

The Baseball Fad in Chicago, 1865-1870: An Exploration of the Role of Sport in the Nineteenth-Century City

*Stephen Freedman**

One day during the summer of 1866, an editorial in the *Chicago Tribune* announced the arrival of the "Age of Baseball." "Men leave their business and go hundreds of miles and spend day after day in playing ball," declared the paper. "What does it mean?" To be sure, amateur baseball clubs had already existed in the East for twenty years, and as early as the late 1850's some writers had begun debating the merits of calling baseball the national pastime, Young midwesterners, however, were exposed to the game much more slowly. Chicago, a city of nearly 110,000 in 1860, supported only four private baseball clubs that year (considerably fewer than the number of clubs in cities along the Eastern seaboard); and with the outbreak of the Civil War, even these organizations disbanded for lack of members. But in the months following the end of the war, baseball's popularity skyrocketed. Whereas probably fewer than a hundred Chicagoans had played amateur baseball at the start of the 1860's, by the winter of 1866, Chicago had enough baseball players to support thirty-two clubs.¹

Chicago was not the only city to experience this dramatic increase in the popularity of baseball; nor was baseball the only sport to capture the enthusiasm of American city dwellers. Rather, the baseball fad in post-war Chicago represented but a single expression of a sudden nation-wide interest in sport, which was manifested to the greatest extent in America's urban centers.²

This paper examines the place of baseball in the culture of one commercial city, Chicago, during the years immediately following the

**Mr. Freedman is a Ph. D. candidate in the Department of History at the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.*

Civil War.³ Undoubtedly, a major reason for the increased support of the game was the fun and excitement which baseball provided for its players and spectators.⁴ Yet the ways in which contemporary Chicagoans voiced their approval of the sport reveals a more fundamental connection between the new popularity of baseball and the social climate of post-war Chicago. Baseball's most vocal enthusiasts came from a relatively small group of businessmen, educators, journalists, and social reformers. Because of the game's narrow following, the qualities most commonly ascribed to baseball were symbolic expressions of deeply-held middle class values. In the broadest sense, the baseball club was incorporated into the middle-class conception of the function of the city and the way it should be organized.

Although organized for the primary purpose of playing baseball, the amateur baseball club shares a common history with the many kinds of voluntary associations found in every city during the nineteenth century. The role of the fraternal order, the mutual benefit society, the humanitarian organization, and the social reform group in the ordering of urban life has been a subject of study since the writings of de Tocqueville. Until recently, the propensity of Americans to engage in activities of this sort was largely attributed to a widely-felt need to compensate for the loneliness and impersonality of urban life. "Reduced to a state of virtual impotence as an individual, the urbanite is bound to exert himself by joining those of similar interest into groups to obtain his ends," concluded Louis Wirth in his landmark essay on "Urbanism as a Way of Life."⁵ Within the last decade, however, historians have moved away from an interpretation of the function of voluntary associations taken from the standpoint of the isolated individual and have begun to explore the contribution of these groups to the maintenance of the prevailing social order of the nineteenth-century city. In particular, it has been shown that the native-born middle class, which tended to form the most fixed segment of the urban population, utilized the voluntary association to enhance the level of cohesion among its own members; to extend the leadership role of the businessman and the professional man into the social realm; and to promote the spread of "Victorian" patterns of behavior in a culturally pluralistic environment.⁶

During the 1860's, a period of rapid social change for Chicagoans, similar expectations were placed upon the baseball club. While Chicago's rapid growth in physical size, population, volume of business, and accumulated wealth created new vistas of a glorious future for the city,⁷ these changes also brought dire threats to the kind of community values which many believed necessary to maintain the city's growth. For this reason organizations like the YMCA and the Good Templars, which advanced

the principles of thrift, sobriety, hard work, and religious observance, received a vastly increased measure of support during the course of the decade.⁸ The amateur baseball club, another product of the uncertainty of the times, performed many of the same functions but in a more symbolic way. The private neighborhood club, made-up of mostly middle-class young men, gained public approval as a means of engendering Chicago's future business leaders with physical health, moral well-being, and a staid outlook on life. At the same time, by playing baseball in a supervised club setting on a baseball field located on the outskirts of town, the players would also be kept free of the influence of gamblers and ruffians who operated in the inner city. At this time, as well, several businessmen wished to extend the same benefits to their employees in the hope of promoting a similarly upright attitude among the members of the working class.⁹ Thus a game between two company-sponsored clubs became a frequent event during these years. For these reasons, in addition to the sheer enjoyment of the game, baseball received the unwavering support of Chicago's business community.

I.

Chicago's baseball enthusiasts during the early post-war years promoted the sport as something far more valuable than an exciting new pastime. They made elaborate claims for the health-giving and character-building qualities of the sport. In an article appearing in the July 26, 1867 issue of the *Chicago Tribune*, a baseball reporter claimed that the game was not only a wonderful form of exercise, but a pastime which lacked all the vulgar aspects of other men's sports of the day. Although exciting to all people and therefore "democratic," baseball was nonetheless proper for the best elements of the town to play. And, since a baseball game did no harm to delicate sensibilities, the sport was amenable to the presence of women.¹⁰

That same year a baseball writer for the *Chicago Times* described Chicago's baseball players as "a noble set of young men, vigorous, healthy, athletic, fitted for honorable contentions . . . who would do honor to any letter. They represent the best blood of their respective communities . . . Baseball playing has . . . made them what they are." Another description portrayed the players as members of "the choicest section of our coming businessmen, many of them are already businessmen." Still, baseball's popularity was spreading among all classes, so the paper claimed, and newspapermen encouraged this development, because the rules of the game were "based on the Decalogue." Players had to act like gentlemen,

and no liquor was ever allowed on the grounds. One correspondent therefore found a “pleasing sobriety at the game.”¹¹

Of all of baseball’s good qualities, the one to which contemporary writers most frequently referred was its healthfulness. The type of Chicagoan whom baseball was supposed to help was, according to the papers, the “typical city dweller”: a man cooped-up behind a desk in an office or a woman who sat at home with nothing to do. “The average American is pale, thin, dyspeptic, cadaverous . . . or occasionally when there has been a recent admixture of foreign blood, assumes a sort of Falstaffian obesity,” claimed the *Tribune*. Similarly, the average woman lived “too much indoors and takes too little exercise . . . In summer she considers it too hot to walk, but sits at home, inside a hotel or boarding house, and eats too many sweets.”¹²

