

# The Lead-off Batter who Slugged Home Runs: Harold Seymour and the Making of the History of Baseball

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HAROLD SEYMOUR IS THE FATHER of modern baseball history and a pioneer in the study of sport history. He was the first scholar to write a book about baseball, writing three in all. His work was well received by academics and earned rave reviews from the daily press for his scholarship and his light writing touch. Seymour was acclaimed by Robert Cantwell of *Sports Illustrated* as "The Gibbon of Baseball."<sup>1</sup>

Harold Seymour had a long involvement in baseball before he began to formally study it. He was a batboy for the Brooklyn Dodgers, played high school baseball in New York, organized and managed amateur and semiprofessional teams and was employed as a major league bird dog. In 1956, he completed a lengthy dissertation on nineteenth-century baseball under noted Cornell historian Paul Gates, a renowned expert on agricultural history, one of the very first ever written on sport.<sup>2</sup> Writing a dissertation on a sporting topic was a bold decision at that time since sport was not considered a significant enough

<sup>†</sup>The author would like to thank Dorothy Seymour Mills and Melvin L. Adelman for their assistance with this essay.

cultural or social institution to merit scholarly attention. Four years later, Oxford University Press published his revised dissertation as *Baseball: The Early Years*. This landmark study examined the rise of baseball as an amateur game and its emergence into a professional sport up to the rise of the American League. Seymour was a college professor for over fifteen years at various colleges including Fenn College (now Cleveland State University) and Finch College but was not permitted to teach classes in sport history. In 1966 for instance, while teaching at North Shore Community College in Massachusetts, he proposed a new class entitled "Teaching History through the Medium of American Sports History," but the faculty rejected the initiative.<sup>3</sup>

When his volume appeared there was a substantial popular literature on baseball history replete with lots of interesting anecdotes and facts. There were books for baseball fans but not for serious students of the game (had there been any). In 1960 a young fan like myself could learn about the history of baseball by reading the fine series of popular team biographies written by sports writers that Grosset and Dunlap published (and which are being reprinted by Southern Illinois University today). There were also general histories of the American and National Leagues by Lee Allen, then baseball historian for the Hall of Fame. If one picked up a textbook on American history there would have been either no mention of baseball, or an errant myth like the Doubleday creation of baseball that was being repeated in the early 1980s in a popular American history textbook written by Williams, Current and Freidel.<sup>4</sup>

Starting from scratch, Seymour had a formidable task to create his own scaffolding for the history of baseball including the chronology and the critical issues. He divided his book into sections: a) "The Amateur Era to 1875"; b) "The Creation of the Baseball Business," focusing on the rise of the National League (NL) and the economic problems commercialization entailed; c) the "Formation of Organized Baseball," where he examined the rise of competitors to the NL and the emergence of owner-player conflict; and d) "Monopoly at its Apex," the period following the NL defeat of the Players' League and absorption of the American Association (AA), which culminated with the rise of the American League (AL) and Ban Johnson's efforts to raise the standards of the baseball business.

Seymour's examination of the origins of baseball closely followed the work of pioneer baseball historian Robert W. Henderson's *Ball, Bat, and Bishop* (1947).<sup>5</sup> He agreed with Henderson that the Doubleday story was a myth and argued that the game had evolved from the English game of rounders. Seymour explained that while terms like the "game of base" dated in America back to at least 1778 and "base ball" to 1786, there was no baseball as we came to know it. He attributed the creation of the New York Game, which we call baseball, to the Knickerbockers club. Seymour described them (p. 16) as a somewhat snobbish group of professionals, merchants, and white-collar workers, and described them as "elite" (p. 31), exaggerating their social standing as historian Melvin Adelman has pointed out.<sup>6</sup>

