“	--	--	Barnstorming	Maud Nelson continued to play with W.P. Needham’s Boston Bloomer Girls for the team’s fifth season.[93]
“	Spartanburg	**SC**	Women’s College	Baseball was one of the most popular sports at Converse College.[94]
Feb 1897	Oakland	CA	Women’s College	Two Mills College teams played each other.[95]
Mar 1897	Williamsburg	KY	Civic	“Williamsburg has a female base ball club.”[96]
Apr 1897	Argentine	KS	School/ Civic	“Argentine, a town of many base ball ‘fans,’ has forged to the front this year, at the advent of the season, with a novelty. It will have several base ball clubs composed entirely of school girls who expect to play regular games every Saturday. Three ‘nines’ have already been organized and enough may be formed to arrange a Girls’ City League.”[97]
Apr/May 1897	Olivet	MI	Co-ed College	Co-ed and all-female House teams played baseball at Olivet College.[98]
May 1897	Springport	MI	Grammar School	“Some of the grammar room girls at Springport have organized a base ball club and will soon be open for a challenge.”[99]
Jun 1897	Lowville	NY	Grammar School	“Two base ball teams have been organized at the State street school, to be known as the Miss Allen and Mrs. Jones teams.”[100]
Jul 1897	Germantown	PA	Private Boarding School and Quaker School	“A novel and exciting game of base ball took place a few days ago at the Germantown Academy grounds between two teams composed of young ladies connected with the Walnut Lane Boarding School and the Friends’ School, on Coulter street.”[101]
“	--	TX	Female player on men’s team	“A Texas baseball club has a pretty young female pitcher . . .”[102]
“	Meade	KS	Civic	“Meade has two base ball nines, composed of young ladies . . .”[103]
“	Springfield	KY	Springfield Female Baseball Club	“The girls have ‘got it.’ Not sanctification, but baseball fever, and have donned their bloomers. . . . We now have everything necessary to a well regulated ball team . . .”[104]
“	Bardstown	KY	Civic	“We have had a communication from Bardstown to the effect that they are organizing a girl team, and will soon be ready to play us.”[105]
1897 or 98	Salamanca	NY	Pick-up/ Civic	Caption on photograph of women baseball players stated, “Ladies playing base ball at Island Park, Sala. 1897 or 1898.”[106]
1898	--	--	Female Player on Men’s Teams	Lizzie Arlington signed a contract to pitch in exhibition games for numerous teams in the Atlantic League. She also pitched for non-affiliated men’s teams in Philadelphia.[107]
“	--	--	Barnstorming	Seventh season of the YLBBC of NY (future New England Bloomer Girls); played 177 games this season with a record of 116-61.[108]
“	--	--	Boston Bloomer Girls	Maud Nelson continued to play with W.P. Needham’s Boston Bloomer Girls for the team’s sixth season.[109]

1898	Abington	PA	Private Girls' School	Students at Ogontz School continued to play baseball.[110]
"	Oakland	CA	Women's College	Students at Mills College posed for a team photo. One is holding a bat and several have gloves. All are wearing bloomers.[111]
Jan 1898	Safford (Arizona Territory)	**AZ**	Civic	"Mr. Wm. Kirtland and Henry Nash of Safford have left for the Klindyke country. They are old time Arizonans. There is not much wonder at the movement as Safford has organized a female base ball club."[112]
Mar 1898	Tucson (Arizona Territory)	AZ	Co-ed College	"A game of base ball between the Tucson University girls and the University dormitory girls is announced for the first Sunday in April."[113]
Spring 1898	Germantown	PA	Quaker School	The 1898 yearbook of the Germantown Friends School reported: "The girls base-ball team died an easy death early in the season. The cricket team is the latest. Miss Pearson, captain of the deceased base-ball team, had quite a dispute with Mr. Walker, former captain of '98 cricket team, as to who was to have use of the grounds in the afternoons. This was finally satisfactorily settled, but for some reason or other the ball team died soon after."[114]
"	Northampton	MA	Women's College	Students at Smith College continued to organize house teams for intramural games.[115]
"	Spartanburg	SC	Women's College	Students continued to play baseball at Converse College.[116]
Apr/May 1898	Morris	NY	Civic/ Barnstorming	"A female base ball nine has been organized in Morris. The members are practicing daily, weather permitting, and expect, during the season, to rival the record of the famous Cincinnati Reds of several years ago."[117]
Summer 1898	Westport Point	MA	Co-ed Pick-up	Ethel Fish, Smith College, Class of 1900, pasted a photo in her album of a co-ed baseball game played at Westport Point. It depicts a boy pitching overhand to a girl batter while other boys and girls look on.[118]
Jun 1898	Rockford	IL	Pick-up/ Fundraiser	Upper class women of the city's Ladies' Union Aid Society organized and played in a baseball game as part of its third annual Woodmen Day fundraiser. The "Stars" and "Stripes" played 5 innings before "a large and enthusiastic audience" on June 4th.[119]
1899	Abington	PA	Private Girls' School	Students at Ogontz School continued to play baseball.[120]
"	--	--	Barnstorming	Eighth season of the YLBBC of NY (future New England Bloomer Girls); played 112 games this season with a record of 76-36.[121]
"	--	--	Barnstorming	Seventh season of W.P. Needham's Boston Bloomer Girls. Maud Nelson was still with the team. Team played dozens of games in Canada, Minnesota, Michigan, Indiana, Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, Louisiana, and Arkansas.[122]
"	--	--	Barnstorming	The Chicago Bloomer Girls, featuring a Maud "Nielsen" at shortstop, begin their inaugural season. They played games in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Kentucky.

“	--	--	Barnstorming	The Sunday Telegraph Bloomer Girls kicked off their inaugural season.[123]
“	Spartanburg	SC	Women’s College	Team photo taken in 1899 depicts the Class of 1891 baseball team at Converse College.[124]
Spring 1899	South Hadley	MA	Women’s College	Students at Mount Holyoke took up baseball again, organizing house teams to play against each other.[125]
“	Northampton	MA	Women’s College	Students at Smith College continued to organize house teams for intramural games.[126]
May 1899	Plainfield	IA	Civic	“Plainfield has a young ladies base ball club in training. The *Bell* of that city says of it: ‘Some of the young ladies can twirl the pigskin with not a little skill, and can pound the sphere over the fence now and then.’”[127]
“	New York City	NY	Theatrical	H.A. Adams and “William S. Franklin” (a.k.a. Sylvester Wilson) organized a short-lived baseball operation.[128]
June 1899	Kalamazoo	MI	School girls/ Civic	“Since the Boston Bloomer girls played the Hubs there have been two baseball teams organized by the little girls of Kalamazoo. Harriet Kinney is captain of one of these teams and Fawn and Pauline White are organizing the other.”[129]

NOTES

Notes to Preface

[1] Arthur T. Noren, *Softball* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1966), 44.

[2] Emma Span, "Is Softball Sexist?" *The New York Times* (6 Jun 2014). http://www.nytimes .com/2014/06/07 /opinion/is-softball-sexist.html?_r=0.

[3] Sarah Fields provides detailed information about a number of these lawsuits in: *Female Gladiators: Gender, Law, and Contact Sport in America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 16-33.

[4] Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., [1938] 1949), 1 & 4.

[5] John Thorn, *Baseball in the Garden of Eden: The Secret History of the Early Game* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011), ix.

[6] The term "gender neutral" as used in this thesis describes only how particular sports are generally perceived by the public. For a sport to be gendered as masculine does not mean that no women play it; conversely, for a sport to be perceived to be a women's sport does not mean that men do not play it. Gender-neutral sports are those played in relatively equal numbers by identical or very similar rules. Golf, for example, is a gender-neutral sport even though most courses have tee boxes featuring positions for male and female golfers. The term gender neutral as used here does not address the structures of sport (i.e. hierarchies of power, media coverage, financial aspects); it applies strictly to cultural perceptions about who plays (or should play) the sport.

[7] I developed this thesis while researching the early history of basketball during a course on Women and Sport at the University of Iowa. The idea that basketball began as a gender-neutral sport is not part of the historiography of the sport. Most historians of basketball, like most historians of baseball assume that men created basketball for men and that it immediately branched off into male and female versions. For background on early efforts to modify basketball for women see: Janice A. Beran, "Bloomers and Basketball, 1893-1919," in *From Six-on-Six to Full Court Press: A Century of Iowa Girls' Basketball*, (University of Iowa Press, 2008), 3-10; Joanne Lannin, "A Girls' Game From the Beginning," in *A History of Basketball for Girls and Women: From Bloomers to Big Leagues* (Minneapolis: LernerSports, 2000), 9-16. Neither author recognizes that basketball was largely gender neutral when first invented.

[8] See, for example: "Out of Door Athletics: Preparing the Grounds on Union Street for Work," *Bangor (ME) Daily Whig and Courier* (21 May 1892): 3; "Y.M.C.A. News," *Muskegon (MI) Chronicle* (28 May 1892): 7; "The Official Programme for the Independence Day Celebrations," *Boston Journal* (25 Jun 1892): 10; "Y.M.C.A. News: West Side Department," *(Chicago) Daily Inter Ocean* (25 Jun 1892): 15.

[9] See, for example: "University Boys Win: They Defeat the Morgan Park Team in a Foot-ball [sic—basketball] Contest," *Daily Inter Ocean* (19 Mar 1893): 6; "For Men and Women: A New Game Known as Basket-Ball; It is Something Like Foot-Ball, But is Devoid of Rough Features and is Very Full of Fun—How the Game is Played." *Logansport (IN) Journal* (15 Apr 1893): 7. The *Kalamazoo Gazette* printed the identical article on 8 Sep 1893, p. 3. "The Game of Basket Ball: Interesting and Exciting Sport for Those Not Able to Exercise Regularly," *Newark (Ohio) Daily Advocate* (17 May 1893): 5; *Lima (Ohio) Times Democrat* (31 May 1893).

[10] "For Men and Women: A New Game Known as Basket-Ball; It is Something Like Foot-Ball, But is Devoid of Rough Features and is Very Full of Fun—How the Game is Played." *Logansport (IN) Journal* (15 Apr 1893): 7. The *Kalamazoo Gazette* printed the identical article on 8 Sep 1893, p. 3.

[11] Countless books and scholarly articles address the subject of gender and sport. Helpful resources include: Susan K. Cahn, *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sports* (Free Press, 1998); Sarah Fields, *Female Gladiators : Gender, Law, and Contact Sport in America* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois

Press, 2005); Eileen McDonagh and Laura Pappano, *Playing With the Boys: Why Separate Is Not Equal in Sports* (Oxford University Press, 2009); Michael A. Messner, *Taking the Field: Women, Men, and Sports*, (Univ Of Minnesota Press, 2002); Michael A. Messner, *Out of Play: Critical Essays on Gender and Sport* (State University of New York Press, 2007); R. Terry Furst, "Changing Views Toward Man, Leisure and Health," in *Early Professional Baseball and the Sporting Press: Shaping the Image of the Game* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2014), 9–22; J.A. Mangan, and Roberta J Park, *From 'Fair Sex' to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras* (London: Frank Cass, 1987).

[12] Lois Bryson, "Sport and the Maintenance of Masculine Hegemony," *Women's Studies Int. Forum*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (1987): 349.

[13] In *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, [1986] 2010), Gorn used prize fighting to analyze the intersections of social class, ethnicity, and gender in nineteenth-century America. Steven Riess applied a similar approach to the study of sport in, "Sport and the Redefinition of American Middle-Class Masculinity," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 8, no. 1 (May 1991): 5-27. Michael Kimmel who would go on to become one of the most influential leaders in the field of men and masculinity focused on baseball and masculinity in: "Baseball and the Reconstitution of American Masculinity, 1880-1920" in Michael Messner and Donald Sabo, eds., *Sport, Men and the Gender Order* (Human Kinetics, 1992): 55-66. Kimmel has served as series editor for the SAGE Series on Men and Masculinity for over two decades and also edits the interdisciplinary journal *Men and Masculinities*. Like Kimmel, Donald Sabo and Michael Messner have written and edited numerous books, articles, and journals relating to sport and gender, particularly as it applies to the construction of male identities.

[14] Each of these authors has published, edited, or co-edited important works of which these are just a sampling of their early and influential contributions to the field: James A. Mangan and Roberta J. Park, eds., *From Fair Sex to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 1987); Roberta J. Park, "Physiology and Anatomy are Destiny!?: Brains, Bodies, and Exercise in Nineteenth Century American Thought," *Journal of Sport History* 18 (1991); Mary G. McDonald and Susan Birrell, "Reading Sport Critically: A Methodology for Interrogating Power," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 16 (1999): 283-300; Jennifer A. Hargreaves, "Playing Like Gentlemen While Behaving Like Ladies: Contradictory Features of the Formative Years of Women's Sport," *The British Journal of Sports History* 2, no. 1 (May 1985): 40-52; Patricia Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman: Women, Doctors, and Exercise in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, [1989] 1994); Susan K. Cahn, *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sport* (New York: The Free Press, 1994).

[15] Cahn, 5.

[16] Jules Tygiel, *Past Time: Baseball as History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 8-12.

[17] John Thorn provides a detailed account of how the origins myth of baseball was planted in the early twentieth century in Chapter 1, "Anointing Abner," and Chapter 12, "The Religion of Baseball" of *Baseball in the Garden of Eden*, 1-23, 273-296. Efforts to claim uniquely American roots for baseball antedated the Mills Commission study and report (1905-1907) by many decades, but it was this official "stamp of approval" for the origins myth that led to the christening of Cooperstown, New York as the birth place of baseball and the placement of the National Baseball Hall of Fame in the rural hamlet.

[18] Merrie A. Fidler, *The Origins and History of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League*, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2006).

[19] Debra A. Shattuck, "Women in Baseball," *Total Baseball*, John Thorn and Pete Palmer, eds. (New York: Warner Books, 1989) 623-625. (Article also appeared in subsequent editions of this book); Debra A. Shattuck, "Playing a Man's Game: Women and Baseball in the United States, 1866-1954," *Baseball History 2: An Annual of Original Baseball Research*, Peter Levine, ed. (Westport: Meckler Books, 1989) 57-77;

[20] Debra A. Shattuck, "Bats, Balls and Books: Baseball and Higher Education for Women at Three Eastern

Women's Colleges, 1866-1891," *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 19, no. 2 (Summer 1992) 91-109.

[21] Barbara Gregorich, *Women at Play: The Story of Women in Baseball* (San Diego: Harcourt, 1993); Gai I. Berlage, *Women in Baseball: The Forgotten History* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994).

[22] Jean Hastings Ardell, *Breaking Into Baseball: Women and the National Pastime* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 2005). Ardell provides more thorough treatment of women's influence on baseball as fans, umpires, club owners and executives, and through their role in the media. She also includes a unique chapter on the "Baseball Annies" who follow men's teams around offering themselves to players for sexual dalliances; John Kovach, *Women's Baseball* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2005). Kovach's book is a unique collection of photographs, illustrations, and images of women and baseball. Brief introductory sections and captions provide historical vignettes on women players and teams from the nineteen century to present day. Leslie Heaphy, *Encyclopedia of Women and Baseball* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2006). This was the first attempt to compile everything known about the topic of women and baseball into one volume. It includes an extensive bibliography and is particularly valuable for its documentation of current women's baseball teams and players. Dorothy Seymour Mills, "Part II—A Womanly Pursuit," in *Chasing Baseball: Our Obsession with Its History, Numbers, People and Places* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2010). Mills intertwines autobiographical vignettes with historical information about women baseball players from the nineteenth century to present day.

[23] Marilyn Cohen, *No Girls in the Clubhouse: The Exclusion of Women from Baseball* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2009); Jennifer Ring, *Stolen Bases: Why American Girls Don't Play Baseball* (Urbana, IL: Univ. of Illinois Press, 2009).

[24] Walter Hakanson is generally crediting with suggesting the term "Softball" in 1926 while serving as a representative of the YMCA at a meeting of the National Recreation Congress. The name slowly gained adherents. It was not until 1934 that the Joint Rules Committee on Softball published standardized rules for the sport that had evolved from indoor baseball and women's baseball. For details on the history and evolution of the sport of softball, see: "The History of Softball," International Softball Federation, http://www.isfsoftball.org/english/the_isf/history_of_softball.asp.

[25] Michael A. Messner, *Taking the Field: Women, Men, and Sports* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), xxii.

[26] Daniel Nathan, *Saying It's So: A Cultural History of the Black Sox Scandal*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005): 8-9;

[27] E-mail from Susan Cahn to Anne Firor Scott, Sara Evans and Elizabeth Faue, 4 June 1998, published in: "Women's History in the New Millennium: A Conversation across Three 'Generations': Part 2," *Journal of Women's History* 11.2 (1999): 203.

[28] Quoted in Nathan, 12.

[29] Tygiel, 15-16. Tygiel argues that Henry Chadwick, "by his development of the box score, tabular standings, the annual baseball guide, the batting average, and most of the common statistics and tables used to describe baseball" he, "more than any other individual, created the game of baseball Americans have celebrated and enjoyed."

[30] In *Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980), 13-14, for example, Stephen Reiss writes of the baseball creed: "A substantial disparity existed between the ideology of baseball, which sought to present the sport in the best possible context, and the realities of the game. The baseball creed constituted a cultural fiction . . . . and even though it was inaccurate, the conventional wisdom influenced the way people behaved and thought."

Notes to Chapter 1

[1] "A Defense of Baseball as a 'Manly Exercise,' *New York Times* (27 Sep 1856). Quoted in: Dean Sullivan, ed., *Early Innings: A Documentary History of Baseball, 1825-1908* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 21.

[2] "Out-Door Sports: Base-Ball, Croquet, Quoits and Lacrosse," Quincy (IL) Whig (13 Jul 1868), 4.

[3] Huizinga, Foreword and 1.

[4] Homer, *The Odyssey*, Samuel Butler, Trans., Book VI, 53 and Book VIII, 69

[5] The College Customs of Harvard College, Anno 1734-5 as transcribed by Richard Waldron, Class of 1738, appears at "A Collection of College Words and Customs by Benjamin Homer Hall." <http://www.fullbooks.com/A-Collection-of-College-Words-and-Customs5.html>.

[6] John Newbery, *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book, Intended for the Instruction and Amusement of Little Master Tommy and Pretty Miss Polly* (London: John Newbery). Reprinted in: David Block, *Baseball Before We Knew It: A Search for the Roots of the Game* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 178.

[7] The Origins Committee of the Society for American Baseball Research (SABR) maintains a superb collaborative resource for scholars of early baseball at http://protoball.org. The site includes numerous articles and primary resources related to early bat and ball games in the United States.

[8] Michael S. Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 3; Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 6-7.

[9] In one of the first books to focus on the history of "masculinity," E. Anthony Rotundo recognized that as men shaped manhood, they also shaped American institutions and professions. *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 7.

[10] Rotundo, 3-4; Kimmel, 6. Though Kimmel places the use of sport to reinforce masculinity and carve out "all-male preserves" in the post-Civil War era, other scholars, like Eliott Gorn have demonstrated that men in antebellum America were using prize fighting, baseball, cricket, and other sports to reinforce gender ideals.

[11] Gorn, *The Manly Art*. Gorn's prologue introduces the contested meanings of boxing (pugilism/prize fighting) in Great Britain; the remainder of his book deals with the sport in the United States.

[12] Thorn, *Baseball in the Garden*, 86, 89-99.

[13] For details on the structure of early ball clubs, see, for example, George B. Kirsch, *Baseball and Cricket: The Creation of American Team Sports, 1838-1872* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 50-77; Benjamin G. Rader, *Baseball: A History of America's Game*, 3rd Edition, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 5-18; Thorn, *Baseball in the Garden*, pp. 64-84.

[14] See Protoball site, Warren Goldstein, *Playing for Keeps: A History of Early Baseball* (New York: Cornell University Press [1989], 2009), 27-31 and Thorn, *Baseball in the Garden*, 85-104.

[15] Peter Morris, *Baseball Fever: Early Baseball in Michigan* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 10-13.

[16] Cited in Rader, 9.

[17] Fifty-eight clubs, including twenty new clubs from around the country sent delegates to the Sixth Annual Convention of the NABBP in December 1860. "Patrick Mondout, "1861 Baseball Convention," Baseball

Chronology: The Game Since 1845. http://www.baseballchronology.com/baseball/Years/1861/Convention.asp.

[18] The players and media moguls who ultimately created baseball's "center" would not have recognized the concept as Messner uses it, but there is no question that the organizations they created to manage the rules and reputation of their sport, and the narratives they spun in local and national publications to shape the culture of the game, created the foundation on which subsequent men solidified control of what became Major League, NCAA, and Little League baseball.

[19] Messner, *Taking the Field*, xxi.

[20] For details on the rise of sporting periodicals, see: John Thorn, "The New York Clipper and Sporting Weeklies of Its Time," *Base Ball: A Journal of the Early Game* Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring 2009), pp. 107-113.

[21] For insights on Chadwick's role in shaping the structure and culture of baseball see: Tygiel, "The Mortar of Which Baseball is Held Together: Henry Chadwick and the Invention of Baseball Statistics," in *Past Time*, 15-34; Peter Morris, *But Didn't We Have Fun? An Informal History of Baseball's Pioneer Era, 1843-1870* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2008), 62-67; Kirsch, 61-63.

[22] For insights on how journalists shaped the culture and structure of baseball during the nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries see: R. Terry Furst, *Shaping the Image of the Game: Early Professional Baseball and the Sporting Press* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland Press, 2014; Mitchell Nathanson, "Gatekeepers of Americana: Ownership's Never-ending Quest for Control of the Baseball Creed," *Nine: A Journal of Baseball History and Culture* Vol. 15, No. 1 (Fall 2006): 68-87 (esp. 73-75).

[23] For insights on attitudes toward physical fitness in antebellum U.S. see: Jan Todd, *Physical Culture and the Body Beautiful: 'Purposive' Exercise in the Lives of American Women, 1800-1870* (Macon, GA: Mercer Univ. Press, 1998), 33-86.

[24] "Men and Boys Sports," *Daily National Intelligencer* (22 Mar 1822), n.p.

[25] Warren helped found Boston's Tremont gymnasium. His comments about the nation's neglected gymnasia are quoted in Edward M. Hartwell, "Physical Training in American Colleges and Universities," *Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education, No. 5—1885* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1886), 553. Warren was a prominent surgeon and Professor of Anatomy and Surgery at the Harvard Medical School. Over a decade after Warren explained the lack of exercise programs in the United States, an anonymous author reached a similar conclusion in: "The Cricket Mania," *Harper's Weekly* (10 Oct 1859): 658.

[26] John Thorn, *The Game for All America* (St. Louis: Sporting News, 1988), 13, quoted in: Morris, *Baseball Fever*, 8. Thorn was commenting on the difficulty adult town ball players in Philadelphia had trying to field teams in the 1830s, but his comments also apply more broadly to any adult men playing what most perceived to be children's games. The disapprobation of adult men playing baseball persisted until the eve of the Civil War. One writer commented to *Spirit of the Times* in March 1860 that while school boys had been playing baseball "all over the land from immemorial time," until recently men had usually only played on holidays, and even then, looked for an out-of-the-way place to do it. Quoted in Morris, *But Didn't We Have Fun?*, 49.

[27] *Harper's Monthly* 13 (1856): 642. Reprinted in: Foster Rhea Dulles, *America Learns to Play: A History of Popular Recreation, 1607-1940*, (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940), 184. Two years later, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr. lamented that "such a set of black-coated, stiff-jointed, soft-muscled, paste-complexioned youth as we can boast in our Atlantic cities never before sprang from the loins of Anglo-Saxon lineage." *Atlantic Monthly* 1 (1858): 881. Reprinted in: Dulles, 184. Though unspoken in both commentaries, it is almost certain that the writers' were speaking about the physical deficiencies of middle- and upper-class men.

[28] [Unreadable Title], *(Rochester) Union & Advertiser* (12 Aug 1858), 3.

[29] For insights on the Muscular Christianity movement as it came to be called, see: Steven A. Riess, "Sport and the Redefinition Middle-Class Masculinity in Victorian America," in S.W. Pope, ed., *The New American Sport History: Recent Approaches and Perspectives* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 173-184 and Elliott J. Gorn, "Sports Through the Nineteenth Century," in Pope, 49-51.

[30] Riess, "Sport and Redefinition,"180.

[31] Cited in Goldstein, 31.

[32] *New York Sunday Mercury* (21 Oct 1853).

[33] *Spirit of the Times* (31 Jan 1857), reprinted in Sullivan, *Early Innings*, 24.

[34] For insights on antebellum women's activism in moral reform societies see, for example: Nancy A. Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1984); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Beauty, the Beast, and the Militant Woman: Sex Roles and Sexual Standards in Jacksonian America," in *Women, Families, and Communities: Readings in American History, Vol One: to 1877*, ed. Nancy A. Hewitt (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman/Little, Brown Higher Educ., 1990), 124-138; Sara M. Evans, "The Age of Association, 1820-1845," in *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: Free Press [1989] 1997), 67-81.

[35] Using newspapers and other primary sources, the late Craig B. Waff compiled a database of over 1,680 ballgames played in the United States and Canada between 1845 and 1860. He found an additional 800 or so games for the same era that he had not entered into his database prior to his death. Waff's database is available at: "The Craig B. Waff Games Tabulation," Protoball website. http://protoball.org/The_Craig_B._Waff_Games_Tabulation.

[36] Quoted in Goldstein, 49.

[37] Tygiel, 15-16. Chadwick's comments appeared in his publication, *Beadle's Dime Base-Ball Player* in 1860; quoted in: Riess, "Sport and the Redefinition of Middle-Class Masculinity, 183.

[38] David Block, *Baseball Before We Knew It*, 139-142, 154-156.

[39] Catriona Parratt, *'More Than Mere Amusement:' Working-Class Women's Leisure in England, 1750-1914* (Boston: Northeastern UP, 2001), 31.

[40] See next section for details on Austen's, Mitford's and Marcet's references to female baseball players.

[41] Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England; Including the Rural and Domestic Recreations, May Games, Mummeries, Shows, Processions, Pageants, & Pompous Spectacles From the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, 3rd ed. (London: Thomas Tegg, [1801] 1845). Google Books.

[42] Strutt, 106.

[43] Parratt asserts that while Victorians would eventually stamp cricket "the manliest of English sports," it was, "in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries also a game for women." She documents the existence of female cricket players as early as 1745 when women's teams from Bramley and Hambleton played a match in southern England. She notes that the match was well attended by paying spectators who gambled on the outcome. The *Reading Mercury* reported that the players "bowled, batted, ran and catched [sic] as well as most men could do." Quoted in: Parratt, 32.

[44] Anne Firor Scott describes the paradigm of the continuum of cultural values in "The Ever Widening Circle: The Diffusion of Feminist Values from the Troy Female Seminary 1822-1872," Vol. 19, No. 1, *History of Education Quarterly*, (Spring 1979): 3-5.

[45] The issue of women's clothing styles was at the heart of many rancorous debates about women's rights throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. It not only divided men from women, but it polarized the ranks of women's rights activists. Many dedicated women's rights activists were appalled at the thought of wearing anything that might violate what they considered to be God's mandate against women wearing men's clothing. Additionally, many women who did not support the broader agenda of nineteenth-century feminists still argued that girls and women should adopt more sensible clothing styles that would allow them to be more physically active.

[46] "City Items...Base Ball," *The Portland (Maine) Transcript* (18 Jun 1859). The "Bloomer costume" would remain a socially divisive clothing option for women throughout the nineteenth century. Elizabeth Smith Miller designed the "short dress" [Turkish pants with a short skirt] costume in early 1851. She introduced the comfortable, though radical, garment to Elizabeth Cady Stanton shortly thereafter and she and Stanton began wearing it in public. Amelia Bloomer advocated that women wear the outfit (as a way to visibly challenge the notion that men were inherently superior to women) in her women's rights publication, *The Lily*. Women who wore bloomers faced virulent criticism and sometimes physical altercations. Stanton wrote her husband in April 1851 that her father was so upset by the outfit she felt it would cost her "the loss of my kin." Miller recalled the "gaping curiosity" and "harmless jeering of street boys" that accompanied her whenever she wore the short dress in public. Within a few years both Stanton and Miller gave up wearing Bloomers in public. Miller admitted that she returned to "the bonds of the old swaddling clothes—a victim to my love of beauty." "Elizabeth Smith Miller on Dress Reform." Elizabeth Smith Miller Collection, New York Public Library. http://www.assumption.edu/whw/Smith_Miller_on_dress.html. Theodore Stanton and Harriot Stanton Blatch, eds., *Elizabeth Cady Stanton: As Revealed in Her Letters, Diary and Reminiscences*. Vol. 2. (New York: Harper & Bros., 1922), 27.

[47] [No Title], *Albany Morning Times* (16 May 1859), 2.

[48] [No Title], *Troy Daily Times* (17 May 1859), 2.

[49] See for example: "Crinoline and Ball-Playing," *Genesee County (NY) Herald* (28 May 1859) and "City Items...Base Ball," *The Portland Transcript* [Maine] (18 Jun 1859).

[50] Howard P. Chudacoff discusses the evolution of attitudes toward children's play in the early Republic in: *Children at Play: An American History* (New York: New York University Press, 2007).

[51] William S. Brand and Robert Rose, *A History of the Pioneer Families of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1876), 223. Thanks to Jeff Kittel.

[52]"Sports in Honolulu," *Polynesian* (26 Dec 1840). "Boston-Style 'Bat and Ball' Seen in Honolulu, HI," Entry 1840.38, SABR Protoball Chronology site. Posted by George Thompson on 3 Jan 2010. Thompson believes the author of the article was James Jarves who had been born in Boston in 1818 and served as editor of the *Polynesian* after moving to Hawaii. The game he described was the Massachusetts form of baseball popular in New England until well after the Civil War.

[53] *Macon Daily Telegraph*, March 2, 1860. "Old-Fashioned Ballgame Noted in Antebellum GA" Entry 1840C.23, SABR Protoball. Posted by John Thorn on 11 Sep 2007. The article reported that a group of gentlemen were preparing to form another baseball club and that the game would be played "after the fashion in the South *twenty years ago*, when old field schools were the scenes of trial of activity, and *rosy cheeked girls were the umpires* (emphasis added)."

[54] Elias Molee, *Molee's Wanderings, An Autobiography* (private printing, 1919), 34. Cited by Tom Altherr, "Coed Cat Games in Wisconsin in the Early 1850s," *Originals*, 4.1 (January 2011): 2. SABR Protoball entry 1850S.47.

[55] Undated letter from Frances Dana Barker Gage to the *Tribune* reprinted in: "Muscle Looking Up," Austin, Harriet, N., Dr. and Jackson, James. C., Dr., eds., *The Letter-Box*. Vols. 1 and 2, 1858-9, (Dansville, NY: M. W. Simmons, 1859): 99.

[56] Lyman Beecher (1775-1863) became a prominent protestant minister while serving Congregationalist and Presbyterian congregations in Connecticut, Long Island, and Cincinnati. He also served as president of the Lane Theological Seminary and co-founded the American Temperance Society (1826). Beecher passed on his brand of crusading Christianity to his children, many of whom became famous in their own right as social reformers and Christian leaders. Harriet Beecher Stowe penned *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, brother Henry Ward followed in his father's footsteps as a clergyman and became nationally known abolitionist and orator, and Charles was a noted author and hymn writer.

[57] Catharine E. Beecher, *A Treatise on the Domestic Economy, for the use of Young Ladies at Home and at School*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publ., 1848), 48.

[58] Catharine E. Beecher, *Physiology and Calisthenics: For Schools and Families* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1856), iv.

[59] Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, (Arc Manor ed. [1818], 2007), 9. Google Books. Austen's reference to a young girl enjoying baseball appeared in Sarah Josepha Hale's *Woman's Record; or Sketches of all Distinguished Women From 'The Beginning' Till A.D. 1850 Arranged in Four Eras With Selections From Female Writers of Every Age* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publ., 1853). Hale was editor of the popular publication, *The Lady's Book* at the time.

[60] Louisa C. Tuthill, *The Young Lady's Home* (New Haven: S. Babcock, 1839), 247. Google Books.

[61] David Block uncovered the reference to the female student citing baseball to explain inertia in: Jane Marcet, *Conversations on Natural Philosophy; In Which The Elements of That Science Are Familiarly Explained, and Adapted To The Comprehension of Young Pupils* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1822), 13. In *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (Ithaca: New York University Press, 1994), 83, Christie Anne Farnham notes that Marcet's *Conversations on Chemistry* (1806) went through 23 U.S. editions plus 12 editions of imitations. Farnham notes that U.S. writers were protected by copyright laws as early as 1790, but foreign authors were not. Consequently Americans frequently republished the work of non-U.S. writers under their own names. This happened to Marcet numerous times such as when John Lee Comstock republished Marcet's *Conversations on Natural Philosophy* in its entirety with his name on the title page as editor. (The fact that male authors would appropriate her work indicates that it was considered of high quality.)

[62] David Block discovered a number of connections between Jane Austen, Mary Russell Mitford, and Cassandra Cooke, all of whom mentioned baseball in their work. Mitford's mother, Mary Russell, had been a childhood playmate of Austen; Cooke, who refers to boys playing baseball in her novel, *Battleridge*, in 1799, was Jane Austen's mother's first cousin. Her children, like Mary Russell Mitford's mother, were frequent playmates of Austen. David Block, e-mail to SABR 19cBB group, 8 December 2006. Archived at: https://groups.yahoo.com/neo /groups/19CBB/conversations/messages/6667.

[63] Examples of excerpts that included mention of female baseball players are: *Charleston (SC)Courier* (21 Aug 1828), 2 and *(NY) Commercial Advertiser* (1 Aug 1835), 2. Google Books.

[64] In "The Tenants of Beechgrove," she describes young Mary North as a young girl who not only played with dolls, but enjoyed playing baseball, sliding, and "romping." Mary Russell Mitford, "The Tenants of Beechgrove," from the *Our Village* sketches; reprinted in: *The Works of Mary Russell Mitford* (Philadelphia: James Crissy, 1841), 83. In "Jack Hatch," Mitford reflects the separate spheres ideology of her generation as she describes the butterfly-like metamorphosis of carefree, frolicking girls into subdued "village belles." The sketch's female narrator describes girls at various stages of maturity including the "sunburnt gipsy of six" who unhappily finds herself holding a mop in one hand and a pitcher in another while "her longing eyes [are] fixed on a game of base-ball at the corner of the green." By age ten, the young girl is eschewing "dirt and base-ball, and all their joys," in order to devout more time to schoolwork and feminine fashions. Not wholly deterred from her forays outside the feminine sphere, the twelve-year-old girl sometimes interrupts her proper employments for "occasional fits of romping" Mary Russell Mitford, "Jack Hatch," from the *Our Village* sketches; reprinted in: *The Works of Mary Russell Mitford* (Philadelphia: James Crissy, 1841), 93. In her third collection of sketches Mitford describes four girls

"scrambling and squalling at baseball" on one side of a road while a group of boys plays marbles on the other. Mary Russell Mitford, "Introduction," (to the third volume of *Our Village* sketches). reprinted in: *The Works of Mary Russell Mitford* (Philadelphia: James Crissy, 1841), 151. Mitford also mentions baseball in a collection of essays she wrote in 1835 entitled *Belford Regis*. Mitford's books are available on Google Books.

[65] "Correspondence," *Harper's Weekly* (5 Nov 1859): 707. Information about Guiwits, including the correct spelling of his name, his age and his occupation were determined using the 1850 and 1860 United States Federal Censuses.

[66] Gage, "Muscle Looking Up," 99. Gage specifically mentioned "base ball" earlier in the article; it is clear from context that when she mentions girls playing "ball," she means baseball.

[67] "Provisional Prospectus of the Raritan Bay Union," Broadside. c. 1853. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

[68] Gage, 99. Information on the school's utopian roots is from "The Historic City of Perth Amboy, New Jersey web site. <http://ci.perthamboy.nj.us/the-history-of-perth-amboy.html.> and "New York Correspondence," *Charleston (S.C.) Courier* (26 June 1855), 2. *New York Herald* (16 Sep 1856), 9. See also, "A Railroad in the Desert," and "True Education," *Circular* (26 June 1856), 5 and 23; *American Periodicals*, 90. "Eagleswood School," *Christian Inquirer* (28 June 1856), 10 and 39.

[69] Gage, 99.

[70] Ibid. Dansville Seminary was incorporated in January 1858 and was located in Dansville, Livingston County, New York.