The necessity of exercise also had a moral side to it. At this time, a number of editors, religious figures, educators, and social reformers began linking vigorous exercise to the development of a more religious personality. In 1866, for instance, the pastor of the First Baptist church of Chicago gave a series of public lectures on the benefits of exercise. Calling the body the “casket of the mind,” he claimed that only through moderation in eating, drinking, and working and through participation in healthful exercise could men and women become more intellectual and virtuous. Ralph Waldo Emerson echoed this thought during a lecture engagement in the city, as did Harriet Beecher Stowe. In the same vein, on the occasion of the opening of a gymnasium at a YMCA hall, the *Times* announced the coming of a “time when a healthy Christianity and a healthy body will not be deemed incompatible—a time when those who wrestle in prayer shall be spiritual and physical athletes of the first order.”¹³

The idea of having a group of strong, healthy citizens also provided an excellent advertisement for the city as a whole. According to one contemporary history of Chicago:

No pains of the statistician nor any reasoning of the sociologist can take from or add to the general look of the people, and especially the children, in a question of the health of a city, moral and material . . . [T]he native inhabitants of Chicago are obviously a rich-blooded, strong-nerved, large-brained race . . . Their looks proclaim them superior to the average American . . . They give the surest signs of future greatness . . .⁴

As if to provide a further stimulus to get Chicago’s “typical citizen” out of the office and parlor and into the fresh air, advocates of exercise presented a baneful picture of what would follow if Chicagoans remained

soft and out of shape. Journalists expressed the fear that lack of exercise was preventing Chicago's upper class women from giving birth to large families; while one editor fretted that too much soft labor was making the city's youth unable to defend the nation in time of need.

From the portrayal of the "typical Chicagoan" it becomes apparent that the workingman lacked a place in the journalists' conception of the community. Few blue collar workers spent a good part of their day working behind desks, and few working class women had little else to do except sit at home and eat sweets. Yet when baseball writers looked for words to describe a baseball game, they often evoked images of physical labor: not the dirty, mindless labor of the inner city, which only drove men to drink, but the clean, honest labor of the countryside. If Chicago's baseball reporters did not go so far as to openly compare ballplaying with farming, they did make favorable comparisons between each activity and the soft, speculative labor that occupied the time of all too many Chicagoans.

The rural motif which surrounded baseball was also emphasized by the location of the playing field. With the exception of a few ballfields located along the lakeshore, most of Chicago's playing areas were placed at least a mile from the center of town.¹⁵ According to contemporary accounts, many of the neighborhoods in which ballfields were plotted were only partially built-upon and often contained sizeable tracts of open prairie land and woods. The baseball field, "in the open air, favored by the pure breeze of heavens," provided health for more than the players alone. Even the middle-aged man who only came out to watch was "strengthened by the bracing air there only to be found." A trip to a baseball game meant a break from the pressures of making money, and the businessman who took a few hours off to watch a game returned to his "daily duty with a free breath and a free hand." The country air, claimed baseball's supporters, freed man's natural enthusiasms, too often pent up in the office, while the staging of a baseball game was a community event which helped to foster the kind of fellowship rarely seen in the working world.¹⁶

This association of the virtue of an activity and its incorporation of rural qualities was by no means limited to sporting activities, but stood as one of the fundamental beliefs of the American middle class during the nineteenth century.¹⁷ The U.S. in the 1860's was still a predominantly rural nation, and even urbanites expressed their reverence for agriculture as a way of life.¹⁸ The leaders of Chicago's business community provide a case-in-point. Most of the individuals who were recognized as the city's premier businessmen had been born and raised on farms or in small

towns in New England and Upstate New York; and while excited by the rapid growth of Chicago, several carried nostalgic associations of their early years spent in rural settings.¹⁹ For instance, William B. Ogden, one of the most successful businessmen in Chicago, spent his youth in a frontier community in Western New York State. In a contemporary collection of biographical sketches of Chicago businessmen, Ogden's biographer praised this locale with the words, "The society formed and developed through the influence of these pioneers was distinguished . . . no less for its general intelligence than for its moral and religious character." Another Chicagoan whose biography appears in the same volume was said to have "acquired his habits and his principles among the rustic population of the Bay State [in Western Massachusetts] where the very hills would seem to act as a restriction upon inordinate desires and dishonorable ambition.* In addition, Chicago businessmen also liked to recall the hard physical labor which they performed in their youth, believing this kind of work to have contributed to their later success in business and public life. Of William Bross, the editor of the *Chicago Tribune* during the last years of the decade, it was written, "at this work [as a lumberjack] he developed his muscular system to a high degree, fitting his constitution to bear without injury the heavy tax which his mental labors subsequently imposed." Similarly, John V. Farwell, one of the city's foremost dry goods merchants, had spent much of his youth on a farm in Illinois, dividing his time between farm work and primary school. "Thus did educate both body and mind," his biographer asserted, "the one acquired the powers of endurance, the other information and both required a discipline which was of the highest consequence in after life."²⁰

Readers of Chicago's newspapers also learned of the virtues of the countryside, which stood in sharp contrast to the noise, crime, and pollution of the city. On one occasion, an editorial in the *Times* counseled wealthy Chicagoans to forgo the annual trip to the nation's pleasure resorts like Long Branch, New Jersey and Saratoga, New York, and to spend a week or two among the farmers of the Illinois prairie. It was here, the paper contended, that the urbanized American could reacquaint himself with nature and get to know the simple, but wholesome ways of the farmer and his family-valuable lessons for any city dweller.²¹ In another editorial entitled, "Fruit Growing and Morality," the *Times* informed its readers that,

Fruit trees . . . civilize, elevate, and refine those with whom they come into contact [and] are so many guarantees of refinement and, indirectly, morality . . . One is even tempted to believe that the virtue of a place is proportional to its possession of trees. In Chicago, the centers of crime are almost invariably characterized by an absence of vegetation. Plant Wells Street [a part of the red light district of the city]

with maples and the bats and owls which haunt that locality will seek some other place. Planting trees is an inexpensive method of increasing our police force. Each tree is a sermon without the heat and odors of a church. We cannot have too many trees for each is a policeman, a clergyman, and an educator.²²

Rather than go to the trouble of planting trees on Wells Street to drive the undesirables away, Chicagoans of means chose instead to build their homes where trees existed in abundance. There were several suitable locations in the city, and because of this, Chicagoans gave their home town the exceedingly rural nickname, the Garden City.²³

Thus it can be seen that the healthfulness, bucolic setting, and gentlemanly virtue which the supporters of baseball attributed to the sport, constituted only a single expression of a widely-felt desire to maintain the best aspects of smalltown life, even in a large metropolis. It is no coincidence that the game of baseball became popular at a time when the Arcadian myth of the small town in the countryside and of the neighborhood bound together by primary associations was becoming increasingly difficult to realize within the confines of the city.