Seymour claimed the Knickerbockers tried to monopolize the game for their social class, but if they did, they were not very successful as the sport gained considerable popularity, beginning in metropolitan New York. Furthermore, team leader Alexander Cartwright made a point of ardently proselytizing the game when he moved to Hawaii. Seymour even contradicted himself, emphasizing how democratic baseball quickly became with the

development of many workingmen's teams in the 1850s (p. 23). Seymour gave little attention to cricket, the first popular team ball game played by European Americans and gives the impression that its demise was all but inevitable once baseball was underway.<sup>7</sup> Seymour attributed the popularity of baseball to several factors. Each side had the same chances to score, there were no time restrictions, all play was visible to audiences, and rule changes made the game more interesting for spectators. There were many places to play, such as on vacant city lots. In comparison to cricket, baseball was faster, had more action, and was American based. By the 1850s, the game attracted significant press coverage, and by the late 1860s, the railroad lines carried top teams across the country, publicizing the new game. In other words, baseball was becoming modernized as a once locally-oriented game became nationally standardized through the adoption of the Knickerbockers' rules and the formation of organizations like the National Association of Base Ball Players to maintain uniform rules.

Seymour greatly added to our knowledge and understanding of baseball in the crucial decade of the 1860s and the early 1870s. He argued that the Civil War temporarily slowed the growth of the sport. He criticized the conventional wisdom that the war spread the game to the South, pointing out it was already played there (p. 40). He argued that the big boom in amateur baseball followed the war (p. 41), reflected by the expansion of the National Association of Base Ball Players (NA) from a few clubs within twenty-five miles of New York City in 1860 to some 202 clubs around the country by 1866. A key theme that emerged after the war was the rise of professionalization, which he called "a semiprofessional twilight zone between amateurism and professionalism." Another important theme he hinted at, but did not fully develop, was the connections between baseball and politics, focusing on the relationship between Boss Tweed and the New York Mutuals, three of whose players had been involved in the fixing of games in 1857. What Seymour did not get into was a careful analysis of the social origins of players, a task picked up a generation later by Adelman and George Kirsch.<sup>8</sup> Seymour was the first baseball historian to carefully examine the rise of the first professional league, the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players, based on such sources as the papers of Harry Wright, the manager of the Cincinnati Reds and the Boston Red Stockings. At the same time, he recognized that the amateur game was still very vigorous, abetted by the development of the intercollegiate game.<sup>9</sup>

Of course, the rise of the National League is a major theme. Seymour pointed out that the short-lived National Association had such problems as fragile franchise bases, weak competition, players jumping teams, gambling, hippodroming, and the absence of a central league office. Teams came and went, and attendance declined. Then in 1876, the National League of Professional Base Ball Clubs supplanted the NA, with players relegated to a secondary position (p. 80). The new league was set up as a business with practical answers to the problems of the prior league, limiting franchises to cities with over 75,000 residents, charging \$100 for a franchise, a championship season that included home and away series, and penalties for using ineligible players. The NL charged an expensive fifty-cent admission fee, barred Sunday games, and required teams to provide security at the ballparks. The start of the league was shaky, with most teams initially losing money, some franchises getting expelled for not completing the season, and players on the Louisville

Grays disqualified for fixing games in 1877. The owners were flexible, and he explores how they dealt with their financial problems by setting up the reserve clause in 1879.<sup>10</sup>

The NL's financial success in the early 1880s led to its first serious competitor, the American Association. The NL probably should have been more on top of this possibility, especially with no teams since 1876 in New York or Philadelphia, the two largest cities, and other vacant cities, including Cincinnati. The new beer baron league operated with a different philosophy than the NL, seeking a working class audience with cheap admissions, Sunday games, and beer. In 1884, the leagues merged (along with the minor North-western League) to form Organized Baseball, stronger to fight new rivals like the short-lived Union League.

Seymour goes on to extensively discuss player-management relations, focusing on the reserve clause, salaries, discipline, and data on profits. He examined the evolution of rules changes in the 1880s as the NL tinkered with balancing offense and defense to encourage attendance, as well as play on the field, emphasizing the rise of inside baseball, and the rise of the post-season World Series between the AA and NL.