[71] *Sacramento Daily Union* (12 Jun 1862). Note: A number of previous histories of women's baseball (including my own) have associated "games of ball" in the mid-1860s with Mills College in Oakland. This is incorrect and is based on secondary sources that confuse Mills College with the Benicia Seminary. The confusion stems from the fact that Mills Seminary (later, Mills College) founders, Cyrus and Susan Mills, purchased and ran the Benicia Seminary between 1866 and 1871 before moving to Oakland with some of Benicia's teachers and students to open the Mills Seminary. The Benicia Seminary continued to operate as a separate institution for over a decade after the Mills left. See: Elias Olan James, "Some Notes on the History of the Benicia Seminary," Unpublished manuscript for further details. Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley. Call number C-R 70. References to "games at ball" in primary sources apply only to the Benicia Seminary. Later references to baseball at Mills College are specifically called baseball.

[72] Benicia was the state capital of California for thirteen months in 1853 and 1854.

[73] Newspapers used different terms to refer to baseball in 1851. On 4 Feb 1851, the *Alta California* reported on "sporting gentlemen" playing "base ball" in San Francisco, while the *Daily California Courier* reported on the crowd that had assembled at the plaza for "a game of ball." Two days later, the *Alta California* reiterated that "base ball" had become "quite popular" and that men were playing it almost every day on the town plaza. The following month the *San Francisco Herald* reported that the town's plaza had evolved from a "store-house, cattle market, auction stand, depository of rubbish, and lately, playground" as boys and men now amused themselves by "playing ball" upon it. (1 Mar 1851). The reference to "play at ball" to describe baseball games appeared in "The Corral," *Alta California,* (25 Mar 1851). Though there is no doubt that the New York form of baseball was played in California by this time, at least one source, "Public Playground," *Alta California,* (14 Jan 1852), identifies the ball games being regularly played on the plaza as "town ball." Information on early baseball playing in California is available on the SABR Protoball website. See "Chronology: California." www.protoball.org.

[74] Reported in: Walter A. Tompkins, "Baseball Began Here in 1847," *It Happened in Old Santa Barbara* (Santa Barbara National Bank, n.d.), 77-78. SABR Protoball. Scholars have yet to confirm the source of Tompkins' statement about baseball in Santa Barbara; however, another scholar posted information from a soldier's diary that mentioned playing ball games at their bivouac at Mission San Luis Rey in March 1847.

[75] See, for example, "Out-Door Sports: Base-Ball: Base Ball in California," *Porter's Spirit of the Times*, 8.13 (26 May 1860): 196 and "Base Ball in California," *New York Clipper* (May 1860). "Games Tab: California," SABR Protoball website.

[76] The Benicia Young Ladies Seminary was operated between 1854 and 1871 by Mary Atkins (1854-1863; 1865) and Cyrus and Susan Mills (1866-1871). Atkins became principal in September 1854; she purchased the school from Trustees in January 1855, becoming principal and sole proprietor. She took a leave of absence during the 1863-1864 school year during which time she visited the Mills at Punahou School in Honolulu. She resumed her duties as principal in September 1865 but sold the school to the Mills soon after. They took over the operation in January 1866. Fourteen years later, Atkins (now married to John Lynch) repurchased the school from the Mills' successors and ran the school from 1880 until her death in 1883.

[77] Oberlin began accepted female students in 1837.

[78] See "Benicia Young Ladies Seminary: Seventh Annual Examination," *Sacramento Daily Union* (1 Sep 1859), 1 and *Sacramento Daily Union* (2 Sep 1859), 3 The former article describes the playground as being "an even slope, warmed by the morning and midday sun, which is used as the recreation ground. It is one hundred by one hundred and twenty-five feet in size, and well protected by the high fence." Though quite small for baseball, it would have been suitable for baseball as played by young girls. Students could enroll in the preparatory course at Benicia as young as age 7. From 1857 through 1865, preparatory students always outnumbered seminary students by a fairly wide margin. Any "games at ball" at Benicia were played by young girls, not college age women. Graces was a popular game for girls in which two players tossed and caught a hoop using rods held in their hands.

Notes to Chapter 2

[1] For information on baseball during the Civil War, see: Chapter 4, "Civil War Interlude" of Kirsch, *Baseball and Cricket* and Chapter 6, "Their Ranks Became So Thinned That Disruption Followed: Baseball During the Civil War," of Peter Morris, *Baseball Fever: Early Baseball in Michigan* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); and SABR's Protoball site which contains many useful primary and secondary sources relating to baseball (and other bat and ball games) during the Civil War. See, for example, Larry McCray, "Ballplaying in Civil War Camps: An Overview of an Enriched Data Base," (2009), http://protoball.org/Ballplaying_in_Civil_War _Camps and "Chronology: Civil War," http://protoball.org/Civil_War_Camps_Chronology. "Civil War Baseball-Battling on the Diamond," City of Alexandria Virginia. https://www.alexandriava.gov/historic/fortward/default.aspx?id =40132.

[2] Tygiel, 13.

[3] "The Playground: Base Ball," *Oliver Optic's Magazine; Our Boys and Girls* (15 Jun 1867): 287.

[4] Goldstein, 38-39.

[5] "The Professional Player," *New York Times* (8 Mar 1872), 4. This lengthy editorial against professionalism appeared just one year after professional clubs banded together to form the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players and began to assert their control over the "national" pastime.

[6] The resolution was offered by Thomas W. Cantwell, captain of the First Nine of the National Club of Albany, New York. Text of the resolution appears in Dean A. Sullivan, ed., *Early Innings: A Documentary History of Baseball, 1825-1908* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 39. After the demise of the amateur association they had helped create, the New York Knickerbockers tried to form another association to continue fighting for amateurism. The new association lasted only from 1871-1874. Rader, *Baseball*, 28.

[7] The term "semi-professional"—someone who earns money doing something but does not rely on it as their sole livelihood—did not exist at the time. It was first used c. 1890 and came into the popular vernacular in the early 1900s.

[8] Sullivan, *Early Innings*, 83-88.

[9] For details on the expansion of media coverage of baseball see: John Thorn, "The *New York Clipper* and Sporting Weeklies of Its Time," *Base Ball: A Journal of the Early Game* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 107-113. See also, Goldstein, 7-10.

[10] By 1890, there were seventeen other professional baseball leagues besides the National League—the only one of the nineteenth-century professional leagues still in existence today. The American League was not organized until 1903. For details on some of the short-lived professional leagues of the 1870s and 1880s, see: Rader, 42-59.

[11] "Girl Base Ball Clubs," *Utica Morning Herald and Daily Gazette* (17 Oct 1867), http://fultonhistory.com.

[12] *New York Sunday Mercury* (5 Aug 1866).

[13] Bruce Allardice, "The Spread of Base Ball, 1859-1870: Some New Data on the Early Diffusion of Base Ball in the United States," SABR Protoball, September 2013. http://protoball.org/The_Spread_of_Base _Ball,_1859_-_1870. Using online search engines to determine the number of references to "base ball" in newspapers and publications between 1859 and 1870, Allardice demonstrates that the popularity of baseball skyrocketed after the war. Allardice's timeframe ends at 1870 and he does not break out the types of teams. My research indicates that baseball continued to grow in popularity and that players organized many different types of teams.

[14] William R. Hooper, "Our National Game," *Appleton's Journal: A Magazine of General Literature* 5, no. 100 (25 Feb 1871): 225.

[15] See Appendices for information on individual teams. The twenty-one states that had female baseball teams and players between 1865 and 1879 were (in no particular order): Pennsylvania, Michigan, Florida, Ohio, Massachusetts, Indiana, Minnesota, Kansas, Iowa, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Kentucky, Illinois, Connecticut, Maine, New Jersey, New York, and Wisconsin. The latter three states and the Kingdom of Hawaii had had female teams or players prior to 1860. These facts were compiled from my own research in nineteenth-century newspapers and periodicals.

[16] Because of the dearth of primary sources relating to black female baseball players, it is difficult to draw analytical conclusions about the subject. The lack of sources could indicate either that black girls and women rarely played baseball (despite the fact that black boys and men did) or it could simply indicate that evidence of their playing has not yet come to light or was not documented. The earliest known black women's baseball teams originated in Philadelphia in the summer of 1883. These will be addressed in Chapter 4. Other black players and teams are mentioned in the Appendices.

[17] Morris, "Moving Forward: 'Muffin' Ballplayers Start a New Tradition," in *But Didn't We Have Fun?*, 213-226; "Catch-Penny Affairs: The Effort to Make a Little Money Out of Base Ball Side Shows," *Sporting Life* (1 Aug 1891), 12.

[18] Professional women's teams will be covered in detail in chapters 3, 4, and 5.

[19] Morris, *But Didn't We Have Fun?*, 3-6.

[20] Henry Chadwick, *Chadwick's Base Ball Manual* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1874), 12-13.

[21] Henry Chadwick (1860 and 1866), cited in Tygiel, 18-19. Tygiel argues that Henry Chadwick's zeal to use baseball as a tool for moral reform and his development and application of statistics to the game grew out of his interest in his older brother, Edwin's, work as Commissioner of the Board of Health in Britain and his dedication to reforming poor laws. He believes that Chadwick viewed box scores as "a series of mini-morality plays" in which players received credit for achievements and notice of their flaws. (p. 25).

[22] The ideal that women's primary social responsibility was to educate the next generation of godly citizens was grounded in the early Republic and persisted in the postbellum era. For insights on this concept of "Republican Motherhood" see: Linda K. Kerber, "Daughters of Columbia: Educating Women for the Republic, 1787-1805," in *Toward an Intellectual History of Women: Essays by Linda K. Kerber* (Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 23-40; and "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment—An American Perspective," in *Toward an Intellectual History*, 41-62.

[23] For background on the popularity of other recreational activities see: Matthew Alegro, *Pedestrianism: When Watching People Walk Was America's Favorite Spectator Sport* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2014); Elliott J. Gorn and Warren Goldstein, *A Brief History of American Sports* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1993); Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986); Robert C. Allen, *Horrible Prettiness: Burlesque and American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); James W. Cook, ed. *The Colossal P.T. Barnum Reader* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005).

[24] Michael Oriard makes the argument about football and the popular press in: *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of NC Press, 1993).

[25] The first issue of *Beadle's Dime Ball Player* included the rules of the Massachusetts game and a report on the rules convention of the New York-based National Association of Base Ball Players. Patrick Mondout, "Beadle's Dime Base-Ball Player," Baseball Chronology. http://www.baseballchronology.com/baseball/Books /Classic/Beadles -Dime-Baseball-Player/. SABR's Protoball site includes a chronology of early baseball newspaper coverage. http://protoball.org/Chronology:Newspaper_Coverage.

[26] Tygiel, 11-12. Tygiel cites Melvin L. Adelman, *A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820-1870* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

[27] The Washington Nationals played local opponents in Columbus, Cincinnati, Louisville, Indianapolis, St. Louis, and Chicago between July 13-29, 1867. Large crowds turned out to watch the contests and a number of baseball historians believe that the tour helped spread the New York-style of play to the Midwest. See, for example, Eric Miklich, "1867 Washington Nationals Tour," 19c Base Ball. http://www.19cbaseball.com/tours-1867-washington-nationals-tour.html. The schedule for the Cincinnati tour of 1868 is available here: http://www .19cbaseball.com/tours-1867-1870-cincinnati-red-stockings-tour-2.html.

[28] "Base-Ball," *Harper's Weekly* (17 Jun 1865): 371.

[29] "Out-Door Sports: Base-Ball, Croquet, Quoits and Lacrosse," *Quincy (IL) Whig* (13 Jul 1868).

[30] Chermany was a bat and ball game played in the South (particularly in Virginia) as early as the 1840s. See Protoball.org/Chermany. For information on Southern bat and ball games see: Tom Altherr, "1850.38, Southern-Ball-Games," *Base Ball: A Journal of the Early Game*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Spring 2011), 103-105.

[31] George William Bagby, *What I Did With My Fifty Millions*. By Moses Adams. Edited From the Posthumous Ms. by Caesar Maurice, Esq., of the Richmond (VA.) Whig (Philadelphia, 1874), 43. Google Books.

[32] Cited in Kirsch, 202.

[33] "Earliest Baseball Clubs," Baseball Memory Lab. http://mlb.mlb.com/memorylab/spread_of_baseball /earliest_clubs.jsp. Site includes a table showing the first known baseball clubs in each state. Bill O'Neal notes that a game between the Houston Stonewalls and the Galveston Robert E. Lees on April 21, 1867 was one of the first to be reported in detail in local papers. In 1872, an amateur team from New Orleans traveled to Texas via stagecoach and played teams in Dallas, Waco, and Austin. *The Texas League: A Century of Baseball* (Austin: Easkin Press, 1987), cited on "Early Texas Baseball," http://www.lsjunction.com/facts/tx _bball.htm.

[34] "Base Ball: Gossip About the Patrons of the Bat and Ball," *New Orleans Times*, (1 May 1879).

[35] Rev. J. T. Crane, "Popular Amusements, Part II," *The Ladies' Repository: A Monthly Periodical, Devoted to Literature, Arts, and Religion* 27 no. 8 (Aug 1867): 478-479.

[36] Ibid.

[37] See, for example: "Local and Incidental," *Constantine Weekly Mercury & St. Joseph County Advertiser* (8 Aug 1867), 3; "Miscellaneous Items," *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune* (23 Jul 1867); *Highland Weekly News* (Hillsborough, Ohio) (5 Sep 1867), quotes the *McConnelsville Herald*. "At Home and Abroad," *Jersey Journal* (29 Jul 1867), 2; *Wellsville Free Press* (4 Sep 1867), 3; "Out Door Sports," *Newark Daily Advertiser* (16 Sep 1867), 2. The team in Florida was mentioned in numerous newspapers including: "Sporting," *Albany Evening Journal* (12 Jul 1867), 2 and "Miscellaneous Items," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (20 Jul 1867), 1.

[38] Cited in Thorn, *Baseball in the Garden of Eden*, 69. The first issue of Chadwick's *Ball Players' Chronicle* was published on June 6, 1867.

[39] Henry Chadwick, *Ball Players' Chronicle* (25 Jul 1867). Reprinted in: Federal Writer's Project, Illinois: Work Project Administration, *Baseball in Old Chicago*, (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1939), 8-9.

[40] See, for example: "Miscellaneous Items," *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune* (23 Jul 1867); "News Paragraphs," *Eau Claire (Wis.) Daily Free Press* (8 Aug 1867), 1; [No Title], *The Indiana Herald* [Huntington, IN] (27 Nov 1867), 2; "The Daily Avalanche," *Memphis Daily Avalanche* (11 Nov 1867), 1; [No Title], *Gettysburg (Penn.) Star* (20 Nov 1867), 1; "Things in General," *Lowville (N.Y.) Democrat* (4 Sep 1867); "At Home and Abroad," *Jersey Journal* (29 Jul 1867), 2; [No Title], *Daily National Intelligencer* [D.C.], (22 Nov 1867), 2; [No Title], *Leavenworth Weekly Conservative*, (3 Oct 1867); *St. Joseph Advertiser* cited in *Niles Weekly Times* (12 Sep 1867), 3.

[41] [No Title], *Niles Weekly Times* (12 Sep 1867), 3. Dan, Beersheba, and Ashkelon were ancient cities of Israel often mentioned in the Old Testament. Gath was a Philistine city-state of the same period. Thanks to John Kovach for bringing this article to my attention.

[42] [No Title], *Wellsville Free Press* (4 Sep 1867), 3. Thanks to Priscilla Astifan for bringing this article to my attention.

[43] *Niles Weekly Times* (12 Sep 1867), 3.

[44] "The Daily Avalanche," *Memphis Daily Avalanche* (11 Nov 1867), 1; *The Indiana Herald* [Huntington, IN] (27 Nov 1867), 2.

[45] Newspapers had carried occasional reports of men dying during or immediately after bat and ball games; many reporters who mentioned Amaret Howard's death would have remembered the untimely baseball-related death of 21-year-old Brooklyn Excelsior star, Jim Creighton, just five-years earlier. See details on Creighton's death and other baseball-related deaths at http://www.protoball.org.

[46] "Local," *Coldwater Sentinel* (22 Nov 1867), 3. Howard shows up in the 1850 census as "Amorette" and in the 1860 census as "Amaret." In 1860 she was 14-years-old; her household consisted of her father, Goodwin (age 36), her mother, Betsey (age 37), several siblings, (one older and three younger) plus two farm hands and a domestic servant.

[47] For insights on the women's rights movement of the time see: Mari Jo Buhle and Paul Buhle, eds., *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage: Selections from the Classic Work of Stanton, Anthony, Gage, and Harper* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1979), esp. 89-158; Alice S. Rossi, "Social Roots of the Woman's Movement in America," in *The Feminist Papers: From Adams to de Beauvoir* (Boston: Northeastern Univ. Press, 1973), 241-281.

[48] Examples of papers that reprinted the article include: *Daily Iowa State Register* (27 Sep 1867), 2; *Flake's Bulletin* [Galveston, TX] (6 Oct 1867), 2; *Defiance (OH) Democrat* (26 Oct 1867), 4; *Salt Lake Daily Telegraph* (30 Oct 1867).

[49] "Sexual Assimilation," *Daily Iowa State Register* (27 Sep 1867), 2.

[50] Ibid.

[51] In 1868, Peterboro boasted a robust manufacturing base anchored by a cheese factory that turned out 220,000 pounds of cheese annually, and a cheese box factory that made 20,000 boxes a year. Mechanical shops, a flouring mill, carriage shop, saw mill and planing mill, provided ample employment opportunities and services to residents of Peterboro and the nearby towns of Canastota, Cazenovia and Oneida. Hamilton Child, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Madison County, NY for 1868-9* (Syracuse: Journal Office, 1868).

[52] Winthrop S. Scudder, *Gerrit Smith Miller: An Appreciation* (Dedham, MA: The Noble and Greenough School, 1924), 17.

[53] "The Last Sporting Sensation: A Female Base Ball Club at Peterboro," *New York Clipper* (29 Aug 1868): 163; "Sporting: …Remarkable Female Base Ball Match—Something New," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (29 Aug 1868), 4. It was common practice in the nineteenth century for baseball clubs to select a "playing nine" or "senior nine" composed of its most skilled players, and one or more "junior nines" composed of younger and/or less skilled players. My research indicates that it is unlikely the Peterboro club really had 50 members.

[54] "The Last Sporting Sensation," 163' "Remarkable Female Base Ball Match," 4. Note: None of the contemporary reports states exactly when the public exhibition game took place and considerable confusion ensued for historians due to the fact that articles about the game reprinted as late as two months after-the-fact still reported the date of the game as "last Saturday." I determined the actual date of the game (Saturday, July 25th) by locating the earliest reference to the game—the letter penned by Elizabeth Cady Stanton on August 1, 1868 from Peterboro and published in *The Revolution* on August 6, 1868.

[55] Gerrit Smith to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 1869. Reprinted in Octavius Brooks Frothingham, *Gerrit Smith: A Biography* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1878), 124. Gerrit Smith's sprawling estate in Peterboro was an active station on the Underground Railroad and he frequently hosted prominent political and social activists in his home, including Frederick Douglass and John Brown. Smith did not limit his activities to private philanthropy; he ran for numerous political offices, including Governor of New York (in 1840 and 1858) and for President of the United States (in 1848, 1852, and 1856). He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1853.

[56] See Chapter 1, note #45.

[57] "Editors' Table: Waifs," *The Hamilton Literary Monthly* 3.2 (September 1868): 69. Hamilton College Archives. The Grecian Bend was the name given to a specific posture that some upper-class women attempted to model in the mid-nineteenth century. The unnatural position was achieved by wearing clothing that bent their bodies into a pose mimicking a Greek statue.

[58] Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton co-founded *The Revolution* in early 1868; they promoted social causes, particularly women's rights, in its pages.

[59] Ibid.

[60] [No Title], *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (11 Aug 1868), 2.

[61] "Central New York News: Madison County," *Syracuse Daily Journal* (12 Aug 1868), 6; "Female Base 'Ballists,' *The Sun* [New York City] (13 Aug 1868), 1; "Gleanings," *Buffalo Evening Courier & Republic* (13 Aug 1868); [No Title], *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* (14 Aug 1868), 2; "Feminine Base Ballists," *NY Clipper* (15 Aug 1868), 149; "Base Ball Notes," *New York Herald* (16 Aug 1868), 7 and "Local and County Matters: Feminine Base

Ball Players," *Madison Observer* [Morrisville, NY] (16 Aug 1868). "Mail Gleanings," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (17 Aug1868), 2.

[62] "Mail Gleanings," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (17 Aug1868), 2.

[63] [No Title], *Cazenovia Republican*, (19 Aug 1868), 3; "Local and County Matters: Feminine Base Ball Players," *Madison Observer* [Morrisville, NY] (16 Aug 1868), 2; "Feminine Base Ball Players," *Oneida Dispatch* (21 Aug 1868), 2; "Clippings and Drippings: Miscellaneous," *St. Joseph Herald* [Michigan] (22 Aug 1868), 2; [No Title], *New Bedford Republican Standard* [Mass] (27 Aug 1868), 3; "Miscellaneous Items," *The Blairsville* [PA] *Press* (11 Sep 1868), 1; "Hon. Gerrit Smith at Home," *Boston Investigator* (3 Mar 1869), 5.

[64] E.L. Taylor to Gerrit Smith, Columbus, Ohio, August 17, 1868. Gerrit Smith Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Library.

[65] "The Last Sporting Sensation: A Female Base Ball Club at Peterboro," *New York Clipper* (29 Aug 1868), 163; "Sporting: …Remarkable Female Base Ball Match—Something New," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (29 Aug 1868), 4; "The Last Sporting Sensation," *Syracuse Courier and Union* (31 Aug 1868). The quotations in the text are from the anonymous source.

[66] Emily Howland scrapbook. NAWSA Collection, Sec XVI, No. 2, Library of Congress Rare Book & Special Collections Division. The date of the clipping can be roughly approximated because it is pasted alongside other clippings from 1868 reporting on the activities of the women's rights movement and the successes of individual women making inroads into previously all-male professions. The fact it was cited in later articles indicates it predated at least September 7th.

[67] In the Spring of 1866, black and white women's rights activists at the Eleventh National Women's Rights Convention had voted to organize the American Equal Rights Association in order to campaign for suffrage for both blacks and women. By the time the AERA held its inaugural convention in May 1867, members were already beginning to splinter over which issue should take priority—suffrage for women or suffrage for black men. The debate centered on the addition of the word "male" to language in the Fourteenth Amendment relating to suffrage and on proposed language for a fifteenth amendment that would add "race" but not "women" to protected categories of voters. At the second meeting of the AERA, two months before the Peterboro baseball team was organized, the issue had become so divisive that Lucy Stone resigned her position as president; the following year the women's rights movement split into the National Woman Suffrage Association, led by Stanton and Anthony, and the American Woman Suffrage Association, led by Lucy Stone. The controversial issue of suffrage for blacks and women was well publicized and, by 1868, the press routinely described Stanton's activities and reprinted her speeches and writings. For an overview of tensions within the women's rights movement of the mid-nineteenth century see: Mari Jo Buhle and Paul Buhle, eds., introduction to *The Concise History of Woman Suffrage: Selections from History of Woman Suffrage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 12-22.

[68] "Base Ball Notes," *New York Herald* (16 Aug 1868), 7.

[69] "The National Game," *New York Herald* (11 Oct 1868), 6.

[70] *Sporting Times* (29 Aug 1868), 1. Thanks to John Thorn for bringing this illustration to my attention.

[71] "The Last Illustration of Woman's Rights—A Female Base-Ball Club at Peterboro, N. Y.," *The Days' Doings*, (3 Oct 1868), 280.

[72] Ibid., 275.

[73] The articles based on Stanton's account bore such benign titles as: "Female Base Ballists," "Feminine Base Ball Players," and "Base Ball Notes." The articles based on the anonymous source were a bit more descriptive using titles like, "The Last Sporting Sensation: A Female Base Ball Club at Peterboro," "Remarkable Female Base Ball Match—Something New," "Ladies Playing Ball," and "Women as Base-Ball Players."

[74] For example, on August 6th, Stanton wrote another letter from Peterboro which appeared in *The Revolution* on August 13th. Although she did lament women's sedentary lifestyle and its impact on the human race in her letter, she did not promote baseball. Instead Stanton made a strong argument for women to be engaged in more vigorous outdoor work to improve their health instead of being cooped up inside all the time sewing, doing laundry, and keeping house.

[75] The scrapbooks are available at the NAWSA Collection, Library of Congress. Per the Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation website: "Gage, along with Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, was a founding member of the National Woman Suffrage Association and served in various offices of that organization (1869-1889)." http://www.matildajoslyngage.org/bringing-gage-to-life/who-was-matilda-joslyn-gage/

[76] Nannie's grandmother, Ann Smith, was a prolific letter writer, yet her letters to her son, Greene, and others written from Peterboro during the summer of 1868 (and as late as three days before the public game), make no mention whatsoever of a baseball club of girls in town or an upcoming game. Ann Gordon, the country's leading expert on Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and editor of a multi-volume compilation of Stanton's correspondence, has not found a single reference to girls playing baseball in any of Stanton's voluminous correspondence. E-mails from Ann Gordon to author, summer 2008.

[77] Elizabeth Smith Miller's diary (Madison County Historical Society) skips over the period from late June to November 1868. Family correspondence indicates that Nannie and Miller spent the entire summer in Peterboro before returning to their home in Geneva.

[78] From the 1840s onward, the popular press in the United States frequently published unflattering accounts and cartoons about women's rights activists. Rather than address women's objectives with well-reasoned discourse, some critics attempted to debase and sexualize them. The illustration of the Peterboro game in the *Sporting Times* was an example of the latter. For examples of caricatures of women's rights activists in general see the images from *Harper's Weekly* (1859) and Currier and Ives (1869) at: Michael O'Malley, Women and Equality," Exploring U.S. History web site, http://chnm.gmu.edu/exploring/19thcentury/womenandequality/.

[79] Morris, 196.

[80] The vast majority of female baseball players of the nineteenth century fell into the former group. It was not until the late nineteenth century that more players began wearing bloomers and trying to play regulation baseball. Some of the players on professional barnstorming teams wore pantaloons or slacks.

[81] Charles W. Hurd to Charles H. Berry, 8 April 1869. Thanks to David Block for bringing this letter to my attention. http://cgi.ebay.com/EARLY-ANTIQUE-HISTORIC-LETTER-1869-T206-OLD-JUDGE-/140434365961?pt=Vintage_Sports_Memorabilia#ht_1754wt_1139

[82] Annie G. (Howes) Barus, Vassar Class of 1874. Quoted in: "Hannah Lyman," *Vassar Encyclopedia*, http://vcencyclopedia.vassar.edu/matthew-vassar/hannah-lyman/index.html. Barus most likely played the Massachusetts form of baseball during the 1860s.

[83] For insights on early childhood education see: Nancy Beadie and Kim Tolley, *Chartered Schools: Two Hundred Years of Independent Academies in the United States, 1727-1925* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Jane H. Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls: The Victorian Origins of American Girlhood* (New Haven Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 2003); David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Learning Together: A History of Coeducation in American Public Schools* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1992); Mary Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America's Republic* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2008); Margaret A. Nash, *Women's Education in the United States, 1780-1840* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

[84] Reminiscence of Grace Aspinwall. Miss Porter's School archives. Provided by Gloria Gavert, school archivist, in letter to author, November 19, 1990.

[85] Ibid.

[86] For insights into Sarah Porter's life see: Louise L. Stevenson, "Sarah Porter Educates Useful Ladies, 1847-1900," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 18.1 (1983): 39-60.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Reminiscence of Kate Stevens. Miss Porter's School archives. Provided by Gloria Gavert, school archivist, in letter to author, November 19, 1990.

[89] Cartwright's three sons, DeWitt, Bruce, and Alexander, Jr. all attended Punahou School—DeWitt from 1858 to 1860, Bruce from 1864 to 1869, and Alexander, Jr. from 1866 to 1869. It is conceivable that one or all of Cartwright's sons were members of the baseball teams students organized at Punahou during this period. Information on the students' tenure at school is from: William De Witt Alexander, *Oahu College: List of Trustees, Presidents, Instructors, Matrons, Librarians, Superintendents of Grounds, and Students, 1841-1906*, (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., Ltd., 1907).

[90] [No Title], *Punahou Mirror*, 1.2 (13 May 1875). Cooke Library, Punahou School. This is the earliest documented female baseball team at Punahou although they may well have played earlier. In his book, *Hawaii Sports: History, Facts, and Statistics* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1999), p. 2, Dan Cisco states that girls organized a team at Punahou in 1874 but he does not provide a source for his information. It is possible he inferred the information from the Tally Book. On the page facing the roster for the girls' team of 1875-76, there is a page that is blank except for the words, "Base Ball" and Punahou, Nov 13, 74. This page is numbered, 204. The facing page is numbered, 207. While the date on page 204 may be referring to the roster of players, this is not certain, particularly since there are two pages missing and because page 207 includes its own title and date: Punahou Base Ball Club, 1875-76."

[91] Alice Stone Blackwell, journal entry, Wednesday, April 10, 1872. In: Marlene Deahl Merrill, ed., *Growing Up in Boston's Gilded Age: The Journal of Alice Stone Blackwell, 1872-1874* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1990), 60. Blackwell was attending Harris Grammar School in the Dorchester neighborhood of Boston at the time she and friends played baseball together. Merrill identifies "Sadie" as Sadie Wilson, a friend of Blackwell's who was one year ahead of her in school. Thanks to Dorothy Jane Mills for bringing Blackwell's journal entries about baseball to light.

[92] Ibid., 60-61.

[93] Blackwell's references to baseball appear in the following entries for 1872: April 27th (p. 66); April 30th (p. 67); May 4th (p. 68); May 8th (p. 70); May 15th (p. 73); May 18th (p. 74); May 20th (pp. 75-76); May 22nd (p. 76); May 23rd (p. 77); June 4th (p. 81); June 13th (p. 83).

[94] In her journal entry for June 27, 1873, Alice Blackwell mentions being embarrassed when her mother made "a tremendous mistake" during her remarks by commenting that the best scholar [Alice] was also the "best base ball player." The truth was "exactly the reverse," in Blackwell's words. Merrill, 181. There is no evidence that Blackwell played baseball after she left school.

[95] "Facts and Figures," *Woman's Exponent* 1, no. 23 (1873): 184. Published primarily for Mormon women, the *Women's Exponent* was a strong advocate for women's suffrage.

[96] Generally, the type of college women attended, its geographic location, and the era in which they attended, influenced the experiences of female collegians. In the case of female collegiate baseball players, however, it seems to have mattered little. Players at all-women colleges, coeducational colleges, and coordinate colleges generally followed the same patterns of conformity to feminine ideals when playing. (A coordinate college was a women's college that shared some or all administrators, faculty, facilities, and curricula with a men's institution. Relationships between coordinate colleges and their host institution varied widely.) For insights on college life for female students at different types of nineteenth century institutions see: 1. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, (Amherst, MA: Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1993); Andrea G. Radke-Moss, *Bright Epoch: Women and Coeducation in the American West* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 2008); Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus*

Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1987) Patricia A. Palmieri, *Educating Men and Women Together: Coeducation in a Changing World* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1987); Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Geraldine Joncich Clifford, *Lone Voyagers: Academic Women in Coeducational Institutions, 1870-1937* (New York: The Feminist Press at CUNY, 1993); Christine A. Ogren, *The American State Normal School: "An Instrument of Great Good"* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Christie Anne Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York: NYU Press, 1995).

[97] In 1870, only 21 percent of the one percent of 18 to 24-year-olds who attended college in the United States were women; by 1900 that number had grown to just 36 percent despite the founding of over a dozen women's colleges and the proliferation of scores of co-educational Normal Schools, land-grant colleges, and universities during the intervening time period. David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 64.

[98] Powell, E.M. [Elizabeth], "Physical Culture at Vassar College," *The Herald of Health and Journal of Physical Culture* 13 (New York: Miller, Wood & Co., March 1869): 133. Powell was the physical training instructor at Vassar from 1866 to 1870.

[99]Francis A. Wood, *Earliest Years at Vassar—Personal Recollections* (Poughkeepsie, NY: The Vassar College Press, 1909), 22.

[100] Information on the students was compiled from the *Alumnae Register*, Vassar College Special Collections, and the demographics on class standing are from Wood, *Earliest Years at Vassar*, 8 and James Monroe Taylor and Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, *Vassar* (New York: Oxford UP, 1915), 55-56. Special students were those pursuing studies in music or art primarily. They were not required to follow the same curriculum designed for students in the regular academic program. Preparatory students were studying to qualify for enrollment in the regular program. For a fuller treatment of player demographics, see: Shattuck, "Bats, Balls and Books," 99-109. http://www.la84 foundation.org/SportsLibrary/JSH/JSH1992/JSH1902/jsh1902b.pdf.

[101] "Annual Report of the Department of Physical Training 1876-1877," Lilian Tappan to President John H. Raymond, June 1877, Vassar College. VCSC.

[102] Examples are cited throughout the thesis. (e.g. reminiscences and letters from Minnie Stephens, Sophia Foster Richardson, Rachel Studley, etc.).

[103] Pamela Dean, "'Dear Sisters' and 'Hated Rivals': Athletics and Gender at Two New South Women's Colleges, 1893-1920," *Journal of Sport History*, 24.3 (Fall 1997): 352.

[104] "The train" was a reference to the long back portion of a dress or skirt. They were a popular women's clothing style throughout the nineteenth century and can still be seen on wedding dresses and formal gowns. In "A Girls' College Life," *The Cosmopolitan* 32, no. 2 (Jun 1901): 188-195.

[105] Minnie Stephens [Allen], undated letter to her former classmates. Minnie Stephens 1883 papers, SCA. In the document Stephens mistakenly recalled that the teams were organized "Way back in '79." Other student accounts indicate that the teams were actually organized in the Spring of 1880 during Stephens's first year at the school.

[106] "Poem, Prophecy and History," *1878 Class Book*, p. 23. Vassar College Special Collections.

[107] "Vassar Athletic Association," *Vassar Miscellany* Vol. 26, No. 3 (Dec 1896), p 138.

[108] *Chicago Times* (22 Oct 1869), quoted in: Robert Pruter, "Youth Baseball in Chicago, 1868-1890: Not Always Sandlot Ball," *Journal of Sport History*, 26.1 (Spring 1999): 6.

[109] For background information on the Northwestern Female College at Evanston, see: Dwight F. Clark, "A Forgotten Evanston Institution: The Northwestern Female College," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 35, no. 2 (June 1942): 115-132 and Patrick M. Quinn, "Coeducation at Northwestern," *Northwestern Perspective* 1, no. 1 (Winter 1988): 42-45. For almost fifteen years, the women's college had steadily outdrawn the all-male Northwestern University. The latter graduated 41 students while the former graduated 72. Once Northwestern University agreed to admit female students, the women's college lost its constituency.

[110] "Home Matters," *The Vassar Miscellany* 5, no.1 (October 1875): 593.

[111] Sophia Foster Richardson, "Tendencies in Athletics for Women in Colleges & Universities," A Paper Presented to the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, October 31, 1896, *Appleton's Popular Science Monthly* 50 (February 1897): 526. Richardson included an account of how she and fellow students organized seven or eight baseball teams during her freshman year in the Fall of 1875. She attributed the rise of the teams to "a few quiet suggestions from a resident physician wise beyond her generation." The physician was Dr. Helen Webster, who assumed her new duties at Vassar in the Spring of 1874. According to Richardson, Webster continued to encourage the girls to play even after one of them was injured during a game. Team names are from Harold Seymour and Dorothy Mills Seymour, *Baseball: The People's Game* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 447.

[112] Letter from Katharine Griffis to Mary Grace Toll Hill (9 November 1875). Available digitally from Vassar College Archives. http://digitallibrary.vassar.edu/fedora/repository /vassar%3A24317.

[113] Ibid.

[114] "College Notes," *The Vassar Miscellany* 6, no.1 (October 1876): 56.

[115] Richardson, 526.

[116] "Home Matters," *The Vassar Miscellany* 5, no.2 (January 1876): 647.

[117] "Home Matters," *The Vassar Miscellany* (July 1876): 769 and 774.

[118] "After the Game," reprinted from *The Princetonian* in *The Syracuse Journal* (11 Feb 1880).

[119] The only known existing reference to baseball at Whittier College comes from a letter to the editor sent from Whittier by "Ace" on October 27, 1873. "Whittier College, Iowa," *The Woman's Journal* (22 Nov 1873), 370.

[120] School history is from Louis Thomas Jones, *The Quakers of Iowa*, Part. IV, "Benevolent and Educational Enterprises. Available online at: http://iagenweb.org/history/qoi/QOIPt4Chp5.htm.