Baseball was not the only sport to evoke this sort of nostalgia. Nor was it the only sport to gain a new level of popularity in post-war Chicago. For Chicagoans, the general desire to spend more leisure hours engaged in games and sports found expression in the revival of interest in traditional sports, like horse racing and riflery; in the general acceptance of sports formerly reserved for children, like skating; in the development of new interest for "fashionable" sports like billiards and croquet; as well as in the sudden growth of support for the playing of a new sport like baseball. This new interest in sports also corresponded to an increased attendance at theater, dance, and musical performances, reflecting an overall rise in the demand for expanded opportunities for public recreation.²⁴ Yet, insofar as each of these activities received comment from the city's journalists, baseball received the most consistently favorable press.

Horse racing and billiards, for instance, became extremely popular with Chicago businessmen and their wives. Important billiard matches often took place in downtown theaters and music halls, surrounded by the finery of a great social event. Likewise, the drive from the center of town to the racetrack became an occasion for long processions of carriages down the city's major thoroughfares. But despite all the trappings of upper-class splendor, both racing and billiards came to be associated with the work of gamblers and thieves.²⁵ Two spectacular murders in 1866, one involving the death of a noted gambler and part-owner of Chicago's principal race horse, the other involving the death of a jockey riding in an important match race, underscored the influx of underworld charac-

ters into the sport. The papers also pointed to the billiard hall as the gathering place for Chicago's criminal elements. Furthermore, the *Tribune* calculated that in 1865, the city's billiard players spent a daily total of \$4000 just for the renting of billiard tables. What was worse, an additional \$2000 went toward the purchase of alcoholic beverages. Time spent playing billiards, claimed the paper, would have been better spent in the pursuit of self-improvement, for the easy times inside the billiard parlor caused a young man to lose his taste for honest industry, elevated society, and the quieter side of life.²⁶

In addition to those sports, deemed either uplifting or demoralizing depending upon the nature of those in control of the occasion, Chicago also had a number of sporting activities which were always described as a threat to the community. Boxing and the staged confrontations between lesser orders of mammals were the principal targets for the wrath of Chicago journalists—even as descriptions of these events often took up three or four columns of print. Chicago had laws against the staging of these sports, so fights took place secretly and according to the most elaborate plans to keep the news from the police. Newspaper accounts informed the public that boxing matches were often organized by saloon-keepers and took place in direct violation of the Sabbath. Since these events could occur almost anywhere in the city, “gross outrages” were suffered by upright citizens who suddenly found their neighborhood turned into a staging ground for a fight. Cursing, screaming, hissing, gambling, drinking, and thievery were among the typical activities of the average boxing fan, while the participants in the ring “went at each other like hyenas.” The *Times*, not wishing to associate the sport with the community in any way, characterized boxing as “an inundation of foreign ruffianism.”²⁷

Interestingly enough, one other sport which was against the law at the time was public bathing. As with boxing matches (which were sometimes said to begin when two workers entered into an argument as to who was the better man), this activity was considered to be the province of the laborer and the poor man. Newspapers reported the arrest of large numbers of men for illegal bathing during the summer months, although the issue of providing public bathing facilities did receive a forum in the editorial pages of Chicago's dailies and on the floor of the Common Council. The gist of the argument in favor of erecting such establishments was that aside from the services of the midwife and the undertaker, the poor in the city had no other opportunity to take a decent bath. Opponents of such projects countered with the claim that public bathing was obscene and constituted a public nuisance to those persons who owned property near the shoreline.²⁸

The benefits of sport, a sound body, a refreshed spirit, and an upright character were therefore not open to everyone. Just as the laboring man did not figure in the image of the “typical city dweller” for whom exercise was necessary, neither did he receive any legitimate means of enjoying himself when not at work. Workingmen’s activities violated middle-class notions of decency and were considered unsuitable for the “city dweller” to partake in.

In some cases, the ethnic character of a sport raised objections to the spread of its popularity. Gymnastics, like baseball, came into vogue in Chicago during these years; and among the chief organizers of gymnastics clubs were prominent Chicago businessmen. Enthusiasts of the sport claimed that gymnastics “will prevent sickness, bestow cheerfulness and high spirits, and secure a manly figure and a fine physique.” However, most of the gymnastics programs organized during the 1860’s were carried out under the aegis of the German Turnvereine, a group of ethnic sport societies, which combined the functions of a sporting club, social organization, benevolent society, and political pressure group. the Turners, like the members of the YMCA and the temperance societies, formed the vanguard in a broad-based struggle to determine which cultures would maintain themselves within the city limits. Although this conflict generally centered around the issues of prohibition and Sunday blue laws, the editor of the *Chicago Times* once accused the Turners of trying to “Germanize” the American part of Chicago’s population. Other writers pointed out the frequent occurrence of beer-drinking after the completion of an exhibition of Turner gymnastics. Actually, journalistic coverage of German sporting events sometimes contained praise for the “German spirit,” yet those activities which promoted Americanism were clearly favored by the English-language press. And baseball, in the minds of its enthusiasts, symbolized the assertion of American culture: the driving, dominating spirit that characterized the Yankee. Thus, at a time when Chicago’s native-born population made-up only half of the total number of inhabitants, baseball became one of the activities which displayed the ideals of the “Victorian Americans” to the public view.²⁹

II.

The ideology which surrounded baseball in the post-war years was also expressed in the organization of the amateur baseball club. Both the principles upon which the club was founded and social functions it was designed to serve reveal an underlying conception of the moral community, bound together by primary associations.

Chicago's first baseball players organized their clubs along quite formal lines. Each club elected a president and secretary; and usually a treasurer, vice president, at least one captain, and sometimes a separate board of directors, as well. New members joined the club by election, a certain minority number of "no" votes constituting a rejection of the applicant. Not everyone knew how to go about organizing a baseball club, and the general interest in club-formation created a market for such books as *Beadle's Dime Base Ball Player*, which was published in the East but was sold in Chicago during the late 1860's. Books like the *Dime Base Ball Player* not only explained the rules of the game, but also provided prospective club organizers with information on how to choose members, how to pick a captain, and how to lay out a field. According to the 1866 edition, club members, before admitting a new applicant, had to be sure that he was a person of good habits and character. "A person of quarrelsome disposition. . .will. . .deter good men from joining," counseled Henry Chadwick, the editor. Chadwick, a noted baseball expert of his day, also suggested the implementation of small fines for use of profane language, failure to obey the captain's orders during a "field exercise," and for absence without excuse during a practice session or game. Clubs were required to pay their own expenses at all times, never receive a cent for playing baseball, and never engage in a contest with any club which used players who had become members less than thirty days before the date of the contest.³⁰

In its organizational scheme, the baseball club consisted of a larger number of members than the nine players on the field. According to the rules of the National Association of Base Ball Players, a nation-wide organization governing amateur baseball, baseball clubs had to include at least eighteen members, enough for two teams. Both teams were necessary since amateur baseball clubs were originally conceived of as clubs which played baseball for the enjoyment of the game, not as organized competitive units. In addition to the eighteen (or more) players, relatives, friends, and respected members of the community often became members, and even women could join. A baseball game on a neighborhood lot, then, became a kind of community event, and reports of the games (most of which were provided to the newspapers by club members or those close to them) usually referred to the spectators as the "friends" of the club.