The final part of the book examined the crises of the 1890s, beginning with a detailed account of the rise and fall of the Players' League. He moved on to the demise of the American Association that resulted in the creation of a single twelve-team league, a monopoly that allowed owners to reestablish strict controls over players. The league struggled through the Depression of 1893 and its aftermath. The NL became very uncompetitive, abetted by syndicate management that drained teams like the Cleveland Spiders of its best players who were switched to the owner's other franchise. One result was the contraction of the league after the 1899 season to twelve teams (sound familiar?). The NL owners did not realize the consequence of this action, which encouraged the rise of the rival American League which proclaimed itself a major league in 1901.

The main theme of Seymour's narrative was to explain how a recreational sport was created and evolved into a commercialized monopoly that became the American national pastime. His work was the first book on baseball thoroughly based on primary research. It was also the first critical analysis of early baseball and the first to place the development of the game in the context of contemporary events. He corrected a long list of inaccurate assumptions about the game. Seymour could have made his discussion stronger by comparing the operation of the game to other contemporary businesses, particularly the robber barons, which seemed to him a model for baseball entrepreneurs. A reader today would find the book dated in its organization, lacking an introduction or conclusion, and having no theoretical construct. Urbanization and industrialization did not play a big role in the analysis. Contemporary readers would also look for more discussion of such topics as the location of ballparks, the role of urban politics, and the categorizing of the social origins of fans, ballplayers, and owners, which had to await the rise of quantitative history.

This old fashioned narrative was mainly history from the top down, albeit of a popular institution. There was virtually no use of popular culture except at the very end of the book, and the material cited is not much analyzed. Following the rise of professional baseball, there is little attention to baseball outside the major leagues.<sup>11</sup>



In 1971, while I was already far along in my research for my dissertation, *Baseball: The Golden Age* was published. I welcomed its publication since it would provide me with context for my specialized study that covered much of the same time period but, at the same time, frightened me because I was worried that it would "scoop" my own work.<sup>12</sup> This outstanding book covered the first three decades in great depth and moved the narrative into important new subjects. I was disappointed that the text was again not footnoted. Seymour employed some excellent primary sources, including many I had or would utilize. However, the bibliography of secondary sources was very thin for a text of some 460 pages.

The book was divided into five extremely illuminating sections. In Part I, Seymour examined "The Rule of the Triumvirs," the era of the National Commission. Seymour made great use of the new and unsorted August Herrmann Papers at the National Baseball Hall of Fame to examine in depth Chairman Herrmann's leadership of the National Commission as well as his work as president of the Cincinnati Reds. Next, Seymour examined the owners of baseball franchises in the early 1900s and their work, especially the development of new modern fireproof ballparks and efforts to increase attendance by various promotions including organizing youth programs, ladies' days, and giving passes to public figures to improve the status of the sport. Major league baseball became increasingly profitable and valuable in the early 1900s. Hence, Seymour analyzed the components of profit, mainly ticket sales, and the keeping of expenses, primarily salaries, as low as possible. He also pointed out the influence of technological changes on the baseball business, particularly mass transit and later the automobile as well as contemporary social and economic developments, such as increased urban populations.<sup>13</sup>

The next section dealt with "Heroes and Heroics" in which Seymour discussed fans and hero worship. He argued that baseball heroes were representative of traditional values, the Horatio Alger myth, and the purported democratic recruitment of ballplayers. The hero worship was facilitated by the booming periodic literature that was supportive of the sport and the players, though there were occasional attempts to demystify the ballplayers, most notably by Ring Lardner. Seymour gave particular attention to Ty Cobb and his demons, and the Muscular Christianity of Christy Mathewson, and such topics as the presence of college men, players and wives, and bizarre individuals like Rube Waddell. There was some discussion of the ethnicity of ballplayers, but it was not very extensive or quantified. Seymour examined the ethical standards of the game that justified winning at all costs including stealing signs and using loaded pitches.