[121] See Appendices B and C for details.

[122] [No Title], *The National Chronicle* (Boston) (30 Oct 1869), 259. [No Title], *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (3 Nov 1869), 2. "Female Club in Brooklyn," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (10 Sep 1868), 2. "Base-Ball," *Cincinnati Enquirer* (28 Sep 1869).

[123] Examples of coverage of women's teams: "Afternoon Topics," *Critic Record* [Wash DC] (1 Aug 1870), 4; "Miscellaneous Items," *Sacramento Daily Union* (23 Sep 1870), 4; "Current Notes," *The Morning Oregonian* [Portland, OR] (15 Aug 1870), 2; [No Title], *The Houston Daily Union* (18 Aug 1870); "News Paragraphs," *Wisconsin State Journal* [Madison, WI] (16 Sep 1870), 2; "Items of Interest," *Kokomo Tribune* (8 Sep 1870), 3; "Girls as Ball Players," *NY Clipper* (26 Nov 1870): 266.

[124] Wichita, Kansas team: Milt Riske, "Ladies and Diamonds—Out West—And They Weren't Always 'Ladies' on the Old Barnstorming Tours," (August 1978). Miscellaneous clipping file, NBHoF archives. Source of article is unknown; Iowa City team: "Miscellaneous Items," *Essex County Republican (Keeseville, NY)* (22 May 1873), [Northern NY Library Network Newspapers]; Paris, Kentucky team: "Current Notes," *Boston Journal* (15 Jul 1876),

2; Tarboro, North Carolina team: "State New," *State Agricultural Journal* [Raleigh, NC] (27 Aug 1874), 7 and "Wayside Notes," *Daily Charlotte Observer* (18 Sep 1874), 1.

[125] "Ladies at the Bat," *Chicago Tribune* (17 Aug 1870), 4. An article penned by Matilda Fletcher, a special correspondent for the *Iowa State Register* after a visit to Rockford gave the score as 30-6. Reprinted in: "Illinois From the Cars," *Rockford Weekly Register-Gazette* (17 Sep 1870), 7. [No Title], *NY Clipper* (3 Sep 1870), 173,

[126] "Papers, Men and Things," *Cambridge City* [IN] *Tribune* (27 July 1871), 1.

[127] "Suburban: Jacksonville," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (29 Apr 1876), 3.

[128] "Local News," *Neodesha Free Press* (13 Jul 1877), 2.

[129] "State Notes," *Elk County Advocate* [Ridgway, PA] (17 Jun 1875), 3.

[130] Though the social class of female baseball players is rarely mentioned in newspaper articles, it is likely that most of the players on the civic, pick-up, and college baseball teams were from the middle- and upper-classes. There is a significant contrast between the openly hostile reporting on the working-class barnstorming women's baseball teams that challenged men's teams in the 1870s and 1880s, and coverage of co-ed civic, pick-up and college teams. The professional women's teams are covered in detail in the remaining chapters.

[131] Jeannette L. Gilder, *The Autobiography of a Tomboy* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1900), 287. Thanks to Tom Altherr for bringing this account to my attention.

[132] A contemporary newspaper source validates Gilder's memory. In September 1867 the *Newark Daily Advertiser* informed its readers that baseball was "rampant" in Bordentown and that the "enthusiasm on this subject has reached the female persuasion." The paper went on to report that young ladies in town had organized two teams called the Belle Vue and the Galaxy. "Out Door Sports," *Newark Daily Advertiser* (16 Sep 1867), 2.

[133] Ibid., 288-289.

[134] "Boating and the Ballet," *New York Times* (24 July 1870), 4.

[135] "Current Notes," *The Morning Oregonian* [Portland, OR] (15 Aug 1870), 2.

[136] William R. Hooper, "Our National Game," *Appleton's Journal: A Magazine of General Literature* 5, no. 100 (25 Feb 1871): 226.

[137] Ibid.

[138] "White Stockings," *Iosco County Gazette* (20 Aug 1874), 3. See also, an account of a game in Williamsport reprinted in: *Harrisburg Daily Independent* (16 Jul 1877), 1 and (20 Jul 1877), 3.

[139] James M. Bailey's anonymous story about six Danbury girls trying to organize two baseball "nines" appeared in newspapers across the country as early as June 1878. See, for example, "A Female Base-Ball Club," *Buffalo Morning Express* [NY], (26 Jun 1878), 1. Bailey included the story in: "A Female Base-Ball Club," in *The Danbury Boom! With a Full Account of Mrs. Cobleigh's Action Therein! Together With Many Other Interesting Phases in the Social and Domestic History of That Remarkable Village* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1880), 75-79 and Twain published it as "The Female Base Ball Nine" in: *Mark Twain's Library of Humor* (New York: Charles Webster & Co., 1888), 126-129.

[140] See, for example, Therese Oneill, "12 Cruel Anti-Suffrage Cartoons," *The Week* website. http://theweek .com /articles/461455/12-cruel-antisuffragette-cartoons.

[141] "General News," *Jackson Citizen Patriot* [Mich.] (25 May 1876). 3; "Notes About Women," *Kalamazoo Gazette* (4 Jun 1876), 2. "Lightning Flashes," *Evening Telegram* [N.Y.] (23 Sep 1876), 2.

Notes to Chapter 3

[1] Cited in: Thorn, xiv.

[2] "Major League Baseball" is a professional organization created in 2000 by the National and American leagues. It is led by a Commissioner of Baseball. Through this formal business structure, MLB officials promote the sport of baseball. They oversee not only the thirty major league teams in the NL and AL, but the over two hundred teams in the minor leagues; they also help manage international baseball tournaments. The term "Organized Baseball" is often used to denote the totality of professional leagues and teams overseen by the MLB. The two terms are used interchangeably in this thesis.

[3] Fully half of MLB's thirty teams were worth at least $1 billion each in 2015; none of the thirty was worth less than $600 million. Mike Ozanian, "MLB Worth $36 Billion As Team Values Hit Record $1.2 Billion Average," Forbes. http://www.forbes.com/sites/mikeozanian/2015/03/25/mlb-worth-36-billion-as-team-values-hit-record-1-2-billion-average/.

[4] See, for example, definitions of "profession" and "professional" in Thomas Sheridan, *A Complete Dictionary of the English Language* (1797) and Noah Webster, *Improved Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language*, 1870. Both available through Google Books.

[5] Though both men and women were paid to play baseball during the nineteenth century, male players earned more (not surprisingly). Male professionals earned approximately $1,200-1,300 for an 80-game season, while managers generally promised female player-performers $5-10 per week plus expenses but often paid them far less. Insights on the pay scales appeared in: "Feminine Field Fun: Female Base Ballists on the Diamond—Score 23 to 10, in Seven Innings," *Rochester Democrat & Chronicle*, (13 Aug 1879), 4. In *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1986), p. 52, Kathy Peiss reports that 56 percent of female factory workers in turn-of-the-century New York City earned less than $8.00 per week; those working in retail stores earned even less. This was at a time when the living wage was estimated by economists to be $9-10 per week.

[6] Though men's professional baseball would begin attracting a much broader cross-section of society by the early twentieth century, women's professional teams had to continue deflecting criticism that players were morally suspect. The All-American Girls Baseball League of the 1940s is a good exemplar of this marketing strategy. The male leaders of the AAGBL advertised the fact that players had chaperones, attended charm school, and had to conform to feminine ideals at all times. They made the players wear skirts on the field despite the fact that this caused great pain to players who slid into bases. For information on the AAGBL see: Fidler, *The Origins and History of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League*.

[7] "Belles of the Bat: At Bates' Park Tomorrow—Revival of Ancient Open-air Pastimes for Women," *Saginaw Evening News* (3 Aug 1889), 7. Quoting the *New York Herald*.

[8] *Cincinnati Commercial* (1 Apr 1882).

[9] Attendance figures for the women's games are extrapolated by averaging the high and low figures from newspaper accounts. Some reports provided only a description ("a large crowd") rather than a numerical figure. These games are not included in the average attendance figures.

[10] Letter from Harry Wright to Frederick Long, 28 Apr 1875, Washington D.C. Richard Hershberger, e-mail to 19cBB Group, 23 Apr 2015. Archived at: https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/19CBB/conversations /messages/15649.

[11] See account of the Red Stockings and Blue Stockings later in this chapter and details on Sylvester Wilson's

teams in chapter 4.

[12] Janet Davis, *The Circus Age Culture & Society under the American Big Top* (Chapel Hill : Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2002); M Kibler, Introduction to *Rank Ladies : Gender and Cultural Hierarchy in American Vaudeville* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1999), 1-21; Rachel Adams, *Sideshow U.S.A.: Freaks and the American Cultural Imagination* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2001), 1-59; P.T. Barnum, *The Colossal P. T. Barnum Reader: Nothing Else Like It in the Universe*, ed. James W. Cook (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005); Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women : Study of Middle Class Culture in America, 1830-70*. (Yale U.P., 1986).

[13] James E. Brunson, III, "'A Mirthful Spectacle': Race, Blackface Minstrelsy, and Base Ball, 1874-1888," *NINE: A Journal of Baseball History and Culture* 17, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 16. Brunson writes that a minstrel show promoter organized and funded Cleveland's Forest Citys of the National Association in 1869 and that Lew Simmons, a minstrel entertainer secured a $16,000 loan from circus promoter Adam Forepaugh in 1883 to purchase a part interest in the American Association's Philadelphia Athletics.

[14] Rader, 39.

[15] Quoted in Thorn, *Eden*, 178. "Kicking" was the practice of complaining loudly at the umpire. This complaining frequently included copious amounts of cursing and could involve kicking dust on the umpire's shoes.

[16] Rader, 29.

[17] Morris, *But Didn't We Have Fun?*, 160-183.

[18] Kirsch, 240-244, 250.

[19] Benjamin Rader writes: "The gross receipts of a typical nineteenth-century pro baseball team were closer to those of a corner saloon than to those of Andrew Carnegie's steel works or John D. Rockefeller's oil empire." *Baseball*, 36.

[20] Kirsch, 254.

[21] Information on the development of nineteenth-century baseball leagues is from Rader, "The First Professional Leagues," Chapter 4, *Baseball*, 42-77. For details on Hulbert's role in creation of the National League, see Thorn, *Baseball in the Garden*, 154-164.

[22] Other nineteenth-century professional baseball leagues included the American Association (1882-1891), the Union Association of Professional Base-Ball Clubs (1884-1885), and the Players' League (1889-1890). The IAPBBP lasted from 1877 through 1880. It reformed briefly from 1888-1890.

[23] The position of Commissioner of baseball was established in late 1920 to try to clean up baseball's reputation after the embarrassment of the Chicago Black Sox Scandal of 1919.

[24] "Female Ball-Players: Two Female Teams Make Sport for the Boys Yesterday," *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, (27 Aug 1879), 8.

[25] Robert C. Allen, *Horrible Prettiness: Burlesque and American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Caroline Press, 1991), xii.

[26] Allen, 179.

[27] Advertisement. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (31 Aug, 3 & 5 Sep), 1.

[28] Advertisement, *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (15 Feb 1872), 3; "Amusements," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (17 May 1878), 4.

[29] Advertisement, *NY Clipper* (14 Aug 1875), 160.

[30] "Local Brevities," *Los Angeles Daily Herald* (6 Apr 1876), 3; "City and Vicinity," *Daily Rocky Mountain News* (17 Jan 1879); "Puts and Calls," *(Central City, CO) Daily Register-Call* (20 Jan 1879); "Amusements," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune* (25, 28 & 29 Jan 1879), 1; *Reno Evening Gazette* (3-6 Feb 1879), 3.

[31] "Local Matters: Women at the Bat—A Base Ball Burlesque in Baltimore," *Baltimore Sun* (8 Jul 1879), 1; "Letter From Washington: The Female Base-Ballists..." *Baltimore Sun* (10 July 1879), 4.

[32] "Sporting Notes: Baseball," *Detroit Post & Tribune* (18 Aug 1879), 4; "Reds and Blues: The Way the Women With the Stockings Burlesqued Base Ball," *Buffalo Morning Express* (15 Aug 1879), 2.

[33] "Sporting News . . ." *Daily Inter-Ocean* (31 Jul 1875), 12.

[34] "St. Louis in Splinters," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (20 Sep 1875), 4. Article notes that after police prevented the troupe from giving a second exhibition in St. Louis on 19 Sep that the "Chicago portion of the Female Base Ball Combination" headed back to Chicago."

[35] Information on the managers is from the U.S. Census (1860 and 1880), Springfield City Directories, and various newspaper articles, including: "The Female Baseball Club," *New York Clipper*, (18 Sep 1875), 194; "The Diamond Field: The Girls on the Turf—The Blondes Walk Away with the Brunettes," *Illinois State Register*, (13 Sep 1875), 2; "Notes on the Fly," *Syracuse Daily Courier* (13 Sep 1875); *Daily State Journal*, (14 Sep 1875).

[36] "In Brief" column, *Illinois State Register* (2 Sep 1875), p. 4. "In Brief," *Illinois State Register* (3 Sep 1875), 4.

[37] *Augusta* (Georgia) *Chronicle* (9 Sep 1875); *St. Louis Republican*, (10 Sep 1875); "Notes on the Fly," *Syracuse Daily Courier* (13 Sep 1875); "Base Ball," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (14 Sep 1875), 2; *Elkhart (Ind.) Evening Review* (15 Sep 1875), 2; "A Base Hit," *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* (15 Sep 1875), 8; *Utica Morning Herald* (17 Sep 1875); "Sporting," *Oswego Daily Times* (17 Sep 1875);

[38] Advertisement, *Illinois State Register* (9-11 & 13 Sep 1875), 1.

[39] One paper called the enclosure a "calico wall about 10 feet in height." "Female Ball Catchers: The Divine Right of Woman's Suffrage Extended to the Green Diamond," *Bloomington Pantagraph*, (15 Sep 1875), 5. Most papers referred to it as a canvas enclosure.

[40] Rader, 19.

[41] "Female Ball Catchers: The Divine Right of Woman's Suffrage Extended to the Green Diamond," *Bloomington Pantagraph*, (15 Sep 1875), 5.

[42] "Female Ball Tossers: An Unseemly Exhibition at the Red Stocking Park Yesterday—Championship Record," *St. Louis Republican*, (19 Sep 1875). "The Female Muffers in St. Louis," *St Louis Globe-Democrat*, (19 Sep 1875), 6.

[43] "The Female Ball Tossers," *Daily State Journal*. (20 Sep 1875). "Services of the Female Frauds Dispensed With," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, (20 Sep 1875).

[44] "Female Base Ball Club," *Inter-Ocean* [Illinois], (18 Sep 1875), 5.

[45] "Female Ball Catchers: The Divine Right of Woman's Suffrage Extended to the Green Diamond," *Bloomington Pantagraph*, (15 Sep 1875), 5. I determined player attrition by comparing published team rosters for its games when available.

[46] "A Base Hit," *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* (15 Sep 1875), 8. Quotes the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* report that "nearly all" of the players on the team had been hired in St. Louis and were "formerly connected with variety shows."

[47] "Base Ball," *Boston Daily Advertiser* (29 Sep 1875); "St. Louis in Splinters," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (20 Sep 1875), 4.

[48] "Sunday Gossip," *Sunday Courier* [Syracuse, NY], (20 Sep 1875); "Base-ball," *New York Times*, (21 Sep 1875), p. 5.

[49] "The Red Stockings and White Stockings Must Yield the Palm to the Striped Stockings—The 'Blondes and Brunettes' Take to the Field—A Friendly Contest with a 'Picked Nine' of the Male Persuasion," *The New York Varieties* (30 Sep 1875), 4 &16. The fact that the women "beat" the men should not be construed to mean that the women won a head-to-head athletic contest. It is clear from other reporting on female baseball teams in the nineteenth century that staging the final score was part of the entertainment fun.

[50] "Female Ball Catchers: The Divine Right of Woman's Suffrage Extended to the Green Diamond," *Bloomington Pantagraph*, (15 Sep 1875), 5; "Female Base Ball Club," *Inter-Ocean* [Illinois], (18 Sep 1875), 5; "The Female Ball Tossers," *Daily State Journal.* (13 Sep 1875); "Items of News," *Boston Investigator* (29 Sep 1875), 7.

[51] "Miscellaneous: A New Sensation in the Sporting World," *The Days' Doings* (2 Oct 1875), 7; [No Title], *Palmyra (MO) Spectator* (15 Oct 1875); "All Sorts," *The Illinois Monitor* (30 Oct 1875), 4; "A Female Base-Ball Club," *Jackson Citizen Patriot* [Mich.] (20 Nov 1875), 3.

[52] "The History of Baseball In An In-And-Out Town," *Illinois Times* (14-20 April 1978).

[53] Cited in: "A Base Hit," *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* (15 Sep 1875), 8.

[54] "The Female Base Tossers," *Daily State Journal.* (13 Sep 1875), n.p.

[55] "The Diamond Field: The Girls on the Turf—The Blondes Walk Away with the Brunettes," *Illinois State Register*, (13 Sep 1875), 2.

[56] "Female Ball Catchers: The Divine Right of Woman's Suffrage Extended to the Green Diamond," *Bloomington Pantagraph*, (15 Sep 1875), 5.

[57] [No Title], *Harrisburg (PA) Telegraph* (23 Sep 1875), 1.

[58] "Notes from Bloomington," *Inter Ocean* [Illinois], (16 Sep 1875), 5. "Special Telegram to the *Inter-Ocean*: Bloomington, Ill., Sept. 14.

[59] "The Female Muffers in St. Louis," *St Louis Globe-Democrat*, (19 Sep 1875), 6.

[60] "Female Ball Tossers: An Unseemly Exhibition at the Red Stocking Park Yesterday—Championship Record," *St. Louis Republican*, (19 Sep 1875).

[61] [No Title], *The Bucks County Gazette* [Bristol, PA], (24 Feb 1876), 2; [No Title], *St. Louis Republican*, (27 Feb 1876).

[62] "Base Hits," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (12 Mar 1876), 6.

[63] [No Title], *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (6 Apr 1879), 13.

[64] Details on Wilson's numerous arrests and trials in Nebraska and Ohio between 1872 and 1875 are gleaned primarily from newspapers and from a report written about Wilson by the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children for prosecutors at his 1903 trial. The unpublished "Brief for the People" is part of the files of the N.Y. Court of General Sessions for *People Against Sylvester F. Wilson*, New York City Munipal Archives. Hereafter cited as "NYSPCC People's Brief."

[65] [No Title—Sporting Section], *Chicago Tribune*, (30 Mar 1879), 10.

[66] Ibid.

[67] "The Muscular World…Base Ball, Yachting and Sporting Matters in General," *Boston Globe* (30 Mar 1879), p. 8; "Minor Notes," *Broome Republican* (Binghamton, NY), (9 Apr 1879).

[68] "Red and Blue Legs: A High Old Game of Base Ball By Eighteen Women," *The Washington Post* (12 May 1879), 1. Special Dispatch to the *Post*.

[69] "Sporting Matters," *Lowell Daily Citizen* (27 Mar 1879); "Electric Sparks," *Syracuse Daily Courier*, (2 Apr 1879).

[70] "Room For The Women," *Syracuse Daily Courier* (13 May 1879); "Women at the Bat," *New Brunswick Daily Times* [NJ] (11 July 1879), 3.

[71] "Red and Blue Legs," 1.

[72] [No Title—Sporting Section], *Chicago Tribune*, (30 Mar 1879), 10.

[73] Special Dispatch to the *Post*. "Red and Blue Legs: A High Old Game of Base Ball By Eighteen Women," *The Washington Post* (12 May 1879), 1; "Room For The Women," *Syracuse Daily Courier* (13 May 1879).

[74] Wilson's criminal career is described in more detail in the following chapters.

[75] James William Beul, *Mysteries and Miseries of America's Great Cities: Embracing New York, Washington City, San Francisco, Salt Lake City, and New Orleans* (St. Louis & Philadelphia: Historical Publishing Co., 1883). Google Books.

[76] "NYSPCC People's Brief." The *Sporting Life* reported on 22 Apr 1891 that Wilson had lived with some of his underage team members during this period.

[77] "Red and Blue Legs: A High Old Game of Base Ball By Eighteen Women," *The Washington Post* (12 May 1879), 1; "Gotham Gossip:…Feminine Mania for Base Ball—Ten Female Doctors…." *Times Picayune* [New Orleans] (27 May 1879), 2; "Deluded Female Ball-Players," *Chicago Tribune* (27 May 1879)—from the *New York Herald*. Wilson frequently lured teenagers from home to play on his teams. In 1891 and 1892 he was tried and convicted for "kidnapping" 15-year-old Libbie Sunderland from her home in Binghamton, New York. See Chapter 5.

[78] "Baseball by Ladies," *New York Herald* (13 May 1879), 10.

[79] Uniforms described in: "Electric Sparks," *Syracuse Daily Courier*, (2 Apr 1879). Wilson's claims from interview with the *San Antonio Daily Light* (29 Jan 1886).

[80] "Red and Blue Legs: A High Old Game of Base Ball By Eighteen Women," *Washington Post* (12 May 1879), 1.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid; "Room For The Women," *Syracuse Daily Courier* (13 May 1879).

[83] Ibid; "Baseball by Ladies," *New York Herald* (13 May 1879), 10, and "Female Base Ball: The Latest Athletic Speculation; N. Y. Herald, May 13th," *Buffalo Daily Courier* (15 May 1879), 1.

[84] "Red and Blue Legs," *Washington Post*, (12 May 1879), 1; "Room For The Women," *Syracuse Daily Courier* (13 May 1879).

[85] "The Ladies' Athletic Association: Why the Manager and Treasurer Were Put in Jail Yesterday," *New York Herald* (25 May 1879), p. 8; "Christian Wilson, Abductor: Some Account of His Career—Near the End of His Rope," *New York Times* (16 Aug 1891), 14.

[86] Newspapers reported that players Kitty Byrnes (real name, Gracie Clinton) and Mary Callahan had gone to Wilson's lodging at the Hamilton House on May 19th to demand their wages. The pair had spent the previous night on the streets. Wilson offered them lodging for the night and promised that their pay would be forthcoming. Instead, he and Powell seduced the young girls who reported the incident to law enforcement. Two days after the arrest, Mary Callahan's aunt, and the mother of the right-fielder, identified only as "Theresa," appeared at the 57th Police Court to address truancy charges against the underage girls and asking the court how they could prevent the young women from running away from home to play on Wilson's baseball teams. Callahan lived at 219 East 21st St., in the heart of New York City's "Tenderloin District." "Theresa" ran away from an ostensibly respectable family on West 32nd St. Neither girls' ages are known, but the *New York Times* reported at Wilson's 1891 trial that some of the players on his 1879 team were 14 and 15 years old. "The Ladies' Athletic Association: Why the Manager and Treasurer Were Put in Jail Yesterday," *New York Herald* (25 May 1879), 8; "Deluded Female Ball-Players," *Chicago Tribune* (27 May 1879) [quoting *New York Herald*.] *New York Times* (10 Jun 1879).

[87] "NYSPCC People's Brief." Court of General Sessions appearance confirmed in Roll #41, Court of General Sessions Minutes, June 1879, p. 36. NYCMA. In a letter to Judge Cowing of the New York Court of General Sessions, written c. 14 Aug 1903, Wilson claimed that District Attorney Phelps had dropped these charges when he became convinced that the charges stemmed from a case of blackmail by one of the player's aunts. See Wilson court records for August 1903, NYCMA.

[88] "Women Base Ballists: Abandoned by Their Manager. A Midnight Concert in Philadelphia—Story of their Wrongs—Working Their Way Homeward by Playing on the Route," *Cleveland Plain-Dealer* (19 Aug 1879), 1. Dateline: "*New York Star*, 17th". Though the young woman never directly names Wilson or Powell as team managers, it is unlikely that there were any other female baseball teams in New York City in May 1879 beside their teams. The young woman may have joined the troupe later and played in only one of its six games.

[89] In 1879 National League club owners adopted a rule that allowed each club to "reserve" five of their players so that other teams could not lure them away with the promise of more money. "Gentlemen's agreements" had tied players to teams (or upheld blacklists) prior to that. The rule made sense to club owners anxious to inaugurate a stable business model for the league in which all teams could profit from balanced competition, but it sparked resentment on the part of the league's best players who lost the opportunity to sell their services in a free market system each year. For details on the National League reserve rule see, Peter Morris, Section 18.2.1, "Reserve Rule/Clause" in *A Game of Inches: The Story Behind the Innovations That Shaped Baseball* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2010), 465-467.

[90] "The World of Sports," *The Daily Alta California* (7 Oct 1879), 8.

[91] "Base Ball: Gossip About the Patrons of the Bat and Ball," *New Orleans Times*, (1 May 1879).

[92] "Base Ball Bounds," *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, (9 Jun 1879), p.1. "Base Ball," *New Orleans Times*, (28 May 1879).

[93] Concerned by the frequent epidemics caused by New Orleans's notoriously poor sanitation system, physicians and local businessmen formed the New Orleans Auxiliary Sanitary Association in 1879 to promote private-funding of public sanitation projects. Craig E. Colten, *An Unnatural Metropolis: Wresting New Orleans from Nature* (LSU Press, 2006), 47-54.

[94] "Base-Ball: Items of Interest About the National Game," *New Orleans Times*, (8 Jun 1879).

[95] See, for example, "The Lady Players: Public Appearance of the Female Base Ball Parties," *New Orleans Times*, (14 Jun 1879); "A Way to Spend the Sabbath," *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, (16 Jun 1879); "Local news: ...The Lady Nines: A Day of Novel Sport at the Fair Grounds—a Mule Race with Female Riders—Women of the Bat and Ball," *New Orleans Times*, (16 Jun 1879).

[96] "Licensed or Unlicensed?" *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, (15 Jun 1879).

[97] "Local news: ...The Lady Nines: A Day of Novel Sport at the Fair Grounds—a Mule Race with Female Riders—Women of the Bat and Ball," *New Orleans Times*, (16 Jun 1879). "A Way to Spend the Sabbath," *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, (16 Jun 1879).

[98] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, (17 Jun 1879).

[99] "The Sequel: The Incidents that Followed the Festivities at the Fair Grounds—Demands for Payments That Could Not be Met—Ruffianism, Rowdyism and Robbery Wind Up the Night, 'Till the Grounds are Cleared by the Police," *New Orleans Times*, (17 Jun 1879).

[100] The men associated with this professional female baseball organization were identified in a Fort Wayne newspaper as: W. S. Moore, the advance agent; Harry Morris, the manager; John Walsh, contracting agent; Chas. Dooley, in charge and umpire; and W. S. Fox, treasurer. Nothing further is known about this men at this time. "Something About the Red Stockings and Blue Stockings: A Novel Amusement—Organization of the Nines; etc.," *Fort Wayne Sentinel* (19 Aug 1879), 4. Other articles reported that theater owner, William Powell and his wife accompanied the teams on tours.

[101] There is some evidence that Sylvester Wilson was associated with Gilmore's teams. Though Gilmore claimed that his teams were distinct from Wilson's, a newspaper article in August mentions a manager "Frankhouse" associated with the troupe and another reported in October that "U.S. Franklin" (a Wilson alias) of Chicago, "who is manager of a young ladies' baseball team, is making arrangements to send two other teams on the road." "The World of Sports," *The Daily Alta California* (7 Oct 1879), 8.

[102] Newspapers reported that the troupe sold 3,500 tickets in advance and another 1,000 at the gate. Hundreds of others "stormed the fence" and got in for free. The crowd, reportedly composed "chiefly of the rougher element" crowded so close to the field that police had to intervene to push them back behind a rope. The record-breaking crowd at Philadelphia was the largest ever to witness a women's baseball game until August 31, 1890 when almost 10,000 spectators watched the female Black Stocking Nine take on the male "Allertons" at Monitor Park in Weehawken, NJ. "A Crowd of Roughs: They Attempt to Mob a Female Base Ball Club," *Decatur Morning Review* (2 Sep 1890), 1. "'Lady Champions' at Ball: Disgraceful Sunday Exhibition With the Allertons at Monitor Park, Weehawken," *New York Herald* (1 Sep 1890), 6.

[103] "Women Base Ballists: Abandoned by Their Manager. A Midnight Concert in Philadelphia—Story of their Wrongs—Working Their Way Homeward by Playing on the Route," *Cleveland Plain-Dealer* (19 Aug 1879), 1.

[104] "Crowd at Oakdale: A Game of Base Ball Between Female Clubs," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (5 July 1879), 2. "Remarkable Scene at a Game of Base-ball Played by Variety Actresses," *Chicago Tribune* (5 July 1879), 5B. "Special Dispatch to the Tribune."

[105] "Female Base Ballists: Game at New Haven Breaks Up in a Row," *Boston Daily Globe* (15 Jul 1879), 2, "Special Dispatch to *The Boston Globe*, New Haven, July 14; "City Matters," *The Daily Times* [New Brunswick,

NJ] (15 Jul 1879), 3; "Mobbed," *Daily Kennebec Journal* [Maine] (15 July 1879), 2; "Diamond Dust," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (27 Jul 1879), 3.

[106] "The Ball Field," *Worcester (Mass.) Daily Spy* (6 Aug 1879), p. 4. Excerpt from a report on the game in Worcester in on Aug 5th: "Previous to the game, Manager Gilmore, who runs the show, was arrested by Deputy Sheriff Earle for a debt of $26 for bill posting in Providence, R. I. He settled by paying the bill, and the game went on."

[107] [No Title], *The Herald and Torch* [Hagerstown, MD], (16 July 1879), 2.

[108] Ibid.

[109] "Letter From Washington: The Female Base-Ballists..." *Baltimore Sun* (10 July 1879), 4; "Editorial," *The Washington Post* (10 July 1879), 2.

[110] I pieced together the schedule and attendance figures using contemporary newspaper reports.

[111] "Sporting Matters: Base Ball," *Springfield* [MA] *Republican* (6 Aug 1879), 4; "Base Ball: The Female Player Come to Grief Again," *New Haven Evening Register* (6 Aug 1879, 1.

[112] "The Female Players and Their Troubles—Notes of the Game," *New Haven Register* (7 Aug 1879), 4.

[113] "Reds and Blues: The Way the Women With the Stockings Burlesqued Base Ball," *Buffalo Morning Express* (15 Aug 1879), 2.

[114] "Berkshire County: Pittsfield," *Springfield Republican* (8 Aug 1879), 2.

[115] The account of the men's death was reported in numerous papers across the country, including as far west as California, Oregon, and Utah. The Cleveland paper that first broke the story quickly recanted the next day, noting that, although the men's sailboat had capsized, they had all made it to shore. The *Jackson Citizen Patriot* editorialized that the men's ordeal was proof people should not attend female baseball games. (16 Aug 1879), 1. "Five Men Meet Death: A Boat Capsizes in the Neighborhood of the Water Works Crib and Five Souls are Lost," *Cleveland Plain-Dealer* (15 Aug 1879), 1; "Still in the Land of the Living," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (Evening) (16 Aug 1879), 1.

[116] "Berkshire County: Pittsfield," *Springfield Republican* (8 Aug 1879), 2; "The Eastern Females Exhibit Their Awkwardness at Rocky River The Women Contestants," *Cleveland Herald* (16 Aug 1879), 7; "Louisville," *Cincinnati Enquirer* (26 Aug 1879), 2.

[117] One of the papers identified the manager as "Fankhouse," rather than "Frankhouse." A reporter for the *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* visited Hayes at the infirmary and learned he was not mortally wounded. "Springfield: Death of a Well-Known Manufacturer—Fatal Row at a Base-Ball Game—Notes and News," *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* (2 Sep 1879). *Special Dispatch to the Enquirer* "Dateline: Springfield, Ohio, September 1. "Baseball Notes," *New York Clipper* (13 Sept 1879); "Ohio News," *The Decatur Daily Review* (22 Sept 1879), 2.

[118] "A Different Story About the Female Base Bawlers," *Wheeling Register* (5 Sep 1879), 4; "'Busted' Female Ball Players: Three Girls Who Have Doubtless Had Enough of the 'National Game,'" *Harrisburg Daily Independent* (6 Sep 1879), 4; "Sun Beams," *NY Sun* (8 Sep 1879), 2; "The National Girls: Remnants of Broken Female Base Ball Clubs," *Rocky Mountain News* (28 Sep 1879), 12.

[119] In 1885, for example, *Sporting Life* commented that a recent baseball "boom" was attracting "ladies" to games in unprecedented numbers. The reporter described the social mix of the female spectators, noting that some were "working girls," some were "well-to-do"—wearing costly dresses and arriving in carriages, and that others were from "that class of female gamblers and sporting women that has grown so considerable in N.Y. City of late." "New York Female Base Ball Enthusiasts," *Sporting Life* (12 Aug 1885), 2.

[120] "The Female Muffers in St. Louis," *St Louis Globe-Democrat*, (19 Sep 1875), 6.

[121] "Sporting Notes: Baseball," *Detroit Post & Tribune* (18 Aug 1879), 4.

[122] [No Title], *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (6 Apr 1879), 13.

[123] [No Title], *Harrisburg (PA) Telegraph* (23 Sep 1875), 1.

Notes to Chapter 4

[1] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1885*, Vol. X (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1886): 77.

[2] "It is a Woman's Game," *Pittsburg Dispatch* (23 Sep 1889), 5. The article is quoting Sylvester F. Wilson as he seeks to convince the public that his female baseball troupe is a respectable operation.

[3] Quoted in Thorn, *Eden*, 231. Also available at: http://ourgame.mlblogs.com/2012/06/15/whitman-melville-and-baseball/.

[4] Rader describes the state of the professional game in his introduction to Sullivan, *Early Innings*, xvii.

[5] Robert Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out: How Baseball Sold U.S. Foreign Policy and Promoted the American Way Abroad* (New York: New Press, 2010), 21-26. Elias highlights the racism and Jingoism that permeated the tour and U.S. press coverage.

[6] [No Title], *Sporting Life* (6 Feb 1889), 3.

[7] Elias, 25.

[8] Alan H. Levy, "Jim Crows of a Feather: A Comparison of the Segregation and Desegregation Eras in Professional Baseball and Football," in William M. Simons, ed., *The Cooperstown Symposium on Baseball and American Culture, 2002* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., Inc., 2002), 156-157.

[9] Ibid., 155-156.

[10] Beginning in the 1890s with Lizzie Arlington and succeeding on into the 1930s, talented female athletes like Alta Weiss, Jackie Mitchell, and Elizabeth Murphy were sometimes hired to play for men's minor league or semi-professional teams.

[11] The term "disappeared" when used of female baseball players evokes a magician's slight-of-hand trickery when objects are made to seem as if they are no longer present. Jean Allman applies this concept to gender history in, "The Disappearing of Hannah Kudjoe: Nationalism, Feminism, and the Tyrannies of History," *Journal of Women's History* 21, no. 3, (2009), 13-35. Allman describes how Ghanaian officials removed all trace of Hannah Kudjoe's active role in founding the nation from public records and archives. Allman notes that it is from this point "of disappearance" that historians of women "*begin* (her emphasis) their work of recuperation." As this thesis demonstrates, female baseball players were always right in front of the collective "us" in each generation, yet somehow their story was simultaneously "disappeared" as "we" watched.

[12] This chapter will describe some of the professional women's teams that competed with men, but women were not the only ones peddling novel baseball games that undermined the elite ideal professional baseball businessmen were trying to market. On 29 Dec 1883, the *New York Clipper* described a number of these novel contests (p. 693). The *Marquette Daily Mining Journal* (22 Aug 1889), p. 8, noted that "The Fat and Lean Men's games have proven drawing cards in former years" and would be staged again. In 1891, *Sporting Life* (1 Aug 1891, p. 12) summarized the "Catch-Penny Affiars" in which teams like the deaf mutes who barnstormed the country in 1879, sought to make

money by putting on "Base Ball Side Shows" during the previous twenty years. Black minstrel troupes routinely challenged locals to a baseball match as a way to attract spectators to their shows (Lynn Abbott and Doug Seroff, *Out of Sight: The Rise of African American Popular Music, 1889-1895*, University Press of Mississippi, 65—thanks to Heather Cooper for this reference), and white barber, John Lang, organized a number of "novel" teams with Chinese men and black women in 1883. "Chinese Ball Players," *Watertown Daily Times* (21 Apr 1883), 1. Citations for the black women's teams follow later in this chapter.

[13] The paper published regular updates on its circulation numbers.

[14] "Notes and Comments," *Sporting Life* (20 Aug 83), 7.

[15] Details on Wilson's teams and Richter's response to them appear later in the chapter.