Clubs generally arranged matches by formal written correspondence between the respective secretaries. Newspaper readers then learned of an upcoming game through a public "invitation" issued by one of the clubs. The fact that friends and relations were in attendance emphasized the need for gentlemanly demeanor on the playing field, because what the players did during the game reflected on the people in the stands and of-

ten on the neighborhood as a whole. For this reason, gentlemanly players frequently received the same amount of praise from journalists as did players showing unusual ability.

Since women and girls were known to attend, baseball games also took on a sort of romantic quality. One image of the ballplayer was the handsome young man who played his heart out for the club, while his adoring girlfriend watched from the stands. This image prompted a *Chicago Times* correspondent to compose the following inquiries for the entertainment page of one Sunday edition:

If a player has struck out for home with the girls, does the scorer put it down on the slate?. . . Suppose a player accidentally hits one of the 'dear little ducks' who witness the game, would it not be a 'fowl ball?' . . . If a fellow expects his Dulcinea to be present and she does not come, can the poor fellow be put out about it?³¹

Just as individual competitive ability at best shared equal status with praiseworthy behavior on the field, so too was the gentlemanly demeanor of the entire club given an equal rank with its competitive ability. Ideologues of the sport considered a contest between two clubs, not so much as a public exhibition of each club's ability to win, but as a means of promoting good fellowship among members of different organizations. This emphasis on "friendly" competition was manifested in the role of the umpire. Players had to obey the umpire's decisions, as always, and some clubs instituted fines for disobedience or for protesting too vociferously. Yet clubs almost always chose the umpire from among the non-playing members of one of the competing clubs or from among the members of a neutral club in attendance; and if the umpire should happen to feel unsure about a decision, it was considered acceptable practice for him to consult any spectator who may have had a better view of the play. Not infrequently, visiting clubs were fêted after the game, while end-of-season banquets for club members and their friends added to the social functions of the baseball club.³²

Thus, through his participation in a private, neighborhood club, the upstanding young man could satisfy his urge to be sociable and to play, while his involvement in a wholesome and constructive activity would publicly maintain his standing in the community. Chicagoans at this time also sought to regulate play on a regional and even national level. Starting in the winter of 1865, Chicago club members, along with representatives from clubs as far away as St. Louis, created organizations like the North Western Association and the Illinois State Association of Base Ball Players to maintain the rules of amateur play. Chicago businessmen were among the leaders of these new associations, and they received unreserved praise from the newspapers for their efforts. The *Times* de-

scribed in an 1866 meeting of the North Western Association as an effort to “improve baseball, to spread its practice, and to scatter its blessing of health and pleasure among the community.” The papers also supported the effort on the part of the new regulatory bodies to standardize the playing of baseball along club lines.³³

III.

At the same time, the newspapers claimed that one could not pass by a city park or lot without seeing two or three young men engaged in the practice of the game. Nonetheless it is difficult to gauge exactly how popular baseball was on the unorganized level because the press only covered ball games played by amateur clubs or by groups of prominent citizens.³⁴

Evidence taken from newspaper reports combined with an attempt to trace the background of ballplayers listed in the box scores of games suggests that workers did play the game, but for the most part, baseball was a game played by young men of greater wealth and standing. The newness of the sport plus the need to find enough players to form a club, probably allowed for some blue-collar and foreign-born participation; and, of course, class lines were not everywhere so rigid that friendships among men of different occupational levels were an impossible occurrence. Yet there were greater difficulties for a workingman desirous of pursuing the national pastime than for an individual earning a higher salary and enjoying more opportunities to take time off from work.

Anyone wanting to play ball had to contend with the cost of transportation to a field and the loss of salary incurred by taking time off to play. As was indicated, baseball fields were generally located at a distance of one-to-two miles from the center of town in areas which remained at least partially undeveloped. Workers usually lived much closer to their place of employment, which meant an extra level of expense for any laborer interested in joining an amateur club. Baseball games during this period often began between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, which meant the necessity to take the afternoon off (particularly since Sunday games were not allowed). At a time when day-laborers earned an average of one dollar and fifty cents per day for ten hours work, few could afford the luxury of baseball playing.³⁵

Chicago's entrepreneurs expressed little sympathy with the idea of allowing their employees more free time to develop their personal lives.³⁶

What several businessmen were willing to do—in terms of baseball playing—was to structure their workers' leisure-time play within the context of company activities. By 1870, Chicago featured over fifty company clubs (while amateur clubs numbered their highest total, about forty-five, three years earlier and then declined in numbers); and within the next two years, the newspapers were reporting as many as thirty company teams playing ball in a single afternoon. The principal groups of companies engaged in regular play were wholesale dry goods firms; printing, metal-working, and several other manufacturing concerns; railroads, banks, and newspapers. For the most part, these were operations utilizing large numbers of workers and often featuring well-developed divisions of labor.

While neighborhood clubs sported fancy names like Excelsior, Resolute, and Independent (names that were also utilized by Eastern clubs), company nines generally called themselves the John V. Farwell Company Base Ball Club, and the like. Some clubs developed pet names like the Shoddys (members of a wholesale dry goods firm) or the Paragorics (members of a wholesale drug company); but just as often the company club chose to name itself after some official in the firm.

Company play offered workers time off from work, a trip to some open ground, and the benefits of ballplaying. Undoubtedly the workers themselves expressed a desire to participate in the new sort; as to the motivation behind the decision of their bosses to sponsor a company team, there exists only indirect evidence. Two of the most active supporters of company teams were John V. Farwell and Marshall Field. Farwell, when not engaged in the dry goods business, was extremely active in religious organizations, temperance societies, and the YMCA. He also served as an officer in one of Chicago's gymnastics clubs: an indication that he believed in the principle of "sound mind-sound body." In his later years, Farwell included in his memoirs the following advice to young men bent on success: "Good books, good company, pure amusements, and noble purpose, ah young man keep them always in your heart."³⁷ Since Farwell did approve of athletics, he may well have considered baseball as a "wholesome amusement" and a proper activity for his staff.

