

**Encyclopedia of Major
League Baseball Clubs,
Volumes 1 & 2**

*Edited by
Steven A. Riess*

Greenwood Press

**Encyclopedia of
Major League Baseball Clubs**

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

Major League Baseball Clubs

VOLUME I | THE NATIONAL LEAGUE

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Introduction: A Brief History of Major League Baseball Teams

Steven A. Riess

The cornerstone of Major League Baseball has been the leagues and their teams. The majors are comprised of the National League, which dates back to 1876, and the American League, which became a major operation in 1901. The NL was itself predated by the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players (1871–75), which was arguably the first major league. The NL itself operated in conjunction with the American Association, a major league from 1882 to 1891, and was rivaled by the short-lived Union Association in 1884 and the Players' League in 1890. Since then the only other league to proclaim itself a major league was the Federal League (1914–15), which at its death merged into the established big leagues.

The major leagues currently have 30 members, some of which date back over 125 years to the start of the NL, while Arizona and Tampa Bay just began in 1998. The NL now consists of 16 teams; the AL consists of 14. They are part of the most stable professional sports league in perhaps the entire world. No franchise has gone out of business for over 100 years, and between 1903 and 1952, no franchise even moved from one city to another.

Baseball became the national pastime in the 1850s, and has long been the preeminent team sport in North America. However, the first team sports in the United States and Canada were Native American contests like lacrosse and shinny. The initial Euro-American team sport was cricket, brought to the colonies by the English before the Revolutionary War. It became very popular by the 1840s when a cricket fad emerged in the Northeast among English immigrants and middle-class Americans. By 1860 there were some 400 cricket clubs and 10,000 players.

Cricket was quickly surpassed by the new game of baseball, which had simpler rules, was easier to play, had more dramatic shifts between offense and defense, and required less time to complete. Baseball evolved from such English games as rounders and old cat and surpassed in popularity other ball games, most notably the Massachusetts Game, which had less offense and might take an entire day to play. The rules of baseball were established by Alexander Joy Cartwright of the New York Knickerbockers, a club of athletic white-collar workers who played intraclub games at the Elysian Fields in Hoboken in 1845. Their rules called for a diamond-shaped playing field with bases at each corner, 90 feet apart. Three infielders, except the “short” fielder, stationed themselves by a base. The pitcher, or “feeder,” threw underhand from 45 feet, with a running start. There were no balls or strikes, so hitters (“strikers”) waited until they got a pitch they liked. Batters were put out by striking at the ball three times without touching it, by being forced out at first base, or by having their batted ball caught on the fly or on the first bounce. Catchers positioned themselves a few feet behind the striker to catch foul tips, which put the batter out. Runners could be put out by being forced out or tagged with the ball when off a base. Teams played an equal number of innings, with the first team achieving 21 aces (runs) the winner. There was a single umpire, often dressed in a top hat and tails. He sat at a table by third base, and rarely interfered with a game unless there was a controversy. The Knickerbockers originally played intraclub games, but in 1846 lost to the New York Club, 23–1. This was their only game against an outside opponent until 1851. Very little is known about their opponent, although an item in the press a year before reported a ball game played in Brooklyn between the New York Club and a Brooklyn squad.

In the mid-1850s the sport gained a lot of popularity, mainly in metropolitan New York, where there were 10 clubs, 3 in New York and 7 in Brooklyn. In 1857 delegates from early New York–area clubs formed the first baseball league, the National Association of Base Ball Players (NABBP) to make up the rules (including limiting games to nine innings), regulate competition, and maintain the fraternal nature of the amateur sport. The game’s popularity was promoted by journalists in the daily press and the sporting weeklies like the *Spirit of the Times* and the *Clipper*, and by such events as the 1858 All-Star Game between New York and Brooklyn players and the 1860 tours by the Brooklyn Excelsiors, who played in upstate New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. One year later, when the Civil War began, there were at least 200 junior and senior teams in Greater New York. Their members and members of clubs in cities as far west as Chicago and south as Baltimore became known as the ball-playing fraternity. The clubs were social organizations mainly of young white-collar workers like small shopkeepers, clerks, and college students, but were also organized by residents of particular neighborhoods, workers in a particular craft (especially butchers, firemen, printers, and shipwrights), and African American organizations. Players were typically single men living in boardinghouses, looking for a chance to socialize and display physical prowess. They used their participa-

tion and the wearing of uniforms that designated them as ballplayers to gain a sense of self-satisfaction and accomplishment that was missing from their increasingly routinized labor. In 1864 the game became manlier when the rules required a fly ball to be caught to register a putout.

The growing seriousness of play was reflected by the establishment of a championship system, which required the challenger to defeat the prior champion in a two-out-of-three series in the same year, involving riotous behavior among spectators and the recruiting of players. In 1860 James Creighton was engaged to pitch for the Brooklyn Excelsiors, a middle-class WASP squad, for some compensation, making him the first professional ballplayer. Their fiercest rivalry was with the Brooklyn Atlantics, comprised of working-class Irishmen. They played each other for the championship in 1860. In the third and deciding game, attended by over 15,000 spectators, several unpopular decisions by the umpire led to a riot by the Atlantics' Irish Catholic fans, and the game was halted. The two teams never played again. In 1862, William Cammeyer built an enclosure around his skating rink at a cost of \$12,000. He made it available for free to the Brooklyn Atlantics and began charging for admission. This was a major step toward the commercialization and even greater competitiveness. The Civil War hindered play in New York because so many young men went off to war, but did help spread the game in military camps.

After the Civil War, several clubs, like the New York Mutuals and Brooklyn's Eckfords and Atlantics, employed various inducements, including government sinecures, to recruit top men. By 1868, about 13 clubs were covertly professional even though that was barred by the NABBP. Then in 1869, the Cincinnati Red Stockings became the first overtly professional team, with players signed to contracts that ranged from \$600 to \$1,400 a season. The team, which went 57–0–1, was financed by subscriptions from 350 local businessmen led by attorney Aaron B. Champion, who sought to bolster the Queen City's national reputation. The Red Stockings' success encouraged leaders in other midwestern cities like Chicago to finance professional teams for the same reason. The Chicago White Stockings were established in 1870 as a \$20,000 corporation by such boosters as hotelier Potter Palmer and *Tribune* publisher Joseph Medill.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

In 1871 10 professional teams that were either joint stock companies or cooperatives organized by players themselves formed the National Association of Professional Baseball Players (NA), the first professional league. The association was neither based on sound business principles nor controlled by the players as its title suggested. The NA lasted five years and went through 25 teams. Only the Red Stockings, Mutuals, and Philadelphia Athletics played all five years. In 1875, Boston won its fourth straight pennant with a record of 71–8 and made a profit of \$3,261 from gross receipts of \$38,000. Manager Harry Wright did a great job recruiting players, promoting teamwork and scientific

play on the field, and taking care of nearly all the business details. NA teams had many problems, especially the unequal competition, which hurt fan interest. Membership cost only \$10, which enabled insufficiently financed teams to join the league. Players jumped from one team to another during the season (revolving). Salaries averaged \$1,300 to \$1,600, which was too high to make much profit, and teams dropped out midyear if they were losing money. The league was poorly administered, with no control of schedules. Furthermore, there were rumors of fixes.

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE

In 1876 the National League of Professional Base Ball Clubs was formed to supplant the NA. The association was, as its name suggested, a business-oriented venture. The main mover was Chicago businessman William Hulbert, president of the White Stockings, who had previously signed up several star NA players for the forthcoming season. The NL had franchises in Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Hartford, Louisville, New York, Philadelphia, and St. Louis owned by small merchants and politicians. The league required a minimum of 75,000 residents to keep out cities with insufficient population bases. Teams were given a territorial monopoly in their city. Visiting teams received 50 percent of the 50-cent base admission to offset hometown population disparities and promote competition. The league banned Sunday games, liquor, and gambling to keep out the riffraff and encourage middle-class audiences. Despite the best-laid plans, the league struggled at first. In 1876, only the champion Chicago squad made money, and the Philadelphia Athletics and New York Mutuals were expelled for not completing their final road trip. Then in 1877 four Louisville Grays were discovered to have fixed games and were banned for life. By 1880, the NL had been through 16 teams. Some left because of financial losses and others were expelled for selling liquor and playing on Sundays.

The NL did not monopolize top-flight baseball in the late 1870s. There were many strong independent clubs, who in 1877 established the loosely linked International Association. In 1879 the NL filled its vacancies with Syracuse and Troy, two of the stronger IA clubs, and in 1880 added Worcester, even though those cities did not have 75,000 residents.

A key early problem for the teams was how to keep down salaries, which comprised nearly two-thirds of their expenses. In 1879 management placed a reserve clause into players' contracts that bound them to their club in perpetuity, although players could be sold, traded, or expelled for violating team rules. The NL started with five reserved men, but by 1883 it was reserving nearly all its players, which caused salaries in the early 1880s to drop by 20 percent.

By 1882 the NL had gained enough success or the promise of a bright future to encourage the establishment of a new rival league, the American Association. Popularly known as the Beer and Whiskey League because of its owners' prior businesses, the AA sought a working-class audience in the prosperous

1880s by selling beer, playing on Sunday, and charging just 25 cents for tickets. The new league included teams from St. Louis and Cincinnati, which had both been pushed out of the NL because of the drinking issue and Sunday baseball, plus Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Louisville, and Baltimore. These six cities had a larger population base than the eight-team NL. After one season of bitter competition, the rival leagues agreed to recognize each other, honor the contracts of reserved players, and establish exclusive territorial rights. They cooperated in 1884 to repel the threat of a rival league, the Union Association. The NL and AA teams played exhibition games after the regular season in 1883, and the pennant winners played an exhibition series after the 1884 season titled "the United States Championship." One year later Chicago (NL) played St. Louis (AA) for "the Championship of America." In 1886 those teams played for "the world's championship," with the winning St. Louis team taking all the gate receipts. The series was repeated through 1889.

Owners made good profits in the 1880s, when average attendance ranged from 2,500 to 3,500. The valuable Chicago White Stockings reported very substantial earnings, and by 1887, had reportedly accumulated a surplus of about \$100,000. One year later, the team made \$60,000. Even more lucrative were the New York Giants, whose profits from 1885 through 1887 supposedly averaged over \$100,000. Teams tried to sustain their prosperity by creating a \$2,500 maximum-salary classification system in 1888, but it was not fully adhered to. Owners also sought to control the social behavior of players on and off the field. Albert G. Spalding of the White Stockings fined dissipated players for diminishing their skills, and hired detectives to watch the most recalcitrant, like Mike "King" Kelly, who along with his outfield mates were all traded because of their drinking escapades.

THE PLAYERS' LEAGUE

The players fought back in 1885 with the Brotherhood of Professional Base Ball Players, professional sports' first union. Then, four years later, the union's leaders organized their own major league, the Players' League, with the financial backing of politicians, streetcar magnates, and other businessmen who were similar in background to owners of the AA and NL squads. Seven of the eight teams were placed in NL cities. The PL dropped the reserve clause and the blacklist, and appealed to middle-class fans by barring Sunday games and beer sales; the basic admission was 50 cents. Any profits over \$10,000 were to be divided with the players.

The PL was a huge threat to the NL and AA, and received the support of sporting weeklies. It put an excellent product on the field, signing many major leaguers, including most of the stars, and helped push up salaries for players who did not jump to the league. The PL outdrew the NL, but only the Boston Reds, with Mike "King" Kelly, made a profit. All of the leagues lost heavily in 1890. The once profitable New York Giants nearly went bankrupt and Spald-

ing's team suffered a \$65,000 loss. The NL fought back vigorously, killing the PL by co-opting the "contributors" or financial angels of the PL franchises, allowing them to buy into NL teams.

THE CONSOLIDATED NATIONAL LEAGUE

The PL war did not lead to baseball peace. Conflict over the reentry of certain players back to the Philadelphia AA team resulted in a new association war with the NL that continued the upward spiral of salaries. The outcome was the National Agreement of 1892, in which the AA closed down and four of its teams joined the NL, now a 12-team league. The AA had had its ups and downs, and 19 different teams had played in the league. Rosters were cut from 15 to 12 and salaries were cut 30–40 percent in 1892, and further sliced in 1893. A new unofficial \$2,400 salary maximum was set and strictly enforced.

Team strength in the late nineteenth century was very unbalanced. The White Stockings, with their roster of stars, dominated in the 1880s, winning five NL pennants (1880–82, 1885–86), while the St. Louis Browns won four straight AA titles (1885–88) and fared well in postseason matches with the NL. In the 1890s the most successful teams were the innovative Boston and Baltimore clubs, which won 8 of 10 pennants, emphasizing "inside baseball." The Baltimore Orioles were especially renowned for such tactics as "the Baltimore chop," daring baserunning, intimidation of opposing players, unsportsmanlike play (tripping and blocking base runners), rowdy behavior, and confronting umpires.

The unbalanced 12-team NL failed to maximize fan interest, and attendance dropped to an average range of 2,000 to 3,000. Mediocre squads in the largest cities, New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, consistently finished out of the money, while Louisville and St. Louis finished in last place for five of eight years. The sorriest situation was in Cleveland, whose Spiders went 20–134 in 1899. They drew under 200 fans at home, and spent the last two months on the road as the "Exiles" or "Misfits." The team's poor showing was the result of syndicate ownership whereby one magnate controlled two different teams. Stanley Robison traded his best players to his brother's St. Louis club, which was a better draw. Syndicate ball also resulted in Louisville's best players being shunted to Pittsburgh, and Baltimore sending its stars to the Brooklyn Trolley Dodgers, which helped them take the pennant in 1899 and 1900. In 1900 the NL dropped Cleveland, Baltimore, Louisville—all weakened by syndicate ball—and Washington, returning to an eight-team league, further limiting the number of jobs in the major leagues.

Teams then played at flimsily constructed wooden ballparks that were fire hazards. In 1894 alone four burned down. Fields were in accessible locations in safe neighborhoods, near good mass transit, where land costs were not too high. Parks were almost never in the central business districts, but rather in outlying middle-class neighborhoods. Teams were sensitive to rising rents and

declining neighborhoods, and often moved. The White Stockings played at six different sites between 1870 and 1894.

The NL teams lost money in 1892 but made money the next three years by holding the salary line. In 1894, despite the Depression, eleven of twelve teams were profitable, ranging from \$5,000 to \$40,000. However, business declined in the late 1890s because of the long-term effects of the Depression, a lack of competitiveness among the twelve teams, a weak franchise in New York, and fan disgust at syndicate ball.¹

THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN LEAGUE

A new era in major-league baseball occurred with the emergence of the American League as a major league in 1901. It was the vision of former journalist and Western League president Byron Bancroft “Ban” Johnson, who saw that professional baseball had a lot of profit-making potential. Johnson reorganized the old Western League into the American League in 1900, moving into locations that the NL had vacated (Cleveland, Baltimore, and Washington), and shifting the St. Paul franchise, owned by Charles Comiskey, to his hometown of Chicago. The new league was heavily funded by coal merchant Charles A. Somers, who helped finance teams in Cleveland, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston. In 1901 the AL tried to secure major-league status by raiding the senior circuit, offering higher salaries that attracted at least 74 NL players to the new league. This infusion of stars helped the AL surpass the NL in attendance in 1902. The final part of the puzzle lay in securing a New York franchise, made possible in 1903 because of the political clout of the local franchise’s owners.

The leagues came to an understanding in the National Agreement of 1903, which ratified the AL’s major-league status. The leagues recognized each other’s reserve clauses, established a three-man National Commission to run organized baseball, and set up a minor-league draft system. The season ended with a best-of-nine competition between each league’s champion, known as the World Series.

Major-league teams then were owned by small businessmen and a number of former baseball players, all of whom were politicians or closely connected to professional politicians. They found the game a very profitable venture, with growing audiences that rose from about 3,400 in 1901 to 6,133 by 1910. Teams were proud of their fans like “Nuf Said” McGreevey and the Boston Royal Rooters, or the Irish who sat at the Kerry Patch in St. Louis. As the noted *Independent* pointed out in 1913: “The profits of baseball investment have proven so dazzling in the last ten years that many prominent businessmen, politicians, and capitalists have gone into the business with every promise of success.”² The Cleveland Indians, originally purchased for \$10,000, were worth \$100,000 by then, which was below the league average. The team made an average of \$55,000 a year from 1904 to 1912, while the Tigers made an \$80,000 profit from 1907 to 1911 and \$48,000 a year from 1914 to 1918. The Cubs were probably

the most profitable, making \$1.2 million between 1906 and 1915. Furthermore, each team president made a salary of about \$25,000.

Owners presented themselves to their communities as public-spirited citizens who supported baseball because of their interest in their hometowns, but they were cold-blooded businessmen. They used their political connections to secure inside information and preferential treatment from the municipality to help them run their operation as efficiently as possible. Their political connections helped them secure Sunday baseball and police protection, minimize license fees and undue municipal interference, hinder rivals like the Federal League, and even suppress bad publicity and damaging evidence, as in the Black Sox scandal.

The most important single problem owners faced after the rise of the AL was the construction of modern ballparks that enabled them to increase seating capacity, raise ticket prices, fulfill new building codes that stressed safety, and cope with competition from other amusements like the glamorous new amusement parks and luxurious downtown vaudeville theaters. The owners no longer moved from one wooden structure to another, but built expensive and permanent fire-resistant ballparks. The necessary technology, employing steel and reinforced concrete, had previously been available, but owners did not want to commit to expensive structures until the costs of construction had declined and there was a sufficient demand by fans. They relied on their political connections to get them inside information about the best potential sites, which they either rented with very long-term leases or purchased outright. The first fully modern ballpark was Philadelphia's 23,000-seat, \$300,000 Shibe Park, built in a French Renaissance style, and the \$1 million (for land and construction) Forbes Field in Pittsburgh, which seated 25,000 fans. By 1915 every major-league city had a new modern ballpark, often with its own unique architecture and interior dimensions, and the older grounds were remodeled with fire-resistant material.

Certain teams dominated the dead-ball era on the field and at the box office. Between 1901 and 1910 the Pirates and Cubs each won four pennants. The Giants took two in that decade and four more in the 1910s. The Giants also dominated at the box office, drawing about 20 percent of NL attendance in the early 1900s, more than triple that of the lowly Boston Braves. The AL was more competitive in the early 1900s, when no teams won more than the Tigers (three). Then between 1910 and 1914 Connie Mack's A's won four pennants, and the Red Sox, who had won twice in the early 1900s, won four between 1911 and 1918. Three teams won no pennants at all before 1920, including the Washington Senators, who only drew about seven percent of AL attendance. The Chicago White Sox led with 17.6 percent, which reflected the quality of its play, Sunday ball, and the largest section of 25-cent seats in the major leagues.

Teams in the dead-ball era had a lot of individual identity, usually reflecting a dominant player like Ty Cobb of the Tigers or Walter Johnson of the Senators, but also powerful managers or owners like Connie Mack of the Athletics,

John McGraw of the Giants, and Charles Comiskey of the White Sox. Some of the clubs' identities reflected their play on the field, such as "the Hitless Wonders," the world champion Sox of 1906, or Mack's "\$100,000 infield" of the early 1910s, or the large number of college men on certain teams like the Athletics and Giants. Teams either maintained traditional nicknames like Dodgers or Giants or developed modern nicknames, usually reflecting an aspect of the team's identity, like the Boston Braves (named for a Tammany Hall owner), the Chicago Cubs (for the team's youth), or the Washington Senators (for Capitol Hill).

TEAMS IN THE INTERWAR ERA

In the golden age of baseball during the 1920s, teams' average annual profit margin was 18.3 percent on annual gross incomes exceeding \$10 million. The typical team drew 7,531 spectators per game, drawn by the new style of play that emphasized power hitting over pitching. The majors had averaged from 1909 through 1918 a .254 batting average, 7.9 runs per game, and 198 home runs per season. Then in 1920 the AL improved to a .283 batting average, 9.5 runs per game, and 370 home runs for the season. Much of the change was due to Babe Ruth, who hit 54 home runs in 1920, more than any team in the AL, and became an instant role model. The popularity of the slugging game was supported by changes in pitching rules that banned many of the deceptive pitches. Hence, from 1922 to 1941, the majors averaged a .280 batting average, nearly 9.5 runs per game, and over 600 home runs per season.

The era was marked by the rise of the New York Yankees, whose owner, Jacob Ruppert Jr., was willing to spend heavily to buy top players from Harry Frazee of the Boston Red Sox. The Yankees won six pennants in the 1920s, while their crosstown rivals, the Giants, won four (1921–24). A second dynasty in the making was the St. Louis Cardinals (nine pennants between 1926 and 1946), and briefly the Philadelphia Athletics, who won three straight championships (1929–31) with one of the greatest teams of all time, including four Hall of Famers. Other strong teams in the 1930s included the Cubs, who won four pennants from 1929 to 1938; the Giants, who won three; and the Cardinals, who also won three.

The Yankees were the most profitable major league team in the 1920s, earning \$3,272,214, and the most profitable NL team were the Pittsburgh Pirates, a small market team who drew who made \$2,308,148 and distributed \$708,700 in dividends. They were a good draw and won the 1925 World Series and the 1927 pennant. However, over the long haul, the Cardinals were the most successful small city in the majors because of Branch Rickey's acumen in scouting players, and creation of the lucrative farm system. Teams had previously owned or had affiliations with minor-league clubs, who did most of the scouting and recruiting of young ballplayers. In the 1920s, however, the high minor leagues were outside the baseball draft, and held onto their prize players until they got

top dollar. Rickey decided to build a system of minor-league clubs to develop talent. The Cardinals only controlled 5 clubs in 1929, but by 1936 controlled 28, and scouted the country nationally looking for prospects. The Cardinals brought up the best and sold the rest off. Their system became a model that was soon widely emulated, especially by the Yankees, whose great dynasty won four straight World Series (1936–39) and was stocked by several players from their own farm system. According to baseball historian Benjamin Rader, “The Yankees became the quintessential representatives of the big city, of urban America with its sophistication, cosmopolitanism, and ethnic and religious heterogeneity, whereas the Cardinals were the quintessential representatives of the small towns and the farms of rural American with its simplicity, rusticity, and old stock Protestant homogeneity. Even the clean, understated elegance of the pinstriped Yankee uniforms contrasted sharply with the images of the dust-covered, baggy uniforms of the Cardinals’ Gas House Gang.”³

When the Depression started, Major League Baseball was doing very well, and in 1930 set a record profit of \$2,318,847. At a time when millions of people were losing their jobs, entertainment was one of the last things they gave up so they could have a momentary relief from the bad times. Owners struggled to make ends meet during the depression, when attendance averaged only 6,578. Major-league attendance dropped from 10.2 million in 1930 to 6.1 million by 1933. Gate receipts fell from \$17 million in 1929 to \$10.8 million in 1933. Average salaries declined to \$4,500 from over \$5,300 in 1929. The American League began losing money in 1931, and the National League in 1932. The game did not regain its profitability until 1935. Low attendance, abetted by no Sunday baseball, caused Connie Mack to sell off his stars. Management was slow to innovate and adjust to the conditions. The first All-Star Game was held in 1933, and two years later the Cincinnati Reds introduced night games to appeal to working-class fans. By the end of the decade, all the parks but Wrigley Field were equipped with artificial lighting, but each host team was limited to seven night games. Teams also began to charge radio stations for broadcasting games, which had started as a free service in the early 1920s. Teams were worried that broadcasts hurt attendance, but in 1934, when the Cardinals halted them, attendance still went down. New York’s three teams barred local radio broadcasts from 1934 until 1939. By then the profit potential of charging stations became more apparent, and the New Yorkers lifted their ban, each securing \$100,000 contracts for radio rights

BASEBALL DURING WORLD WAR II

During World War II, the major leagues struggled to survive, as millions of baseball fans went overseas to serve their country, joined over time by hundreds of major league ballplayers. Only 40 percent of starters in April 1941 were still starting three years later. Organized baseball was worried that the government would curtail the national pastime, as it did in World War I, but

President Franklin Roosevelt believed that would hurt morale and did not interfere with the game. Teams did cut costs by holding spring training near their home. Attendance declined from a record 5.4 million in 1940 to 3.7 million in 1943, the first season since 1934 that the major leagues did not make money. Their teams had to rely on players who were too old, too young, or physically unfit for the draft. Performance levels declined to the point that in 1944, AL batting champion George “Stuffy” Stirrweiss hit only .309, and homer leader Nick Etten had just 22 homers. Cubs owner P.K. Wrigley was so concerned about the state of baseball that he organized the All American Girls’ Professional Baseball League to sustain interest. Nonetheless, interest in the game remained strong, and there were limited entertainment options on the home front. Attendance revived in 1944 to a record 4.8 million and rose to nearly 5.6 million in 1945.

BASEBALL AFTER WORLD WAR II

Professional baseball was extremely popular after World War II. Profits in 1946 rose from \$1.2 million the year before to nearly \$4.9 million, and were replicated the next season. Major-league attendance doubled to an average of 16,027, and the minor leagues had their greatest boom ever, with 52 different leagues. With the business flourishing, the next great challenge after the war was the integration of baseball. Virtually all owners opposed it for fear of fomenting racial antagonisms among players and spectators, and because they did not want to lose revenue from renting their parks to local Negro League clubs. The Brooklyn Dodgers alone challenged the status quo. President Branch Rickey had a long history of thinking outside the box. Rickey was motivated by a desire to do the right thing and make a place for himself in history, but he also wanted to build up the Dodgers’ roster with quality players available for little or no expenditure, and expected black players would make the turnstiles click. Baseball’s Great Experiment did not go smoothly, and several racist teams vigorously challenged Jackie Robinson in 1947, with no success. Eleven weeks into the season Cleveland Indians’ maverick owner Bill Veeck hired Larry Doby, the first African American in the AL. However, the pace of integration was very slow, and as late as 1953, only six teams had black players, despite their domination of such NL honors as Rookie of the Year and Most Valuable Player. The pace of integration was especially slow in the AL, which in the 1950s often had less than half as many blacks as the New York Giants alone. The last team to integrate was the Red Sox, who signed Pumpsie Green in 1959.

A second great challenge was the relocation of franchises, beginning with teams that were the least popular in two-team cities. This was connected to a decline in the baseball business in 1950, when MLB made just \$689,000 compared to \$3.3 million the year before. By 1952, ten of the sixteen teams were losing money. Baseball was having a hard time competing with other leisure

options, and was surpassed in attendance by horse racing. The game was losing spectators to television, which at the same time, was a growing source of income for teams in big media markets that sought to maximize profits.

The long-term stability of the major leagues ended in 1953 when the Boston Braves, a struggling club that was the second-most-popular team in its city, moved to Milwaukee, abetted by local boosters who wanted to use baseball to promote their city and build up the local economy. The move was supported by the county government, which increased the capacity of County Stadium and leased it to the Braves for a nominal sum. The venture was an enormous short-term success at the box office and on the field, encouraging other teams to copy the Braves, who led the major leagues in profits for three of the next four years. In 1954 the hapless St. Louis Browns moved to Baltimore, where they played at publicly owned Memorial Stadium, and in 1955 the cellar-dwelling Philadelphia Athletics moved to Kansas City to play at Municipal Stadium. Then in 1958 the Dodgers and Giants left New York City for the West Coast. The Dodgers had failed to get New York City to support the team's quest for a larger, more accessible ballpark site, but Los Angeles was champing at the bit. Walter O'Malley traded the local Wrigley Field for Chavez Ravine, the last vacant sector in the vicinity of downtown. The county subsidized O'Malley by providing him with 300 acres of free land worth nearly \$6 million, \$4.7 million in new roads, a 99-year agreement on parking rights, and other concessions, although he had to build his own stadium. Further north, the Giants moved into San Francisco, where the city built Candlestick Park.

Three years later, MLB expanded for the first time. The lords of baseball were concerned about the protection of the antitrust exemption, especially after the Washington Senators were permitted to move to Minneapolis in 1960, and also the rise of a rival Continental League. The AL added two new teams in 1961 with a new Washington Senators and the Los Angeles Angels. One year later the Mets were established to fill the void in New York City, along with the Houston Colt .45s, the first franchise in the rapidly growing state of Texas. The new clubs had to pay a \$1.8 million initiation fee and were staffed through a draft of fringe major leaguers who cost \$75,000 apiece. The new teams were awful—the Mets went 40–122 in 1962—and for several years they were mired in and around last place in a 10-team league.

Attendance growth in the 1960s was just five percent over the 1950s, and did not justify further expansion. However, lawsuits and pressure from Congress following the Braves' removal to Atlanta in 1965 and the Athletics' move to Oakland in 1967, the presence of cities seeking franchises, and interleague power struggles resulted in adding Kansas City, Seattle, San Diego, and Montreal in 1968. The AL charged the new owners \$5.15 million to join, while the NL doubled the fee to \$10 million. In addition, each team paid \$175,000 for players selected from a pool. MLB created two 12-team leagues and a new divisional playoff format.

Television became a major factor in franchise profitability. TV revenues were largely locally based and very uneven. Local TV revenues in 1950 amounted to \$2.3 million for the 16 clubs, rising to \$12.5 million in 1960 (in 1959 the Yankees were getting about \$1 million from broadcast revenue, compared to \$150,000 for the Senators) and \$20.7 million in 1969. In the 1950s national networks had agreements only with particular teams, mainly in large-market cities, leaving teams in small cities without national televised games. Starting in 1953 each team set up its own local broadcast policy. League-wide packages were only permitted in 1961 following the passage of the Sports Broadcasting Act.

Several multipurpose cookie-cutter municipal stadiums were built in the period 1964–70, including downtown ballparks in Atlanta, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Cincinnati. The latter four were constructed in declining rust-belt cities near major highway interchanges to promote central business districts and build confidence in the future. The parks in the mid-1960s in Atlanta, St. Louis, Anaheim, and San Diego cost \$19–25 million, far less than the \$45 million Astrodome, the first enclosed ballpark, completed in 1964. Costs for open-air parks nearly doubled within a few years because of higher construction expenses, to about \$50 million for Cincinnati's Riverfront Stadium, Philadelphia's Veterans Stadium, and Pittsburgh's Three Rivers Stadium. In 1971, New York City took over Yankee Stadium and spent \$106 million to rebuild it. There was also a boom in publicly built suburban sports complexes in sites like Bloomington, Minnesota, and Arlington, Texas, close to the homes of baseball's main fan base, as their communities also sought to promote economic development.

The quality of teams in the postwar era was as unequal as ever. The Yankees from 1947 to 1964 won every AL pennant except for three years, including five straight World Series between 1949 and 1953 and five straight pennants from 1959 to 1964. This was probably the most significant period of one-team domination in professional sports history. There was more balance in the NL, yet the Dodgers dominated the period from 1946 to 1968 with 10 pennants, followed by St. Louis with 4 and 3 each for the Giants and Braves. The Yankees' success was based on excellent scouting and a well-stocked farm system that produced great players and prospects for trade bait. The Dodgers entered the postwar era without a winning tradition, but made smart trades, spent money wisely, brought in black players, and had very stable managerial leadership. A team originally built on power for Ebbets Field retooled in Los Angeles for a larger ballpark with a team that stressed pitching and speed.

TEAMS IN THE MULTIDIVISIONAL ERA

The last teams to relocate were expansion clubs: the Seattle Pilots, who moved to Milwaukee in 1970 and became the Brewers, and the Washington

Senators, who moved to Arlington in 1972 and became the Texas Rangers. The AL expanded in 1976 with new teams in Seattle and Toronto, but there was no more expansion until 1993, when the NL added teams in Denver and Miami. In 1998 the AL added a team in Tampa Bay and the NL added one in Phoenix. That year Milwaukee moved from the AL to the NL, the first league switch since the American Association went out of business in 1891. The leagues divided themselves into three divisions in 1994, setting up a four-team playoff format with a wild card. Then, in 1997, interleague play was initiated to increase fan interest.

There was more parity in the 1970s and 1980s, in part because the new format enabled more opportunities to win at least a divisional title, and the long playoffs made it easier for favorites to stumble. In the 1980s, only five teams did not win a pennant. City size was less important than in previous eras. In the NL St. Louis and Cincinnati won as many as New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago combined, while in the AL, Oakland and Baltimore also won more than those three cities. Teams could less readily stockpile talent compared to the past because of 40-man roster limits and the introduction of the amateur free-agent draft in 1965, with teams selecting in reverse order of finish.

However, parity went out the door in the 1990s with the return of dynasties. The Indians and Yankees each won five straight divisional titles (1995–99), with the Yankees winning four of five World Series. The Braves' domination of the NL was even greater, winning their division every year from 1991 through 2005, including one string of eight straight appearance in the NL Championship Series.

The end of the reserve system provided a great opportunity for the cash-rich Yankees, who cornered the best free agents to win four times between 1976 and 1981, but then failed to return to the World Series until the mid-1990s. Free agency severely hurt other clubs, and led to the breakup of Cincinnati's Big Red Machine and the Oakland A's. Rader argues that small cities were able to win if they had excellent players, stable rosters, and unwavering strong leadership. Baltimore's success was tied to having the same manager, Earl Weaver, for 18 years. Yet managerial stability was not necessarily a hallmark of strong teams, since the Athletics had 12 managers in this era.

In the late 1990s free-agency era there was a heavy correlation between salaries and success. Baltimore was the only one of the four highest-paid teams in 1995–99 not to make every playoff. The gap between rich and poor widened. In 1995 the top seven teams spent 2.6 times as much as the seven cheapest teams, but in 1999 the margin had increased to 3.9:1. The Yankees were the most generous, paying players \$88.1 million in 1999, compared to \$15.1 million for the Florida Marlins. Teams with the lowest average payrolls rarely or never made playoffs, and did not win a single playoff game between 1995 and 1999. The poorest teams won only about 40 percent of their games.

Rader found that there were different routes for success. Certain teams emphasized building a core from within the organization through the amateur draft

rather than trying for quick results through free agency. Some teams believed in drafting experienced collegians rather than high-school seniors, while others began to invest heavily in less expensive Latin players. The Dodgers heavily emphasized stability throughout their organization. Walt Alston managed for 23 years, and upon retirement was replaced by Tommy Lasorda, who spent 47 years with the organization. The Dodgers built a specially constructed village in Vero Beach for spring training, where they brought in their old heroes to instill a team tradition, and tried to sign players to long-term contracts rather than recruit free agents. On the other hand, teams in turmoil also won, like the individualistic Athletics of the 1970s with their unkempt hair and mustaches, although they were united in their hatred of owner Charles Finley. And of course there was the constant turmoil that beset the Yankees under George Steinbrenner and his revolving corps of managers—19 from 1969 through 1991.

Owners were fabulously wealthy men or corporate executives who treated their teams as hobbies for self-gratification and self-advertisement. The only owners in the 1990s who did not have independent wealth were the O'Malleys and Griffiths, scions of baseball families. The new owners were not baseball experts, but meddlers like Gene Autry, Ray Kroc, George Steinbrenner, Charles Finley, and Ted Turner, who enjoyed seeing their names in the papers. Owners used the team to make money, not necessarily by winning pennants, but by using tax advantages like depreciation of players and creating synergy, like the *Chicago Tribune* and its purchase of the Chicago Cubs, who appear on its TV station WGN; Ted Turner's cable network, which was heavily reliant on Braves ball games; and Disney, which purchased the Angels from Autry.

In the 1990s, a new style of ballpark emerged with the 1992 construction of Camden Yards in Baltimore, the first retro park. These parks are smaller in capacity (averaging about 45,000 seats). They combine the intimacy of the early modern ballparks with the ambience of Disney World, plus upscale dining and the comforts of expensive luxury suites that cater to corporate America. Only 8 of 30 ballparks in use today are privately owned.

Until recently the names of ballparks were readily identifiable because they were named for the team (Yankee Stadium), owner (Comiskey Park), or location (Three Rivers Stadium in Pittsburgh), or for an important contributor to the sport (Shea Stadium, in honor of the man who brought the National League back to New York). A few parks maintain this tradition, like Oriole Park at Camden Yards, and Turner Field in Atlanta. However, a new trend emerged with recent ballpark constructions, as the structures are now being named for businesses, usually with a local base, that are spending millions of dollars to secure the naming rights to advertise themselves. The average deal is for about \$75 million over 25 years. Local corporations who have purchased naming rights include Petco in San Diego and Comerica in Detroit. Their management believes this investment enhances their visibility and displays hometown boosterism. This support is particularly keen among financial institutions like Citizens' Bank in Philadelphia, Chase in Arizona, Great American Insurance

Company in Cincinnati, and PNC Bank in Pittsburgh, as well as beer companies like Milwaukee's Miller Park, Denver's Coors Field, and St. Louis's Busch Stadium. Some name changes are often coming very swiftly, as in the case with the San Francisco ballpark that opened in 2000 as Pacific Bell Park, became SBC Park, and now is AT&T Park because of corporate mergers. Another reason for change has been the naming company's financial distress, notably Enron, whose name no longer graces Houston's major league ballpark.

Team profitability varied substantially based on several factors, including attendance, ticket prices, and media revenue, as well as concessions and parking. Overall teams averaged about 21,367 spectators a game in 1980, which appreciated significantly to 26,115 in 1990. The rise was due to the quality of the product, which was comprised of the team on the field and the ballpark (which includes accessibility, nature of the neighborhood, park ambience, ticket prices, and condition of the facility). When the Blue Jays moved into SkyDome in 1989, they set major-league attendance records for three straight years. The Orioles at the new Camden Yards in the late 1990s averaged 45,034 in their first five years, a 50 percent increase over their past four years at the old Memorial Stadium. Attendance still varies a lot among different teams. In 1989, for instance, the Chicago White Sox and Atlanta Braves were outdrawn by the minor-league Buffalo Bisons. In 2001, 7 teams drew over 3 million, led by Seattle with 3.7 million, while 10 drew under 2 million, with a low of 642,000 for Montreal.

Teams have widely different pricing strategies, which heavily impinges on profits; this was not the case in the past, when average prices were uniform. Ticket pricing reflects supply and demand and the introduction of skyboxes. Average ticket prices rose from \$8.64 in 1991 to \$14.91 in 1999. The average ticket in 2001 cost \$19.70, ranging from tiny Fenway Park, where the Red Sox charged \$36.08, down to \$9.55 for Minnesota. Boston's cheapest bleacher tickets cost more than a field box seat at Dodger Stadium. The Dodgers outdrew the Red Sox by 400,000 fans, but earned \$39 million less at the box office.

Ticket-price differentials have helped shape the social composition of audiences, which along with crowd behavior varies from team to team. Kansas City is well known for drawing a regional audience, while about 30 percent of Baltimore's crowds are from out of town. The Chicago White Sox traditionally drew white ethnic and black working-class fans from the South Side, its geographic home base. For several years these fans had a reputation for being pretty rowdy. However, more recently, its audiences are increasingly middle-class suburbanites. The Cubs always drew most of their fans from the North Side; for the last 30 years, it has drawn a fun-loving yuppie audience who come for the ambience and sunshine of Wrigley Field and the nightlife of the gentrified neighborhood more than for the Cubs. Similarly, the Dodgers' fans are considered the most easygoing, coming late and leaving early. On the other hand, the Phillies were known for having a mean-spirited crowd. Fan loyalty,

always based on hometown pride, may have weakened with free agency, as star players no longer play their entire career with one club, but come and go for the dollars.

Besides ticket sales, the other big income maker for teams is media fees. Unlike professional football, this source of revenue is still very unbalanced. In 1987 baseball teams averaged about \$6 million from the local media. The widest variance is naturally in the largest and smallest media markets. In the early 1990s the Yankees got about \$41 million a year, compared to \$3 million for Milwaukee. In 2001, the Yankees made \$56.7 million from local media, compared to just under \$6 million for Milwaukee and \$600,000 for Montreal. The teams also share in the network contracts, which in 1983 reached \$4 million per team. The 1990–93 package with CBS and cable TV went up to \$14.4 million, and the latest contract with Fox reached \$16.7 million in 2001 (comprising \$2.5 billion over six years).

Most teams' main expense is player compensation, which ranged in 2001 from \$118 million for the Red Sox to \$30.4 million for the Twins. Half of the teams paid over \$70 million in salaries.⁴ Teams also vary widely in their nonsalary expenses. The average team spent about \$54,646,300 on nonplayer expenses, which was around 46.2 percent of their operating revenue (average of \$118,262,533). Most teams were near the norm, but Seattle spent over \$84 million, while Montreal spent just \$34 million. According to MLB, the average team in 2001 had a negative operating expense of \$7,741,367.⁵ Astonishingly, the most profitable team (after revenue sharing) was the Milwaukee Brewers, a small-market team, which made \$16.1 million, closely followed by Seattle and the New York Yankees. The largest loser was the Dodgers, who lost over \$54 million.

Despite the negative assessments of Commissioner Bud Selig on the financial health of baseball, *Forbes* estimated the average team to be worth \$286 million, ranging from a high of \$730 million for the Yankees (worth 66% more than the next closest team, the Mets, worth \$482 million) to Montreal at \$108 million. Yet even if teams did lose money, the value of the investment continues to appreciate.

By 2005, the Yankees were valued at \$950 million, with revenues of \$264 million, compared to the lowly Tampa Bay Devil Rays, worth just \$176 million, with revenues of \$110 million. Overall, the average team had a value of \$332 million, with revenues of \$142 million. The average operating revenues per team was \$4.4 million, ranging from \$30 million for Baltimore to a loss of \$37.1 million for the Yankees.⁶

Major-league baseball teams, and professional sports teams in general, have a unique relationship. Teams in baseball compete with each other, as do rivals in other businesses. In baseball the contest is not to control as much of the market as possible, but to win the most games against other members of the monopoly, the only ball game in town. Even the Big Three car companies

historically contended with other rivals, first at home and more recently from abroad. In the case of baseball, the competition to win means striving to secure the best ballplayers possible so you win and your opponent loses. However, it is not a zero-sum game. The goal is not to put the competition out of business. If certain teams win too often, and others lose too often, it is not good business. If Ford kills a competitor like Studebaker, that is good for Ford. But if the Yankees always win, that may not be good for the Yankees. Major-league members must cooperate with one another, since without each other there is no pennant race, no league, and no business. While teams don't actually try to improve the rosters of weaker teams to promote competition on the field, they have historically cooperated in many ways out of mutual self-interest, such as keeping down player wages and other expenses, and adjusting rules to promote fan interest.

NOTES

1. Financial data for the 19th century, especially press reports, must be dealt with cautiously. For example, the *New York Herald* reported that six teams had lost money, and the NL had broken even. The *New York World*, on the other hand, reported no team lost money, and they collectively made \$352,000, which was unrealistic. If the NL had made so much money, they would not have dropped four teams after the season. The *Chicago Times Herald* reported that only the Cleveland Spiders and New York Giants had lost an undetermined amount, and the rest had made money, but only had numbers for six teams. See Steven A. Riess, *Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era*, rev. ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 63.

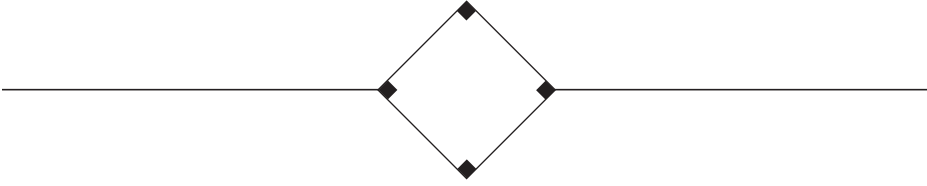
2. George Ethelbert Walsh, "The Gilt-Edged Diamond." *Independent* 75 (31 July 1913), 263.

3. Benjamin G. Rader, *Baseball: A History of America's Game*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 138.

4. In 2005 the Yankees' payroll at the start of the season was \$208,306,817, compared to \$29,679,067 for Tampa Bay.

5. *Forbes* estimates that actually the average team made \$2.57 million in 2001. Kurt Badenhausen, Cecily Fluke, Leslie Kump, and Michael K. Ozanian, "Double Play," *Forbes*, April 12, 2002, 92–95. The biggest discrepancy was with the Dodgers, who the magazine estimates lost \$29.6 million, or half the report by MLB. Doug Pappas, "The Numbers (Part Eight): MLB vs. *Forbes*," *Baseball Prospectus*, <http://www.baseballprospectus.com/news/20020403pappas.shtml>.

6. Kurt Badenhausen, Jack Gape, Lesley Kump, Michael K. Ozanian, and Maya Roney, "Baseball Team Evaluations," *Forbes*, April 25, 2005, 91–95.



The National League

Arizona Diamondbacks

Laura A. Purcell and John H. Jordan

The Arizona Diamondbacks' short existence has been a roller-coaster ride. The franchise won a World Series in 2001, yet lost 111 games in 2004. The team has drawn millions of fans, but lost money every year. The franchise can be characterized best as a big spender, a big winner, and a big debtor.

Phoenix voters in a 1989 referendum rejected a tax to build a new professional baseball stadium, but one year later the state legislature easily passed Bill 1314 to allow the Maricopa County Board of Supervisors to levy a sales tax for the express purpose of building a new baseball-only stadium without a public referendum, and Governor Rose Mofford signed the bill into law. The Maricopa County Board of Supervisors voted three to one with one abstention to enact a one-quarter-cent sales tax. The contingent sales tax, capped at \$238 million, only went into effect after MLB granted Phoenix a franchise in 1995. Some residents criticized the enactment of a sales tax without a public vote, and one outraged citizen shot and wounded a county supervisor who had voted for the tax.

In 1993, County Supervisor Jim Bruner and local attorney Joe Garagiola Jr. approached Jerry Colangelo, general managing partner of the NBA Phoenix Suns, about spearheading an effort to acquire an MLB expansion team. By 1994, Colangelo had assembled a syndicate comprised of local corporations, Arizona business leaders, and national celebrities. On March 9, 1995, MLB awarded Colangelo a baseball franchise for \$130 million. Colangelo owned only a small percentage of the team, yet became managing partner and the public face of the Diamondbacks. Garagiola Jr., son of the former major-league catcher and broadcaster, became general manager. On November 15 he hired

Buck Showalter to a seven-year, \$7 million contract to manage the club. Showalter, a noted perfectionist and micromanager, eventually molded many aspects of the young franchise.

The team's new ballpark cost over \$354 million, with \$238 million funded by the county's sales tax and the remainder by the Diamondbacks. The site was a 22-acre lot in downtown Phoenix, less than two blocks from America West Arena, home of the Suns, the WNBA Phoenix Mercury, and the Arena Football League Arizona Rattlers, all partially owned by Colangelo. The new field was named Bank One Ballpark after the company bought the naming rights for 30 years at an annual cost of over \$2 million. It is owned by Maricopa County and features a five-acre, 9-million-pound retractable roof, yet utilizes natural grass. The ballpark has an 8,000-ton air-conditioning unit that keeps the stadium cool even in Phoenix's brutal heat. The field features a dirt path from home plate to the pitcher's mound, reminiscent of nineteenth-century ballparks, and the first swimming pool in a major-league ballpark, located behind right center field.

Unlike most expansion franchises, the Diamondbacks spent heavily on players from the outset. Colangelo and his advisors believed that the Diamondbacks' location was a decided advantage over other MLB teams because a vastly disproportionate number of major leaguers had their permanent residences in Arizona, and even more were familiar with the area due to Cactus League spring training. The management reasoned that if the Diamondbacks offered competitive salaries, players would welcome the chance to live in Phoenix year-round.

Even before the team was established, the Diamondbacks in October 1996 signed two recently drafted players whom the commissioner had declared free agents because of a technicality. The Diamondbacks gave a \$6 million signing bonus to pitcher John Patterson and a record \$10 million signing bonus to first baseman Travis Lee, neither of whom ever fulfilled expectations.

In November 1997 the Diamondbacks selected 35 players in the MLB expansion draft, which allowed the expansion Diamondbacks and Tampa Bay Devil Rays to fill their rosters with unprotected players. Five draftees remained with the team for at least three seasons: pitchers Brian Anderson and Omar Daal, outfielder David Dellucci, and catchers Damian Miller and Kelly Stinnett. The Diamondbacks used some of their new players in trades: they traded two players and \$3 million in cash to Cleveland for All-Star third baseman Matt Williams, who wanted to be closer to his children, who were Phoenix residents. Management's belief in the advantage of the Diamondbacks' location was proving correct. Wilson facilitated the trade by lowering his 1998 salary from \$7 million to \$4.5 million, but he was ultimately well compensated when the team signed him to a six-year contract worth \$49.5 million.

In November 1997 the Diamondbacks signed veteran infielder Jay Bell to a five-year, \$34 million contract with a no-trade clause, out of line for a player with a career .268 batting average. Rival teams feared the trend the contract

heralded. The Diamondbacks felt their free-spending ways netted an undervalued player and put them on the map as a legitimate destination for established major-league players.

The Diamondbacks participated in their first full spring training in 1998 in Tucson, home of their Triple-A minor-league affiliate Tucson Sidewinders. Having their spring-training facility and Triple-A club less than two hours from Phoenix gives Arizona residents an attachment to the club they might not otherwise have had.

The Diamondbacks aggressively market to Mexican Americans living in Arizona as well as the residents of northern Mexico, playing up the presence of their Mexican-born players. The team broadcasts every game in Spanish on radio, along with many in Spanish on television. Special promotions are held in honor of Hispanic Heritage Month in September, and the Diamondbacks also fly to Mexico for a spring-training game each March.

The Diamondbacks opened their first season on March 31, 1998, at Bank One Ballpark before 50,179 fans, the first of several sellout games in their inaugural season. The Diamondbacks finished the 1998 season with a 65–97 record, last in the NL Western Division, yet drew more than 3.6 million. The squad had a modest \$30 million payroll, seventh lowest in the majors, yet reportedly lost money and had to make cash calls to partners amounting to \$29 million.

Colangelo believed that for the long term he had to create fans enamored with the Diamondbacks. The surest way to do this was to win. He developed an ambitious four-year plan to immediately become a contender and made several key off-season acquisitions, signing six free agents to multimillion-dollar contracts. The most important signings were Cy Young Award–winning pitcher Randy Johnson for four years at \$52.4 million and center fielder Steve Finley for four years for \$21.5 million. The team also traded for outfielder Luis Gonzalez, who dramatically opened his batting stance and, at age 31, blossomed as an offensive player. “Gonzo,” with his warm and friendly personality, quickly became a fan favorite and the public face of the Diamondbacks’ players.

The revamped Diamondbacks dominated the NL West in 1999, winning 100 games. This was an extraordinary achievement for a second-year expansion team. Randy Johnson won the Cy Young Award. He accumulated a major-league-leading 364 strikeouts and led the NL in complete games and innings pitched. Steve Finley won the first of two consecutive Gold Gloves, while Jay Bell hit a career-high 38 home runs. The Diamondbacks met the New York Mets in the 1999 NL Divisional Series but were eliminated three games to one. Despite the successes on the field, the team lost money. Attendance dropped more than 16 percent while the payroll more than doubled to \$66 million. The Diamondbacks reportedly lost \$30 million in 1999 and had to make another cash call to the 29 limited partners. Only 24 partners participated, raising \$24 million for the franchise.

In 2000 a late-season swoon caused the Diamondbacks to finish in third place in the NL West with an 85–77 record. The starting pitching got a big boost

in July, however, with the acquisition of pitching ace Curt Schilling, who had attended high school and college in Arizona. He and Johnson formed one of the most formidable starting duos in recent MLB history, with Johnson winning his second consecutive Cy Young Award. The disappointed front office made manager Showalter the fall guy, firing him and hiring Bob Brenly in his place. Attendance continued to drop in 2000, to 2.8 million, while the Diamondbacks' payroll rose to more than \$80 million, seventh highest in the major leagues. The Diamondbacks continued to lose money and borrowed more than \$10 million. Then bank considered the team such a high risk that MLB had to cosign the loan. The team cut costs by laying off 15 front-office employees, and in the off-season asked 10 highly compensated players to defer a portion of their salaries. They agreed to defer more than \$100 million, enabling the team to sign several free agents, including first baseman Mark Grace.

The 2001 season started with a bang as left fielder Luis Gonzalez hit 13 homers in April, tying the major-league record. He continued to swing a hot bat for the entire season, finishing with a .325 batting average, 142 RBIs, and 57 home runs. The Diamondbacks won the NL West with a record of 92–70. Johnson struck out 20 on May 8, 2001 against Cincinnati, the fourth major leaguer to achieve that feat. He finished with 372 strikeouts, the third-highest season total in history, and his 13.4 strikeouts per nine innings was the best ever. Johnson won 21 games with a 2.49 ERA and won his third consecutive Cy Young Award. Schilling had a career year and finished second in the Cy Young voting, the first time since 1956 that teammates were first and second. He won 22 games with 293 strikeouts, second in the majors, and a 2.98 ERA, third lowest in the NL. Johnson and Schilling combined for 665 strikeouts, a new major-league record for teammates. But despite winning on the field and phenomenal seasons by Gonzalez, Johnson, and Schilling, attendance dropped to 2.7 million while the team's payroll rose to \$85 million.

Schilling and Johnson continued their domination during the 2001 postseason, which started late because of the repercussions of the terrorist attacks on September 11 of that year. The Diamondbacks beat the St. Louis Cardinals three games to two to take the NLDS, and then quickly beat Atlanta four games to one in the NL Championship Series. The team advanced to what would be a memorable World Series against the New York Yankees. On October 27 in Phoenix the Diamondbacks demolished the Yankees 9–1, and then Johnson pitched a complete-game shutout and struck out 11 in a 4–0 victory. The series moved to New York and the Yankees won game three, 2–1. The Yankees also won games four and five, with both games going into extra innings due to dramatic ninth-inning game-tying home runs. Upon returning to Arizona, on Saturday, November 3, the Diamondbacks destroyed the Yankees 15–2. Johnson gave up only two runs in seven innings. The series was again tied at three games apiece.

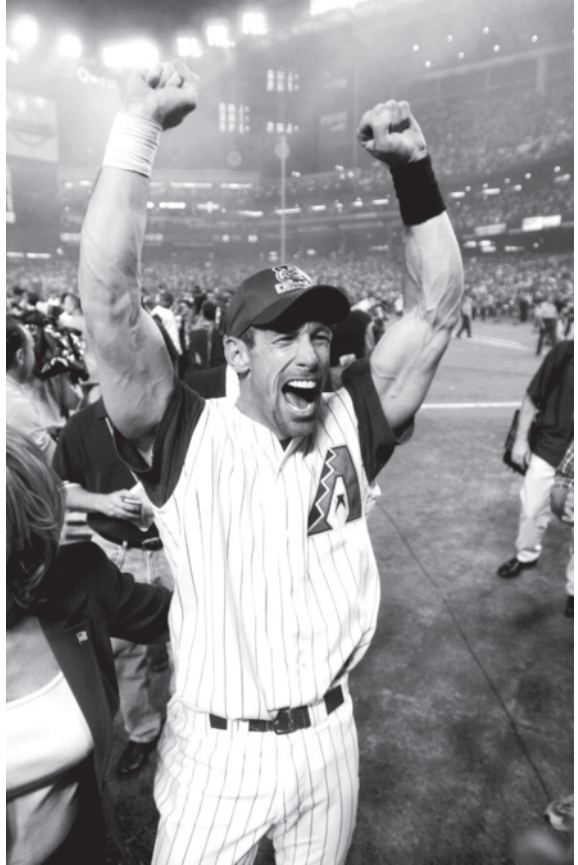
Schilling started game seven for the Diamondbacks on only three days' rest and allowed only one run until the seventh inning. Johnson entered the

game in relief less than 24 hours after he pitched in game six. Johnson faced one batter in the eighth inning and then retired the side in the ninth. With the game tied 2–2 with one out and the bases loaded, Luis Gonzalez drove in Jay Bell with a bloop single off reliever Mariano Rivera to win game seven and the World Series. This was the first major professional championship for Arizona in any sport and the quickest championship for any MLB expansion franchise. Appropriately, Randy Johnson and Curt Schilling were Series co-MVPs.

Despite winning the World Series, the Diamondbacks lost money in 2001. The beleaguered franchise courted four new investors to join the ownership group. They agreed to infuse at least \$160 million into the franchise, diluting the ownership shares of the existing partners.

In the following season, with many of the players returning from the championship team, the Diamondbacks cruised to a 98–64 record, winning the NL West for the third time in their five-year existence. The team payroll climbed to more than \$103 million and attendance increased to 3.2 million. Curt Schilling had a 23–7 record, 316 strikeouts, and a 3.23 ERA. His strikeout total was second to Randy Johnson, who had 334 strikeouts, a 24–5 record, and a 2.32 ERA. Johnson led the NL in wins, ERA, and strikeouts, taking the first pitching triple crown in the majors since 1985. Johnson won his fourth consecutive Cy Young Award, with Schilling finishing second for the second consecutive year. However, the injury-weakened Diamondbacks were defeated by the Cardinals in the NLDS in three straight games.

The Diamondbacks were plagued with injuries throughout the 2003 season. Sixteen Diamondbacks spent time on the disabled list, including Johnson and Schilling. In June the Diamondbacks released third baseman Matt Williams. Williams retired from playing after 17 seasons, but he became an investor in the team in 2005. The Diamondbacks finished the season with a record of 84–78, third in the NL West. The Diamondbacks' payroll in 2003 decreased



Luis Gonzalez celebrates the Diamondbacks victory over the New York Yankees in Game 7 of the World Series, 2001. © AP / Wide World Photos



Randy Johnson, left, and Curt Schilling, right, hold the World Series MVP trophy they will share after being named co-receipients of the World Series Most Valuable Player, 2001. © AP / Wide World Photos

to \$82 million and attendance decreased to 2.8 million. In an off-season cost-cutting measure, the Diamondbacks traded pitching ace Curt Schilling to Boston for four prospects.

In March 2004 Colangelo quietly sold his general partnership interest for a reported \$4 million to the four investors the team had brought in after the 2001 season. The new owners, led by Ken Kendrick, kept Colangelo as CEO and the fifth member of the ownership group, even though he no longer had any financial investment in the team, which was worth an estimated \$285 million. He resigned as CEO on August 6. The team selected sports agent Jeff Moorad, who had represented some of the Diamondbacks' players, to become the new CEO. The same four investors whom Colangelo had courted in 2001 and who had bought Colangelo's general partnership in effect forced him out. The *Arizona Republic* newspaper estimated that the Diamondbacks had approximately \$300 million in debt, almost \$180 million of which was needed for deferred salary payments to players. Colangelo's free-spending ways finally had caught up with him, as his ouster reportedly was due to conflicts with the new ownership group over finances. The Diamondbacks' 2004 season was wracked with injuries, including season-ending surgery for Luis Gonzalez. After several horrendous losing streaks, the Diamondbacks fired manager Bob

Brenly in July. The Diamondbacks appointed third-base coach Al Pedrique as interim manager. In November, the Diamondbacks hired Bob Melvin as the new manager.

The demoralized and inexperienced team continued to lose. The Diamondbacks finished the 2004 season with a 51–111 record, the eighth-most losses in a major-league single season. Despite having one of the worst seasons in major-league history, the Diamondbacks drew more than 2.5 million in attendance. Johnson had several memorable games during the 2004 season, including a perfect game on May 18, only the 15th perfect game since 1900. On June 29 he became the fourth major-league pitcher to hurl 4,000 strikeouts. On September 15 Johnson surpassed Steve Carlton's strikeout total for the most strikeouts by a left-handed pitcher in major-league history. Johnson finished the season with a 2.60 ERA but a disappointing 16–14 record. He recorded 290 strikeouts for the season, and placed second in Cy Young voting.

Despite reports about the Diamondbacks' heavy debt, the team signed several free agents in the off-season, including pitcher Russ Ortiz to a four-year, \$33 million contract and third baseman Troy Glaus to a four-year, \$45 million deal. In January 2005 the Diamondbacks traded Randy Johnson, after six stellar seasons and four Cy Young Awards, to the New York Yankees for pitcher Javier Vasquez (with an \$11 million salary), a prospect, and \$9 million in cash. The Diamondbacks then traded four prospects to Los Angeles and received outfielder Shawn Green and \$10 million in cash. The ouster of Jerry Colangelo, the trade of Randy Johnson, and a payroll reduced by 25 percent from \$80 million symbolized the start of a new era for the Arizona Diamondbacks. In 2005 the team improved markedly to 77–85 and second place in the weak NL West, led by five men with 20 or more homers.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1999	Randy Johnson	LHP
2000	Randy Johnson	LHP
2001	Randy Johnson	LHP
2002	Randy Johnson	LHP

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1999	Randy Johnson	2.48
2001	Randy Johnson	2.49
2002	Randy Johnson	2.32

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1999	Randy Johnson	364
2000	Randy Johnson	347
2001	Randy Johnson	372
2002	Randy Johnson	334
2004	Randy Johnson	290

No-Hitters (Italics = Perfect Game)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>Randy Johnson</i>	05/18/2004

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES**NL West Division Titles**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1999	100–62	Buck Showalter
2001	92–70	Bob Brenly
2002	98–64	Bob Brenly

NL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
2001	92–70	Bob Brenly

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>	<i>MVP</i>
2001	New York	Randy Johnson Curt Schilling

MANAGERS

2005–	Bob Melvin
2004	Al Pedrique
2001–2004	Bob Brenly
1998–2000	Buck Showalter

Team Records by Individual Players

Batting Leaders	Single Season			Career		Plate Appearances
	Name		Year	Name		
Batting average	Carlos Baerga	.343	2003	Luis Gonzalez	.302	4,578
On-base %	Luis Gonzalez	.429	2001	Luis Gonzalez	.396	4,578
Slugging %	Luis Gonzalez	.688	2001	Luis Gonzalez	.542	4,578
OPS	Luis Gonzalez	1.017	2001	Luis Gonzalez	.938	4,578
Games	Luis Gonzalez	162	2000	Luis Gonzalez	1041	4,578
At bats	Matt Williams	627	1999	Luis Gonzalez	3902	4,578
Runs	Jay Bell	132	1999	Luis Gonzalez	687	4,578
Hits	Luis Gonzalez	206	1999	Luis Gonzalez	1178	4,578
Total bases	Luis Gonzalez	419	2001	Luis Gonzalez	2113	4,578
Doubles	Luis Gonzalez	47	2000	Luis Gonzalez	258	4,578
Triples	Tony Womack	14	2000	Tony Womack	.32	2,744
Home runs	Luis Gonzalez	57	2001	Luis Gonzalez	209	4,578
RBI	Luis Gonzalez	142	2001	Luis Gonzalez	701	4,578
Walks	Luis Gonzalez	100	1999	Luis Gonzalez	581	4,578
Strikeouts	T Glaus	145	2005	Luis Gonzalez	522	4,578
Stolen bases	Tony Womack	72	1999	Tony Womack	182	2,744
Extra-base hits	Luis Gonzalez	100	2001	Luis Gonzalez	492	4,578
Times on base	Luis Gonzalez	312	2001	Luis Gonzalez	1708	4,578

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		Innings Pitched
	Name		Year	Name		
ERA	Randy Johnson	2.32	2002	Randy Johnson	2.65	1,389.7
Wins	Randy Johnson	24	2002	Randy Johnson	103	1,389.7
Won-Loss %	Randy Johnson	.828	2002	Randy Johnson	.678	1,389.7
Hits/9 IP	Randy Johnson	6.48	2004	Randy Johnson	7.05	1,389.7
Walks/9 IP	Brian Anderson	1.04	1998	Curt Schilling	1.35	781.7
Strikeouts	Randy Johnson	372	2001	Randy Johnson	1832	1,389.7
Strikeouts/9 IP	Randy Johnson	13.41	2001	Randy Johnson	11.86	1,389.7
Games	Oscar Villarreal	86	2003	Byung-Hyun Kim	243	323
Saves	Byung-Hyun Kim	36	2002	Matt Mantei	74	173.7
Innings	Randy Johnson	271.7	1999	Randy Johnson	1389.7	1,389.7
Starts	Randy Johnson	35	1999	Randy Johnson	192	1,389.7

(Continued)

	Pitching Leaders (Continued)			Career		
	Single Season					
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
Complete games	Randy Johnson	12	1999	Randy Johnson	36	1,389.7
Shutouts	Randy Johnson	4		Randy Johnson	14	1,389.7

Source: Drawn from data in "Arizona Diamondbacks Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/ARI/leaders_bat.shtml; "Arizona Diamondbacks Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/ARI/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Atlanta Braves

David Stevens

A TALE OF THREE CITIES, 1871–2005

By migrating from Boston to Milwaukee to Atlanta in search of a bigger fan base, the Braves (along with the Chicago Cubs) can be considered the oldest continually operating sports franchise in the United States. The franchise's long history is indicated by the fact that more than one-fifth of Baseball Hall of Fame members were once Braves. Since the 1950s the team has set several major trends in American baseball. Its migration from Boston to Milwaukee in 1953 set off the first era of franchise shifts since the turn of the century. Then, in 1965, by deserting Milwaukee for Atlanta after 13 seasons, all winning, the Braves unleashed the modern era of frequent franchise moves to the West and South. After arriving in Atlanta, the Braves developed many followers nationally, via heavy marketing on cable TV, as "America's Team." The present-day Atlanta Braves, owned by Time Warner, are trendsetters as the first sports franchise that is merely a game piece in a powerful multinational media empire. Such corporate imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, and since 1991 the Atlanta organization has indeed been a paragon of stability and success, including capturing 14 straight National League divisional championships (1991–2005).

The Braves had dynasties in the nineteenth century and the late 1950s too. However, for much of its history, from 1903 to 1945 in Boston and 1972 to 1990 in Atlanta, the club suffered through long stretches of dreadful performances and unshakable public apathy, sometimes under blundering, conniving owners. In the roughest stretches, even some of baseball's brightest stars (including

Cy Young), shrewdest managers (including Casey Stengel and Joe Torre), and revolutionary owners (such as Ted Turner) couldn't present winning records to the Braves' fans. Nonetheless, the Braves' Hank Aaron provided what several national fan polls voted the greatest moment in baseball history, when on April 8, 1974, he belted homer 715 to break the legendary home-run record of Babe Ruth, set when Ruth was briefly a Boston Brave.

BOSTON, 1871–1900: THE FIRST MAJOR-LEAGUE DYNASTY—IRISH NEED APPLY

The Atlanta Braves can be traced back to before the rise of the National League. In 1871 Harry Wright, former manager of the pioneering Cincinnati Red Stockings, moved to Boston with brother George Wright, the club's short-stop, and other Cincinnati players, where they debuted as the Boston Red Stockings in the new National Association of Professional Base Ball Clubs, the first professional baseball league. Their team dominated, winning four straight pennants from 1872 to 1875, culminating in a 71–8 record in 1875, the highest major-league winning percentage ever. That domination hurt the NA, which lacked competitive balance. In the 1874 off-season, Harry Wright led the Boston and Philadelphia teams on the first international baseball tour. When the National League was formed to make professional baseball more businesslike, the Red Stockings provided the core for the Boston franchise in the new league. The NL wanted the Wright-led team because of their skill and honest reputation, significant in an era when throwing of games was widely suspected. One of their stars was future Hall of Famer Jim O'Rourke, who caught more no-hitters than any other catcher. Team owner Nathan Appolonio wanted him to change his name to disguise his Gaelic heritage, which he refused to do.

The Boston club was known as the Red Stockings or Red Caps until 1882. The name "Beaneaters" gradually came into use, to avoid confusion when Cincinnati joined the major leagues, also as the Red Stockings, to emphasize its own link to Harry Wright's legendary 1869 club. The name "Beaneaters" derived from Bostonians' love of baked beans, and the Boston club remained the Beaneaters until 1907, finally becoming the Braves in 1912.

The team played at the South End Grounds and came in fourth in 1876 with a record of 39–31. In 1877, Nathan Appolonio sold the Boston NL club to three shrewd Beantown businessmen (Arthur Soden, James Billings, and Bill Conant) known as "the Triumvirs," after the ruling trios of ancient Rome. The team took the pennant in 1877 (42–18) behind pitcher Tommy Bond, who went 40–17, starting and finishing every game, and repeated in 1878 (41–19) with Bond going 40–19.

In 1879, the Triumvirs fumed after George Wright, star catcher and third baseman Deacon White (a two-time batting champ), and O'Rourke (at the time, a Yale law student nicknamed "Orator" for his eloquence), all left the club for better salaries and off-season opportunities. Players then were free to

change teams when their contracts expired, without any compensation to the club. Consequently, following that 1879 season, Boston president Soden, a roofing contractor, was inspired to draw up baseball's reserve clause, to restrict player freedom and drive down salaries. Defiant athletes were blackballed. Wielding the reserve rule, Boston reloaded and took the NL pennant in 1883. Soden became the second-most-powerful man in nineteenth-century baseball, after sporting-goods magnate Albert G. Spalding, who had a record of 253–65 as a pitcher for the Red Stockings and Cubs.

In 1887, the Triumvirs boosted the club by purchasing *the* national fan favorite of the century, colorful catcher and right fielder Mike “King” Kelly. The charismatic Kelly was hailed as “the \$10,000 Beauty” because of the unprecedented sum Boston paid Chicago to acquire him. The amount was so astounding that the Triumvirs displayed the check in a storefront window, to quell skepticism while drumming up ticket sales. Boston fans, thrilled to have the exciting Irishman, even bought Kelly a fine house.

The year after acquiring Kelly, the Triumvirs shelled out \$10,000 more to land another future Hall of Famer, the cunning pitcher John Clarkson, a handsome Cambridge native, who also drew Boston fans in droves. Image-obsessed Cubs proprietor Spalding unloaded the brainy Kelly-Clarkson pair, partly due to their wild off-field antics.

The Triumvirs expected to return to domination via their big acquisitions, but Clarkson's loss on the last day of the 1889 season cost the Beaneaters the NL pennant by one game. The overworked Clarkson pitched 620 innings that season, the most of anyone by an incredible 200 innings. The angry Triumvirs then fired rookie manager Jim Hart, who had paid two Cleveland players a \$1,000 “incentive” to beat the world champion New York Giants in the season's last series in an effort to capture the pennant.

Such bribes and the Kelly-Clarkson purchases revealed the massive profits the big-market owners made, so to appease the struggling small-market clubs, the NL slashed players' salaries and rights, setting a \$2,500 salary maximum (equal to about \$60,000 in 2004). For a year, the NL refused even to discuss the unilateral cuts with the Brotherhood of Professional Base Ball Players, the players' union. As a result, all the players in the NL secretly signed written pledges to leave their owners, and en masse formed the Players' League. The union members did not sign their 1890 contracts, in effect declaring themselves free agents.

Boston was a major battleground in the 1890 players' revolt, with a team in both the PL and the NL. As part of an all-out war to destroy the PL, the NL tried to entice back King Kelly, offering a three-year contract at any salary the star catcher desired. However, Kelly declined, explaining he “couldn't go back on the boys” of the union. His club won the PL pennant. The Triumvirs did lure Clarkson back via a three-year contract at \$7,500 each year, plus a huge bonus.

In response to the losses on the playing field, the Beaneaters added new manager Frank Selee, who brought with him, from minor-league Omaha, rookie fireballer Kid Nichols, who won 297 games over the next decade, the most

wins ever by a pitcher in a 10-year period, and 361 for his career. In 1891 the Boston American Association team led by King Kelly captured its championship race. When the AA and NL consolidated one year later, the two local teams were merged, creating an enduring powerhouse. The demise of the PL and the AA left the NL as a monopoly from 1892 to 1900, which dropped wages dramatically. The consolidated 1892 Boston club lorded over “the Big League” with a 102–48 record. The 1893 Beaneaters averaged 7.7 runs a game, 101 more total than the powerful 2003 Braves, despite hitting 170 fewer home runs than the 2003 Braves.

Selee, who emphasized high batting averages and speed, piloted the NL Boston club superbly from 1890 through 1901, winning NL pennants in 1891–93 and 1897–98, for a total of eight since 1876. Selee’s last championship team went 102–47. The three straight championships in the early 1890s garnered the Beaneaters permanent possession of the Dauvray Cup, named after New York Giants player-manager John Montgomery Ward’s wife, the famous actress Helen Dauvray. Years later, Ward, the leader of the 1890 players’ revolt, bought the Beaneaters.

Besides Selee and Nichols, Boston Hall of Famers in the 1890s included pitcher Vic Willis and three speedy, slap-hitting outfielders: Sliding Billy Hamilton, who held the career stolen-base mark prior to Ty Cobb; hit-and-run innovator Tommy McCarthy; and Hugh Duffy, who holds the record for the highest season batting average—an unbeatable .440 in 1894. Duffy amazed Boston fans in one game that year by taking two bases on a sacrifice fly. The tiny Duffy and McCarthy, known as “the Celestial Twins,” were native Boston Irish, which helped attract many local Irish fans. Baseball was one of the few well-paid trades open to the Irish. That season second baseman Bobby Lowe hit a record four homers in one game. Boston fans tossed \$160 in coins on the field for the 155-pound fan favorite.

The 1892–1900 monopoly era was characterized by dirty play and intimidation, primarily by Baltimore and Cleveland, but the dignified Selee took the opposite approach, in the tradition of genteel former Boston manager Harry Wright. The low-key Selee’s philosophy included “If I make things pleasant for the players, they reciprocate.” The Gay Nineties Beaneaters succeeded with inside baseball (then termed *scientific play*), such as originating the hit-and-run, plus perfecting signaling and place hitting. While “Dirty” Ned Hanlon’s rowdy Orioles of the Gay Nineties, who captured three pennants, have the big reputation, the clean Boston Beaneaters, who won five, were the best team of the decade. Nonetheless, the club could not avoid the combative baseball tactics of the monopoly era. In 1894 there was a fierce and prolonged fistfight between Boston’s Tommy “Foghorn” Tucker and Baltimore Orioles third baseman John “Muggsy” McGraw, and two months later, first baseman Tucker was twice beaten up by Philadelphia fans.

While Tucker and McGraw brawled, the wooden double-decked South End Grounds II burned down because of a rubbish fire started by boys under the

right-field bleachers. The blaze ruined the park and damaged or destroyed 170 nearby buildings. The exterior of the third South End Grounds was designed like a castle, but the structure was much smaller because the old park was underinsured. The Roxbury Fire was the second in a series of tragedies that forced a long decline of the Beaneaters in the next century. The year before, Charlie Bennett lost both legs when he accidentally fell under a train after the 1893 season, as his best friend, pitcher John Clarkson, helplessly gazed in horror. Bennett was replaced by Marty Bergen, who sadly lost a son in 1898. Initially his teammates sympathized, and understood his frequent, sudden absences. But following two seasons of tolerating the catcher's increasingly hostile behavior, his teammates asked the owners to trade him. A few months later, in January 1900, before a trade could be arranged, the mentally ill Bergen killed his entire family. The Beaneaters, who had come in second the previous season, soon spiraled downward, to fourth (66–72) in 1900 and fifth (69–68) in 1901.

BOSTON, 1901–21: THE RED SOX TAKE OVER THE TOWN

Another big factor in the downfall of the Boston NL franchise was the founding of the American League. The Boston AL franchise revived the discarded Red Stockings name (shortened to Red Sox), which reminded older fans of Boston's proud baseball heritage. In 1901 three Beaneaters stars signed with the Red Sox, including future Hall of Fame third baseman Jimmy Collins, who served as player-manager. Selee was then fired, and ace pitcher Kid Nichols quit for two years following a salary dispute, coming back in 1904 with the Cardinals. The underappreciated Selee immediately moved to Chicago, and assembled the great "Tinker to Evers to Chance" Cubs teams. He managed 17 years with a .598 winning percentage.

The club made a comeback in 1902 under manager Al Buckenberger, coming in third, and then the depleted Beaneaters nose-dived, going through 10 straight losing seasons. Soden, facing aggressive, renewed competition for Boston fans, grew fussier about penny-pinching than wins, even charging his own players' wives to attend Boston home games. In 1906 Soden saved a lot of pennies by hiring manager and first baseman Fred Tenney, who was required to wrench foul balls away from patrons. The owners told Tenney, "We don't care where you finish, as long as you don't lose us money." Tenney received a bonus each year the team posted a profit. Making a profit was difficult because in the 1900s the team was the worst draw in the NL, pulling in just 6.2 percent of the league's audiences.

The Triumvirs also cut costs by replacing the ornate South End Grounds, which burned down in 1894, with a small, plain, wooden structure. The rival AL club directly challenged the Beaneaters when they built their field across the street. In 1912 they built the new Fenway Park, which far outshone the

South End Grounds. The new league offered cheaper bleacher tickets and beer. This drew in the famous local fan club, the Royal Rooters, led by Mayor John "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald, the grandfather of President John F. Kennedy. The Royal Rooters' defection from the NL helped the Red Sox gain primacy in Boston. The Rooters led the majority of Boston's upwardly mobile Irish away from the NL to the Red Sox, who put an excellent product on the field.

In 1906, Soden, after 30 years as owner, sold his failing Boston NL club, which finished last for the first time, 66 1/2 games out of first place. He sold the team to George and John Dovey for \$75,000, and they renamed the team the Doves. In 1910 the club was sold to William Russell and renamed the Rustlers. He died after the season, during which the club went 44–97, the third of four straight eighth-place finishes. Ninety-five percent of the team's stock was sold for \$187,000 to a New York syndicate headed by attorney John Montgomery Ward, a former major-league shortstop and pitcher and president of the Brotherhood, who knew Russell because both were active in New York politics as antimachine reformers. To allay Boston fans' fears of yet another futile out-of-town ownership, Ward moved from New York to Boston.

One way President Ward tried to revive the Boston club was giving them a new nickname. He called them the Braves, proclaiming that he wanted the club to sport an identity with spirit and pride, to inspire the players to a better effort. Ward redesigned the club's drab uniforms to feature a colorful Native American profile, similar to the long-popular Indian-head penny. The new name was also in honor of the majority owner, James Gaffney, a leader of the powerful New York City Democratic machine, Tammany Hall. The society, created during the American Revolution by working-class men, identified strongly with oppressed Native Americans rather than aristocratic British Americans. The group was named for Delaware chief Tammanend, renowned for his honesty and wisdom. Tammany leaders were dubbed "Chieftains" and their followers were "Braves." The society evolved into a powerful, and corrupt, Democratic political machine. The name "Braves" itself became associated with success when the 1914 "Miracle Braves" pulled off the most shocking World Series upset ever. Ironically, Ward, who named the club, had fought a lonely battle in the late nineteenth century to bring blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans into the major leagues.

The Braves were the first major professional team to carry a Native American name. Following the club's stunning 1914 turnaround as the Boston Braves, Native American team names increased significantly. For example, the Boston professional football club was named the Braves, and later became the Washington Redskins. Team nicknames, which had previously been unofficial and shifted frequently, first became fixed in the 1920s. Such Native American sports mascots came under heavy fire from activists in the 1970s.

Ward tried to rebuild the Braves with Hispanic talent. Ward, who spoke Spanish and had played winter baseball in 1870s Cuba, brought in Miguel

Gonzalez of Cuba, one of the first Latino players in the major leagues. Gonzalez later became the majors' first Hispanic manager.

In 1913, veteran manager George Stallings, infamous for his bluntness and explosive temper, raged, "This club is a horror show . . . I've been stuck with some terrible teams, but this one beats them all." The 1914 Braves were dismissed as "a band of misfits" by the combative John McGraw, manager of the New York Giants, who had won the three previous NL pennants. Just before the season, starting pitcher Buster Brown died of heart disease. Stallings tried to make up for the young Braves' weak hitting by becoming the first manager to platoon many positions over a long period. The team started out very poorly at 4–18, yet in May 1914 Stallings predicted, "Give me a month, and we'll be in first place." The team was mired in last place as late as July 18. However, only 35 days later, the Braves climbed over all seven other NL teams to take first place. Giants-Braves matches were especially hotly contended. In one game, the Giants' Fred Snodgrass and Braves pitcher Lefty Tyler exchanged gestures and shouts over a pitch at Snodgrass's head, leading some Braves fans to pelt center fielder Snodgrass with bottles. Boston Mayor James Curley strode on the field to urge the umpires to eject Snodgrass, to avert a riot. To avoid being an additional target, manager McGraw, who usually coached third base, hid in the dugout. Then on October 1 all of the Giants on the bench were thrown out of the game except acting skipper Mike Donlin.

Sportswriters credited Stallings's leadership and the new nickname with inspiring the Braves to one of the most amazing makeovers in sports history. The Miracle Braves won the pennant by 10 1/2 games with a record of 94–59, leading the NL in attendance with 382,913. It was as big a surprise as the Braves' 1991 worst-to-first season, when another Native American element, "the Tomahawk Chop," was associated with a Braves turnaround.

The Philadelphia Athletics were heavily favored in the World Series, having won four of the last five AL pennants. Two days before the series, Stallings, dubbed "the Miracle Man," phoned the Athletics' dignified manager Connie Mack before a pack of reporters. To embarrass Mack, Stallings picked a bogus argument over practice times, told Mack the Braves would beat the A's anyway, and then hung up. Stallings assured the stunned media, "We'll beat them in four straight," although in the last game of the season, slick-fielding third baseman Red Smith, who hit a team-high .314 for the Braves, broke his ankle. A's veteran Chief Bender was dispatched to scout the Braves late in the season, but didn't bother, assuring Mack they were bush leaguers.

Hall of Famer Bender was 6–3 in prior World Series, but was belted in game one, the first time the Native American had failed to complete a World Series contest. When Mack walked to the mound to yank Bender, he asked, "Not too bad, for bush leaguers, huh?" After winning game two in Philadelphia, Stallings shipped the Braves' road uniforms back to Boston, explaining, "We won't be coming back here." After winning game three, Stallings canceled the Braves' Philadelphia hotel

reservations for game five. The Braves then swept the defending champion Athletics. The Braves' pitching and airtight defense limited the Athletics to just six runs, besting their three Hall of Fame starting pitchers. In the first World Series sweep, Braves catcher Hank Gowdy hit .545, the second-highest series average ever, and "Seattle" Bill James pitched 11 scoreless innings. Gowdy, the first major leaguer to enlist for World War I, caught for the Braves for 12 seasons.

The Miracle Braves' spitballers Bill James and Dick Rudolph combined for 52 wins in 1914, with James winning 19 of his last 20 decisions in the Braves' incredible stretch drive. The Braves' emotional leaders were their double-play odd couple of Hall of Famers, NL MVP Johnny Evers and the MVP runner-up, young, big-eared Rabbit Maranville. In personality, the 125-pound Evers, nicknamed "the Crab," was the polar opposite of the effervescent Maranville, the Braves' cleanup hitter. Maranville, discovered by Ward in Springfield, Massachusetts, beat out Stallings's nephew for the shortstop job, assuring Stallings, "I know I haven't much chance going up against your family, but if you put me in there, you'll never take me out." Twenty-two years later Maranville was still playing for the Braves. Maranville originated the basket catch, later made more famous by Willie Mays. The acrobatic five-foot five-inch Maranville delighted fans with his backflips and pranks, such as crawling to the batter's box through a home-plate umpire's legs. Recalling the unique magic of Evers and Maranville, Chief Bender mused about the nature of team spirit, "You don't know where it comes from when you have it, and you don't know where it went when it's gone." Hoping to replicate the Braves' rapid turnaround, the Cleveland Naps latched onto the name "Indians" three months after the series.

In 1915, the year after the Braves' miracle season, a new 40,000-seat stadium, Braves Field, the last of the original concrete and steel ballparks and the largest in the United States, was opened to rival the Red Sox's Fenway Park. From the Braves Field stands on Commonwealth Avenue, fans could cheer Harvard rowers racing on the Charles River. Owner James Gaffney built a wide-open ballpark (402 feet to left and right, 550 feet to center) conducive to inside-the-park home runs. But in the 1920s, when homers over the fence became more popular, the long distances to the wall and winds coming in from center field hindered homers—no ball cleared the left-field fence until 1925—so in 1928 the fences were moved in, but that failed to improve team performance or raise attendance. The field included a covered single-deck grandstand seating 18,000 and two uncovered pavilions that each seated 10,000. Another 2,000 sat in the bleachers in right field. It was known as "the jury box," after a sportswriter one day noticed only 12 people sitting there.

The dimensions of spacious Braves Field helped make it the site for numerous pitching duels, including the longest one, the 1–1, 26-inning marathon between the Braves' Joe Oeschger and the Brooklyn Dodgers' Leon Cadore, who each pitched the entire May 1, 1920, contest. Only three balls were used in the game, typical of the penny-pinching NL prior to the lively-ball era. Braves Field is now part of Boston University's athletic facilities.

Stallings's club remained competitive, finishing second and third following the miracle season. A big factor in the Miracle Braves' fall was that 22-year-old Bill James, who went 26–7 in 1914 with an ERA of 1.90, ruined his arm, and won only five more games in his career. In 1916, Gaffney sold the team (but not the ballpark) for \$500,000 to Harvard's renowned coach Percy Haughton and a banker associate. Haughton failed in his crusade to persuade his Braves to exclaim "Good!" instead of spouting four-letter words. In 1919, Haughton sold out to New Yorker George W. Grant, who used capital advanced by New York Giants owner Charles Stoneham. At this time, Giants manager and co-owner John McGraw and Grant were bidding on a Havana, Cuba, racetrack! The Braves-Giants symbiosis dated back to 1890, because Arthur Soden also owned part of the Giants. During the Grant era, allegations surfaced that the club secretly aided the Giants, which included certain sweetheart trades. One suspicious deal was trading 26-year-old lefty Art Nehf in 1919 just after he pitched the entire 21 innings of a 2–0 loss. Nehf won 60 games for McGraw over the next three years, and pitched in four straight World Series.

In 1917 the club fell to sixth, the first of four straight losing seasons. Stallings quit in 1920, claiming the Braves were underfinanced. The team's cheap travel arrangements during a 20-game exhibition trip inspired spectacular shortstop Maranville to lead a clownish team rebellion, which included growing beards and wearing the loudest clothes possible. Maranville's wild alcohol-fueled antics increasingly plagued the Braves' ever-changing owners, who, after Stallings quit, dealt Maranville away in 1921 to retain their sanity.

BOSTON, 1922–44: A GREAT DEPRESSION

The Braves sunk to their all-time low point in the years 1922–24, when the club dropped over 100 games each season. In 1923 Grant sold out for \$300,000 to another New Yorker, Judge Emil Fuchs, who headed the club from 1923 to 1935. Fuchs had been the Giants' lawyer and once represented gambling czar Arnold Rothstein. The Braves lost money in six years during the 1920s, when MLB prospered, earning a total of \$38,578. Then, during the depression, the team averaged an *annual* loss of \$37,000.

The Braves suffered some tragedy off the field as well. In 1924 star third baseman Tony Boeckel was hit by a car and killed. In 1923, Fuchs brought in former Giants pitching great Christy Mathewson, a man of impeccable integrity, as club president. However, Mathewson was suffering from tuberculosis, and died in 1925. The Braves continued to dwell at the bottom of the NL standings.

In 1928 Fuchs secured the legendarily abrasive Rogers Hornsby to play second and manage. The great Rajah hit a league-leading .387 with 107 walks, but the team went 50–103, and he was a disruptive force. Fuchs sold him the next season for quick cash. With the self-centered Hornsby gone, team player Rabbit Maranville returned to the Braves. Fuchs hoped Maranville would lure

in his faithful fans and advise Fuchs, who saved money by serving as manager, on game strategy. Playing for the 1933 Braves, the 41-year-old Maranville broke his leg severely trying to score by crashing into a catcher blocking home plate. The 155-pound Rabbit was in such pain as he lay on the field that he had his 240-pound teammate Shanty Hogan knock him out with a punch. He tried another comeback in 1935, but hit only .149. When Fuchs was asked if as manager he would use the squeeze play, he sniffed, "No, let us score in an honorable way." One reason Fuchs was strapped for cash that year was discovered by historian Steven Riess: to increase attendance, Fuchs had to spend \$200,000 lobbying and paying bribes to get Sunday baseball approved in Boston. In 1930, Fuchs brought in veteran manager Bill McKechnie, who had three winning seasons during his eight-year tenure, very good by Braves standards. However, he also suffered through a miserable 1935 season when the team lost 115 games, then a major-league record.

That year, Fuchs, financially reeling from the Great Depression, acquired the washed-up 40-year-old Babe Ruth to counter the more successful Red Sox, with whom the Babe had launched his incredible major-league career. After the Yankees rebuffed Ruth's request to manage, the slugger was lured with a Braves' vice presidency, plus the promise that he would pilot the Braves after he retired. Ruth homered in his first at bat as a Brave, off future Hall of Famer Carl Hubbell, and smashed three mammoth homers in one of his final games. However, Ruth averaged only .181 for the Braves and retired in disgust in June 1935 when he realized that Fuchs wanted him only as yet another temporary gate attraction. Despite Ruth, that season the Braves' record was 38–115, one of the worst in baseball history. At one Braves home game the attendance was reported as 95. Fuchs then begged the Red Sox to allow the Braves to play at Fenway Park so he could convert underutilized Braves Field into a roller rink.

After this fiasco the NL wanted Fuchs out. In 1936, longtime baseball executive Bob Quinn, Red Sox president from 1923 to 1932, when they won only 35 percent of their games, took over the club. He was financed by \$200,000 from majority stockholder Charles Adams, owner of the Boston Bruins. Adams always tried to keep a low profile with MLB due to his ownership of Suffolk Downs Race Track. To transform the Braves franchise's bad luck, Quinn asked fans to submit new names for the team. Suggested names included the Boston Blues, the Bankrupts, and the Basements. These nicknames were rejected by a group of sportswriters, who selected "Bees" as the new name. The club remained the Bees from 1936 to 1941. Braves Field temporarily became the Beehive, or National League Field.

In 1938 Quinn brought in another wild character that had played in Boston, Casey Stengel, who like Babe Ruth later gained greater fame and glory with the Yankees. Stengel had ended his on-field career with the 1924–25 Braves. The Braves had a winning record in 1938, finishing fifth, but thereafter averaged only about 64 wins per season. Manager Stengel missed part of 1943, which was his last season, after a Boston cabbie ran him down. Pittsburgh manager

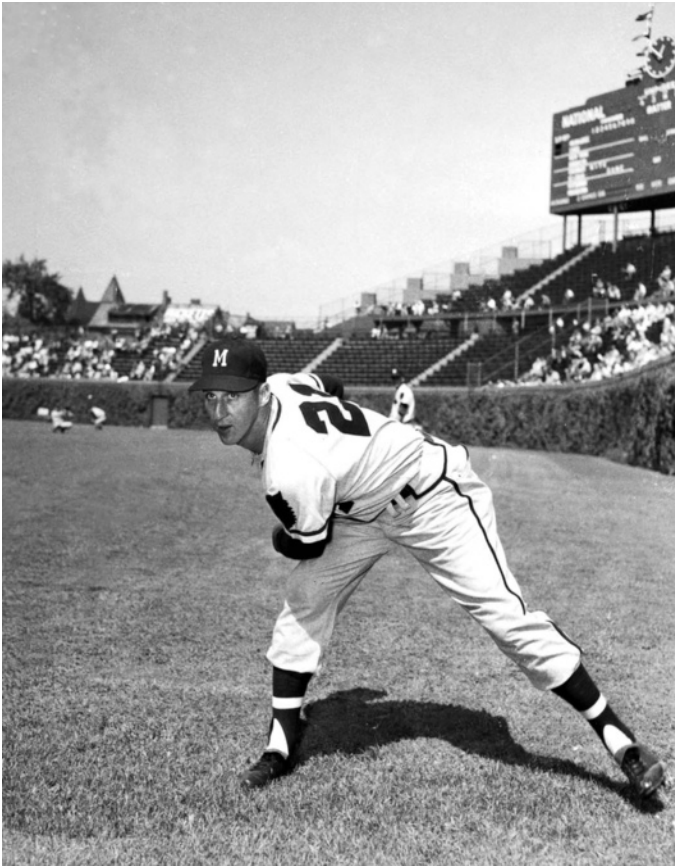
Frankie Frisch dropped Stengel a sympathy note: "Your attempt at suicide fully understood."

Quinn's moves flopped, as the team seldom outdrew or outperformed its better-financed AL counterpart. This was especially true after Tom Yawkey bought the Red Sox in 1933 and upgraded Fenway Park. While America had recovered from the Great Depression by the late 1930s, the Braves continued their own Great Depression into the World War II years, when most major-league stars joined the military and were replaced by minor leaguers. The club lost money each year from 1941 to 1945. In 1944 the underfinanced Quinn sold the Braves to a well-off local trio of minority investors, much to the pleasure of his fellow NL owners.

BOSTON, 1945–52: "SPAHN, SAIN, AND PRAY FOR TWO DAYS OF RAIN"

The new owners, Lou Perini, Joe Marey, and Guido Rugo, had much deeper pockets than Fuchs or Quinn, having amassed fortunes in World War II construction. The trio became known as "the Three Little Steam Shovels." The 1940s Braves Field stands featured Hy Brenner's band and "the Three Little Earaches," who serenaded their team with tunes such as "Has Anybody Here Seen Kelly?" and razzed Braves' opponents. Both trios' ethnicity reflect the twentieth-century makeup of Boston Braves fans: primarily non-Irish, with working-class origins. Opening Day 1946 was a comical low point for the significant upgrading efforts of the Steam Shovels and provided fresh material for the Earaches, because the paint was still wet on Braves Field's seats, ruining about 5,000 fans' clothing. While the paint dried, Tom Yawkey let the Braves play in Fenway Park, and Braves team president Perini paid all fans' cleaning bills. The park really needed the paint due to the heavy soot from a nearby railroad. All other NL clubs except the Chicago Cubs had installed park lighting, so the Steam Shovels did so at Braves Field. Perini attracted highly accomplished manager Billy Southworth from the St. Louis Cardinals with an incentive-packed contract. General Manager "Trader" John Quinn, son of the former owner, set to work making up for the sins of his father by bringing in talented veterans for Southworth, who returned the club to respectability. That season a tomahawk first appeared on the Braves' jerseys. The club had a creditable winning mark of 81–71, good for fourth place, and actually made money. However, the \$40,000 profit only surpassed one team that year, the Giants, who lost heavily. The Braves moved up to third in 1947 (86–68), and the excitement brought over a million spectators for the first time, and a return of \$229,000, which was duplicated the following year.

The star of the team was left-hander Warren Spahn, who won 21 games and had an ERA of 2.33. Spahn's 363 career wins are the most of any left-hander, all but the last seven of them for the Braves, despite his missing three seasons fighting in World War II, including seeing action in the Battle of the Bulge.



Warren Spahn, 1953. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame Library

Spahn led the NL nine times in complete games. Spahn was a good hitter who sometimes pinch-hit, and slugged home runs in 17 consecutive seasons, a record for pitchers. On the mound he was famous for his high leg kick and mystifying screwball. For players, including Spahn, Lou Perini's construction business provided off-season employment in the Boston area.

Star hurlers Warren Spahn and Johnny Sain led the Braves in 1948 when Boston fans moaned, "Spahn, Sain, and pray for two days of rain," hoping the Braves' other, lesser, starters wouldn't need to pitch. The chant became famous when the Braves captured the NL pennant (91–62), as Spahn (15 wins) and Sain (24), a control specialist, combined for 39 wins. It was

a veteran team that averaged 29.6 years old and had solid offense, batting .275, which led the league. The top hitters were outfielder Tommy Holmes (.325) and shortstop Alvin Dark (.322). Third baseman Bob Elliott, who hit .317 and had 22 homers, was NL MVP. The Braves' gate soared to 1.45 million. In their first World Series in 34 years, the Braves faced the powerful Cleveland Indians. Sain beat flamethrower Bob Feller 1–0 in the opener, but the Braves lost the next three, with little offense. The Fall Classic went six games, with the Braves losing the deciding game 4–3. Sain led the Boston effort with a sparkling 1.06 ERA.

A self-inflicted blow came when the Braves' fine double-play combo, veteran Eddie Stanky and 1948 Rookie of the Year Alvin Dark, were swapped to (surprise!) the New York Giants after confronting the fiery Southworth about his heavy drinking. That disastrous trade and the club's age, combined with Southworth's illnesses and demanding ways, brought the club down quickly. In that post-World War II era the major leagues finally slowly reopened their doors to black athletes, and the Braves were one of the earlier teams to recruit blacks. To replace the aged veterans of the 1948 World Series club, the Braves improved considerably by acquiring the excellent Negro League center fielder Sam Jethroe, who won the 1950 NL Rookie of the Year Award and twice led the NL in steals.

Despite the Braves' pennant-winning season, they struggled terribly in the Boston market. Even in 1948 they could not outdraw the Red Sox. The city's population only grew by 200,000 in the first half of the century and was not large enough to support two teams. In addition, the Braves' falling attendance has been linked to suburbanization and the breakup of many Boston ethnic neighborhoods after World War II, the advent of television, and poor play on the field. The decline of Southworth's Braves was typified by a game on May 13, 1952, in which Spahn lost in 15 innings despite homering for the Braves' only run and tying the NL record by striking out 18. In 1952, only 272,000 chilled fans came to the windy, outmoded Braves Field to see a 64–89 team, an 80 percent attendance drop since 1948.

MILWAUKEE, 1953–65: BUILD IT AND THEY WILL COME

In the early 1950s Milwaukee sought a major-league franchise, led by boosters including the chamber of commerce, the *Journal*, and especially brewer Frederick Miller. Political leaders made available County Stadium, which had originally been built for a minor-league club, and expanded it to meet the needs of a major-league team. The politicians saw a team as a means to gain prestige for Milwaukee and promote economic development. The local minor-league club was owned by the Braves, who hit bottom in 1952. Bill Veeck wanted to move his struggling St. Louis Browns to Milwaukee, where he once ran the minor-league club. But Braves president Lou Perini, who bought out his partners, invoked organized baseball's territorial privilege, claiming that Veeck had not offered the Braves enough step-aside money to supplant the Milwaukee farm club. Wisconsin attacked the Braves for blocking them from getting a major-league club. Perini planned to test the waters in Milwaukee's new stadium, but his timetable was speeded up when Wisconsin offered to take the St. Louis Cardinals instead. Though the Cardinals had 14 straight winning seasons, owner Fred Saigh was desperately seeking money to fight tax-evasion charges. Faced with losing his top minor-league club, Perini acted. Without any warning to Boston fans, he petitioned the NL a month before the opening of the 1953 season to shift his franchise. The NL approved the proposal just five days after receiving the formal application. Thus, after a 50-year period of no major-league team moves, the Braves' transfer unleashed an era of franchise shifts away from the economically declining industrial East toward the growing opportunities in the thriving West. Journalist Leonard Koppett cited the Braves' move as "the crossroads event of 20th century baseball."

So, in 1953, Milwaukee returned to the majors for the first time since 1901, and became just the second major-league franchise west of Chicago. A new winning era began for the Braves, and fans flocked to see popular Braves manager "Jolly Cholly" Charlie Grimm and his stars, whom they had followed when Grimm and his youngsters prepped with the Milwaukee Brewers of the American Association. In the Braves' first game in Milwaukee, center fielder

Billy Bruton had a triple, a walk-off home run, and a game-saving catch of a rocket shot by the Cardinals' Stan Musial. The team made a huge improvement to 92–62 and second place. They were average offensively, led by 21-year-old Eddie Mathews, who had a sensational year, hitting .302 with 47 homers and 135 RBIs. His combination of power, high on-base percentage, and fine fielding helped establish a new standard for third basemen, previously expected to excel only with the glove. The team's speed and defense were enhanced by former Negro Leaguer Billy Bruton, who led the league in steals his first three seasons. According to three-time Gold Glover Hank Aaron, "Watching Billy Bruton play the outfield gives me an inferiority complex." The Braves' greatest strength was the best pitching staff in the NL, led by Spahn, with his league-topping 2.10 ERA.

Attendance in the first season was an NL record 1,826,397, compared to 281,278 the year before in Boston. Local folk were energized by the presence of major-league baseball and a contending ball club. Furthermore, in their first season the Braves reportedly attracted \$5 million in new business to the city. They brought an electric vitality that seemed to affect all local business and bolster the city's second-rate self-image. Fans were enticed by the ballpark itself, with its vast parking lots. It was the first facility in the majors constructed with lights, and one of the first to be situated adjacent to a major interstate highway to draw newly affluent suburbanites, and fans from other states. Local fans could not follow the Braves on TV because Perini believed television had hurt attendance in Boston, so he banned broadcasting of Braves games. After 50 years in the Red Sox's long shadow, the Braves seemed to have found their home in Milwaukee. For the next few years, the Braves were the most profitable team in baseball, drawing 2 million each year from 1954 to 1957.

In 1954, rookie Hank Aaron, a converted second baseman, got his big break when star right fielder Bobby Thomson shattered his ankle. Aaron was bought in 1952 for a mere \$7,500 from the Indianapolis Clowns of the Negro National League. The scouting report on him from Dewey Griggs was that "[he] is one of the finest hitters God ever put on this earth." He and teammate Bruton needed a thick skin to withstand racist barbs such as Warren Spahn's frequent joke "What is black and catches flies? The Braves outfield." The Braves came in third in the NL with an attendance of 2.1 million and second in 1955. They drew over 2 million every year until 1959, when attendance fell to 1.97 million. After 46 games in 1956, "Jolly Cholly" Grimm was replaced by the strict Fred Haney. Haney led the Braves to a 92–62 record. They lost the pennant on the last day of the season when Warren Spahn was beaten in 12 innings.

The 1957 season belonged to the Braves. They had a terrific lineup, with four-time Gold Glove catcher Del Crandall; infielders Frank Torre, Red Schoendienst, Johnny Logan, and Mathews; an outfield of Aaron, Bruton, and Wes Covington; and a strong bench, including flash-in-the-pan rookie Bob "Hurricane" Hazle, who hit .403 as a sub when injuries crippled the Braves' outfield. The team led the NL in batting and was second in pitching with

Spahn, Lew Burdette, and Bob Buhl. They built up a commanding lead in August but struggled in early September. They clinched the pennant on September 23 on an Aaron home run. Spahn was the 1957 Cy Young winner and Aaron was the NL MVP, batting .322 with 132 RBIs. The newly famous Aaron became known as “Hammerin’ Hank” and “the Hammer,” while opposing pitchers dubbed him “Bad Henry.” The friendly, small-town, midwestern atmosphere that fans bestowed on Milwaukee County Stadium, including bringing home-cooked meals to beloved players, paid off big. The team drew an NL record 2,215,404 fans.

The Braves then faced the New York Yankees in the 1957 World Series. During the series the Milwaukee fans turned a Yankee employee’s dismissal of their enthusiastic welcome of the Yankees to Milwaukee as midwestern “bush” into a rallying cry. The slur was mistakenly attributed to Yankees manager Casey Stengel, which was unlikely because he had previously managed

in Milwaukee and was proud of having been raised in Kansas City. To counter the Yankees’ cool response to them, many Braves faithful sported signs proudly proclaiming Milwaukee as “Bushville.” At the peak of Braves fans’ boos in game three, Stengel graciously blew a kiss to the crowd. The exciting and competitive series went seven games. In game four a classic moment occurred with the Braves down two games to one and losing 5–4 in the bottom of the 10th inning. The Braves’ Nippy Jones was awarded first base after convincing umpire Augie Donatelli that he had been plunked, by showing him the baseball had Jones’s shoe polish on it. Two batters later Eddie Mathews smashed a game-winning home run. Then, in the next game, Covington preserved a 1–0 shutout when he crashed into the fence to take away a home run. The star of the series was pitcher Lew Burdette, who won three games with a 0.67 ERA, including the decisive game seven, 5–0, on two days’ rest. He was the first pitcher in 52 years to throw two series shutouts. Burdette was acquired from the Yankees for Johnny Sain in 1951, and Burdette’s remarkable World Series performance satisfied his long-held grudge against Stengel, his former manager in New York. All during 1957 opposing managers accused Burdette of pulling a spitter out of



Undated photo of the legendary Hank Aaron in action. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame Library

his deep trick bag, which included talking to the ball, fiddling with his uniform, and constant, distracting facial grimaces.

The Braves repeated in 1958 (92–62), sparked by league-leading pitching and defense. Burdette and Spahn combined for 42 victories. In the 1958 World Series rematch with the Yankees, Milwaukee took a 3–1 lead. However, for the first time in history, a team came back from that margin to take the Series.

The Braves in 1959, led by Aaron, who took his second batting title (.355), and Spahn and Burdette, who each won 21, tied for the 1959 NL pennant with 86 victories. The team was weakened by the loss of Schoendienst, who contracted tuberculosis. In the two-out-of-three playoff against the Los Angeles Dodgers, the Braves lost the first by one run, and then lost the second at home in 12 innings. Only 18,297 fans came to the rainy playoff contest, a portent of the attendance decline that would encourage the Braves' next owner to abandon Milwaukee.

A historic game was played at County Stadium on May 26, 1959, when the Pittsburgh Pirates' Harvey Haddix crafted a perfect game for 12 innings. A runner got on base in the 13th inning on an error and Aaron was intentionally walked. Joe Adcock then homered, but in the rain Aaron mistakenly ran off the base paths, assuming the game was over, allowing Adcock to lumber past him. Aaron and Adcock were called out, but Haddix still lost the game and his no-hitter, 1–0. The winning pitcher was Burdette, who shut out the Pirates while giving up 12 hits. Later, asking for a \$10,000 raise, Burdette joked, "The greatest game that was ever pitched in baseball wasn't good enough to beat me, so I've got to be the greatest pitcher!" Haddix's masterpiece loomed even larger when it was revealed in 1993 that the Braves were stealing Pirates catcher Smoky Burgess's signs because he was unable to squat all the way down.

Five days after the playoffs Fred Haney quit even though he had come within three games of leading the Braves to four straight World Series. Haney was under heavy criticism for managing too conservatively and overusing Spahn and Burdette. In addition, ace general manager John Quinn, architect of the club's last three pennant winners, moved on to the Philadelphia Phillies.

Veteran manager Charley Dressen took over and led the team to another second-place finish in 1960, but fell to fourth in 1961, and was replaced by Birdie Tebbets. Burdette and Spahn each pitched a no-hitter in 1960, and the 40-year-old Spahn pitched another in 1961, all at Milwaukee County Stadium. The boyish-looking Spahn even won 23 games at age 42. But the love affair between the Braves and the beer-and-bratwurst-adoring fans who journeyed hundreds of miles from four states to tailgate in Milwaukee County Stadium's big parking lot was coming to a bitter end for a variety of reasons. The declining attendance reflected the fall out of the first division, with the team placing fifth (86–76) in 1962 and sixth (84–78) in 1963; trades of popular players; and weak efforts at promotion. The Braves' fan base was cut after the Washington Senators moved to Minnesota in 1961. As TV revenue began to play a bigger role in sports, Milwaukee offered a small audience, with two Chicago teams also looming just across the Cheddar Cur-

tain. Lou Perini's policy of not allowing patrons to bring beer into the stadium was heavily criticized. Despite the two World Series appearances, Perini, who remained in Boston, never gained the full trust of Milwaukee fans. In 1962 Perini sold the Braves to a consortium headed by Chicago insurance executive Bill Bartholomay. Milwaukeeans viewed Bartholomay's young group as carpetbaggers. They had little loyalty to the city and almost immediately began considering moving the club.

In April 1964 an Atlanta group courting a major-league club announced that an unnamed franchise had committed to move there. The Braves and Charles Finley's Kansas City A's were both looking to shift to the Sunbelt to take full advantage of booming populations and economic growth. The usually mild-mannered Warren Spahn accused Braves manager Bobby Bragan, a southerner, of intentionally trying to lose games so the team could be moved to the South. The declining Spahn was sold to the lowly New York Mets in November 1964.

In 1965 the new owners announced plans to move to Atlanta, primarily for better media opportunities, even though Milwaukee had the second-best major-league attendance between 1953 and 1965. Fans responded by staying away in droves. Attendance was just 555,584. Taxpayers were furious because County Stadium was the first major-league ballpark built entirely with public funds, was expanded specifically for the Braves' transfer from Boston, and was rented to the Braves at a very nominal fee. MLB temporarily blocked the move due to pressure from Milwaukee interests looking for a local buyer and because the stadium lease had a year to go. Wisconsin attorney general Bronson La Follette hit the team with an antitrust suit, claiming the NL had conspired to restrain trade and harm Wisconsin's economy by approving the transfer without offering another team. This was the first time a state had sued a major-league team in state court for violating an antitrust law. However, the case was ultimately lost because of baseball's exemption from the antitrust laws.

In Atlanta the key figure behind expansion was booster Mayor Ivan Allen Jr., who got the city to build \$42.4 million Atlanta-Fulton County Stadium in 1964. He and other local politicians saw baseball as a way for Atlanta to prove it was a first-class city. Atlanta made the Braves an offer they could not refuse, which included paying to defend the antitrust case. The Braves got a radio-TV package of \$2.5 million, compared to the meager \$400,000 they got in Milwaukee. Thus, though the team posted a winning record every season in Milwaukee, Bartholomay gained league approval for 1966 to move the franchise to Atlanta.

ATLANTA, 1966–75: THE SOUTH SHALL RISE AGAIN, BUT WHEN?

The team was managed in Atlanta by southerner Bobby Bragan, the skipper since 1963. At the outset many of the black and Latin players struggled with the racial situation in the South, as opposed to that in liberal Wisconsin. This injured the club as it tried to maintain its winning tradition. The team ended

in fifth place (85–77), its 14th straight winning season. During the Braves' first season in Atlanta a major link between the Boston, Milwaukee, and Atlanta incarnations of the Braves was rudely severed when Eddie Mathews, the only Brave to play in all three home cities, found out from a reporter that he'd been traded after 16 seasons. Mathews combined with Aaron to hit 863 homers as teammates, the most of any duo all time. A future Hall of Famer, Mathews later coached for the Braves and eventually managed them, with little success, from 1972 to 1974.

After seventh- and fifth-place finishes Bartholomay revived the Braves' old attendance ploy used with Babe Ruth and Cy Young by carting in a folksy, elderly gate attraction for 1968. This was actually a humanitarian gesture, since the new player was ageless pitching legend Satchel Paige, who at age 62 or so qualified for a major-league pension by spending an additional 158 days on a big-league roster. He never actually got into a game and later served as a coach.

MLB expanded to 24 teams in 1969 and created a playoff system. The Braves under manager Lum Harris won the first NL Western Division championship (93–69), a big improvement from the .500 season the year before. Hank Aaron, who wore uniform number 44, hit 44 home runs for the fourth time in his career. The Braves bolted from fifth place on August 19 to win the division in a wild race, only to be swept by New York's pumped-up "Miracle Mets" in the NL Championship Series, despite Aaron homering in all three games.

In 1970 Braves left fielder Rico "the Big Man" Carty won the NL batting title with a .366 average, but the Braves instantly slid back into mediocrity. Carty starred with the Braves from 1963 to 1972, but missed the entire 1968 and 1971 campaigns and was frequently beset by serious injuries and illness. Another factor in the Braves' decline was the May 1971 release of superb-fielding third baseman Clete Boyer following his bitter dispute with management and Boyer's being fined for betting on football. Boyer had 14 RBIs in his last nine games for Atlanta, but was blackballed and never played in the majors again.

Regardless of the Atlanta Braves' initial so-so performance, playing in a new stadium in a fresh town provided a temporary boost to attendance. The Braves' maiden year in Atlanta attracted 1.5 million fans, about three times as many as their bitter, lame-duck season in Milwaukee. Atlanta–Fulton County Stadium, across from the Georgia State Capitol, was shared with the NFL Atlanta Falcons. But the attendance bump was short-lived. From 1970 through 1981 the Braves were one of the worst draws in the NL, barely surpassing a million in 1970 and 1971, and then dropping all the way down to 534,672 in 1975.

Atlanta–Fulton County was one of the first multipurpose cookie-cutter stadiums situated downtown to promote urban redevelopment. It was considered the worst playing surface in the majors and did not have a full-time groundskeeper until 1989, when Bobby Cox became the manager. Atlanta–Fulton County Stadium was nicknamed "the Launching Pad" because its elevation (1,057 feet), the highest in the majors until the Colorado Rockies joined in

1993, helped make it extremely homer friendly. While Milwaukee County Stadium was a slight pitcher's park, the Launching Pad helped home-run hitters. In 1973 three Braves hit 40 or more homers. Aaron's amazing consistency, seemingly effortless style, and his being out of the national media glare during most of his 13 years in Milwaukee enabled the long-underrated right fielder to sneak up on many of baseball's career records. Flashier stars Mickey Mantle and Willie Mays had drawn far more national attention than Aaron, who had excelled in his few postseason opportunities. But the quick-wristed Aaron's superb effort in the 1969 playoffs threw him in the media spotlight to stay as he approached Babe Ruth's home-run record.

The closer Hammerin' Hank drew to the Babe's 714 round-trippers, the more pressure he confronted from racists, who sent Aaron hundreds of death threats for menacing a "white man's record." Most letters were postmarked from northern cities. On road trips he had to register under aliases at hotels. "As the hate mail piled up," Aaron reminisced, "I became more and more intent on breaking the record and shoving it into the ugly faces of those bigots."

Though people throughout North America followed Aaron's every move as he approached Ruth's record in 1973, only 1,362 fans in Atlanta saw Aaron hit number 711. Aaron hit his 713th in the next-to-last game of 1973. When he failed to hit 714 the next day, he graciously thanked the 40,000 Atlanta fans in attendance, saying, "I'm sorry I couldn't hit one for them, sitting in the rain like that . . . that applause was the biggest moment I've had in baseball."

The stress on Aaron was especially severe during the off-season. Aaron understated when he said that to break the record "all I've got to do this winter is stay alive." The Atlanta police assigned Aaron a bodyguard to protect him and his new wife, Billye Williams, an Atlanta civil rights activist and TV-show host, while the FBI uncovered a plot to kidnap his daughter Gaile from Fiske University in Nashville and sent undercover agents to protect her. He had to temporarily move out of his home. Twenty years later Aaron recalled that 1973 "should have been the happiest time of my life . . . but it was the worst year."

Aaron and Bartholomay agreed that Aaron would sit out the 1974 season-opening series in Cincinnati, not so much because of the mounting death threats but to reserve the big thrill, and biggest crowds, for Atlanta's home opening series. However, MLB commissioner Bowie Kuhn ordered the Braves to play Aaron. Kuhn had previously represented the NL against Wisconsin's lawsuit to keep the Braves in Milwaukee. Angry at Kuhn over being forced to play, Aaron crushed the long-anticipated 714 in the first inning of Opening Day.

On the April 8, 1974, Braves' home opener an Atlanta-Fulton County Stadium record crowd of 53,775 enjoyed a 45-minute pregame ceremony that featured Pearl Bailey belting out the national anthem. Present that cold, miserable night was Georgia governor and future U.S. president Jimmy Carter, a passionate Braves fan, who walked across the street from the state capitol.

Los Angeles Dodgers' pitcher Al Downing drew vigorous boos when he walked Aaron on five pitches in the first inning. When Aaron scored a few batters later, he broke Willie Mays's NL record for career runs. In the fourth inning, on Aaron's first swing of the game, his fabled wrists rocketed a Downing pitch 390 feet into the Atlanta bullpen to shatter Ruth's record with the long-anticipated number 715. Braves relief pitcher Tom House rejoiced as he caught the specially marked ball at 9:07 P.M. Two young white men leaped from the stands and joyously ran with Aaron between second and third base. Security guards, who had been alerted to the many threats that Aaron would be gunned down on the field, escorted the beaming college students away. Amazingly, the first person to reach Aaron at home plate was his tiny 62-year-old mother, who jumped out of the stands running and rushed ahead of the excited Braves waiting for Aaron at home plate. She explained, "If they were going to kill my son, they were going to have to kill me too."

Three months after Aaron broke the record, manager Eddie Mathews was fired and replaced by Clyde King. The team, surprisingly, finished in third, led by good pitching and defense and the hitting of speedy center fielder Ralph "Road Runner" Garr, who kept his Atlanta teammates loose with his Hank Aaron imitations and led the NL with a .353 average. Aaron had announced (like Babe Ruth) that he wanted the Braves job, which would have made him baseball's first black manager, but that was ridiculed by general manager Eddie Robinson. The fading 40-year-old Aaron saw that his days in Atlanta were numbered. So, again tracing Ruth's giant footsteps, the unflappable, graceful Aaron returned to Milwaukee in 1975 to finish out his career as a designated hitter for the Brewers. He retired with 755 homers and the records for career RBIs, extra-base hits, and total bases.

ATLANTA, 1976–90: CAPTAIN OUTRAGEOUS TAKES THE WHEEL OF AMERICA'S TEAM

Losing is simply learning how to win.

—Ted Turner

In January 1976 Ted Turner acquired majority ownership in the team from Bill Bartholomay's Atlanta-LaSalle Corporation for \$10 million, though Bartholomay continued with the club as an active board member. When Turner acquired the Braves, his local WTCG UHF station, which started broadcasting Braves games in 1975, stood last in the Atlanta market, and its programming consisted primarily of old movies and 1950s TV shows. In 1977 he acquired the Atlanta Hawks basketball team. Two years later, Turner's channel 17 went national via cable to become "Super Station" WTBS. In 1979 he promoted the Braves as "America's Team," after the Dallas Cowboys were effectively marketed under the same nickname. For media-savvy Ted Turner, co-opting the designation also made a nice fit with the America's Cup, the international yacht race Turner participated in at the time. In 1980 he founded CNN, the first 24-

hour cable news network. Thus, the hyperactive, visionary Turner became the first of a new breed of fabulously wealthy, publicity-hungry sports magnates who wield their teams as marketing tools within a media empire.

Turner immediately jumped into baseball ownership hands-on by vaulting out of the stands in the first inning of Opening Day 1976 to shake the hand of Atlanta outfielder Ken Henderson, who had just homered. The enthusiastic young mogul's actions charmed numerous Atlanta fans but rubbed baseball's conservative old guard many wrong ways. Turner garnered praise from minority activists for hiring the highest-ranking black executive in major-league history to that point, general manager Bill Lucas, formerly head of the Braves' farm system. Lucas died in 1979 and is commemorated by Lucas Boulevard, the street on the first-base side of Turner Field.

Under the Braves' new owner Aaron returned to Atlanta triumphantly as director of player development. There the usually quiet Aaron escalated his criticism of the racist policies prevalent in baseball's omnipresent old boys' club, which keep minorities from front-office and managerial opportunities. "Old boy" general manager Eddie Robinson was gone when Aaron returned, replaced by Aaron's former brother-in-law Lucas. It was an early sign of how the Braves' new owner, Ted Turner, would totally transform the landscape of the team while revolutionizing broadcasting. Under Aaron the Braves became one of the first organizations to heavily recruit talented, inexpensive Latin American teenagers. In addition to Aaron, another Braves legend, Johnny Sain, returned to the Braves under Ted Turner. Sain, who'd become an esteemed pitching coach but often clashed with his managers, served with Atlanta in 1977 and 1985–86, all losing years.

Three months into the 1976 season, Commissioner Kuhn fined Turner for cozying up to soon-to-be-free-agent Gary "Sarge" Matthews Sr. while the hustling outfielder was still playing for the San Francisco Giants. Turner persisted in rabidly pursuing Matthews, so in January 1977, Turner got seriously burned when Kuhn suspended him for one year for tampering, though the Braves were allowed to keep Matthews. Turner's successful courtship of Matthews included Turner's own family billboard company erecting a huge "Welcome to Atlanta, Gary!" sign near the Atlanta airport.

While vigorously appealing his suspension in May 1977, Turner even managed the team for one losing game, trying to break a 16-game losing streak, defy MLB, and drive up TV ratings—all at the same time. Champion yachtsman Turner, who had no baseball experience at all, gave his manager Dave Bristol the day off. "Captain Outrageous" was the first manager without professional playing experience since Judge Fuchs in 1929. NL president Chub Feeney immediately removed Turner as manager due to a rule prohibiting a manager from holding a financial interest in a major-league club. Turner sued Commissioner Kuhn but lost, and Turner's detractors branded him "the Mouth of the South."

Turner also took a personal crack at boosting attendance by joining the team's ground crew and staging on-field ostrich races, with Turner and his base-

ball broadcasters as jockeys—silks and all. In the second race Turner's ostrich bolted straight at the visitors' dugout—causing giggling Los Angeles Dodgers to duck and hide. One jockey, Braves announcer Ernie Johnson, had pitched for the 1950–58 Braves. In the Great Baseball Nose Push, the only two contestants willing to scrunch down on all fours to nudge a baseball 90 feet down the baselines were the Philadelphia Phillies' flaky reliever Tug McGraw—and Turner himself. Turner won, his grinning face, cleft chin, and scraggly mustache dripping with blood. For years, the ultracompetitive Turner proudly displayed the bloody ball on his desk.

Turner was open to any idea from Bob Hope, the Braves' inventive public-relations director from 1966 to 1979. In 1976 70-year-old Karl Wallenda amazed Atlanta fans by walking a 300-foot wire without a net across the top of the stadium despite high winds. A 1985 Braves stunt backfired, infuriating people in the area, when the Atlanta management set off fireworks at 4:01 A.M. The rockets were launched to placate 10,000 faithful fans, who were understandably disappointed over losing a surreal 19-inning, 16–13 game, plus waiting 6 hours, 57 minutes to enjoy the traditional Fourth of July fireworks. With no Braves pinch hitters available in the 18th inning, longtime Atlanta pitcher Rick Camp hit his only career homer to keep the Braves alive, then lost the game in the 19th. The contest, before an initial crowd of 44,000, included two rain delays and ended at 3:55 A.M. when a two-run 19th-inning rally by the Braves fell short.

Turner quickly became active in the free-agent market after pitchers Andy Messersmith and Dave McNally sat out the 1975 season to challenge baseball's reserve rule. Turner signed Messersmith to a \$1.8 million contract, more than most stars had earned in an entire career. By quickly signing Messersmith, Turner also broke ranks with fellow owners, who mulled blacklisting Messersmith for defying them. In 1976 Turner explained, "I bought the Braves because I'm tired of seeing them kicked around. I'm the little guy's hero." Like fellow showman and maverick owner Bill Veeck, "Terrible Ted" Turner quickly became a prime nemesis of the baseball establishment.

Turner drew fire and laughs when he inked flamboyant relief pitcher Al "the Mad Hungarian" Hrabosky to a 30-year contract, including the guarantee of a Braves broadcasting job. Hrabosky lasted only three mediocre seasons as a Brave and never made it into the Atlanta broadcast booth. The Turner regime's wild antics and expensive personnel gaffes at the dawn of the free-agent era, such as signing pitching busts Messersmith and Bruce Sutter, made the club the butt of jokes. But Turner and the Braves were the happy recipients of megapublicity, new fans, and healthy TV ratings, if not wins.

The team struggled in the late 1970s, landing in last place four straight years and losing 101 games in 1977. Third baseman Bob Horner won the 1978 NL Rookie of the Year Award but thereafter seemed to constantly get injured. He had frequent contract troubles that drew as many headlines from 1978 to 1986 as his prodigious homers. Horner, from Arizona State, was the number-one pick in

baseball's 1978 amateur draft and went directly to the Braves without playing in the minors. In 1986 Horner became the third Brave to hit four homers in a game (albeit a losing effort), following Bobby Lowe in 1894 and Joe Adcock in 1954.

Turner's teams did not have a winning record until 1980, when they went 81–80 under third-year manager Bobby Cox, but fell off to 50–56 in the strike-shortened 1981 season. The club made a big turnaround in 1982 under manager Joe Torre, a former Braves star (1960–68), winning the NL West with a record of 89–73, only to be swept by the Cards in the NLCS three games to none. A bizarre, pivotal event occurred on August 19 when young Braves pitcher Pascual Perez missed his first start because he literally ran out of gas after futilely driving around Atlanta freeways for three hours, unable to find the ballpark. The suddenly loose Braves, who had lost 19 of their prior 21 games, then won 14 of 16 to take first place back and capture the division championship. The star of the team was fan favorite Dale Murphy. He was converted from catcher to center fielder to overcome a mysterious block that affected his tossing the ball back to the pitcher. Murphy was the NL MVP in 1982 and 1983, a two-time home-run champ, and the winner of five straight Gold Gloves.

One of the Braves' few standouts in this period was portly Hall of Fame knuckleballer Phil Niekro. The converted reliever pitched until age 48 and won 318 games, all but the last 20 for the Braves. His 1973 no-hitter was the franchise's only no-hitter in the 30-year stretch between the dynasties in Milwaukee and Atlanta. "Knucksie" Niekro was also a fine fielder, winning five Gold Gloves. Niekro's brother Joe, himself a 221-game winner, pitched in Atlanta with Phil from 1973 to 1975. At age 43, Niekro wept openly when the Braves won the 1982 NL West championship. His 24 seasons without a single World Series appearance, including his 19 years with the Braves from 1965 to 1983, is a very unwanted record. Niekro's loyalty to the Atlanta fans and franchise, especially in the free-agent era when millionaire players annually chase greater fortunes from town to town, was reciprocated by both Bartholomay and Turner. Niekro is commemorated by a statue outside the Atlanta stadium. Dale Murphy and Warren Spahn are also honored with Turner Field statues.

Following the 1982 division championship WTBS viewership rocketed and Atlanta attendance peaked at 2.1 million. The gate then nose-dived as Atlanta fans' expectations of the Braves increased while the team began to lose ugly. One of the ugliest exhibitions on the Atlanta ball field occurred on August 12, 1984. Starting pitcher Pascual Perez initiated one of the most brawl-filled games in major-league history when he drilled the San Diego Padres' rail-thin Alan Wiggins in the back with the first pitch of the game. Nineteen participants were ejected, and Padres pitchers threw at the skinny Perez all four times he came to the plate. Unlike back in 1982, when "Highway Patrol" Perez could not find the stadium, this contest had the opposite effect on the NL pennant race, as the Padres easily beat out the third-place Braves and went to the World Series. Torre was fired even though he was Turner's personal choice for Braves manager, in part because the media-savvy Torre's likability played perfectly on WTBS.

The next six years were a disaster. After the team went 66–96, Chuck Tanner was brought in to manage, and in four years never surpassed 72 wins. The Braves released Perez on April Fool’s Day 1986, along with fellow veteran pitchers Rick Camp, Terry Forster, and Len Barker. Perez had been jailed for drugs in 1983 and went AWOL from the team in 1985. Perez’s legal weaponry included a high-arcing “eephus” pitch and an imaginary gun he fired at batters after striking them out. Forster had a career 3.23 ERA and .397 batting average, but is often remembered for being dubbed “a big, fat tub of goo” by David Letterman. Barker flopped in Atlanta after being acquired for tiny, speedy center fielder Brett Butler, a local favorite for his hustle and the similarity of his name to *Gone with the Wind*’s Rhett Butler.