[16] Two clubs dropped out of the NL after the first year and the league fielded only six clubs in 1877 and 1878. (Three of the six teams in the NL in 1878 had not been members in 1877). It was not until the 1882 season that the league fielded the same eight teams it had fielded the previous year. In 1883, two of those eight teams dropped out and were replaced with two new teams. http://www.baseball-reference.com/.

[17] Names of clubs in the American Association (1882-1891) and Union Association are available at Baseball-Reference.com. The AA expanded to 8 teams in 1883 and 13 teams in 1884; it generally had 8 teams. The UA lasted only one season.

[18] Mark Sheldon, "American Association Remembered," www.m.reds.mlb.com/news/article/1940267/. Sheldon cites research conducted by David Nemec, "The Beer and Whiskey League: The Illustrated History of the American Association—Baseball's Renegade Major League.

[19] From its inception, NL team owners had agreed to honor one another's blacklists. Team owners regularly colluded to set fees for uniforms and travel expenses and to regulate player wages. Morris, *A Game of Inches*, Section 18.2.2, "Blacklists;" Section 18.2.3, "National Agreement," 467-468.

[20] Ibid., Section 18.3.1, "Unions," 468-469.

[21] [No Title], *Utica Morning Herald* (17 Sep 1875).

[22] [No Title] *Chicago Tribune* (2 June 1878). The paper quotes "a wandering newspaper from Oswego, New York."

[23] John M. Ward, *Base-Ball: How To Become a Player; With the Origin, History and Explanation of the Game* (Athletic Pub. Co., 1888). The information cited here is from: "The Origin of Base-ball: From Advance Sheets of John M. Ward's 'Base-ball,' (Athletic Pub. Co.)," *The Publishers' Weekly* 33, no. 852 (26 May 1888): 812.

[24] See Chapter 1 for references.

[25] Introduction to Ward, *Base-Ball* (Online preview published by the Library of Alexandria). Google Books.

[26] [No Title], *The Freeborn County Standard* [Albert Lea, MN] (15 Sep 1870), 7. Quip also appeared in "Gleanings," *The Waterloo [IA] Courier* (15 Sep 1870), 3 although it stated that the "mother" had the big switch. Dozens of papers across the country carried versions of the quip over a period of at least nine months.

[27] This quip about the eccentric female journalist and actress appeared in the *St. Louis Republican* on 19 September 1875, sandwiched between the score of the Cincinnati Reds, St. Louis Browns game and the Chicagos vs. Hartfords. Kate Field had been born in St. Louis in 1838.

[28] "Jottings," *Daily Telegraph* [Harrisburg, Penn.], (18 Jun 1878), 4.

[29] New Orleans Daily Picayune (16 Jun 1879).

[30] "Notes and News," *Cincinnati Enquirer* (4 Aug 1879), 8.

[31] *New Haven Register* (4 Jun 1881), 2.

[32] Fort Worth Weekly Gazette (10 Aug 1889), 4.

[33] Quoted in the Lock Haven, Penn. *Evening Express* (23 Oct 1889), 1. Reference appeared after Sylvester Wilson's Chicago Black Stockings had gotten stranded for lack of funds in nearby Frederick, Maryland.

[34] This quip appeared in numerous papers, including: "Salad for Saturday," *Omaha Daily Bee* (31 Aug 1889), 4., "Contemporary Humor," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (5 Sep 1889), 4., "A Poor Player," *San Antonio Daily Express* (7 Sep 1889), 4.

[35] [No Title], *Denver Evening Post* (20 Jul 1897), 4.

[36] See, for example: *The Freeborn County Standard* [Albert Lea, MN], 15 September 1870, 7; "Gleanings," *The Waterloo (Iowa) Courier* (15 Sep 1870), 3; *Jamestown (N.Y.) Journal* (16 September 1870), 7; "Personal," *Titusville (Penn.) Herald* (20 Sep 1870), 4; "Items of Interest," *Glenwood (Iowa) Opinion* (24 Sep 1870), 1; "Chit Chat," *Syracuse Daily Standard*, (24 Sep 1870), 1; "Tea Table Gossip," *Daily Observer* [Utica, NY] (4 Oct 1870); "Editorial Clips and Nips," M*innesotan-Herald* (15 Oct 1870), 4; "New Lisbon, Ohio," *Morning Republican* [Arkansas] (17 Oct 1870), 3; *The Lafayette Monthly* [Paper of Lafayette College in Easton, PA] (July 1871), 412.

[37] Gender marking is generally associated with how words in different languages have feminine and masculine connotations. Scholars have studied how this process works for sport. For example, Susan K. Cahn writes that distinctions between men's and women's team names (e.g. Tennessee Volunteers vs. Lady Vols, Baylor Bears vs. Lady Bears) "serve to mark men's sports as the real thing and women's as the add-on or sidelight event." Susan K. Cahn, *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Women's Sport*, 2d ed., (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015), 290. Gender marking can also be visual as Margaret Carlisle Duncan and Michael Messner explain in: "The Media Image of Sport and Gender," in *Media Sport*, ed., Lawrence A. Wenner (London & New York: Routledge, 1998), 170-185. They note: "Sportswomen were more likely to be photographed in postures connoting deference (lower physical positions, smaller size, head and body canting) than men, while men were more likely portrayed in postures connoting dominance . . . than women." (p. 176).

[38] "A Brief History of Baseball Cards," http://www.cycleback.com/1800s/briefhistory.htm.

[39] Allen & Ginter produced over eighty sets of cigarette cards between 1885-1890 covering themes as diverse as birds, fish, animals, racehorses, American editors, actors and actresses, presidents of the United States, flags, pirates, international military decorations, and racing colors of the world. For detailed information on American tobacco cards, see: Robert Forbes & Terence Mitchell, *American Tobacco Cards: Price Guide & Checklist* (Richmond: Tuff Stuff Books, 1999).

[40] For insights on how photographs for cards were obtained see: "Female Baseballists: Their Pictures Cause a Small Sensation; How the Pictures Are Used to Advertise Cigarettes—What Mayor Hillyer Says—Stories About the Cigarette Makers—What the Pictures Cost—Immense Sales of The, Etc.," *The Atlanta Constitution* (16 July 1886), 7; "A Craze for Photographs: Pictures of Pretty Scenes and Prominent Places in Great Demand," *Logansport Pharos* (10 Feb 1887), 2; Reprinted in: "A Craze for Photographs," *Fitchburg (Mass.) Sentinel* (16 Apr 1887), 5.

[41] A photograph of the complete set of the S.W. Venable cards plus background information on the cards appears on the Legendary Auctions web site. See Lot #1256. http://www.legendaryauctions.com/LotDetail.aspx ?inventoryid=122030&searchby=0&searchvalue=None&page=0&sortby=0&displayby=2&lotsperpage=100&category=30&seo=1892-94-N360-Venable-Female-%22Baseball-Scenes%22-Tobacco-Cards-SGC-Graded-Collection-%2812-Different %29-Inc.

[42] "The Modern Nude in Art: A Recent Craze in Boston for Posing Undraped Before the Camera of the Photographer," *St. Paul Daily Globe* (10 Jul 1887), 20; "The Vanity of the Fair: Mania of Beautiful Boston Belles; They Pose Before the Camera in Art's Economy of Costume as Nymphs, Psyches and Venuses for Photographs," *Galveston Daily News* (10 Jul 1887), 8; "Photographs in nude: Nymphs, Psyches and Venuses in Flesh and Blood; The Latest Fad in Aesthetic Art," *Salt Lake Tribune* (17 Jul 1887), 4.

[43] Ibid.

[44] For information on efforts to ban the female baseball cards, see, "All Around Town," *Buffalo Daily Courier*, (21 Jun 1886), n.p.; "War on the Obscene," *Auburn Sunday Dispatch* (26 Dec 1886), 1.

[45] *National Police Gazette* (18 Jul 1885).

[46] Thanks to Suzanne Williams, Allegheny College Archives, who shared the photograph with me.

[47] "A Last Resort," *Puck* (28 Jul 1886): 343. Poet is likely Horace S. Keller.

[48] *The Great Match, and Other Matches* was originally published anonymously in 1877 and has been incorrectly attributed to John Townsend Trowbridge, according to sport historians, Trey and Geri Strecker. They believe the novel was likely written by Mary Prudence Wells Smith (1840-1930). See: *The Great Match and Our Base Ball Club: Two Novels from the Early Days of Base Ball* (McFarland Historical Baseball Library). Google Books.

[49] *The Great Match*, 47-48.

[50] Ibid., 41.

[51] [No Title], *Titusville (PA) Herald* (5 Sep 1887), 3.

[52] "The Maiden Base Ballist," *Saginaw Evening News* (5 Aug 1889), 5.

[53] "Notes and Gossip," *Sporting Life* (16 Aug 189), 4.

[54] "Personal," *Ogdensburg (NY) Daily Journal* (23 Jul 1890).

[55] *Chicago Tribune* (21 Mar 1880). The existence of a female baseball club in Iowa City had been reported in the Cedar Rapids Times on 31 July 1879.

[56] In October 1879, for example, the *Weekly Louisianian*, an African-American paper, printed a letter from a D.C. correspondent who reported that he and a group of men (including Frederick Douglass, Jr.) had thoroughly enjoyed playing in a game pitting married men against single men. The game had been publicized in advance and the grandstand was "gay with the Sisters, Cousins and Aunts of the combatants" who showered the victorious singles with flowers. "Washington. From an Occasional Correspondent," *Weekly Louisianian* (11 Oct 1879), 1.

[57] "New York Female Base Ball Enthusiasts." *Sporting Life* (12 Aug 1885), 2.

[58] Connie Mack, *My 66 Years in the Big Leagues: The Great Story of America's National Game* (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1950), 134. Mack began his illustrious career in 1886.

[59] Ward, *Base-Ball*, Chapter 1, (Online preview published by the Library of Alexandria). Google Books.

[60] "New York Female Base Ball Enthusiasts." *Sporting Life* (12 Aug 1885), 2. Richter obviously knew about female baseball players because he regularly reported on Wilson's professional teams and, as a newspaperman, he must have read others' accounts of female school, college, civic, and pick-up teams.

[61] "Good Girls vs. Good Boys," *Saturday Press* [Honolulu, HI] (12 Jan 1884), 4.

[62] Bridgton Academy teams mentioned in: Jane H. Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls: The Victorian Origins of American Girlhood* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), 237. Tallmadge, Ohio team reported in: "[Akron] 'Beacon' Letters: Tallmadge," *Summit County (OH) Beacon* (10 Jun 1885), 3.

[63] The account of the game in Alabama appeared in a lengthy article entitled "Noteworthy Contests of 1883," in the *New York Clipper*, (29 Dec 1883): 693. [No Title], *Wichita Globe* (18 Mar 1887), 4.

[64] Journal of Evelyn Jean Forman, 27 April 1880, Evelyn Jean Forman 1883 papers, SCA.

[65] "Our Nine," Mary H.A. Mather Memory Book, 8 May 1880 entry. Mary H.A. Mather 1883 papers, SCA.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Letter from Mabel Allen to her mother, 6 May 1880. SCA. On 7 Apr 1880, Allen had written to her mother that she was friends with "Max" Taylor, "Bobbie" Robbins, and "May" Rice and that she might room with Taylor and Rice the following year. All three of those women played on one of the two Hubbard House teams in the Spring of 1880.

[68] Mather Memory Book. SCA.

[69] Stephens' account. SCA.

[70] "Fourth Chronicle," *Class Book Containing Class Day and Woodbine Exercises, Mt. Holyoke, 86* (Springfield, Mass.: Cyrus W. Atwood, 1886), 23-25 (MHCLA). The players on the Mount Holyoke Nine were Harriet Prescott, Mary Goodenough, and Evelyn Church (17-years-old), Helen Brainerd (18), Louisa Cutler, Kate Beardsley, and Orianna "Anna" Fitch (19), and Fy "Sophia" Ayer and Carrie Bronson (20 and 21 respectively). The players hailed from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, and Maine. Seven of the ten went on to graduate, although none earned "official" college degrees since those were not issued until after the institution gained its college charter in 1888. The players posed for two team photographs and continued to play baseball until 1886 when a number of them graduated. Details on players' ages, home towns, and post-collegiate experiences were gleaned from alumnae records at the Mount Holyoke College Library and Archives (MHCLA).

[71] "Items in Brief," *Quincy Daily Herald* (7 May 1882), 4.

[72] "Noteworthy Contests of 1883," *New York Clipper* 31, no.41 (29 Dec 1883): 693; "Female Ball Players: How They Knocked Luke Kenney All Over the Diamond," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (23 Jul 1889), 6.

[73] "North Denver Notes," *Rocky Mountain News* (8 Jun 1884), 4; "Items of News," *Boston Investigator* (15 Oct 1884), 6; Reprinted in: "Chaff," *Colman's Rural World* [St. Louis, MO] (30 Oct 1884), 348 and "Feminine Gossip, *Lowville (NY) Journal & Republican* (6 Nov 1884), 1. Blunt was in the future South Dakota. On 2 Sep 1885, the *St. Paul Daily Globe* reported that "base ball fever" was running high in South Dakota and was particularly popular at fairs. David Nevar's research on townball includes information on Anne Marie Boren Bigelow (b. 1873, Utah) who recalled playing townball with her friends as a girl. See: "Town Ball," http://webpages.charter.net /joekuras/townball2.htm.

[74] "Brief Mention," *Bismarck Daily Tribune* (17 Nov 1886), 1; "Flashes From the Diamond," *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle* (12 Aug 1888), 7; "Base Ball Bites," *San Antonio Daily Light* (12 Apr 1889), 1. Though a number of barnstorming female baseball teams played games in Texas before 1889, this is the first known example of female residents of Texas discussing organizing their own team. It is uncertain whether the team contemplated for San Antonio ever materialized. Sylvester Wilson had brought his barnstorming teams to San Antonio in 1886. Wilson's teams are covered in depth in Chapter 7.

[75] "North and Northwest," *Atchison Daily Champion* (28 May 1889), 2; "Base Ball Extraordinary," *McPherson Daily Republican* (30 July 1889), 3; [No Title], *McPherson Daily Republican* (31 Jul 1889), 2-3; [No Title], *Wichita Daily Journal* (1 Aug 1889), 1; [No Title], *McPherson Daily Republican* (1 Aug 1889), 3; [No Title], *McPherson Daily Republican* (6 Aug 1889), 3; [No Title], *Thomas County cat. (Colby, KS)* (15 Aug 1889), 5.

[76] "Kansas State News," *Nicodemus Cyclone* (13 Jul 1888), 2.

[77] "Pacific Coast Items," *Daily Evening Bulletin (San Francisco)* (13 Aug 1887).

[78] "Married vs. Single Ladies at Base Ball," *Kalamazoo Gazette* (26 Sep 1886), 3. Dateline: Bradford, Pa., Sept. 25—(Bradford is 224 miles NNE of Gilmore, PA where the game was played.); [No Title], *New York Clipper* 34, no. 29 (2 Oct 1886): 457.

[79] [No Title], *Titusville Herald* [PA], (5 Sep 1887), 3; [No Title], *Mount Kisco Recorder* [NY] (13 Apr 1888), 2; "Utica's Female Base Ball Club," *Utica Daily Observer* (4 May 1888), 8; "Dew Drops and Rainbow Flies," *Boston Globe* (4 May 1888), 5; "Base Hits," *Lowell Daily Courier* (5 May 1888); "Their [Two Unreadable Words], *Utica Weekly Observer* (8 May 1888); "Sweet Things in Base Ball Costume," *Omaha Daily Bee* (14 May 1888), 4; "Local and Miscellaneous," *Sodus Alliance* [NY], (16 May 1888); "Village and Vicinity," *Clinton Courier* (16 May 1888), 1; [No title], *Atchison Daily Globe* [KS] (19 May 1888), 2; "Vicinity," *Watkins (N.Y.) Democrat* (19 Jul 1888).

[80] "Base Ball Matters," *Manistee Democrat* (19 Jul 1889), 1.

[81] "Baltimore Girls Play Ball," *Kansas City Star* (3 Oct 1889), 4.

[82] "Pahn Lee's Ball Nine: Young Ladies Play in It, and There is Nothing Nicer in Norwich," *Boston Daily Globe* (16 Aug 1886), 6. The Norwich City Directory lists Rudd's occupation as "farmer."

[83] "Pahn Lee's Ball Nine," 6; See also, *Sporting Life* (25 Aug 1886), 5.

[84] Examples of competition for players and fans follow later in this section.

[85] Examples of female player activism appear throughout this chapter and the next in the sections on professionalism.

[86] John Thorn identifies Lang as the originator of the black women's teams in *Eden*, 193. Information about the teams is available in: "Female Base Ballists: A Game That Did Not Come Off; Scenes at Lamokin Woods," *Chester (Penn.) Times* (18 May 1883), 3. "Miss Harris's Base-Ball Nine: Dusky Dolly Vardens of Chester Give an Exhibition," *New York Times* (18 May 1883), 1. [Quoting the *Philadelphia Times.*]. "A Novel Game of Base Ball Between Teams of Colored Girls," *Daily Times* [New Brunswick, N.J.], (30 May 1883), 1. [Quoting the *Philadelphia Press*].

[87] "Baseball: The Washington and Philadelphia Nines Defeated," *New York Times* (13 Sep 1882).

[88] After operating female baseball teams almost continuously between August 1883 and November 1886, Wilson settled in Kansas City where he was arrested multiple times for assault and various scams. He organized additional female teams annually between 1889 and 1891 until his arrest in the fall of that year. His trial and appeals took over a year after which time Wilson spent almost 6 years in Sing Sing. He was released in August 1898 and had another team in operation by May of the following year. In the interim he was arrested for harassing a 17-year old and ejected from his boarding house for having young girls and women in his rooms. Between August 1899 and August 1900, Wilson was again imprisoned for immoral behavior. In January 1903 he began advertising for investers in another female baseball (and basketball) troupe. He was arrested again in June and sentenced to 9 years in Sing Sing. He ended up in a mental institution and never got out. Wilson's activities during the 1890s will be covered in greater detail in the chapter that follows. This information was gleaned from scores of newspaper articles written at the time and after the fact. Some of the information also appears in the "NYSPCC People's Brief." Examples of newspaper accounts: "Given Five Years: Sylvester F. Wilson, Once of Kansas City, Must Go

to the Penitentiary," *Kansas City Times* (22 Oct 1891), 1. "A Big String of Dupes. Christian Wilson's Many Victims in Kansas City. King and Nunnelly About His Equals—Associated with the 'Okolona States' Man—A 14-Year-Old Philadelphia Girl Represented as His Daughter," *Kansas City Star* (18 Aug 1891), 1. Between February 8-Mar 27, 1887, Wilson published numerous advertisements related to his newspaper scam.

[89] This number was determined by scouring the rosters of hundreds of newspaper articles about Wilson's team. Note that this number represents the *minimum* number of girls Wilson hired. Scores of articles did not name players. Additionally, the number only represents the baseball players—there were dozens of other girls and young women who traveled with Wilson's troupe as part of his "Female Cadets" and drill companies who are never named in newspapers.

[90] Details on these "Bloomer Girl" teams follow in the next chapter.

[91] "Base Ball Belles," *Camden Post*, (29 Aug 1883), 1; "Victorious Blondes," *Auburn News & Bulletin* (21 Sep 1883), 1; "Angelic Batters," *Eau Claire News* (6 Oct 1883), 2.

[92] The National League generally charged 50 cents for its games with the hope that higher ticket prices would draw a more gentile audience. Wilson experimented with different pricing schemes. Sometimes he charged women 15 cents and admitted children free.

[93] Manager Nirdlinger of Fort Wayne received one of Wilson's letters on August 19th. John Deacon, manager of the South Bend, Indiana, baseball association received his letter in September. Other cities known to have received solicitations that Fall for games with Wilson's female troupe were Cincinnati, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, New Orleans, St. Louis, and Quincy, Illinois. "Female Ball Tossers: Freeman & Howard, of Philadelphia, Will Play Two Female Base Ball Nines at League Park in October—A Novelty on the Diamond Which Will Attract a Big Crowd." *Fort Wayne Daily Gazette* (20 Aug 1883), 7; "The City," *Fort Wayne Daily Sentinel* (15 Sep 1883), 3; "Sporting Snaps," *South Bend Evening Register* (15 Sep 1883), 5; "Notes and Comments," *Sporting Life* (24 Sep 1883), 6; "On the Fly," *Sporting Life* (15 Oct 1883), 6; "Notes and Comments," *Sporting Life* (14 Nov 1883), 3; unnamed St. Louis paper, c. Nov 1883; "Local Miscellany: Brevities," *Quincy Daily Whig* (27 Nov 1883), 8.

[94] Text is from a large illustrated advertisement that appeared in the *Philadelphia Record* on 10 Sep 1883. The same ad, minus the illustration appeared in the *Philadelphia Ledger* on the same date. Similar ads were repeated in most cities that the troupe visited. See, for example, Advertisement, *Worcester Daily Spy* (28 Sep 1883), 2.

[95] "Blondes and Brunettes at Baseball," *New York Tribune* (23 Sep 1883), 2.

[96] *Philadelphia Record* (31 Aug 1883); Philadelphia Press (31 Aug 1883), 5.

[97] *Philadelphia Record* (2 Sep 1883), 4. "The Ladies Base Ball Club: They Play Another Exhibition Game at City Hall Park," *Camden Post* (4 Sep 1883), 1.

[98] "Feminine Ball Tossers: How the Quaker City Girls Handle the Bat on the Diamond Field," *Chester Times* (7 Sep 1883), 3; "Won By the Blondes: How They Figured on the Diamond at the Oriole Festival," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (13 Sep 1883), 4. Article cited the *Baltimore American*, September 9, as its source.

[99] The 42,000 figure is determined by adding the average of 1,500 spectators per game for the 23 games with available statistics to the remaining five games for which no statistics are available. Newspapers reported that 34,500 spectators saw the 1879 teams play 23 games. If the average of 1,500 is applied to the remaining five games, the total is 42,000 fans for 28 games.

[100] "Notes and Comments," *Sporting Life* (10 Sep 1883), 7; [No Title], *Sporting Life* (24 Sep 1883), 3; "Notes and Comments," *Sporting Life* (24 Sep 1883), 6.

[101] "Beauty at the Bat: Feminines on the Base Ball Field," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (16 Nov 1883), 1.

[102] "On the Fly," *Sporting Life* (19 Dec 1883), 3.

[103] "Base Ball: Girls and Base Ball; A Girlish Description of a Game by Girls; An Umpire in White Lawn—A Home Plate Concealed by the Catcher's Petticoats, Etc.," *Sporting Life* (10 Sep 1892), 11. Reprinted from the *Boston Globe*. The article was written by Dorothy Thurston, one of the upper-class players.

[104] "Radiant Richmond: Satisfied That Lancaster is the Only Club to Be Feared," *Sporting Life* (23 Jul 1898), 17. More information on Lizzie Arlington follows in the next chapter.

[105] "Important," *Markdale Standard* [Ontario, Canada], (25 Dec 1883), 2.

[106] "Notes and Comments," *Sporting Life* (30 Jan 1884), 3; Advertisement, *New York Clipper* (12 Apr 1884), 63.

[107] Advertisement, *New York Clipper* (12 Apr 1884), 63.

[108] "Base Ball Notes," *Cleveland Herald* (11 Apr 1884), 3; "General Sporting Notes," *The Quincy Daily Journal* (16 Apr 1884), 3.

[109] [No Title], *New York Clipper?* (12 April 1884), 53. [No Title], *Sporting Life* (28 May 1884). Everett initially invested $8, adding $23 on May 28th despite claiming that he had not received one-fourth of the profits Wilson had promised for his services.

[110] "Notes and Comments," *The Sporting Life*, (9 Apr 1884), 5.

[111] "Did Not Appear," *Chester Times* [Chester, PA], 6 May 1884, 4; "In and About South Chester," *Chester Times* [Chester, PA] 7 May 1884, 3; [No Title], *(Poughkeepsie) Daily Eagle* (12 May 1884), 2. The article refers to "Rondout" as the location of the game. Rondout had originally been a port on the Hudson River that served Kingston. It merged with Kingston in 1872.

[112] [No Title], *(Poughkeepsie) Daily Eagle* (12 May 1884), 2.

[113] "The Female Base Ball Club," *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle* (18 May 1884), 3; [No Title] *Jersey Journal* (21 May 1884), 1.

[114] "Notes and Comments," *Sporting Life* (28 May 1884), 7.

[115] "General News," *Syracuse Daily Journal* (20 May 1884), 1; "Notes About Town," *The North American* (Philadelphia, PA) (21 May 1884); "Notes," *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune* (28 May 1884), 3.

[116] "Notes and Comments," *Sporting Life* (28 May 1884), 7.

[117] "Bulletined News," *News & Bulletin* [Auburn, NY], (6 Jun 1884), 4; "Female Base Ballists," *Oswego Palladium* (9 Jun 1884); [No Title], *Atchison (KS) Globe* (9 Jun 1884).

[118] [No Title], *Atchison (KS) Globe* (9 Jun 1884). The reference to Mastodon was probably an allusion to Lida Gardner's Female Mastodon "high kickers" theatrical troupe. Reporters often linked barnstorming female baseball teams with other forms of risqué entertainment. In 1886, a reporter in Texas wondered how the Texas legislature could ban the *Police Gazette* but still allow Gardner's Mastodons and female baseball clubs to appear in the state.

[119] "Female Ball Players in a Plight," *The New York Times* (8 July 1884), 5. Dateline: Baltimore, Md., July 7; "Female Ball Players Stranded," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (8 July 1884), 6; "New Notes: Domestic," *(Cleveland) Plain Dealer* (8 July 1884), 1; "Girl Baseball Players: Eighteen Philadelphia Blondes and Brunettes Starving in Baltimore," *The Atlanta Constitution* (9 July 1884), 3; "Airy Fairy Players in a Sad Plight," *New York Clipper*, (12 July 1884): 277; "Notes and Comments," *Sporting Life* (16 July 1884), 6; "The Week's Summary: Wednesday, July

9th," *The Gazette and Farmers' Journal* (17 July 1884).

[120] [No Title], *St. Paul Daily Globe* (7 Sep 1884), 15.

[121] "Female Base Ballists," *Lebanon (PA) Daily News* (6 Oct 1884), p. 4; "Young Women at the Bat: They Play a Game of Ball with the Merritts—A Disappointed Crowd," *Lebanon (PA) Daily News* (10 Oct 1884), 4.

[122] "Female Ball Players in Trouble," *The North American* (Philadelphia) (16 Oct 1884); "Base Ball Notes," *Lancaster (PA) Daily Intelligencer* (16 Oct 1884), 2; [No Title], *Sporting Life* (22 Oct 1884); [No Title], *New York Clipper*, (25 Oct 1884): 508.

[123] It is uncertain whether the game in Maryland was ever played. Both D.C. games were played. "A Ladies' B. B. C. Desires to Play the Mountain City, *The (Frederick, Md.) Weekly News* (18 Oct 1884), 5; [No Title], *New York Clipper*, (1 Nov 1884): 524; *Sporting Life* (5 Nov 1884); "Sports and Pastimes," *Salt Lake City Herald* (16 Nov 1884), 11.

[124] "The Weldon Fair," *The Wilson (N.C.) Advance* (14 Nov 1884), 3.

[125] [No Title], *Anderson Intelligencer (Anderson Court House, SC)* (20 Nov 1884), 2; Advertisement, *Atlanta Constitution* (23 Nov 1884), 5; "The Female Tramps: Disgraceful Conduct of the Girl Players in Georgia," *Sporting Life* (24 Dec 1884), 5. Dateline, Albany, Ga., Dec 17.

[126] *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, (20 Dec 1884), 8; "The Female Nine at Jackson," *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, (24 Dec 1884), 8; "The Female Nine in Town," *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, (26 Dec 1884), 5 and 8; "The Female Nine," *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, (27 Dec 1884), 8; Advertisement, *Times-Picayune* (28 Dec 1884), 4.

[127] [No Title], *Sporting Life* (26 Nov 1884).

[128] "The Female Tramps: Disgraceful Conduct of the Girl Players in Georgia," *Sporting Life* (24 Dec 1884), 5.

[129] [No Title], *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, (3 Jan 1885), 4; "Base Ball: At Sportsmen's Park," *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, (4 Jan 1885), 14; "Base Ball: The League Clubs Keep Out of the Rain But the Females Play," *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, (5 Jan 1885), Morning Edition, 8.

[130] *Galveston Daily News* (Saturday, 7 Mar 1885), 3. reported: "Manager J.E. Reily, of Pillot's Opera House, has returned from a visit to New Orleans. While there he made arrangements with a female base-ball club to come over to play at the Fair Grounds Park here for seven or eight days."

[131] Details on the sometimes fierce competition between managers of female teams follows in the next chapter.

[132] "The Female Nines," *New Orleans Daily Picayune* (12 Jan 1885), morning edition, 1; [No Title], *New York Clipper* (24 Jan 1885): 716.

[133] Wilson-Giles Divorce Records. Sworn testimony of Kate F. (Giles) Wilson and Maria M. Giles (Kate's mother) to investigator Richard T. Miller on 3 Jan 1888. New York State Archives.

[134] [No Title], *New York Clipper*, (21 Mar 1885), 10.

[135] New Orleans Daily Picayune, (5 Apr 1885); New Orleans Daily Picayune, (12 Apr 1885), 2; New Orleans Daily Picayune, (14 Apr 1885); New Orleans Daily Picayune, (19 Apr 1885); "Miscellaneous," Louisiana Democrat (Alexandria, LA) (29 Apr 1885), 3.

[136] "Palestine," *Galveston Daily News* (22 Apr 1885), 4; "The State Capital . . .," *Galveston Daily News* (25 Apr 1885), 5; Rays of Light: Gathered by Reporters on Their Tours Through Town," *San Antonio Light* (25 Apr 1885),

4; [No Title], *Galveston Daily News* (28 Apr 1885), 8 [quoted a Houston paper]; "Bayou City Locals . . .," *Galveston Daily News*, (1 May 1885), 6. Dateline: Houston, TX., May 1.

[137] "Texarkana . . ." *Daily Arkansas Gazette* (6 May 1885), 4.

[138] "Notes and Comments," *Sporting Life* (20 May 1885), 7.

[139] [No Title], *New York Clipper*, (23 May 1885): 147.

[140] [No Title], *New York Clipper*, (23 May 1885): 147; "Notes and Comments: Memphis Notes," *Sporting Life* (27 May 1885), 7.

[141] "Local News," *Kalamazoo Gazette* (22 May 1885), 1; "Short Notes," *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern* (30 May 1885), 4; [No Title], *Janesville Daily Gazette* (9 Jun 1885), 4; *Evening Bulletin* [Maysville, KY] (1 Jun 1885), 3.

[142] Details on the travels of the 1885 troupe were compiled from contemporary newspaper articles. In a large advertisement placed in the *Kansas City Star* on 7 Nov 1885, Wilson claimed that his 1885 team had traveled 6,000 miles and played 300 games in 275 cities.

[143] "Longs For the Field: An Indianapolis Maiden Leaves Her Home to Join the Female Base Ball Club," *Fort Wayne Sentinel*, (2 July 1885), 4; "The Darlings Done Up: The Nine Muses Suffer an Ignominious Defeat at the Driving Park," *Kalamazoo Gazette* (1 Aug 1885), 3; "They Can't Throw," *Wisconsin State Journal* (28 Aug 1885), 4; "Friday's Baseball Match," *Eau Claire Daily Free Press* (29 Aug 1885), 3.

[144] "Female Acrobats," *Omaha Daily Bee* (19 Oct 1885): 8.

[145] The few rosters available for the 1885 season indicate that both May Lawrence and Pearl Emerson played on the re-organized 1885 team. Additionally, players Florence Elliot and Viola Temple may have been the Polly Elliot and Nina Temple who had played for Wilson in 1884.

[146] "Longs For the Field: An Indianapolis Maiden Leaves Her Home to Join the Female Base Ball Club," *Fort Wayne Sentinel*, (2 July 1885), 4; "City News," [Fort Wayne] *Daily Gazette*, (19 Aug 1885), 6.

[147] "Female Acrobats," *Omaha Daily Bee* (19 Oct 1885), p. 8; "Advertisement," *Kansas City Star* (7 Nov 1885), 3. Reference to the "Amazonian Cadets" is from: "The Female Combination," *Freeport (Illinois) Journal-Standard* (18 Sep 1885), 4. The railcar carried dumbbells and Indian clubs for the women who enjoyed gymnastic exercises.

[148] The split operations occurred on at least two occasions in the Fall of 1885. In late September, one group of players stayed in Davenport, Iowa while the rest headed for a game in Cedar Rapids. They reunited in Clinton. "Davenport Briefs," *The Davenport [IA] Daily Gazette* (29 Sept 1885), 2; it appears that Emile Gargh was managing one of Wilson's two teams at this point. On October 30th, the troupe's "first nine," augmented by some men, played a game in Atchison, Kansas while the "second nine" played in Severance. "Female Ball Tossers," *Kansas City (MO) Times* (2 Nov 1885), 2.

[149] "Local Baseball Notes," *Milwaukee Sentinel* (16 Aug 1885), 7; "Facing the Girls: A Picked Nine Defeated by the Female Ball Club . . ." *Milwaukee Sentinel* (17 Aug 1885), 5.

[150] [No Title], *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern* (24 August 1885), 4; "Facing Powder and Ball: Waukesha Belles and Female Batters Meet the Militia," *Milwaukee Daily Journal* (26 Aug 1885), 1; "First Regiment Encampment," *Milwaukee Sentinel* (27 Aug 1885), 8; "Gov. Rusk Visits the Camp: Complimenting the First Regiment of National Guard," *Milwaukee Daily Journal* (27 Aug 1885), 1. Dateline, Camp Rusk, Waukesha, Aug. 27; "They Can't Throw," *Wisconsin State Journal* (28 Aug 1885), 4; "Madison: Social Enjoyments of the Week at the State Capital—Personal Mention," *Milwaukee Sentinel* (30 Aug 1885), 11; "Friday's Baseball Match," *Eau Claire Daily Free Press* (29 Aug 1885), 3.

[151] "Girls in the Game: Lithe-Limbed Lassies at the Bat and Ball," *St. Paul Daily Globe* (30 Aug 1885), 3. The figure of 700 men and 8 women was first reported in the *Minneapolis Tribune* and then reprinted in: "Baseball Among Girls," *Washington Post* (13 September 1885), 6, "Girls Playing Base Ball," *Kansas City Times* (14 Sep 1885), 2, and "Girls Playing Base-ball: The Dear Creatures Win the Game and Display Great Science," *Syracuse Herald* (20 Sep 1885), 5.

[152] "Stillwater News: The Last Day of the Washington County Fair . . . Girl Ball Tossers," *St. Paul Daily Globe* (30 Aug 1885), 6; "Stillwater News: The Fairies of the Field Defeated by Stillwater Boys; Talk by a Street Gamin—Notes About Town, *St. Paul Daily Globe* (31 Aug 1885), 5; "Notes About Town," *St. Paul Daily Globe* (31 Aug 1885), 5; "Notes About Town," *St. Paul Daily Globe* (1 Sep 1885), 5.

[153] "Burlesque Base Ball: Lady Players That Know Nothing About the Game," *St. Paul Daily Globe* (1 Sep 1885), 2.

[154] "Female Baseball Players: Whose Champion Play is Playing the Public for Suckers," *The Daily Nebraska State Journal*, (24 Oct 1885), 7; "Female Base Ballers," *Omaha Daily Bee* (24 Oct 1885), 5.

[155] "In Financial Trouble," *Omaha Daily Bee* (24 Oct 1885), 5.

[156] "The Female Ball Tossers: *St. Joseph Gazette*," *Kansas City Times* (2 Nov 1885), 4; "Female Ball Tossers," *Kansas City (MO) Times* (2 Nov 1885), 2; "Personal," *Atchison Daily Globe* (28 Oct 1885); [No Title], *Atchison Daily Globe* (30 Oct 1885); [No Title], *Atchison Daily Globe* (31 Oct 1885).

[157] "Female Ball Tossers," *Kansas City (MO) Times* (2 Nov 1885), 2; "An Advance Agent Arrested: An Attache of the Female Base Ball Organization in Trouble," *Kansas City Star* (2 Nov 1885), 2; "Female Baseball Club Stranded," *Kansas City (MO) Times* (3 Nov 1885), 8. The assistant manager's name was alternately spelled "Sporr" and "Spoor" in newspapers.

[158] "Winsome Witnesses: The Female Base Ball Club in Court—Sporr Discharged," *Kansas City Star* (2 Nov 1885), 5.