Marshall Field's dry good firm, then known as Field, Leiter, and Palmer, instituted what was most likely Chicago's most comprehensive company baseball program during the late sixties and early seventies. As many as five teams organized by members of separate departments of the firm engaged in the competition for the company championship. Field, like Farwell, was interested in matters of personal morality and was determined that his employees should deport themselves in public in a man-

ner reflective of the high stature and good reputation of the company. Field's employees represented the firm at all times, and a member of the staff was answerable for any indiscretion committed during leisure hours. Employees therefore received warnings against the frequenting of billiard parlors, dance halls, gambling houses, or any establishment which served intoxicating beverages.³⁸ Here too, baseball was probably considered to be a suitable activity which reflected well on the players and the company.

However, the players at Field's establishment sometimes became so serious about the intra-company competition that on one occasion charges and countercharges of foul play reached the pages of the *Tribune*. In a broader sense, the overly competitive attitude which these workers developed towards each other reflected the larger scheme of employer-employee relations at the firm. Each department was organized as a separate business operation, although ultimate responsibility rested with the central management of the company. This arrangement encouraged innovation, but also a high degree of interdepartmental competition, especially because it was company policy to promote from within the ranks of staff.³⁹ Thus, in a symbolic way, intra-company competition provided an opportunity for the employees of each participating department to show off its energy, enterprise, and organizational talents.

The same held true for games between two companies. Beating some rival firm on the baseball diamond and then publishing the results in the newspaper provided an inexpensive form of advertising for the winning concern. Company officers frequently took enough of an interest in the affairs of their company's baseball clubs to assume leadership positions in these organizations. For instance, the clubs organized by the Pullman Palace Car Company in the early 1870's featured the general manager, treasurer, auditor, and general superintendent among the presiding officers. In due time, inter-company competition became so intense that the newspapers began reporting instances of cheating on the field and the hiring of outside players in an effort to secure the desired results. In any event, the efforts of the players were definitely channeled toward the good of the company; and while the company employees involved in the games did get a chance to play baseball, their labors on the field like their labors in the warehouse enhanced the fortunes of their employers.

It appears to be the case that in companies employing considerable numbers of blue and white collar workers, baseball clubs recruited almost all of their players from the upper ranks of the workforce.⁴⁰ This was most evident with clubs from dry goods firms, railroad companies, and at the post office. In effect this meant that few games were played between

white and blue collar workers, because inter-company play usually took place among companies in the same line of business. The company clubs having mostly blue collar workers on the roster came, in most instances, from companies whose labor force consisted of large numbers of skilled workers. During these years, the newspapers did not report any instances of games played between groups of unskilled laborers.

If blue collar workers rarely played with white collar workers in company clubs, their participation in private baseball clubs was only slightly more widespread. The middle-class orientation of the private amateur ball clubs is reflected in the background of ninety-three of Chicago's first baseball players.⁴¹

Table 1: Occupation of 93 Chicago Ballplayers

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	
High White Collar	7	7.5	
Low White Collar	56	60.2	<i>Total White Collar*</i>
Skilled	16	17.2	65 (69.9 per cent)
Semi-Skilled	2	2.2	
Unskilled	10	10.8	<i>Total Blue Collar**</i>
Student	2	2.2	28 (30.1 per cent)

*The two students attended a downtown business college and were numbered among the white collar players.

**Skilled workers were included in the blue collar group.

As can be seen by the relative percentages of blue and white collar workers, amateur clubs in Chicago (as represented by the sample) contained a predominant number of young men in white collar professions. The majority of this group of ballplayers were at the low white collar level: most of these being bookkeepers and clerks. Thirty out of the ninety-three players in the sample lived with a relative who was also listed in the city directories. Twelve of these gentlemen were commercial merchants—several of them members of the Board of Trade—while an additional three owned manufacturing establishments and four were professional men. Three additional relatives held other types of high white collar jobs, and four others owned small businesses. It is perhaps for these reasons that the press referred to amateur ballplayers as “the choicest section of our coming generation of businessmen.” It is also possible to examine the background of forty-three officers and club representatives of Chicago baseball clubs. Ten members of this group had high white collar jobs, while fifteen were of low white collar standing, and another five were students. An additional five worked at blue collar jobs, and the re-

maintaining eight were listed in the directory without a designated occupation.⁴²

In addition to occupational level, the ethnic background of ninety-eight of the players and officers was listed in the *Merchants' Census Report*. Forty-three of the players had been born in the United States, while the other twenty players found in this volume hailed from other countries. Ten of the foreign-born players came from Ireland, four from England, and two from Scotland. However, only a single player was a German, a much lower percentage than the overall German representation in the city.⁴³ When the thirty-five officers are added to the total, the numbers read: 69 Americans (70 per cent) and 29 foreign-born. Twenty-three foreigners came from Ireland or the British Isles, but only three Germans were among this group.

The ratio of American-born to foreign-born players along with the ratio of white collar to blue collar players underscores the predominance of American-born, middle-class young men among the first regular players of the national pastime in Chicago. What is particularly interesting about the sample is that the majority of foreign-born players came from English-speaking countries. This may indicate (although the numbers are too small to do more than raise the issue) that it was easier to share a new American culture-form like baseball among people who spoke the same language and read the same newspapers. Chicago's German language press paid no attention to baseball during this period, but covered sports like riflery and gymnastics, which had gained the favor of Chicago's German community.⁴⁴

The support and encouragement which Chicago's businessmen lent to the burgeoning new sport did not confine itself to organizing clubs of workers and allowing their own sons to take part in amateur play. Several businessmen, including some men well into middle age, played the game themselves. Proprietors of wholesale grocery establishments, insurance underwriters, and railroad company executives all tried their hand at the national game. The Chicago Board of Trade was particularly active in the playing of baseball. Board members organized their first game in the summer of 1867 and thereafter games among members became regular social events. The Board even organized an excursion to Milwaukee during the summer of 1869 in order to play the leaders of that city's business community.⁴⁵ Chicago's newspapermen, having received the greatest initial exposure to the sport, also took to playing baseball, as did just about every bureau in the city government. Chicago's aldermen were particularly avid players, and from the late sixties

on, games featuring an "aldermanic nine" were occasion for the assembling of Chicago's prominent political figures.⁴⁶