The April Fool’s Day massacre certainly did not produce instant success, but under new general manager Bobby Cox the Braves were steadily building a fine farm system that paid off in the 1990s, though in 1988 the club hit bottom, losing 106 games to finish 39 1/2 games out of first. The team’s payroll was the 17th highest in the majors (\$9,967,167). That miserable season led to another Braves low point the following season when the club was outdrawn by the minor-league Buffalo Bisons. Atlanta’s attendance was 980,129. *Financial World* estimated that in 1990 only one major-league franchise was worth less than the Braves.

ATLANTA, 1991–2005: THE TOMAHAWK DYNASTY— “THEY’LL PROBABLY BURN OUR HOUSES DOWN!”

The worst sin, the ultimate sin for me, in anything, is to be bored.

—Ted Turner

The next big change in the Braves’ history came in the late 1980s when Ted Turner ceased his sometimes counterproductive hands-on approach to baseball ownership. “Everything Ted Turner has been involved with has been a success, except us,” observed infielder Jerry Royster, an Atlanta Brave for Turner’s first nine seasons. At the end of their first 25 years as the Atlanta Braves, Turner’s franchise had the ignominy of being the only existing team never to have won a playoff game. Advertisers and new Braves converts nationwide on TBS pressed Turner to deliver a winning product for their increasing cable rates. Consequently, Braves president Stan Kasten assembled a cadre of professional, proven baseball executives, whom Turner allowed to run the Braves ring of his big show.

Mobilizing the massive revenues generated by Turner’s burgeoning empire, the team returned to prominence in 1991 (albeit with the 20th-lowest team salary) under manager Bobby Cox and new general manager John Schuerholz. Cox, a former Yankees third baseman and Toronto manager, had previously piloted the Braves from 1978 to 1981 and then served as Braves general manager from 1985 to 1990. Schuerholz, a former Baltimore schoolteacher, rose to the executive ranks in the Baltimore Orioles and Kansas City Royals organizations during their glory eras in the 1970s and 1980s. Cox had successfully built for

the future as general manager. In 1990, to make room in the outfield for Rookie of the Year first baseman David Justice, Cox outraged Atlanta fans by trading declining fan favorite Dale Murphy to Philadelphia. Then, on becoming manager again, Cox directed his youngsters to victory. The easygoing Cox did not view his job change as a demotion, explaining, "I've always been most comfortable as a manager."

Before the 1991 season the Braves signed showy former Florida State cornerback Deion Sanders to platoon in the outfield with the weak-hitting Otis Nixon. A few Braves followers at spring training employed the Florida State Seminoles football fans' "Tomahawk Chop" rallying gesture whenever "Neon Deion" strutted up to bat. During the regular season the gesture, with raucous accompaniment by the stadium's organ, became a popular ritual to rally the Atlanta club. "The Chop" grew closely associated with the Braves' amazing turnaround, as the name "Braves" had been similarly linked to the 1914 miracle season. But the constant TBS close-ups of owner Turner and his then fiancée, actress Jane Fonda, beaming while leading Atlanta crowds en masse in the Chop to a Native American war chant, spurred further vigorous protests by Native American activists against the Braves' ownership. Another irritant was that the organization still employed a feathered and war-painted "Chief Noc-a-Homa" to lead cheers from a mock tepee in the outfield stands.

In the early 1980s the club had removed all Native American elements from the Braves' uniforms. But in 1987 a tomahawk reappeared on Braves jerseys after being off for 24 years. Ironically, in Ted Turner's frantic early years as Braves owner, he considered switching the club's moniker to the Eagles, after the name of his America's Cup yacht. But following a storm of national criticism Turner backed off the name, which dovetailed perfectly with the Falcons, the mascot of the NFL's Atlanta franchise, and the Hawks, the Turner-owned Atlanta NBA franchise.

Because merchandise prominently featuring such team nicknames and symbols had become extremely lucrative big business by the late 1980s, owners grew adamant about maintaining their patented logos as untouchable traditions, as long as they remained profitable, regardless of how outdated or offensive to a minority of consumers they might become. The Braves' logo became a tightly guarded trademark in a huge multinational media and merchandising realm, when Turner merged his business empire, including the Braves and the Hawks, with the Time Magazine-Warner Brothers conglomerate in 1995. By then, with Turner's America's Cup victory long behind him and the Braves going to another World Series, his idea of switching the club's name to the Eagles could be deemed unprofitable.

In 1991 the young Braves stood at the .500 mark at midseason and then began to accelerate. In August, with the Los Angeles Dodgers in first place just ahead of the Braves, Dodgers star Darryl Strawberry, who had bested the Braves for many years as a New York Met, commented that he had "never been concerned about Atlanta." Many observers took the 1991 Braves too lightly, but

Strawberry's crack fueled a late-season Braves run, beating out the Dodgers. Such July and August spurts became a trademark of Atlanta's 1990s clubs.

In late 1991, when Atlanta closer Juan Berenguer went down with a serious injury, Schuerholz acquired Alejandro Pena from the Mets. Pena saved 11 games in just a five-week stretch and combined with starter Kent Mercker and reliever Mark Wohlers to pitch a no-hitter on September 11. On September 21 the Dodgers regained first with a 2–1 victory over Atlanta, but the Braves rallied the last two weeks of the season. A dramatic high point came on October 1 when the Braves, down 6–0 after three innings, came from behind in the ninth to beat the defending world champion Cincinnati Reds' "Nasty Boys," spurred by a David Justice home run. The Braves finished first in their division at 94–68. The exciting season resulted in attendance more than doubling to 2.1 million.

The young 1991 Braves were led by 25-year-old 20-game winner Tom Glavine, who took the Cy Young Award, and third baseman Terry Pendleton, a free agent, was the MVP and batting champ. Twenty-six-year-old Ron Gant was a big help with 32 homers and 34 steals, his second straight 30-30 season.

The Braves took the 1991 NLCS from the Pittsburgh Pirates four games to three despite the absence of center fielder Otis Nixon, who had tested positive for cocaine. The fleet Nixon had tied a record when he stole six bases in a game in 1991. His replacement, Ron Gant, stepped up big in Nixon's absence in the playoffs, setting another mark by stealing seven bases in the Pirates' series. The series included two 1–0 games and two extra-inning contests. After six straight losing seasons, the Braves were going to the World Series for the first time in 32 years.

The 1991 Braves–Minnesota Twins series matched up two resurgent clubs. The Twins had finished seventh the prior season. That Fall Classic was one of the most exciting World Series ever, as four games were determined on the final pitch, five were decided by just one run, and three went into extra innings. In a memorable game seven the Twins' Jack Morris bested the Braves with a 1–0, 10-inning shutout, the first extra-innings World Series seventh game since 1924.

The 1991 Cox-Schuerholz Braves were the first team in NL history to go to the World Series after finishing with the worst record in baseball the previous season. For leading the turnaround Bobby Cox became the first to win the Manager of the Year Award in both major leagues.

Schuerholz assured Braves fans after the season, "We never dreamed it would happen this quickly, but since it has, it's my job to make sure we stay on top." To prevent a slide backward such as those experienced by the 1914 and 1948 Braves, Schuerholz obtained free agent Greg Maddux, who signed for the 1993 season for \$6 million less than the Yankees offered him. His addition gave the Braves a big four "Young Guns": righties Maddux and John Smoltz, matched by hard-firing lefties Steve Avery and Glavine.

Glavine, Maddux, and Smoltz won seven Cy Young Awards with Atlanta. In the tradition of Burdette and Spahn, the trio excelled as hitters and fielders. Maddux won 13 straight Gold Gloves, 1990–2002. Smoltz was acquired from the Detroit Tigers as a minor leaguer, while Avery and Glavine (plus Justice and Gant) came up through the Braves' productive farm system. Massachusetts native Glavine had also been a hockey star, drafted by the NHL's Los Angeles Kings. In the 1990s Atlanta's Leo Mazzone succeeded Johnny Sain as the dean of pitching coaches, both for developing young talents like starters Kevin Millwood, Glavine, and Smoltz, and for mining the maximum out of journeymen acquisitions such as Denny Neagle.

Another part of the Braves' winning formula was that Cox supported his pitchers with stellar fielders, such as Terry Pendleton, second baseman Glenn Hubbard, and center fielder Andruw Jones, winner of eight straight Gold Gloves. Hubbard became Cox's first-base coach in 1999 and Pendleton his hitting coach in 2002. Another key to the Braves' success is that Schuerholz has cannily reaped the prime career years from much-traveled veterans, like first baseman Fred McGriff, who was obtained from the San Diego Padres in mid-1993 for three prospects who never panned out. In the following season, McGriff was the 1994 All-Star Game MVP.

The 1992 club started shakily and was in last place on May 27. But then it won 21 of 24. Atlanta proved 1991 was not a fluke by returning to the World Series again after shutting down Barry Bonds to win the NLCS over the Pirates in seven games. The Braves came from behind dramatically to take game seven with two out in the ninth inning when Francisco Cabrera's ninth-inning, two-run pinch-hit single scored Sid Bream in a photo finish at home plate. However, Atlanta fell to the Toronto Blue Jays in the first international World Series, losing a heartbreaking game six 4–3 in 11 innings when Joe Carter hit a walk-off homer.

In that World Series Braves center fielder and Atlanta Falcons cornerback Deion Sanders hit .533 with five steals after incurring the wrath of manager Bobby Cox when Sanders played a Falcons game in the afternoon, then led a national TV camera crew into the Braves locker room as he showed up late for an evening NLCS game. But under Cox, who loves to platoon, Sanders was more "Part Time" than "Prime Time" anyway. Sanders alienated Braves fans by refusing to provide autographs for them while signing for Falcons supporters. Sanders was a great football star but a limited baseball player, and his craving for maximum publicity over performance soon wore out its welcome in the major leagues, even with the media-driven Braves.

Following two straight World Series appearances, Atlanta set a franchise record in 1993 with a 3.9 million attendance. By then the team was up to seventh in player salaries (\$38.1 million), and from 1994 to 2000 was no lower than the fourth. The Braves were 10 games out of first place on July 22, two days after acquiring first baseman Fred "Crime Dog" McGriff. He homered in his first day with the Braves to help them recover from a 5–0 deficit, and the team went on

a 51–17 tear. The Braves won 104 games to take the NL West on the last day of the season, led by their “Fab Four” starting pitchers. The Braves went on to the NLCS to face the worst-to-first Philadelphia Phillies, who beat them in six games.

In 1994 the Braves moved to the NL Eastern Division. Kent Mercker pitched his second no-hitter, and Greg Maddux recorded a phenomenal 1.56 ERA. The Braves stood second to the Montreal Expos, managed by former Braves outfielder Felipe Alou, when labor strife aborted the 1994 season early and delayed the start of the 1995 season. The 1994 Braves missed Ron Gant, who broke his leg riding a dirt bike in the off-season and was released.

In 1995, for the first time, eight teams qualified for the major-league playoffs. The Braves started out sluggishly at 23–20, but came on strong with 18 last-at-bat wins after July 3 to win the NL East by 21 games with a 90–54 record. The strength of the team was still on the mound. Atlanta led the majors with a 3.44 ERA and 31 one-run wins. That season Greg Maddux had his best year, winning his record fourth straight Cy Young Award with a 19–2 record and a 1.63 ERA, and ended the season with a major-league record 18 straight road wins. The Braves bolted through the extended format to get to the World Series, taking three of four from the Colorado Rockies and then sweeping the Cincinnati Reds in four straight in the NLCS.

The World Series against the Cleveland Indians was marked by three unrelated controversies. First, because the Braves faced another team using a Native American mascot, the Indians’ Chief Wahoo, pressure to abolish such names reached a peak. Next, Cleveland slugger Albert Belle was fined for shouting obscenities at reporter Hannah Storm before game three. The third controversy reared after game five with the Braves holding a three-games-to-two lead over the Indians when outspoken Braves right fielder David Justice blasted Atlanta fans as fickle and spiritless, predicting, “If we don’t win . . . they’ll probably burn our houses down.” In game six Tom Glavine and closer Mark Wohlers shut out Cleveland on one hit and Justice turned Atlanta fans’ boos to cheers when he homered in the sixth inning for the only run, giving Atlanta its only world championship in any professional team sport (and preventing a second burning of Atlanta). Five games were decided by one run. Glavine was the Series MVP, with two wins and a 1.29 ERA. The Braves hit a record 19 homers in those 1995 playoffs. The Braves were the first franchise to win the Fall Classic in three different cities. With that World Series win Atlanta’s John Schuerholz became the only general manager to craft champions in both major leagues, and *Financial World* rated the Braves as the third-most-valuable baseball franchise.

The next year Atlanta went 96–66, led by its excellent starting pitching. John Smoltz led the NL with 276 strikeouts and 24 wins, including 14 straight, and the pitching staff set a major-league record with 1,245 strikeouts. He was rewarded with a \$7 million salary for 1997. The powerful lineup contributed with 197 homers, second in the league. Atlanta swept the Dodgers 3–0 in the division series and came back from a three-games-to-one deficit to win the NLCS

over the St. Louis Cardinals. The Braves went to their fourth World Series in five years. Atlanta seemed close to repeating as world champs in 1996 when they captured the first two games in hostile Yankee Stadium by a total score of 16–1. However, Atlanta then dropped four straight to Joe Torre's Yankees, including all three at home, culminating in a 4–3 defeat in game six.

Two Braves stalwarts were cut loose after missing much of that 1996 season with injuries. David Justice, newly divorced from actress Halle Berry, was traded to her hometown Cleveland, while starting pitcher Steve Avery was allowed to sign with the Boston Red Sox as a free agent. Avery had been 11–8 in the postseason for the Braves. Though only 26 at the time, Avery never had a decent season after leaving Atlanta.

A bigger change for the Braves took place in 1997 when hitter-friendly Atlanta–Fulton County Stadium was replaced by pitcher-friendly Turner Field, named after owner Ted Turner. Hitting is probably more difficult in the new park due to its deep power alleys, generous foul ground, and the fact that the playing surface is at a slightly lower altitude than its predecessor's.

The new 50,000-seat park was converted from the stadium erected for the 1996 Summer Olympics. Turner Field was built next to Atlanta–Fulton County Stadium, which was later demolished to provide parking for the new field. The Atlanta Committee for the Olympics raised \$209 million for the Olympic stadium, while the Braves paid \$26 million to convert the facility for baseball use. The throwback exterior look of Turner Field and many other new baseball stadiums was inspired by the huge success of the first retro park, Baltimore's Oriole Park at Camden Yards. Attendance in the first year was 3.46 million. Turner Field's address is 755 Aaron Drive, in tribute to Hank Aaron and his home-run record. Even today, many fan letters to Aaron begin "Dear Home Run King."

Turner Field can also be categorized as one of the new, downtown, state-of-the-art entertainment complexes and ballparks. Its features include a 27-foot neon tomahawk, luxurious skyboxes, fine dining, and an elaborate high-tech educational-recreational plaza. There is also a Braves museum and hall of fame. However, the park is surrounded by highways, and almost everyone arrives by bus or car. It has few retail neighbors, so the Braves provide almost all of the visitors' pre- and postgame entertainment.

Unlike many other teams, the Braves had no initial difficulty adjusting to such a different ballpark, winning 12 of their first 13 games at Turner Field in 1997. The Braves won 101 games and set a major-league mark by hitting 12 grand slams. Seven Braves made the All-Star team, including three pitchers. Their hurlers were by far the finest in the majors, and compiled a sparkling 3.14 ERA. Greg Maddux went 19–4 with only 20 walks, and Denny Neagle went 20–5. The Braves swept the Astros in the division championship but were upset in the NLCS by the eventual world champion Florida Marlins in six games.

The Braves were strong the next season and won a franchise record 106 games. Maddux won his fourth ERA title while first baseman Andres Galarraga

hit 44 home runs and was one of three players with over 100 RBIs. Galarraga contracted cancer and had to miss the 1999 season, but came back in 2000 with 28 home runs. Five starters combined for 88 wins as the hurlers led the NL in virtually every statistical category except saves. The club swept the Cubs 3–0 in the divisional series but were stunned by the San Diego Padres, who won the NLCS in six games.

In 1999 the Braves won over 100 games for the third straight year (103–59) and finally made it back to the World Series. The team led the NL in defense and pitching, abetted by John Rocker's 38 saves. But he began to be seen as a hothead. Rocker's juvenile taunting antics targeting rowdy New York Mets fans, such as faking throwing the ball into the Shea Stadium stands, seemed the frat-boy pranks of a 24-year-old overnight sensation basking in the national spotlight. After winning the divisional series 3–1 over Houston, the Braves captured the NLCS over the Mets 4–2 after nearly blowing a three-game lead. However, they were swept by the Yankees in the World Series. Mets fans rooted for the rival Yankees because of their loathing for Rocker.

John Rocker became a very controversial figure after the season. A diatribe reported in a December 1999 *Sports Illustrated* slamming New Yorkers en masse and his teammates for their ethnic diversity made him public enemy number one in the Big Apple and persona non grata nationwide. Under heavy public and media pressure, MLB suspended Rocker for two weeks at the start of the 2000 season. The slurs puzzled his longtime teammates and embarrassed his parents, a liberal attorney and an educational consultant, because in the minors Rocker often brought his less fortunate black, Asian, and Hispanic teammates to stay at his parents' home in Macon, Georgia, a town famous for music pioneers Otis Redding, James Brown, and Little Richard.

In 2000 the Braves fell off their torrid pace and won just 95 games, again good enough to capture the East. The pitching staff led the NL in ERA with 4.05, reflecting the growing dominance of batting, with five teams hitting 200 or more homers. The club ended the season ignominiously, getting swept by the Cards in the NLDS, ending the Braves' streak of eight consecutive NLCS appearances. The defiant Rocker's sudden alienation from his Atlanta teammates may have factored in the outcome. The lack of a dominant stopper like Rocker had handicapped Atlanta throughout the 1990s. The Braves' management desperately tried damage control to salvage Rocker, who as an inexpensive flamethrowing young lefty closer was one of the most valuable commodities in baseball. Finally, in June 2001, after Rocker made obscene references to the New York media, the semirepentant pitcher, who has never surrendered a run in postseason play, was traded to the Cleveland Indians. Like Steve Avery, Rocker's pitching tanked without the guidance of coach Leo Mazzone.

Though John Rocker is gone, Atlantans can be reminded of a hotter-tempered, truly racist baseball star when they stroll to home games, because Georgia native and longtime resident Ty Cobb is honored with a statue, near Hank Aaron's, outside Turner Field. Aaron has kept hundreds of the hate letters

he received during his march to the home-run crown and rereads them occasionally, "because they remind me of what people are really like." One writer promised Aaron, "My gun is watching your every black move" during Aaron's advance to the home-run record.

While the Rucker fiasco dragged on, Ted Turner lost control of the Braves due to corporate mergers with AOL Time Warner, but remains on the Braves' board of directors. Despite Turner's ouster and such controversies as the one Rucker put the Braves through, the club remains on top by retuning expertly each season while occasionally dumping players viewed as troublemakers. For example, in 2001 the Braves replaced Rucker by a unique readjustment. When John Smoltz was having difficulty returning as a starter after undergoing major elbow surgery that kept him out in 2000, Bobby Cox and pitching guru Mazzone converted Smoltz to a closer. Mazzone, who joined the Atlanta organization in 1979, guided Smoltz, Glavine, and Avery from minor leaguers to stars. The nervous Mazzone's constant bobble-head-doll motion in the dugout lures numerous TV close-ups every postseason as he constantly rocks on the bench next to the often grim-looking Bobby Cox. After the 2002 season Mazzone prize pupil and longtime Braves star hurler Tom Glavine turned free agent and signed with the New York Mets. The eloquent Glavine had often drawn fire from Atlanta corporate executives for his effective, high-profile leadership in baseball's powerful union.

In 2001 the Braves fell to 88–74 as the pitching, which still led the NL in ERA with 3.59, struggled to carry the team. Switch-hitting Chipper Jones, the 1999 MVP (who was paid \$10.3 million), led the team with a .330 average and 38 home runs. Atlanta swept the Houston Astros in the 2001 NLDS but lost in the NLCS four games to one to the Arizona Diamondbacks, who went on to win the World Series, as the Braves hit a meek .207. MLB that year reported the team lost \$25 million, but *Forbes* estimated the team actually made \$9.5 million. The payroll was nearly \$92 million and other expenses were about \$57.5 million. On the other side of the ledger, *Forbes* estimated total revenues of \$160 million, including \$66 million from gate receipts; \$20 million in local media revenue, 11th highest in MLB; and \$37.7 million from local operating revenue, which includes concessions, parking, stadium advertising, and especially luxury boxes and club seats, plus money from national TV and postseason appearances.

In 2002 the team was average in batting, with enthusiastic Andruw Jones pacing the Braves with 35 home runs. As usual, the team led in defense and pitching. The hurlers amassed a brilliant 3.13 ERA. The strong starting pitching was backed up by John Smoltz and his nasty slider. Smoltz had an NL record 55 saves in 2002, and earned the Rolands Relief Award as the best closer of the year. The team won 101 games yet was knocked out in the NLDS three games to two by the San Francisco Giants. Braves catcher Javy Lopez hit .333 with two homers in the series, but Glavine was clobbered and lost two games.

In 2003 Atlanta again won 101 games. The Braves let Glavine leave for the Mets, but new acquisition Russ Ortiz went 21–7, making John Schuerholz look like a genius once again. Schuerholz's productive big trades include acquiring former batting champ Gary Sheffield for oft-injured Brian Jordan, who was a star Atlanta Falcons defensive back. This was a very different team for Braves fans because the pitching was only average, but the offense led the NL, batting .284 and hitting 235 homers, 39 more than the next-best team. Four men, led by Gary Sheffield with 132, had over 100 RBIs. Catcher Javy Lopez hit 43 homers to go with a .328 batting average. The team had seven All-Stars and 12 players earning over \$1 million. Yet the Braves lost the divisional playoffs to the Chicago Cubs, who had worst record of any playoff team. Cubs' fireballers Kerry Wood and Mark Prior shut down Atlanta's powerful, record-setting offense, which scored 907 runs in 2003. In those 2003 playoff contests there were almost as many victory-starved Cubs fanatics in the Turner Field stands as jaded and frustrated Braves supporters. Both the 2002 Giants and the 2003 Cubs who upset the Braves were managed by Dusty Baker, an Atlanta outfielder from 1968 to 1975, when Bartholomay owned the Braves.

The 2003 Braves payroll was led by Maddux (\$14.7 million), Lopez, and Sheffield. The payroll was second only to the Yankees, but Atlanta ranked just 10th in attendance. Two months after the Braves' embarrassing playoff loss to the Cubs, the Braves declined contract arbitration to all but one of the Braves' 12 free agents. The only one re-signed was the ageless Julio Franco. Thus ended the Atlanta careers of longtime Braves stars Greg Maddux and Javy Lopez. Maddux left Atlanta with 284 wins. His 17 straight years with 15 or more wins is the longest such streak ever. The *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* praised the unflappable Maddux, the master of changing speeds: "We won't behold his likes again." A rebuilding project was the result, with Smoltz the only remaining player from all the Braves' consecutive division winners. The 2004 Braves had the 12th-largest payroll and ranked 17th in attendance at 2.4 million.

Just before the 11 free agents were cut loose, Stan Kasten, Braves president since 1986, resigned. Kasten also headed the Turner/Time Warner-owned Atlanta Hawks and Atlanta Thrashers hockey team—the only executive to simultaneously head franchises in three different sports. His resignation coincided with bad times for the struggling Hawks and the four-year-old Thrashers being up for sale. To reduce its huge debt, Time Warner unloaded the less successful Hawks and Thrashers as a package to a group of investors that included Turner's son Beau and Turner Broadcasting. *Forbes* ranked the 2003 Braves as baseball's sixth-most-valuable franchise, the team's lowest ranking since 1994. In 2004 the value dipped again to \$374 million after being estimated by *Forbes* at \$424 million in 2002.

There were no grand expectations for the 2004 season, although the team entered the season with a \$90,182,500 payroll, eighth highest in the majors.

Schuerholz pointed out, somewhat derisively, “The longest active streak in baseball is our 12 divisional championships, the second longest is the number of years we’ve been predicted to fall apart.” The Braves met the media’s low expectations early on but suddenly caught fire after coming back from a 7–0 deficit versus the Orioles, and won the division by 10 games with a record of 96–66. One spark was Chipper Jones, who reversed a first-half slump after his father was brought in to consult on Chipper’s hitting and Chipper was shifted back to third base. Several rookies provided low-budget sparks, especially catcher Johnny Estrada, who led all regulars with a .314 batting average. Pitching coach Leo Mazzone reversed the midcareer blues of pitchers Mike Hampton, Jaret Wright, and John Thomson. Despite the loss of their famous stars, the Braves still led the NL in ERA (3.74). J. D. Drew replaced right fielder Sheffield and finally stayed healthy enough to put up the monster numbers so long predicted for him (.305 batting average and 35 homers). Julio Franco was a revelation, hitting .309 at the age of 45. But in the playoffs the Braves were again knocked out in the first round, this time three games to two by Houston. Shortstop Rafael Furcal hit .480 and Andruw Jones .571, each with two homers, but Braves pitchers surrendered 11 homers. The early exit enabled Furcal to gain an early entry to jail to serve sentences for two DUI convictions.

The Braves have won 14 straight divisional titles (discounting the strike-shortened 1994 season). Yet despite the Braves’ 1991–2005 in-season NL supremacy, often achieved by blowing away the competition via a long, white-hot streak in the second half of a season, the club has won only one World Series since 1957, and several times recently have been ousted early from the postseason by underdogs. In the expanded playoff format initiated in 1994, seasoned favorites such as the Braves have often fallen to inspired, small-market underdogs with minimal playoff experience. Atlanta’s increased postseason problems also coincide with the 1997 move to Turner Field. Maddux, Glavine, and Smoltz have pitched well in championship play, but the team’s offense, with the notable exceptions of Chipper Jones and Javy Lopez, has occasionally let them down. Furthermore, the 64-year-old Bobby Cox’s big-game postseason strategy, such as relying on his veteran aces on three days’ rest instead of using rested younger starters such as Horacio Ramirez in 2003, has also drawn media and public fire. Under Cox the Braves have an excellent 24–14 record in the NLDS, are 27–27 in the NLCS, but are only 11–18 in the World Series. Cox ranks ninth in wins (2,002) among major-league managers. According to the low-key Maddux, “He’s head and shoulders above the rest. He always has been, always will be.” Cox first won the AL Manager of the Year Award in 1985 with Toronto, then won in the NL in the Braves’ 1991 worst-to-first season and for overachieving in 2004.

The Braves continued to terrorize the NL in the new century because Cox and Schuerholz are the longest-tenured manager and general manager in

baseball. Schuerholz has also been in the same job longer than any general manager in the four major pro sports. He has also maintained continuity on the field by re-signing many Braves stars who came up through their farm system to long-term contracts. In the 2004 off-season the highly respected John Smoltz successfully went public with his own plan to win the Braves another World Series—put him back in the starting rotation. Further budget tightening for 2005 resulted in the loss of Russ Ortiz and J.D. Drew. The Braves, beset by injuries, rebuilt on the run in 2005, with 18 rookies being called up. The “Baby Braves,” especially local boy Jeff Francoeur, surprised those who annually predict the club’s downfall by spurring the Braves to their 14th straight Eastern Division crown. Andruw Jones led the majors with 51 home runs and played a pivotal role in the team’s success. But the club was knocked out in the first round of the playoffs for the fourth straight year, losing to Houston in four games. Game four took 18 tense innings over 5 hours, 50 minutes. The Braves led by five in the eighth, but reliever Kyle Farnsworth and poor infield defense blew the lead, while Braves hitters stranded 18 runners.

The twenty-first-century Braves are powered by the multitalented, exuberant Chipper Jones (the number-one pick in baseball’s 1990 amateur draft), Andruw Jones (from Curaçao), and the rocket-armed Rafael Furcal (from the Dominican Republic, the 2000 Rookie of the Year), all developed by the Braves’ farm system. Thus the Braves’ pioneering recruitment from the Caribbean has continued to pay strong dividends.

In the TV broadcast booth Braves fan have also been treated to enduring excellence and occasional controversy, beginning in 1976, the year Ted Turner bought the club and hired announcers Pete Van Wieren and Skip Caray (son of the legendary Harry Caray). Joe Simpson and Hall of Fame pitcher Don Sutton joined the crew in 1992 and 1989, respectively. In 2000 the Braves temporarily kicked their own announcers off the team plane when the broadcast crew aired allegations that the Braves widened the catcher’s box in Turner Field and had their receivers set up outside the box to establish a broader strike zone for their already razor-sharp pitchers. The rhubarb featured an unusual balk call against Braves catcher Fernando Lunar for positioning himself outside the box. Another controversy blew up in 2003 when Caray and Van Wieren were confined to regional telecasts for a while in an attempt by Time Warner to give the Braves’ national broadcasts a more neutral spin. However, Atlanta fans’ strong protests brought the popular duo back. Beginning in 2005 Skip’s son, the ex-Cubs broadcaster Chip Caray, joined his father in Atlanta to continue a great family tradition.

Despite the recent dispersion of Ted Turner, Stan Kasten, Atlanta’s veteran stars, and many local fans, this low-key modern version (Schuerholz, Cox, and Mazzone) of the organization’s nineteenth-century Triumvirs remains to power the media-friendly Braves on. While the many firsts pioneered by the Braves

are partly due to longevity, the current organization's formula of flexibility, innovation, and stability is endemic of the methods of the great Braves organizations of the past. Unlike many other sports franchises that have relocated, the Atlanta Braves acknowledge and embrace their past triumphs and follies. If crusader John Montgomery Ward had the chance, he might wish to change the name he gave them, in deference to the now-empowered minorities he fought for, but these current multinational Braves have exceeded even his hopes and dreams for them.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1947	Bob Elliott	3B
1957	Hank Aaron	OF
1982	Dale Murphy	OF
1983	Dale Murphy	OF
1991	Terry Pendleton	3B
1999	Chipper Jones	3B

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1957	Warren Spahn	LHP
1991	Tom Glavine	LHP
1993	Greg Maddux	RHP
1994	Greg Maddux	RHP
1995	Greg Maddux	RHP
1996	John Smoltz	RHP
1998	Tom Glavine	LHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1948	Alvin Dark	SS
1950	Sam Jethroe	OF
1971	Earl Williams	C
1978	Bob Horner	3B
1990	David Justice	OF
2000	Rafael Furcal	SS

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1877	Deacon White	.387
1889	Dan Brouthers	.373
1893	Hugh Duffy	.363
1894	Hugh Duffy	.440
1928	Rogers Hornsby	.387
1942	Ernie Lombardi	.330
1956	Hank Aaron	.328
1959	Hank Aaron	.355
1970	Rico Carty	.366
1974	Ralph Garr	.353
1991	Terry Pendleton	.319

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1879	Charley Jones	9
1880	John O'Rourke	6
1891	Harry Stovey	16
1894	Hugh Duffy	18
1897	Hugh Duffy	11
1898	Jimmy Collins	15
1900	Herman Long	12
1907	Dave Brain	10
1910	Fred Beck	10
1935	Wally Berger	34
1945	Tommy Holmes	28
1953	Eddie Mathews	47
1957	Hank Aaron	44
1959	Eddie Mathews	46
1963	Hank Aaron	44
1966	Hank Aaron	44
1967	Hank Aaron	39
1984	Dale Murphy	36
1985	Dale Murphy	37
2005	Andruw Jones	51

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1937	Jim Turner	2.38

1947	Warren Spahn	2.33
1951	Chet Nichols	2.88
1953	Warren Spahn	2.10
1956	Lew Burdette	2.70
1961	Warren Spahn	3.02
1967	Phil Niekro	1.87
1974	Buzz Capra	2.29
1993	Greg Maddux	2.36
1994	Greg Maddux	1.56
1995	Greg Maddux	1.63
1997	Greg Maddux	2.22

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1877	Tommy Bond	170
1878	Tommy Bond	182
1883	Jim Whitney	345
1889	John Clarkson	284
1902	Vic Willis	225
1949	Warren Spahn	151
1950	Warren Spahn	191
1951	Warren Spahn	164
1952	Warren Spahn	183
1977	Phil Niekro	262
1992	John Smoltz	215
1996	John Smoltz	276

No-Hitters

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Jack Stivetts	08/06/1892
Frank Pfeffer	05/08/1907
George Davis	09/09/1914
Tom Hughes	06/16/1916
Jim Tobin	04/27/1944
Vern Bickford	08/11/1950
Jim Wilson	06/12/1954
Lew Burdette	08/08/1960
Warren Spahn	09/16/1960
Warren Spahn	04/28/1961
Phil Niekro	08/05/1973
Kent Mercker	04/08/1994

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES**NL West Division Titles**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1969	93–69	Lum Harris
1982	89–73	Joe Torre
1991	94–68	Bobby Cox
1992	98–64	Bobby Cox
1993	104–58	Bobby Cox

NL East Division Titles

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1995	90–54	Bobby Cox
1996	96–66	Bobby Cox
1997	101–61	Bobby Cox
1998	106–56	Bobby Cox
1999	103–59	Bobby Cox
2000	95–67	Bobby Cox
2001	88–74	Bobby Cox
2002	101–59	Bobby Cox
2003	101–61	Bobby Cox
2004	96–66	Bobby Cox
2005	90–72	Bobby Cox

NL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1877	39–31	Harry Wright
1878	41–19	Harry Wright
1883	63–35	John Morrill Jack Burdock
1891	87–51	Frank Selee
1892	102–48	Frank Selee
1893	86–43	Frank Selee
1897	93–39	Frank Selee
1898	102–47	Frank Selee
1914	94–59	George Stallings
1948	91–62	Billy Southworth
1957	95–59	Fred Haney
1958	92–62	Fred Haney
1991	94–68	Bobby Cox

1992	98–64	Bobby Cox
1995	90–54	Bobby Cox
1996	96–66	Bobby Cox
1999	103–59	Bobby Cox

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>	<i>MVP</i>
1914	Philadelphia	
1957	New York	Lew Burdette
1995	Cleveland	Tom Glavine

MANAGERS

1990–	Bobby Cox
1988–1990	Russ Nixon
1986–1988	Chuck Tanner
1985	Bobby Wine
1985	Eddie Haas
1982–1984	Joe Torre
1978–1981	Bobby Cox
1977	Vern Benson
1977	Ted Turner
1976–1977	Dave Bristol
1975	Connie Ryan
1974–1975	Clyde King
1973–1974	Eddie Mathews
1968–1972	Lum Harris
1967	Ken Silvestri
1966–1967	Billy Hitchcock
1963–1966	Bobby Bragan
1961–1962	Birdie Tebbetts
1960–1961	Charlie Dressen
1956–1959	Fred Haney
1952–1956	Charlie Grimm
1951–1952	Tommy Holmes
1950–1951	Billy Southworth
1949	Johnny Cooney
1946–1949	Billy Southworth
1945	Del Bissonette
1943–1945	Bob Coleman
1938–1943	Casey Stengel

1930–1937	Bill McKechnie
1929	Emil Fuchs
1928	Rogers Hornsby
1928	Jack Slattery
1924–1927	Dave Bancroft
1921–1924	Fred Mitchell
1913–1920	George Stallings
1912	Johnny Kling
1911	Fred Tenney
1910	Fred Lake
1909	Harry Smith
1909	Frank Bowerman
1908	Joe Kelley
1905–1907	Frank Tenney
1902–1904	Al Buckenberger
1890–1901	Frank Selee
1889	Jim Hart
1887–1888	John Morrill
1887	King Kelly
1884–1886	John Morrill
1883	Jack Burdock
1882–1883	John Morrill
1876–1881	Harry Wright

Team Records by Individual Players

Batting Leaders	Single Season			Career		Plate Appearances
	Name		Year	Name		
Batting average	Hugh Duffy	.440	1894	Billy Hamilton	.338	3,206
On-base %	Hugh Duffy	.502	1894	Billy Hamilton	.456	3,206
Slugging %	Hugh Duffy	.694	1894	Hank Aaron	.567	13,089
OPS	Hugh Duffy	1.196	1894	Hank Aaron	.944	13,089
Games	Felix Millan	162	1969	Hank Aaron	3,076	13,089
At bats	Marquis Grissom	671	1996	Hank Aaron	11,628	13,089
Runs	Hugh Duffy	160	1894	Hank Aaron	2107	13,089
Hits	Hugh Duffy	237	1894	Hank Aaron	3600	13,089
Total bases	Hank Aaron	400	1959	Hank Aaron	6591	13,089
Doubles	Hugh Duffy	51	1894	Hank Aaron	600	13,089
Triples	Dick Johnston	20	1887	Rabbit Maranville	103	7,537
Home runs	Andruw Jones	51	2005	Hank Aaron	733	13,089

(Continued)

Batting Leaders (Continued)

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Plate Appearances
Walks	Bob Elliott	131	1948	Eddie Mathews	1,376	95,313
Strikeouts	Andruw Jones	147	2004	Dale Murphy	1,581	8,094
Stolen bases	Mike Kelly	84	1887	Herman Long	431	7,497
Extra-base hits	Hank Aaron	92	1959	Hank Aaron	1,429	13,089
Times on base	Chipper Jones	309	1999	Hank Aaron	4,928	13,089

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
ERA	Greg Maddux	1.56	1994	Tommy Bond	2.21	2,127.3
Wins	John Clarkson	49	1889	Warren Spahn	356	5,046
Won-loss %	Greg Maddux	.905	1995	Greg Maddux	.688	2,526.7
Hits/9 IP	Greg Maddux	6.31	1995	Tom Hughes	6.77	550.7
Walks/9 IP	Tommy Bond	.39	1879	Tommy Bond	.59	2,127.3
Strikeouts	Charlie Buffington	417	1884	Phil Niekro	2,912	4,622.7
Strikeouts/9 IP	John Smoltz	9.79	1996	John Smoltz	7.89	2,929.3
Games	Chris Reitsma	84	2004	Phil Niekro	740	4,622.7
Saves	John Smoltz	55	2002	John Smoltz	154	2,929.3
Innings	John Clarkson	620	1889	Warren Spahn	5,046	5,046
Starts	John Clarkson	72	1889	Warren Spahn	635	5,046
Complete games	John Clarkson	68	1889	Kid Nichols	475	4,538
Shutouts	Tommy Bond	11	1879	Warren Spahn	63	5,046

Source: Drawn from data in "Atlanta Braves Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/ATL/leaders_bat.shtml; "Atlanta Braves Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/ATL/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Chicago Cubs

John E. Findling

As the 2005 baseball season drew to a close in the first days of October, Chicago Cubs fans had to face the dismal reality that, for the 97th consecutive year, the team would not become the world champions of baseball. While there are now probably just a handful of people who can remember the championship team of 1908, and a diminishing number of people who can recall the Cubs' last National League pennant in 1945, civic and indeed national support for the team has perhaps never been more enthusiastic. The perpetual mystique of the Cubs and their seemingly eternal attraction for their fans remains one of the great sports legends. The history of the Cubs' organization, a charter member of the NL when it was founded in 1876, may offer some helpful reasons for that attraction.

THE ERA OF A. G. SPALDING AND CAP ANSON, 1876–1901

The direct ancestor of the Chicago White Stockings (as the club was known until the end of the nineteenth century) was the Excelsior Base Ball Club, formed in 1865 in the wake of the Civil War and part of the North-Western Association of Base-Ball Players. During the mid-1860s, the Excelsiors were the best team in the association, challenged only by the Forest City club of Rockford, which featured a teenage pitching star named Albert Goodwill Spalding. In 1868 the Excelsiors played badly and suffered economically, and they merged with another team for the 1869 season under the name of the Amateur Base Ball Club. The Amateurs played no better in 1869. The team was an

embarrassment to the city and to sportswriter Lewis Meacham of the *Chicago Tribune*, who initiated a newspaper campaign to raise money to develop a better local baseball team.

In October 1869, a group of prominent business leaders met and created the Chicago Base Ball Club, headed by the well-known retail merchant and future hotelier Potter Palmer. Other civic dignitaries involved with the club included former Union general Philip H. Sheridan and *Tribune* owner Joseph Medill. They enlisted Tom Foley, a noted billiards player, gambler, and local celebrity, to build a winning team.

Foley's first acquisition was Jimmy Wood, a second baseman who had played for the Brooklyn Eckfords. Little more, however, had been done by January, and impatient stockholders called a meeting at which Foley was elevated to the board of directors and new officers were elected. Within a month, Foley had filled the club roster, and when the season opened, the players were resplendent in their blue caps, white flannel shirts trimmed in blue with a large C on the front, blue flannel pants, stockings of "pure white British thread," and spiked shoes of white goatskin. The *Tribune* thought they were the "showiest and handsomest uniforms ever." Because of the white stockings, the team became known as the White Stockings, or, from time to time, the Whites, White Legs, White Socks, or White Sox. The team played at Dexter Park, a horse-racing track five miles from the city center. It was inconvenient, since there was no streetcar service, but plans were in the works for a new field to be called the Union Grounds to be located between downtown Chicago and the lakefront. In their handsome uniforms, the White Stockings demonstrated the success of Foley's recruiting efforts by finishing the 1870 season with a 47–8 record, the best in the league.

Early in 1871, the White Stockings traveled to New Orleans for spring training, the first professional team to do so, although other teams had gone south to play exhibition games against local clubs. In March 1871, the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players was created, consisting of nine clubs including the White Stockings, now playing in the recently constructed Union Grounds, located at a downtown site originally donated to the city by the federal government. However, in October of that year, the Great Chicago Fire cost the club its new park, clubhouse, financial records, uniforms, and equipment, and every player on the team lost most of his personal possessions. The team finished the season on the road, demoralized from the fire and by a *Tribune* article stating that management was bringing in seven new players for the 1872 season.

However, because of the fire, Chicago did not field a team in 1872 or 1873. In the latter year, the club reorganized itself as the Chicago Base Ball Association and began to develop a new team starting with Jimmy Wood, lured away from Philadelphia to be player-manager. In January 1874, Wood severely injured his leg in a fall at his home and was confined to bed for several weeks.

Without his leadership, the White Stockings foundered amid allegations of ties with professional gamblers, injuries to key players, and retirements of others. Wood finally recovered sufficiently to get out of bed, only to fall again and re-injure his leg so badly that it had to be amputated. Eventually, Wood returned to the club, becoming the first nonplaying team manager. In July, the White Stockings' home field at 23rd and State Streets burned in a fire that spread over 19 square blocks. The team continued its home season at Ogden Park.

In August 1874, the Chicago Base Ball Association elected William A. Hulbert secretary. As secretary, Hulbert ran the team on a day-to-day basis, and one of his first tasks was to deal with the Davy Force matter. In September, Force, an infielder, signed a contract to play the 1875 season with the White Stockings. Two months later, he signed another contract, backdated to September, after it was realized that the first contract was invalid because he had still been under contract to another team, and league rules forbade a player from signing a contract while they were employed by another team. All player contracts expired at the end of the season, at which time players were free to sign with whomever they chose. In December, however, Force decided that he would rather play with Philadelphia and signed a contract with that team, based on the understanding that his backdated contract with Chicago was invalid. The association's judiciary committee met in December to decide which team owned Force. It ruled for Chicago on the grounds that the second contract, dated in September, had actually been signed in November. However, after the annual league meeting, another judiciary committee was appointed early in 1875 and reopened the Force case. The decision was reversed, and the committee awarded Force to Philadelphia. Hulbert and the White Stockings were outraged, but league rules provided no avenue of appeal.

William A. Hulbert was born in Oswego County in upper New York State in 1832, moved with his family to Chicago as a boy, and graduated from Beloit College in Wisconsin. He was hired as a clerk for a coal merchant in Chicago, married his employer's daughter, and eventually came to own the business. He earned a prestigious position on the Chicago Board of Trade and became a shareholder in the Chicago White Stockings in 1870 in order to enhance his civic image and because he saw the potential to make money from baseball. His affluence made him fat in the 1870s, but he was an ambitious, hardworking, forceful, and self-reliant individual with a strong sense of the virtues of capitalism.

Perhaps it was the Davy Force affair, or perhaps it was the pervasive influence of professional gamblers in the game, but sometime in 1875, Hulbert concluded that baseball, especially Chicago baseball, needed a sea change. He acquired Albert Spalding from the Boston Red Stockings for \$2,000 and 25 percent of Chicago's gate receipts to be the new player-manager, and began working with Spalding and sportswriter Lewis Meacham to raid the best players from other teams. Spalding contributed his baseball knowledge and Meacham

his public-relations skills. All of this was done in secret, since association rules forbade tampering with contracted players before the expiration of their contracts at the end of the season. At the same time, Hulbert announced that corruption in baseball necessitated a new organization of fiscally sound teams that would play only each other on a fixed schedule.

Most of Hulbert's raiding centered on the Boston team, and was so successful that the Red Stockings nearly disbanded. He also lured Adrian "Cap" Anson, a talented first baseman, from Philadelphia. The demoralized Chicago players reacted badly. Two players were found to have thrown games; one quit, and the other was expelled. Hulbert used Meacham and the press to his best advantage, and newspaper accounts of corruption threw the rest of the association into turmoil. Newspaper reports said that Chicago, St. Louis, and Cincinnati had formed a "western clique" to wrest control of professional baseball away from Philadelphia and end the practice of eastern teams refusing to make required road trips to the West.

On September 24, 1875, President George Gage of the White Stockings died. The former city treasurer, Gage was a popular executive who appeared to have led the club to victory in 1875, but he was merely a figurehead while Hulbert ran the organization from his post as secretary. Gage's widow gave Hulbert a proxy for her husband's shares, and that gave Hulbert majority control of the White Stockings. He was duly elected president; one of his first actions was to convince the other board members to add Spalding to the board and make him secretary. This put Hulbert in a much stronger position to bring about the creation of a new baseball league.

The *Tribune* reported on October 24 that Hulbert wanted the six existing stable clubs, and Cincinnati and Louisville as new clubs, to form an exclusive league or association. The new rules of this league would bear on a club's financial solvency, provide for a minimum size of member cities, allow only one club to represent each city, and require a \$1,000–\$1,500 deposit from each team. Many people scorned the proposal as too radical, but the White Stockings leadership believed that strong measures were necessary to save the game from becoming a "circus sideshow."

In November, the *Tribune* suggested that perhaps a western league should be formed, and that the eastern teams should be excluded altogether. Hulbert, a consummate businessman who certainly understood the financial benefits of large markets like New York and Philadelphia, insisted only on elimination of the game's bad elements: gamblers and drinkers, as well as the badly managed teams and those that would not meet their travel obligations. He also saw in Henry Chadwick, the game's earliest chronicler and statistician, a rival for leadership in the national game and an advocate for the owners from the East Coast, and he wanted to form a new league without Chadwick's involvement.

For Hulbert, the keys to the new league's success would be a monopoly of the best home markets and complete control over the players. He wanted

Chicago to be the centerpiece of the new league, and late in 1875, he secured commitments from St. Louis, Louisville, and Cincinnati. In December, he met with executives from Hartford, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia in order to create an eight-team league. Details were worked out in January, and the new league, known as the National League, was officially announced on February 2, 1876. The *Tribune* was pleased, explaining two months later,

The game had grown, the West had grown, and both had outgrown Chadwick and all allied friends. The necessity for the League had arisen, and it was formed without the knowledge, consent, privity, counsel, or presence of the "Father of the Game" . . . he was a fraud in the business, he always depended on other brains than his own for his ideas . . . he is a played-out, passed-by man who never did care for the National Game further than as he could draw money out of it.

Hulbert's efforts in acquiring Spalding and other superior players during the 1875 season paid off. The White Stockings dominated league play in 1876, winning the championship with a record of 52–14, with an offensive machine, led by Ross Barnes and Cap Anson, that outscored the opponents by nearly three runs a game. Spalding won 47 games. Chicago's financial profitability was guaranteed by Spalding's off-field enterprises, such as a monopoly on producing the official baseballs for the league and publishing the annual postseason record book that Henry Chadwick edited after 1881.

Early in the 1876 season, the White Stockings attracted considerable attention when they acquired a house at 1030 Wabash Street for a clubhouse. The *Tribune* thought it "perhaps the most elegant location" in the city for its purpose. The house was only a block from the ballpark, and the club announced plans to convert the basement into a billiards room and to furnish the parlors elegantly.

Hulbert was elected president of the NL in December 1876 and soon put his mark on the game. He insisted that managers not sit on the bench during games, resisted a move to lower ticket prices, and staunchly opposed Sunday games and the sale of beer at ballparks. These measures were designed to limit the attendance of the working class at ball games and thus reduce the chance for rowdy behavior that was commonly associated with the poor during the Gilded Age. Hulbert also ensured that owner control over players was very strict. An owner determined a player's fitness to play and docked injured players their pay on days they could not take the field. Hulbert set the tone when he docked injured White Stockings player Ross Barnes half his 1877 salary when was out for three months because of an injury.

The White Stockings inaugurated the new Lake Front Park in 1878, built on the same public site as the field that had been destroyed in the 1871 park. In 1883, Spalding spent \$10,000 remodeling the facility, which had a capacity of 10,000, making it the finest in the land. The park was notable for its short 196-foot right-field fence and its 180-foot left-field fence. The original ground rules made balls

hit over the fences doubles, but in 1884, the rules were changed so that these became home runs. The White Stockings, led by third baseman Ed Williamson with 27, hammered 142 homers that year. The team was forced to move the following season, because it was a private enterprise that was not supposed to use city-owned space, to the \$30,000 Congress Street Grounds on the city's west side. Its foul lines were 216 feet from home plate.

In 1879, only Chicago made a profit, even after competition from rival leagues had diminished. Owners were encouraged to cut player salaries, and they adopted the reserve clause in 1879, practically eliminating bargaining for better pay or conditions on the part of the players. The reserve clause bound ballplayers to their team and took away the principal leverage they might have used against the owner—the threat to sign with another team. Under the reserve clause, each team designated five players deemed essential for the following season. These players were “reserved,” and no other team could sign them, or even contact them. All other players became free agents at the end of each season.

Following Hulbert's election as NL president in 1876, Spalding, the club secretary, manager, and captain, took on much more responsibility for White Stockings operations. He retained Anson and George Bradley, who had both signed to play in 1877 for Philadelphia, but the franchise had folded. Spalding's business activities were taking more of his time. He and his brother Walter had become partners in the sporting-goods business in early 1876, opening a store in downtown Chicago at 118 Randolph Street. As the business grew, Spalding had to spend more time at the store than he had anticipated. Later in 1876, his company received a contract to publish what became known as *Spalding's Official Base Ball Guide*, a yearly publication that included the league constitution and rules as well as the previous year's statistics.

As Spalding's business interests came to occupy the better part of his time, Anson became more important to the White Stockings. Born in Marshalltown, Iowa, in 1852, Anson broke into organized baseball with the Forest City club of Rockford, Illinois, in 1871, joining that team a year after Spalding had left it. Anson played for Philadelphia from 1872 through 1875, when Hulbert acquired him for the White Stockings. He played in Chicago from 1876 until the end of the 1897 season, starting at first base and batting .333 with 3,418 hits over his 27-year career. When Spalding retired from baseball after the 1878 season, Anson replaced him as manager, remaining in that position until the end of his playing career. Known as “Cap” early in his career, when he was team captain, he picked up the nickname “Pop” as he grew older. In his 19-year managerial career, the White Stockings won five NL championships. A strict manager who did not allow his players to drink or smoke, Anson was also an innovator, developing signals to the pitcher, encouraging base stealing and the hit-and-run play, and making good use of spring training, which for the White Stockings was often in Hot Springs, Arkansas. In 1880, Anson “rotated”

his two-man pitching staff by having them pitch on alternate days, another innovative idea for the time and one that was very successful.

Apart from his skill as a player and field manager, Anson was a determined racist and was credited with a big role in forcing out black players from organized baseball. His intolerance was well known and dated back to at least 1883 when, as manager, he originally refused to allow his team to play an exhibition game with Toledo because it had a black catcher, Moses Fleetwood Walker. Anson's White Stockings finally played the game rather than forfeit their share of the gate receipts. Anson was not happy, and told the *Toledo Blade*, "We'll play this here game but won't play never no more with the nigger in." Anson was as good as his word; the White Stockings never played another exhibition game in Anson's time with a team having black players unless those players sat out the game. This practice soon became common in the entire NL.

Anson's (and baseball's) racism is well illustrated by the story of Clarence Duval, whom Anson hired as a team mascot. Duval, an African American of small stature, sang, danced, and twirled a baton to entertain the fans. To Anson, he was "the little coon," or "the little darkey," and he was often the butt of teasing and cruel practical jokes. In Anson's defense, most of white America would have described Duval in similar terms, given the prevailing racial bigotry.

Anson's White Stockings were enormously successful, and won league championships five times in seven years (1880–82, 1885–86), playing before large crowds. In Chicago amateur clubs and boys who marked out baselines on city streets were ubiquitous, and Mike "King" Kelly, acquired in the early 1880s, may have been the city's most popular celebrity. Kelly, notorious for his off-field rowdiness, was, however, a fine hitter and fielder and a great base stealer, and was instrumental in the team's championship seasons. A Hall of Famer, he led the NL in batting in 1884 and 1886. The White Stockings acquired a reputation for "greed," stealing bases and stretching singles into doubles and doubles into triples with remarkable regularity. When the team returned from its round-the-world trip in early 1889, hundreds of fans met the players at Union Station, and from there, a thousand cyclists led a parade to the Palmer House, where a homecoming celebration was held.

The White Stockings were closely linked to the growth of Chicago as a great city. Both were dependant on the railroad and the telephone, through which the local newspapers received the news to keep fans abreast of the team's exploits. The White Stockings were run by elite businessmen, the same sort who ran city government, and club leaders closely identified the White Stockings with Chicago. Spalding said that Hulbert was "a typical Chicago man. He never spoke of what *he* would do, or what his club would do, but it was always what *Chicago* would do." As Hulbert once told Spalding, "I would rather be a lamp-post in Chicago than a millionaire in any other city."

Like George Pullman and his company town, the White Stockings, under Hulbert and Spalding, were intended to help bring respectability to baseball

by setting “honorable” and “morally elevating” examples. Spalding hired detectives to follow his players and report any bad behavior. “In fighting the encroachments of drink upon the efficiency of individual players, we are simply striving to give our patrons the full measure of entertainment and satisfaction to which they are entitled,” he said. Team members had to sign a temperance pledge, and those who balked at this or any other club rule were fined, traded, or, worst, released and blacklisted. In these policies, the White Stockings were in line with the rest of the league, which in 1880 had established officially the imposition of fines on players for offenses such as profanity, and more serious penalties for misbehavior such as “drunkenness, insubordination, and dishonorable or disreputable conduct.” Owners could and did fine players for errors made in the field, since it “reflected badly on their conduct.”

The journalist Peter Finely Dunne played an important role in the citywide popularity of the White Stockings. Just 20 years old in 1877, Dunne was sent to cover the White Stockings for the *Chicago Daily News*. His stories went far beyond the dry box scores of the day, and readers learned about the highlights of games, the personalities of the players, and much more, all delivered in Dunne’s characteristic pseudo-Irish slang and innuendo. Dunne did much to make Anson a sport hero and is credited with inventing the word *southpaw* to designate a left-handed pitcher—in the west-side stadium, a left-hander threw from the south side of the mound. Dunne’s sportswriting also served as a model for writers at many other newspapers, which now began to create separate sports departments with an editor and a small staff of reporters.

Although Dunne and other journalists made the White Stockings popular in town, admission to games was still not easy for the working class. Chicago during the Gilded Age was divided between wealthy and xenophobic Republicans and a largely Irish and Democratic working class, many of whom had been Confederate sympathizers. Hulbert, while he ran the White Stockings, empathized with the respectable classes, opposing beer sales at the park, Sunday games, and low admission prices as devices to keep the poorer classes from attending games.

William A. Hulbert died after a lengthy bout with heart trouble on April 10, 1882. Spalding and John L. Walsh, another board member, took control of the club by buying Hulbert’s shares from his widow, and Spalding was elected club president on April 26. Hulbert’s death was particularly hard on Anson, who had relied on Hulbert as a kind of mentor, and the fortunes of the White Stockings declined after Hulbert’s death, although the team did repeat as league champions in 1882.

The 1882 season saw the most spirited competition yet in the NL, further heightening public interest in baseball. Chicago’s attendance reached 130,000, a record, and the success of the White Stockings probably helped some of the weaker teams in the league survive. The team failed to repeat as league champions in 1883, and after a poor start in 1884 imposed an 11 P.M. curfew

on players during road trips, a move aimed at Kelly and several other players who caroused until very late at night. The curfew angered the players but did not bring about any significant improvement in the team's won-lost record. The team took the pennant in 1885 with a fabulous 77–25 record (.777), led by John Clarkson, who won 53 games and completed 68 of 70 starting assignments.

Spalding was a young capitalist caught up in the industrial revolution of the late nineteenth century. He made a lot of money from the Sox, with profits as high as \$80,000 in 1887. He believed in the emerging theory of scientific management that asserted, among other things, that business must be divided into a management class that has to “have absolute control over the enterprise,” and a worker class, under the control of management, that would perform the “actual work” of production. With that in mind, Spalding (and Anson) asserted even more control over their players. Anson fined two players \$50 each for “dissipation” in 1885, and Spalding said that one-third of the clubs that failed in 1884 did so because of players' excessive drinking.

In 1886, the team captured the pennant, led by Kelly's .388 batting average. But the team lost the postseason championship series with St. Louis of the American Association. Spalding blamed the defeat on drunken players, especially Kelly, whom he then sold to Boston for \$10,000. Spalding never worried about losing a star player. His White Stockings pioneered in using scouts to identify talented players in other parts of the country and in selling off aging veteran players to other teams. He also urged other teams to emulate his practice of hiring detectives to watch players' behavior. Even Anson occasionally got into trouble; in 1886, Spalding fined him \$110 for arguing too vehemently with an umpire.

Between the 1888 and 1889 seasons, the White Stockings and a group of All-Stars from other teams took a world tour to generate interest in the games and more business for Spalding's sporting-goods firm. The tour included Australia and then Ceylon, described as a “queer sort of a place inhabited by a queer sort of people.” Catcher Tommy Daly portrayed the Ceylonese as “howling, chattering, grotesquely-arrayed natives.” Mascot Clarence Duval, who accompanied the White Stockings, amused the spectators with his tricks. In Egypt, the touring players played in front of the pyramids before a curious and fascinated crowd, some of whom were said to have been shocked when the players held an impromptu contest to see who could hit the Sphinx in the right eye with a baseball. Only left fielder Jack Fogarty succeeded.

Despite the excitement of the world tour, player-management relations continued to deteriorate in 1889, as owners cut costs and sought to exert even more control over their players. Spalding, for example, docked Ed Williamson all his pay (except for his \$157 boat ticket) for breaking his ankle during the early part of the world tour. As a result of this increasing control, players rebelled, and formed the short-lived Players' League, which fielded its own teams for the 1890 season. Many of the White Stockings (now known as the Colts be-

cause of their youth) deserted Spalding and Anson and joined the new league, but the league survived only one year. However, Spalding, whose team had lost \$65,000 that season, succeeded in co-opting many of the financial backers of PL teams by helping them buy into teams in the established leagues.

In late 1891, James A. Hart, a business associate of Spalding's and a minority stockholder in the White Stockings, became the team's new president, responsible for day-to-day operations. Spalding, ever more involved in managing his sporting-goods empire, continued to head the board, but devoted less and less time to White Stockings matters. Hart restructured the club in 1892, incorporating the team into a new organization and redirecting the existing corporation toward real-estate investments, such as spring-training property in Hot Springs and land in Chicago, including the site of the 16,000-seat West Side Grounds, which opened in 1893. In 1894, NL owners rejected Hart's suggestion that players wear numbers on the backs of their uniforms, arguing that it would encourage players to play for their own glory rather than for the success of the team.

Hart's accession marked the beginning of the end of the Anson era. Anson, who owned a few shares in the team, believed that he should have been given the opportunity to buy more stock, but that Hart had blocked him; consequently, he resented Hart, and the relationship between them deteriorated over the next five years. The White Stockings' fortunes on the field declined, and Anson accused Hart of undermining his authority with the players and of not spending the money to acquire better players. Some of Hart's frugality may have been at Spalding's behest. In the past, he had not hesitated to unload higher-salaried players to save money. Wags noted that "Al pulls the strings and Jim spiels."

In 1897, the team performed poorly, finishing in ninth place with a 59–73 record, 34 games out of first place. Anson later wrote in his autobiography, "That [the team failed to win] can only be explained by the underhanded work by some of the players looking toward my downfall. They were aided and abetted by President Hart who refused to enforce the fines levied by myself as manager and in that way belittling my authority . . . The ring-leader in this business was Jimmy Ryan, between whom and the Club's President the most perfect understanding seemed to exist." Whatever level of anti-Anson conspiracy may have existed, Hart fired Anson on February 1, 1898. "I'm glad it's over," Hart told the *Tribune*, which noted that Anson's 1894 illness had left him "stiffened," and that "his usefulness of body was impaired." Anson closed out a 22-year career with the White Stockings with a .329 batting average and 1,715 RBIs. Spalding wanted to have a fund-raising appreciation event for Anson, but he refused, stating, "I am not a pauper. The public owes me nothing." After a brief stint managing the New York Giants in 1898, Anson drifted around the vaudeville circuit, served a term as city clerk of Chicago, and died in 1922.

In 1898, Anson was replaced as manager by Tommy Burns. The team, now without their beloved manager, was popularly known as the Orphans. Burns led them to fourth- and eighth-place finishes. In 1900, Tom Loftus became manager, but his two seasons were very unsuccessful, including a 53–86 record

in 1901. In 1901, the new American League began play with a Chicago franchise that Hart had sanctioned after it had agreed to build a ballpark on the South Side, where Hart was certain attendance would be low.

The AL Chicago team took over the old White Stockings name, now generally shortened to White Sox, and signed many NL players. The White Sox outplayed and outdrew the Orphans (who briefly became known as “the Remnants,” since the White Sox had signed so many of their players). The Orphans lost their two best pitchers (Clark Griffith and Nixey Callahan) and a good outfielder (Sam Meeks) to the White Sox and four more players to other AL teams. The White Sox drew about 354,000 fans for the season, about 50,000 more than the Orphans, who lost even more players to the new league before the 1902 season.

THE ERA OF FRANK CHANCE AND CHARLES WEEGHMAN, 1901–19

In 1902, the team’s fortunes took a turn for the better with the hiring of Frank Selee as manager. Selee had played very little professional baseball but was a good judge of talent and skilled at developing excellent players. He moved Frank Chance, a promising young player, to first base from split duty as a catcher and outfielder and Joe Tinker to shortstop from third base, and brought Johnny Evers in to play second base, creating the legendary Tinker-to-Evers-to-Chance double-play combination that was immortalized in a poem by Franklin P. Adams. During the 1902 season, the name “Cubs” became commonly used because of Selee’s emphasis on youth, and the overall improvement in the team’s play signaled better times to come.

Selee managed the Cubs for three and a half seasons, during which they steadily improved from sixth place to second. However, he resigned midseason in 1905, very ill with the tuberculosis that would kill him five years later. Frank Chance became manager, and the Cubs name was made official in that year.

Meanwhile, matters were not so positive in the front office. During the 1902 season, James Hart and AL president Ban Johnson engaged in a public feud. Johnson declared that his league would not contract with Spalding’s sporting-goods company for uniforms as long as Hart remained a part of baseball, since Hart is Spalding’s “representative and mouthpiece.” For his part, Hart said, “[Johnson] does not keep his promises and he is utterly discredited in National league councils.” Indeed, Hart and Spalding had been longtime business associates in baseball and real estate, a relationship that was “said to be” over. Spalding had an exclusive contract with the eight AL clubs for uniforms, worth more than \$2,000. This dispute, as well as a failed attempt to win election as NL president, ended Spalding’s active involvement with the Cubs and with baseball management in general. He retired to California, and while he continued to produce his annual baseball guide (and, indeed, was instrumental in creating the Abner Doubleday legend of baseball’s origins in

1907), spent more of his time involved in theosophy and state politics until his death in 1915.

By 1905, Hart was having financial problems and sold the team to a former Cincinnati sportswriter named Charles W. Murphy. A large portion of the \$125,000 sale price came from Charles P. Taft, a newspaper publisher in Cincinnati and half brother of then secretary of war (and later president) William Howard Taft. Murphy had worked for the New York Giants as a press agent and advance man prior to his purchase of the Cubs in 1905. Nicknamed "Chubby Charlie," he happened to be in Chicago when he heard that Hart was interested in selling the Cubs for about \$100,000. He convinced Taft to invest in the Cubs, and a deal was worked out to buy the Chicago club for \$120,000, plus \$5,000 to Hart himself for facilitating the arrangements. Murphy became club president just as the club was entering its period of greatest success on and off the field. From 1906 through 1915, the team made \$1.26 million.

Murphy's style was antagonistic to field manager Frank Chance and nearly everyone else. Several of Murphy's rivals called him a "rat," a "sneak," and a "windbag." He was involved in a controversy over the sale of World Series tickets in 1908, accused St. Louis manager Roger Bresnahan of throwing games in 1911, and was connected to the scandal that led Philadelphia Phillies owner Horace S. Fogel to be expelled from the game. Meanwhile, he made a great deal of money from the Cubs, but Chance accused him of unwillingness to acquire good players, which contributed to his firing on September 28, 1912.

Despite Murphy's questionable executive management, the Cubs dominated the NL from 1906 to 1910, with pennants in 1906, 1907, 1908, and 1910, and finished second (even with 104 wins) in 1909. The team won its only two World Series championships in 1907 and 1908.

In 1906, the Cubs went 116–36 for a .763 winning percentage, a record that still stands, and they won 50 of their final 58 games. The team had the best defense and offense in the NL. Led by 20-game winners Mordecai "Three-Finger" Brown and Jack Pfeister, the pitching staff posted a 1.75 ERA. Led by third baseman Harry Steinfeldt (.327), the team batted a league best .262 in the heart of the dead-ball era. However, the season ended in bitter disappointment when the Cubs lost the World Series to the crosstown White Sox, the "Hitless Wonders," four games to two.

The 1907–10 teams did not match the 1906 team's record, but they played superbly, winning an average of 103.5 games per season. Brown won 101 games in those four years while losing just 37, and team ERA was less than 2.00 every year but 1910. In the 1907 Series, the first game against the Detroit Tigers ended in a 12th-inning 3–3 tie, but then the Cubs swept the next four games and captured the world championship.

The 1908 season was highlighted by a close and exciting pennant race between the Cubs and the New York Giants. The climactic point of the season came on September 23, when, in a game between the two contenders, New



National League Park, 1908. Courtesy of the Library of Congress

York infielder Fred Merkle failed to touch second base while advancing on a hit late in the game. Evers noticed and called for the ball, and Merkle was declared out. As a result, the game ended in a tie, and the teams met in a playoff game two weeks later. The Cubs won and advanced to meet Detroit in the World Series, whom they handily defeated, four games to one. However, in 1910 they were overwhelmed in the Series by the Philadelphia Athletics, winning only the fourth game.

In 1909, Joe Tinker and Johnny Evers stopped talking with one another following a fight at an exhibition game in Bedford, Indiana. Evers took a taxi, or hack, to the ballpark by himself, leaving several other players to wait. When Tinker called him on it, a fight started that was concluded with an agreement between the two not to speak. Nevertheless, they played together on the Cubs through the 1912 season, and when Evers was made manager before the 1913 season, Tinker, at his request, was dealt to Cincinnati.

In 1911 Cub fortunes began to decline. Chance was injured most of the season—too many blows to the head by pitched balls resulted in the loss of some vision and may have altered his personality as well. He played only 31 games but had a stormy year as manager. In mid-August, he fined Tinker \$150 and suspended him for the balance of the season for careless play but then reinstated him after three days. Chance also fined second baseman Heinie Zimmerman, substituting for an injured Evers, for “lackadaisical” play and then inexplicably excused the fine. Murphy fired Chance on September 28, 1912, after a year in which Chance played only five games before retiring as an active player. The team finished third with a 91–56 record, but the differences between Murphy and Chance had grown too great, with conflict over Chance’s salary (less than one-third of John McGraw’s) and Chance’s constant complaint that Murphy refused to invest in good players despite having the resources to do so. Murphy offered Chance \$20,000 for the 10 percent of the club he had received in 1906 when he became manager, but

Chance refused the offer and instead sold his shares to Harry Ackerland of Pittsburgh for \$35,000.

The conflict between Murphy and Chance was suggestive of the deteriorating relationship between owners and players in professional baseball. Beginning about 1905, the owners tried to professionalize the game by having players project a better public image. They were ordered to wear suits in town, and carnival-like parades to the ballpark were banned. From the comfort of his California estate, Spalding praised the parade ban, and said, "Coons can do these things and feel proud of it, but it is the most servile thing to compel gentlemanly players to do so." Nevertheless, detectives were still hired to shadow the league's gentlemanly players.

In 1912, another salary battle between players and owners drew much attention and eventually led to the formation of a new players' union. The Cubs' Mordecai Brown, an acknowledged star, earned only \$7,000 after nine years in the league. Players' demands induced Murphy to fire Chance and dismantle the team after the 1912 season, with Brown demoted to the minor leagues before being sold to Cincinnati. Arthur "Solly" Hofman, a part-time player who had signed a \$5,000 contract, was sent down to the minors at lower pay only after being "laundered" through Pittsburgh. He sued and eventually won more than \$2,900 in a judgment handed down by the Illinois Supreme Court.

In late 1913, a controversy boiled over between Murphy and player-manager Johnny Evers, who had a four-year contract worth \$40,000. Evers talked about joining the new Federal League. Murphy claimed that Evers had quit the team, and terminated his contract without the required 10-day notice. In February 1914, NL president John K. Tener criticized Murphy and directed him to fulfill the terms of Evers's contract with the Cubs, and other club owners backed Tener's decision. Soon afterward, Murphy traded Evers to Boston, whose owner, James E. Gaffney, promised to give Evers what his contract with Murphy had stipulated. Evers, however, rejected the deal and said he wanted no part of any arrangement that would benefit Murphy in any way. He said he would rather become a free agent and make his own deal.

The *New York Times* reported that Evers had talked with millionaire chain restaurateur Charles A. Weeghman, the owner of the Chicago club in the Federal League, who had reportedly offered the ballplayer a four-year, \$50,000 contract. In the end, Evers played for the Boston Braves in 1914 and helped that team win a pennant.

All of these controversies undermined Murphy's standing among the other owners, and they persuaded Charles P. Taft to buy Murphy's 53 percent interest in the team for \$397,500. Taft appointed Charles H. Thomas as the new club president, although other owners protested that Thomas's reputation was not in baseball's best interests and that he would be just a stooge for the discredited Murphy. However, Taft replied that Thomas's appointment was a temporary move until he could sell the team.

In late 1915, Taft sold the team to Charles Weeghman as part of the settlement in which the Federal League was dissolved. Weeghman formed a syndicate that paid \$500,000 for about 90 percent of the club's shares. One member of the syndicate was chewing-gum magnate William Wrigley Jr., who invested \$100,000 for a 20 percent share. Weeghman's Chicago Whales (fans chose the name in a contest) had been one of the successes of the Federal League. His player-manager was former Cubs shortstop Joe Tinker, and the club played in his new \$250,000 North Side stadium. Fans enjoyed the amenities, which included permanent refreshment stands, and they did not have to return foul balls hit into the stands. The Whales outdrew the Cubs in both Federal League seasons of 1914 and 1915, which undoubtedly encouraged the NL to sanction Weeghman's purchase of the Cubs from Taft.

Weeghman hired Joe Tinker as manager to replace Roger Bresnahan, whose 1915 fourth-place squad had the team's first losing record since 1902. Bresnahan was paid for the two years remaining on his contract and Weeghman helped him purchase the Toledo club of the American Association. The highlight of the 1917 season occurred at Weeghman Park on May 2, when Hippo Vaughn and Cincinnati's Fred Toney both threw nine-inning no-hitters. However, in the 10th, the Reds singled and scored on an error to win the game. Weeghman decided that after fifth-place finishes in his first two seasons as owner, he had to become more aggressive in building a contending team. On December 11, 1917, he obtained star pitcher Grover Cleveland Alexander and talented catcher Bill Killefer from the Phillies for pitcher Mike Prendergast, backup catcher Pickles Dillhoefer, and \$50,000. The deal surprised the baseball world, as Alexander was thought to be untouchable, but he was mired in a contract dispute with the Phillies, demanding a three-year contract at \$12,000 per year, a sum the club thought too much given the uncertainty of the war in Europe.

Weeghman took the risk to acquire Alexander, arguably the best pitcher in the game, having won 30 or more games for the past three seasons, a feat only matched by the immortal Christy Mathewson. Both Alexander and Killefer had been born in 1887 and with the Phillies since 1911. After the Alexander deal, Weeghman told the *New York Times* that he was considering offers to other star players, including outfielder Zach Wheat of Brooklyn. The club's board of directors authorized Weeghman to spend up to \$200,000 to obtain the players necessary to win a pennant in 1918. Weeghman offered the St. Louis Cardinals \$50,000 for second baseman Rogers Hornsby, but Cardinals president Branch Rickey turned down the bid. Nevertheless, he acquired pitcher Lefty Tyler and center fielder Dode Paskert.

Weeghman's activities, along with those of Boston Red Sox president Harry H. Frazee, aroused the ire of the *New York Times*, whose sports department lamented that Weeghman seemed willing to pay any price to win a pennant without having to wait for his manager to develop a winning team. Part of Weeghman's motivation, noted the *Times*, may have been based on cross-city rivalry with the 1917 World Series champion White Sox. "Every star ballplayer

in the National league has become restless and is anxiously awaiting a call from the Cubs,” claimed the newspaper, and other players were said to be ready to hold out or make themselves disagreeable in other ways so that their clubs might sell or trade them. Weeghman’s and Frazee’s dealings, concluded the *Times*, “give the game too much of a commercial aspect and overshadow the sporting end.”

Even though Alexander joined the army and appeared in only three games, Weeghman’s other acquisitions paid off, and the Cubs, managed by Fred Mitchell, won the NL pennant in 1918 by 10 1/2 games with an 84–45 record. The team had the best offense and defense in the NL, led by pitcher Hippo Vaughn, who led the league in strikeouts (148), wins (22), and ERA (1.64). However, the Cubs were bested in the World Series by a terrific Boston Red Sox club, four games to two. The Sox winning hurlers were Carl Mays and Babe Ruth. Chicago’s home games were played in massive Comiskey Park instead of the smaller North Side field.

The 1918 season was not Weeghman’s finest hour, because financial problems resulting from the war forced him to borrow money from Wrigley, with Weeghman’s stock in the club as collateral. When Weeghman could not repay the loan, Wrigley took over the stock and purchased all of Weeghman’s remaining shares. Weeghman’s departure made Wrigley the largest shareholder in the organization, although he did not acquire majority control until 1919. In an interview with the *New York Times’* John Kieran years later, Weeghman traced his financial difficulties back to his original purchase of the Cubs. One of the members of the original syndicate failed to meet his pledge of \$75,000, forcing Weeghman to borrow that sum from a bank. Wrigley cosigned for the note, Weeghman never could pay the bank loan in full, “and that’s how Wrigley came to get the ball club from me.”

Weeghman resigned from the club presidency after the 1918 season and was replaced briefly by Mitchell, an unusual situation. Only the Philadelphia Athletics’ Connie Mack served as both field manager and chief executive of the club, but he never carried the title of club president. Mitchell, however, was known to have good business skills to go with his baseball knowledge. However, a few months later, Vice President William L. Veeck, a veteran baseball writer, was elevated to the presidency after Mitchell stepped down when the league decided that one person could not be both president and manager of a club. Veeck knew the game intimately, having covered it for 11 years, and had coordinated press relations for the Cubs during the 1918 World Series.

THE ERA OF WILLIAM WRIGLEY AND ROGERS HORNSBY, 1919–32

William Wrigley, whose family would own the Cubs for more than 60 years, was born in Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1861, the son of a soap manufacturer. He ran away from home at the age of 11, operated a newsstand in New

York City, and returned to Germantown after four months. He worked for his father and became a partner in the business at age 21. In 1891, he established his own business in Chicago with the idea of manufacturing and marketing baking powder. Soon he turned to the manufacturing of chewing gum, which had first been offered as a premium for buying baking powder. However, the advantages of gum soon became obvious. Gum could be shipped anywhere and was worth 20 times more per pound than baking powder. Widely advertised and even given away to potential customers, the Wrigley product soon became extremely popular, reaching sales of \$70 million per year by the time of Wrigley's death in 1932. Wrigley was also involved in the development of Catalina Island off the coast of California near Los Angeles, as well as banking, railroads, and coal. He was a generous partisan of the Republican Party and a philanthropist who supported hospitals and the Salvation Army. What he was not, in 1919, was a baseball man.

Wrigley had a deep appreciation for baseball, but he understood that one should not invest in a baseball club unless he loved the game, because it was not easy to make large profits from baseball. He continued to buy up shares from minority stockholders so that by 1921, he owned a vast majority of the club, and as his love for the game grew, he worked hard to earn those large profits. He instituted Ladies' Days. He spent \$2 million on the Cubs' North Side ballpark, which by 1926 was known as Wrigley Field. He pioneered radio broadcasts of Cubs games, and attendance improved even though the team floundered.

William Veeck first met Wrigley in California, and the businessman was impressed with the sportswriter's style and thoughtfulness, and brought him into the Cubs' organization. After he replaced Mitchell as club president in 1919, Veeck ran the club for 14 years, until his death in 1933. Even as club president, he played the role of a contemporary general manager, and Cubs historians Jerome Holtzman and George Vass consider Veeck to have been the first general manager in the modern sense of the term. Under Veeck's direction, spring-training facilities were built at Catalina Island, and the Cubs began training there in 1921, with the Los Angeles minor-league team, purchased in 1921, becoming the Cubs' principal feeder of talent. Wrigley even built a replica of Wrigley Field in Los Angeles for \$1 million.

Veeck's investigation and suspension of pitcher Claude Hendrix for consorting with gamblers in 1919 is said to have led to the investigation that uncovered the Black Sox scandal, and he was instrumental in the hiring of Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis as baseball's first commissioner. In 1921, Veeck reached an agreement with Chicago Bears owners George Halas and Edward Steinaman to rent Wrigley Field to the Bears for their home football games, and the Bears played there for 50 years.

Veeck agreed with Wrigley regarding the positive impact of radio broadcasts of Cubs home games as well as a comfortable stadium. Radio broadcasts began on station WMAQ in April 1924. Hal Totten, a 23-year-old *Chicago Daily News*

reporter, handled the play-by-play on every Cubs (and White Sox) home game that season, and Wrigley was pleased to see attendance at the ballpark increase as a result. Totten went on to a long career as a sportscaster and worked World Series games for national networks on occasion. By 1929, Cubs games were broadcast on as many as five local stations, including WMAQ and WGN. In the 1930s, Bob Elson emerged as the voice of Chicago baseball, doing both Cubs and White Sox games. In addition, after the 1926 season, Wrigley Field was enlarged with an upper deck, increasing its capacity to 38,396 and bringing it close to the look it retains today.

After several years of mediocrity under managers Fred Mitchell (1920), Johnny Evers (1921), and Bill Killefer (1921–25), including last place in 1925, Wrigley's frustrations boiled over. Saying he would "shoot \$1 million to put the Cubs over the top in 1926," he began by hiring Joe McCarthy as manager at a \$20,000 annual salary. McCarthy had never managed in the major leagues before, but had completed six successful seasons with Louisville of the American Association. He believed in discipline and inherited a team of castoffs and inexperienced players. In June, Pete Alexander, whose alcoholism was becoming more and more of a distraction, was placed on waivers, and was claimed by St. Louis. McCarthy was pleased: "I absolutely refuse to allow him to disrupt our team and will not have him around in that condition." Newly acquired players like pitcher Charlie Root and outfielder Riggs Stephenson helped the team to a first-division finish for the first time since 1919. Steady improvement followed in 1927 and 1928, and in 1929, the Cubs captured the NL pennant by 10 1/2 games with a 98–54 record. Rogers Hornsby, purchased from Boston early that year for \$200,000, led the team (which hit .303) with a .380 batting average and 39 homers. He led the NL in total bases (405), slugging (.679), and runs (156) and won the MVP Award. Hack Wilson drove in 159 runs, and three of the starting pitchers won 18 or more games. Wrigley had acquired Hornsby without consulting Veeck, and the club president, who disliked Hornsby, resigned in protest. However, Veeck rescinded his resignation when Wrigley promised not to interfere with player personnel matters again. Overall, the Cubs made \$1,461,544 during the 1920s, half of it in 1928 and 1929. The team drew over a million fans each year from 1927 to 1931, including 1,485,166, a major-league record until 1947, and a mark the Cubs would not surpass until 1969.

In the 1929 World Series, the Cubs lost game four to the Philadelphia Athletics 10–8 after leading 8–0 in the eighth inning. However, center fielder Hack Wilson lost a fly ball in the sun that contributed to a 10-run Philadelphia uprising. The loss put the Cubs behind in the series, three games to one, and they lost game five 3–2 when the Athletics scored three times in the ninth inning. Wrigley was crushed, and it soured his opinion of McCarthy. Rumors of spring-training frivolity only served to confirm the notion that McCarthy was not tough enough to manage the Cubs.

Rogers Hornsby became manager of the Cubs on September 25, 1930, after McCarthy refused to finish the last four games of the season. He had been told

on September 23 that his contract would not be renewed for the 1931 season and decided it would be “best for all concerned” if he departed immediately, even though Wrigley and Veeck tried to persuade him to finish the season. McCarthy went on to manage the New York Yankees and Boston Red Sox for the next 20 years, winning several AL pennants and World Series titles.

Hornsby proved to be a failure as manager because he lacked the temperament to deal with players. He was very demanding, did not tolerate mistakes, and never developed rapport with his players. Nor did he get along with Veeck, who felt Hornsby was too pessimistic. In 1931, Hack Wilson, who set an NL record with 56 home runs in 1930, hit only 13 (a deadened ball was partly to blame) and spent the entire season feuding with Hornsby. He was dealt to Boston after the season. Hornsby started the 1932 season as Cubs manager, but after allegations that he was involved with gamblers, Veeck fired him on August 2 and named easygoing first baseman Charlie Grimm as the new manager. After his firing, Hornsby requested that the club pay him the balance of his contracted salary in one payment so that he could pay off players who had lent him money to bet on horse races. At his dismissal, Hornsby told the *Tribune* that there were “big differences of opinion about the ball club and the way it should be run.” Under Grimm, a ray of sunshine compared to Hornsby, the players responded and won the pennant by four games. The team’s strength was the starting pitching, especially Lon Warneke, who led the league with a record of 22–6 and an ERA of 2.37. Alas, the Yankees swept the Cubs in the World Series. In the fifth inning of game three, Babe Ruth made a gesture that some interpreted as pointing to center field, where he promptly deposited the next pitch off Charlie Root for a home run. After the series, the players showed their disdain for Hornsby by refusing to vote him a share of the World Series proceeds, even though he had managed the team for two-thirds of the season.

THE ERA OF PHILIP K. WRIGLEY

William Wrigley Jr. died at his Arizona winter home from the effects of a stroke on January 26, 1932, leaving an estate worth more than \$50 million, including the Cubs, said to be worth \$5 million. His 38-year-old son Philip K. Wrigley inherited the team but initially left baseball decisions to the club’s president. The younger Wrigley had flunked out of prestigious Phillips Academy and briefly studied chemistry at the University of Chicago. He assumed control of the chewing-gum operations in 1923 and built it into an enterprise in which the family name became synonymous with the product. Shortly after World War II, the Wrigley fortune was estimated at more than \$100 million.

The Cubs organization suffered a significant loss on October 5, 1933, when William Veeck died unexpectedly after a three-week illness described as a “mysterious blood disease” that may have been leukemia. *Tribune* columnist Arch Ward praised him as the ideal baseball magnate and a person who had an excellent sense of players’ values to the club. Veeck’s “striking” personality

drew players to perform according to his standards or be sent on their way. He insisted on good sportsmanship and sought players of good character. Veeck was also a strong supporter of the All-Star Game, an idea of Ward's that began in 1933 as a collateral event to the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago, and was influential in obtaining the league's sanction for such a game. At the time of his death, Veeck was also looking into the idea of interleague play, advocating a month of games beginning July 4, with results to count in the standings.

Philip Wrigley selected William H. Walker to succeed Veeck as club president. Walker was the second-largest shareholder in the club and a successful businessman in the wholesale fish trade, but he was not a knowledgeable baseball person. He began his tenure with gusto, spending \$65,000 to acquire aging outfielder and 1933 NL batting champion Chuck Klein from Philadelphia. Klein had hit .368 for the Phillies but only .301 and .298 in his two seasons with the Cubs. Walker also traded promising young first baseman Dolph Camilli to Philadelphia for Don Hurst, another veteran, who hit .199 in what would prove to be his final season. Walker did not get along with field manager Charlie Grimm and rejected Wrigley's suggestion of lower ticket prices for children. Late in 1934, an exasperated Wrigley bought Walker's 1,274 shares in the club and assumed the presidency. Wrigley later claimed that there had been no conflict with Walker; he had some ideas, "which may seem a little crazy in baseball circles," that he wanted to try out.

Wrigley's purchase brought his total to 7,455 $\frac{2}{3}$ shares, further consolidating the family's ownership of the club. The Cubs had been more or less a closed corporation since 1925, with very little open buying or selling of stock. Although the estimated value of Cubs stock was \$125 per share, it was widely believed that it would cost four or five times that amount to wrest majority control from Wrigley. During the first two years of the depression, the Cubs made out brilliantly, earning about \$700,000, but lost \$665,000 from 1932 through 1934. Thereafter the team resumed making money.

Philip K. Wrigley owned the Cubs for 45 years, until his death in 1977. During that time, he was often criticized as an absentee owner who never attended games and who seemed not to care about the fortunes of the teams or the desire of fans to see a winner. Wrigley, it was said, cared only about the club as a business, and the object of any business is to make a profit. Given the Cubs' lack of success—only four NL championships and no World Series championships in those 45 years—it is hard to argue that he wanted the Cubs to win. Yet by most accounts he cared deeply about the Cubs, a "sacred trust" from his father, and for that reason held on to it despite many years in which the club lost a great deal of money. He told his biographer, Paul Angle, that his "father was very much interested in the team and so was I. The club appealed to me because the customers of the Cubs were exactly the same people that we sold chewing gum to." He assumed the club presidency because "no matter who's in there, if something, goes wrong, I'm going to get blamed for it, so I might as well take the job myself."

As president, Wrigley adopted a policy of admitting children for half price, a move other owners opposed. He thought that Cubs fans would respond to advertising of the same kind that he used to sell chewing gum, and in 1934, Chicago newspapers ran display ads touting the fun and enjoyment of going to Cubs games. Although some suggested that a winning team was the key to success at the turnstiles, Wrigley opted to rely on promoting the fun and healthfulness of spending a sunny afternoon watching the Cubs play baseball, regardless of whether they won or lost. He was, like his father, a strong believer in the advertising value of broadcasting games over the radio and, later, television. To make the experience of going to a ball game more enjoyable, he installed larger seats, loudspeakers in the stands, and moving ramps at Wrigley Field and was the first to indicate balls and strikes on the scoreboard. In 1937, outfield bleachers and a large mechanical scoreboard, largely operated by hand, were added to the park. Vines were planted at the base of the brick outfield wall to grow up the wall and present a very distinctive appearance. One of Wrigley's early major player transactions, the acquisition of star pitcher Dizzy Dean from the St. Louis Cardinals for \$185,000 and three players just before the opening of the 1938 season, was as much a marketing ploy as an effort to improve the team. Dean had a bad arm, but Wrigley said, "Even if he can't pitch very well, we'll get a lot of publicity out of him."

Night baseball was another matter. In 1930, the Western League began playing night games under permanent lights, and in 1934, the NL voted to allow each team seven night games. However, Wrigley believed that baseball should be played in the daytime because "it brings people out into the air and sunlight." In 1941, however, he gave in and ordered lights for Wrigley Field at a cost of \$185,000, partly because of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's suggestion that there be more night baseball so that workers on day shifts could see games. The lights were ready for installation on December 7, but Pearl Harbor intervened, the country went to war, and Cubs management, perhaps to Wrigley's great relief, quickly decided to donate the steel, copper wire, aluminum reflectors, and other material to the government for the war effort. Wrigley emerged as a good patriot for his generous contribution.

Nevertheless, the move to night baseball continued, and rumors floated around that the Cubs would play some night games at Comiskey Park, home of their crosstown rivals, the White Sox. Cubs management denied these rumors, noting the inconvenience for North Side fans to get to Comiskey Park. Although the Cubs said in the mid-1940s that they still might do it, the White Sox organization felt differently and effectively vetoed the notion of Cubs night games in its park. When Detroit added light to Briggs Stadium in 1948, Wrigley Field was left as the only major-league ballpark without lights. It was not as if there had never been night activity at Wrigley Field. Night wrestling and boxing matches, using portable lighting systems, had taken place there since 1934, when 35,000 fans saw Jim Londos pin Ed "Strangler" Lewis. In August 1943, heavyweight boxer Lee Savold knocked out Lou Nova, and a year later, he lost to Joe Bakshi. Other

night events at Wrigley Field included political rallies, a rodeo, and, in 1954, a basketball game featuring the Harlem Globetrotters. In addition, the All American Girls Professional Baseball League, which Wrigley had founded, played a doubleheader at Wrigley Field in 1943 under a temporary lighting system that did not throw light high enough for players to track fly balls.

As time went on, Wrigley became more adamantly against lights, fearing the impact of night games on the neighborhood. "How can anybody sleep with a loudspeaker going, thousands of people hollering, and cars being parked all over their yards?" he asked. He believed that the advent of television was good for daytime baseball because there was "more competition at night." From time to time, however, he did point out that lights would be useful to finish long afternoon games or to help the Bears on short winter days. Nevertheless, lights would not brighten Wrigley Field until 1988, 11 years after Wrigley's death and 7 years after the family sold the team.

Even though Wrigley took a more active role in operating the club after Walker's ouster, he was hardly an experienced baseball executive. He hired Charles "Boots" Weber as general manager in 1934. Weber had been operating the Los Angeles minor-league club since William Wrigley had acquired it in 1921. He became part of an advisory group that included manager Charlie Grimm until mid-1938, vice president and secretary John O. Seys, and scouts Jack Doyle and Clarence "Pants" Rowland. Grimm and Rowland had the greatest influence on Weber.

Weber played an important role in the trades and acquisitions that produced pennants in 1935 and 1938, although Wrigley's trade for Dizzy Dean was made over Weber's protest that it was too costly. The 1935 team had outstanding offense and pitching. Catcher Gabby Hartnett was MVP, with a .344 batting average, while Warneke and Bill Lee both won 20 games. In the World Series, Warneke shut out the Tigers in game one (3–0), but the Tigers won four of the next five to take the championship. The highlight of the 1938 championship season was player-manager Gabby Hartnett's "homer in the gloaming" on September 28 against the Pirates. With the score tied 5–5 in the bottom of the ninth, it was so dark that the game was sure to be called if the Cubs failed to score. However, with two out, Hartnett hit an 0–2 pitch into the right-field bleachers to win the game and move the Cubs into first place over the Pirates. They clinched the pennant two days later with a win over the Cardinals. Hall of Famer Hartnett was one of the greatest Cubs of all time, playing 19 years in Chicago before ending his career with the Giants, with a lifetime batting average of .297. The Series of 1938 was a disaster, as the Yankees again swept the Cubs, outscoring them 22–9.

After 1938, the Cubs had six straight losing seasons, ending with the pennant in 1945, when many key players were in military service. The Cubs struggled financially in the war era, losing \$167,192 from 1939 through 1941, and even in the pennant year of 1945 only made \$45,554. In 1940, Wrigley sent Weber into retirement and hired Jim Gallagher, a former journalist, as general

manager. Gallagher launched a five-year plan and traded off veterans such as Billy Herman and Billy Jurges for younger players, most of who had scant success. A farm system was set up in the 1940s, long after others teams had done so. Grimm had returned as manager in 1944, and led the team to the pennant a year later. The hero was Phil Cavaretta, a Chicago boy, who led the NL in batting (.355) and was voted MVP. Stan Hack hit .323 and Andy Pafko drove in 110 runs. Seven Cubs made the All-Star team, including Phil Wyse, who won 22 games. The hurlers had a sparkling 2.98 ERA to lead the league. The exciting season brought out the fans, as the Cubs led the NL in attendance and reached the million mark for the first time since 1931.

In the World Series, the Cubs again came out second best. The match with the Tigers went to the seventh game, but in the first inning, the Tigers scored five and knocked out Hank Borowy on their way to a 9–3 victory. A fabled piece of Cubs legend was born during the series. This was the “Curse of the Billy Goat,” which emanated from an incident in game four, with the Cubs holding a two-games-to-one lead. William Sianis, a local fan of Greek heritage and owner of the Billy Goat Tavern, brought Murphy, his pet goat, to Wrigley Field. Ushers denied entrance to Murphy, and Sianis appealed to Philip Wrigley. Wrigley supported the decision of the ushers, declaring that the goat “stinks” and therefore could not enter the stadium. Sianis reportedly said, “The Cubs ain’t gonna win no more. The Cubs will never win a World Series so long as the goat is not allowed in Wrigley Field.” This was seen as a curse, supported by the fact that the Cubs have not even been in a World Series since 1945. Sianis died in 1970, but in 1969, when the Cubs led the NL East most of the season, he announced that the curse was removed. It was not to be; the Cubs faded in September and lost to the Mets.

In 1973, Sianis’s nephew Sam, now the tavern owner, brought Socrates, a descendant of Murphy, to Wrigley Field, where it too was denied admission, and the Cubs dropped out of pennant contention. When the Cubs made the playoffs in 1984 and 1989, the Tribune Company invited Sam Sianis and Socrates to the ballpark, and Sianis declared that the curse was lifted, to no avail. Similar efforts to lift the curse in the playoff years of 1998 and 2003 also failed.

Nothing much seemed to work after the 1945 pennant and a respectable third-place finish in 1946. The Cubs played no better than .500 ball for the next 16 seasons and went through a lengthy parade of managers. Wid Matthews, the farm director of the Brooklyn Dodgers, took over as general manager in late 1949 as Gallagher became vice president. Matthews attended the entire 1950 spring-training camp at Catalina, arranging activities for the players in an effort to promote camaraderie and spirit. Another result of this visit may have been the move of the team’s spring-training facilities to Mesa, Arizona, in the early 1950s, where the environment was decidedly less resort-like. However, he failed to develop the team into a winner, and was followed in 1956 by John Holland, who had run the Cubs’ farm team in Los Angeles.

Wrigley turned down many offers to buy the club. His standard line was “I’m not that hard up.”

Despite seemingly unending losing seasons, the Cubs remained a popular attraction in Chicago in the postwar years, earning an average of \$201,700 from 1946 through 1950. Part of the reason for this was Wrigley’s decision to televise Cubs games over WGN, a local station that first went on the air in 1948. Jack Brickhouse, who began his baseball-broadcasting career as Bob Elson’s partner in 1940, became the sole Cubs radio broadcaster in 1945. When television broadcasts began, he moved over to the television booth, and his clear and competent style was popular with fans. Brickhouse, whose voice was the first heard when WGN went on the air, also covered Bears football games for many years, as well as college football and other sports, and political conventions. He retired in 1981 and was elected to the broadcasters’ wing of the Hall of Fame in 1983.

Individual players also made their mark with Cubs fans during these years, none more so than Hank Sauer, “the Mayor of Wrigley Field.” Sauer, who played with the Cubs from 1949 through 1955, was a slugging outfielder that won the NL MVP Award in 1952 by hitting 37 home runs and driving in 121 runs. An avid tobacco chewer, Sauer was the recipient of countless bags of chewing tobacco thrown at him by adoring fans.

ERNIE BANKS AND THE HAPLESS CUBS

After Jackie Robinson’s integration of baseball in 1947, Wrigley was reticent about bringing in African American players. He felt his first black player, like Robinson, had to have outstanding talent lest “it . . . reflect on his race.” In 1950, the Cubs bought the contract of black infielder Gene Baker from the Kansas City Monarchs and sent him to their farm team in Springfield, Massachusetts. Later in 1950, Baker went to the Triple-A team in Los Angeles and played there for more than three years. At the end of the 1953 season, Baker was deemed ready to debut with the Cubs, and Matthews purchased Ernie Banks, a shortstop from the Monarchs, for \$15,000 to provide Baker a roommate. Both players reported to the Cubs after the Pacific Coast League season ended on September 15, to bolster the middle of the infield, which had collapsed defensively that year. Baker had set a Los Angeles record by playing in 420 consecutive games, and in 1953, he hit .287 with 18 home runs and 68 RBIs. Banks, meanwhile, had hit .344 for the Monarchs, and both were considered excellent defensive players.

While Baker was a creditable player for the Cubs, hitting .265 in 630 games before departing for the Pittsburgh Pirates in 1957, Banks became the team’s greatest star in the post–World War II Wrigley years. He played 19 seasons for the Cubs, first at shortstop and later at first base. He had a career batting average of .274, and his 512 home runs stood as a team record until 2003. His optimistic outlook on baseball and life in general made him very popular with the fans, to whom he became known as “Mr. Cub,” and his baseball skills earned

him the NL's MVP Award in 1958 and 1959, even though the Cubs were not contenders. He was elected to the Hall of Fame in 1977.

Despite the addition of Banks, Baker, and other talented African American players during the 1950s, the Cubs were a perennial second-division team, finishing fifth three times between 1950 and 1959, sixth once, seventh four times, and last twice. As the team floundered to another seventh-place finish in 1960, Wrigley and his management team decided to expand the coaching staff from three to eight. Other teams had as many coaches, whom they used in their farm systems, but Wrigley declared that “[coaches] are the heart of a ball club.” As such, the coaches, not the front office, would select the manager (who might not even bear that title). The club felt that all the necessary qualities for an excellent manager could not be found in one individual, but would exist in a collective of coaches, or, as it came to be known, a college of coaches. From the beginning, sportswriters mocked the plan, but Wrigley resolutely stood by it.

A March 1961 document, “The Basic Thinking That Led to the New Baseball Set-Up of the Chicago National League Ball Club,” emphasized the failings of the traditional patronage system of hiring coaches and stressed the importance of instructing players. Sportswriter Jerome Holtzman’s article “The Cubs’ Curious Experiment,” in the August 1961 issue of *Sport*, pointed out that the entire management team (Wrigley, the front-office personnel, the coaches, and a player representative) met during spring training to deal with the most important question: the tenure of the head coach. Would he stay all season or would he rotate, along with the other coaches, to one of the minor-league teams?

As it turned out, he rotated, and the Cubs employed several head coaches during this period. The college-of-coaches system was implemented during the 1961 and 1962 seasons, but with no better results than before; the team finished seventh in 1961 and an embarrassing ninth in 1962, when the expansion franchise in Houston finished ahead of them. According to Paul Angle, the system benefited the farm-system players by putting them in closer contact with coaches who had major-league experience, and administratively helped bring about a closer relationship between the Cubs and their farm system. After two years, however, it was clear that the scheme was not bringing about an improved team, and Bob Kennedy was hired as manager for the 1963 season (although Wrigley refused to use that title for some time to come), and led the team to its first winning season since 1946 (albeit in seventh place). Wrigley also hired retired air-force colonel Robert Whitlow as “athletic director.” He would be sort of a personnel director for coaches and minor-league managers and a person who could fill the gap between the front office and the playing field. Once again, Wrigley came under considerable criticism from the press. Whitlow had no baseball background, and his vague duties impressed some critics as a non-job. After two years, Whitlow resigned in the belief that he was not earning his salary. His lack of baseball experience made it hard for him to supervise coaches and managers and enforce player discipline, as was his responsibility.

LEO THE LIP AND THE CUBS RETURN TO RESPECTABILITY

Soon after Whitlow's resignation, the Cubs hired Leo Durocher as field manager. Durocher, one of the game's most colorful individuals, had played for the New York Yankees, Cincinnati Reds, St. Louis Cardinals, and Brooklyn Dodgers, and had managed the Dodgers and New York Giants before arriving in Chicago for the 1966 season. Wrigley announced to the press that he wanted a "take-charge guy," and Durocher said he was that guy, although his team came in last (59–103). Under Durocher, the team reached third place in 1967 and 1968, and after leading the NL East for much of the 1969 season, slipped back to second place in the final month and lost by eight games. The team had a strong daily lineup, led by Ron Santo, with 123 RBIs, and Banks, with 106, but the team only batted .253. Five pitchers won 10 or more games, including Bill Hands (20) and Hall of Fame Ferguson "Fergie" Jenkins (21). Jenkins won 20 or more six straight years and averaged around 300 innings a season. Wrigley thought the unaccustomed spotlight of celebrity early in the season, when the team was in first place, had distracted the players and contributed to the team's late fade, but a more likely reason was Durocher's failure to rest his top-line players. Whatever the causes, the 1969 season was the high point of Cubs success in the later Wrigley years. In 1970, the Cubs were again second in their division, and the following year dissension between Durocher and his players surfaced and reached a high point with a stormy clubhouse meeting in late August. Wrigley placed an advertisement defending Durocher in all four Chicago daily newspapers, but the fiery manager was let go in the middle of the 1972 season.

After several dreary seasons in the mid-1970s, in November 1976 Wrigley named former White Sox infielder and Cubs manager Bob Kennedy as director of the club's baseball operations. Kennedy replaced general manager E.R. "Salty" Saltwell, who had been promoted from director of concessions in 1969 in an act of admirable Wrigley loyalty but who had been able to accomplish little with team development. Kennedy's first move was to name Herman Franks the new field manager, replacing Jim Marshall. Franks had formerly managed the San Francisco Giants to four second-place finishes in the NL West.

THE WRIGLEY FAMILY STEPS OUT

Philip K. Wrigley died April 12, 1977, at his country home in Elkhorn, Wisconsin, of gastrointestinal hemorrhaging. Sports columnists praised his fan friendliness but pointed out that he had rarely attended Cubs games and seldom involved himself in club operations, although he used his veto power in major transactions. His son, William Wrigley, inherited the club and pledged to maintain the family dynasty. Under his father's tenure as club president, William Wrigley had played virtually no role in the club's management, and

instead had prepared himself to run the other family enterprises. He appointed William Hagenah, Jr. as club president and contented himself with the largely ceremonial position of chairman of the board of directors. Much of his time was occupied by huge legal and financial problems stemming from the death of both his parents within a few months of one another. Hagenah, who had been the treasurer of the Wrigley Company, was not a baseball man, and thus Bob Kennedy handled the Cubs' operations almost exclusively, obtaining Hagenah's approval only for key personnel decisions. Sportswriters began to speculate within days of Philip Wrigley's death about the future of the Cubs. Most agreed that the club deserved leadership that was more dynamic. Would it come from the Wrigley family or from a new owner?

Under William Wrigley's distant guidance, the Cubs struggled on, playing nearly .500 ball and finishing in the middle of the pack between 1977 and 1979, and then collapsing in 1980 with a 64–98 record and a last-place finish in their division. During that season, Murray Chass, a sportswriter for the *New York Times*, pointed out that except for the Cubs, every team that had been in the NL since 1945 had been to the World Series or playoffs at least four times. The Cubs had finished in the second division 26 times out of 35 seasons and had ended each season an average of 22 1/2 games behind the league or division winner. Chass laid the blame on an overly conservative management style that had evolved under Philip Wrigley. The club hired only traditional baseball executives and managers, not the kinds of mavericks that win pennants. Player personnel directors had never risked signing talented high-school players and giving them generous bonuses. Wrigley's insistence on day baseball sapped the players' energy during the hot, humid summers of Chicago and freed players to carouse at night. In addition, as long as fans kept filling Wrigley Field, the club did not have to care about winning. Of course, William Wrigley denied the allegation that the family was not concerned about winning and claimed vaguely that "you have to go to the grass roots, and that's what we're doing."

Rumors about a sale of the Cubs became more frequent after the dismal 1980 season that saw the club post a \$1.7 million loss. This time there was truth to them. Negotiations with the Tribune Company, parent corporation of the *Chicago Tribune*, began in the spring of 1981, well before the 50-day strike that interrupted the baseball season between June 12 and August 1. The terms were announced June 16 and stipulated that the Tribune Company would buy the assets of the Cubs and assume the club's liabilities for \$20.5 million. The arrangement included Wrigley Field, but not the land on which it stands, which the club leases for \$30,000 per year through a contract that continues until 2012. William Wrigley transferred his 81 percent share of the ownership, and minority stockholders likewise disposed of their 1,900 shares to the new owner. Each received about \$2,000 per share. The sale of the Cubs was the 10th MLB ownership change since 1976 and followed closely the \$20 million sale of the White Sox. The \$20.5 million purchase price was just short of the record \$21.1 million Nelson Doubleday paid for the New York Mets in early 1980.

However, what prompted the sale was the \$40 million in inheritance taxes that the Wrigley family owed to the federal government and to California, Illinois, and Wisconsin following the deaths of Philip and Helen Wrigley in 1977 and the lack of liquid assets to pay the large estate tax. It took nearly four years for an agreement on the value of the estate to be completed between the family and the involved government agencies. By 1981, most of the taxes had already been paid, and the balance was paid out of the sale price of the Cubs.

THE ERA OF DALLAS GREEN AND SAMMY SOSA, 1981–2005

Under the new management of the Tribune Company, Andrew McKenna became president of the Cubs. A former part owner and board member of the White Sox, he was a practical finance expert and used his two years as president to stabilize the club's finances. In October 1981, he hired Dallas Green as executive vice president and general manager; here, perhaps was the maverick the Wrigleys could never bring themselves to hire.

Dallas Green came to the Cubs from Philadelphia, where he had managed the Phillies to a World Series championship in 1980. Known for his fiery aggressiveness and lack of diplomatic skills, he minced no words when he announced, "I'm going to look everybody in the eye and tell them if they don't want to work as hard as I do, they might as well go home now." He was given a five-year contract worth more than \$1 million, including benefits. A driven, intense man, Green ran into conflict with nearly everyone in the organization. "My trouble was I have a big mouth, and I pop off about a lot of things," he said later. The new team slogan was "Build a New Tradition," and under Green's forceful leadership, trades, and free-agent signings, and the work of field managers Lee Elia and Jim Frey, the Cubs improved to a point where they made the playoffs in 1984, winning the NL East with a record of 94–65. The key acquisition was Rick Sutcliffe, who went 16–1 and won the Cy Young Award. Second baseman Ryne Sandberg hit .314 and had 200 hits. He and five other players had 80 or more RBIs. However, the season ended in bitter disappointment, when after winning the first two games against the San Diego Padres, the Cubs lost the next three and were eliminated. The exciting campaign brought out the team's first 2 million attendance, and except for the shortened 1994 and a short dip the following year, the Cubs have drawn over 2 million ever since. Attending games at lovable Wrigley had become the popular thing to do. In addition, there was a major improvement in the surrounding gentrified neighborhood, which became a popular entertainment area for young professionals.

By that time, Andrew McKenna had given way to Jim Finks as club president. Finks was formerly general manager of both the Minnesota Vikings and Chicago Bears of the NFL, and his appointment was seen as a way to contain the ambitious Dallas Green, since Finks was known to be a strong though low-key leader. However, Finks was really not much of a baseball man, and

despite the successful 1984 season, he returned late that year to professional football as general manager of the New Orleans Saints. Dallas Green was promoted to president of the Cubs, at the same time retaining his post as general manager.

After the 1984 season, the Cubs went into a downward spiral, finishing fourth in their division in 1985, fifth in 1986, and last in 1987. Star players like Sutcliffe suffered injuries or the ravages of age and performed badly after 1984. Finally, on October 29, 1987, Dallas Green resigned as president and general manager because of what were politely called "basic philosophical differences with management." Money matters had been involved; the Tribune Company was concerned about the \$15 million payroll, third highest in 1986, and Green had had to get rid of a number of high-salaried players such as third baseman Ron Cey, outfielder Gary Matthews, and pitchers Dennis Eckersley and Steve Trout. Their departure partially accounted for the last-place finish in 1987. The Tribune Company wanted to reduce Green's control over player personnel matters to prevent future payroll inflation, stipulating that contracts would have to be reviewed by another, as yet unhired, club official. Green, for his part, wanted to take on the field manager's job while remaining club president. Green could not agree with what the Tribune Company wanted. Since ownership would not allow his request (which was against MLB rules), he resigned.

The feud between Green and his superiors boiled over in the last month of the disastrous 1987 season. Manager Gene Michael quit in early September, and Green accused the players of "quitting with a capital Q." John Madigan, the Tribune Company's executive vice president, who oversaw the Cubs, was appointed to run the club in the interim and search for a new director of baseball operations.

The stormy 1987 season was complicated further by the problem of owner collusion over the signing of free agents. None of the several top-flight players who had declared free agency were offered a contract by any team. Among the most prized was outfielder Andre Dawson of the Montreal Expos, who had rejected a \$1 million, one-year offer from them. He approached the Cubs during spring training, but Green expressed concern over finances. Sutcliffe offered to donate \$100,000 of his salary to subsidize Dawson's contract. Dawson's agent Dick Moss announced that Dawson wanted to play for the Cubs so much that he would sign a blank contract. That ploy worked, and the Cubs signed Dawson for \$500,000, plus some incentives, a figure that made him the 15th-highest-paid Cubs player. Dawson responded with a career year that included 49 home runs and 137 runs batted in, earning him the MVP Award and future lucrative contracts.

Then, in 1988, lights finally came to Wrigley Field. The Tribune Company was very much in favor of installing lights, especially since it owned WGN-TV, now a cable superstation with a national market, and Cubs management wanted more prime-time broadcasts. The Cubs' television broadcaster was

Harry Caray, who had succeeded Jack Brickhouse in 1982, a nationally popular personality known for his down-to-earth style, genuine enthusiasm for the game, and good-natured mispronunciations and attention lapses. Night baseball would serve to increase Caray's popularity and with it the popularity of the team.

Green had advocated lights early in his tenure as general manager, but without initiating discussions with either the city government or neighborhood leaders. His arrogance stimulated the formation of CUBS (Chicagoans United for Baseball in Sunshine), an antilight organization, which gradually emerged as a potent political force. CUBS influenced the state legislature to pass a law in August 1982 forbidding excessive noise after 10 P.M. for "any professional sport played in a city with more than one million inhabitants, in a facility in which night sports were not played before July 1, 1982," a description specifically aimed at Wrigley Field. Two days later, the city passed an ordinance forbidding sports events between 8 P.M. and 8 A.M. on any field that was not totally enclosed, featured more than 15,000 seats, and was closer than 500 feet to 100 residences. Clearly, this ordinance was also specifically aimed at Wrigley Field. The Tribune Company fought back, calling the laws "bills of attainder" and unconstitutional because they applied only to one specific property.

In 1984, when the Cubs made the playoffs, MLB worried about low television ratings from weekday afternoon ball games. As it turned out, the playoff schedule was so arranged that there was only a Friday afternoon game at Wrigley Field. However, there was a feeling that the problem of televising postseason day teams would recur if the Cubs continued to play well. In December, Commissioner Bowie Kuhn told the Cubs that in the future, the team would have three choices with respect to playoff games: (1) the Cubs could install lights at Wrigley Field, (2) they could agree to play postseason home games at another park with lights, or (3) they could agree to reimburse MLB and its teams for revenue lost because of poor television ratings. This virtual ultimatum stirred the Tribune Company to overturn the restrictive state and city laws.

In addition to challenging the constitutionality of the laws in court, the Tribune Company floated rumors that it might move the team to the western suburbs, where it owned property suitable for constructing a new stadium, and announced the cancellation of plans for new luxury boxes at Wrigley Field. In March 1985, a Cook County judge upheld the constitutionality of the city ordinance in a 64-page decision that included poetry and quotes from the song "Take Me Out to the Ball Game." A month later, after the appeals process had been hastened with the help of Governor James R. Thompson, the case went to the Illinois Supreme Court, which, in October, upheld the city ordinance and the state law. The disappointed Cubs management once again raised the specter of the club becoming a suburban team.

In March 1987, Tribune executive Don Grenesko was appointed to pursue the lighting issue. He offered a compromise to the city whereby the Cubs would

play a maximum of 18 night games a season. Meanwhile, the state legislature passed a bill exempting playoff and World Series games from its 1982 noise-pollution law, and Governor Thompson signed it. Then, in Chicago, after a neighborhood survey revealed that a majority of local residents did not oppose 18 night games a season, Mayor Harold Washington introduced a revised ordinance in the city council. The mayor unexpectedly died, however, and the bill stalled in the deeply divided council. However, the issue did not go away, as local critics blamed the newspaper for controlling the Cubs and dominating the Wrigley Field lighting argument. In February 1988, the *Tribune*, in a lead editorial, ripped into local and state politicians for using the night-baseball issue to “leverage the newspaper’s editorial policy.” Calling the politicians “bums,” the editorial said that if the paper really did control the Cubs, the team would have fled to the suburbs years earlier.

Amid all the controversy, the Cubs modified their compromise offer, opting for an early 7:05 P.M. starting time for night games and agreeing to cut off beer sales after the seventh inning. In addition, the club promised to add 300 parking spaces so fewer patrons would have to park on residential streets around the stadium. As the city council neared a vote on the compromise plan, A. Bartlett Giamatti, the new commissioner of baseball, promised the 1990 All-Star Game to Wrigley Field if the vote went for night baseball. By a vote of 29–19, the city ordinance banning night games was repealed and the compromise was approved.

The lighting system that was installed in the spring and early summer of 1988 provided for six banks of floodlights mounted above the existing grandstand, with a total of 540 halide lamps backed by black metal plates to block the light from the surrounding neighborhood. The design was chosen for its architectural compatibility with the 70-year-old stadium and cost about \$5 million.

The first night game was to be played August 8, 1988, against the Phillies before a capacity crowd, some of whom had paid as much as \$1,000 to scalpers for a ticket. The Cubs authorized a record 560 press passes, more than twice the number issued when Pete Rose broke Ty Cobb’s career hits record. Unfortunately, the game was called because of rain after a two-and-a-half-hour delay, and the first completed night game was played on August 9, with the Cubs beating the Mets 6–4.

Following Green’s departure, the Cubs operated without a president for a year and a half, until Grenesko, fresh from his successful arrangement for night baseball, was named to the post in 1989, mainly to oversee the club’s finances. General manager Jim Frey, who had replaced Green in that position in 1987, hired his boyhood friend Don Zimmer as field manager for the 1988 season. This appointment was virtually inevitable. Frey and Zimmer had grown up in Cincinnati, where they played on the same Knothole Baseball team as youths. Zimmer had been Frey’s third-base coach in the mid-1980s, when Frey was field manager, and Dallas Green had fired both of them in June 1986.

Before the 1989 season, Frey traded promising young outfielder Rafael Palmeiro, who had hit .307, to the Texas Rangers for hard-throwing but erratic closer Mitch Williams. The trade was widely criticized, even by some players, but when Williams had a career year, young outfielders Jerome Walton (.293) and Dwight Smith (.324) blossomed, first baseman Mark Grace and second baseman Ryne Sandberg had excellent seasons, and Greg Maddux won 19 with a 2.95 ERA, the Cubs returned to the playoffs for the first time in five years. The club led the NL in batting average (.261) and run production, even though no one drove in more than 79 runs. However, the club failed again in the postseason, losing to the San Francisco Giants in the first round four games to one.

The success could not be sustained under field manager Don Zimmer. After the team floundered badly in 1990, finishing fifth, Frey was authorized to spend more money than ever before in the free-agent market, and during the 1990–91 off-season, he put out \$25.2 million to sign outfielder George Bell, the 1987 AL MVP, and pitchers Danny Jackson and Dave Smith. Nevertheless, the investment did not pan out, and the Cubs finished fourth with a 77–83 record. Zimmer clashed publicly with Grenesko, which cost him his job in May, and Jim Essian finished the season. Frey became senior vice president after the season, and former White Sox general manager Larry Himes was named executive vice president of baseball operations, assuming Frey's responsibilities. Despite the poor finish, the team was worth \$125 million, ninth among MLB clubs.

Grenesko himself stepped down as club president at the end of the season. For nearly three years, the Cubs were run by committee, with Tribune Company board president Stanton Cook nominally in charge. Under that regime, Himes traded George Bell to the White Sox for outfielder Sammy Sosa and left-handed pitcher Ken Patterson. In his one season with the Cubs, Bell hit .285 with 25 home runs, but he committed more errors than any other outfielder. Sosa was acquired for his speed and defensive skills. It was only later in the 1990s that his ability to hit home runs would make him the most popular Cub of the Tribune era. While the Sosa trade paid substantial dividends for the Cubs, Himes was castigated for allowing All-Star pitcher Greg Maddux to sign as a free agent with the Braves and for failing to re-sign Andre Dawson after he had 22 home runs and 90 RBIs in 1992. The Cubs continued their losing ways in 1992, 1993, and 1994, which ultimately led to an administrative shake-up in the Cubs' organization, following the naming of Andy MacPhail as the president of the club.

Andy MacPhail, son of Lee MacPhail, the former president of the AL, had begun his baseball management career with the Cubs in 1976 as a minor-league business manager. He then became assistant general manager of the Houston Astros in 1982 and general manager of the Minnesota Twins in 1985, leading that club to two World Series titles in 1985 and 1987. The Tribune Company brought MacPhail in after the strike-ruined 1994 season. He quickly hired former Cubs pitcher Ed Lynch as general manager and Jim Rigglesman as field manager. Lynch, who had earned a law degree from the University of Miami

after his playing career ended in 1987, came to the Cubs from the Mets, where he had been special assistant to general manager Joe McIlvane since 1993. Riggelman had managed the San Diego Padres for two years before coming to the Cubs. The new management team also had to deal with the financial and psychological impact of the long strike, which shortened the 1994 season, canceled the World Series, and delayed the opening of the 1995 season.

Partly because of the strike, the MacPhail era started slowly, although he and Lynch worked hard behind the scenes to build up the minor-league system. The team had a winning season in 1995, but reverted to form the next year. In 1997, the Cubs began the season with a team record 14-game losing streak and never recovered, finishing with just 68 wins. However, in 1998, the Cubs engineered a remarkable turnaround, coming in second with 90 wins, and made the playoffs. MacPhail signed five former All-Stars, increasing the payroll by 15 percent, and all of them contributed. Sammy Sosa hit 66 home runs and led the majors in RBIs with 158, and enchanted fans followed his epic home-run battle with the Cardinals' Mark McGwire. Although the team was swept by the Atlanta Braves in the first round of the playoffs, fans, for the first time in the memory of most, believed that the Cubs were poised to be perpetual contenders, especially with rookie hurler Kerry Wood, who struck out 20 Astros in one game. Once again, however, disappointment stalked Wrigley Field, as the Cubs lost 23 more games in 1999 than in 1998, despite 63 home runs from Sosa, and finished with their worst record since 1980. Don Baylor came in to manage in 2000, and while Sosa hit 50 homers, the team dropped to 65 wins. The following year, Sosa had a sensational season, with 64 homers, 160 RBIs, and a .328 batting average, which along with Josh Lieber's 20 wins helped raise the team to an 88–74 mark. But in 2002, the club nose-dived to a 67–95 season and fifth place.

Through all the ups and downs, all the brief successes and lengthy frustrations, Wrigley Field remained the seemingly unchanged landmark of Chicago baseball. While stadium lights lit up the surrounding neighborhood, known as Wrigleyville, on 18 summer nights, other subtle changes were



Sammy Sosa slugs his 499 home run during the 2002 season. © AP / Wide World Photos

creeping into and around the ballpark. In 1989, a year after the addition of lights, private boxes were built on the mezzanine level where the broadcast booths had been. More were added in the mid-1990s, bringing the total to 63. And before the 2004 season, 213 new box seats were added in three rows built between the two dugouts. None of these changes significantly altered the appearance of the park.

Outside Wrigley Field, rooftop game watching began in 1974 with building owner George Loukas inviting friends to his rooftop to watch Cubs games from behind the lower parts of the outfield bleachers. What seemed like a quaint practice took off in the playoff year of 1989, when one entrepreneur turned his rooftop into a private club, denying access even to building residents who were not club members. By 1995, all buildings with a view—perhaps a dozen—were owned by businesspeople with an eye toward profiting from the vantage point offered by the roof. By the late 1990s, owners had installed aluminum bleachers and “luxury” seating for wealthy patrons, and the city had recognized the commerciality of the rooftops and was licensing, regulating, and taxing them.

Within Wrigley Field, the Cubs were enjoying excellent attendance during these years, so rooftop attendance could not be considered a drain on gate receipts. But increasing player salaries and other expenses forced the Tribune Company to look for ways to increase further revenue from the stadium. In August 2001, the company floated a plan to spend \$11 million to enlarge the bleacher area by 2,000 seats, add luxury boxes, and create advertising space. Traditionalists opposed these plans, as did some rooftop owners, who feared the expanded bleacher area would block their view. Mayor Richard M. Daley suggested that Wrigley Field be granted historic-landmark status, which would give the city more input into proposed structural and aesthetic changes. The Cubs wanted an agreement that would give Wrigley Field landmark status but still allow the Tribune Company to make modifications without a great deal of bureaucracy. The Cubs also wanted to increase the number of night games to 30; this, they reasoned, would boost both attendance and the size of the television audience. Given that the announced profit of the Tribune Company for the year 2000 was \$200 million, some residents were skeptical about the company's desire for more revenue from the Cubs and its promise not to disrupt neighborhood harmony. According to *Forbes*, the Cubs made \$7.9 million in 2001 and the team was worth \$247 million, escalating to \$358 million at the start of 2004, eighth highest in the majors.

Landmark status was granted, but the proposed bleacher expansion did not take place. Early in 2004, a new variation on the bleacher-expansion issue was proposed. With this plan, the exterior walls behind the bleachers would be moved out 10 feet toward the street to provide support for the additional seats. Sidewalk space would be reduced somewhat, but this was not seen as a major problem. During the summer of 2004, discussion about stadium expansion was set aside after falling chunks of concrete revealed some potentially

serious structural problems with the 90-year-old ballpark. The problems were quickly remedied, but they were reminders of the frailty of the old stadium, and led some to speculate that perhaps the time had come to think seriously about replacing Wrigley Field with a new stadium. Would a new Wrigley Field be a replica of the old one, or would the design be fundamentally altered to provide for some of the amenities found in newer stadia? Would a new Wrigley Field be subsidized with public funds, as had been the case with the new White Sox park and the major renovation to Soldier Field, the home of the Chicago Bears, or would a new park be privately funded? If a new park were built on the same site as Wrigley Field, where would the Cubs play during construction and what impact would that construction have on neighborhood residents and businesses? For the first time in 90 years, Cubs management and fans had to begin thinking about these very basic questions. For the short term, however, life went on as usual. In November 2004, the Tribune Company went to the city's landmarks commission to obtain approval to install permanent 10-foot-by-3-foot revolving advertising boards behind home plate. Temporary boards of this type had been used for the 2003 regular season and playoffs, and these boards are common in other ballparks. The Cubs hoped to generate between \$3 million and \$5 million from the device, and that, combined with a 17 percent increase in ticket prices, could allow for a significant payroll increases.

The on-field fortunes of the Cubs began to improve after the year 2000, coincidental with the rise of Jim Hendry in the organization. Hendry and MacPhail had worked together in the Florida Marlins system in 1994, when Hendry was special assistant to general manager Dave Dombroski, and MacPhail had brought Hendry into the Cubs organization, where by 1998 he was director of the farm system and scouting. In June 2000, Hendry became MacPhail's top assistant, and the following year, after the departure of Ed Lynch, Hendry was promoted to assistant general manager and then to vice president and director of player personnel under MacPhail, who acted as both president and general manager. A year later, in November 2002, MacPhail ceded the title of general manager to Hendry.

Hendry's first accomplishment as general manager was to hire Dusty Baker, the manager of the 2002 world champion San Francisco Giants. Baker brought a record of consistent success in 11 years of managerial experience, and in his first year with the Cubs, he steered the team to an 88–74 record and a spot in the playoffs. The team had excellent starting pitching, especially Mark Prior, who went 18–6, while Wood led the NL in strikeouts (266). The team beat the Atlanta Braves in the best-of-five first round of the playoffs and seemed well on its way to winning the second round against the Florida Marlins when yet another bizarre incident took place. In the eighth inning of the fifth game of the series with the Marlins, with the Cubs leading three games to one and 3–0 in that game with Prior on the mound, a fan named Steve Bartman appeared to interfere with a foul ball that left fielder Moises Alou might have caught. The Marlins went on to score eight runs that inning to win the game, and then won games six and

seven to take the series from the Cubs and advance to the World Series. Cubs fans were devastated, and Bartman briefly became the billy goat of 2003.

Hendry had made some excellent trades to help the Cubs do well in 2003, and in the 2003–4 off-season, he acquired former Cubs pitcher Greg Maddux, first baseman Derrek Lee, second baseman Todd Walker, and pitcher LaTroy Hawkins, among others, to strengthen the team still further. Most analysts predicted that 2004 would finally be the year that the Cubs would make the World Series, but a number of serious injuries to key players, such as starting pitchers Kerry Wood and Mark Prior and closer Joe Borowski, ruined the season, and the Cubs finished 16 games off the pace. Still, Cubs fans could find hope in the fact that for the first time in more than 30 years the team had had two winning seasons in a row. Cubs management could rejoice in the fact that for the first time ever, attendance surpassed the 3 million mark.

During the winter of 2004–5, Hendry traded the increasingly difficult and disruptive Sammy Sosa and his \$16 million salary to Baltimore for utility player Jerry Hairston Jr. and acquired slugger Jeromy Burnitz from Colorado. He also let argumentative pitchers Kyle Farnsworth and Kent Mercker find employment elsewhere. These moves, it was hoped, would foster a more harmonious team in 2005 without sacrificing talent. Injuries to key players Mark Prior, Kerry Wood, and Nomar Garciaparra, however, combined with inexperienced middle relievers to send the \$100 million Cubs home before the playoffs with a fourth-place finish in the NL Central.