The third section, entitled "A Trying Time" examines the problems of the majors in the 1910s, especially labor-management issues. He examined the limited efforts at unionization, which was an awkward program for heroes who had short, uncertain careers yet had serious grievances against powerful employers. Management tried to regain control over salaries after the NL and AL merged. Seymour also gave considerable attention to conflicts over player behavior on and off the field and compensation for injured players. Seymour offers a definitive analysis of the Federal League challenge with wealthy men trying to break into baseball from scratch. They tried to attract established major leaguers by not recognizing the reserve clause of Organized Baseball and by offering more mutual-ity in their contracts and much higher salaries. The Federals posed a strong legal threat to

the established league and were only defeated by the Supreme Court ruling in *Federal League v. Organized Baseball* (1922). The section included thorough coverage of World War I and baseball. While 227 major leaguers went into the armed forces, Seymour also examined the many who avoided the draft by securing employment (and sometimes even work) in war-related industries.

The fourth section examined "The Tarnished Image." This was an outstanding examination of the entire history of baseball gambling since the turn of the century. Seymour pointed out that many owners were themselves heavily involved in horse race gambling. Baseball fans, despite the conventional wisdom, enjoyed betting on baseball inside ballparks and outside where betting pools were protected by politicians. Seymour reviewed early episodes of alleged fixes, including John W. Taylor who in 1904 was accused of having thrown a game between the Cardinals and Pittsburgh. Fear of a lawsuit discouraged Organized Baseball from following up, and he was exonerated. After the 1919 World Series, former Phillies President Horace Fogel claimed that the Giants had tried to fix some games with his club late in 1912, a story supported by first baseman Kitty Barnsfield and catcher "Red" Dooin, who claimed that six Philadelphia players were offered more money to throw games than the White Sox were promised in 1919. Then there was the sordid case of Hal Chase, according to Seymour, "the archetype of all crooked ball players" (p. 288). All this was a prelude to Seymour's outstanding discussion of the Black Sox Scandal.<sup>14</sup>

Seymour started his narrative by pointing out that the episode unraveled after it was revealed on September 4, 1920, that the Chicago Cubs game against the Phillies on August 31 had been prearranged. Pitcher Claude Hendrix was taken out of the game and never pitched again in the majors. This was followed by a grand jury hearing that called several prominent baseball figures including Charles Comiskey. Comiskey then told the press that he had been suspicious of his players, which was followed by a shocking revelation in the *Philadelphia North American* on September 27, based on an interview with gambler Billy Maharg that White Sox player had been promised \$100,000 to lose the World Series. Seymour goes into considerable length examining the trial, which he considered a farce that served the interests of the gamblers and the baseball industry. He pointed out that it was the players who initiated the plot, but that it was poorly planned and poorly carried out. He found it was unclear which games they deliberately lost, if any, and which the squad won despite the effort of fixers. He also felt the circumstances of the confessions were significant in evaluating their verisimilitude. He gave a share of responsibility for the fix to Comiskey for badly underpaying his outstanding players. He felt that Comiskey wrongly became a martyr for his losses, and Commissioner Kennesaw Mountain Landis did not wield justice in his banning of all the players, especially since he left Chase off altogether.

The final section examined the "Czarist Regime," which was largely set up by Albert D. Lasker, the advertising executive and the second largest stockholder of the Chicago Cubs. Lasker felt the owners could not govern their own business and needed an outsider to take charge. Seymour presented a lengthy and critical discussion of Landis's work as commissioner, beginning with his running roughshod over the players. For instance, in 1921 Benny Kauff was accused of car theft and receiving stolen cars and was kicked out of baseball. When he was acquitted, Landis still kept him out; a ruling Seymour

considered double jeopardy. He took Landis to task for banishing pitcher Phil Douglas one year later. Douglas was an immature and sick man, a drunkard, who had foolishly written a letter to a rival player that he wanted to leave the Giants rather than help McGraw win a pennant.