Thus it can be seen that the game of baseball received widespread approval from Chicago's business community and from the ranks of the city's middle class youth.⁴⁷ Yet, Chicago's businessmen did not support every club with the same amount of money and enthusiasm. The city's two oldest organizations as of 1865 were also the best financed. One of these clubs, the Excelsiors, often met in the offices of George C. Smith, one of Chicago's most prominent bankers at the time. In December, 1866, the club opened its permanent headquarters in a well-furnished set of rooms located a few doors down from the Board of Trade. By 1868, the club could boast of having Willard F. Wentworth, the city treasurer, as its president, in addition to having a lawyer, an officer of the Board of Trade, and a proprietor of a wholesale grocery firm on the list of officers. A few other clubs received comparable support. In 1868, the Garden Citys elected W.S. Powell a Chicago alderman and railroad executive to the presidency of the club; while the Eurekas held their meetings in an office in the Chamber of Commerce Building and the Mutuals came together in Room 20 of the Mercantile Building.⁴⁸

The presence of high-ranking businessmen among the directors of Chicago's amateur clubs had both immediate and far-reaching implications for the development of the sport. Clubs with money behind them to lease and maintain decent ball fields and with influential backers who were likely to provide the players with sufficient time off to practice, inevitably became the most talented baseball clubs in the city. Furthermore, as baseball became more popular in Chicago, the newspapers-began devoting increasing amounts of coverage to the games, while newspaper reporters began describing the contests with an increasingly critical eye. In this way, newspaper readers and baseball fans learned to identify the top clubs; and businessmen backers, brought up to value success in every enterprise, came under increasing temptation to expect a tangible return on their investment: a winning ball club.

Beginning in 1867, more highly-skilled and more experienced ball clubs from the East began stopping in Chicago to play the city's best amateur clubs. The publicity which surrounded these contests did much to spread the popularity of the sport, but the inferior play on the part of the Chicago clubs combined with the journalists' increasingly shrill criticism caused the backers of Chicago's best clubs to lose patience with their gentlemanly ballplayers. Because these clubs were now involved in inter-city competition, a strong element of civic boosterism began to enter the game. Losses like the 49 to 4 defeat of the Excelsiors by the Washington

Nationals brought forth comments in the newspapers of rival cities, which intimated that, "nine men who live on 'blue beef and breathe the odors of the Chicago River can not compete in base ball with an equal number from a healthy country like the District of Columbia.'"⁴⁹ Soon the city's newspapermen were crying out that

Chicago needs a representative club; an organization as great as her enterprise and wealth, one that will not allow the second rate clubs of every village in the Northwest to carry away the honors in base ball . . . The Excelsiors cannot fill the bill . . . its repeated defeats are inexcusable.⁵⁰

Pressured to come up with a winning ball club, Chicago's best amateur clubs started to hire outside players to compete for them; then by the winter of 1869/70 all pretense of amateurism was abandoned. At that time a group of Chicago businessmen raised a joint stock fund of \$15,000 to create Chicago's first all-professional nine, the White Stockings.⁵¹ Thus, by the end of the decade, baseball had been transformed into a symbol of the success of the city and its business community in particular.

Part of the reason behind this course of development probably lay in the nature of the sport itself. Although frequently described as an exhibition of gentlemanly virtues, baseball also gained popularity because of its fast pace and dramatic quality: pleasant associations of military action for those who did not experience the horrors of the past conflict.⁵² The Civil War had intensified the "martial spirit" on the home front, which in some circles was directly connected to a recognition of the merits of encouraging activities calling for vigorous exercise. According to one commentator, who published an article in *Service Magazine*, entitled "The Probable Influence of the New Military Character on Our Social and National Character," "Soldiers must be men of considerable strength or endurance or both; and as uniforms are sure to be popular and fashionable, manly qualities will also."⁵³ The *Tribune* echoed this idea with the statement, "Old England is great and immense in the power all over the world by the same muscular energy by which it is great in the fox hunt and in cricket. At last, we who had been driven by the very intensity of an American nature which knows no reward but money . . . we have been made to do heroic deeds, and now we are turning only naturally to the free and manly sports of heroes"—this in reference to the game of baseball.⁵⁴

Baseball, in the 1860's, borrowed a considerable amount of terminology from the military. At the time, games were referred to as "field exercises" in which the men in uniforms were said to "take the field," "guard their bases," and take orders from their "captain." In an era when the

fastest means of getting downtown was a horse car traveling at little better than three or four miles an hour, baseball was a game of fast-paced action and featured a display of speed and power: “the outward and visible expression of the drive and push and rush and struggle of the raging, tearing, booming nineteenth century.”⁵⁵ Yet despite all of its drama, baseball was the most organized of all sports being played. As the editor of the *Tribune* put it, “There is nothing better than a game of ball to train the attention and alertness to one’s mind; body and nerve to one’s cause, always controlled by a larger loyalty in general . . .”⁵⁶ All these qualities, speed, power, determination to succeed, harnessed by successful organization had (in the larger sense) already been incorporated into the business culture of the day as images of the successful business enterprise and as an image of the dynamism of the city as a whole, particularly in comparison to the energy and enterprise of rival cities.⁵⁷ While a game of baseball, when played on a neighborhood field, might have been occasion for a friendly confrontation, when played between clubs from two different cities, it became an exhibition of the relative drive, ambition, and talent of the two cities involved. Thus the consistent failures of Chicago’s amateur clubs made the newspapers despair that “the credit of Chicago was past hoping for.”

Chicago has heretofore succeeded only in great things. This city was never famous for its small undertakings. Our citizens . . . make of a low and unhealthy swamp, a bright and beautiful and happy city . . . It is true that we have other achievements to fall back on as a community . . . [b]ut that only makes the record glaringly patent . . . when it comes to baseball . . . Chicago ain’t there. These things have always been left to such cities as Milwaukee, Saint Louis, and Cincinnati . . . There was a time when Chicago thought otherwise. Our people went to work organizing a baseball club with the same energy as they would build a tunnel or construct a railroad. This was some years ago.⁵⁸

Therefore a professional club was needed, “a baseball club which would beat the world.”⁵⁹

IV.

From 1870 on, professional baseball would capture the attention of Chicago baseball fans, although amateur baseball did not die out completely. However, the advent of the booster spirit had effectively killed off the gentlemanly associations which had characterized amateur competition just a few years before. When Chicago’s oldest amateur club, the Atlantics, disbanded in 1869, the *Times* referred to the players as “a gentlemanly but awkward and somewhat indolent group of ball tossers.”⁶⁰ But

the sons of Chicago's staid citizens did not want for athletic activity, even as the amateur baseball club became a less attractive form of recreation. The same year in which the White Stockings were formed, the Washington Yacht Club came into existence; and in 1872 the Chicago Athletic Club was organized for "young men with social standing whose business qualities are well known." Chicago's new track and field club, stated one of its founders, was designed to spread the blessings of outdoor exercise. It also afforded the city's better young citizens the chance to practice without "being compelled to associate with professional pedestrians"—a group of athletes then thought to be little better than common criminals.⁶¹

Thus the urge to use athletics to maintain the virtue of young middle-class Chicagoans persisted beyond the time when baseball passed out of the hands of the city's "best blood." The appearance of other clubs organized to aid the physical and moral development of the athlete shows the pervasiveness of the desire to find cultural expressions of the community bound together by primary associations and guided by the tenets of middle class behavior.