Perhaps another new season will be the one that will end the long championship drought and the curse of the billy goat.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1935	Gabby Hartnett	C
1945	Phil Cavarretta	1B
1952	Hank Sauer	OF
1958	Ernie Banks	SS
1959	Ernie Banks	SS
1984	Ryne Sandberg	2B
1987	Andre Dawson	OF
1998	Sammy Sosa	OF

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1971	Fergie Jenkins	RHP
1979	Bruce Sutter	RHP

1984	Rick Sutcliffe	RHP
1992	Greg Maddux	RHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1961	Billy Williams	OF
1962	Ken Hubbs	2B
1989	Jerome Walton	OF
1998	Kerry Wood	P

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1876	Ross Barnes	.429
1880	George Gore	.360
1881	Cap Anson	.399
1884	King Kelly	.354
1886	King Kelly	.388
1912	Heinie Zimmerman	.372
1945	Phil Cavarretta	.355
1972	Billy Williams	.333
1975	Bill Madlock	.354
1976	Bill Madlock	.339
1980	Bill Buckner	.324
2005	Derrek Lee	.335

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1884	Ned Williamson	27
1885	Abner Dalrymple	11
1888	Jimmy Ryan	16
1890	Walt Wilmot	13
1910	Frank Schulte	10
1911	Frank Schulte	21
1912	Heinie Zimmerman	14
1916	Cy Williams	12
1926	Hack Wilson	21
1927	Hack Wilson	30
1928	Hack Wilson	31
1930	Hack Wilson	56
1943	Bill Nicholson	29
1944	Bill Nicholson	33
1952	Hank Sauer	37

1958	Ernie Banks	47
1960	Ernie Banks	41
1979	Dave Kingman	48
1987	Andre Dawson	49
1990	Ryne Sandberg	40
2000	Sammy Sosa	50
2002	Sammy Sosa	49

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1902	Jack Taylor	1.33
1906	Mordecai Brown	1.04
1907	Jack Pfeister	1.15
1918	Hippo Vaughn	1.74
1919	Grover Alexander	1.72
1920	Grover Alexander	1.91
1932	Lon Warneke	2.37
1938	Bill Lee	2.66
1945	Hank Borowy	2.13

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1880	Larry Corcoran	268
1885	John Clarkson	308
1887	John Clarkson	237
1892	Bill Hutchison	316
1909	Orval Overall	205
1918	Hippo Vaughn	148
1919	Hippo Vaughn	141
1920	Grover Alexander	173
1929	Pat Malone	166
1938	Clay Bryant	135
1946	Johnny Schmitz	135
1955	Sam Jones	198
1956	Sam Jones	176
1969	Fergie Jenkins	273
2003	Kerry Wood	266

No-Hitters

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Larry Corcoran	08/19/1880
Larry Corcoran	09/20/1882

Larry Corcoran	06/27/1884
John Clarkson	07/27/1885
Walter Thornton	08/21/1898
Jimmy Lavender	08/31/1915
Sam Jones	05/12/1955
Don Cardwell	05/15/1960
Ken Holtzman	08/19/1969
Ken Holtzman	06/03/1971
Burt Hooton	04/16/1972
Milt Pappas	09/02/1972

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES

NL East Division Titles

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1984	96–65	Jim Frey
1989	93–69	Don Zimmer

NL Central Division Titles

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
2003	88–74	Dusty Baker

NL Wild Cards

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1998	90–73	Jim Riggleman

NL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1876	52–14	Al Spalding
1880	67–17	Cap Anson
1881	56–28	Cap Anson
1882	55–29	Cap Anson
1885	87–25	Cap Anson
1886	90–34	Cap Anson
1906	116–36	Frank Chance
1907	107–45	Frank Chance
1908	99–55	Frank Chance
1910	104–50	Frank Chance
1918	84–45	Fred Mitchell
1929	98–54	Joe McCarthy

1932	90–64	Rogers Hornsby Charlie Grimm
1935	100–54	Charlie Grimm
1938	89–63	Charlie Grimm Gabby Hartnett
1945	98–56	Charlie Grimm

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>
1885	St. Louis
1907	Detroit
1908	Detroit

MANAGERS

2003–	Dusty Baker
2002	Bruce Kimm
2002	Rene Lachemann
2000–2002	Don Baylor
1995–1999	Jim Riggleman
1994	Tom Trebelhorn
1992–1993	Jim Lefebvre
1991	Jim Essian
1991	Joe Altobelli
1988–1991	Don Zimmer
1987	Frank Lucchesi
1986–1987	Gene Michael
1986	John Vukovich
1984–1986	Jim Frey
1983	Charlie Fox
1982–1983	Lee Elia
1980–1981	Joey Amalfitano
1980	Preston Gomez
1979	Joey Amalfitano
1977–1979	Herman Franks
1974–1976	Jim Marshall
1972–1974	Whitey Lockman
1966–1972	Leo Durocher

1965	Lou Klein
1963–1965	Bob Kennedy
1962	Charlie Metro
1962	Lou Klein
1962	El Tappe
1961	Lou Klein
1961	El Tappe
1961	Harry Craft
1961	Vedie Himsl
1960	Lou Boudrean
1960	Charlie Grimm
1957–1959	Bob Scheffing
1954–1956	Stan Hack
1951–1953	Phil Cavarretta
1949–1951	Frankie Frisch
1944–1949	Charlie Grimm
1944	Roy Johnson
1941–1944	Jimmie Wilson
1938–1940	Gabby Hartnett
1932–1938	Charlie Grimm
1930–1932	Rogers Hornsby
1926–1930	Joe McCarthy
1925	George Gibson
1925	Rabbit Maranville
1921–1925	Bill Killefer
1921	Johnny Evers
1917–1920	Fred Mitchell
1916	Joe Tinker
1915	Roger Bresnahan
1914	Hank O'Day
1913	Johnny Evers
1905–1912	Frank Chance
1902–1905	Frank Selee
1900–1901	Tom Loftus
1898–1899	Tom Burns
1879–1897	Cap Anson
1879	Silver Flint
1878	Bob Ferguson
1876–1877	Al Spalding

Team Records by Individual Players

Batting Leaders	Single Season			Career		Plate Appearances
	Name		Year	Name		
Batting average	Bill Lange	.389	1895	Riggs Stephenson	.336	3,964
On-base %	Mike Kelly	.483	1886	Hack Wilson	.412	3,719
Slugging %	Sammy Sosa	.737	2001	Hack Wilson	.590	3,719
OPS	Hack Wilson	1.177	1930	Hack Wilson	1.002	3,719
Games	Billy Williams	164	1965	Ernie Banks	2,528	10,395
At bats	Billy Herman	666	1935	Ernie Banks	9,421	10,395
Runs	Roger Hornsby	156	1929	Cap Anson	1,719	10,112
Hits	Roger Hornsby	229	1929	Cap Anson	2,995	10,112
Total bases	Sammy Sosa	425	2001	Ernie Banks	4,706	10,395
Doubles	Billy Herman	57	1935	Cap Anson	528	10,112
Triples	Frank Schulte	21	1911	Jimmy Ryan	142	7,542
Home runs	Sammy Sosa	66	1998	Sammy Sosa	545	7,898
RBI's	Hack Wilson	191	1930	Cap Anson	1,879	10,112
Walks	Jimmy Sheckard	147	1911	Stan Hack	1,092	8,506
Strikeouts	Sammy Sosa	174	1997	Sammy Sosa	1,815	7,898
Stolen bases	Bill Lange	84	1896	Frank Chance	400	5,066
Extra-base hits	Sammy Sosa	103	2001	Ernie Banks	1,009	10,395
Times on base	Woody English	320	1930	Cap Anson	3,979	10,112

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		Innings Pitched
	Name		Year	Name		
ERA	Mordecai Brown	1.04	1906	Albert G. Spalding	1.78	539.7
Wins	John Clarkson	53	1887	Charley Root	201	3,137.3
Won-loss %	Rich Sutcliffe	.941	1984	John Clarkson	.706	1,730.7
Hits/9 IP	Eddie Reulbach	5.33	1906	Orval Overall	6.86	1,135
Walks/9 IP	Albert G. Spalding	.44	1876	Albert G. Spalding	.43	539.7
Strikeouts	Bill Hutchinson	314	1892	Fergie Jenkins	2,038	2,673.7
Strikeouts/9 IP	Kerry Wood	12.58	1998	Mark Prior	10.55	613.3
Games	Ted Abernathy	84	1965	Charley Root	605	3,137.3

(Continued)

Pitching Leaders (Continued)

	Single Season		Career		Innings Pitched	
	Name	Year	Name			
Saves	Randy Myers	53	1993	Lee Smith	180	381.3
Innings	John Clarkson	623	1885	Charley Root	3,137.3	3,137.3
Starts	John Clarkson	70	1885	Fergie Jenkins	347	2,673.7
Complete games	John Clarkson	68	1885	Bill Hutchison	317	3,021
Shutouts	John Clarkson	10	1885	Mordecai Brown	48	2,329

Source: Drawn from data in "Chicago Cubs Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)," http://baseball-reference.com/teams/CHC/leaders_bat.shtml; "Chicago Cubs Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/CHC/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Cincinnati Reds

Edward J. Rielly

The history of the Cincinnati Reds is a history of professional baseball itself, from the first professional team, the unbeaten Red Stockings of 1869, through the birth of the National League, the arrival of night baseball, and such modern business practices as public funding of stadiums and the selling of stadium naming rights.

Throughout the many years of Cincinnati's baseball history, its teams have enjoyed some of the sport's greatest moments on the field and have labored under some of baseball's most infamous scandals. For almost a century and a half, Cincinnati and baseball have traveled together—the Queen City and America's national pastime.

CINCINNATI AND ITS FIRST PROFESSIONAL TEAM (1866–70)

A forerunner of the current Cincinnati Reds came into existence in 1866, the offspring of attorneys from the firm of Tilden, Sherman, and Moulton, who by their own admission had more time than clients and set out to find an enjoyable way to use some of that spare time.

Cincinnati in the 1860s was known as “the Queen City of the West,” residing in the grassy Ohio River Valley surrounded by tree-covered hills, with the Ohio River serving the city as a major conduit for commerce. The city was also the center for pork packing in the region (it was known as “Porkopolis”), and for industries tied to by-products, like fat, employed in the manufacturing of soap. Proctor and Gamble produced its floating Ivory soap in 1879 and soon established the largest soap factory in the world.

Cincinnati was also an intellectual center, “the Athens of the West,” with a large book-publishing industry and many fine-arts facilities. Its citizens could enjoy Shakespeare at John Bates’s National Theatre, examine Egyptian antiquities at the Western Museum, and view fine paintings at the National Art Union and other city galleries. Harriet Beecher Stowe gave readings in her native city, and the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was quoted hailing the city by its queenly epithet.



Henry “Harry” Wright, 1876. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame

The attorneys’ early baseball team, known initially as the Resolutes and then as the Cincinnati Base Ball Club, played four games in 1866, winning two. It was an inauspicious beginning, but by its second year, the team was on its way to helping establish baseball as an American institution. The club moved from its original playing field west of downtown Cincinnati to Union Grounds, where the Museum Center in the Union Terminal train station now stands. Competitive juices already were flowing, and the organization hired its first professional, Harry Wright, a local cricket star, to plan and manage the baseball club. The team did well, winning 17 of 18 games.

Cincinnati added three more paid players in 1868—Fred Waterman, Johnny Hatfield, and Asa Brainard—violating a prohibition on paying players set by the National Association of Base Ball Players. The NA was established by some of the oldest baseball clubs, including the New York Knickerbockers, to regulate rules of play and protect the amateur character of the game. The squad by this time was widely known as

the Red Stockings and had introduced a uniform that, with a variety of modifications, would remain the Cincinnati uniform throughout the decades: white flannel shirt with a red *C*, white knickers, red stockings, and a white cap. Viewers, especially women, were shocked and not a little titillated by the knickers and red socks, unaccustomed to seeing clothing generally considered underwear on public display.

The continued success of the Red Stockings, by now the best team outside the East, further fueled the club’s competitive juices. John Joyce, the club’s secretary, persuaded team president Aaron Champion, a local businessman

and politician, to sign all of the players to contracts to facilitate discipline and hard work. The civic boosters who ran the team knew they needed to expand revenue from gate receipts. They encouraged local interest by promoting the team as a representative of the city, allying the club with the broad local drive to make Cincinnati a thriving and respected commercial and cultural center. The owners pushed the concept that local folk who supported the ball club were also behind the hometown.

The 1869 club thus became the first baseball team with a totally professional roster. Hatfield was gone by this time, but shortstop George Wright, brother of the manager and perhaps the best player in the country, had arrived. The entire team consisted of only 10 players, including one substitute and one pitcher, the hurler expected to start and complete most of the games. So when pitcher Asa Brainard needed a breather, Harry Wright would usually switch positions with him. The total salary for the Red Stockings was \$10,500, with manager, starting center fielder, and sometime pitcher Wright earning a top figure of \$2,000, \$200 more than George.

The Red Stockings did much to popularize the sport on their way to compiling a perfect record of 57 wins and no losses, plus unofficial wins because the opponents were not NA teams. Some victories were close, although the Red Stockings often scored 30 or more runs in a game. They demolished the hapless Cincinnati Buckeyes, for example, 103–8. The team broke even financially despite its outstanding record.

The large scores were the result of baseball being a hitter's game in the 1860s. There were rough fields, which caused balls to bounce away from fielders; no gloves to encase sharp grounders and long fly balls; underhanded pitching, which meant, by later standards, slow pitching; and no pitcher's mound to give the pitch a difficult downward slant. In addition, fouls were not strikes, and strikes were not called unless a batter obstinately refused to swing at anything, permitting batters to wait for a fat pitch. Spectators got a lot of action for their 25 cents' admission.

The Red Stockings journeyed across the country during that summer of 1869. A road trip to the East garnered 20 wins, a championship reception by President Ulysses S. Grant at the White House (the first championship club to be so honored by a president), and a welcoming home parade. In the middle of September, the West beckoned, and the Red Stockings embarked on a 32-day trip. Just a few months before, on May 10, 1869, the golden spike marking completion of the first transcontinental railroad had been driven into the ground at Promontory Point near Ogden, Utah. The Red Stockings took that route west to San Francisco, along with some rugged miles by stagecoach and steamer. Western teams proved vastly inferior, and the Red Stockings played their way home against midwestern teams that were little better.

This first important phase in the history of the Cincinnati Reds ended after the following season. The 1870 Red Stockings, increasingly known as the Reds, re-

tained the same players from the previous year but had their winning streak end at 81 games when they lost to the Brooklyn Atlantics 8–7 in 11 innings. Cincinnati lost six times that season, and despite doubling ticket prices to 50 cents, the club could not turn a profit. Faced with increased competition for players, and with the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players, a new, professional league, forming for 1871, new club president A. P. Bonte announced that Cincinnati would revert to amateur status. The first all-professional team would not join the new professional league. The issue of salaries and other expenses versus revenue had claimed a prominent early victim.

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE (1876–80)

The Reds, under the leadership of John P. Joyce, secretary of the original Red Stockings, returned to professionalism in 1875 with an independent professional team. During the intervening years, the Reds had sold off their 1869–70 trophies and even the lumber from their Union Grounds fence and grandstand. Until they opened a new ballpark near Spring Grove Avenue in the vicinity of the stockyards, the Reds played in Ludlow, Kentucky. Their contests included a 15–5 defeat at the hands of the Boston Red Stockings, led by former Cincinnati captain Harry Wright in the so-called War of the Hoses.

The Cincinnati club became a charter member of a new professional league, the National League, which began play in 1876. The first five years of Cincinnati's life in the NL were marked by inconsistency on the field and instability in the front office. After a last-place finish in 1876, Cincinnati climbed to second place in 1878, only to fall back to last place by 1880. However, despite their modest achievements, the early Reds did boast some memorable players, particularly pitcher Will White, who in 1879 started and completed 75 games, pitched 680 innings, and won 43 starts. His battery mate was his brother, Jim "Deacon" White, so named because of his abstinence from tobacco and liquor and his regular churchgoing. They formed the first brother battery in the major leagues, with Deacon Jim the first Reds backstop to sport a face mask. Other notables were Hall of Famer Michael "King" Kelly, who batted .348 for the Reds in 1879, his second season with the team, but jumped to the Chicago White Stockings the following year, and the reputed inventor of the curveball, William "Candy" Cummings, considered by journalist Henry Chadwick the best pitcher in the early 1870s, who completed his playing career with an undistinguished season for the Reds in 1877.

The club's highlights during these early years included playing the first major-league doubleheader against Hartford in 1876 with separate admissions charged for each contest. The 1877 Reds were among the most colorful NL teams ever since each player sported a different colored cap. Bobby Mitchell of the Reds was the first left-hander ever to start a major-league game, tossing a shutout on September 6, 1877, against Louisville batters befuddled by pitches coming at a different angle. In the same game, Lipman Pike became the first

Reds player to hit a home run over an outfield fence. Pike had opened the season as the majors' first Jewish manager, but resigned later in the season.

Off the field, the Reds underwent constant changes in ownership due to the ebb and flow of the owners' finances. Josiah Keck, the first owner of the NL club, operated a meatpacking plant near the club's Avenue Grounds. By the 1870s, though, Porkopolis was headed into financial trouble, partly because of declining population growth. A general economic malaise had beset the city since the 1850s, when railroads began replacing waterways as prime movers of commerce. Cities not on river routes learned to compete with Cincinnati in manufacturing, and after a temporary upturn in response to Civil War needs for pork, clothing, and wagons, the city's economy again dipped in the late 1860s.

These factors contributed to Keck's financial troubles, along with the club's payroll, which reached \$20,000 by 1878. Attending games was expensive (admission was 50 cents) and inconvenient. The Avenue Grounds was approximately four miles from the residential center, requiring most attendees to rely on horse-drawn streetcars or commuter trains to reach the ballpark. Once there, spectators could enjoy refreshment stands and a covered grandstand that seated 3,000 fans. Attendance, except for special events such as Fourth of July games, usually filled only a fraction of the seats. Customers typically numbered somewhere between 800 and 900.

By the middle of June 1877, Keck gave up, and the club disbanded. In early July, a group headed by businessman J.W. Neff assumed ownership. Neff refused to pay the \$100 league fee, arguing that the Reds were not a new club. The NL retaliated by declaring the club's games invalid, although today those games are counted as official.

After the 1877 season ended, Neff put his business acumen to work. He purchased Avenue Grounds and the surrounding land, improved the grandstand by adding backs and arms to the seats, and instituted a multigame admission plan by which fans were encouraged to purchase a coupon book with 20 game tickets for \$10. Neff hired Cal McVey, a member of the famed 1869 Red Stockings, as his manager, implicitly promising a return to a golden age of Cincinnati baseball. Toward that end, Neff rebuilt his roster, retaining only Pike and two other players from the previous year, and brought in several newcomers, including the White brothers and King Kelly. The improved Reds routinely drew more than a thousand fans. However, Neff could not overcome the high annual payroll of about \$20,000 and other expenses, as well as a drop in attendance in 1879. With his club \$10,000 in debt, Neff disbanded the Reds in October 1879, but in December the league authorized a group headed by Justus Thorner of the J. G. Sohn and Company brewery, and the previous head of a semipro club, to take over the franchise.

The 1880 season was a disaster on and off the field despite a move to the new Bank Street Grounds, which was closer to the city center and featured a scoreboard that showed the name of each batter and scores of other games received by telegraph. The team plummeted to last place, attendance dwindled

to little more than 500 per contest, and ownership shifted, seemingly with the wind. Thorner yielded control during the season to clothing manufacturer Nathan Menderson, and finally to John Kennett, an insurance salesman.

The 1880 season marked a change in baseball that would reverberate down through the years as a source of discord between owners and players. The NL implemented its first reserve clause, initially binding five players of the owner's choice to the club. Another development affected the Reds more than any other and led to the team's temporary demise as a league member. The NL, concerned with rowdyism and determined to foster a family atmosphere, forbade clubs from selling alcohol at games and from renting out their ballparks for Sunday activities, Sabbath games having been prohibited since the league's inception. The clamping down on alcohol especially affected the Reds, since breweries constituted one of the city's leading industries.

Furthermore, the prohibition constituted a cultural attack on Germans, the largest immigrant group in Cincinnati. Germans made up approximately 30 percent of the population by 1840, and by midcentury affected every aspect of city life. The largely German-owned breweries employed mainly fellow Germans, who expected to drink beer and profit from its sale at games. In addition, the club needed the revenue from beer sales as well as from Sunday park rentals to survive. Faced with overriding financial and cultural objections to the league ultimatum, the club refused to accept the new rules. As a result Cincinnati was expelled from the NL, and no doubt many locals drowned their sorrow in a glass of fine German beer.

THE BEER AND WHISKEY LEAGUE: CHANGE AND TRADITION (1882–89)

The Cincinnati Reds did not long remain out of the major leagues. Oliver Perry "O.P." Caylor, a *Cincinnati Commercial* journalist, helped lead the way in creating a new league for the 1882 season. The league focused on cities excluded from the NL and aimed especially at the working class. Known unofficially as "the Beer and Whiskey League," the American Association (AA) staked out a direction radically at odds with the NL. Games were permitted on Sundays, the only day many workers had off from their jobs. The sale of German beer and other spirits was permitted. Tickets were offered at half the going rate, just 25 cents. These policies fit well the new slate of owners, headed by the returning Justus Thorner, which included several brewers.

Membership in the new league also coincided with the spirit of Cincinnati, which featured a wide-open approach to recreation. During the AA days, saloons and brothels were widespread, and gamblers and "fancy women" enjoyed a brisk business. Crime and violence were epidemic, highlighted by nine murders in nine days during the summer of 1883 and by the Courthouse Riots of 1884 that followed when William Berner only got a 20-year sentence for

killing his boss. Vigilantes tried to lynch Berner, resulting in the burning of the courthouse and the deaths of approximately 56 people.

In this somewhat schizophrenic culture, torn between artistry and violence, the Reds thrived during the 1880s. Beer sales, low ticket prices, Sunday games, and clever marketing devices that included Ladies' Days and, in the late 1880s, discounted admission for young boys helped Reds management turn a profit.

A new park also helped maintain excitement. The Reds initially played in the Bank Street Grounds but moved in 1884 into American Park (also known as Cincinnati Ball Park) at the corner of Findlay Street and Western Avenue, a move necessitated when the Cincinnati entry in the short-lived Union League took over the Bank Street Grounds lease. American Park had a covered grandstand behind home plate with comfortable leather cushions on the seats and a bar underneath the stands for gentlemen. Covered seats along the third-base line faced open seats behind first base, although the first-base seats were also roofed over by 1888. An attempt to help fans (often referred to as "cranks") identify players by assigning a different uniform color to each position proved enormously confusing to fans and players, and was soon discarded.

Cincinnati drew an average of almost 2,000 fans per game during the team's years in the AA and surpassed that mark in 1885 and 1887. The AA as a whole generally drew well, and the Reds, despite their turnstile success, ranked only fourth in attendance. The league's popularity led to an expanded season of 140 games in 1886, 60 more than in 1882.

The expanded schedule required additional pitchers. Cincinnati, like other AA teams, was forced away from the earlier practice of relying on one pitcher to start most games. By 1884, overhand pitching, which put more stress on the pitching arm than underhand throwing, had become legal in the NL, and the AA followed one year later. It created a need for more starters. Some pitchers, including the Reds' longtime ace Will White, could not make the transition. White hurt his arm in 1885 and quickly faded from the scene. It took a while for the Reds to establish a regular rotation with starters equally sharing the work, but by 1888, Tony Mullane, Lee Viau, and Elmer Smith were starting 42, 42, and 40 games respectively. All three were effective pitchers and gave the Reds their first three 20-game winners (27 for Viau, 26 for Mullane, and 22 for Smith), unmatched until 1923.

The Reds won the first AA championship. Will White led the pitching staff in 1882, and rookie John "Bid" McPhee sparkled at second base, as he would for 18 seasons. A great defensive player, McPhee followed the tradition of using only bare hands to field until 1896, when he yielded to sore hands and started using gloves. McPhee, a future Hall of Famer, had his disagreements with management and was the first major-league holdout. The Reds dominated their rivals that first year, winning the championship by 11 1/2 games. They would not enjoy another championship until 1919.

Following the league's inaugural season, the Reds engaged the champion Chicago White Stockings of the NL in the first postseason championship se-

ries ever between two professional leagues. The two clubs played two games in Cincinnati on October 6 and 7, the Reds winning the first and the White Stockings, led by manager and first baseman Cap Anson, taking the second. AA rules forbade postseason games against NL teams, and pressure from the league forced cancellation of a third and deciding contest. Nonetheless, the two leagues did establish a postseason championship series in 1884 that continued through 1890.

The Reds remained among the better AA clubs throughout the decade, finishing second twice, although club ownership changed hands several times. O. P. Caylor was co-president with Justus Thorner from 1882 through 1883 and remained with the organization until 1886, the last two years as team manager.

Ownership reached its unstable nadir in 1884, as the club passed among three owners within the year. Thorner left the club in April to help establish the new Cincinnati club in the rival Union Association, an idealistic organization that rejected the reserve clause. Aaron Stern followed Thorner as principal owner of the Reds. A penny-pincher who had made his money as a clothing merchant, Stern cut the number of special police at weekday games from six to three and ordered the new-style self-registering turnstile turned off to hide the actual attendance figures so he could deprive other teams of their proper share of the take. However, Stern's tenure was brief, as he sold out in October to George Herancourt, who was the first local brewer in the 1870s to purchase the newly designed Arctic Ice Machine, a remarkable ice-making device that produced 10–50 tons of ice per day and eliminated the inconvenience and excessive cost of buying lake and river ice.

Herancourt in turn sold the franchise in the spring of 1886 to John Hauck, owner of the John Hauck Brewing Company, and after the season, Stern reacquired the club. He fired Caylor and replaced him with a skipper who appealed to the city's German heritage, the red-bearded Gus Schmelz.

The front-office turbulence was matched by the battle of the Cincinnati newspapers. The impetus for the journalistic battle was O. P. Caylor's close association with the Reds and the animosity that his former employer, the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, had for him because of his departure for the rival *Cincinnati Commercial*. The *Commercial* supported the Reds while the *Enquirer* took every opportunity to attack the hometown team. The conflict became even more pronounced in 1885 when Caylor assumed the managerial position. The *Enquirer* viciously attacked Caylor, questioning his character and even his manhood by depicting him in a cartoon wearing a dress and asserting that he had worn dresses until he was 12. The papers also lined up on opposite sides regarding the *Enquirer's* charges that pitcher Tony Mullane had deliberately lost two games in May 1886 to Philadelphia and Brooklyn. An AA investigation found Mullane innocent. That year Mullane won 34 games for the fifth-place Reds. The following year, when the Reds came in second (81–54), he went 31–17, Elmer Smith was 34–17, and the staff ERA was 3.58, best in the AA. The Reds would not finish so high again until 1919.

Opening Day of 1889 occurred amid park decorations and musical entertainment courtesy of the Cincinnati Orchestra. Celebrating the season's first game soon became a permanent Cincinnati tradition, complete with a parade and an address by the mayor. Another developing tradition was the custom of Cincinnati opening the season at home. This initially had more to do with climate than anything, since Cincinnati was farther south, and presumably warmer, than some of its competitors. The cranks at Opening Day—and all of the following contests—could while away slow time by examining their baseball cards. Old Judge Cigarettes and other tobacco companies began inserting baseball cards into packages of their products in the late 1880s.

The 1880s comprised one of the most successful decades in Cincinnati baseball history, but when it ended, so did the Reds' membership in the AA. The departure of the Reds was principally caused by weak league administration and the growing dissatisfaction of individual teams with league leadership. Cincinnati's final motivation to exit grew out of two disputed games between the Brooklyn Bridegrooms and the St. Louis Browns that were awarded to Brooklyn on forfeit. The AA board of directors split the difference, giving one of the games to St. Louis. The eight AA teams met to elect a new president to replace the much-disliked Wheeler Wikoff, but were deadlocked between two candidates. At this point Cincinnati and Brooklyn chose to leave the AA and join the NL. It was a homecoming for the Reds to the league that had expelled them a decade earlier.

BACK TO THE NATIONAL LEAGUE: OUT OF CHAOS, ORDER (1890–1901)

The Reds returned to the NL in 1890, the same year the Players' League was organized to enable players to share more equitably in the financial rewards of baseball. Stars such as Connie Mack and Charles Comiskey jumped to the new league, which promised a player-run organization that would undermine the reserve clause and boost player salaries.

The Reds finished in second place in the turbulent season, 10 1/2 games back, the closest they would get to a championship during the 1890s. After the season ended, Cincinnati owner Aaron Stern switched the club to the Players' League, and then sold the team as well as the lease to League Park (the new name of the ballpark, renamed in deference to their NL affiliation) to streetcar magnate Albert Johnson. Johnson signed the Cincinnati players and brought in King Kelly as player-manager.

Johnson's motivation in getting into baseball included a heavy dose of idealism. A partner in running Cleveland's streetcar lines with his brother, Tom L. Johnson, he was a strong opponent of the reserve clause and sincerely concerned with the employment rights of the players. Idealism ran in the family. His brother, a wealthy businessman, was transformed into a strong proponent of the commonweal by reading a book entitled *Social Problems*, by Henry George.

Tom consequently entered public service, four times being elected mayor of Cleveland, and worked hard to improve life for his constituents with new parks, bridges, hospitals, and swimming pools.

The Players' League folded, however, leaving Johnson without a league, a problem he quickly solved by returning the Reds to the AA. The NL retaliated by granting a Cincinnati franchise to John Brush, a clothing merchant from Indianapolis. Events continued along a bizarre path. Johnson sold the team and its assets to Brush. The Reds had careened through three leagues in one short off-season. The AA fielded a Cincinnati team in 1891 under King Kelly, but the team died in August. At the end of the season, the entire AA followed suit.

The 1890–91 ownership machinations provided the most exciting aspect of Reds baseball during the decade. The new owner provided stability, an entertaining product, and a new park facility for Cincinnati fans. The team generally played winning ball during the next 10 years. Among the most prominent Reds players of the decade were longtime second baseman Bid McPhee, pitchers Frank Dwyer and Billy Rhines, first baseman Jake Beckley, slugging outfielder James "Bug" Holiday, and base-stealing star William "Dummy" Hoy, the latter the first deaf-mute to play in the majors.

Charles Comiskey, recently returned from the Players' League, managed and played first base for the Reds from 1892 to 1894. His first two teams had winning records, finishing in the middle of the pack, but in 1894 came in 10th (55–75). More successful was Buck Ewing, a Cincinnati native and star catcher, who guided the Reds to five straight victorious seasons. The 1896 team came in third and drew 373,000, most in the NL, and a nineteenth-century record for the Queen City.

John Brush proved an effective owner, whose accomplishments including hiring an able business manager, Frank Bancroft. In 1891, the club enjoyed its first Opening Day festival complete with an impressive parade. Players portrayed a crisp, professional sartorial image with white uniforms that sported *Cincinnati* on the front of a shirt, the previous drawstring replaced by buttons. The cap took on a more rounded shape. The excitement reflected in the festivities resulted in expanded press coverage. The addition of Sunday games in 1892 further contributed to the game's excitement and to increased attendance.

The 1892 season demonstrated that baseball could call forth both the pathetic and the sublime. Saloon fights in May led to several Reds players being suspended. During the final game of the season, Charles Leander "Bumpus" Jones, a sometime minor leaguer born in Cedarville, Ohio, stopped by the Cincinnati clubhouse to ask Comiskey to let him pitch. The manager, perhaps on a whim, agreed, and Bumpus Jones tossed a no-hitter against Pittsburgh. Comiskey brought him back the following year, when the distance from pitcher to home plate was increased to 60 feet, 6 inches. Jones made only six appearances, winning just once.

The highlight of the 1894 season was the opening of the new League Park, built on the same site as the old field of the same name. It was an opulent park

for its time. Three turrets with flags flying above them adorned the roof of the new iron and wood grandstand. The lower level of the grandstand, known as “rooter’s row,” proved popular with often inebriated male fans, which led the following year to installing rows of barbed wire to keep them off the field. The better and more expensive seats were a level above. A row of “fashion,” or what would later be called “luxury,” boxes lined the top tier at the front railing. Tickets, depending on location, went for 25, 50, or 75 cents, with accommodations in the fashion boxes costing a dollar. Season tickets were available for 35 dollars.

Sheep, penned nearby, kept the grass down, and strategically placed barrels of water and buckets stood nearby to address the inevitable fires caused by carelessly dropped cigars and cigarettes. A number of fires did occur, the most serious one destroying the grandstand in the early morning of May 28, 1900. Brush wanted games resumed as soon as possible. He ordered the diamond shifted, which left the remnants of the grandstand in left field. Balls hit into the debris from the fire were declared in play, although retrieving them was often impossible.

With no time to grow grass, the infield remained all dirt, contributing to a neighborhood problem with dust from the nearby unpaved roads and soot and smoke from industrial pollution. With a temporary grandstand constructed, games at League Park resumed exactly one month from the date of the fire.

Other highlights during the 1890s included two exhibition games against the Page Fence Giants, an African American team, in 1895; the first major trade in Reds history (bringing in pitcher Philip “Red” Ehret and catcher Henry “Heinie” Peitz) in November 1895; a League Park tribute to the recently deceased Harry Wright in 1896; Elmer Smith’s 30-game hitting streak in 1898 (a team record broken by Pete Rose in 1978); and a celebration of Theodore Roosevelt’s successful dash up San Juan Hill with his Rough Riders by setting off firecrackers and firing pistols in the air at a July 4, 1898 doubleheader.

In 1901 the NL was challenged by the arrival of a rival, the American League. Once again players had an option to sign with a new team because the AL at first did not recognize the older league’s reserve clause. Cincinnati lost only outfielder Jimmy Barrett, who switched to the Detroit Tigers.

With old friend Bid McPhee now managing the Reds, the team stumbled home in last place in 1901, 38 games behind Pittsburgh. The star of the team was outfielder Jake Beckley, a future Hall of Famer, who played for the Reds from 1897 through 1903 and batted over .300 every year but one. Punctuating the terrible season was the assassination of President William McKinley, who was shot on September 6 and died eight days later. On September 19, the Reds postponed their game against the Pirates in deference to his funeral that day.

THE ERA OF GARRY HERRMANN (1902–27)

The long ownership tenure of August “Garry” Herrmann saw the Cincinnati Reds finally win a World Series, albeit one tainted by the Black Sox scandal.

The Herrmann years also witnessed massive changes to the Cincinnati ballpark, attendance records, radio broadcasting, and some of the greatest pitching staffs in NL history. In addition, the nature of the game itself changed dramatically as the home run, propelled by the arrival of Babe Ruth, replaced small ball. Batting averages and ERAs went up, complete games and stolen bases declined, and a new baseball figure, the commissioner, became the absolute ruler of baseball.

The 1902 season opened with John Brush still the owner. A new iron and concrete grandstand was built, known as the Palace of the Fans, while the rest of the park consisted of the old seats and bleachers. The Palace featured classical Greek and Roman architecture with hand-carved columns and a peaked cornice behind the grandstand with *Cincinnati* in large capital letters. The grandstand could accommodate three thousands “bugs,” as fans increasingly were called. Nineteen “fashion boxes” housed 15 or more fans each. Cheap lower seats constituted another “rooter’s row.” Home plate was shifted back to its earlier location, and the old temporary grandstand hurriedly constructed after the 1900 fire became the right-field stands. The new grandstand, abetted by beer selling for about eight cents per glass, attracted larger crowds in its second season, increasing from 3,104 per game to 4,627.

In 1906, additional seating was added by building an upper deck on the grandstand. The field’s spacious dimensions, reaching 450 feet to the right-field corner and 412 feet to the left-field corner, prevented home runs being hit over the fence. So many fans arrived by carriages and automobiles that by 1910 the parking area under the grandstand had become insufficient.

Brush did not stay long enough to enjoy his changes to League Park, selling out in August 1902 to a politically connected group that included Garry Herrmann, head of the Cincinnati Waterworks; Cincinnati mayor Julius Fleischmann, whose family owned the Fleischmann Yeast Company; and George Barnsdale Cox, the powerful Republican boss of Cincinnati politics from 1886 to 1915. Brush, who may well have been pressured by the Cincinnati political machine to sell, subsequently purchased the New York Giants.

Herrmann, one of Cox’s most able and trusted assistants, had proved adept with large budgets and at getting projects completed while serving on the board of administration and as head of the waterworks. While just a minority shareholder in the Reds, he was appointed president because of his administrative and financial skills as well as his reputation for integrity. One of his wisest moves was retaining Frank Bancroft as business manager, a position that included most of the duties of a modern general manager.

Herrmann quickly earned the respect of his fellow owners, aided by his long-time friendship with AL president Ban Johnson, formed when Johnson had worked as a Cincinnati sportswriter. Herrmann served from 1903 until 1920 as chairman of the National Commission, baseball’s ruling body, which consisted of the two league presidents and a third owner chosen by the presidents. The commission was established as part of the 1903 National Agreement between

the NL and the new AL. Herrmann's effectiveness in helping to bring about the National Agreement and establish peace between the leagues at a meeting in Cincinnati dubbed "the Cincinnati Peace Treaty" earned him the respect of most owners and made him an acceptable choice to chair the National Commission. The agreement prevented one league from raiding the other and kept player salaries down. The agreement also made possible the institution of a World Series between the two league champions.

On the field, the Reds were competitive during Herrmann's first few years, posting winning records from 1903, when the team finished third, to 1905. A social highlight of those years was the presence of Alice Roosevelt, daughter of Theodore Roosevelt, at a game in June 1905 accompanied by her future husband, Ohio congressman Nicholas Longworth.

The Reds then struggled mightily for a decade, posting only one winning season (77–76 in 1909) for the years 1906–16. Too little offense and, during the second decade, financial problems played significant roles in the team's lack of success. Even in hard times, though, Cincinnati featured some excellent players. Among the team's most prominent performers during the Herrmann era were outfielder James "Cy" Seymour, who batted .332 for the Reds (1902–6) with a league-leading .377 in 1905; outfielder Sam Crawford, who led the league with 22 triples in 1902 before going on to a Hall of Fame career with Detroit; outfielder like Donlon, signed away from Baltimore of the AL in 1902, who supplemented his baseball income by performing in vaudeville; and third baseman Henry "Heinie" Groh, a steady hitter and fine fielder with Cincinnati from 1913 to 1921.

During the long run of losing seasons, there were many memorable attempts at innovation. In 1908 Cincinnati businessmen supported the feasibility of playing under the lights. The Cahill brothers, who owned a floodlight-manufacturing plant, constructed three light towers at the park, but they failed to illuminate the field sufficiently, and the plans were put on hold. The following summer, the experiment went ahead, with two June games featuring amateur teams. But batters and fielders had trouble seeing the ball, and there were problems keeping all the lights operating simultaneously. Consequently the experiment was abandoned.

After the 1908 season, the Reds barnstormed in Cuba, the first major-league team to play there. The contests opened an important channel for baseball talent to flow into the United States. Two Almendares players, Armando Marsans and Rafael Almeida, joined the Reds in 1911 as the first Cuban major leaguers since 1882. Marsans was the more successful of the two, batting .317 and .297 in 1912 and 1913 before jumping to the Federal League during the 1914 season. Their success paved the way for others, including Dolf Luque. The Reds circumvented the ban on African Americans in organized baseball by claiming that both were entirely of European ancestry. Marsans was part black, but light-skinned enough to support Cincinnati's contention.

Clark Griffith was brought in to manage the Reds in 1909, but his three-year run as manager proved unsuccessful. After being let go, he purchased the

Washington Senators. In his final year as manager, the uniform was changed, as the word *Reds* inside the letter *C* appeared in 1911. The shirt collar disappeared in 1913, and pinstripes appeared in 1916.

As the 1911 season came to an end, Herrmann, dissatisfied with the capacity of his ballpark, commissioned Harry Hake to design a new grandstand. Like Herrmann, Hake was part of the Cox political machine and had designed many Cincinnati buildings, including the new county courthouse as well as the old grandstand.

The new \$225,000 Redlands Field was ready for Opening Day 1912. The grandstand consisted of two decks, with single-deck pavilions reaching to the outfield walls. The ballpark was decorated with a shamrock-shaped pitcher's box, crushed white rock for 10 feet in front of the outfield walls, and a scoreboard that registered balls, strikes, and outs, the first major-league scoreboard to do so. The park dimensions remained large: 393 feet to right field, 415 to center, and 348 to left. It would be almost a decade before anyone hit a ball over any of the fences.

The new facilities welcomed Cincinnati native son President William Howard Taft on May 4, 1912. President Taft, who in 1910 had begun the tradition of throwing out the first pitch of the baseball season, also became the first president to attend a game in Cincinnati, and the last until Richard Nixon was present at the 1970 All-Star Game. That year manager Hank O'Day was assisted by Henry "Heinie" Peitz, the first coach in Reds history.

The 1913 season started with a flood that covered Redland Field with 12 feet of water, delaying the home opener until April 12, two days after its scheduled date. Joe Tinker, the great Cubs shortstop, was player-manager and batted .317, a career high. But he jumped to the new Federal League the following year. Reds attendance went into free fall in 1914, sinking to about 100,000, caused by the poor quality of play that included a 19-game losing streak, equaling the current record for futility. The team came in eighth, winning only 60 games, 4 less than the year before, when the Reds were seventh.

The Reds in 1914 had an agreement with Baltimore of the International League to claim two players, but did not pick their young pitching phenom, Babe Ruth. This ranked with the club's earlier decision in December 1900 to trade a youthful Christy Mathewson, whom they had drafted from the New York Giants but who had not pitched for Cincinnati, back to New York for old-time star pitcher Amos Rusie. The sore-armed Rusie would make all of three appearances with the Reds.

In 1916 the Reds took advantage of the collapse of the Federal League to start rebuilding, landing three starters from that league. The biggest addition was Hal Chase, a magnificent first baseman who led the NL in batting (.339) and hits (182) and was second in slugging (.459) and RBIs (84). The Reds also made a major trade with the Giants on July 20, trading catcher-manager Buck Herzog and outfielder Wade Killefer for outfielder Edd Roush, who would spend much of his Hall of Fame career with the Reds (1916–26);

Bill McKechnie, a future Reds manager; and star hurler Christy Mathewson, who became the new manager. Mathewson was at the end of his playing career and made only one appearance for the Reds, his final game as a player, for the 373rd victory of his storied career. Despite these changes, the Reds ended up in the cellar again (60–93).

In 1917, the Reds edged slightly above .500, finishing with a 78–76 record. One of Mathewson's outfielders for part of the season was Jim Thorpe, a Native American of Sauk and Fox ancestry and the Olympic gold medalist in the pentathlon and decathlon at the 1912 Olympics. Thorpe was a star at virtually every sport that he tried—except, unfortunately, baseball. He batted just .247 in 77 games for Cincinnati, five points below his career average.

Mathewson's attempt to resurrect the Reds was hindered by Hal Chase and World War I. Chase was reputedly as adept at throwing games as playing brilliantly. He and second baseman Lee Magee planned to fix the July 25, 1918, game against Boston. Conflicts with owner Herrmann over salary may have been a factor. Magee tried hard to lose, making two errors, but Chase seemingly failed to carry out his part of the bargain, and the Reds triumphed. Chase was suspended by the Reds on August 9, but returned to the majors for one more year with the Giants. Magee's role did not surface until after the 1919 season, when he was playing for the Cubs. Mathewson's testimony in conjunction with a lawsuit that Magee filed against baseball helped ensure that Magee never again played major-league baseball.

That dishonest play had occurred on the watch of the man known as “the Christian gentleman” for his consistently upright behavior was a bitter pill for Mathewson to swallow. It must have been with some relief that he accepted a commission as a captain in the chemical-welfare branch of the army and departed for war shortly after Chase's suspension, leaving Heinie Groh to fill in as manager in the war-shortened season that concluded on September 2.

Expecting the war to continue through the 1919 season and recognizing the difficulty of staffing teams and drawing fans, MLB planned an abbreviated 140-game season for 1919. When the war ended on November 11, 1918, it was deemed too late to change the schedule back to 154 games. The Reds, under new manager Pat Moran, reaped the fruit of Mathewson's rebuilding efforts and won the NL pennant, their first championship since the AA title of 1882.

The 1919 squad won 96 games and lost just 44. Roush hit .321 to lead the NL and drove in a team-leading 71 runs. The defense was outstanding. The team had the best defense and gave up the least number of runs in the NL with a 2.23 ERA. Six pitchers won in double figures, led by Slim Sallee at 21–7.

The end of the war and the improved play on the field led to attendance at home games more than triple the daily average of the previous year, 7,607, for a total of 532,501. The increase was a huge boost for the Reds, especially since in January Herrmann was unable to meet payments and faced possible foreclosure. He dissolved the organization, established a new entity, and asked shareholders, who had lost their investment during the dissolution, to purchase

shares in the new organization. Louis Widrig, one of the stockholders, came to the rescue, buying hundreds of shares. He later became team treasurer.

The main events of the 1919 World Series are well known. The heavily favored Chicago White Sox lost to the Reds five games to three in a series that had been extended from best of seven to best of nine to help compensate for the attendance lost due to the abbreviated season. The series opened in Cincinnati, where the Reds had added about 9,000 temporary seats. Tickets sold for between two and six dollars.

The Reds surprised most observers by winning the first game handily, 9–1. Dutch Ruether pitched a six-hitter while also collecting three hits, including two triples. Sox ace Eddie Cicotte hit the first batter, Morrie Rath, which signaled that the fix was on. Game two also went to the Reds as Slim Sallee bested Lefty Williams, a control artist turned wild.

Chicago won the third game at Comiskey Park, behind a young hurler named Dickie Kerr, who was not in on the fix. The Reds, however, captured the fourth game as Cicotte again lost, this time to the Reds' Jimmy Ring. They added a fourth victory in game five, with Hod Eller pitching a three-hit shutout and Lefty Williams again losing.

Down four games to one, and just one loss away from dropping the series, the White Sox, with Kerr starting, beat the Reds 5–4 at Redland Field before over 32,000 spectators. Failure to deliver all of the promised money convinced some of the White Sox, including Cicotte and Williams, to try to salvage the series, and Cicotte pitched his team to a 4–1 triumph the following day. However, back in Chicago, when Lefty Williams was threatened prior to his next start, he changed his mind again and deliberately pitched badly, the Reds winning 10–5.

Members of the winning Reds received \$5,207 apiece, with the losers each taking home \$3,254. These figures were huge considering the level of salaries at the time; the great Shoeless Joe Jackson, for example, earned just \$6,000. The series share for some players was more than their entire salary.

Christy Mathewson, home from the war with his lungs ruined by mustard gas, covered the series for the *New York World*. He sat in the press box with Chicago sportswriter Hugh Fullerton, and circled on his scorecard every play that he thought was deliberately bungled.

As the Roaring Twenties opened, the Reds set out to defend their championship. For a time, it appeared that they might well do that, spending about half of the season in first place. However, they had dropped back to third by the end. The case of former teammate Lee Magee went against him in June, ending his hopes of reinstatement. Testimony at the trial made it clear that betting on games had been commonplace among Reds players, hardly news to Cincinnati officials.

Before the season was over, a grand jury in Chicago indicted eight White Sox players for fixing the 1919 World Series. The players were found not guilty, but that did not hide the fact that Cincinnati's victory was, and would always be, tainted. No one would ever know whether the Reds would have won if the White Sox had really tried.

In an attempt to swing the pitcher-hitter pendulum toward hitters, MLB prior to the 1920 season had outlawed adding foreign substances to the ball and mandated having a clean ball in play at all times. While spitball pitchers were grandfathered in, the new rules badly hurt Slim Sallee and Hod Eller, who doctored their pitches with paraffin or whatever was available, or defaced the ball with a fingernail file or small emery board. Sallee went from 21 wins to 6 and Eller from 19 to 13, and the following year to 2.

As baseball entered the home-run era, the Reds, with their vast outfield spaces, were unable to capitalize on the change. The first home run over Cincinnati's left-field wall (the shortest distance in the park) was hit in an exhibition game by Negro Leaguer John Beckwith in May 1921. Then, in a July 25 exhibition game between the Reds and Yankees, Babe Ruth himself cleared the center- and right-field fences. Not until 1929 would a home run in a regular-season game clear center field. Nonetheless, the Reds continued to play winning, although not championship, ball. While attendance shot up throughout the major leagues, as fans fell in love with the home run, Cincinnati benefited less than did most teams. The Reds averaged over 6,000 per game in the 1920s, but ranked only sixth in NL attendance.

The Reds, especially during the final decade of Herrmann's rule, boasted a long run of outstanding pitchers. Cincinnati consistently had one of the best NL staffs during the 1920s, leading the league in ERA from 1923 through 1925 and featuring such stars as Eppa Rixey and Dolf Luque. Rixey won more games, 179 from 1921 to 1933, than any pitcher in modern Reds history. For his career, Rixey won 266 games, and made the Hall of Fame in 1963. Luque, Cuban born, pitched for the Reds from 1918 until 1929, winning 27 games in 1923.

On January 21, 1921, Kenesaw Mountain Landis became baseball's first commissioner. The new office replaced the National Commission, eliminating Herrmann's position as commission chairman, which he had held since 1903. About two months later, the Reds lost one of their organization's most important members when business manager Frank Bancroft died on March 30, 1921, 28 years after assuming that position.

In the early 1920s, salaries were a big problem for club officials. Three players—outfielder Edd Roush, third baseman Heinie Groh, and pitcher Ray Fisher—held out in 1921. The first two eventually returned, but Fisher left to become a long-running and highly successful baseball coach at the University of Michigan. In 1924, Roush, who was always difficult to sign, received Cincinnati's first-ever multiyear contract at three years for \$19,000 annually. A Hall of Famer, he played most of his 18 years with the Reds and had a lifetime .323 batting average.

Shortly before the start of the 1924 season, on March 7, manager Pat Moran suddenly died of Bright's disease. Moran's five-year record was an impressive 425–329, including the 1919 World Series championship. Herrmann turned to veteran minor-league manager Jack Hendricks, who led the Reds for the rest of the decade.

Opening Day of 1924, which drew an all-time Reds record attendance of close to 36,000, was the first Reds contest broadcast over radio. The game with the Pirates was carried by WLW and WSAI in Cincinnati and KDKA in Pittsburgh. Thereafter the Reds regularly broadcast Opening Day. However, baseball was slow to embrace the radio for fear that broadcasts would hurt attendance. Organized baseball also felt that the proper way to appreciate a baseball game was in person.

Another tragedy hit the Reds in a game against St. Louis on May 28, 1924, when first baseman Jake Daubert, the popular captain, was beamed by pitcher Allen Sothoron. Daubert was hospitalized, but no serious injury was discovered. However, Daubert suffered from insomnia and weakness for the rest of the season and went home to rest late in the campaign. He returned, hoping to play in the final games of the season, but felt worse and was hospitalized on October 2 for surgery. The doctors misdiagnosed his ailment as appendicitis or gallstones. Daubert died on October 9, presumably because of the beaming. Years later, his son developed similar symptoms, leading to the conclusion that the illness involved the spleen and was hereditary.

In April 1925, Herrmann helped arrange for 25 barrels of beer to be delivered to a St. Louis hotel for a group of Cincinnati boosters and was arrested by Prohibition agents. A large fine ensued. Later that year, Herrmann presented a plan to construct a new Reds stadium north of Redland Field to accommodate more fans and more automobiles. Herrmann envisaged the new park as the site of not only Reds games, but also other sporting contests. In a harbinger of future conflicts between owners and city officials over ballpark construction, the city rejected Herrmann's plans. Cincinnati's Park Board wanted to construct a municipal athletic field on the site Herrmann had picked. When negotiations went nowhere, and having set a new season attendance record of almost 673,000 in 1926, Herrmann added 5,000 additional seats to Redland Field for the 1927 season. However, the team sank to fifth place, and attendance dropped as well.

On October 25, 1927, Herrmann resigned as president, citing increasing deafness and other health problems. By then, his major original partners had died, Cox in 1916 and Fleischmann in 1925. Attorney Campbell Johnson McDiarmid, club secretary and a team shareholder, purchased a majority holding in the Reds and became club president. The Reds lost close to \$8,000 in Herrmann's final year as president, but had enjoyed a profit of \$136,500 the year before. The Reds, from 1920 through 1927, earned an average annual profit of nearly \$74,000. That happy financial picture would quickly change for the new owner.

THE CROSLY ERA: NIGHT BASEBALL AND BROADCASTING COME TO CINCINNATI (1928–60)

The late 1920s and early 1930s were an interregnum between two lengthy periods of ownership. As the Reds struggled through seventh-place finishes in 1929 and 1930 and dropped into the basement every year from 1931 through

1934, ownership passed quickly through several hands. Shareholders were unhappy with the Reds losing money, as the team consistently brought up the rear in the NL and was saddled with substantial debt after purchasing Redland Field. A major disagreement developed late in the 1929 season over whether to retain manager Jack Hendricks. The turmoil offered Sidney Weil an opportunity to purchase the club. Weil, a successful stock investor who had inherited wealth from his father, who was in the car business, was an ardent Reds fan. But the Reds were a questionable investment, having lost money three straight years, including \$203,091 in 1929, the only team in the NL to finish in the red that season.

On October 30, 1929, Sidney Weil became president of the Reds, and within a week installed the ballpark's first public-address system. But when the stock market crashed, Weil had lost most of his fortune. By 1933, the principal owner and his ball club were both bankrupt.

Despite the Reds' financial problems, Weil sought to improve the fans' baseball experience. Parking was an ongoing problem, so the Reds offered free parking for 400 automobiles. Management continued to tinker with uniforms, dropping the pinstripes in 1930. Later in the decade, the Reds briefly tried red trousers, and in 1939 went to blue caps, blue sleeves, and blue and red socks with the white home uniforms and gray road attire. Weil also demonstrated at least an occasional eye for talent, trading for catcher Ernie Lombardi and pitcher Paul Derringer, both of whom would be instrumental in the Reds' resurgence.

Weil's greatest innovation involved radio broadcasting. While home openers had been broadcast since 1924, other home games were unavailable to radio listeners until 1929, when WLW, with Bob Burdette at the microphone, broadcast 40 contests. In 1931, Harry Hartman of WFBE persuaded Weil to allow broadcasts of all home games except weekend contests. In the early years of radio broadcasting, Cincinnati, like other teams, charged stations no broadcasting fees. Hartman, the PA announcer, popularized several memorable expressions, most notably "Going, going, gone" for home runs.

For many years, multiple stations carried Reds games, with exclusive broadcasting rights not granted until 1945. Finally, in 1949, all home games were available on radio, and road games were carried live beginning in 1956. Hartman was enormously popular with local listeners, but he was only one of many broadcasters who gave Cincinnati one of the most illustrious radio-broadcasting histories of major-league teams. Red Barber (1934–38), Waite Hoyt (1942–65), Marty Brennaman (1974–1994), and Joe Nuxhall (1967–present) are among those who have occupied the broadcasting booth over the years. Barber and Brennaman both were selected for the broadcasters' wing of the Baseball Hall of Fame, while Hoyt made it into the Hall as a pitcher, his experience as a teammate of Babe Ruth's providing many entertaining stories.

Sidney Weil resigned as president in November 1933, his stock going to the Central Trust Company as collateral for loans he was unable to repay. The

bank assumed control of the Cincinnati Reds and hired Larry MacPhail, son of a wealthy banker and a former World War I artillery captain and attorney, to run the club. His baseball experience included running Columbus in the AA, which he saved by introducing night games. Central Trust, which had no desire to retain the team, directed MacPhail to find a local owner.

MacPhail hired Frank Lane to develop a minor-league system and recruited Powel Crosley in February 1934 to buy the team. The Reds had lost \$482,498 since 1930 and led MLB in the size of deficits for the last three years. Crosley was a wise choice, a creative businessman with experience in the young communications-technology industry and a range of other business enterprises. He helped create the radio industry by manufacturing radios and opening radio station WLW in Cincinnati, which beamed out the most powerful radio signal in the world. Crosley was also involved in other home-appliance products. Crosley sold the first refrigerators that included shelves on the inside of their doors. In addition, he manufactured a small fuel-efficient automobile, the Crosley.

Crosley wasted no time in making changes with the Reds. He made MacPhail vice president and the Reds' first general manager. The owner renamed Redland Field as Crosley Field and hired Red Barber to broadcast Reds games on WSAI (along with WLW, a Crosley-owned radio station). Several ballpark renovations were initiated, starting with the removal of a tier of advertisements atop the left-field wall and the addition of two large Crosley radios on each side of the scoreboard, with the dials set at Crosley's own WLW. Other changes included shortening the outfield dimensions in 1938 (from 339 feet to 328 in left field, 377 to 366 in right, and 395 to 387 at the deepest point in center) and adding 3,100 seats by constructing a second level to the pavilions down the right- and left-field lines in 1939. The new level had a steel floor, which added a pronounced auditory effect to stamping feet when Reds fans cheered their hometown favorites. Right field was further shortened in 1946 by another 20 feet when seating was added in front of the bleachers, creating an area known as "Goat Run."

The shortened distances greatly increased home-run production, much to the fans' enjoyment. In 1938, the Reds hit 50 homers in Crosley Field, compared to 13 the year before, and overall hit over 100 homers for the first time in the team's history. The new emphasis on the long ball culminated in 1956 in a record-tying 221 home runs.

Another Crosley innovation was transporting his team by airplane. On June 8, 1934, the Reds flew from Cincinnati to Chicago on two American Airlines planes, the first time a major-league team flew. This was a one-time stunt during a heat wave by an owner who had great interest in aviation and flew his own plane.

The most important innovation during the Crosley years was the introduction of night baseball in 1935. Attendance had barely exceeded 200,000 each of the previous two years as fans tired of watching the Reds repeatedly come in last. Something was needed to entice viewers. MacPhail knew how successful

night games had been in saving his earlier Columbus club. At the urgent request of the Reds, the NL, trying to save the clearly faltering club, agreed to permit seven night games at Crosley Field for 1935. On May 24, with an impressive array of special guests (including NL president Ford Frick, AL president Will Harridge, and George Cahill), and after much pregame entertainment (including a band concert and fireworks), President Franklin D. Roosevelt pressed a button at the White House and Crosley Field glowed. The fans roared with the thrill of it, and the team gave them a victory, 2–1, behind Paul Derringer.

The lighting system cost \$50,000 to construct and \$250 per night to operate. However, the lights paid for themselves after the seven night games. The Reds drew approximately 130,000 to those seven games, while attendance for the 69 home day games was about 324,000. The Reds more than doubled home attendance from the previous season, but there were still many skeptics. Players worried about hurting their arms in the cool night air and being unable to see the ball. Many owners and the *Sporting News* raised high the banner of traditionalism. Yet the NL agreed to continue the Cincinnati experiment the following year, and the genie was out of the bottle. By 1940, eight major-league teams had installed lights.

Larry MacPhail resigned in September 1936, surfacing the next year as general manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers, where in 1938 he made the Dodgers the second major-league team to begin night baseball. Warren Giles, formerly president of the International League, replaced him with the Reds. The city's worst flood ever deposited 21 feet of water on home plate in January 1937, and the team continued to flood the loss column with a dismal 56–98 record under Chuck Dressen, fired after managing for three years.

A turning point for the on-field fortunes of the Reds came in 1938 with the appointment as manager of former Reds player Bill McKechnie. The Reds, now a power-hitting team in their own park as well as on the road, rose to fourth place (82–68) for the new skipper, who previously had won pennants with the Pirates and Cardinals. The team won 26 more games than the year before, with the most productive offense in the league.

The 1938 season featured a number of highlights. Cincinnati left-hander Johnny Vander Meer became the first and only major-league pitcher to throw two consecutive no-hitters, one on June 11 and the second four days later during the first night game ever played at Ebbets Field. Crosley Field played host to the All-Star Game, which included three shutout innings by Vander Meer, a sparkling catch of a Lou Gehrig drive by Cincinnati outfielder Ival Goodman, and an RBI by Reds catcher Ernie Lombardi. Lombardi became the first Reds player ever to win the NL MVP Award, as he compiled a league-leading .342 batting average. Paul Derringer went 21–7 with a 2.93 ERA.

On August 26, 1939, the Reds-Dodgers doubleheader in Brooklyn was telecast on W2XBS, an NBC experimental station. But it was not until September 21, 1947, that the first Reds games were telecast in Cincinnati, a doubleheader with Pittsburgh viewed on the city's 250 television sets. The approach in 1947

was primitive, with only two cameras, one behind home plate and the other behind first base. Opening Day and a selection of home games were televised in 1948, and all home games the following year, with the number of televised contests reduced over the next few decades to boost ballpark attendance. Waite Hoyt did double duty on radio and television from 1948 to 1955.

Reds executives worried that televised games might hurt attendance but also saw more quickly than with radio the medium's financial opportunities. Local television contracts generated revenue for the club, and the television station profited by selling advertisements. By 1953, 15 clubs, including Cincinnati, had television contracts, which brought in an average of \$200,000 per team.

The Reds surprised the baseball world in 1939 by capturing their first pennant since 1919 with a record of 97–57. The team paced the NL in pitching, led by MVP Bucky Walters, who led the league in wins (27), ERA (2.19), strikeouts (137), and innings pitched (319). First baseman Frank McCormick paced the team in batting at .332 and RBIs with 128. Catcher Ernie Lombardi led in home runs with 20. Attendance increased by about 300,000 to approximately 980,000. The Reds earned \$335,210 that year, nearly equaling Crosley's profits over the four previous years.

The New York Yankees, winners of 106 games during the season, proved too strong for Reds, and swept the World Series in four games. The major difference was in power, with New York clubbing seven home runs against none for Cincinnati.

The World Series demonstrated the continuing advancement of communications technology, as the games were broadcast nationally with Red Barber and Bob Elson describing the contests to the whole country. The Gillette Safety Razor company sponsored the series, beginning its long-running association with the Fall Classic.

Cincinnati fans liked their pennant winners, but not the idea of a new publicly funded 60,000-seat stadium covered with a glass roof and built atop a garage that would hold 15,000 cars. The proposed stadium was intended to accommodate other sports events and conventions. The \$6 million bond issue was defeated by a margin of almost two to one, but the project proved prescient for two reasons: the forward-looking design concept and the battle over public financing of ballparks.

The 1940 season ended in joy for the Queen City. Cincinnati rolled to the pennant, winning 100 games and outdistancing Brooklyn by 12 games. For the third straight season, a Cincinnati player captured the MVP Award: first baseman Frank McCormick, who batted .309, drove in 127 runs, and led the league in both hits (191) and doubles (44). The team again had outstanding pitching, led by Derringer and Walters, who combined for 42 wins, and a league-leading team ERA of 3.05. The Reds went on to defeat the Tigers in the World Series in seven games, winning the finale at home by a score of 2–1. Bucky Walters and Paul Derringer led the Reds in the series

with two wins each. Lombardi was injured, so the Reds relied on 40-year-old coach Jimmie Wilson, activated in August, to handle the catching, which he did while hitting .353.

The championship season, though, was not without tragedy. Catcher Willard Hershberger, suffering from depression and the increased pressure of filling in for Lombardi, committed suicide by cutting his throat with a razor in a Boston hotel room.

The Reds dropped to third place in 1941. Once the United States entered World War II, its effect on Cincinnati baseball was immense. Nineteen-year-old Ewell Blackwell pitched his first two games for the Reds, and soon was off to war, earning two battle stars with General George Patton's Third Army. A long line of other Cincinnati players followed Ewell into service over the next few years, including outfielder Mike McCormick, catcher Ray Lamanno, catcher Ray Mueller, pitcher Joe Beggs, pitcher Harry Gumbert, second baseman Lonny Frey, outfielder Eddie Lukon, and no-hit specialist Johnny Vander Meer. Fifty-year-old coach Hank Gowdy, a veteran of World War I combat in France, enlisted for a second tour of duty and was stationed at Fort Benning, Georgia.

Cincinnati's attendance, which was at the lower end of the NL, fell during the war years to approximately half of its 1940 level of about 850,000, finally bottoming out in 1945 at just over 290,000. Nonetheless, the team operated in the black during the war, earning about \$141,831, half of what the Reds earned in the championship 1940 season alone. Transportation was part of the problem, with tire and gasoline rationing and restrictions on train travel. Travel restrictions prevented teams from going south for spring training, and the Reds trained at Indiana University in Bloomington.

Large numbers of workers put in longer hours at defense-related plants, making their attendance at games difficult if not impossible. The team responded by scheduling games at different times, such as in the morning to benefit second-shift factory workers.

Attendance was also hindered by the use of less talented and less renowned replacement players. One wartime player who later made good was Joe Nuxhall, who became the youngest player in the modern history of MLB when he pitched in a game on June 10 at the age of 15, about two months shy of his 16th birthday. Nuxhall later served his apprenticeship in the minors and returned to be an important member of the club's starting rotation during the 1950s and, in a second go-around with the team, in the 1960s.

The Reds did not fare well after the war, typically ending in sixth or seventh, and failed to make it out of the second division until 1956, their first winning season in 12 years. McKechnie resigned as manager in September 1946 and was replaced by coach Hank Gowdy for the rest of the season and Johnny Neun for the following season. In 1947, Ewell Blackwell won 16 games in a row, including a no-hitter, for the fifth-place Reds. He was an All-Star six straight years (1946–51). Attendance picked up after the war, but the team was last or next to last in attendance from 1945 through 1955.

Jackie Robinson made his Cincinnati debut on May 13, 1947, with Robinson supporters present. Unlike in some other cities, he stayed with the team in Cincinnati at the Netherlands Plaza Hotel, although he was not allowed into the dining room or swimming pool. Robinson drew a lot of fans into Crosley Field, but he also faced racial insults and even death threats in the Queen City. On May 20, 1951, the FBI informed Robinson that the Reds, the police, and the *Enquirer* had each received a letter threatening that Robinson would be shot while he played. Robinson played anyway and hit a home run in the seventh inning of the first game in a doubleheader sweep by the Dodgers. The spectators were aware of the letter and greeted Robinson's home run with thunderous applause.

The Korean War (1950–53) and the Red Scare had a direct impact on the team's moniker. Gabe Paul, who had become general manager when Warren Giles was named president of the NL in 1951, changed the team's nickname from Reds to Redlegs in 1953. The new name may have pleased Senator Joseph McCarthy, who was zealously tracking down alleged communists and their sympathizers, but it did not please the fans, who generally stayed with the old name. By the end of the decade, the term "Redlegs" had largely disappeared.

The club tried to improve itself by hiring Rogers Hornsby, one of the greatest hitters of all time, as manager during the 1952 season. However, the team continued to lose, and the players were in near revolt against their manager's authoritarian manner. Hornsby was let go late in the 1953 season. The new manager was Birdie Tebbets, the recently retired long-term catcher of the Tigers and Red Sox.

That year the Reds brought in their first African American player, 30-year-old third baseman and outfielder Chuck Harmon. The team made it up to fifth place, led by slugging first baseman Ted Kluszewski, whose 49 homers and 141 RBIs led the NL. He hit 47 the following year, another fifth-place finish. In 1956, the Reds led the league at the All-Star break and finished third, only two games back of the champion Dodgers. Kluszewski dipped a bit, to 35 home runs, but others more than made up the difference. Outfielder Wally Post hit 36, outfielder Gus Bell 29, catcher Ed Bailey 28, and rookie outfielder Frank Robinson, Cincinnati's first African American regular, a team-leading 38, tying the league record for most home runs by a rookie. As important to the team's success, though, was the strong defense by the middle infielders, second baseman Johnny Temple and shortstop Roy McMillan.

The fans loved the power onslaught and came in droves as Cincinnati for the first time ever surpassed 1 million in attendance, repeating the accomplishment the next year. Fans also liked the new sleeveless uniforms, which allowed spectators to get a good look at Ted Kluszewski's considerable muscles. Adding players' names to the front of their uniforms at the same time made it easier to identify players not as distinctive in appearance as Big Klu.

The fans were so taken with their bombers that they flocked to cast All-Star ballots, abetted by radio station WSAI and the local press, which heavily pro-

moted voting for the hometown favorites. The result was election of five Reds starters: Bailey, Temple, McMillan, Robinson and Bell. Nuxhall and Kluszewski were also added to the team. The heavy voting for Reds players upset fans from other cities but produced on-field results, as Kluszewski, Temple, and McMillan each had two hits in a 7–3 NL victory.

Having found that ballot-box stuffing worked, Reds fans repeated the process the following year, only more so. By late June, eight Reds were leading the All-Star voting at their positions: Bailey, first baseman George Crowe (substituting for the injured Kluszewski), Temple, McMillan, third baseman Don Hoak, Bell, Robinson, and Post. Commissioner Ford Frick took action, replacing Bell, Post, and Crowe with Hank Aaron, Willie Mays, and Stan Musial (although Musial ended up passing Crowe in voting anyway). Still, as in 1956, five Reds started, and manager Walter Alston added Bell to the team as a backup. The major effect of Cincinnatians' overly zealous voting was a complete overhaul of the voting process. Commissioner Frick turned selection of All-Star starters entirely over to players, managers, and coaches. Only in 1970 was the All-Star franchise finally returned to the fans.

A number of improvements were made to Crosley Field in the mid-1950s, including air conditioning in the dugouts and the press box in 1956 and a new scoreboard in 1957, the first to display hitters' batting averages. However, the long-term future of the field was increasingly in doubt. Crosley Field was in a bind, caught between inadequate parking, worsened by the larger cars of the 1950s, and nearby residences, factories, and railroad yards that prevented stadium expansion. Getting a new stadium, though, would not be easy. In August 1956, the Hamilton Country Board of Commissioners turned down a proposed purchase of 90 acres from Girls' Town for a new stadium. The following year was rife with rumors of the Reds' departure from Cincinnati for New York once the Dodgers and Giants had been given permission by MLB owners to move to California. Crosley repeatedly denied that the team was thinking of relocating. In January 1958, city officials, perhaps pressured by the rumors, approved 2,600 additional parking spaces at the stadium, although many of the spaces were eliminated when I-75 opened in 1963.

The Reds dipped to fourth in the league in 1957 and 1958, and Tebbetts resigned on August 14, 1958. Coach Jimmie Dykes completed the season, and Mayo Smith was brought in for 1959, but lasted only half the season. Fred Hutchinson replaced Smith, his 39–35 record for the second half more indicative of his future success with the Reds than his sixth-place finish the next year.

In 1959 Cincinnati played the Dodgers in a spring exhibition game in Havana, Cuba, a few months after Fidel Castro's successful revolution brought him to power. This was the last major-league appearance in Cuba until the spring of 1999, when Baltimore played the Cuban national team. The Havana Sugar Kings of the International League ended a five-year run as Cincinnati's Triple-A team in 1960, the victim of the U.S. boycott of communist Cuba.

Also in 1959, the Reds added 738 box seats down the foul lines and, to the delight of fans, a process for cooling spectators by placing jet air fans in the grandstand. Color telecasts were also introduced, just one year after color TV went on the market. Twelve home games appeared in living color on the Crosley Broadcasting Company network.

The early 1960s brought major front-office change to the club. General manager Gabe Paul resigned in October 1960 to join the new Houston franchise. Bill DeWitt became Cincinnati's new vice president and general manager, having resigned two weeks earlier as president of the Detroit Tigers.

A PENNANT, THE DEATH OF A MANAGER, AND THE ORIGINS OF THE BIG RED MACHINE (1961–69)

In a sad twist, the Cincinnati Reds returned to the World Series for the first time in 21 years a few months after the death of longtime owner Powel Crosley on March 28, 1961. Ownership shifted to a family nonprofit foundation. In March of the following year general manager Bill DeWitt, flush with optimism after winning the pennant, headed a corporation that bought the Reds for \$4,625,000. DeWitt had started from the bottom years before selling soda at Sportsman's Park in St. Louis and worked his way up the baseball ladder. DeWitt did not capture another championship during his short reign as owner, but helped lay the foundation for the great Reds teams of the 1970s.

The 1961 pennant was a stunning surprise known widely as "the Miracle on Western Avenue." A 20–6 May record propelled the team into a first-place tie with the Giants. The team overcame a July slump to establish a lead in the middle of August that it never lost, finishing four games ahead of second-place Los Angeles. Frank Robinson captured the NL MVP Award after hitting 37 home runs and driving in 124 runs, outfielder Vada Pinson batted .343 with 208 hits, and Jerry Lynch, in an era of growing specialization, served as pinch hitter par excellence, with five pinch home runs during the season. Joey Jay, Jim O'Toole, and Bob Purkey gave the team a strong starting staff. DeWitt was named Executive of the Year by the *Sporting News*, and manager Fred Hutchinson provided hard-nosed leadership. Whether the Reds were in better shape than their opponents is impossible to prove, but conditioning coach Otis Douglas was the first in major-league history.

Over a million fans came out to see the Reds, and they had high hopes for the World Series, paying \$10 for box seats, \$7 for the grandstand, and \$2–\$4 for the privilege to standing or sitting in the bleachers. However, the Reds ran into one of baseball's all-time great teams, the 1961 New York Yankees of Mantle and Maris, winners of 109 games.

The Yankees made short work of Cincinnati, splitting the first two games in Yankee Stadium and sweeping the next three at Crosley Field. Cincinnati futility reached bottom when Whitey Ford was on the mound. The Yankees ace won twice, pitching 14 scoreless innings.

Although the Reds would not win another championship during the 1960s, DeWitt built the base for future championships by establishing strong scouting and farm systems. The Reds came close to repeating in 1962, finishing third, only three and a half games behind the Giants. A fifth-place finish the next year was followed by a down-to-the-wire race in 1964, the Reds coming in just one game behind the Cardinals. The club's on-field successes might have been even greater had cancer not cut short Fred Hutchinson's career at the age of 45. In October 1964 he resigned as manager, yielding the position to coach Dick Sisler, and on November 12 he passed away.

During the post-pennant years, the Reds featured a variety of on-field accomplishments. In 1962, Bob Purkey and Joey Jay became the first pair of Reds hurlers to win 20 or more games since 1940. Fireballer Jim Maloney won 23 games in 1963 and threw two extra-inning no-hitters in 1965, losing the first in 11 innings but winning the second in 10. Pete Rose became the team's second baseman in 1963, capturing the Rookie of the Year Award. However, Frank Robinson was traded to the Baltimore Orioles after the 1965 season, undoubtedly DeWitt's worst blunder, and one of the worst trades in the team's history. Robinson immediately won the Triple Crown and led the Orioles to a World Series triumph over the Los Angeles Dodgers.

Reflecting the city's long love affair with music, the Reds celebrated rock 'n' roll at Teen Night on June 8, 1962. Almost 3,700 teenagers availed themselves of the one-dollar-per-ticket promotion, listening to six rock 'n' roll bands before the game. A different musical clientele showed up on August 16 for Trumpet Night, needing only to bring a trumpet to get in free.

Probably DeWitt's most frustrating challenge was to settle on an acceptable plan for a new baseball stadium. DeWitt continued improvements to Crosley Field, adding additional parking lots for the 1961 season and constructing a 40-foot screen on top of the left-field wall to prevent balls from damaging cars in the newly finished lot. In 1965, DeWitt added the first glass backstop in baseball as well as 1,600 additional box seats.

Debate over the location of a new stadium continued. A growing consensus favored the riverfront area for both historic and financial reasons. The riverfront was the historic center of the city, and supporters of that location believed that a new stadium would help regenerate the downtown area by attracting other businesses. Economic revitalization in turn would at least partly re-create a walking city, with pedestrians able to move easily among the stadium and a wide range of shops. DeWitt opposed a downtown site, warning of parking and flooding problems. He preferred to locate the ballpark near Blue Ash Airport at Plainfield because he believed that location provided more space for parking, easier access for motorists, and security against the periodic flooding of the Ohio River.

Against DeWitt's wishes, the Cincinnati City Council in June 1966 overwhelmingly approved a riverfront site and an enclosed circular design. Among the most influential political supporters of the riverfront site was Eugene Peter

Ruehlmann, a longtime city-council member and vice mayor who would serve two terms as mayor (1967–71). DeWitt sold the club in December 1966 to a group of local investors, including his son, William DeWitt Jr., and Frank Dale, publisher of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*.

The new ownership group elected Dale president and agreed to a 40-year lease on the new downtown stadium. In January 1967 the new owner hired Bob Howsam as general manager, and Howsam set about further strengthening the Cincinnati farm system.

Johnny Bench, the future Hall of Fame catcher, made his Cincinnati debut in late August 1967, while Tony Perez in the same year established himself as the regular third baseman, driving in over 100 runs. Both would be pivotal figures in the championship seasons of the next decade, by which time Perez had moved to first base. Lee May, the Cincinnati first baseman in 1967, was named Rookie of the Year by the *Sporting News*.

Opening Day 1968 was scheduled for April 8, but when President Lyndon Johnson declared April 9 a national day of mourning for the martyred Martin Luther King Jr., the Reds postponed their opener until the 10th. Two months later, when Democratic presidential candidate Senator Robert F. Kennedy was assassinated on June 5, Johnson declared a day of mourning for June 8. When Cincinnati did not postpone its game, several Reds players, led by pitcher Milt Pappas and outfielder Vada Pinson, led a protest. A majority of the players voted not to play, and the game was delayed while management tried to persuade them to take the field. Finally, Pete Rose and a few others acceded to the urgings of manager Dave Bristol, who in July 1966 had succeeded Don Heffner, and general manager Bob Howsam and took their places on the diamond. Others followed, and the game began about 45 minutes late.

Three days after the short-lived rebellion, Milt Pappas was traded to the Braves. On October 11, the other leader of the attempted boycott, Vada Pinson, was sent to the Cardinals. For one brief moment, the Reds players had joined the countercultural world of demonstration and revolution. The team responded by removing the leaders of that movement. Earlier that year, Cincinnati management had made its political position known by changing the team's logo. Gone was the mustachioed baseball player, replaced by a clean-shaven image. Facial hair represented the counterculture, which was anathema to the organization, determined to position itself in a more traditional mode, even if doing so required abandoning the team's well-known logo. As with the team's earlier attempt to drop the communist-sounding "Reds" name in 1953 at the height of Senator Joseph McCarthy's public hunt for communists, management sought to give the club a strong conservative bent.

The Reds finished fourth in 1968, with Bench named Rookie of the Year. Pete Rose won the batting championship with a .335 mark. In 1969, a new divisional structure was introduced, and the Reds were placed in the six-

team Western Division. The club went 89–63, good for third place, and was in the pennant hunt most of the season. Bob Hertzler in the *Cincinnati Enquirer* introduced the nickname “Big Red Machine” in an article on July 4 that season. Despite the successful season, Bristol was fired on October 8, and the next day, Sparky Anderson, a 35-year-old former minor-league manager who had played only one season in the majors, became the new field boss. He would help to fashion some of the greatest teams in the organization’s long history.

RIVERFRONT STADIUM AND THE HEYDAY OF THE BIG RED MACHINE (1970–78)

The \$45 million publicly funded Riverfront Stadium opened on June 30, 1970. Its original capacity was 51,050, with dimensions of 330 feet down the foul lines and 404 feet to center field. Although construction was not yet completed, with work remaining on the parking garage, elevators, and escalators, and fans having to forgo hot dogs in the absence of electricity in the concessions area, the stadium proved a big hit. Attendance soared over the decade despite rising ticket prices. In 1970, reserved seats cost three dollars and box seats four, but by the end of the decade, tickets ranged from three to seven dollars, and were among the highest in MLB. The Reds, with a new stadium and successful teams, set an attendance record of over 1.8 million in 1970, broke the 2 million barrier in 1973, and remained above it for the rest of the decade.

Riverfront Stadium was built to remain usable during floods of up to 80 feet, eliminating a problem of previous ballparks. Pedestrian bridges led from parking lots across the expressway, lessening the impact of insufficient adjacent parking. Nearby merchants generally reported an upswing in their business, and the downtown, as planned, became more of a walking city. However, shutting off a view of the city from inside the stadium was counterproductive, somewhat psychologically isolating the ballpark from its surroundings.

The stadium had artificial turf, one of four ballparks built in the 1970s to eschew natural grass, raising the number of NL parks with artificial playing fields to six. The new turf offered a smooth running surface and a speedy surface for ground balls. Consequently, stolen bases increased, and teams also had to give greater attention to defense. The emphasis on speed was accompanied by a decline in home runs. During the decade, stolen bases increased from an average of 87 per NL team to 124, and home runs dropped from 140 to 119.

General manager Bob Howsam and manager Sparky Anderson, without abandoning power, built a team that featured outstanding defense and speed. In 1970, the Reds won their division with 102 victories, leading the league a record 178 days. Catcher Johnny Bench combined power with some of the finest defense ever exhibited behind the plate. He led the NL with 45 homers and 148 RBIs, and was NL MVP. Defensive star Dave Concepcion manned shortstop, reliable first baseman Tony Perez clouted 40 homers, and versatile

hometown hero Pete Rose played right field and led the NL with 205 hits. The pitching staff was strong, particularly Wayne Granger with 35 saves. The Reds went on to sweep Pittsburgh in the three-game NL Championship Series, but lost the World Series to Baltimore in five games. It was the first of a string of championships under Sparky Anderson that included five divisional titles, four pennants, and two World Series championships.

After slipping to fourth in 1971, Cincinnati rebounded to take the division in 1972 with 95 wins. Bench won his second NL MVP. An important trade added second baseman Joe Morgan, the total defensive and offensive package, from Houston. In 1972 he paced the NL with 122 runs and a .417 on-base percentage. He was second in steals with 58. The Reds captured the pennant against Pittsburgh in five games. The World Series against Oakland went seven games, with the A's taking the deciding game 3–2. Reds pitching was very strong, giving up only 16 runs in seven games. The 1973 club, paced by Rose, who had 230 hits, hit a league-leading .338, and was MVP, won 99 games, but lost to the New York Mets in the NLCS. The next season the Reds only came in second, leaving Cincinnati fans still waiting for the ultimate triumph.

By 1975, Anderson had his championship lineup fine-tuned. Rose had moved to third base, freeing up left field for slugger George Foster. Ken Griffey became the right fielder. Don Gullett, a talented left-hander, headed a competent starting staff, while Anderson, who cared little about complete games, relied on a revolutionary bullpen-by-committee approach. His Reds staffs usually ranked near the bottom in complete games, and his approach soon caught on and permanently altered how managers used pitching staffs.

Among the many Reds stars, the most popular at home, and most disliked away, was Pete Rose. The pugnacious, all-out style of play that endeared him to Cincinnati fans at times angered fans elsewhere. During the 1970 All-Star Game at Riverfront Stadium, Rose scored from second base on a 12th-inning single by Jim Hickman, bowling over catcher Ray Fosse. He scored the winning run but seriously injured Fosse, impairing his professional career. During the 1973 NLCS, Rose got into a fight at Shea Stadium with Mets shortstop Bud Harrelson. Mets fans responded by throwing bottles and other objects at Rose when he returned to left field, almost leading to a forfeit. The negative reaction continued the following year at several stadiums. Rose sometimes had to wear a batting helmet in the field for protection.

Sparky Anderson's team cruised in 1975, winning 108 games, finishing 20 games ahead of Los Angeles in the West. The Reds set an NL record by clinching the title on September 7, and then swept Pittsburgh in the championship series. Joe Morgan won the first of his two consecutive MVP Awards. Six pitchers won 10 or more games, and the team led the league in runs scored, stolen bases, fielding percentage, fewest errors, and most saves.

The World Series against Boston proved much more difficult. Five of the seven contests were decided by one run, and in five the winner had to come from behind. In addition, two of the games went into extra innings. The most memorable

image of the series remains Boston catcher Carlton Fisk gesturing for his home run to remain fair in the bottom of the 12th inning of game six. It did, and Boston won. Nonetheless, Cincinnati won the deciding seventh game 4–3 and its third World Series, its first since 1940.

In 1976 Cincinnati won 102 games, taking the West by 10 games. Five of the starting players hit over .300, and the Reds led the NL in virtually every single offensive category, including batting (.280) and homers (141). Morgan repeated as MVP with 27 homers, 111 RBIs, and 60 stolen bases, and led the NL with a .576 slugging percentage and .444 on-base percentage. It was the third straight year he led the NL in the latter category. Six pitchers won 10 or more games, the relievers led the NL in saves, and the defense had the fewest errors.

The Reds then swept Philadelphia in the NLCS and the New York Yankees in the World Series, the first to use a designated hitter, becoming the first team to sweep both a championship series and the World Series. The triumph made the Reds the first NL team since the New York Giants of 1921–22 to win back-to-back world championships.

After the series was over, the team began to be broken up, hastened by the rise of free agency. One of the first players to take advantage was ace left-hander Don Gullett, winner of game one of the past World Series, who departed in November for the Yankees. The Reds management was the last to employ free agency, which handicapped the team. Also departing after the 1976 season was longtime first baseman Tony Perez, who was traded to the Montreal Expos.

Cincinnati dropped to second place (92–69) the following year despite the acquisition of pitcher Tom Seaver and an MVP season by George Foster, who hit 52 home runs. In 1978, when the Reds again finished second, Pete Rose surpassed 3,000 career hits and tied Willie Keeler's NL record by hitting safely in 44 consecutive games. The winds of change, though, were howling.

Bob Howsam stepped down and was succeeded in April 1978 by Dick Wagner as president and CEO. After the season, in a move that shocked most Reds fans, Wagner fired Sparky Anderson after the most successful managerial run in Cincinnati history. Wagner claimed that Anderson had lost control of the players by failing to maintain discipline. Then came the unthinkable. Pete Rose, whose request for a long-term \$400,000-per-year contract was rejected, signed as a free agent with the Philadelphia Phillies, who gave him a four-year contract at more than \$800,000 annually. The hometown hero was gone, and the heyday of the Big Red Machine was over.

PETE ROSE AND MARGE SCHOTT: AN ERA OF CONTROVERSY (1979–2005)

The first season after the departures of Howsam, Anderson, and Rose promised more than the future would provide for the Cincinnati franchise. The Reds, under new manager John McNamara, won their division in 1979 (90–71). Ray Knight took over third base and hit .318, and Foster drove in 102 runs. Cin-

cinnati was swept in the championship series by Pittsburgh, but Reds fans were optimistic about the future. However, Cincinnati lurched into decline. The team dropped to third in 1980, rebounded to post the majors' best overall record (66–42) in 1981, but since they finished second in each half of the strike-shortened season, missed the playoffs. The squad then collapsed to two consecutive sixth-place finishes (including a franchise record 101 losses in 1982) followed by a fifth-place finish in 1984.

The second half of the decade was better, but still frustrating. Pete Rose returned in mid-August 1984 as a player-manager, and beginning in 1985, guided the club to four straight second-best finishes. Then, in 1989, Rose's baseball career ended in a maelstrom of gambling-related scandal.

Attendance followed the on-field fortunes of the Reds, failing to reach 2 million from 1981 until 1987. During the 1980s and 1990s, Cincinnati was one of five major-league teams that never reached 2.5 million in attendance.

Turmoil and change characterized the Reds ownership in this era. Cincinnati businessmen William J. and James R. Williams, who had been minority shareholders since 1966, became the principal owners in 1981. The following year Russ Nixon replaced manager John McNamara in July. In 1983, Howsam

returned as general manager as the Williams brothers fired Dick Wagner, by then immensely unpopular because of his confrontational management style and failure to maintain the Big Red Machine. Vern Rapp was hired as field manager for the 1984 season, only to be replaced by Rose in August. In October, Howsam stepped down again as general manager, replaced by Bill Bergesch, although Howsam remained as a vice president. Marge Schott, famous for her car dealerships in Cincinnati, purchased controlling interest in the club.

Schott's years were marked by feuds with ownership partners; an authoritarian approach that led large numbers of team employees to leave; flamboyant, unpredictable behavior; bigoted comments; and a variety of fines and suspensions. Her dedication to keeping ticket prices down, accessibility to fans, and substantial contributions to charities could not counter



Pete Rose, 1988. © AP / Wide World Photos

her steadily developing negative image. Meanwhile, Bob Howsam resigned as vice president in 1985, remaining as a consultant through 1986 before severing his association with the Reds. Schott fired Bergesch as general manager in 1987 and replaced him with Murray Cook, formerly a general manager with the Yankees and Expos.

The spirit of the Big Red Machine receded into history. Joe Morgan departed after the 1979 season, Tom Seaver was traded in December 1982, Johnny Bench retired in 1983, and the last of the era's stars, Dave Concepcion, retired in 1988. Glimmerings of the past resurfaced as Tony Perez was brought back in 1984 as a part-time player, and player-manager Rose continued his assault on Ty Cobb's record for most career hits. On September 11, 1985, at Riverfront Stadium, Rose stroked a single off Eric Show for hit number 4,192 to establish a new record. The next year, both Rose and Perez brought down the curtain on their playing careers, Rose finishing with 4,256 hits and, everyone assumed, a certain first-ballot ticket into the Hall of Fame.

Then, in 1988, another curtain began falling on Rose. On April 30, Rose became embroiled in a heated argument with umpire Dave Pallone over a close play at first base. Rose, apparently provoked by a Pallone finger to his face, shoved the umpire, leading to ejection and a 30-day suspension and \$10,000 fine levied by NL president A. Bartlett Giamatti. Never before had a manager received such a heavy penalty for on-field behavior.

By 1989, Rose's gambling habits were closing in on him. An investigation into his gambling had begun under Commissioner Peter Ueberroth and continued under his successor, Bart Giamatti. The investigation was announced publicly in March, and the Reds staggered through the season under the uncertainty clouding Rose's future, dropping from first place in June to fifth place at the end of the year under interim manager Tommy Helms. In June, Rose sued Giamatti, charging that he could not render an impartial decision because of his previous year's judgment. Hamilton County judge Norbert Nadel ruled that Giamatti had prejudged Rose and blocked a scheduled hearing. The victory, though, was short-lived. Attorney John Dowd, hired by Giamatti to investigate Rose, issued his findings in a 225-page report, concluding that Rose had bet on baseball and on the Reds. According to the Dowd report, Rose had violated MLB's rule 21(d), which forbids betting on a team for which the bettor "has a duty to perform." The prescribed punishment was permanent ineligibility from organized baseball.

Rose strongly denied the charges, but agreed to a conclusion of the case that banished him from baseball for life, but with the opportunity to request reinstatement. Rose also acknowledged that the commissioner had a factual basis for imposing the penalty. Giamatti, while banning Rose on August 24, agreed not to issue a formal finding that Rose had bet on baseball, although the commissioner shortly afterward stated that he had concluded that Rose had done so. In early 1991, shortly before Rose became eligible for election to the Hall of Fame, the Hall directors amended selection rules to disqualify anyone on baseball's ineligible list. Rose never publicly admitted gambling on the Reds

until the publication in 2004 of his book *My Prison without Bars*. He remains absent from the panoply of baseball greats enshrined at Cooperstown.

The story of Rose's banishment carried with it more sad chapters. Eight days after banning Rose from baseball, Commissioner Giamatti died of a heart attack. Within a year, Rose had pleaded guilty to tax evasion and was sentenced to prison, serving five months.

Before the 1990 season, more changes occurred in the front office and on the field, almost as if the Reds were attempting to exorcise their past. General manager Murray Cook was fired and replaced by Bob Quinn. Helms was replaced by former Yankees player, manager, and general manager Lou Piniella.

The transformation worked as Piniella cleverly used a deep bullpen and the team's ability to play without the Rose distractions, guiding the Reds to 91 wins; a divisional title; a victory over the Pirates in the championship series, four games to two; and, in a huge upset, a sweep of the Oakland A's in the World Series. Jose Rios, who won two games with a 0.59 ERA, was the Series MVP. The team featured 1988 Rookie of the Year third baseman Chris Sabo, the multitalented but often injured center fielder Eric Davis, and the bullpen trio known as "the Nasty Boys"—Rob Dibble, Norm Charlton, and Randy Myers. Shortstop Barry Larkin, possibly the team's best player, batted .301, stole 30 bases, and played outstanding defense. A strong bench and capable role players helped compensate for the lack of superstars who populated the Big Red Machine teams.

The championship season brought a jump in attendance to over 2.4 million. The Reds were carried on cable television for the first time. Sports Channel Cincinnati signed to air 25 games per year for three years.

Unfortunately, 1990 marked a high point for the Reds. Their play ever since has been marked by irregular on-field success and considerable front-office turmoil. The Reds dropped to fifth place in 1991. Although the team rebounded to finish second in 1992, Piniella resigned as manager after the season, and general manager Bob Quinn was let go two days later. His replacement, Jim Bowden, at 31, was until recently the youngest major-league general manager ever. The new field leader was the enormously popular Tony Perez, but after winning just 20 of his first 44 games, he was fired and replaced by Davey Johnson.

In 1994, the league split into three divisions. The Reds were in first place in the Central when a players' strike ended the season, depriving Cincinnati of a post-season trip. The next year, the Reds won their division in a strike-shortened season that did not begin until April 26. Shortstop Barry Larkin captured the MVP Award, and the club rolled past the Dodgers 3–0 in the new NL Divisional Series. However, the Reds were in turn swept by the Atlanta Braves in the NLCS.

During the remainder of the 1990s, the Reds sometimes challenged but consistently came up short, finishing third under manager Ray Knight in 1996 and compiling third- and second-place finishes under Jack McKeon from 1997 through 2000. In 1999, the Reds tied for the wild-card spot with the New York Mets but lost a one-game playoff. Four men hit 20 or more homers, led by Greg Vaughn with 45 and 118 RBIs.

As the new century dawned, Cincinnati's fortunes continued to sink. Under still another manager, Bob Boone, the Reds came in fifth in 2001, third (but again with a losing record) in 2002, and fifth in 2003 (although Boone had to share that losing season with midseason replacement Dave Miley). In an unusual conjunction of firings, Cincinnati dismissed both the field manager and general manager Jim Bowden on the same day, July 28. Given a full season in 2004, Miley led the Reds to an only slightly better finish, fourth place, while the new general manager, Dan O'Brien, hired in the fall of 2003, was attempting to rebuild the club's scouting and player-development programs. After a disappointing start to the 2005 campaign, Miley was fired on June 21. His replacement, Jerry Narron, led Cincinnati to its fifth consecutive losing season, but the team showed sufficient improvement for him to be rehired. Ken Griffey Jr., who had missed much of the previous four seasons with injuries, played 128 games, batting .301 with 35 home runs and 92 RBIs, and was NL Comeback Player of the Year, putting him back on track for the Hall of Fame. The team led the NL in offense, with outfielder Adam Dunn hitting 40 home runs, but poor pitching hampered the club throughout the season.

CAPITALISM AND THE CINCINNATI REDS

Attendance stagnated in the 1990s, with Cincinnati remaining under 2 million until 1999, while ticket prices increased. During the 1990s, the team's premier "blue seats" rose from \$8.50 to \$17, and "red" reserve seats from \$5.50 to \$7. Although the payroll rose from \$15 million in 1990 to \$35 million in 1999, the increase lagged behind most teams, placing the Reds near the bottom of NL payrolls, which factored into the team's on-field struggles. In an attempt to boost revenue, the organization in 1996 sold stadium naming rights to Cinergy Corporation for \$6 million.

By the early 1990s Marge Schott was floundering on the shoals of suspensions and fines. Her flamboyance and lack of decorum had evolved into racial and ethnic slurs. In February 1993, MLB's Executive Council suspended her for one year and fined her \$25,000. Schott retained ownership, but was removed from daily operations. Some positive statements about Adolf Hitler's early career as *führer* led to another suspension in June 1996, which lasted through the 1998 season. John Allen, controller of the Reds, ran the team's front-office operations.

Then in December 1996 General Motors filed a complaint alleging that Schott had falsified sales of cars in order to meet her quotas and had fallaciously used names of Reds employees in her scheme. Faced with a continuing suspension from the team, Schott agreed in October 1998 to sell her majority interest. On April 20, 1999, Carl Lindner, owner of the Great American Insurance Company, became head of the new ownership group. After 15 years as owner, the colorful but polarizing and often embarrassing Marge Schott was out.

The Reds are financially a small-city team. In 2001, when the team made \$4.3 million according to *Forbes*, it was only 26th in salaries paid players. The

team was 26th in media revenue and 28th in money made from ancillary activities (parking, concessions, and luxury seating). Its total local revenue was \$46.5 million, half of what the average team brought in.

Schott's legal problems and her vacillations about a new ballpark slowed down the effort to replace the stadium. In May 1995, Schott, who periodically had threatened to move the Reds to another city, agreed to work with the Cincinnati Business Committee to build a new stadium west of Cinergy Field by 1998 or 1999.

Various arguments were brought forward for a new stadium, among them the desire to integrate the stadium more effectively with the environment, including the river. City and club officials also wanted to make the stadium a fuller experience that would incorporate club history, more comfortable seating, and enjoyable dining.

In June, city and Hamilton County officials developed a financing plan to construct two stadiums, one for the Reds and the other for the NFL's Bengals. They agreed to finance the stadiums with a one percent increase in the county sales tax. The plan raised the important issue of whether a privately owned business should receive public funding to create the building where it carries out its business.

Critics contended that the approach was inappropriate and that the funds could be better used for schools, public safety, and other city needs. The argument, repeated in other cities facing similar decisions, led to an extensive and successful petition drive to bring the issue to the voters in March 1996. Proponents of a new stadium reduced the proposed tax increase to one-half of one percent to improve chances to win the referendum. The strategy worked, as voters approving the dedicated tax increase by almost 55,000 votes.

A subsequent vote in November 1998 to determine the location of the stadium resulted in selection of a riverfront site by almost a two-to-one margin. The winning location was between the old stadium and Firststar Center, surrounded by Broadway, I-71, and Mehring Way, with a view of the Ohio River from inside the stadium.

The Reds signed the formal agreement to build the stadium on May 20, 1999. In July 2000, majority owner Carl Lindner bought the naming rights to the stadium for his Great American Insurance Company for \$75 million. Groundbreaking for Great American Ballpark took place on October 4, 2000. Five years later, Lindner sold his controlling interest to a syndicate headed by Robert Castellini, a member of the Cardinals' ownership group and chairman of the Castellini Company, a locally based wholesale produce company. The new owners included Thomas L. Williams and Williams J. Williams, Jr., whose father and uncle were Reds stockholders from 1966 to 1984.

By 2003, the new 42,059-seat stadium was ready for play at a cost of \$325 million, 86 percent of which was publicly funded. The stadium featured a natural grass surface and outfield dimensions of 325 feet down the right-field line, 328 feet down the left-field line, and 404 feet to center field. An accompanying Reds museum and hall of fame opened in September 2004. Among the exhibits

planned is one called “The Business of Baseball.” The irony inherent in this section may have gone unnoticed by management, with the exhibit designed to portray such aspects of Reds history as the city’s first professional team and the introduction of night baseball. However, baseball as big business having built the stadium, the final object in the exhibit should properly be the entire stadium itself. The first professional team, those mighty Red Stockings of 1869, had given birth to so much more than they ever could have imagined.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1938	Ernie Lombardi	C
1939	Bucky Walters	P
1940	Frank McCormick	1B
1961	Frank Robinson	OF
1970	Johnny Bench	C
1972	Johnny Bench	C
1973	Pete Rose	OF
1975	Joe Morgan	2B
1976	Joe Morgan	2B
1977	George Foster	OF
1995	Barry Larkin	SS

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1956	Frank Robinson	OF
1963	Pete Rose	2B
1966	Tommy Helms	3B
1968	Johnny Bench	C
1976	Pat Zachry	P
1988	Chris Sabo	3B
1999	Scott Williamson	P

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1905	Cy Seymour	.377
1916	Hal Chase	.339
1917	Edd Roush	.341
1919	Edd Roush	.321
1926	Bubbles Hargrave	.353

1938	Ernie Lombardi	.342
1968	Pete Rose	.335
1969	Pete Rose	.348
1973	Pete Rose	.338

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1892	Bug Holliday	13
1901	Sam Crawford	16
1905	Fred Odwell	9
1954	Ted Kluszewski	49
1970	Johnny Bench	45
1972	Johnny Bench	40
1977	George Foster	52
1978	George Foster	40

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1923	Dolf Luque	1.93
1925	Dolf Luque	2.63
1939	Bucky Walters	2.29
1940	Bucky Walters	2.48
1941	Elmer Riddle	2.24
1944	Ed Heusser	2.38

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1899	Noodles Hahn	145
1900	Noodles Hahn	132
1901	Noodles Hahn	239
1939	Bucky Walters	137
1941	Johnny Vander Meer	202
1942	Johnny Vander Meer	186
1943	Johnny Vander Meer	174
1947	Ewell Blackwell	193
1993	Jose Rijo	227

No-Hitters (Italics = Perfect Game)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Bumpus Jones	10/15/1892
Ted Breitenstein	04/22/1898

Noodles Hahn	07/12/1900
Fred Toney	05/02/1917
Hod Eller	05/11/1919
Johnny Vander Meer	06/11/1938
Johnny Vander Meer	06/15/1938
Clyde Shoun	05/15/1944
Ewell Blackwell	06/18/1947
Jim Maloney	08/19/1965
George Culver	07/29/1968
Jim Maloney	04/30/1969
Tom Seaver	06/16/1978
<i>Tom Browning</i>	<i>09/16/1988</i>

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES

AA Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1882	55–25	Pop Snyder

NL West Division Titles

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1970	102–60	Sparky Anderson
1972	95–59	Sparky Anderson
1973	99–63	Sparky Anderson
1975	108–54	Sparky Anderson
1976	102–60	Sparky Anderson
1979	90–71	John McNamara
1990	91–71	Lou Piniella

NL Central Division Titles

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1994	66–48	Davey Johnson
1995	85–59	Davey Johnson

NL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1919	96–44	Pat Moran
1939	97–57	Bill McKechnie
1940	100–53	Bill McKechnie

1961	93–61	Fred Hutchinson
1970	102–60	Sparky Anderson
1972	95–59	Sparky Anderson
1975	108–54	Sparky Anderson
1976	102–60	Sparky Anderson
1990	91–71	Lou Piniella

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>	<i>MVP</i>
1919	Chicago	
1940	Detroit	
1975	Boston	Pete Rose
1976	New York	Johnny Bench
1990	Oakland	Jose Rijo

MANAGERS

2005–	Jerry Narron
2003–2005	Dave Miley
2003	Ray Knight
2001–2003	Bob Boone
1997–2000	Jack McKeon
1996–1997	Ray Knight
1993–1995	Davey Johnson
1993	Tony Perez
1990–1992	Lou Piniella
1989	Tommy Helms
1984–1989	Pete Rose
1984	Vern Rapp
1982–1983	Russ Nixon
1979–1982	Jack McNamara
1970–1978	Sparky Anderson
1966–1969	Dave Bristol
1966	Don Heffner
1964–1965	Dick Sisler
1959–1964	Fred Hutchinson
1959	Mayo Smith

1958	Jimmie Dykes
1954–1958	Birdie Tebbetts
1953	Buster Mills
1952–1953	Rogers Hornsby
1952	Earle Brucker
1949–1952	Luke Sewell
1948–1949	Bucky Walters
1947–1948	Johnny Neun
1946	Hank Gowdy
1938–1946	Bill McKechnie
1937	Bobby Wallace
1934–1937	Chuck Dressen
1934	Burt Shotton
1934	Bob O'Farrell
1933	Donie Bush
1930–1932	Dan Howley
1924–1929	Jack Hendricks
1919–1923	Pat Moran
1918	Heinie Groh
1916–1918	Christy Mathewson
1916	Ivey Wingo
1914–1916	Buck Herzog
1913	Joe Tinker
1912	Hank O'Day
1909–1911	Clark Griffith
1908	John Ganzel
1906–1907	Ned Hanlon
1902–1905	Joe Kelley
1902	Frank Bancroft
1901–1902	Bid McPhee
1900	Bob Allen
1895–1899	Buck Ewing
1892–1894	Charles Comiskey
1890–1891	Tom Loftus
1887–1889	Gus Schmelz (American Association)
1885–1886	O. P. Caylor (AA)
1884	Pop Snyder (AA)
1884	Will White (AA)
1882–1883	Pop Snyder (AA)

Team Records by Individual Players

Batting Leaders	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Place Appearances
Batting average	Cy Seymour	.377	1905	Cy Seymour	.332	2,420
On-base %	Joe Morgan	.466	1975	Joe Morgan	.415	4,973
Slugging %	Ted Kluszewski	.642	1954	Frank Robinson	.554	6,409
OPS	Ted Kluszewski	1.049	1954	Frank Robinson	.943	6,409
Games	Leo Cardenas	163	1964	Pete Rose	2,722	12,325
At bats	Pete Rose	680	1973	Pete Rose	10,934	12,325
Runs	Bid McPhee	139	1886	Pete Rose	1,741	12,325
Hits	Pete Rose	230	1973	Pete Rose	3,358	12,325
Total Bases	George Foster	388	1977	Pete Rose	4,645	12,325
Doubles	Frank Robinson	51	1962	Pete Rose	601	12,325
Triples	John Reilly	26	1890	Bid McPhee	188	9,409
Home runs	George Foster	52	1977	Johnny Bench	389	8,669
RBI s	George Foster	149	1977	Johnny Bench	1,376	8,669
Walks	Joe Morgan	132	1975	Pete Rose	1,210	12,325
Strikeouts	Adam Dunn	195	2004	Pete Rose	1,306	12,325
Stolen bases	Hugh Nicol	138	1887	Bid McPhee	568	9,409
Extra-base hits	Frank Robinson	92	1962	Pete Rose	868	12,325
Times on base	Pete Rose	311	1969	Pete Rose	4,654	12,325

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
ERA	Harry McCormick	1.52	1882	Andy Coakley	2.11	507.7
Wins	Will White	43	1883	Eppa Rixey	179	2,890.7
Won-loss %	Tom Seaver	.875	1981	Don Gullett	.674	1,187
Hits/9 IP	Mario Soto	5.96	1980	Mario Soto	7.26	1,730.3
Walks/9 IP	Red Lucas	0.74	1933	Red Lucas	1.55	1,768.7
Strikeouts	Mario Soto	274	1982	Jim Maloney	1,592	1,818.7
Strikeouts/9 IP	Mario Soto	9.57	1982	Jim Maloney	7.88	1,818.7
Games	Wayne Granger	90	1969	Pedro Bourbon	531	920.7
Saves	Jeff Brantley	44	1996	Danny Graves	172	714.7
Innings	Will White	577	1883	Eppa Rixey	2,890.7	2,890.7
Starts	Will White	64	1883	Eppa Rixey	356	2,890.7

(Continued)

Pitching Leaders (Continued)

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
Complete games	Will White	64	1883	Mullane	264	2,599
Shutouts	Will White	8	1882	B. Walters	32	2,355.7

Source: Drawn from data in "Cincinnati Reds Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/CIN/leaders_bat.shtml; "Cincinnati Reds Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/CIN/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Colorado Rockies

Thomas L. Altherr

The Colorado Rockies franchise was officially born the day after Independence Day in 1991 when the National League awarded Denver one of its two 1993 expansion entries. But in the hearts and minds of many Denverites, Coloradans, and westerners, the arrival of major-league baseball was long overdue. In the 1980s Denver had tried unsuccessfully to lure the Chicago White Sox, Baltimore Orioles, Oakland Athletics, and San Francisco Giants. Despite the efforts of several well-heeled Denver businessmen, a major-league franchise eluded the area.

Except for interludes during the depression and World War II, Denver had boasted several successful minor-league clubs since the 1880s, when the renowned *Denver Post* tournament attracted good players every summer. Professional baseball returned in 1947 with a Western League entry, and then in 1955, under the auspices of Bob Howsam, the Denver Bears became a New York Yankees farm club in the Triple-A American Association. In the late 1950s there was some talk of including Denver in a new third-major-league proposal floated by Branch Rickey, but nothing materialized. Over the next four decades, the Denver Bears (later renamed the Denver Zephyrs in the late 1980s), under managers such as Ralph Houk and Charlie Metro, put fine Triple-A teams on the field at Bears Stadium, which was renamed Mile High Stadium.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the major leagues, which had not added any franchises since 1977, scouted the possibility of expansion. In addition to Denver, other candidates included Buffalo; Vancouver; Memphis; Orlando; Jacksonville; Tampa–St. Petersburg; Washington, DC; and Miami. According

to one interpretation, Denver and Miami garnered the nods when Senators Tim Wirth of Colorado and Bob Graham of Florida hinted they might reopen a congressional examination of MLB's antitrust exemption status if the league did not place a franchise in their states. Denver's selling points included its successful minor-league teams, its climate, its growing population base, and the absence of any other major-league team in the region.

Anticipating a franchise, Colorado governor Roy Romer formed the Colorado Baseball Partnership to facilitate an ownership group in August 1990. A week earlier Denver-area voters had approved a 0.1 percent sales tax to fund construction of a baseball-only park to be built most likely in downtown Denver (although, ironically, the city and county of Denver did not support the levy). By March 1991 the Denver Metropolitan Stadium district chose to site the stadium at 20th and Blake Streets, two blocks from Union Station in lower downtown (LoDo). Construction costs were \$215 million, of which 22 percent came from the owners. It was the first new NL stadium since Montreal's Stade Olympique opened in 1977, and the first NL park built exclusively for baseball since Dodger Stadium in 1962. A couple of days later, the ownership group announced that Coors Brewery had bought the naming rights to the new park for an indefinite period of time for \$15 million.

The first ownership group included Youngstown-based businessmen John Antonucci and Mickey Monus, whose shady financial dealings with his Pharmor stores had landed him jail time. By September 1992, a local trucking magnate, Jerry McMorris, and other Coloradoan minority partners bought out the non-Coloradoan ownership. Eventually Charles and Richard Montfort, Greeley meatpacking tycoons, joined with McMorris in sort of a tripartite ownership arrangement. After some debate about a team name, which included the traditional Denver Bears and the Denver Grizzlies, the franchise settled on the Colorado Rockies to evoke a regional image. After all, the Rockies would be the only major-league club between Kansas City and California. The club's uniform colors were purple, black, and white, with occasional pinstripes. Former major-league pitcher Bob Gebhard was the club's first general manager, serving until midway through the 1999 season. Dan O'Dowd succeeded Gebhard. Don Baylor held the managerial reigns through the 1998 season.

In 1992 the Rockies held an expansion draft, made trades, and signed free agents that netted several young prospects, especially pitcher David Nied, and some veteran players, most notably first baseman Andres Galarraga and outfielder Dante Bichette. But as would be expected of an expansion team, rosters were very fluid the first few seasons. Players came and went until some stability emerged in the mid-1990s with a slugging lineup dubbed "the Blake Street Bombers" that featured Bichette, Galarraga, Vinny Castilla, Larry Walker, and Ellis Burks. The Rockies became known as an explosive offense-minded team (although not necessarily on the road). Finding long-term effective pitching, however, proved more frustrating.

THE FIRST THREE YEARS

In 1993 and 1994, the Rockies played at Mile High Stadium, a venue more geared to football. For the first home stand, the club constructed temporary bleachers in center field to seat 80,000 fans. Eric Young, leading off the first game at Mile High, hit a home run to left field, prompting much stomping and raucous cheers. The Rockies stayed at Mile High throughout 1993 and 1994. The Rockies finished in sixth in 1993 (67–95) with a payroll of just \$8,829,000. Salaries were nearly tripled one year later to \$23,654,508, when the team improved its record (53–64) in the strike-shortened season of 1994.

By 1995, however, Coors Field was completed, with 50,000 seats, including 63 luxury boxes and 4,500 club-level seats. It aimed at providing the atmosphere of the old-time ballparks with hand-positioned brick and an old-fashioned clock tower over the main entrance. The playing field is asymmetrical and has an underground heating system that instantly melts snow.

After the protracted 1994–95 strike, Dante Bichette sent Rockies fans home happy with an extra-innings home run to win the team's first game at Coors. Over the years Coors Field has been the subject of much praise for its beauty and design, but also much criticism. Hitters seemed to have an unfair advantage in the thinner air, and pitchers complained that their pitches broke less than at lower elevations. One recent interpretation, however, suggested that wind currents in the Platte River Valley are more to blame for the home runs than the thinner air. In some years, moreover, other parks, such as Houston's, produced more home runs than did Coors.

In 1995 the Rockies thrilled their fans by squeaking into the NL playoffs as the wild-card team. They became the first expansion team to reach the playoffs in their third year, with a 77–67 record, leading the NL in offense (5.45 runs per game) while giving up the most runs (5.44). Baseball purists who derided the wild card became enthusiasts overnight. Unfortunately, the club faced the strong Atlanta Braves in the first round. Colorado dropped the series in four games, winning only the third game. The first game remains controversial for Rockies fans because manager Don Baylor found himself with only pitcher Lance Painter available to pinch-hit in the bottom of the ninth. Despite losing in the first round, Baylor won the NL Manager of the Year Award. The Rockies won 83 games the next two years and led the NL in batting both years, but they also led the league in runs allowed. In 1997 the Rockies risked fan discontent by releasing popular first baseman Andres Galarraga, but his replacement, former star college quarterback Todd Helton, quickly made fans forget about Galarraga.

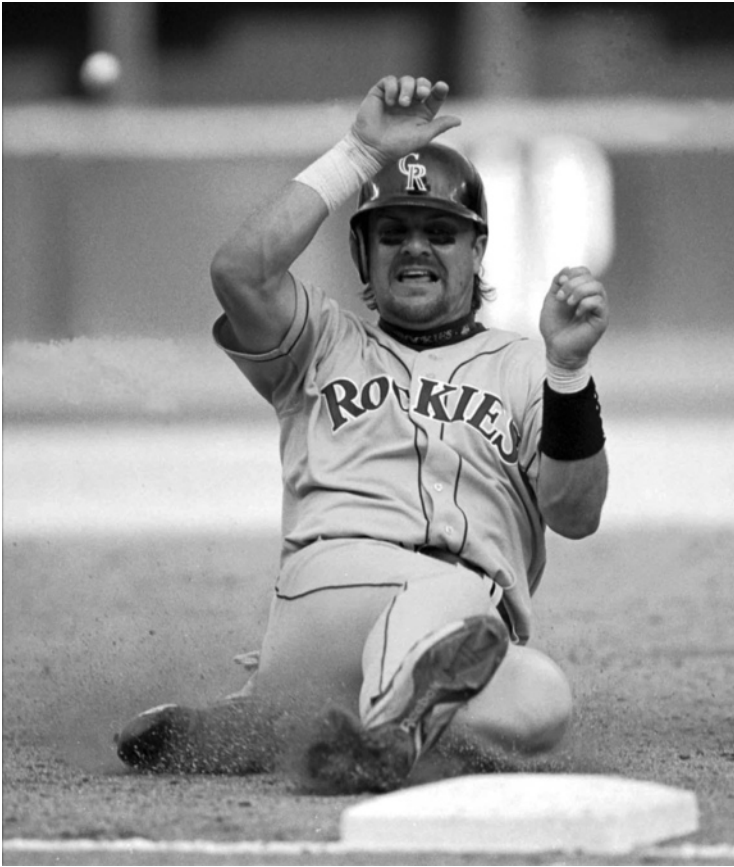
The highly popular Coors Field was the site of 1998's All-Star Game. For a week before the game baseball fans reveled in the FanFest activities. Ken Griffey Jr. beat out Jim Thome in the Home Run Derby contest. The actual game turned into a slugfest, the highest-scoring match in All-Star history. The American League won 13–8, and Roberto Alomar took home MVP honors.

Red, white, and blue Tyco “Glory” beanie babies, handed out as a promotional giveaway, touched off a frenzy of selling and speculation over the next few weeks as hot souvenirs.

During the 1998 season the club fell to fourth with a losing record of 77–85, despite again leading in hitting (.291), while the team’s ERA (5.20) was second worst of 16 teams. Larry Walker’s .363 and Dante Bichette’s 219 hits led the NL. Veteran skipper Jim Leyland, whose Florida Marlins had won the 1997 World Series, took over as manager for 1999, but the club fell to fifth (72–90) despite Walker’s league-leading .379 batting average. Leyland left after a year and was succeeded by Buddy Bell, who got the \$71 million team into fourth place (82–80). First baseman Todd Helton had a sensational season in 2000, leading the league in batting (.372), RBIs (147), hits (216), doubles (59), slugging (.698), and total bases (405). But the squad fell to fifth in 2001. Leaders in offense, they were the worst in defense. Bell’s tenure as manager lasted until late April 2002, when he was fired and replaced by Clint Hurdle. The Rockies placed fourth in Hurdle’s first three seasons, including a dismal 68–94 in 2004 despite a payroll of \$67,390,000. They did even worse in 2005, finishing last in the NL West with a dismal 67–95 record.

From time to time, critics have complained that the Rockies have fallen into a pattern of looking for one pitcher to save the club and catapult it to success. In the Rockies’ inaugural season this mantle fell on Greg W. Harris, who repaid his enthusiastic greeting after his arrival from San Diego with a dismal 1–8 record. Later examples have included pitchers Bret Saberhagen, Bill Swift, Daryl Kile, Mike Hampton, and Denny Neagle. Each met with little success, although Hampton did make the All-Star team in 2001. More successful pitching came from Kevin Ritz, Pedro Astacio, and 2002 Rookie of the Year Jason Jennings. But overall, Coors Field chewed up many young hurlers.

Two Rockies, outfielder Larry Walker and first baseman Todd Helton, have performed well enough to warrant serious consideration from the Baseball Hall of Fame once their careers end. Walker, who was an established star in Montreal, came to the club for the 1995 season. Over nine seasons Walker thrilled hometown fans with his home-run power, astute baserunning, and superb defensive plays, especially his throwing arm. He won the NL MVP Award in 1997. Through 2003, in his nine years with the team, Walker batted .344, clubbed 252 home runs, and knocked in 828 runs, as well as amassing 459 walks and 124 stolen bases. Larry took home Gold Gloves in 1997–99 and 2001–2. But in early 2004 Walker and his \$12.7 million salary were traded to the Cardinals. Through 2005, Helton has compiled a career batting average of .337, the highest lifetime average of any current major leaguer; slugged 271 home runs; and knocked in 915 runs, with a slugging percentage of .607 in nine seasons. In 2000, he flirted with .400 much of the season, and in 2003 he narrowly missed the league batting crown with a .358 average, all the while fielding his position excellently. He won Gold Gloves in 2001, 2002, and 2004.



Larry Walker slides safely into third in a game against the San Diego Padres, 1997. © AP / Wide World Photos

ATTENDANCE

In their first season, the Rockies set a major-league attendance record of 4,483,350, which still stands today. Colorado and Rocky Mountain-area fans starved for major-league baseball in Denver thronged to the ballpark. The team was headed for even larger attendance in 1994, averaging 57,570 per game when the players struck, shortening the season. Whenever popular out-of-town teams such as the Chicago Cubs or St. Louis Cardinals came to town, transplanted residents from the Midwest crowded the stadium. Seeing a Rockies game at Mile High Stadium or later at Coors Field and socializing at the nearby LoDo watering holes quickly became a trendy activity for Denverites. Attendance stayed strong for the club's first eight seasons, topping the majors for the first seven seasons. By seasons 10 and 11 the novelty had worn off. Combined with the Rockies fielding a noncompetitive team, attendance dropped. Still, the Rockies usually draw more fans than the overall league average.



Todd Helton hits a foul ball in a game against the Cardinals, 2001. © AP / Wide World Photos

ECONOMIC IMPACT

It is difficult to assess accurately the exact economic impact the Rockies have had on Denver and Colorado. The most positive proof, however, is the economic rejuvenation of the LoDo area. During the first few seasons, new restaurants and stores proliferated in the district, new lofts became hot properties, and the area's old skid-row qualities vanished. The district attracted tourist and entertainment seekers even on non-game-days and during the off-season. But it is clear that the Rockies have failed to generate the same amount as the NFL Broncos and the NHL Avalanche. The Rockies have done some community-outreach programs, especially funding or building a number of baseball venues throughout the metro area for youths. As a business entity, the team has proved profitable. According to *Forbes* magazine, McMorris's consortium paid a \$95 million franchise fee in 1993, and the franchise appreciated in value to \$311 million in the early twenty-first century. It has hovered around the \$300 million mark in recent years. In terms of payroll, the owners have kept the Rockies in the middle of the pack, splurging in some years and retrenching during others.

Now in its 12th season, the Colorado Rockies have provided fans with much excitement and much disappointment. The Broncos and the Ava-

lanche have won Super Bowls and Stanley Cups respectively, and in the 2003–4 season the formerly dormant NBA Denver Nuggets made the playoffs. But the Rockies have bumbled along in mediocrity, typically in fourth or fifth place in the West. Whatever their on-field lapses, however, the Colorado Rockies have been an outstanding success as an entertaining franchise, with a beautiful ballpark, attendances that make most other major-league clubs salivate, and economically vibrant environs.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1997	Larry Walker	OF

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
2002	Jason Jennings	P

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1993	Andres Galarraga	.370
1998	Larry Walker	.363
1999	Larry Walker	.379
2000	Todd Helton	.372
2001	Larry Walker	.350

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1995	Dante Bichette	40
1996	Andres Galarraga	47
1997	Larry Walker	49

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES

NL Wild Cards

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1995	77–67	Don Baylor

MANAGERS

2002–	Clint Hurdle
2000–2002	Buddy Bell
1999	Jim Leyland
1993–1998	Don Baylor

Team Records by Individual Players

Batting Leaders	Single Season			Career		Plate Appearances
	Name		Year	Name		
Batting average	Larry Walker	.379	1999	Todd Helton	.337	5,424
On-base %	Todd Helton	.469	2004	Todd Helton	.433	5,424
Slugging %	Larry Walker	.720	1997	Larry Walker	.618	4,795
OPS	Larry Walker	1.172	1997	Larry Walker	1.044	4,795
Games	Vinny Castilla/ Neifi Perez	162	1998	Todd Helton	1,279	5,429
At bats	Neifi Perez	690	1999	Vinny Castilla	4,078	4,429
Runs	Larry Walker	143	1997	Larry Walker	892	4,795
Hits	Dante Bichette	219	1998	Todd Helton	1,372	5,424
Total bases	Larry Walker	409	1997	Larry Walker	2,520	4,795
Doubles	Todd Helton	59	2000	Todd Helton	373	5,424
Triples	Neifi Perez	11	1999	Neifi Perez	49	2,936
Home runs	Larry Walker	49	1997	Todd Helton	271	5,424
RBI s	Andres Galarraga	150	1996	Todd Helton	915	5,424
Walks	Todd Helton	127	2004	Todd Helton	773	5,424
Strikeouts	Andres Galarraga	157	1996	Larry Walker	659	4,795
Stolen bases	Eric Young	53	1996	Eric Young	180	2,450
Extra-base hits	Todd Helton	105	2001	Todd Helton	668	5,424
Times on base	Todd Helton	323	2000	Todd Helton	2,348	5,424

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		Innings Pitched
	Name		Year	Name		
ERA	Joe Kennedy	3.66	2004	Armando Reynoso	4.65	503
Wins	Kevin Ritz	17	1996	Pedro Astacio	53	827.3
Won-loss %	Julian Tavarez	.688	2000	Jason Jennings	.533	729
Hits/9 IP	Kevin Ritz	8.88	1995	Shawn Chacon	8.85	552.3
Walks/9 IP	Armando Reynoso	2.61	1996	John Thomson	2.77	611

(Continued)

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		Innings Pitched
	Name		Year	Name		
Strikeouts	Pedro Astacio	210	1999	Pedro Astacio	749	827.3
Strikeouts/91P	Pedro Astacio	8.85	2000	Pedro Astacio	8.15	827.3
Games	Todd Jones	79	2002	Steve Reed	461	499
Saves	Jose Jimenez	41	2002	Jose Jimenez	102	300.7
Innings	Pedro Astacio	232	1999	Pedro Astacio	827.3	827.3
Starts	Kevin Ritz	36	1996	Pedro Astacio	129	827.3
Complete Games	Pedro Astacio	7	1999	Pedro Astacio	14	827.3
Shutouts	Bailey	2	1997	Bailey	2	356

Source: Drawn from data in "Colorado Rockies Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/COL/leaders_bat.shtml; "Colorado Rockies Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/COL/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Florida Marlins

Kevin B. Witherspoon

The Florida Marlins' 2003 World Series victory capped a remarkable first decade for one of Major League Baseball's youngest franchises. Over that span, the Marlins twice won the World Series, endured the growing pains of an expansion franchise and rebuilding after their first championship, and changed ownership and philosophies several times. The South Florida market, with its endless urban sprawl and large immigrant and seasonal population, has produced unique conditions around the Marlins. It is a team in a large media market often forced to behave like a small-market franchise. The Marlins' history is closely linked with many other themes of a modern baseball club: expansion and contraction; free agency and salary issues; a fickle fan base; the influence of Hispanic players, fans, and coaches; corporate ties; and civic clashes over a new stadium.

Before gaining a major-league franchise, Florida was long the site of spring-training complexes and minor-league teams. Floridians who longed for a major-league team saw their hopes piqued in the mid-1980s as MLB executives began to discuss the expansion of the National League. In 1990, the NL announced a short list of candidates, including three groups from Florida: Tampa-St. Petersburg, Orlando, and South Florida. H. Wayne Huizenga, owner of Blockbuster Video and 15 percent of the Miami Dolphins, made the South Florida bid. Huizenga (worth \$1.875 billion in 1998) appealed to baseball executives because he would be the sole owner of his team, rather than a group of owners. He also owned Joe Robbie Stadium (later renamed Pro Player Stadium and finally Dolphins Stadium), which with \$10 million in improvements would be baseball-ready, so his bid did not hinge on the building of a new

stadium. Finally, through his close friend and fellow Blockbuster executive Carl Barger of the Pittsburgh Pirates, Huizenga already had ties with MLB and the expansion committee. Skeptics argued that a major-league franchise in Florida would dampen enthusiasm for spring training and minor-league teams, that the weather in Florida was unsuitable for a full baseball schedule, and that Florida's "snow-bird" and transplant residents would not support a team. Such arguments could not overcome Huizenga's bid, however, and on June 10, 1991, Commissioner Fay Vincent announced that South Florida, along with Colorado, was awarded a franchise to begin major-league play in 1993. The team's salaries were \$18 million, fourth lowest in the majors. At the end of the season the franchise was worth an estimated \$81 million.