The 1920s was a very profitable era for the Major Leagues. Only the Boston Red Sox did not make money, but the club had traded all their best players to the Yankees, who made \$3.5 million in eleven years. Seymour's data was from the Cellar Investigation of 1951, and he pointed out these were conservative figures since the accounting system employed listed salaries and expenses of owners and executives as costs when they really were profits (p. 344). Considerable attention was given to player-management relations and the rise of the farm system, which Landis opposed but could not halt. Seymour argued the owners were virtually operating in collusion, citing telegrams from Charles Ebbets about loaning ballplayers if needed to counter holdouts (p. 350). Seymour is very critical of Landis for his failure to end the farm system, though he did make many minor leaguers free agents when he detected blatant violations but does credit Landis for keeping the magnates in line more than ever before. Seymour did not recognize that Landis was working in the owners' interest even when they did not know it.<sup>15</sup> He also denied that Landis saved baseball after the Black Sox scandal. Rather he credited the decision of the Supreme Court in the Federal League anti-trust suit against Organized Baseball which ruled that the business of baseball was exempt from anti-trust legislation. He did credit Landis as a symbol of baseball's honesty and integrity.

*Baseball: The Golden Age* was well received by reviewers, with one notable exception. It was negatively reviewed in the *Journal of American History* by sociologist David Q. Voigt, who had also written a dissertation and book on nineteenth-century baseball. Voigt followed up his first book, *American Baseball* (1966) with a second that appeared in 1970, entitled *American Baseball, Volume 2: From the Commissioners' System to Continental Expansion*. His volume was less detailed, more focused on personalities, and more expansive in scope, covering the story of the major leagues up to 1960. Seymour, in turn reviewed Voigt's book in the same journal on the next page. This provided an unusually exciting historiographic moment for a fledgling student of baseball history. Voigt felt the prose "was turgid . . . which sometimes becomes pedantic." Voigt took Seymour to task for seeking to make baseball history his private preserve because he believed historians needed baseball experience, and sportswriters needed more historical knowledge. Voigt applauded Seymour's discussions on the intricacies of baseball, politics, and economics. However, he considered Seymour's analysis naïve about baseball's preeminence in the sporting scene and criticized him for slighting the spectacle and public drama of the games, such as the stirring pennant races, along with giving insufficient attention to the fans, umpires, journalists, and broadcasters (p. 192). Then on the following page, Seymour took on Voigt (p. 193). He was critical of Voigt's "sketchy treatment," and his research. Voigt did not utilize the Herrmann papers, made little use of the 1951 Cellar Hearings, and overlooked some secondary works. Seymour called Voigt's book "a slipshod piece of work" (p. 194) and cited numerous errors.<sup>16</sup>

Seymour was apparently pretty thin-skinned, and several critics other than Voigt have pointed to Seymour's apparent need to bolster his stature and criticize other scholars.<sup>17</sup> In

1991 he published the much-awaited third volume of his trilogy, *Baseball: The People's Game*, and attacked the "Scrap nibblers, not to mention a few plagiarizers, who, without citing me as their source, like yipping jackals snatch chunks from the disdainful tiger's kill. One even had the gall to complain of the taste of a chunk he gulped from one of my books" (pp. vi-vii).

*Baseball: The People's Game* was not the book scholar and baseball aficionados were waiting for. Instead of continuing the chronology of his first two volumes, Seymour decided to expand his purview by looking at the sport outside of the professional leagues.<sup>18</sup> He examined the bond between baseball and youth, the history of minorities in the sport, and the game's place in many institutions ranging from colleges to prisons and the military. The huge book had extensive discussions of women's baseball and African American baseball, topics that have come very much into vogue.<sup>19</sup> However, there was probably more about baseball in penitentiaries and military barracks than anyone cared to know. Furthermore, he continued largely to forget about the minor leagues. *The People's Game* suffered from a lack of editorial control. The reader gets the impression that Seymour's research was exhaustive, and nearly every note card found its way into the text. This massive volume begged for an introduction and conclusion.

As Seymour saw it, the house of baseball before World War II was built on a foundation of boys' play. In the house's basement were Native Americans and incarcerated individuals. The huge ground floor of the house encompassed softball players, military players, college players, and semipro, industrial, and town teams. The small upper floor, or superstructure, housed Organized Baseball, with the penthouse reserved for the Hall of Fame. Women were relegated to an annex, while African Americans were consigned to an outbuilding.