[159] Advertisement, *Kansas* City *Star* (7 Nov 1885), 3; "What '*The Times*' Would Like to Know," *Kansas City (MO) Times* (6 Nov 1885), 4; "The Valley Cities: Summary of Yesterday's News from Neighboring Towns . . . Independence," *Kansas City Times* (13 Nov 1885), 3.

[160] "Notes and Comments," *Sporting Life* (11 Nov 1885), 3.

[161] "Base Ball," *Brenham Weekly Banner* (25 Feb 1886), 3 (Quotes an article from the Charleston *News and Courier* dated 22 Nov 1885); "Sherman Siftings: . . .A Novel Game of Base Ball," *Galveston Daily News* (26 Dec 1885). (Quotes a report from Sherman); "Sporting Notes," *Daily Nebraska State Journal* [Lincoln], (12 Jan 1886), 6.

[162] [No Title], *The Sporting Life* (30 Dec 1885).

[163] "Dots from Dallas . . .", *Galveston Daily News* (2 Jan 1886), 5; "Waxahachie," *Forth Worth Daily Gazette* (12 Jan 1886), 6; [No Title], *Galveston Daily News*, (12 Jan 1886), 8; "Waco…Those Dizzy Blondes and Brunettes," *Fort Worth Daily Gazette* (12 Jan 1886), 6;

[164] "Pencillings," *The Sporting Life* (20 Jan 1886), 2.

[165] "The Sporting World," *Oswego Daily Times* (20 Jan 1886).

[166] "Rays of Light," *San Antonio Daily Light* (1 Feb 1886), 4; "The Bayou City's Budget: . . . Female Ball Players," *Galveston Daily News* (14 Feb 1886), 6; "Houston Happenings . . . Lovely Ball Tossers . . .", *Galveston Daily News* (15 Feb 1886), 3; "Female Base Ballers," *Brenham Weekly Banner* (25 Feb 1886), 3; "Base Ball," *Brenham Weekly Banner* (25 Feb 1886), 3; "The City: Flotsam and Jetsam," *Galveston Daily News* (1 Mar 1886), 7.

[167] [No Title]. *Thomasville (GA) Times* (13 Mar 1886), 2; "Local News," *Arizona Weekly Citizen* [Tucson, AZ] (24 Apr 1886), 4.

[168] "Notes and Comments," *Sporting Life* (12 May 1886), 3. A sample of other articles from around the country: "Odd Items From Everywhere," *Boston Daily Globe* (4 May 1886), 8; [No Title], *Semi-weekly Interior Journal* [Stanford, KY] (4 May 1886), 4; "Personal Gossip," *Rocky Mountain News* (5 May 1886), 4; [No Title], *Abilene (Kansas) Reflector* (6 May 1886), 5; [No Title], *Cherokee (Iowa) Times* (1 Jun 1886), 2; [No Title], *Omaha Daily Bee* (9 Jun 1886), 7; *St. Joseph (Michigan) Herald*, (31 Jul 1886), 4; *Thomas County Cat (Colby, Kan.)* (19 Aug 1886), p. 2; *The Spirit Lake (Iowa) Beacon*, (3 Dec 1886), 1. Even newspaper published months after-the-fact listed the date of the game as "last Sunday." The *New Orleans Daily Picayune* article of 26 April 1886 establishes that the game and the incident took place on Sunday, 25 April.

[169] **"**Frolicking Freeman: The Man who was in Galveston with Female Base-ballers 'Detained' in New Orleans as a Dangerous Character," *Galveston Daily News*, (7 May 1886), 15.

[170] "Last of a Female Base-Ball Club," *Chicago Tribune* (5 May 1886), 5. Dateline: New Orleans, La., May 4. "Freeman in Bondage: The Manager of the Female Base Ball Club Punished as a Vagrant," *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, (5 May 1886). Note: The information on a player being from Detroit was not in the local paper. It appeared in the "NYSPCC People's Brief." NYCMA.

[171] "The Female Base Ball Fakir [sic]," *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, (10 May 1886); "Municipal: Freeman Leaves Escorted by Police," *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, (15 May 1886).

[172] See next chapter for details of Wilson's abduction trial and the player testimony.

[173] The NYSPCC report for Wilson's 1891 trial (p. 5) mentions this young girl as does the *Boston Daily Globe* on 16 Aug 1891. George Sim Johnston Archives of the NYSPCC.

[174] O. P. Caylor, "Minor Mention," *The Sporting Life* (26 May 1886), 1.

[175] There are no other accounts of games by Gutmann's female teams. Months after the fact, the *Daily Alta California* called to mind the unsavory character and the way he had scammed local audiences with his "catch-penny schemes." "Victor E.M. Gutmann: An Account of the Ramifications of the Champion Dead Beat..." *Daily Alta California*, (11 Aug 1886), 2.

[176] "Baseball," *Daily Alta California* (8 Feb 1886), 2; "The Girl Ball Tossers," *Daily Alta California* (12 Feb 1886), 2; "Amusements," *Daily Alta California* (12 Feb 1886), 1; "Female Baseball Players," *Daily Evening Bulletin* [San Francisco] (13 Feb 1886), 2; "Sporting in Central Park: Practice Games of Lacrosse and Remarkable Score of Female Baseballists," *Daily Alta California* (15 February 1886), 5.

[177] "Female Ball-Tossing: A Large Crowd Soon Gets Satisfied with the Performance," *Sacramento Daily Record-Union* (22 Feb 1886), 3.

[178] "Female Base-Ballists: The Latest' Fake' Proposed for Los Angeles," *Los Angeles Times* (29 Aug 1888), 1.

[179] "A Mesmeric 'Stiff.' Prof. Johnson Mesmerizes Himself, Becomes Rigid, and the Faculty and Students of Rush Medical Center Sit on Him," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (25 Apr 1883), 8; "The Girls and Boys Play Ball: A Victory for the Former, Though the Score Doesn't Show It," *Chicago Tribune* (5 July 1887), 1; "The Ga-Lorious Fourth: It Was Observed In Various Ways Here in Chicago; Thousands on the lake—A Close and Interesting Base-Ball Game Between the Boys and Girls—How the People Who Went to Picnics Enjoyed Themselves and What They Did—The Cummings Balloon Suffers a Collapse—The Day in the Suburbs," *Chicago Tribune* (5 July 1887), 1.

[180] Emmett Dedmon, *Fabulous Chicago: A Great City's History and People*, Google eBook, [1953] 1 Oct 2012 describes the directory and the Chicago vice district of the era.

[181] "Amateur Base-Ball," *Daily Inter Ocean (Chicago)* (9 Jun 1889), 11; "Amateur Base-Ball," *Daily Inter Ocean (Chicago)* (21 Jun 1889), 3.

[182] "Some Straws," *Sporting Life* (3 Jul 1889), 4; [No Title], *Daily Inter Ocean (Chicago)* (16 Jul 1889), 4.

[183] Examples of articles that included crowd sizes: "Base Ball Notes," *State Republican* (27 Jul 1889), 4 reported that 1,500 saw the game in Grand Rapids on 25 July. "A Great Game: The Young Ladies' Base Ball Club; Good Players Among Them—A Great Crowd Present—The Good Plays and Notes on the Game. *The Young Ladies Athletic Journal* (13 Sep 1889), 1. This publication claimed that 2,500 had seen the game. "Midland Matters," *Midland Republican* (8 Aug 1889), 5. (Over 1,000 in Midland, Michigan on 1 August). "Ball Tossing Maidens: A Crowd of Nearly 5,000 Men Witness a Travesty on the National Game—How the Girls Pitched, Caught and Slid Bases—The Male Players Defeated," *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (12 Aug 1889), 8. (4,500+ in Cleveland on 11 August).

[184] Wilson made this claim in an advertising flyer he produced in 1890 to promote his new Young Ladies Base Ball Club. Local newspapers in Chicago in 1889 do not support his claim.

[185] **"**Base Ball Girls: The Travels of a Chicago Club—History of the Game," *Brooklyn Eagle* (8 Sep 1889), 11; [No Title], *Rochester Post Express* (9 Sep 1889), 8; "Female Ball Players: They Entertained a Crowd at Windsor Beach Yesterday," *Rochester Union and Advertiser* (9 Sep 1889), 1; "Female Base Ball Players: They Don't Play Ball But the Crowd Enjoy the Fun—A Legal Dispute Over the Management of the Club," *Oswego Daily Times* (10 Sep 1889), 4; "Female Base Ballists: They Made Their Appearance at Richardson Park Yesterday Before Eight Hundred People," *Oswego Palladium* (10 Sep 1889); "Ladies to the Bat," *The Evening Herald* [Syracuse, NY], (6 Sep 1889), 8; "Bulletined News," *Auburn Bulletin* (11 Sep 1889), 1; "Bulletined News," *Auburn Bulletin* (12 Sep 1889), 1; "It Will be a Dizzy Game," *Havana (NY) Journal* (15 June 1889).

[186] "Girls to Play Ball: A Team Composed of Pittsburg Young Ladies Being Organized; Good Material to Select From; Many of the Girls Enthusiastic Over the Open Air Pastime; Glad to Escape From Indoor Work," *Pittsburg Dispatch* (23 Sep 1889), 5. For an example of an advertisement for players see: *Pittsburg Dispatch* (21 Sep 1889), 3.

[187] "Little Locals," *(Lock Haven) Evening Express* (28 Sep 1889), 1.

[188] Wilson's Young Ladies' Base Ball Club of Philadelphia was scheduled to play at the "Colored Agricultural and Industrial Fair" in Richmond in September of 1891, but newspapers do not mention the game ever taking place. Wilson was in jail by that point. "The Colored People's Fair: An Outline of the Programme That Has Been Arranged," *Richmond Dispatch* (20 Sep 1891), 8.

[189] "Young Ladies' Ball Club: Manager Franklin Will Bring Them Here during the Fair," *San Antonio Daily Light*, (21 Oct 1889), 15; "Females at Base Ball," *New Mexican* (21 Oct 1889), 3. Article quotes the Silver City *Enterprise*.

[190] [No Title], *Shenandoah Herald* [Woodstock, VA] (25 Oct 1889), 3.

[191] "Personal and Other Items," *Biblical Recorder (NC)* (30 Oct 1889), 2.

[192] "Local News," *The Goldsboro (NC) Headlight* (30 Oct 1889), 5.

[193] "Greeneville," *Daily Journal and Journal and Tribune* [TN], (10 Nov 1889), 2; "The Ball Game: A Big Crowd Out to Witness the 'Girls' Play Ball," *Daily Journal and Journal and Tribune* (Knoxville, TX) (7 Nov 1889), 3; "The Ladies Defeated Them," *Daily Journal and Journal and Tribune* [TN], (8 Nov 1889), 8.

[194] "A Female Baseball Club Disbands," *Daily Picayune* (8 Dec 1889), 14. Article cited the *Atlanta Constitution*, 3 Dec 1889.

Notes to Chapter 5

[1] "Girls and Base Ball: A St. Louis Lady Enters Her Protest Against the Newly Organized Ladies League—And She Hopes That Organization Will Not be Allowed to Display Itself in Any of the St. Louis Parks—A Most Entertaining Article," *The Sporting News* (20 Sep 1890). Miscellaneous clipping in the files of the National Baseball Hall of Fame Library.

[2] Quoted in: "Indian Maiden Sprinter: Michigan Has Developed a Girl Who is a Record-Breaker," *Omaha Daily Bee* (17 May 1896), 19.

[3] Gladys E. Palmer, *Baseball for Girls and Women* (A. S. Barnes and Company, 1929).

[4] The cultural changes that attracted girls and women to sports in unprecedented numbers are highlighted later in the chapter, but the key point is that many of the sports mentioned here were either initially or quickly characterized as gender-neutral. That this did not happen for baseball is the focus of this thesis.

[5] "The Fat Men Take Their Turn," *Marquette Daily Mining Journal* (19 Aug 1889), 8.

[6] See the epigraphs and notes 1 and 2.

[7] For the purposes of this thesis, the term "New Woman" is used in a generalized way as it was applied to white, native-born, upper- and middle-class women. There was no universal model of new womanhood, nor was there universal acceptance of the concept. New Womanhood pitted rich against poor, social conservatives against progressives, white against black (and other ethnicities), men against women and women against women. For an excellent overview of the complexity of the New Woman ideal, see the Introduction to: Martha H. Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl: Reimagining the American New Woman, 1895-1915* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 1-26. Patterson writes, for example, that "the intertwined histories of the 'New Woman,' 'New Negro Woman,' "New Negro,' 'New China,' 'New South,' and 'New Empire,' suggest how the trope of the New Woman also worked to define American identity during a period of rising nativist sentiment, intense racial conflict, and imperialist conquest." She also noted that the "dominant version of the New Woman, particularly in her Gibson Girl incarnation, represented a white, native-born, 'Christian' American nation." (p. 14).

[8] Patterson, 7-8. The influx of girls and women into schools, colleges, the workforce, and progressive reform organizations during the 1890s has been well documented by scholars; it is impossible to adequately document the subject in a single citation. For insights into the transformations underway in each category see: Jane H. Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls: The Victorian Origins of American Girlhood* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002). (Hunter documents the increase in middle-class girls attending high schools and writes, "One can understand the emergence of New Women at the turn of the century only by understanding the 'new' girlhoods which brought them into being." p. 170.) John L. Rury, *Education and Women's Work: Female Schooling and the Division of Labor in Urban America, 1870-1930*, (Albany: State University of New York, 1991) also deals with the role schooling for girls played on transforming gender ideals and socio-economic structures. For information on women and college see: Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism*, (New Haven: Yale Univ Press, 1982) and Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era*, (New Haven.: Yale Univ. Press, 1990). For examples of female leadership during the Progressive Era see: Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work: The Rise of Women's Political Culture, 1830-1900* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1995), Judith A. Allen, *The Feminism of Charlotte Perkins Gilman: Sexualities, Histories, Progressivism.* (Chicago: Univ. Of Chicago Press, 2009) and Louise W. Knight, *Jane Addams: Spirit in Action* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2010). For a contemporary perspective on the changes, see: Joseph Dana Miller, "The New Woman in Office," *Godey's Magazine* (Jan 1896): 132 & 787.

[9] Miller, 132.

[10] Charles Dana Gibson was a popular graphic artist whose illustrations appeared regularly in *Life*, *Harper's Weekly*, *Scribners* and *Collier's* in the 1880s and 1890s. He also illustrated books. During the 1890s his visual depictions of the "New Woman" became so iconic they eventually became known as the "Gibson Girl."

[11] Bernarr Macfadden, "Erroneous Ideas of Muscle," *Physical Culture* 1, no. 4 (June 1899): 82, cited in Jan Todd, "Bernarr Macfadden: Reformer of Feminine Form," *Journal of Sport History* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 68.

[12] Todd notes that Macfadden's publishing empire (including *Physical Culture)* was so vast by the early 1930s that its circulation of publications exceeded those of William Randloph Hearst and Henry Luce. Todd, "Bernarr Macfadden," 73.

[13] Quoted in: "Women's Sports: Up To Date," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (21 Aug 1895), 6.

[14] Patterson, 7-8. Examples of secondary sources addressing women's entry into the workforce are: Nan Enstad, *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century* (New York: Temple University Press, 1986); Rury, *Education and Women's Work*.

[15] Todd, "Bernarr Macfadden," 74.

[16] [No Title], *The Rolla New Era* (4 March 1893), 1. Cites an article that originally appeared in *Harper's* magazine. Reprints appeared in papers across the country including: *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (21 Feb 1893), 4 and *Shenandoah Herald* [Woodstock, VA] (24 Mar 1893), 1.

[17] See Appendices for details. It is impossible to provide a definitive number for teams because not every team was mentioned in contemporary sources and countless teams remain to be discovered as new sources are digitized. This tally represents research done through 2014.

[18] "Time Tower Talk: About What the Watch Makers are Doing in the Mill," *The Morning Star*, [Rockford, Illinois] (Sunday, 16 Aug 1891), 1; Rockford newspapers began publicizing the fund raiser as early as May 11th. They carried dozens of articles including: "Fares Please: Trolley Day Set for Saturday, June 4, By the Ladies' Aid Society," *(Rockford) Daily Register Gazette* (11 May 1898), 3; "Play Ball For Charity: Ladies will Essay National Game on Trolley Day; Two Captains are Named; Mrs. W. F. Barnes and Mrs. J. Stanley Browne to Lead the Teams—None But the Fair Sex Will Be in the Game," *(Rockford) Morning Star* (15 May 1898), 9; "Fair Ones in Game: The Ladies Who Will Play on Trolley Day; Have Plenty of 'Subs;' Not a Horrid Man to Participate—Tow Umpires and a Scorer Named—Practice Game to Be Played Daily—The Line Up," *(Rockford) Morning Star* (24 May 1898), 8; "Belles of the Ball: Dramatic Rendition of a Fantastic on the Diamond for Charity," *Daily Register Gazette* (4 June 1898), 7.

[19] "Celebrating the Fourth: Negro Women Play Base Ball at Brisbane Park," *Columbus Daily Enquirer* [GA] (5 Jul 1894), 1; "Base Ball: Girls and Base Ball; A Girlish Description of a Game by Girls; An Umpire in White Lawn—A Home Plate Concealed by the Catcher's Petticoats, Etc.," *Sporting Life* (10 Sep 1892), 11; "Girls Who Play Baseball: How Some Young Women at Lenox Amuse Themselves," *New York Times* (3 Sept 1893), 12 and "Lenox is Still Gay. Outdoor Sports Claim the Attention of the Younger Set: Events at Pittsfield," *New York Herald* (3 Sep 1893), 26; "Lively Times at Fox Lake," *Chicago Tribune* (18 Aug 1895), 14; "A Notable Game of Baseball," [New York] *Evening Sun* (22 May 1897), 4; "Field Day Sports: University Notes," *Grand Forks Herald* (7 May 1893), p. 4; "Nubs of News," *Grand Forks Herald* (13 May 1893), 8.

[20] The *Denver Evening Post* (20 Jul 1897), 4 reported that a baseball team in Texas had a "pretty female pitcher." Lizzie Arlington gained significant notoriety, particularly in the Philadelphia area, after she signed a contract to pitch for men's minor league teams. Her story is detailed later in the chapter.

[21] Details on professional teams follow later in the chapter. Sylvester Wilson had not hesitated to use male players disguised as women on his teams, but it appears he did this only when he could not find enough women willing to play. The Bloomer Girl teams of the 1890s and 1900s made "toppers" a regular feature of their teams—particularly in the early twentieth century. Some of these players, like Smoky Joe Wood and Rogers Hornsby, went on to become starts of major league baseball. Jim Swint, "Don't Forget 'Smoky' Joe Wood You Were Some Kind of Ball Player," Online: http://www.funvalleysports.com/history/smokey_joe_wood.shtml; "Here's Joe Wood,

Boston's Best and A Giant Killer; He Started His Career As A Bloomer Girl in Kansas Wilds." *The Fort Wayne Daily News* [Indiana] (16 Nov 1912), 7; Wood identified Rogers Hornsby as a Bloomer Girl player in his autobiographical article: "Not Far From Slumgullion Gulch" published in Charles Einstein's *The Third Fireside Book of Baseball,* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968).

[22] Examples of positive comments about talented female barnstorming teams: "Female Baseballists: The Score Yesterday Afternoon 2 to 6[?] in Favor of the Bloomers," *The State* [Columbia, SC] (15 Aug 1895), 8. (Excerpt: "[T]he audience, which was made up mostly of those who belong to the masculine gender, greatly enjoyed [the novel event]. . . . The bloomer pitcher knows something about ball playing, and handles the sphere as dexterously as many players of the opposite sex. . . . A good crowd witnessed the playing, but if the weather had been favorable the stand would have been packed overflowing. . . . It is possible that a little later on they may pay Columbia another visit. Come again, girls, by all means."); "It Was Not a Ball Game: A Big Crowd Watches Bloomers Play the Butte Team; Only One Girl Players; And She Was All Right—the Rest of the Boston Beauties Were in the Game to Chase the Ball—Butte Wins the Game," *Anaconda (Montana) Standard* (7 Sep 1897), 5. (Despite the rather disparaging title, the article notes: "More than 2,000 people went to the ball grounds to see the Boston Bloomers play the Butte team, and everybody seemed to enjoy it. . . . .The girls conducted themselves all right. The spectators offered no insulting remarks and the girls gave no pretext in their conduct for making any.").

[23] Examples of negative press: [No Title], *Little Falls (MN) Weekly Transcript* (20 Sep 1895), 2. (Excerpt: "The people who visited the base-ball game were disappointed in the Bloomer club. There were only two of them, the pitcher and the one who held down first base, that could play at all. The rest of the aggregation did not only demonstrate that they could not play, but seemed too tired to even try. . . . It was a rank farce from beginning to end."); "Bloomerites Frowned On: The Mayor of Duluth Forbids a Ball Game," *San Francisco Chronicle* (22 Sep 1895), 15. ("The baseball game between the Boston bloomer girls and the home nine, scheduled for to-morrow, will not come off, for to-night Mayor Lewis sent word to the managers that he did not approve of women appearing in public in trousers, and warned all concerned that any attempt to play ball would result in wholesale arrests."); "Telegraphic Notes," *Daily Republican [Decatur, IL]* (25 Sept 1895), 6. ("The Chicago Female Baseball club was stoned as it left the grounds of Anderson Indiana yesterday, and one of the girls knocked down a dude with a ball bat.").

[24] **"**Belles at the Bat: Society Girls Play Base-ball, with a Preacher Acting as Umpire." Daily Inter Ocean, (13 July 1891); "Had a Parson for an Umpire: The Belles of an Ohio Town Play Base Ball with Their Lovers," *Chicago Herald* (13 July 1891), 6; "Society Girls Play Ball: The Men Play with Left Hands—The Umpire a Minister," *Macon (GA) Telegraph* (14 Jul 1891), 1; "A Sensational Ball Game," *Daily Journal and Journal and Tribune* [Tennessee], (14 Jul 1891), 1; [No title], *Pennsylvania Patriot* (15 Jul 1891), 3; "Women in Base Ball: Respectable Ladies to Spoil Their Hands at the Sport," *Sporting Life* (18 Jul 1891), 1.

[25] "Base Ball," *Utica Saturday Globe* (2 Aug 1890), 2; "Sporting: Base Ball," *Utica Saturday Globe* (29 Aug 91), 6.

[26] National League teams were unbalanced. From 1893 onward, last place teams finished 50-60 games behind the league leader. Rader, *Baseball*, 79-80.

[27] Benjamin Rader's "Introduction" to: Dean A. Sullivan, ed., *Early Innings: A Documentary History of Baseball, 1825-1908* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), xviii. See also Rader, *Baseball*, 81.

[28] [No Title], *Atchison Daily Globe* (23 Aug 1892).

[29] "Topics of the Times," *Sioux County* [Orange City, IA] *Herald* (2 Sep 1891), 6.

[30] "Current Comment," *Columbus* [GA] *Daily Enquirer* (20 May 1893), 2. Reprinted from the *Chicago Times*.

[31] "Girls and Base Ball: A St. Louis Lady Enters Her Protest Against the Newly Organized Ladies League—A Most Entertaining Article," *The Sporting News* (20 Sep 1890).

[32] [No Title], *Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette* (4 Aug 1892), 5.

[33] "A Novel Game of Ball," *Dorchester [Md.] Democrat-News*, (27 May 1893). Thanks to Marty Payne for bringing this article to my attention.

[34] [No Title], [Denver] *Evening Post* (24 August 1895), 4.

[35] Article was reprinted in numerous newspapers. Examples: "Town Topics," [Lincoln, NE] *Evening News* (7 Oct 1896), 7; [No Title], *Waterloo Daily Courier* [Iowa], (9 Oct 1896), 6; "Town Topics," *Winona Daily Republican* [Minn.] (13 Oct 1896), 2.

[36] "Base Ball in Bloomers: The Female Freaks Pull But a Few Pants Legs in Quincy," *The Quincy Herald* (3 Oct 1895), 1.

[37] Reprinted in: "At a Disadvantage," *Newark Daily Advocate* (10 June 1895), 5.

[38] "Were Too Polite to Win," *The Penny Press* (Minneapolis) (18 Jul 1895), 3.

[39] "The Female Aggregation Who Came from Goodness Knows Where and Stopped Over at Rockford to Play a Game of Alleged Base Ball: Features of the Game and 'Cracks' From the Grand Stand," *Daily Register Gazette* [IL], (27 Jul 1892), 3.

[40] Article from the *Des Moines Register* (1892) was reprinted in: John Zeller, "A Century Ago Today, 'Lady Champs' Hit Town," *Des Moines Register* (13 Aug 1992).

[41] "Played at Baseball," *Tacoma Daily News* (24 Sep 1897), 4.

[42] Groebl, A.F. "Who would doubt that I'm a man? / music by A.F. Groebl ; words by M.Straube." Sheet music. Cincinnati : Weidig, c.1895. From the Library of Congress, *American Women: A Gateway to Library of Congress Resources for the Study of Women's History and Culture in the United States*. http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/awhbib:@field (NUMBER+@od1(musmisc+awh0043)). Accessed 21 Jun 2013.

[43] See, for example, Charles Dudley Warner, "Give the Men a Chance," Chapter 4. *As We Go* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1893) and "The Feminization of Harvard Professors," *Public Opinion: A Comprehensive Summary of The Press Throughout the World on All Important Current Topics*, Vol. 27, Jul-Dec 1899, (New York: The Public Opinion Co., 28 Dec 1899), 823. Throughout the decade, numerous social and educational institutions conducted studies to identify areas where "feminization" was occurring.

[44] Alpheus Hyatt, "The Influence of Woman in the Evolution of the Human Race," *Natural Science: A Monthly Review of Scientific Progress* 23, no. 66 (Aug 1897), 90-92. Hyatt, a fellow of the National Academy of Sciences, was a Harvard-educated zoologist, biologist, and paleontologist. He defined "virified" as "having acquired manly habits and character as tending to become mannish without being necessarily a degenerate being either physically or mentally."

[45] "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," a paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago, 1893. Reprinted in: Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: H. Holt & Co., 1920), 1.

[46] Ibid., 30.

[47] G. Stanley Hall, *Youth: Its Education, Regimen, and Hygiene* (New York: Appleton, 1906), 103-104. Reprinted in: Kaplan, 112.

[48] For insights on the rise of professional coaches and physical educators see Robin Lester, *Stagg's University: The Rise, Decline, and Fall of Big-Time Football at Chicago* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1999), esp. 1-64.

[49] "Notes and Gossip," *Sporting Life* (9 Sep 1890), 4.

[50] "National Game…," *Haverhill* [Mass.] *Bulletin* (23 Jul 1891): 2.

[51] "Women in Baseball," *Newtown Register* [Queens, NY], (21 Apr 1892).

[52] "Short Skirts or No Game: Capt. Arlington's Reply to Bloomfield's Citizens' Committee," *New York Evening World* (6 May 1893), 2. Dateline: Bloomfield, N.J., May 6.

[53] "Girl Baseball Players: They are Fond of the Sport and Wear Nice Costumes," *Grand Rapids Press* (11 August 1894), 7.

[54] Girls and young women like Ruth Egan, Carrie Moyer, Myrtle Rowe, Alta Weiss, Carita Masteller, Irene and Ruth Basford, Irma Gribble, Anna Singleton, Verds Bailagh, Elizabeth Murphy, and Jackie Mitchell gained local, and sometimes national, notoriety playing baseball on amateur and semi-professional men's baseball teams in the early twentieth century. Some of these women were able to make a living playing baseball. Alta Weiss earned enough money barnstorming with a men's semi-pro team in 1908 to put herself through college. Elizabeth Murphy earned a living playing baseball for men's semi-professional teams in New England between 1915 to 1935 and listed her occupation as "ball player" in her hometown city directory. Jackie Mitchell was a skilled pitcher who signed a contract with the Chattanooga Lookouts in 1931 and was featured in an exhibition game against the New York Yankees during which she purportedly struck out Babe Ruth and Lou Gehrig back-to-back. The remaining teenagers and young women played for various teams in Missouri, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky.

[55] Ruth Egan was a standout player on boys' and men's teams and mixed-sex Bloomer Girls teams in and around Kansas City, Missouri beginning in 1905; Myrtle Rowe became a local celebrity in and around Pittsburg in 1907 and Alta Weiss gained a national following for her exploits pitching for the Vermilion (Ohio) Independents in 1907 and her own Weiss All-Stars in 1908. These are just a few of the women who played on boys' and men's baseball teams in the first decade of the twentieth century. Many more followed in the ensuing decades.

[56] The *Denver Evening Post* mentioned the "pretty young female pitcher" on a Texas baseball team on 20 July 1897, p. 4. It is almost certain that this was a men's team as there would have been nothing newsworthy about a female pitcher on a female team.

[57] Numerous books and articles have referred to Lizzie Arlington as Lizzie Stroud. This is incorrect. See: Barbara Gregorich, "A Champion for All Seasons," *Pennsylvania Heritage* (Summer 1998): 4-9.

[58] Gregorich, "A Champion," 5. See also: "Girls Want to Shoot," *Daily News* [Mount Carmel, Penn.], (27 Jan 1900), 1. Lizzie Stride challenges another female shooter to the championship of Schuylkill County.

[59] The Reds were in direct competition with Sylvester Wilson's Chicago Black Stocking Female Club that summer as both teams traveled in the same region of eastern Pennsylvania.

[60] John Kovach provided the following clippings: [No Title], *Mahanoy City Tri-Weekly Record* (18 Jun 1891), 4; [No Title], *Mahanoy City Tri-Weekly Record* (20 Jun 1891), 4; [No Title], *Mahanoy City Tri-Weekly Record* (23 Jun 1891), 4; [No Title], *Mahanoy City Tri-Weekly Record* (25 Jun 1891), 4.

[61] *Bedford Mail* (8 Jul 1892), 3; John Kovach e-mail to author, Nov 2014. After years of research, Barbara Gregorich discovered that Maud Nelson's real name was Clementine Brida. Barbara Gregorich, "The Girls of Summer," *New City: Chicago's News & Arts Weekly* (2-8 May 1996): 9-11.

[62] John Kovach discovered Brida's immigration information and located other Brida's in the Mahanoy City census in the 1880s. Gregorich believes Brida likely worked for the Stride family. E-mails to author from Kovach and Gregorich, 1 and 2 Sep 2014. No one knows for sure exactly when Brida was born. Her death certificate says 15 Feb 1874, her social security card said 17 Nov 1881, and her tombstone gives her lifespan as 1879-1944. Kovach believes Brida was born in 1873 based on the immigration records.

[63] Image appears courtesy of Joanne Kline.

[64] "The League Will Continue," *Richmond Dispatch* (13 Jul 1898), 2.

[65] The exact terms of their contract and the date on which they sealed their agreement is unknown. It may have happened just prior to Arlington's first appearance on a men's team in Philadelphia on June 25, 1898. By July 3rd, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* was identifying Conner as the one who was had signed Arlington to a contract for $100 per week.

[66] See, for example, *The Sporting News* (10 & 17 Jul 1897), 7.

[67] "Miss Arlington's Tour: The Girl Pitcher to Twirl Against Professional Teams," *The Philadelphia Press* (1 July 1898), 10. Most secondary sources only mention Barrow when they discuss Arlington's signing of the first professional contract for a female ballplayer. Yet, the article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* on 3 July makes it clear that Conner was Arlington's promoter at this time and the article in the *Philadelphia Press* on 1 July makes it clear that Arlington was also going to pitch in other leagues that summer. If Barrow had signed Arlington on his own, it is unlikely he would have made plans to allow her to pitch in other leagues. On the other hand, I have found no evidence that Arlington ever did play for either of the other leagues so, perhaps, Barrow bought Arlington's contract from Conner at some point.

[68] "Norristown's Female Pitcher," *The North American (Philadelphia)* (25 Jun 1898), 3.

[69] "A Woman in the Box: Lizzie Arlington Who Played in Two Games at Norristown Yesterday, Will be the Attraction," *Reading Times* (5 Jul 1898), 1; "Ball Notes," *Reading Daily Times and Dispatch* (5 Jul 1898), 4; "Allentown Goose Egged: Rank Errors in the Field Result in Defeat at Reading," *Allentown Daily Leaders* (6 Jul 1898), 4; "A Woman in the Box: Lizzie Arlington Twirls the Ball in the Ninth Inning. Only Two Hits Were Made Off Her Delivery but Did Not Do Any Damage. Allentown Shut Out—All the Runs in Two Innings," *Reading Daily Times and Dispatch* (6 Jul 1898), 4.

[70] "Women Players in Organized Baseball," SABR website. http://research.sabr.org/journals /women-players-in-organized-baseball.

[71] Photo appears courtesy of Robert Edwards Auctions Collection. For details on some of Arlington's achievements as a sportswoman and baseball player, see: "At the Traps," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (15 Jul 1898), 11; "Sporting Notes," *The Philadelphia Times* (9 Jul 1898), 6; "Miss Arlington To Pitch," *Richmond Dispatch* (13 Jul 1898), 2; "Take Another Game: The Richmond Boys Win Their Fifth Consecutive Contest . . . . The Female Pitcher Gives an Exhibition….The Last Game at Home," *Richmond Dispatch* (16 Jul 1898), 6; "Another Defeat: Allentown Was An Easy Mark for Richmond Yesterday," *Allentown Leader* (16 Jul 1898), 4; "Radiant Richmond: Satisfied That Lancaster is the Only Club to Be Feared," *Sporting Life* (23 Jul 1898), 17; "Pitcher's Peculiarities: A Philadelphia Woman Demonstrates the Possibilities of Her Sex," *Winnipeg Tribune* (9 Aug 1898), 7; "And a Woman Pitched," *Altoona Tribune* (28 Jul 1898), 1; "Saturday's Double Header: Errors Lost and Won the Games with Patterson on Saturday," *Reading Daily Times and Dispatch* (25 Jul 1898), 4; "Ball Notes," *Reading Daily Times and Dispatch* (30 Jul 1898), 4; "Reading Radiant Over Her Greatest Week Since She Got an Atlantic Club," *Sporting Life* (6 August 1898), 17.

[72] Examples of "novel" female sporting ventures of the 1890s: "Ninth and Arch Museum," *(Philadelphia) Sunday Item* (30 April 1893), 10. Article was accompanied by an illustrated advertisement on p. 11 announcing "Another New Innovation!!!" "Female Sprinting Race." The same year in San Francisco, an athletic trainer recruited women from Canada, England, and the United States to form two football (soccer) teams. He expected their exhibitions would draw huge crowds. "Novel Football Game: Two Female Teams to Play Under Association Rules," *San Francisco Evening Call* (6 Nov 1893), 3. The popular press and newspapers noticed the shift in attitudes toward female athleticism. Examples: "The Athletic Girl," *(Philadelphia) Sunday Item* (24 Dec 1893); W. Bengough, "The New Woman, Athletically Considered, *Godey's Magazine* (Jan 1896): 132 & 787; "Out-Door Sport," *Harper's Bazaar* (28 Jul 1894): 606.

[73] "Coming," *The Evening Bulletin* [Maysville, KY] (12 May 1890), 3; "A Female Aggregation," *Sporting Life* (31 May 1890), 7; "City News," *Logansport Pharos* (9 Jun 1890), 4; "Base Ball Girls," *Logansport Reporter* (13 Jun 1890), 4; "City Brevities," *Titusville (Penn) Morning Herald* (16 July 1890), 4; "City and Vicinity," *Watertown (New York) Daily Times* (2 Aug 1890); [No Title], *Norwood (New York) News* (5 Aug 1890); "A Disgraceful Move: Introducing Females Into Professionalism; A Speculator's Proposal to Organize a League of Female Baseball [Teams?]" *Sporting Life* (30 Aug 1890), 8; "'Lady Champions' at Ball: Disgraceful Sunday Exhibition With the Allertons at Monitor Park, Weehawken," *New York Herald* (1 Sep 1890), 6. "Wanted, Girls to Play Base Ball," advertisement placed by Wilson in the *New York Clipper*, circa 2 Sep 1890. Randall Brown files.

[74] The origin of Clyde and Bey's team is inferred from the article: "How One of the Female Ball Nine Deserted Husband and Babes—Stuck on Being an Actress—She Tagged the Runner and He Hurt Her Arm," *Quincy* [IL] *Daily Herald* (8 Jun 1894), 8. The dateline of the article is St. Louis, June 8. The article details how the managers lured a young mother away from home to play baseball. Further evidence that the team originated in St. Louis is that its earliest known game was played in Wichita, KS

[75] Note: Bruckner's name is spelled "Buckner" and "Brucker" in articles in 1892, but he is identified as Joseph Bruckner in official government correspondence related to the international incident his American Female Base Ball Club sparked in Cuba the following year.