The Marlins, along with the Colorado Rockies, set about in late 1991 and 1992 to build a team. Modern expansion franchises in virtually every sport are expected to be more competitive than expansion teams of earlier eras, and fans tend to lose interest quickly in a losing team, even a relatively new one. While the pressure was great to produce a winning team, the Marlins struggled through the growing pains typical of an expansion franchise. Through signing free agents, open tryouts, and the amateur draft, the Marlins fielded several minor-league teams in 1992. In November, MLB held an expansion draft in which both the Marlins and Rockies selected players from the other major-league teams. Those expansion players made up the core of the Marlins' roster for its first several seasons. The players available were serviceable major leaguers or overpriced superstars that both expansion clubs avoided. The inaugural Marlins roster consisted of players such as Jeff Conine, Pat Rapp, Charlie Hough, Bryan Harvey, and one true superstar—Gary Sheffield, acquired midway through the season. The team's payroll was \$42.1 million, the third lowest in MLB. The club, under manager Rene Lachemann, won a respectable 64 games and drew over 3 million in attendance.

The Marlins added gradually to their talent pool and win total, finishing the next three years with records of 51–64 (in the strike-shortened 1994 season), 67–75, and 80–82. With each season, though, attendance declined and financial losses mounted. It seemed that the skeptics might have been right in doubting the loyalty of South Florida fans, who were less and less inclined to pay steep prices to watch a losing team. Theories behind the flagging attendance abounded: the player strike of 1994 damaged attendance around the league; the team was losing; the weather made watching games miserable, as it was often hot and muggy, with many rain delays and rainouts; Miami was a football town, with fans supporting the Dolphins and the University of Miami Hurricanes and little else; the team had no real home, struggling to draw fans from a huge area of urban sprawl rather than a fiercely loyal community; Joe Robbie Stadium was located at the northern edge of Dade County, and poor public transportation hindered access for fans living in Miami; the Hispanic fan base was uncommonly impatient and fickle, and could not afford high ticket prices; and after the perfect 1972 Miami Dolphins season, no team was

good enough to satisfy South Floridians. Comparisons to their companion expansion team left the Marlins deflated as well, as the Rockies shattered attendance records and made the playoffs in only their third season. For all these reasons, Marlins attendance fell to 1.7 million in 1996, 13th in the NL. Since then the team has always been 14th or 15th in attendance.

Huizenga, claiming losses of \$20 million that season, made a desperate attempt to salvage fan interest, and money, by investing heavily in free agents prior to the 1997 season. He hoped that victories on the field would translate into more fans in the stands and encourage interest in a new baseball-only stadium, deemed necessary for the survival of the franchise. In 1996 he brought in top pitchers Kevin Brown (1.89 ERA) and Al Leiter (2.93). The following year he invested a record \$89 million on free agents, including five-year contracts for Alex Fernandez (\$35 million) and Moises Alou (\$25 million) and \$23.3 million over four years for Bobby Bonilla. The 1997 team had a \$47.8 million payroll, seventh highest in the majors. Huizenga also hired Jim Leyland, who had had great success as manager of the Pittsburgh Pirates, for \$1.2 million per year. The gambit paid off, and the Marlins finished the season at 92–70, second place in the NL East, good enough to secure the wild-card bid. They swept San Francisco in three games in the NL Division Series and defeated Atlanta four games to two in the NL Championship Series to reach the World Series. There, they outlasted the Cleveland Indians in a classic seven-game series, with shortstop Edgar Renteria hitting the game-winning single in the bottom of the 11th inning of game seven. Livan Hernandez was Series MVP.

Despite the championship, Huizenga reported losses of \$34 million. Fielding a winning team loaded with stars, the team drew only about 2.3 million fans in the regular season, and struggled to fill the stadium during the playoffs. With no new stadium deal, Huizenga authorized a purge of his expensive roster, and within a year virtually every high-priced star in the lineup was gone. Long-time fan favorite Jeff Conine was traded to Kansas City, and others traded included Alou, Brown, Leiter, and Robb Nen. The biggest deal came after the beginning of the 1998 season, when Sheffield, Bonilla, Charles Johnson, and Jim Eisenrich were traded to the Los Angeles Dodgers for Todd Zeile and Mike Piazza, who was himself soon traded to the Mets. Victim of the inflated cost of operating a major-league franchise, the Marlins' roster was left with few quality players, and the team became the first defending World Series champion to lose more than 100 games the following season.

The fire sale drew the ire of Marlin fans and baseball purists, as well many observers who questioned the legitimacy of Huizenga's accounting. Huizenga publicly moaned about the losses incurred by the team, but made no mention of the considerable profit earned by Pro Player Stadium as well as many other assets. Economist Andrew Zimbalist estimated that Huizenga actually netted over \$13 million for the 1997 season, crediting luxury suites, club seats, parking, concessions, and naming-rights money all to the ballpark, owned by a separate company, instead of the Marlins. Huizenga planned to sell the team

for tax purposes and further gains rather than eliminate a losing part of his business empire.

As the wins left, so did the fans. Huizenga, once lauded in South Florida, was vilified by the fans, and his frustrations mounted after the World Series win. He finally jettisoned the team in January 1999, selling it to John W. Henry, a hedge-fund manager, Boca Raton resident, and minority owner of the New York Yankees. By then Huizenga had cut the payroll to \$15 million, lowest in MLB.

In 2001 the Marlins lost \$27.7 million from baseball operations according to MLB, offset by \$18.6 million in revenue sharing, resulting in a deficit of \$9,180,000 (*Forbes*, however, reported the Marlins made \$14 million). The unfavorable lease on Huizenga's ballpark resulted in local revenues of just \$4 million, second lowest in the majors, and overall the total local revenue was just \$36.1 million, third lowest in the majors.

With no new park and increasing fan apathy, the Marlins were mentioned among several candidates for contraction in October 2001. In December, Henry sold the team to Jeffrey Loria, formerly the owner of the Expos, who quickly felt the brunt of fan disinterest. Only the anonymous purchase of 18,000 tickets on the final day of the 2002 season kept the Marlins from the lowest attendance of any team, finishing with 813,118, just ahead of Montreal.

From such dubious circumstances sprung the 2003 World Series champion team, a much more surprising champion than the 1997 version. That team, filled with free agents and superstars, the seventh-highest-paid squad in MLB at \$47.8 million, emerged from spring training with great optimism and spent the entire season near the top of the rankings. At the start of the 2003 season, the team was worth \$172 million. The team's mediocre early performance led to the firing of manager Jeff Torborg in May, replaced by 72-year-old Jack McKeon. The 2003 Marlins squad assumed something of a magical quality, though, and finished the season with the best record in the league after June 1. This team was made up of bargain players. Juan Pierre, acquired via a trade with the Rockies, was an excellent base stealer and leadoff hitter, and free agent Ivan "Pudge" Rodriguez, signed for one season at \$10 million, anchored the team. Virtually every other impact player came from within the Marlins system. Two rookies, pitcher Dontrelle Willis (who won Rookie of the Year) and outfielder Miguel Cabrera, made key contributions. Young stars A. J. Burnett, Brad Penny, and Josh Beckett, who blossomed in the postseason, anchored a solid pitching staff. The Marlins won with defense, pitching, speed, intelligent play, and an intangible chemistry and faith in each other. In the playoffs, they overcame the San Francisco Giants 3–1 in the NLDS and the Chicago Cubs in seven games in the NLCS. In the World Series, the Marlins beat the New York Yankees, winning the deciding game six on the road at Yankee Stadium. Josh Beckett was Series MVP. The Yankees represented one of baseball's oldest and most storied teams, filled with high-priced and experienced players, and had one of the highest payrolls in the league. The Marlins were one of baseball's newest teams and a possible target for contraction, with

a roster dominated by young players with little playoff experience and one of the lowest payrolls. In a league lately dominated by big-spending teams, the Marlins, along with the successful recent teams of the Oakland A's, Arizona Diamondbacks, and Anaheim Angels, proved that the team with the largest payroll does not always win the championship.

The Marlins missed the wild card in 2004 and 2005, finishing third both seasons. The failure in 2005 was a big disappointment, as the team faded in the last week. There were terrific performances by Dontrelle Willis, who went 22–10 with a 2.63 ERA, and free agent Carlos Delgado, who hit 33 homers with 115 RBIs. Jack McKeon resigned as manager after the season.

The Marlins represent some of the main current themes in MLB. From the beginning the franchise was particularly attentive to Hispanic fans in South Florida and throughout Latin America. For its inaugural season, the team launched a media campaign declaring the Marlins “the Team of the Americas,” with sales agents throughout Latin America. The team arranged promotional travel packages with American Airlines for fans travel-



Alex Golzalez leaps on Derek Lee and Ivan Rodriguez after the Marlins defeated the New York Yankees to win the 2003 World Series. © AP / Wide World Photos

ing to Miami, and the airline was a core advertiser in the team's early years. No detail escaped the Latin influence, as the concession stands offered many traditional Cuban dishes, and the radio play-by-play man called home runs in both English and Spanish: "Wave it bye-bye" and "*Hasta la vista.*" It is no coincidence that Hispanic players have not only been favorites with the fans, but have also played key roles in the team's success. The team has always been peppered with Hispanic players, and it has had an advantage in attracting free agents, many of whom feel at home in heavily Hispanic Miami. Its first signee in 1991 was Clemente Nunez, a 16-year-old pitcher from the Dominican Republic. Puerto Rican Benito Santiago hit the club's first home run in its inaugural game in 1993, and his teammate Cuban-born first baseman Orestes Destrade was another favorite of the fans. The most sensational player signing in the team's history was that of Livan Hernandez, who defected from Cuba in 1995, quickly signed a four-year, \$4.5 million contract with the Marlins, and went on to star on the 1997 championship team. A close second was Miami native and Cuban American Alex Fernandez, whose signing prior to the 1997 season sparked ticket sales and interest from his hometown fans. The 1997 World Series-winning hit came off the bat of Edgar Renteria, from Colombia. More recent stars have included Luis Castillo, who had a team record 35-game hitting streak in 2002 and was a key part of the 2003 championship run; Ivan Rodriguez, who had clutch hits throughout the playoffs and the World Series; and Venezuelan Miguel Cabrera.

Another recurring theme for the Marlins, as well as many other professional franchises, has been the stadium dispute. The stadium was a key element in Wayne Huizenga's bid for an expansion franchise, as his was the only bid including a stadium already in place. Huizenga anticipated that Joe Robbie Stadium was only a temporary home, with a new baseball-only stadium to be built in the near future. The new stadium never came. The labor issues of the mid-1990s left most baseball fans unenthusiastic about supporting billionaire owners like Huizenga, and a bill proposing a \$60 million tax break to pay for improvements to Pro Player Stadium failed in 1997, a key reason for Huizenga's sale of the team. Plans for a \$325 million athletic park and new retractable-roof stadium in Miami, proposed in 2003, failed to pass the Miami-Dade County Commission. Most recently, the Marlins and the city of Miami have been unable to compromise the funding mechanisms for a \$420 million stadium next to Dolphins Stadium. In the meantime, the Marlins play in Dolphins Stadium and suffer rain-filled South Florida summers.

The Florida Marlins face many challenges moving ahead. The stadium issue took a bitter turn when team officials met with Las Vegas mayor Oscar Goodman early in 2005 to discuss the possibility of moving the team. In response, Wayne Huizenga announced that the Marlins would no longer be allowed to use Dolphins Stadium after 2010. While the Marlins and the city of Miami seem reasonably close to a stadium deal, nearly 15 years of frustration may prove insurmountable. The Marlins also face the challenge of remaining com-

petitive after their 2003 World Series title. While they avoided a purge like 1997, they did not re-sign catcher Ivan Rodriguez. The payroll fell to 25th in the majors (\$42 million), and the team has not yet returned to championship form. Also in doubt is the loyalty of the South Florida fans, who have tended to abandon the team during losing seasons. Such obstacles are merely the price of operating a modern franchise, though, a task at which the young Florida Marlins have excelled thus far.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Rookie of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
2003	Dontrelle Willis	P

ERA Champion

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>ERA</i>
1996	Kevin Brown	1.89

No-Hitters

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Al Leiter	05/11/1996
Kevin Brown	06/10/1997
A. J. Burnett	05/12/2001

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES

NL Wild Cards

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1997	92–70	Jim Leyland
2003	91–71	Jeff Torborg Jack McKeon

NL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1997	92–70	Jim Leyland
2003	91–71	Jeff Torborg Jack McKeon

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>	<i>MVP</i>
1997	Cleveland	Livan Hernandez
2003	New York	Josh Beckett

MANAGERS

2006–	Joe Girardi
2003–2005	Jack McKeon
2002–2003	Jeff Torborg
2001	Tony Perez
1999–2001	John Boles
1997–1998	Jim Leyland
1996	John Boles
1996	Cookie Rojas
1993–1996	Rene Lachemann

Team Records by Individual Players

Batting Leaders	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Plate Appearances
Batting average	Luis Castillo	.334	2000	Juan Pierre	.303	2,212
On-base %	Gary Sheffield	.465	1996	Gary Sheffield	.426	2,358
Slugging %	Gary Sheffield	.624	1996	Gary Sheffield	.543	2,358
OPS	Gary Sheffield	1.090	1996	Gary Sheffield	.970	2,358
Games	Jeff Conine	162	1993	Luis Castillo	1128	4,966
At bats	Juan Pierre	678	2004	Luis Castillo	4,347	4,966
Runs	Cliff Floyd	123	2001	Luis Castillo	675	4966
Hits	Juan Pierre	221	2004	Luis Castillo	1,273	4,966
Total bases	Miguel Cabrera	324	2005	Mike Lowell	1641	4,003
Doubles	Cliff Floyd	45	1998	Mike Lowell	241	4,003
Triples	Juan Pierre	13	2005	Luis Castillo	42	4,966
Home runs	Gary Sheffield	42	1996	Mike Lowell	143	4,003
RBI	Preston Wilson	121	2000	Mike Lowell	578	4,003
Walks	Gary Sheffield	142	1996	Luis Castillo	533	4,966
Strikeouts	Preston Wilson	187	2000	Derrick Lee	734	3,251
Stolen bases	Juan Pierre	65	2003	Luis Castillo	281	4,966
Extra-base hits	Cliff Floyd	79	2001	Mike Lowell	387	400
Times on base	Gary Sheffield	315	1996	Luis Castillo	1,814	4,966

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		
	Name			Name		Innings Pitched
ERA	Kevin Brown	1.89	1996	Dontrelle Willis	3.27	594
Wins	Dontrelle Willis	22	2001	A. J. Burnett	49	853.7
Won-loss %	Dontrelle Willis	.700	2003	Josh Beckett	.547	609
Hits/9 IP	Al Leiter	6.39	1996	A. J. Burnett	7.58	853.7
Walks/9 IP	Kevin Brown	1.27	1996	Dontrelle Willis	2.64	594
Strikeouts	Ryan Dempster	209	2000	A. J. Burnett	753	853.7
Strikeouts/ 9 IP	A. J. Burnett	8.94	2002	Josh Beckett	8.97	609
Games	Braden Looper	78	2002	Braden Looper	368	388
Saves	Armando Benitez	47	2004	Robb Nen	108	3,140
Innings	Kevin Brown	237.3	1997	A. J. Burnett	853.7	853.7
Starts	Ryan Dempster	34	2001	A. J. Burnett	131	853.7
Complete games	Livan Hernandez	9	1998	A. J. Burnett	14	853.7
Shutouts	A. J. Burnett	5	2002	A. J. Burnett	8	853.7

Source: Drawn from data in "Florida Marlins Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/FLA/leaders_bat.shtml; "Florida Marlins Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/FLA/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Houston Astros

Benjamin D. Lisle

The first recorded game for a Houston baseball club was on April 21, 1867. Over 1,000 saw the Houston Stonewalls crush the Galveston Robert E. Lees 35–2, allegedly on the grounds of the Battle of San Jacinto, where Sam Houston’s Texan army had routed Santa Ana’s Mexican army in 1836. For the next two decades, various amateur club teams played in Houston, forming and dissolving without much record of their existence.

The Texas League played its inaugural season in 1888, starting the year with teams in Houston, Fort Worth, Dallas, Austin, San Antonio, and Galveston. By the end of the season, only Dallas and Austin clubs remained. The weaker teams, beset by poor attendance and incompetence, had gradually dropped out. The Houston club reappeared in 1889 under new management and, renamed “the Babies,” won the Texas League title. The league and its teams remained highly unstable for the remainder of the century.

Houston’s 1905 Texas League installment was renamed “the Buffaloes”—a name that stuck for the remainder of the club’s existence through 1961. In 1925 the St. Louis Cardinals acquired the club for its farm system, an affiliation that lasted until 1958. Funded by Branch Rickey, the club broke ground on a new 18-acre, 12,000-seat stadium in early 1928 on the east side of Houston, adjacent to the interurban railroad tracks. Buff Stadium would be the home of Houston baseball until 1962.

Houston boomed in the postwar years and already had a larger population than most major-league cities. After moving to Houston in 1946, George Kirksey, a former sportswriter who had started a small public-relations firm, committed himself to landing the city a major-league club. Lacking the financial

means himself, he tried to cobble together investor groups to purchase a club. However, the major leagues seemed uninterested in expanding so far south, and Kirksey was unable to sell the idea of relocation to discontented owners of existing clubs.

In 1956, Kirksey joined forces with Craig Cullinan, a Texaco heir, who two years later formed the Houston Sports Association (HSA), a syndicate of 28 investors. Cullinan and Kirksey's fundamental problem was that local civic leaders wouldn't support the building of a stadium until the city was promised a franchise, but no franchises would move without a ballpark in place. The Harris County Board of Park Commissioners was created to put together a proposal for a new stadium to encourage the arrival of MLB. On their recommendation, Houston voters on July 25, 1958, approved a \$20 million bond issue to finance a domed stadium that would alleviate the problems of summer heat.

The HSA applied for admission to both the American and National Leagues in 1958, and later joined other minor-league cities to start a third major league, the Continental League. At that time, Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee chaired a subcommittee exploring the application of antitrust laws to professional sports leagues. Bill 3483 emerged from this subcommittee, and it clearly stated that preventing the creation and operation of a new major-league baseball club was an antitrust violation. Kefauver was a close friend of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas. Roy Hofheinz, who had aided Johnson's political campaigning in Harris County in the 1940s, lobbied Johnson heavily. Johnson pushed for an early vote on the bill, which nearly resulted in its passage. Major-league owners, once confident in an easy victory, were spooked by this near defeat, and were ready to negotiate with potential Continental League cities to head off the creation of a new major league. The expansion committee added two new teams to the AL in 1961 and the NL in 1962.

Houston's baseball group was strengthened when Kirksey convinced local oilman R. E. "Bob" Smith, whose net worth approached \$1 billion, to increase his financial commitment to the HSA. Smith wanted his business partner, Roy Hofheinz, to be involved as well. The colorful Hofheinz had been the youngest man ever to become a U.S. county judge, at age 24, and as mayor of Houston he had encouraged the city's business boom. The duo provided the HSA with a unique combination of wealth and political savvy. Hofheinz also brought with him the vision of an air-conditioned stadium.

The NL awarded New York and Houston expansion franchises on October 17, 1960. The league required a \$5 million deposit for the costs of getting the franchise running and an additional \$1.75 million to be spent on players in an expansion draft following the 1961 season. When 12 of the original 27 HSA stockholders were unwilling to back their earlier pledges, Cullinan had to offer larger ownership roles to Smith and Hofheinz, who each ended up with 33 percent of HSA stock (Smith financed Hofheinz's share), while Cullinan held 15 percent and Kirksey just 2 percent.

Hofheinz began vigorously promoting his vision of a domed stadium to anyone who would listen, lugging a \$35,000 model of the promised structure around the city. Houston voters, with an NL franchise in hand, approved Propositions 1 and 2 on January 31, 1961. Proposition 1 provided \$18 million in bonds for the construction of a stadium and acquisition of a site. It passed by a vote of 62,023 to 54,204. Proposition 2 allowed for \$4 million in bonds to build access roads and bridges to the site, and it was approved by a vote of 64,041 to 48,292. It was the largest turnout in the city for a bond election ever. Precincts in southern and western Houston (where the stadium would be located) tended to vote for the issue, while those in northern and eastern Houston either voted against it or passed it by a slim margin. It was particularly supported by black precincts.

African American reformers linked the desegregation of public facilities in Houston to the city's drive for a major-league baseball team. Quentin Mease, a Houston activist, threatened to mobilize the black vote against the stadium if it were not fully desegregated. Local television producer Jack Harris told Hofheinz, "Have you thought what will happen when the Giants come to Houston? . . . You can't have Willie Mays and the other ballplayers staying at a segregated hotel." Hofheinz and other business leaders agreed. More interested in financial spoils and prestige than Jim Crow, they collaborated with local media outlets to desegregate downtown stores and restaurants without news coverage, effectively preventing organized resistance. *Houston Chronicle* publisher John T. Jones, whose Houston Endowment owned the Rice, Lamar, and McKinney hotels, helped end the whites-only policies of the city's major hotels on April 1, 1962, mere days before the start of the club's first season.

The HSA held a contest in early 1961 to name the new team. "The Colt .45s" was chosen, from among 12,000 suggestions, to represent the city's bold and brazen character. Gabe Paul, general manager of the Cincinnati Reds, agreed to take the same position with Houston a week after the city was awarded the franchise. Paul brought with him William Giles, son of the NL president, and Tal Smith, his administrative assistant. Paul's fiscal conservatism and commitment to the baseball product clashed considerably with Hofheinz's promotional frivolity and baseball ignorance, and he quickly resigned in April 1961.

The HSA then turned to Paul Richards, the field manager of the Baltimore Orioles. Richards faced the difficult task of starting a team from scratch. Following the 1961 season, the club chose players in an expansion draft. The Houston and New York franchises alternately picked players in the expansion draft from a pool of players designated by other NL clubs. Houston ultimately paid NL owners \$1.85 million for 23 marginal players. The Mets tended to choose older, experienced players who would be known by fans, hoping to boost attendance. Houston, conversely, focused on young talent and a handful of veterans, emphasizing pitching and defense.

The HSA and the county had planned to begin construction of the new domed stadium, the first covered baseball field, shortly after voters approved the general obligation bonds in January 1961. The team played in Colt Stadium, quickly erected in the Astrodome's future parking lot. The 33,000-seat temporary stadium was estimated to cost \$800,000 to build, but the bill ran to \$2 million. Hofheinz's appetite for extravagance drove its extra costs and explained its peculiar amenities. A *New York Daily News* reporter called the park "the damnedest you ever saw, its atmosphere is a blend of Disneyland and the old Wild West."

Seats were painted flamingo red, burnt orange, chartreuse, and turquoise—in Hofheinz's mind, to attract women. Employees wore western-themed costumes and fans parked in lots with names like "Wyatt Earp Territory." At a cost of \$150 per year, season ticket holders became members of the Fast Draw Club, a bar and restaurant located in a temporary clapboard building behind home plate. Bartenders with handlebar mustaches and waitresses in fishnet stockings served the food as a player piano and saloon girl on a swing above the bar provided the entertainment. Hofheinz even had powder-blue cowboy outfits tailored—from boots to Stetsons—for all the players to wear on road trips. The owners tried anything to combat the unavoidable discomfort of watching baseball outdoors in Houston. Heat, humidity, and ravenous mosquito hordes preyed on fans and players alike, and few today recall the ballpark fondly.

The club drew 924,456 to Colt Stadium in the inaugural year. The Colt .45s, managed by Harry Craft, won their first game, played against the Cubs, by a score of 11–2 on April 10, 1962, in front of 25,271 fans. Houston finished eighth in the NL (64–96), ahead of the Cubs and the expansion New York Mets.

As construction on the domed stadium limped forward, it became clear that \$22 million would not be enough to complete the massive project. A \$9.6 million supplemental bond issue was approved on December 22, 1962, by a vote of 42,911 to 36,110. At this time, Cullinan left the HSA, convinced that Hofheinz's influence and interests were undermining baseball in Houston. Bob Smith bought Cullinan's shares at his request. Smith and Hofheinz then owned 96 percent of the HSA, and just three of the original shareholders still owned stakes in the club.

The Colt .45s slipped to ninth in 1963 and 1964 with identical 66–96 seasons, with attendance down to about 720,000 each year. The franchise announced a name change on December 1, 1964. Hofheinz originally favored the name "Stars," hoping to project an image of progressive savvy, while Kirksey and others wanted the team to embrace the Texas past. The Colt Firearms Company had originally approved the use of its gun's name in merchandising. However, as the opening of the domed stadium loomed, the company informed the HSA that it expected a share in receipts of all merchandise using the Colt .45 logo. This challenge gave Hofheinz the opportunity to bury the Wild West imagery for his preferred franchise persona—the technological future. Taking

its lead from NASA's new \$200 million Manned Spacecraft Complex just south of the city, the team became the Astros.

Ground for the Harris County Domed Stadium, popularly known as the Astrodome, was broken on January 3, 1962, when city officials fired faux Colt .45 pistols into the ground, and construction began a year later. The final cost of the project was \$45,350,000: \$31.6 million was financed through bonds approved by a referendum and spent on general construction, architectural and engineering fees, land acquisition, and parking-lot and access-road pavement; \$6 million was spent by Hofheinz and the HSA to outfit the stadium with scoreboards, restaurants, skyboxes, and other concessions; and the remainder was spent by city and state agencies and property owners on road development.

The structure was located seven miles southeast of downtown Houston, on a site owned by Smith that had limited real-estate value because it tended to flood. At its highest point, the roof was 218 feet tall and spanned 642 feet in diameter. It included a 260-acre parking lot with enough spaces for 30,000 cars. The stadium had 45,000 seats for baseball, 52,000 for football, and 65,000 for conventions. In addition to baseball, the dome would also host college and professional football, conventions, circuses, trade shows, rodeos, Billy Graham revivals, a Muhammad Ali fight, and the famed tennis match between Billie Jean King and Bobby Riggs. An exhibit center, Astrohalla, was built adjacent to the stadium and opened in 1966. Two years later, the Astroworld amusement park and Astrodomain hotel and motel complex made their debuts. Finally, in 1975, the 6,600-seat Astroarena was introduced.

The president of ABC Television called the Astrodome "a practical monument to the imagination of the Space Age man, who dreams of better things and then goes out and makes them happen," precisely the reaction Hofheinz and other civic leaders hoped to provoke from visitors. Hofheinz boasted of the "Eighth Wonder of the World" and that "nobody can ever see this and go back to Kalamazoo, Chicago, New York, you name it, and still think this town is bush league, that this town is Indian territory."

The Astrodome employed and displayed technology at every opportunity. The ability to watch a baseball game indoors was itself a great feat, requiring a \$4.5 million air-conditioning system maintained by "the Brain"—a massive computer reckoned to do the work of 280 men. The center-field scoreboard was four stories high and 474 feet long, covered 1,800 square feet, and cost \$2 million. Its animated shorts enthralled visitors and prompted promotional writers to claim that "the scoreboard pyrotechnics are so spectacular that some fans will now say: 'Let's go to the Scoreboard tonight,' instead of the tried and true 'Let's go to the ball game.'"

The technological contributions to comfort and entertainment benefited fans from the cheapest seats to the most expensive. One of Hofheinz's favorite features of the Astrodome was that all the seats were padded, and he claimed, "If we've established grandeur we've done it for the bleacher fan and the country club member." A pavilion seat in center field cost \$1.50, and most of the stadi-

um's seats were priced between \$2.50 (for reserved) and \$3.50 (for box seats). High-end patrons could take out a five-year lease on one of the 53 luxury boxes ringing the top of the stadium. Five-year leases for 24-seat boxes were \$15,000 per year, while 30-seat boxes cost \$18,600 per year. There were also two larger 54-seat boxes that could be leased for \$33,000 per year. Each box of seats was backed by a club room clad in pile carpeting and stocked with a telephone, radio, Dow Jones stock ticker, television, toilet, ice maker, and bar. The club rooms were each designed with a different motif, from the "Las Vegas" room, which had large dice as tables, to more exotic themes like "Bangkok" or "Old Mexico." Hofheinz extended his penchant for the gaudy and exotic to his own two-level, 2,000-square-foot apartment built into the stadium, outfitted with gold-plated fixtures, bronze Siamese lions, a cedar-lined Finnish sauna, and even an inlaid-pearl-covered bedside Bible. A five-level, 10,000-square-foot presidential suite was added for Lyndon Johnson, who, alas, never graced it with a stay.

Sports Illustrated wondered, "Just what, you may ask, has all this live-in luxury and astral salesmanship got to do with sport?" Hofheinz, unapologetically, was trying to alter the experience at the ballpark. Eighty-three percent of the country's population growth occurred in suburbs between 1950 and 1970, and the Astrodome was symbolic of this movement, motivated by conspicuous consumption, the ever-increasing use of the private automobile, the privileging of the nuclear family, the separation of work and leisure, and economic segregation. Like the air-conditioned mall, the Astrodome was a quasi-public space that welcomed women and children to enjoy a clean and safe environment that satisfied the needs of both consumption and community. Hofheinz related his philosophy to writer Roger Angell: "We have removed baseball from the rough-and-tumble era. I don't believe in the old red-necked sports concept, and we are disproving it there. We're in the business of sports entertainment." Baseball traditionalists feared this sanitization of the ballpark. Yet the Astrodome's luxury boxes and exploding scoreboards would become the norm in future stadiums, as would its artificial grass. Astro turf, in true domestic form, was tidied up not by lawnmower but by vacuum cleaner.

Aside from its alteration of traditional sports space, many opposed the stadium simply on the grounds of civic responsibility. Writer Larry McMurtry articulated the position of many who opposed, then and now, the publicly funded stadium: "It seemed a bit conscienceless for a city with leprous slums, an inadequate charity hospital, a mediocre public library, a needy symphony, and other cultural and humanitarian deficiencies to sink more than \$31 million in public funds into a ballpark." Thoughtful visitors seemed both captivated by and anxious about its tidiness and technological prowess.

The first game at the Astrodome was an exhibition on April 9, 1965, in which the Astros defeated the Yankees 2–1. The player had a hard time seeing fly balls with the semitransparent cream-colored panels in the roof, so the ceiling tiles were painted. But then the grass died, which led to the installation of

the Astroturf in 1966. It was replaced three years later by Monsanto's "Magic Carpet" system.

Attendance at the Yankees game was 47,876, including President Lyndon Johnson and Lady Bird Johnson. Hofheinz entertained the honored guests in the owner's suite, but did not invite Bob Smith until late in the game. This insult, in a suite Smith had largely paid for himself, exacerbated Smith's growing discontent with Hofheinz's ways. Soon thereafter, Smith demanded that Hofheinz either buy him out or be bought out.

Remarkably, Hofheinz was able to call Smith's bluff and raise the necessary \$7.5 million through loans, silent partners, and his own wealth. Smith was amazed, but unwilling to rescind his ultimatum, and he was out of the picture by mid-1965. The HSA was then at the whim of Hofheinz's vision, which subordinated baseball to the larger Astrodome entertainment concept. Broadcaster Gene Elston said of Hofheinz, "He was the dumbest genius I've ever known."

The move to the new park did not help on the playing field, as the club, under Lum Harris, remained mired in ninth place (65–97), although attendance skyrocketed to 2,151,470. Grady Hattan managed the next three years, and the team fell from 8th to 9th to 10th. The one bright spot was Rusty Staub, who hit .333 in 1967. The NL added two teams and split into two divisions in 1969, which helped the Astros, managed by Harry Walker, to an 81–81 record, the franchise's first nonlosing record. Larry Dierker won 20 games with a 2.33 ERA. Three years later, the club finished second with its first winning season at 84–69. However, by 1975, the club had slipped to its worst record ever, at 64–97, finishing a staggering 43 1/2 games back in the division. The team's top players then were Cesar Cedeno and Bob Watson, who both played over a dozen years for the Astros.

Ineptitude on the field mirrored failure in the club offices. Hofheinz's profligate spending finally caught up with him. On September 23, 1976, Hofheinz was forced to sell his stock interest in the Astrodome complex—which included the Astros, the lease on the Astrodome, the Astroworld amusement park (then being leased and run by Six Flags), and 300 acres of undeveloped land in south Houston—to the two principal creditors, General Electric Credit Corporation and the Ford Motor Credit Corporation. The claims of GE, Ford, and other lesser creditors on Hofheinz and the HSA had been in excess of \$38 million.

GE and Ford ran the Astrodome Corporation jointly until November 21, 1978, when Ford bought out GE. The company hoped to raise the value of the Astros by improving the team's performance. The Astros clawed back to respectability under Bill Virdon, who managed from 1975 through 1982, with records of 80–82, 81–81, and 74–88, before the strong second-place, 89-win campaign of 1979. Before 1979, the club had finished with a winning record twice; after that season, it would enjoy winning records in 18 of the next 26 years.

John McMullen and Dave LeFevre bought Astrodome from Ford on May 16, 1979, for just under \$19 million. McMullen, who held 25 percent of the shares, was a 61-year-old marine architect and one of George Steinbrenner's 16 limited partners with the Yankees. LeFevre, a New York City lawyer, took possession of 10 percent of the total shares. The remaining 65 percent was spread among 25 limited partners.

McMullen's group inherited arguments between the HSA and Harris County regarding the lease of the Astrodome. County officials claimed that the HSA owed the county approximately \$1.4 million from gross receipts and between \$3 million and \$4 million worth of repairs to the Astrodome parking lot and roof. County officials also hoped to renegotiate the Astrodome lease. The original yearly rent of \$750,000 was intended to retire the \$15 million in bonds approved in the 1961 vote. However, the lease was not renegotiated after the additional \$9.6 million in bonds were issued in 1963. In 1979, the county claimed this discrepancy cost the taxpayers \$8.9 million.

McMullen gained the good favor of Astros fans almost instantly, signing Nolan Ryan to a record-setting contract in November 1979. Ryan, from nearby Alvin, Texas, became baseball's first million-dollar man, signing a four-year deal worth over \$4 million per year. He would arguably become the franchise's iconic figure, winning 106 games for the Astros. McMullen's failure to re-sign him in 1988 would outrage Houstonians.

McMullen's investment in Ryan and free agent Joe Morgan, who had played his first nine seasons for Houston before becoming a star for the Cincinnati Reds, paid off instantly, although neither had a banner season in 1980. The Astros won their first division title, despite losing a three-game lead over the Los Angeles Dodgers with three games to play in the season, as they bounced back to defeat them in a one-game playoff. The squad had terrific pitching, leading the NL with a sparkling 3.10 ERA. Joe Niekro's 20 wins was second in the league. The club then lost to the Philadelphia Phillies in a five-game NL Championship Series in which each of the final four games went into extra innings. The Astros took a two-run lead into the 8th inning of game five, with Ryan on the mound, but lost in the 10th. They had come within six outs of the World Series.

To the chagrin of most Houston fans, McMullen dismissed popular general manager Tal Smith. In the wake of this turmoil, the 1981 season was shortened by a player strike, and the Astros struggled through the first half before bouncing back to win the season's second half with a mark of 33–20. The winners of each half met in a best-of-five playoff series for the Western Division title. After defeating the Dodgers in the first two games in the Astrodome, Dodgers pitching shut them down in Los Angeles, as Houston lost the division with three straight losses.

Though the team remained competitive through the first half of the 1980s, attendance dropped significantly from a franchise record of almost 2.3 million in 1980. By 1985, when less than 1.2 million attended games in the Astrodome, John McMullen was threatening to move the team to the Washington,

DC, area. Things did not look good for the franchise, with the seventh-highest payroll in the majors in 1986, but the season proved a pleasant surprise—and attendance jumped over half a million.

Pitcher Mike Scott (18–10, and an NL best 2.22 ERA) received the NL's Cy Young Award, Glenn Davis finished second in MVP voting, and Hal Lanier was named Manager of the Year. The Astros finished 96–66 and won the NL West by 10 games; it was the franchise's most successful season on the field. The Astros battled the New York Mets in the best-of-seven NLCS. Mike Scott remained brilliant, winning game one 1–0 and giving up only three hits in game four. However, the Astros were unable to get the NLCS MVP the ball for game seven, losing a dramatic game six in 16 innings. Three of the Mets' four wins came in their last at bat.

The club struggled through the early 1990s. Then, in July 1992, Drayton McLane Jr. bought the club for \$90 million and the Astrodome lease for \$25 million. He refused to buy some of the HSA interests, however, including the three Astrodomain hotels. The 56-year-old McLane was the vice chairman of Wal-Mart Stores and was worth more than \$370 million. McLane's Baptist religiosity and Texas address were emphasized in newspaper articles, painting him as a blue-collar millionaire (and implicitly contrasting him with the much-maligned outgoing New Yorker, John McMullen).

McMullen's reign was a bittersweet one for Houston fans. He was widely praised for signing Nolan Ryan in 1979, but equally vilified for letting him leave in 1988. He spent money on players early in his tenure, giving lucrative contracts to Hall of Famers like Joe Morgan and Don Sutton, but fired the popular and talented Tal Smith, and in later years pruned the roster severely while turning a healthy profit. McMullen's purchase of the team had excited fans in 1979; McLane's acquisition invoked the same hope in 1992.

The cornerstone of the club since the mid-1990s were their Killer Bs, Craig Biggio and Jeff Bagwell. Biggio started in 1988 as a 22-year-old catcher, but spent most of his career at second base or in the outfield, and made seven All-Star teams. Bagwell joined the club three years later at first base, and was a four-time All-Star. He became Houston's first NL MVP in 1994—only the third unanimous selection in league history—when he batted .368 with 39 homers and 124 RBIs in just 110 games. The Astros finished second in that strike-shortened season, and again in 1995, just a game back of the Colorado Rockies for the league's first-ever playoff wild-card berth. McLane estimated that he had lost \$65 million on the club by the end of 1995 and had entered serious negotiations to sell the team to Virginia businessman Bill Collins, reportedly asking for \$150 million.

After another second place in 1996, the club broke through in 1997 to win the division (84–79), led by Bagwell with 135 RBIs; good young pitching, especially Darryl Kile (19–7, 2.53 ERA); and manager Larry Dierker, a former Astros pitcher and a team broadcaster since 1979. However, the Atlanta Braves swept them out of the NL Division Series, 3–0. The Astros repeated the performance, winning the division again in 1998 (102–60), with the NL's most productive

offense and second-best pitching. Bagwell, Moises Alou, and Derrick Bell combined for 343 RBIs. Dierker was named NL Manager of the Year, and general manager Gerry Hunsicker was given the *Sporting News* Executive of the Year Award. However, the San Diego Padres defeated them in the NLDS 3–1.

In 1999, the Astrodome's final season, the Astros won their third straight division title (97–65). Jose Lima and Mike Hampton combined for 43 victories. Bagwell hit .304 with 42 homers and 126 RBIs. But, as before, the Astros were routed in the NLDS, victims of the Atlanta Braves, 3–1. Since 1995, when McLane had offered the club for sale, attendance had boomed, nearly doubling from 1.4 million to 2.7 million in 1999. However, the Astros' stay in the Astrodome, described by one Houston writer as “anachronistic . . . the sporting world's equivalent of leisure suits and bell-bottoms,” was over. Although the team lost 25 more games in 2000 than in 1999, attendance jumped by 350,000 as fans flocked to the club's new home.

Houston had voters passed Proposition 1 on November 5, 1996, by a vote of 51 percent to 49 percent. The vote gave county commissioners approval to proceed with plans to build a \$265 million, 42,000-seat retractable-roof stadium downtown and work out financing for a proposed \$200 million refurbishing of the Astrodome.

Drayton McLane and Astros officials had worked hard to secure the support of Houston's various minority communities. Black leaders from the Urban League and NAACP backed the plan after the club promised that 30 percent of project contracts would go to minority businesses—a higher percentage than the 20 percent typically required of city projects. Houston's Asian American business leaders, many of whose interests were on Houston's east side, vocally supported the proposition as well. Such deals seemed vital to the proposition's passage, as a *Houston Chronicle* reporter chalked up the surprising stadium victory to an “uncommon inner city coalition of affluent white voters joined with lower- and middle-class minority voters to counter suburban middle-class voters.”

The proposition, of course, had other powerful and high-profile proponents as well. An enthusiastic and well-funded campaign for the stadium enlisted the aid of Nolan Ryan, former president George H. W. Bush, Enron chairman Ken Lay, Mayor Bob Lanier, and County Judge Robert Eckels, and barraged the airwaves with \$100,000 worth of ads per week as the vote approached.

Ground was broken on the project in October 1997, and construction began the following January. The site, formerly occupied by a homeless encampment, was immediately east of downtown Houston. The Ballpark at Union Station, as the stadium was originally called, ultimately cost \$248.2 million. The team paid 36 percent of the ballpark's total construction costs. In the end, the ballpark came in \$1.8 million under budget, and cost significantly less than the other retractable-roof stadiums built at about the same time: Phoenix's Bank One Ballpark (\$465 million) and Seattle's Safeco Field (\$500 million).

Under the terms of its contract, the team agreed to pay the Harris County–Houston Sports Authority \$4.6 million per year for rent and \$2.5 million for

repairs, and in return kept all revenues. McLane, who had claimed to have lost \$130 million on the team from 1992 to 2000 because of the Astrodome's inadequacies, estimated that the new park would mean at least \$20 million per year in additional revenues for the team.

Enron paid the Astros \$100 million over 30 years for the naming rights of the stadium. The company hoped to get as much as \$200 million over those 30 years through energy and management service contracts with the franchise. Enron chairman Ken Lay had been central to the stadium project, putting together a consortium in 1996 that contributed a \$34.7 million zero-interest loan to purchase downtown land and subsidize construction costs. Lay hoped to stimulate development in downtown Houston, and officials supporting the stadium construction were quick to point out the \$1.6 billion that had been spent in downtown construction when the ballpark opened, with an additional \$1 billion in construction planned. Property values in the area were surging—some plots adjacent to the ballpark site had tripled from \$30 per square foot since before construction began to \$100 by September 1999. Developers pushed projects integrating office, residential, and entertainment space.

The stadium's main entrance was Houston's old Union Station, a brick and limestone structure completed in 1911. It established the central design theme of the stadium—the ironwork and humpbacked roof were purportedly inspired by train sheds, and a replica 1860s locomotive, 57 feet long and weighing 48,000 pounds, chugged along 800 feet of track above the left-field seats. A minority was less enthusiastic about its retro design, criticizing it both for contrasting with downtown Houston's contemporary architecture and for recalling a history that the city never really had.

Bursting out of this stylized shell, however, was the park's highly technologized character. In addition to the retractable roof (which required only 12 minutes to open and close), the stadium boasted a massive 35-foot-high, 131-foot-long scoreboard above the right-center-field seats, a 45-foot-long video board above the center-field seats, a closed-caption scoreboard, three auxiliary scoreboards, and a sound system calibrated to each individual section of seating. Ironically, perhaps the most prized technological advancement in Houston was the presence of actual grass. After years on the artificial turf in the Astrodome, players were excited about the more forgiving surface, while fans could enjoy a more natural setting without sacrificing climate control on Houston's tropical days.

Enron Field opened on March 30, 2000, with an exhibition game against the New York Yankees. Roger Clemens, the hypermasculine Texas cult figure in the vein of Nolan Ryan, started for the visitors. Despite traffic problems, the stadium was hailed as a success and, according to the *Chronicle*, "a testament to the city's can-do spirit." Before the season, 20,500 season tickets had been sold, breaking the club record of 15,500 from the previous season. Perhaps most importantly for the Astros' finances, the stadium had 63 luxury suites,

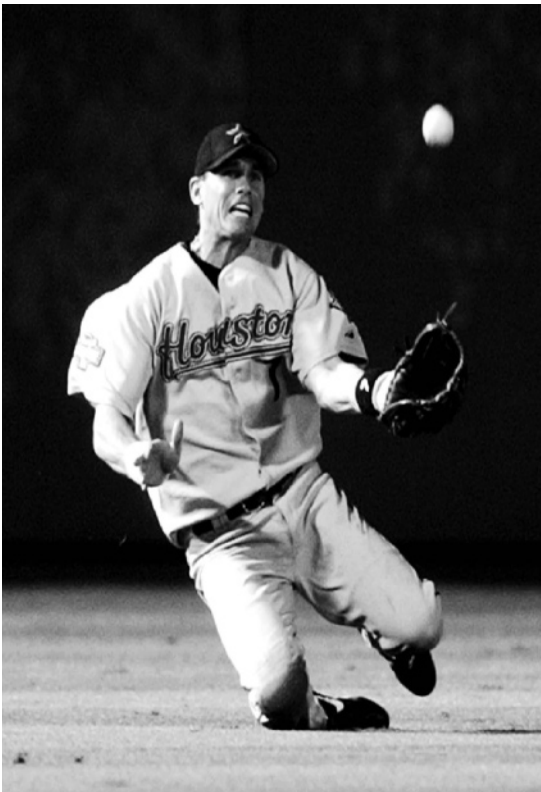
which in 2001 put the Astros in ninth place (\$36.8 million) among major-league teams in ballpark-generated local revenue.

The Astros struggled in Enron Field's opening season, finishing with a losing record for the first time since 1991. However, the club bounced back in 2001, winning its fourth division title in five years, despite modest pitching other than rookie Roy Oswalt, who was 14–3 with a 2.73 ERA. Bagwell, Lance Berkman, and Alou combined for 364 RBIs. Once again, the Atlanta Braves waited for them in the NLDS, and once again, the Braves sent the Astros packing, 3–1. According to MLB, the team's overall total revenue was \$100 million, slightly above the average. The team lost \$1.2 million from baseball operations, plus \$5.2 million in revenue sharing.

Following the collapse of Ken Lay's Enron, Houston's ballpark was renamed Minute Maid Park on June 5, 2002, at a cost of \$170 million for 28 years. The Astros finished second in 2002 and 2003, and expectations were high in 2004 with a team valued at \$320 million. The team spent freely that season, with the payroll up to \$75 million (12th in MLB), led by Bagwell at \$16 million. However, the talented and balanced squad limped to the All-Star break with a .500 record, before catching fire in the season's second half, winning the NL wild card. The

club was led by pitchers Oswalt (20–10) and 41-year-old free agent Roger Clemens, who went 18–4 with a 2.98 ERA and won his seventh Cy Young Award. The team then won its first playoff series in franchise history, finally defeating its historical postseason nemesis, the Atlanta Braves, 3–2. Houston lost game seven of the NLCS in St. Louis. Roger Clemens, who abandoned retirement to join the team, won his seventh Cy Young Award.

The 2005 Astros limped out of the gates, beginning the season with a 15–30 record as the club battled the losses of Jeff Kent and Carlos Beltran to free agency. The offense struggled throughout the season and was shut out 17 times. However, the club's pitching was superb. Roy Oswalt won 20 games, Roger Clemens had a major league-leading ERA of 1.87, Andy Pettite tallied 17 wins with a 2.39 ERA, Brad Wheeler was among the game's best setup men, and Brad Lidge saved 42 games. After



Craig Biggio makes a diving catch during the National League Division Series, 2004. © AP / Wide World Photos



Roger Clemens of the Houston Astros pitches during the 2005 MLB All-Star Game.
© AP / Wide World Photos

the dismal start, the Astros went 74–43 for the remainder of the regular season, winning the NL Wild Card on the final day of the season. It was the club’s sixth playoff appearance in nine years, and their postseason opponents were familiar foes. The Astros again defeated the Braves in the Divisional Series, after a dramatic game-four, 18th-inning homer by Chris Burke in the longest game in playoff history. The club then exacted revenge on the heavily favored Cardinals in six games for the club’s first pennant. Craig Biggio and Jeff Bagwell had finally reached the World Series. However, the franchise would have to wait for its first world title. Houston’s remarkable comeback season came to an end when it lost to a superior Chicago White Sox club in four close games.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1994	Jeff Bagwell	1B

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1986	Mike Scott	RHP
2004	Roger Clemens	RHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1991	Jeff Bagwell	1B

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1979	J. R. Richard	2.71
1981	Nolan Ryan	1.69
1986	Mike Scott	2.22
1987	Nolan Ryan	2.76
1990	Danny Darwin	2.21
2005	Roger Clemens	1.87

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1978	J. R. Richard	303
1979	J. R. Richard	313
1986	Mike Scott	306
1987	Nolan Ryan	270
1988	Nolan Ryan	228

No-Hitters

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Don Nottebart	05/17/1963
Ken Johnson	04/23/1964
Don Wilson	06/18/1967
Don Wilson	05/01/1969
Larry Dierker	07/09/1976
Ken Forsch	04/07/1979
Nolan Ryan	09/26/1981
Mike Scott	09/25/1986
Darryl Kile	09/08/1993

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES**NL West Division Titles**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1980	93–70	Bill Virdon
1981	61–49	Bill Virdon
1986	96–66	Hal Lanier

NL Central Division Titles

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1997	84–78	Larry Dierker
1998	102–60	Larry Dierker
1999	97–65	Larry Dierker
2001	93–69	Larry Dierker

NL Wild Cards

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
2004	92–70	Phil Garner
2005	89–73	Phil Garner

NL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
2005	89–73	Phil Garner

MANAGERS

2004–	Phil Garner
2002–2004	Jimmy Williams
1997–2001	Larry Dierker
1994–1996	Terry Collins
1989–1993	Art Howe
1986–1988	Hal Lanier
1982–1985	Bob Lillis
1975–1982	Bill Virdon
1974–1975	Preston Gomez
1972–1973	Leo Durocher
1972	Salty Parker
1968–1972	Harry Walker
1966–1968	Grady Hatton
1964–1965	Lum Harris
1962–1964	Harry Craft

Team Records by Individual Players

	Single Season			Career		Plate Appearances
	Name		Year	Name		
Batting average	Jeff Bagwell	.367	1994	Lance Berkman	.302	3,813
On-base %	Jeff Bagwell	.454	1999	Lance Berkman	.416	3,813
Slugging %	Jeff Bagwell	.750	1994	Lance Berkman	.557	3,813
OPS	Jeff Bagwell	1.201	1994	Lance Berkman	.973	3,813
Games	Jeff Bagwell	162	1992	Craig Biggio	2,564	11,341
At bats	Enos Cabell	660	1978	Craig Biggio	9,811	11,341
Runs	Jeff Bagwell	152	2000	Craig Biggio	1,697	11,341
Hits	Craig Biggio	210	1998	Craig Biggio	2,795	11,341
Total bases	Jeff Bagwell	363	2000	Craig Biggio	4,283	11,341
Doubles	Craig Biggio	56	1999	Craig Biggio	564	11,341
Triples	Roger Metzger	14	1973	Jose Cruz	80	7,448
Home runs	Jeff Bagwell	47	2000	Jeff Bagwell	449	9,431
RBI's	Jeff Bagwell	135	1997	Jeff Bagwell	1,529	9,431
Walks	Jeff Bagwell	149	1994	Jeff Bagwell	1,401	9,431
Strikeouts	Lee May	145	1972	Jeff Bagwell	1,558	9,431
Stolen Bases	Gerald Young	65	1988	Cesar Cedano	487	6,389
Extra-base hits	Lance Berkman	94	2001	Jeff Bagwell	969	9,431
Times on base	Jeff Bagwell	331	1999	Craig Biggio	4,165	11,341

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		Innings Pitched
	Name		Year	Name		
ERA	Roger Clemens	1.87	2005	Joe Sambito	2.42	536
Wins	Mike Hampton	22	1999	Phil Niekro	144	2,270
Won-loss %	Mike Hampton	.846	1999	Roy Oswalt	.680	980.7
Hits/9 IP	Mike Scott	5.95	1986	Billy Wagner	5.94	504.3

(Continued)

Pitching Leaders (Continued)

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
Walks/9 IP	Jose Lima	1.23	1998	Turk Farrell	1.88	1,015
Strikeouts	J. R. Richard	313	1979	Nolan Ryan	1,866	1,854.7
Strikeouts/9 IP	Nolan Ryan	11.48	1987	Billy Wagner	12.38	504.3
Games	Octavio Dotel	83	2002	Dave Smith	563	762
Saves	Billy Wagner	44	2003	Billy Wagner	225	504.3
Innings	Larry Dierker	305.3	1969	Larry Dierker	2,294.3	2,294.3
Starts	Jerry Reuss	40	1973	Larry Dierker	320	2,294.3
Complete games	Larry Dierker	20	1969	Larry Dierker	106	2,294.3
Shutouts	Dave Roberts	6	1973	Larry Dierker	25	2,294.3

Source: Drawn from data in "Houston Astros Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/HOU/leaders_bat.shtml; "Houston Astros Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)," http://baseball-reference.com/teams/HOU/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Los Angeles Dodgers

Steven P. Gietschier

The Dodgers, one of the oldest and most celebrated major-league franchises, occupy a place in American baseball history that transcends their record of success and failure on the playing field. For decades they were the quintessential neighborhood team and an integral part of Brooklyn's cultural identity, and their tortuous departure following the 1957 season epitomized that community's social and economic decline. In Los Angeles, they became the prototype in baseball's transformation from an enterprise seen as a sport to one defined as a business. Moreover, the Dodgers broke baseball's color line by offering a contract to Jackie Robinson, an African American, and bringing him to the major leagues in 1947, an episode generally regarded as a catalyst in the wider struggle for civil rights and equality.

THE RISE OF BASEBALL IN BROOKLYN

Brooklyn received its charter in 1835, and two decades later it was the nation's third-largest city, with a population exceeding 200,000. Many amateur baseball clubs called Brooklyn home, and their memberships reflected the city's ethnic and socioeconomic diversity. The Excelsiors, for example, included players from the city's old and wealthy families. The Eckfords were shipwrights and mechanics who named their club after Henry Eckford, a deceased shipbuilder. The Atlantics came from the section of the city called Bedford and reflected its Irish working-class heritage. Within a few years, competitive clubs began to engage players based on their ability and not their background. The best Brooklyn clubs were seriously competitive, and their rivals were the best

clubs from across the East River in the city of New York. By the end of the 1850s, the metropolitan area boasted more than 50 baseball clubs, some of whom had organized the National Association of Base Ball Players in 1857 to promote common playing rules and standards for membership.

The following summer, baseball promoters on both sides of the river staged a three-game series matching the best players from Brooklyn against the best from New York. The games were played at the Fashion Race Course in the Corona section of Queens County, not far from the future location of Shea Stadium, and the New York "picked nine" won the first and third games. The promoters took advantage of the enclosed grounds and charged 50 cents admission to each game, marking these contests as the first that spectators paid to watch. As rivalries between competing clubs grew more intense, some began to offer players financial inducements. Political patronage jobs were one way to compensate players. Benefit games with an admission charge were another. The best players were paid outright, albeit surreptitiously, and the first of these was probably Jim Creighton, whom the Excelsiors paid starting in 1860. The next year, a Brooklyn political leader named Henry Cammeyer leased six acres of land in the city's Williamsburg section, just across the East River from lower Manhattan. He built an ice-skating rink that he drained in the spring and converted into an enclosed baseball park. Cammeyer invited the Eckfords, the Putnams, and the Constellations to use his Union Grounds for their home games, and he charged all fans 10 cents admission to every game. Baseball, once an amateur recreation, had thus evolved into a professional sport at which both players and entrepreneurs could make money.

Brooklyn's newspapers reported enthusiastically on the exploits of the city's teams and promoted baseball as healthy and moral exercise. In 1846, Walt Whitman, editor of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, called the game "glorious" in an oft-quoted commentary. The most prominent journalist to devote his entire career to baseball was Henry Chadwick, a native of England who lived in Brooklyn. He began covering cricket matches for the *Eagle* and the *New York Times* in 1856 before switching his allegiance to the newer sport. Over the course of a half century, he reported on the game for nearly every newspaper in Brooklyn and New York, and he edited a series of annual guides that summarized each season and appealed to a national audience. Chadwick positioned himself as the conscience of the game and was, as he advanced in years, affectionately called "Father Baseball." More practically, he developed the notation system by which each play in a game can be recorded in a scorebook, and he augmented his news stories with the first box scores. He also compiled elaborate statistics as a way to summarize games and seasons and evaluate player performance.

Brooklyn's clubs did not rush to join the professional game. When the first all-professional league, the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players, began play in 1871, Brooklyn was not represented except that the New York Mutuals, a club founded by Manhattan firefighters in 1857, played their home games at Union Grounds. The Excelsiors, the Eckfords, and other top

amateur clubs now called themselves “cooperative nines,” meaning they used gate receipts to pay their expenses and recruit players, and they often played professional opponents. When one NA club, the Kekiongas of Fort Wayne, Indiana, folded in August, the Eckfords agreed to play out the remainder of their schedule. In the NA’s second season, the Eckfords stayed in the league, but the professional teams outplayed them. They won only three games against 26 losses and thereafter abandoned competitive baseball entirely to become a men’s social club that survived many more years. Two of the Eckfords’ victories came against the Atlantics, who had also joined the NA while remaining an amateur club. They did not fare much better, finishing the season with a dismal record of 9–28. The NA lasted three more seasons, and both the Mutuals and the Atlantics stayed the course. The New York team challenged for the championship in 1874, but finished second to the Boston Red Stockings. The Atlantics’ best season was also 1874, when they compiled a record of 22–33, but over the winter two of their best players signed with the Hartford club. In 1875, their roster was in disarray. Most clubs used just one pitcher, but the Atlantics used eight. Desperate to find players with sufficient ability, their business manager, Benjamin Van Delft, tried 35 different ones, some of whom played only a single game, but to no avail. The Atlantics won 2 games against 42 losses, including 31 in a row, after which they went out of business.

BROOKLYN JOINS THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

Following the 1875 season, baseball entrepreneurs led by William Hulbert, president of the Chicago White Stockings, met in New York to create a new league that would be stronger than the NA, more stable and refined, and controlled by owners and not players. The National League eventually met their goals, but did not include a club from Brooklyn. The Mutuals, a charter member, continued to use Union Grounds as their home field, but they were neither an artistic nor a financial success, finishing sixth and alienating their fans by adhering to the league policy mandating a 50-cent admission price. With funds running short, the club declined to make its last scheduled road trip to the league’s western cities and was expelled. During the following season, the Hartford Dark Blues abandoned their Connecticut home and relocated at Union Grounds. Fans again stayed away, and this club disbanded at the end of the year. The NL enjoyed a monopoly for six seasons, but with no more than eight teams, it could not satisfy other businessmen who wanted their clubs to play major-league baseball. In the fall of 1881, six such owners formed the American Association and declared it to be a second major league. Since all of its teams were backed by beer or liquor interests, the AA was dubbed “the Beer and Whiskey League.” It played its first season to a successful conclusion without any team moving or going out of business. Appealing more to the working class than did the NL, the AA set a 25-cent ticket price, sold beer to its fans, and played games, where legal, on Sundays.

The AA added two teams in 1883 and then, in response to a challenge from the Union Association, yet a third major league, four more teams in 1884. These clubs were located in Brooklyn, Indianapolis, Toledo, and Washington. The Brooklyn Grays, so called because of their uniforms, had already played a season in the Interstate Association, a minor league. Founding the team had been the idea of George Taylor, an editor at the *New York Herald*, and Charles Byrne, a real-estate agent who shared an office with Taylor's attorney. Byrne turned for funding to Joseph Doyle, his brother-in-law, who owned a casino in New York. Additional money came from another gambler, Ferdinand Abell, whose lavish casino was in Narragansett, Rhode Island. These owners secured a piece of land bordered by Third and Fifth Streets and Fourth and Fifth Avenues for their home games. This site had been the scene of the Battle of Brooklyn in 1776 and had also been the Excelsiors' first ball grounds. The Grays spent \$30,000 to construct a grandstand, calling it Washington Park, and made the Gowanus House, a Revolutionary War-era stone building on the grounds, part of the facility. The Grays were popular and a good team besides. They won the 1883 IA championship on the season's last day, defeating Harrisburg 11–6. The winning pitcher for Brooklyn was William "Adonis" Terry, a handsome man whose popularity with the ladies tended to outshine his skills as a player.

When the Grays or the Brooklynns, as they were also called, entered the AA, the city was still basking in the glory surrounding the opening of the Brooklyn Bridge in May 1883. At that time the longest suspension bridge in the world, it cost \$15 million and connected Brooklyn with lower Manhattan. Brooklyn's population was booming, and its economic base included more than 5,000 factories. The city's trolley companies were investing large sums to convert from horse-drawn carriages to electric trolleys as the primary method of public transportation. Many city streets added trolley tracks, and crowded intersections made crossing the street somewhat treacherous. Brooklyn's citizens, as a result, were sometimes called "trolley dodgers," and this amusing nickname soon was applied, albeit unofficially, to the city's major-league baseball team.

The AA played much better baseball than the IA, and the Grays struggled to repeat their success. Taylor managed the team to a ninth-place finish in 1884 with a record of 40–64. The highlight of the season came on October 4 against Toledo. Pitcher Sam Kimber allowed no hits and no runs, but his teammates also failed to score. After 10 innings, the umpire declared the game a 0–0 tie, but it was Brooklyn's first major-league no-hitter. In the off-season, Cleveland's NL team disbanded, and the Grays picked up several players along with Cleveland's manager, Charlie Hackett. Discord was the result, as the newcomers and the holdovers refused to get along. Byrne got so disgusted after one lopsided loss that he fined a number of players, fired Hackett, and became manager himself. Three seasons later, he realized that he was more suited to be an owner than a manager and hired Bill McGunnigle to take his place. Byrne also purchased the entire roster of the New York Metropolitans, an AA team going out of business, in order to obtain several key players, including first base-

man Dave Orr. Finally, he bought three players from St. Louis, pitchers Bob Caruthers and Dave Foutz and catcher Doc Bushong. Fans of the Grays had great hopes for the coming season. Moreover, since several players had gotten married during the winter, the press rechristened the team “the Bridegrooms,” a nickname that further endeared the club to its supporters.

McGunnigle had been an innovative player and a successful manager in several leagues. Some sources credit him with being the first player to wear a glove and don removable spikes. As a manager, he wore a suit, not a uniform, and directed his players on the field by gesticulating with a baseball bat. Under his leadership, the team improved to second place in 1888, behind the St. Louis Browns. Brooklyn and St. Louis were becoming rivals on and off the field. Byrne and Chris Von der Ahe, the Browns’ owner, disagreed on several matters to the point of feuding, and their teams engaged in spirited pennant races in 1888 and again in 1889. Washington Park burned down in May 1889, and the Bridegrooms were forced to play most of the season’s first half on the road until their home could be rebuilt. Still, they held a slim lead over St. Louis when the Browns came to Brooklyn in early September for three games. St. Louis built a 4–2 lead in the first game, but several arguments and other shenanigans left the game unfinished as darkness fell. Umpire Fred Goldsmith refused to call the game, and when a Brooklyn batter reached first base in the ninth inning, the Browns’ manager, Charles Comiskey, pulled his team from the field in protest. Goldsmith then ruled the game a forfeit in Brooklyn’s favor. Comiskey reacted by refusing to play the following day, and this game, too, was forfeited to the Bridegrooms. The third game was rained out. AA officials dickered for weeks before agreeing to award the first game to St. Louis and the second to Brooklyn, a decision that pleased neither club. The Bridegrooms held on to win Brooklyn’s first major-league pennant by two games with a record of 93–44. The star of the team was Bob Caruthers, who won 40 of 51 decisions.

Starting in 1884, the champion of the NL had engaged the AA champion in a postseason match called the World’s Series. In 1889, Byrne looked forward to a lucrative series because Brooklyn’s opponent would be the New York Giants, who had beaten the Browns the year before. In a continuation, of sorts, of the intercity rivalry started during the amateur era, the teams agreed to play a best-of-11 series. The Bridegrooms, who won three of the first four games, marred the opening contests by stalling for time in the late afternoon whenever they took a lead. The Giants complained, and Byrne agreed to advance the games’ starting time so they could be finished before darkness. The Giants rebounded by winning the next five games, thereby taking the series, six games to three. New York became the first major-league team to win two consecutive World’s Series, and Brooklyn, in defeat, started its own tradition, that of the lovable loser, the underdog destined for decades of postseason futility.

When AA owners disagreed over whom to select as their new president, Byrne and Aaron Stern of the Cincinnati Reds withdrew their clubs and joined the

eight-team NL, replacing Indianapolis and Washington. Both teams had also anticipated the announcement by the Brotherhood of Professional Base Ball Players, the sport's first union, that it would field teams in the new Players' League in 1890. The Bridegrooms and the Reds had signed their regulars to hefty contracts before the Players' League could approach them. As a result, they entered the NL with strong rosters while other teams found themselves depleted. The AA replaced Byrne's club with the Gladiators, a makeshift franchise that did not survive the season, and the Players' League also put a team in Brooklyn, the Wonders, owned by George Chauncey. McGunnigle used his veterans wisely. He employed a three-man pitching rotation, a novel concept, and the Bridegrooms won their second consecutive pennant easily, albeit in a different league. The public ignored them, however, believing that most of the best players had jumped to the Players' League. The Bridegrooms' attendance fell from 354,000 in 1889, best in the association, to only 37,000 in 1890. The Bridegrooms advanced to the World's Series against the AA's Louisville, but it was called off after each team had won three games because of bad weather and insignificant crowds.

The Players' League lasted only one season, after which Chauncey, a real-estate mogul, offered to invest in the Bridegrooms. Byrne, Doyle, and Abell, who had lost a significant amount of money in 1890, agreed to Chauncey's two conditions: that the team abandon Washington Park and begin playing its home games at Chauncey's Eastern Park, and that John Montgomery Ward, the leader of the Brotherhood and the manager of the Wonders, replace McGunnigle. Ward lasted but two seasons and, as other clubs improved markedly, could not duplicate McGunnigle's success. Foutz, the star of the 1889 team, succeeded him, but his tenure yielded nothing higher than a fifth-place finish in four seasons. During these desultory years, the team also struggled to find a catchy nickname after "Bridegrooms" no longer seemed appropriate. The Brooklyn press tried out "Ward's Wonders" and then "Foutz's Follies," but neither caught on, and "the Trolley Dodgers," left over from the team's days in the AA, was not generally embraced either. The Brooklyn club's ineptitude during the 1890s formed the foundation for the team's reputation as incompetent losers to whom unusual things often happened, both on and off the field. Historians have remembered pitcher William "Brickyard" Kennedy as an early example. Good enough to win 20 games four times, he once got lost traveling from his Brooklyn home to the Polo Grounds in upper Manhattan for a game against the Giants. A policeman who intervened learned that Kennedy had been born in Ohio and inexplicably put him on a westbound train before team officials rescued him.

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE COMES TO BROOKLYN: EBBETS AND THE MAKING OF THE BROOKLYN DODGERS

Moving to the forefront of the team's management was a former ticket taker named Charles Hercules Ebbets. Born in New York City on October 29, 1859,

Ebbets studied drafting and architecture, published novels, and held political office at a very young age. He served four years as an alderman and one as a New York State assemblyman before running unsuccessfully for the state senate. But his true love was baseball. He started selling tickets for the Brooklyn club in 1883 and soon was serving as Byrne's jack-of-all-trades assistant. No task was beneath his dignity as he learned the baseball business from top to bottom. He printed scorecards, swept floors, manicured the playing field, and kept the club's books. Late in 1897, after the team had suffered through its fourth straight sub-.500 season, he announced that he had purchased Chauncey's shares for \$25,000 and taken an option on Abell's shares as well. Full of ambition, Ebbets told the Brooklyn press on January 1, 1898, that he controlled 85 percent of the club, a claim that proved to be greatly exaggerated. Nevertheless, Ebbets assumed the club presidency when Byrne died three days later, and he set to work right away to revive the stumbling franchise. Although in truth he held only 18 percent of the stock, he acted as if he were the team's sole owner. Seeking to avoid the steep rent the team paid at Eastern Park and to reconnect his business with its traditional fan base in south Brooklyn, he laid plans for a new Washington Park built on leased land across the street from the original. When the team got off to a lousy start, he replaced manager Billy Barnie with outfielder Mike Griffin and then with himself. Still, Brooklyn finished 10th in the 12-team league.

With no other league to challenge their monopoly status, NL owners fashioned themselves as Gilded Age barons running a business in ways similar to the trusts that controlled other industries. They lived extravagantly and expected to reap huge profits from baseball. Moreover, owners saw no reason not to assist each other when necessary. They switched scheduled games from one city to another in search of greater attendance, lent each other players, and invested in each other's clubs. These practices, known as syndicate baseball, had a precedent in 1890 when several clubs combined to bail out Giants owner John Day during the Players' League war. They came to a climax in 1899 when Ebbets forged an alliance with Harry Von der Horst, owner of the Baltimore Orioles, agreeing to an exchange of stock. The result of this deal was that each ownership group—Ebbets and Abell from Brooklyn and Von der Horst and his manager, Ned Hanlon, from Baltimore—held half of each club, with Ebbets being granted operating control of the Brooklyn club.

The agreement with Ebbets gave Von der Horst entry into the lucrative Brooklyn market, but more importantly, it brought Hanlon and several star players to the Brooklyn roster. Among them were first baseman Dan McGann, shortstop Hughie Jennings, and outfielders Willie Keeler and Joe Kelley. Hanlon, born in Connecticut in 1857, had been an average player with leadership skills that made him a natural candidate to become a manager. While he was still playing, he took the reins of Pittsburgh's NL club in August 1889, but he jumped to that city's Players' League club the following year. In 1891 he returned to the NL, only to be fired in July in a dispute with some players he was trying to discipline.

His playing career ended the following spring, but he was hired to manage the Orioles, one of the four AA teams absorbed into the NL. Baltimore was awful in 1892, finishing in last place, 54 1/2 games behind first-place Boston. During the next two seasons, Hanlon remade the Baltimore roster, discarding veterans and gambling on young players, including first baseman Dan Brouthers, third baseman John McGraw, catcher Wilbert Robinson, Jennings, Keeler, and Kelley. All six eventually were inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame. The Orioles won the pennant in 1894 and again in 1895 and 1896. They finished second each of the following two years.

When Hanlon moved from Baltimore to Brooklyn in 1899, he was simultaneously president of the Orioles and manager of his new team, and he held 10 percent of the stock of each club. In an era renowned for tough, no-holds-barred play, Hanlon was regarded as the most innovative manager the game had yet seen. Admiring fans in Baltimore wore buttons that said "Ask Hanlon," a tribute to his wily skills and baseball acumen. By bringing his star players with him, he quickly transformed Brooklyn from a listless also-ran that came in 10th in 1898 into a powerhouse club that earned a new nickname, the Superbas. The name was borrowed from the Hanlon Brothers, a vaudeville troupe that specialized in spectacular acrobatics, gymnastics, and trapeze artistry, a mixture of comedy, suspense, and flamboyance. One of the Hanlons' productions that played to packed houses was called "Superba." By the time Hanlon's team took over first place on May 22, Brooklyn fans, hungry for a winner, had embraced the Superbas with glee. Both Boston and Philadelphia challenged for the lead, but Brooklyn held them both off, winning 101 games and the pennant by eight games. Keeler batted .379 and Kelley .325 to lead the offense, and pitcher Jay Hughes, another transfer from Baltimore, won 28 games, tying for the league lead.

On the same day that Ebbets had proclaimed his control of the club, the city of Brooklyn had ceased to exist as an independent municipality. The complex unification of the nation's first- and fourth-largest cities plus three other counties—Queens, Richmond (or Staten Island), and the Bronx—was the culmination of a movement begun decades before and accomplished against sustained opposition from various quarters. Brooklynites had barely approved of the merger that made their city part of Greater New York, and the triumph of their baseball team shortly thereafter provided some reassurance that Brooklyn still possessed its own identity. By latching onto the Superbas as their favorite team, they were beginning to redefine the place where they lived as a cultural entity in which major-league baseball and later the lack thereof would play an important role.

Hanlon's Superbas won the pennant again in 1900 (82–54), by four and a half games over Pittsburgh and star shortstop Honus Wagner. Keeler was fourth in batting (.362) and led in hits (204), pacing the NL's leading offensive team. The pitching was generally mediocre, but Ironman Joe McGinnity went 28–8, and Brickyard Kennedy was 20–13. Nonetheless, Brooklyn's home attendance declined by about one-third to 183,000, second worst in the NL,

and the owners lost money. Ebbets agreed to play a postseason series against the Pirates to raise additional revenue, but when he could not find a sponsor for his half of the expenses, the *Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph*, the Pirates' sponsor, insisted that the entire best-of-five series be contested in Pittsburgh. Brooklyn won, three games to one, but each member of the Superbas earned only about \$30 a game. The team was awarded a silver cup symbolizing the "world's championship." This was the club's last pennant until 1916 and its last championship until 1955.

Ebbets had debunked rumors that he would consider moving the club, but he refused to discount the possibility of selling the team or some players. Moreover, he chafed at the threefold difference between Hanlon's salary, the highest in baseball, and his own as club president. Hanlon didn't much like Ebbets either and suggested to Von der Horst that he move back to Baltimore. The NL had eliminated the Orioles after the 1899 season—and paid its owners a \$30,000 buyout fee—and Hanlon wanted to seek a franchise in the new American League, which played its first major-league season in 1901. Von der Horst declined Hanlon's proposition and decided instead to get out of baseball by offering to sell his stock to Ebbets. This transaction was not consummated until after Ebbets had bought out Abell in 1902. With total command of the Superbas, Ebbets exercised his authority by cutting Hanlon's salary and raising his own above it.

When Ban Johnson, founder and president of the AL, put a team in Baltimore, its manager was not Hanlon, but his former player McGraw. Hanlon stayed in Brooklyn and watched helplessly as several of his key players signed contracts with teams in the new league. Before the 1901 season, the Superbas lost outfielder Fielder Jones, third baseman Lave Cross, and McGinnity, who rejoined McGraw in Baltimore. The following year, Kelley and second baseman Tom Daly left, and when the two leagues made an uneasy peace early in 1903, Keeler's contract, in a complicated transaction, was awarded to the AL's New York Highlanders. Hanlon brought his team home in third place in 1901 and second in 1902, but thereafter the club fell into the second division. After a 48–104 finish in 1905, Ebbets fired him and hired Patsy Donovan, a former player who had previously managed in Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Washington.

Although the Superbas' attendance held fairly steady during these dismal seasons, they were but a shadow of their former selves and were, quite clearly, the third team in major-league baseball's only three-team city. The Brooklyn club not only had to compete with the Giants within the NL, but also the AL Highlanders. The rivalry with the Giants, an extension of the intercity competition that predated professional baseball, pitted blue-collar Brooklyn against white-collar New York. It heated up during the cities' protracted struggle over their consolidation and took a particular turn when the Giants' owner, Andrew Freedman, lobbied hard to oppose a subway station near Washington Park that would have greatly aided Ebbets's quest for more fans. Into this mix came the vitriolic McGraw. He had become player-manager in Baltimore after

Hanlon left for Brooklyn, spent one year in St. Louis, and was recruited by Johnson to return to Baltimore in 1901. By the middle of the following season, McGraw and Johnson had sparred so frequently that a break was inevitable. The maneuvers were clandestine and complex, but the result was that McGraw and some of his best players jumped to the Giants. McGraw soon found the Superbas to be a convenient target, and when the AL moved the Baltimore club to New York, the Superbas lost any claim to representing the entire city. They were Brooklyn's team solely.

The team's eighth-place finish in 1905 was the first of 10 straight years under .500. Donovan lasted three seasons, and Harry Lumley but one. Bill Dahlen, who had played shortstop for Brooklyn before being traded to the Giants in 1903, followed him. Nearly as abrasive as McGraw, Dahlen had dismissed Brooklyn when he left for New York, but in 1910 he accepted an offer to return to the Superbas as manager. The team did not improve, and Dahlen's temper often got him into trouble. In 1912, for example, he got into a fistfight on the field with an umpire. The AL's raids had left Brooklyn with few players of note. One exception was left-handed pitcher George Rucker, nicknamed "Napoleon" by sportswriter Grantland Rice. Rucker pitched a no-hitter in 1908 and struck out 16 Pittsburgh batters in a July 1909 game. He was a hard-luck pitcher, though, losing 10 games in his career by the score of 1–0 and pitching the losing end of a no-hitter in 1915. Despite his abilities, his career record was only 134–134 over 10 seasons. Another fine player was outfielder Zack Wheat, who began his Hall of Fame career in 1909 and was probably Brooklyn's best position player before World War II. Over 19 seasons, Wheat collected 2,884 hits. He batted .317 and led the league in hitting in 1918.

This decade of futility kept Ebbets on the financial brink. He had overextended himself with a hefty loan from furniture dealer Henry Medicus to purchase Von der Horst's share of the club, and he lacked enough capital to improve the team significantly. Ebbets added seats to Washington Park in search of more revenue, and he often criticized the ordinance that prohibited charging admission for sporting events on Sundays. In 1904, he played a Sunday game without selling tickets, instead requiring fans to buy color-coded scorecards keyed to the various prices tickets normally cost. When he tried the same stunt a second time, local officials arrested the team's pitcher and catcher and the opponent's leadoff batter. Despite these financial difficulties, Ebbets remained optimistic about baseball's future and his own. He expressed the view that "baseball is in its infancy" and once wrote in *Frank Leslie's Weekly*, "I am a firm believer in the future of baseball, both in Brooklyn and in the country at large." His ambitious plan to realize this potential was to construct a new ballpark that would be named Ebbets Field, a facility that defined the club's fortunes for the rest of its time in Brooklyn.

Baseball's first concrete and steel ballpark, Philadelphia's Shibe Park, opened in 1909. Ebbets announced his intention to replace Washington Park with his own concrete and steel facility on January 2, 1911. The team's old home was

truly outdated, handicapped by a seating capacity of less than 19,000, the stench from the nearby Gowanus Canal, and the increasing costs of insuring against fire. Ebbets had already found a suitable site in 1908, an undeveloped spot east of Prospect Park in an area sometimes called "Pigtown" and other similarly descriptive nicknames. Ebbets liked the location because of its proximity to a nexus of railroad and subway lines that he hoped would bring fans from Manhattan. Working with his attorney, Bernard York, he bought 1,200 small parcels of land, even setting up a corporation called Pylon Construction in a futile attempt to keep his real purpose secret. The last piece of property, worth no more than \$100, cost him somewhere between \$500 and \$2,000.

These purchases, totaling about \$200,000, secured for Ebbets an irregular rectangle bounded by Sullivan Street, Cedar Street, Montgomery Street, and Bedford Avenue, where right field would be located. This odd shape would help create what historians and fans have called charm or personality, but hemming the new park into approximately four and a half acres forced Ebbets to build an extremely compact structure that would not allow for much renovation or expansion. Selecting another location or buying more land, even if a street had to be rerouted, might have given Ebbets some flexibility. Instead, he built a ballpark considerably smaller than its contemporaries, one that outlived its usefulness much sooner than the others. Still, Ebbets and architect Charles Randall Van Burick planned an elaborate edifice. Incorporating columns and arches with a Roman look, the centerpiece of its exterior was a massive rotunda with a dozen doors and ticket booths decorated in a baseball motif. Inside, the double-decked grandstand brought fans very close to the action, and the irregular dimensions of the playing field created quiriness that ballparks built nearly 80 years later sought to imitate.

Realizing Ebbets's dream proved difficult, as his limited financial resources did not allow him to proceed without cutting corners. The ballpark lacked fan amenities, there was no press box until 1929, and parking for automobiles, once people began to drive to games in large numbers, proved wholly inadequate. Before construction began, Ebbets had hoped to lure, at least temporarily, the Yankees as tenants. They played their games in wooden Hilltop Park, which suffered by comparison after the Giants rebuilt the Polo Grounds in 1911 with concrete and steel. The Yankees' owners had expended substantial funds toying with a couple of ill-considered schemes for a new home, but when these plans fell through, they chose to rent from the Giants. Ebbets also had trouble working with Tammany Hall, New York's Democratic political machine, which hindered construction. Contractors seemed unable to do anything but delay until Ebbets forged a partnership with Stephen and Edward McKeever. Each of these brothers had developed a lucrative construction business once Stephen decided to join Tammany and reap the benefits of political connections. The brothers then sold their separate businesses and joined forces investing in Brooklyn real estate. Rich and reasonably respectable, they came to Ebbets with a simple offer: sell half the club and see the ballpark completed

expeditiously. Ebbets accepted and entered into an agreement to form two corporations. The Brooklyn Baseball Club listed Ebbets as president and Edward McKeever as vice president, and the Ebbets-McKeever Exhibition Company, holding the ballpark and the land on which it sat, listed Edward McKeever as president and Ebbets as vice president. Stephen McKeever was treasurer of both companies.

Ebbets Field opened on April 5, 1913, with an exhibition game between the visiting Yankees and the home team, by this time generally known once again as the Dodgers. More than 25,000 fans—7,000 more than capacity—crammed their way in, and another 10,000 were turned away. After a few problems appropriate to this “Grand Opening,” Edward McKeever’s wife raised the American flag, and Ebbets’s daughter Genevieve threw out the ceremonial first pitch. The Dodgers won, 3–2. Four days later, the park observed its “Special Opening,” the first regular-season game, won by the Philadelphia Phillies, 1–0. Other celebrations followed throughout the year, which collectively outshone the Dodgers’ performance on the field. After a fine start that found them near first place at the end of May, they fell steadily in the standings and wound up sixth, 34 1/2 games behind the pennant-winning Giants. First baseman Jake Daubert led the league in batting, and attendance climbed to almost 350,000. Nevertheless, the McKeever brothers pressured Ebbets to dismiss Dahlen after the end of the season.

Ebbets’s choice for a replacement was former catcher Wilbert Robinson, recently fired as a coach by McGraw. Robinson had earned much praise in the press for the way he handled young Giants pitchers, which McGraw took as implicit criticism of his own work as manager. The two came to verbal blows after New York lost the 1913 World Series, and McGraw discharged his old teammate on the spot. Robinson decided not to return to his business interests in Baltimore and instead took his easygoing manner to Brooklyn, where his charm put a new face on Ebbets’s operation. Sportswriters called him “Uncle Robbie,” and his team soon became the Robins or, more colloquially, the Flock. As Robinson settled in, Ebbets had to deal with a potentially larger problem, a new league with a new team in Brooklyn. The Federal League had begun play in 1913 and commenced an effort to become a third major league the following year. As part of this campaign, the Federals granted a Brooklyn franchise to Robert Ward of the Ward Baking Company. He called his team the Tip Tops, after his company’s best-selling brand of bread, and took a lease to play in Washington Park. Just as Ban Johnson had done a decade before, the Federal League began signing players from established teams to lucrative contracts. Many AL and NL teams lost key players to the upstarts, but Ebbets, backed by the McKeever’s money, fought back. He signed Daubert to a five-year contract worth \$9,000 a year and finalized similar deals with Wheat and a young outfielder named Charles Stengel, soon to be dubbed Casey after Kansas City, his hometown.

Beyond Robinson’s skills as a manager, it was his personality and willingness to poke fun at himself that gave his team a distinct identity. When the

Robins were good, they earned respect from opponents and fans alike. More often, they would play amateurish baseball, sometimes comically so, and would be stamped as laughingstocks—not just bad, but ridiculous. An episode from spring training in 1914, Robinson's first season, typified the funny business in which the team got involved. The idea behind this publicity stunt may have originated with Ebbets, but its exact details are no longer clear. The principals were a barnstorming pilot named Ruth Law, eager to attract customers for short joyrides, and Robinson, who agreed to attempt to catch a baseball Law would drop from an altitude of roughly 500 feet. Somehow, what Law tossed was not a baseball, but a grapefruit. Robinson circled under the object, and it hit his glove before bursting upon his chest. The manager fell to the ground and thought he had been seriously wounded, mistaking grapefruit juice and seeds for his own blood.

Various players took credit for the switch, but blame has most often been assigned to Stengel. More than any other single player, it was he who combined talent with high jinks to define the Robins' persona. He got four hits in his major-league debut midway through the 1912 season and hit the first home run in Ebbets Field, albeit in an exhibition game against the Yankees. Stengel, according to Brooklyn's catcher, John "Chief" Meyers, was a prankster who kept his teammates alert and entertained. In dental school, he had put a cigar into the mouth of a cadaver. In the minors, he once hid beneath a manhole cover on the field and popped out to catch a fly ball. Stengel conversed with the fans and was a visible presence throughout Brooklyn. He made the team an integral part of the neighborhood, beloved even when it was losing, and played right into Brooklyn's image as poorer, more down-to-earth, and more endearing than upscale Manhattan. After being traded to the Pirates, he returned to Brooklyn for the first time to a chorus of boos. He grabbed a sparrow, placed it under his cap, and at the appropriate moment let the bird loose, to great laughter.

Robinson guided the Robins to fifth place in 1914, third place in 1915, and first place in 1916, the team's first pennant since 1900. The fans turned out in droves, setting a team record of 447,747. Moreover, as Brooklyn rose in the standings, McGraw's Giants fell, to second in 1914 and last in 1915. The affable, rotund Robinson provided a sharp contrast to his acerbic mentor, and the Dodgers-Giants rivalry grew even more intense. Robinson developed a pair of young pitchers, Jeff Pfeffer and Sherry Smith, and picked up three veterans whose careers other clubs thought were finished, Jack Coombs from the Philadelphia Athletics, Larry Cheney from the Chicago Cubs, and Rube Marquard from the Giants. In 1916, this quintet won 82 games. The pitching staff had a sizzling 2.12 ERA, best in the NL. The team also had the league's highest batting average, .261. Daubert hit .316, and Wheat hit safely in 29 consecutive games, still the franchise record. The pennant race was a three-way battle between the Robins, the Boston Braves, and the defending champions, the Phillies. In the season's last days, Boston and Philadelphia defeated each other while the Dodgers beat the Giants twice to clinch first place. McGraw



Casey Stengel, 1915. Courtesy of the Library of Congress

left the Giants' dugout midway through the second of these two victories, incensed that his team had not played smart baseball or given maximum effort. McGraw suggested to reporters that certain of his players had let their affection for Robinson get the best of them, but another rumor circulated that McGraw's anger stemmed from his losing a late-season bet that New York would finish third. Thus, as Brooklyn won the pennant, the Giants grabbed the headlines, which irritated Robinson.

The Robins met the Boston Red Sox in the World Series. A powerful team that had captured the Series in 1912 and 1915, Boston had a superlative pitching staff, including a youngster named Babe Ruth who had won 23 games. The Red Sox made quick work of Brooklyn, winning the best-of-seven series in five games. Both managers manipulated their pitching staffs to create what they thought would be favorable matchups. These strategies resulted in Ruth and Smith pitching in game two, a memorable contest that went into the 14th inning tied 1-1. Ruth retired the Robins in order in the top of the

inning, and then Red Sox pinch hitter Del Gainer doubled off Smith, scoring Dick Hoblitzell with the winning run. Boston's pitchers held Brooklyn to 13 runs and a .200 batting average.

Attendance at Ebbets Field had risen to nearly half a million in 1916, and advancing to the World Series gave Ebbets and the McKeever an extra opportunity to recoup some of their investment. Boston played its home Series games at Braves Field, where seating capacity was much larger than at Fenway Park, but cold weather and Boston's dominance significantly cut crowds in Brooklyn. During the series, newspapers speculated that the team and the ballpark might be sold, with Stephen McKeever suggesting an asking price of \$2 million. After the series was lost, Ebbets continued to cut the salaries of players without multiyear contracts, which he had started when the Federal League had gone out of business in December 1915. As a result, all three of his starting outfielders threatened to strike rather than report for spring training in 1917.

The loss in the World Series besmirched Robinson's reputation and indicated to some that his best days were behind him. His team's performance over the next three seasons did not dispel these doubts. After Ebbets cut player

costs mercilessly, the Robins dropped to seventh place in 1917. The United States' entry into World War I cast a pall of uncertainty over the following two seasons, during which teams played a reduced schedule of 140 games. Brooklyn finished fifth both years, but in spring training of 1920, Robinson was optimistic that his pitching staff would once again be good enough to win. Tests came early as the Robins played several extra-inning games in April, but no game, before or since, surpassed what unfolded on May 1 in Boston. On that date, the Robins and the Braves played a 1–1 tie that lasted a record 26 innings. Both pitchers, Leon Cadore for Brooklyn and Joe Oeschger of the Braves, went the distance, each throwing more than 300 pitches. Cadore gave up 15 hits, but only 2 over the final 13 innings, while Oeschger surrendered no hits and only one walk over the last nine innings. The umpires called the game because of darkness after four hours of play. Returning to Brooklyn, the Robins played 13 innings the next day against the Phillies, and then, back in Boston, 19 more innings on May 3. Even though Brooklyn lost two and tied one, these games seemed to bear out Robinson's hope of an outstanding pitching staff. After a wartime lull, attendance skyrocketed. Brooklyn enjoyed a postwar economic boom based on industrial production surrounding the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and a new law finally allowed major-league baseball games on Sundays. By the end of the season, Ebbets had sold more than 800,000 tickets and made \$189,785, and the Robins were champions. Wheat batted .328, and Burleigh Grimes led the league's best pitching staff with 23 wins. Brooklyn battled Cincinnati through most of the season and used a 16–2 spurt in September to hold off a second-half surge by the Giants.

On the day Brooklyn clinched first place, newspapers across the country were revealing that eight members of the Chicago White Sox, winners of the AL pennant the year before, had allegedly taken \$100,000 in bribes to throw the World Series to the Reds. With a shadow automatically cast over the upcoming Series against the Cleveland Indians, Brooklyn district attorney Harry Lewis questioned Ebbets and his team about the integrity of this Series. He uncovered no such evidence, and the games proceeded as a best-of-nine affair with the first three games and the last two, if necessary, to be played in Brooklyn. Both Robinson and Tris Speaker, the Indians' manager, juggled their pitching rotations. The Robins won two of the first three games, all of them low-scoring pitching duels. As the series shifted to Cleveland, Marquard, the pitcher Robinson wanted to start game four, was arrested for scalping tickets, and Cadore got the assignment instead. Cleveland won 5–1, and took the next three games to win the championship. Game five remains one of the most famous because of three firsts: the Indians' right fielder Elmer Smith hit the first grand slam in World Series play, their Jim Bagby became the first pitcher to hit a Series home run, and their second baseman, Bill Wambsganss, recorded the only unassisted triple play in Series history. Once again, Brooklyn's hitters failed to rise to the occasion. The Robins scored only eight runs in all, and none in the last two games. Critics also noted that Robinson mismanaged his pitchers. Two

pennants in five years were a triumph of sorts, but they also came to stand as a prelude for the two grim decades to come.

WHEN THEY WERE BUMS

Over the next 20 seasons, Brooklyn finished second twice, third twice, and sixth an astonishing 10 times. The Yankees and the Giants, in the same period, won 18 pennants and 11 World Series between them. The Yankees, with Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, and Joe DiMaggio as their most prominent stars, became baseball's most successful and most popular team. The Giants enjoyed one resurgence under McGraw in the early 1920s and then another in the 1930s after his retirement and death. Together these two teams dominated press coverage and fan interest throughout New York City, leaving only the borough of Brooklyn, and to some extent the suburban counties of Long Island, to the Robins. Among New York's many daily newspapers, only the *Eagle* covered the Robins with any degree of thoroughness, and its beat writer, Thomas Rice, treated the team's failures with kid gloves. Fans came to expect failure, so much so that wins and losses took a backseat to what would later be called entertainment value: the ambience of Ebbets Field, the colorful nicknames many players proudly bore, and the antics of players and some fans alike. Robinson, older, heavier, and devoted to playing the game as he had played it in the 1890s, was unable to stem this tide, especially when he was forced to accept more responsibilities as Ebbets aged. Mistakes he and his players made were magnified into a culture of incompetence. "Uncle Robbie" became a derisive appellation, and at some point, newspapers began to refer to the team and its leadership as the Daffiness Boys.

The Robins' best season during this period was 1924, when they finished second to the Giants by just a game and a half. Loitering near the .500 mark for most of the season, the team put together a couple of modest winning streaks in mid-August just as New York went into a swoon. Beginning on September 1, Brooklyn played doubleheaders on four consecutive days and won all 8 games, part of a 15-game winning streak. The Giants broke this skein on September 7 in Brooklyn when an overflow crowd spilled out onto the field and was barely restrained by ropes and an insufficient contingent of police. The Robins stayed in contention until the next-to-last day of what would be Charles Ebbets's final season at the helm. Long troubled by heart disease, the 64-year-old had resisted several overtures by the McKeevers to retire. After a busy off-season, he went to Florida for spring training but returned to New York after falling ill. He moved into his suite at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel and died on April 18, 1925, the eve of the Robins' home opener. The hearse carrying his body home passed by Ebbets Field during the game, and again two days later for the funeral. Ebbets was buried in Brooklyn's Greenwood Cemetery in the cold and rain. At the graveside service, Edward McKeever caught a chill and developed influenza. Eleven days later, he too was dead.

The aftermath of these twin tragedies was the dispersal of team stock to a host of Ebbets and McKeever heirs. At a stockholders' meeting held in May, Stephen McKeever was sure that he would be elected president, but the Ebbets heirs held firm and offered the job to Robinson. No one had yet been both president and manager of any major-league team, and Robinson was particularly unsuited to set this precedent. He decided to remove himself from the dugout and appointed Wheat to be "assistant manager," but this arrangement proved unworkable. Moreover, Robinson demonstrated no skill for acquiring players, and he lost his ability to charm the press. McKeever, increasingly dissatisfied with Robinson, could do nothing to oust him. Board-of-directors votes always ended in a 2-2 tie, with Robinson and Ebbets's son-in-law, Joseph Gilleaudeau, standing on one side, and McKeever and attorney Edward York, representing Edward McKeever's heirs, on the other. Finally, in February 1930, NL president John Heydler intervened. Concerned that the team's inertia could compromise its competitive integrity, he persuaded Robinson to give up the club presidency in return for a two-year contract as manager. York became the new president, McKeever remained as treasurer, and Commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis added Walter Carter, brother-in-law of Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, as a neutral fifth member of the board to end the string of tied votes.

Following Wheat, whose Brooklyn career ended in 1926, the only two players who brought distinction to the Dodgers uniform in this period were Arthur (Dazzy) Vance and Floyd (Babe) Herman. Vance was a flamboyant right-handed pitcher whose major-league career did not truly begin until 1922, when he was 31. He did not hit his stride until he overcame a serious arm injury and until he began to pitch every fifth day, instead of the customary every fourth day. Vance came to the Robins in a trade and began to pay dividends right away. He won 18 games as a rookie and led the league in strikeouts. In 1923, he won 18 again, including 10 in a row, but his best year was 1924, when he led the league in complete games, strikeouts, and ERA; compiled a 28-6 record; and was named MVP. Vance won 20 games twice more and led the league in strikeouts seven consecutive years. He threw a no-hitter in 1925 and was later the league's highest-paid pitcher.

Herman, a native of Buffalo, New York, spent five seasons in the minor leagues before the Robins bought his contract after the 1925 season. His best offensive season was 1930, when he batted .393 and hit 35 home runs. He got 241 hits that year, ninth most in NL history. He was an outstanding hitter but an indifferent fielder who fit in well with Brooklyn's daffiness image. When he was accused of letting a fly ball hit him on the head, he took exception, responding that the ball had hit him on the shoulder. On August 15, 1926, Herman was the key actor in the Robins' zaniest play. He came to bat in the seventh inning with one out and the bases loaded. Hank DeBerry was on third, Vance on second, and Chick Fewster on first. Herman lined the ball to right field and slid into second with a double. When he heard the second baseman telling the shortstop to throw the ball home, Herman assumed that DeBerry

and Vance had already scored and that a play would be made on Fewster. Herman got up and raced to third. In fact, DeBerry had scored, but Vance had inexplicably hesitated between third and home. When the throw home came from the shortstop, Vance retreated to third, there to meet both Fewster and the sliding Herman. The umpire called Herman out for passing Fewster, and when Fewster, thinking he was also out, wandered off third, the shortstop tagged him out, too. Observers cracked that Herman had tripled into a triple play, but in fact he had doubled into a double play. That DeBerry had scored the winning run on the play got lost in the confusion.

Brooklyn finished fourth in 1930, and actually took applications for World Series tickets before fading in the season's last weeks, and then fourth again in 1931. When attendance topped a million for the first time in 1930 and the team made \$426,976, McKeever announced a two-year project to demolish the left-field bleachers and extend the double-decked grandstand all the way to center field. In 1931, though, baseball felt the effects of the Great Depression. Attendance at Ebbets Field plummeted, and the club's string of annual operating profits disappeared. The team lost \$5,308 that year, and by the end of 1938, would lose a total of \$576,650. When the season ended, Robinson's contract was not renewed. York's choice to replace him was Max Carey, a former outfielder and a strict disciplinarian. He lasted only two seasons as the team's front office went through a series of disruptive changes. York resigned the presidency, and 78-year-old McKeever assumed the job, while Gilleaudeau and McKeever's son-in-law, James Mulvey, privately agreed to share power peacefully. They left day-to-day baseball operations in the hands of two office aides, and when the team did not improve, McKeever still had enough authority to oust them in favor of Robert Quinn, the team's first general manager, who fired Carey and hired Casey Stengel. The franchise, once again known as the Dodgers, was in disarray, and other teams complained that they sold few tickets when hapless Brooklyn came to town. Before the start of the 1934 season, a reporter asked Giants manager Bill Terry about the Dodgers' prospects. "Is Brooklyn still in the league?" was his retort. Stengel had the satisfaction of making Terry eat his words when the Dodgers took two games from New York in late September to give the pennant to the St. Louis Cardinals. In other respects, Stengel's tenure was no better than his predecessors. Willard Mullin, sports cartoonist for the *New York World-Telegram*, immortalized these years of futility by drawing the bereft Brooklyn fan as an ill-clad, unshaven, cigar-smoking bum. Eventually, this unofficial nickname, the Bums, would be transferred to the team itself, but only after things on the field got remarkably better.

Quinn and Stengel did not last, either. The former resigned after the 1935 season and was replaced by the team's road secretary, whose job had been to arrange the team's railroad transportation. Stengel was dismissed a year later and replaced by Grimes. The team did not improve, and attendance fell so low that the future of the club was jeopardized. Holding a substantial amount of

the team's debt, the Brooklyn Trust Company approached NL president Ford Frick with a plea to help hire a competent baseball man to head the franchise. Frick thought first of Wesley Branch Rickey, general manager of the Cardinals, but Rickey suggested his protégé, Leland Stanford "Larry" MacPhail. A native of Michigan and an army captain in World War I, MacPhail had proved to be an innovator running the minor-league club in Columbus, Ohio, and then the Reds. He signed a three-year contract as executive vice president early in 1938 and took charge of the entire Brooklyn operation.

Ignoring the club's heavy indebtedness, MacPhail began immediately to spend more of the bank's money. He hired new ushers and refurbished the poorly maintained ballpark. He installed new plumbing and, later in the year, lights for night games. Just as significantly, he redesigned the team's uniforms by putting a script *Dodgers* across the chest and abandoning a green-and-gold color scheme for a shade of blue that has ever since been known as Dodger blue. Then, the day before McKeever died at the age of 83, he began overhauling the roster by purchasing Phillies first baseman Dolph Camilli for \$50,000. It was the first of many personnel changes, including the hiring of Babe Ruth as a coach and fan attraction. Ebbets Field hosted its first night game on June 15. Fireworks and a track-and-field demonstration by Olympic champion Jesse Owens entertained the capacity crowd, and then Cincinnati's Johnny Vander Meer pitched his second consecutive no-hitter, a feat never again equaled. The Dodgers finished seventh, but attendance jumped by nearly 200,000. After the season, MacPhail fired Grimes and named Leo Durocher, Brooklyn's scrappy shortstop, the next manager. Then he voided an agreement with the Yankees and the Giants to keep all their home games off the radio and hired Walter "Red" Barber to announce the team's games. No other single move added more to the team's popularity. Barber broadcast baseball objectively and crisply explained its nuances. He was a particular hit with housewives, many of them new to the game.

The Dodgers finished third in 1939 (with a profit of \$143,637), second in 1940 (\$125,221), and first in 1941 (\$146,794), their first pennant in 21 years. MacPhail acquired a host of new players, a potent mix of talented veterans, like pitcher Whit Wyatt, outfielder Joe Medwick, and second baseman Billy Herman, and youngsters with enormous potential, like shortstop Harold "Pee Wee" Reese and outfielder Pete Reiser, who hit .343 in 1941, the best year in a career brutally abbreviated by injuries. He led the NL in batting, total bases, and runs, while Dolf Camelli led in homers (34) and RBIs (120). The Dodgers led the NL in batting (.272) and pitching (3.14 ERA). Wyatt and Kirby Higbe both won 22 games, the most in the league. Durocher and MacPhail quarreled often and vociferously, frequently under the influence of alcohol. The manager inspired his players, cajoled them, and bullied them—whatever was necessary to elicit their best performances. The 1941 pennant race against the Cardinals was tight all the way. Brooklyn, with 100 wins, eked out a two-and-a-half-game margin. The Dodgers captured new fans locally and nationally. Brooklyn's popular outfielder

Fred "Dixie" Walker was known as "the People's Cherce," and the Dodgers were the "cherce" of Brooklynites near and far. In addition, the resurgent Dodgers supplanted the Giants as the Yankees' intracity rival. Throughout the Daffness years, Brooklyn had been not much more than an afterthought in New York baseball, but MacPhail and Durocher changed that irrevocably.

By winning the 1941 pennant, the Dodgers found themselves in the World Series against the Yankees, a team that had won 11 pennants and eight Series since Brooklyn was last in the Series, in 1920. This was the first of seven Subway Series, so called because fans of each team could reach the other's ballpark easily via New York's extensive public transportation. The Yankees were a powerful team in 1941, and the Dodgers were mere upstarts who made mistakes under pressure. The teams split the first two games, and the Yankees won the third game, 2–1. In the pivotal game four, the Dodgers carried a 4–2 lead into the ninth inning. Relief pitcher Hugh Casey retired the first two batters. Then Tommy Henrich struck out, except catcher Mickey Owen let the third strike trickle away from him. As the ball rolled into a crowd of police who had rushed onto the field anticipating the end of the game, Henrich scampered safely to first. DiMaggio, with two strikes on him, singled to left, and Charlie Keller, also with two strikes, doubled to right, scoring both runners. When the dust settled, the Yankees had a 7–4 win. They wrapped up the series by winning game five, 3–1. Brooklyn partisans could be philosophical that their team, so bad for so long, had come so far, yet Owen's miscue would, as time went on, loom very large in Dodgers history.

BRANCH RICKEY, INTEGRATION, AND THE BOYS OF SUMMER

Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 threw baseball into uncertainty, but President Franklin Roosevelt declared that the game should continue despite the war and its restrictions. Major-league seasons were played in their entirety, but teams began to lose players to military service, and the level of competitive play fell substantially over the next four seasons. The Dodgers lost only one regular in 1942, infielder Harry "Cookie" Lavagetto, and they won 104 games, only to be outdone by the Cardinals' winning 106. Then Durocher's team was stunned in September when MacPhail announced that he was resigning to accept an army commission. In truth, the club's board of directors was not sorry to see him go. Although MacPhail had made enough money to retire much of the team's debt, he had not paid much of a dividend to its stockholders. He plowed revenues back into the operation, took a huge salary for himself, and swaggered around in a way offensive to some of his employers. They lost no time in replacing him, and this time Rickey, a teetotaler, was their man. He had just resigned from the Cardinals, and Mulvey especially was anxious to hire him. Rickey's strength was building a farm system, a network of minor-league clubs that could supply the parent major-league team cheaply.

This was how he had turned the Cardinals into a winning team, and it was one of the chief skills he brought to Brooklyn. He sold several of MacPhail's veterans and invested the cash in young players. The team fell to third place in 1943 and seventh the year after, but the dislocations of the war, rather than Rickey, took the blame. Despite the war, the Dodgers only lost money in 1943, and broke even in the dismal 1944 season. Then in 1945, the Dodgers came in third, with four .300 hitters, led by Goody Rosen at .325. The team made \$252,721, second most in the majors after the Giants.

Rickey wanted to operate from a position of strength instead of being just an employee. Early in 1944, he came to an agreement with John Smith, of Brooklyn's Pfizer Chemical Company, and Walter O'Malley, the team's attorney, to buy the quarter of the shares owned by the heirs of Edward McKeever. About a year later, this trio also purchased the half interest held by Gilleaudeau and the Ebbets heirs. Each of the three thus held 25 percent of the club, and they were able to concentrate operating control of the team in Rickey's hands. Once the key Brooklyn players were called into the service, Rickey confided in Durocher that immediate help would not be forthcoming. Instead, he reasoned that the war had removed the game's excellent players and that the Dodgers would best be served by planning for the postwar future. With the exception of Reese, who played the 1942 season before joining the navy, and Gil Hodges and Ralph Branca, both of whom played briefly during the war, all of the players associated with the great Dodgers teams known as "the Boys of Summer" came to Brooklyn after the war.

Born in rural southern Ohio and raised as a devout Methodist, Rickey had played and coached baseball at Ohio Wesleyan College. As the story goes, one of his players, an African American named Charles Thomas, was refused admission to the team's hotel on a road trip. This incident stayed with Rickey as he became a professional baseball player, an attorney, a manager, and then an executive with the St. Louis Browns. Rickey was an innovator who loved to talk about baseball to the point of sermonizing. Named manager of the Browns in 1913, he began to develop all sorts of devices and drills to teach players how to play better. In addition, he spent time during spring training giving his players formal lectures on various aspects of the game. Moving to the Cardinals, Rickey, operating under a very tight budget, formulated the notion of the farm system. Most minor-league teams were at that time independent business operations whose owners sought to win games, develop players, and sell the best of them to teams in better leagues. Rickey sought a more economical way. His goal was to directly control many minor-league players on many teams (once, in fact, holding an entire league) and promote those players who met certain standards. Commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis opposed Rickey's strategy as bad for the minor leagues, but most other major-league teams saw the wisdom of it and followed suit.

Rickey's baseball philosophy, sometimes reduced to a series of aphorisms like "Luck is the residue of design," became known as "the Cardinals' Way,"

and after he moved to Brooklyn, as “the Dodgers’ Way.” For his campus, he secured an abandoned military base in Vero Beach, Florida, and converted it into Dodgertown, the team’s spring-training home and instructional complex. There he saw to it that every player under contract to the Brooklyn organization learned the game according to his standards. Part of his plan was to integrate baseball. Rickey’s motivation was complicated and has been subject to a number of explanations. Certainly his upbringing played a role in fashioning his beliefs, as did his experience with Charles Thomas. The fact that African Americans were beginning to struggle for equal rights throughout American society was also important. There were practical factors as well. The Dodgers needed good players, and Rickey was not inclined to dismiss any portion of the potential pool or to ignore the appeal his team, located in a diverse city, could make to African American fans. Thus, in 1943, Rickey began to gather data on players who might suit his purpose. He worked under the guise of establishing the Brooklyn Brown Dodgers as a Negro Leagues team, but this was never his intention. When Landis died in November 1944, a major obstacle to integration disappeared. Rickey’s scouts located Jackie Robinson, a former star athlete at UCLA and a former army officer playing for the Kansas City Monarchs, and in October 1945, Robinson signed a contract to play with the Montreal Royals, the Dodgers’ farm team in the International League.

The postwar years brought an economic and social renaissance to Brooklyn. Scores of Hollywood war movies had included a character with a Brooklyn accent and an infectious optimism that defined so many veterans anxious to build successful lives now that the war was over. Many Brooklyn natives returned home, went to college with benefits from the GI Bill, found good-paying jobs, bought houses, and began families. Others, utilizing new highways, moved to the suburbs to do the same things and took their Brooklyn pride with them. One headline in the *Eagle* said, “Brooklyn Is America,” and a big part of that identity was the interest that so many people took in the fortunes of the Dodgers. Walking along residential streets on summer afternoons or evenings, neighbors could hear one radio after another tuned to the game. Brooklyn’s players returned from military service in 1946, and the team finished second to the Cardinals in a pennant race even closer than it had been in 1942. The teams ended the regular season tied, forcing the first playoff in NL history. In this best-of-three contest, the Cardinals won the first game in St. Louis and the second one back in Brooklyn.

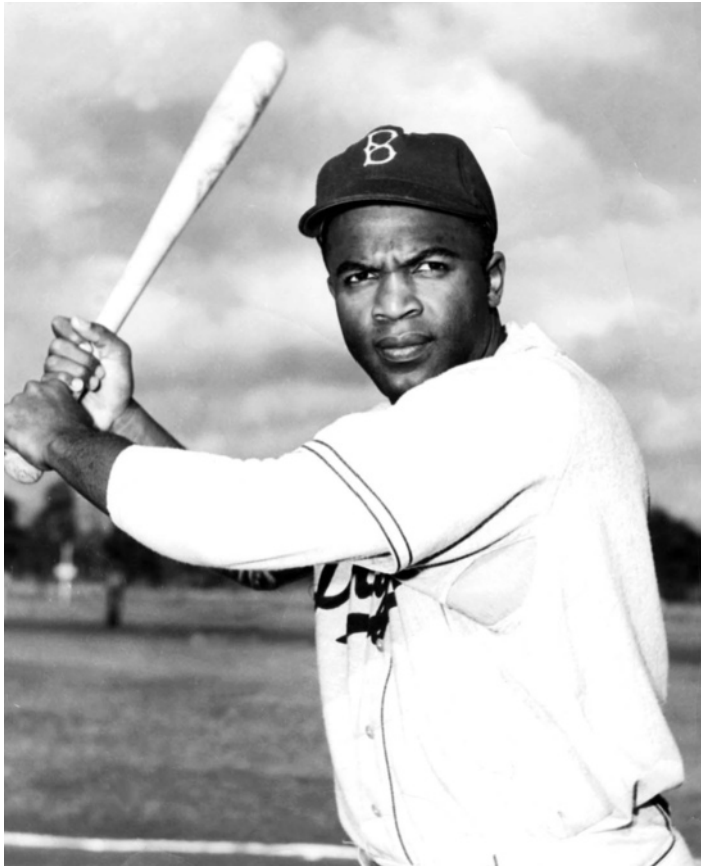
Over the winter, Rickey asked his fellow owners at a special meeting to give assent to the promotion of Robinson to the Dodgers. The vote was 15–1 against. He then approached the new commissioner, Albert “Happy” Chandler, privately, and got his assurance that Robinson’s contract would be approved. The Dodgers trained in Cuba in 1947 in order to avoid Florida’s Jim Crow laws, and in March, several players signed a petition indicating their unwillingness to play with Robinson. Durocher told his team that Robinson was good enough to get them to the World Series, and Rickey promised to trade anyone who did

not want to stay. Robinson's name was added to the roster just before Opening Day, and on April 15, he made his major-league debut, going hitless against the Braves. Robinson played first base, a position he had never played before spring training. The Dodgers opened the season without Durocher at the helm. In a ghostwritten newspaper column, the manager had mentioned that MacPhail had sat with several known gamblers at exhibition games between the Yankees and the Dodgers in Havana. MacPhail, then co-owner of the Yankees, retaliated. He filed a charge with Chandler that the Dodgers manager had engaged in "conduct detrimental to baseball." Durocher was going through a messy divorce, and he had friends who were gamblers, notably actor George Raft. The commissioner suspended Durocher for a year. Coach Clyde Sukeforth managed the team on Opening Day, and Burt Shotton took the reins for the balance of the season.

Robinson batted .297 and won the Rookie of the Year Award, but not before absorbing hazing and abuse, both verbal and physical, unprecedented in baseball history. Phillies manager Ben Chapman was particularly vocal and vicious. In May, *New York Herald Tribune* sports editor Stanley Woodward wrote a column uncovering an alleged conspiracy by the Cardinals to strike rather than play against the integrated Dodgers. By the midpoint of the season, Robinson and his teammates had worked out an accommodation, and he began to make real contributions to the team's success. The 1947 Dodgers were not yet the Boys of Summer, but they won the pennant by five games over the Cardinals, beginning a run of six first-place finishes in 10 years. Reese was back at short; Carl Furillo, a surly Pennsylvanian with a great throwing arm, played center field; and Edwin "Duke" Snider and Hodges saw limited service off the bench. Branca led the pitching staff with 21 wins and a 2.67 ERA. The team made \$519,143, following the \$412,314 the previous season.

The Dodgers drew the Yankees as their World Series opponent again, and the result was a series generally considered to be one of the best ever. Game four stood out as the highlight. With the Yankees ahead, two games to one, New York pitcher Bill Bevens no-hit the Dodgers for eight and two-thirds innings, an unprecedented feat in World Series play. With two out in the ninth inning and two Dodgers on base as a result of walks, pinch hitter Lavagetto doubled off the right-field wall and both runners scored, giving Brooklyn a 3-2 win. The Yankees won game five, lost game six, and came through in game seven, thus depriving the Dodgers and their fans of baseball's ultimate triumph again.

Durocher returned to the dugout in 1948, but he lasted only half a season. Never really comfortable with his manager's personality or his conduct, Rickey became enraged when Durocher criticized the decision to sell second baseman Eddie Stanky to Boston rather than grant him a raise. Rickey tried to maneuver Durocher into resigning, but that didn't happen right away. Instead the two bickered throughout the first half of the season. At the All-Star break, when Giants owner Horace Stoneham asked Rickey's permission to speak with Shotton



Jackie Robinson, 1947. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame

about replacing Mel Ott as New York's manager, Rickey suggested talking with Durocher instead. Within days, the change was effected, and Durocher had left Ebbets Field for the Polo Grounds. It was a stunning move with implications that would haunt the Dodgers for a long time. Shotton returned to the bench, but the Dodgers could do no better than finish third. With Stanky gone, Robinson had moved to second base, Hodges had taken over at first, and Billy Cox, a superb fielder, had won the job at third base. Roy Campanella opened the season at catcher, but Rickey inexplicably sent him to the St. Paul farm club in May. After Shotton took over, Campanella was recalled, Snider became the center fielder, Furillo moved to right, and pitcher Carl Erskine was promoted from the minors. The club played terrific baseball for quite a while, but was unable to make up the gap separating it from the pennant-winning Braves.

Despite these two terrific seasons, Dodger fans had not exactly embraced Rickey's revolution. Postwar baseball boomed in many cities, but not Brooklyn. Attendance for the other seven NL clubs increased 21 percent in 1947, but the number of tickets sold at Ebbets Field rose hardly at all. The Dodgers, in fact, drew better on the road than at home. In 1948, Brooklyn's attendance fell by

more than 400,000, and the fans who attended games seemed younger and perhaps more willing to accept the sight of black faces on the playing field. Nonetheless, the team still made \$543,201. The Dodgers rebounded to win another pennant in 1949 by one game over the Cardinals, and set a team record for profits (\$642,614). Five hurlers won 10 or more games, including Rookie of the Year Don Newcombe. Robinson was MVP, leading the league in batting (.342) and stolen bases (37). However, the club was bested by the Yankees in the World Series, four games to one.

The Dodgers lost the next two pennants by razor-thin margins, but once again fell behind the two other New York teams as a fan attraction. More ominous was the growing exodus of mainly white middle-class Brooklynites to suburban Long Island and the influx of less affluent African Americans and Latin Americans, people less able to spend dollars on baseball tickets.

Co-owner Smith died in July 1950, and shortly after a 10th-inning home run by Philadelphia's Dick Sisler on the last day of the season deprived the Dodgers of another pennant, O'Malley set in motion a plan to oust Rickey, whose style he had never appreciated. Before the season was over, O'Malley and Smith's widow had forged an alliance, and Rickey knew that his days as president were numbered. Although he owned part of the team, he depended upon a salary to pay for loans he had taken out. Rickey balked when O'Malley suggested buying Rickey's interest for the same \$350,000 he had paid for it. Through a third party, Rickey found an alternative buyer, New York real-estate mogul William Zeckendorf, who offered him \$1.05 million and indicated that he was willing to buy out Mrs. Smith as well. O'Malley had the right of first refusal, and he was forced to match Zeckendorf's bid or risk losing control to him. The transaction was completed in October, and O'Malley, almost out of spite, immediately started to transform the Dodgers from a Rickey organization to an O'Malley organization. He began installing his own men. E. J. "Buzzie" Bavasi became general manager, Lafayette Fresco Thompson took control of the farm system, and Charlie Dressen was named the new manager.

Rickey's players stayed, though, and the lineup Brooklyn featured over the next several seasons was the league's best. The infield included Hodges at first base, Robinson at second, Reese at shortstop, and Cox at third. Andy Pafko played left field, Snider center, and Furillo right, and Campanella was the catcher. In time, Jim Gilliam took over at second, and Robinson moved to left field and then third base. The starting pitchers included Branca, Erskine, Elwin "Preacher" Roe, Don Newcombe, and, in turn, Russ Meyer, Billy Loes, and Johnny Podres. Some of these Dodgers had come tantalizingly close to winning the World Series in 1947, and more of them had just missed the pennant in 1950. But no season scarred them and their fans as much as 1951, the ultimate confrontation between Brooklyn—and all the team represented—and the Giants. Games between these two clubs always took on their own significance, irrespective of the league standings, and Durocher's presence in the New York dugout brought the rivalry to the boiling point. The Dodgers built a very healthy

lead in the pennant race, 13 1/2 games on August 11, and a good chunk of their advantage had been accumulated at the Giants' expense. After that point, the Dodgers finished 26–23, but the Giants won 39 of their final 47 games to force a best-of-three playoff. New York won the opening game, Brooklyn came back to take the second, and in the third the Dodgers took a 4–1 lead into the bottom of the ninth inning. The pennant looked as good as won, but two singles, a popup, and a double scored one run, and then Bobby Thomson hit a three-run home run to give the Giants a victory that Brooklyn fans never forgot. The Dodgers had several outstanding individual performances that year, including ones by Campanella, who was MVP; Robinson, who hit .338; Hodges and Snider, who along with Campanella drove in over 100 runs; and Newcombe and Roe, who won 20 or more games.

Giants radio broadcaster Russ Hodges helped immortalize this moment by screaming into his microphone, “The Giants win the pennant! The Giants win the pennant!” but no words can adequately explain the damage this home run, often called the most dramatic in baseball’s entire history, did to the collective psyche of the Dodgers and their fans. A half century later, Brooklyn fans who were present and many others who were not recalled for a documentary the wrenching emotional pain of the moment and its power to disrupt friendships, cause rifts in families, and endure. The home run came to be known as “the Shot Heard 'Round the World,” and the Giants’ comeback was dubbed “the Miracle of Coogan’s Bluff,” but for the Dodgers, this was the blackest day in their history. Even the revelation in 2001 that the Giants had been stealing the signs of other teams, using a spotter in the center-field clubhouse and a buzzer in the bullpen, did little but reopen old wounds.

WHEN “NEXT YEAR” CAME

The cry of frustration associated with Brooklyn’s inability to win the World Series was “Wait till next year,” but “next year” seemed never to come. The Dodgers took the pennant in 1952 with excellent batting, pitching, and defense. Reliever Joe Black (15–4) was Rookie of the Year. But they lost the World Series to the Yankees in seven games. One year later, the Dodgers were back in the Series after winning 105 games. They totally dominated offensively. Roy Campanella was MVP, Gilliam was Rookie of the Year, Furillo was batting champion (.344), and Snider led in slugging (.627), total bases (370), and runs (132). Yet again they faced the Yankees, who took the Series in six games. Some analysts have suggested that, as good as the team was, the roster still had shortcomings that O’Malley and his lieutenants seemed unwilling to address. One change they did make, when Dressen boldly asked for a two-year contract, was to replace him with Montreal manager Walter Alston. He would pay dividends in time, but not in 1954, when the Dodgers finished second to the Giants. Meanwhile, Brooklyn itself and the area around Ebbets Field continued to change, and not for the better. The *Eagle*

ceased publication in early 1955, emigration to the suburbs picked up pace, and crime became a persistent problem. Attendance at Dodgers' home games stayed flat, despite the team's success, and the big crowds usually appeared only on weekends. O'Malley took notice, too, when the Braves left Boston for Milwaukee after the 1952 season and saw their attendance skyrocket from 280,000 to 1.8 million.

The Dodgers finally won the World Series in 1955. The players had had a tough time adjusting to Alston, and in the spring some serious discontent remained, but the team won its first game, then 22 of 24, and never left first place, finishing up 13 1/2 games. The team, led by Campanella, who won his third MVP Award, had the best batting, pitching, and defense in the NL. In the World Series, they defeated the Yankees, a feat many observers simply thought impossible. The series started with the Dodgers down two games to none, and then Johnny Podres, Clem Labine, and Roger Craig all pitched complete-game victories. The Yankees came back in game six under Whitey Ford, but in the deciding game seven, 22-year-old lefty Johnny Podres shut out the Yankees on five hits to win 2–0. The key play came in the sixth, when, with runners on first and second, defensive replacement Sandy Amoros, running at full speed, caught Yogi Berra's slicing fly near the left-field stands and doubled up Gil McDougald on first base. The delirium that swept the borough was unprecedented. In the hours after the final game, Brooklynites made more telephone calls than they had following the announcement that World War II had ended. To mark the occasion, the *New York Daily News* ran two headlines: "Who's a Bum!" and "This IS Next Year." The Dodgers and the Yankees met in one final Subway Series the following year, when they drew 1.2 million, the most since 1951 and second highest in the NL. Newcombe led the Dodgers with a record of 27–7, and was the MVP and Cy Young Award winner. The Yankees emerged triumphant once again, with the highlight of the confrontation being game five, when Don Larsen pitched the first and only perfect game in World Series history. The Dodgers tied the series the next day when Clem Labine pitched a 1–0 10-inning shutout, but the seventh game went to the Yankees, 9–0. In the last three games, the Dodgers managed a total of only seven hits.

THE DODGERS MOVE WEST

Ever the businessman, O'Malley had begun to angle for a new ballpark. The Braves' success in Milwaukee was educational, as were the shifts of the Browns to Baltimore in 1954 and the Athletics to Kansas City in 1955. These teams had all moved to new ballparks built with public funds and surrounded by large parking lots. People driving cars to games would pay to park, and they would also buy more food and drink inside the ballpark than would fans arriving by public transportation. Since Ebbets Field lacked adequate parking, O'Malley was missing out on two substantial sources of revenue. He tipped his hand a bit by scheduling a few "home" games in 1956 and 1957 in Jersey City's Roos-

evelt Stadium, and by selling Ebbets Field in October 1956 to a Boston-based real-estate developer. O'Malley took a lease on the park for three years with an option for two more after that, but clearly what he wanted was a new home for his team financed not entirely with his own funds. The question, of course, was where that new ballpark would be.

Much has been written, both emotional and analytical, about the protracted negotiations between O'Malley and various New York State and New York City officials, including Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Mayor Robert Wagner, and Robert Moses, a powerful figure who held several state and municipal jobs simultaneously and who had the political clout to decide whether the Dodgers' owner would get his way. Painting O'Malley as the bad guy who never seriously entertained proposals to stay in New York and who plotted from early on to abandon Brooklyn for Los Angeles is too simple a picture. Neither is it accurate to indict only Moses and blame him for forcing O'Malley out. A more accurate, if complicated, view is that O'Malley played his cards too close to his vest, never reaching out to make alliances with New York's political and business leaders who could have been his friends and helped him achieve his goal without leaving Brooklyn. Nor did O'Malley enhance his credibility when he enlisted futuristic architect Buckminster Fuller to design a geodesic dome in which he said the Dodgers would play, an idea that struck most observers as ridiculous. When O'Malley announced that he wanted New York City to condemn land surrounding an old Long Island Railroad terminal in Brooklyn as a location for a new ballpark, Moses said no. He instead offered the Dodgers a site in the Flushing Meadows section of Queens, but O'Malley called a new park in any borough besides Brooklyn unacceptable.

Immediately after the 1956 World Series, the Dodgers made a goodwill trip to Japan with a stopover in Los Angeles. There O'Malley met with Kenneth Hahn, a city councilman whose was trying to attract a major-league team. O'Malley may have suggested that the city build his team a ballpark at public expense, but Mayor Norris Poulson nixed this idea. Instead, O'Malley got free land, on which he would build a ballpark, and a network of access roads. The sale of Ebbets Field had given him the funds to pay for the park himself. Discussions continued with New York, but they were no longer serious. O'Malley delayed a formal announcement because he wanted to protect his attendance in 1957, but at the end of the season, the Brooklyn Dodgers were no more. Moreover, the Giants announced nearly simultaneously that they were relocating to San Francisco. NL officials had told the Dodgers that their move to the West Coast would not be approved unless a second team accompanied them, and O'Malley had convinced Stoneham to join him.

To get the territorial rights he needed, O'Malley swapped minor-league franchises with the Chicago Cubs. He also acquired Los Angeles's Wrigley Field, a scaled-down version of the one in Chicago and too small to house a major-league team. Los Angeles officials offered the Dodgers a site in a section of the city called Chavez Ravine. The city would spend \$2 million grading the land,

and the county an additional \$2.7 million constructing roads. In exchanged, O'Malley would give Wrigley Field to the city and pay an estimated \$350,000 in annual property taxes. Opponents of this deal included some who objected to evicting the residents of Chavez Ravine, mostly poor Mexican immigrants, and others who argued against the use of public funds for this private purpose. They forced a referendum called Proposition B in June 1958 that squeaked through by a margin of about four percent. After a court battle, O'Malley was sure he had the acreage on which he would build Dodger Stadium. In the interim the team needed a temporary home. The Rose Bowl was deemed unsuitable, so the team wound up in the Los Angeles Coliseum, built for the 1932 Summer Olympics and not at all conducive to accommodating the dimensions of a baseball field. The diamond was positioned at the Coliseum's west end, resulting in a very short distance to the left-field foul pole and a very long one to right center. The club erected a screen 40 feet high in left, and balls that hit it were in play.

The idea of major-league baseball was so popular in Los Angeles that the Dodgers sold nearly \$2 million in tickets before Opening Day. The veteran Dodgers had a tough time adjusting to their new home. They played four seasons in the Coliseum, and no one hit more than 14 home runs there in any season. Although the short left-field screen looked very inviting, batters found it challenging to loft fly balls over it. Homering to right field was even more difficult since the club had erected a chain-link fence that bowed out to 440 feet from home plate. Then, too, the Boys of Summer were getting older. Robinson had retired back in 1956 rather than accept a trade to the Giants. Reese turned 40 during the first season in Los Angeles and was no longer a regular. Furillo was 36, Hodges was 34, and Campanella never played in Los Angeles, having been permanently paralyzed in a January automobile accident. The Dodgers drew 78,672 to their Opening Day game against the San Francisco Giants, and enthusiasm for the team remained high throughout the season, despite its poor finish. Total attendance for the year exceeded 1.8 million, even though the team wound up in seventh place.