Seymour lovingly wrote about boys' baseball. He appreciated the need for an early start needed to master the game's skills and develop the courage needed to stand strong at the plate. However, Seymour pointed out, many boys could not play because twenty percent of boys aged ten to fifteen were working, and many parents saw no purpose to the game. He remembered how in his own youth Brooklyn boys had to make do with substandard equipment and fields, yet relished playing the game, influenced by real heroes and fictional heroes they read about in juvenile baseball books, and how the game served a rite of passage to adulthood for many boys. He pointed out how the sport was used by the YMCA, settlement houses, and schools to try to solve social problems, although many were not reached because they were no longer in school. Furthermore, Seymour implicitly recognized the myth of the baseball ideology because the sport did not actually build character, assimilate newcomers, or rehabilitate criminals.

Harold Seymour's scholarship was outstanding. He created the essential narrative for the history of baseball from its origins to the American Depression. He established an extremely high standard for research and analysis throughout his narratives. Seymour was the real pioneer in the history of sport, tilting at windmills when the rest of us were playing punchball or stoopball, or maybe even with rattles. He paved the way to intellectual respectability for all of us.



<sup>1</sup>The article was never completed because the writer died before he could complete the piece. <http://www.haroldseymour.com/article.asp?articleid=1888>. For journalistic reviews of his three volumes, see [http://www.haroldseymour.com/section\\_front.asp?arttypeid=480](http://www.haroldseymour.com/section_front.asp?arttypeid=480).

<sup>2</sup>Harold Seymour, "The Rise of Major League Baseball to 1891," (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1956). For biographical material on Seymour, see [http://www.haroldseymour.com/sport\\_front.asp?sportid=200](http://www.haroldseymour.com/sport_front.asp?sportid=200). Previous dissertations were Jennie Holliman on sports in early America, Foster Rhea Dulles on recreation in America, and John R. Betts's study of the rise of organized sport, all completed at Columbia University under John A. Krout, author of *Annals of American Sport*, vol. 14 of *The Pageant of America*, ed. Ralph Gabriel (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1929). See Jennie Holliman, *American Sport, 1785-1835* (Durham, N.C.: Seeman Press, 1931); Foster Rhea Dulles, *America Learns to Play: A History of Popular Recreation, 1607-1940* (New York: D. Appleton Century, 1940); John R. Betts, *The Rise of Organized Sports, 1850-1950* (Boston: Addison-Wesley, 1974).

<sup>3</sup><http://www.haroldseymour.com/article.asp?articleid=18622><http://www.haroldseymour.com/article.asp?articleid=18622>.

<sup>4</sup>T. Harry Williams, Richard N. Current, and Frank Freidel, *American History: A Survey*, 7th ed. (New York: Knopf, 1983), 560-561.

<sup>5</sup>Robert W. Henderson, *Ball, Bat and Bishop: The Origin of Ball Games* (New York: Rockport Press, 1947).

<sup>6</sup>Melvin L. Adelman, *A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820-70* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1986), 123-124.

<sup>7</sup>The conflict of cricket and baseball have been carefully examined in Adelman, *Sporting Time*, 97-119, and especially in George B. Kirsch, *The Creation of American Team Sports: Baseball and Cricket, 1818-72* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 1-77, 201-229. On the early days of amateur baseball, see also Warren Goldstein, *Playing for Keeps: A History of Early Baseball* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989).

<sup>8</sup>Adelman, *Sporting Time*, 125-126, 138-142, 154-156, 175-179; Kirsch, *Creation*, 122-137.

<sup>9</sup>See also Marshall D. Wright, *The National Association of Base Ball Players, 1857-1870* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2000).

<sup>10</sup>On the rise of the NL, see also Tom Melville, *Early Baseball and the Rise of the National League* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2001); Charles Bevis, *The Major Leagues' Struggle to Play Baseball on the Lord's Day, 1876-1934* (Jefferson City, N.C.: McFarland, 2003); David Nemecek, *The Beer and Whiskey League: The Illustrated History of the American Association—Baseball's Renegade Major League* (New York: Lyons & Burford, 1994).