[76] At least seven of the players on the New York Champion team, including Maud Nelson, had played for the Cincinnati Reds in 1893; there is no record of a Cincinnati Reds team in 1894.

[77] [No Title], *Sandusky Daily Register* (9 May 1890), 4; Ren Mulford, Jr., "Ohio Fans' Conundrums . . . Seasonable Observations," *Sporting Life* (24 May 1890), 10. The dateline on this column was May 20th. Wilson's team had just departed Cincinnati for Kentucky after its planned games in Cincinnati were rained out.

[78] "A Disgraceful Move: Introducing Females Into Professionalism; A Speculator's Proposal to Organize a League of Female Baseball [Teams?]" *The Sporting Life* (30 Aug 1890), 8.

[79] Ibid. The ad promised to pay qualified individuals ("young, over 20, good looking and good figure") $5 to $15 per week plus expenses, and to guarantee them year-round employment. Applicants within the city were to report to "Mr. Franklin" at the Dramatic Agency at 1162 Broadway or at his residence at 158 West 50th street between 8 and 10 p.m.. Those outside of the city were to send a photograph.

[80] Wilson and his players were arrested in Danville, Illinois on Sunday, June 8, 1890 after defeating the Danville Browns 23-12 in front of 2,000 people. Papers across the region and as far west as Los Angeles carried the story. The courtroom was packed with spectators on Monday morning as Wilson and the female players pled guilty to the charges and were fined $1 each plus court costs. (The total came to over $100.) The male players received identical fines. The *Danville Press* reported that the total charged to each player was $7 once court costs were included. "The Female Figures: Are Pinched for Playing Ball on Sunday; Likewise the Local Team is Taken In and All Are Fined," *Danville Weekly Press* (11 Jun 1890), 1. Richter headlined his article about the incident, "Serves Them Right: Female Ball Players Arrested and Fined in Illinois," *The Sporting Life*, (14 June 1890).

[81] "Pick-ups," *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle* (15 Jul 1890), 7.

[82] Attendance figures were culled from available primary sources; they are only available for eleven of the thirty games. Wilson is the source of statistics for five of the games and, even assuming he grossly exaggerated the figures, (which he was known to do) newspapers reported an average of 750 to 1,500 spectators for the other seven games. If these numbers hold true for the remaining nineteen games for which no statistics are available, a total figure exceeding 20,000 spectators is likely.

[83] Name appears in an undated advertisement, circa 2 Sep 1890, shared with the author by Randall Brown.

[84] "A Disgraceful Move," *The Sporting Life* (30 Aug 1890), 8.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid.

[87] The roster for the Young Ladies Base Ball Club that played in Weehawken on 31 August was: May Howard, Nellie Williams, Kitty Grant, Annie Grant, Angie Parker, Effie Earl, Alice Lee, Mamie Johnson, and Maggie Marshall. The first seven appear in the photograph taken in Cincinnati. Maggie Marshall was arrested with the team in Danville, Illinois on 8 June and Mamie Johnson appears on a roster (as Laura Johnson) at least as early as 17 July in Titusville, Pennsylvania.

[88] Murphy had been a talented baseball player in his youth and maintained his association with the sport as he worked his way up the ladder in New York City's political machine; he was the unofficial "chief lieutenant" in the eighteenth district when Wilson contacted him about the lucrative possibilities of the proposed game. For information on Murphy's association with baseball see: Nancy Joan Weiss, *Charles Francis Murphy, 1858-1924: Respectability & Responsibility in Tammany Politics* (Northampton, MA: Smith College, 1968), 22.

[89] "'Lady Champions' at Ball: Disgraceful Sunday Exhibition With the Allertons at Monitor Park, Weehawken," *New York Herald* (1 Sep 1890), 6.

[90] "Base Ball," *Yenowine's News (Milwaukee)* (7 Sep 1890), 7. In 1890 the Brotherhood of Professional Base-Ball players organized the Players' League—an 8-team circuit that survived only a single season.

[91] Adam Forepaugh operated a series of circuses from the mid-1860s until 1889 when he liquidated his assets. He and P.T. Barnum were on-again, off-again partners and rivals throughout much of the 1870s and 1880s.

[92] "A Female Base Ball Manager Employed a Fifteen Year Old Girl as a Mascot," *Syracuse Courier* (15 Aug 1891), 1. "A Female Ball Player: The Trouble She Has Brought to an Amusement Manager," *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, (15 Aug 1891), p. 1; "In Jail at Last: A Disgrace to Base Ball Probably Now Ended—A Notorious Manager of Female Base Ball Clubs Now at the End of His Rope," *Sporting Life* (22 Aug 1891), 5.

[93] Typewritten report summarizing Wilson's life prepared as supporting evidence in one of his trials. "NYSPCC People's Brief" (c. 1903). NYCMA.

[94] Most of the details on the troupes' travels during this period are from the broadside Wilson produced circa 13 Sep 1890. See also, Advertisement, "Wanted, Girls to Play Base Ball," *New York Clipper*, (c. 2 Sep 1890). Clipping provided to author by Randall Brown. "The Gouverneur Fair," *Northern Tribune (Gouverneur, NY)* (6 Sep 1890); "Notes, *Gouverneur Press* (10 Sep 1890), 2; "Women Wield the Bat: A Crowd at Capitol Park Cheer a Novel Game of Baseball; Local Players Play Incog[nito]; The Females Defeated After a Spirited Struggle by the Score of 15 to 10—Results of the Championship Games Played by Brotherhood and League Yesterday." *Washington Post* (4 October 1890), 6; "Batting Order," *Newark Daily Advocate*, (10 Oct 1890), 1.

[95] "Notes," *Lebanon (Penn.) Daily News* (30 Apr 1891), 1.

[96] Wilson wore this style of facial hair for years. See: "Got Sylvester Wilson Again: Female Baseball Team Man Tries Basketball: Indicted For Abduction, a Crime for Which He Has Already Done Five Years—If Convicted This Time He May Get 20—He Has Been in Many Jails," *The (New York City) Sun*, (28 Jun 1903), 3. Photo appears courtesy of Joanne Kline.

[97] A small sample of articles about Wilson's trial: "Sylvester Wilson's Trial, *Syracuse Daily Standard*, (12 Sep 1891), 1; "Wilson Discharges Howe: The Manager of Female Base-ballists Creates a Sensation in Court," *The North American (Philadelphia)* (13 Oct 1891), 6; "Wilson on the Stand: He Denies That His Relations With Libbie Sunderland were Improper," *Utica Morning Herald* (14 Oct 1891), 1. Richter's articles included: "Deserved Punishment: Wilson, the Female Base Ball Manager, Put Away For Five Years," *Sporting Life* (24 Oct 1891), 1; [No Title], *Sporting Life* (31 Oct 1891), 3.

[98] "In Jail at Last: A Disgrace to Base Ball Probably Now Ended—A Notorious Manager of Female Base Ball Clubs Now at the End of His Rope," *Sporting Life* (22 Aug 1891), 5.

[99] The term "baby farm" originated in the mid-nineteenth century to describe homes where employees nursed the children of unwed mothers for a fee. They also housed unwed mothers and helped them arrange adoptions. Some were licensed; many were not. Annie Long played for Mark Lally's Cincinnati Reds the year after Wilson's arrest, appearing on a roster with Lizzie Arlington, Maud Bradi (Nelson), and Flossie Atwood who was living with Wilson and Sunderland when he was arrested for Sunderland's abduction. [No Title], *Bedford Mail* (8 Jul 1892), 3.

[100] Ibid.

[101] "Libbie Sunderland's Abduction: More Witnesses Pile Up Testimony Against the Female Base-Ball Manager," *The North American* (Philadelphia) (10 Oct 1891), 4. The lengthy appeal filed by Wilson's new attorney confirms the details of the testimony and includes many other examples from other witnesses.

[102] Though trial transcripts are unavailable, it is assumed that Sunderland's testimony mirrored the official deposition she gave to Police Justice, C. W. Meade, on August 17, 1891. The handwritten deposition is in the files of: "The People &c., on the Complaint of William A. Finn vs. Sylvester F. Wilson, Police Court, 5th District, August 17, 1891." NYCMA

[103] "In the New York Supreme Court, General Term—First Department. *The People of the State of New York, Respondents, vs. Sylvester F. Wilson, Appellant*. Transcript of appeal prepared by Attorney James R. Stevens. (undated, c. late 1891, early 1892). NYCMA.

[104] Sunderland detailed her sexual relationship with Wilson in her official deposition to C.W. Meade, Police Justice, (17 August 1891). NYCMA. In court she testified that Wilson had treated her "as a father and furnished her a home." See: "Female Baseball Player: A Trial in New-York Discloses Interesting and Shameful Details," *The Buffalo Express* (13 Oct 1891), 2.

[105] "Wilson on the Stand: He Denies That His Relations With Libbie Sunderland were Improper," *Utica Morning Herald* (14 Oct 1891), 1.

[106] In the "Brief for the People" prepared for Wilson's 1903 trial for "Abduction as a Second Offense," 15-year-old Margaret Dean recounted the first time Wilson had forced her to have sex with him. Afterwards, one of her teammates, Ray Garton, explained why she was bleeding and instructed her how to "syringe" herself. The veteran girls cautioned new girls not to be caught alone with Wilson. Mary Engel, age 16, described how she had thwarted Wilson's plans to have sex with her on numerous occasions by refusing to go to his room when summoned. Wilson repeatedly told her that she was the only girl who was refusing to cooperate with him and he offered her $500 and marriage if she would relent. She refused. *N.Y. General Sessions, The People Against Sylvester F. Wilson*. NYCMA.

[107] Some papers reported that the jury had taken three minutes; others said ten. "An Abductor Convicted," *Winnipeg Free Press* (17 Oct 1891), 1. "Wilson Found Guilty: The Abductor of Libbie Sunderland Awaits His Sentence," *New York Times* (17 Oct 1891), 2; "The Jury Convict in Ten Minutes," *The North American* (Philadelphia) (17 Oct 1891), 4; "Guilty of Abduction," *Bismarck (ND) Daily Tribune* (18 Oct 1891); "Wilson Convicted, *Daily Picayune*, (20 Oct 1891), 4.

[108] "Wilson Convicted, *Daily Picayune*, (20 Oct 1891), 4.

[109] [No Title], *Sporting Life* (31 Oct 1891), 3.

[110] Wilson's legal strategy influenced new legislation drafted by New York District Attorney DeLancey Nicoll in February 1893 to end the practice of Supreme Court justices in one county issuing stays or overturning verdicts in trials from other counties. "A Judicial Evil," *The Evening Herald* [Syracuse, NY], (18 Feb 1893), 2.

[111] "Wilson Done For: The Female Club Manager Must Go to Sing Sing," *Sporting Life* (31 Dec 1892); Dateline: New York, Dec. 24. Koster & Bials was a popular haunt on 23rd street famous for its vaudeville shows and illegal alcohol. (New York City prohibited serving alcohol at theaters.) "Arrested For Abduction," *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle* (24 Dec 1892); "Bad Egg in Sing Sing: Base-Ball Sylvester Wilson Lugged Off to Durance Vile," *The Herald* [Syracuse, NY] (25 Dec 1892), 1.

[112] Court records at the NYCMA contain multiple letters and appeals written by Wilson and supporters between 1896-1898 as they tried to win his release from the Ludlow Street Jail. The NYSPCC People's Brief also includes details.

[113] "NYSPCC People's Brief." The *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report* of the NYSPCC summarized Wilson's activities following his release from Sing Sing, noting that they had received several complaints that Wilson was "engaged in schemes requiring the services of young girls" and that two of the girls had provided the Society with letters and other evidence of his criminal behavior. Before they could arrest him, however, Wilson moved to Philadelphia. "August 20.—(Case No. 126,592)," The New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children: Twenty-Fifth Annual Report, December 31, 1899, (New York: NYSPCC, 1900), pp. 40-41. GSJA, NYSPCC.

[114] "Again in Trouble: Wilson Who Managed a Female Base Ball Nine," *Elmira Daily Gazette and Free Press* (17 Aug 1899), 5.

[115] "August 20.—(Case No. 126,592)," The New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children: Twenty-Fifth Annual Report, December 31, 1899, (New York: NYSPCC, 1900), pp. 40-41. GSJA, NYSPCC.

[116] Copies of the advertisements were appended to testimony provided by the NYSPCC to the New York Court of General Sessions, 18 Aug 1903. NYCMA, Wilson, 1903 trial records.

[117] Wilson had used similar wording in the ads he placed back in May 1899 when he was looking for players and investors for the first baseball team he organized after his release from Ludlow Street Jail. He had used the name Frank Watkins for those ads. Officials quickly confirmed their suspicions—Frank Watkins, Frank W. Hartright, and Sylvester F. Wilson were the same man.

[118] Fourteen-year-old Augusta Messinger testified that Wilson had shown her photographs of a man and woman having sexual intercourse while he was molesting her. "Brief for the People," *Court of General Sessions of the Peace, In and For the County of New York. The People vs. Sylvester F. Wilson*. NYCMA. Upon learning that the NYSPCC had told the judge that he had pornographic photos, Wilson wrote Judge Cowing another letter on August 18th claiming that they were no illegal photos because they could be purchased in stores in New York City. Court of General Sessions of the Peace in and for the County of New York. The People of the State of New York against Sylvester F. Wilson, Otherwise called Frank W. Hartright. Wilson 1903 court files, NYCMA. "Gets Nine Years for Abduction: S.I. Wilson [sic], Promoter of Women's Baseball Teams, Had Pleaded Guilty to Charge," New York Tribune (22 Aug 1903), p. 11.

[119] These efforts are detailed in files at the State Archives of New York Letter. See, for example: Letter from Frank E. Perley to the Hon. William Travers Jerome, 9 January 1905; Letter from Hon. William Travers Jerome, to the governor's office, 8 Feb 1905; Letter from Hon. William Travers Jerome to the Governor of the State of New York, 24 Feb 1905. Letters are in the.

[120] The 1910 and 1920 Federal Censuses both show Sylvester F. Wilson as a "patient" at Dannemora, where mentally ill prisoners were kept.

[121] The term, "Bloomer Girl" originated during the cycling fad of the 1890s. For many critics, bloomers visibly represented a conflation of gender roles at a time when various professions were becoming "feminized," and tens of thousands of women were visibly flaunting centuries of tradition by traveling around the countryside on their bicycles without male escorts. Robust, bloomer-clad, athletic women undermined stereotypes about women's physical and mental weaknesses and polarized debates over women's proper role in society. "I stand and rejoice every time I see a woman ride by on a wheel," wrote the aging Susan B. Anthony, "I think it has done more to

emancipate women than anything else in the world." As Anthony celebrated, others fumed. "I think the most vicious thing I ever saw in all my life is a woman on a bicycle," wrote one critic in 1891 from Washington D.C. "I had thought that cigarette smoking was the worst thing a woman could do, but I have changed my mind." "The Woman on a Bicycle," *Sunday Herald* (1891), quoted in Adrienne LaFrance, "How the Bicycle Paved the Way for Women's Rights," *The Atlantic* website. Posted 26 June 2014.

[122] Newspapers in California touted the arrival of The Bloomer Girl Big Burlesque and Minstrel Company for shows in March and April 1897. The troupe played multi-night engagements at indoor theaters and attracted crowds by staging street parades featuring "sixteen charming young ladies of *the new woman type* led by their own bicycle band" (emphasis added). "The Bloomer Girls Will Be The Next Attraction at the Barton," *Fresno Bee* (3 March 1897), 2. See also: "Local Brevities," *Fresno Morning Republican*, (12 Mar 1897), 3; *Fresno Bee* (14 Mar 1897).

[123] Reprinted in: [No Title], *The Gold Leaf* (Henderson, N.C.) (20 Apr 1899), 3. Other examples of complimentary articles include: "The Bloomer Girls," *New Orleans Daily Picayune* (17 April 1899), 8; "Batting Base Ball at Belt Line Park," (*Lexington) Morning Herald* (1 May 1899), 7.

[124] Examples of twentieth century Bloomer Girl teams include: J.L. Wilkinson's Boston Bloomer Girls, Logan Galbreath's Boston Bloomer Girls, the Maximo Bloomer Girls, Chicago Stars, American Bloomer Girls, Western Bloomer Girls, and New York Bloomer Girls.

[125] See, for example, [No Title] *Arkansas City Daily Traveler* (12 Sep 1892), 5; "Cincinnati 'Frauds'—They Play at Ball," *Camden Advance-Journal* (17 Sep 1891), 3.

[126] "Bloomer Gals Beaten. The Beantown Aggregation Throws up the Sponge in Five Innings," *The Argus* [Rock Island, Ill.] (4 Aug 1895), 4

[127] [No Title], Little Falls (Minn.) Weekly Transcript (20 Sep 1895), 2.

[128] "It Was Not a Ball Game: A Big Crowd Watches Bloomers Play the Butte Team; Only One Girl Players; And She Was All Right—the Rest of the Boston Beauties Were in the Game to Chase the Ball—Butte Wins the Game," *Anaconda (Mont.) Standard* (7 Sep 1897), 5.

[129] "The Female Baseballists," *(Raleigh) News and Observer* (6 Aug 1895), 6; "Bloomer Girls on the Diamond: The San Francisco Athletics Succumb to the Boston Aggregation; Base hits, Runs and Errors Piled Up in a Most Bewildering Manner; Fully One Thousand People Witness the Performance at Sixteenth and Folsom Streets," *San Francisco Call* (25 Oct 1897), 6.

[130] "Notes About the State," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (21 Jun 1891): 2; "A Baseball Fiasco: an Amusing Exhibition of Feminine Ball Playing," *Evening Times* [Little Falls, NY] (15 Aug 1891), 3; "Petticoats Playing Base-Ball," *Watertown Daily Times* (3 Sep 1891), 8; "Camden," *(Rome) Roman Citizen* (12 Sep 1891).

[131] "Girl Ball Tossers: Tame Playing, But One of Them Badly Injured," *Cheyenne Daily Sun* (28 Jun 1892), 3; "The Female Ball Club," *Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette* (20 Jun 1894), 8.

[132] "A Bloomer Girl 'Kills' A Pitcher." (*Lexington) Morning Herald*, (18 May 1899), 8.

[133] "Fell Dead on the Ball Field: Crossing Bats with the 'Bloomer Girl' Team Was Too Much for Winder," *Denver Evening Post* (10 Jul 1898). Dateline: Olathe, Kan., July 9.

[134] "Fair Ones Play Ball: The Ladies Aggregation Entertains 1,500 People; The Score Nine to Seven. The Girls Afraid to Play Ball Very Hard Because They Might Spoil Their Clothes—They Drink Oatmeal Water and Carry Sponges," *Topeka State Journal* (12 July 1892), 3.

[135] [No Title,] *Atchison Daily Globe* (26 Aug 1892).

[136] "Telegraphic Notes," *Daily Republican* [Decatur, IL], (25 Sept 1895), 6.

[137] "Female Base Ballists: Make a Kick for Wages and Attach Property," *Wheeling Register* (6 Jun 1892), 6. Bruckner is the same man who took a woman's baseball team to Cuba the following year.

[138] "Local Gleanings," *The Castilian* [Castile, NY], (n.d., circa 6 Sep 1892) [Fulton.org, .pdf #299]; "Sporting World: Summary of Interesting Events in the Fields of Sport," *Oswego Daily Times* (6 Sep 1892), 2.

[139] "Lady Base Ball Players," *Wichita Beacon* (3 Sep 1892), 4.

[140] A study based on the census of 1900 found that almost a quarter of all working women were servants or waitresses. Textile workers and farm laborers made up the next largest groups. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Statistics of Women at Work* (Based on Unpublished Information Derived From the Schedules of the Twelfth Census: 1900) (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1907). Thanks to M. Ann Hall for bringing this source to my attention.

[141] Meyerowitz, pp. 34-37. "Those Girls In Bloomers. Big Crowd of Sioux City People Sees Them Play Ball. Had Fully 2,000 Spectators. It was the largest Attendance in the History of Boyer's Park—The Pitcher Is a Crackerjack and the First Base-'man' a Good One—A Successful Tour," *Sioux City Journal* (IA), (30 Aug 1895), 3.

[142] "The Field Day: Some Fair Records Made Yesterday; Interesting Bicycle Races; The Female Baseball Club a Fake; The Deception Severely Criticized," *Fresno Morning Republican* (31 May 1894), 3.

[143] Nelson (Clementine Brida) was from the Austrian Tyrol. In June 1896, another (presumably) Italian female baseball player was one of the featured attractions at the annual Italian picnic at Rockaway beach in Syracuse. "Great Day for Italy: Big Finale and Athletic Events Held at Rockaway Beach," *Syracuse Daily Journal* (30 Jun 1896), 10.

[144] The vast majority of women who joined barnstorming baseball teams in the nineteenth century came from working class backgrounds. The fact that newspapers occasionally reported on the daughters of wealthy families running away to join the teams implies that this was out-of-the-ordinary and, thus, newsworthy. The working-class roots of a New York-based barnstorming team were hinted at when they played a charity game against a group of clerks in Natick, Massachusetts in June 1894. They earmarked the proceeds of the game for the support of striking lasters at a local factory. "Girls Help Strikers," *Boston Journal* (4 Jun 1894), 7. Dateline: Natick, Mass. June 14. The lasters were on strike against J.W. Walcott & Co.

[145] "Novel Football Game: Two Female Teams to Play Under Association Rules," *San Francisco Evening Call* (6 Nov 1893), 3. Though the article uses the term "Football," it is clear it is describing soccer. Two of the players had played in matches in Canada and England and others joined who were "anxious to develop their latent kicking proclivities."

[146] In addition to reporting on the travels of the Boston Bloomer Girls in 1895, the local Cherokee newspaper was carrying articles about barnstorming female baseball teams at least as early as June 1890. See, for example, "Condensed News," *Weekly Cherokean-Democrat* [Cherokee, IA] (18 Jun 1890).

[147] "In Central New York: All Around Us," *Ostego Farmer* [Cooperstown, NY], (29 April 1898), 1; "Diamond Dust," *Richfield Springs Mercury* [NY], (5 May 1898).

[148] "The Athletic Girl," *(Philadelphia) Sunday Item* (24 Dec 1893).

[149] "Biographical Sketch of Mrs. Harry S. Truman," Harry S. Truman Library & Museum web site. http://www.trumanlibrary.org/bwt-bio.htm. Bess Truman was born in 1885 in Independence, Missouri. She was the oldest of four children and the only daughter. Truman's daughter, Margaret, recalled her mother's exploits on the boys' team in: Jean Ardell, *Breaking into Baseball: Women and the National Pastime* (Carbondale, IL: Southern

Illinois Univ. Press, 2005), 36.

[150] Goodridge Wilson, *A Brief History of Marion College* (Published by the Class of 1948 and the Alumnae Association in Commemoration of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the College, 1948), 37.

[151] *New York Times* (14 Nov 1896), cited in: Venu Palaparthi, "1895 Cricket match between Mrs. Hazen's School and Rosemary Hall—A Historic First For Interscholastic Girls Sports," http://www.dreamcricket .com/community/blogs/usa_cricketer/archive/2009/06/10/1895-cricket -match-between-mrs-hazen-s-school-and-rosemary-hall-a-historic-first-for-interscholastic-girls -sports.aspx. Pelham Manor and Rosemary Hall completed in annual cricket matches at least through 1898. Reference to the team at Prospect Hill appeared in the *Boston Post* and was reprinted in the *Iasco County Gazette* (Michigan), (28 May 1874); The photo of a female baseball team at Mrs. Hazen's School taken in 1896 is available at: Blake A. Bell, "Baseball in Late 19th Century Pelham," *The Pelham Weekly*, Vol. XIII, No. 17, (23 Apr 04), 8. http://historicpelham.blogspot.com/2010 /02/photograph-of-only-known-19th-century.html.

[152] "Baseball For Girls: The Philadelphia Fad May Encompass the Whole Country," *Jackson City (Mich.) Patriot* (27 Jul 1896), 5; Same article appeared in the *Muskegon Chronicle*, (1 Aug 1896), 5.

[153] "Girls On The Diamond. Germantown Maidens Who Can Give the Phillies Pointers". *Wilkes-Barre Times* (30 Jun 1897), 3.

[154] Cooke named his estate after the Sandusky Indian chief he considered a childhood mentor and role model. The Chestnut Street Female Seminary leased Cooke's estate and operated there until 1916 when it moved to a 54-acre location in Abington Township and expanded to include a primary school, high school, and junior college. https://www.libraries.psu.edu/psul/digital/ogontz/estate.html.

[155] Courtesy of the Penn State University, Abington College Library, Ogontz School for Girls Archive Collection.

[156] "The Month," *Ogontz Mosaic* (April 1895), 12. Penn State Abington Library, Ogontz School collection. The school archives has three photographs of baseball teams as well as lists of players and game results from 1898-1933. Archivist, Lillian Hansberry, e-mail to author, 29 Aug 2008.

[157] Given his interest in promoting indoor baseball in the Chicago area, it is likely that Walker also taught in his school's physical education department. It was not unusual at the time for high school teachers to be dual hatted as physical education teachers. This practice continued well into the twentieth century even as physical education became increasingly professionalized.

[158] Milo S. Walker, "Indoor Base Ball for Women," *Spalding's Athletic Library Official Indoor Base Ball Guide* (New York: American Sports Publishing Co., Feb 1903). http://www.lostcentury.com/1903-womens-softball.html.

[159] Walker, "Indoor Base Ball for Women."

[160] J. R. Street, "A Study in Moral Education," *The Pedagogical Seminary*, 5.1 (1897).

[161] Abolitionist and women's rights advocate, Sarah Grimké, sometimes closed her letters with the phrase, "Thine in the bonds of womanhood." Grimké likened the onerous bondage of Southern slaves with the unrelenting overt and covert pressure on women to submit to subservient roles in society. Young girls growing up in the nineteenth century understood that, while they might enjoy the latitude to explore many "masculine" activities as children, they would have to abandon those pursuits as adults if they wished to maintain society's approbation. See: Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: 'Woman's Sphere' in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997). While gender roles evolved throughout the nineteenth century, the expectation that young girls would eventually "put away childish things" (I Corinthians 13:11) and conform to appropriate gender roles as adults remained constant. For insights into how middle-class women still found ways to influence activities beyond the home see also: Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the MIddle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*

(Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1981), esp. Chapter 5, 186-225.

[162] [No Title], *The [Bryn Mawr] Lantern* (1897), 11.

[163] Millicent Peirce Potter, "Athletics at Wellesley," *The American Athlete*, 1.1 (April 1897): 1.

[164] Photo courtesy of Michel Archives & Special Collections, Converse College. Potter, 1; the Smith College archives includes team photographs and letters from students mentioning baseball in the 1890s; Athletic California Girls in the Rain. A Sprightly Account of a Game Played on the Quiet—Bloomers and All the Paraphernalia—They Slide Bases in the Mud," *Kansas City Star* (14 Feb 1897), 7; The Mills College Archives includes a team photograph from 1898; "Territorial News," *Weekly Phoenix Herald* (24 Mar 1898), 4; "How Women's College Girls Play Ball," C*leveland Plain Dealer* (7 May 1896), 5; Converse College (opened 1890) began producing yearbooks in 1897. The yearbooks include photographs of the Class baseball teams.

[165] Class Book, [1891], 16. The students also mentioned baseball in the first issue of the college newspaper. *The Mount Holyoke* 1.1 (Jun 1891). MHCLA.

[166] "Field Day Sports: University Notes," *Grand Forks Herald* (7 May 1893), 4. Note, the article listed only the last names or initials of the players. Full names were extrapolated from UND catalogues.

[167] "Nubs of News," *Grand Forks Herald* (13 May 1893), 8. The paper quotes the *Minto Journal*: "The girls at the State University, Grand Forks, are right in it. They have a base ball nine and Miss Walther of our city is the pitcher."

[168] "Freshman Banquet," *Kalamazoo Gazette* (13 May 1893), 1. Dateline: "Ann Arbor."

[169] "College Cullings," *The Echo* 9.11 (20 Apr 1897): 114. Olivet College Archives (OCA).

[170] "Umpire Safe Here. Olivet College Girls Will Play Base Ball. And Falling Hairpins or Untied Shoe Laces Will Not Stop the Game," *Grand Rapids Press* (15 May 1897), 7.

[171] Joan S. Hult, "The Philosophical Conflicts in Men's and Women's Collegiate Athletics," In David K. Wiggins, ed., *Sport in America: From Wicked Amusement to National Obsession*, (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1995): 301-317;

[172] Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven & London, Yale Univ. Press, 1982), 14.

[173] "The Game of Battle Ball. It is the Invention of a Boston Doctor," *Kansas City Star* (21 Apr 1894), Supplement; "Harvard. An Athletics Shake-Up—Battle Ball With Annex Girls," *New York Herald-Tribune* (20 May 1894), 22; "Female Foot Ball. Boston University Fair Ones Play Battle Ball . . .," *Boston Journal* (26 Jan 1895), 1.

[174] "Trained to Bend Oars; Dimpled Arms of Fair Collegians for Rival Crews. The New Game of Baseball; It is Called Lang and Was Designed Solely for Feminine Players . . .," *Washington Post* (12 Apr 1896), 19.

Notes to Conclusion

[1] Zane Grey, "Inside Baseball," *Baseball Magazine*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Aug 1909): 11.

[2] William A. McKeever, *Training the Boy* (1913), 13; quoted in Michael S. Kimmel, "Baseball and the Reconstitution of American Masculinity, 1880-1920," in Michael A. Messner and Donald F. Sabo, eds., *Sport, Men, and the Gender Order: Critical Feminine Perspectives* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Books, 1990): 61.

[3] This phrase from Little League Baseball's charter is quoted in: Sarah K. Fields, *Female Gladiators: Gender, Law, and Contact Sport in America* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 2005), 20.

[4] Little League Baseball argued in a 1972 lawsuit brought by the National Organization of Women that girls and boys needed separate "islands of privateness" where each could develop properly. Cited in: Fields, 23. Fields thoroughly documents the intensely emotional, gendered rhetoric generated by the lawsuits brought by teenage girls against Little League Baseball's ban on female players. See esp. pp. 21-32.

[5] Quoted in: Fields, 25.

Notes to Appendix A

[1] William S. Bryan and Robert Rose, A History of the Pioneer Families of Missouri (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Co., 1876), 223. Thanks to Jeff Kitel for bringing this reference to my attention. Kitel reports that Sally Tice was born around 1812 and was married by 1834. The game she played with school boys would have been a precursor of baseball brought to the region by settlers like Tice's father, John, who settled in Warren county in 1809. E-mail to author, 24 Aug 2013. The first confirmed reference to females playing baseball in Missouri is in 1875 when Frank Myers hired some women from St. Louis to join his Blondes and Brunettes troupe for an exhibition there on 18 September 1875.

[2] [James Jarves], "Sports in Honolulu," *The Polynesian* (26 Dec 1840). Item 1840.38 on SABR's Protoball site. Posted by George Thompson. Earliest confirmed date for girls playing the New York style game of baseball was at Punahou School in 1875 where four teams comprised of 21 female students, aged 15-19, and two teachers played at least two baseball matches. *Tally-Book of the Punahou Base-Ball Club* (Oct 1869-Feb 1875); Henry Poor, Tally Keeper; Punahou School Archives, Honolulu, HI. Thanks to Joyce Salmon for providing information on Punahou School baseball teams and players.

[3] Elias Molee, *Molee's Wanderings, An Autobiography* (private printing, 1919), 34. Cited in Tom Altherr, "Coed Cat Games in Wisconsin in the Early 1850s," *Originals*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Jan 2011), 2. The earliest confirmed reference to females playing baseball in Wisconsin is: "Manitowoc, Wis., has a female base ball club known as the Striped Stockings. But the girls will stop when running the bases to fix their bustles." "General News," *Jackson Citizen Patriot* [MI] (25 May 1876): 3.

[4] Emphasis on *the* in original. Francis Henry Guiwits, letter to the editor, *Harper's Weekly* (5 Nov 1859): 707. Guiwits was a 27-year-old dentist living in Avoca, New York at the time.

[5] "Muscle Looking Up," Austin, Harriet, N., Dr. and Jackson, James. C., Dr., eds., *The Letter-Box*. Vols. 1 and 2, 1858-9, (Dansville, NY: M. W. Simmons, 1859), 99. Article reprints a letter from abolitionist and feminist, Francis Dana Barker Gage. Gage specifically mentions baseball earlier in the letter.

[6] "Commencement Exercises," *Sacramento Daily Union* (12 Jun 1862), n.p. Thanks to Mary Brandt for bringing this article to my attention. Contemporary newspapers made reference to boys and men playing "at ball" to describe baseball games during the same period.

[7] "Harrisettes," *Daily Evening Bulletin (Philadelphia)* (25 Nov 1865), 4. Earliest confirmed reference is: "Pittsburgh boasts of several female base-ball clubs."[7] *Reading Times* (30 Sep 1871), 2.

[8] Reminiscence of Kate Stevens. Undated. Reminiscence of Grace Aspinwall. Undated. Both documents provided by the archivist of Miss Porter's School to the author in 1990.

[9] "Miscellaneous Items," *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune* (23 Jul 1867), n.p. [Lib of MI]. "At Home and Abroad," *Jersey Journal* (29 Jul 1867), 2.

[10] Henry Chadwick, *Ball Players' Chronicle* (25 Jul 1867), quoted in: Federal Writer's Project, Illinois: Work

Project Administration, *Baseball in Old Chicago*, (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1939), 8-9.

[11] Quoting the *McConnelsville Herald*: [No Title], *Highland Weekly News* (Hillsborough, Ohio) (5 Sep 1867). Thanks to Jeff Kittel for bringing this article to my attention.

[12] This (possibly fictional) letter from a young boy was reprinted in numerous newspapers. The earliest known appearance is: "Boys and Girls—A Composition By a Large Boy," *The Mexico (New York) Independent* (18 Mar 1868), p. 1. The earliest confirmed date when females played baseball in Massachusetts is 1872 when Alice Stone Blackwell and fellow female students at Harris Grammar School organized teams. Blackwell made numerous references to baseball in her childhood journal. Marlene Deahl Merrill, ed., *Growing Up in Boston's Gilded Age; The Journal of Alice Stone Blackwell, 1872-1874,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

[13] "Indiana News," *The Indianapolis Journal,* (2 Nov 1868), p. 3. Thanks to Craig Waff for bringing this team to my attention. Articles about this team appeared in numerous newspapers.

[14] Charles W. Hurd to his uncle, Charles H. Berry; written from the West Lebanon Academy, in West Lebanon, Maine, (8 Apr 1869).

[15] *The National Chronicle* (30 Oct 1869), 259.

[16] "Gleanings," Evening Courier And Republic [Buffalo, NY] (18 Jun 1872), . Also in: Jackson Citizen Patriot (3 Jul 1872), San Francisco Bulletin (6 Jul 1872), Geneva (NY) Gazette (12 Jul 1872), Appleton's' Journal of Literature, Science and Art (21 Sep 1872) and Oregonian (29 Sep 1872). The identity of the player and her team are unknown.

[17] Milt Riske, "Ladies and Diamonds—Out West—And They Weren't Always 'Ladies' on the Old Barnstorming Tours," (August 1978). Miscellaneous clipping in the files of the NBHoF archives. Source of article is unknown.

[18] "Miscellaneous Items," *Essex County Republican (Keeseville, NY)* (22 May 1873), [Northern NY Library Network Newspapers].

[19] "New Hampshire," *The Lowell Daily Courier* (11 July 1874), 1.

[20] "State New," *State Agricultural Journal* [Raleigh, NC] (27 Aug 1874), 7.

[21] [No Title], *New York Sunday Mercury* (9 Jan 1876). Shared with 19cBBGroup by Richard Hershberger on 20 Jun 2014. It is unlikely students were playing baseball in Kentucky in January. This article was probably a reprint of earlier articles.

[22] Letter from Isabel Hill to mother, Alice Hill, and father, Nathaniel Hill, from Providence, Rhode Island, 4 June 1876. Phil Zaret, "The Culinary Database," Hill Family entry. Manuscripts Division, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. Thanks to Phil Zaret for bringing this letter to my attention.

[23] Advertisement appeared in the *New Orleans Times* on 27 May 1879 and 1 Jun 1879. These teams were organized in New Orleans.

[24] "Noteworthy Contests of 1883," *New York Clipper,* (29 Dec 1883), 693.

[25] "Base Ball Notes," *The Glendive (MT) Times* (10 May 1884), 3.

[26] "North Denver Notes," *Rocky Mountain News* (8 Jun 1884), 4.