The club's management learned in 1958 that a pitching staff needed to be assembled to deal with the peculiarities of the Coliseum. By the middle of the season, Alston had pretty much benched his veteran pitchers in favor of youngsters Don Drysdale, Sandy Koufax, and Stan Williams. They all excelled at striking batters out, the best way to keep hitters from taking a shot at the left-field fence. This was the genesis of a new style of Dodgers baseball that would hold the club in good stead for decades: a reliance on pitching, speed, and defense at the expense, if necessary, of offense, and especially power. It worked at the Coliseum and later at Dodger Stadium, generally regarded as a pitcher's park. In fact, using a careful mixture of the old and the new, the team rebounded in 1959 to tie the Braves for first place, resulting in yet another best-of-three playoff. This time, the Dodgers were victorious, two games to none, and they went on to defeat the White Sox in the World Series in six games. Chuck Es-

segian hit a pair of pinch-hit home runs, and pitcher Larry Sherry relieved in four games, winning two and saving two. Attendance for the three series games played in Los Angeles totaled 287,750, with each game attracting slightly more fans than the one before. The club made lots of money and plowed a good portion of it into resurrecting its farm system, just the opposite of what O'Malley had ordered after ousting Rickey.

When Dodger Stadium opened on April 10, 1962, it was a ballpark unlike any of its predecessors and better by far than many stadia that came after it. Built at a cost of \$18 million, it was attractive, spacious, comfortable, and fan friendly. Surrounding the ballpark were parking lots to accommodate 16,000 cars. The lots were color coded, and the color scheme directed fans to the section where their seats were located. Inside the stadium, fans found cantilevered decks that eliminated poles, wide seats, gently sloping ramps, many concessions stands, and a very large scoreboard displaying lots of information. Those who purchased more expensive tickets received more elaborate service. The Stadium Club and the Diamond Room were reserved for the most select patrons, and special dugout-level box seats attracted an array of Hollywood stars. Dodger Stadium had 56,000 seats, all with unobstructed views of the field. O'Malley predicted confidently that one day his team would draw 3 million fans.

The 1962 Dodgers rose to the occasion. They won 101 games in the regular season and tied the Giants for first place, necessitating a playoff. Drysdale won 25 games and the Cy Young Award, while outfielder Tommy Davis led the league with a batting average of .346 and 153 RBIs. The star of the team, though, was diminutive shortstop Maury Wills, who scored 130 runs and stole 104 bases, surpassing the major-league record of 96 set by Ty Cobb in 1915. The catcher was four-time All-Star John Roseboro, who is best remembered for his brawl with pitcher Juan Marichal on August 22, 1965, at Candlestick Park. Marichal had hit a Dodgers batter, and while at bat was nearly hit by Roseboro's tosses back to the mound. He told Roseboro to stop, and when the catcher stood up and took off his mask, Marichal felt threatened and hit him in the head with the bat. This led to a violent 14-minute bench-clearing brawl. Roseboro suffered a nasty gash to his head and a concussion; Marichal was suspended for a week and fined \$1,750.

In the best-of-three playoff, the Dodgers lost the first game, won the second, and took a 4–2 lead into the ninth inning of the finale. The Giants then erupted for four runs, with the lead run scoring on a bases-loaded walk by Stan Williams, and advanced to the World Series. In the aftermath of this bitter defeat, reminiscent of 1951, heads rolled. O'Malley considered firing Alston and replacing him with Durocher, who had rejoined the team as a coach, but Bavasi persuaded him not to do so. Instead, Durocher, a thorn in Alston's side, was fired, as was the manager's longtime coach and confidante Joe Becker. Several of the players involved in the game three collapse were traded or sold, too, including Williams and aging star Snider.

THE KOUFAX ERA

In 1963, Koufax became the most dominant and overpowering pitcher in the major leagues. A native of Brooklyn who attended the University of Cincinnati on a basketball scholarship, he signed a contract with the Dodgers in December 1954. Because he received a bonus in excess of \$4,000, baseball's rules required that the team keep him on the major-league roster for two full seasons. This restriction did Koufax no good. He lost the opportunity to hone his craft in the minor leagues, and he struggled for six seasons to control his explosive fastball and sweeping curve. He did not post a winning record until 1961, when he was named to the All-Star team for the first of six straight years and led the league in strikeouts. Over the next five seasons, Koufax won five ERA titles; pitched four no-hitters, one of them a perfect game; and led the league in strikeouts three times. He won 25 games in 1963 (306 strikeouts, 1.88 ERA, MVP), 26 in 1965 (385 strikeouts, 2.04 ERA), and 27 in 1966 (317 strikeouts, 1.73 ERA), and won the Cy Young Award each of those years. The Dodgers made the World Series all three years because of their outstanding pitching, winning twice. Their offense was weak, mainly the product of Maury Wills swiping bases and the hitting of Tommy Davis, who won his second batting crown in 1963 (.326). They swept the Yankees in 1963 and defeated the Minnesota Twins in seven games two years later. In this Series, Koufax declined to play in the first game, opting instead to observe Yom Kippur, but he pitched a three-hit shutout in the decisive game and was Series MVP. Following the 1966 Series, he announced his premature retirement, a victim of crippling arthritis in his pitching arm. Though his 12 seasons and 165 wins left him far short of the usual benchmarks by which pitching excellence is measured, he was easily elected to the Hall of Fame.

Drysdale, Koufax's partner in these pitching-rich years, was a California native whose talents combined speed with a willingness to intimidate batters by hitting them. He became successful sooner than did Koufax, leading the league in strikeouts in 1959, 1960, and 1962. An eight-time All-Star, he played 14 years, won 209 games, and was elected to the Hall of Fame in 1984. Before the 1966 season, he and Koufax audaciously pursued an unprecedented joint negotiation with the Dodgers. They wanted a three-year agreement paying \$500,000 each. With very little bargaining power except the threat not to play at all, the pair remained in Los Angeles when the team reported for spring training. They signed a contract to appear in a movie, and Koufax got an advance from Viking Press on his autobiography. Finally, in late March, the impasse was resolved, and both players signed one-year contracts at the team's terms, Koufax for \$125,000 and Drysdale for \$110,000. The club's intransigence virtually guaranteed that Koufax would make 1966 his last season, and after it was over, the team also ridded itself of another longtime Dodger stalwart, shortstop Maury Wills, trading him to the Pirates.



Sandy Koufax holds four baseballs with zeroes on them to signify his 4th no-hitter, 1963. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame

TOMMY LASORDA AND THE “DODGER WAY”

Over the next few seasons the team floundered in the standings, and the club's executive leadership underwent substantial change. Bavasi, who was unable to rebuild the team after it was swept by the Baltimore Orioles in the 1966 World Series, left to become a part owner of the San Diego Padres, an NL expansion team. Thompson replaced him, but soon died of cancer, and Al Campanis, formerly the director of scouting, succeeded him with the title of vice president for player personnel and scouting. O'Malley named his son Peter president of the club and became chairman of the board. One result of these transitions was that the club lessened its commitment to cultivating its own talent and to the Dodger Way. On the field, the club deemphasized its reliance on pitching and defense and put more stress on power hitting. A series of trades brought several sluggers to Los Angeles, but mostly players past their prime. Their eroded skills left the Dodgers playing second fiddle in the NL's Western Division to the Reds. Alston struggled through these years and was never offered more than a one-year contract. This made him a cautious

manager, trying to win as many games as possible with the talent on hand, but declining to take any risk that might cost him his job. In 1973, the club installed Tommy Lasorda, onetime pitcher and longtime minor-league manager, as third-base coach and heir apparent.

That season, the team finally assembled a roster capable of winning the pennant. The core was the infield of Steve Garvey (MVP in 1974) at first base, Davey Lopes at second, Bill Russell at shortstop, and Ron Cey at third. They were complemented by starting pitchers Don Sutton, Claude Osteen, Tommy John, and Andy Messersmith, along with closer Mike Marshall, who won the Cy Young Award in 1974, finishing 83 games, with 21 saves. The Dodgers finished second in the West in 1973 and first in 1974 with 102 victories, leading the NL in scoring, home runs, and pitching (2.97 ERA). They defeated Pittsburgh in the NL Championship Series, three games to one, but lost the World Series in five games to the defending champion Oakland A's. Alston remained at the helm for two more seasons, but the Reds were a superior team, and it became clear that the club would not offer him a contract for 1977. With four games left in the 1976 season, he retired, and Lasorda took over.

The new manager brought with him an incredible amount of enthusiasm for his job, his team, and his players, an attitude encapsulated by his frequent use of the phrase "bleeding Dodger blue" and his prayerful glances toward "the big Dodger in the sky." In the last years of Alston's tenure, Los Angeles fans had become famously complacent. They arrived late for games and left early to beat the traffic. While sitting in Dodger Stadium, many listened quietly to broadcaster Vin Scully on their transistor radios. Lasorda tried to change all that. He acted as a cheerleader and refurbished the club's Hollywood image. He opened the clubhouse to celebrities like Frank Sinatra and comedian Don Rickles and frequented restaurants and clubs where the stars gathered. Lasorda was also a fine manager, and his team included quality players, many of whom had played for him in the minors. An early winning streak put the Dodgers in first place, and their powerful lineup kept them there. Four players, Garvey, Cey, Reggie Smith, and Dusty Baker, hit 30 or more home runs; Lopes stole 47 bases; and the starting pitching was more than adequate. Los Angeles dethroned Cincinnati's vaunted Big Red Machine by 10 games and defeated the Phillies to win the pennant. In the World Series, the Dodgers faced the Yankees yet again and lost, four games to two, as New York's Reggie Jackson set a Series record by hitting five home runs, three of them in the last game on three consecutive pitches against three different pitchers.

The 1978 season was, in some ways, a carbon copy of 1977. The Dodgers won the West (95–67), having led in batting (.262), runs per game (4.49), and ERA (3.12). The Reds finished second, the Phillies won the East, and the Dodgers advanced to the World Series, only to lose once more to the Yankees. Beneath the surface, though, there was turmoil. Lasorda's act had be-

gun to wear thin. He acted far differently in private than in public, and he was prone to treat certain players, especially the younger ones, with utter disdain. He alienated many and lost support in the media. In the clubhouse, a serious rift developed between Garvey and several of his teammates, who took exception to his fondness for the media spotlight. Still, the Dodgers fulfilled their owner's prophecy by becoming the first team to draw more than 3 million fans. O'Malley was suffering from cancer, and he died in August 1979. The astute businessman left a personal estate to his two children, a family trust, and a ball club worth at least \$60 million that made money every year. Formal control of the team passed to Peter O'Malley, who had already begun to run it like the graduate of the Wharton School of Business that he was. The club was still a family-owned enterprise, but it looked and acted much like any other modern corporation.

The spark that continued to attract fans in the early 1980s came from a charismatic Mexican pitcher, Fernando Valenzuela. Los Angeles had become the most ethnically diverse city in the country, and "Fernandomania" gripped fans for several seasons. Valenzuela had an unusual pitching motion, lifting his eyes skyward as he raised his right leg, and his success in 1981 helped to salve the wounds resulting from a midseason strike by the MLB Players Association. With a record of 13–7, Valenzuela won the Rookie of the Year Award and the Cy Young Award, and he pitched a complete game in the World Series against the Yankees. This time the Dodgers came out ahead in six games.

Valenzuela's ascent was meteoric, but his team's fortunes during the rest of his career were erratic. Los Angeles won division titles in 1983 and 1985, but failed to advance to the Series either time. But in 1984, Valenzuela went 12–17, and the Dodgers finished fourth in the six-team division. Two seasons later he rebounded, winning 21 games, but the Dodgers were terrible, winning only 73 games and nearly finishing last. The team, victimized by poor trades, played bad defense and had a weak bullpen. It was beset by injuries, racked with more dissension, and confounded by the multiple suspensions imposed on pitcher Steve Howe for repeatedly using cocaine. On April 7, 1987, Campanis appeared on the ABC television show *Nightline* to mark the 40th anniversary of Jackie Robinson's major-league debut. After interviewing Jackie's widow, Rachel Robinson, and sportswriter Roger Kahn, host Ted Koppel asked Campanis, "Is there still that much prejudice in baseball?" Campanis responded, "No. I don't believe it's prejudice. I truly believe they [African Americans] may not have some of the necessities to be, let's say, a field manager or perhaps a general manager." Koppel gave Campanis several chances to retract or amend his remarks, but he held firm. O'Malley, reacting to a firestorm of media criticism and the threat of a boycott, fired him two days later. Baseball had dragged its feet on hiring minorities for management positions on and off the field, and the Dodgers had now publicly abdicated their position as racial pioneers. Replacing Campanis was Fred Claire, a former journalist who had long worked for the club in marketing and public relations.

Despite all of this, Los Angeles put together an extraordinary season in 1988, with baseball's fifth-highest-paid team (\$15,462,515), and won the World Series for the sixth time. The team's offense was hardly special, but the pitching was outstanding, with a league-leading 2.93 ERA. Outfielder Kirk Gibson, acquired as a free agent mostly for his leadership, won the MVP, despite hitting only .290 and driving in but 76 runs. The real star was NL Cy Young winner Orel Hershiser, who won 23 games and set a major-league record by pitching 59 consecutive scoreless innings. In September, he won five games while giving up no earned runs. Hershiser carried the Dodgers to a victory over the New York Mets in the NLCS, pitching four times in nine days. Before the first game of the World Series against Oakland, Gibson remained in the clubhouse to care for a pulled hamstring muscle. He had received injections of both cortisone and xylocaine earlier than day, and Lasorda did not expect him to play. Nevertheless, Gibson volunteered to pinch-hit in the bottom of the ninth inning with a man on first base and the Dodgers down a run. He hobbled to the plate, fouled off three pitches from ace reliever Dennis Eckersley, took two balls, and then hit an inside slider just over the fence in right field to win the game in melodramatic fashion. The Dodgers defeated Oakland in five games, with Hershiser winning two of them. The Series success resulted in the team moving up to the highest-paid club in 1989 (\$21.6 million), and their payroll remained high until 1995, when they were only 17th at \$30.5 million. By 2000 they were second only to the Yankees (\$90.4 million), falling off to sixth in 2004 (\$92.9 million).

Since the epic finish of 1988, Los Angeles has had its ups and downs, finishing 1992 with the worst record in the league, but finishing first in its division three times: 1994, when a strike by the Players Association led to an abbreviated season; 1995, when the club lost the NL Division Series, the new first round of postseason play, in three games to the Reds; and 2004, when the team lost the NLDS again, 3–1 to the Cardinals. The next year they collapsed to fourth place with a dismal record of 71–91. The star of the team in the 1990s was catcher Mike Piazza, Rookie of the Year in 1993. In five full seasons with the Dodgers and parts of two others, he batted an astounding .331. Lasorda remained as manager until midway through the 1996 season. He had been severely shaken by the death of his son from AIDS in 1991, and his shtick had grown quite stale. With the club searching for a way to ease him out gracefully, he suffered a heart attack in late June 1996, and a month later resigned. Bill Russell was named to replace him, and he was followed in turn by Glenn Hoffman, Davey Johnson, and Jim Tracy, who resigned after the 2005 season.

THE DODGERS SANS O'MALLEY

On January 6, 1997, O'Malley announced that the club was for sale. Overall, his tenure had been quite successful, but it was the Atlanta Braves, not the Dodgers, who were the best team in the league during the 1990s. Ever since

moving to Los Angeles, the Dodgers always had enough money to do as they pleased, and Walter O'Malley had become one of the most influential owners in the game's inner circle. Throughout the 1990s, they were among the more valuable franchises. Peter O'Malley eschewed that role, and he was not keen to practice the fiscal restraint being preached by Commissioner Allan H. "Bud" Selig. Moreover, O'Malley said that his children were not interested in running the club, even though it had continued to be extremely profitable. By the fall, News Corporation Limited, the international media conglomerate owned by Australian Rupert Murdoch, had been identified as the probable buyer. News Corp. already owned the Fox Broadcasting Company and the rights to telecast baseball nationally and locally, but observers were not quite sure why Murdoch wanted to add a baseball team to his holdings. Perhaps he reacted to news that the Disney Company, one of his major competitors, had purchased an NHL franchise and the Anaheim Angels with the intention of building a cable-television empire in Southern California. Regardless, other clubs feared that Murdoch's great wealth would give the Dodgers an extreme competitive advantage.

The transaction took more than a year to complete, but on March 19, 1998, baseball's owners approved the sale of the franchise and all its assets for \$311 million. Fox executives immediately took control and made changes. Chase Carey, chairman of Fox TV, negotiated a blockbuster trade that sent All-Star catcher Mike Piazza to the Florida Marlins. On June 21, with the team off to a poor start, the new owners fired both Russell and Claire, with Lasorda coming out of retirement to serve as Claire's interim replacement. Six months later, Lasorda stepped aside as the club hired Kevin Malone, Baltimore's assistant general manager. His tenure lasted until April 14, 2001, when he resigned after an altercation with fans in San Diego flared into an incident that demanded action. Dan Evans was hired from the White Sox.

As a News Corp. property, the Dodgers failed on the field, struggled at the box office, and lost money in 2001, estimated by *Forbes* at \$29.6 million. The team took in about \$41 million in revenue from activities associated with Dodger Stadium, such as parking and concessions, which amounted to the fifth highest in MLB. The average ticket price of \$15.43 was only 19th among big-league teams, which was why the Dodgers only took in \$50.7 million at the gate while drawing over 3 million fans. The company invested \$100 million in refurbishing Dodger Stadium, but also suggested that the team might sell Dodgertown and do its spring training in Arizona or California. Rumors surfaced in 2001 that Murdoch wanted to sell. He had used the club to build up the Fox Sports West regional cable network, which he would retain, and continued ownership made little sense. Besides, Disney had also announced its intention to sell its teams. Finding a buyer for the Dodgers, though, took quite a while. The team's payroll was very high, and Murdoch's alleged asking price was steep. In October 2003, Frank McCourt, a Boston real-estate developer whose

grandfather had once owned part of the Braves, offered \$430 million for the club, and News Corp. accepted. MLB questioned the details of this proposed transaction at length since McCourt would not be using very much of his own money. Others wondered if his real interest was not the club, but the land on which Dodger Stadium sat. On January 29, 2004, baseball's owners gave their approval to a deal that had News Corp. loaning McCourt about one-third of the purchase price. The new owner seemed to be committed to restoring the Dodgers to financial stability and eventually to their former glory on the field. For his first move, he fired Evans and hired Paul DePodesta, a young, aggressive executive who had worked for Billy Beane, Oakland's general manager. Beane had gained notoriety for building a successful team within a very limited budget by using new ways to evaluate players. However, following some unpopular trades, DePodesta was replaced after the 2005 season by Nick Colletti. McCourt hoped that Colletti could restore a proud franchise to its days of glory.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1941	Dolph Camilli	1B
1949	Jackie Robinson	2B
1951	Roy Campanella	C
1953	Roy Campanella	C
1955	Roy Campanella	C
1956	Don Newcombe	P
1962	Maury Wills	SS
1963	Sandy Koufax	P
1974	Steve Garvey	1B
1988	Kirk Gibson	OF

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1956	Don Newcombe	RHP
1962	Don Drysdale	RHP
1963	Sandy Koufax	LHP
1965	Sandy Koufax	LHP
1966	Sandy Koufax	LHP
1974	Mike Marshall	RHP
1981	Fernando Valenzuela	LHP
1988	Orel Hershiser	RHP
2003	Eric Gagne	RHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1947	Jackie Robinson	1B
1949	Don Newcombe	P
1952	Joe Black	P
1953	Jim Gilliam	2B
1960	Frank Howard	OF
1965	Jim Lefebvre	2B
1969	Ted Sizemore	2B
1979	Rick Sutcliffe	P
1980	Steve Howe	P
1981	Fernando Valenzuela	P
1982	Steve Sax	2B
1992	Eric Karros	1B
1993	Mike Piazza	C
1994	Raul Mondesi	OF
1995	Hideo Nomo	P
1996	Todd Hollandsworth	OF

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1892	Dan Brouthers	.335
1913	Jake Daubert	.350
1914	Jake Daubert	.329
1918	Zack Wheat	.335
1932	Lefty O'Doul	.368
1941	Pete Reiser	.343
1944	Dixie Walker	.357
1949	Jackie Robinson	.342
1953	Carl Furillo	.344
1962	Tommy Davis	.346
1963	Tommy Davis	.326

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1890	Oyster Burns	13
1903	Jimmy Sheppard	9
1904	Harry Lumley	9
1906	Tim Jordan	12
1908	Tim Jordan	12

1924	Jack Fournier	27
1941	Dolph Camilli	34
1956	Duke Snider	43
2004	Adrian Beltre	48

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1924	Dazzy Vance	2.16
1928	Dazzy Vance	2.09
1930	Dazzy Vance	2.61
1957	Johnny Podres	2.66
1962	Sandy Koufax	2.54
1963	Sandy Koufax	1.88
1964	Sandy Koufax	1.74
1965	Sandy Koufax	2.04
1966	Sandy Koufax	1.73
1980	Don Sutton	2.20
1984	Alejandro Pena	2.48
2000	Kevin Brown	2.58

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1921	Burleigh Grimes	136
1922	Dazzy Vance	134
1923	Dazzy Vance	197
1924	Dazzy Vance	262
1925	Dazzy Vance	221
1926	Dazzy Vance	140
1927	Dazzy Vance	184
1928	Dazzy Vance	200
1936	Van Mungo	238
1951	Don Newcombe	164
1959	Don Drysdale	242
1960	Don Drysdale	246
1961	Sandy Koufax	269
1962	Don Drysdale	232
1963	Sandy Koufax	306
1965	Sandy Koufax	382
1966	Sandy Koufax	317
1981	Fernando Valenzuela	180
1995	Hideo Nomo	236

No-Hitters (Italics = Perfect Game)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Tom Lovett	06/22/1891
Mal Eason	07/20/1906
Nap Rucker	09/05/1908
Dazzy Vance	09/13/1925
Tex Carleton	04/30/1940
Ed Head	04/23/1946
Rex Barney	09/09/1948
Carl Erskine	06/19/1952
Carl Erskine	05/12/1956
Sal Maglie	09/25/1956
Sandy Koufax	06/30/1962
Sandy Koufax	05/11/1963
Sandy Koufax	06/04/1964
<i>Sandy Koufax</i>	09/09/1965
Bill Singer	07/20/1970
Jerry Reuss	06/27/1980
Fernando Valenzuela	06/29/1990
Kevin Gross	08/17/1992
Ramon Martinez	07/14/1995
Hideo Nomo	09/17/1996

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES**NL West Division Titles**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1974	102–60	Walter Alston
1977	98–64	Tommy Lasorda
1978	95–67	Tommy Lasorda
1981	63–47	Tommy Lasorda
1983	91–71	Tommy Lasorda
1985	95–67	Tommy Lasorda
1988	94–67	Tommy Lasorda
1994	58–56	Tommy Lasorda
1995	78–66	Tommy Lasorda
2004	93–69	Jim Tracy

NL Wild Cards

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1996	90–72	Tommy Lasorda Bill Russell

Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1889	93–44	Bill McGunnigle (AA)
1890	86–43	Bill McGunnigle
1899	101–47	Ned Hanlon
1900	82–54	Ned Hanlon
1916	94–60	Wilbert Robinson
1920	93–61	Wilbert Robinson
1941	100–54	Leo Durocher
1947	94–60	Clyde Sukeforth Burt Shotton
1949	97–57	Burt Shotton
1952	96–57	Chuck Dressen
1953	105–49	Chuck Dressen
1955	98–55	Walt Alston
1956	93–61	Walt Alston
1959	88–68	Walt Alston
1963	99–63	Walt Alston
1965	97–65	Walt Alston
1966	95–67	Walt Alston
1974	102–60	Walt Alston
1977	98–64	Tommy Lasorda
1978	95–67	Tommy Lasorda
1981	63–47	Tommy Lasorda
1988	94–67	Tommy Lasorda

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>	<i>MVP</i>
1955	New York	Johnny Podres
1959	Chicago	Larry Sherry
1963	New York	Sandy Koufax
1965	Minnesota	Sandy Koufax
1981	New York	Ron Cey Pedro Guerrero Steve Yeager
1988	Oakland	Orel Hershiser

MANAGERS

2006–	Grady Little
2001–2005	Jim Tracy
1999–2001	Davey Johnson
1998	Glenn Hoffman

1996–1998	Bill Russell
1976–1996	Tommy Lasorda
1954–1976	Walter Alston
1951–1953	Chuck Dressen
1948–1950	Burt Shotton
1948	Ray Blades
1948	Leo Durocher
1947	Burt Shotton
1947	Clyde Sukeforth
1939–1946	Leo Durocher
1937–1938	Burleigh Grimes
1934–1936	Casey Stengel
1932–1933	Max Carey
1914–1931	Wilbert Robinson
1910–1913	Bill Dahlen
1909	Harry Lumley
1906–1908	Patsy Donovan
1899–1905	Ned Hanlon
1898	Charles Ebbets
1898	Mike Griffin
1897–1898	Billy Barnie
1893–1896	Dave Foutz
1891–1892	John M. Ward
1888–1890	Bill McGunnigle (American Association 1888–1889)
1886–1887	Charlie Byrne (AA)

Team Records by Individual Players

	Batting Leaders			Career		Plate Appearances
	Name	Single Season	Year	Name		
Batting average	Babe Herman	.393	1930	Willie Keeler	.352	2,594
On-base %	Mike Griffin	.467	1894	Gary Sheffield	.424	2,276
Slugging %	Babe Herman	.678	1930	Gary Sheffield	.573	2,276
OPS	Babe Herman	1.132	1930	Gary Sheffield	.998	2,276
Games	Maury Wills	165	1962	Zach Wheat	2,322	9,720
At bats	Maury Wills	695	1962	Zach Wheat	8,859	9,720
Runs	Hub Collins	148	1890	PeeWee Reese	1,338	9,470
Hits	Babe Herman	241	1930	Zach Wheat	2,804	9,720
Total bases	Babe Herman	416	1930	Zach Wheat	4,003	9,720
Doubles	Johnny Frederick	52	1929	Zach Wheat	464	9,720

(Continued)

Batting Leaders (Continued)

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Plate
Triples	George Treadway	26	1894	Zach Wheat	171	9,720
Home runs	Shawn Green	49	2001	Duke Snider	389	7,633
RBI's	Tommy Davis	153	1962	Duke Snider	1,271	7,633
Walks	Eddie Stanky	148	1945	Pee Wee Reese	1,210	9,470
Strikeouts	Billy Grabarkewitz	149	1970	Duke Snider	1,123	7,633
Stolen bases	Maury Wills	104	1962	Maury Wills	490	6,744
Extra-base hits	Babe Herman	94	1930	Duke Snider	814	7,633
Times on base	Babe Herman	311	1930	Zach Wheat	3,509	9,720

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
ERA	Rube Marquard	1.58	1916	Jeff Pfeffer	2.31	1,748.3
Wins	Bob Caruthers	40	1889	Don Sutton	233	3,816.3
Won-loss %	Freddie Fitzsimmons	.889	1940	Preacher Roe	.715	1,277.3
Hits/9 IP	Sandy Koufax	5.79	1965	Sandy Koufax	6.79	2,324.3
Walks/9 IP	Watty Clark	1.22	1935	Curt Davis	1.77	1,007.3
Strikeouts	Sandy Koufax	382	1965	Don Sutton	2,696	3,816.3
Strikeouts/9 IP	Hideo Nomo	11.1	1995	Eric Gagne	10.37	5,43.3
Games	Mike Marshall	106	1974	Don Sutton	550	3,816.3
Saves	Eric Gagne	55	2003	Eric Gagne	160	543.3
Innings	Henry Porter	481.7	1885	Don Sutton	3,816.3	3,816.3
Starts	Adonis Terry	55	1884	Don Sutton	533	3,816.3
Complete games	Adonis Terry	54	1884	Brickyard Kennedy	279	2,857
Shutouts	Sandy Koufax	11	1963	Don Sutton	52	3,816.3

Source: Drawn from data in: "Los Angeles Dodgers Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/LAD/leaders_bat.shtml; "Los Angeles Dodgers Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)," http://baseball-reference.com/teams/LAD/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Milwaukee Brewers

John McCarthy and Christopher Miller

The Milwaukee Brewers were the third major-league baseball team to play in Milwaukee, starting with the short-lived 1901 AL team. Several minor-league teams had used the nickname dating back to the nineteenth century, most recently a Triple-A club that had played in Milwaukee until 1952. The Braves moved in from Boston in 1953, and, under new management, moved to Atlanta in 1965. The proposed move provoked a strong response by local officials as Milwaukee County filed suit to enforce its lease agreement with the team, which required the Braves to play in Milwaukee through 1965. Attendance for the lame-duck team was abysmal, amounting to only 555,584 fans. The Braves used this statistic as evidence that Milwaukee could not support a baseball team, a contention only strengthened in the minds of baseball owners by Milwaukee County's decision to file a second lawsuit, which alleged that the proposed move violated federal antitrust laws. In response to the multiple lawsuits that challenged MLB's antitrust exemption, organized baseball in 1968 did not grant Milwaukee any of its four new expansion franchises. It appeared that Milwaukee would be without major-league baseball indefinitely.

However, local leaders did not give up in their quest to return their hometown to major-league status. Local boosters, led by Allan H. "Bud" Selig, a local car dealer, and such notables as Edmund B. Fitzgerald, a local insurance executive, and the Greater Milwaukee Committee, an elite group of civic promoters, enticed the White Sox to play 10 home games in 1968 and 1969 at Milwaukee County Stadium, 90 miles north of Chicago. The White Sox drew over 20,000 fans per game for the two seasons, demonstrating that Milwaukee's interest in major-league baseball had not waned despite the bitter departure of the Braves.

MAJOR-LEAGUE BASEBALL RETURNS TO MILWAUKEE

After the 1969 season, the year-old expansion Seattle Pilots declared bankruptcy, and Selig's syndicate was ready to pounce. Dewey Soriano, former president of the Pacific Coast League, and his brother Max, the league's legal counsel, led the Pilots. Seattle voters in 1968 had approved construction of a domed stadium, but meanwhile the team played in 22,500-seat Sick's Stadium. The American League demanded the Pilots make substantial renovations in the park and find more investors, since the team had lost millions on paper. When the owners could not meet these demands, the path was cleared for Selig's syndicate to buy the team and move it to Milwaukee for \$10.8 million. The deal was closed on March 31, 1970, just five days before the start of the 1970 season.

The newly christened Brewers arrived in Milwaukee on April 5, 1970, and in a sign of the times, were met at General Mitchell Airport by 8,000 eager fans. By comparison, in 1953 a throng at the downtown railroad terminal had met the Braves. The successful attempt to acquire a franchise did not translate to success on the field, and the team compiled a dismal 65–97 record, just one more victory than the Pilots had the year before. A losing record proved no barrier to attendance, as about 935,000 Milwaukeeans passed through the turnstiles, a figure that AL president Joe Cronin called “remarkable, when you think the move was made only five days before the start of the season.”

The early years were characterized by continued sub-.500 seasons. The team did not win more than 70 games under manager Dave Bristol, and he was fired in early 1972, replaced by old-time Milwaukee Brave Del Crandall. He fared little better, winning 74 games in 1973 and 76 in 1974, while attendance rose to just under 1.1 million by 1974. Selig maintained that even then the team was not profitable, and has denied reports that his investment group had ever received dividends. Perhaps the lone bright spot in the nascent years of the franchise was the return of home-run king Hank Aaron, who had starred for the Braves in the 1950s. However, at age 41 Aaron was a shadow of his former self, and his two-year stint with the Brewers was mainly symbolic.

BUILDING A CONTENDER

While the team's won-lost record remained poor in the mid 1970s, the Brewers quietly pieced together the elements that would make them a successful team. From 1973 to 1978, outfielder Gorman Thomas, infielder Jim Gantner, catcher Charlie Moore, and pitchers Moose Haas and Jim Slaton all emerged as talented young players, but the most important young Brewer was shortstop Robin Yount, who in 1974 was rushed to the majors at age 18. Despite his inexperience, Yount became an everyday player almost from his arrival, and throughout the mid-1970s showed flashes of the fielding and hitting skills that

characterized his career. Although disgruntled fans did not realize it during the dark days of 1976 and 1977, Yount was slowly becoming an all-around star.

However, any improvements individual players made on the field were overshadowed by collective futility. After a second consecutive last-place finish in 1977, Selig decided that sweeping changes were needed at virtually all levels of the franchise. First, the team plunged into baseball's newly created free-agent market, landing slugging Minnesota outfielder Larry Hise in a six-year, \$3 million deal. A day after the Hise signing was announced, the ax fell on management. Director of player development Al Widmar and manager Alex Grammas were fired, and general manager Jim Baumer resigned. No-nonsense Harry Dalton assumed the role of general manager, and immediately laid out his new standards for the team: "I'm no miracle worker, but first you've got to get rid of the dogs, the chronic losers." Dalton provided the Brewers with an experienced baseball mind and gave the franchise much-needed stability in the front office, remaining through 1991. For the immediate future, Dalton picked George Bamberger, longtime pitching coach of the Baltimore Orioles, to manage the struggling Brewers.

Nonetheless, with the vast majority of the previous year's last-place team back again, there was little reason to believe that 1978 would bring much success. Yet the Brewers stunned the baseball world by winning 93 games and finishing in third place in the tough AL East. Pitchers Mike Caldwell and Larry Sorensen and sluggers Thomas and Hise all had career seasons. Rookie Paul Molitor stole 30 bases, hinting at future greatness and demonstrating all-around skills similar to Yount. However, the most popular Brewer in 1978 was not a player, but manager George "Bambi" Bamberger. He charmed fans all season long with his blunt assessment of player performances, no-nonsense approach to the game, and above all, lack of pretension. Bamberger drove a modest Ford Fairmont and enjoyed hanging out in neighborhood taverns. The *Milwaukee Journal*, the city's afternoon newspaper, delighted in recounting Bamberger's willingness to "have a beer and a ham sandwich with the boys who get their hands dirty making a living." Bamberger's blue-collar approach to the game proved a perfect fit for a city like Milwaukee. Dalton would later recall, "I haven't ever seen a baseball manager touch a community the way George has." Brewer fans' warm response to Bambi was no doubt helped by the team's 27-game improvement.

A year later, the Brewers proved that 1978 was not a fluke by winning a team record 95 games and finishing second in the AL East to the Baltimore Orioles. The team's core of young players had emerged as legitimate stars. Thomas led the league in home runs in 1979 and 1980. Molitor developed into a terrific leadoff hitter and joined Yount as a cornerstone of the franchise. But despite this progress, the postseason remained elusive. In 1980, the team, favored by many to win the AL East, won a disappointing 86 games and finished in third place, 17 games off the pace. Equally disappointing, heart problems forced Bamberger into retirement at the end of 1980. Injuries slowed the offense, but

the Brewers primarily lacked dominant pitching. Cognizant of this problem, Dalton pulled off one of the most lopsided trades in recent baseball history. He sent pitchers Dave LaPoint and Larry Sorensen and outfielders Sixto Lezcano and Davey Green to the St. Louis Cardinals for catcher Ted Simmons, starting pitcher Pete Vuckovich, and reliever Rollie Fingers. Upon hearing of the Brewers' acquisitions, new manager Buck Rodgers observed that in the space of 15 minutes the Brewers had become contenders again. With the exception of Lezcano, none of the players the Cardinals acquired achieved more than journeyman status. Meanwhile, the veteran Simmons gave the Brewers added power and clubhouse leadership, and Fingers and Vuckovich won consecutive Cy Young Awards in 1981 and 1982. Dalton arguably surpassed his earlier masterpiece when as Orioles general manager he acquired Hall of Fame slugger Frank Robinson for Milt Pappas.

Dalton's trade increased anticipation for 1981, but labor problems loomed. In midseason, players struck after bitter conflicts with owners over the nature of free agency. With 53 games wiped out, prestrike standings were counted as first-half division winners, and division leaders of the remaining games advanced to an expanded playoff as second-half winners. Stuck in third place when the strike began, the Brewers suddenly found their slate wiped clean. The Brewers, in a tight three-team race with Baltimore and Detroit, managed a 31–22 record the rest of the way, enough to win the abbreviated title and advance to the postseason for the first time. Dalton's heist of the Cardinals had put the team over the top. Vuckovich posted a 14–4 record and Fingers dominated hitters all season, saving 28 games with a 1.04 ERA. First baseman Cecil Cooper hit .320, more than 50 points higher than any other starter. In the first round of the expanded playoffs, however, the Brewers' momentum wore out, as they fell to the New York Yankees three games to two. The two playoff games in County Stadium drew a total of only 61,000 fans, well below capacity.

HARVEY'S WALLBANGERS AND THE 1982 WORLD SERIES

The Brewers expected to remain contenders in 1982, but at the end of May they were limping along at 23–24, with several players grumbling about manager Buck Rodgers's handling of the team. Desperate to shake things up, Dalton fired Rodgers on June 1, replacing him with longtime assistant Harvey Kuenn, whose easygoing approach hit the right tone with the increasingly veteran Brewers. Upon Kuenn's hiring, an impatient Milwaukee sportswriter proclaimed, "Now, let's get on with the winning." The Brewers delivered, sweeping six and a half games ahead of the Orioles by the end of August. For the season, Vuckovich went 18–6 and led AL pitchers in winning percentage, and veteran left-hander Mike Caldwell also provided consistency. In September, Dalton acquired veteran star Don Sutton from the Astros. Fingers again delivered out the bullpen, posting 29 saves, but an elbow injury prematurely ended his season and left a gaping hole in the Brewers' bullpen. Consistent pitching

kept the Brewers in games, but the strength of the team was offense. In 1982 Milwaukee hitters, dubbed "Harvey's Wallbangers," outdid themselves. The Brewers slugged 216 home runs, 30 more than any other team in the AL, and also led the league in total runs, hits, RBIs, and slugging percentage. Thomas, outfielder Ben Oglivie, and first baseman Cecil Cooper all surpassed 30 home runs, but it was Yount's maturation into a truly great player that was most impressive. Always a brilliant fielder, Yount finally found a consistent stroke behind the plate in 1982, hitting .331 with 29 home runs and leading the AL in hits, doubles, and slugging percentage.

If there were any doubters of Yount's greatness, they were silenced at the end of the season. In September, the Orioles slowly gained on the Brewers, weakened by Fingers's absence. The Brewers had a three-game lead entering a final four-game series in Baltimore. Inspired in part by legendary manager Earl Weaver's announcement that he would retire at the end of the year, the Orioles stunned the Brewers by winning three straight games, pushing the series to a dramatic denouement on the final day of the season. With veterans Sutton and Jim Palmer facing off, fans anticipated a pitcher's duel, but it was Yount who saved the season, hitting a triple and two home runs in a 10-2 victory. The Brewers had finally won an undisputed championship. Fans flooded downtown Milwaukee after the victory, honking horns, setting off fireworks, and soaking up the city's time in the national spotlight. The title was especially sweet for the die-hard Brewer fans who had watched the team bumble its way through much of the previous decade. One tearful fan hoped Milwaukee would earn respect from the East Coast media, and that they would "recognize Wisconsin as having something since the Vince Lombardi days of football. God, I love it!" For their part, players celebrated in the locker room, and Kuenn called Yount "the best all-around shortstop I've ever seen."

The Brewers were favored in the AL Championship Series to dispatch the veteran California Angels with relative ease, but the Angels surprised Milwaukee by winning the first two games at home, pushing Milwaukee to the brink of elimination. Back at home for game three, the Brewers found their stride, but it was close. Milwaukee took a 5-0 lead. Angels catcher Bob Boone hit a long fly ball to the left-field wall that Oglivie drifted back to catch, but a fan in the first row of the bleachers leaned over the railing and caught the ball, giving Boone a home run and putting the Angels back in the game. The spectator was a 27-year-old man from Racine named Eddie Becker, a devout Brewers backer who attended over 25 games a year and followed the team on road trips, drinking and joking with the players in hotel bars. But for a brief moment, Becker was in danger of becoming a dubious figure in Milwaukee sports history. With 50,000 fans now a potential lynch mob, stadium security escorted the forlorn Becker out of the stadium, where he sat in his car and prayed for a victory. Luckily, the Brewers hung on to win 5-3, and Becker discreetly sat in the upper deck for the rest of the series. After an easy 9-5 victory in game four, the Brewers, behind a key seventh-inning single by Cooper, won a tense deciding

game 4–3, delivering Milwaukee its first pennant since 1958 and launching the city into delirium once again.

The Brewers faced the St. Louis Cardinals in the World Series, which provided the media with several interesting angles. The Brewers had won by out-slugging their opponents, while the Cardinals were known for their defense and speed. It was the Cardinals who had traded Fingers, Vuckovich, and Simmons to the Brewers. Moreover, St. Louis and Milwaukee headquartered America's two largest brewers, Anheuser-Busch and Miller Brewing. The national media dubbed the matchup "the Suds Series," which renewed Milwaukee's long-standing reputation as a blue-collar city brimming with breweries. The Cardinals and Brewers battled to a standstill in the first six games. Mike Caldwell won twice for Milwaukee, while Molitor hit .355 and Yount .414 for the series. However, in game seven Fingers's absence was painfully obvious, as Milwaukee's bullpen failed to hold a two-run lead, giving the Cardinals the World Series with a 6–3 victory.

STRUGGLING IN THE MID-1980S

Milwaukee's great run had ended, but the team had finally won over the city, and fans eagerly anticipated the 1983 season. Virtually all the team's key players were set to return, many rewarded with multiyear contracts. The long-term health of the franchise seemed assured. Instead, the 1982 pennant proved to be the end of an era rather than the beginning of sustained greatness. The Brewers' problems in the mid-1980s—both on and off the field—in many ways reflected the team's struggles throughout the history of the franchise. First, a disproportionate number of injuries plagued the Brewers. Molitor, Caldwell, Fingers, and Vuckovich were afflicted with serious injuries and missed significant amounts of time. Second, team management stubbornly refused to look outside the organization for help, failing to sign a single free agent from 1981 through 1991. Third, the Brewers' minor-league system failed to supply the team with the young players it desperately needed. Even more ominously, attendance, which peaked at 2.39 million in 1983, slipped dramatically as the losses piled up, demonstrating that the Brewers had never wholly won over Milwaukee sports fans, who remained preoccupied with the Green Bay Packers. Even during the winning years of the early 1980s, fans in County Stadium often preferred to discuss the numerous shortcomings of the Packers. After the pennant-winning season of 1982, the Brewers suffered through four consecutive losing seasons, and the long-term prospects of the franchise seemed dim.

The 1987 Brewers opened the season with just four players from the 1982 squad. The turnover reflected the team's age and the Brewers' refusal to play the free-agent market. The new wave included Rob Deer, B.J. Surhoff, Greg Brock, and Mark Clear as well as pitchers Teddy Higuera, Bill Wegman, Juan Nieves, and Chris Bosio, who would make up the core of the Tom Treblehorn–managed

Brewers for the next five years. The veteran holdovers (Yount, Molitor, and Gantner) were the highest-paid members of a team whose payroll ranked 22nd out of the 26 major-league teams. The season started off with a bang as the team won six straight, their best start ever. On Easter Sunday, April 28, the Brewers capped a 12-game win streak with a come-from-behind victory that cemented the team's identity as "Team Streak." The success forced local restaurateur George Webb to pay up on a longtime prediction that Milwaukee's team would win 12 games in a row—a promise that dated back to the old Triple-A Brewers. His chain had promised free hamburgers to anyone in the event of such a streak, and on May 1 gave away roughly 115,000 sandwiches to eager fans.

The new-look Brewers attempted to meld considerable young talent with the veteran core of the 1982 championship team. While competitive over the next few years, the pitching staff was especially ravaged by injuries, a curse that seemed to hover over the team like a black cloud. Ace Teddy Higuera was unable to reach his potential, and Bill Wegman, Chris Bosio, Juan Nieves, and Bill Spiers all saw their careers limited. Molitor and Yount remained franchise cornerstones and added to their Hall of Fame credentials. Between 1987 and 1991 Molitor hit over .310 four times, and Yount, moved to the outfield, continued his elite play, winning a second MVP Award in 1990. Both eventually finished their careers with over 3,000 hits and unquestionably remain the team's two greatest players. However, despite Yount and Molitor's sustained excellence, the Brewers failed to meet expectations in the late 1980s. In each of those five years, the team began with high expectations and failed to meet them, while its win totals dropped each year from 91 to 87 to 81 to 74 before rebounding to 83 in Treblehorn's final year. The effort to rebuild around players such as Gary Sheffield, Surhoff, Brock, and Glenn Braggs had failed, and Treblehorn was fired as the team sought a new direction on the field.

Off the field, the years following Milwaukee's World Series appearance in 1982 saw a steady erosion of the franchise's financial position, and by the late 1980s the escalation of player salaries and large-market media contracts had squeezed the Brewers' budget. Baseball owners had tried to restrict player salaries in the mid-1980s, but after the collusion decisions and the damages the courts imposed on the owners, salaries rose stratospherically into the early 1990s, setting the stage for economic disaster. In response to its allegedly deteriorating financial situation, the team began a public campaign for a new stadium in the late 1980s, when a series of reports identified both the economic peril the team faced and the economic impact the team had on the Milwaukee area. Arguments that the franchise was in trouble were, however, hard to maintain in the face of financial records that pointed to profits of nearly \$5 million in the 1987 and 1988 seasons as the team had cut payroll and gone with younger, cheaper players. In this environment, the Brewers floated a plan in which they would privately finance a \$110 million stadium if the county paid for needed infrastructure improvements to the stadium site.

While the team went to the public, hat in hand, the results on the field were discouraging. Milwaukee fans eagerly awaited the arrival of the young players, especially first-round draft pick Gary Sheffield. Reminiscent of Robin Yount, Sheffield arrived in 1988 as a super talented 19-year-old shortstop. However, Sheffield's slow start and vocal displeasure about his treatment by the team distracted fans from the action on the field and focused their attention on the image of the multimillionaire malcontent. Sheffield's relationship with both the team and the community was tumultuous almost from the minute he set foot in County Stadium. Scarcely two months into his major-league career, he publicly demanded a trade and blasted the organization for failing to treat him with enough respect. Two years later, prior to the 1992 season, after Sheffield complained that general manager Harry Dalton was ruining the team he was traded to the San Diego Padres. Sheffield's departure was ugly, especially since he later claimed that he had underperformed in an effort to get traded, though he later retracted those statements. Despite that retraction, even 10 years later fans still booed Sheffield when his teams visited Milwaukee.

COMMISSIONER BUD SELIG

While the Brewers were trying to build support for a new stadium, the sport as a whole was undergoing a series of wrenching changes, including the selection of a new commissioner. The series of events that led to Bud Selig's election as acting commissioner in 1992 were inextricably tied up in baseball's tangled labor history. Commissioner Fay Vincent's actions in "solving" the 1990 labor dispute led many owners to support Vincent's removal and replacement with Selig in 1992. During the late 1980s, Selig had united a group of small-market franchises whose financial woes ostensibly mirrored the Brewers' and who agreed that significant changes were needed in running baseball. Most significantly, they began pushing for a cap on player salaries to rein in rapidly escalating salaries and increased revenue sharing between the teams to even out the increasing discrepancies between the high- and low-revenue teams. Selig's elevation meant that the agenda of the self-proclaimed small-market teams, both in the relationships of teams to their cities and in player-owner negotiations, which had always been contentious, would be pushed to the forefront in the public eye. As a result, Selig's years as acting commissioner were rocky, exemplified by the players' strike in 1994 and the cancellation of the World Series.

Strangely enough, with economic whirlwinds swirling around the team, the 1992 Brewers gave Milwaukee its most recent shot at contention. Led by Moltitor, who batted .320, and AL Rookie of the Year Pat Listach, and bolstered by the league's best pitching, particularly rookie Cal Eldred's outstanding debut (11–2, 1.73 ERA), new manager Phil Garner's team went 92–70. Any hopes for a renaissance were quickly dashed, however, as the next three years produced seasons of 69, 53, and 65 wins and baseball suffered the catastrophic players' strike of 1994 just as plans for the new stadium were moving into high gear. Incidentally,

the Brewers' value fell to just \$71 million at the start of 1995, the first poststrike season.

Public disgust at the team's performance manifested itself in taxpayer opposition to funding for a stadium. Finally, in August 1995, the state legislature passed by one vote legislation that allowed a five-county sales tax dedicated to funding a new stadium. George Petak of Racine, who cast the deciding vote, faced a recall election that he lost almost exclusively because of his support for the bill. Even after the plan was approved, other political holdups stalled the new stadium, provoking a public rally organized by Milwaukee attorney Gerald Boyle at County Stadium in favor of the project. Dubbed the "We Love Ya' Bud" rally, the event drew approximately 10,000 fans. Fans carrying signs that said "Build it NOW" were treated to an address from Petak. By late 1996, the last hurdles had been overcome, and the new Miller Park, scheduled to cost \$313 million and open for the 2000 season, began to take shape outside County Stadium's center-field bleachers.

Selig was elected commissioner in 1998, after serving as acting commissioner for six years. In accordance with his new legitimacy, he removed himself from governance of the Brewers, placed his shares of the team into a blind trust, and ceded day-to-day control to his daughter, Wendy Selig-Prieb. Major changes in baseball during his tenure included the addition of interleague play, the creation of the wild-card playoff spot, increased revenue sharing, a luxury tax, two different expansions, and tightening the rules against drug usage. In the last round of expansion in 1998, the Brewers became the first team to switch from the American to the National League.

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE BREWERS

Armed with the promise of the stadium to come and a new crop of young players, the team "took this thing National" in 1998 armed with some optimism. The team upped its payroll in anticipation of new revenues from Miller Park and proclaimed itself a contender. After a 74–88 finish that year and a nearly identical record the next year, it became clear that the rebuilding plan had not taken root. In addition, during the summer of 1999, a fatal crane collapse on the Miller Park site killed three construction workers and delayed the project for at least a year. The accident and the team's dreadful play created a public-relations nightmare, robbing the franchise of the positive momentum gathering toward the scheduled opening of the new stadium in 2000. The ideal stadium-building plan involved developing an improving team for the move into the new facility so that the increased revenue could be used to make the first year a memorable one. However, the Brewers were heading in the opposite direction, and hit rock bottom in 1999. Faced with the prospect of opening brand-new Miller Park without a competitive team in place, management fired both Garner and general manager Sal Bando. The firings, which resulted in the hiring of Davey Lopes and Dean Taylor, an assistant general manager for the Atlanta Braves,

were an admission of the depths to which the team had sunk. In an attempt to salvage the situation, the team announced that the popular seventh-inning sausage races, run by humans wearing sausage costumes, would take place at every game instead of just on Sundays for the rest of the season.

Taylor's reign began with a splash as he set out to remake the club. Trades were quickly made that sent Jeff Cirillo, Jose Valentin, Fernando Vina, Cal Eldred, and others away for pitching prospects Jimmy Haynes and Jamey Wright. Before the 2001 season, Taylor also signed free agent Jeffrey Hammonds to a three-year, \$21.75 million contract, then the largest in Brewer history. The team's salaries amounted to \$51 million, 22nd in the majors. These moves gave at least the illusion of progress, if not the real thing, and were accompanied by fervent public promises that revenue generated by the new stadium would allow the team to become competitive.

The 2001 season was when the long-promised era of competitive baseball was supposed to begin, but instead the team continued to decline. Miller Park, completed a year late and costing roughly \$400 million, opened to rave public reviews that season. More than 2.8 million patrons took in a game there, a franchise record. After years in the red, the team made \$16,129,000 according to MLB (\$18.8 million by *Forbes*), the most in the majors. This extraordinary profit was based on revenue from baseball operations of \$14,385,000 and \$1,744,000 from revenue sharing. In an ironic twist, the 2002 team had a franchise-worst season (56–106), though its payroll rose to a franchise record \$50 million. This failure caused the firing of Lopes, his interim replacement Jerry Royster, and Taylor as yet another rebuilding plan collapsed into rubble. As if this dismal performance on the field were not enough, the retractable roof on the new stadium suffered from problems almost from the start, as rain leaked into the stadium and several major components had to be replaced.

Growing public pressure throughout 2003 led to the dawn of a new era, as a total housecleaning swept out Wendy Selig-Prieb, Dean Taylor, and Jerry Royster and saw them replaced by Milwaukeean Ulice Payne (the first non-Selig chairman of the team), former Texas Rangers general manager Doug Melvin, and former Brewers catcher Ned Yost. The George Webb prediction was nearly achieved once again late in the 2003 season as the team managed a 10-game winning streak, but finished with a dismal 68–94 record.

The new regime resolved to focus on player development and build on high draft picks to repair the public damage caused by years of losing and the controversial new stadium project. After the 2003 season, ongoing problems with the roof combined with the memory of the crane collapse and Payne's public airing of plans to reduce payroll to create a public outcry. The situation ended with Payne's acrimonious departure from the franchise after only one year.

Most prognosticators believed that success was several years away for the Brewers and their prospects, who comprised one of the best farm systems in the

game. However, the Brewers made a blockbuster trade in the off-season that paid much larger dividends than expected. Melvin traded slug-ging first baseman Richie Sexson to the Arizona Diamondbacks following a directive to reduce payroll and get what he could before Sexson departed as a free agent. But in acquiring Lyle Overbay, Junior Spivey, Craig Counsell, Chad Moeller, Chris Capuano, and Jorge De La Rosa, Melvin significantly improved the team's depth. The new players and a suddenly dominant right-hander, Ben Sheets (2.70 ERA), led the team to a surprisingly good first-half start in 2004. But the second-half collapse of the offense left the team with virtually the same record as 2003 (67–94). Late in the season, California financier Mark Attanasio announced that he had purchased the team from the Seligs for approximately \$220 million, and he took control of the team's operations in the off-season.

He immediately made his mark by allowing the trade of center fielder Scott Podsednik for powerful left fielder Carlos Lee of the Chicago White Sox, taking on significant salary in the process. Lee produced, with 32 homers and 114 RBIs. The 2005 season was the franchise's first without a Selig in the front office. The team showed marked improvement, despite a \$42 million payroll, by climbing to third and a .500 season, the best record since 1992. The youthful team provided a lot more optimism than Brewer fans have felt for years.



Ben Sheets throws a pitch before the first inning of a spring training game against the Kansas City Royals in Maryvale, Arizona, 2005. © AP / Wide World Photos

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1981	Rollie Fingers	P
1982	Robin Yount	SS
1989	Robin Yount	OF

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1981	Rollie Fingers	RHP
1982	Pete Vuckovich	RHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1992	Pat Listach	SS

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1975	George Scott	36
1979	Gorman Thomas	45
1980	Ben Oglivie	41
1982	Gorman Thomas	39

No-Hitters

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Juan Nieves	04/15/1987

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES**AL East Division Titles**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1981	62–47	Buck Rodgers
1982	95–67	Buck Rodgers Harvey Kuenn

AL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1982	95–67	Buck Rodgers Harvey Kuenn

MANAGERS

2003–	Ned Yost
2002	Jerry Royster
2000–2002	Davey Lopes
1999	Jim Lefebvre
1992–1998	Phil Garner
1986–1991	Tom Trebelhorn
1985–1986	George Bamberger
1984	Rene Lachemann

1982–1983	Harvey Kuenn
1980–1982	Buck Rodgers
1978–1980	George Bamberger
1976–1977	Alex Grammas
1975	Harvey Kuenn
1972–1975	Del Crandall
1970–1971	Dave Bristol
1969	Joe Schultz

Team Records by Individual Players

Batting Leaders

	Single Season			Career		Plate Appearances
	Name		Year	Name		
Batting average	Paul Molitor	.353	1987	Jeff Cirillo	.306	3,437
On-base %	Paul Molitor	.438	1987	Jeff Cirillo	.384	3,437
Slugging %	Geoff Jenkins	.588	2000	Richie Sexson	.536	2,288
OPS	Paul Molitor	1.003	1987	Richie Sexson	.902	2,288
Games	Gorman Thomas	162	1980	Robin Yount	2,856	12,249
At bats	Paul Molitor	666	1982	Robin Yount	11,008	12,249
Runs	Paul Molitor	136	1982	Robin Yount	1,632	12,249
Hits	Cecil Cooper	219	1980	Robin Yount	3,142	12,249
Total bases	Robin Yount	367	1982	Robin Yount	4,730	12,249
Doubles	LyneOverbay	53	2004	Robin Yount	583	12,249
Triples	Paul Molitor	16	1979	Robin Yount	126	12,249
Home runs	Gorman Thomas	45	1979	Robin Yount	251	12,249
RBI's	Cecil Cooper	126	1983	Robin Yount	1,406	12,249
Walks	Jeromy Burnitz	99	2000	Robin Yount	966	12,249
Strikeouts	Jose Hernandez	188	2002	Robin Yount	1350	12,249
stolen bases	Tommy Harper	73	1969	Paul Molitor	412	8,438
Extra-base hits	Robin Yount	87	1982	Robin Yount	960	12,249
Times on base	Paul Molitor	299	1991	Robin Yount	4,156	12,249

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		Innings Pitched
	Name		Year	Name		
ERA	Mike Caldwell	2.36	1978	Dan Plesac	3.21	524.3
Wins	Mike Caldwell	22	1978	Jim Slaton	117	2,025.3
Won-loss %	Moose Haas	.812	1983	Teddy Higuera	.595	1,380
Hits/9 IP	Teddy Higuera	6.65	1988	Dan Plesac	7.9	524.3

(Continued)

Pitching Leaders (Continued)						
	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
Walks/9 IP	Ben Sheets	1.22	2004	Lary Sorenson	1.82	854
Strikeouts	Ben Sheets	264	2004	Teddy Higuera	1,081	1,380
Strikeouts/9 IP	Ben Sheets	10.03	2004	Dan Plesac	7.69	524.3
Games	Ken Sanders	83	1971	Dan Plesac	365	524.3
Saves	Danny Kolb	39	2004	Dan Plesac	133	524.3
Innings	Jim Colborn	314.3	1973	Jim Slaton	2,025.3	2,025.3
Starts	Jim Slaton	38	1973	Jim Slaton	268	2,025.3
Complete games	Mike Caldwell	23	1978	Mike Caldwell	81	1,604.7
Shutouts	Mike Caldwell	6	1978	Jim Slaton	19	2,025.3

Source: Drawn from data in "Milwaukee Brewers Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/MIL/leaders_bat.shtml; "Milwaukee Brewers Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/MIL/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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New York Mets

Maureen Smith

When the New York Giants and Brooklyn Dodgers moved west after the 1957 season, America's heralded sport capital and most populated city was left with only one team, the New York Yankees of the American League. New York had been home to three successful teams and tremendous rivalries played out each autumn. When the Giants and Dodgers departed for San Francisco and Los Angeles, respectively, they were seeking uncharted and singular territories; they would be sharing their California backyards with no other teams. Local fans felt betrayed. Some turned to the Yankees, but most kept their National League loyalties, listening to Les Keiter's re-creation of Giants games on WINS radio. Eventually a new team would take the place of the two departed clubs.

THE BIRTH OF THE METS

On July 27, 1959, the creation of the Continental League as a new major league, with Branch Rickey as president, was announced. Attorney A. William Shea, who headed the Mayor's Special Committee on Baseball and had tried to get an existing major-league team to move to New York, was instrumental in the development of the CL. The league was to be comprised of eight teams, including one in New York, and play was slated for 1961. In support of a second team, Mayor Robert Wagner unveiled in the spring of 1960 a proposal to build a \$15 million stadium in Flushing Meadows Park, Queens. The park was planned as an open-ended, three-tier, circular stadium and would seat 55,000 fans. The primary owner of the proposed stadium was Joan Payson (wife of Charles Shipman Payson), a wealthy fan of the Giants, who wanted to find

a replacement for her departed team. She was the sister of John Hay “Jock” Whitney, ambassador to Britain and publisher of the *New York Herald Tribune*, who owned a substantial amount of stock in the San Francisco Giants. They were avid supporters of the turf, and were partners in the well-known Greentree Stable. Charles A. Hurth, the president of the Southern Association, was named general manager of the New York syndicate, and Donald M. Grant, a New York investment broker, was named team president.

Organized baseball responded to this threat by opening discussions with the CL regarding a merger, but instead decided to expand with four additional teams, including one for New York. Two groups sought the new NL franchise in New York: the Payson syndicate and Madison Square Garden, a division of Graham-Paige. The decision for expansion resulted in the death of the CL in the summer of 1960. In addition to the New York franchise, which was awarded to the Payson consortium, the NL also expanded to Houston, which had also been an expected CL location, with the Colt .45s.

In March 1961, the New York Metropolitan Baseball Club Inc. was welcomed into the NL. A contest was held to come up with a suitable nickname for the new team, and ultimately “Mets” emerged as the moniker. This was a historical reference to the Metropolitan team of the nineteenth-century American Association. The new president was former Yankees general manager George Weiss, who had been recently forced out because of age. The expansion teams were formed by a draft of expendable players from the other NL teams. On October 10, 1961, the Mets paid \$1.8 million to draft 22 players from NL teams, while the Houston Colt .45s paid \$1.85 million to purchase 23 men. Each club made 7 players from their 25-man roster available, plus 8 additional players in their entire organization. The Mets selected 16 men at \$75,000, two for \$50,000, and four premium players who each cost \$125,000. The Mets focused on drafting experienced, well-known players like Gil Hodges and Don Zimmer, who they hoped would help them compete in the New York market with the more established Yankees. Over the next few years, the Mets brought in other renowned ballplayers, including Duke Snider, Richie Ashburn, Yogi Berra, and Gus Bell, in a concerted effort to draw in nostalgic old NL fans. While the plan did attract fans to the ballpark, it did not work as a strategy to win games.

Eighteen days later, ground was broken for Flushing Meadows Park, the future home of the New York Mets. By November, the Mets logo, created by sports cartoonist Ray Gatto, was released. The emblem sought to represent all five New York boroughs by including the image of a bridge and skyline. The skyline image included a church spire, symbolic of Brooklyn; the Williamsburg Savings Bank, the tallest building in Brooklyn; the Empire State Building, symbolic of midtown; and the United Nations Building. The colors were Dodger blue and Giant orange, paying tribute to the old New York ball clubs.

Late in 1961, as the team seemed to take shape, the Mets hired former Yankees manager Casey Stengel. Between 1949 and 1960, Stengel had led the Yankees to 10 AL pennants and seven world championships. But in 1961 his contract

was not renewed because, at 71, he was deemed too old. The Mets offered Casey a multi-year contract, but he opted for a one-year deal for about \$85,000. Stengel was happy to be back in baseball and was his philosophic self when he mused, "An experienced man was needed. Nobody needs me, but maybe they need my experience. Baseball is very big. Baseball will live longer than Casey Stengel or anybody." When asked how he might handle working with a team that might struggle in its first few years, Stengel replied, "You're gonna have troubles in the baseball business every day. No matter who you're with. Myself, I'll expect to win every day. I hope not to get sick worrying about it, if I don't. The main thing is to keep up the spirit of your men. Keep your head up and feel you're gonna win the next one."



Manager Casey Stengel, 1962. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame

1962: THE FIRST AND WORST SEASON

The Mets' first spring training was in St. Petersburg, former spring home of the Yankees, who had moved to Fort Lauderdale. The club played that season at the Polo Grounds, former home site of the Giants, where they expected to play one season. The squad's first official game, on April 11, 1962, was an 11–4 loss to the hosting St. Louis Cardinals. The Opening Day lineup had Richie Ashburn playing center field, Felix Mantilla at shortstop, Charlie Neal at second base, and left fielder Frank Thomas batting cleanup, followed by right fielder Gus Bell, first baseman Gil Hodges, third baseman Don Zimmer, catcher Hobie Landrith, and, hitting last, pitcher Roger Craig. The Mets played their first home game on April 13, 1962, a 4–3 loss to the Pittsburgh Pirates. The Mets lost their first nine games until Jay Hook pitched them to a 9–1 home victory over the Pirates on April 23, 1962.

The first season was full of challenges, because the team was abysmal. As one wag noted, "Can't anybody play this game?" Sport scribes such as Dick Young of the *New York Daily News* and Robert Lipsyte of the *New York Times* covered the hapless Mets, and more often than not reported on the comedy of the team's pitiful play. The club had the worst batting (.240), pitching

(5.04 ERA), and fielding (210 errors, .967 fielding percentage) in the league. Despite their uncanny knack for losing, fans loved the Mets, who drew 922,530, average for the NL. Fans hung homemade banners cheering on the team until George Weiss ordered them all removed, at which point in the season fans brought them in greater numbers. The banners signified that the fans were simply content to have a team to cheer for and call their own. One bedsheet read, "We don't want to set the world on fire—we just want to finish ninth"; another read "To err is human—to forgive is a Mets fan." By the next season, the Mets were the first team to host an official Banner Day.

Reporters considered the Mets to be "the people's team," and Young nicknamed the losers "the New Breed." The team had a lot of characters, like catcher Choo Choo Coleman and first baseman "Marvelous" Marv Throneberry, who one time hit a triple but was called out for missing first base. When Stengel went out to complain, Marv told him not to bother, since he also missed second. At the end of the inaugural season, the Mets had accumulated 40 wins and a record 120 losses, breaking the Boston Braves' 1935 record of 115 losses in a season. Roger Craig and Al Jackson both lost 20 or more games. The only bright spots were Frank Thomas, who hit 34 homers, and Richie Ashburn, who batted .306. Roger Angell, the well-known baseball writer, found himself cheering for the lovable losers. As he noted, "An amazing thing happened, which was that New York took this losing team to its bosom. Everybody thinks New York only cares about champions, but we cared about the Mets . . . People brought horns and blew those horns and after a while I realized was antimatter to the Yankees who were across the river and had won so long . . . Winning is not a whole lot of fun if it goes on too long. But the Mets were human and that horn, I began to realize, was blowing for me because there's more Met than Yankee in all of us." Things could only get better, but not by much. In 1963 the team went 51–111, with a dismal .219 batting average. The show on the field surpassed the play—for instance, when outfielder Jimmy Piersall hit his 100th homer, he ran the bases backward.

THE BUILDING YEARS

The 1964 season welcomed the Mets into their new home, the \$28.5 million, 55,061-seat Shea Stadium, located adjacent to the World's Fair and named for William Shea, who had been instrumental in bringing the NL back to New York. Shea Stadium was the first ballpark to utilize motor-operated stands that converted it from a baseball field to a football field. It also was the noisiest, located right in the flight path of La Guardia Airport, and had the worst visibility for hitters of any major-league park. When the site had first been considered, it was inspected in the winter, when flight patterns were different, and there was no noise problem. The foul lines were 341 feet long, and center field was 410. At the Opening Day ceremonies on April 17, Shea christened the new stadium with two bottles of water, one from Gowanus Canal near Ebbets Field, former home of the Brooklyn Dodgers, and the other from the Harlem River, near the Polo

Grounds. In their first game at Shea Stadium, the hosts lost to the Pittsburgh Pirates, 4–3. Despite the new stadium, the Mets were still not competitive. They won just 53 games, and followed a year later with just 50. Stengel finally retired his spikes in mid-1965 and was replaced by coach Wes Westrum.

The Mets' first season at Shea drew 1,732,597 fans, an increase of 700,000 over the prior year at the Polo Grounds, and despite their losing ways, the Mets outdrew their crosstown rivals, the Yankees. Shea Stadium was the site of the All-Star Game in 1964, and became the home of the Jets of the NFL. On April 2, 1966, the Mets won a lottery for the rights to University of Southern California pitcher Tom Seaver. Originally signed by the Atlanta Braves in February 1966, Seaver's contract was voided by Commissioner William D. Eckert because his college baseball season had already begun when Seaver had signed with the Braves. Eckert ruled that any team willing to match the Braves' offer could bid for his services. The Philadelphia Phillies, the Cleveland Indians, and the Mets all made an offer. Their names were thrown in a hat, and the Mets were picked, and they won the talented youngster. The Mets had their best campaign ever (66–95), their first season with fewer than 100 losses. But they reverted to form a year later with 101 losses. By 1968, led by new manager Gil Hodges, the Mets were closing in on mediocrity, with a franchise-high 73 wins, led by a promising young pitching staff that included Seaver and rookies Jerry Koosman and Nolan Ryan.

1969: THE MIRACLE METS

As the Mets entered their eighth season, few would have predicted a stellar year for a team that had never finished higher than ninth, yet they went from the doormat of the NL to the darlings of New York. Following the 1969 expansion, each league created an Eastern and Western Division, with the winners of a playoff going on to the World Series. The Mets were assigned to the NL East and were not expected to challenge their divisional rivals, the St. Louis Cardinals, Pittsburgh Pirates, and Chicago Cubs.

Unexpectedly, in 1969 the pitching staff jelled, the hitters were hitting, and for the first time, the team was winning more than they were losing. Early in the season, the experienced Cubs led the pennant race, but the Mets stayed on their tail. Heading into the All-Star break, the Mets were within three and a half games of the Cubs and first place. The club then struggled, losing 12 of 21, falling into third place, nine and a half games out of first. But the Mets got hot during a 20-game stretch against the West Coast teams, winning 15. The club was back in the pennant race, only two and a half games behind the leading Cubs. The Mets reached first place on September 10, 1969, when they swept a doubleheader over the Montreal Expos, and clinched their first NL East championship two weeks later with a 6–0 victory over the St. Louis Cardinals. The team finished at a torrid 17–5 clip, on its way to a 100-victory campaign, eight games ahead of the Cubs. The offense remained weak, with just a .242 average, led by left fielder Cleon Jones, with a sparkling .340. But the key was the pitch-

ing, which was second in the NL with a team 3.34 ERA. Seaver was spectacular, winning his last 10 starts and going 25–7. He had an ERA of 2.21 and was voted the Cy Young Award. The exciting campaign resulted in a league-leading attendance of 2,175,373.

The Mets went into the postseason as heavy underdogs. In their first postseason game ever, on October 4, the Mets beat the host Atlanta Braves 9–5, and repeated, 11–6, the next day. The series moved to Flushing Meadows for the first postseason appearance by an NL New York team since 1956. On October 6, 1969, the Mets completed their three-game sweep by a score of 7–4 to earn their way into the World Series against the powerful AL champions, the Baltimore Orioles.

Before the World Series started, rumors started that if the Mets won, Seaver would sign on to a full-page ad in the *New York Times* that read, “If the Mets can win the World Series, the United States can get out of Vietnam.” When asked about the controversy, Seaver answered that he did not wish to be used for political purposes. Many people in baseball were relieved to have the Series begin to move past the war issue. Baltimore was a prohibitive favorite, and captured the first game in Baltimore, 4–1, with Seaver suffering the loss. But in game two, Koosman helped bring the Mets back with six innings of no-hit baseball, which along with a home run by veteran Donn Clendenon led to a 2–1 victory to tie the series. The series headed to New York for game three, and Gary Gentry pitched a four-hit gem, which the Mets won 5–0. Seaver started game four, and held the



Jerry Grote embraces pitcher Jerry Koosman as the Mets defeated the Baltimore Orioles to win the 1969 World Series. © AP / Wide World Photos

Oriole scoreless for eight innings. The Orioles tied the pitching duel 1–1 in the ninth, but were thwarted by a brilliant catch by right fielder Ron Swoboda, one of the greatest in World Series history. In the bottom of the 10th, pinch hitter J.C. Martin bunted for a sacrifice, and while running inside the baseline, was hit by the throw, enabling Rod Gaspar to score from second, giving the Mets a 2–1 win. Then on October 16, 1969, in front of a hometown crowd of 57,397 fans, Donn Clendenon and Al Weis each hit home runs in support of Koosman's five-hitter, as the Mets won their first World Championship with a 5–3 victory over the Orioles. The Mets had won with outstanding pitching, brilliant fielding, and timely hitting. Each player received a series bonus of \$18,332.

THE METS IN THE 1970S

The Mets remained competitive after their miracle season, tallying 83 victories in each of the next three years. These teams continued to hit poorly but pitch well, leading in ERA in 1970 (3.45) and 1971 (2.99). One of the mainstays on the team was local boy Ed Kranepool, who first appeared in a Mets uniform in 1962 at the tender age of 17. He played 18 seasons with a .261 batting average. In 1972 the team brought in popular Yogi Berra to manage, but made a disastrous trade before the season, sending Nolan Ryan to the California Angels for third baseman Jim Fregosi. Early in the season they traded pitcher Charlie Williams to the Giants for the great Willie Mays, who had been Joan Payson's favorite player. His acquisition allowed him to finish his playing days in the city where he started his career, but he was well past his prime.

In 1973 the Mets went 82–79, which was good enough for the divisional championship. The team batted .246, 11th in a 12-team league, but the pitching was again outstanding, led by Seaver (19–10), with a 2.08 ERA, and reliever Tug McGraw, who saved 25 games. The Mets took on the powerful Cincinnati Reds in the NL Championship Series, and used terrific pitching to set up a decisive game five at home. Seaver and McGraw thrilled 50,232 fans in combining for a seven-hitter and leading the Mets to a 7–2 win.

The team with the worst record of any club to play in the Fall Classic faced the heavily favored Oakland A's in the 1973 World Series. The Mets lost game one in Oakland, 2–1, but came back the next night with a 10–7 victory. Game three was played in New York and matched Tom Seaver against Catfish Hunter. In an exciting 11-inning game, the A's pulled out a 3–2 victory. The Mets came back the next day, winning by a convincing 6–1 score. Rusty Staub went four for four with a home run, three singles, and five RBIs. Then Koosman led the Mets to a 2–0 victory in game five. The Mets now needed one win to claim their second World Series title in four years. Hosting game six, the A's refused to be intimidated by Tom Seaver and won, 3–1, to tie the series, heading to a decisive game seven. Oakland, led by a towering Reggie Jackson homer, won the decisive game 5–2, capturing their second consecutive World Series title.

In 1974 and 1975, the Yankees played at Shea while their ballpark was being renovated. The Mets of 1974 hardly resembled the team that had just played in the World Series, and finished a poor 71–91. Berra was replaced after the 16th game of the 1975 campaign, and the team went on to record consecutive third-place finishes (82–80, 86–76) under managers Roy McMillan and Joe Frazier. From 1976 to 1978 the Mets struggled for mediocrity while the Yankees won two World Series titles in three trips. In September 1975, owner Joan Payson died, and the team collapsed without her financial backing. The decline was highlighted by the trade on June 15, 1977, of superstar hurler Tom Seaver to the Cincinnati Reds for infielder Doug Flynn, outfielders Steve Henderson and Dan Norman, and pitcher Pat Zachary. During Seaver's tenure with the Mets, he was Rookie of the Year (1967), won two Cy Young Awards (1973, 1975), and led the NL three times in ERA (1970, 1971, 1973) and five times in strikeouts (1970, 1971, 1973, 1975, 1976). In his 12 seasons with the Mets, Seaver compiled a record of 198–124 with a 2.57 ERA, and was selected to 10 All-Star teams. He still holds the Mets' career marks for wins, ERA, starts, complete games, strikeouts, and shutouts, among other categories. For his career, Seaver won 311 games, compiled a 2.86 ERA, and was a first-ballot inductee into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1992.

Between 1977 and 1983, the Mets went through several managers and had seven consecutive losing seasons, tying the franchise record for futility set between 1962 and 1968. The team won between 63 and 68 games except for the strike-shortened 1981 campaign, when their record was 41–62. Joe Torre, the future Yankees manager, led the Mets from 1977 to 1981, and recorded a dismal .403 winning percentage.

THE METS IN THE 1980S

On January 24, 1980, the franchise was sold to a group led by Nelson Doubleday and Fred Wilpon for an estimated purchase price of \$21.1 million, the highest amount ever paid then for an American professional-sports franchise. Doubleday's publishing company provided 80 percent of the purchase price, and he served as the new chairman of the board. Wilpon, a real-estate magnate who had been a teammate of Sandy Koufax at Lafayette High School in Brooklyn, became president and chief operating officer. They hired Frank Cashen, formerly with the Baltimore Orioles, as general manager, and he set out to rebuild the Mets through the draft and trades. One major step was the selection of pitcher Dwight Gooden as the fifth pick in the 1982 draft. One year later, pitchers Neil Allen and Rick Ownbey were traded to the St. Louis Cardinals for outstanding first baseman Keith Hernandez, whose involvement with drugs had made him available. Then, in 1984, the Mets traded infielder Hubie Brooks, catcher Mike Fitzgerald, outfielder Herm Winningham, and pitcher Floyd Youmans to the Montreal Expos for star catcher Gary Carter. These acquisitions help build the foundation for the Mets' push for a third World Series appearance.

In 1984 major renovations of Shea Stadium were initiated. The team added luxury suites and altered the stadium's outer facade with images of baseball players. The Mets that year brought in the inexperienced Davey Johnson, a former All-Star second baseman, as manager. He led the team to a 90–72 record, six and a half games out of first place, and improved the mark a year later to 98–64, and just three games out. His teams were a mixture of veterans, players developed in the farm system, and effective trades. The team had a rising star in slugger Darryl Strawberry, the Mets' top pick in the 1980 draft, who was Rookie of the Year in 1983. One year later, the phenomenal 19-year-old Doc Gooden was Rookie of the Year, setting a major-league rookie record with 276 strikeouts. He also pitched a one-hitter against the Cubs. He was even better the following season, when he won the Cy Young Award, leading the league in wins (24–4), ERA (1.53), strikeouts (276), and innings pitched (277). He seemed on his way to becoming one of the greatest pitchers of all time, and did end his 16-year career with a sparkling .634 winning percentage (194–112), but his brilliance had faded by the time he was in his mid-twenties. Gooden tested positive for cocaine during spring training in 1987 and entered a rehabilitation center to avoid suspension. He suffered two shoulder injuries in 1989 and 1991 that significantly decreased his pitching abilities. In 1994, Gooden tested positive for cocaine and was suspended for 60 days. During the suspension, he tested positive again and was suspended for the entire 1995 season.

In 1986, the Mets stayed at the top of the pack for most of the season, and clinched the NL East title with a 4–2 win over the visiting Chicago Cubs on September 18, 1986. The team finished with 108 wins and only 54 losses, an astonishing 21 1/2 games ahead of second-place Philadelphia. The Mets fielded a superb team that led the NL in virtually every batting statistic (runs, hits, batting average, on-base percentage, and slugging) and several pitching statistics. Led by Bob Ojeda, the team had three of the five lowest ERAs in the NL, along with the four highest winning percentages. The starters were bolstered by strong relief pitching from Roger McDowell and Jesse Orosco, who together earned 43 saves. The team had one of the biggest payrolls in baseball, including the two highest-paid players, outfielder George Foster (\$2.8 million), who was injured most of the season, and Carter (\$2.2 million), who drove in 105 runs. The squad had a mixture of personalities who had a reputation for big parties, chasing women, drinking and drug use, and vandalizing the team's chartered flights.

The Mets faced the Houston Astros in the NLCS and took the series four games to two. The deciding sixth game on October 15 was a memorable game that lasted 16 innings, with the Mets winning 7–6. The opponent in the World Series was the Boston Red Sox, who had lost the 1975 Series in seven games to the Cincinnati Reds. The Mets lost the first two games at home to the Sox, but came back and tied the series at two games apiece in Boston. Game five was won by the Red Sox, making them one game shy of their first World Series title since 1918. In the potential deciding match back at Shea, play went into extra innings tied 3–3, and the Sox scored twice in the top of the 10th to take

the lead. The first two men up were retired, and the Sox were one out from the championship. Then Carter, Kevin Mitchell, and Ray Knight all singled. Pitcher Bob Stanley then threw a wild pitch with Mookie Wilson at bat, tying the score and advancing Knight, the potential tying run, to second. Wilson then hit a slow grounder to an injured Bill Buckner at first, and the ball went through his legs, bringing in the winning run for a true miracle comeback. The deciding game was played at Shea on October 27. The Red Sox took a 3–0 lead in the sixth behind Bruce Hurst, but the Mets tied it up with three runs in the bottom of the frame. In the seventh inning, Calvin Schiraldi, loser of the previous game, entered in relief, but Ray Knight homered, and the Mets scored two more runs. The Sox scored two in the eighth, but a Strawberry homer iced the game, and the Mets won 8–5, for their second world championship.

One result of the great 1986 season was that the Mets, seemingly poised for continued success, drew over 3 million for the first time in 1987. However, they dropped to 92 victories and second place in the East, despite leading the league in batting and finishing among the leaders in pitching. In 1988, the Mets regained the division championship with 100 victories, coming in second in batting in the NL, first in runs scored, and first in pitching and defense. Strawberry provided the power with 39 homers and 101 RBIs. The hurlers had a fabulous 2.91 ERA, and second-year man David Cone blossomed with a 2.22 ERA and 20 wins. The Mets played the Dodgers in the NLCS, but lost in seven games. In the next two seasons, despite leading the league in homers and maintaining a strong pitching staff, the club, hurt by injuries to key players, fell to second place both years, and as a result Johnson was fired as manager one-fourth of the way into 1990, the seventh straight consecutive winning season for the Mets. He was replaced by former star shortstop Bud Harrelson. Despite the bad finish, the franchise was worth \$200 million, second only to the Yankees.

By the start of the 1990s, the Mets were in a rebuilding mode. The club fell to fifth in 1991, despite solid pitching, because of a weak lineup. Jeff Torborg took over as skipper the next year, another fifth-place finish, with five fewer wins (72). The team batted a league low .235, and the pitching was nearly as dismal. Torborg was replaced early in the 1993 season by Dallas Green, who seemed intent on challenging the 1962 Mets for the most losses in franchise history. The 1993 Mets lost 103 games and finished in seventh place, despite the presence of such high-priced talent as Gooden, Bobby Bonilla, John Franco, Eddie Murray, and Bret Saberhagen, who all earned over \$3 million. Green improved the club to third place (55–58) in the strike-shortened 1994 season, and raised the team to second place in 1995 despite a losing record (69–75). That team hit better than most recent Mets clubs, led by Randy Hundley and Bernard Gilkey, who together had 71 homers and 229 RBIs. The years of struggle had reduced the value of the franchise to \$144 million, 12th highest in MLB. Late in 1996, in the midst of his fourth straight losing season, Green was fired, replaced by former Mets player Bobby Valentine, who was charged with bringing the team back to respectability and the playoffs. He led the Mets in his first full season to a winning record

(88–74) and third place. Attendance between 1992 and 1997 was below 2 million in every season.

THE METS AND CONTEMPORARY MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL

In 1997 MLB, in its effort to attract more fans, capitalize on rivalries, and expose fans to the best players from both leagues, revised the schedule to include interleague play, which pitted teams from the NL versus the AL. On June 16, 1997, the Mets and Yankees met in their first regular-season game. This “Subway Series” hearkened back to the days of the storied rivalry of the Yankees and Brooklyn Dodgers in the 1950s. In the first game against the Yankees, the Mets scored three runs in the first inning and Dave Mlicki pitched a complete-game shutout in a 6–0 victory. The three-game series drew 160,740 fans, an all-time franchise high.

The Mets had the same record in 1998 as the year before, but finished in second place. A key addition, in one of the franchise’s greatest trades, was catcher Mike Piazza from the Florida Marlins, godson of Dodgers manager Tommy Lasorda and the best offensive catcher of his generation. Piazza, who made \$8 million in his first year in New York, has hit more home runs while playing that position than anybody else in major-league history. The Mets won the wild-card spot in 1999, coming in second in the NL East (97–66). The team had an excellent lineup, with five starters batting over .300, three players driving in over 100 runs each, and Piazza stroking 40 homers. They won the NL Division Series against the Arizona Diamondbacks in four games, advancing to the NLCS against the Braves. Down three games to none, the Mets fought back, winning the next two games, including a thrilling 15-inning victory in game five. In the finale, the Mets rallied from a five-run deficit to send the match into extra innings, only to lose in the 11th, 10–9.

In 2000 the Mets came in second in the East to the Braves by one game, and again made the postseason as the wild-card team. The team was carried by Piazza, the \$12 million man, who batted .324, with 38 homers and 113 RBIs. One of the highlights of the year occurred on July 8, when the two New York franchises engaged in a historic doubleheader that started at Shea Stadium for game one and ended in Yankee Stadium for game two. This marked the first time in major-league history that two teams played each other in one day in two different ballparks. Another highlight took place on October 8 when Bobby Jones threw a one-hitter against the Cardinals, advancing the Mets to the NLDS. The Mets lost the first game of that series to the Giants, but won the next three and advanced to the NLCS. They took on the Cardinals for the pennant, and led by their new lefty starter, Mike Hampton, beat them four games to one. The Mets headed to their fourth World Series appearance against a familiar face.

In a World Series reminiscent of the numerous battles between the Yankees and the Dodgers or the Giants, New York fans were treated to a modern version

of the crosstown matchup in the 2000 Subway Series pitting the Mets against the Yankees. The two teams had played in recent years due to interleague play, allowing the fans to engage in the rivalry and battle for city bragging rights, but the meeting in the postseason was significant, marking the first time the two teams played each other in the postseason. Two New York teams had not played each other in the World Series since 1956. The two-time defending world champion Yankees won the series, four games to one, as their hurlers stymied the Mets' bats. The series was actually very competitive, and the Mets were only outscored 16–19.

After their stellar 2000 season, the Mets hoped to continue their winning ways into the twenty-first century. They had a slow start in 2001, and despite pulling within a game of first place, the team could not pull it out and failed to make the playoffs, coming in third (82–80). The offense was the least productive in the entire NL. Following the September 11 terrorist attack on the World Trade Center, baseball took a brief respite from games as the nation tried to comprehend the recent events. Shea Stadium became a relief center and gate areas were filled with supplies, food, and lodging for the rescue effort. On September 21, 2001, the Mets hosted the Braves in New York's first professional sporting event since the attack, attended by 41,275 supportive fans. The game had a lot of symbolic meaning, and the ballplayers sported hats with the emblems of New York's fire and police departments. Mike Piazza won the game with a two-run homer in the eighth inning for a 3–2 Mets victory. During the off-season, the Mets set out to acquire veterans in an effort to return to the playoffs and signed big-name free agents Roberto Alomar for \$7.9 million and Mo Vaughn for \$12.1 million, but both proved to be big disappointments, and the club languished in fifth place, with its first losing record since 1996. That season, to celebrate the franchise's 40th anniversary, the fans were invited to select their "All Amazin' Team." It was comprised of manager Gil Hodges; first baseman Keith Hernandez; second baseman Edgardo Alfonzo; shortstop Buddy Harrelson; third baseman Howard Johnson; catcher Mike Piazza; outfielders Mookie Wilson, Lenny Dykstra, and Darryl Strawberry; pinch hitters Rusty Staub and Ed Kranepool; right-handed starter Tom Seaver; left-handed starter Jerry Koosman; right-handed reliever Roger McDowell; and left-handed reliever John Franco.

Valentine was replaced in 2003 by Art Howe, former manager of the Oakland A's, who failed to halt the skid as the team finished in fifth place (66–95). The one bright spot was 20-year-old rookie shortstop Jose Reyes, who hit .307 in half a season. Despite having one of the highest payrolls in the majors, the Mets barely improved in 2004, moving up to fourth place with a dismal 71–91 season. That same season, front-office changes occurred. Co-owner Nelson Doubleday agreed to sell his half of the team's ownership to his partner Fred Wilpon. A month earlier, the team had been appraised at \$391 million, and Wilpon then sued to force Doubleday to sell his half based on an agreement made at the time of the 1986 acquisition. Doubleday accused the

commissioner's office of being "in cahoots" with Wilpon and purposefully underestimating the team's value. After settling the team's debt, Doubleday received \$137.9 million for his share of the team. Doubleday's lawyers chastised the commissioner's office, claiming that "MLB orchestrated a sham process that not only mistreated Doubleday and betrayed his trust; it actively favored Wilpon and engineered a result that served MLB's other and conflicting interests."

The Mets hope to replace the dilapidated Shea Stadium with a new field, resembling Ebbets Field, in the adjacent parking lot. The proposal includes several features, such as a rotunda at the entrance, reminiscent of Ebbets Field, as well as new features including 78 luxury boxes, over 5,000 club seats, and 12,000 parking spaces. The most innovative feature planned was a portable 4,255-foot-wide grass platform that would enable other events to take place at the stadium without harming the natural turf. The Mets claim they will contribute substantially toward the construction costs. Former mayor Rudy Giuliani had promised to build both New York teams \$800 million retractable-roof stadiums, financed by public bonds, but his successor, Michael Bloomberg, put those plans on hold.

In their 23 seasons, the Mets have won two wild-card playoff spots (1999 and 2000), four NL East championships (1969, 1973, 1986, and 1988), four NL championships (1969, 1973, 1986, and 2000), and two World Series titles (1969 and 1986). Recent free-agent acquisitions, such as pitcher Pedro Martinez, who went 15–8 with a 2.82 ERA in 2005, and center fielder Carlos Beltran indicate that the Mets are still striving to make their way into the playoffs, and are willing to pay top dollar to do so. Their 2005 payroll was \$101,305,821, third highest in the majors, and under new manager Willie Randolph produced a third-place tie in the rugged NL East with a respectable 83–79 record.

Despite these expenditures, the club is far from being one of the elite franchises on the field. Yet the team's value in 2005 was \$505 million, third highest in baseball, and more than 20 times the cost of the team in 1980. An important ingredient in the team's value is the lucrative media contracts, which amounted to \$46 million in 2001, second only to the Yankees. Today the 2000 World Series appearance is a faint memory to fans and the front office, and attendance lags far behind their more popular crosstown rivals.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1969	Tom Seaver	RHP
1973	Tom Seaver	RHP
1975	Tom Seaver	RHP
1985	Dwight Gooden	RHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1967	Tom Seaver	P
1972	Jon Matlack	P
1983	Darryl Strawberry	OF
1984	Dwight Gooden	P

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1982	Dave Kingman	37
1988	Darryl Strawberry	39
1991	Howard Johnson	38

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1970	Tom Seaver	2.81
1971	Tom Seaver	1.76
1973	Tom Seaver	2.08
1978	Craig Swan	2.43
1985	Dwight Gooden	1.53

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1970	Tom Seaver	283
1971	Tom Seaver	289
1973	Tom Seaver	251
1975	Tom Seaver	243
1976	Tom Seaver	235
1984	Dwight Gooden	276
1985	Dwight Gooden	268
1990	David Cone	233
1991	David Cone	241

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES**NL East Division Titles**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1969	100–62	Gil Hodges
1973	82–79	Yogi Berra

1986	108–54	Davey Johnson
1988	100–60	Davey Johnson

NL Wild Cards

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1999	97–66	Bobby Valentine
2000	94–68	Bobby Valentine

NL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1969	100–62	Gil Hodges
1973	82–79	Yogi Berra
1986	108–54	Davey Johnson
2000	94–68	Bobby Valentine

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>	<i>MVP</i>
1969	Baltimore	Donn Clendenon
1986	Boston	Ray Knight

MANAGERS

2005–	Willie Randolph
2003–2004	Art Howe
1996–2002	Bobby Valentine
1993–1996	Dallas Green
1992–1993	Jeff Torborg
1991	Mike Cubbage
1990–1991	Bud Harrelson
1984–1990	Davey Johnson
1983	Frank Howard
1982–1983	George Bamberger
1977–1981	Joe Torre
1976–1977	Joe Frazier
1975–1976	Roy McMillan
1972–1975	Yogi Berra
1968–1971	Gil Hodges
1967	Salty Parker
1965–1967	Wes Westrum
1962–1965	Casey Stengel

Team Records by Individual Players

Batting Leaders	Single Season			Career		Plate Appearances
	Name		Year	Name		
Batting average	John Olerud	.354	1998	John Olerud	.315	2,018
On-base %	John Olerud	.447	1998	John Olerud	.425	2,018
Slugging %	Mike Piazza	.614	2000	Mike Piazza	.542	3,041
OPS	Mike Piazza	1.024	1998	John Olerud	.926	2,018
Games	Felix Millan	162	1975	Ed Kranepool	1,853	5,997
At bats	Lance Johnson	682	1996	Ed Kranepool	5,436	5,997
Runs	Edgar Alfonzo	123	1999	Darryl Strawberry	662	4,549
Hits	Lance Johnson	227	1996	Ed Kranepool	1,418	5,997
Total bases	Lance Johnson	327	1996	Ed Kranepool	2,047	5,997
Doubles	Bernard Gilkey	44	1996	Ed Kranepool	225	5,997
Triples	Lance Johnson	21	1996	Mookie Wilson	62	4,307
Home runs	Todd Hundley	41	1996	Darryl Strawberry	252	4,549
RBI's	Mike Piazza	124	1999	Darryl Strawberry	733	4,549
Walks	John Olerud	125	1999	Darryl Strawberry	580	4,549
Strikeouts	Tommy Agee	156	1970	Darryl Strawberry	960	4,549
Stolen bases	Roger Cedano	66	1999	Mookie Wilson	281	4,307
Extra-base hits	Howard Johnson	80	1989	Darryl Strawberry	469	4,549
Times on base	John Olerud	309	1999	Ed Kranepool	1,886	5,997

Pitching Leaders	Single Season			Career		Innings Pitched
	Name		Year	Name		
ERA	Doc Gooden	1.53	1985	Tom Seaver	2.57	3,045.3
Wins	Tom Seaver	25	1969	Tom Seaver	198	3,045.3
Wont-loss %	David Cone	.870	1988	Doc Gooden	.649	2,169.7
Hits/9 IP	Sid Fernandez	5.71	1985	Nolan Ryan	6.51	510
Walks/9 IP	Brett Saberhagen	0.66	1994	Brett Saberhagen	1.32	524.3
Strikeouts	Tom Seaver	289	1971	Tom Seaver	2,541	3,045.3
Strikeouts/9 IP	Doc Gooden	11.39	1984	David Cone	8.72	1,209.3
Games	Mike Stanton	83	2004	John Franco	695	702.7
Saves	Armando Benitez	43	2001	John Franco	276	702.7

(Continued)

Pitching Leaders (Continued)

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
Innings	Tom Seaver	290.7	1970	Tom Seaver	3,045.3	3,045.3
Starts	Jack Fisher	36	1965	Tom Seaver	395	3,045.3
Complete games	Tom Seaver	21	1971	Tom Seaver	171	3,045.3
Shutouts	Doc Gooden	8	1985	Tom Seaver	44	3,045.3

Source: Drawn from data in "New York Mets Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/NYM/leaders_bat.shtml; "New York Mets Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/NYM/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Philadelphia Phillies

John P. Rossi

THE EARLY YEARS, 1883–1916

Philadelphia was not only the cradle of liberty but also one of the cradles of baseball. Some variant of baseball was played in the city as early as the 1830s. The “Philadelphia Game,” with a diamond-shaped field and round home plate, proved a popular version of baseball in parts of the northeastern United States. Alexander Cartwright’s rules, with their three outs per inning, bases 90 feet apart, and nine players to a side gradually were adopted in Philadelphia by the 1850s and early 1860s and helped spread the popularity of the new sport, rapidly outdistancing cricket as the city’s most popular bat-and-ball game.

By the 1860s Philadelphia had many successful baseball teams, including a celebrated Athletics squad regarded as one of the best in the nation. In 1866 an estimated 40,000 fans watched an Athletics contest against the highly regarded Brooklyn Atlantics. When the first successful professional league, the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players, was organized in 1871, Philadelphia had an entry. In 1876, when William Hulbert and A. J. Spalding organized the owner-dominated National League, they wanted a team in Philadelphia. The Athletics went 14–45 under manager Al Wright and played at the Jefferson Street Grounds. The club was expelled from the NL for failing to complete its first season.

Seven years later a new Philadelphia franchise was created by NL officials determined to be represented in America’s second-largest city. The formal history of the Phillies dates from 1883 when the failed three-year-old Worcester, Massachusetts, Ruby Legs franchise was transferred to Philadelphia. A politically well-connected Philadelphia lawyer, John I. Rogers, and the owner of a

thriving sporting-goods business, A.J. Reach, who had played professionally back in 1866, shared control of the new team, which was originally named the Quakers but renamed in 1890 as the Phillies (a takeoff on the city's name), or "Fillies."

Under Rogers and Reach the Phillies became one of the bulwarks of the NL, outlasting teams placed in Philadelphia by rival leagues such as the American Association (1882–91), the Union Association of 1884, and the Players' League of 1890.

In 1883 the Phillies literally started from scratch, as they had to recruit new players. As a result the team had a terrible record during its first years in the NL. Reach made a crucial decision when in 1884 he hired Harry Wright, the former player and manager of the famous Cincinnati Red Stockings team of 1869, baseball's first all-professional team. Wright was an excellent judge of baseball talent and gradually put together a respectable squad. In his 10 years as manager the Phillies won 1,225 and lost 885 games for a .581 average, the best record of any Phillies skipper. While the Phillies never won a pennant under Wright, they were a consistent first-division team, coming in second, third, or fourth every year from 1885 through 1895. In the mid-1880s the Phillies produced a handful of players who would rank among the best in nineteenth-century baseball.

The first great Phillies player was pitcher Charlie Ferguson, who won 20 games four times and 30 games once, but unfortunately died of typhoid fever in 1888 at 25. That season the Phillies signed Ed Delahanty, their first superstar. In 13 years with the Phillies Delahanty was the premier right-handed power hitter in baseball. He hit .300 or better for 10 consecutive seasons (1892–1901), including .400 in three of those years. He hit four home runs in a game, only the second player in baseball to do so. A Hall of Fame player with a lifetime average of .346, he still holds the Phillies record for most doubles and triples in a career.

Delahanty jumped to the Washington Senators in the new American League in 1902, and died tragically in July 1903 after falling from a bridge crossing the Niagara River. It is believed he was drunk and tried to walk across the bridge after being thrown off the train.

Delahanty was joined in the early 1890s by Sam Thompson and "Sliding" Billy Hamilton, all future Hall of Famers. Together the trio constituted one of the best outfields in baseball history. Thompson, a power hitter like Delahanty, hit .300 five times and reached the .400 level once, and averaged .331 in his career. He also drove in 100 runs seven times. Hamilton was the premier defensive center fielder of his era. Famous for his speed, he set numerous stolen-base records, including twice stealing 100 bases. In his six years in Philadelphia he averaged 85 stolen bases a year. Between 1891 and 1895 the outfield of Delahanty, Hamilton, and Thompson averaged .354, the highest batting average for any outfield in baseball history. The Phillies led the majors in batting from 1892 to 1895. In 1894 the team hit an incredible .349, led by its outfielders, all of whom batted above .400.

Beginning in 1883, the Phillies played at Recreation Park, in the heart of one of the fastest-growing sections of north Philadelphia. Regarded then as “the best athletic ground in the world,” it seated 16,000 fans with standing room for another 5,000. The team originally charged 50 cents for admission, but soon cut the price in half to compete with their rivals, the Athletics of the American Association. In the mid-1890s, the Phillies were the biggest draw in baseball, surpassing 250,000 from 1893 to 1898.

In 1887 Rogers and Reach moved to a more fashionable neighborhood at the intersection of Broad Street and Lehigh Avenue, adjacent to a major railroad station. Their new 12,500-seat Philadelphia Base Ball Park, perhaps the finest in the United States, cost \$100,000, an enormous amount at the time. A fire destroyed much of the park in 1894. The club replaced the old park with the modern 18,000-seat Huntingdon Avenue Grounds, using mostly steel and brick to construct a fire-resistant structure that featured a cantilevered pavilion. It sported an all-brick entrance tower that resembled a medieval castle, while the outside walls were covered in ornamental brickwork. It was renamed Baker Bowl in 1913, after William F. Baker, one of the team’s owners. In 1903, a balcony at the park collapsed, killing 12 and injuring 232. The Phillies would play there until 1938 while the neighborhood deteriorated around them. In 1895, the new park was a big hit with fans. Attendance reached 474,971, one of the highest of any nineteenth-century team, and a Phillies record until 1916.

In 1893 Wright’s health gave out and he resigned as manager. The team had five managers over the next decade. The most successful was Billy Shettsline, a former executive with the Phillies, who guided them to a 94–58 record in 1899. His .618 winning percentage established a Phillies record that lasted until 1976. Two years later he guided the club to second place, its highest finish until 1915.

The Phillies were confronted by a grave challenge in 1901 when the AL placed a team in the city. The Philadelphia Athletics were well financed by local businessmen Tom and Ben Shibe, and guided by a keen student of the game, Connie Mack. Reach’s retirement in 1902 after a falling-out with Rogers began a long period where the Phillies changed hands repeatedly. Most of the owners after Reach, until Robert Carpenter bought the team in 1943, either had limited financial resources or would not spend to develop the team.

Trouble began almost immediately for the Phillies when the Athletics came to town. Rogers, notoriously short-tempered, refused to compete with the AL for players and lost key personnel, including Delahanty and future Hall of Famers Elmer Flick and Napoleon Lajoie, to the rival league. These players jumped to the AL when Rogers refused raises of \$600 each. As a result the Phillies were a nondescript team in the opening years of the twentieth century, while Mack’s Athletics became one of baseball’s first dynasties. The Athletics quickly became more popular than the Phillies. In 1902, for example, they outdrew the Phillies by 300,000 fans. Some of the hard feelings that existed between the two teams

abated after the 1903 season when the first City Series was played, a fixture for half a century.

While Mack's Athletics were winning the hearts of Philadelphia fans, the Phillies fielded a mediocre team. After Reach's retirement the Phillies went through six presidents in a decade. One of them, Horace Fogel, was barred from baseball for claiming that the 1912 pennant race was fixed and that league officials favored John McGraw's New York Giants.

During the first decade of the twentieth century the highest the Phillies finished was third, in 1907. They produced a few quality players, most notably outfielder Sherwood "Sherry" Magee, who arrived in 1904 and gave them 11 good years. During his tenure with the Phillies Magee led the NL in RBIs three times and runs scored once, and won the batting title in 1910. He hit .300 or better five times.

The Phillies slowly began their rise to the top of the NL in 1913 when they finished in second place behind McGraw's Giants, led by one of the greatest pitchers in baseball history, Grover Cleveland Alexander. Joining Alexander were three other outstanding pitchers, Erskine Mayer, Eppa Rixey, and Al Demaree. Sherry Magee, hard-hitting first baseman Fred Luderus, third baseman Hans Lobert, and the greatest power hitter in baseball before Babe Ruth, Gavvy Cravath, led the offense. Cravath, a left-handed hitter, was 31 when he joined the Phillies and immediately zeroed in on the short right-field fence at Baker Bowl. He led the NL in homers six times, finishing second in 1916.

The Phillies slipped to sixth place in 1914 partly due to raids by the rival Federal League, which cost the Phillies some of their key players, including their keystone combination of Otto Knabe and Mickey Doolan. In 1915, under new manager Pat Moran, the Phillies ran away with the NL pennant. They led the league on and off for most of the season and breezed to the pennant by seven games over the Boston Braves. Team salaries rose due to the rival league and the pennant-winning year, from an average of \$3,400 in 1914 to \$4,300 in 1916.

Alexander won 31 games, including 12 shutouts. Rixey won 11, Mayer 21, and Demaree 14. Cravath set a modern major-league record with 24 homers and led the NL in RBIs with 115. Luderus hit .315, and rookie Dave "Beauty" Bancroft anchored the infield at shortstop.

The World Series paired the Phillies against the Boston Red Sox, one of the best teams in the first two decades of AL history. The Red Sox, winners of 101 games in 1915, had the best pitching staff in the majors, with Ernie Shore, Rube Foster, Dutch Leonard, Smokey Joe Wood, and 20-year-old left-hander Babe Ruth. The offense was led by future Hall of Famers Tris Speaker and Harry Hooper, who with Duffy Lewis gave the Red Sox one of the best defensive outfields in history.

The series was a letdown for the Phillies. The first two games were played in Philadelphia before enthusiastic overflow crowds of 20,000. In game one Alexander beat Shore 2–1. After the game fans poured onto the field and celebrated by carrying Alexander on their shoulders.

The celebration proved premature. The Phillies would not win another World Series game for 65 years. President Woodrow Wilson, a baseball fan, came from Washington to watch game two, the first time a sitting president had attended a World Series. Mayer and Foster both pitched well. With the game tied 1–1, the Red Sox pushed across a run in the top of the ninth to win.

When the series moved to Boston, Moran started Alexander on two days' rest. He pitched well but couldn't match Leonard, who held the Phillies to just three hits and retired the last 20 batters in a row. The Red Sox won in the bottom of the ninth when Duffy Lewis singled in the winning run.

For some reason, in game four Moran started George "Dut" Chalmers, who had an 8–9 record, instead of Rixey. The Red Sox countered by coming back with Shore, who again won by a 2–1 score. The Phillies' bats were silent. Cravath was completely shut down by Red Sox pitching. He hit .125 for the series, with no homers and one RBI. As a team the Phillies hit a pathetic .182.

The Red Sox won the series in game five back in Philadelphia. Alexander came down with a sore arm, forcing Moran to start Mayer on three days' rest. The Red Sox countered with Foster, also pitching on three days' rest. Mayer wasn't sharp, giving up six hits and two runs in two and a third innings. Rixey replaced him and pitched well, but again the Phillies gave up the winning run in the top of the ninth.

After the series some Phillies fans blamed team president W.F. Baker for the loss. He had put temporary bleachers in left and center field to boost attendance, and the Red Sox hit three homers there, including the ones that won the fifth and deciding game.

Despite their World Series loss, the Phillies seemed poised to be a powerhouse. In 1916 the Phillies made a run at a second pennant. They fell short, although they won one more game than in 1915, finishing two and a half games behind Brooklyn. Again Alexander was overpowering, winning 33 games, while Rixey won 22. However, the offense was anemic. No one hit .300 and Cravath hit just 11 homers. Still, the Phillies set an attendance record for Baker Bowl, drawing over 515,000 fans, a figure unsurpassed by the club until 1946.

A decades-long downward slide began for this fine Phillies squad in 1917. They never contended for the lead in the pennant race and trailed McGraw's Giants throughout the season, finishing 11 games behind, in second place. Again Alexander was the heart of the team, winning 30 games while compiling an ERA of 1.64. The offense was lifeless for the second season in a row as the team hit just .248.

At the end of the season, Baker shocked the fans by trading Alexander to the Chicago Cubs for pitcher Mike Prendergast, catcher Bill "Pickles" Dillhoefer, and \$60,000, then the most cash ever in a player deal. Prendergast pitched two seasons for the Phillies, going 13–15, while Dillhoefer hit under .100 and was traded away. In the meantime Alexander went on to win another 183 games. The Alexander deal was the beginning of a two-decade period when the Phillies would trade away their best players for money. Baker justified the trade by

claiming that Alexander, who had been drafted, might not be effective after the war. He later admitted it was for the cash.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS IN THE CELLAR

A writer once titled a history of the Phillies in the twentieth century *One Hundred Years in the Cellar*. He was really dealing with the years after the breakup of the Phillies team of the midteens. Between 1909 and 1913, the Phillies had passed through the hands of four different owners. The instability came to end when William Baker, a former New York police commissioner, took control. From 1913 until his death in 1930 Baker ran the Phillies on a shoestring. In spite of his wealth, he refused to invest in player development and allowed the ballpark to deteriorate. Between 1909 and 1923 13 new ballparks were built or older ones modernized. Baker Bowl, once considered a gem, began to rot away. By the end of the 1920s it was nicknamed “the Dump.” In 1927 the stands collapsed for the second time in Baker Bowl’s history, with one person dying and over 50 injured.

Baker’s failure to modernize and his penny-pinching cost the Phillies the services of manager Pat Moran, who left for Cincinnati, where he won the World Series in 1919. Throughout the 1920s the Phillies were one of the jokes of baseball. Beginning in 1918 they began a 27-year stretch during which they finished last 16 times and seventh 7 times. Not surprisingly, the team had had the worst attendance in the NL 18 times by 1945, including every year from 1932 through 1942. In contrast in the mid-1920s, the Athletics’ Connie Mack began to put together his last dynasty, the team that would win three consecutive pennants (1929–31) and two World Series (1929–30). While the Athletics were playing exciting baseball against powerhouses like the Babe Ruth–led New York Yankees, the Phillies sputtered along. In the 1920s the Phillies sold space on the right field wall for advertising. One of the signs read, “The Phillies Use Lifebuoy Soap.” “Yeah, and they still stink,” was the response of the fans.

In the decade from 1919 to 1928 the Phillies finished last seven times and lost 100 games three times. Their best season was sixth-place finish in 1925. Yet the team continued to put up decent offensive numbers. Cy Williams, a worthy successor to Cravath, led the NL in homers three times, including hitting 41 in 1923, the second-highest total in NL history at that time.

The Phillies had some decent players during these years, including Casey Stengel, Irish Meusel, catchers Jimmy Wilson and Butch Henline, and second baseman Fresco Thompson. But Baker would sell or trade them as soon as they proved their value.

Baker was no fool. He made some shrewd trades. He got Lefty O’Doul, one of the greatest hitters in NL history, from the New York Giants in 1928; O’Doul then hit .398 and .383. Then Baker packaged him along with Thompson to the Brooklyn Dodgers for three players and \$25,000. It is difficult to imagine any other team trading a hitter like O’Doul, a batting champ in 1929 and holder of the NL record for hits in a season, 254. Baker claimed he needed the cash.

The same year he got O'Doul, Baker signed a young outfielder, Chuck Klein. Until he too was unloaded for cash and players after the 1933 season, Klein's offensive stats were among the greatest in baseball history. From 1929 through 1933 Klein averaged .359, hit 180 homers, scored 658 runs, and drove in 693. He won the Triple Crown in 1933 and had 107 extra-base hits in 1930. He was also a great defensive outfielder who mastered the right-field wall in Baker Bowl and set an NL record with 44 assists in one season.

While the Phillies didn't draw well in the 1920s, their attendance, which averaged 266,000, was enough to pay the bills and even show a small profit of \$110,792. Baker's problem was a lack of consistency. There was a constant turnover of players and managers (six in the 1920s) during the last years of his tenure.

The 1930 Phillies squad, 100-game losers, nonetheless managed a collective .315 average, the best of any Phillies team in the modern era. Six regulars hit .300, led by Klein, who hit .386 and paced the NL with 158 runs scored and 59 doubles. He also drove in 170 runs. O'Doul was at .383, first baseman Don Hurst .327, and third baseman Pinky Whitney .342. The Phillies scored 944 runs, the best total in team history. Unfortunately, the pitching was horrendous, with a staff ERA of 6.71.

Baker died in 1930 and was succeeded briefly by the team's vice president, Lewis Ruch, who sought to upgrade the Phillies. There was a temporary lull in selling off the team's best players. In 1932, under manager Burt Shotton, the Phillies finished fourth, topping .500 for their best record since 1917. Six players batted over .300, but the Phillies had the highest ERA in the NL.

At the end of the 1932 season Ruch retired due to ill health. He and Baker's widow sold the team to Gerald Nugent, who had served as the business manager for five years. Nugent would lead the Phillies for a disastrous decade. In many ways Nugent was the quintessential Phillies owner. He had started as an assistant to Baker, married Baker's secretary, and helped run the club for Ruch. He was a knowledgeable baseball man but chronically short of cash. As a result he ran the Phillies on a year-to-year basis, selling off players to pay his bills and neglecting Baker Bowl. When Nugent took over he sold Klein, Whitney, and shortstop Dick Bartell to keep the Phillies afloat in the midst of the depression. During the 1930s he secured talented players such as Dolph Camilli, Claude Passeau, Bucky Walters, Ethan Allen, and Kirby Higbe. After they showed signs of promise, they were peddled to the highest bidder for cash. He got \$65,000 for Klein; \$50,000 each for Allen, Camilli, and Walters; and \$100,000 for Higbe.

The Phillies of the 1930s and early 1940s fielded some of the worst teams in baseball history. From 1936 to 1942 the Phillies lost 100 games every year but one and finished last six of the seven years. In July 1938 the Phillies moved to Shibe Park. Nugent could not maintain Baker Bowl any longer and hoped that playing in Shibe Park would attract greater attendance. While the Phillies drew better, Nugent still was living from year to year. His debts were mounting and he no longer had players to sell to pay his bills. The team actually made

a little money (\$15,911) in 1930–37, but ended the era with a deficit by losing \$113,661 in 1938 and 1939.

By the early 1940s NL president Ford Frick was looking for a way to force Nugent to sell the team. The league had been bailing Nugent out for years, who owed back rent to Connie Mack for the use of Shibe Park. There were plenty of potential buyers, including construction magnate Jack Kelly, the father of the future Princess Grace of Monaco. Years later, Bill Veeck claimed in his autobiography, *Veeck—as in Wreck*, that he tried to buy the Phillies and stock it with players from the Negro Leagues. This tale was largely a figment of Veeck's ripe imagination.

With bills mounting, Nugent was forced to sell the club in 1942. The eventual buyer was William Cox, lumber merchant, sportsman, and Yale graduate, who would prove himself as inept an owner as Nugent. Cox loved to gamble and bet on his team, known as the Blue Jays, from 1943 to 1944. His wagering became public knowledge when Cox and the new manager, Bucky Harris, had a falling-out in the middle of the 1943 season. Commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis forced Cox to sell the team for \$400,000 to Bob Carpenter Sr., president of the DuPont Chemical Company. Luckily for the Phillies, he installed his son, Robert Jr., as president. The Carpenter family owned the Phillies for 38 years and gave the team a much-needed modernization. For once the team would not be short of cash. This was important, since the club lost \$490,889 between 1940 and 1945.

THE CARPENTER ERA

When Bob Carpenter took over the Phillies, his first act was to hire as general manager Herb Pennock, then running the Boston Red Sox's minor-league system. A Hall of Fame pitcher for the Athletics, Red Sox, and Yankees, Pennock's first task was to build up the farm system. The Phillies had no farm teams, just a working agreement with Trenton in the Class B Interstate League. By 1949 the Phillies had 11 well-stocked teams in their minor-league system. Pennock also shelled out Carpenter's money liberally on "bonus babies." Before his untimely death in January 1948, Pennock had showered \$1,250,000 on untried young players, including future regulars Curt Simmons, Robin Roberts, Willie Jones, Stan Lopata, and Richie Ashburn.

The Phillies showed the first signs of improvement in 1946, making fifth, their best performance since 1932. Philadelphia fans responded enthusiastically, and the Phillies drew 1 million fans for the first time in their history. The 1946 team was a mix of older veterans, like Schoolboy Rowe, Frank McCormick, and Jim Tabor, and youngsters, like catcher Andy Seminick and outfielder Del Ennis. Ennis, a product of the Olney section of Philadelphia, hit .313 and was named Rookie of the Year.

In 1947 and 1948 the Phillies seemed to spin their wheels, finishing tied for seventh in 1947 and sixth in 1948. In reality they were gradually working

new players into the team. In 1947 bonus-baby Curt Simmons made his first appearance, and one year later shortstop Granny Hamner became a regular, pitcher Robin Roberts arrived in midseason to win seven games, and Richie Ashburn took over center field and hit .333 to finish second to Stan Musial in the batting race. He was named the second Phillies Rookie of the Year in three years. First baseman Dick Sisler also joined the Phillies in 1948 after a trade with the Cardinals. He hit .274 with 11 homers. In September the Phillies brought up their third baseman of the future, Willie Jones. Although the Phillies only won 66 games, they had the look of a team with a future.

In midseason Carpenter fired his fiery, racist southern-born manager, Ben Chapman, and replaced him with the quieter, fatherly Eddie Sawyer. Pennock had brought Sawyer over from the Yankees organization with the idea of him eventually taking over as manager. Carpenter believed that Sawyer was perfect to guide the youthful Phillies team.

The Phillies also maintained fan loyalty against Connie Mack's revived Athletics. Mack had put together his last good team after the war, and in 1947–49 the Athletics were again a competitive team. In 1948 they were in the middle of the pennant race until late August. Still, the Phillies, despite their sixth-place finish in 1948, managed to draw 767,000 fans to the Athletics' 940,000. Over the next two years the Phillies would win over the loyalty of the Philadelphia baseball fans from the Athletics, something they had been unable to do in the past.

After Herb Pennock's untimely death, Carpenter became his own general manager. He took over a first-class organization with talented scouts and a string of good players in the pipeline. But Carpenter's limitations as a judge of baseball talent would eventually prove costly.

Everything seemed to come together for the Phillies in 1949. Before the season Carpenter made two good trades. He got Eddie Waitkus, a .300-hitting first baseman; Russ Meyer, a pitcher with potential; and slugging outfielder Bill Nicholson from the Chicago Cubs for cash and some excess players. The deal enabled Sisler to move to the outfield and provided the team with a powerful pinch hitter and a talented player at every position.

After a slow start, the 1949 Phillies were tied for third place on July 4, just five and a half games out of first place. The Phillies' starting pitchers were a combined 30–19 while Ennis was fourth in the league in homers and second in RBIs. The Phillies had slid back to fifth place by mid-August when an angry tirade by Sawyer jolted them from their lethargy. He told them that if play didn't improve some of the players would be back in the minors. His warning worked. The Phillies went 16–10 to finish in third place, 81–73, their best record since 1917.

The Phillies accomplished this despite some serious setbacks. In June Waitkus was shot by a deranged female fan while the team was in Chicago. Sisler took over at first and filled in nicely, hitting .287. Jones, in his rookie year, hit 19 homers while driving in 77 runs and playing a flawless third base. Ennis had his second solid year with a .302 batting average, 25 homers, and 110 RBIs. Seminick led all major-league catchers with 24 homers.

The starting pitching was excellent. Roberts won 15 games in his first full season while veterans Ken Heintzelman and Russ Meyer each won 17 games. Jim Konstanty, whom Sawyer had rescued from the minors, chipped in with nine wins and seven saves. The Phillies were a team to be reckoned with, and the players believed that they were legitimate pennant contenders.

In 1950 the Phillies were picked to finish third or fourth behind the champion Dodgers. The Phillies entered the 1950 season without making any major trades. Rookie pitchers Bob Miller and Emory "Bubba" Church made the team out of spring training. They were the last products of Pennock's farm system to make an impact on the Phillies. The roster averaged just 26 years of age and became known as "The Whiz Kids."

Opening Day in Philadelphia against the Dodgers set the tone for the season. Before 30,000 fans, the largest Opening Day in Phillies history, Roberts defeated Don Newcombe for his first victory over the Dodgers. He would beat them three more times that season.

The Phillies started slowly, but by June 1 were in third place, just half a game out of first. Roberts and Simmons were pitching brilliantly, and Konstanty was on his way to the greatest season any relief pitcher had had to date. Throwing a deceptive palm ball, he was virtually unhittable. Meyer and Heintzelman, the aces of the 1949 staff, struggled, but Church and Miller, who won his first eight decisions, picked up the slack.

By July, behind the hitting of Ennis, Sisler, and Willie Jones, the Phillies had begun challenging the Cardinals and Dodgers for first place. Ennis had an unbelievable July, driving in 39 runs. The Phillies took over first place to stay on July 25 as Roberts and Church swept a doubleheader from the Chicago Cubs.

When Miller hurt his back in July and then his shoulder in September, Church stepped in and won seven crucial games. Between them the two rookies went 19–12 for the season. More serious than Miller's injury was the loss of Simmons when his National Guard unit was called to active duty in August. He was able to pitch on weekends for a while. At the time, he was 15–6, and according to Sawyer was pitching better than Roberts.

The Phillies stretched their lead to seven games over the Dodgers on September 1. Philadelphians were talking pennant and crowds were coming out in record numbers. Eventually the Phillies led the NL in attendance, and shattered their single-season attendance record by drawing 1,217,000 fans. It marked the first time since 1917 that the team was higher than fifth best in attendance.

Things suddenly turned sour in September. The Dodgers got hot and the Phillies were hit by one setback after another. Simmons was lost for good by the middle of September. Miller was virtually useless, Seminick suffered a severe ankle injury in a play at the plate and was hobbled for the rest of the season, and Church was hit in the face by a line drive off the bat of Ted Kluszewski. The Phillies were suddenly vulnerable. They went 12–16 for the month while the Dodgers won 20 games. Going into the last two days of the season against the Dodgers in Brooklyn, the Phillies led by two games. They had to win once

or there would be a three-game playoff that they almost surely would lose given the state of the team.

The Phillies lost the first game as Miller made a valiant effort but fell short. Roberts started the last game of the season, his fourth start in eight days. In the bottom of the ninth with the score tied 1–1, the Dodgers got their first two batters on. Duke Snider lined a single to center but Ashburn, playing shallow, fielded the ball on one hop and threw out Cal Abrams at the plate by 10 feet. Roberts loaded the bases by walking the dangerous Jackie Robinson and then got Carl Furillo to pop up and Gil Hodges to fly out to right field. In the top of the 10th the Phillies won the game when Dick Sisler hit a three-run homer. The Phillies had won the pennant, but the team was exhausted.

The Phillies had won because of solid pitching, leading the NL with 3.50 team ERA. Roberts became the first Phillies pitcher since Alexander in 1917 to win 20 games. Simmons was 17–8, and Konstanty won 16 while saving 22 others. In 151 innings Konstanty gave up just 109 hits, and he was named NL MVP. The team earned a franchise record \$303,000, and had averaged nearly \$100,000 a year in profit since 1946.

The World Series against the New York Yankees proved a letdown. The Yankees swept the Phillies in four close games by scores of 1–0, 2–1, 3–2, and 5–2. The Phillies were silenced by Yankees pitching, hitting just .203, but their hurlers held the vaunted Yankees to just 11 runs in four games.

Even with their loss in the World Series, the Phillies confidently expected to be pennant contenders for the next five to seven years since they were a young team, with an average age of 26. It wasn't to be. Roberts believed that the Phillies won too soon and were not mature enough to handle success. Ashburn believed that the Phillies' failure to tap into the great black players coming out of the Negro Leagues was the main reason the Phillies failed to contend in the 1950s.

THE DECLINE OF THE WHIZ KIDS

In 1951 the Phillies slipped badly, finishing fifth with a 73–81 record, a 17-game drop from the previous year. There were problems from the start, as players arrived in spring training out of shape and overconfident. The team got off to a slow start and never was a factor in the pennant race.

Key Phillies suffered through poor seasons. Ennis had his worst year since entering the majors, hitting just .267 with 15 homers and 73 RBIs. Mike Goliat, a key figure at second base in 1950, hit .212 and found himself back in the minors. Andy Seminick hit .237 with 11 homers and was traded to Cincinnati after the season. Jim Konstanty, the miracle reliever of 1950, could not get anyone out and slipped to 4–11 record. Among the regulars, only Roberts, who won 20 games for the second season in row; Richie Ashburn, who hit .344 and finished second in the batting race; and third baseman Willie Jones, who led the team in homers and RBIs, had solid years.

The consensus was that the Phillies had slipped but would quickly rebound in 1952. Over the winter of 1951–52 Carpenter tried patching together a winning team around the Whiz Kids nucleus, but the minor-league system was weak.

Carpenter's key moves were designed to fill gaps in the Whiz Kids' facade. He traded Seminick and Sisler to a weak Cincinnati team for second baseman Connie Ryan, pitcher Howie Fox, and throw-in catcher Smoky Burgess.

Carpenter showed his support for Sawyer by giving him a three-year contract extension. At spring training Sawyer cracked down on the team for its lethargy, banning the players' wives from the training complex and ordering no swimming or golf. Nothing worked. Sawyer, the father figure, had lost control of the team.

The Phillies started poorly in 1952. They were 30–46 when, at the end of June, Carpenter fired Sawyer. He brought in "Stout" Steve O'Neill, a longtime major-league manager, to see if the team would prosper under his loose hand. O'Neill had been successful in the past, having won a World Series with the 1945 Detroit Tigers. He was good at getting the most out of veterans. But at 61 he was probably past his prime. A big, heavyset man, he often fell asleep on the bench.

In the second half of the season, the Phillies were the hottest team in the NL, going 59–32. Roberts had his greatest season, winning 28 games against just 7 losses for the best year of any NL pitcher since Dizzy Dean won 30 games in 1934. Simmons came out of the army to win 14 games. Overall the Phillies' pitching staff led the NL with a 3.07 ERA.

Among the hitters, Ennis had a solid year, driving in 100 runs, and Burgess hit .296 while sharing catching duties with Stan Lopata. Granny Hamner hit .275 with 17 homers and played brilliantly at shortstop.

The Phillies' 87 victories put them in fourth place, nine and a half games back of the pennant-winning Dodgers. Carpenter believed the team was one or two players shy of competing with the Dodgers and Giants. However, he didn't grasp that other teams were starting to pass the Phillies in talent and organizational leadership.

Nowhere were the Phillies more out of touch with reality than in their failure to tap into the African American talent pool. Carpenter always claimed the Phillies were not reluctant to sign African American players. Nonetheless, the team signed none and was the last in the NL to integrate. The Phillies did not produce a great black player until Dick Allen in 1964, a full generation after Jackie Robinson joined the Dodgers. The Phillies paid the price for their racism.

Between 1953 and 1956 the Phillies' performance fluctuated between mediocre and poor. They tied for third once, fourth twice, and fifth once. They topped the .500 mark once, in 1953. They were never a serious pennant contender despite still having talented players like Ennis, Ashburn, Roberts, Simmons, and Hamner.

Carpenter continued his tinkering with the Whiz Kids. In 1953, Earl Torgeson replaced the fading Eddie Waitkus. Roberts won 20 games for the fourth straight season. Roberts was now the premier right-handed pitcher in baseball. However, Simmons never returned to his former dominance. The talent gap between the Phillies and the top teams in the NL continued to grow.

Early in 1954 Carpenter named his first general manager since Pennock's death, hiring Roy Hamey, assistant general manager to George Weiss of the Yankees, who had previously spent four years developing the Pittsburgh Pirates' minor-league system. Hamey got rid of O'Neill partway through the lackluster 1954 campaign, replacing him with former Cardinals outfielder Terry Moore. Moore had no more success in handling the Whiz Kids than O'Neill, and he was gone after the season. The Phillies finished in fourth place, with a poor record of 75–79. Roberts again won 20 games, but Simmons fell to 14–15. Hamner had a career year, hitting .299 with 13 homers and 98 RBIs, while Burgess hit an astounding .368, but without enough at bats to qualify for the batting title.

Even with the A's, in their last year in Philadelphia, playing awful baseball, the Phillies were unable to attract fans. Attendance declined by 115,000 from 1953. Even more disturbing was that attendance had declined by a half million since 1950.

In 1955, Hamey dipped into the Yankees organization for a new manager, Mayo Smith, the Phillies' fourth in four years. Smith was an adequate field general whose one great moment in nine years of managing was directing the underdog Detroit Tigers to a World Series victory in 1968. A low-key individual, Smith recognized that he had inherited the difficult situation of an aging team in transition. In a little over three and a half seasons Smith guided the Phillies to two .500 finishes while gradually infusing new blood into the franchise. Unfortunately for him, the new players were not of Whiz Kid caliber. Nor did Hamey help, with disastrous trades like dealing Burgess to Cincinnati in 1955 for unproductive outfielder Jim Greengrass.