<sup>11</sup>On youth baseball, see Ronald A. Story, "In the Country of the Young," in *Cooperstown Symposium on Baseball and Culture*, ed. Alvin L. Hall (Westport, Conn.: Meckler, 1989), 328-357. There has been, of course, an explosion of studies on early black baseball, beginning with Robert Peterson, *Only the Ball was White* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970); Jerry Malloy, ed., *Sol Whites History of Colored Base Ball, With Other Documents on the Early Black Game, 1886-1936* (1907; reprint ed., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995); Gregory Bond, "Whipped Curs and Real Men: Race, Manliness, and the Segregation of Organized Baseball in the Late Nineteenth Century" (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1999); Michael Lomax, *Black Baseball Entrepreneurs, 1860-1901: Operating by Any Means Necessary* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2003).

<sup>12</sup>Steven A. Riess, "Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era, Myths and Realities with Special Emphasis on Atlanta, Chicago, and New York" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974), revised as *Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980).

<sup>13</sup>Recent studies on the business of baseball include Robert F. Burke, *Never Just a Game: Players, Owners and American Baseball to 1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); idem, *Much More Than a Game: Players, Owners, & American Baseball Since 1921* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); G. Edward White, *Creating the National Pastime: Baseball Transforms Itself, 1903-1953* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996).

<sup>14</sup>Daniel E. Ginsburg, *The Fix is In: A History of Baseball Gambling and Game Fixing Scandals* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1995); Martin Donell Kohout, *Hal Chase: The Defiant Life and Turbulent Times of Baseball's Biggest Crook* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2001).

<sup>15</sup>See Clark Nardinelli, "Judge Kennesaw Mountain Landis and the Art of Cartel Enforcement," *Baseball History* 1 (premier ed): 103-114.

<sup>16</sup>David Q. Voigt, *Baseball, Volume 1: American From Gentleman's Sport to the Commissioner System* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966); Harold Seymour, review of *American Baseball, Volume 2: From the Commissioners to Continental Expansion* by David Q. Voigt (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970) in *Journal of American History* 59 (1972): 193-194; David Voigt, review of *Baseball, Volume 2: The Golden Years* by Harold Seymour (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), in *ibid.*, 191-192.

<sup>17</sup>Charles C. Alexander, "Baseball for Everybody: Baseball: The People's Game," *Reviews in American History* 19 (1991): 104-118. See also Warren Goldstein, review of *Baseball, Volume 3: The People's Game* by Harold Seymour (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) in *Journal of American History* 78 (1991): 370-371.

<sup>18</sup>It should be recognized that much of the research and writing for this volume was actually done by his wife Dorothy Seymour, now Dorothy S. Mills. See <http://www.dorothyjanemills.com/dorothyjanemills.php>.

<sup>19</sup>Susan E. Johnson, *When Women Played Hardball* (Seattle: Seal Press, 1994); Barbara Gregorich, *Women at Play: The Story of Women in Baseball* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1993); Gai I. Berlage, *Women in Baseball: The Forgotten History* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1994). On black baseball, see Leslie A. Heaphy, *The Negro Leagues, 1869-1960* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2002); Robert C. Cottrell, *The Best Pitcher in Baseball The Life of Rube Foster, Negro League Giant* (New York: New York University Press, 2001); Larry Lester, *Black Baseball's National Showcase: The East-West All-Star Game, 1933-1953* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001); Paul Debano, *The Indianapolis ABCs: History of a Premier Team in the Negro Leagues* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1997); Neil Lanctot, *Fair Dealing and Clean Playing: The Hilldale Club and the Development of Black Professional Baseball, 1910-1932* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1994); Richard Bak, *Turkey Stearnes and the Detroit Stars: The Negro Leagues in Detroit, 1919-1933* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994); Janet Bruce, *The Kansas City Monarchs: Champions of Black Baseball* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1985); Donn Rogosin, *Invisible Men: Life in Baseball's Negro Leagues* (New York: Atheneum, 1983).