The game of baseball, then, symbolized the middle-class conception of the city in an era when a city like Chicago was undergoing a rapid transformation from a small, manageable unit to a giant metropolis. On the one hand, the game's associations with a rural setting and American rural values underscored the reluctance of the city dweller to part with the best elements of the staid and known world of the small town. Yet the display of speed, power, and organization which the urbanite came to look for in the teams which represented his city came out of a vision of vaster, richer, more productive forms of enterprise which the entrepreneur, as leader of the community, hoped to command and control.

Notes

1. *Chicago Tribune*, July 22, 1866; David Q. Voigt, *American Baseball* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), i, 8, 3; Herbert Manchester, *Four Centuries of Sport in America* (New York: The Derrydale Press, 1931), pp. 124-127; Federal Writers' Project, Illinois, *Baseball in Old Chicago* (Chicago: AC. McClurg and Co., 1939), p. 3; Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), ii, 470.
2. Foster Rhea Dulles, *American Learns to Play* (New York: D. Appleton Century Co., 1940), p. 183.
3. Much of historical research into the relationship of sport and society has centered on the period from 1880 to 1920. See, Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933), pp. 287-319; John R. Betts, "The Technological Revolution and the Rise of Sport, 1850-1880." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 40 (1953), 231-56; Neil Harris, ed., *The Land of Contrasts* (New York: George Braziller, 1970); and Steven A. Riess, *Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era*, (Unpublished dissertation: University of Chicago, 1974).

4. By this time, both commercialism and inter-city rivalry were already major features of amateur baseball in the East. See, for instance, Voigt, i. 14-22. In 1865, baseball was still too new a sport in the midwest to be exploited in this way.
5. Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (1938), 27. For a similar viewpoint on the function of voluntary associations, see, Schlesinger, pp. 288-89; Nicholas J. Spykman, "A Social Philosophy of the City," in Ernest W. Burgess, ed., *The Urban Community*, Selected Papers from the Proceedings of the American Sociological Society, 1925, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), pp. 55-64; Robert E. Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment," in Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie, eds., *The City*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), pp. 14-18, 23-25.
6. Don H. Doyle, "The Social Functions of Voluntary Associations in a Nineteenth-Century Town," *Social Science History*, 1 (1977), 344-55; Walter Glazier, "Participation and Power: Voluntary Associations and the Functional Organization of Cincinnati in 1840," *Historical Methods Newsletter*, 5 (1972), 151-68; Gregory H. Singleton, "Protestant Voluntary Organizations and the Shaping of Victorian America," in Daniel Walker Howe, ed., *Victorian America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976) pp. 47-58; Stuart M. Blumin, *The Urban Threshold* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 166-211.
7. Pierce, ii, 3; Lloyd Lewis and Henry Justin Smith, *Chicago: A History of Its Reputation* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1929), pp. 92-95; Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), pp. 82-101.
8. *Chicago City Directory, 1860-61, 1870-71*; A.T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (Chicago: The A.T. Andreas Co., 1885), ii, 511.
9. For a general discussion of the attempts on the part of entrepreneurs to instill industrial patterns of behavior in their employees, see Herbert G. Gutman, "Work Culture and Society in Industrializing America," *American Historical Review*, 78 (1973), 531-88.
10. *Chicago Tribune*, July 26, 1867. The presence of women at any public event was considered proof of the respectability of the occasion.
11. *Chicago Times*, December 20, 1866, July 20, 1867.
12. *Chicago Tribune*, January 5, 1873; *Chicago Times*, February 8, 1867. Women were generally encouraged to undertake less strenuous athletic activities than baseball, although a few women's baseball clubs did exist in the U.S. at the time.
13. *Chicago Times*, September 27, October 7, 8, December 29, 1866, July 22, 1867.
14. Everett Chamberlain. *Chicago and Its Suburbs* (Chicago: I.A. Hungerford and Co., 1874), pp. 167-68.
15. This assertion is based on the plotting of all the playing sites mentioned in the newspapers from 1865 to 1868 on a map of Chicago belonging to the map collection of the University of Chicago. Chamberlain, pp. 301, 303-04; Frederick Francis Cook, *Bygone Days in Chicago* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1910), pp. 177-80. Most of the playing fields were also located in Chicago's most well-to-do neighborhoods.
16. *Chicago Tribune*, July 22, 1866; *Chicago Times*, January 1, 3, 1867. Holidays and outings in general were often described as times when members of all classes "lay aside restraints and conventionalities of their condition and enter with zeal and pleasure into the exchange of congratulations and well wishes."
17. Anselm Strauss, *Images of the American City* (New York: The Free Press, 1961), pp. 104-23; Alan Trachtenberg, ed., "Introduction." *Democratic Vistas* (New York: George Braziller, 1970), p. 12; Daniel Walker Howe, "Victorian Culture in America," in Daniel Walker Howe, ed., *Victorian America*, p. 11; Robert M. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967). Fogelson's work provides an extended analysis of the influence of rural values in the development of a modern city, Los Angeles.
18. Fogelson, p. 68.
19. The background of 110 prominent Chicago businessmen can be found in, *Biographical Sketches of the Leading Men in Chicago, Written by the Best Talent of the Northwest* (Chicago: Wilson & St. Clair, Publishers, 1868). This volume provides a valuable source of information about the prevailing values of the business community at the time.
20. *Biographical Sketches*, pp. 12, 261, 36, 98. For a similar viewpoint, see John V. Farwell, *Some Recollections of John V. Farwell* (Chicago: R.R. Donnelley & Sons, Co., 1911), pp. 210-12.
21. *Chicago Times*, July 27, 28, August 3, 1866.
22. *Chicago Times*, June 24, 1867.
23. Cook, pp. 177-80; Carter Harrison, Jr., *Growing Up in Chicago* (Chicago: Ralph Fletcher Sey-