In 1955 the Phillies improved, but were never in the pennant race because the Dodgers held first place the entire season. The Phillies doomed their season by losing 13 games in a row in late April and early May. Led by Richie Ashburn, who won his first batting title with a .338 average, and Roberts's sixth straight 20-victory season, the Phillies went 45–38 in the last three months of the season to finish in fourth place at 77–77.

It was difficult to be optimistic about the Phillies, who were a complete bust in 1956, finishing below .500 at 73–81 in fifth place as Roberts failed to win 20 games for the first time since 1950. Hamey planned dramatic changes for 1957. First he engineered another poor trade, sending Ennis, a Phillies favorite for 11 years, to the Cardinals for Eldon "Rip" Repulski, who flopped, while Ennis hit 24 homers with 105 RBIs. Hamey also launched a youth movement that brought excitement to Philadelphia for the first time since 1950. Seven rookies made the 1957 squad. Jack Sanford won 19 games, led the NL in strike-

outs, and was named the *Sporting News's* outstanding rookie. First baseman Ed Bouchee hit .297 with 17 homers and was named the Baseball Writers Association of America's Rookie of the Year. Outfielder Harry Anderson showed signs of power, hitting 17 homers in just 400 at bats. Another rookie, relief pitcher Dick Farrell, won 10 games and saved 10 others.

Philadelphia fell in love with the young team as fans came out in numbers unseen since 1950. The 1957 team drew 1,146,000, only the third time the Phillies had topped 1 million. Excitement peaked in early July as the Phillies made a run for the pennant. On July 14 Sanford beat the Cardinals to put the Phillies in first place for the first time that late in the season since 1950. Talk of another Whiz Kids miracle died as the Phillies went into a tailspin, losing 20 of 27 games to drop out of contention. They finished 77–77 in fifth place.

During the 1957 season, the team finally integrated its roster. Pressure had mounted from political circles in Philadelphia, with its large African American population. The African American papers, especially the *Philadelphia Tribune*, had been pressing the Phillies for years to integrate. In 1956 the Phillies purchased the contract of shortstop John Kennedy from the Kansas City Monarchs, and after a good year in the minors, brought him to spring training, intending to make him the everyday shortstop. However, Kennedy was not major-league material, and lasted just five games in the majors. This forced Hamey to make a major trade with the Dodgers to avoid charges of tokenism, and he secured shortstop Chico Fernandez. A black Cuban, Fernandez became the first African American Phillies regular. He had a solid rookie year, hitting .262, driving in 51 runs, and playing an exciting shortstop.

The local fans were shocked that year by the total collapse of Robin Roberts. After six consecutive 20-victory seasons and a 19-win season in 1956, Roberts plummeted to 10–22 in 1957. He was hit hard all season and led the majors in losses. Roberts originally claimed he suffered from back problems, but later admitted his arm hurt him the entire season. Roberts rebounded the next year to win 17 games, but was never again a dominant pitcher. Roberts's decline certified that the Whiz Kids era was long over.

The 1958–59 seasons saw the final collapse of the Phillies as they finished in the cellar both years, starting a run of four consecutive basement finishes. The Phillies began to resemble the cellar dwellers of the 1930s and early 1940s. The 1958 season started well enough, but by July the Phillies were stumbling badly. Trouble started even before the season when Bouchee was arrested on a morals charge. Sanford couldn't recapture his pitching dominance and ended the year 10–13. Dick Farrell went 8–9 and was ineffective the second half of the season. The team hit well, especially Ashburn, who won his second batting title with a .350 average, but the Phillies were next to last in the league in pitching. Hamey fired Smith, and at the urging of Carpenter, brought back Eddie Sawyer in a desperate effort to recapture the glory of the Whiz Kid days. However, the Phillies lost 41 of their last 69 games.

Things were worse the next season. In January 1959 Carpenter fired Hamey and brought in John Quinn, general manager of the Milwaukee Braves. Quinn had developed the Braves into a powerhouse that won NL pennants in 1957 and 1958 and the World Series in 1957. Unlike Hamey, who took over a team in transition, Quinn's task was simpler, yet more difficult—disband a team in free fall. In 1959 he got rid of former Whiz Kids Hamner, Lopata, and Jones, leaving only Roberts, Ashburn, and an ailing Simmons from the glory days. Quinn believed that trades could not revive the Phillies, but instead focused on the farm system.

The Phillies had begun the 1950s by winning the pennant, and ended the decade with the team's worst record since 1947, just 64 victories. Ashburn had his poorest season, hitting .266 and driving in 20 runs. Ruben Gomez, whom Hamey got from the Giants for Jack Sanford, won 3 games, as did Ray Semproch, a 13-game winner in 1958. The team collapse was total. The Phillies were sixth in ERA, last in team batting average, and last in fielding percentage. With the blessing of Carpenter, Quinn began a wholesale housecleaning. A decade of baseball in Philadelphia ended in chaos. Change was coming.

THE QUINN-MAUCH ERA

Reviving the Phillies proved to be a major problem. Bad trades had devastated the team while the farm system failed to produce quality players. The 1959 Phillies team that Quinn inherited was old, talentless at key positions, and guided by an unenthusiastic manager. Quinn immediately began getting rid of the deadwood.

After the 1959 season he sent one of the few bright lights of the Phillies' season, third baseman Gene Freese, who had hit 23 homers, to the Chicago White Sox for Johnny Callison, a young outfielder who had failed a brief trial with the White Sox in 1959 yet was compared by some experts to a young Mickey Mantle.

By the middle of 1960 Quinn had unloaded almost the entire 1959 team in trades. In place of older players, Quinn sought younger players with potential. His record was mixed. For Wally Post and Harry Anderson he got Tony Gonzalez, a talented black Cuban outfielder who gave the Phillies nine solid years. For Bouchee and pitcher Don Cardwell, Quinn got Tony Taylor, another black Cuban who proved to be a fine second baseman and one of the most popular players in Phillies history. These trades demonstrated that the hesitation to sign black talent was over.

Quinn also sent Ashburn to the Cubs in return for a young pitcher, John Buzhardt, whom the Phillies mistakenly hoped would deepen their pitching staff. The trade was unpopular because Ashburn was a Philadelphia icon.

Quinn fired Sawyer, and to manage the 1960 team, the youngest Phillies since the Whiz Kids, and lead the rebuilding process, he hired Gene Mauch, a 34-year-old minor-league manager, a young, imaginative baseball man enthu-

siastic enough to take on the arduous task of developing young players. It soon became clear that few knew baseball better than Mauch. Sparky Anderson said Mauch “was simply brilliant as a strategist and an innovator.”

Mauch had an undistinguished playing career, but like many other mediocre players, became a keen student of the game. In 1953, at age 28, he became manager of the Atlanta Crackers of the Southern Association. However, he expected too much of his players, fought constantly with the umpires, and was a failure. After a couple more years as a part-time player he took over Minneapolis of the American Association in 1958, and was ready for that task.

The 1960 season wasn't a pretty sight. The Phillies finished with their worst record since 1945, losing 95 games. The 1961 team was even worse. After suffering through a 10-game losing streak in May, the Phillies lost 23 in a row in July and August to set an all-time record for baseball futility. The Phillies lost 107 games and finished a distant 46 games out of first place. The 1960 Phillies were out of the cellar for a few weeks; the 1961 club never escaped the basement.

Despite this awful record, Quinn and Mauch were rebuilding. In 1960 Callison and Gonzalez became regulars while Taylor was one of the league's best second basemen. Clay Dalrymple showed potential behind the plate. Chris Short, a pitcher from the Phillies system, showed occasional signs of brilliance. In midseason Quinn promoted the best pitcher in the Phillies farm system, 22-year-old Art Mahaffey, who won 7 of 10 decisions with an excellent ERA of 2.32.

Quinn continued the transformation of the Phillies in 1961. He signed Wes Covington, who had been a regular with the pennant-winning Braves in 1957–58 but had fallen out of favor. Covington hit .303 and began regaining the stroke that made him one of the most feared left-handed hitters in baseball. Mauch platooned him in left field against tough right-handers with great success over the next five years. Early in the 1961 season Quinn sent Farrell to the Dodgers for outfielder Don Demeter, who took over center field and led the Phillies in home runs in 1961. The next season he hit 29 homers and became the first Phillies player to drive in 100 runs since Del Ennis.

Despite these moves, the record losses doomed the Phillies in the eyes of the fans. Attendance in 1961 reached the lowest level in 16 years. The Phillies needed a boost, and finally got one the next season.

The 1962 Phillies team surprised the baseball world by finishing over .500, 81–80, for the first time since 1953, a 34-game improvement over its 1961 record. It was the first of six consecutive seasons finishing above .500 for the Phillies, the second-longest winning stretch in the team's history, bettered only by the 1975–84 teams.

Quinn made one major change before the 1962 season, trading Buzhardt to the White Sox for 35-year-old slugging first baseman Roy Sievers. Sievers was on the downside of his career, but had hit .295 in his last two seasons with

28 and 27 homers. Mauch wanted Sievers's presence in the lineup to take the pressure off his young players. Sievers provided stability at cleanup, hitting 21 homers and driving in 80 runs, and Callison, Gonzalez, and Demeter blossomed. All three outfielders hit .300 and topped the 20 mark in homers, giving the Phillies one of the best young outfielders in the NL.

The pitching staff, led by Mahaffey, also showed improvement. Mauch carefully nurtured Mahaffey in 1962, spotting him mostly against second-division teams to boost his confidence. He went 12–2 against second-division teams and won 19 games in all, losing his chance for 20 wins on the last day of the season. Sophomore Jack Baldschun became one of the better relievers in the NL, winning 12 games and saving 13 others. In midseason the Phillies promoted one of their top pitching prospects, left-hander Dennis Bennett. Bennett won nine games, struck out 149 batters in 174 innings, and ranked third in the NL in fewest hits per nine innings. Baseball was once again becoming fun in Philadelphia. Attendance shot up by 170,000 over the 1961 figure, the Phillies' biggest one-year increase since 1950. Mauch was named NL Manager of the Year. However, some baseball writers perceptively noted that 31 of the Phillies' 81 victories came at the expense of the two expansion teams—the New York Mets and Houston Colt .45s.

Quinn and Mauch made only minor changes in 1963, expecting the Phillies to mature. The Phillies started slowly and remained near the cellar with a record of 35–41. In July they lost Mahaffey when he caught his spikes on the pitching rubber and broke his ankle. He dropped to 7–10 and was never again a consistent winner.

Beginning in late June the Phillies suddenly started playing better baseball, and finished fourth (87–75). The improvement coincided with the return from the disabled list of Bennett, who had suffered a broken ankle in a car accident in December 1962. He won nine games in the second half of the season and crafted a low 2.95 ERA. Bennett's return came as rookie right-handed pitcher Ray Culp won 14 games while striking out 176 batters. It was the best performance by a Phillies rookie pitcher since Jack Sanford. Baldschun had another fine year in the bullpen, winning 11 games and saving 16. The Phillies' staff ERA of 3.09 was third best in the NL. Callison hit 26 homers, the most for any Phillies left-handed batter since the team moved to Shibe Park. He also demonstrated one of the best throwing arms in baseball, leading the NL in assists for the second of four consecutive years.

Quinn and Mauch expected the Phillies to peak as pennant contenders in 1965 or 1966. The team's farm system was filled with solid prospects, including outfielders Adolpho Phillips and Alex Johnson, pitcher Ferguson Jenkins, and the team's best pure talent, Dick Allen.

In the off-season Quinn made one of his best trades, sending Demeter to the Detroit Tigers for pitcher Jim Bunning. At 32, Bunning was coming off his poorest season, winning just 12 of 25 games, and many considered him through, but Mauch believed he could help the young pitchers mature.

The Phillies were picked to finish fourth or fifth by most baseball experts. For Phillies fans, 1964 would prove one of the most exciting and traumatic in team history. The Phillies won 10 of their first 12 games. Led by the slugging of Allen, Callison, and Tony Gonzalez, the Phillies were in and out of first place for the first half of the season. Bunning was virtually unbeatable, capping his first half with a perfect game against the Mets on Father's Day. Bennett began the season 9–4 while Chris Short came into his own and gave the Phillies three top starters. Culp started well but came down with a sore arm and did not win a game after July 22.

At the All-Star break the Phillies were in first place with a 47–28 record. Fittingly, Callison won the All-Star Game with a three-run homer in the bottom of the ninth. From that point until the Phillies returned home from their last western road trip, the team steadily widened its lead. Yet problems were brewing. Mauch was reduced to two pitchers, Bunning and Short, who between them would win 36 games, because Culp was hurt, Mahaffey was inconsistent, and Bennett was virtually useless during the second half of the season. The bullpen, anchored by veterans Ed Roebuck and Baldschun, was one of the best. By September 21, with 12 games remaining, the Phillies opened a 7-game home stand with a six-and-a-half game lead. Then disaster struck, and the Phillies experienced one of the worst collapses in baseball history.

A 10-game losing streak began against Cincinnati when Chico Ruiz stole home with two outs and Frank Robinson at bat. Over the next two weeks the Phillies went into free fall. St. Louis went on to win 10 of 13 to win the pennant by one game over the Phillies.

Mauch was criticized for pitching Bunning and Short with just two days' rest, but his pitching staff was decimated. The team's veterans failed to hit. Covington went 1 for 17 during the losing streak, although the younger players like Callison, who homered three times in one game, and Allen came through.

All teams have losing streaks—the Phillies' came at the wrong time. Their collapse was the result of several factors, including the injuries to key pitchers and the lack of production at first base. Sievers developed a calf injury that effectively ended his career, and his replacement, Frank Thomas of the Mets, broke his finger.

Philadelphia was in shock. The 1964 team had won the hearts of the city's fans as no other since the Whiz Kids. To hold first place for 73 consecutive days and then lose everything in less than two weeks was more than the city could bear. A scapegoat was needed, and Mauch, who had been a popular manager, was the easy target.

The Phillies' near miss convinced Mauch and Quinn that with one more piece the team could go all the way. They overestimated the team's talent level and did not consider that 1964 might have been a freak year. A team built by surrounding its young players with a few key veterans began to sacrifice its farm system in a desperate search for experience.

First, Quinn sent Bennett to Boston for slugger Dick Stuart and got lefty Bo Belinsky from the Los Angeles Angels to replace Bennett. Quinn hoped he had filled two holes in the 1964 team, but the trades didn't work. Belinsky went 4–9, and while Stuart hit with power, with 28 homers, he batted just .234 and confirmed his reputation as a terrible defensive player.

The Phillies got off to slow start in 1965 in part because of their awful defense, making 51 errors in their first 40 games. Despite great years from Bunning and Short, who combined for 37 wins, and a comeback from Culp, with 14 victories, the Phillies could not match the talent of the Dodgers, Giants, and Reds. The Phillies finished in sixth place with an 85–76 record.

While still topping the 1 million mark in attendance, fan disillusionment set in as attendance declined by 280,000. A partial explanation for this drop-off was the changing nature of the neighborhood surrounding the ballpark. Connie Mack Stadium was located in the heart of north Philadelphia, an area shifting from white to black. Public transportation was adequate, but there were few parking spaces. Vandalism, especially slashed tires and broken windows, became a problem for car commuters. Racial tensions also were high. Philadelphia had experienced its first serious urban riot in August 1964 in an area south of the ballpark. Race relations remained strained for the rest of the decade.

Carpenter had purchased Connie Mack Stadium for \$1,657,000 when the A's left town, but he believed the Phillies could no longer survive there. However, there was little public support for a new baseball stadium.

In 1966 Quinn and Mauch again searched for the one move that would return the Phillies to pennant contention. Quinn secured half of the Cardinals infield, shortstop Dick Groat and first baseman Bill White, for Mahaffey and outfielder Alex Johnson. In April, Quinn sent rookie outfielder Adolpho Phillips, first baseman John Herrnstein, and pitcher Ferguson Jenkins to the Cubs for veteran pitchers Larry Jackson and Bob Buhl. Mauch was thrilled that he had gotten "a diamond and a ruby for three bags of garbage." Jackson gave the Phillies three solid years while Buhl, at 38, was finished by the end of season. But Jenkins went on to win 284 games and wound up in the Hall of Fame.

White and Groat solidified the Phillies infield and Jackson joined Bunning and Short to give the Phillies three good starters. Early in the season the Phillies lost Allen for 24 games when he injured his arm sliding back to second base. He recovered to have one of the greatest offensive years of any Phillies player since Chuck Klein, hitting 40 homers and driving in 110 runs while batting .317. But Callison, after averaging 31 homers and 100 RBIs for the past two seasons, went into a bewildering offensive slump, hitting just 11 homers and driving in 55 runs. At 27, Callison was finished as a power hitter. The Phillies won 87 games and climbed to fourth place, but were never in the pennant race. In two seasons after almost stealing the pennant, the Phillies were just a mediocre team.

One year later the Phillies begin a decline that sank them to the bottom of the NL. Between 1967 and 1975, when the Phillies again became a serious pennant contender, they finished in the cellar three times and next to last twice.

The 1967 Phillies were an old team, and barely finished over .500 at 82–80. Bunning went 17–15 but lost five 1–0 games, with a superb 2.29 ERA and six shutouts. No other starter topped .500. Yet the real problem was the decline in offense. Before the season Bill White tore his Achilles tendon, and he was finished as an everyday player. Groat was also injured, and played just 10 games. Two regulars, catcher Dalrymple and shortstop Bobby Wine, hit less than .200. Allen was having a good year, with 23 homers and a .307 batting average, when he cut his hand in a freak accident pushing his car in August and was lost for the season. The final offensive figures for the Phillies, a .242 batting average and 103 homers, were the worst since 1961, when the team lost 104 games. Attendance sagged for the third straight season, dropping to 829,000, the lowest figure since 1962.

REBUILDING A CONTENDER

Although the 1967 Phillies finished at two games over .500, the team seemed to have no future. Quinn and Mauch had gambled that they could cobble together a pennant contender with a couple of clever moves, but they had lost. The Phillies were drifting back to 1960–61 levels.

A first step in the transformation of the team was trading Bunning to the Pittsburgh Pirates for pitcher Woodie Fryman and three young players, most notably 20-year-old shortstop Don Money. Mauch was ready to lead another rebuilding program, but had worn out his welcome with the fans. There also was growing friction between Mauch and Allen, who was disenchanted with Philadelphia and its racism. Philadelphia fans never embraced the moody Allen's style of play or his contempt for team rules. Allen didn't help matters by missing games. He and Mauch battled each other all through the opening weeks of the 1968 season, with Mauch fining and benching him. When it came to choosing between an unpopular manager and a controversial 26-year-old slugger, it was clear who would go. On June 14, after almost nine years as manager, Mauch was fired and replaced by Bob Skinner, manager of the Phillies' successful farm team in San Diego. An era in Phillies history was over. No other Phillies manager in the twentieth century served as long as Mauch.

The Phillies played out the string in 1968 as Skinner tried to evaluate the team's talent and develop rapport with Allen, its key player. The Phillies fell to seventh place and lost 86 games, their worst record since 1961. Aside from Allen, who hit 33 homers but dropped below .300 for the first time, and Short, who won 19 games, the team's performance was awful. No regular hit higher than .264, and their batting average of .233 was the lowest since 1942.

The decline continued in 1969. An attempt to replace veterans with players from the farm system began in earnest. Money was installed at shortstop but

struggled all season, hitting just .229. Larry Hisle, the best hitting prospect in the organization, showed flashes of brilliance with 20 homers, the most of any Phillies rookie other than Allen. The pitching staff had to be revamped when Short developed a herniated-disc problem that ended his career as a dominant pitcher.

The unhealthy atmosphere around the club escalated when in August Skinner quit, criticizing the front office for not disciplining Allen. The team's decline reached new levels as they finished fifth of six teams in the new NL Eastern Division, losing 99 games. Attendance dipped to just over 500,000—the poorest since the last year of World War II.

Radical measures were necessary if the Phillies were to recover. To replace Skinner the Phillies promoted Frank Lucchesi, a 14-year veteran of their farm system. It proved a popular choice, as Lucchesi's genuine enthusiasm and empathy with fans proved infectious. Lucchesi was a warm individual with a gift for malapropisms. He once bragged that he wasn't going to be "a scrapegoat" for some Phillies failure.

Allen, who had been campaigning to be traded, was sent to the Cardinals for a package including center fielder Curt Flood, catcher Tim McCarver, and relief specialist Joe Hoerner. Flood refused to report despite being offered \$110,000, saying he didn't want to play in a racist city, and eventually sued MLB seeking free agency. The Cardinals sent Willie Montanez as Flood's replacement. Montanez, "Willie the Phillie," would go on to become one of the more popular players with the team in the early 1970s.

From the farm system in 1970 the Phillies promoted their young double-play combination of shortstop Larry Bowa and second baseman Denny Doyle. With Money moved to third base and veteran slugger Deron Johnson at first, the Phillies had a decent infield for the first time in years. The outfield was questionable. Hisle suffered through a terrible case of the sophomore jinx, hitting just .205. The pitching staff struggled all season. Bunning, brought back for a second tour, went 10–15, Short went 9–16, and Grant Jackson slipped to 5–15. The relief core, led by Dick Selma, who came from the Cubs in exchange for Callison, won 17 games and saved 31 others.

The 1970 Phillies improved by 10 games over 1969 with a 73–88 record and brought back some excitement to the city. Part of the credit belongs to Lucchesi and part to a team that was showcasing its young players for the first time in years. Bowa, after a terrible start, hit .250 while playing great shortstop. Veteran Tony Taylor played all over the infield and had his last great season, hitting .301. Johnson clouted 27 homers and drove in 93 runs, while Money had his best year, batting .295.

The Phillies looked optimistically toward the 1971 season. Not only had the team shown improvement, but the Phillies were scheduled to move into their new 62,382-seat ballpark on the site of a former landfill, part of a complex that included the Spectrum, built in 1967. Veterans Memorial Stadium, known as "the Vet," had the largest capacity of any NL field.

The city decided in the mid-1960s to build a multipurpose stadium in south Philadelphia to serve both the Phillies and the Eagles and to promote economic development. The Vet, built for \$52 million, a cost shared by the city and state, opened in April 1971. It was the newest and at the time most modern stadium, with an Astroturf playing surface and seating for 60,000 fans. Its shape was octagonal, or eight-sided, with equal dimensions of 330 feet to left and right field. Sight lines were clear, with no pillars to block the fans' view.

The Phillies broke their attendance record in 1971 by drawing over 1.5 million fans, double what the team had drawn in its last year at Connie Mack Stadium. But on the field, the Phillies went backward, finishing in last place and losing 95 games, last in the NL. There were some remarkable individual performances: Johnson hit 34 homers, including 3 in one game, and Montanez set a Phillies rookie record with 30 homers and drove in 99 runs. Yet overall the team retrogressed, batting just .233, and Short and Bunning went 12–26.

The Phillies' poor performance foreshadowed an even grimmer year in 1972. Shortly before the season began Quinn made his last and best trade, sending Wise to the Cardinals for 20-game winner Steve Carlton. The Phillies also promoted their top prospect, Greg Luzinski, to the major-league roster. Carlton had a remarkable season, winning 27 games, including 15 in a row, and striking out 310 batters while compiling a 1.97 ERA. He accounted for 46 percent of the team's 59 victories, the best ratio in baseball history. He won the Cy Young Award for the first of four times. Luzinski had a fine rookie season, hitting .281 with 18 homers and leading the team in RBIs. Bowa had another steady year at short. Aside from these three, the team was a disaster zone.

The team's miserable performance led to major front-office changes. In early June Quinn retired and was replaced by farm director Paul Owens. On July 10 Owens fired Lucchesi and took over as manager to evaluate the squad. The Phillies finished a distant sixth with a 59–97 record. They probably would have lost 100 games, but a strike shortened the season by six games.

After the season, Owens returned to the general manager's job and the Phillies hired longtime Dodgers coach Danny Ozark as their manager to teach the fundamentals that the Dodgers had traditionally stressed.

The Phillies' resurrection slowly began in 1973. Owens had a reservoir of talent in the minor-league system and he proved a shrewd trader. With the nucleus of Carlton, Luzinski, and Bowa in place, Owens believed the team needed greater depth at pitching and in the outfield. He got Del Unser from Cleveland to play center field, and Bill Robinson, from the farm system, took over right field. He solved the pitching problem by trading Don Money to Milwaukee for pitchers Ken Brett and Jim Lonborg. In 1973 Brett and Lonborg each won 13 games, while a lightly regarded Wayne Twitchell also won 13 while compiling the league's second-lowest ERA, 2.50. Carlton came down with bronchitis in spring training and labored throughout the season. He won 13 games but led the league with 20 losses.

To replace Money, Owens and Ozark turned third base over to a 23-year-old rookie, Mike Schmidt. Schmidt had a bizarre season. He hit just .196 but had flashes of power with 18 homers and 52 RBIs. He led the team in strikeouts, walks, and game-winning hits. Luzinski had his first big year, with 29 homers and 97 RBIs, and Robinson contributed 26 homers. The Phillies played exciting baseball throughout the season. They finished last again at 71–91, but only 11 games out of first place.

The 1974 Phillies were an exciting team, and were in first place for 51 days. Dave Cash, whom they got from Pittsburgh for Ken Brett, proved to be a team leader, a good leadoff hitter, and durable. He started every game, hit .300, and finished second in the league in hits with 206. They finished 80–82 in third place. Carlton and Lonborg anchored a strong pitching staff with 33 victories between them. Rookie Dick Ruthven showed flashes of brilliance, winning seven of his nine victories in the second half of the season. The real surprise was the emergence of Mike Schmidt as a premier power hitter. He led the league in homers and slugging percentage and was second in RBIs and total bases. He also led all NL third basemen in total chances.

The one problem area that hurt the Phillies in 1974 was an erratic bullpen. Owens tried to solve that first by adding Gene Garber in July from Kansas City, and in 34 games he was 4–0 with a 2.06 ERA. After the season Owens traded one of the team's top prospects, catcher John Stearns, to the New York Mets for reliever Tug McGraw.

The Phillies entered the 1975 campaign with their strongest club in a decade. Early in the season Owens made two major trades. He sent Montanez to the Giants for center fielder Garry Maddox, who eventually won eight Gold Gloves, and brought back Dick Allen to play first base. But Allen was a shadow of the player he once had been.

The Phillies stayed close to the Pirates throughout the 1975 season, briefly tying them for first place on August 18. The Pirates steadily pulled away and the Phillies finished in second (86–76). The Phillies were now one of the best teams in the NL. Schmidt won the home-run title again and Luzinski led the league in RBIs and total bases. Cash and Bowa hit .305 and Cash led the league with 213 hits. Garber and McGraw stabilized the bullpen with 28 saves between them. Tommy Underwood came out of the minors to win 14 games and Carlton contributed 15. The Phillies were on the brink.

A PHILLIES DYNASTY

In the bicentennial year the Phillies hosted the All-Star Game and had the greatest performance in the team's history, initiating a decade of winning baseball that lasted from 1976 through 1984. They finished first six times, won more games than any NL team, and captured five NL East titles. They went to the World Series twice and won a world championship in 1980.

Owens created a great team built around future Hall of Famers Mike Schmidt and Steve Carlton and great defense. The infield of Bowa, Cash, and Schmidt gave the team interior strength; Bob Boone was a Gold Glove winner behind the plate; and Maddox was the best defensive center fielder in baseball. Owens filled the gaps with players from the team's rich minor-league system, directed by former Phillies pitcher Dallas Green. Owens also made a series of shrewd trades in the late 1970s, getting solid players such as Bake McBride and Manny Trillo to fill needed slots.

Danny Ozark, a poor communicator who massacred the English language, was not given much credit for managerial skills, but the Phillies played sound, fundamental baseball. The players may have policed themselves, but Ozark deserves some credit for sticking with Schmidt during his rookie year. During his five and half years as Phillies manager the team won 590 games, the third-highest total in team history. He was doing something right.

The 1976 Phillies surprised the baseball world. After losing three of their first four games, they fell behind the Chicago Cubs 12–1 and then roared back behind Schmidt's four home runs to win the game 18–16. The Phillies won 51 of their next 69 and took over first place permanently on May 9. In late August their lead over the second-place Pirates was 15 1/2 games. They then lost eight consecutive games while the Pirates suddenly got hot and narrowed the Phillies' lead to three games on September 17, bringing back memories of the 1964 collapse. At that point the Phillies rallied to win the NL East with a record of 101–61, the best in team history.

The offense was awesome. The Phillies scored 10 or more runs 15 times. They were second in the league in team batting average and tied for second in homers. Schmidt won the home-run title for the third consecutive year, the first NL player to do so since Ralph Kiner, and also led in total bases. Luzinski hit .304 and drove in 97 runs, Maddox hit .330, and Jay Johnstone hit .318. The pitching staff was also solid, third in team ERA. Carlton set the pace for the pitchers by winning 20 games, while Jim Lonborg contributed 18 wins. Ozark's five-man rotation of Carlton, Lonborg, Larry Christenson, Jim Kaat (whom the Phillies got from the Chicago White Sox), and Underwood started 156 of the team's 162 games. The Phillies also had one of the best bullpens in baseball, with 44 saves.

Philadelphia, by midsummer, was in love with the Phillies. Attendance zoomed to all-time levels and topped the previous record of 1.9 million by 571,000. Fans looked forward to the playoffs against Sparky Anderson's Big Red Machine. Few Phillies' players had playoff experience, and the Reds intimidated them, sweeping the Phillies in three games.

Owens basically stayed pat in 1977. The team played listless baseball for the first month of the season, landing in last place on May 6, but then jelled and moved into contention. The season's turning point came on June 15 when Owens swung one of his best deals, sending Underwood and two minor leaguers to the Cardinals for Arnold "Bake" McBride.

With McBride leading off and hitting a torrid .339 for the Phillies, Luzinski supplying the power in the second half of the season, and Carlton off to his best start since winning 27 games in 1972, the Phillies pulled away from the rest of the league. They were 61–29 for the last three months of the season, went into first place on August 5, and ended with record of 101–61.

Owens considered the 1977 Phillies his best team. They dominated the NL in team batting average (.279) while scoring 847 runs. Led by Luzinski's 39 homers and Schmidt's 38, they set a team record of 186 home runs. Carlton won 23 games and Christenson 19 to give the Phillies their best lefty-righty combination since Bunning and Short.

The Vet rocked with fan enthusiasm as the Phillies set an all-time attendance record of 2.7 million, an increase of 280,000 over 1976. In two years the Phillies had drawn 800,000 additional fans, a greater increase than any other team in the majors.

All the positives turned sour in the playoffs as the Phillies experienced one of the most painful breakdowns in their long history. The Phillies split the first two games against the Dodgers in Los Angeles and returned home, where they were 60–21. In game three, before a huge throng of 64,000 screaming fans, the Phillies scored two runs in the bottom of the eighth to take a 5–3 lead. With two out in the ninth and Garber pitching, Vic Davillio beat out a perfect drag bunt. Manny Mota followed with a long drive to left. During the season Ozark had usually replaced Luzinski with Jerry Martin for defensive purposes, but not this time. Luzinski got his glove on the ball against the fence and then dropped it, with Davillio scoring on the play. Luzinski then threw the ball past second, allowing Mota to reach third base. Davey Lopes then scorched a ground ball to Schmidt, who deflected it off his glove directly to Bowa, who hurled to first, but Lopes beat the throw and the game was tied. Garber then made an errant pickoff move and Lopes went to second. Shortstop Bill Russell grounded a single up the middle, and the Dodgers led 6–5. The Phillies went in order in the ninth. The next night the Dodgers took the pennant with an easy win.

The Phillies and their fans were stunned. Bill Conlin of the *Philadelphia Daily News* penned the best epitaph: "The 1964 collapse took ten games. This one took ten minutes. It was like watching the shambles of 1964 compressed into an elapsed-time film sequence."

The Phillies started slowly in 1978 and didn't take over first place until June 23. They held it throughout the season, but their biggest lead was just five games. The Phillies played solid defense and had good pitching but declined offensively. Owens pulled another June 15 deal to bolster the team, acquiring Dick Ruthven from Atlanta for Garber. Ruthven was a major reason for Phillies winning the divisional title, going 13–5.

Schmidt and Luzinski had mediocre seasons. Schmidt had just 21 homers and 78 RBIs; Luzinski had good power numbers, 35 homers and 101 RBIs, but batted just .265. The team batting average, .258, was the lowest since 1973,

and they hit 53 fewer homers than they had in 1977. Nonetheless, they captured the East with a 90–72 record.

The playoffs against the Dodgers opened with two games in Philadelphia, which they lost. Carlton managed to win game three in Los Angeles and even hit a homer. Game four was another nightmare for the Phillies. In the bottom of the 10th Tug McGraw walked Ron Cey. Dusty Baker hit a routine soft liner to center field, which Maddox dropped. Once again Bill Russell got the hit that gave the Dodgers the game and the pennant. The Phillies were downcast, having for the third consecutive year failed to win the pennant. They had not played to their potential in the playoffs. Ozark was blamed for uninspiring leadership and Schmidt for driving in just one run during the playoffs.

That winter the Phillies decided on drastic action. They signed free agent Pete Rose, who they believed was the missing piece that could put them over the hump. Vice president Bill Giles arranged a complicated deal using revenue from a TV contract to lure Rose to play first for the Phillies with a four-year contract worth \$3.8 million. To strengthen the Phillies at second base Owens negotiated a major deal with the Cubs, who got five Phillies players for second baseman Manny Trillo and outfielder Greg Gross, a lifetime .290 hitter.

These actions made the Phillies the prohibitive favorite to repeat as NL East champs in 1979. Everything fell into place as the Phillies streaked off to a 24–10 record and four-game lead by May 8, but then went 5–15 to drop to third place. The season turned into a nightmare. In the space of 24 hours in July the Phillies lost three starters: Christenson, Randy Lerch, and Ruthven. The bullpen was a disaster, especially McGraw, who recorded the highest ERA of his career, 5.14, and also tied a major-league record by serving four grand-slam homers.

Offensively, Schmidt's 45 homers led the Phillies. Rose did all that was asked of him, hitting .331 and leading the NL in hits with 208, but Trillo broke his arm and missed 46 games. Luzinski was plagued by leg problems and finished with his lowest batting average, .252, and only 18 homers.

On August 31 Owens fired Ozark, replacing him with farm director Dallas Green. Under Green the Phillies went 17–11 and finished the season in fourth place, 84–78, the team's poorest record since 1974.

Owens and Green believed the Phillies had been complacent under Ozark. The core of the team, together since 1973, had lost its aggressiveness. Green's job was to reignite the spark under the Phillies or, if he couldn't, begin reshaping the team.

WORLD CHAMPIONS FINALLY

In 1980 the Phillies finally won their first and only world championship in one of the most difficult and painful seasons in team history. Green was an irascible individual who decided to challenge his underperforming players. He was confrontational and at times at war with most of his players. In spring training Green told them this was their last chance: succeed, or the team would be bro-

ken up. He had Owens and owner Ruly Carpenter's support, and the players soon found out that they couldn't go to the boss behind Green's back.

Green surprised many by adding five rookies, including outfielder Lonnie Smith, who hit .339 and set a Phillies rookie record for stolen bases, and Keith Moreland, who platooned behind Bob Boone. The Phillies spun their wheels for the first three months of the season. By early July they were in second place, two games out of first but seemingly going nowhere. They hit their nadir in early August, six games out of first. Between games of a doubleheader loss in Pittsburgh Green lashed out at the team for their lifeless play and questioned their courage, and almost came to blows with pitcher Ron Reed in the dugout. This incident somehow got the Phillies on the right track. They finished the season 36–19, good for a 91–71 record and the divisional title. The success was primarily due to Carlton, Schmidt, and McGraw. Carlton won 24 games. McGraw, injured early in the season, was almost perfect when he came off the disabled list on July 17, allowing three runs in 52 1/3 innings for a 0.52 ERA. Schmidt broke the major-league record for homers by a third baseman by hitting 48, while leading the league with 121 RBIs. He also drove in the winning runs in the two late-season games in Montreal that won the pennant. Other Phillies who had good years included Rose, who led the NL in doubles; Trillo, who hit a career high .292; McBride, who hit .309; and Ruthven, who won 17 games.

The playoff between the Phillies and Houston is often regarded as the best in NL history. The Phillies split two games at home and then lost to Houston 1–0 in 10 innings. Things looked grim in game four as the Phillies went to bat in the top of the eighth inning behind 2–0. The Phillies rallied to go ahead 3–2, only to have Houston tie the score. The Phillies won the game in the 10th on a clutch double by Luzinski when Rose scored from first, knocking the ball from the catcher's hand.

In the final game, the Phillies fell behind 5–2 to Nolan Ryan but scored five runs in the eighth inning to take the lead. Houston tied the score. The Phillies won in the 10th on a hit by Maddox. The Phillies had finally gotten over the hump.

The World Series against Kansas City was somewhat anticlimactic. The Phillies won the first two games at home and then lost two in Kansas City. In game five, with Kansas City leading 3–2 in the ninth inning and their great closer Dan Quisenberry on the mound, the Phillies staged another desperate rally. Schmidt singled and scored when pinch hitter Del Unser doubled past first. Trillo lined a single off Quisenberry's glove to give the Phillies the lead. McGraw came in, loaded the bases, and then struck out Jose Cardenal to end the game. The Phillies returned home with a rested Carlton to close out the series. He won 4–1, with McGraw again getting the save.

The Phillies had finally won it all, and the city went crazy. The next day, a beautiful sunny autumn afternoon, over 1 million fans gathered to watch a victory parade down Broad Street to JFK Stadium, where another 80,000 awaited their heroes. McGraw captured the mood of the crowd best. He held up the

cover of the *Daily News* with its huge headline: "WE WIN." Every long-suffering Phillies fan felt part of the "WE."

The years 1981–84 constituted the end of the successful Phillies team that Owens built. The Phillies were getting old at key positions, and the infusion of talent from the minor-league system ceased after 1980. When Green took over as manager, his successors in the farm system overestimated the value of their farmhands. Owens had also dipped into the team's minor-league system for trade material, which kept the Phillies in contention for a couple of more years.

The 1981 campaign started well, and the Phillies were leading the NL East with a 34–21 record when the season was interrupted by baseball's first major strike. The strike hurt the Phillies, who lost their spirit when the season resumed after 50 days. Their record for the second half was 25–27. In a complicated formula drawn up by MLB, the Phillies played the Montreal Expos, winner of the second half, in a five-game division playoff. Scoring just two runs, the Phillies lost the first two games in Montreal despite solid pitching from Carlton and Ruthven. Christenson won game three and the Phillies evened the series with a dramatic walk-off home run by reserve outfielder George Vukovich in game four. The next day Steve Rogers outdueled Carlton to win the NL East title for the Expos.

The 1981 season was the beginning of the end of the great Phillies teams of the past decade. The basis of a good team was still there, and the Phillies would be competitive for two more years, even winning another pennant. Green left to take over the Chicago Cubs as general manager, and the Phillies brought in Pat Corrales to manage. Corrales was no Green—he lacked his influence with Owens and was an unknown to the veterans.

Even more shocking than Green's departure was Carpenter's decision in March to sell the Phillies because the game "wasn't fun anymore." He did not like the business aspects of the game, in which mediocre players were signing million-dollar contracts. Bill Giles, executive vice president of the Phillies, put together a partnership of leading Philadelphians that bought the team for \$30 million, quite an appreciation from the \$400,000 that the Carpenter family had paid 37 years earlier.

Owens made three poor trades at the end of the 1981 season that cost the Phillies dearly. He sent Lonnie Smith to the Cardinals as part of a three-team trade whereby the Phillies got catcher Bo Diaz from Cleveland. Owens also traded Keith Moreland to the Cubs for pitcher Mike Krukow, and sent Larry Bowa, who wanted a contract extension, to the Cubs for shortstop Ivan DeJesus, along with a throw-in that Green wanted, the lowly regarded minor leaguer Ryne Sandberg, who became a Hall of Fame second baseman.

THE WHEEZE KIDS

The 1982–84 Phillies were a solid, professional team. Despite their poor play during the second half of the 1981 season, Owens believed that the Phillies

were still pennant contenders. The season started badly when the Phillies lost Schmidt to a nagging rib injury for 14 games. After Schmidt's return the team jelled, briefly taking over first place on June 30. The catalysts for this success were Schmidt's hitting plus dominating pitching by Carlton. After beginning the season 0-4, Carlton won 10 of his next 13 games.

From the end of June the Phillies stayed on the heels of the red-hot St. Louis Cardinals. In late August the Phillies put on a spurt, and on September 13, behind a 2-0 Carlton shutout of the Cardinals, took over first place by half a game. But the next night the Cardinals won, and from that point the Phillies dropped out of the race. The Cardinals won the division by three games.

It was a commendable season, with attendance averaging slightly over 30,000 fans per game. The team hit .260, but only managed 112 homers. Schmidt hit 36 homers, second in the NL. Carlton had his last dominant season, winning the Cy Young Award for the fourth time, with 23 victories, 286 strikeouts, and a 3.10 ERA.

Owens made a series of aggressive moves in the off-season in an effort to give the team better left-handed hitting. He traded Krukow to the Giants for second baseman Joe Morgan and reliever Al Holland. Then Owens sent five players, including Trillo and rookie prospect Julio Franco, to Cleveland for left-handed-hitting outfielder Von Hayes, which caused consternation among Phillies fans, who felt that five for one was too much. Corrales was heavily criticized because he did not rest his key players for the September run.

In 1983, the Phillies started sluggishly, but then so did every other team in the NL East. The club was often called "the Wheeze Kids" because of the ages of many of its players. Owens pulled off a major trade in late May when he sent Ruthven to the Cubs for reliever Willie Hernandez, who won 8 games and saved 7 more in 63 games. On July 18, with the Phillies in first place with a 43-42 record, Owens removed Corrales and took over as manager. Suddenly the Phillies got hot, going 47-30 the rest of the way to win the division by a comfortable six games.

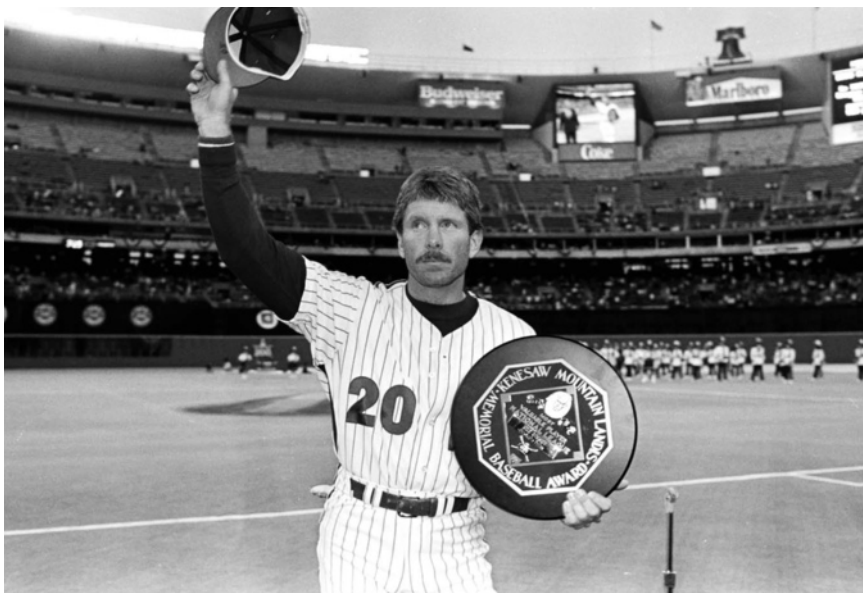
The Phillies' turnabout was remarkable. John Denny, who had come over to the Phillies the previous September, went 19-6 with a 2.37 ERA to win the Cy Young Award. Carlton was 15-16, but led the league in innings pitched and strikeouts. He won the 300th game of his career in September, only the fourth left-hander to reach that level. Schmidt had another good power year, leading the league in homers with 40 and finishing third with 109 RBIs. Morgan, who had struggled all season, got hot in September and helped fuel a stretch run where the Phillies won 14 of their last 16 games. Holland saved 25 games. The Phillies basically won the pennant on pitching, because their offense averaged just .249, the lowest of an NL division winner since the 1973 Mets.

The Phillies got some revenge against the Dodgers in the playoffs, winning three of four games. But their luck didn't hold out in the World Series, where they met the Baltimore Orioles in the so-called I-95 Series. The Phillies won game one but then were swept by the Orioles in four straight. The Phillies hit just .195, with Schmidt leading the futility, going 1 for 20.

The Phillies were at a crossroads. They had won five division titles, two pennants, and one World Series in eight years, but the 1983 team was old and difficult to build upon. Rose, Morgan, and Tony Perez were let go and Owens began a major restructuring with younger players, but the farm system was thin. Owens also made a couple of foolish trades, sending outfielders Gary Matthews and Bob Dernier to the Cubs for reliever Bill Campbell, 35, and coming off a mediocre season, and Hernandez to the Tigers for two nonproductive players. These trades helped the Cubs and Tigers make the playoffs in 1984, while the Phillies struggled all season, finishing in fourth place with a .500 record. The team led the NL in hitting, but the pitching collapsed. The Phillies' future didn't look bright.

The Phillies also were undergoing a breakdown at the organizational level. Owens did not have the influence with Giles that he had had with Carpenter, and director Jim Baumer of the farm system was a flop. By the mid-1980s the Phillies system, once regarded as one of the best in baseball, was a disaster. None of the Phillies' top 50 prospects in 1987 became impact players, and only a few reached the majors. From the mid-1980s on, the Phillies were an organization in free fall. Giles tried to be his own general manager, but, like Carpenter, failed. Experienced scouts were let go and important judgments were made not by professional baseball people like Owens but by Giles.

Between 1985 and 2002, the Phillies finished better than .500 just three times. In 1993, they came out of nowhere to win the NL pennant, but otherwise the Phillies were an underperforming, directionless team.



Mike Schmidt waves to the crowd after receiving his National League Most Valuable Player award, 1986. © AP / Wide World Photos

Beginning in 1985 the cadre of talent that had made the Phillies such a powerhouse in baseball began to fade. Carlton was finished for all practical purposes after a disastrous 1–8 1985 season. Schmidt led the league in homers, RBIs, and slugging percentage in 1986 and hit 35 homers with 113 RBIs the next season. But injuries shortened his 1988 season, and he retired early in 1989.

After Owens stepped down following the 1984 season, the Phillies went through five managers in seven years (John Felske, Lee Elia, John Vukovich, Nick Leyva, and Jim Fregosi). Only Fregosi managed in the majors after leaving the Phillies.

The late 1980s and early 1990s were a nightmare for Philadelphia baseball. A franchise whose city had embraced its team with enthusiasm and had set attendance records now fell upon hard times. In the decade after 1984 the Phillies topped the 2 million mark only twice. The Phillies found themselves bypassed as the city's favorite sports franchise by the Eagles. Phillies fans were bored with a dull team that was 100 games under .500 from 1985 to 1992.

SEARCHING FOR A NEW DIRECTION

The Phillies gradually hit bottom in the late 1980s, finishing in the cellar in both 1988 and 1989. Before that happened, Giles had finally begun an overhaul of the organization in 1987, hiring as general manager Woody Woodward, who had run the Cincinnati Reds' minor-league operation before moving on to the New York Yankees as general manager in 1986. However, Giles and Woodward could not work together, largely because Giles would not stop interfering in baseball operations.

Giles's next general manager was Lee Thomas, the St. Louis Cardinals' director of player development. Thomas began dismantling an awful club through a series of key trades, a process that so completely revamped the Phillies that only Darren Daulton remained with the squad four years later. It was the Phillies' biggest housecleaning since the days of John Quinn.

In mid-June 1989, Thomas began building a new team. Steve Bedrosian, an effective reliever with the Phillies who won the Cy Young Award in 1987, was sent to San Francisco for third baseman Charlie Hayes and pitchers Terry Mulholland and Dennis Cook. Thomas then traded outfielder Chris James to San Diego for infielder Randy Ready and first baseman John Kruk. In one of his best deals, Juan Samuel went to the Mets for Lenny Dykstra and relief pitcher Roger McDowell. Toward the end of the 1990 season Thomas acquired Dale Murphy from Atlanta along with pitcher Tommy Greene. These moves upgraded the Phillies, who improved by 10 games in 1990. Thomas fired Nick Leyva in mid-1991 and brought in Jim Fregosi to take over a team that needed a more experienced manager, and he led them to third place, their highest finish since 1986. The team then was worth about \$115 million.

The 1992 season was a deceptive one. After showing promise of improvement, they fell back to the cellar, largely due to injuries to key players. At one

point they had 17 players on the disabled list. On the positive side, catcher Darren Daulton finally matured as a player, hitting 27 homers and leading the NL in RBIs. John Kruk hit .323, and Dave Hollins, whom Thomas had drafted from San Diego in 1989, had a breakout year, hitting 27 homers while driving in 93 runs. Curt Schilling, who came over from Houston, surprised the Phillies by winning 14 games and finishing fourth in ERA.

When the 1993 season opened the Phillies sprinted off to an 8–1 record, their best start since 1915. By June they were in first place with a 34–14 record, a .708 pace. The team won 97 games and came in first by three games. The league-leading offense was led by Dykstra, who batted first and hit .305 while scoring 143 runs, the highest in the NL in 61 years. Kruk hit .316 and drove in 85 runs. Daulton hit 24 homers and drove home 104 runs. The pitching staff was less dominant, but Schilling and Greene both won 16 games. The bullpen was anchored by the exciting, but often nerve-racking, Mitch “Wild Thing” Williams, who set a Phillies record of 43 saves.

In the playoffs the Phillies were underdogs against a powerful Braves team led by one of the best pitching staffs in baseball, with a team ERA a full one run lower than the Phillies'. The playoffs were tied, but in the critical fifth game, the Phillies pulled out a 10th-inning win when Dykstra hit a dramatic homer off Braves closer Mark Wohlers. Then, in game six in Philadelphia, Greene beat Greg Maddux 6–3, giving the Phillies their first pennant in 10 years.

The 1993 Phillies earned a special place in the hearts of Philadelphia fans. The players were perceived as a group of blue-collar, hard-nosed types. The team had come out of nowhere to win the pennant and beat “America’s Team” with its awful Tomahawk Chop. The fans responded to the season as never before in team history, with attendance setting a new record of 3.1 million.

Alas, the Phillies couldn’t sustain their success in the World Series against a Toronto Blue Jays team that was at the peak of its success, with John Olerud, Paul Molitor, and Roberto Alomar, the top three hitters in the AL, and a pitching staff led by 19-game winner Pat Hentgen and closer Duane Ward, with 45 saves. The teams split the first two games in Toronto, but in game three in Philadelphia, Toronto battered Jackson and Rivera for 10 runs. Game four was the wildest contest in World Series history, setting a record for the most runs scored. In the bottom of the fifth the Phillies took an apparently commanding 12–7 lead. Toronto got two runs in the top of the sixth, but the Phillies added runs in the sixth and seventh innings. Then, in the top of the eighth, Toronto scored six times to take a 15–14 lead.

Schilling got the Phillies back to 3–2 in games with a shutout in game five, but the terrible thumping in game four had taken a toll on their pitching. In the climactic sixth game the Phillies fell behind 5–1, but came back in the top of the seventh when Dykstra hit a three-run homer and two more runs scored on a single by Hollins and a sacrifice fly by Pete Incaviglia. In the ninth Fregosi brought in Williams to save the game, but he walked a batter, and after one out,

gave up a single and then Joe Carter's walk-off homer to win the World Series. The Phillies were outhit by the Blue Jays, and the staff ERA was a ghastly 7.57. Williams was a major factor in the Phillies' defeat, losing twice.

No one, including the players and the organization, expected the Phillies to repeat in 1994. Thomas believed that many Phillies had had their career years, and the team had benefited from being virtually injury free. Right after the season Kruk was diagnosed with testicular cancer while Dykstra began to experience back problems that eventually ended his career. Two key players were traded after the season—Mulholland and the vilified Mitch Williams.

The 1994 season turned out to be a disaster, with multiple injuries and sub-par performances. Only Danny Jackson topped his 1993 season, going 14–6 before the season came to an abrupt end with the worst strike in baseball history. The team took over control of the ballpark from the city, which had allowed the edifice to fall into disrepair.

The Phillies did not reach the .500 mark over the next five years, finishing about 30 games out of first place each year. The key players of 1993 were all gone within a few years, either traded, like Daulton, or retired, like Kruk, Greene, and Dykstra. Only Schilling bounced back strongly, becoming one of the most dominant pitchers in baseball in the late 1990s, when he had two consecutive seasons of 300 strikeouts. After campaigning for a trade, he was sent to the Arizona Diamondbacks in 2000.

Fregosi was fired after the 1996 season, replaced by young Terry Francona, and Thomas followed shortly as the Phillies began another rebuilding effort. The Phillies were hindered by the reluctance of ownership to spend to keep the team in contention. The Phillies had a high payroll during the 1970s, when the team was consistently a pennant contender. But after Carpenter left, succeeding owners failed to keep pace with the big spenders. As the Phillies dropped from contention, so did their payroll. Despite being in the fifth-largest market in the nation, the Phillies' payroll in 2001 of \$49 million was ranked 23rd, led by catcher Mike Lieberthal, a product of the farm system, at \$6.3 million. The team that year was worth an estimated \$156 million, ranking it 24th of 30 teams. According to *Forbes*, it lost \$2.6 million. The team brought in \$30.4 million in box-office receipts (ranking 22nd), \$18.9 million in media revenue (a low \$3.06 per person in its large market), and a lowly \$7.7 million in concessions, parking, and luxury seating (San Francisco, by contrast, made \$61.5 million). The Phillies also failed to develop their television market. Once one of the leaders in television revenue, the Phillies ranked 13th in local media income, behind smaller markets such as Cleveland and Seattle. Overall its total local revenue was \$57 million, compared to the MLB average of \$94 million.

Thomas at least had left the minor-league system in good shape. Mike Arbuckle was brought in from Atlanta to upgrade player development. As a result, the Phillies began to promote new blood into the team in the late 1990s. Their

premier player, third baseman Scott Rolen, arrived in 1997 and hit .289 with 21 homers and 92 RBIs to win the Rookie of the Year Award. Rolen also won Gold Gloves in 1998 and 2000–2.

The Phillies also made a series of trades to strengthen the lineup, most notably getting outfielder Bobby Abreu for shortstop Kevin Stocker. Abreu became one of the best right fielders in the NL. A lifetime .300 hitter, in 2001 he hit 31 homers, drove in 110 runs, and stole 36 bases, becoming the first Phillies player to reach the 30-30 club in homers and stolen bases. However, the Phillies lacked the depth to compete with the best teams. Under Francona the Phillies made some progress, winning 77 games in 1999 for their best showing since 1993. But a disastrous 2000 season saw the Phillies slump to fifth place, with their worst record (67–95) since 1972. Francona was fired and local favorite Larry Bowa was named manager.

The 2001 Phillies surprised the baseball world. On June 18, they were in first place with a 35–18 record. Led by Abreu, Jimmy Rollins, Rolen, and reliever Jose Mesa, who saved 42 games, the Phillies remained in the pennant race all season, but finished second to Atlanta.

Having been burned badly in the past, Philadelphia fans responded warily to the Phillies' revival in 2001. The choice of Bowa as manager was a popular one, reminding the fans of the great Phillies teams of the late 1970s and early 1980s. With their farm teams productive for the first time in years, the Phillies appear to have a future. But things quickly turned sour. In 2002 the Phillies slipped below .500 (80–82) amid rumblings of discontent with Bowa's irascible managerial style. In July strained relations between Bowa and Scott Rolen led to the latter's trade to the Cardinals.

The 2003 season would be the Phillies' last in the Vet. They were picked to contend for the NL pennant, especially after they signed Cleveland's slugging first baseman Jim Thome as a free agent for \$11.2 million. His hardworking qualities appealed to the Phillies' blue-collar fans. They also got the Braves' 18-game winner Kevin Millwood in a trade for minor-league catcher Johnny Estrada. Thome delivered, leading the NL in home runs with 47 while driving in 100 runs. Millwood hurled a no-hitter early in the season against the Giants, but then faltered after the All-Star break. Four pitchers won 14 or more games, but the bullpen collapsed late in the season. The team's offense, led by .300 hitters Abreu and Mike Lieberthal, was inconsistent. The Phillies finished with an 86–76 record. Largely because of Thome and the excitement over the last days of the Vet, the Phillies drew 2.2 million fans, the team's largest attendance since 1994.

Going into 2004 the Phillies, reportedly worth \$281 million, 15th in MLB, surprised the baseball world by spending lavishly in the free-agent market. The team's player payroll of \$93 million was the second highest in the NL. They brought back Millwood at \$11 million and traded for Houston's \$9 million All-Star closer Billy Wagner. The Phillies were counting on increased revenue from their new ballpark, the 43,500-seat Citizens Bank Park

(the naming went for \$95 million over 20 years), which opened in April 2004 at a cost of over \$450 million, divided between public and private financing. The site is just east of Veterans Stadium and features a view of the downtown skyline. The seating is in a bowl style, reminiscent of the city's early ballparks, and includes 72 luxury suites. The site is very accessible, directly connected to the Broad Street subway, and there are 20,000 parking spaces in the area.

The Phillies opened the 2004 campaign as favorites to win the pennant. Expectations for a successful season plus a new ballpark led to a record attendance of 3.25 million. But on the field things quickly turned sour. The team got off to a slow start, losing six of their first seven games. They recovered to take the lead in the NL East by the All-Star break, but collapsed in the second half to finish 10 games back of the Braves. There were a lot of pitching injuries, and woeful hitting with men on base.

The Phillies were led by Abreu, who hit 30 homers and 47 doubles and stole 40 bases while batting .300, and Rollins, who scored 119 runs. In an injury-plagued season Thome managed to hit 42 homers and drive in 100 runs. The team's failure cost Bowa his job.

In late October 2004 the Phillies chose Charlie Manuel, former Indians skipper and a former member of the Phillies organization, as their new manager. He was selected because he was temperamentally the polar opposite of the intense Bowa and a close friend of the Phillies' team leader, Jim Thome. The 2005 season was a heartbreaking one for the Phillies. They compiled their best record, 88–74, since the pennant-winning 1993 squad. They finished in second place in the NL East just two games behind the Atlanta Braves. They missed out on the Wild Card on the last day of the season one game back of the Houston Astros. There were outstanding performances by younger players that bode well for the future. Second baseman Chase Utley hit 28 homers and drove in 105 runs, a team record for a player at that position. Shortstop Rollins played brilliantly in the field, and veteran left fielder Pat Burrell hit 32 homers and drove in 117 runs. Philadelphia's long-suffering and fickle baseball fans finally seemed to embrace the Phillies, whose attendance was 2.6 million, and seemed to have rekindled the enthusiasm fans had for the team in the 1970s and early 1980s. Only time will tell.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1932	Chuck Klein	OF
1950	Jim Konstanty	P
1980	Mike Schmidt	3B
1981	Mike Schmidt	3B
1986	Mike Schmidt	3B

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1972	Steve Carlton	LHP
1977	Steve Carlton	LHP
1980	Steve Carlton	LHP
1982	Steve Carlton	LHP
1983	John Denny	RHP
1987	Steve Bedrosian	RHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1957	Jack Sanford	P
1964	Dick Allen	3B
1997	Scott Rolen	3B
2005	Ryan Howard	2B

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1891	Billy Hamilton	.340
1899	Ed Delahanty	.410
1910	Sherry Magee	.331
1929	Lefty O'Doul	.398
1933	Chuck Klein	.368
1947	Harry Walker	.363
1955	Richie Ashburn	.338
1958	Richie Ashburn	.350

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1889	Sam Thompson	20
1893	Ed Delahanty	19
1895	Sam Thompson	18
1896	Ed Delahanty	13
1897	Nap Lajoie	10
1913	Gavvy Cravath	19
1914	Gavvy Cravath	19
1915	Gavvy Cravath	24
1917	Gavvy Cravath	12
1918	Gavvy Cravath	8

1919	Gavvy Cravath	12
1920	Cy Williams	15
1923	Cy Williams	41
1927	Cy Williams	30
1929	Chuck Klein	43
1931	Chuck Klein	31
1932	Chuck Klein	38
1933	Chuck Klein	28
1974	Mike Schmidt	36
1975	Mike Schmidt	37
1976	Mike Schmidt	38
1980	Mike Schmidt	48
1981	Mike Schmidt	31
1983	Mike Schmidt	40
1984	Mike Schmidt	36
1986	Mike Schmidt	37
2003	Jim Thome	47

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1915	Grover Alexander	1.22
1916	Grover Alexander	1.55
1917	Grover Alexander	1.83
1972	Steve Carlton	1.97

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1910	Earl Moore	185
1912	Grover Alexander	195
1913	Tom Seaton	168
1914	Grover Alexander	214
1915	Grover Alexander	241
1916	Grover Alexander	167
1917	Grover Alexander	201
1940	Kirby Higbe	137
1953	Robin Roberts	198
1954	Robin Roberts	185
1957	Jack Sanford	188
1967	Jim Bunning	253
1972	Steve Carlton	310
1974	Steve Carlton	240

1980	Steve Carlton	286
1982	Steve Carlton	286
1983	Steve Carlton	275
1997	Curt Schilling	310
1999	Curt Schilling	300

No-Hitters (Italics = Perfect Game)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Charlie Ferguson	08/29/1885
Red Donahue	07/08/1898
Chick Fraser	09/18/1903
Johnny Lush	05/01/1906
<i>Jim Bunning</i>	<i>06/21/1964</i>
Rick Wise	06/23/1971
Terry Mulholland	08/15/1990
Tommy Greene	05/23/1991
Kevin Millwood	04/27/2003

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES**NL East Division Titles**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1976	101–61	Danny Ozark
1977	101–61	Danny Ozark
1978	90–72	Danny Ozark
1980	91–71	Dallas Green
1981	59–48	Dallas Green
1983	90–72	Pat Corrales Paul Owens
1993	97–65	Jim Fregosi

NL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1915	90–62	Pat Moran
1950	91–63	Eddie Sawyer
1980	91–71	Dallas Green
1983	90–72	Pat Corrales Paul Owens
1993	97–65	Jim Fregosi

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>	<i>MVP</i>
1980	Kansas City	Mike Schmidt

MANAGERS

2005–	Charlie Manuel
2004	Gary Varsho
2001–2004	Larry Bowa
1997–2000	Terry Francona
1991–1996	Jim Fregosi
1989–1991	Nick Leyva
1988	John Vukovich
1987–1988	Lee Elia
1985–1987	John Felske
1983–1984	Paul Owens
1982–1983	Pat Corrales
1979–1981	Dallas Green
1973–1979	Danny Ozark
1972	Paul Owens
1970–1972	Frank Lucchesi
1969	George Myatt
1968–1969	Bob Skinner
1969	George Myatt
1960–1968	Gene Mauch
1960	Andy Cohen
1958–1960	Eddie Sawyer
1955–1958	Mayo Smith
1954	Terry Moore
1952–1954	Steve O'Neill
1948–1952	Eddie Sawyer
1948	Dusty Cook
1945–1948	Ben Chapman
1943–1945	Freddie Fitzsimmons
1943	Bucky Harris
1942	Hans Lobert
1939–1941	Doc Prothro
1938	Hans Lobert
1934–1938	Jimmy Wilson
1928–1933	Burt Shotton
1927	Stuffy McInnis
1923–1926	Art Fletcher

1921–1922	Kaiser Wilhelm
1921	Bill Donovan
1919–1920	Gavvy Cravath
1919	Jack Coombs
1915–1918	Pat Moran
1910–1914	Red Dooin
1907–1909	Bill Murray
1904–1906	Hugh Duffy
1903	Chief Zimmer
1898–1902	Bill Shettsline
1897–1898	George Stallings
1896	Billy Nash
1894–1895	Arthur Irwin
1891–1893	Harry Wright
1890	Bob Allen
1890	Al Reach
1890	Jack Clements
1884–1890	Harry Wright
1883	Blondie Purcell
1883	Bob Ferguson

Team Records by Individual Players

Batting Leaders	Single Season			Career		Plate Appearances
	Name		Year	Name		
Batting average	Ed Delahanty	.410	1899	Billy Hamilton	.361	3,606
On-base %	Billy Hamilton	.523	1894	Billy Hamilton	.468	3,606
Slugging %	Chuck Klein	.687	1930	Chuck Klein	.553	6,770
OPS	Chuck Klein	1.123	1930	Chuck Klein	.935	6,770
Games	Pete Rose	163	1979	Mike Schmidt	2,404	10,062
At bats	Juan Samuel	701	1989	Mike Schmidt	8,352	10,062
Runs	Billy Hamilton	192	1894	Mike Schmidt	1,506	10,062
Hits	Lefty O'Doul	254	1929	Mike Schmidt	2,234	10,062
Total bases	Chuck Klein	445	1930	Mike Schmidt	4,404	10,062
Doubles	Chuck Klein	59	1930	Ed Delahanty	442	7,130
Triples	Sam Thompson	27	1894	Ed Delahanty	157	7,130
Home runs	Mike Schmidt	48	1980	Mike Schmidt	548	10,062
RBIs	Chuck Klein	170	1930	Mike Schmidt	1,595	10,062
Walks	Lenny Dykstra	129	1993	Mike Schmidt	1,507	10,062
Strikeouts	Jim Thome	182	2003	Mike Schmidt	1,883	10,062
Stolen bases	Billy Hamilton	111	1891	Billy Hamilton	508	3,606
Extra-base hits	Richie Ashburn	181	1951	Richie Ashburn	1,811	8,223
Times on base	Billy Hamilton	355	1894	Mike Schmidt	3,820	10,062

(Continued)

Pitching Leaders (Continued)

	Single Season			Career		Innings Pitched
	Name		Year	Name		
ERA	Grover C. Alexander	1.22	1915	George McQuillan	1.79	926.3
Wins	Kid Gleason	38	1890	Steve Carlton	241	3,697.3
Won-loss %	Al Orth	.824	1899	Grover C. Alexander	.676	2,513.7
Hits/9 IP	Grover C. Alexander	6.05	1915	George McQuillan	6.93	926.3
Walks/9 IP	John Coleman	0.80	1883	John Coleman	0.91	692.7
Strikeouts	Curt Schilling	319	1997	Steve Carlton	3,031	3,697.3
Strikeouts/9 IP	Curt Schilling	11.29	1997	Curt Schilling	8.43	1,659.3
Games	Kent Tekulve	90	1987	Robin Roberts	529	3,739.3
Saves	Jose Mesa	45	2002	Jose Mesa	111	203.0
Innings	John Coleman	538.3	1883	Robin Roberts	3,739.3	3,739.3
Starts	John Coleman	61	1883	Steve Carlton	499	3,697.3
Complete games	John Coleman	59	1883	Robin Roberts	272	3,739.3
Shutouts	Grover C. Alexander	16	1916	Grover C. Alexander	61	2,513.7

Source: Drawn from data in "Philadelphia Phillies Batting Leaders (seasonal and career) http://baseball-reference.com/teams/PHI/leaders_bat.shtml"; "Philadelphia Phillies Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/PHI/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Pittsburgh Pirates

Richard Peterson

THE ORIGINS

On February 22, 1876, just 20 days after Pittsburgh lost its bid for a team in the newly formed National League, local organizers formed the independent Allegheny Base Ball Club. The beginning of professional baseball in Pittsburgh coincided with the city's dramatic transformation from a center for trade and commerce into a manufacturing and industrial giant. Pittsburgh, known since the American Revolution as the Gateway to the West because of the confluence of the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers into the Ohio River, was now regarded as the Birmingham of America because of its production of iron and steel. By the end of the Civil War, Pittsburgh's blast furnaces were producing nearly half of the country's iron. By 1880, after Andrew Carnegie declared, "The day of iron has past! Steel is king!" the city's mills were providing America with two-thirds of its crucible steel.

Once a river town, Pittsburgh emerged in the late nineteenth century as one of America's largest and most important cities, but at a cost to its population. So much soot and smoke billowed from its mills that English novelist Anthony Trollope, stopping at Pittsburgh on his tour of America, described the city as "the blackest place . . . I ever saw." At night, the fires from blast furnaces lit the skies so dramatically that biographer James Parton called Pittsburgh "Hell with the lid taken off." Beneath the dark, billowing clouds that often turned day into night, Pittsburgh, badly divided by the incredible wealth of its steel, coal, and banking barons and the desperate poverty of its largely immigrant working class, struggled for an identity beyond its "Smoky City" reputation and its capacity for work and production.

Though baseball was on its way to becoming the national pastime, the Allegheny Base Ball Club did little to divert attention away from Pittsburgh's class divisions and labor struggles in its first year of sporadic independent play. A year later, however, the Alleghenies paid a \$25 entrance fee and joined the newly formed International Association, a 15-team league set up as a rival to the NL. Though the league had a law banning the practice of revolving—"a person leaving one club and joining another without a proper release"—the Alleghenies were hit hard by player defections and disbanded a year later, on June 8, 1878, after winning only 3 of 26 games.

After a three-year absence, professional baseball returned to Pittsburgh in 1882, when the Alleghenies were reorganized by popular local business leader H.D. "Denny" McKnight, one of the founders of the American Association and the league's first president. The Pittsburgh Alleghenies, under McKnight's leadership, became a charter member of the AA, which quickly gained notoriety as a "two-bit" and "beer ball" league for charging only 25 cents for admission, selling beer at its games, and playing on Sunday. These practices made attending a baseball game more attractive for Pittsburgh's hardworking, hard-drinking population, though mill laborers, working 12-hour shifts and making 15 cents an hour, hardly had the leisure time or the money for a ticket. Workers who had the Sabbath off were further stymied by Pennsylvania's blue laws, which prohibited Sunday baseball. Even among the city's white-collar community, the Alleghenies lacked solid fan support because of the constant flooding of its home field, Exposition Park, which was located near the north shore of the Allegheny River, and the team's consistently poor play. After finishing 1882 with a 39–39 record, the Alleghenies fell to 31–67 in 1883, and in 1884 finished 11th in a 12-team league with a 30–78 record.

In 1885, the Alleghenies moved into Recreation Park, a 2,000-seat ballpark located on higher ground on the north side of the Allegheny. For the first time in a decade of professional baseball, Pittsburgh fans flocked to the ballpark to attend games as an infusion of new talent from the disbanded Columbus team enabled the Alleghenies improve to third place in 1885 and finish a strong second in 1886 to Chris Von der Ahe's St. Louis Browns, who went on to defeat the NL's Chicago White Stockings in a postseason championship series. The local fandom had even more reason to be excited about baseball in 1887. After Kansas City lost its NL franchise at the end of the 1886 season, Alleghenies president William N. Nimmick, upset by the ouster of his good friend Denny McKnight as president of the AA, applied for membership in the more established league. When Pittsburgh was voted into the NL for 1887, the city, once regarded as the Gateway to the West, now became the gateway city for the NL. McKnight, however, left baseball behind and returned to his business interests.

NATIONAL LEAGUE ENTRY

Pittsburgh began its NL tradition in grand style on April 30, 1887, with a stunning 6–2 victory at Recreation Park against the defending champion Chi-

ago White Stockings, led by Adrian “Cap” Anson. The opposing pitchers, John Clarkson for Chicago and James “Pud” Galvin for Pittsburgh, were future members of the Hall of Fame. Over 9,000 fans watched the game, and gate receipts totaled about \$4,500. The *Pittsburgh Post* indicated that “gamblers of the city lost heavily on the Chicagos Saturday” and reported that the *Cincinnati Inquirer* “thinks that many of the ‘League blowhards’ will strike a snag before they are through with the Smoky City boys.”

Despite the excitement of Pittsburgh’s debut in the NL and brash predictions that the team, after a second-place finish in the AA, would win a pennant, the Alleghenies ended the 1887 season with a losing record. With the exception of its climb to second place in 1893, the team would finish no higher than fifth place for the rest of the century. Their losing ways included a disastrous record of 23–113 in 1890, the year of the Great Player Revolt. In late 1889, John Montgomery Ward’s Brotherhood of Professional Base Ball Players, organized four years earlier to aid indigent ex-players, formed its own Players’ League after the NL’s magnates imposed a new salary scale based on “conduct on and off the field.” Many of the NL’s best players signed on with the Players’ League, but Pittsburgh was especially decimated when Ned Hanlon convinced most of his teammates to join the Pittsburgh Burghers of the new league. The NL team barely survived the year, by filling its roster with local amateurs. The team was so inexperienced and inept that it was disparagingly called the Pittsburgh Innocents. Their record of futility would stand as the worst ever until the hapless Cleveland Spiders finished at 20–134 in 1899.

The Players’ League collapsed after only one year of play, but the upstart league forever changed the face, if not the fortune, of the Pittsburgh franchise in the NL. All of the players from the AA and NL were to return to their original teams for the 1891 season, but the AA’s Philadelphia Athletics, ready to resume play after not fielding a team in 1890, accidentally omitted the names of Louis Bierbauer and Harry Stovey from their reserve list. After Pittsburgh signed Bierbauer to a new contract, Philadelphia protested, but an interleague committee ruled in favor of Pittsburgh. Bierbauer earned a special place in Pittsburgh’s baseball history after the Philadelphia papers started calling Pittsburgh “the Pirates” for stealing Bierbauer from the Athletics. The name stuck and eventually replaced “the Alleghenies” as the team name. The newly christened Pirates also had a new home field in 1891, when they moved into the 16,000-seat Exposition Park, remodeled by the Burghers but vacated after the collapse of the Players’ League.

Even with a new team name and home field, the Pittsburgh franchise continued its struggles. Under the mercurial ownership of local coffee magnate William K. Kerr, who took over the ball club when the AA collapsed after the 1891 season and was absorbed into an expanded 12-team NL, the team hired and fired a half dozen managers in the 1890s, including player-manager Connie Mack. Kerr’s interference with his managers did little to change the team’s losing record, but Pittsburgh’s fortune as a baseball town would finally undergo

a dramatic change when the NL, after the 1899 season, decided to reduce its teams from 12 to 8. When Louisville owner Barney Dreyfuss realized that he was about to lose his NL franchise, he hurriedly bought a 50 percent interest in the Pittsburgh operation with the understanding by Pirate and league officials that he would bring his best players with him. Almost overnight Dreyfuss converted the dismal Pirates into a baseball dynasty.

THE DREYFUSS DYNASTY

Before the public announcement that Louisville was being dropped by the NL, Dreyfuss, with a major interest in both the Pittsburgh and Louisville ball clubs, “traded” 14 players to Pittsburgh, including Tommy Leach, Rube Waddell, Deacon Phillippe, player-manager Fred Clarke, and the great Honus Wagner, for four players and \$25,000. Fred Clarke played 21 years in the majors with a lifetime .312 batting average. He managed 19 seasons for Dreyfuss, retiring after the 1915 season. He compiled a brilliant .595 record in his 16 years in Pittsburgh.

When the Louisville franchise officially disbanded, Jack Chesbro, one of the four traded Pirates, returned to Pittsburgh along with two other Louisville players. After the wholesale movement of Louisville’s best players to Pittsburgh produced a second-place finish in 1900, the Pirates went on to win three straight NL pennants. The 1901 team (90–49) led the NL in pitching (2.58 ERA), led by Deacon Phillippe, Jack Chesbro, and Jess Tannehill, who won 61 games be-



Honus Wagner, 1900. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame

tween them, and was second in hitting (.286), led by shortstop Honus Wagner's .353 and 126 RBIs. The next season the Pirates did even better, with a record-shattering 103–36 season in 1902. It remains the second-best winning percentage, .741, next to the 1906 Cubs' mark of .763. The team led the NL in virtually every batting and pitching category, as the big three starters won 68 games. Dreyfuss, who gained control of the Pirates at the end of the 1900 season by buying out Kerr after a power struggle between the two men, was helped by another dramatic shift in baseball politics when Ban Johnson's American League declared war on the NL in 1901. While many NL teams were hard-hit by defections, the Pirates, with rumors circulating that the upstart AL wanted a strong team in Pittsburgh to upset the NL's competitive balance, managed to hold on to its key players for its 1901 and 1902 pennant-winning seasons.

A German Jew who made his fortune in the whiskey-distillery business after he came to America at the age of 17, Dreyfuss was the perfect owner for a baseball franchise in the Smoky City. A staunch Republican, he was a comfortable fit in a city run by Christopher Magee and William Flinn, corrupt Republican bosses who learned their politics by studying the Tweed machine in New York. Dreyfuss, however, also identified with the immigrant character of the city and its stubborn determination and pride in hard work. His proudest boast about his adopted city was that “we are a first-division town and I'm a first-division club owner. I just couldn't—I wouldn't—stand for a second-division team.” In Dreyfuss's 32 years as the Pirates' owner, his teams won six pennants and two World Series championships. The Pirates, during Dreyfuss's long tenure, finished in the second division only six times.

Dreyfuss was also one of baseball's visionaries, and, while not as colorful as some of the game's more storied owners, probably deserves a place in the Baseball Hall of Fame for his contributions to baseball history. After the NL and AL signed a peace agreement in early 1903, effectively ending two years of open warfare, it was Barney Dreyfuss who challenged the AL's pennant-winning Boston team to a postseason series against his own pennant winners for the “championship of the United States” despite the defections of 28-game winner Jack Chesbro and 20-game winner Jesse Tannehill to the AL that year. Dreyfuss still had great confidence in his team's strong lineup, led by Honus Wagner, who led the league in hitting (.355), and Clarke, who was second, and the pitching of Phillippe and Sam Leever, who both won 25 games, along with Ed Doheny. Dreyfuss bet several thousand dollars on the series outcome, but the nine-game championship series turned into a professional and personal disaster. Effectively down to one starting pitcher after the mental breakdown of Ed Doheny and a shoulder injury to Sam Leever, the Pirates, after taking a 3–1 lead on the strong pitching of Deacon Phillippe, went on to lose the next four games and the series, 5–3. Despite his heavy gambling losses, Dreyfuss, in appreciation of his team's effort and the city's loyalty, turn over his owner's share of the gate receipts to his players, whose individual share was \$1,316, compared to \$1,182 for Boston's champions.

A NEW BALLPARK AND A WORLD CHAMPIONSHIP

After a year's delay, the championship series between the two leagues evolved into one of America's greatest sporting traditions and earned Dreyfuss the title of "the Father of the First World Series." It would, however, take five frustrating years of near misses before Dreyfuss had a chance to overcome his disappointment in losing baseball's first modern world championship. After dropping to fourth in 1904, the Pirates climbed into second place in 1905 behind John McGraw's New York Giants. They won 93 games in 1906, but finished in third place, 23 1/2 games behind the Chicago Cubs, who had an amazing 116–36 record. The Pirates were 91–63 in 1907 and 98–56 in 1908, but ended each season in second place. In 1908, the year of the Merkle Boner, they could have won the pennant on the last day of the regular season, but lost 5–2 to the Cubs in Chicago.

In 1909, the Pirates finally won another NL pennant by dethroning the powerful Chicago Cubs, then went on to defeat Ty Cobb's Detroit Tigers in the World Series. The timing of Pittsburgh's first world-championship season was perfect for Dreyfuss because the Pirates had begun play in a magnificent steel and concrete ballpark that cost \$1 million for the land and the construction. Since 1891, the Pirates had played their home games at Exposition Park, located only about 50 yards from the Allegheny River's north shore. Dreyfuss was determined to get his team out of Exposition Park because of its shabby nineteenth century conditions, its industrial surroundings, and its constant flooding in the spring. Noting that "many of the better class of citizens, especially when accompanied by their womenfolk, were loathe to go there," he decided to build a new ballpark that would stand as a symbol of civic pride and as a monument to baseball's growing status as the national pastime.

With a strong conviction that Pittsburgh's development as a "first-class city" was to its east, Dreyfuss looked at the Oakland area in the East End and its 100-acre Schenley Park. By 1908, Oakland, under the influence of Andrew Carnegie, had become a cultural center, with its two major colleges (Pitt and Carnegie Tech), massive new library and museum, and large concert hall and amusement park. When Carnegie alerted Dreyfuss to a seven-acre parcel of land one block south of Forbes Avenue, the main artery connecting Oakland and downtown Pittsburgh, Dreyfuss jumped at the opportunity and made the purchase on October 18, 1908. Once news of the purchase became public, many in Pittsburgh laughed at the decision. Even Dreyfuss admitted that "there was nothing there but a livery stable and a hothouse, while a few cows roamed the countryside," but "the more I looked over the property, the better I liked it."

The decision to build a new ballpark in Oakland was dubbed "Dreyfuss's Folly," but Dreyfuss forged ahead with his plans and hired New York architect Charles W. Leavitt Jr., best known for designing steel and concrete racetracks, including Belmont Park. Dreyfuss, who hoped that his new ballpark would

attract a better class of fans, insisted that the majority of seats be in the higher-priced grandstand. The result was a magnificent three-tiered, fire-resistant structure with inclined ramps between decks and an elevator leading up to the third tier's box seats. While the bleachers along the left-field foul line were left exposed, Leavitt included a spacious promenade inside the main entrance for protection from the rain for the grandstand patrons. Because of a problem with an unsettled landfill, there were no right-field stands constructed until 1925, when the ballpark's seating capacity was expanded from 25,000 to 33,500.

After ground-breaking on January 1, 1909, local contractor Franklin Nicola began the construction of the new ballpark, to be called Forbes Field after British general John Forbes, "the Father of Pittsburgh," who drove the French out of Fort Duquesne and renamed it Fort Pitt in honor of British prime minister William Pitt. Working double shifts and blessed with unusually good weather, Nicola was able to complete his work by early summer and in time for an inaugural game on June 30 against the defending world champion Chicago Cubs. The Pirates lost the first game at Forbes Field to the Cubs 3–2, but the ballpark, filled with an overflow crowd of 30,338, the largest in Pittsburgh history, was a resounding success. The *Pittsburgh Post* praised the ballpark for being "planned by Pittsburghers, erected with Pittsburgh money, and completed in record time with the city's customary 'hustle.'" In his homage to Forbes Field, the *Post* reporter claimed "no trace of smoke blurred the sun-bathed lawns, woodlands, and drives of Schenley Park . . . It was a scene to make participants forget the business cares of a manufacturing city." He also reported that Pittsburgh's high society "played a prominent part in the gala event," but "interest in the event was confined to no class or creed. Millionaire shouted with mechanic, and office boy with bank president."

When the Pirates followed up their grand opening of Forbes Field with their fourth NL pennant and a World Series victory over the Detroit Tigers, Republican mayor William A. Magee proclaimed Monday, October 18, 1909, a public holiday. The highlight of the celebration was a parade that snaked its way from the Fort Pitt Hotel in downtown Pittsburgh to Forbes Field in Schenley Park. At Forbes Field, the loudest ovation went to rookie pitcher Babe Adams, winner of three games against Detroit, including an 8–0 shut-out in the seventh and deciding game. The celebration, however, was especially gratifying for Dreyfuss as he stood on the victory platform at his new million-dollar baseball palace. The World Series victory was also a personal triumph for Honus Wagner, winner of eight NL batting titles and arguably the greatest player in Pirates history. Born in Carnegie, Pennsylvania, just south of Pittsburgh, to German immigrant parents, the barrel-chested Wagner, who grew up working in the coal mines and steel mills of western Pennsylvania, was Pittsburgh's first baseball hero. When, however, he performed poorly in the 1903 World Series, many fans and writers questioned his character and wondered if he had a "yellow streak." In the 1909 World Series, Wagner redeemed himself and clearly outplayed Ty Cobb, outhitting him .333

to .231 and stealing six bases to Cobb's two. He also proved his courage in a legendary confrontation on the basepaths when Cobb threatened Wagner on an attempted steal and ended up with three stitches in his lip from Wagner's hard tag.

A SECOND-DIVISION DECADE

At the beginning of the 1910 season, Dreyfuss had every reason to believe in a bright financial future for his Pirates franchise. The home season attendance figure had jumped from 382,444 in 1908 to a record-breaking 534,950 in 1909. The 82,885 fans who attended the three World Series games at Forbes Field, a figure that far exceeded the entire attendance for the 1908 World Series, boosted the gate receipts for the seven-game series to \$188,302. Dreyfuss, who kept his owner's share this time, collected \$51,273, and the players' share for each Pirate was \$1,825.22. Dreyfuss also believed his veteran ball club, after its first world championship, was in a strong position to dominate the NL as it had at the beginning of the century. Unfortunately, key players, including player-manager Fred Clarke and Honus Wagner, were moving toward the end of their careers, and Dreyfuss, the "first-division" owner, was about to face his worst decade.

After finishing a disappointing third in 1910 and 1911, the Pirates climbed to second place in 1912 before dropping to fourth in 1913 and seventh in 1914, the Pirates' first second-division finish under Dreyfuss's ownership. After two more second-division finishes, the Pirates sank to eighth in 1917, their first season in last place since the early 1890s, before climbing back into the first division by the end of the decade. Attendance, after its record-breaking 534,950 in 1909, fell to 436,586 in 1910 and dropped every year until it fell to a record low for Forbes Field of 139,620 in 1914. It was also the first of two seasons that the Pirates faced serious competition from the Pittsburgh Rebels in the rival Federal League, the last serious challenge to the major-league monopoly held by the AL and NL.

Dreyfuss, who had become one of the most prominent and respectable figures in a city dominated by industrial and banking giants, began to hear the first serious criticism of his ownership of the Pirates. By the middle of the decade, after developing an early reputation for generosity, Dreyfuss was also attacked for cutting the salaries of Fred Clarke and Honus Wagner just before their retirements and for being too cheap in his efforts to acquire new ballplayers, especially when Tris Speaker, after a contract dispute with the Boston Red Sox, was sold to the Cleveland Indians for \$55,000. In a June 22, 1916, article in the *Sporting News*, Dreyfuss angrily declared, "It's not a question of money. I would spend \$50,000 in a minute for a player of the proper caliber."

Dreyfuss's cheapness was hardly on display when the Pirates were still capable of battling Frank Chance's Cubs and John McGraw's Giants for NL supremacy earlier in the decade. On July 20, 1911, he shocked the baseball world

by paying a record \$22,500 for rookie minor-league phenom Marty O'Toole, twice the NL record of \$11,000 the Giants paid for Rube Marquard in 1908. Dreyfuss also purchased the contract of high-school sensation George Sisler, after Sisler had signed with a minor-league team just before he enrolled at the University of Michigan. O'Toole, unfortunately, flopped badly, and Sisler, after graduating from Michigan in 1915, won his long-standing appeal to the National Commission to release him from Pittsburgh's claim of a prior contract. When Sisler won his appeal and signed a new contract with Branch Rickey's St. Louis Browns, Dreyfuss was furious and vowed revenge on commission chairman August "Garry" Herrmann, president of the Cincinnati Reds and a good friend of AL president Ban Johnson. Dreyfuss did everything in his power to undermine Herrmann and the commission, which collapsed after the Black Sox scandal and was replaced by a baseball commissioner.

Once the Pirates sank into the second division, Pittsburgh's sportswriters began to question Dreyfuss's leadership, and by 1917 were calling on him to sell the ball club. The *Pittsburgh Press* demanded, in a front-page headline, that "Dreyfuss Must Go." Its criticism was highly unusual because Dreyfuss had cultivated a close relationship with Pittsburgh's leading newspaper, whose president and business manager were stockholders in the Pirates. Sports editor Will Locke was club secretary until he left the Pirates in 1913 to become president and part owner of the cross-state rival Phillies. For years, the *Press* had such close ties with Dreyfuss that its sports section was regarded as little more than the ball club's media guide. But with the Pirates' last-place finish in 1917, Dreyfuss faced a mounting opposition, also fueled by fired manager Jimmy Callahan, who, exploiting anti-German feelings in a war year, claimed that the worst thing he could wish on the Kaiser was to manage the Pirates under Barney Dreyfuss.

THE CHAMPIONSHIP TWENTIES

Dreyfuss managed to survive his first serious crisis with the Pirates franchise when his ball club returned to the first division, finishing in fourth place in 1918, 1919, and 1920. This was a harbinger of things to come in the new decade. The Pirates would finish in the first division every year in the 1920s, winning two more NL pennants (in 1925 and 1927) and their second World Series championship (in 1925), this time against Walter Johnson's Washington Senators. The Pirates also added to their claims on baseball history when pioneering radio station KDKA, after becoming the first to broadcast the presidential-election returns on November 2, 1920, aired the first baseball broadcast, on August 5, 1921, of a game played at Forbes Field, won by the Pirates 8-5 over the Phillies. Harold Arlin, a *Post-Gazette* sportswriter, hampered by crowd noise and an erratic transmitter, announce the game from a box seat just behind the home-plate screen. The broadcast, then, was little more than a crude experiment, but a year later the first live broadcast of the World Series was aired in the

New York area, and in 1924 WMAQ in Chicago was broadcasting Cubs and White Sox home games.

The Pirates' success in the 1920s returned Pittsburgh to its status as a first-division town, but the city also went through its own boom as its industrial and financial barons continued to build downtown skyscrapers and other monuments to their own magnificence. The Oakland area, as Dreyfuss had anticipated, also flourished. On September 26, 1925, less than two weeks before the Pirates played the opening game of the 1925 World Series at Forbes Field, 60,000-seat Pitt Stadium opened with a 28–0 Panther victory over Washington and Lee. A year later, almost to the day, the University of Pittsburgh broke ground for the Cathedral of Learning, a 42-story gothic tower that, barely a baseball throw away from Forbes Field, appeared to loom over the left-field bleachers to fans sitting along the first-base line.

The 1925 championship season was in many ways as gratifying for Barney Dreyfuss as the 1909 season. To get into the World Series, the Pirates had to overcome John McGraw's New York Giants, winners of four consecutive NL pennants. Since 1905, when McGraw had publicly taunted Dreyfuss for allegedly welshing on gambling debts, Dreyfuss saw McGraw as his archenemy and the Giants as his team's chief rival. The feud had reached a new level of intensity in 1924 when a bribe was offered to Heine Sand, the Philadelphia shortstop, in a crucial late-season series between the Giants and the Phillies. Several Giants were implicated in the bribe, including stars Frankie Frisch, Ross Youngs, and George Kelly, but Commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis banned only rookie Jimmy O'Connell, who admitted offering the bribe, and coach Cozy Dolan, who instructed O'Connell to make the bribe. When Dreyfuss demanded the cancellation of the World Series and asked for a full-scale investigation of the attempted bribe, Landis ignored him.

Dreyfuss got his revenge when the Pirates dethroned McGraw's Giants in 1925 and went on to defeat the defending champion Washington Senators in one of the most dramatic World Series in baseball history. The Pirates were led by Kiki Cuyler, who batted .357. The entire team hit .307 and led the NL in nearly every batting category. The 1925 World Series had a wonderful cast of characters, including Pirates Cuyler, Pie Traynor, Max Carey, and several other future members of the Hall of Fame. It also had a great plot line. The Pirates fell behind three games to one and were vilified by the press and fans for their lack of skill and courage. No team had ever come back from a 3–1 deficit to win a best-of-seven World Series, but the Pirates rallied to win the next two games against the Senators and set the stage for a seventh and deciding game, played in the rain and fog at Forbes Field on October 15. When the Pirates won 9–7 on Cuyler's dramatic two-out, bases-loaded, two-run double in the bottom of the eighth against the great Walter Johnson, the *Sporting News* headline read, "Sweet Part of Pirate Victory Is Answer to 'Lack of Courage.'"

After the seventh game ended, a rain-soaked, red-coated band made its way onto the muddy infield and played "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town

Tonight.” Pittsburghers, living in “the drinkiest town in the West” before Prohibition, had no trouble celebrating because most of the bars and saloons had been converted into speakeasies and cabarets. Sixth Street, in downtown Pittsburgh, was popularly known as “the Great Wet Way.” Many Pittsburghers also collected the winnings from their World Series bets. The city was notorious for its gambling rings and numbers barons, and it was not uncommon for gamblers to circulate freely at Pirate games. There were reports of heavy wagering on the 1925 World Series. Joe Vila, in the *Sporting News*, claimed that while there was no serious evidence of attempted bribes, a gambler who had “cleaned up” in the notorious 1919 World Series lost \$80,000 in bets after the Pirates came back to win the last three games.

The Pirates’ championship season in 1925 was a great success. Each victorious Pirate earned a World Series share of \$5,332. Dreyfuss also saw home attendance, after a decade-long slump, reach a record high of 804,254 in 1925. Once the 171,753 figure for the four World Series games played at Forbes Field was added in, home attendance had climbed to nearly 1 million for the year. Dreyfuss declared a dividend of \$166,445, and overall the team made \$341,365, a league record. With his new financial windfall, Dreyfuss, criticized in the past for being too cheap, purchased Paul Waner from San Francisco of the Pacific Coast League for \$100,000 after Waner had hit .401 for the 1925 season. The addition of Waner raised expectations that the Pirates, with their balance of young players and veterans (including four future Hall of Famers), would repeat their championship season in 1926.

Waner lived up to expectations and hit .336 in 1926. He also led the NL in doubles and triples and scored 101 runs. The defending champion Pirates, however, struggled throughout the season and finished a disappointing third. The ball club was riddled by dissension in 1926, including a near player revolt involving former manager Fred Clarke, who, at Dreyfuss’s request, had returned as a coach and supervisor in 1925. The blowup began when veteran Max Carey, openly ridiculed by Clarke, called a team meeting to decide if Clarke should be removed from the bench. After the vote went against Carey by a margin of 18–6, the Pirates, on the orders of Dreyfuss, who was on a European vacation, sold Carey to Brooklyn and released veterans Carson Bigbee and Babe Adams for their support of Carey’s action. The affair, because of the names of the three released players, became known as the A-B-C mutiny and cost manager Bill McKechnie his job.

After the fiasco of the previous season, Dreyfuss was determined to return to glory in 1927. He first hired disciplinarian Donie Bush as his new manager. The former Detroit shortstop had starred against the Pirates in the 1909 World Series. Dreyfuss also made several key player moves, but the most important was the signing of Lloyd Waner, at the recommendation of brother Paul, who hit .380, with Lloyd at .355. Paul led the NL in batting, RBIs (131), hits (237), triples (18), and total bases (342). With the Waner brothers flanking Kiki Cuyler, the Pirates had three future Hall of Fame outfielders until Cuyler was benched

in midseason for insubordination. The Pirates, even with their strong lineup, which batted a league-leading .305, and excellent starting pitchers, all of whom won at least 15 games, had to fight off strong challenges from the Cardinals, Giants, and Cubs. They did not clinch the NL pennant until the next-to-last day of the season, compiling a 94–60 record. The exciting pennant race resulted in a record NL profit of \$467,046. While they were in a desperate pennant race, the New York Yankees, with Ruth hitting 60 home runs, were coasting to the AL pennant.

The 1927 World Series would become one of the most lopsided in baseball history and turn Dreyfuss's last pennant-winning season into a bitter disappointment. After the Yankees swept the Pirates in four games, the story circulated in the press that the Pirates, after watching Ruth, Gehrig, and the rest of Murderers' Row in batting practice, were so intimidated that they gave up before playing the first game. Just two years earlier, the Pirates had won the praise of the baseball world for their thrilling comeback in the World Series, but they now were regarded as one of the worst teams in the history of the Fall Classic.

While bitterly disappointed, Dreyfuss expected to win another pennant in 1928 and a return trip to the World Series. But his Pirates, despite Burleigh Grimes's 25-win season and a team batting average of .309, including six .300 hitters in the lineup, fell back into fourth place. One year later the Pirates moved up to second place behind the Cubs, with six .300 hitters. Pie Traynor led the team with a .356 average and 108 RBIs, while Lloyd and Paul Waner hit .353 and .336, respectively. Both scored over 130 runs, while Lloyd led the NL with 20 triples. The double-play combination of Dick Bartell and George Grantham also hit over .300, as did outfielder Adam Comorsky, at .321. The season, however, marked Dreyfuss's last first-division finish. During the 1920s, when the Pirates were never out of the first division, the team averaged \$230,000 a year in profit. However, Dreyfuss was about to begin a period of personal tragedy and franchise turbulence that coincided with the city's own struggles during the Great Depression.

DEPRESSION BASEBALL

Pittsburgh, like the rest of the country, was devastated by the Great Depression. By 1930, its factories had dramatically cut back production and workers were being dismissed in droves. In 1931, relief agencies in Pittsburgh warned that without immediate additional funds, 47,750 Pittsburgh residents would begin starving to death. Armies of the unemployed roamed Pittsburgh's streets and thousands joined in a hunger march on Washington, led by Father James Cox, who ran for president in 1932 on the "Jobless Party" ticket. Despite massive relief efforts, one-third of Pittsburgh's employable population was out of work. In 1934, out of 544,187 employable workers, 176,156 were still desperately seeking jobs.

The impact of the depression on baseball was not felt immediately, thanks to an explosive offensive season in 1930. For a time, the national pastime seemed invulnerable to the country's economic hardships. *Baseball Magazine* claimed that organized baseball was "an impregnable industry . . . vitally necessary to the public welfare." In 1931, however, baseball owners, faced with sharply declining attendance, began a series of cost-cutting moves, including major salary cuts and roster reductions. In 1932, after a 45 percent drop in attendance, baseball owners, despite the cuts, collectively lost over \$1 million. Only the pennant-winning Chicago Cubs and the Philadelphia teams made a profit in 1932, though the Cubs' major-league-leading attendance figure of 990,000 was down 500,000 from 1930. The second-place Pirates' attendance was 287,262, resulting in an \$86,960 deficit.

In Pittsburgh, Dreyfuss had already seen a major decline in attendance before the impact of the depression on baseball. After a record-breaking 869,720 fans came out to Forbes Field in the pennant-winning 1927 season, attendance dropped off dramatically in 1928 to 495,070, and even with a second-place finish fell slightly, to 491,377, in 1929. In 1930, the first full year of the depression, the Pirates, plagued by poor trades and injuries, ended the season in fifth place, their first second-division finish since 1917, and attendance dropped to 357,795, the worst full-season figure since 1917, when the Pirates sank into last place. After another fifth-place finish in 1931, attendance fell to a dismal 260,392. The Pirates averaged about \$92,000 in profits those years.

For Dreyfuss, personal tragedy overshadowed the 1931 season. For years, he had been grooming his son, Sammy, a Princeton graduate, to take over the operations of the ball club. By 1931, Sammy Dreyfuss, just 36 years old, had held the positions of vice president, treasurer, and business manager in the Pirates front office. On February 19, 1931, however, Sammy died of pneumonia, just four days before his father's 65th birthday. The grief-stricken Dreyfuss never recovered from his son's death. On February 5, 1932, only a year after losing Sammy, Dreyfuss himself died of pneumonia after a glandular operation.

After Sammy's death, Dreyfuss turned to his son-in-law, Bill Benswanger, for help with the operations of the ball club. After Dreyfuss's own death a year later, his widow asked her son-in-law to become president of the organization. William E. Benswanger, an insurance executive and patron of the arts, never wanted to be involved with the Pittsburgh baseball club, though he was an avid fan in his youth. But he agreed to succeed his father-in-law and run the Pirates organization, as long as Mrs. Dreyfuss remained the controlling stockholder. He would serve effectively and stay on as president until 1946, when the Dreyfuss family sold the Pirates.

In 1932, Benswanger's first year as president, the Pirates, after second-division finishes in 1930 and 1931, climbed into second place with the help of the strong hitting of the Waner brothers, Pie Traynor, and rookie Arky Vaughn. They repeated their second-place finish in 1933, but Pirate fans were also ener-

gized by the return of the legendary Honus Wagner. After learning that Wagner had become nearly destitute because of several business failures, Benswanger, who had fought against the decision to reduce league rosters, hired Wagner as a coach, a move that proved immensely popular in Pittsburgh and around the NL. Benswanger, in another popular move, gave free admission to 25 unemployed fans and their wives to any game except those played on Saturday or a holiday. He was also helped in his efforts to improve attendance when, on November 7, 1933, Pennsylvanians voted out the blue laws that had banned Sunday baseball.

After their consecutive second-place finishes, the Pirates were expected to contend for the NL pennant in 1934, but when the team slumped badly in June, Benswanger made his first major personnel change, firing George Gibson, in his second stint as Pirates manager after running the ball club from 1920 to midseason 1922, and convincing Pie Traynor, who along with Paul Waner had played in the first All-Star Game the previous year, to take over the struggling ball club. The soft-spoken Traynor had another All-Star year, but he couldn't turn the Pirates franchise around. Plagued by injuries and poor pitching, the team played under .500 for the rest of the season and finished in fifth place.

With the struggling Pittsburgh economy beginning to show signs of a recovery and with the popular Traynor and Wagner on board, the Pirates front office saw a steady increase in attendance, from 352,885 in 1935 to 641,033 in 1938. The Pirates climbed back into the first division in 1935 with a fourth-place finish and repeated its performance in 1936. Pirate fans also saw two remarkable home-run performances at Forbes Field, a ballpark notoriously unfriendly to home-run hitters. On May 25, 1935, Babe Ruth, now 40 years old and days away from his final game as a player, thrilled 10,000 fans by hitting three home runs, the last clearing the right-field roof, a feat never before done at Forbes Field. A little more than a year later, on July 10, 1936, Chuck Klein of the Phillies hit four home runs in a 10-inning game at Forbes Field and joined Lou Gehrig, the only other player to have accomplished the feat in the modern era.

In 1937, the Pirates, led once more by the strong hitting of the Waner brothers and Arky Vaughn, moved up into third place. Fans who couldn't afford to go out to Forbes Field that year now had the wonderful voice and colorful expressions of Rosey Rowswell to entertain them on the radio. Sixteen years after Harold Arlin's historic first broadcast of a major-league game on KDKA, Rowswell began the first complete season broadcast of Pirate games, including away games that he re-created in the studio from a Western Union ticker tape. Immensely popular in Pittsburgh, especially with women fans, who loved his folksy style and listened to afternoon games in the parlor and kitchen, Rowswell, who called a Pirates extra-base hit a "doozie marooney" and told Aunt Minnie "to get upstairs and raise the window" every time a Pirate hit a home run, continued as the voice of the Pirates until his death in 1955.

Rowswell and Pirate fans had plenty to cheer about in 1938, though the season would become the most heartbreaking in Pirates history. Led by strong

hitting and the remarkable relief pitching of Mace Brown, the Pirates dominated the NL that summer. By September, Bill Benswanger was so certain the Pirates were going to win the pennant that he had a World Series press box added on to the third tier of Forbes Field. The Pirates' pennant drive cooled, however, when a hurricane swept along the East Coast in mid-September, forcing the cancellation of four Pirate games against second-division Philadelphia and Boston that were never rescheduled. In late September, the Pirates arrived in Chicago for a three-game series with the second-place Cubs with only a one-and-a-half-game lead. On September 28, after losing the first game in the series to Dizzy Dean, the Pirates and Cubs battled to a 5-5 tie going into the bottom of the ninth. With darkness moving into Wrigley Field, and players, umpires, and fans barely able to see the play, Gabby Hartnett hit his famous two-out, two-strike "homer in the gloaming" off a disconsolate Mace Brown and put the Cubs into first place, where they would remain for the rest of the season.

After the devastating loss of the pennant, Benswanger hoped the Pirates would bounce back in 1939, but the ball club struggled and finished in sixth place. Hurt by the team's poor play and the effects of a business recession, attendance dropped from a decade-high 641,033 in 1938 to 376,734 in 1939. At the end of the season, a frustrated Benswanger demoted Pie Traynor to scout and farm director. He replaced Traynor with another future Hall of Famer, Frankie Frisch, who had managed the St. Louis Cardinals from 1933 to 1938, but was fired after a sixth-place finish. Frisch, a disciple of John McGraw, managed the Pirates to five first-division finishes in his first six years, but was replaced near the end of the 1946 season when his ball club, riddled with dissension, fell into seventh place.

THE WAR YEARS AND NEW OWNERSHIP

The war years produced an economic boom in Pittsburgh. As early as the closing months of 1940, business activity equaled that of 1929, and the steel mills were operating at 100 percent capacity. The steel industry set a new production record in 1941, and in 1942, for the first time in Pittsburgh's history, the steel mills remained in operation on Christmas Day. By 1943, Pittsburgh was recognized at the nation's top steel center as employment in the city climbed another 10 percent. In 1944, a survey revealed that war contracts to Pittsburgh plants totaled \$322 million. The only drawback was that the more the mills produced the darker the skies became over Pittsburgh. On January 18, 1944, the pollution in the city was so bad that it prevented workers from reaching their jobs and their homes.

The war years were a period of transition for the Pirates, as the team traded or released their Hall of Fame ballplayers and brought in new talent mixed with aging veterans. In 1940, after a fourth-place season that featured the first night game at Forbes Field on June 4, 1940, the Pirates released Paul Waner. On May 7, 1941, on their way to another fourth-place finish, they traded Lloyd

Waner to Boston. Five days after Pearl Harbor, the Pirates sent Arky Vaughn, the last of their future Hall of Famers, to the Brooklyn Dodgers. Before the 1942 season, the team suffered its first serious loss to the war effort when Billy Cox, projected as Vaughn's replacement at shortstop, was drafted into the service. Yet the Pirates were fortunate in losing fewer players in the draft than most major-league teams, and didn't lose an everyday starter until Elbie Fletcher left for the service in 1944.

After dropping to fifth in 1942, the Pirates returned to fourth place in 1943 on the strong hitting of Bob Elliott and Vince DiMaggio and Rip Sewell's 21-game-winning season. With Rip Sewell throwing his famous "eephus" or blooper pitch and winning another 21 games, the Pirates climbed into second place in 1944, their best finish in the war years, before falling back to fourth in 1945. When so many ball clubs got their best players back for the 1946 season, the Pirates, getting no similar boost in talent, were vulnerable to a drop in the standings despite their fans' hope that the team's first-division finishes during the war years would continue into the first postwar season.

While Pirate fans dreamed of a postwar pennant, Pittsburgh's business and civic leaders had their own postwar vision. They decided to use Pittsburgh's major industrial role in winning the war and the country's postwar economic boom to rescue what they believed had become a dying city. The Democratic machine, the dominant political force in Pittsburgh since the depression and now headed by recently elected mayor and future governor David L. Lawrence, put aside its animosity with wealthy Republican industrialists and financiers like Richard King Mellon and joined forces with its traditional enemies to forge a Pittsburgh renaissance. It would take years for Pittsburgh to shed its national image as "the Smoky City," but by the late 1940s, after a citywide campaign that included slogans ("Smoke must go") painted on streetcars and women shoppers in the downtown area wearing surgical masks in protest, county and state governments finally passed smoke-control legislation and brought the beginning of the end to Pittsburgh's gloomy, soot-filled skies.

The Pirates' first postwar season also produced a major change, but only after the team was plagued by controversy in the clubhouse and front office. The Pirates ended the 1946 season in seventh place, its worst finish since 1918, but team morale had already reached a low point by early June when Boston lawyer Robert Murphy, after organizing the American Baseball Guild, decided to concentrate on Pittsburgh, a strong union city, as a test case for a strike over player grievances. The strike vote barely failed, but only after Bill Benswanger came into the clubhouse and made a personal appeal to his players. A few weeks later, the Pirates front office had to deal with another public-relations nightmare when it refused admission to 500 *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* newsboys the day after a rainout forced the cancellation of a special game in their honor.

Faced with poor play, clubhouse dissension, and a hostile press, the Dreyfuss family decided that it had had enough and instructed Benswanger to sell

the franchise. On August 8, 1946, Benswanger announced that the Pirates had been purchased for a price “not exceeding \$2,500,000” by a syndicate comprised of Frank McKinney, an Indianapolis banker; John Galbreath, a Columbus, Ohio, real-estate agent; Tom Johnson, vice president of Standard Steel and the only Pittsburgher among the new owners; and popular Hollywood singer and actor Bing Crosby. McKinney, the major stockholder, became the new president of the franchise, and Roy Hamey, president of the American Association in 1946, was appointed the team’s general manager.

The new owners moved quickly to win the confidence of Pirate fans, though some moves, like hiring manager Babe Herman, would turn into major blunders. Herman, acquired from the Boston Braves for the popular Bob Elliott, was unable to control the drinking, gambling, and womanizing on a team that ringleader Kirby Higbe called “the traveling casino” and was fired at the end of the season. The troublemaking Higbe had been acquired in a trade with the Brooklyn Dodgers after he told Branch Rickey he didn’t want to play on the same team with Jackie Robinson. Pittsburgh also acquired other players through trades or waivers, including Detroit Tigers slugger Hank Greenberg, the first great Jewish American player in the major leagues. The Pirates made several concessions to sign Greenberg, including the construction of a fenced-off double bullpen, dubbed “Greenberg Gardens,” that shortened left field from 365 to 335 feet.

Though Greenberg hit only 25 home runs in 1947 and the Pirates finished in a tie for seventh place, Pittsburgh’s baseball fans, excited by new ownership and so many new players, set an attendance record of 1,283,531. While fans complained that everyone was hitting home runs into Greenberg Gardens except Greenberg, they also had another slugger to root for at Forbes Field. In 1946, rookie Ralph Kiner led the NL in home runs with 23 and tied Johnny Rizzo’s all-time Pirates record. Under Greenberg’s tutelage, Kiner hit 51 home runs in 1947 and tied Johnny Mize for the NL lead. Kiner would go on to win or tie for the NL home-run title in each of his seven full seasons with the Pirates, a record that still stands. He became so proficient at hitting home runs that his ratio of 7.1 per 100 times at bat is second only to Babe Ruth among players in the Hall of Fame.

After the Pirates replaced Babe Herman with Bill Meyer, who had won four minor-league pennants with Kansas City and Newark, two Yankee farm teams, the Pirates nearly won the NL pennant in 1948. They were in first place on June 16, and in September, after winning seven straight games, were in second place, only two and a half games out of first. But they went 9–13 the rest of the season and finished in fourth place. While the popular Meyer was named the *Sporting News* Manager of the Year, the Pirates were sparked by Ralph Kiner’s 40 home runs and the strong play of several new players, including future manager Danny Murtaugh and Dixie Walker, another former Dodger who resented playing on the same team with Jackie Robinson. Excited by the pennant race, Pirate fans set another attendance record, but the 1,517,021 fans who came

out to Forbes Field in 1948 were watching their ball club's last winning season until 1958.

THE RICKEY YEARS

Despite Ralph Kiner's 54 home runs, the Pirates began a team-record-breaking streak of nine consecutive losing seasons in 1949, when they finished the season at 71–83 and fell into sixth place. The Pirates decided to go with younger players in 1950, but the team continued its slide and ended up in last place for the first time since 1917. Nearly 1.5 million Pirate fans came out to Forbes Field, primarily to watch Kiner's heroics, but president Frank McKinney became disillusioned by midseason and sold his stock to his fellow owners. John Galbreath, who now owned a controlling interest in the franchise, took over the presidency, and at the end of a dismal season, highlighted only by Kiner's selection as the *Sporting News* NL Player of the Year, began negotiations with Branch Rickey, ousted by the Dodgers organization, to take over the operations of the Pirates.

When Rickey arrived in Pittsburgh, he loudly proclaimed a five-year plan for the Pirates: "We're pointing toward 1955. That's when the bells will start ringing as the red wagon comes down the street." Unfortunately for Pirate fans, Rickey, despite his Hall of Fame achievements in St. Louis and Brooklyn, became a dismal failure in Pittsburgh. The Pirates finished next to last in 1951 and dead last for the next four years. Attendance fell steadily, from 980,590 in 1951 to 469,397 in 1955. In 1951, the team even became the subject of a Hollywood movie called *Angels in the Outfield*, in which a hapless Pirates team becomes a pennant winner only when the angelic spirits of baseball greats descend upon Forbes Field. To make matters even worse, the legendary Honus Wagner died in December, just a few months after the unveiling of his statue in Schenley Park, just next to Forbes Field.

Rickey's 1952 Pirates were so bad, finishing with a record of 42–112, the worst in modern team history, that they became the joke of the NL. Joe Garagiola, who had the misfortune of playing on the 1952 team, called the Pirates a ninth-place ball club in an eight-team league. They had the worst hitting (.231) and pitching (4.65 ERA) in the NL. At the end of the season, Rickey replaced Bill Meyer with Fred Haney, but the Pirates still lost over 100 games in 1953. In early June of that year, Rickey, after a salary dispute with Ralph Kiner in the off-season, made the most unpopular trade in the team's history when he sent Kiner, with Garagiola and two other players, to the Chicago Cubs for six players, including five ex-Dodger farmhands, and \$150,000.

The Pirates lost over 100 games in 1954 for the third consecutive year, but the season had one historic moment. Even with the presence of Branch Rickey in the front office, the Pirates, well aware of their white working-class fan base, had been very reluctant to sign minorities. Pittsburgh's working class was largely defined by its ethnic enclaves, its steel-mill mentality, and its fear and

distrust of minorities. The very geography of Pittsburgh seemed to reinforce the city's racial segregation. The business district or downtown area, undergoing a postwar renaissance in the 1950s, was at the apex of a "Golden Triangle" formed by the confluence of the Monongahela and Allegheny into the Ohio River. The north side and south side formed white working-class barriers across the rivers from downtown Pittsburgh, in effect isolating much of the black population of the city between the rivers and at the base of the Golden Triangle in a ghetto called the Hill District. The many bridges in Pittsburgh were avenues for commerce, not for integration.

In 1954, seven seasons after Jackie Robinson crossed baseball's color line, Curt Roberts became the first African American to play for the Pittsburgh Pirates. After Roberts had an outstanding season with the Pirates' minor-league Denver Bears, Rickey signed him to a major-league contract. He also warned Roberts that because he was the first black Pittsburgh Pirate, he would face the same fan abuse as had Jackie Robinson. Despite Rickey's warning, fan hostility and teammate indifference had a devastating effect on Roberts. He slumped badly in his first year with the Pirates and, after appearing in only six games in 1955, was sent back to the minor leagues. The only major off-season news for the Pirates going into the 1955 season was the death in February of popular broadcaster Rosey Rowswell. He was replaced as lead announcer by the colorful and controversial Bob Prince, who had teamed up with Rowswell in 1948.

BUILDING A CHAMPIONSHIP TEAM

In 1955, the Pirates finished in last place for the fourth consecutive year. At the end of the season, Rickey replaced manager Fred Haney with the brash Bobby Bragan, but a few months later Rickey himself was replaced as general manager by his assistant and protégé Joe L. Brown, the son of famous comedian Joe E. Brown. The Rickey years in Pittsburgh were plagued by bad player decisions, but by the time Rickey departed, several of the players that would lead the Pirates to a world championship in 1960 were already in uniform, including future NL MVP Dick Groat and future Cy Young Award winner Vernon Law. No Rickey acquisition, however, was more important to the future of the Pirates than Roberto Clemente. Originally signed as a bonus baby by the Brooklyn Dodgers but assigned to the minor leagues, Clemente was drafted by the Pirates on November 22, 1954, and made his major-league debut at Forbes Field on April 17, 1955.

Clemente struggled in his first year with the Pirates, but in 1956 he hit .311 and finished third in the NL batting race. With rookie Bill Mazeroski playing second base and 1955 NL Rookie of the Year Bill Virdon, acquired from St. Louis, joining Clemente in the outfield, the Pirates had unexpectedly surged into first place by early June. The highlight of their early-season success came in late May when first baseman Dale Long homered in eight consecutive games, something that had never been done before in baseball



Roberto Clemente, 1955. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame

history. Long's heroics so captured the imagination of America that he was invited to appear on *The Ed Sullivan Show*. The Pirates eventually fell back into their losing ways and finished in seventh place, but attendance, sparked by the early-season excitement, increased to 949,878, more than double the 1955 figure of 469,397.

The Pirates seemed on the verge of a return to the first division, but not until the next year. The franchise suffered through its ninth consecutive losing season in 1957 and finished in seventh place. At a congressional hearing, baseball commissioner Ford Frick, reporting on the financial risks of club owners, cited the Pirates, who had spent large sums of money on signing bonus babies and acquiring veteran players, as the worst-run franchise in baseball. Frick told congressmen that the Pirates had spent \$1,537,303 and had nothing but last-place finishes to show for it. Frustrated by another losing season, Pirates ownership fired

Bobby Bragan in midseason after he served orange drinks to a team of umpires that had ejected him the day before, and hired coach Danny Murtaugh to manage for the last two months of the season. When the Pirates played over-.500 baseball for Murtaugh, he was rehired for 1958, amid rumors that the Galbreath family was interested in moving the Pirates to New York now that the Dodgers and Giants had moved to the West Coast.

John Galbreath announced that the Pirates were staying in Pittsburgh, but he also asked for assistance from the city, county, and state for the building of a new stadium to replace the now-decaying Forbes Field. Galbreath's request took on greater urgency on September 9, 1958, when Chancellor Edward Litchfield announced that the University of Pittsburgh's planned multimillion-dollar expansion in the Oakland area would require the eventual buyout of the Pirates from Forbes Field. In late November, Pitt purchased Forbes Field for \$3 million, but agreed to lease the ballpark to the Pirates for five years or until the new stadium, planned for the north side, was constructed and ready for occupancy. The off-field activity had little effect on the Pirates in 1958, as the team soared to its first winning season since 1948 and its first second-place finish since 1944. Joe

L. Brown was named General Manager of the Year by the *Sporting News*, and Danny Murtaugh the NL Manager of the Year. Attendance climbed to 1,311,988, third highest in franchise history.

During the off-season, Brown made the most controversial Pirates trade since Branch Rickey sent Ralph Kiner to the Chicago Cubs when he dealt popular Pittsburgh native Frank Thomas with three other players to Cincinnati for third baseman Don Hoak, catcher Smoky Burgess, and pitcher Harvey Haddix. Thomas had been an All-Star through the Pirates' losing seasons and had led them to their second-place finish in 1958. Pirate fans were infuriated by the trade and felt that Brown was responsible when the Pirates dropped to fourth place in 1959. The only dividend from the trade came in late May at Milwaukee County Stadium when Harvey Haddix made baseball history by pitching 12 perfect innings against the Braves, only to lose the game in the 13th.

Whatever disappointment Pirate fans experienced in 1959 was erased in 1960 when the Pirates won their first NL pennant since 1927 and their first World Series since 1925 with a mark of 95–59. A then team record 1,705,828 flocked to Forbes Field to watch a scrappy, come-from-behind ball club that seemed to match the working-class spirit of the city and its pride in the post-war renaissance. Led by the clutch hitting of All-Stars Dick Groat (.325), Don Hoak, Bob Skinner, Smoky Burgess, and Roberto Clemente (.314) and the strong pitching of Vernon Law (20–9), Bob Friend (18–12), and reliever Roy Face, the Pirates, after a midseason trade with the Cardinals for pitcher “Vinegar Bend” Mizell, moved into first place on July 26, where they remained until they clinched the pennant on September 25.

The crowds at Forbes Field, stirred by “Beat ’em Bucs” slogans and songs, became so large and rowdy that, in August, the Pirates organization banned fans from bringing their own beer into the ballpark, a practice previously allowed because Pennsylvania law prevented the selling of beer at public events. After the Pirates clinched the pennant and were honored with a victory parade in downtown Pittsburgh, fans became even more excited because their Bucs were to face another powerful Yankees team in the World Series, this time led by Mickey Mantle, Yogi Berra, and Whitey Ford.

The 1960 World Series opened in Pittsburgh on October 5 with a 6–4 Pirates victory, sparked by the strong pitching of Vernon Law and a two-run homer by Bill Mazeroski. The Yankees tied the series the next day with a lopsided 16–3 win and took a 2–1 lead when they walloped the Pirates at Yankee Stadium 10–0 on the shutout pitching of Whitey Ford. After the Pirates won the next two games at Yankee Stadium by the close scores of 3–2 and 5–2, the Yankees bounced back at Forbes Field, winning 12–0 behind another shutout performance by Ford. With the series tied at 3–3, the Pirates and the Yankees battled back and forth in the seventh game until Hal Smith's dramatic two-out, three-run homer gave the Pirates a 9–7 lead going into the top of the ninth inning. After the Yankees tied the score on Mickey Mantle's brilliant baserunning, Bill

Mazeroski led off the bottom of the ninth against Ralph Terry and, on a 1–0 count, hit the most famous home run in World Series history over the 406 mark in left center field.

When Mazeroski's home run ended an exciting and improbable World Series of lopsided Yankee wins and close Pirate victories, Pittsburgh erupted into a frenzy comparable, according to the *Pittsburgh Press*, "to V-J Day, New York Times Square on New Year's Eve and New Orleans in the Mardi Gras." Pittsburgh's safety director estimated the crowd in downtown Pittsburgh at 300,000. Fearing a riot, he ordered a shutdown of traffic into the downtown area and appealed on radio and television for people to stay home. His fears, however, proved unfounded when only 28 people were arrested, and most for public drunkenness. A handful of Pittsburghers did stay home to watch the second Kennedy-Nixon debate, but most participated in a celebration that lasted until the early-morning hours. Pittsburghers also celebrated during the off-season when Dick Groat was named the NL MVP, Vernon Law the Cy Young Award winner, and Danny Murtaugh the NL Manager of the Year.

THE CLEMENTE DECADE

The hope in Pittsburgh that the magic of 1960 would carry over into the next season was quickly dashed when the Pirates struggled in 1961 and ended up in sixth place. The key to the Pirates' decline was Vernon Law's shoulder injury, but several other Pirates were also injured, including Bob Skinner, while Dick Groat, Hal Smith, Rocky Nelson, and Roy Face had poor seasons. After a fourth-place finish in 1962, the team returned to the second division for the next two years, including an eighth-place finish in 1963. Attendance dropped steadily each year until it had sunk to 759,496 in 1964, nearly a million fewer fans than the record-breaking 1,705,828 who attended games at Forbes Field in 1960. As the Pirates struggled in the early 1960s, Joe L. Brown, in a desperate attempt to improve the team, traded most of the heroes of the 1960 season, including Dick Groat, Don Hoak, and Dick Stuart. At the end of the 1964 season, Danny Murtaugh, citing poor health, resigned as manager and was replaced by Harry Walker.

While the Pirates, as a team, failed to live up to the miracle 1960 season, Roberto Clemente, spurned in the balloting for the NL MVP Award despite an outstanding year, played like a champion in the 1960s and had a Hall of Fame decade. Since his rookie season in 1955, Clemente had become a controversial figure in Pittsburgh because of his flamboyant play and his constant complaints about injuries and ailments. Pittsburgh sportswriters often portrayed him as a "Puerto Rican hot dog" and criticized him for being a whining hypochondriac, only interested in "numero uno." Believing that he was denigrated by the press and fans because of his skin and his heritage, Clemente refused to wear his 1960 world-championship ring. Carrying his anger and bitterness into the 1961 season, he won his first NL batting title

with a .351 average and his first Gold Glove award. By the end of the decade, Clemente had won four batting titles and nine Gold Gloves, and in 1966, though the Pirates failed to win the pennant after contending all season, was finally named the NL MVP.

Slow to integrate in the 1950s, the Pirates, thanks to more aggressive scouting, finally began to change the racial makeup of their team in 1960s by signing and bringing up more African American and Latin American players. Playing inspired baseball and speaking out against racial prejudice, Clemente became a team leader and spokesman for younger black players like Willie Stargell, Bob Veale, and Donn Clendenon. In a decade characterized by racial change and political turmoil, Clemente became the most visible and provocative sports figure in Pittsburgh. When Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated on April 4, 1968, Clemente played a pivotal role in the decision by the Pirates, who had 11 black players, more than any other team in the major leagues, to postpone its season opener in Houston.

While the integrated Pirates of the 1960s were a reflection of the civil rights movement of the decade, there were Pittsburgh fans who saw the presence of so many black players as the reason for the team's failure to repeat the success of the 1960 season. The team's struggles on the field and declining attendance were often linked to the Pirates' growing number of black athletes. Despite the racial controversy, the Pirates, under the leadership of Harry Walker, improved to a third-place finish in 1965 and, after challenging the Dodgers for first place all season, finished in third again in 1966. Attendance, which had steadily fallen since 1960, increased to 1,196,618 in 1966.

Joe L. Brown acquired stolen-base king Maury Wills during the off-season, but when the Pirates, preseason favorites to win the NL pennant, struggled through the first half of 1967, Brown fired Harry Walker. He convinced Danny Murtaugh to return as manager for the rest of the season, but the ball club failed to improve and finished in sixth place. Brown added future Hall of Famer Jim Bunning to his pitching staff in 1968, but under manager Larry Shepard, the Pirates finished sixth again with a record of 80–82. In 1969, the first year of division play in the major leagues, the Pirates, with an infusion of young talent led by rookies Al Oliver, Richie Hebner, and Manny Sanguillen, improved their record by eight games and finished in third place. Brown, however, fired Shepard with five games remaining in the season and replaced him with coach Alex Grammas.

SEASONS OF TRIUMPH AND TRAGEDY

When Joe L. Brown again convinced Danny Murtaugh to come out of retirement, the Pirates began the 1970s with the manager who had led them to a world championship at the beginning of the last decade. The ball club also began play in a new home when Three Rivers Stadium, after years of delay, finally was completed and opened on July 16, 1970, to a record crowd

of 48,846. The city needed a new ballpark because Forbes Field had become decrepit and there was a need for greater capacity, especially for football. The city hoped to use a new multipurpose field to help revive the downtown in a declining rust-belt city, as was being done in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. Political wrangling over city and county financing had stalled the project until the end of 1968, when the Pittsburgh Stadium Authority approved final plans for a 52,000-seat multisport stadium, to be built near the point of the Golden Triangle, on the northern shore of the convergence of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers into the Ohio, close to the site of old Exposition Park. The main access to the stadium was to be over the Fort Pitt Bridge linking the north and south shores of the point. The original estimate for building the stadium was \$28 million, but unexpected labor disputes caused delays and drove up costs. The stadium was finally completed in 1970, but with a price tag of \$40 million for the construction and \$15 million for other improvements.

The stadium, designed by the Pittsburgh architectural firm of Deeter and Richey, was a six-level, bowl-shaped configuration similar to those constructed in St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Philadelphia. With its artificial turf, electronic scoreboard, and glass-enclosed Allegheny Club, Three Rivers was a state-of-the-art facility, but it drew immediate criticism from Pittsburgh fans because of the high construction costs and the traffic bottlenecks created before and after games. Pirate fans were also unhappy with the distance and arrangement of the seating, which seemed more suited for football than for baseball; the high cost of concessions; and the uniform look of the stadium, often described as “a concrete doughnut.” The new stadium did have an initial positive impact on attendance, which rose from 769,369 in 1969 to 1,341,947 in 1970, but it would take 18 years for Three Rivers to break the attendance record set at Forbes Field in 1960.