[27] "Items of News," *Boston Investigator* (15 Oct 1884), 6. Reprinted in: "Chaff," *Colman's Rural World* [St. Louis, MO] (30 Oct 1884), 348; "Feminine Gossip, *Lowville (NY) Journal & Republican* (6 Nov 1884), 1.

[28] Anne Marie Boren Bigelow, born 1873, Utah. Cited in: David Nevar, "Town Ball" website: http://webpages.charter.net/joekuras/townball2.htm. (Accessed 12 Aug 2014).

[29] "Through the State: Items of Interest from Interior Exchanges," *Wheeling Register* (28 Oct 1885), 1.

[30] "Brief Mention," *Bismarck Daily Tribune* (17 Nov 1886), 1.

[31] "Flashes From the Diamond," *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle* (12 Aug 1888), 7. It is uncertain who organized this team and whether it ever made the planned barnstorming tour.

[32] "Base Ball Bites," *San Antonio Daily Light* (12 Apr 1889), 1. It is uncertain whether the team contemplated for San Antonio ever materialized. Women in Galveston and Houston had female teams by 1896. "Railway Interests," *Galveston Daily News (Houston)* (22 Jul 1896), 3. Female barnstorming teams regularly traveled to Texas in the 1880s and 1890s.

[33] "Baltimore Girls Play Ball," *Kansas City Star* (3 Oct 1889), 4.

[34] Goodridge Wilson, *A Brief History of Marion College* (Published by the Class of 1948 and the Alumnae Association in Commemoration of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the College, 1948), 37. Lizzie Painter attended Roanoke College in Salem, VA. Though a number of barnstorming female baseball teams played games in Virginia during the nineteenth century, no evidence of female residents of Virginia playing the New York version of baseball during the nineteenth century has yet come to light.

[35] "Courierlets," *Blair Courier* (27 June 1891), 8.

[36] "Short Stories: A Batch of Paragraphs Mostly on Town Happenings," *Cheyenne Daily Sun* (16 Aug 1892), 3.

[37] "Celebrating the Fourth: Negro Women Play Base Ball at Brisbane Park," *Columbus Daily Enquirer* [GA] (5 Jul 1894), p.1. Dateline: Atlanta, July 4.

[38] Per Jeffrey R. Willis, Director of Archives & Special Collections, Converse students enjoyed many sports during the late nineteenth century, including bowling, basketball, tennis, and baseball. The school archives has a number of photographs of school baseball teams, including one in the 1897 yearbook.

[39] [No Title], *Phoenix Weekly Herald* (20 Jan 1898).

Notes to Appendix B

[1] Emphasis on *the* in original. Francis Henry Guiwits, letter to the editor, *Harper's Weekly* (5 Nov 1859): 707. Guiwits was a 27-year-old dentist living in Avoca, New York at the time.

[2] "Muscle Looking Up," Austin, Harriet, N., Dr. and Jackson, James. C., Dr., eds., *The Letter-Box*. Vols. 1 and 2, 1858-9, (Dansville, NY: M. W. Simmons, 1859), 99. Article reprints a letter from abolitionist and feminist, Francis Dana Barker Gage. Gage specifically mentions baseball earlier in the letter.

[3] "Commencement Exercises," *Sacramento Daily Union* (12 Jun 1862), n.p. Contemporary newspapers made reference to boys and men playing "at ball" to describe baseball games during the same period.

[4] "Harrisettes," *Daily Evening Bulletin (Philadelphia)* (25 Nov 1865), 4.

[5] Team rosters and firsthand accounts of the teams are available in the Vassar College archives.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Reminiscence of Kate Stevens. Undated. Reminiscence of Grace Aspinwall. Undated. Both documents provided by the archivist of Miss Porter's School to the author in 1990.

[8] "Miscellaneous Items," *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune* (23 Jul 1867), n.p. [Lib of MI]. "At Home and Abroad," *Jersey Journal* (29 Jul 1867), 2.

[9] "Local and Incidental," *Constantine Weekly Mercury & St. Joseph County Advertiser* (8 Aug 1867), 3. [Lib of MI].

[10] "Sporting," *Albany Evening Journal* (12 Jul 1867), p. 2. Newspapers across the country carried reports of this team, particularly after Henry Chadwick mentioned it in his new publication, *Ball Players' Chronicle*, on 18 Jul 1867).

[11] Henry Chadwick, *Ball Players' Chronicle* (25 Jul 1867), quoted in: Federal Writer's Project, Illinois: Work Project Administration, *Baseball in Old Chicago*, (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1939), 8-9.

[12] [No Title], *Wellsville Free Press* (4 Sep 1867), 3. See also: [No Title], *Rochester Evening Express* (21 Sep 1867), p. 3 and "Facts and Fancies," *Daily Evening Bulletin (Philadelphia)* (25 Sep 1867), p. 1. Thanks to Priscilla Astifan for bringing this team to my attention.

[13] Quoting the *McConnelsville Herald*: [No Title], *Highland Weekly News* (Hillsborough, Ohio) (5 Sep 1867). Thanks to Jeff Kittel for bringing this article to my attention.

[14] "Out Door Sports," *Newark Daily Advertiser* (16 Sep 1867), 2. Article identified the teams in Bordentown, N.J. as the Belle Vue and Galaxy. In her autobiography, journalist Jeannette L. Gilder wrote about playing on these baseball teams which she identified as the Fair Views and Galaxy. She stated that the teams played only for themselves—not for spectators. See: Jeanette L. Gilder, *The Autobiography of a Tomboy* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1900), 287-289.

[15] Numerous newspapers carried this story beginning in late October. Amaret [Amorette] Howard did not die from playing baseball. She succumbed to Typhoid Fever after a brief illness. "The Daily Avalanche," *Memphis Daily Avalanche* (11 Nov 1867), 1. Thanks to John Kovach for bringing these accounts to my attention.

[16] "Girl Base Ball Clubs," *Utica Morning Herald* (17 Oct 1867).

[17] Quoted in: Peter Morris, *Baseball Fever: Early Baseball in Michigan* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 196.

[18] This (possibly fictional) letter from a young boy was reprinted in numerous newspapers. The earliest known appearance is: "Boys and Girls—A Composition By a Large Boy," *The Mexico (New York) Independent* (18 Mar 1868), 1. The reference to a "Large Boy" may be a hint that the story was actually written by an adult as comical fiction. See also: [No Title], *Central Press (Bellefonte, PA*) (19 Jun 1868), 1; "Girls.—A Composition By a Small Boy," *Tioga County Agitator (Wellsboro, PA)* (24 Jun 1868), 4; "Humors of the Day: A Very Small Boy's Composition—Subject, 'GIRLS,'" *Harper's Weekly* (4 July 1868): 427.

[19] Women's rights activist, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, was the first to report on these teams. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Letter to *The Revolution*, written from Peterboro, 1 Aug 1868. Published in *The Revolution* (6 Aug 1868), 65-66. A longer account of the teams appeared in: "The Last Sporting Sensation: A Female Base Ball Club at Peterboro," *New York Clipper* (29 Aug 1868), 163 and "Sporting: …Remarkable Female Base Ball Match—Something New," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (29 Aug 1868), 4 and "The Last Sporting Sensation," *Syracuse Courier and Union* (31 Aug 1868).

[20] "City Intelligence: On Dits," *Commercial Advertiser* (New York City) (1 Sep 1868), 3; "Female Club in Brooklyn," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (10 Sep 1868), 2. This team does not seem to have been organized. Reporters may have confused the advertisements at Tony Pastor's Opera House in late August and early September for a

female baseball performance with an actual female team.

[21] "Indiana News," *The Indianapolis Journal,* (2 Nov 1868), 3. Thanks to Craig Waff for bringing this team to my attention. Articles about this team appeared in numerous newspapers.

[22] Charles W. Hurd to his uncle, Charles H. Berry; written from the West Lebanon Academy, in West Lebanon, Maine, (8 Apr 1869).

[23] "Base-Ball," *Cincinnati Enquirer* (28 Sep 1869). There is no definitive proof that these were teams of women. They may have been men's teams taking a dig at women who had just staged a major Woman's Suffrage Convention in Cincinnati earlier in the month. A roster of the teams gives only last names and some initials.

[24] "All Shapes and Sizes," *Bangor Daily Whig & Courier* (8 Nov 1869). Information on this team appeared in numerous sources, including the *Chicago Tribune* (12 Oct 1869), the *Chicago Times* (22 Oct 1869), the *National Chronicle* of Boston (30 Oct 1869), and *Oliver Optic's Magazine* (20 Nov 1869).

[25] [No Title], *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (3 Nov 1869), 2.

Notes to Appendix C

[1] "Items of Interest," *Kokomo Tribune* (8 Sep 1870), p. 3; "State Items," *Fort Wayne Daily Gazette* (13 Aug 1870), 1.

[2] "Afternoon Topics," *Critic Record* [Wash DC] (1 Aug 1870), 4; "Current Notes," *The Morning Oregonian* [Portland, OR] (15 Aug 1870), 2. The teams are also mentioned in: *The Houston Daily Union* (18 Aug 1870), *Wisconsin State Journal* (16 Sep 1870), and *Sacramento Daily Union* (23 Sep 1870).

[3] "Ladies at the Bat," *Chicago Tribune* (17 Aug 1870), 4. See also: "Illinois From the Cars," *Rockford Weekly Register-Gazette* (17 Sep 1870), p. 7 and [No Title], *NY Clipper* (3 Sep 1870), 173.

[4] The quip was printed in dozens of newspapers across the country as early as 15 Sep 1870 in the *Waterloo (IA) Courier* and the *Freeborn County Standard* [Albert Lea, MN] and as late as 25 Nov 1870 in the *Plattsburg (NY) Sentinel*.

[5] "Girls as Ballists," *NY Clipper* (26 Nov 1870): 266.

[6] Ibid.

[7] "News Items," *Schoharie (NY) Union* (20 Jan 1871), n.p. This quip may be a reference to teams of school girls mentioned by the *NY Clipper* in Nov 1870.

[8] "Papers, Men and Things," *Cambridge City* [IN] *Tribune* (27 July 1871), 1; [No Title], *Jasper (Ind.) Weekly Courier* (21 Jul 1871), 4.

[9] "Fourth of July: Under the Auspices of the Evanston Ladies' College Association," *The Tripod* (1871), 79. Reprinted in: "Chapter 3: Willard and Northwestern: The Evanston College for Ladies," *Radical Woman in a Classic Town Frances Willard of Evanston*. Digital resource. Northwestern University Archives. http://exhibits.library.northwestern.edu/archives/exhibits/willard/chapter_3.pdf. Accessed 12 Nov 2012. It is not known whether the team from Northwestern was composed of men or women. It was probably men; there were very few women enrolled at Northwestern in 1871.

[10] The Indianapolis Journal, (23 Aug 1871), 3

[11] [No Title], *Daily Illinois State Journal* (7 Sep 1871). Bruce Allardice post to 19cBB Protoball site.

http://protoball.org/Original_Club_of_Elgin_%28Ladies%29. Accessed 4 Sep 2014. See also: "News and Political Items," *Cambria Freeman* [Ebensburg, PA] (30 Sep 1871), 2.

[12] *Reading Times* (30 Sep 1871), 2.

[13] Thanks to Dorothy Mills Seymour who brought this information to my attention. Seymour found numerous references to baseball in Alice Blackwell's childhood journal. It is available in: Marlene Deahl Merrill, ed., *Growing Up in Boston's Gilded Age; The Journal of Alice Stone Blackwell, 1872-1874,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

[14] "Gleanings," Evening Courier And Republic [Buffalo, NY] (18 Jun 1872), p. 1. Also in: Jackson Citizen Patriot (3 Jul 1872), San Francisco Bulletin (6 Jul 1872), Geneva (NY) Gazette (12 Jul 1872), Appleton's Journal of Literature, Science and Art (21 Sep 1872) and Oregonian (29 Sep 1872). The identity of the player and her team are unknown.

[15] Information reported in: "History of the Mills College Athletic Association, 1899-1927." Cited by Gai Berlage, "Sociocultural History of the Origin of Women's Baseball at the Eastern Women's Colleges During the Victorian Period," *Cooperstown Symposium on Baseball and the American Culture (1989),* Alvin L. Hall, ed. (Oneonta, NY: Meckler, 1989): 105. Mills Seminary did not become Mills College until 1885.

[16] Milt Riske, "Ladies and Diamonds—Out West—And They Weren't Always 'Ladies' on the Old Barnstorming Tours," (August 1978). Miscellaneous clipping in the files of the NBHoF archives. Source of article is unknown.

[17] "Facts and Figures," *Woman's Exponent* Vol. 1, No. 23 (1873), 184.

[18] "Miscellaneous Items," *Essex County Republican (Keeseville, NY)* (22 May 1873), [Northern NY Library Network Newspapers].

[19] Chauncy Hall was a prestigious school that trained the children of Boston's elite. Thanks to Dorothy Mills Seymour who brought the information about Alice Stone Blackwell's baseball playing to my attention.

[20] "Whittier College, Iowa," *The Woman's Journal: Boston, Chicago and St. Louis* (22 Nov 1873), 370.

[21] [No Title], *Iasco County (MI) Gazette*, (28 May 1874), n.p. Reprinted from the *Boston Post*.

[22] "New Hampshire," *The* Lowell *Daily Courier* (11 July 1874), p. 1. [Fulton].

[23] "State New," *State Agricultural Journal* [Raleigh, NC] (27 Aug 1874), 7.

[24] *Tally-Book of the Punahou Base-Ball Club* (Oct 1869-Feb 1875); Henry Poor, Tally Keeper; Punahou School Archives, Honolulu, HI. Thanks to Joyce Salmon for providing information on Punahou School baseball teams and players.

[25] "State Notes," *Elk County Advocate* [Ridgway, PA] (17 Jun 1875), 3.

[26] "State News," *Reading Times* (9 Jul 75), 2.

[27] Sophia Foster Richardson, "Tendencies in Athletics for Women in Colleges & Universities," A Paper Presented to the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, October 31, 1896, *Appleton's Popular Science Monthly* 50 (February 1897): 526. According to Harold (and Dorothy Mills) Seymour, *Baseball: The People's Game* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 447, Vassar's "Chronological List of Important Events" lists three baseball clubs in 1875—the Sure-Pops, the Daisy-Clippers, and the Royals.

[28] "Female Base Ball Club," *Inter-Ocean* [Illinois], (18 Sep 1875), 5.

[29] [No Title], *New York Sunday Mercury* (9 Jan 1876). Shared with 19cBBGroup by Richard Hershberger on 20 Jun 2014. It is unlikely students were playing baseball in Kentucky in January. This article was probably a reprint of earlier articles.

[30] [No Title], *The Bucks County Gazette* [Bristol, PA], (24 Feb 1876), 2. Also reported in the *St. Louis Republican*, (27 Feb 1876).

[31] "Base Hits," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (12 Mar 1876), 6.

[32] "Suburban: Jacksonville," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (29 Apr 1876), 3.

[33] "Journal State Jottings," *Logansport Journal* [Indiana]. (18 Apr 1876), 2.

[34] "General News," *Jackson Citizen Patriot* [MI] (25 May 1876), 3.

[35] Beginning in May, exercise classes moved outdoors and students were given the choice of walking, gardening, boating, or playing croquet or "ball." "Annual Report of the Department of Physical Training 1875-1876," Lilian Tappan to President John H. Raymond, June 1876, Vassar College Special Collections; the summer program was described at length in: "Home Matters," *The Vassar Miscellany* 5 (July 1876), 769, 773-775. It included several references to baseball. "College Notes," *The Vassar Miscellany* 6, no. 1 (Oct 1876), 56, reported that the clubs had been "consolidated and reorganized.

[36] [No Title], *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (21 Jun 1876), 2.

[37] Letter from Isabel Hill to mother, Alice Hill, and father, Nathaniel Hill, from Providence, Rhode Island, 4 June 1876. Phil Zaret, "The Culinary Database," Hill Family entry. Manuscripts Division, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. Thanks to Phil Zaret for bringing this letter to my attention.

[38] "Miscellaneous Items," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (20 Jul 1876), 1.

[39] "Town News," *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle* (4 Aug 1876), 4. Thanks to Priscilla Astifan for bringing this article to my attention.

[40] "Lightning Flashes," *Evening Telegram* [New York]. (23 Sep 1876), 2.

[41] Unidentified clipping. Likely from a New York City paper dating from May 1877 based on other items on the page.

[42] "Annual Report of the Department of Physical Training 1876-1877," Lilian Tappan to President John H. Raymond, June 1877, Vassar College Special Collections.

[43] "Local News," *Neodesha Free Press* (13 Jul 1877), 2. [KSHS].

[44] "Local News," *Edwards County Leader* (21 Jun 1877), 3. [KSHS].

[45] "Fredonia Items," *Neodesha Free Press* (6 Jul 1877), 3. [KSHS].

[46] "State Items," *The North American* (Philadelphia) (28 Jul 1877). See also: "Female Base Ball Club: Who Wants to Umpire It?" *Harrisburg Daily Independent* (16 Jul 1877), 1.

[47] "Local News," *Neodesha Free Press* (14 Sep 1877), 2. Neodesha and nearby Fredonia, KS had female baseball nines during the summer too. See "Local News," *Neodesha Free Press* (13 Jul 1877), 2. It is uncertain whether these teams were related to those that played over the summer in Neodesha.

[48] "Some Base Ball Notes," *Auburn Daily Advertiser* (17 Jan 1878): 4; "City News and Gossip," *Syracuse*

Sunday Times (27 Jan 1878),

[49] "The News," *Plattsburgh Daily Republican* (26 Jan 1878), 2. News appeared in many other papers as well.

[50] The first report of this team appeared as "Phoenix," *Oswego Daily Times* (26 Apr 1878). As other newspapers picked up the story they omitted the word "county" after Oswego, leading to the erroneous report that the team was in Oswego, instead of Phoenix, New York. Report that the players would play a men's nine appeared in: "The Country 'Round: News About the State," *Evening Auburnian* [Auburn, NY], (30 Apr 1878), 1. It is possible that two different teams, one composed of school girls and one composed of adult women, were playing in the county at this time.

[51] "Poem, Prophecy and History," *1878 Class Book*, [Vassar College], 23. Vassar College Special Collections.

[52] "Jottings," *Daily Telegraph* [Harrisburg, PA], (18 Jun 1878), 4; "State Items," *The North American* (Philadelphia) (28 Jun 1878).

[53] *Marquette Mining Journal* (29 Jun 1878), cited in Morris, *Baseball Fever*, 196.

[54] This team was likely fictional. The story of this team, written by James Bailey, a reporter for the *Danbury News* appeared in newspapers across the country from June-September 1878. It was also reprinted (with an illustration) as "The Female Base Ball Nine," in a compendium of humorous stories called, *Mark Twain's Library of Humor* (New York: Charles Webster & Co., 1888), 126-129.

[55] "County News," *The Free Press* [Skaneateles, NY] (29 Jun 1878).

[56] "State News," *Milwaukee Daily News* (8 Aug 1878), 2.

[57] "Petticoats in the Ball Field: Female Base Ballists at Play—The Fat Blonde Who Batted the Pitcher—A Ball Breaks Up the Game," *Inter Ocean* [Chicago, IL] (14 Aug 1878), 3.

[58] "Wit and Humor," *Waukesha* [WI] *Freeman* (21 Nov 1878), 1.

[59] "Sporting Matters," *Lowell Daily Citizen* (27 Mar 1879).

[60] "Female Base Ball," *Cleveland Plain-Dealer* (25 Jun 1879), 1. Dateline: *Philadelphia Times*, 24 Jun 1879).

[61] Advertisement appeared in the *New Orleans Times* on 27 May 1879 and 1 Jun 1879.

[62] [No Title], *Boston Post* (9 Jun 1879). Also: "State News: Waldo County," *Portland (Maine) Daily Press* (6 Jun 1879), 3.

[63] "Mere Mention," *The Cedar Rapids Times* (31 July 1879), 3.

Notes to Appendix D

[1] Mary Charlotte Alexander and Charlotte Peabody Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1891*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941), 344.

[2] Susan Rhoda Cutler, Letter to the Editor, dated May 12, 1890 from Buffalo, New York. Published as: "Base-Ball For Girls," *Woman's Journal* (24 May 1890), 162.

[3] "Wit and Humor," *The Daily Chronicle* [Marshall, MI] (2 Jan 1880), 1.

[4] The Smith College archives includes a number of contemporary references to these teams in player journals

and letters. One letter, written about 50 years after-the-fact by a former player, Minnie Stephens [Allen], stated that the teams were organized "way back in Seventy-Nine." There is no evidence the teams were organized in the Fall of 1879. They were organized during the Spring term in 1880. Minnie Stephens 1883 papers, Smith College Archives, Northampton, Massachusetts.

[5] "Michigan," *Fort Wayne Daily Gazette* (19 May 1881), 6.

[6] The *Earlhamite* [school literary journal], (May 1881), 188. Thanks to Thomas Hamm, school archivist for bringing this article to my attention. Word of the team at Earlham also appeared in: "Bat and Ball," *Syracuse Daily Courier* (13 Jun 1881). This paper erroneously identified the location of Earlham as Ohio. It is actually in Richmond, Indiana, just across the Ohio border.

[7] "North Edmeston," *Brookfield Courier* (9 Nov 1881).

[8] [No Title], *The Weekly Courant* [Randolph, NY]. Date extrapolated from other articles on the page.

[9] "Items in Brief," *Quincy Daily Herald* (7 May 1882), 4. Players named their teams the Striped Stockings and Fancy Stockings.

[10] "Noteworthy Contests of 1883," New York Clipper 31, no. 41, (29 Dec 1883): 693.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] "Strange Clubs," *The Cleveland Herald* (7 Apr 1883), 6.

[15] "State News," *Indianapolis News*, 21 May 1883, 1. Thanks to Craig Waff for bringing this article to my attention. The same article appeared in the *Logansport (IN) Pharos* (22 May 1883), 4. According to Erin Strobel, Spencer County Public Library, Rockport was home to Rockport Academy which later changed its name to the Rockport Collegiate Institute. After it closed in 1873, the city of Rockport purchased the building and grounds and opened Rockport High School. E-mail to author, 25 May 2011.

[16] "Female Base Ballists: A Game That Did Not Come Off; Scenes at Lamokin Woods," *Chester Times* [Chester, PA], (18 May 1883), 3; "Miss Harris's Base-Ball Nine: Dusky Dolly Vardens of Chester Give an Exhibition," *New York Times* (18 May 1883), 1. [Quoting the *Philadelphia Times.*] John Thorn identifies the organizer of these two teams as John Lang in *Baseball in the Garden of Eden*, 193.

[17] "A Novel Game of Base Ball Between Teams of Colored Girls," *Daily Times* [New Brunswick, NJ], (30 May 1883), 1. [Quoting the *Philadelphia Press*].

[18] "Around the Circle," Titusville Herald (11 Jun 1883), 4; "Neighboring News," *Daily Gazette* [Niagara Falls, NY], (29 Jun 1883), 1.

[19] "Noteworthy Contests of 1883," *New York Clipper*, (29 Dec 1883), 693.

[20] "Emporium," *Sunday Morning Herald* [Olean, NY], (29 Jul 1883), 5.

[21] The teams played in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Maryland, Massachusetts, Ohio, Kentucky, Missouri, and Illinois. The team had a game scheduled for Connecticut as well but it is uncertain whether it was ever played. The number of spectators is conservatively estimated based only on games in which newspapers commented on the size of the crowd. The largest single attendance was the 4,000-5,000 who saw the game in Cincinnati, Ohio on Sunday, November 11th.

[22] "It Would Be Well," The Herald [Quincy, IL] (7 Aug 1883), 3; "It May Be Remarked That," The Herald [Quincy, IL] (8 Aug 1883), 3; "Items in Brief," The Herald [Quincy, IL] (23 Aug 1883), 3.

[23] [No Title], *Watkins Express* [Watkins Glen, NY] (30 Aug 1883). Note, although these teams have the same name as Wilson's Philadelphia-based teams, they are not the same teams. Wilson's teams were in Philadelphia during the week of August 20 when the Almond, New York teams played each other. It is uncertain whether this was another barnstorming organization or merely two pick-up teams playing each other.

[24] [No Title], Fort Wayne Daily Sentinel (25 Aug 1883), 3.

[25] Cited in Jane H. Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls: The Victorian Origins of American Girlhood*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002). Hunter found mention of a number of nineteenth century high school girls baseball teams in school newspapers.

[26] "Good Girls vs. Good Boys," *(Honolulu, HI) Saturday Press* (12 Jan 1884), 4.

[27] Photo is in the Mount Holyoke College Library/Archives.

[28] "Base Ball Notes," *The Glendive (MT) Times* (10 May 1884), 3.

[29] "North Denver Notes," *Rocky Mountain News* (8 Jun 1884), 4.

[30] "Items of News," *Boston Investigator* (15 Oct 1884), 6. Reprinted in: "Chaff," *Colman's Rural World* [St. Louis, MO] (30 Oct 1884), 348; "Feminine Gossip, *Lowville (NY) Journal & Republican* (6 Nov 1884), 1.

[31] Ruth F, letter to the editor. "The Letter Box," *St. Nicholas* 13, no. 2 (May 1886), 556. Ruth was 14 years old when she played on the team the previous year. She stated that she and her friends "played very nicely and enjoyed the fun." While she realized that many of the magazine's readers "may think this a funny game for girls to play," she and her friends found it to be excellent exercise.

[32] *The Police Gazette*, (18 July 1885). No record of Wellesley students organizing baseball teams in 1885 has yet surfaces, but it is possible that the illustration was published in response to word that students *were* playing baseball. It may also have been wholly fictitious—an effort to discredit the woman's college by implying that its students were becoming so unsexed "like real little men" that they would organize baseball teams.

[33] It is uncertain whether Tunniston succeeded in his plan to lead a barnstorming female team through Texas. An article in the *Galveston Daily News* (7 Mar 1885), 3, states that J.E. Reily, manager of Pillot's Opera House, had returned from a visit to New Orleans where he made arrangements with a female baseball club to play at the Fair Grounds in Galveston for a week. See also: "Base Ball: The Farewell of the Females," *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, (11 Jan 1885), 10; "The Female Nines," *New Orleans Daily Picayune* (12 Jan 1885), morning edition, 1.

[34] "City and County News," *Alton (IL) Evening Telegraph* (5 May 1885), 3.

[35] "Local Paragraphs," *The Morning Review* [Decatur, IL] (10 June 1885), 3; "City News," *Quincy Daily Journal* (8 June 1885), 4.

[36] "'[Akron] Beacon' Letters: Tallmadge," *Summit County Beacon* (10 Jun 1885), 3. The game was going to be played at a picnic to celebrate the end of the school term.

[37] Concord *Volunteer*. Cited in Hunter, 237.

[38] "Through the State: Items of Interest from Interior Exchanges," *Wheeling Register* (28 Oct 1885), 1.

[39] Pearl Emerson and May Hamilton (aliases) played for a men's nine in a game at Evansville, Indiana on 28 July 1886. The injury was reported in: "Accident to Female Base Ballists," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (29 July

1886), 4. Dateline was Evansville, Indiana, July 28. It is not known whether Hamilton survived the accident. Emerson reappears in the late 1886 and part of 1887 living with Wilson in Kansas City.

[40] *Class Book* of 1886, 25. The players listed in the article in the Class Book are Louisa Cutler, Mary Goodenough, Orianna "Anna" Fitch, Harriet Prescott, and Marietta A. "Etta" Freeland. All but Freeland had played on the team depicted in an 1884 photo.

[41] [No Title], *Weekly Gazette (Tuskegee, AL)*, (20 Feb 1886), quoted in Rhoda Coleman Ellison, *History of Huntingdon College, 1854-1954*, (U of Alabama P, 1954), 131-132.

[42] A sample of articles about these teams: "The New Ball-Tossers: Giddy Girls on the Diamond at Central Park," *Daily Alta California* (5 Feb 1886), 1; (Reprinted in the *Salt Lake Democrat* (11 Feb 1886), 3; "Baseball," *Daily Alta California* (8 Feb 1886), 2; [No Title], *(San Francisco) Call* (20 Feb 1886); [No Title], *New York Clipper* 33, no. 49, (Date?): 779; "Brief Notes: Female Baseball Tossers," *Sacramento Daily Record-Union* (18 Feb 1886), 3; "Female Ball-Tossing: A Large Crowd Soon Gets Satisfied with the Performance," *Sacramento Daily Record-Union* (22 Feb 1886), 3. Info on Guttman (or Gutman) is from: "Victor E.M. Gutmann: An Account of the Ramifications of the Champion Dead Beat..." *Daily Alta California*, (11 Aug 1886), 2.

[43] "Moorefield," *Springfield (OH) Globe-Republic* (5 May 1886), 1. Dateline: Bowlusville, May 4.

[44] "Iowa Items," *Omaha Daily Bee* (17 Jun 1886), 4.

[45] "Pahn Lee's Ball Nine: Young Ladies Play in It, and There is Nothing Nicer in Norwich," Boston Daily Globe (16 Aug 1886), 6. [NA] Dateline: Norwich, August 14. A portion of the article reprinted in: [No Title], Sporting Life (25 Aug 1886), 5.

[46] "Married vs. Single Ladies at Base Ball," *Kalamazoo Gazette* (26 Sep 1886), p. 3; [No Title], *New York Clipper* 34, no. 29 (2 Oct 1886): 457.

[47] "Brief Mention," *Bismarck Daily Tribune* (17 Nov 1886), 1.

[48] [No Title], *Wichita Globe* (18 Mar 1887), 4. "In Galt, Cal., all the high-school girls play ball with the young men."

[49] [No Title], *Chicago Daily Tribune* (30 May 1887), 4. There is a good chance that this article was planted by Sylvester Wilson who used the tactic on many occasions to promote his teams. There is no evidence he got a team organized for 1887. He spent the next two years publishing newspapers (and scamming various individuals out of money) in Kansas City.

[50] "The Girls and Boys Play Ball: A Victory for the Former, Though the Score Doesn't Show It," *Chicago Tribune* (5 July 1887), 1. The female team had one male player. The teams split the gate money. All the players were from Chicago; some had experience playing baseball and others did not. The game was so poorly played that many of the spectators left after only a few innings.

[51] "Pacific Coast Items," *Daily Evening Bulletin (San Francisco)* (13 Aug 1887).

[52] [No Title], *Titusville Herald* [PA], (5 Sep 1887), 3. There is an Asbury Beach in Asbury Park, NJ., 388 miles east of Titusville. Note the sarcasm in the report that the girls pitch but only "occasionally" catch the baseball.

[53] [No Title], *Mount Kisco Recorder* [NY] (13 Apr 1888), 2.

[54] "News Summary," *Potsdam (NY) Courier & Freeman* (2 May 1888); "Utica's Female Base Ball Club," *Sandy Creek (NY) News* (3 May 1888), 1; "Utica's Female Base Ball Club," *Utica Daily Observer* (4 May 1888), 8; "Dew Drops and Rainbow Flies," *Boston Globe* (4 May 1888), 5; "Base Hits," *Lowell Daily Courier* (5 May 1888). Newspapers from as far away as Omaha and Atchison, Kansas carried reports of the team. "Sweet Things in Base

Ball Costume," *Omaha Daily Bee* (14 May 1888), 4; [No title], *Atchison Daily Globe* [KS] (19 May 1888), 2.

[55] "Kansas State News," *Nicodemus Cyclone* (13 Jul 1888), 2.

[56] "Vicinity," *Watkins (NY) Democrat* (19 Jul 1888).

[57] "Flashes From the Diamond," *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle* (12 Aug 1888), 7. It is uncertain who organized this team and whether it ever made the planned barnstorming tour.

[58] "Female Base-Ballists: The Latest' Fake' Proposed for Los Angeles," *Los Angeles Times* (29 Aug 1888), 1.

[59] "Children's Christian League," *Bangor Daily Whig & Courier* (22 Feb 1889), 3. The President's address to the girls was not a scheduled part of the formal program. He read a "short sketch" about an unnamed female base ball club before recommending that they abandon their own plans to organize a team.

[60] "Short-Notes," *Canaseraga (NY) Times* (8 Feb 1889).

[61] "Base Ball Bites," *San Antonio Daily Light* (12 Apr 1889), 1. It is uncertain whether this team ever materialized.

[62] "North and Northwest," *Atchison Daily Champion* (28 May 1889), 2.

[63] [No Title], *Emmet County Republican* [Estherville, IA] (27 Jun 1889), n.p.

[64] Chicago's *Sporting and Club House Directory* for 1889 carries the following ad for Wilson's team: "Young Ladies Base Ball Club and Revival of the Ancient Grecian-Roman Open-Air Pastimes for Women. Wanted, at all times, young and handsome girls who can play ball. Liberal salary and all expenses to the right people." Another ad appeared in: "Amateur Base-Ball," *Daily Inter Ocean (Chicago)* (9 Jun 1889), 11. Reports of the team's demise appeared in: "A Female Baseball Club Disbands," *Daily Picayune* (8 Dec 1889), 14. Article was reprinted from the *Atlanta Constitution*, 3 Dec. Article on the game against the Colored men's nine appeared in: "Little Locals," *(Lock Haven) Evening Express* (28 Sep 1889), 1.

[65] "Base Ball Matters," *Manistee Democrat* (19 Jul 1889), 1.

[66] "Female Ball Players: How They Knocked Luke Kenney All Over the Diamond," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, (23 Jul 1889), 6. The article goes on to report: Yesterday afternoon, while at practice, Luke Kenney, of 191 Buffalo avenue, happened to pass. The two women picked Luke up for a ball and knocked him all over the field with base ball bats. Kenney objected to this sort of treatment and procured the arrest of the two Marys. This morning they were arraigned before Justice Kenna and held for trial on a charge of assault."

[67] "Base Ball Extraordinary," *McPherson Daily Republican* (30 July 1889), p. 3; [No Title], *McPherson Daily Republican* (31 Jul 1889), 2 & 3; [No Title], *Wichita Daily Journal* (1 Aug 1889), 1; [No Title], *McPherson Daily Republican* (1 Aug 1889), 3; [No Title], *McPherson Daily Republican* (6 Aug 1889), 3. The male and female teams were captained by Professors Hulse and Patterson. There was a Normal School in McPherson that had 157 students and a men's baseball team. McPherson College was also in town. It had 103 students in 1889. It is not known where Hulse and Patterson taught but, given the fact that none of the articles specifically stated that the teams were affiliated with one of the Colleges leads to the assumption that these were simply pick-up games organized by students, faculty, and, possibly, local youth.

[68] [No Title.] *Fort Worth Daily Gazette* (10 Aug 1889), 4. Given the quip about angry females and an unprotected umpire, it is quite possible that the reporter was reacting to the news about the two teams in McPherson, Kansas and simply exaggerating to make a joke. But, given the history of women's baseball teams in Kansas, it is also equally possible that the reporter knew about sixteen teams for a fact.

[69] [No Title], *Thomas County cat. (Colby, KS)* (15 Aug 1889), 5. The article refers to a campus and a school

building but does not specify which one. The fact that teachers are "attending" rather than just teaching at the institution leads to the assumption that it is some sort of Normal School or College rather than a high school or grammar school.

[70] Article reprinted from the *Washington Post*. "Our Girls Are Just Great," *Alton (IL) Daily Telegraph* (Tuesday, 13 Aug 1889), 4. Same article reprinted in: "Our Girls Are Just Great," *The Cambridge [OH] Jeffersonian* (22 Aug 1889), .

[71] "Camp Shafter: Lady Visitors Distinguish Themselves at Baseball…." *Sacramento Daily Record-Union* (23 Aug 1889), 2. [Special Correspondence of the *Record-Union*.] Dateline: Camp Shafter, August 21, 1889.

[72] Howard Fielding, "The Girls Play Ball. A Woeful Story of an Unfortunate Man Who Umpired for Them: The National Game in Feminine Hands; It is Much More Dangerous Than a Sewing Circle But Not Quite so Scientific. Copyright 1889," *Kalamazoo Gazette* (15 Sep 1889), 7. It is likely, given the reference to "Copyright 1889" that this is a fictitious account of female baseball teams. However, other newspaper articles, particularly in the 1890s, indicate that wealthy men and women often played baseball together at summer resorts. Fielding may have had knowledge of these types of teams and simply based his fictional story on those. His account makes fun of the poor skills and athleticism of female baseball players and is accompanied by comical illustrations making fun of their attempts to play the national pastime.

[73] "It is a Woman's Game," *Pittsburg Dispatch* (23 Sep 1889), 5. The article is quoting Sylvester F. Wilson as he seeks to convince the public that his female baseball troupe is a respectable operation.