- mour, 1944), p. 67; Richard Sennet, *Families Against the City*, Vintage Book Edition (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), pp 9-24.
24. Pierce, ii, 418-19; Dulles, pp. 182-83.
 25. Lewis and Smith, p. 147; Cook. pp. 141-42; *Chicago Times*, April 23, 1867; *Chicago Tribune*, June 18, 1865.
 26. *Chicago Tribune*, June 18, 1865.
 27. *Chicago Tribune*, August 17, 1867, July 20, 1869.
 28. *Chicago Times*, July 23, 1866, July 1, 1867, July 9, 1869; *Chicago Tribune*, August 8, 1871; *Illinois Staats Zeitung*, July 19, 1866, W.P.A. trans., Chicago Foreign Language Omnibus Project. *Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey*, University of Chicago.
 29. *Chicago Times*, November 13, 1866. January 4, 1867, July 19, August 7, 1869; *Illinois Staats Zeitung*, March 21, 1871, W.P.A. trans., *Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey*; Pierce, ii, 481-82. *Ninth Census of the United States*, Volume I. Population, p. 782. According to the census reports the American-born population remained around the fifty percent mark throughout the 1860's. However, Americans constituted 87 per cent of the lawyers, 69 per cent of the journalists, 64 per cent of the doctors. and 63 per cent of the clerks in Chicago in 1870. Seventy-nine per cent of those in the insurance business and 75 per cent of those who worked in hanks were also born in this country. Conversely, foreign-born Chicagoans were over-represented in the laboring classes. Expressions of the fitness of baseball for the American character can be found in Charles A. Peverelly, *The Book of American Pastimes* (New York, Charles A. Peverelly, 1866), pp. 327-28 and *Chicago Tribune*, July 22, 1866.
 30. Henry A. Chadwick, ed., *Beadle's Dime Base Ball Player* (New York: Beadle and Co., 1866).
 31. *Chicago Times*, October 21, 1866.
 32. *Chicago Times*, September 7, 1865. Two invitations for banquets held by the Aetna Base Ball Club are in the collection of baseball memorabilia of the Chicago Historical Society.
 33. *Chicago Tribune*, December 7, 1865; *Chicago Times*, December 20, 1866, July 1. 23, 1867.
 34. Several reminiscences of prominent Chicagoans refer to baseball playing during the late 1860's. Among these are, Harrison, Jr., p. 67; Bruce Grant, *Fight For a City* (Chicago: Rand, McNally, and Co., 1955), p. 64; and Edward Halsey, Unpublished Manuscript on Growing Up in Chicago, Chicago Historical Society.
 35. Elizabeth Halsey, *The Development of Recreation in Metropolitan Chicago* (Chicago: Chicago Recreation Commission, 1940), pp.8, 14; Pierce, ii, 500.
 36. *Chicago Times*, April 18, 19, 22, 26, 30, May 2, 3, 4, 1867; *Chicago Tribune*, April 18, 19, May 4, 12, 1867. In 1867, the Illinois Legislature passed a law defining a normal working day as eight hours, unless otherwise contracted. The law precipitated a violent struggle between union members and company officers, which culminated in a series of bloody confrontations during the first week of May.
 37. Farwell, pp. 211-12.
 38. Robert W. Twyman, *The History of Marshall Field and Company* (Unpublished dissertation: University of Chicago, 1951), pp. 196-97.
 39. Twyman, pp. 170-73.
 40. This assertion is based on an attempt to trace the identities of players listed in the box scores of inter-company games.
 41. The ninety-three ballplayers in the sample represent all the players who appeared in the box scores in the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Chicago Times* from 1865 through 1867 whose identities could be verified in the *Chicago City Directory, 1867-68 and 1868-69*, eds. and in *Edward's Chicago Merchants' Census Report of 1871*. Although making up only about one quarter of all the players listed in the newspapers, the sample contains members of over forty different organizations which played in all three divisions of the city. Players were grouped by occupation according to the coding scheme which appears in Stephan Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), Appendix B. Skilled workers and artisans were therefore placed in the blue collar category. Slight modifications were made to include club players listed in the directories as students. An additional list of forty-three officers was derived from newspaper accounts of club meetings and elections. This group includes all club officers not listed in the box scores as well.
 42. Some of the ballplayers and the officers were young men on their way up quickly. Twenty-eight members of this combined sample were listed in the 1871 directory as having high white collar jobs. Eight out of the twenty-eight individuals had been low white collar workers at the time of their first listed job, while four others had been students, four had had no previously listed job, and one man had worked at a skilled manual job.
 43. The other three players came from France, Denmark, and Canada.

44. W.P.A. trans., *Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey*, University of Chicago. There is not a single entry on baseball in the files devoted to sports coverage in Chicago's foreign language newspapers during this era.
45. *Chicago Tribune*, August 7, 1867, October 2, 17, 1869; *Chicago Times*, August 8, 1869.
46. *Chicago Times*, August 17, 1867; *Miscellaneous Pamphlets on Baseball in Chicago*, Chicago Historical Society.
47. In addition to their participation in private baseball clubs, students in Chicago also formed baseball clubs at school. The old University of Chicago had, at one time or another during the late 1860's clubs representing all four classes in addition to a club which represented the school against rival institutions like Northwestern University. Some of Chicago's high schools, several business colleges, and even a religious seminary or two sported baseball clubs.
48. *Chicago Times*, December 20, 1865, December 5, 1866, July 1, 1867, March 15, May 10, 1868; *Andress* ii, 765.
49. *Missouri Democrat*, quoted in Gregg Lee Carter, "Baseball in Saint Louis, 1867-1875: An Historical Case Study in Civic Pride," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin*, 31 (1975), p. 259.
50. *Chicago Tribune*, July 22, 1868.
51. *Chicago Tribune*, October 2, 7, 1869, January 16, 1870; "Chit Chat," *Lakeside Monthly*, 4 (1870), p. 327.
52. Voigt, i. 3-4; Albert G. Spalding, *America's National Game* (New York: American Sports Publishing Co., 1911), p. 96. The war itself helped spread the popularity of the game as soldiers in the Union army played baseball to pass the time during lulls in the fighting. On one occasion, 40,000 troops watched a game at the Union base at Hilton Head, South Carolina. Northern prisoners of war played baseball in prison camps, and from watching their play, Southern soldiers acquired a knowledge of the game.
53. Quoted in Marcus Cunliffe, *Soldiers and Civilians: The Martial Spirit in America, 1775-1865*, 2nd. ed., (New York: The Free Press, 1973), p. 429.
54. *Chicago Tribune*, July 22, 1866.
55. Mark Twain, quoted in Dulles, p. 191.
56. *Chicago Tribune*, July 22, 1866.
57. Wyatt Belcher, *The Economic Rivalry Between St. Louis and Chicago, 1850-1880* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947); Lewis and Smith, pp. 97-110; *Chicago Times*, January 19, 1867, June 27, October 16, 25, 1875.
58. *Chicago Tribune*, July 10, 31, September 1, 1869.
59. *Chicago Tribune*, October 2, 1869.
60. *Chicago Times*, June 13, 1869.
61. *Andreas*, ii, 614; *Chicago Times*, May 26, 1872.