When the Pirates won their first Eastern Division title in 1970 (89–73), with Clemente batting .352, it appeared that the ball club was going to repeat the championship magic of its first season at Forbes Field. The Pirates, however, fell short of the World Series when they were swept in three games by the Cincinnati Reds in the NL Championship Series. In 1971, the Pirates won the East again (97–65), thanks to their league-leading offense and strong defense. Playing at Three Rivers, with its shorter fences, the 1971 team led the NL in home runs for the first time since 1903 and led the majors in runs scored. Veterans Clemente (.342) and Willie Stargell (who belted 48 homers to lead the league, and drove in 125 runs) helped carry the club. The team’s most distinguishing feature, however, was the appearance of seven African American and six Latin American ballplayers on its roster. On September 1, 1971, the Pirates made history when they fielded the first all-black lineup in the history of baseball. The Pirates then defeated the San Francisco Giants in the playoffs three games to one to earn their first trip back to the World Series since 1960.

Roberto Clemente, finally honored with a fan appreciation night in 1970, was still the driving force behind the Pirates, and promised his teammates that

if they made it to the postseason, he would lead them to the world championship. However, it looked dark after the Pirates dropped the first two games in Baltimore. Clemente then carried the Pirates to victory on his back. He played so brilliantly that the 1971 World Series became his personal showcase. He fielded perfectly, batted .414, and homered in the seventh and deciding game, won by the Pirates 2–1. When he received the Series MVP award, Clemente believed that, after 17 years, he had finally proven his greatness. In the weeks after the World Series, the outspoken Clemente used his public appearances to support Curt Flood's court case against baseball's reserve clause and to criticize baseball for failing to hire black managers. He also announced plans to build a sports center for children in his native Puerto Rico.

The only blemish on the 1971 season was a planned party in downtown Pittsburgh that, unlike the spontaneous 1960 celebration, was marred by violence and forced an early end to the Pirates' motorcade after the team returned from Baltimore. As the city recovered from its embarrassment, Pirate fans looked forward to 1972, even though Danny Murtaugh, once again, had announced his retirement. With Bill Virdon as manager, the Pirates repeated as Eastern Division champions in 1972, highlighted by Clemente's 3,000th hit in his last regular-season at bat. But the year turned into a bitter disappointment when the ball club lost a heartbreaking fifth and deciding game to the Cincinnati Reds in the NL playoffs on a wild pitch. The Reds scored twice in the bottom of the ninth to win 4–3.

The worst, however, was still to come for Pirate fans. Less than three months later, on December 31, 1972, at 9:22 P.M., a DC-7 cargo plane filled with supplies for the victims of a devastating earthquake in Managua crashed into the Atlantic minutes after takeoff, killing everyone on board, including Roberto Clemente, who had personally taken charge of relief efforts in Puerto Rico to help in Nicaragua's recovery. Clemente's tragic death shocked the baseball world and devastated the city of Pittsburgh and the Pirates organization. Though Clemente's teammates tried to rally back in 1973, the Pirates, finishing below .500, failed to win the Eastern Division title for the first time in four years, and Bill Virdon was replaced by Danny Murtaugh near the end of the season. The season was a bitter disappointment for Pirate fans, who had cheered in March after the Baseball Writers Association of America waived the five-year waiting rule and elected Clemente into the Baseball Hall of Fame. When Clemente was inducted that summer, he became the first Latin American player to enter baseball's shrine.

Under Murtaugh's leadership, the Pirates, with breakout years by young players like Richie Zisk, Rennie Stennett, and Dave Parker and the hitting of veterans Willie Stargell, Al Oliver, and Manny Sanguillen, bounced back to win division titles in 1974 and 1975, but they lost in the playoffs to the Dodgers in 1974 three games to one and were swept by the Reds in 1975. After a second-place finish in 1976, Murtaugh, still struggling with poor health, stepped down as manager. On December 2, 1976, the most popular manager in Pirates histo-

ry died at the age of 59. Murtaugh's passing was just the latest baseball tragedy for the Pirates in a turbulent decade that began so promisingly with a World Series victory. In 1973, Steve Blass, a World Series hero in 1971, suddenly lost the ability to throw strikes, and retired two years later. At the end of the 1975 season, the Pirates organization, to the dismay of many fans, fired the colorful and controversial Bob Prince, who had been the voice of the Pirates for four decades. In 1976, shortly before the death of Danny Murtaugh, pitcher Bob Moose, whose wild pitch ended the 1972 playoffs, was killed in an automobile accident on his 29th birthday.

Besides the tragic losses, the Pirates also had to contend with a struggling Pittsburgh economy, baseball free agency, and frustrated fans who were becoming increasingly unhappy with the cost of attending a game at Three Rivers. With the retirement and death of so many postwar renaissance leaders, the city had also lost much of its spirit of civic cooperation. The decade was characterized by constant political strife between Mayor Peter Flaherty's administration and county and business leaders. Adding to the turmoil was an inflationary rise in prices and increasing job losses. By 1975, Jones and Laughlin, after expanding its operations in the past two decades, had laid off 2,600 Pittsburgh steelworkers. The effect on the Pirates was a steady drop in attendance from 1,705,828 in 1971 to 964,106 in 1978, the first year attendance fell under 1 million at Three Rivers.

Before the beginning of the 1977 season, Joe L. Brown added to the losses in the Pirates organization by announcing his retirement as general manager. He was replaced by Harding Peterson, the organization's minor-league director and head of scouting. Peterson's first major decision was to hire Chuck Tanner, a native of New Castle, Pennsylvania, just 45 miles from Pittsburgh. Peterson had to trade popular catcher Manny Sanguillen to the Oakland A's to get Tanner, who was under contract to Charlie O. Finley. To replace free agent Richie Hebner, another popular player from the 1971 world-championship team, Peterson traded once again with Oakland, this time giving up six more players for Phil Garner.

Though the Pirates were going through a period of transition in which they traded Richie Zisk and Al Oliver before losing them to free agency, the club finished a strong second to the Phillies in 1977 and 1978. Important to the team's success was the emergence of Dave Parker, who won the NL batting title in 1977 and earned NL MVP honors the following year. Even more critical was the leadership and performance of veteran Willie Stargell, who was awarded the NL's Comeback Player of the Year Award in 1978. Going into the 1979 season, the Pirates, determined to field a championship team, signed Dave Parker to a five-year, \$7 million contract, the largest in team history. The organization failed in its bid to sign free agent Pete Rose, but Peterson made early-season trades for Tim Foli and Bill Madlock that paved the way for a return to the World Series.

In 1979, the Pirates closed out the decade by winning the division (98–64) and going on to capture their second world championship of the 1970s. The team,

as usual, relied on strong offense and decent pitching—six hurlers had from 10 to 14 wins. As was the case in 1971, the season and the postseason became the personal showcase for a Pirate superstar. Willie Stargell, affectionately known as “Pops,” was the emotional leader and driving force for a ball club that adopted Sister Sledge’s “We Are Family” for its theme song. He was named the cowinner of the NL MVP Award with Keith Hernandez of the St. Louis Cardinals and went on to win the MVP in both the playoff sweep over the Cincinnati Reds and the World Series victory over the Baltimore Orioles. The 1979 World Series was also noteworthy because, for the second time in club history, the Pirates rallied from a three-games-to-one deficit to win the championship, including the last two games in Baltimore. Strong pitching performances by Jim Rooker, Bert Blyleven, and John Candelaria helped the Pirates tie the series, and Willie Stargell’s two-run homer sparked a 4–1 win in the seventh game in Baltimore. Kent Tekulve, the all-time Pirates save leader, got off to a rocky start, but he saved three games in the World Series, including game seven. With the Pirates victory, the franchise finished the decade with six division titles, two NL pennants, and two World Series crowns.

THE TROUBLED EIGHTIES

Buoyed by a bounce in attendance to 1,435,454 in 1979 (only 10th best in the NL) and the spirit of family, the Pirates’ promotion for 1980 was an optimistic “Two in a Row and Two Million Fans,” but with an aging Stargell struggling with injuries, the ball club fell short on both counts. Attendance increased to 1,646,757, but the team finished a disappointing third. With Stargell playing very little and a pitching staff depleted by injuries and trades, the Pirates continued to struggle in 1981 and the strike-shortened 1982 season, finishing fourth both years. With Bill Madlock winning his fourth batting title and second-year players Tony Pena and Johnny Ray having solid years, the team did bounce back to second place in 1983, but fell into last place for the next three years. With the Pirates playing so poorly, attendance also suffered, dropping, by 1985, to 735,900, the lowest full-season figure since 1955. Facing a financial crisis, the Galbreath family, after nearly 40 years of ownership, finally decided to sell the Pirates. For the past decade they had been subsidizing the franchise with profits from their real-estate development firm and thoroughbred racing stable. When there were no local buyers, they threatened to move the franchise, on the verge of its centennial year in the NL, to another city.

The declining attendance was tied to the prevailing economic slump in the region and to the declining quality of the team, which could not afford to compete in the free-agency market. A national recession turned into a rust-belt depression in Pittsburgh. The city, with more than 40 major steel mills and industrial plants closing, lost over 130,000 jobs. An estimated 176,000 people left the area, including 14 percent of its young. The city itself suffered a population decrease of 10 percent. The Pirates also faced continuing financial problems

with Three Rivers and had to sue the city to take over its maintenance because they were losing so much money. Pirate fans, never happy with Three Rivers, were even more reluctant to spend their money attending games because of their growing perception, fueled by million-dollar free-agent signings and a drug scandal involving several players, including Dave Parker, that the current generation of ballplayers were spoiled and corrupt. Matters reached a low point when the employee hired to dress as the Pirate mascot was charged with distributing drugs in the Pirate locker room.

Pittsburgh's baseball franchise was saved from becoming the New Orleans Pirates by the Pittsburgh Associates, a group of nine corporations, including Fortune 500 firms Alcoa and PPG; one educational institution, Carnegie Mellon; and three private investors. With strong leadership from popular mayor Richard Caliguiri, who also provided \$20 million in loans, the new ownership coalition purchased the franchise from the Galbreath family for \$21.8 million. The most prominent business partners included Malcolm Prine, CEO of Ryan Homes; Carl Barger, managing partner of a Pittsburgh law firm; Douglas Danforth, CEO of Westinghouse Electric; and Vincent Sarni, retired CEO of PPG. Prine was elected the new president of the franchise, but stepped down in 1988. Carl Barger became the new president, with Danforth replacing Barger as chairman of the board. When Barger left in 1991 to head the new Florida Marlins franchise, Mark Sauer, a former St. Louis Cardinals executive, was appointed president, with Vincent Sarni taking over as board chairman.

The Pittsburgh Associates' first challenge was to find a replacement for Joe L. Brown, who had agreed to serve as temporary general manager in 1985 after Harding Peterson was fired, but was now a member of the new ownership group. They selected Syd Thrift, who was best known as the founding director of the Kansas City Royals' Baseball Academy. Thrift's first task was to find a replacement for Chuck Tanner as Pirates manager. He hired Jim Leyland, a highly successful minor-league manager and a coach for Tony LaRussa and the Chicago White Sox. With new owners and a new management team, attendance increased slightly to over 1 million fans in 1986, despite another sixth-place finish. After climbing into a tie for fourth in 1987, the Pirates, sparked by the hitting of outfielders Bobby Bonilla, Andy Van Slyke, and Barry Bonds and the pitching of Doug Drabek, surged into second place in 1988 as a record-breaking 1,866,713 fans came out to Three Rivers Stadium, a remarkable attendance increase of over 1 million in just three years. This occurred despite the team's salary of just \$7,627,500, 22nd out of 26 teams.

Jim Leyland was named NL Manager of the Year in 1988, but much of the Pirates' success was attributed to Syd Thrift's trades for future All-Stars Drabek, Van Slyke, and Bonilla and the development of young talent like Barry Bonds and John Smiley. Despite Thrift's success as general manager, he was constantly embroiled in disputes with ownership over control of the ball club. A power struggle led to the resignation of Pirates president Malcolm Prine in 1988, but Thrift himself was fired at the end of the season and replaced by as-

sistant general manager Larry Doughty, a former director of scouting for the Cincinnati Reds.

THE UNCERTAIN NINETIES

After the Pirates dropped back into fifth place in 1989, they went on to win the NL East in 1990 (95–67) with pretty much the same cast. Doug Drabek's 22–6 record and 2.72 ERA earned him the Cy Young Award. Barry Bonds won the MVP Award with 33 homers, 114 RBIs, and a league-leading .565 slugging percentage. Bobby Bonilla had 32 homers and 120 RBIs. Jim Leyland collected his second NL Manager of the Year Award. Attendance, for the first time in franchise history, went over 2 million. The Pirates, however, ended the year in disappointment, losing the playoffs in six games to the Cincinnati Reds. Despite the success on the field, the Pirates were valued at just \$82 million, 20th of all major-league teams, and fell to the bottom in 1994 at \$70 million.

In 1991, after a much-publicized spring-training confrontation between Jim Leyland and Barry Bonds, the Pirates went on to win their second straight division title, but lost again in the playoffs, this time in seven games to the Atlanta Braves. In 1992, after new president Mark Sauer appointed ex-Cardinal Ted Simmons to replace Larry Doughty as general manager, the Pirates, despite the loss of Bobby Bonilla to free agency, won their third consecutive division title, but suffered a devastating loss in the playoffs when the Atlanta Braves scored three runs in the bottom of the ninth to defeat the Pirates 3–2 in the seventh and deciding game. The Braves scored the tying and winning runs on Francisco Cabrera's two-out, bases-loaded single. For Pirate fans, watching ex-Pirate Sid Bream scoring the winning run was a bitter moment, rivaling Gabby Hartnett's infamous "homer in the gloaming."

In 1993, with the loss of Barry Bonds and Doug Drabek to free agency, the Pirates suffered their first losing season of the 1990s after averaging better than 96 wins from 1990 to 1992. It was the beginning of a record string of consecutive losing seasons that would last through the rest of the decade and into the new century. The Pirates also lost their general manager when Ted Simmons, after suffering a mild heart attack, resigned in June and was replaced by his assistant, Cam Bonifay. The only highlights of the 1994 season were the All-Star Game played at Three Rivers Stadium before a record 59,568 fans and the unveiling of a \$300,000 statue a few days earlier honoring the great Roberto Clemente. The Pirates continued to struggle during a season that ended prematurely on August 12 with a baseball strike, the third work stoppage since 1972, that eventually led to the cancellation of the World Series.

After threatening to use replacements, baseball's owners accepted the players' offer to play the 1995 season without a collective bargaining agreement. The delayed 1995 season finally began on April 26. Playing in the newly formed Central Division, the Pirates opened the season at Three Rivers to protests and disruptions from the fans, unhappy with the players' strike. By

the end of the season, the Pirates were mired in last place, attendance had dropped below 1 million for the first time since 1985, and the Pirates, for the second time in 10 years, were up for sale. The Pittsburgh Associates had lost more than \$22 million and, after a decade of mounting debt, were ready to rid themselves of the franchise. When John Rigas, owner of Adelphia Cable, failed in a bid to purchase the team and keep it in Pittsburgh, the Pirates were, once again, on the brink of moving to another city. At the Pirates' last home game of the season, many of the 11,190 fans in attendance believed that, after 109 years of NL baseball, the ball club had played its final game in Pittsburgh.

On February 14, 1996, the franchise was rescued at the final deadline for keeping the team in Pittsburgh by California-based Kevin McClatchy, whose family had founded the *Sacramento Bee* in 1857. The 34-year-old McClatchy, after failing in a bid for the Oakland A's, forged a limited partnership of about 30 business leaders and individuals, ranging from Heinz CEO Anthony O'Reilly to Indy car team owner Chip Garnassi, and convinced many of the members of the Pittsburgh Associates to stay on as limited partners. Though McClatchy's own investment was only \$8 million of the nearly \$90 million needed to purchase the franchise, he became the CEO and youngest owner of a major-league team.

Though first hailed as a baseball savior, McClatchy ran into criticism in his initial season when, faced with increasing debt and a losing ball club, he started trading his major-league veterans for minor-league prospects to cut the franchise's payroll. When he agreed to release popular manager Jim Leyland from his contract at the end of the season, Pirate fans and sports-writers suspected that McClatchy was deliberately ruining the team so that he could move it to another city, despite McClatchy's claims to the contrary. Leyland had managed 11 years in Pittsburgh, compiling a .496 record. In his last season, the Pirates finished in last place, with a payroll barely over \$9 million, \$1 million less than the salary of Cleveland Indians star Albert Belle. In 1997 they finished the season under .500 at 79–83, but improved to second place in the Central Division standings. Former White Sox manager Gene Lamont, hired to replace Jim Leyland, finished second in the balloting for NL Manager of the Year Award, and general manager Cam Bonifay was named NL Executive of the Year. *Baseball America* selected Pittsburgh's minor-league system as the best in baseball, and *USA Today* named the front office as baseball's best organization.

After the heady performance of 1997, the Pirates fell back into last place in 1998, but the year, while disappointing on the field, proved exciting off the field. When McClatchy and his partners bought the team, McClatchy had promised to keep the franchise in Pittsburgh if financing for a new ballpark was in place in three years and the ballpark constructed by 2001. Mayor Tom Murphy established the Forbes Field II Task Force to consider the project and recommended a north-side site one block from Three Rivers as the best lo-

cation. It would be part of an \$803 million package that also funded a new Steelers Stadium, retired the debt on Three Rivers and demolished the stadium, expanded the Convention Center, and constructed a new Pittsburgh Development Center. But when voters in Allegheny and the 10 counties surrounding Pittsburgh rejected a referendum in November 1997 to fund a new facility for the Pirates with a 0.5 percent sales-tax increase, local politicians and civic leaders, concerned about the loss to Pittsburgh and the surrounding area in revenue, jobs, and prestige, initiated "Plan B" in March 1998 to save the project. Four months later, the Regional Asset District Board committed \$13.4 million a year for the next 30 years for the new ballpark, and state legislators provided \$150 million in funding. The board had originally opposed the plan, but a Republican county commissioner replaced a foe of the park with a supporter and rammed it through. The Pirates agreed to put up \$14 million, and were expected to cover operating costs as long as they received the revenues from concessions and advertising. Additional funding came from PNC Bank Corporation, which paid \$30 million for naming rights through 2020. Pittsburgh fans were disappointed. Some wanted to name the field "Jammed Down the Taxpayers' Throat Park," although most were hoping to name it for Roberto Clemente.

After rejecting several locations around the city, the Pirates organization, wanting to keep the new ballpark accessible from downtown Pittsburgh, selected a site on the north shore of the Allegheny River, just across the downtown's Sixth Street Bridge and near Three Rivers Stadium. Ground-breaking ceremonies, with Governor Tom Ridge, Mayor Tom Murphy, and Commissioner Bud Selig participating, were held on April 7, 1999. They also attended a ceremony renaming the Sixth Street Bridge in honor of Roberto Clemente.

The contract for building PNC Park was awarded to HOK Sport of Kansas City, Missouri, at a projected cost of \$216 million. The actual cost was \$237 million for construction plus \$25 million for the site. HOK Sport had already designed several new ballparks, including Camden Yards in Baltimore and Jacobs Field in Cleveland. After meeting with Pirate officials, David Greusel, the lead designer for the project, came up with a concept that combined the traditional look of Forbes Field, the coziness of Wrigley Field, and the innovations of Camden Yards. The result was a two-tiered, opened-ended design that would bring fans closer to the playing field (two-thirds of the seats are at field level, and as close as 45 feet to the baselines) and at the same time yield a panoramic view of the downtown Pittsburgh skyline. The ballpark itself would be constructed out of yellow limestone and blue steel and feature light standards similar to those at Forbes Field. The playing field would be asymmetrical and feature natural grass. It promised, with its spectacular design and setting, to be one of the most beautiful ballparks in baseball.

As construction began on PNC Park, the Pirates suffered through another losing season in 1999, but climbed in the standings to third place. In 2000, the Pirates began the new century with their eighth consecutive losing season and dropped

to fifth place, but because it was the team's last year in Three Rivers Stadium, attendance increased to 1,748,908. On October 1, 2000, at the last game played at Three Rivers, Pirate fans set a regular-season attendance record of 55,532 as the Pirates lost to the Cubs 10–9. After the game, a seriously ill Willie Stargell walked to the mound and threw the last pitch at Three Rivers. A few days earlier, plans had been announced for a statue of Stargell, to be unveiled on Opening Day at PNC Park. After the season was over, the Pirates front office also announced the firing of Gene Lamont and replaced him with Lloyd McClendon, the Pirates' hitting coach. The team's value that year reached \$211 million, a one-third increase over the prior year, probably in anticipation of the new park.

The grand opening of PNC Park on April 9, 2001, became a bittersweet moment for Pittsburgh fans when Willie Stargell died just hours before the opening game. Stargell's death and the Pirates' 8–2 loss to the Cincinnati Reds were harbingers for a season in which the ball club would lose 100 games for the first time since 1985 and fall into last place. By midseason general manager Cam Bonifay was fired and replaced by Marlins assistant general manager Dave Littlefield. Despite the Pirates' struggles, fans flocked to the 38,000-seat PNC Park, second smallest in the majors after Fenway Park. The Pirates had 19 sell-outs during the season and set an attendance record of 2,436,139. During the 2001 season, Pirate fans were also thrilled by the induction of Bill Mazeroski into the Hall of Fame, after years of delay.

The construction of PNC Park, regarded by many as one of the most beautiful ballparks in America, brought a secure future to major-league baseball in Pittsburgh, but not necessarily a winning future. The team has not had a winning season since 1992. The Pirates' ninth consecutive losing season in 2001 tied a team record dating back to the 1950s, and losing seasons from 2002 through 2005 broke and extended that record. Since PNC opened, attendance consistently declined until 2005, when it rose to 1,817,245. There were, however, reminders of the franchise's winning tradition beyond the team uniforms modeled after the 1960 Pirates. On June 25, 2002, the Pirates won their 9,000th game in franchise history, becoming only the fourth major-league team to reach that figure. In June 2003, the Pirates played an interleague series with the Boston Red Sox, marking the centennial of the first World Series played between the two teams. At the start of the 2005 season, *Forbes* reported the team was worth \$218 million, 23rd in major league baseball, and that the team was 28th in salaries at \$38.1 million, down from \$54.8 million in 2003.

THE FUTURE

The challenge for the Pirates franchise 100 years after the team played in the first World Series is as much about economics as it is about talent. To become successful once again, the Pirates have to overcome the reality of being a small-market ball club in an unbalanced economic system that, with free agency, without a salary cap, and with only modest revenue sharing, favors

large-market teams. It also has to market itself in a city that, while becoming one of the most attractive and livable in America, has lost many of its industries and suffered a major decline in population. Once one of the largest American cities because of its thriving steel industry, Pittsburgh suffered a population loss from 676,806 in 1950 to 334,563 in 2000. From 1990 to 2003, Pittsburgh's population fell 12 percent. Pittsburgh dropped to 54th place among America's major cities. This combined with the poor quality of the team resulted in an attendance of only 1.58 million in 2004, the lowest of any NL team other than the hapless Montreal Expos.

The situation for the Pirates, however, is far from hopeless. To overcome its small-market handicap and take advantage of its attractive new ballpark, the franchise has stressed the development of its farm system, especially its young pitching. It has also traded veterans, as they approach free agency, for younger talent and used their own modest free-agent signings to fill gaps until the best of their minor-league prospects are ready to play in the majors. Without a major change in baseball economics, the Pirates, like other small-market franchises, will have to work at a disadvantage to field a competitive team, but as the success of other small-market teams has shown, the Pirates, with an influx of young talent and judicious use of resources, can once again become a first-division team in Barney Dreyfuss's "first-division city."

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1960	Dick Groat	SS
1966	Roberto Clemente	OF
1978	Dave Parker	OF
1979	Willie Stargell	1B
1990	Barry Bonds	OF
1992	Barry Bonds	OF

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1960	Vern Law	RHP
1990	Doug Drabek	RHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
2004	Jason Bay	OF

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1900	Honus Wagner	.381
1902	Ginger Beaumont	.357
1903	Honus Wagner	.355
1904	Honus Wagner	.349
1906	Honus Wagner	.339
1907	Honus Wagner	.350
1908	Honus Wagner	.354
1909	Honus Wagner	.339
1911	Honus Wagner	.334
1927	Paul Waner	.380
1934	Paul Waner	.362
1935	Arky Vaughan	.385
1936	Paul Waner	.373
1940	Debs Garms	.355
1960	Dick Groat	.325
1961	Roberto Clemente	.351
1964	Roberto Clemente	.339
1965	Roberto Clemente	.329
1966	Matty Alou	.342
1967	Roberto Clemente	.357
1977	Dave Parker	.338
1978	Dave Parker	.334
1981	Bill Madlock	.341
1983	Bill Madlock	.323

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1902	Tommy Leach	6
1946	Ralph Kiner	23
1947	Ralph Kiner	51
1948	Ralph Kiner	40
1949	Ralph Kiner	54
1950	Ralph Kiner	47
1951	Ralph Kiner	42
1952	Ralph Kiner	37
1971	Willie Stargell	48
1973	Willie Stargell	44

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1900	Rube Waddell	2.37
1901	Jesse Tannehill	2.18
1903	Sam Leever	2.06
1926	Ray Kremer	2.61
1927	Ray Kremer	2.47
1935	Cy Blanton	2.59
1955	Bob Friend	2.84
1977	John Candelaria	2.34

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1900	Rube Waddell	130
1945	Preacher Roe	148
1964	Bob Veale	250

No-Hitters

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Nick Maddox	09/20/1907
Cliff Chambers	05/06/1951
Bob Moose	09/20/1969
Dock Ellis	06/12/1970
John Candelaria	08/09/1976

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES**NL East Division Titles**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1970	89-73	Danny Murtaugh
1971	97-65	Danny Murtaugh
1972	96-59	Bill Virdon
1974	88-74	Danny Murtaugh
1975	92-69	Danny Murtaugh
1979	98-63	Chuck Tanner
1990	95-67	Jim Leyland
1991	98-64	Jim Leyland
1992	96-66	Jim Leyland

NL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1901	90–49	Fred Clarke
1902	103–36	Fred Clarke
1903	91–49	Fred Clarke
1909	110–42	Fred Clarke
1925	95–58	Bill McKechnie
1927	94–60	Donie Bush
1960	95–59	Danny Murtaugh
1971	97–65	Danny Murtaugh
1979	98–64	Chuck Tanner

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>	<i>MVP</i>
1909	Detroit	
1925	Washington	
1960	New York	
1971	Baltimore	Roberto Clemente
1979	Baltimore	Willie Stargell

MANAGERS

2006–	Jim Tracy
2001–2005	Lloyd McClendon
1997–2000	Gene Lamont
1986–1996	Jim Leyland
1977–1985	Chuck Tanner
1973–1976	Danny Murtaugh
1972–1973	Bill Virdon
1970–1971	Danny Murtaugh
1969	Alex Grammas
1968–1969	Larry Shepard
1967	Danny Murtaugh
1965–1967	Harry Walker
1957–1964	Danny Murtaugh
1956–1957	Bobby Bragan
1953–1955	Fred Haney
1948–1952	Billy Meyer
1947	Bill Burwell
1947	Billy Herman
1946	Spud Davis
1940–1946	Frankie Frisch
1934–1939	Pie Traynor

1932–1934	George Gibson
1929–1931	Jewel Ens
1927–1929	Donie Bush
1922–1926	Bill McKechnie
1920–1922	George Gibson
1917–1919	Hugo Bezdek
1917	Honus Wagner
1916–1917	Nixey Callahan
1900–1915	Fred Clarke
1899	Patsy Donovan
1898–1899	Bill Watkins
1897	Patsy Donovan
1894–1896	Connie Mack
1892–1894	Al Buckenberger
1892	Tom Burns
1891	Bill McGunnigle
1891	Ned Hanlon
1890	Guy Hecker
1889	Fred Dunlap
1884–1889	Horace Phillips
1884	George Creamer
1884	Joe Battin
1884	Bob Ferguson
1884	Denny McNight
1883	Joe Battin
1883	Ormond Butler
1882–1883	Al Pratt

Team Records by Individual Players

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Plate Appearances
Batting average	Arky Vaughn	.385	1935	Paul Waner	.340	9,532
On-base %	Aarky Vaughn	.491	1935	Brian Giles	.426	3,114
Slugging %	Ralph Kiner	.658	1949	Brian Giles	.592	3,114
OPS	Arky Vaughn	1.098	1935	Brian Giles	1.018	3,114
Games	Bill Mazeroski	163	1967	Honus Wagner	2,433	10,220
At bats	Matty Alou	698	1969	Roberto Clemente	9,454	10,212
Runs	Jake Stenzel	148	1894	Honus Wagner	1,521	10,220

(Continued)

Batting Leaders (Continued)

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Plate Appearances
Hits	Paul Waner	237	1927	Roberto Clemente	3,000	10,212
Total bases	Kiki Cuyler	369	1925	Roberto Clemente	4,492	10,212
Doubles	Paul Waner	62	1932	Paul Waner	558	9,532
Triples	Chief Wilson	36	1912	Honus Wagner	232	10,220
Home runs	Ralph Kiner	54	1949	Willie Stargell	475	9,026
RbIs	Ralph Waner	131	1927	Willie Stargell	1,540	9,026
Walks	Ralph Kiner	137	1951	Willie Stargell	937	9,026
Strikeouts	Craig Wilson	169	2004	Willie Stargell	1,936	9,026
Stolen bases	Omar Moreno	96	1980	Max Carey	688	9,654
Extra-base hits	Willie Stargell	90	1973	Willie Stargell	953	9,026
Times on base	Arky Vaughn	313	1936	Honus Wagner	3,951	10,220

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings pitched
ERA	Denny Driscoll	1.21	1882	Vic Willis	2.08	1,209
Wins	Ed Morris	41	1886	Wilbur Cooper	202	3,199
Won-loss %	Elroy Face	.947	1959	Jesse Tennehill	.667	1,499
Hits/9 IP	Al Mamaux	6.51	1915	Nick Maddox	7.24	605.3
Walks/9 IP	Denny Driscoll	0.54	1882	Denny Driscoll	0.85	537.3
Strikeouts	Ed Morris	326	1886	Bob Friend	1,682	3,480.3
Strikeouts/9 IP	Oliver Perez	10.97	2004	Bob Veale	7.96	1,868.7
Games	Kent Tekulve	94	1979	Elroy Face	802	1,314.7
Saves	Matt Williams	46	2002	Elroy Face	188	1,314.7
Innings	Ed Morris	581	1885	Bob Friend	3,480.3	3,480.3
Starts	Ed Morris	63	1885	Bob Friend	4,77	3,480.3
Complete games	Ed Morris	63	1885	Ed Morris	297	2,678
Shutouts	Ed Morris	12	1886	Babe Adams	44	2,991.3

Source: Drawn from data in "Pittsburgh Pirates Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/PIT/leaders_bat.shtml; "Pittsburgh Pirates Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/PIT/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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San Diego Padres

Sarah Trembanis

The San Diego Padres began their existence as a minor-league team in the Triple-A Pacific Coast League. Previously the Hollywood Stars, the team was purchased by Bill Lane in 1936 and moved to San Diego. He renamed the club in honor of Junipero Sera, who had founded the first California mission in the sixteenth century. The minor-league Padres competed downtown at WPA-funded Lane Field until 1957, when they moved to 8,200-seat Westgate Park.

San Diego's population growth to nearly 700,000 residents in 1970 (making it the second-largest Californian city), coupled with the increasing on-the-field success of the Padres, who won PCL pennants in 1962, 1964, and 1967, inspired owner C. Arnholt Smith to petition the National League to grant him franchise rights in San Diego. Smith, a bank and business owner, had purchased the Padres in 1955. Fully aware that San Diego required a major-league-capacity stadium in order to win over NL officials, Smith began to court civic support for a bond to cover construction costs. Smith found assistance from sportswriter Jack Murphy, who conducted a large public campaign to establish civic support for a new ballpark. In 1965, as a result of Murphy's efforts, 72 percent of San Diego voters passed a bond issue guaranteeing \$27.75 million for the stadium construction fund. This money was used to construct 50,000-seat San Diego Stadium, which hosted the San Diego Chargers during the football season and was the home field for the Padres' last minor-league season in 1968.

The stadium's location reflected the shifting population growth of San Diego and a general trend within baseball. San Diego Stadium was built in Mission Valley, a largely undeveloped area of San Diego that the Padres obtained cheaply, yet had excellent potential as a sports facility because it was conve-

nient to three interstate highways that made it very accessible to fans. Moreover, construction reflected the contemporary emphasis on progress with little concern for environmental consequences, as engineers rerouted the San Diego River to build on the 166-acre site.

Smith was not wealthy enough to secure a major-league franchise and had to borrow 90 percent of the \$10.2 million franchise fee from outside sources. His new partner in seeking a franchise was Emil J. "Buzzie" Bavasi, a former Dodgers official with more than 25 years' major-league experience. Bavasi, with the assistance of Dodgers owner Walter O'Malley, purchased a one-third share in the Padres and became club president. The fee entitled the club to select 30 mediocre players in the expansion draft.

San Diego in the late 1960s was a strong candidate for a major-league franchise. The metropolis had a growing population and a supportive minor-league fan base as well as ideal weather conditions for baseball. Land values boomed in San Diego County in the 1960s and 1970s as residents pushed the boundaries of the metropolitan area, establishing strapping suburbs. Additionally, the Padres had secured a stadium that neither Seattle nor Montreal, the two other franchise candidates, could match. Moreover, the city had a strong partnership bidding for the franchise, with the backing of the powerful Dodgers magnate. Other team owners believed Smith was financially stable, having secured the franchise fee, and knew Bavasi as a savvy baseball man. *Sports Illustrated* described Bavasi as "one of the few men in the world tricky enough to enter a revolving door behind you and come out ahead." On May 27, 1968, the Padres and the Montreal Expos were awarded franchises.

Despite the faith of the NL owners, Smith's debt placed the fledgling franchise on the brink of bankruptcy from the beginning. The Padres were immediately faced with a large payment on their debt, making it almost impossible for the management to assemble a competitive team. Additionally, the Padres would not share national television revenue for three years as part of the franchise agreement. Without a large pool of capital, the Padres could not pursue high-salaried veterans.

Adding greatly to the franchise's underlying financial problems were bureaucratic mishaps and weak first-year attendance. The Padres suffered myriad difficulties establishing themselves, enduring two months without a mail slot because of city paperwork, waiting a full month to get a phone number, and losing their only copy of home-ticket proofs in a delivery-truck accident. The beginning of the season revealed a more fundamental problem. Despite an opening three-game sweep of the Houston Astros, the Padres failed to attract many fans, drawing only about 613,000—well below the projected attendance of 800,000. The paltry attendance was a result of several factors. First, San Diego is geographically constricted, with an ocean to the west, a desert to the east, Mexico to the south, and Los Angeles, home of the Dodgers, to the north. Moreover, most residents had already adopted the Dodgers as their unofficial hometown team and were unwilling to switch allegiance. The Padres also suffered from

competition with the many leisure-time activities available to its residents. Local citizens had their choice of outdoor recreations and had to be drawn into the baseball stadium. Adding to attendance woes was an imbalanced schedule with many home games at the end of the season to take advantage of the warm fall weather. The strategy initially seemed beneficial, but with the Padres firmly entrenched in last place in the NL's Western Division, few fans attended.

The Padres attempted to take advantage of the heavy local Dodgers interest through Bavasi's connections. Many of the main team officials had strong Dodger ties. Preston Gomez, a Dodgers coach, was appointed as manager, and former Dodgers superstar Duke Snider broadcast Padres games. These hirings failed to bring about strong attendance numbers or a competitive team. Due to their poor performance, the Padres failed to attract crowds even for home games against the beloved Dodgers. During their first five years, the Padres finished last in their division, averaging over 100 losses a season and never drawing more than 645,000 fans, the lowest in the NL.

In May 1973, the public finally became aware of the Padres' perilous finances when the *San Diego Union* exposed the team's financial woes and Smith's intent to sell the team, as he was deeply in debt. While Smith was paying \$700,000 in annual loan interest, the Padres were earning approximately \$50,000 each year, leaving a substantial shortfall. The Padres' economic situation was so dire that by June, Smith was authorizing trades just to acquire enough money to satisfy his payroll.

At this point, the Padres were in dire need of an owner with deep pockets. The first offer came from an investment group desperate to return baseball to Washington, DC. Their spokesman, Joseph Danzansky, offered Smith a down payment of \$100,000 and pledged to negotiate a lease with RFK Stadium within 45 days, and Smith agreed to consult Danzansky on all personnel decisions. At this point, the Padres' relocation seemed inevitable, merely requiring NL approval. Topps Baseball Cards even released the 1974 series with the Padres identified as the Washington, DC, club.

Two unforeseen complications arose, namely O'Malley's opposition to the move and lawsuits filed by the city of San Diego. O'Malley wanted to keep a franchise in San Diego because it benefited his club in nearby Los Angeles. This position was directly opposite Commissioner Bowie Kuhn's, who had strong Washington ties and favored a move to the capital. San Diego's attorney initiated lawsuits claiming breach of contract, declaring the move would prematurely break the 20-year lease between the team and the city-owned stadium, and sought \$84 million in damages. The city's suits were unsuccessful in court, but city attorney John Witt pursued \$12 million in damages for breach of contract. Because of O'Malley's opposition and potential legal action, NL owners encouraged Smith to find a buyer willing to keep the Padres in San Diego.

In October 1973, Smith faced even more substantial problems. One of his major holdings, the U.S. National Bank of San Diego, was found to be insol-

vent, and the Internal Revenue Service demanded \$22.8 million in back taxes. Then the Securities and Exchange Commission investigated Smith on charges of fraud.

Fortunately for the Padres and Smith, a new buyer came to the forefront. Ray Kroc, the majority shareholder in McDonald's and a longtime Cubs fan, offered to purchase the team. Kroc, worth \$500 million, offered Smith \$12 million for the Padres and agreed to keep the team in San Diego. City officials offered Kroc certain concessions that gave the Padres a greater share of the parking and concessions revenues, plus a subsidy for stadium maintenance. In return, the new owner agreed to pay a substantial relocation fee if the Padres left. Kroc signed a lease ensuring the Padres would remain in San Diego until at least 1980, and maintained continuity by retaining Bavasi as co-owner and general manager. League owners quickly approved the deal.

The close call with relocation and Kroc's professed enthusiasm reinvigorated local fans, and attendance quickly improved. The Padres attracted 39,000 fans for their 1974 home opener and drew over a million fans during the season. Immediately, Kroc went after well-known veteran players to improve the quality of play and offered more fan promotions to increase attendance. Morale sharply improved among players, who appreciated such upgrades as a new airplane for road trips and a lounge for use by the Padres and their families. Kroc also managed to cross-promote his primary business, making McDonald's the new sponsor for Bat Night. Moreover, Kroc's enthusiasm for his team endeared him to San Diego fans.

However, Kroc soon committed a blunder that would briefly alienate the players. During Kroc's first game, the Padres trailed the Astros 9–2 due to sloppy playing. Kroc addressed the crowd of more than 39,000 in the eighth inning, saying, "Ladies and gentlemen, I suffer with you." After being briefly interrupted by a stalker, Kroc then remarked, "I've never seen such stupid ball playing in my life."

During his tenure as club owner, Kroc won over his players as well as the fans through various strategic improvements. Trading on the success of his commercial mascot, Ronald McDonald, Kroc encouraged the antics of one of the more notorious mascots in baseball, the San Diego Chicken, who enthralled fans and created a more family-friendly atmosphere at San Diego Stadium. Having developed carefully coordinating uniforms for his McDonald's employees, Kroc also improved the aesthetics of the Padres uniforms, replacing the garish yellow home uniform with a more traditional white one. Kroc also increased the number of promotions the club staged, drawing fans to the stadium and to their radios. Players made appearances at local McDonald's to bring further publicity to the club and Kroc's fast-food empire. These changes had financial and competitive benefits. In 1974, the Padres registered their first profitable season. On-the-field success took longer. Even with newly acquired veterans Matty Alou and Willie McCovey, the Padres did not achieve a winning season until 1978.

During the latter half of the 1970s, the Padres registered a greater number of victories and also witnessed the emergence of their first superstar, Dave Winfield, a San Diego outfielder from 1973 to 1980, a hot prospect when drafted in 1973 out of the University of Minnesota. Bypassing the minor leagues, Winfield joined the club in June and quickly made his presence known, batting .277 as a rookie. As a Padre, he annually was one of the club's top offensive players. In 1976, despite a stint on the disabled list, Winfield led the team in five offensive categories. Winfield also brought increased national attention to the Padres, contending for MVP in 1979, receiving the second-most votes for the All-Star Game, and receiving a Gold Glove Award. In 2001, Winfield became the first player to enter the Hall of Fame as a Padre.

In many ways, Kroc proved to be the right owner at the right time. An inherently conservative public figure and financial booster for Nixon in 1972, Kroc fit the political climate of the 1970s and 1980s. Kroc and his Padres took advantage of the increased connection of society and baseball after 1975. With Vietnam and most student protests at an end, baseball seemed less frivolous and more acceptable. In addition, the continual shifting of baseball franchises had abated by the mid-1970s, and fans felt more committed to their hometown teams. Locally, San Diego's population continued to rise, increasing almost 40 percent during the 1970s, while highway development in the San Diego area also expanded, which helped the Padres' attendance climb.

In 1977 Buzzie Bavasi, co-owner and general manager since their inception as a major-league franchise, left his positions as a result of his contentious relationship with Ray's wife, Joan Kroc. His replacement, Bob Fontaine, used an increased budget to acquire new players. Fontaine added veteran pitcher Gaylord Perry and rookie sensation Ozzie Smith, and hired Roger Craig as manager to replace Alvin Dark. Despite a losing April, the Padres launched a comeback in late June that continued throughout the 1978 campaign. The Padres finished fourth, recorded their first winning season (84–78), and set an attendance record of more than 1.67 million.

Kroc's willingness to bid on high-priced veteran players to bring a championship to San Diego fit in well with the local economic emphasis on speculation and trade. Unfortunately, Kroc was insufficiently experienced in the rules of free agency and trade. In 1979, after a post-All-Star Game slump, Kroc publicly announced his intention to devote \$5–10 million toward acquiring free agents Joe Morgan and Graig Nettles. Commissioner Kuhn found Kroc guilty of tampering and levied a \$100,000 fine. Consequently, Kroc removed himself as club president and named executive vice president Ballard Smith Jr., his son-in-law, as his replacement.

As the 1970s drew to a close, the major leagues, including the Padres, entered an era of big spending, labor problems, and well-publicized scandals. In 1979 Jerry Coleman was brought in from the TV booth to manage the club. The 1980 season was difficult for Coleman, the Padres, and San Diego fans. Early

in the year, it became evident that the franchise's star player, Winfield, would pursue free agency at the conclusion of the season. As Winfield's departure became a foregone conclusion, local fans vented their frustration toward him. The fans' anger increased as the Padres slumped, culminating in the termination of general manager Fontaine in early July.

Kroc hired a new general manager who thrived in the competition of the 1980s, "Trader Jack" McKeon, whose intent was to rebuild through acquiring new young talent and discarding older, less productive veterans. McKeon, under this rubric, presciently remarked that he could bring a pennant to San Diego within four or five years. While the team finished last in 1980, a late-season improvement seemed to reenergize the team for the future. Three players stole over 50 bases for the first time in NL history. Near the end of the season, the ballpark was renamed for the late Jack Murphy, who had been so instrumental in bringing major-league ball to San Diego. Shortly after the end of the season, Smith fired manager Jerry Coleman, who returned to broadcasting, and replaced him with former slugger Frank Howard.

McKeon engineered an off-season 11-player trade with St. Louis in line with his plan to unload high-salaried veterans. Four Padres, including Hall of Famer Rollie Fingers, moved to St. Louis in exchange for seven young Cardinals. McKeon followed this up with several more trades. Winfield, as expected, left San Diego, signing a multiyear contract with the New York Yankees. McKeon, in just four months, orchestrated a massive transformation of the team roster, trading away or adding 28 players. McKeon's dealings produced a young, inexperienced, moderately paid team.

The Padres began 1981 dismally, and ended it equally poorly. The players' strike split the season into two parts, and the Padres came in last in the NL West in both the first and second halves. Their 41–69 record was the low point of Ray Kroc's ownership. The Padres fired manager Frank Howard after just one year and brought in experienced manager Dick Williams. Williams compiled an 81–81 record in 1982, which was the rookie season of future Hall of Famer Tony Gwynn, the Padres' best player ever. In 20 seasons with the Padres Gwynn batted .338 and had 3,141 hits. He won five Gold Gloves and eight batting championships, and appeared in 15 All-Star Games. After the season the Padres made a huge error, trading Ozzie Smith in a multiplayer deal to the Cardinals. The Padres were also 81–81 in 1983, when the team welcomed free-agent Dodgers star first baseman Steve Garvey, who set an NL record that year of playing in 1,207 consecutive games. His signing sent a message that San Diego was serious about winning.

With two consecutive .500 seasons behind them, increased attendance, and two superstar players, the Padres had great hopes for 1984. In a devastating blow to the team, Ray Kroc died on January 14. Kroc's wife, Joan, became owner and chairwoman of the board.

McKeon continued to engineer trades that would help the Padres establish a well-rounded roster. Before the 1984 season, McKeon added free-agent re-

liever Goose Gossage and traded for Graig Nettles from the Yankees, adding experience and leadership to the roster. The Padres had a strong April, ending the month in first place in the NL West. After a short May slump, the Padres reasserted themselves as division contenders, virtually wrapping up the division title by the end of July. They finished with a record of 92–70, taking the West by 10 games.

In the postseason, the Padres faced the Chicago Cubs in the NL Championship Series. The Padres appeared to have little chance of success, losing the first two games of the series in Chicago. After moving to San Diego for game three, San Diego launched a comeback. Playing in front of an unprecedented 58,000 fans, the Padres capitalized on their home-field advantage and prevailed over the Cubs, winning three games to two to take the NL pennant. Garvey was named NLCS MVP. But in the World Series against the Tigers, the Padres only scored 15 runs in five games, and lost four games to one. Nonetheless, the excellent season in 1984 seemed to foreshadow future success for the Padres.

The next three years were marred by drug problems and club politics. The club went through three managers (Williams, Steve Boros, and Larry Bowa) and dropped successively from third to fourth to sixth (65–97 in 1987). Numerous key players suffered injuries at the start of the 1985 season. Alan Wiggins added to the Padres' difficulties, abandoning the team in April and checking into a rehabilitation center for a recurrent drug problem. Wiggins was traded to Baltimore shortly after he completed treatment. Drugs also hurt the career of pitcher La Marr Hoyt. He was twice arrested in February 1986 for drug possession. He went into drug-rehabilitation program and missed most of spring training. After the season he was arrested at the Mexican border for illegal drugs and sentenced to 45 days in jail. Commissioner Peter Ueberroth ordered a season-long suspension, but in June an arbitrator ordered him reinstated.

Steve Wulf, in a 1989 *Sports Illustrated* article, compared the Padres under Joan Kroc's leadership to a soap opera. Disputes had erupted between Kroc and son-in-law Ballard Smith Jr. After the disappointing 1985 season, when the Padres finished in third place, Smith and McKeon wanted to fire Dick Williams. Kroc, however, vetoed the decision, and kept Williams on as club manager. But Williams found the situation too strained, and decided to quit at the beginning of the next spring training. As a result of the increased tension, Smith resigned in 1987.

The Padres also were unable to escape the sex scandals that plagued baseball in the 1980s. Revelations about the private life of beloved Padre Steve Garvey came to light in a tell-all book by ex-wife Cyndy. Then, two years after retirement, he admitted having fathered children by different women. Garvey suffered a dramatic loss in status and was shunned by the organization that had retired his number.

In 1988, McKeon's power in the organization significantly expanded. Frustrated with the annual managerial switches, McKeon named himself field manager after dismissing Williams's successor, Larry Bowa. New club president



Tony Gwynn watches his two-run home run in Game 1 of the World Series against the New York Yankees, 1998. © AP/Wide World Photos

Chub Feeney had reservations about McKeon's ability to operate in the dual capacity of general and field manager and announced that McKeon would have to relinquish one of the jobs after the season. However, under great pressure from the fans and the team owners, Feeney was forced out. Tal Smith was named executive in charge of daily operations, while Dick Freeman became club president. McKeon retained both his positions but yielded draft duties to another Padres employee. The team's salaries came to \$9,878,168, 19th of 26 teams.

In 1989 the Padres recorded the second-most wins in club history (89), while pitcher Mark Davis received the Cy Young Award and Tony Gwynn won the NL batting title. After the season, Joan Kroc sold the Padres for \$90 million to a syndicate headed by TV producer Tom Werner. The new owners replaced McKeon as field manager with Greg Riddoch, who led the Padres in 1990 to a fourth-place finish and a losing record at 75–87. Following the season, McKeon was

fired as general manager of the club and replaced by Joe McIlvane. The Padres compiled winning records in 1991 (83–78) and 1992 (89–73), yet finished at least 10 games behind the division leader. In 1992 Gary Sheffield led the NL in batting (.330) and Fred McGriff led in homers (35). In 1993 Randy Smith was named general manager at the age of 29, and he retained Jim Riggleman, who had taken over at the end of 1992, as manager. The season was an unmitigated disaster, as the Padres lost over 100 games for the first time since 1974.

In the strike season of 1994, the Padres compiled 70 losses under Riggleman and were on their way to a club record for futility when play was halted. Financially, the strike was a catastrophe for the Padres and the final blow for Werner's ownership group. Even though the club did not pay the players during the strike, they still had to pay the nonstriking staff while bringing in no revenue. Werner and his partners sold the Padres after the season to John Moores, the owner of a software company, for \$80 million. Moores became the majority owner, while Larry Lucchino, former president

of the Baltimore Orioles, became a minority owner. Bruce Bochy became the new manager.

The mid-1990s also witnessed a revolution in outreach methods for Hispanic fans. After years of ignoring their potential drawing power in Mexico, the Padres made overtures south of the border, establishing a director of Hispanic and multicultural marketing and opening a store in Tijuana to sell team merchandise and ticket packages that included transportation.

Capitalizing on the success of their outreach programs, the Padres expanded their involvement with their Mexican fans. In August 1995, the Republican Party intended to hold its convention in Jack Murphy Stadium, displacing the team. Consequently, team officials arranged to play the three home games during the convention in Monterrey, Mexico. Although the convention plans changed, the Padres kept their commitment to play the series in Mexico. To further attract Mexican fans, the Padres named native pitcher Fernando Valenzuela as the first-game starter.

Aside from their success with expanding their fan base, the Padres also experienced great success in the standings, despite having salaries (\$27,133,026) that were just 20th out of 30 major-league teams. The Padres won the 1996 NL West division title with a record of 91–71, led by Gwynn's seventh batting title and Ken Caminiti's 130-RBI MVP performance, an accomplishment that was later sullied by his 2002 admission of steroid use. Unfortunately for the Padres, the division title did not result in postseason success. The St. Louis Cardinals defeated the Padres in the first round in a three-game sweep.

In 1997 the park was expanded at a cost of \$78 million; \$60 million was raised through city-financed bonds, and the rest came from the fee for renaming the field Qualcomm Park. This expansion added an additional 10,500 seats. A Padres' task force that year concluded that the club needed a baseball-only stadium, similar to that of other cities who were building retro ballparks downtown in hopes of benefiting from their central location and a concurrent revitalization of downtown locations. These new stadiums tended to emphasize the unique characteristics of their hometowns by integrating the architecture with the cityscape, thus more closely tying civic identity to the local baseball franchise. In San Diego, the proposed PETCO Park incorporated a historical industrial building into its design and showcased views of San Diego Bay. As they entered the 1998 season, the Padres needed to perform well and attract fans to convince San Diegans to approve a bond issue to finance the new stadium.

The Padres in 1998 again won the NL West division title (98–64), and drew over 2.5 million spectators, making a strong case for the club's ability to fill a new stadium. The team batted just .253, but were powered by Greg Vaughn's 50 homers and strong pitching from starter Kevin Brown (18–7, 2.38 ERA) and Trevor Hoffman's 53 saves. In addition, unlike 1996, the Padres advanced in the postseason, thanks to the performances of Kevin Brown, Greg Vaughn, and Tony Gwynn. After defeating Houston in the first round three games to one, the Padres faced the Atlanta Braves and won the NL pennant

in a six-game series. But in the World Series the Padres were swept by the New York Yankees.

Nonetheless, the strong performances on the field and the large attendance had positive implications for the stadium bond vote. That November, San Diego voters passed Proposition C, which approved construction of a new \$411 million, 46,000-seat downtown ballpark for the Padres adjacent to the San Diego Convention Center. It was planned as part of a larger Ballpark District, featuring offices, retail, hotels, and residential units with the expectation of rehabilitating a dilapidated section of downtown. Construction was delayed for two years because the city did not sell the approved bonds while defending itself against lawsuits brought by antitax activists. The project was a joint city (70%) and Padres (30%) project. The final cost came to \$285 million for ballpark construction and \$171.8 million for land acquisition and infrastructure, or a total of \$456.8 million. This helped raise the value of the Padres at the start of the 2005 season to \$329 million, 13th in MLB.

In 37 years as a major-league team, the Padres have witnessed significant ownership and leadership changes, potential relocation, the cultivation of a franchise

player in Tony Gwynn, and the extremes of competitive success and failure. They are a small-city team with revenues in the lower third of MLB. As a team, the Padres have only completed 13 winning seasons, and none from 1999 through 2003, when they were among the poorest-paying teams. The completion of PETCO Park; their 23-game improvement in 2004 to 87–75 (which reflected an increase to a midlevel pay scale), led by second baseman Mark Loretta, who batted .335; and attendance of over 3 million made San Diego fans optimistic once again. The team's financial situation has improved, although the Padres still struggle to balance team debt and payroll demands. Moores named Sandy Alderson, former president and general manager of the Oakland A's, as CEO, charging him with the responsibility of reshaping the team and its finances as the Padres move forward. The Padres made the playoffs in 2005 with a modest 82–80 record, winning the very weak NL West with the worst record of any team



Trevor Hoffman pitches in a spring training game in Peoria, Arizona, 2002. © AP / Wide World Photos

to make the postseason. They were led by Jake Peavy, 13–7, with a 2.88 ERA and a league-leading 216 strikeouts, and Trevor Hoffman, with 43 saves in 46 chances. But the Padres were swept in three in the divisional playoffs by the Cardinals. Still, with two consecutive winning seasons and a popular new stadium, Padres fans are optimistic about the future.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1996	Ken Caminiti	3B

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1976	Randy Jones	LHP
1978	Gaylord Perry	RHP
1989	Mark Davis	LHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1976	Butch Metzger	P
1987	Benito Santiago	C

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1984	Tony Gwynn	.351
1987	Tony Gwynn	.370
1988	Tony Gwynn	.313
1989	Tony Gwynn	.336
1992	Gary Sheffield	.330
1994	Tony Gwynn	.394
1995	Tony Gwynn	.368
1996	Tony Gwynn	.353
1997	Tony Gwynn	.372

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1992	Fred McGriff	35

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1975	Randy Jones	2.24
2004	Jake Peavy	2.27

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1994	Andy Benes	189
2005	Jake Peavy	216

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES**NL West Division Titles**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1984	92–70	Dick Williams
1996	91–71	Bruce Bochy
1998	98–64	Bruce Bochy
2005	82–80	Bruce Bochy

NL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1984	92–70	Dick Williams
1998	98–64	Bruce Bochy

MANAGERS

1995–	Bruce Bochy
1992–1994	Jim Riggleman
1990–1992	Greg Riddoch
1988–1990	Jack McKeon
1987	Larry Bowa
1986	Steve Boros
1982–1985	Dick Williams
1981	Frank Howard
1980	Jerry Coleman
1978–1980	Roger Craig
1977	Alvin Dark
1977	Bob Skinner
1974–1977	John McNamara
1973–1974	Don Zimmer
1969–1972	Preston Gomez

Team Records by Individual Players

	Single Season			Career		Plate Appearances
	Name		Year	Name		
Batting average	Tony Gwynn	.394	1994	Tony Gwynn	.338	10,232
On-base %	Tony Gwynn	.454	1994	Gene Tenace	.403	2,094
Slugging %	Ken Caminiti	.621	1996	Ken Caminiti	.540	2,351
OPS	Ken Caminiti	1.028	1996	Ken Caminiti	.924	2,351
Games	Dave Winfield	162	1980	Tony Gwynn	2,440	10,232
At bats	Steve Finley	655	1996	Tony Gwynn	9,288	10,232
Runs	Steve Finley	126	1996	Tony Gwynn	1,383	10,232
Hits	Tony Gwynn	220	1997	Tony Gwynn	3,141	10,232
Total bases	Steve Finley	348	1996	Tony Gwynn	4,529	10,232
Doubles	Tony Gwynn	49	1997	Tony Gwynn	543	10,232
Triples	Tony Gwynn	13	1987	Tony Gwynn	85	10,232
Home runs	Greg Vaughn	50	1998	Nat Colbert	163	3,485
RBIs	Ken Caminiti	130	1996	Tony Gwynn	1,138	10,232
Walks	Jack Clark	132	1989	Tony Gwynn	790	10,232
Strikeouts	Nat Colbert	150	1970	Nat Colbert	773	3,485
Stolen bases	Alam Wiggins	70	1984	Tony Gwynn	319	10,232
Extra-base hits	Steve Finley	84	1996	Tony Gwynn	763	10,232
Times on base	Tony Gwynn	303	1987	Tony Gwynn	3,955	10,232

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		Innings Pitched
	Name		Year	Name		
ERA	Dave Roberts	2.10	1996	Trevor Hoffman	2.73	786.7
Wins	Randy Jones	22	1976	Eric Show	100	1,603.3
Won-loss %	Gaylord Perry	.780	1978	Jake Peavy	.597	661.7
Hits/9 IP	Clay Kirby	7.17	1971	Trevor Hoffman	6.90	786.7
Walks/9 IP	La Marr Hoyt	0.86	1985	Randy Jones	2.11	1,766
Strikeouts	Kevin Brown	257	1998	Andy Benes	1,036	1,235
Strikeouts/9 IP	Andy Benes	9.87	1994	Trevor Hoffman	10.17	786.7
Games	Craig Lefferts	83	1986	Trevor Hoffman	728	786.7
Saves	Trevor Hoffman	53	1998	Trevor Hoffman	434	786.7
Innings	Randy Jones	315.3	1976	Randy Jones	1,766	1,766
Starts	Randy Jones	40	1976	Randy Jones	253	1,766
Complete games	Randy Jones	25	1976	Randy Jones	71	1,766
Shutouts	Randy Jones	6	1975	Randy Jones	18	1,766

Source: Drawn from data in "San Diego Padres Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/SDP/leaders_bat.shtml; "San Diego Padres Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/SDP/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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San Francisco Giants

Andrew Goldblatt

BIRTH OF THE GIANTS

The pitcher wore a frilled shirt, mauve pants, silk socks, and crimson-laced tennis shoes. But that wasn't why his teammates threw him off the field. They threw him off because he gave up 12 runs in the first inning and, jauntily drying his brow with an embroidered handkerchief, assured them he *usually* did better over the rest of the game.

From that unpromising moment grew the New York, later San Francisco, Giants. Through the first quarter of the twentieth century the Giants were the wealthiest, winningest, most obnoxious team in baseball. To put it another way, they were the Yankees before the Yankees were the Yankees. But with every success came a setback, and eventually their fortunes declined. Only at the beginning of the twenty-first century did they rejoin the top rank of major-league franchises.

The popinjay pitcher was John B. Day, a prosperous Manhattan tobacco merchant with dreams of diamond glory. But he had more money than talent, as proved by that abbreviated 1880 stint for the Washington Nationals at Brooklyn's Union Grounds. While he sat in the stands and nursed his humiliation, he was approached by James Mutrie, who had walked to New York from Fall River, Massachusetts, as part of a race that he lost. The enterprising Mutrie explained that he had recently organized a ball club back home, and with Day's support could assemble a fresh team in New York that would put the haughty Nationals to shame. Soon after, Day and Mutrie formed the Metropolitan Base Ball Club.

The Mets, as the new team was called, started as an independent outfit. A Wall Street bootblack asked Day why the team played at the Union Grounds in Brooklyn when a Manhattan polo field owned by *New York Herald* scion James Gordon Bennett Jr. sat idle. Day followed up on the tip and leased the original Polo Grounds at Sixth Avenue and 110th Street, just above Central Park. The Mets drew sizable crowds, leading Day and Mutrie to schedule exhibitions against opponents from the National League. They had more than attendance in mind. They were seeking exposure for their team when neither the NL nor a brand-new circuit, the American Association, had a franchise in New York.

The AA offered the Mets membership for its inaugural season in 1882. But as a son of the age of monopoly, Day wanted to corner New York's professional baseball market. He conceived of a scheme that depended on a bid from the more established NL, and declined the AA's offer.

Class also factored into his decision. The AA proposed to charge only half as much (25 cents) for admission as the NL, guaranteeing a large blue-collar turnout. It planned to sell alcohol in the stands, earning itself the epithet "Beer Ball League," and scheduled games for Sundays. The dandified Day, who shuttled from his elegant brownstone to his Lower East Side factory to Wall Street to the Polo Grounds in his own coach, didn't want himself or his team branded lower class, especially when more money could be made appealing to the middle class.

In 1882 the still-independent Mets averaged nearly 1,500 fans a game, impressive for those times. The NL came courting, and Day put his plan in action. He accepted membership, then placed the Mets in the AA and demanded that the NL grant him a brand-new franchise. That left the NL with three vexing choices: concede New York to the AA, recruit a different owner to compete against Day's popular Mets, or give Day what he wanted. It took the last course, and Day had his monopoly.

To fill out his new team's roster, Day purchased rights to the disbanded NL franchise in Troy, New York. It was a stroke of luck, genius, or both, for Troy had four future Hall of Famers—Buck Ewing, Roger Connor, Tim Keefe, and Mickey Welch—who would anchor Day's NL entry through decade's end. Day laid out a second diamond at the Polo Grounds so both his teams could play at once.

Day's NL franchise, originally referred to as the Gothams, played its first game on May 1, 1883, at the Polo Grounds against Boston. "When the game began it was estimated that fully 15,000 persons were in the enclosure. Among those present was Gen. [Ulysses S.] Grant. He sat in the rear of the grand stand and apparently enjoyed the game, as he at times took part in the applause given the players," said the *New York Times*. The first three batters for the home team were Ewing, Connor, and John Montgomery Ward, all future Hall of Famers. They paced the club to a 7–5 victory.

Although Day had assigned Mutrie to manage the Mets and given him Tim Keefe to handle the pitching, the NL Gothams were his pride and joy.

After the Mets won the AA pennant in 1884 and participated in professional baseball's first meaningful postseason tournament, a "Championship of the United States" against the Providence Grays, Day transferred Mutrie, Keefe, and third baseman Dude Esterbrook to the Gothams. Keefe and Esterbrook were tall for that era, reaching nearly six feet. They joined other imposing figures like Roger Connor, the six-foot-three 220-pounder whose career record for home runs (138) stood until Babe Ruth broke it. In his jubilation over an 11-inning win at Philadelphia on June 3, 1885, the effusive Mutrie proclaimed his players "My big fellows! My *giants!*" The name stuck.

As the NL increased its dominance and the Giants became a force within it, Day let the Mets wither, selling the franchise to the AA's Brooklyn team for \$15,000 in October 1887. Under Mutrie's "We are the people!" battle cry, the Giants won their first pennant in 1888 with an 84–47 record. Keefe led the league with 35 wins and a 1.74 ERA. The Giants prevailed in a championship series against the AA's St. Louis Browns, six games to four.

Despite cordial relations with Manhattan's notoriously corrupt Tammany Hall political machine, Day was evicted from the Polo Grounds so the land could be used for a majestic entrance to the north end of Central Park (Douglass Circle). In 1889 the world champions had to play in Jersey City and Staten Island until July 8, when a fresh grandstand, christened the new Polo Grounds, opened at the base of Coogan's Bluff, a craggy hill abutting the Hudson River between 155th and 157th Streets in upper Manhattan. In their first game there the Giants beat Pud Galvin and the Pittsburgh Pirates 7–5 in front of more than 10,000 fans. The site remained the Giants' home for the next 68 years.

The Giants won the NL crown again in 1889 with an 83–43 record. Along with balanced pitching, they had the best hitting in the NL, averaging nearly a run more per game than any other team. Their postseason opponents were the AA's Brooklyn Bridegrooms, who later became the Dodgers. It was the first time the two teams, archrivals to this day, played for something more than pride. In a series sullied by poor umpiring, the Giants won their second consecutive world championship "as easily as a negro would beat a carpet," said the *Sporting News*.

Day and Mutrie had succeeded beyond their wildest dreams. Their team was the toast of New York. It even had female fans, having introduced Ladies' Days on June 16, 1883. DeWolf Hopper, the actor who popularized the poem "Casey at the Bat," helped organize an October 20, 1889, benefit at the Broadway Theatre to present the Giants with the NL pennant. According to the *Times*, "hundreds of people were turned away, and outside the building, both on Broadway and Forty-First Street, there was such a jam that the police had to interfere to make a passage way on the sidewalks." James J. Coogan, owner of the land on which the new Polo Grounds had been built, offered to buy the Giants for the stupendous sum of \$200,000.

DOUBLE WHAMMY: THE PLAYERS' LEAGUE AND ANDREW FREEDMAN

Day should have taken Coogan's offer, for disaster loomed. He had been antagonizing ballplayers since 1883, when he successfully proposed rules barring teams from signing players deemed to have violated the reserve clause. In response to further attempts by Day and his fellow owners to restrict the salary and movement of players, Giants shortstop John Montgomery Ward organized the Brotherhood of Professional Base Ball Players. Ward's teammates formed the core of the union's support.

Ward was one of the most remarkable figures in baseball history, a star shortstop and labor leader combined. In the summer of 1887 he published an impassioned diatribe in *Lippincott's Magazine* arguing that the reserve clause "inaugurated a species of serfdom which gave one set of men a life-estate in the labor of another, and withheld from the latter any corresponding claim . . . Its justification, if any, lay only in its expediency." Day responded to this and other incitements by replacing Ward as team captain (the equivalent of field manager) with Buck Ewing.

After the 1887 season the owners formally recognized the Brotherhood and made a few minor concessions. By that point, however, little could make Day and Ward friends. In 1888 Ward successfully held out for a \$4,000 salary. He led the Giants to their first championship, then joined Chicago owner Albert Spalding and several players on a world tour, staging baseball exhibitions from New Zealand to France. While he was away, Day sold him to the Washington Senators for the unprecedented sum of \$12,000. Ward refused to report to Washington unless he received at least half the sale price, forcing cancellation of the deal. The incident fueled Ward's dream of a league controlled by the players.

In the summer of 1889 he laid plans for just such a venture, and on November 4, six days after leading the Giants to their second straight championship, he published the Brotherhood Manifesto, declaring the players' intention to form their own league. Day and two other owners, Chicago's Spalding and Boston's John Rogers, issued a puffed-up rebuttal that further enraged the Brotherhood. The players gathered in New York in December 1889, and a dozen Giants (every frontliner except pitcher Mickey Welch and outfielder Mike Tiernan, the latter of whom was enticed into staying by a three-year, \$12,000 contract, well above the \$2,500 he earned in 1889) announced their defection to the new Players' League.

Just like that, John B. Day's valuable asset vanished. He sued Ward for violating the reserve clause, but Ward, a Columbia law-school product, argued his own case, and on January 29, 1890, emerged from court victorious. Day next sued Buck Ewing amid rumors he had offered Ewing a three-year, \$33,000 contract to stay with the Giants. On March 26, 1890, a U.S. circuit court granted Ewing's freedom.

All the Giants defectors except Ward (who played for and managed Brooklyn) moved to the Players' League's New York team, which built Brotherhood Park just north of the new Polo Grounds. Naturally the fans went to see the championship-caliber players, not Day's hastily assembled replacements. Averaging fewer than a thousand fans a game, Day warned his fellow NL owners in July that without a cash infusion of \$80,000 he would have to sell his franchise to the Players' League. Led by John T. Brush, who had earlier dissolved his Indianapolis team and sold his players to Day, NL owners rescued the Giants from bankruptcy.

The Players' League folded after a year. Day lasted only a little longer. He commandeered Brotherhood Park (which soon reverted to the name Polo Grounds) and found a new ace in future Hall of Famer Amos Rusie, whose blazing fastball was one of the main reasons pitchers were pushed to 60 feet, 6 inches from home plate in 1893. The reconstituted Giants finished third and drew well in 1891, setting a single-game attendance record of 22,289 for a June match against Chicago. But after the season Day's stockholders demanded (and received) the removal of Mutrie, who had spent an unheard-of \$55,000 on payroll. A year later the financially strapped Day himself was ousted when Edward Talcott, an attorney and investor credited by the *Times* as the only Giants owner other than Day to "know the difference between a base hit and a foul flag," joined with Brush to gain a controlling block of stock.

Talcott stayed just long enough to win another world championship in 1894, when the Giants beat the first-place Baltimore Orioles in the Temple Cup, a postseason series between the NL's first- and second-place teams. Rusie led the NL with 36 wins, a 2.78 ERA, and 195 strikeouts. Talcott sold out to Andrew Freedman for an estimated \$53,000.

If the Giants were the Yankees before the Yankees were the Yankees, then Andrew Freedman was George Steinbrenner before Steinbrenner was Steinbrenner. A real-estate speculator closely tied to Richard Croker, boss of Manhattan's Tammany Hall machine, and himself a prominent figure in the Democratic Party, the overbearing Freedman irritated almost everyone he encountered. One of his first acts was to reserve grandstand seats for respectable businessmen, but under his reign Polo Grounds crowds became increasingly vulgar. In fairness, this was a problem every team faced in the 1890s, as the game on the field devolved into thuggery. Freedman inflamed the situation, however, engaging in highly publicized shouting matches with managers (he fired 12 in eight years), players, umpires, and fellow owners.

Freedman so angered his star attraction, "Hoosier Thunderbolt" Rusie, that in 1895 the pitcher gestured obscenely at Freedman, leading Freedman to assess a \$200 fine that Rusie refused to pay. When Freedman deducted the money from Rusie's 1896 contract, Rusie sat out the season and filed a lawsuit challenging the reserve clause. Leery of the Giants' court record in such matters, the NL's other owners overrode Freedman's objections and raised \$3,000 among themselves to settle with the star pitcher.

Paced by Rusie's 28 wins and league-leading 2.54 ERA, the Giants finished third in 1897, but after that they faded, finishing last in 1900. Attendance dropped from 390,000 in 1897 to an abysmal 121,000 (9th in the 12-team circuit) two years later. Knowing the Giants survived purely by dint of monopoly, the American League, launched in 1901 with a promise to restore the game's integrity, tried to place a franchise in New York. Freedman used his real-estate connections and Tammany Hall clout to deny AL president Ban Johnson a Manhattan ballpark site.

In August 1901 Freedman secretly proposed to the Boston, Cincinnati, and St. Louis teams that they reorganize the NL into a trust paying a seven percent annual dividend. He would receive the biggest share of the trust, at 30 percent. They would each get 12 percent. Chicago and Philadelphia would get 10 percent, Pittsburgh 8 percent, and Brooklyn 6 percent. When the scheme came to light in December 1901 it triggered a final-straw response from the other four teams, who elected Albert Spalding president of the league for the express purpose of running Freedman out of baseball. Freedman and his coconspirators boycotted the election, and then contested its validity, preventing Spalding from assuming his post. Swirls of intrigue later, the coconspirators deserted Freedman, leaving him isolated and humiliated.

Also in late 1901, reformer Seth Low was elected mayor of New York. Three years earlier Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, the Bronx, and Staten Island had been consolidated into New York City. An unintended consequence, at least from the perspective of Freedman and his Tammany Hall cronies, was an influx of Republican votes from Brooklyn sufficient to topple their crooked machine. With another nemesis, former Manhattan police commissioner Theodore Roosevelt, ensconced in the White House, many Tammany types thought it best to go underground until the good-government fad blew over. Freedman did so literally, becoming a director of the subway-digging Interborough Rapid Transit Construction Company.

MCGRAW ARRIVES

But first Freedman had to sell the Giants. Knowing he would not get much for them as is, he made what turned out to be a lasting improvement to the team's value by hiring John J. McGraw to manage.

The 29 year-old McGraw had been a star with the NL Orioles, the most innovative, and lawless, team in baseball history. After the NL shut down the Orioles in 1900, McGraw spent a year with the Cardinals, and then returned to Baltimore as player, manager, and part owner of the new AL Orioles. The team drew poorly, and was likely to move to New York as soon as Ban Johnson could find space for a ballpark. McGraw yearned to prove himself in the city he called "the cornerstone of baseball." But he still had the old, cheating Oriole in him, which Johnson despised. Concluding that Johnson would never let him be the AL's point man in New York, McGraw leaped when Freedman invited him to manage the Giants.

McGraw sold his half of the Diamond Café, a Baltimore saloon, to business partner and former Orioles teammate Wilbert Robinson in exchange for Robinson's share of the Orioles. McGraw then sold his and Robinson's stock to a group fronting for Freedman. Even before the group took over the Orioles, Freedman signed McGraw to a lucrative four-year contract. Once Freedman's ownership became official, he followed McGraw's advice and brought several other Orioles to New York, including future Hall of Famers Roger Bresnahan and Joe McGinnity.

As one of the biggest names in baseball (his single-season NL record for on-base percentage, .547 in 1899, lasted until the Giants' Barry Bonds broke it in 2002), McGraw attracted almost 10,000 fans to his first game on July 19, 1902. It was the Giants' biggest crowd since the season opener. The Giants played .397 ball under the fiery young manager, unimpressive until compared to the .299 they had been playing before he arrived. That September Freedman sold his interest in the team for \$100,000 to Cincinnati Reds owner John T. Brush.

The cadaverous Brush had repeatedly figured in Giants history. His 1888 plan to rank players by skill level and pay everyone at the same level the same amount of money (the Brush Classification Plan) expedited formation of the Players' League, which hit the Giants harder than any other team. Brush profited from the Giants' duress by selling his Indianapolis players to John B. Day in 1890, and accepted a chunk of Giants stock in exchange for helping to rescue Day later that summer. As owner of the Reds, he supported Freedman's plan to turn the NL into a trust. In December 1900, he traded Christy Mathewson to the Giants for the worn-out Amos Rusie; since he was too astute to believe the trade fair, he probably knew he would soon be running the Giants. When Freedman and McGraw launched their takeover of the Orioles, Brush was there again, buying shares of the Baltimore franchise on Freedman's behalf.

Brush had the good sense to let McGraw run the team. McGraw was born in 1873 in Truxton, New York (some 50 miles west of Cooperstown), and was shaped by a miserable childhood. A diphtheria epidemic killed his mother, three siblings, and stepsister, and by 12 he was on his own, selling snacks and newspapers to survive. Practicing baseball every spare moment, he turned pro six days shy of his 17th birthday. He reached the majors at 18 and began his managerial career at 26.

McGraw combined a brilliant baseball mind with a keen eye for talent, an iron hand, and a vicious tongue. He controlled his team's every move, telling his players, "Do what I tell you, and I'll take the blame if it goes wrong." He was ready to fight anyone who stood in the way of a Giants victory, and also got in trouble for gambling and drinking. But he had a benevolent side, doling out cash and jobs to destitute alumni like Mickey Welch, Amos Rusie, and even John B. Day. His legion of detractors called him "Muggsy," a nickname he reviled. His admirers dubbed him "the Little Napoleon."

Together, Brush and McGraw built the Giants into baseball's richest and most glamorous franchise. And not a moment too soon, for after the 1902 sea-

son the AL announced it had found the backers and stadium site to transfer its Baltimore team to New York. If nothing else united Brush and McGraw, it was hatred of Ban Johnson's AL and its interloping Highlanders (later the Yankees). The NL and AL declared peace in January 1903, but it was over the Giants' objections.

In 1903 McGraw's Giants finished an amazing 34 1/2 games better than the year before, going from last place to second. That October, Pittsburgh and Boston played the first modern World Series. But when the Giants won the NL pennant in 1904, Brush and McGraw refused to participate in the Series. "There is nothing in the constitution or playing rules of the National League which requires its victorious club to submit its championship honors to a contest with a victorious club in a minor league," said Brush dismissively.

Brush and McGraw had fielded what is still the winningest team in Giants history (106 victories in 153 decisions). "Iron Man" McGinnity led the league with 35 wins, 408 innings pitched, and a 1.61 ERA. Mathewson had 33 wins and led the NL with 212 strikeouts. The hitters scored nearly a run more per game than the league average. The team attracted a league record 610,000 fans and made an estimated \$100,000 profit. But for refusing to play in the World Series, Brush and McGraw were branded losers, cowards, and worse. Their own players were so peeved over the missed opportunity for a postseason paycheck that Brush felt compelled to dole out \$5,000 in bonuses. When the leagues soon signed an agreement to play the World Series every fall, Brush and McGraw stifled their disapproval.

The Giants won 105 games and another pennant in 1905 with what McGraw considered his best team. Christy Mathewson won the triple crown of pitching with 31 wins, a 1.28 ERA, and 206 strikeouts. In the World Series, Mathewson shut out the Philadelphia Athletics three times, further heralding his arrival as the NL's greatest pitcher. The American idea of the role-model athlete largely originated with Mathewson, a tall, blond, blue-eyed Pennsylvanian nicknamed "Big Six," ostensibly because Manhattan's Big Six Fire Company responded fastest to fires. He refused to play on Sundays (not the sacrifice it sounds, since most cities banned athletic events on the Sabbath), spoke humbly despite a college education, and pursued his craft with a tenacity equal to McGraw's. Before Babe Ruth, he was the game's most popular figure. His 373 lifetime wins tie him with Grover Cleveland Alexander for most among NL pitchers and third best all-time.

McGraw's reputation moved in the opposite direction. Although New Yorkers loved him, in other NL cities his arrogance and combativeness provoked jeers and sometimes violence. He relished his role as the embodiment of everything people hated about New York, saving his most outrageous behavior for Pittsburgh and Chicago, homes to the only teams capable of beating his.

On May 19, 1905, McGraw violated etiquette by crassly calling, "Hey, Barney!" to Pittsburgh's gentleman owner, Barney Dreyfuss. He accused Dreyfuss of controlling the umpires through league president Harry Pulliam, a former Pirates executive, and offered to bet Dreyfuss \$10,000 the Giants

would win that day. (McGraw and Brush detested Pulliam for cooperating with the AL and leading the drive to reinstitute the World Series.) Dreyfuss reported the incident to Pulliam, who fined McGraw \$150 and suspended him for 15 days. Giants fans rallied to McGraw's defense, filing a 12,000-name petition that decried Pulliam's actions. A defensive Dreyfuss complained that this wasn't the first time he and McGraw had argued over bets, an indiscretion that so alarmed the other NL owners that they exonerated McGraw and censured Dreyfuss.

McGraw was not as successful against the Cubs, whose infield trio of Tinker, Evers, and Chance owes much of its fame to the doggerel of Giants fan Franklin P. Adams ("These are the saddest of possible words: Tinker to Evers to Chance"). Frank Chance loved trading insults with McGraw. From 1905 to 1912, when Chance managed the Cubs, the Giants were only 75–101 (.426) against Chicago while compiling a winning record against every other NL team.

The rivalry with the Cubs culminated in 1908, a year that saw the Giants attract a record 910,000 fans, more than a quarter of the NL's attendance. The peak moment was Merkle's Boner, still one of the most controversial plays in baseball history. On September 23, with only two weeks remaining in the season and the Giants leading the Cubs by one game, the teams went to the bottom of the ninth at the Polo Grounds tied 1–1. With two outs, Giants rookie Fred Merkle singled to right, sending base runner Moose McCormick to third. Al Bridwell followed with a solid liner over second base, scoring McCormick with the winning run. Players poured out of the dugouts and 20,000 elated Giants fans spilled onto the field.

But was it really the winning run? Evers insisted to umpires Bob Emslie and Hank O'Day (a star pitcher for the Giants in the championship series of 1889) that Merkle never touched second base. If Evers got the ball and stepped on second, Merkle would become the third out and the run would not count. Cubs center fielder Solly Hofman threw the ball in, but Giants pitcher Joe McGinnity yanked it from Evers's hands and heaved it into left field. An unidentified Cub returned a ball, perhaps the game ball, perhaps not. Evers stepped on the bag, but didn't get the call he wanted; desperate to escape the masses of volatile fans, neither Emslie nor O'Day watched him make the play. From the safety of his hotel room that night, however, O'Day ruled that Merkle had failed to touch second and that the game had ended in a 1–1 tie.

New York talked of nothing else. The story ran on the front page of newspapers, rare prominence for baseball in those days. McGraw protested the decision, but league president Pulliam upheld O'Day. The ruling "sort of took the heart out of the gang," McGraw conceded years later. The Giants and Cubs ended the regular season with identical 98–55 records, and had to replay the tie game to determine the league champion.

The Cubs were jeered by thousands of New Yorkers on their ride from Penn Station to the Polo Grounds. "I never heard anybody or any set of men called as many foul names as the Giants fans called us that day from the time we showed up till it was over," Cubs pitcher Mordecai Brown recalled. After the

Cubs won 4–2 over Mathewson to clinch the pennant, one Giants fan injured Frank Chance with a punch to the neck, and another stabbed pitcher Jack Pfeister. The Cubs got out of the park only with the protection of revolver-brandishing policemen.

After the game umpires Bill Klem and James Johnstone alleged that Giants team physician Joseph Creamer offered them \$2,500 apiece to throw the game. Creamer was banned from baseball. McGraw, in whose name Creamer claimed to act, got off scot-free. Over the next 15 years McGraw figured in several more bribery allegations, but never had to pay a price for them.

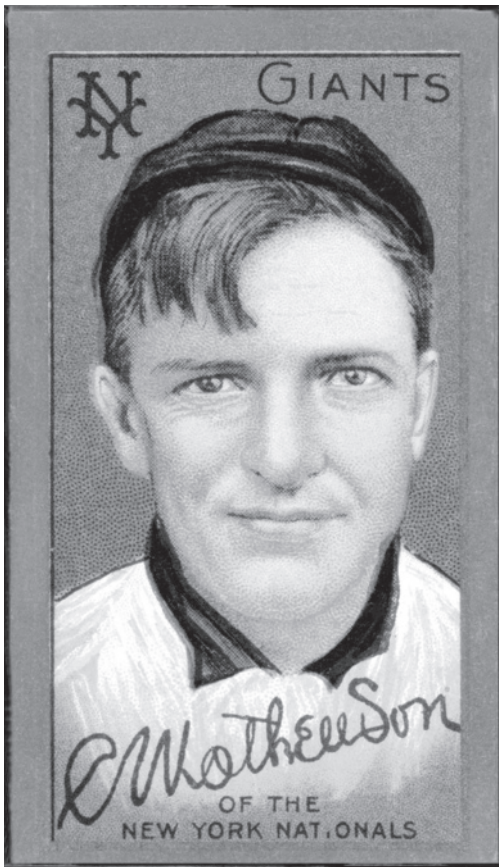
THE LAST POLO GROUNDS

The Giants set a major-league record of 347 stolen bases while beating the Cubs for the pennant in 1911. To win they had to overcome a huge early setback: just after midnight on April 14, fire destroyed the Polo Grounds. Only the left-field bleachers remained of what had been baseball's largest wooden grandstand, a double decker seating almost 30,000. An ailing John T. Brush decided to erect

a steel and concrete stadium so long as the Coogan family gave him a long-term lease to make the investment worthwhile. On May 3, James Coogan's widow Harriet granted Brush a 35-year lease, and Brush's architects hastily designed the fourth (and final) Polo Grounds.

Although the Giants had done nothing but undercut the Yankees since 1903, Yankees owner Frank Farrell offered the Giants temporary shelter at Hilltop Park, less than a mile north of the Polo Grounds. Anxious not to wear out his welcome, Brush expedited construction of the new park by paying contractors their cost plus a set profit to work around the clock. On June 28, just 75 days after the fire, the Polo Grounds reopened. The weather was fiendishly hot—"many persons were fearful that the big fire was still burning," said the *Times*—and only 6,000 fans turned out to watch Mathewson shut out Boston. But 38,281 fans turned out for the first game of the World Series that October, a record crowd that guaranteed the then-astonishing sum of \$1,000 per man to the series victor (the Philadelphia Athletics, in six games).

One of Brush's last acts as Giants owner was to invite the Yankees to play in his new



Christopher Mathewson's baseball card, 1911. Courtesy of the Library of Congress

stadium starting in 1913. In repaying a kindness and providing the Yankees with a truly big-league home, he also secured a rental income of up to \$65,000 a year to repay construction loans.

The Polo Grounds wasn't finished until 1923. In its final form it seated nearly 56,000 fans. Its elongated, bathtub-like design featured boundless foul territory and a deep, narrow outfield (the center-field fence was 483 feet away), favoring pitchers. But the left-field line ended just 277 feet from home plate (an overhanging upper deck made the home-run distance even shorter) and the right-field line was just 257, so it was also a pull hitter's paradise. Players and fans alike left the park through center field, the players to a tower housing the clubhouses, the fans to the Eighth Avenue subway.

Brush didn't have much chance to enjoy his creation. On November 26, 1912, he passed away at age 67. He had lived to see the park built, and drew no small pleasure in hearing it called Brush Stadium. He had also seen his team win its second straight pennant, although it blew the World Series in spectacular fashion. Mathewson took a one-run lead over Boston into the bottom of the 10th of the final game. Center fielder Fred Snodgrass dropped a routine fly ball (later called "the \$30,000 Muff" for how much it cost the players in World Series shares) to put the tying run on second. After Mathewson walked weak-hitting Steve Yerkes, Tris Speaker lofted a pop foul over the first-base coaches' box. Merkle inexplicably let it fall untouched. Given fresh life, Speaker rapped a game-tying single and Yerkes scored on a sacrifice fly to clinch the world championship for the Red Sox.

But Brush accomplished even more with the Giants than four pennants and a fabled ballpark would suggest. He turned them into the game's cornerstone franchise, stabilizing the NL (and, by extension, all of professional baseball) after a quarter century of uncertainty. Under him, the Giants' fame spread beyond Broadway, where John McGraw could earn \$3,000 a week in the off-season telling baseball stories. The Giants became ambassadors for the game, holding spring training in Texas and Cuba and staging exhibitions against all comers, including African American teams. A year after Brush's death, the Giants embarked on a worldwide tour with the Chicago White Sox, playing in Japan, China, the Philippines, Australia, Ceylon, Egypt, France, and England. Such ubiquity made their name the most recognized in professional sports, and is the reason so many barnstorming African American teams (and Japan's first professional baseball team) took it for their own. (Some African American teams were using the name as far back as the 1880s.) Even New York's new football team called itself the Giants.

TURBULENT TEENS

Brush bequeathed the Giants to son-in-law Harry Hempstead. Like most family men who inherit a fortune, Hempstead was cautious. Whereas Brush let McGraw buy and sell players freely, Hempstead instituted restraints. But

he placated McGraw by signing him to a five-year contract at the princely sum of \$30,000 per annum. The Giants won their third consecutive pennant in 1913 with 101 victories, relying primarily on pitching: Mathewson, Rube Marquard, and Jeff Tesreau won 70 games combined. The Giants lost the World Series to the Philadelphia Athletics four games to one, however, leading Mathewson to publicly lament that “with a few exceptions the [Giants] are not of championship caliber.”

Once again an upstart league spoiled the Giants’ success. The Federal League, which competed as a rival major league from 1914 to 1915, barely affected the Giants personnel-wise; their players were well paid and loath to leave a three-time champion. Attendance, however, was sapped by Federal League franchises in Brooklyn and (in 1915) Newark, New Jersey. Although the NL and AL experienced a 25 percent decline in attendance from 1912–13 to 1914–15, business at the Polo Grounds was down 40 percent. It didn’t help that the Giants struggled on the field, finishing a distant second in 1914 and last, for the only time in McGraw’s career, in 1915. Team profits dipped from \$150,000 per year before the Federal League to \$50,000 in 1915.

When a July 4, 1916, doubleheader loss to the Dodgers left the Giants three games under .500, Hempstead and McGraw overhauled the team. Among those traded was Christy Mathewson. New Yorkers still loved Mathewson, but he had lost his skills (he would win only one more game), so McGraw sent him to Cincinnati to fill the managerial vacancy there. The reconstructed Giants set a still-standing major-league record of 26 consecutive wins, but finished fourth.

In March 1917 Hempstead gave McGraw another five-year contract, this one for \$40,000 annually (the highest salary in baseball) plus a share of team profits. The Giants won the pennant by 10 games, posting the best on-base percentage and lowest ERA in the league. They also led the league in attendance, their draw of 500,264 topping the next-highest NL team by 140,000. But even with things going right, McGraw’s combativeness got the better of him. After a game in Cincinnati on June 8, 1917, he punched umpire Bill Byron in the face for taunting him with the mild “you were run out of Baltimore.” League president John Tener suspended McGraw for two weeks and fined him an unprecedented \$500. McGraw dug an even deeper hole for himself by impugning Tener’s integrity and pronouncing league umpires the worst he had seen. Called to account, McGraw denied his remarks, whereupon New York sportswriters, their own integrity at stake, insisted to Tener that McGraw had been correctly quoted. Tener fined McGraw another \$1,000. Despite a cooling toward the Giants in some papers, New York fans continued to worship McGraw, giving him a huge ovation after the punishment was announced.

The Giants lost the 1917 World Series in six games to the White Sox. They were on their way to returning to the Fall Classic in 1918 when military call-ups for World War I deprived them of several frontline players. On October 5, reserve infielder Eddie Grant became the first major leaguer killed in battle,

falling in the Argonne Forest five weeks before the armistice. The Giants placed a monument to Grant in deepest center field in 1921.

After the war, Harry Hempstead decided to sell. His family had endured seven years of ups and downs, and to his thinking, the federal government's war-related decision to shut down the 1918 season on Labor Day presaged an extended downturn. The Giants were the most valuable commodity in professional sports, having returned at least a 13 percent dividend to stockholders every year since 1912, and they attracted a swarm of interested buyers. With John McGraw as the go-between, on January 14, 1919, Hempstead sold 58 percent of the team to Charles Stoneham and two partners: Francis X. McQuade, a local judge and Sunday-baseball advocate, and McGraw. The price, variously cited as between \$1,030,000 and \$1,350,000, was the most ever paid for a ball club and was at least 10 times what Brush paid in 1902.

THE STONEHAM ERA BEGINS

Jersey City native Stoneham was a professional swindler who made his fortune running a bucket shop, a brokerage peddling investments without connection to a stock exchange. He also owned a stable of race horses. His gambling, his call to increase rosters from 21 to 25 (ostensibly to encourage the development of local players), and his willingness to spend, spend, spend panicked NL owners. Led by Brooklyn's Charles Ebbets, they passed baseball's first salary cap, limiting roster payrolls to \$11,000 per month (\$57,000 for a five-month, one-week season).

Stoneham was livid. Five Giants—outfielders George Burns and Benny Kauff and pitchers Pol Perritt, Slim Sallee, and Ferdie Schupp—made \$30,000 by themselves, meaning he would have to pay his other 16 players about \$1,700 apiece, less than players earned back in the 1890s. “It is the worst move made by the National League in its 43 years' history. It is so radical, silly and utterly impossible that we hardly can believe that the club owners mean to go through with it,” fumed New York sportswriter Dan Daniel.

The players talked of a strike, and the AL rejected a similar salary cap. The latter development particularly troubled the NL owners, who feared that a new era of contract jumping might begin if one league paid better than another. A day after approving the cap, they rescinded it.

Free to spend as he pleased, Stoneham brought back the old days of the Brush regime, when McGraw could buy and sell players regardless of price. The Giants paid at least \$40,000 for pitcher Art Nehf, at least \$50,000 for third baseman Heinie Groh, \$75,000 for minor leaguer Jimmy O'Connell, and \$100,000 for pitcher Hugh McQuillan. The Giants also signed Fordham University infielder Frankie Frisch. After a couple years' apprenticeship, the Bronx-born Frisch became the driving force behind a Giants juggernaut that won four consecutive pennants from 1921 to 1924.

For McGraw, that made 10 pennants in 22 full seasons. No NL team or manager has ever won so consistently. But McGraw's clubs fared poorly in World Series play. When the Giants beat the Yankees in 1921, it was their first world championship in five tries. They swept the Yankees in 1922, giving McGraw his third postseason triumph, but he never won another Fall Classic. Despite the heroics of outfielder Casey Stengel, who won two games with homers, the Giants lost to the Yankees in six games in 1923. In 1924, despite beating Walter Johnson twice, they fell to the Senators in a memorably tight seven-game series, losing the finale in the bottom of the 12th inning.

Regardless of how they fared in the postseason (or whether they even made it that far), the Giants earned a fortune in the Roaring Twenties. The New York state legislature's legalization of Sabbath-day baseball in 1919 led to regular Sunday draws of 30,000 at the Polo Grounds. Most of those fans were working-class people who could not take time from their jobs to see games during the week. The Giants led the league in attendance five times over the decade, allowing Stoneham's club to average an annual profit of \$183,193. Shareholder dividends crested at an amazing \$625,000 in 1926, a year in which the Giants finished third in league attendance.

As successful as the Giants were, the period was not without scandals or seeds of doom. The nefarious Black Sox affair forced the major leagues to end their wink-and-nod tolerance of professional gambling. The Polo Grounds was a mecca for gamblers, and when Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis was named commissioner and given a mandate to clean up the game, John McGraw and the Giants received close scrutiny. McGraw had owned a Herald Square pool hall with Arnold Rothstein, an alleged orchestrator of the Black Sox scandal, and the Giants had been periodically accused of throwing games, once (in October 1916, after the Dodgers clinched a pennant against them) by McGraw himself.

Particularly fishy was McGraw's eagerness to hire first baseman Hal Chase in 1919 after close friend Christy Mathewson, a paragon of integrity, had accused Chase of throwing games in Cincinnati. In September 1920 McGraw acknowledged to a grand jury that Chase and third baseman Heinie Zimmerman threw games in 1919, possibly costing the Giants a pennant. Landis imposed a lifetime ban on Zimmerman, but not Chase. He also banned star outfielder Benny Kauff, indicted for (but never convicted of) participating in a brother's car thievery. In a final flourish, Landis ordered Stoneham and McGraw to sell a Cuban racetrack they had recently bought.

You would expect a team watched that closely to play it extra straight, but no. During a drinking binge in August 1922, pitcher Phil Douglas wrote St. Louis Cardinal outfielder Les Mann offering to throw games for a price. Landis banned Douglas for life. Then in October 1924, with the Giants fighting for their fourth straight pennant, outfielder Jimmy O'Connell offered Philadelphia shortstop Heinie Sand \$500 to go easy. Brought before Landis, O'Connell fingered teammates Frankie Frisch, George Kelly, and Ross Youngs and coach

Cozy Dolan as accomplices. Landis banned O'Connell and Dolan, but let the rest off.

THE DOWNWARD SLIDE BEGINS

The Giants survived the sleaze only to fall prey to the Yankees. In 1920 New York's AL team turned the Polo Grounds into the birthplace of the lively-ball era as Babe Ruth blasted 54 homers, forever changing the way baseball was played. The reason for Ruth's surge was the short right-field fence at the Polo Grounds. When he set the record for homers in a season in 1919, he hit 20 on the road, 9 at home in Fenway Park. In that first memorable season with the Yankees, he hit just 5 more homers in road games than the year before, but 20 more in home games.

Fans loved the new power game. Although the Giants drew an NL record 929,609 customers and made a hefty \$296,803 profit, Ruth's Yankees brought in 1,289,422 fans (the first million-plus attendance for anyone) and cleared a record \$373,862. A jealous Charles Stoneham sent the Yankees an eviction notice. Though he soon withdrew it (their lease entitled them to stay through 1922), the Yankees took the hint and arranged for construction of their own stadium across the Harlem River in the Bronx.

Not only did Ruth's exploits captivate the baseball world, not only did the Yankees build a magnificent park for themselves within walking distance of the Polo Grounds, and not only did the Yankees face the Giants in the World Series three of the four consecutive seasons the Giants won pennants, but in 1925 New Yorker Lou Gehrig, very much in the mold of Christy Mathewson and soon to become as popular, joined the Yankees lineup. The fears Brush and McGraw had about the AL 20 years earlier finally came true: the Yankees made the Giants number two in New York.

McGraw despised the home-run craze: "I think the game far more interesting when the art of making scores lies in scientific work on the bases." But knowing the Giants needed a slugger to compete at the turnstiles, in 1926 he brought up shy teenager Mel Ott. In time the high-kicking, dead-pulling lefty learned to feast off the Polo Grounds' short right-field fence; of his 511 lifetime homers, 323 were hit at home. After the 1926 campaign McGraw dealt Frankie Frisch to the Cardinals for Rogers Hornsby, one of the first NL players to emulate Ruth's uppercut swing and aim for the fences. But Hornsby ruined clubhouse morale with his fractious personality and was traded after just one season in New York.

McGraw further sought to enhance the Giants' appeal by finding a good Jewish player. By 1920 Jews comprised nearly 30 percent of New York's population. Moses Solomon and Harry Rosenberg looked promising in the minors, but collected only 13 big-league at bats between them. Andy Cohen was given two years to nail down the job at second base, but couldn't shake off mediocrity. The Giants scouted a strapping kid from the Bronx named Hank Greenberg, but passed.

Keeping up with the Yankees required more energy than the aging McGraw could muster. In the late 1920s he often wore street clothes to games, disqualifying himself from taking the field to argue with umpires. He occasionally skipped road trips. Treacherous front-office politics sapped him further. He sniped at Charles Stoneham for favoring team secretary James Tierney, then joined Stoneham in ousting Francis McQuade from the partnership, which led to years of lawsuits and embarrassing court testimony. McGraw had to protect his 10 percent stake in the Giants, which in 1928 was worth about \$500,000 and returned more (\$75,000) than he earned as manager (\$50,000). He especially needed the money after a sizable Florida real-estate venture went bust, costing him \$100,000.

On June 3, 1932, with his team in last place and his health declining, McGraw retired. He had managed the Giants for 30 of their 50 years and had become the name most associated with them. As Philadelphia Phillies manager Burt Shotton said, "They won't seem like the Giants without McGraw." The Little Napoleon made one last diamond appearance on July 6, 1933, as manager of the NL team in the first-ever All-Star Game. He died of prostate cancer on February 25, 1934.

McGraw's job went to first baseman Bill Terry. An acerbic personality doing well enough in private business to say and do as he pleased within baseball, Terry gave the players more freedom than McGraw, and they responded as if set free from jail. They won a pennant in 1933, led by screwballing pitcher Carl Hubbell, nicknamed "the Meal Ticket" for his dependability. Hubbell led the league in wins, shutouts, innings pitched, and ERA. The Giants then mauled the Washington Senators in the World Series, four games to one. Terry had the Giants in a first-place tie with two games to go in 1934, but the rival Brooklyn Dodgers came to the Polo Grounds mindful of Terry's wintertime crack, "Are they still in the league?" It was a comment on the Dodgers' failure to make trades, not their long-standing ineptitude. But the vengeful Bums beat the Giants in their last two games while St. Louis's Gas House Gang beat Cincinnati to take the flag.

Terry, Ott, and Hubbell were immensely popular. Terry was the last NL player to hit .400 (.401 in 1930), Ott became the first in the league to hit more than 500 lifetime homers, and Hubbell shocked the baseball world in 1934 when he struck out Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, Jimmie Foxx, Al Simmons, and Joe Cronin consecutively during the second annual All-Star Game. But as the Great Depression set in, the Giants' attendance tumbled, falling below 500,000 in 1932. The Giants had revived their Ladies' Day tradition in 1930, and on September 24, 1931, they played a three-way exhibition against the Yankees and Dodgers at the Polo Grounds to support the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, raising \$59,000. The sympathetic gestures helped, but attendance continued to lag until 1936, when Ott and Hubbell again led the Giants to a pennant. It rose above 900,000 in 1937, yet another pennant-winning season. The Giants cleared more than \$300,000 in both years. But disappointing losses to the Yan-

kees in the 1936 and 1937 World Series and deteriorating play in subsequent regular seasons caused attendance to sink below 800,000 in 1938 and remain lackluster through World War II.

HORACE STONEHAM TAKES OVER

The Giants might have fared better with firm guidance from the front office, but Charles Stoneham died of nephritis on January 6, 1936. His mild-mannered son Horace, 32, took over. The younger Stoneham had been involved with the team since his father bought it, and he had a basic understanding of the baseball business. But he was an alcoholic who lacked vision. He owned the Giants longer than anyone and fielded many exciting teams, yet presided over a gradual decline that left the Giants in shambles. His attitude toward the two biggest developments of the 1930s, night games and radio broadcasts, helps explain why.

As the Great Depression dragged on, fans were increasingly unwilling to take days off from precious jobs to see games. Playing at night would remove the obstacle. But when Larry MacPhail of the Cincinnati Reds asked for permission to play night games in 1935, the Giants were among three teams to vote no. Charles Stoneham flatly refused to play at night, arguing that night ball would increase injuries to players and fans and cost a fortune in installation and utility bills. What's more, the owner of baseball's most urban team claimed, nocturnal play flouted the sport's mythic, bucolic origins.

Night ball in Cincinnati was a huge success. But when MacPhail took over the Dodgers in 1938 and asked each NL opponent to play one night game a year at Ebbets Field, the younger Stoneham was the only owner to say no. Dodgers attendance shot up by 180,000, due mostly to night contests, while the Giants' slid by 127,000. A year later the Dodgers, fielding a competitive team for the first time in years, outdrew the Giants by a whopping 250,000. Belatedly, Stoneham installed lights at the Polo Grounds at a cost of nearly \$150,000.

On May 24, 1940, the Giants became the last team in the NL to play after dark. The Cubs, famed for their refusal to play night games at home until 1988, were playing night games on the road by the late 1930s. Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia threw out the first ball, and the Giants trounced Casey Stengel's Boston Braves, 8–1. "Night baseball stinks," manager Terry, a purist, insisted afterward. Reminded how much revenue the change would bring, he responded dryly, "Nevertheless."

The story with radio was a little different, because the Giants were one of the first teams to experiment with the medium: Grantland Rice called the initial game of the 1922 World Series against the Yankees over Newark's WJZ. But Charles Stoneham, afraid fans wouldn't pay to see a game if they could hear it for free, joined the Yankees and Dodgers in a 1934 handshake deal barring baseball broadcasts from New York ballparks for at least the next five years.

When an outfit called Tele-Flash equipped an employee overlooking the Polo Grounds with a telegraph and used his messages to re-create home games, the Giants sued.

The Giants lost the suit, but continued to forbid radio broadcasts from their home park. By 1939 the Giants, Yankees, and Dodgers were the only teams holding out against radio. Larry MacPhail changed that too, arranging to broadcast Dodger games over 50,000-watt WOR. After waffling, Stoneham joined the Yankees in a deal to broadcast weekday and Saturday home games over WABC, another 50,000-watt clear channel. Arch McDonald and Mel Allen did the announcing, sponsored by General Mills, Procter and Gamble, and Mobil.

Horace Stoneham's archaic thinking extended to the makeup of his team. His baseball aesthetic hardened around the time Ruth and Gehrig captured the imagination of baseball fans, so for the rest of his life he believed that if two or three sluggers were good, five or six were better. Between 1936 and 1950 the Giants led the league in homers nine times, but the rest of their game suffered. And though Stoneham heeded Bill Terry's entreaties to build a farm system, placing the Giants' top affiliate in his father's hometown of Jersey City, he moved too slowly to keep up with the competition. When Terry, Ott, and Hubbell passed their prime, there was no one to replace them, and the 1940s became the first decade in which the Giants did not win a pennant. They slid to third (and last) in New York.

THE WAR YEARS

Then came World War II. No sooner had Stoneham bolted lights atop the Polo Grounds than they were deemed a security risk and he was forbidden to use them; the 200-million-candlepower system illuminated ships in New York Harbor. His team played as if in the dark, finishing at least 19 games out every year from 1942 to 1945.

The Giants were firmly patriotic. Even before Pearl Harbor—on May 27, 1941—management halted a night game for 45 minutes so fans could listen to President Roosevelt's radio address declaring a national emergency. Before 1942's first game at the Polo Grounds, Mayor LaGuardia ceremoniously handed new Giants manager Mel Ott and Dodgers skipper Leo Durocher war bonds they had purchased. That year every major-league team pledged to donate the proceeds from one home game to a defense-related cause. On August 3 the Giants hosted the Dodgers in a benefit for the Army Emergency Relief fund that drew 57,305 fans and netted nearly \$80,000.

But the response from Giants fans wasn't always ideal. When umpire George Magerkurth, observing the wartime curfew, halted that fund-raising game in the bottom of the ninth with the tying run at the plate, the fans nearly rioted. Shining a light on the American flag failed to appease them, so a band struck up "The Star-Spangled Banner." Eventually singing drowned out the jeers and the crowd thinned. Another betrayal of national unity marred the end of a Septem-

ber 26, 1942, doubleheader. The Giants let in free any kid bringing scrap metal for the war effort, but with the Giants ahead 5–2 in the eighth inning of the second game, the kids poured onto the field and ran wild, causing the umpires to declare a forfeit.

On June 25, 1944, with the Normandy invasion well underway, the Giants played the Dodgers and Yankees in a three-way exhibition at the Polo Grounds. Over 50,000 fans bought a \$25 (or more) war bond to attend. The teams rotated six times between batting, fielding, and resting, and the Dodgers won, 5–1–0, over the Yankees and Giants. After the war in Europe ended, General Dwight Eisenhower was driven around the Polo Grounds in triumph. The Giants lost that afternoon's game, their 18th setback in 23 tries, leading manager Mel Ott to ask, "Tell me, General, just how does one go about bringing up reinforcements quickly?"

BASEBALL'S BIGGEST MOMENT

Ott really needed an answer to that question in 1946, when seven players, including promising hurler Sal Maglie, defected to the Mexican League, which was trying to become a third major league. The Giants were hurt by the rebel circuit more than any other team. On July 5 of that year, Dodgers manager Leo Durocher pointed to Ott from the visiting dugout at the Polo Grounds and said, "Being a nice guy gets you nowhere. Absolutely nowhere. Look over there. There's one of the nicest guys in the world. Is it doing him any good? He's in last place. That's where nice guys finish. Last." Conflated to "Nice guys finish last," the gibe is one of baseball's most notorious contributions to the American argot. That year it was also true, as the Giants did finish last.

When the Mexican League failed, the ex-Giants were eager to return, but MLB imposed a five-year ban on them for contract jumping. In October 1947 blacklisted outfielder Danny Gardella sued for \$300,000, alleging the ban amounted to restraint of trade. At bottom was the legality of the reserve clause. Gardella settled two years later for an estimated \$60,000 and a release from the Giants, which gave him an opportunity to try out for the Cardinals. According to the *New York Sun*, ownership "heaved a tremendous sigh of relief" that the reserve clause survived this latest threat from a Giants player.

Meanwhile, over in Brooklyn, another of baseball's injustices fell. Until 1947, both major leagues had excluded African Americans. John McGraw in 1902 had tried (albeit halfheartedly) to break the color line by claiming that African American Charley Grant was an American Indian, but Charles Comiskey sniffed out the truth, and Grant's major-league career was aborted. Forty-five years later, Horace Stoneham allegedly warned his fellow owners that if the Brooklyn Dodgers brought up Jackie Robinson, blacks in Harlem would burn down the Polo Grounds.

It didn't turn out that way, of course, and two years later, on July 5, 1949, the Giants became the second NL team to integrate, bringing up Hank Thompson and Monte Irvin. On July 8, Thompson and the Dodgers' Don Newcombe

became the first African American batter and pitcher to face each other in a major-league game.

Giants fans might have been forgiven for overlooking that milestone. They were still coming to grips with the fact that Leo Durocher, for years the skipper of the detested Dodgers, was now *their* manager. In July 1948, Horace Stoneham decided to fire Mel Ott and replace him with elderly Burt Shotton, who had guided the Dodgers to a pennant in 1947 but been put out to pasture when Durocher returned from a yearlong suspension. When Stoneham asked Dodgers general manager Branch Rickey for permission to speak to Shotton, Rickey answered, "No, I may need him at any moment myself." Stoneham asked if that meant Durocher was available. When Rickey said yes, Stoneham, in one of his sharpest moments, engineered Durocher's overnight transfer from the Dodgers to the Giants. New York responded with the kind of shock reserved for assassinations. Hilda Chester, the Dodgers' most famous fan and a Durocher diehard, announced she was switching allegiance. As for Giants fans: "It took them two years to learn to barely tolerate me," Durocher rued.

Though perceived as the ultimate repudiation of John McGraw's legacy, Durocher actually restored it. Like the Little Napoleon, Leo the Lip grew up in the Northeast (West Springfield, Massachusetts), the son of poor immigrants. He too had ready fists, a love of gambling, and contempt for umpires. On the field, McGraw and Durocher shared a fondness for the one-run tactics nearly forgotten in the lively-ball era. And both would do anything (cheating included) to succeed.

Durocher told Stoneham that if the Giants were to win, the power hitters had to go in favor of pitching, speed, and defense. Stoneham hesitated, in part because the long ball was good business: when the Giants set a major-league record with 221 homers in 1947, they drew over 1.6 million fans, their best in New York. He relented, though, and by the end of 1950 Durocher had turned the Giants into contenders. In May 1951 they got an added boost with the arrival of 20-year-old Willie Mays. But on July 18, 1951, the Giants were a disappointing eight games behind the first-place Dodgers. A desperate Durocher decided to cheat.

He had the Polo Grounds electrician install a buzzer in the clubhouse behind center field and connect it to the phone in the Giants bullpen. A spy in the clubhouse peered through a telescope, stole the opposing catcher's signs, and buzzed once for a fastball, twice for anything else. Then someone in the bullpen clued in the batter by a prearranged sign.

The Giants fell 13 1/2 games behind the Dodgers on August 11. But then they went on one of the most amazing tears in baseball history, winning 37 of their last 44 games to tie the flat-footed Dodgers for first. The pennant had to be decided by a three-game playoff. The Giants won the first game, 3–1. The Dodgers took the second game, 10–0. Everything came down to the final contest, played at the Polo Grounds on October 3.

Through seven innings the score was tied, 1–1. In the top of the eighth Giants workhorse Sal Maglie, 23–6 for the year and an amazing 41–10 since

Commissioner Chandler pardoned him for joining the Mexican League, yielded three runs, putting the Giants behind, 4–1. Dodgers ace Don Newcombe mowed down the Giants in the bottom of the eighth. After Larry Jansen, who replaced Maglie, retired the Dodgers in the top of the ninth, the stage was set for the most dramatic moment in baseball history.

Giants leadoff batter Alvin Dark hit a grounder to the right side that deflected off first baseman Gil Hodges's mitt for a single. Don Mueller followed with a grounder between Hodges and second baseman Jackie Robinson for another single. Monte Irvin, the league's leading RBI man, came to the plate as the tying run but popped out. That brought up Whitey Lockman. He lashed a double down the left-field line, scoring Dark to make it 4–2.

Dodgers manager Charlie Dressen replaced Newcombe with Ralph Branca. The Giants had already beaten Branca five times in 1951, and the next batter, Bobby Thomson, had homered off him in the first playoff game. With first base open, Dressen had to decide whether to pitch to Thomson or intentionally walk him to set up the force at any base and bring up the inexperienced Mays. Dressen decided that putting the winning run on base was too risky, and pitched to Thomson.

On the second pitch of the at bat, Branca threw a fastball up and in. Thomson swung. Giants announcer Russ Hodges's immortal radio call told all: "There's a long fly . . . It's gonna be, I believe . . . *The Giants win the pennant! The Giants win the pennant! The Giants win the pennant! The Giants win the pennant!* Bobby Thomson hits into the lower deck of the left field stands! The Giants win the pennant and they're going crazy! They're going crazy! *Waaah-hoe!*"

For 50 years there were rumors that the Giants' miracle comeback and playoff victory weren't on the level. Not until January 2001, however, did surviving Giants players admit that they stole signs at the Polo Grounds. The revelation tarnished not only Thomson's "Shot Heard 'Round the World," as the momentous homer came to be known, but the Giants' whole season.

But should it have? There is no evidence that the Giants' sign stealing, technically legal back then, actually helped. If Giants hitters had gained an advantage by knowing the next pitch, it would have shown as an increase in runs scored at home. Before the sign stealing, they scored an average of 5.46 runs per game at the Polo Grounds. After the sign stealing, they scored an average of 4.57 runs per game at home, almost nine-tenths of a run per game less. The real secret of the Giants comeback was pitching. Through games of July 18, the Giants allowed an average of 4.69 runs per game. From July 20 on they allowed an average of 3.30 per game, a decrease of 1.39.

THE MOVE

Exhausted by the playoff with the Dodgers, the Giants lost the World Series to the Yankees. Then Durocher's hopes of repeating in 1952 were thwarted when Willie Mays was drafted into the army. Attendance fell below a million for the

first time since World War II, and dropped further in 1953 as the Giants finished 35 games out. With Mays back in 1954 the Giants won the pennant, compiling their best record (97–57) since 1917. The pitching staff logged the NL's lowest ERA thanks largely to Johnny Antonelli, received from the Braves at the start of the year in a trade for Bobby Thomson. The Giants went on to sweep the heavily favored Indians in a World Series best known for Mays's brilliant, over-the-head snare of Vic Wertz's drive to the deepest part of the Polo Grounds. The championship performance raised attendance back over a million, but when the Giants collapsed in 1955, prompting Durocher's departure, the turnstile count swooned by more than 300,000, leaving Horace Stoneham to face hard facts.

The Giants had conclusively lost the battle of New York, beating the Yankees' attendance only once since 1935 and the Dodgers' only three times since 1939. The Yankees drew the front-runners (they had taken Wall Street from the Giants) and the Dodgers the catharsis seekers, leaving the Giants with a vestigial following on Broadway (including Tallulah Bankhead, who said, "There have been only two authentic geniuses in the world, Willie Mays and Willie Shakespeare") and a dwindling core that either went back to the McGraw days or dutifully carried on the family loyalty.



Willie Mays, 1958. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame

The neighborhood surrounding the Polo Grounds had been prosperous during the Giants' heyday, but by the 1950s it had turned into a dangerous African American ghetto that most white New Yorkers considered the ultimate forbidden zone. The railroad yard next door had been replaced by a crime-riddled public housing project, and on July 4, 1950, a fan watching a Giants-Dodgers doubleheader was killed when a 14-year-old boy fired a pistol from a nearby tenement roof.

The Polo Grounds itself, built in haste four decades earlier, was dilapidated. Cars had become the preferred means of transportation, but there was little proximate parking, and in 1955 Stoneham lost a battle with the city to prevent conversion of a 400-car lot into a playground. With the lease on

Coogan's Hollow set to expire in 1962, the ball club's days in upper Manhattan appeared numbered.

Yet the Giants remained profitable. In 1956 they received \$730,000 for radio and television rights, second in the league to the Dodgers. Tattered as it was, the Polo Grounds remained the largest public venue in Manhattan, allowing Stoneham to rent it for football games, boxing matches, religious revivals, and even baseball, most notably to the New York Cubans Negro League team. Many tenants were irked by Stoneham's terms, which included up to 25 percent of net receipts. In October 1947 Reverend Robert Gannon, president of Fordham University, labeled the Giants "extortionists" for collecting \$1.5 million in rental fees over 25 years' worth of university football games.

Even so, Stoneham's financial well-being depended heavily on the Dodgers' 11 annual visits to the Polo Grounds. In some years Dodger games accounted for 40 percent of the Giants' attendance. Now Brooklyn owner Walter O'Malley was talking about leaving town, and without the Dodgers, Stoneham saw little hope for the Giants' survival in New York. On August 18, 1955, a day before O'Malley was to meet with Mayor Robert Wagner and Construction Coordinator Robert Moses about a new ballpark in Brooklyn, Stoneham announced that he wanted a new stadium too, proposing that the city build one for the Giants and Yankees in the eastern Bronx, near the Whitestone Bridge.

New York officials were in a jam. An exodus of middle-class whites to suburbia, combined with an influx of poor African Americans and Puerto Ricans, was driving up social welfare costs while eroding the tax base. Construction of municipally owned ballparks would not only require huge capital outlays, but would take acres of private property off the tax rolls. There was also the prospect of litigation to determine whether building ballparks for private owners was a public interest that entitled the city to condemn and take over land. In the Giants' case, the question quickly became moot. Yankees general manager George Weiss dashed the Whitestone idea by saying, "We're very happy with Yankee Stadium."

Noting the success of other clubs that had moved out of multiple-team markets, Stoneham briefly considered going to Minneapolis, where the Giants had transferred their top farm club after major-league broadcasts killed interest in the Jersey City affiliate. Instead he fruitlessly pursued an agreement with the Yankees and Dodgers to stop televising home night games and encouraged Manhattan borough president Hulan Jack's far-fetched scheme to build a 110,000-seat stadium on stilts above a West Side railroad yard. He rebuffed a September 1955 overture from Bill Terry to buy the team and move it to Yankee Stadium.

The need for a new ballpark grew more urgent in 1956, when the football Giants gave notice they were leaving the Polo Grounds, depriving Stoneham of rental income, and the baseball Giants' sixth-place finish caused an attendance dip to 629,000, the lowest total since 1943. As 1957 rolled around, Stoneham was desperate for good news.

He got it on May 10 from George Christopher, mayor of San Francisco. Christopher had met with Los Angeles mayor Norris Poulson and Dodgers owner Walter O'Malley a week before. Poulson and O'Malley had agreed in principle that the Dodgers would move to Los Angeles for 1958, but worried that the NL wouldn't approve unless a second team transferred to the West Coast and made the long road trips worthwhile. Would Christopher hook up with Stoneham, who fondly remembered San Francisco from his footloose youth, and try to lure the Giants to northern California?

While sitting in Stoneham's Polo Grounds office and watching the Giants beat the Dodgers on the field, Christopher made his offer. In exchange for the Giants' commitment to a 35-year lease, San Francisco would build them a new stadium with 40,000 seats and 10,000 parking spaces; the city had already passed a bond measure authorizing \$5 million for construction. Stoneham would receive concession rights and free office space as well as other perks. His annual rent would be the higher of either \$125,000 or five percent of gross receipts adjusted for taxes and other expenses. There would be no rental charge for World Series games. If the new park wasn't ready by Opening Day 1958, San Francisco would rent minor-league Seals Stadium to the Giants under the same conditions as the new facility.

It was all Stoneham needed to hear. The Giants were going to San Francisco.

At the end of May, NL owners unanimously approved the move to California as long as Stoneham and O'Malley formally committed themselves by October 1, 1957. But Emanuel Celler, the Brooklyn congressman whose House Anti-trust Subcommittee had been looking into the baseball business for years, was not about to let his local teams leave so easily. He subpoenaed Stoneham and O'Malley for June 26. O'Malley's testimony took all day, forcing Stoneham to come back in July.

The subcommittee expressed only minor indignation at Stoneham's claim that New York could no longer support three teams. The committee's own data showed the Giants averaging less than \$70,000 a year in profit since 1952, seventh among the major leagues' 16 teams. According to Stoneham, after-tax profits had shrunk from 29 percent in 1954 to less than 6 percent in 1956. He denied that he and O'Malley were working in concert, and insisted that he intended to move to San Francisco even if the Dodgers remained in Brooklyn. In addition to lining up a municipal ballpark with plenty of parking, he had reached agreement with Skiatron, a cable-television operator, to broadcast games via closed circuit for an estimated \$125,000 per game, of which he would keep a hefty share.

True to his word, Stoneham assembled his board of directors on August 19, 1957, nearly two months before the Dodgers moved to Los Angeles, and asked for permission to notify the NL that the team would play in San Francisco in 1958. He estimated annual profits in California at over \$200,000 before broadcast revenue. The board, consisting almost entirely of relatives and cronies, backed him by a vote of eight to one.

New Yorkers were forlorn but resigned to the Giants' departure. The *Herald Tribune* editorialized, "The Giants brought New York too many thrills and too much pride for anyone here to wish them anything but good as they prepare to leave for their new home." John McGraw's widow, Blanche, a mainstay at the Polo Grounds for decades, lamented, "I can't conceive that I'll never again watch the Giants play at the Polo Grounds. I don't know what I will do with myself." Flanked by a host of former Giants, including Jack Doyle, who had managed the team under Andrew Freedman in 1895, she watched the Giants lose their final game in New York to the Pirates on September 27, 1957. The crowd size of 11,606 was disappointing until compared with the season average of 8,452. Officially designated the last fan to leave, she watched thousands of ruffians tear up the grounds and demand to see Horace Stoneham "with a rope around his neck!"

SAN FRANCISCO, HERE WE COME

In San Francisco, Mayor Christopher was jubilant. The city needed \$275,000 a year to amortize its ballpark debt, and he expected Giants games to bring in \$518,000. Boosters believed the Giants would add at least \$25 million a year to the local tourist economy.

But not every San Franciscan celebrated. Some thought the Giants got too good a deal. "When the mayor signs that lease he ought to wear white whiskers and a red suit," griped one. There would also be financing problems, because a new stadium would cost more than the \$5 million raised by the bond measure. And the city would lose its beloved Pacific Coast League Seals, who had been around since 1904 and had sent many local stars to the majors.

In October 1957 Stoneham secured baseball rights to San Francisco by trading his Minneapolis minor-league team to the Red Sox for the Seals. Boston could have ransomed the Seals for a fortune, but general manager Joe Cronin was a San Francisco native eager to see a major-league team in his hometown. The PCL was less accommodating. Fearing serious harm to their circuit, the PCL owners made Stoneham pay a \$300,000 indemnity over three years. They also got him to purchase the Class A minor-league team in Phoenix, Arizona, to replace the Seals.

The new ballpark wasn't ready in time, so the Giants used Seals Stadium, nestled between the Mission District and Potrero Hill. Opened in 1931, it seated just 22,900. "It had a warmth and a sense of community not unlike Wrigley Field or Fenway Park," said Orlando Cepeda, whose popularity in San Francisco owed much to his accessibility to fans sitting near first base.

Manager Bill Rigney used the move to give the team a fresh identity, putting three rookies in the Opening Day lineup: Cepeda, Jim Davenport, and Willie Kirkland. Bob Schmidt debuted the next day, and Felipe Alou, first of the famous brothers, arrived in early June. Willie McCovey came up in 1959, Juan Marichal in 1960. "It seemed that a new young player was joining the club all the time," Rigney recalled.

Most of the talent came from Latin America. Horace Stoneham's one great innovation was to recruit in Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba while most other teams were still coming to terms with having African Americans on the roster. After the New York Cubans went out of business in 1951, director of scouting Jack Schwarz suggested that Stoneham hire Cubans owner Alex Pompez to scout the Caribbean. Pompez was soon funneling a stream of Spanish-speaking athletes into the Giants farm system.

In the first major-league baseball game played on the West Coast, on April 15, 1958, the Giants shut out the Dodgers behind Ruben Gomez, 8–0. Giants infielder Daryl Spencer hit the first West Coast home run. "It's like the World Series," said Mays of the atmosphere.

But Mays couldn't have been happy. Regarded as royalty in New York, in San Francisco he was received coolly. "It was as if I had done something wrong by doing well in New York," he said later. Mays was well on his way to establishing himself as the most complete player in the game's history. Not only could he hit for average, hit for power, run, field, and throw, but he could do them all at a Hall of Fame level. He retired with 660 home runs, trailing only Hank Aaron and Babe Ruth. But even though he hit .347 and led the league in runs scored and stolen bases during the Giants' first year in San Francisco, the natives considered Cepeda the more valuable player. Worse still, Mays faced discrimination. When he tried to buy a house in the wealthy Sherwood Forest district, neighbors pressured the seller into refusing his bid. An appalled Mayor Christopher offered Mays space in his own house. The seller eventually made the deal, but a week after Mays moved in, someone threw a brick through his living-room window.

Meanwhile, the scent of boondoggle began wafting from the Giants' new ballpark. Candlestick Cove, at the city's southeast edge, was too far from downtown to benefit other businesses. Contractor Charles Harney had offered the city the 80-acre tract at a bargain price of \$2.7 million on condition that his construction firm build the stadium, a deal too good to pass up. Harney boasted he would finish construction in eight months, but when a naming contest didn't go as expected (how could they not call it Harney Park?) his zeal for the project flagged. The Giants spent two years in Seals Stadium, and didn't play their first game in horseshoe-shaped Candlestick Park until April 12, 1960.

Candlestick Park was a whopping mistake. It was notorious for howling wind, fierce cold, and impenetrable fog. On all but the most unseasonably warm days, sweaters and winter jackets were *de rigueur* for fans. Hot water passing through 35,000 feet of pipe in the concrete was supposed to warm the high-priced sections (for those sitting in general admission or the bleachers, it was bring your own blankets), but the system never worked. A wind baffle curling over the top of the stadium never worked either. The entire country learned of Candlestick's forbidding environment on July 11, 1961, when the 30th All-Star Game was held there. Trying to save the game for the NL, pitcher Stu Miller was blown off

the mound by the wind, earning a balk call that advanced the tying run to third. A subsequent groundout tied the game. The NL pulled it out in the 10th when the wind rendered AL pitcher Hoyt Wilhelm's knuckleball ineffective.

The Giants drew well at Candlestick despite the weather. A team record 1,795,356 customers turned out in 1960, and the Giants averaged more than 1.4 million fans per year over their first decade there, as opposed to 980,000 over their last decade at the Polo Grounds. Even though the Skiatron deal never panned out, Horace Stoneham had every reason to think he had made a terrific business decision, even better than the one made by Walter O'Malley, who had financed his own ballpark and assumed an enormous debt.

ROCK BOTTOM

But Stoneham was operating under ideal conditions. The Giants were the only big-league team for 400 miles. They had five future Hall of Famers in Mays, Cepeda, McCovey, Marichal, and Gaylord Perry. They posted a winning record each of their first 14 years out west, a streak even John McGraw could not match. And last, but most important, they were wholeheartedly embraced by San Franciscans. When the Giants clinched their first West Coast pennant on October 3, 1962, in a three-game playoff with the Dodgers that nearly matched the 1951 cliffhanger for drama, an estimated 50,000 fans clogged the airport in hopes of welcoming the players, forcing the team plane to land in a maintenance area. To avoid the mob, Cepeda found a back exit, walked to the freeway, and hitchhiked home. Mays heard shouts of "We want Mays!" and ducked into a taxi. Once fans found the team bus, they rocked it back and forth. "That was about as scared as I've ever been," recalled catcher Ed Bailey. In the World Series, the Giants lost to the Yankees in the seventh game when New York second baseman Bobby Richardson speared Willie McCovey's scorching line drive with the tying run on third and two out in the last of the ninth.