[74] "Baltimore Girls Play Ball," *Kansas City Star* (3 Oct 1889), 4.

Notes to Appendix E

[1] Photo is dated between 1880s-1910s but based on the clothing worn, I estimate it was taken in the 1890s. Available online through Historical New England. http://www.historicnewengland.org/collections-archives-exhibitions/collections-access/collection-object/capobject?gusn=GUSN-194813&searchterm=baseball.

[2] Photo is in the collection of the Penn State Abington Archives.

[3] "Personal," [From Wednesday's *Daily*.] *Weekly Register-Call (Central City, CO)* (25 Apr 1890). Nevadaville was a mining town located in Gilpin County, about one mile from Central City. The 1890 Census reported a population of 933.

[4] S.E.R., "The Girls' Nine," *The Woman's Journal* 21, no. 17 (26 Apr 1890), 134.

[5] "The Ladies to the Front," *Weekly Register-Call (Central City)* (9 May 1890).

[6] [No Title], *Sandusky Daily Register* [Ohio], (9 May 1890), 4. This team was organized by Sylvester Wilson, using the alias, W. S. Franklin. Either the article was mistaken when it called the team the Young Ladies' Athletic Club of Cincinnati or that was one of the terms Wilson used to advertise games. One article refers to the team as The Young Ladies' Base Ball Nine, of Chicago." A team photo used to promote games called the team: Young Ladies' Base Ball Club No. 1. Many of the players were recruited in Cincinnati.

[7] The ad announcing the proposed league appeared in: "A Disgraceful Move: Introducing Females Into Professionalism; A Speculator's Proposal to Organize a League of Female Baseball [Teams]" *The Sporting Life* (30 Aug 1890), 8. The announcement of the teams incensed one woman enough that she enclosed the ad in a letter sent to *The Sporting News* in which she railed against women who tried to supplant men in sports and business. "Girls and Base Ball: A St. Louis Lady Enters Her Protest Against the Newly Organized Ladies League—And She Hopes That Organization Will Not be Allowed to Display Itself in Any of the St. Louis Parks—A Most Entertaining Article," *The Sporting News* (20 Sep 1890). Miscellaneous clipping in the files of the National Baseball Hall of

Fame Library.

[8] "Female Base Ballists Are Angry: Their Manager Skips Out and Leaves Them Forty Cents," *Chicago Tribune* (9 Jun 1890), 3.

[9] "Tom's Chat: Female Base Ballists," *Utica Sunday Tribune* (8 Jun 1890). There is no word on whether the team ended up playing other teams as it had hoped.

[10] "The Two Dakotas," *Omaha Daily Bee* (8 July 1890), 4.

[11] [No Title], *Atchison Daily Globe* (25 Jul 1890).

[12] "For Women's Eyes: Things That Will Interest The Feminine Mind," *Albany Evening Journal* (16 Aug 1890), 6.

[13] "'Lady Champions' at Ball: Disgraceful Sunday Exhibition With the Allertons at Monitor Park, Weehawken," *New York Herald* (1 Sep 1890), 6. The teams were named the Whites and Reds.

[14] "Sporting Odds and Ends," *Yenowine's Illustrated News* (Milwaukee) (6 Sep 1891), 7. This article, written after Wilson's arrest for abduction claimed that "the four clubs under his management have been disbanded." Only three of the team names are known for certain. It is possible the reporter mistakenly assumed that other barnstorming teams, such as the Cincinnati Reds, were Wilson's teams. The Young Ladies Base Ball Club, which toured for a brief time in Iowa with Wilson's advance agent, Benjamin D. McFadden, who was also the father of one of Wilson's players, disbanded after only a few games. McFadden tried to get his daughter to jump her contract and go home with him. McFadden later turned on Wilson, testifying against him at Wilson's abduction trial that fall. "Iowa Notes," *Omaha World Herald* (11 Jun 1891), 4; "Libbie Sunderland's Abduction: More Witnesses Pile Up Testimony Against the Female Base-Ball Manager," *The North American* (Philadelphia) (10 Oct 1891), 4.

[15] *The Mount Holyoke*, (Commencement Issue), (June 1891): n.p. Mount Holyoke College Library/Archives. Students referred to their team as "our first base ball club." They hoped to compete with "nines of other colleges" the following year. This did not happen.

[16] It is not known whether this team was ever organized. [No Title], *Emporia Daily Gazette* (13 Jun 1891).

[17] "Vicinity Notes," *Caledonia Advertiser* (18 Jun 1891). This was not one of Wilson's teams and does not seem to have been a barnstorming team. The article went on to say that the girls kept the dates of their games secret from the press.

[18] "Female Base Ball Clubs," *Omaha World Herald* (28 June 1891), 10. The article lists the players' names.

[19] "Nebraska Sporting Notes," *Omaha World Herald* (9 Aug 1891), 7.

[20] "Belles at the Bat: Society Girls Play Base-ball, with a Preacher Acting as Umpire." Daily Inter Ocean, (13 July 1891), n.p. [GB]. Springfield, Ohio, July 12, *Special Telegram*; "Had a Parson for an Umpire: The Belles of an Ohio Town Play Base Ball with Their Lovers," *Chicago Herald* (13 July 191) 6. "Society Girls Play Ball: The Men Play with Left Hands—The Umpire a Minister," *Macon (GA) Telegraph* (14 Jul 1891), p. 1; [No title], *Pennsylvania Patriot* (15 Jul 1891), 3; "Women in Base Ball: Respectable Ladies to Spoil Their Hands at the Sport," *Sporting Life* (18 Jul 1891), 1. The articles went on to report that the women did not intend to "make a public exhibition of themselves" by traveling around the country to play; they had organized the team solely for exercise.

[21] Reported in: Michael T. Snyder, "Ladies' Team Drew Large Crowd to Special Game," *The Mercury* (5 June 2005), E-1 and E-3.

[22] "Catch-Penny Affairs: The Effort to Make a Little Money Out of Base Ball Side Shows," *Sporting Life* (1 Aug 1891), 12. It is uncertain whether these teams were ever organized.

[23] Reported in: Snyder, "Ladies' Team . . ."

[24] "State News," *Oswego Daily Times* (10 Aug 1891), 1.

[25] "Time Tower Talk: About What the Watch Makers are Doing in the Mill," *The Morning Star*, [Rockford, Illinois] (Sunday, 16 Aug 1891), 1. Rockford was home to the Rockford Watch Company in the nineteenth century.

[26] "Brief Mention," *Oswego Daily Times* (n.d.—circa 21 Aug.). Johnson is 134 miles west of Oswego, leading to the assumption that this was some sort of barnstorming female team.

[27] ADVERTISEMENT. *Philadelphia Inquirer* (30 Sep 1891), 6. It is uncertain whether this team was ever organized.

[28] Photo depicts nine young women wearing long dresses, holding a bat, ball, and catcher's mask. It appears to be a House team. The photo could have been taken anytime between the Fall of 1891 and the Spring of 1895. SCA.

[29] "'Come In On The Hit': Pretty Girls in Westwood, N. J., Have Great Sport at Baseball," [South Carolina] *State* (6 Oct 1891), 3. [Article reprinted from]: *New York World*. This is a lengthy article that gives many of the players' names and states that they were from the best families in town. It also describes a game played between the girls team and the boys team on 5 Oct 1891.

[30] An article for the "Ladies Base Ball Club" published in March 1901 states that the club was preparing for its tenth season. By this time, the team is being called the New England Bloomer Girls. Advertisement, *St. Louis Republic* (27 Mar 1901). Includes record for each season between 1892 and 1900.

[31] "Female Baseball Nine: A Scheme Knocked in the Head by the Authorities; Only Girls Between the Ages of Fourteen and Sixteen Years Wanted by the Management—A Queer Outfit," *Los Angeles Times* (7 Mar 1892), 8. The *Los Angeles Times* identified Doyle as the previous manage of the Main Street dime museum. He had already lured at least three girls to join his club with the promise of $30 per month for one game a week. Requirements were for girls to be older than 14 but younger than 16 and "thoroughly developed." Doyle trolled employment offices for girls. Humane Society officials found a notice on a bulletin board at the employment office on Second street seeking three girls to play baseball for $90 per month.

[32] "Nebraska Sporting Notes," *Omaha World Herald* (13 Mar 1892), 13; "Nebraska Sporting Notes," *Omaha World Herald* (27 Mar 1892), 9; "Nebraska Notes," *Omaha World Herald* (12 Jun 1892), p. 11; "Nebraska Sporting Notes," *Omaha World Herald* (21 Aug 1892), 7.

[33] "Local News Brieflets," *Wisconsin State Register (Portage, WI)* (30 Apr 1892), 3; "Editorial Views, News, Comment," *Sporting Life* (7 May 1892), 2.

[34] [No Title], *Union Springs Advertiser* [New York], (28 Apr 1892). Also, [No Title], *Havana (NY) Journal* (7 May 1892).

[35] On 2 May 1892, Anne Marie Paul (Class of 1894), Captain of the Wallace House Base Ball Nine, wrote a letter challenging the Hatfield House Base Ball Nine to a 5-inning game on 4 May. Smith College Archives, Northampton, Massachusetts. On 9 May 1892, teams comprised of freshmen and sophomores played against each other. This game was covered in numerous newspapers as far away as Chicago. In an article about Senda Berenson's arrival at the college in 1892 to take over the physical education program, Edith Hill wrote that "baseball of a sort was an after-supper fad" that year. Edith Naomi Hill, [Editor of the *Smith College Alumnae Quarterly*] "Senda Berenson: Director of Physical Education at Smith College, 1892-1911," *Research Quarterly of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation* 12, supplement *(Oct 1941): 600.* Cited in: Martha H. Verbrugge, *Able-Bodied Womanhood* (New York: Oxford UP, 1988), 182.

[36] "Hard Lines for Female Baseball: The Girl Ball-Players Had to Stop Swing Bats," *(New York) World* (25 Apr 1892), 1. Dateline Paterson, N.J. Describes the opening day game; identifies the manager as R. Charles Johnson

and states that the team is based in New York and gave exhibitions throughout the country the previous year. "Sports and Sport: Wouldn't Allow the Girls to Play," *Wheeling* [WV] *Register* (26 Apr 1892), 3. This article notes that police forbad the team identified as Lillie Arlington's Cincinnati Reds from playing at College Point, Long Island the previous day due to protests from the women of the village.

[37] "Denver's Feminine Ball Players," *Rocky Mountain News* (30 Apr 1892), 2. "Chased the Flies: The Young Women Put in a Lively Afternoon at the Broadway Athletic Park . . .," *Rocky Mountain News* (23 May 1892), p. 3 included illustrations of the players in action. "Female Ball Game: The Denver Team Will Cross Bats With the Capitols Sunday," *Cheyenne Daily Sun* (25 Jun 1892), 3, notes that the team traveled in a private railroad car and that it had just added a new battery engaged from back east.

[38] Examples of articles. [No Title], *Emporia Daily Gazette* (26 May 1892); "Amusements," *Wichita Daily Eagle* (28 May 1892), 5; "General Notes," *Buffalo Courier* (12 Aug 1892), p. 8. R.C. Johnson, John E. Nolen, and James A. Arlington were arrested in Kansas City on August 29th after stealing the gate money from a game in Winston, Missouri. "Ran Away With the Cash," *Emporia (KS) Daily Gazette* (29 Aug 1892); [No Title], *Atchison Daily Globe* (2 Sep 1892).

[39] [No Title], *Alton Evening Telegraph* (3 Jun 1892), 3. Note that this team wanted to play other women's teams in the vicinity. Advertising for games in newspapers was common practice for men's amateur nines as well.

[40] "South Dakota News," *Sun* [SD], (30 Jun 1892), 3.

[41] "Female Base Ballists," *Utica Sunday Tribune* (26 Jun 1892); "Observations," *Utica Daily Observer* (27 Jun 1892), 2; "'Twill be a Great Day: The Celebration To-Morrow Promises Great Things," *Utica Sunday Tribune* (3 Jul 1892); "The Female Base Ball Players," *Utica Daily Press* (5 Jul 1892), 1; "Sporting World: Summary of Interesting Events in the Fields of Sport," *Oswego Daily Times* (6 Sep 1892), 2. Dateline: Warsaw, Sept. 3

[42] Very little is known about this team apart from its appearance in Saginaw, Michigan in early July 1892. See: "Carrollton," *Saginaw News* [MI], (28, 29, 30 June and 1, 2, and 5 July 1892).

[43] "Short Stories: A Batch of Paragraphs Mostly on Town Happenings," *Cheyenne Daily Sun* (16 Aug 1892), 3.

[44] "Base Ball: Girls and Base Ball; A Girlish Description of a Game by Girls; An Umpire in White Lawn—A Home Plate Concealed by the Catcher's Petticoats, Etc.," *Sporting Life* (10 Sep 1892), 11.

[45] Annual Reports and Constitution of the Athletic Association of Bryn Mawr College. Report for the Year 1892-1893. Bryn Mawr College Archives. Calendar of Athletic Events lists one outdoor baseball game, played on October 12, 1892.

[46] Thanks to John Thorn for bringing this photograph to my attention. Available at: http://reflections.mndigital .org/cdm/singleitem/collection/penn/id/111/rec/186. Accessed 15 May 2014.

[47] The photo resides in the collection of the Penn State Abington Archives.

[48] Thanks to Bob Mayer for bringing this photograph to my attention. It is in his personal collection.

[49] Advertisement, *St. Louis Republic* (27 Mar 1901). Includes record for each season between 1892 and 1900.

[50] It is difficult to determine the exact date when Needham founded his team. An article in the *Sioux City Journal* (30 Aug 1895) stated that the Boston Bloomer Girls were organized in "the Hub" in May 1894 but articles in the *Sheridan Post* and *Arizona Republican* in 1897 stated that the team was in its fifth season while the *Utica Daily Press* stated in July 1902 said the team was on its tenth annual tour. These articles date the team to 1892. An article in the *Waterloo Daily Reporter* on 10 Sep 1902, and another in the *Kerkhoven* [Minnesota] *Banner* on June 3, 1904, state that the Boston Bloomer Girls team was organized by W. P. Needham in 1893; a photograph of the team in Deadwood, South Dakota in 1893 proves that they were playing games at least by 1893.

[51] "A Female Base Ball Club in Danger: Attacked by a Cuban Mob and One of the Players Hurt," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (6 Mar 1893), 10. Scores of newspapers across the country covered the incident. The U.S. State Department got involved as well. Enclosure #2 to Dispatch #1818 from U.S. Consulate General, Havana, Cuba to Assistant Secretary of State, William F. Wharton, Washington D.C. Official complaint of the American Female Baseball Club members to the Consul General in Havana, Cuba. National Archives. (Vol. 226, "Enclosures," pp. 498-501.) The dispatch included a copy of the letter sent by the U.S. Consulate General in Havana to the Governor General of Cuba on 10 March 1893.

[52] No additional information about this team has surfaced apart from a single newspaper article. "Freshman Banquet," *Kalamazoo Gazette* (13 May 1893), p.1. [GB] "Ann Arbor May 13 [special.]….Grand Ballet by co-ed base ball team all invited. Admission ten cents."

[53] "Field Day Sports: University Notes," *Grand Forks Herald* (7 May 1893), 4; "Nubs of News," *Grand Forks Herald* (13 May 1893), 8.

[54] [No Title], *Trenton Evening Times* (4 May 1893), 4. "Bloomfield has been billed for a game of base ball between the Chicago [Cincinnati?] 'Reds,' a female club and the Bloomfield boys' nine." Roster for the game included both Maude Nelson and Lizzie Arlington along with Lottie Livingston who had been on the team attacked in Cuba in March.

[55] "Atlantic Breezes: Echoes From Greenwich," *New York Herald* (9 Jul 1893), 14.

[56] "Young Women Play Ball," *Milwaukee Sentinel* (14 Aug 1893), 2; "Boys in Dresses: Female Base Ball Game a Great Big Fizzle," *Waukesha Freeman* (31 Aug 1893), 4.

[57] "The Girls Play Ball: And Entertained Quite a Crowd in Spite of the Rain," *Macon (GA) Telegraph* (22 Aug 1893), 2.

[58] "Girls Who Play Baseball: How Some Young Women at Lenox Amuse Themselves," *New York Times* (3 Sept 1893),. 12. "Lenox is Still Gay. Outdoor Sports Claim the Attention of the Younger Set: Events at Pittsfield," *New York Herald* (3 Sep 1893), 26. "[By Telegraph to the *Herald*]. Dateline: Lenox, Mass., Sept 2, 1893.

[59] Mills College yearbook for 1914-1915 cited by Gai Berlage, "Sociocultural History of the Origin of Women's Baseball at the Eastern Women's Colleges During the Victorian Period," 105.

[60] Advertisement. *St. Louis Republic* (27 Mar 1901). Includes record for each season between 1892 and 1900.

[61] "Girl Base Ball Players: Have a Mighty Struggle With the Fort Hamiltons; and the Men Were Mean Enough to Beat by a Score of No One Knows How Many to One. Some Sliding Done, but Precious Little Catching," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (6 May 1894), 7. This team seems to have links to the New York Champion Female BBC of 1892 and the American Female BBC of 1893 that travelled to Cuba. The manager of the three teams is called alternately Brucker, Bruckner, and Buckner and is likely the same person. Further indication of continuity is that three of the players on the 1894 team also played on the American Female BBC that travelled to Cuba in 1893 with "Bruckner."

[62] "How One of the Female Ball Nine Deserted Husband and Babes—Stuck on Being an Actress—She Tagged the Runner and He Hurt Her Arm," *Quincy* [IL] *Daily Herald* (8 Jun 1894), 8. Dateline: St. Louis, June 8.; "Female Ball Tossers: Game in Progress This Afternoon at the West Side Park," *Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette* (19 Jun 1894), 5; "The City in Brief," *Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette* 30 Jun 1894), 8.

[63] "Bloomer Girls vs. Gulfs," *Denver Evening Post* (6 Aug 1898), 5. Article reports that the team had been together for six seasons.

[64] "Girls Played Ball. Two Thousand People Watched Them Do It," *The (Jersey) Evening Journal* (3 Jul 1894), 6. It is uncertain how long this team lasted. Gordon's real name was Mattie Myers.

[65] *The Bomb*, 1895, [School yearbook.], n.p. Until 1925, members of the junior class published the school yearbook the year before they graduated but dated the cover with their Class year. Thus, although the date on the cover of the yearbook describing the female baseball teams is 1895, the book was actually published in 1894. According to the article in the yearbook, the teams were organized on "Decoration Day" [1894], as a "striking reminder" of a game of baseball played on the previous Saturday (26 May) with tennis rackets. Thanks to Becky S. Jordan, Reference Specialist, Special Collections/University Archives, Iowa State University for bringing this information to my attention. In 1959 this school was renamed Iowa State University of Science and Technology.

[66] "Miscellaneous," *Evening News*, [Ottawa, Kansas] (11 May 1894), 2.

[67] "Throngs in Central Park. It is Estimated That the Sunday Throng Numbered Fully Two Hundred Thousand Persons," *New York Herald Tribune* (11 Jun 1894), 4.

[68] "Girls Help Strikers," *Boston Journal* (4 Jun 1894), 7. Dateline: "Natick, Mass. June 14.

[69] "Celebrating the Fourth: Negro Women Play Base Ball at Brisbane Park," *Columbus Daily Enquirer* (5 Jul 1894), 1. Dateline: Atlanta, July 4.

[70] "Notes," *Rhinebeck (NY) Gazette* (21 Jul 1894).

[71] "Girl Baseball Players: They are Fond of the Sport and Wear Nice Costumes," *Grand Rapids Press* (11 August 1894), 7.

[72] The "sister college" is unnamed. "Athletics," *The White & Gold* [literary journal of Mills College], 1, no. 1 (Oct 1894), Special Collections, F.W. Olin Library, Mills College.

[73] Edith Naomi Hill Papers, Box #867, Folder #2, "Capen School Album." SCA.

[74] Milo S. Walker taught chemistry at the school. He, apparently did double duty as the physical education teacher as well. In 1903, Walker published "Indoor Base Ball for Women," *Spalding's Official Indoor Base Ball Guide* (Feb 1903) to encourage other schools to adopt the game for their female students. The *Police Gazette* illustration appeared in the issue of 16 Mar 1895. The caption read: "Female Students Play Baseball: Fascinating Girls in Bloomers and Sweaters Pitch, Bat and Make Runs, at Chicago, Ill." Thanks to David Block for bringing this illustration to my attention.

[75] Advertisement. *St. Louis Republic* (27 Mar 1901). Includes record for each season between 1892 and 1900. Lizzie Arlington is linked in several articles with a team alternately called the New York Stars and the New York Champion Female Baseball Club. It is possible that the YLBBC of NY was using different names this season. Arlington was still with the YLBBC of NY in 1901 though it seems to have been using the name, New England Bloomer Girls by that time.

[76] "Bloomer Girls vs. Gulfs," *Denver Evening Post* (6 Aug 1898), 5. Article reports that the team had been together for six seasons.

[77] Very little is known about these teams apart from articles about games in July. "Trilbies vs. Winonas: Two Games on the Fourth Result in a Tie," *Winona Daily Republican* (5 July 1895), 3 and "News of the States," *Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette* (31 July 1895), 2. Given the route of travel of the Boston Bloomer Girls this season, it is possible these articles were about the Boston Bloomer Girls team which does not appear in articles until July—also playing in Minnesota.

[78] "Kansas and Kansas," *Kansas City Times*. (11 Apr 1895), 4.

[79] "Girls Played Ball," *Rockford Morning Star* [Ill] (22 May 1895) 6. Article includes a roster of the female players.

[80] Advertisement, *Philadelphia Inquirer* [PA] (24 Jun 1895), 8.

[81] "Lively Times at Fox Lake," *Chicago Tribune* (18 Aug 1895), 14. Note that married and single women played on the team. The Lakeside Hotel was a resort on the shores of Fox Lake, about 50 miles northwest of Chicago.

[82] "Mere Mentions," *The Cherokee Democrat* [Cherokee, IA] (21 Aug 1895), 5. These were not native American "Cherokees," but rather female residents of Cherokee, Iowa.

[83] "Nebraska," *Omaha Daily Bee* (23 Sep 1895), 5.

[84] J.R. Street, "A Study in Moral Education," *The Pedagogical Seminary* 5, no. 1 (1897): 23. Street conducted his survey between 1895 and 1896 while a Fellow at Clark University. Of the 183 respondents, only 23 were young men. Average age of respondents was 17-21 years of age. This means that most of the female respondents likely played baseball well before 1895 since they were being asked about their activities while in school.

[85] Mildred S. Howard, "A Century of Physical Education," *Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (Feb 1936): 214.

[86] "Photograph of Only Known 19th Century Women's Baseball Team in Pelham, New York," Historic Pelham website. http://historicpelham.blogspot.com/2010/02/photograph-of-only-known-19th-century.html.

[87] Advertisement. *St. Louis Republic* (27 Mar 1901). Includes record for each season between 1892 and 1900.

[88] "Bloomer Girls vs. Gulfs," *Denver Evening Post* (6 Aug 1898), 5. Article reports that the team had been together for six seasons.

[89] "How Women's College Girls Play Ball," C*leveland Plain Dealer* (7 May 1896), 5.

[90] Annie E. P. Searing, "Vassar College," *Harper's Bazaar* (30 May 1896): 469.

[91] "Railway Interests," *Galveston Daily News* (22 Jul 1896), 3.

[92] Ad. *St. Louis Republic* (27 Mar 1901). Includes record for each season between 1892 and 1900.

[93] "Bloomer Girls vs. Gulfs," *Denver Evening Post* (6 Aug 1898), 5. Article reports that the team had been together for six seasons.

[94] Per Jeffrey R. Willis, Director of Archives & Special Collections, Converse students enjoyed many sports during the late nineteenth century, including bowling, basketball, tennis, and baseball. The school archives has a number of photographs of school baseball teams, including one in the 1897 yearbook.

[95] A lengthy account of this game appeared in: "Athletic California College Girls in The Rain. A Sprightly Account of a Game Played on the Quiet—Bloomers and All the Paraphernalia—They Slide for Bases in the Mud," *Kansas City Star* (MO), (14 Feb 1897), 7. Reprinted from the *San Francisco Examiner*.

[96] "News Briefly Told," *Semi-Weekly Interior Journal* [Stanford, KY], (12 Mar 1897), 2. Williamsburg, Kentucky is 74 miles south of Stanford, Kentucky.

[97] "Argentine Girls Play Ball. Several Clubs Already Organized and a Girls' League May Be Formed," *Kansas City(Missouri) Star* (18 Apr 1897), 6. Argentine, Kansas is about 9 miles southwest of Kansas City, Missouri and 6 miles west-southwest of Kansas City, Kansas.

[98] "College Cullings," *The Echo* 9, no.11 (20 Apr 1897): 113-114 [Olivet College Archives (OCA)]; "Umpire Safe Here. Olivet College Girls Will Play Base Ball. And Falling Hairpins or Untied Shoe Laces Will Not Stop the

Game," *Grand Rapids Press* (15 May 1897), 7; "A Notable Game of Baseball," *(New York) Evening Sun* (22 May 1897) reprinted in *Olivet Optic* (27 May 1897), 4 [OCA].

[99] "Educational Column," *Springport (MI) Signal* (21 May 1897), 4; "Jackson County News," *Jackson (Michigan) Citizen Patriot* (22 May 1897), 9.

[100] "Brief Mention," *Journal & Republican* [Lowville, NY] (10 Jun 1897), 5; "We and Our Neighbors: News and Notes From Nearby Towns," *Brookfield Courier* (23 Jun 1897), 4. Lowville is 83 miles north of Brookfield.

[101] "Girls On The Diamond. Germantown Maidens Who Can Give the Phillies Pointers". *Wilkes-Barre Times* [PA], (30 Jun 1897), 3. Germantown Academy was a boys' school in Germantown, a suburb of Philadelphia. The Friends' School was a coeducational girls' prep school in the same area and the Walnut Lane School was a girls' boarding school.

[102] [No Title], *Denver Evening Post* (20 Jul 1897), 4.

[103] "The Interviewed," *(Dodge City, KS) Globe-Republican* (15 Jul 1897), 4.

[104] "Odds and Ends of Gossip," *The News-Leader* [Springfield, KY] (29 Jul 1897), 1.

[105] Ibid.

[106] [Willard] Gibson Family Album, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. Call No. A.1.1897.2.

[107] See 1890s chapter for details.

[108] Ad. *St. Louis Republic* (27 Mar 1901). Includes record for each season between 1892 and 1900.

[109] "Bloomer Girls vs. Gulfs," *Denver Evening Post* (6 Aug 1898), 5. Article reports that the team had been together for six seasons. By 1898 Nelson was being billed as the "champion female pitcher of the world."

[110] Penn State Abington Archives for Ogontz School includes team member lists and results of games played between 1898 and 1933. Lil Hansberry, archivist, e-mail to author, 29 Aug 2008.

[111] Mills College Archives. The photograph includes the handwritten caption, "Our baseball wonders '98." It is possible this photograph depicts the baseball team for the Class of 1898 which means the photograph could be dated anytime between the Fall of 1894 and the Spring of 1898.

[112] [No Title], *Phoenix Weekly Herald* (20 Jan 1898).

[113] Report from Tucson *Star* reprinted in: "Territorial News," *Weekly Phoenix Herald* [AZ], (24 Mar 1898), 4.

[114] *The Pastorian* [Yearbook of the Germantown Friends School], 1898. E-mail from Carl Tannenbaum to Tim Wiles (Cooperstown Hall of Fame Library), 12 January 2015; forwarded to author.

[115] On 3 Jun 1898, Fanny Garrison (Class of 1901) wrote to her family, "To-day, I indulged in a game of base-ball—playing on a freshman team under May Lewis, against the Dickinson House. We won 13 to 12." Ethel Fish (Class of 1900) played on the "White Squadron team at Smith College in the Spring of 1898. Smith College Archives, Northampton, MA.

[116] This is speculation on my part, based on the fact that the school's yearbooks for 1897 and 1899 both contain photos of female baseball teams. The yearbook for 1898 is missing from the archives, but it appears likely that students would have also played in 1898.

[117] "In Central New York: All Around Us," *Ostego Farmer* [Cooperstown, NY], (29 April 1898), 1. Article reprinted from *Oneanta Star*. Also appeared in: "Diamond Dust," *Richfield Springs Mercury* [NY], (5 May 1898).

[118] Ethel Fish photo album. Smith College Archives, Northampton, MA.

[119] Rockford newspapers began publicizing the event as early as May 11th. They carried dozens of articles including: "Fares Please: Trolley Day Set for Saturday, June 4, By the Ladies' Aid Society," *(Rockford) Daily Register Gazette* (11 May 1898), 3; "Play Ball For Charity: Ladies will Essay National Game on Trolley Day; Two Captains are Named; Mrs. W. F. Barnes and Mrs. J. Stanley Browne to Lead the Teams—None But the Fair Sex Will Be in the Game," *(Rockford) Morning Star* (15 May 1898), 9; "Fair Ones in Game: The Ladies Who Will Play on Trolley Day; Have Plenty of 'Subs;' Not a Horrid Man to Participate—Tow Umpires and a Scorer Named—Practice Game to Be Played Daily—The Line Up," *(Rockford) Morning Star* (24 May 1898), 8; "Belles of the Ball: Dramatic Rendition of a Fantastic on the Diamond for Charity," *Daily Register Gazette* (4 June 1898), 7.

[120] Penn State Abington Archives for Ogontz School includes team member lists and results of games played between 1898 and 1933. Lil Hansberry, archivist, e-mail to author, 29 Aug 2008.

[121] Ad. *St. Louis Republic* (27 Mar 1901). Includes record for each season between 1892 and 1900.

[122] "Bloomer Girls vs. Gulfs," *Denver Evening Post* (6 Aug 1898), 5. Article reports that the team had been together for six seasons. By 1898 Nelson was being billed as the "champion female pitcher of the world."

[123] "Oil Tankers Book Bloomer Girls." *The Daily Review* [Decatur, Ill.], (6 Jul 1909), 5. Dateline: Taylorville, July 6. Article stated that the same Sunday Telegraph Bloomer Girls team that had been playing in Taylorville for the past ten years would be playing a game with the Oil Tank leaguers.

[124] Photo appears in the 1899 school yearbook.

[125] On 20 May, the Rockefeller and Porter Hall teams faced off in a baseball game. "College Notes," *The Mount Holyoke* (June 1899), 19.

[126] Rachel Studley to Smith College archivist, written sometime between 1916 and 1918. Studley names some of the players and describes the ball as being an official hard ball used in a game between the Amherst and Williams men's teams. Smith College Archives, Northampton, MA.

[127] "Items From Exchanges From Neighboring Towns," *Nashua (Iowa) Reporter* (18 May 1899), 5.

[128] "A Missing Partner: Lady Baseball Players' Manager Left With Cash; Levied on Bloomers; Manager Smithson of the Cricket Grounds Determined to Have his Share of the Receipts---Manager Franklin Arrested---His Partner Adams Is Missing." *Jersey Journal* (31 May 1899), 4.

[129] "Girl Ball Club: Two Clubs Organized, Miss Harriet Kinney Being Captain of One," *Kalamazoo Gazette* (4 Jun 1899), 1; "News and Notes," *Daily Telegram* (7 June 1899), 8.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography provides a sampling of the primary sources and secondary sources I consulted during my research on women baseball players. Many, but not all, of the primary sources listed here are cited in the text, but those citations comprise only a fraction of the thousands of articles I discovered in nineteenth-century newspapers and periodicals about female baseball players. Only the earliest article in each newspaper is cited despite the fact that a single publication (such as *The New York Clipper* and *Sporting Life*) may have published scores of articles referencing female baseball players. Many of the secondary sources have not been cited in the text but are listed to provide insights into the works I consulted to help put nineteenth-century female baseball players into a broader socio-cultural context. Due to the sheer volume of diaries, letters, newspapers, scrapbooks, yearbooks, etc. I consulted at various archives, I have not listed every single one cited in the thesis. Immediately following the section on secondary sources, there is a list of archives and digital tools used to write this thesis.

Primary Sources (Newspapers)

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MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATIONS VISITED:

National Archives (D.C.)
Kentucky Historical Society
Western Reserve Historical Society
New York City Municipal Archives
New York State Archives (Albany)
National Baseball Hall of Fame Library
Madison County Historical Society
Iowa Historical Society
Kansas Historical Society
Ohio State Historical Society
Kentucky Historical Society
Mount Pleasant (IA) Public Library
Salem (IA) Public Library
California State Library
Navarre (OH) Public Library
Akron (OH) Public Library
Free Library of Philadelphia
Library of Congress
Cincinnati Public Library
Cleveland Public Library
New York City Public Library
Elyria (OH) Public Library
Vermilion (OH) Public Library
Niles (MI) Public Library
Lansing (MI) Public Library
Kalamazoo (MI) Public Library
Free Library of Philadelphia
Carnegie Library (Pittsburg)
Dowagiac (MI) Public Library
Springfield (IL) Public Library
Cameron Park (CA) Public Library
Massillon (OH) Public Library
Binghamton (NY) Public Library

COLLEGE LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES VISITED:

- Bryn Mawr College Archives
- Case Western Reserve (OH) Archives
- Michigan State University Archives
- Mount Holyoke College Archives
- Ogontz College Archives@ Penn State Abington Library
- Olivet College (MI) Archives
- Smith College Archives
- Syracuse University Special Collections
- University of Iowa Archives and Iowa Women's Archives
- University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library
- University of Nebraska Archives
- Vassar College Archives
- Wellesley College Archives

ORGANIZATIONS AND HISTORIANS CONSULTED:

- NY Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children
- Punahou School (Honolulu, Hawaii)
- Evanston College Archives (Evanston, IL)
- Alabama College (Huntingdon College) Archives
- Converse College (Spartanburg, SC)
- Earlham College (Richmond, IN)
- Woman's College (Frederick, MD)
- Goucher College (Baltimore, MD)
- Mills College, (CA) F. W. Olin Library
- Miss Porter's School Archive (Farmington, CT)

- Marion College Archives (at Roanoke College, VA)
- Stoneleigh-Burnham School Library (Greenfield, MA)
- Oberlin College Archives (OH)
- University of North Dakota
- Pelham, NY Town Historian
- Spencer County (IN) Public Library
- Emma Willard School Archives
- Randolph-Macon College (VA)
- Spelman College (GA)
- Greensboro College (Greensboro, NC), Brock Historical Museum
- Sophie Newcomb College (New Orleans)
- Goucher College (NY)
- University of North Carolina at Greensboro Archivist
- Voorheesville Public Library Consulting Archivist (re: Wells College, NY)
- John Dyke (Expert on Weld & Grimke's Eagleswood School)
- John Thorn, Historian of Major League Baseball, expert on the early game
- David Block, author of *Baseball Before We Knew It*, expert on the early game
- Barbara Gregorich, author of *Woman at Play*
- Jean Ardell, author of *Breaking into Baseball*
- John Kovach, author of *Women in Baseball*
- Dorothy Seymour Mills, author and co-author of numerous books on baseball
- Priscilla Astifan, expert on early baseball in Rochester, NY
- Bill Rowan, Richardson County (NE) Historian (Tri-State Corners Genealogical Society)
- Mark Rucker, collector of photographs of female baseball players

DIGITAL NEWSPAPER RESOURCES UTILIZED:

http://www.ancestry.com/
http://atlnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/atlnewspapers/search
http://eagle.brooklynpubliclibrary.org/
http://www.chipublib.org/images/examiner/index.php
http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/
http://www.genealogybank.com/gbnk/
http://www.kshs.org/p/kansas-digital-newspaper-program/16126
http://newspaperarchive.com/
http://fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html
http://query.nytimes.com/search/sitesearch/
http://sgnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/sgnewspapers/search
http://www.neh.gov/us-newspaper-program
http://www.xooxleanswers.com/free-newspaper-archives/us-state-and-local-newspaper-archives/

OTHER DIGITAL RESOURCES UTILIZED:

- http://www.19cbaseball.com/field-10.html
- http://www.dvrbs.com/people/CamdenPeople-SylvesterFWilson.htm
- http://www.baseballlibrary.com/chronology/
- http://www.loc.gov/rr/news/topics/bloomergirls.html
- http://clio.fivecolleges.edu/
- http://search.la84foundation.org
- http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/moagrp/
- http://www.net54baseball.com/forumdisplay.php?f=5
- http://www.fold3.com/browse.php#43|
- http://protoball.org/
- http://sabrpedia.org/wiki/Main_Page
- http://vcencyclopedia.vassar.edu/
- http://www.worldvitalrecords.com/default.aspx