The rivalry with the Dodgers flourished as never before, drawing more fans (805,172) to 18 games in 1966 than the Chicago Cubs or Cincinnati Reds drew for *all* their home games that year. Leonard Koppett, the eminent New York sportswriter who moved to the Bay Area shortly after the Giants did, deemed the rivalry "the richest in American sports." It was also the most intense, culminating in the worst act of on-field player-on-player violence in history. On August 22, 1965, Giants pitcher Juan Marichal raised his bat and brought it down full force on the head of Dodgers catcher John Roseboro. Fortunately Roseboro wasn't seriously injured, but Marichal was suspended for eight days and fined a then NL record \$1,750. So much did the incident overshadow the high-kicking Marichal's other achievements—more wins and innings pitched than Dodger greats Sandy Koufax and Don Drysdale, with a 2.89 ERA, 244 complete games, and nine All-Star Games—that it delayed his election to the Hall of Fame by several years.

Despite all their talent, the Giants of the 1960s failed to win another pennant, finishing second five times in a row from 1965 to 1969. (Many fans believed that Marichal's 1965 suspension, which cost him two starts, was the reason the Giants fell short by two games that year.) In 1971, after the NL had expanded to 12 teams and split into divisions, the Giants won the Western Division title, but lost to Pittsburgh in a playoff. With that, the team's Hall of Fame core dispersed, and the Giants lost their fan appeal.

Stoneham also lost his Bay Area monopoly. The Kansas City Athletics moved to Oakland in 1968, causing Giants attendance to sink below 1 million for the first time in San Francisco. After a rebound in the division-winning 1971 season, attendance plummeted even further in 1972 to 648,000, less than the last year at the Polo Grounds.

Horace Stoneham had seldom been innovative, but he had been adaptable. As he approached 70, however, he found it harder to move with the times. In an increasingly media-driven age he continued to rely heavily on gate receipts, televising just a few road games a year, mostly against the Dodgers. It took a riot (literally) to get him to televise more often. On September 27, 1966, San Francisco erupted in violence after a white police officer fatally shot an unarmed African American teenager who had stolen a car. The Giants, battling the Dodgers and Pirates for the pennant, were in Atlanta. The city's Human Relations Commission asked Stoneham to televise that night's game as a way of getting people off the streets. The Giants owner consented, and shortly after the broadcast began, the violence abated.

By 1971, out-of-town buyers had noticed Stoneham's distress and made inquiries. "We couldn't leave the area if we wanted to. We signed a 35-year contract with the city of San Francisco when we moved here in 1958. It still has 22 years to run," he replied. That winter the city began a major renovation of Candlestick, closing the horseshoe to blunt the wind and to seat more fans for football's 49ers. Stoneham felt betrayed. Not only were the Giants inconvenienced by the construction, but their fans had to fork over an extra 50 cents per ticket to pay off the bond, a hefty surcharge at a time when seats behind the dugout cost just three dollars. As the turnstile count shrank even further, to a low of 520,000 in 1974, Stoneham traded one exciting young player after another (Bobby Bonds, George Foster, Dave Kingman, Garry Maddox) for lesser players and the cash to stay afloat.

In May 1975 he exhausted his \$1 million credit line, all but forcing him to sell. Offers poured in, including one from Japan's Fukuoka Lions for \$18 million. The Giants had been the first team to bring a native Japanese player to the big leagues, pitcher Masanori Murakami in 1964. But in September Fukuoka rescinded its offer, citing fears that San Franciscans would resent foreign ownership. Galloping inflation in the world economy also contributed to the deal's collapse.

While waiting for his dream buyer (he wanted \$17 million for the team and its properties, which included a hotel in Arizona, an industrial park in Min-

nesota, and a condominium development in Florida), Stoneham took out a \$500,000 loan from the NL, repayable by December 1. He also withheld payment of the Giants' \$125,000 Candlestick rental fee. Even so, he had to declare a loss for the year of \$1.8 million. The franchise hit its nadir in December 1975 when Stoneham defaulted on his loan and the NL took over day-to-day administration of the team.

Two Bay Area engineers and their attorney formed a grassroots group called Giant Owners Inc. that hoped to sell 100,000 shares at \$150 apiece to buy the team. It never had a chance. On January 9, 1976, Stoneham agreed to an offer from Labatt, a Toronto brewery, for \$13.25 million, \$8 million for the team plus \$5.25 million to pay off the Candlestick lease and any litigation.

A stunned George Moscone, freshly inaugurated as San Francisco's mayor, declared, "The San Francisco Giants will remain the San Francisco Giants if I have anything to do about it." He had the city attorney prepare a restraining order to prevent the sale, and flew to the NL owners meeting a few days later to serve the order personally. The owners assured Moscone that if the city made a viable offer, they would let the team stay in San Francisco. On February 11, 1976, the day the restraining order expired, Moscone brought together potential buyers Bob Short and Bob Lurie. The trio rushed into court to announce that San Francisco had an ownership group to rival Labatt. Judge John Benson told a gallery packed with Giants fans, "The court considers the equities to be overwhelming on the side of the city and the court will issue a preliminary injunction." Moscone triumphantly shouted, "Bobby Thomson still lives!"

The joy was premature. Stoneham and the NL bosses still had to approve the sale, and though Stoneham assented, the owners balked at Short, who had infuriated their AL brethren by moving, then abandoning, the Washington Senators–Texas Rangers. They decided that Short could own a piece of the Giants, but could not be the managing partner. Short refused to invest unless he was in charge, so the deal dissolved.

But on March 2, Arizona cattleman Bud Herseth called Moscone out of the blue and volunteered \$4 million to keep the Giants in San Francisco. Moscone connected Herseth and Lurie, who worked out a partnership. Secretly, Moscone also wrote a letter to NL owners assuring them that if the Giants averaged fewer than a million fans a season over the next three years, he would not oppose a subsequent sale and move, but would "agree to such transfer upon the payment of \$2,500,000 damages to San Francisco." With that understanding the league owners approved the deal, and on March 4, 1976, Horace Stoneham sold the Giants (not including the other properties) for \$8 million, ending his family's 57-year ownership.

THE LURIE YEARS

Lurie bought out Herseth in 1978. Son of colorful real-estate magnate Louis Lurie, the new Giants owner was a small, unassuming man, but as his father

bragged to *San Francisco Chronicle* sports editor Art Rosenbaum after the pennant celebration of 1962, "See that kid over there? That kid is worth \$26 million in his own name." Despite serving on the Giants' board of directors, Lurie knew little about the baseball business. "I firmly believe that it can be profitable but I would say I got involved mainly not to let the club leave town, and because of the challenge involved," he said.

Lurie retained general manager Spec Richardson, assigned by the NL when it took over the team. Richardson lived up to his reputation for recklessness, trading seven players to the Athletics for pitcher Vida Blue and signing broken-down infielder Rennie Stennett to a munificent free-agent contract. Except for 1978, Richardson's teams never contended. That was also the Giants' best year for attendance since 1960, as they capitalized on an expiring TV contract to advertise at cut rates on three Bay Area stations hoping to pick up local broadcast rights. Two years later attendance was back below 1,100,000, 23rd out of 26 teams.

Lurie named Frank Robinson the NL's first African American manager in 1981, and later that year hired Tom Haller as his new general manager. Haller did even worse than Richardson. He assembled a surprise contender in 1982, but in 1984 the Giants lost 96 games, their most since 1943, and in 1985 they lost 100 games for the only time in franchise history. Attendance fell below a million. A disenchanted Lurie announced he was putting the Giants up for sale with the proviso that the buyer keep the team in San Francisco. He blamed Candlestick Park for the franchise's misfortunes and called for the city to build a new stadium.

Candlestick was indeed a handicap, but Lurie's ownership coincided with an across-the-board plunge in San Francisco's fortunes. In 1978 the city was traumatized by the murder-suicide in Guyana of 912 people from the Tenderloin-based People's Temple and, just eight days later, by the assassination of Mayor Moscone and County Supervisor Harvey Milk, the first openly gay elected official in America. Then in the early 1980s the city was overwhelmed by epidemics of homelessness and AIDS. Locals could be excused if supporting a losing baseball team ranked low on their list of priorities.

The turning point came on September 18, 1985, when Lurie dumped general manager Haller in favor of Al Rosen, an experienced executive in and out of baseball and a member of the 1954 Cleveland Indians team the Giants had beaten to win their last world championship. Rosen's first act was to name Roger Craig manager. The following spring Craig brought up a couple of promising rookies in Will Clark and Robby Thompson, taught the pitching staff to throw the split-fingered fastball, and banished negativity with the corny phrase "humm baby." In 1986 the Giants improved by 21 games. The next year they won the division title, but lost the NL Championship Series to St. Louis in seven games. In 1989, led by sluggers Kevin Mitchell and Will Clark, they beat the Chicago Cubs in the playoffs and went to their first World Series in 27 years.

The Bay Area's fortunes improved at the same time, as upstart companies in the so-called Silicon Valley south of San Francisco virtually cornered the market in computers and other emerging technologies. The boom soon spread throughout the region, and the Giants shared in the wealth. Attendance rose to a franchise record 1,917,168 in 1987 and crossed the 2 million mark in 1989.

Lurie sought to take advantage of the good times. Announcing that the Giants would not play in Candlestick beyond the 1994 expiration of their lease, in 1987 he sponsored Proposition W, a nonbinding referendum that would make it city policy to build a new stadium at Seventh and Townsend Streets, an area south of Market Street that was run-down but convenient to the city's major freeways (101 and 280). Most local politicians backed the initiative, and the *San Francisco Chronicle* said, "Along with museums, opera, theater and ballet, baseball constitutes an important part of entertainment in a sophisticated metropolis. The voters should say 'yes' to remaining a big-league city in all senses of the term."

But voters said no by a margin of 53 to 47 percent. Burned by the siting of Candlestick Park 30 years earlier, they were reluctant to locate a new stadium in an undesirable neighborhood. They also resented Lurie's veiled threats that unless the ballot measure was approved, the Giants would leave San Francisco.

Though bitter, Lurie bounced back in 1989 with Proposition P, which called for the city to build a stadium in China Basin, an industrial zone along the waterfront. Sponsored by Mayor Art Agnos, the measure would have cost the city upward of \$60 million. Even so, it appeared headed for passage until disaster struck. The Loma Prieta earthquake of October 17 not only destroyed parts of San Francisco's Marina District, but halted the Giants' first home World Series game since 1962 minutes before it was to begin. Candlestick Park weathered the quake with minimal damage, which gave voters second thoughts, and the Giants lost to the Athletics in four straight, which took some of the luster off the team. A leaflet mailed to San Francisco voters by a group interested in moving the franchise to Sacramento spread further doubt by claiming that ballpark funding would come at the expense of earthquake victims. On November 7, 1989, Proposition P lost by 51 to 49 percent, fewer than 2,000 votes overall.

With that, Lurie gave up on San Francisco. But noting the high proportion of Giants fans coming from the South Bay (and all that money in Silicon Valley), in 1990 he put a trio of ballot initiatives before Santa Clara County voters. County Measure G would finance a new park via a one percent utility tax. Measure H, for San Jose only, would let that city use tax money to build a park. Measure N, for the city of Santa Clara only, would permit the Giants to build the new stadium on 96 acres near an amusement park. Although the first two narrowly lost, the third passed.

That encouraged Lurie to work with San Jose mayor Susan Hammer on a June 1992 ballot measure that would increase utility taxes by two percent, raising \$265 million to build a stadium and fund education and public safety. But

the economy was mired in recession, and the ballpark proposal was expected to result in an annual tax increase of \$35 per household. Liberals viewed it as a corporate subsidy. Moderates worried about additional traffic on the area's overcrowded freeways. Conservatives just hated the tax. On June 2, 1992, Measure G garnered less than 46 percent of the vote.

Forsaking the Bay Area once and for all, Lurie obtained approval from baseball commissioner Fay Vincent to shop the team elsewhere.

THE TAMPA GIANTS?

San Francisco still wanted the Giants. Mayor Frank Jordan enlisted 76-year-old real-estate mogul (and nationally prominent Democratic fundraiser) Walter Shorenstein to drum up local buyers. A native Long Islander and a Giants fan in his youth, Shorenstein started by putting a few million of his own dollars toward a partnership. But on August 7, 1992, Lurie sold the Giants to a group from Tampa, Florida, for \$115 million.

While Jordan tried to foment popular opposition, Shorenstein tried to raise a competitive bid. George Shinn, owner of the NBA's Charlotte Hornets, pledged \$20 million of his own and promised to take out a loan for \$30 million more to bring San Francisco halfway to its goal of \$100 million. Shorenstein rounded up a group of local investors to provide the rest of the money. But the hurried arrangement was unlikely to trump Tampa's solid package at the September 9 owners meeting.

San Francisco got a huge break when Peter O'Malley, owner of the Dodgers, announced he would vote against moving the Giants. If the leagues expanded and realigned into three divisions, as was expected, O'Malley wanted teams familiar to Dodger fans in the NL West. One day later, the owners committee looking into the sale ruled that two key Tampa investors represented too much out-of-town money and needed to reduce their stakes in the partnership.

Wonderful news for San Francisco, but if the owners were concerned about out-of-town money in the Tampa bid, what about North Carolinian George Shinn's role in San Francisco's counteroffer? Shorenstein went back to his Bay Area investors. Led by Safeway stores CEO Peter Magowan, on October 5 they squeezed out Shinn and cobbled together their own \$95 million bid. That wasn't enough for league owners, so on October 28 the bid was raised to \$100 million. Mayor Jordan sweetened the pot further by promising to reduce the Giants' rent to a dollar a year and to use municipal funds to pay for ballpark maintenance and security.

That satisfied the NL magnates, but not Lurie. The bid was \$15 million short of Tampa's, and the city's concessions did nothing for him. The owners sympathized with Lurie's desire to maximize the value of his asset, but professed dismay that he would sell the team to another city without notice. As one anonymous owner put it, "He [Lurie] had to get approval before making a deal and he didn't."

But the prior-notification issue was a smokescreen. With the contracts for national TV broadcasts expiring after 1993, NL owners were not about to trade down from the 5th-largest media market (the Bay Area) to the 20th (Tampa–St. Petersburg). Also, the expansion Florida Marlins' owner, Wayne Huizenga, made it clear he wanted exclusive rights to the Sunshine State. So the NL chieftains voted nine to four against the move (only four nays were needed), leaving Lurie with the Shorenstein-Magowan group's lower offer of 12 times the price he had paid for the franchise 16 years earlier. He grumbled, but accepted.

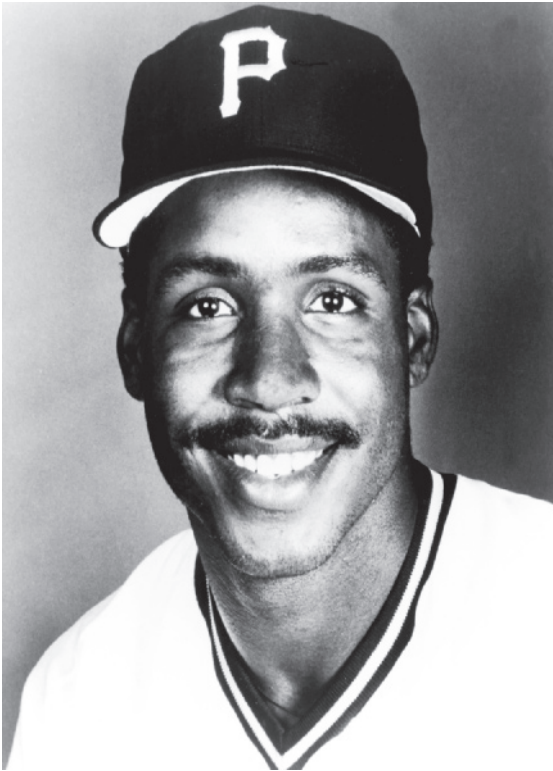
NEW ENERGY

Managing partner Peter Magowan became a Giants fan while growing up in New York. Grandson of Safeway's founder, he moved with his family to the Bay Area a year before the team. After graduating from Stanford, he obtained a master's degree in politics, philosophy, and economics from Oxford. While running the family business he also found time to serve on the Giants' board of directors. Even before he and Lurie formalized the sale in January 1993, Magowan made two moves to show Giants fans his ownership group cared about winning.

On December 5, 1992, Magowan signed Barry Bonds to a six-year, \$43.75 million contract, at the time the highest in baseball. Son of former Giants outfielder Bobby Bonds and godson of Willie Mays, Bonds had won two MVP Awards and shown signs of becoming the greatest player since Mays himself, a fact that might have been acknowledged more readily had he possessed more of his godfather's charm. For the first time since Mays and McCovey departed, the Giants had a Hall of Fame slugger anchoring their lineup.

Eleven days later, Magowan appointed Dusty Baker manager. Baker brought desperately needed stability to the clubhouse, managing the team longer than anyone since John McGraw. Baker was a true players' manager, sticking with slumping or injured regulars, showing his emotions so everyone knew where he stood, and remaining calm through losing streaks. He instilled an ethic of inclusiveness, keeping at least one white, one black, and one Hispanic coach on his staff. He assured new players that whatever unfavorable reputation they might have had elsewhere, they started fresh with him. He also allowed the players' children (and his own) to sit in the dugout and serve as batboys.

Under Magowan, the Giants hired the first female ballpark announcer, Sherry Davis, in March 1993. In 1994 they sponsored the first major-league benefit for AIDS victims, Until There's a Cure Day, which donated one dollar from each ticket to vaccine research and care for the afflicted. It became an annual event. The Magowan group also encouraged each player to become "a Giant in the community," giving time and money to favored causes. Bonds led a campaign to register African Americans as bone-marrow donors for leukemia



Undated photo of Barry Bonds. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame

victims, sponsored computer-based learning programs for disadvantaged children, and sat on the board of the San Francisco United Way.

The Giants did spectacularly well in 1993. Bonds won another MVP Award, Baker won the Manager of the Year Award, and the team won 103 games, the most since 1962. They had nothing to show for it, however, finishing a game behind Atlanta in the NL West. Attendance skyrocketed to 2,606,354, a new San Francisco record. But in time-honored fashion, disaster followed success: a bitter strike ruined the 1994 season and spilled into 1995. Attendance was down 30 percent league-wide in 1994, but dropped even more in San Francisco. In 1995, attendance at Candlestick fell to less than half of what it had been before the strike. The team's revenues sank from \$69.1 million in 1993 to \$46.4 million in 1995.

The Giants turned things around on the field in 1997, when they won 90 games and the Western Division title. (They were swept in the NL Division Series by the wild-card Florida Marlins.) From a business perspective, though, they were still in trouble, as attendance remained fourth lowest in the league. To succeed in both spheres, they needed something more. But what?

A HOME OF THEIR OWN

Rather than descend into a Lurie-esque funk, in 1995 the new owners proposed construction of a stadium at China Basin. Why would the idea work this time? Because the Giants would pay for the project themselves, becoming the first team since the Dodgers to finance their own park.

The odds were long. San Franciscans had twice voted down ballpark projects. The board of supervisors had overridden Mayor Jordan's rent reduction, requiring the team to pay \$800,000 a year for Candlestick and to absorb its own maintenance, utility, and security expenses (although the board did grant the Giants a two-year exemption from the city ticket tax). The 13 acres Magowan wanted to build on were owned by the city's Port Commission and CalTrans, the state transportation agency, meaning every step would require both

municipal and state approval. Last but not least, the team needed millions of dollars to make a down payment.

The plan had detractors, too. Other major-league owners, in the midst of the biggest stadium-building frenzy in 80 years, didn't want it known that they could build facilities without hundreds of millions of dollars in taxpayer subsidies. They muted their objections out of professional courtesy. Neighborhood activists feared the project would cause everything from traffic tie-ups to sewage overflows and would require the city to spend \$100 million improving nearby infrastructure, but they received little financial support or media exposure.

Measure B appeared on the March 26, 1996, ballot. Among other things, it asked that San Franciscans approve a zoning variance that would allow the stadium to rise more than 40 feet above the waterfront. A carefully assembled campaign was chaired by State Senator Quentin Kopp, a prickly conservative; Roberta Achtenberg, the first open lesbian approved by the U.S. Senate for a post in the executive branch; and Reverend Cecil Williams, the city's best-known advocate for the poor. With that broad a coalition behind it and no public money at stake, Measure B succeeded where four previous stadium measures had failed, garnering 66 percent of the vote. Even the precincts closest to the construction site voted in favor. "Dreams do come true!" began the Giants' full-page ad thanking voters the next day.

Chief operating officer Larry Baer was put in charge of building and financing the stadium. Baer blazed through the environmental-impact process, getting the state to evict 40 small businesses on the CalTrans land before the process was finished so the Giants could break ground three months early. On July 22, 1997, he concluded lease negotiations with the Port Commission. The Giants would pay \$1.2 million per year in rent for 25 years, with inflation-adjusted options for another 41 years. They could use the entire stadium for non-baseball events 14 times a year, including three rock concerts, but had to allow union representation for most of their workers. And, putting to rest two decades of anxiety about the team's future, they agreed not to leave the stadium before December 2022.

Now all the ownership group had to do was pay for the park. Baer worked out a deal with Chase Securities for a \$170 million mortgage, provided the Giants' down payment at least matched that amount. The largest single piece of the Giants' share came from the Pacific Bell telephone company, which paid \$50 million to name the stadium. (A corporate merger prompted the change to SBC Park and AT&T in 2006.) Another 14 corporate sponsors shelled out about \$75 million for a decade's worth of prominent placement for their advertisements. Coca-Cola paid a reported \$25 million over 12 years to erect an 80-foot replica of a Coke bottle behind the left-field bleachers.

Another \$40 million came from the sale of charter-seat licenses. From \$7,500 for a choice location in the lower deck to \$1,500 for an upper box, fans could secure the right to buy season tickets for a particular seat. Though widely dis-

paraged as a form of blackmail, the charter-seat licenses sold well. To cover the remainder of their \$187 million down payment, the Giants took advantage of the park's status as a redevelopment project to arrange for tax-increment financing, under which the Redevelopment Agency issued a \$15 million bond to be paid off through the Giants' property taxes over the next 30 years.

The Giants broke ground for Pacific Bell Park on December 11, 1997. Between January 1, 1996, and June 1998 the China Basin neighborhood experienced more than \$270 million in land sales. The 215 real-estate transactions over that period equaled the number over the previous 25 years. In all, 44 percent of the land around Pacific Bell Park changed hands from about the time Measure B was approved to the time aboveground construction began. (It took a year to pound more than two thousand concrete piles into bedrock and create a foundation that would support the structure in earthquakes.) Improvements to the land, chiefly condominium complexes just north of the ballpark, added hundreds of millions of dollars to the area's assessed value.

By the time Pacific Bell Park opened in 2000, China Basin was completely revitalized. Thousands of fans a game, knowing the new stadium had less than half as many parking spaces as Candlestick, walked down the Embarcadero from nearby BART and Muni stations, stopping at restaurants and sports bars along the way. More fans came from a CalTrain depot a block west of the ballpark, and still others from a nearby ferry terminal built by the Port Commission.

The Giants sold a record 31,000 season tickets their first year, 75 percent of the stadium's capacity. Attendance for 2000 was 3,318,800, an increase of almost 60 percent over the final year at Candlestick. In 2001 the Giants led the NL in attendance for the first time in 57 years. Their revenue nearly doubled, from \$71.9 million in 1999 to \$142 million in 2001. *Forbes* estimated their 2001 profit at \$16.8 million.

They soared on the field, too, led by Barry Bonds, who matured into the greatest hitter since Babe Ruth, although an investigation by the *San Francisco Chronicle* suggested that performance-enhancing substances may have helped to account for his eye-popping achievements. In 2001 Bonds set a new record for home runs in a season with 73. In 2002 he became only the fourth Giant to win a batting title since 1900 (after Larry Doyle in 1915, Bill Terry in 1930, and Willie Mays in 1954). In 2003 he became the first player to attain 500 career homers and 500 stolen bases. In 2004 he set the all-time single-season records for bases on balls (232) and on-base percentage (.609) while cracking his 700th career homer. Despite alienating fans and the media with his standoffish personality, he was widely acclaimed as the greatest player of his era. He won his seventh MVP award in 2004; no other player has won more than three.

Propelled by Bonds, the Giants became perpetual contenders. They won the NL West in 2000, but lost in the first round of the playoffs to the New York Mets in five games. After missing the playoffs by just two games in 2001, they returned as the NL's wild-card entry in 2002 and beat the Atlanta Braves and St. Louis Cardinals to reach the World Series. They nearly became world

champions for the first time in San Francisco, but blew a five-run lead over the Anaheim Angels late in game six and lost convincingly in game seven. In 2003 the Giants won the NL West easily, but suffered a quick exit from the playoffs at the hands of the Florida Marlins. In 2004 they fought for the wild-card berth until the season's next-to-last day, when the Dodgers overcame a three-run deficit in the ninth to knock them out of contention.

A key reason for the Giants' success was a brilliant home record. The Giants were immediately comfortable in their waterfront stadium, which played like a pitchers' park for everyone except Bonds, who blasted the first "splash hit" homer into San Francisco Bay on May 1, 2000. They also benefited from superior field managers. After the revered Dusty Baker left at the end of 2002, the Giants replaced him with Felipe Alou, a star outfielder for the team in the early 1960s. Alou had demonstrated his managerial acumen by overachieving with poorly supported Montreal Expo teams from 1992 to 2001. In Alou's first year with the Giants, they won 100 games for only the third time in San Francisco.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

Although a severe recession in the early years of the new century hit the Bay Area hard, the Giants were able to keep attendance over 3 million and field a contending club. In 2004 *Forbes* rated the Giants the seventh-most-valuable franchise in the major leagues, at \$368 million.

But it is too early to declare the privately financed park a success and the Giants a new force in baseball. Unlike other big-league teams, the Giants have to pay a mortgage on top of their other expenses. They increased their average ticket price by 75 percent when they moved from Candlestick to Pac Bell, and in 2002 they introduced variable pricing, charging non-season-ticket holders extra for weekend games and contests against popular opponents (like the Dodgers, still the archrival after all these years). They also rent out the park for various events, from football games to corporate meetings. Yet after the 2003 season, the Giants announced they had lost money and needed to reduce payroll.

Whether this was actually true was doubtful; *Forbes* estimated that in 2003 the Giants made a slim profit of \$700,000. Judging from their history, however, the Giants need to prepare for a misfortune of some sort—perhaps nothing more than Bonds's retirement, perhaps something as devastating as a decision by the major-league owners to override the Giants' territorial rights and allow the Athletics to move to fan-rich San Jose. The Giants got a foretaste of life without Bonds in 2005, when a knee injury kept him out of the lineup until September and the team finished below .500 for the first time in nine years. Even so, they drew over 3 million fans. When the seemingly inevitable setback occurs, paying off their gleaming new stadium may yet interfere with a promising trend toward returning the franchise to its former glory.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS**Most Valuable Players**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1933	Carl Hubbell	P
1936	Carl Hubbell	P
1954	Willie Mays	OF
1965	Willie Mays	OF
1969	Willie McCovey	1B
1989	Kevin Mitchell	OF
1993	Barry Bonds	OF
2000	Jeff Kent	2B
2001	Barry Bonds	OF
2002	Barry Bonds	OF
2003	Barry Bonds	OF
2004	Barry Bonds	OF

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1967	Mike McCormick	LHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1951	Willie Mays	OF
1958	Orlando Cepeda	1B
1959	Willie McCovey	1B
1973	Gary Matthews	OF
1975	John Montefusco	P

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1885	Roger Connor	.371
1890	Jack Glasscock	.336
1915	Larry Doyle	.320
1930	Bill Terry	.401
1954	Willie Mays	.345
2002	Barry Bonds	.370
2004	Barry Bonds	.362

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1883	Buck Ewing	10
1890	Mike Tiernan	13
1891	Mike Tiernan	16
1909	Red Murray	12
1916	Dave Robertson	12
1917	Dave Robertson	12
1921	George Kelly	23
1932	Mel Ott	38
1934	Mel Ott	35
1936	Mel Ott	33
1937	Mel Ott	31
1938	Mel Ott	36
1942	Mel Ott	30
1947	Johnny Mize	51
1948	Johnny Mize	40
1955	Willie Mays	51
1961	Orlando Cepeda	46
1962	Willie Mays	49
1963	Willie McCovey	44
1964	Willie Mays	47
1965	Willie Mays	52
1968	Willie McCovey	36
1969	Willie McCovey	45
1989	Kevin Mitchell	47
1993	Barry Bonds	46
1994	Matt Williams	43
2001	Barry Bonds	73

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1904	Joe McGinnity	1.61
1905	Christy Mathewson	1.28
1908	Christy Mathewson	1.43
1909	Christy Mathewson	1.14
1911	Christy Mathewson	1.99
1912	Jeff Tesreau	1.96
1913	Christy Mathewson	2.06
1922	Phil Douglas	2.63

1929	Bill Walker	3.09
1931	Bill Walker	2.26
1933	Carl Hubbell	1.66
1934	Carl Hubbell	2.30
1936	Carl Hubbell	2.31
1949	Dave Koslo	2.50
1950	Sal Maglie	2.71
1952	Hoyt Wilhelm	2.43
1954	Johnny Antonelli	2.30
1958	Stu Miller	2.47
1959	Sam Jones	2.83
1960	Mike McCormick	2.70
1969	Juan Marichal	2.10
1983	Atlee Hammaker	2.25
1989	Scott Garrelts	2.28
1992	Bill Swift	2.08
2003	Jason Schmidt	2.34

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Strikeouts</i>
1888	Tim Keefe	335
1890	Amos Rusie	341
1891	Amos Rusie	337
1893	Amos Rusie	208
1894	Amos Rusie	195
1895	Amos Rusie	201
1898	Cy Seymour	239
1903	Christy Mathewson	267
1904	Christy Mathewson	212
1905	Christy Mathewson	206
1907	Christy Mathewson	259
1908	Christy Mathewson	237
1937	Carl Hubbell	159
1944	Bill Voiselle	161

No-Hitters

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Amos Rusie	07/31/1891
Christy Mathewson	07/15/1901
Christy Mathewson	06/13/1905
Hooks Wiltse	07/04/1908
Jeff Tesreau	09/06/1912

Rube Marquard	04/15/1915
Jesse Barnes	05/07/1922
Carl Hubbell	05/08/1929
Juan Marichal	06/15/1963
Gaylord Perry	09/17/1968
Ed Halicki	08/24/1975
John Montefusco	09/29/1976

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES

NL West Division Titles

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1971	90–72	Charlie Fox
1987	90–72	Roger Craig
1989	92–70	Roger Craig
1997	90–72	Dusty Baker
2000	97–65	Dusty Baker
2003	100–61	Felipe Alou

NL Wild Cards

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
2002	95–66	Dusty Baker

NL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1888	84–47	Jim Mutrie
1889	83–43	Jim Mutrie
1904	106–47	John McGraw
1905	105–48	John McGraw
1911	99–54	John McGraw
1912	103–48	John McGraw
1913	101–51	John McGraw
1917	98–56	John McGraw
1921	94–59	John McGraw
1922	93–61	John McGraw
1923	95–58	John McGraw
1924	93–60	John McGraw
1933	91–61	Bill Terry
1936	92–62	Bill Terry
1937	95–57	Bill Terry
1951	98–58	Leo Durocher

1954	97–57	Leo Durocher
1962	103–62	Alvin Dark
1989	92–70	Roger Craig
2002	95–66	Dusty Baker

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>
1888	St. Louis
1889	Brooklyn
1894	Baltimore
1905	Philadelphia
1921	New York
1922	New York
1933	Washington
1954	Cleveland

MANAGERS

2003–	Felipe Alou
1993–2002	Dusty Baker
1985–1992	Roger Craig
1985	Jim Davenport
1984	Danny Ozark
1981–1984	Frank Robinson
1979–1980	Dave Bristol
1977–1979	Joe Altobelli
1976	Bill Rigney
1974–1975	Wes Westrum
1970–1974	Charlie Fox
1969	Clyde King
1965–1968	Herman Franks
1961–1964	Alvin Dark
1960	Tom Sheehan
1956–1960	Bill Rigney
1948–1955	Leo Durocher
1942–1948	Mel Ott
1932–1941	Bill Terry
1902–1932	John McGraw

1902	Heinie Smith
1902	Horace Fogel
1900–1901	George Davis
1900	Buck Ewing
1899	Fred Hoey
1899	John Day
1898	Cap Anson
1896–1898	Bill Joyce
1896	Arthur Irwin
1895	Harvey Watkins
1895	Jack Doyle
1895	George Davis
1893–1894	John M. Ward
1892	Pat Powers
1885–1891	Jim Mutrie
1883–1884	John B. Day

Team Records by Individual Players

	Batting Leaders			Career		
	Single Season			Plate Appearances		
	Name		Year	Name		
Batting average	Bill Terry	.401	1930	Bill Terry	.341	7,111
On-base %	Barry Bonds	.609	2004	Barry Bonds	.478	7,381
Slugging %	Barry Bonds	.863	2001	Barry Bonds	.680	7,381
OPS	Barry Bonds	1.422	2004	Barry Bonds	1.159	7,381
Games	Josse Pagan	164	1962	Willie Mays	2,857	12,012
At bats	Jo-Jo Moore	681	1935	Willie Mays	10,477	12,012
Runs	Mike Tiernan	147	1889	Willie Mays	2,011	12,012
Hits	Bill Terry	254	1930	Willie Mays	3,187	12,012
Total bases	Barry Bonds	411	2001	Willie Mays	5,907	12,012
Doubles	Jeff Kent	49	2001	Willie Mays	504	12,012
Triples	George Davis	27	1893	Mike Tiernan	162	6,716
Home runs	Bobby Bonds	73	2001	Willie Mays	646	12,012
RBIs	Mel Ott	151	1929	Mel Ott	1,860	11,337
Walks	Barry Bonds	232	2004	Mel Ott	1,708	11,337

(Continued)

Batting Leaders (Continued)

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Plate Appearances
Strikeouts	Bobby Bonds	189	1970	Willie Mays	1,436	12,012
Stolen bases	John M. Ward	111	1887	Mike Tiernan	428	6,716
Extra-base hits	Barry Bonds	107	2001	Willie Mays	1,289	12,012
Times on base	Barry Bonds	376	2004	Mel Ott	4,648	11,337

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
ERA	Christy Mathewson	1.14	1909	Christy Mathewson	2.12	4,771.7
Wins	Mickey Welch	44	1885	Christy Mathewson	372	4,771.7
Won-loss %	Hoyt Wilhelm	.833	1952	Jason Schmidt	.705	856.3
Hits/9 IP	Christy Mathewson	6.28	1909	R. Schupp	7.07	561.3
Walks/9 IP	Christy Mathewson	0.62	1909	Slim Sallee	1.10	572.7
Strikeouts	Mickey Welch	345	1884	Christy Mathewson	2,499	4,771.7
Strikeouts/9 IP	Jason Schmidt	10.04	2004	Jason Schmidt	9.30	856.3
Games	Julian Taverez	89	1997	Gary Lavelle	647	980.3
Saves	Rod Beck	48	1993	Rob Nen	206	378.3
Innings	Mickey Welch	557.3	1884	Christy Mathewson	4,771.7	4,771.7
Starts	Mickey Welch	65	1884	Christy Mathewson	550	4,771.7
Complete games	Mickey Welch	62	1884	Christy Mathewson	433	4,771.7
Shutouts	Christy Mathewson	11	1908	Christy Mathewson	79	4,771.7

Source: Drawn from data in "San Francisco Giants Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/SFG/leaders_bat.shtml; "San Francisco Giants Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/SFG/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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St. Louis Cardinals

Jon David Cash

The epic history of the St. Louis Cardinals, winners of more World Series championships than any other National League club, started with another nickname in another league. On May 2, 1882, the franchise, then known as the Brown Stockings and a charter member of the American Association (AA), made its major-league debut with a 9–7 victory over the Louisville Eclipse at the original Sportsman’s Park. For over 80 years, the destiny of this baseball team would be intertwined with the ballpark on Grand Avenue, located on the northwestern outskirts of St. Louis.

WHEN CARDINALS WERE BROWNS

Chris Von der Ahe, a German immigrant and proprietor of the Golden Lion Saloon, owned these forerunners of the Cardinals. His saloon, a block away from Grand Avenue Park, relied on the support of customers on their way to and from amateur and early professional baseball games. St. Louis amateurs had endured repeated drubbings from the professional Chicago White Stockings. Local businessmen, already frustrated over losing midwestern trade supremacy to Chicago, assembled St. Louis’s first professional team to restore civic pride. The original St. Louis Brown Stockings took the field in 1875, the final season of the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players. They led the league in attendance and, in the following year, were influential in forming the National League. The new league doubled ticket prices to 50 cents, causing a decline in public support. In December 1877, plagued by deficits and a gambling scandal, the Brown Stockings resigned from the NL.

For the next three seasons, they survived only as an impoverished semiprofessional club. In October 1880, when deteriorating Grand Avenue Park faced demolition, Von der Ahe took over a five-year lease for \$6,500. He also supplied most of the \$5,000 expended to refurbish the ballpark, now renamed Sportsman's Park.

The 1881 grand opening of Sportsman's Park sparked a resurgence of St. Louis baseball. Sportsman's Park, with its new double-decked covered grandstand and renovated playing grounds, lured better competitors from larger cities. The Brown Stockings met the challenge of stiffer competition, and crowds packed the ballpark. Attendance peaked on Sundays, when most men were off from work and could enjoy a bustling beer garden in the right-field corner.

On the first Sunday that year, with the Brown Stockings opposing the Cincinnati Red Stockings, 4,000 spectators overflowed the grandstand of Sportsman's Park and swarmed across the outfield. Von der Ahe built additional seating to meet public demand, adding bleachers down the first-base line. Six thousand seats were filled for Sunday games against the Philadelphia Athletics and Louisville Eclipse.

This baseball rejuvenation fueled interest in forming a league. Von der Ahe spent another \$1,800 to acquire a controlling interest in the Brown Stockings, and his team joined five others in creating the AA. Its appeal differed from that of the older NL, mirroring contemporary cultural and political divisions. The NL charged 50 cents for tickets and prohibited beer sales and Sunday games. In the eyes of William Hulbert of the Chicago White Stockings, these policies enabled the NL to gain the "support and respect of the best class of people" and avoid "the patronage of the degraded." Von der Ahe, the German-born Democratic saloon owner, convinced the AA to cater to the ethnic working classes with quarter tickets, beer sales, and Sunday games.

AA attendance outpaced the NL for five years, and in three of those seasons the St. Louis Browns led the majors in total attendance. Von der Ahe possessed a flair for showmanship, and his promotional instincts enhanced his team's popularity. He built ladies' rooms to encourage female attendance, hired bands as pregame entertainment, and scheduled doubleheaders featuring the Browns and Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. A profitable afternoon often ended with the spectacle of Von der Ahe, surrounded by armed guards, hauling away the day's take with a wheelbarrow.

While Von der Ahe possessed promotional genius, his intrusions into baseball operations, despite a limited grasp of the game, hampered his team. This paradox caused tension between Von der Ahe and a parade of managers. Von der Ahe twice fired his manager in midseason and appointed first baseman Charles Comiskey as interim replacement. In 1885, Von der Ahe gave Comiskey a chance to manage a full season, and Comiskey responded by winning the pennant. The Browns established a still-existing major-league record with 27 straight wins at home and outdistanced second-place Cincinnati by 16 games. Then they took on the White Stockings, the NL pennant winners, in

the first postseason “World Series” (a phrase coined by St. Louis sportswriter Al Spink, who a year later founded the influential *Sporting News*).

The opening game in Chicago resulted in a darkness-shortened tie, and the second game concluded in such chaos that the outcome of the World Series was thrown into dispute. In the sixth inning, 200 furious St. Louis fans stormed onto the field and chased NL umpire Dave Sullivan out of Sportsman’s Park. Sullivan retreated to his hotel room and awarded a forfeit to Chicago. The Browns protested, because the rules stated that a forfeit could only be declared on the field of play. Each team won two of the next four contests. Immediately before the final game, umpire John Kelly issued a public announcement at the request of Comiskey and White Stockings player-manager Cap Anson. This well-respected umpire, nicknamed “Honest John,” explained that the forfeit no longer counted, and thus the upcoming seventh game would decide the championship. The Browns prevailed, 13–4, and staked their claim to the title of world champions. However, A. G. Spalding, successor to the late Hulbert as White Stockings owner, objected that he had never agreed to relinquish the forfeited game. Contemporary opinion divided bitterly along league lines, but modern accounts tend to accept Spalding’s depiction of the 1885 World Series as a tie.

In the long run, though, the 1885 World Series merely served as a prelude to the rematch of the following year. Anson, pouring fuel onto the flames of the rivalry, bragged in July 1886 that the Browns would finish no better than “fifth or sixth” in the NL. Once the Browns and White Stockings clinched their respective pennants, Spalding insisted his club would only play the Browns on a winner-take-all basis. When Von der Ahe accepted, this daring format captured the public’s imagination, and daily attendance tripled over the previous year.

After losing two of three games in Chicago, the Browns returned home to Sportsman’s Park and swept three straight to take the World Series. In the bottom of the 10th inning of the sixth game, Browns’ center fielder Curt Welch scored the winning run on a wild pitch, a play later known as “the \$15,000 Slide.” It gave the Browns the entire \$13,920 in gate receipts. Von der Ahe pocketed half of the proceeds and divided the other half between his 12 players. Their winners’ share of \$580 exceeded the yearly income of a typical manufacturing worker.

The 1887 season would be a tumultuous one for Von der Ahe and St. Louis baseball. When acts passed by the Missouri legislature threatened Sunday baseball in St. Louis, Von der Ahe pondered whether to accept an offer of \$25,000 to transfer the Browns to the NL. However, his political connections saved Sunday baseball. Von der Ahe chaired the Democratic Party’s Eighth Congressional District Committee, which helped elect John O’Neill, the Browns’ vice president, to five terms in Congress. When Von der Ahe defied the Sunday closing laws of the Missouri legislature, his case went before the Court of Criminal Correction, and Congressman O’Neill testified on Von der Ahe’s behalf.

Judge Edward Noonan, a rising Irish Democratic politician, was influenced by O'Neill and Von der Ahe, but he also genuinely opposed Sabbatarianism and ruled in favor of Sunday games.

Nevertheless, as the Browns wrapped up their third consecutive runaway pennant, the AA's lack of competitive balance caused attendance to dwindle at Sportsman's Park. After losing the 1887 World Series to the Detroit Wolverines, Von der Ahe devised a plan. He sold five of his best players to AA rivals in Brooklyn and Philadelphia for \$26,750, compensating for the decline in profits. These player sales also attempted to address two underlying causes of the Browns' economic downturn. First, by replacing well-paid veterans with less heralded youngsters, Von der Ahe slashed his payroll. Second, the transactions weakened the Browns and strengthened both Brooklyn and Philadelphia, bolstering parity among AA teams.

Yet the sales created unforeseen problems. In St. Louis, resentment smoldered over the loss of five popular Browns, and many fans stayed away from Sportsman's Park. Furthermore, closer competition unleashed a fierce rivalry between the Browns and the Brooklyn Bridegrooms that tore the AA apart. Despite the transactions, Comiskey and the Browns captured their fourth straight pennant. However, in a controversial finish to the 1889 season, Brooklyn dethroned the Browns as AA champions. In a crucial September contest in Brooklyn, the Browns took a 4–2 lead into the ninth, but Comiskey pulled his team off the field when umpire Fred Goldsmith refused to call the game on account of darkness. Although Goldsmith forfeited the game to the Bridegrooms, Brooklyn fans attacked the departing Browns. Citing security concerns, the Browns refused to play the next day, so the Bridegrooms were awarded another forfeit. Two weeks later, the AA reversed the original forfeit and declared the Browns the victors, but still upheld the second forfeit. The Bridegrooms ultimately won the pennant by two games over the Browns. If the AA had ordered the second disputed contest to be decided on the field, the Browns could have surpassed the Bridegrooms (by percentage points) with a win.

One month later, with animosities running high, the AA convened to elect a new president. When the convention deadlocked between candidates supported by Von der Ahe and Bridegrooms owner Charles Byrne, the AA self-destructed. All four teams in the pro-Bridegrooms faction (Brooklyn, Cincinnati, Baltimore, and Kansas City) resigned from the league, with Brooklyn and Cincinnati jumping to the NL.

Von der Ahe by then had earned approximately \$500,000 from the Browns and beer sales at Sportsman's Park. Much of this windfall was invested in the predominately German American community that then surrounded Sportsman's Park, where Von der Ahe built entire city blocks and placed neighborhood bars on every corner. His financial empire soon crumbled.

At the dawn of the 1890s, Von der Ahe struggled to keep the AA alive, a mission complicated by two years of baseball warfare. In 1890, the new Players' League formed as a result of a labor dispute between the NL and the Broth-

erhood of Professional Base Ball Players. Before the formation of the Players' League, no AA players were affiliated with the Brotherhood, and the AA had rejected the NL's Salary Classification Plan, which had provoked the Brotherhood. However, despite the AA's desire to avoid this war, 28 AA players showed sympathy for the Brotherhood and joined the Players' League. The 1890 season turned into a fiscal disaster for all three leagues, and after only one year, the Players' League folded.

Another squabble soon erupted over the rights to returning Brotherhood players. When the NL claimed two former AA standouts, the AA withdrew from the National Agreement, which had prevented either organization from raiding the player rosters of the other. Without the National Agreement, pandemonium ensued. In October and November 1891, the AA signed 13 players off NL squads, while the NL reached agreement with 15 from the AA's ranks.

The Browns, more than anybody in the AA, bore the brunt of these baseball wars. Their roster, "the Four-Time Winners," presented an inviting target. Furthermore, the Browns were ripe for plucking. Von der Ahe, always a volatile personality, frequently issued unreasonable fines to his players. Comiskey would usually wait for Von der Ahe's anger to subside, then intervene and resolve the disputes, normally persuading Von der Ahe to reward a fined player with a bonus for some extraordinary performance of recent vintage. In 1889, though, Von der Ahe had installed his teenage son, Edward, as a club official. Eddie Von der Ahe neutralized the influence of Comiskey, and a flurry of fines and suspensions followed. Without Comiskey as a restraint, Von der Ahe alienated most of his players, leaving them receptive to offers from the Brotherhood. In 1890, the Browns lost seven players to the new league, including Comiskey, making them the hardest-hit AA team.

When the Players' League collapsed, Comiskey returned to St. Louis, reunited with five of his old players, and again ran the Browns for Von der Ahe. In August 1891, while the Von der Ahes administered more fines and suspensions, the Browns fell out of pennant contention. After finishing second, Comiskey and six other Browns bolted for NL offers. The 1891 raids and counter raids hurt the Browns more than any major-league club.

Seven departing Browns escaped the eccentricities of Von der Ahe for salary increases. Once the signing frenzy ended, escalating salaries concerned owners. The lack of a National Agreement had given marketplace freedom to the players, and to eliminate this privilege, the NL offered Von der Ahe the same terms of consolidation that he had sought since 1887. A three-man delegation of NL owners met with Von der Ahe in St. Louis, and in December 1891, they hammered out a preliminary agreement. Four AA clubs would merge with four NL clubs and four clubs that the NL had previously raided from the AA. All 12 clubs in the new "big league" would be granted local option regarding Sunday games, beer sales, and quarter tickets.

The consolidation of the NL and the AA marked the last significant victory of the baseball career of Chris Von der Ahe. His 1891 St. Louis squad, thanks

to the return of Comiskey and other old Browns, once again topped the majors in total attendance. NL owners had sought Von der Ahe to discuss peace terms and had surrendered on the key issues of Sunday games, beer sales, and quarter tickets. Von der Ahe accepted the terms of consolidation that he had wanted for four years, rather than warring with the NL and providing financial support for the poorest AA clubs.

If the consolidation had taken place in 1887, Von der Ahe might have thrived in the NL. By the end of 1891, though, the Browns could no longer count on Comiskey, their sole source of stability throughout Von der Ahe's ownership. The task of rebuilding the Browns' roster fell upon Von der Ahe, and he lacked sufficient expertise, capital, or patience.

Von der Ahe's worst mistake judging talent occurred when he disregarded the advice of his former shortstop Bill Gleason to purchase a minor-league prospect from the Cedar Rapids Canaries. Following a brief tryout, Von der Ahe dismissed the diminutive teenager as better suited to becoming a jockey than a baseball player. Gleason eventually secured the lad a major-league contract with the Baltimore Orioles, and the fiery play of young John McGraw sparked the Orioles to three consecutive NL pennants. The failure to sign McGraw illustrated Von der Ahe's inability to distinguish greatness from mediocrity and demonstrated that Von der Ahe had developed an unwillingness to listen to expert advice.

In his 1880s heyday, Von der Ahe had heeded the recommendations of baseball insiders such as Comiskey and other trusted scouts, sparing no expense and simply outbidding rivals to acquire highly touted players. He also compensated players well and, as late as 1887, boasted about the Browns being baseball's best-paid club. Unfortunately, after joining the NL, Von der Ahe could no longer afford the free-spending tactics that had built the Browns into champions. His economic downfall was due to several factors. Von der Ahe was overextended by purchasing property near Sportsman's Park when real estate values in the late 1880s plummeted, and he still owed a considerable sum to the Northwestern Savings Bank of St. Louis. These money woes were complicated by excessive drinking, lavish expenditures, and constant womanizing.

Von der Ahe's deteriorating finances forced him to stock the Browns with an ineffective collection of over-the-hill veterans and unproven youngsters. For seven successive seasons, the Browns suffered losing records, while Von der Ahe restlessly changed managers. Eighteen different men, including Von der Ahe himself, tried to reverse their declining fortunes. However, Von der Ahe hindered the efforts of his managers, often selling the best Browns for funds that temporarily alleviated his economic woes. From 1892 to 1898, the Browns were always rebuilding, but lacked a long-range vision because of the procession of managers and Von der Ahe's proclivity to yank away every cornerstone that had been laid. The same St. Louis newspapers that had hailed Von der Ahe for the success of "the Four-Time Winners" now deserted him and served up relentless criticism.

Meanwhile, Von der Ahe pursued the short-term solution of building another ballpark. In April 1893, he opened the new Sportsman's Park at Vandeventer Avenue and Natural Bridge Road, a few blocks from the original Sportsman's Park. Both sites were selected for proximity to streetcar lines. A different ballpark, however, could not mask a losing team. While disappointing seasons mounted, the Browns dropped from the top of baseball attendance figures for 1891–92 to near the bottom. By 1896, Von der Ahe had desperately transformed the new Sportsman's Park into "the Coney Island of the West," complete with amusement-park rides and horse racing. Yet one year later, the Browns plunged to last place, and outdrew only the hapless Cleveland Spiders.

In 1898, the amusement park and horse track were scrapped, and Von der Ahe intended to restore baseball as the center of attention at Sportsman's Park. During the second game of the season, though, a devastating blaze engulfed the ballpark. Although nobody perished, hundreds of lawsuits were filed for injuries suffered from the fire or the fleeing crowds. Sportsman's Park was nearly destroyed, and on top of that, Von der Ahe's financial distress had prevented him from securing sufficient insurance. Von der Ahe spent his entire settlement of \$35,000 to rebuild the ballpark with an 8,000-seat capacity, but could not fend off the creditors. He lost a foreclosure case brought by the Mississippi Valley Trust Company, and his Browns were sold on March 14, 1899, in a public auction.

Von der Ahe had played a pivotal role in popularizing major-league baseball. When he arrived on the baseball scene, public support for the game had been withering away. The NL, determined to appeal solely to the middle class, had lost six of its original eight members. Von der Ahe and his partners in the AA took major-league baseball into cities that the NL had either abandoned or neglected, and they appealed to the working class with quarter tickets, Sunday games, and beer sales. Ironically, after reviving major-league baseball in St. Louis and propelling the game to an unprecedented height of prosperity, Von der Ahe nearly undermined all that he had accomplished. Once he had been the savior of St. Louis baseball, but by 1899, St. Louis baseball would have to be saved from him. Von der Ahe's legacy now depended on his successors.

BIRTH OF THE CARDINALS

Frank and Stanley Robison, brothers who operated a streetcar line and the Spiders baseball team in Cleveland, took over ownership of the St. Louis baseball franchise. Economics dictated their baseball policy. Their Spiders had strung together seven successive winning seasons, but attendance lagged behind the Browns. Embittered over their hometown's lack of support, the Robisons reasoned that a winning team would return St. Louis to the ranks of the best-drawing cities in baseball. Therefore, for the 1899 season, they transferred their best Spiders to St. Louis.

On Opening Day, the changing of the guard took place in St. Louis with a mismatch between the Robisons' teams. The entire St. Louis starting nine had played the preceding season for the Cleveland Spiders, while eight of the Cleveland starters had belonged to Von der Ahe's last-place Browns of 1898. The new St. Louis club trounced the former St. Louis squad 10–1. The former Browns bumbled their way to the worst record in major-league history, 20–134, and Cleveland left the NL. But the arrival of the old Spider players rescued NL baseball for St. Louis.

Besides better players, the new owners also gave the St. Louis club a new identity, altering its traditional brown trim on caps and stockings to cardinal red. A season-opening string of seven victories lent some support to the new nickname of "Perfectos," though as the team slipped, this name sounded pretentious. By midseason, the use of "Perfectos" faded away, and the name of "Cardinals" eventually won out over "Red Caps." The 1899 Cardinals delivered a record of 84–67, finished 5th in the 12-team NL, and thrilled St. Louis with its first winning season since the AA folded. Trailing only Philadelphia in attendance, they drew a franchise record 373,909 fans to the remodeled (and renamed) League Park located on the same site as the 1898 fire, Vandeventer Avenue and Natural Bridge Road.

The Robisons, determined to win the 1900 pennant, paid \$15,000 to purchase three players from the disbanded Baltimore Orioles. Two of the former Orioles, catcher Wilbert Robinson and third baseman John McGraw, were future Cooperstown enshrinees who joined three other future Hall of Famers already on the Cardinals' roster (shortstop Bobby Wallace, left fielder Jesse Burkett, and pitcher Cy Young). Yet despite all this talent, the 1900 Cardinals ended 10 games below the .500 mark and dropped to the second division of the NL. Their experiment of mixing the volatile commodities of old Spiders and old Orioles, formerly bitter rivals, adversely affected team chemistry. Manager Patsy Tebeau, previously a fiery leader, failed to bridge the gap between the feuding factions and quit in mid-August. The holdout of McGraw and Robinson did not help matters. Neither joined the Cardinals for the first month of the season. In order to bring them to terms, the Cardinals were forced to pay the duo a \$6,000 signing bonus, give McGraw a \$10,000 salary to make him the highest-paid player in the game, and waive the reserve clause in their contracts to allow them to sign elsewhere for the following season.

In 1901, both McGraw and Robinson departed to the newly organized American League. This new league also lured away Cy Young, the Cardinals' best pitcher. Yet under new manager Pat Donovan, the Cardinals still improved dramatically. They climbed back into the NL's first division, finished fourth with a record of 76–64, and topped major-league baseball in attendance. The club averaged 5,000 for each home game and attracting a franchise record 379,988, one-fifth of the total NL attendance.

The Robison brothers had revitalized St. Louis baseball. In 1902, taking notice of their success, the rival AL transferred the Milwaukee Brewers to

St. Louis. These newcomers staked a claim to both the past and present of St. Louis baseball. Appealing to tradition, they took residence at the original Sportsman's Park on Grand Avenue and adopted the nickname of Browns. Capturing as much as they could of current St. Louis baseball, the new Browns signed seven players off the Cardinals' roster. Over the next 52 years, the Cardinals and Browns fought for the hearts of the baseball fans of St. Louis.

THE BATTLE FOR ST. LOUIS

For almost a quarter century, neither side gained a clear-cut advantage, although the Browns were usually more popular and successful. This early preference for the Browns surfaced in 1902, following their raid of the Cardinals. The decimated Cardinals dropped to sixth place in the NL, and their record of 56–78 marked the start of nine straight losing seasons. Meanwhile, the new Browns were bolstered by former Cardinals, such as Burkett and Wallace. They finished second in the AL with a record of 78–58, only five games behind the Philadelphia Athletics. The 1902 season established them as local favorites, and in seven of eight seasons from 1902 to 1909, the Browns drew more fans than the Cardinals. In 1907 the Cards drew just 185,377, their third lowest attendance ever.

The Browns' superiority peaked in 1908, led by their new acquisition, Rube Waddell, the most flamboyant pitcher in the game. This eccentric left-hander had worn out his welcome with the Athletics despite leading AL pitchers in strikeouts for six consecutive seasons. Waddell won 19 games, keeping the Browns in the thick of a four-team pennant race. They faded in September, but their fourth-place finish and 83–69 record were still the best results for a St. Louis club since their 1902 debut. Waddell's magnetism enabled the Browns to welcome 618,947 customers to Sportsman's Park, triple the crowds of the last-place Cardinals at League Park, and shatter the St. Louis attendance record.

Sportsman's Park, built by beer sales from Chris Von der Ahe's saloon, was renovated by ticket sales from Rube Waddell's left arm. Robert Lee Hedges, the Browns' absentee owner from Cincinnati, utilized profits from the 1908 season to modernize the ballpark. At the forefront of a movement away from hazardous wooden parks, he constructed a double-decked concrete and steel grandstand. His poverty-stricken rivals, the Cardinals, defied warnings from the building commissioner about the dangers of their wooden ballpark, which in 1916 became the last all-wooden major-league facility.

Although the Browns played in a superior park, their on-field performance faltered and permitted the Cardinals to present a local challenge. After contending in 1908, the Browns finished either last or next to last for five consecutive years. The Cardinals took advantage of the Browns' collapse, and in five of six seasons from 1910 to 1915 outshined their neighborhood rivals on the diamond and at the box office, especially in 1911. While the Browns languished in the AL cellar for a second successive season, the Cardinals enjoyed a winning

record for the first time in a decade. This enabled the Cardinals to pull in a franchise record 447,768 fans, double the Browns' attendance.

Cardinals manager Roger Bresnahan, acquired in 1908 from the New York Giants for pitcher Bugs Raymond and outfielder Red Murray, was credited with the turnaround. Stanley Robison, completely in charge of the Cardinals after the death of his brother Frank three years earlier, gave Bresnahan a free hand. Bresnahan transformed the Cardinals, retaining only first baseman Ed Konetchy and left-handed pitcher Slim Sallee while obtaining many newcomers through trades. Bresnahan shared catching responsibilities and brought over his old Giants teammate Steve Evans to play right field. From the Cincinnati Reds, he secured second baseman Miller Huggins, center fielder Rebel Oakes, and third baseman Mike Mowrey. These additions kept the Cardinals in a five-team pennant race until August. The Cardinals' subsequent swoon dropped them to fifth, and they barely finished with a winning record of 75–74.

Nevertheless, by arousing local support, Bresnahan's 1911 team turned a profit of \$165,000. Helene Robison Britton, the daughter of Frank Robison and the first female owner of a major-league club, had inherited the Cardinals upon the death of her uncle Stanley in March 1911. After the season, she utilized the team's unexpected earnings to pare down their outstanding debts. Britton rewarded Bresnahan with a new five-year contract for \$10,000 a year and 10 percent of profits.

This agreement lasted only one season, due to constant bickering between Bresnahan and Britton, dubbed "Lady Bee" by the press corps. First, Bresnahan persistently tried to buy the Cardinals, long after Britton explained that she had no intention of selling. Second, suspicious that Huggins might be angling for his job, Bresnahan attempted to trade the popular second baseman. Lady Bee intervened to block the trade of her favorite player. Then, with the Cardinals' record slipping toward their final mark of 63–90, Britton questioned her manager's strategy. Bresnahan, exploding into an outburst of expletives, expressed his belief that women were incapable of sharing baseball insights.

At the end of her second season as a baseball owner, Britton fired one future Hall of Famer as manager and replaced him with another, Miller Huggins. While Huggins would gain greater acclaim for guiding the New York Yankees to six pennants in eight years from 1921 to 1928, he might have done a better job of managing the Cardinals. The Yankees had wealthy owners who used their pocketbooks to purchase 15 players from the Boston Red Sox alone, while the Cardinals were too poor to even renovate their archaic ballpark.

In Huggins's first year, the Cardinals continued on their downward spiral, falling from sixth in 1912 to last in 1913. Future prospects seemed equally bleak, especially after starting outfielders Evans and Oakes jumped to the rival Federal League. Huggins filled these holes in the "three-for-five deal" with Pittsburgh. This trade cost the Cardinals three significant players (Konetchy, Mowrey, and pitcher Bob Harmon) in return for two-thirds of their 1914 outfield, half of their infield, and a pitcher, which helped the Cardinals finish in third place.

During the next two seasons, though, the team failed to sustain any momentum. Their record plummeted to sub-.500 again, and they fell back to the second division. By 1917, when Huggins restored a winning ledger and returned the Cardinals to third place, the culmination of the Federal League war had changed St. Louis baseball.

The rival Feds had tried for two years to establish a third major league, but after two years of dwindling attendance and mounting debts, most of its investors accepted a \$600,000 buyout offer from the two older leagues. As part of this peace agreement, the owners of the Chicago and St. Louis Federal League teams acquired major-league clubs. Phil Ball, owner of the St. Louis team, paid \$425,000 to Robert Lee Hedges for the Browns and Sportsman's Park.

This connection between Ball and the Browns reshaped the fight for local baseball supremacy. Britton had moved to St. Louis in 1913 and, as a hometown owner with a better ball club than the Browns, had swung public opinion toward the Cardinals. But now she faced a more dangerous adversary. Ball, a wealthy St. Louis businessman who earned millions from his ice-manufacturing plants, stalemated her hometown advantage and could draw from deeper reservoirs of capital.

In 1916, Ball combined his holdovers from the St. Louis Federal League team with the old Browns to finish 79–75, snapping the Browns' seven-year losing skid. Attendance had declined to a franchise low of 150,358 in the last year of Hedges's ownership, but doubled under Ball. Meanwhile, the inconsistent Cardinals dropped to the bottom of the NL. Their attendance had surpassed the Browns for five of the previous six seasons, but fell 33 percent short of the 1916 Browns.

Besides these professional setbacks, Britton endured the disintegration of her marriage. A single mother of two, she longed for financial security, and decided to sell the Cardinals and their ballpark for \$375,000. She offered them to Huggins and her attorney, James Jones, and the latter reached an agreement with her. Jones had encouraged civic leaders to purchase stock. His sales campaign gave birth to "the Knothole Gang," a promotional idea linking support for the Cardinals with battling juvenile delinquency. Businessmen, for each share purchased, received a season pass that they could dispense to a local youth. The Knothole Gang also benefited the Cardinals by developing future generations of loyal fans.

Sam Breadon, an affluent automobile dealer who introduced the Model T to St. Louis, emerged as the leading figure of the syndicate. He started out in 1917 with a \$200 purchase, but continued to add shares. He became team president in 1920, and controlled 78 percent of the club's stock by 1923. Breadon demoted Cardinals president Branch Rickey to vice president. Rickey, a former Browns catcher, had graduated from law school in 1911, and took a front-office job with the Browns two years later. He was named manager of the last-place Browns late in the 1913 season, and then led the Browns to fifth in 1914 and sixth in 1915. He was supplanted when Ball purchased the Browns and

brought his old Feds manager with him. Rickey remained in a front-office capacity, but felt unappreciated and disenchanting. In January 1917, when Jones offered to double Rickey's salary and make him team president, he moved into the Cardinals organization.

Huggins, much like Rickey with the 1916 Browns, felt like the odd man out. After failing to buy the Cardinals, he had seen Jones bring in Rickey to run them. Huggins took the Cardinals back to third place in 1917 and then departed to become the Yankees' manager. In the World War I–shortened season of 1918, Rickey went into military service, and the Cardinals sank to last. In 1919, Rickey undertook the dual role of field manager and Cardinals president, but the team barely improved to seventh. However, the following season laid the foundation for future greatness. By 1920, the Cardinals had a pair of executives who would take them to the top of the NL. The Breadon-Rickey tandem paid immediate dividends. Their first big step came after Breadon convinced Ball to rent Sportsman's Park to the Cardinals for an annual rent of \$35,000 and half of maintenance expenses. Then they sold the site of the Cardinals' old ballpark to the Board of Education to build Beaumont High School. Finally, rather than using the \$275,000 proceeds as a nest egg, Breadon invested the money to develop Rickey's notion of a farm system.

Various major-league clubs had previously arranged to farm out a few of their promising prospects to gain seasoning in the minors, but Rickey and the Cardinals created the modern concept of a farm system. The Cardinals were unique in concentrating on scouting and developing young, unproven players. They assigned recruits to a low-classification minor-league team, such as Fort Smith of the Western Association. If a youngster showed promise there, the Cardinals advanced him to a higher-classification minor-league team, like Houston in the Texas League. The Cardinals owned 50 percent of the Fort Smith club and, after starting with 18 percent, eventually acquired full ownership of the Houston club. As their farm system grew, the Cardinals continued to purchase minor-league teams, but they also developed working agreements with others. Under a working agreement, the Cardinals provided financial support to the minor-league team and received an option on their players.

This approach marked a radical break with the past, when independent minor-league teams auctioned off their best players to the highest-bidding major-league club. The Cardinals could not compete against wealthier major-league clubs for top minor leaguers. Since 1902, their infrequent winning seasons had relied on managers pulling off shrewd trades for major-league veterans. After 1920, the Cardinals' fate changed for the better, as they were soon harvesting their own crop of minor leaguers. Sunny Jim Bottomley, a future Hall of Fame first baseman, was the farm system's first graduate. In August 1922, with Bottomley batting .348 for Syracuse of the International League, the Cardinals promoted him to the majors. He proceeded to hit .325 and drive home 35 runs in 37 games. Over the next three years, Bottomley would be joined by many former farmhands.

Despite an influx of talent, the Cardinals still trailed their landlords at currying local favor. Entering the 1926 season, the Browns had outdrawn the Cardinals for 8 of the last 10 years. However, this changed when the Cardinals brought St. Louis a pennant after a drought of 38 years and established themselves as the city's favorite ball club.

GLORY YEARS

On Memorial Day 1925, with the Cardinals mired in last place, Breadon fired Rickey as field manager. Under Rickey's guidance, the Cardinals had risen as high as back-to-back third-place finishes in 1921–22, but they had fallen to fifth in 1923 and sixth a year later. Breadon believed his club would be better off with Rickey focusing on front-office responsibilities and presiding over the farm system.

The managerial reins were handed to Cardinals second baseman Rogers Hornsby, then on his way to a sixth consecutive NL batting championship. Hornsby enjoyed quick success. While Rickey, verbose and theoretical, had bored ballplayers by diagramming strategy on a blackboard, Hornsby, profane and earthy, threw the blackboard out of the clubhouse. After changing leaders, the 1925 Cardinals climbed from the NL cellar to the first division. They finished fourth with a record of 77–76 (13–25 under Rickey and 64–51 with Hornsby).

For the Cardinals and their fans, this recovery renewed hope. The Cardinals had reaped a bounty of homegrown talent from their farm system and only needed to shore up a few positions. A week before Hornsby became manager, Breadon and Rickey had acquired catcher Bob O'Farrell from the Chicago Cubs. O'Farrell hit .293 in 1926, led NL catchers in putouts, and earned the league's MVP Award. Shortly after Hornsby took over, he demanded the Cardinals call up shortstop Tommy Thevenow from Syracuse, and in 1926, he topped NL shortstops in putouts and assists. Their presence solidified the middle defense.

In June the Cardinals made two critical moves to push them over the top. First, on June 14, the Cardinals obtained 33-year-old outfielder Billy Southworth in a trade with the New York Giants, adding an experienced and powerful bat to the lineup. He hit .317 in 99 games with the Cardinals, drove across 69 runs, and slugged 11 homers. Eight days later, the Cardinals claimed future Hall of Famer Grover Cleveland Alexander for the \$4,000 waiver price. The 39-year-old 318-game winner had been released by the Chicago Cubs. In his Cardinals debut, Alexander thrilled a capacity crowd of 37,000 at Sportsman's Park with a 10-inning 3–2 victory over Joe McCarthy and the Cubs. He pitched three months for the Cardinals, notched nine wins, and posted a staff best 2.91 ERA.

The Cardinals moved into first place on their last regularly scheduled home stand, which ended on September 1. They completed their season with a monthlong road trip, ending with a record of 89–65, two games ahead of the

Cincinnati Reds. They clinched the pennant on the final weekend of the season when Southworth slammed a home run in a 6–4 triumph over the Giants. The Yankees won the AL championship, and since the World Series opened in New York, the Cardinals waited there a week.

The Yankees, in their fourth World Series appearance in six years, were heavily favored to defeat the Cardinals, whose .578 winning percentage was the worst of any pennant winner in the NL's first half century. The Cardinals' small chance for victory hinged on off-speed pitching to neutralize Yankee firepower. The Yankees, paced by their Murderers' Row batting order, had led the major leagues in runs and home runs. However, in the World Series, they were frustrated by changeups from Bill Sherdel, curves from Alexander, and knucklers from Jesse Haines.

Sherdel lost a pitching duel in the opener, 2–1, but in game two, Alexander retired the last 21 Yankees to even matters with a 6–2 victory. The Cardinals returned to St. Louis, received exuberant greetings from a million fans in a downtown parade, and took the series advantage when Haines hurled a shutout in a 4–0 win. In game four, Yankee hitters feasted on the fastballs of Flint Rhem, pounding out 14 hits for a 10–5 rout. Hornsby then returned the Yankees to a diet of off-speed pitching, but Sherdel again lost a hard-luck decision, 3–2, in 10 innings. The Cardinals then staved off elimination at Yankee Stadium, 10–2, behind the pitching of Alexander.

In the seventh and deciding game, Haines carried the Cardinals to the seventh inning, clinging to a 3–2 lead. With two on, two out, and two strikes against Lou Gehrig, his control wavered. He threw four straight balls to load the bases. The veteran knuckleballer, bleeding profusely, had developed blisters on the knuckles of his throwing hand, rendering his trademark pitch ineffective. Hornsby summoned Alexander from the bullpen.

According to legend, Alexander had been dozing, either sleeping off a hangover from an all-night binge, or perhaps still inebriated. The myth borrows a cloak of plausibility from Alexander's personal problems. Alexander, a sergeant in the 89th Infantry Division, had served in the trenches of the western front during World War I, emerging shell-shocked, deaf in one ear, and prone to epileptic seizures. At a time when alcoholism seemed more socially acceptable than epilepsy, then stigmatized as akin to demonic possession, Alexander masked his symptoms of epilepsy with his fondness for booze.

After Hornsby called for him, Alexander ambled to the mound and confronted Tony Lazzeri, a 22-year-old rookie who had driven home 114 runs. The old pitching master carved up the youngster with the precision of a surgeon, striking him out. In the eighth inning, he retired the Yankees on a grounder and two pop-ups and faced the top of their vaunted batting order in the ninth. Earle Combs and Mark Koenig both grounded out, but then Alexander went to a full count with Babe Ruth, and walked him. Ruth promptly attempted to steal second to get into scoring position, but O'Farrell gunned him down, giving the World Series championship to the Cardinals.

The 1926 season signified a turning point for the Cardinals. After trailing the Browns in attendance for seven of the previous eight years, the Cardinals doubled the crowds of their local rivals. Apart from short-term benefits, though, this banner year marked the beginning of the long-term triumph of the Cardinals' strategy of player development. The farm system quickly matured into a self-sustaining bonanza, producing a surplus of players, permitting the Cardinals to choose the cream of the crop and sell their leftovers to other major-league clubs. The Cardinals plowed back proceeds from player sales into further expansion of the farm system. Between 1926 and 1946, their farm system peaked at 32 teams and turned the Cardinals into perennial contenders, producing nine pennants and six World Series titles.

However, since the Cardinals relied on farms as renewable sources of player development, they parted with old heroes to make way for new prospects. Breadon even traded Hornsby in December 1926, withstood local furor over the deal—irate fans threatened to boycott the season—and honed his ability to view popular players as dispensable cogs. Breadon dealt Hornsby because of a confrontation during the September stretch drive, when Breadon had scheduled an exhibition game on a rare off-day. Hornsby thought the team needed a day to rest, and in front of his team branded Breadon as a penny-pincher, consumed more with pocketing spare change from a meaningless exhibition than with winning the pennant. Breadon refused to tolerate this insubordination and, just five days before Christmas, shipped off the manager and star second baseman of the defending world champions.

The Cardinals and New York Giants swapped future Hall of Fame second sackers. In exchange for Hornsby, who had hit .359 in 12 years with the Cardinals, Breadon acquired Frankie Frisch, the Giants' veteran second baseman and captain, who had undergone his own falling-out with manager John McGraw. In 1927, Frisch batted .337, led the majors in stolen bases with 48, and played second base better than anybody. He topped all major-league second basemen in fielding percentage, double plays, and assists (setting an all-time single-season record for assists by a second baseman that still stands). Breadon always considered Frisch's season to be the best individual performance of any Cardinals player. Breadon saw 1927 as an epiphany: "I knew then that it was the ball club that counted. I never again feared trading a player."

Breadon was just as willing to fire managers. O'Farrell replaced Hornsby as manager and piloted the Cardinals to 92 wins, 3 more than their championship season. However, the 1927 Cardinals fell a game and a half short and wound up second. Yet Breadon, dissatisfied with a near miss, dismissed O'Farrell and appointed Cardinals coach Bill McKechnie as manager. Under McKechnie's guidance, the Cardinals improved to 95 wins, gained another pennant by two games over the Giants, and established a St. Louis attendance record of 761,574. Jim Bottomley was MVP, and led the league in homers (31), RBIs (136), and total bases (362). However, unlike 1926, the Yankees swept

the Cardinals in the World Series. Breadon reacted by demoting McKechnie to his minor-league team in Rochester, and promoted that team's former skipper, Billy Southworth, a Series hero in 1926. Southworth, later one of the Cardinals' best managers, was not yet ready for big-league managerial responsibilities. He had to manage veterans who had been his teammates, and in trying too hard to exert his authority, alienated his former friends. By July, with the Cardinals floundering at 43–45, Breadon recalled McKechnie to St. Louis and sent Southworth back to Rochester. After McKechnie's return, the Cardinals pulled themselves above .500, finishing fourth at 78–74. Breadon intended to retain McKechnie for the next season, but he hopped off the Cardinals' managerial merry-go-round, opting for the job security of a five-year contract from the Boston Braves. Breadon then turned to another Cardinals coach, Gabby Street, as his sixth manager in six years.

Street took the Cardinals to consecutive World Series appearances. In 1930, his Cardinals outlasted three other NL contenders, winning 39 of their final 49 contests and capturing the pennant by two games over the Chicago Cubs. The team batted .314, third best in the league, and an NL leading 1004 runs. They fell in the World Series, though, to the Philadelphia Athletics in six games. A year later, the Cardinals avenged their World Series loss, defeating Philadelphia in seven games and derailing the A's quest to become the first team to win three straight World Series titles.

Over a six-year span, the Cardinals had claimed four pennants and two world championships. By 1931, only center fielder Taylor Douthit, left fielder Chick Hafey, and first baseman Bottomley remained from the everyday lineup of the 1926 champions, and younger farm products soon replaced them. Douthit had set single-season and career fielding records that still stand. In nine years with the Cardinals, he had batted an even .300, and as the mid-June trading deadline approached in 1931, he pounded out eight consecutive hits to boost his season average to .331. Nevertheless, Rickey believed that the 30-year-old center fielder had lost a step, and dealt him to the Cincinnati Reds. This cleared center field for 27-year-old Pepper Martin, coming off a year of batting .363 for Rochester, who earned \$10,000 less than Douthit, an important consideration during the depression. Martin hit .300 in the regular season and turned the 1931 World Series into a personal showcase. He batted .500, stole five bases, and set a Series record with 12 hits that stood for 33 years.

Hafey, who had hit .326 for his eight-year career, went next. From 1927 to 1931 he had batted .337, averaging 23 home runs and 100 RBIs per season, and in 1931 he won the NL batting championship with a .349 average. However, he had skipped spring training while holding out for more money, and when he held out again in 1932, the Cardinals shipped him to the Reds. Later that year, the Cardinals brought up 20-year-old Ducky Medwick, who had been playing on their Houston farm club, tearing apart the Texas League. In 26 games with the Cardinals, Medwick hit .349. He manned left field for the Cardinals until June 1940 and, like Hafey, blazed his way to the Hall of Fame.

Bottomley was the last to leave. From 1923 to 1930 Bottomley batted .324, averaging 20 homers and 118 RBIs per season. Beginning in 1931, though, the 31-year-old shared first base with 27-year-old Rip Collins, who had batted .376 the preceding season for Rochester and socked 40 home runs. After a two-year battle, in which Bottomley hit for a higher average, .325 to .286, but Collins compiled more home runs (25 to 20) and RBIs (150 to 123), the Cardinals chose Collins's youth, smaller salary, and versatility to play the outfield. They traded Bottomley in December 1932 to the Reds.

The Cardinals' revamped lineup in 1932 resulted in a losing record and a sixth-place finish, and in July 1933, Breadon replaced Street as manager with Frisch. The team ended with a winning record, but just fifth place. Attendance declined 58 percent over a two-year span. In 1934, the Redbirds trailed the defending world champion Giants by seven games as late as September 4, and rumors were rampant that Frisch would be fired and that Breadon, after losing \$200,000 from 1932 to 1933, would sell the Cardinals, who might move elsewhere. However, with 20 wins in their final 25 games, the Cardinals silenced these rumors and overtook the Giants on the last weekend of the season. The team led the NL in batting (.288), Collins led in homers (35) and total bases (369), and Martin led in stolen bases (23). Then, in a thrilling seven-game World Series, they came from behind to defeat the Detroit Tigers.

Following St. Louis's 8–3 victory in the series opener, *New York World-Telegram* sports columnist Joe Williams described the Cardinals as looking "like a bunch of boys from the gas house district who had crossed the railroad tracks for a game of ball with the nice kids." Less than a week later, after the Cardinals went into Detroit to take the sixth and seventh games, his colleague Dan Daniel summarized the series as a triumph of the "gas house gang" over "nice boys from the right side of the tracks." The term "gas house gang" conveyed connotations of the working-class neighborhoods of major cities. Gene Karst, hired by the Cardinals in 1931 as the first major-league public-relations director, had widely distributed background information about the Cardinals' second generation of farm products. Perceptive writers were well aware of the working-class origins of many Cardinals. Eventually, Karst influenced enough stories written about individual players that their collective working-class affiliations coalesced into the team identity of "the Gas House Gang."

The 1934 Cardinals blended rural and urban players from coast to coast and truly resembled a cross-section of the American working class. Collins, a coal miner from Pennsylvania, only pursued a baseball career when his union went on strike. Martin, who transferred to third base for the Cardinals from 1933 to 1935, had been a jack-of-all-trades in his native Oklahoma, where he worked as a farmer, ranch hand, well digger, posthole digger, and garage mechanic. His Italian American replacement in center field, Ernie "Showboat" Orsatti, had worked in Hollywood setting up props and occasionally as a stunt man. Medwick, the son of Hungarian immigrants, had grown up in Carteret, New Jersey, where his father labored at a sawmill. The top pitchers were a pair of Arkansas-

born brothers, Dizzy and Paul Dean, who had toiled throughout their youth as migratory cotton pickers across the Southwest.

Dizzy Dean, after winning 20 games in 1933, startled reporters the following spring with his prediction that he and his younger brother would win 45 games for the 1934 Cardinals. He was wrong. Paul Dean earned 19 victories in his rookie season, while Dizzy garnered 30, and they combined for 12 shutouts. Then the Dean brothers pitched St. Louis to all four wins in the World Series.

The Cards drew one-fourth of their total of 325,056 spectators during the final frantic week of the pennant race. The Gas House Gang's stretch drive symbolized the survival of America's common man against all odds. The proceeds from the World Series enabled Sam Breadon to turn a profit of \$80,000, when just a month earlier he had had another \$100,000 shortfall staring him in the face. Breadon believed MLB had turned the corner toward recovery and decided not to sell the Cardinals. Folklore quickly embraced the never-say-die spirit of the 1934 Cardinals, and in the process elevated the Gas House Gang into one of the most famous teams of baseball history, despite its lack of sustained success.

The Cardinals would not deliver another pennant for eight years, although they were runners-up in four seasons. The Gas House Gang lacked pitching depth and depended too much on the Deans. In 1935, the Dean brothers combined for 47 of the Cardinals' 96 wins. But the Cubs' 21-game winning streak overtook the front-running Cardinals. Paul Dean tore cartilage in his right shoulder in June 1936, and he never recovered. That year the Cardinals tied for second, although Dizzy won 24 and led the league in games pitched, innings, complete games, and saves. Dean averaged 24 wins a year from 1932 to 1936, and in 1937 had 12 wins at midseason. He started the 1937 All-Star Game, and in the third inning, Earl Averill of the Cleveland Indians smashed a liner off the big toe of Dean's left foot. Diz limped back into action two weeks later, and placed an unnatural strain on his throwing arm. He suffered a shoulder injury that abruptly halted his brilliant career. The Cardinals tumbled to fourth place and wasted Medwick's Triple Crown performance, with 31 homers, 154 RBIs, and a .374 batting average. A year later, without either Dean for a full season, they fell back to sixth, which cost Frisch his managerial job.

The Cards weathered the depression well on the field and off. They lost money only in three seasons, while in 1930 and 1931, they made a combined \$576,181. Overall in the 1930s, the Redbirds made an average annual profit of about \$78,000.

The farm system yielded abundant harvests in the late 1930s and early 1940s, supplying a far deeper pitching staff than the Gas House Gang had enjoyed. Under Ray Blades, the club finished second in 1939, led by slugger Johnny Mize, who led the league in batting (.349) and homers (28) and was third in RBIs (108). This third generation of farm products broke the pennant drought in 1942. Nicknamed "the St. Louis Swifties" for their speed on the base paths, this may have been the best Cardinals team ever. Every player except

pitcher Harry "Gunboat" Gumbert was a farm product. Manager Billy Southworth, sent to the minors for seasoning in 1929, returned in 1940, and led the Cards to third- and second-place finishes.

The 1942 championship club was one of the youngest ever, averaging just 26 years old. Six were in their first full major-league season, most notably Stan Musial, who had joined the Cardinals as a 20-year-old in September 1941 and hit .426 over a 12-game stint. In 1942, as the starting left fielder, he teamed with center fielder Terry Moore and right fielder Enos "Country" Slaughter to form a stellar trio. Slaughter and Musial finished second and third in the NL batting race, and the team led the NL in offense. Mort Cooper was MVP, leading the league in wins (22) and ERA (1.78). Taking 41 of their final 48 games, the Swifties erased the 10-game lead of the defending NL champion Dodgers. They ended up nipping the Dodgers by two games and finishing with a franchise record 106 wins. Despite dethroning the Dodgers in one of the most torrid of pennant races, the Cardinals entered the World Series as heavy underdogs to the Yankees, defending champions who had won five of the last six World Series.

When the World Series opened at Sportsman's Park, the veteran Yankees appeared invincible, taking a 7-0 lead into the ninth, winning 7-4. However, the next day, Musial singled home Slaughter with the winning run of a 4-3 victory. The Cardinals then swept three straight contests at Yankee Stadium. Ernie White pitched a 2-0 shutout, and the Cardinals took the next game 9-6. The Cards clinched the series after rookie third baseman Whitey Kurowski clouted a two-run homer in the top of the ninth to break a 2-2 tie.

World War II prevented the Cardinals from performing at their peak again. After the 1942 season, the draft depleted major-league rosters. Before Opening Day 1943, the war deprived the Cardinals of Johnny Beazley, a 21-game winner in 1942, along with Slaughter and Moore. Then, during the 1943 season, military service summoned second baseman Jimmy Brown and pitcher Howie Pollett. Even so, the Cardinals were not as hard-hit as most clubs. Thanks to draft deferments, they retained eight top players from their championship squad, including Musial, the MVP in 1943, who hit .357, and Mort Cooper, who won 21, both league-leading performances. Shortstop Marty Marion was MVP in 1944. Given the available talent, nobody was stunned when the Cardinals won 105 games each year and coasted to the NL title.

The World Series provided a surprising climax to 1943 and 1944. In 1943, the Cardinals were favored to repeat their prior victory over the Yankees. Despite having fewer holdovers than the Cardinals, the Yankees reversed the outcome and won the series in five games. On the final day of the 1944 regular season, the St. Louis Browns captured their only pennant, allowing Sportsman's Park to host the first World Series played entirely west of the Mississippi River. Local opinion tended to support the underdog Browns, who won two of the opening three games. In the first inning of the fourth game, Musial walloped a two-run homer over the right-field pavilion, which turned the tide of "the Streetcar Se-

ries." The Cardinals proceeded to take game four, 5–1, and reclaimed the world championship with wins in the next two contests.

In 1945, the Cardinals lost Musial, Max Lanier, and Walker Cooper to the military and finished second. After the season, when Southworth departed for a lucrative offer to run the Boston Braves, Breadon turned to Eddie Dyer, a veteran minor-league manager in his farm system. Dyer had managed many Cardinals on their way to the majors, and made a smooth transition to the big leagues.

The Cardinals and Dodgers revived their rivalry after the war, abetted by returning veterans. They were again battling with the same ferocity as their tussle of 1942. The saga of Branch Rickey further spiced up the competition. He and Breadon, effective partners for more than two decades, were polar opposites. Rickey, a Republican teetotaler from rural Ohio, avoided the ballpark on Sundays and advocated Prohibition. Breadon, a New York Irish Democrat, toasted special occasions with his whiskey glass and manipulated weekday sprinkles to schedule Sunday doubleheaders. Breadon did not renew Rickey's contract after the 1942 World Series, and one month later, Rickey became president and general manager of the Dodgers. Throughout 1946, Breadon's Cardinals and Rickey's Dodgers waged a seesaw struggle, and finished deadlocked at 96–58, the first tie in major-league history. The Cards had the top offensive team in the NL, backed by the lowest ERA. Musial led the NL in batting at .365, and was first or second in virtually every other category. A best-of-three playoff would determine the NL championship. In the opener, at Sportsman's Park, 21-game winner Howie Pollett pitched the Cardinals to a 4–2 triumph. Needing only one win at Ebbets Field to wrap up another crown, the Cardinals built an 8–1 advantage after eight innings. The Dodgers tallied three times in the bottom of the ninth and loaded the bases with only one out. Harry "the Cat" Brecheen, beckoned from the bullpen, struck out successive Brooklyn batters to nail down the pennant.

The Cardinals entered the 1946 World Series in the underdog role that they relished. They faced the Boston Red Sox, triumphant in 104 contests and AL champions by 12 games. For six games of the World Series, the clubs traded victories. The Red Sox gained the upper hand three times; the Cardinals evened the series three times.

The series came down to game seven at Sportsman's Park, where 36,143 spectators witnessed one of the most exciting games of baseball history. The teams were tied, 3–3, with two out in the bottom of the eighth. Slaughter, aboard on a leadoff single, took off on a pitch to Harry "the Hat" Walker, who dropped a hit into left center. Slaughter sped around the bases without ever stopping. As the relay throw reached Red Sox shortstop Johnny Pesky, Slaughter headed for home, gambling on the element of surprise. Pesky, with his back to the infield, could not see Slaughter turning third, and the crowd drowned out the directions of second baseman Bobby Doerr. Pesky sensed that Walker was trying for second, and initially turned to throw there. When he spotted Slaughter halfway home, he hastily heaved the ball to the plate, off line and too late. Walker was

officially received credited with a double, although he actually took second on the throw home. In the top of the ninth, the Red Sox put runners on first and third with one out, but Brecheen wiggled out of the jam and won his third game of the 1946 World Series. "Slaughter's Mad Dash" stood up as the deciding run of the Cardinals' 4–3 seventh-game victory, and it would become known as the most famous baserunning exploit in World Series history. Dyer became only the second skipper to win a World Series without any previous major-league experience.

By the slimmest of margins, the 1946 Cardinals had given Sam Breadon his ninth pennant and sixth world championship. Americans, after 16 years scarred with either economic depression or wartime anxiety, were flocking to major-league ballparks and making the turnstiles click like never before. The increased availability of night games, introduced in St. Louis in 1940, made baseball more accessible. The Cardinals surpassed the million mark in attendance for the first time, and earned nearly \$700,000.

Breadon, as owner for more than a quarter century, had overseen the fortunes of the Cardinals through good times and hard times. His club had flourished during the Roaring Twenties, survived the hardships of the Great Depression and World War II, and prospered again in the postwar renaissance. In Breadon's 28 years as president, the Cardinals earned over \$4 million.

FROM BREADON TO BUSCH

In the late 1940s, the Cardinals were extremely competitive, finishing second to the Dodgers in 1947 and 1949 and to Southworth's Braves in 1948. Breadon, suffering from the onset of cancer, reluctantly sold his beloved team in November 1947 to Robert Hannegan and Fred Saigh. Hannegan, a fellow Irishman, was U.S. postmaster general under longtime friend Harry Truman, but resigned to preside over the Cardinals. Unfortunately, ill health forced him to sell his shares in January 1949 to Saigh.

Saigh presided over the Cardinals for four years, including the 1949 season when attendance peaked to over 1.4 million spectators, establishing the all-time attendance record for Sportsman's Park and a record \$857,553 profit. Yet on the field, the exciting season was a disappointment, when the Cardinals, famed for their stretch drives, saw themselves collapse. They dropped four of their last five contests and allowed a two-game lead to evaporate to the Dodgers, who won the pennant by a single game.

Despite this sad end to the 1940s, the Cardinals had enjoyed a brilliant decade. For nine successive seasons (1941–49), they had finished either first or second and, along with the Dodgers, dominated the NL. Excluding the three wartime years of severe manpower shortages, these teams ran one-two for five of the six years from 1941 to 1942 and 1946 to 1949. Then, while the Cardinals declined in the 1950s, the Dodgers became the premier NL club. The turnaround of this rivalry was attributed to the Cardinals finally suffering

from their practice of selling veteran players and the Dodgers breaking the color line.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Cardinals fielded three perennial All-Stars and future Hall of Famers: Musial, Slaughter, and Red Schoendienst. However, their farm system failed to produce a fourth-generation crop of players as talented as their predecessors. Only second baseman Schoendienst, arriving in 1945, could be compared to earlier generations of farm products. With Rickey no longer presiding over the once-fertile farm system, the Cardinals lacked substitutes as strong as shortstop Marion, third baseman Kurowski, or center fielder Moore when injuries shortened their careers.

During Saigh's tenure, the Cardinals signed no African American or Latino players. Saigh defended his segregation policy, claiming the Cardinals were "a team for the South." Multitudes of southern fans attended Cardinals home games, and their roster included numerous southerners. Yet after the Cardinals integrated, their southern fan base still traveled to St. Louis, where team chemistry became a model of racial harmony.

Saigh, an attorney of Syrian descent, had attained wealth from wheeling and dealing in real estate. His financial practices ran afoul of the IRS, and he eventually served 15 months for income-tax evasion. On February 20, 1953, before his incarceration, he sold the Cardinals to the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association for \$3.75 million. August "Gussie" Busch, president and chief operating officer of Anheuser-Busch, took over the reins of the Cardinals and did not relinquish them until his death.

ANHEUSER-BUSCH, GUSSIE BUSCH, AND THE CARDINALS

After Anheuser-Busch acquired the Cardinals, the landscape of St. Louis baseball changed again. The rival Browns, following the 1933 death of Phil Ball, had passed through several owners, ending up in 1951 with Bill Veeck, who arrived "knowing perfectly well that the city could only support one team." In the previous quarter century, only the 1944 champion Browns had outdrawn the Cardinals. Nevertheless, Veeck believed that he could run the Cardinals out of St. Louis.

Until the Anheuser-Busch purchase of the Cardinals, Veeck had been pleased with his progress. Afterward, unwilling to battle the vast financial reserves of Anheuser-Busch, Veeck looked to move the Browns, but was thwarted by the other owners. Veeck had no choice except to spend the 1953 season in St. Louis, where his popularity had plummeted. Angry fans hung him in effigy at Sportsman's Park, and hundreds canceled their season tickets. Desperate for revenue, Veeck sold Sportsman's Park to Anheuser-Busch for \$1.1 million on the eve of the 1953 season. The St. Louis Browns finished last in their lame-duck year, and the franchise moved to Baltimore before the 1954 season.

Gussie Busch turned the tables on Veeck. He pumped in \$1.5 million of corporate funds to redesign the ballpark. He wanted to dub the field Budweiser Stadium in honor of his brewery's best-selling product. The name change raised howls of protest. Busch relented, renaming Sportsman's Park as Busch Stadium, and then introducing a new beverage, Busch Bavarian Beer. However, St. Louisans continued calling their old ballpark Sportsman's Park.

The financial infusion enhanced the attractiveness of Sportsman's Park, but it was harder to improve the team. When Gussie Busch took control, the Cardinals were still a winning club, but had fallen from pennant contention. In his initial year, the Cardinals finished third for the third successive season, behind the integrated Dodgers and Giants.

Seating at Sportsman's Park had been integrated since 1944, and Anheuser-Busch marketed to all races. Gussie Busch saw no reason to maintain a segregated ball club, and integrated the Cardinals with first baseman Tom Alston in 1954. A decade later, when the Cardinals returned to the World Series, they tranquilly blended southern whites with African Americans and Latinos. Alston came to St. Louis along with other rookies, part of the Cardinals' "force-feeding" plan of 1954–55. The Cardinals management decided the team had taken too long to promote minor-league prospects. Now they threw youngsters into the fire to see if they withstood the heat.

On April 11, 1954, the Cardinals dealt Slaughter to the New York Yankees for three minor-league prospects, including center fielder Bill Virdon, signaling the end of one era and the start of the youth movement. Slaughter, a 10-time All-Star outfielder, had worked his way through the farm system and joined the Cardinals in 1938. Over 13 seasons, he batted .305 for the Cardinals and topped the NL in several hitting and fielding categories.

The force-feeding plan resulted in a losing record, the first since 1938, and the team was even worse the next year (68–86), coming in seventh. But despite these growing pains, many talented rookies emerged. In 1954 and 1955, six future All-Stars made their major-league debut: first baseman and outfielder Wally Moon, third baseman Ken Boyer, first baseman and outfielder Joe Cunningham, and pitchers Larry Jackson, Luis Arroyo, and Brooks Lawrence. Moon was NL Rookie of the Year in 1954, and Virdon won the award in 1955.

The rebuilding project never ran its course. In 1956, Busch hired Frank Lane as general manager. Lane brought a new field manager, Fred Hutchinson, and under Hutchinson's leadership, the youthful Cardinals seemed on the verge of maturing. During spring training, the Cardinals boasted the best record in baseball, and once the regular season started, they seized the lead in the NL. However, Lane tore this promising team apart with deals that defied baseball logic. In mid-May, he traded away both of his shortstops and received two players, neither a natural shortstop, who combined to hit just .172 for the 1956 Cardinals. The next day, he sent Virdon to the Pirates for Bobby Del Greco. Virdon, one of the best defensive center fielders in the game, hit .334 the rest of the year, while Del Greco batted .215.

These transactions decimated the Cardinals' middle defense and forced Hutchinson to play rookie second baseman Don Blasingame out of position at shortstop. Finally, desperate to acquire veteran shortstop Alvin Dark from the Giants, Lane resorted to trading nine-time All-Star second baseman Red Schoendienst. Schoendienst, in his 12th year with the Cardinals, had hit .289 and led NL second basemen in fielding percentage four times, putouts and assists three times, and double plays twice. Schoendienst and Musial were the Cardinals' last links to the 1946 Series champions. Shortly afterward, word leaked out that Lane intended to swap Musial for Phillies pitcher Robin Roberts. Musial, a three-time MVP, threatened to retire rather than report to Philadelphia. Busch stepped in, blocked the trade, and revoked Lane's right to trade without his authorization, ending Lane's reign of terror. The Cardinals fell from first to fifth and finished 76–78, their third consecutive losing record. The potential of force-feeding went unrealized. However, in 1957, the Cardinals gave a glimpse of what might have been, finishing second (87–67), eight games behind the Milwaukee Braves, who had added Schoendienst as their second baseman. Lane, forewarned by Busch that his job depended on winning the 1957 pennant, moved on to the Cleveland Indians.



Stan Musial, 1957. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame

Busch replaced Lane as general manager with Bing Devine, a long-time Cardinals farm-system executive. Devine sought to overhaul the Cardinals as thoroughly as Lane, but with a more coherent vision. His plan called for a faster club, and made the entire pitching staff expendable to achieve that goal. Devine believed that since scouts searched harder for pitchers and farm systems produced more pitchers, pitchers were plentiful. The farm system provided quality starters Ray Sadecki and future Hall of Famer Bob Gibson, and in 1960 Devine added veteran pitcher Curt Simmons.

The Cardinals completed three significant transactions between 1957 and 1960. Devine parted with five pitchers for center fielder Curt Flood, first baseman Bill White, and second baseman Julian Javier, who all played vital roles in reviving the Cardinals. However, the Cardinals again struggled at the start of another rebuilding

project, closing the 1950s with back-to-back losing seasons. In 1958, after a fifth-place finish, Busch dismissed Hutchinson and appointed Solly Hemus manager. By July 1961, with the Cardinals mired in sixth place. Busch lost patience with Hemus and his mediocre record, and replaced him with Johnny Keane, the Cardinals' seventh manager since Anheuser-Busch had bought the team.

Keane had been a Cardinals' coach since 1959 and had previously managed for 20 years in their farm system. His first step as manager was to bridge the gulf between his predecessor and African Americans Flood and Gibson, who considered him a racist. Hemus had frequently benched Flood, and never gave Gibson a regular spot in the starting rotation. Keane soothed their discontent by providing them with a shot. Keane turned center field over to Flood, who won seven successive Gold Gloves and topped NL outfielders in putouts four times. A former career .250 hitter, Flood transformed himself into a legitimate batting threat, averaging .302 from 1961 to 1969. Gibson, placed in the starting rotation, won 11 games in the second half of the 1961 season. From 1962 to 1972, he pitched the Cardinals to another 206 victories, establishing a new club record for career wins.

The 1961 Cardinals, only 33–41 under Hemus, improved to 47–33 with Keane. A year later, Keane led the Cardinals to an 84–78 record, the first manager to put together consecutive winning seasons since Anheuser-Busch had purchased the club. Keane and Devine, both St. Louis natives who honed their organizational skills in the Cardinals' farm system, shared similar backgrounds and philosophies. They collaborated closely to fortify the Cardinals' roster. In November 1962, the Redbirds swapped shortstops with the Pirates, giving up Julio Gotay for veteran All-Star Dick Groat.

Entering the 1963 season, the Cardinals still needed a starting catcher and some outfielding help. Twenty-one-year-old Tim McCarver, a future All-Star, emerged from the farm system in the spring of 1963 and filled the catching void. The entire infield of Boyer, Groat, Javier, and White started the 1963 All-Star Game, and led the team to 93 wins and a second-place finish.

Devine sought outfielders to flank Flood, particularly with the retirement of seven-time batting champion Musial, who had bashed out 3,630 hits and a .331 average over 22 years of service. In June 1964, Devine and Keane traded to the Cubs pitchers Ernie Broglio, a 20-game winner, and Bobby Shantz, and received Lou Brock, a speedy 24-year-old outfielder with only modest major-league credentials. Brock immediately displayed a surprising combination of power and speed that took him to the Hall of Fame. Over the final 103 games of the season, Brock hit .348, slugged 12 homers, and stole 33 bases. He scored 81 runs and served as a spark plug at the top of the Cardinals' batting order.

Right field remained a persistent dilemma until early July, when the Cardinals called up Mike Shannon from their Jacksonville farm club. Shannon, another St. Louis native, had given up a football scholarship at the University of Missouri to sign with the Cardinals. In the second half of the 1964 season, the hometown hero added power and punch to the middle of the Cardinals'

lineup, clouting nine homers and driving in 43 runs. Jacksonville also supplied 37-year-old veteran knuckleballer Barney Schultz., who in the last third of the season appeared in 30 games and saved 14.

These midseason additions invigorated the Cardinals, who were only 39–40 before the All-Star Game, but 54–29 afterward. Yet with two weeks left in the season, the Cardinals still lagged six and a half games behind the first-place Phillies. Then the Phillies faltered, and with a week to play they trailed the Reds by a game and were only half a game ahead of the Cardinals. The Cardinals took three contests from Philadelphia, extending the Phillies' losing streak to 10, while the Reds lost two of three games, putting the Cardinals into first place. Entering the final weekend of the regular season, the Cardinals held a half-game advantage over the Reds. The Phillies, apparently all but eliminated, trailed by two and a half games.

The final weekend brought a bizarre conclusion to one of the strangest stretch drives of baseball history. After winning eight in a row, the Cardinals appeared hexed by the last-place New York Mets, losing to them on both Friday and Saturday. The floundering Phillies snapped their losing streak and defeated the Reds twice. By late Sunday afternoon, as the Phillies finished a 10–0 pounding of the Reds, the eyes of the baseball world focused on St. Louis and Sportsman's Park. Another Mets upset, and the NL race would end in an unprecedented three-way tie; if the Cardinals won, they would claim their first pennant in 18 years. The Mets took a 3–2 lead into the bottom of the fifth, but the Cardinals responded with three runs in the bottom of the frame, and tacked on three more in the sixth. The Cardinals cruised to an 11–5 victory and the pennant, setting the stage for the fifth Cardinals-Yankees matchup. Boyer was MVP, batting .295 and leading the NL with 119 RBIs.

In 1964 the Yankees were making their fifth consecutive World Series appearance and were favored over the inexperienced Cardinals. The Yankees led the series two games to one, and in the third game held a 3–0 lead in the sixth inning. But then the Cardinals loaded the bases and team captain Boyer deposited a grand slam into the left-field stands of Yankee Stadium. The Cardinals went on to hold the lead and even the series. Boyer's shot was the key blow of the series.

Bob Gibson then pitched the Cardinals to the championship, and was Series MVP. In game five, he defeated the Yankees 5–2 in 10 innings, striking out 13. Then, working the decisive seventh game on two days' rest, Gibson fanned nine batters and pitched another complete game. The Cardinals prevailed, 7–5, in the last World Series contest at Sportsman's Park.

Bing Devine, the primary architect of the champion Cardinals, did not share in their clubhouse celebration, having been fired on August 17, when the Cardinals trailed the Phillies by nine games. Moreover, the impulsive Gussie Busch also intended to discard Keane in favor of Leo Durocher after the season. But after Keane piloted the Cardinals to the Series title, Busch reconsidered and decided the Cardinals should reward Keane with a contract extension and a hefty

raise. Keane resented Busch's plotting and harbored a grudge toward him for firing Devine, his friend and collaborator. Busch arranged a press conference, prepared his announcement of signing Keane to a new contract, and awaited Keane's arrival. Keane showed up late with a letter of resignation, and soon accepted an offer to manage the Yankees.

Busch recognized he had alienated local fans by firing Devine and was blamed for driving out Keane, the local boy and World Series skipper. Busch tried to repair the damage by hiring the popular Red Schoendienst, a 10-time All-Star and future Hall of Famer, as manager. Schoendienst had returned to the Cardinals in 1961, and two years later, following the end of his playing career, joined Keane's coaching staff. He was similar to Keane as a low-key manager who believed in putting the best performers on the field and letting them play.

Less popular was the new general manager, Bob Howsam, who claimed inordinate credit for the 1964 championship and seemed like an interloper. He antagonized players with petty memorandums directing them to keep their hair trimmed short, wear the legs of their pants high, and avoid slouching on the bench. Howsam inherited a world-championship club, but in 1965 they nose-dived to seventh place (80–81), despite a 20-win season for Gibson. After the season, Howsam unloaded Boyer, White, and Groat, the club's oldest and highest-paid veterans. The absence of Boyer and White, who had led the Cardinals in the early 1960s in home runs and RBIs, forced Howsam to deal for other proven run producers. In 1966, Howsam acquired Orlando Cepeda from the San Francisco Giants and Roger Maris from the Yankees. The Cardinals had winning record (83–79) but still finished sixth. The Cardinals then were the type of team that thrived on clubhouse camaraderie, and Howsam's senseless front-office regulations chipped away at their treasured team harmony. Then, after Howsam departed, the 1967–68 Cardinals claimed consecutive pennants.

The 1966 squad played at a new ballpark. The Civic Center Redevelopment Corporation, a coalition of businessmen committed to the restoration of downtown St. Louis, raised over \$50 million and built the city owned new stadium. On May 12, 1966, Busch Stadium opened and, along with the nearby Gateway Arch, became a centerpiece of the revitalized St. Louis riverfront. It was one of the first multipurpose stadiums of the era. The structure was named for Gussie Busch, who donated \$5 million from the coffers of Anheuser-Busch to get the project rolling. He bought the field from the city in the mid-1960s. In 1966, despite a sixth-place finish, the Cardinals capitalized on the novelty of the new stadium's appeal and its increased seating capacity to draw over 1.7 million spectators, a club record for attendance.

One year later, led by MVP Cepeda, with 111 RBIs; Flood, who hit .335; and Brock, who stole 52 bases, the Cardinals captured the pennant with 101 victories and eclipsed the 2 million mark in attendance. They played the Red Sox in the World Series and took a commanding 3–1 game lead. The Sox won the next two, but the Redbirds prevailed in game seven by a 7–2 score. The

Cards were led by Bob Gibson, who won three games, including the decisive contest, while Brock averaged .414 and set an all-time Series record with seven stolen bases. The Cardinals repeated as NL champions the next year with 96 wins. The season was dominated by pitching, Gibson was MVP and won the Cy Young Award with 22 wins, leading the NL with 268 strikeouts and a scintillating 1.12 ERA. The club batted just .249, fourth best in the league, and no one drove in more than 79 runs. In the World Series the Cards, with two victories by Gibson, led the Tigers by three games to one, but the Tigers roared back to win the next three and take the championship.

In both 1967 and 1968, they far outdistanced the second-place Giants, who might have had better talent but were divided along racial and ethnic lines, while the Cardinals tore down these barriers. The Cardinals' co-captains were Flood, an African American who had grown up in the poverty of an Oakland ghetto, and McCarver, a white southerner and son of a Memphis policeman, and they credited Gibson for prodding the Cardinals toward a heightened awareness of racial cooperation. Cepeda, a future Hall of Fame first baseman and son of a Puerto Rican baseball legend, emerged as another team leader.

This unity extended to the relationship between the players and the Cardinals' front office. When Howsam departed to take over as general manager of the Reds, Busch appointed local icon Stan Musial as general manager. Musial did not make any major personnel moves, but was a vast improvement in terms of personnel management. Many of the 1967 Cardinals remembered Musial as an affable teammate and valued his friendship. Musial treated players with respect and, unlike Howsam, did not deluge the Cardinals with memorandums on appropriate behavior.

Following the examples of Musial and Schoendienst, even Gussie Busch developed a paternalistic bond with his players. After winning the 1967 World Series, the Cardinals received relatively prodigious salaries by the standards of the time. The payroll of their starting nine, including ace pitcher Gibson, totaled \$565,000. In addition, the Cardinals gained perks that other clubs lacked. All starters had private rooms on road trips, and the Cardinals flew exclusively on a charter jet. The players believed they worked for the most benevolent of baseball organizations.

Busch destroyed this goodwill in spring training of 1969, his disposition soured by off-season negotiations with the MLB Players Association. The owners had tried to reduce the percentage of television and radio revenue allocated to the players' pension fund, and the Players Association responded with a strike threat. Players refused to sign contracts until a compromise resolved this acrimonious dispute. Then, once negotiations commenced, several pennant-winning Cardinals demanded raises. Busch reluctantly complied, but he now viewed ballplayers as ingrates. On March 22, at the Cardinals' St. Petersburg training site, Busch gathered together the Cardinals, sportswriters, and

Anheuser-Busch executives and lashed out at the team, accusing them of being more concerned with money than about their fans or the image of the game.

Busch had crossed a line of no return, and his team could not recover from their public humiliation. In 1967 and 1968, “El Birdos” had drawn strength from their pride in the organization. However, once the players felt the front office no longer appreciated them, they played like other talented teams that fell short of their potential. The Cardinals dropped from 97 wins in 1968 to 87 in 1969, and finished fourth in the new six-team division of the NL East.

Over the ensuing three years, all of the champion Cardinals either retired or were auctioned away, except for Brock and Gibson. Musial had resigned as general manager after the 1967 World Series to devote more time to his business interests, and Devine was brought back. He worked side by side with Busch to dismantle the championship club. In March 1969 they dealt Cepeda, and seven months later traded cocaptains Flood and McCarver. Flood was despondent over leaving St. Louis and refused to report to Philadelphia, which had a racist reputation. He sued MLB for the freedom to negotiate with a team of his own choosing, and although the Supreme Court ruled against him in 1972, the Flood case paved the way for free agency four years later.

In 1970, the Cardinals dipped to a record of 76–86, but Schoendienst rallied them the next year to 90 wins and a second-place finish. Joe Torre, acquired from the Atlanta Braves for Cepeda, earned the MVP award. The three top pitchers were an aging Gibson and a pair of young left-handed Cardinal farm products, Steve Carlton and Jerry Reuss. Carlton had joined the Cardinals as a 20-year-old in 1965 and, after being rarely used for two seasons, blossomed with a 14–9 record in 1967. For the following four seasons, he averaged 15 victories per year, capped with 20 in 1971. Reuss, a 22-year-old hometown product, won 14 games that year.

The two young hurlers requested raises, but Busch proved “as immovable as a Clydesdale with a mule’s disposition.” After negotiations broke down, Busch ordered Devine to trade both pitchers. In the next dozen years, Carlton compiled 223 more victories, pitched the Phillies to five divisional titles, and became a 300-game winner. Reuss won over 200 games in his career and pitched for five divisional champions with the Pirates and Dodgers. From 1974 to 1978, the best pitcher on the NL East champions was either Reuss or Carlton.

The Cardinals paid a heavy price for Busch’s stubbornness. After another losing record in 1972, Schoendienst and the Cardinals fell a game and a half short of the divisional crowns in 1973 and 1974. Their runner-up finish in 1974, the third in four years, was especially poignant because Reuss was the star pitcher for the victorious Pirates. Thereafter, the Cardinals slipped to the status of also-rans, finishing a distant third in 1975 with an 82–80 record. In 1976, they lost 90 games, prompting Busch to make Schoendienst the fall guy for his own mistakes.

New manager Vern Rapp tried to reinstate Howsam's rules and regulations. Rapp raised a ruckus, but was cashiered 17 games into his second season. The Cardinals' former All-Star third baseman, Ken Boyer, replaced Rapp and returned to the relaxed managerial style of Schoendienst, even bringing him back as a coach. But while Boyer restored individual freedom to the Cardinals, he could not make them contenders.

Fortunately, Busch provided one last positive legacy for St. Louis baseball. In June 1980, he replaced Boyer as manager with Whitey Herzog, and within three months hired Herzog as general manager as well. Herzog had a proven track record, having guided the 1976–78 Kansas City Royals to three straight division titles. Unlike Rapp, he did not impose rules on hair length, facial hair, or uniform attire. However, Herzog believed the players had taken advantage of Boyer, and demanded all-out effort. After Herzog's arrival, the Cardinals played over .500 baseball and escaped the NL East cellar.

The 1980 Cardinals had some obvious deficiencies, particularly a weak bullpen. Herzog also realized the Cardinals were ill suited for spacious Busch Stadium and similarly dimensioned NL ballparks because of a lack of speed and inability to stop their opponents' running game. Herzog used every means of player development, plus wheeling and dealing like a whirlwind for nearly two years. He promoted farmhands second baseman Tommy Herr and starting pitcher John Stuper, and signed his former Royals catcher Darrell Porter as a free agent. Most of all, Herzog traded, even sending away popular catcher Ted Simmons, whom he regarded as a defensive liability. The Cardinals acquired in nine different deals shortstop Ozzie Smith, left fielder Lonnie Smith, center fielder Willie McGee, three-fifths of their starting rotation (Joaquin Andujar, Dave Lapoint, and Steve Mura), and three-quarters of their top relief pitchers (Bruce Sutter, Doug Bair, and Jeff Lahti).

The team performed well in the split season of 1981, finishing second in each half, and missing the playoffs despite an overall record of 59–43, best in the NL East. The 1982 team had just seven holdovers, including George Hendrick in right field, Keith Hernandez at first base, and Ken Oberkfell, who moved to third base. Herzog's 1982 squad relied on a recipe of speed, defense, and a strong bullpen. In 1982, his "Runnin' Redbirds" hit fewer home runs than any NL team, but stole the most bases. Ozzie Smith, arguably the greatest defensive shortstop ever, anchored one of the slickest-fielding infields in the history of baseball while the speedy outfielders ranged far and wide to chase down fly balls or prevent extra-base hits. Herzog had braced up the entire bullpen, and Sutter topped all major-league relievers with 36 saves, earning the Rolands Relief Award.

The 1982 Cardinals, with a 12-game winning streak in April, went quickly to the front of the NL East. They set the pace nearly all season, but the Phillies nosed a half a game ahead on September 13. A day later, Stuper and Sutter combined to shut out the Phillies 2–0, and the Cardinals reclaimed first place. That crucial victory launched the Cardinals on an eight-game winning streak, and they outdueled their Philadelphia pursuers by three games for the Eastern

Division title. In the best-of-five NL Championship Series, the Cardinals swept the Western Division champion Braves.

The World Series offered a study in contrasts, with Herzog's Runnin' Redbirds facing Harvey Kuenn's Milwaukee Brewers. "Harvey's Wallbangers" had topped the major leagues with 216 home runs, while Herzog's speedsters had stolen 200 bases. The so-called Suds Series, waged between the two biggest beer-producing cities in the country, opened in St. Louis with Harvey's Wallbangers smashing 17 hits in a 10–0 rout. But the next night, the resilient Runnin' Redbirds struck back, using their speed to erase a 3–0 deficit. Relievers Jim Kaat, Bair, and Sutter shut down the Brewers for five innings, enabling the Cardinals to rally for a 5–4 victory.

Up in Milwaukee, Andujar pitched a shutout into the seventh inning, when a line drive caromed off his knee and knocked him out of the game. He won 6–2, with McGee hitting two home runs and making a pair of spectacular catches. However, the Brewers took the last two Milwaukee contests, and, as the World Series returned to St. Louis, the Cardinals faced elimination. For game six, Herzog handed the ball to rookie Stuper, who faced future Hall of Famer and 17-year veteran Don Sutton. The Cardinals shelled Sutton in the fifth inning and clobbered the Brewers 13–1, while Stuper pitched a complete game.

Andujar, despite his injured knee, started the seventh game. He trailed 3–1 until the Cardinals staged a sixth-inning comeback. With the bases loaded, Hernandez lined a single to center, scoring Ozzie and Lonnie Smith. Hendrick then grounded a single to right, driving home pinch runner Mike Ramsey and giving the Cardinals a 4–3 advantage. Andujar and Sutter clamped down the Brewers the rest of the way, allowing the Cardinals to salt away a 6–3 triumph and the World Series championship.

The Cardinals fell to fourth and third the next two years, but regained the pennant in 1985 with 101 wins, based on the NL's leading offense, 314 stolen bases, and very strong pitching. Willie McGee, who batted .353 to lead the league, was MVP; Vince Coleman, who stole 110 bases, was Rookie of the Year; and Herzog was Manager of the Year. The team defeated the Dodgers in the NLCS, four games to two, but lost the World Series to the Royals, in a controversial seven game affair.

Two years later, the Redbirds won 95 games and took the NL East. The team had a lot of timely hitting, with over 100 RBIs from McGee and Jack Clark, and Coleman stole 109 bases and scored 121 runs. They captured the NLCS over the Giants, four games to three, but, once again, faltered in the World Series, this time to the Minnesota Twins. Herzog preserved the Cardinals' emphasis on speed, defense, and a superior bullpen, but often changed personnel. Only Ozzie Smith, Herr, McGee, and Bob Forsch played on all three pennant winners. During the 1980s, the Runnin' Redbirds topped the NL in steals seven consecutive years and aroused St. Louis with an exciting brand of baseball. The Cardinals broke their season attendance record five times in the decade, and in 1987 and 1989 drew over 3 million and exceeded every NL team in attendance.

The relationship between Herzog and Anheuser-Busch executives frayed over time. August Busch III, the eldest son of Gussie Busch, had forced his father out as the head of the company in 1975, and, although Gussie remained president of the Cardinals, the brewery owned the ball club. Herzog had a close friendship with Gussie, and originally answered only to him. However, after the Cardinals won the 1982 World Series, the brewery insisted on governing the Cardinals with a three-man executive committee, comprised of Gussie Busch and two company attorneys.

Herzog, a model of efficiency, resented needless bureaucracy. He had taken over a last-place team with the second-highest payroll in the NL, slashed payroll 30 percent, and won the World Series. Company attorneys on the new executive committee delayed and complicated salary negotiations, and Herzog blamed them for sabotaging salary discussions and the loss of Sutter in 1984 to free agency. Four years later power hitter Jack Clark also was gone for a higher contract. In 1988 the team did rank sixth in salaries (\$14 million), but got little bang for the bucks.

As long as Gussie Busch lived, Herzog had leverage with the Cardinals' front office, but late in the 1989 season, he passed away at 90, leaving Herzog without power at corporate headquarters. Fred Kuhlman, one of the Anheuser-Busch attorneys with whom Herzog feuded, became president of the Cardinals.

BEYOND ANHEUSER-BUSCH

The 1990 Cardinals, unlike their recent predecessors, were a demoralized club. Ten players were in their option year, and Kuhlman refused to negotiate. Team spirit dissolved, and in July Herzog resigned as manager. Ironically, he left the Cardinals in last place, where they had been when he took over. Joe Torre, who had first joined the Cardinals in March 1969 at a low ebb in team morale, now became manager under similar circumstances. He could not lift the gloom surrounding the Cardinals, and for the first time since 1918 they finished last. Over the next three years, the farm system produced talented outfielders (Ray Lankford, Bernard Gilkey, and Brian Jordan), and Torre put together winning teams that finished either second or third in the NL East. Attendance in St. Louis declined from 1990 to 1992, but rebounded beyond 2.8 million in 1993.

The 1994 season looked like a potential breakthrough year. Divisional realignment and expanded playoffs had transferred the Cardinals into the newly created NL Central, where they were favored. But the pitchers' ERA ballooned to 5.14, next to last in the NL and the worst pitching performance for the franchise since 1897. By August 12, when the players went on a strike that ultimately canceled the rest of the season and playoffs, the Cardinals were floundering at 53–61.

Skyrocketing salaries caused the clash between players and owners. In 1969, when the Cardinals traded Flood and unwittingly started the game down the road of a salary revolution, major-league players had earned an average

of \$24,909. A quarter century later, the average major leaguer made \$1.2 million, and the minimum salary had reached \$100,000. Horrified owners called for a salary cap while players refused to accept restraints on their marketplace freedom and argued that the owners bore responsibility for the parameters of the salary structure.

The dispute lingered through spring training, and owners planned to start the 1995 season with replacement players. Two days before the season opened, U.S. District Judge Sonia Sotomayor intervened and ruled that, until a new collective bargaining agreement could be reached, MLB would operate under the old collective bargaining agreement. Many embittered fans avoided big-league ballparks in 1995, and crowds decreased 20 percent per game from the preceding year.

Attendance plunged precipitously at Busch Stadium. Torre had improved his pitching staff, but the Cardinals had the least productive offense in the NL, and finished 62–81. Torre was dismissed after 47 games and replaced by Mike Jorgenson. August Busch III, who had never shown interest in baseball even at the height of the Runnin' Redbirds mania, was irate at the poststrike fan support. In December 1995, Anheuser-Busch sold the Cardinals for \$150 million to a group of investors, including local banker Andrew Baur and William DeWitt Jr. (whose father and uncle had once co-owned the Browns and Sportsman's Park).

These new owners adopted "Baseball Like It Oughta Be" as the Cardinals' slogan for the 1996 season. They replaced the artificial turf, which had carpeted Busch Stadium since 1970, with natural grass. The blue backdrop of Busch Stadium was repainted green to match the hue of the grass, and upper-level outfield seats were eliminated to add an old-time scoreboard and flags commemorating Cardinals championships and retired players' numbers. Tony LaRussa, who had won three consecutive AL pennants with the Oakland Athletics from 1988 to 1990, was brought in as manager, and he got more financial support than Torre had received. Team salaries that year rose from \$31 million to \$38 million.

LaRussa guided the 1996 Cardinals to 88 wins and victory in the NL Central by six games over the Houston Astros. Yet he did not endear himself to St. Louis fans because of his treatment of local hero Ozzie Smith, whom they felt the manager forced into retirement. LaRussa acquired 26-year-old short-stop Royce Clayton from the Giants and turned the 41-year-old star into a part-timer. Clayton started more than two-thirds of the games, even though the Cardinals' winning percentage was barely above .500 in his starts and over .600 in Smith's.

LaRussa's consistent success calmed local critics, although some still grumbled over the team's postseason problems. In ten seasons as Cardinals manager, LaRussa has taken his club to the playoffs six times (1996, 2000–2, and 2004–5). The Cardinals have lost only one opening-round series, an agonizing five-game setback in 2001 to the eventual world champion Arizona Diamond-

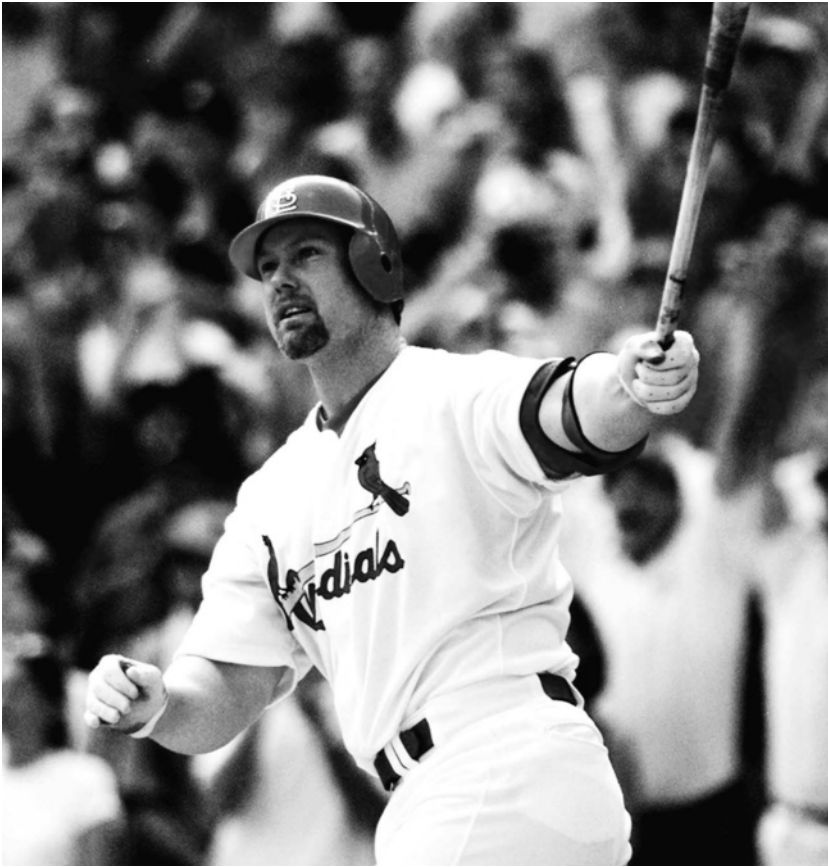
backs. On four occasions (1996, 2000, 2002, and 2005), they swept the NL Division Series but fell short in the NLCS. In 2004 the club made a shambles of the Central Division, with 105 victories and a 13-game margin. The Cards led the league in batting and were second in pitching. After dispatching the Dodgers in the NLDS, the Cardinals finally surmounted the obstacle of the NLCS, defeating the Astros in seven games, claiming the franchise's 16th NL pennant and first since 1987. But giddiness over their triumph evaporated quickly when the Red Sox embarrassed the Cards with a Series sweep.

One of LaRussa's most important accomplishments as manager was giving the team a chance to sign slugger Mark McGwire, who would bring fans back to Busch Stadium in record-setting numbers. Attendance had partially recovered in the divisional-championship year of 1996, surpassing 2.6 million, but was still seven percent behind the last prestrike year of 1993, and then attendance dipped in the losing 1997 season. On July 31, the Cardinals acquired McGwire, the Oakland first baseman who had played for LaRussa from 1986 to 1995. McGwire, scheduled to become a free agent after the 1997 season, wanted to sign with a team from his native Southern California. The Athletics, reconciled to losing McGwire to free agency, were willing to trade him for established players. The Cardinals gambled on the trade, banking that LaRussa could sell McGwire on the virtues of St. Louis.

The strategy paid off. Energetic Busch Stadium crowds inspired McGwire, who hit 24 home runs in the final two months of the season, and he signed with the Cardinals. His late-season heroics fueled speculation that McGwire might break Roger Maris's single-season home-run record of 61 in 1998, especially after he opened the season with four homers in four games. He reached 27 by the end of May. The Cardinals began allowing crowds inside the gates two hours before game time just to watch McGwire's batting practice. When the season ended, the club had drawn nearly 3.2 million fans, breaking the attendance record of the 1989 Cardinals.

McGwire clubbed 10 more homers in June, but Sammy Sosa of the Cubs slammed 20 and emerged as a challenger. Heading into July, McGwire held a 37-to-33 edge, and the Great (and friendly) Home-Run Chase was on. On Labor Day, September 7, the Cubs arrived in St. Louis for a pair of games, with McGwire up 60–58. That afternoon, McGwire tied Maris's record, and he surpassed it the next night. Within a week, Sosa also surpassed Maris, and on September 25 he went ahead of McGwire. But 46 minutes later, McGwire knotted the count at 66. McGwire snapped the deadlock on the final two days with four more homers. He had finished with 5 homers in his final 11 at bats and the major-league record over Sosa, 70 to 66.

Three years later, Barry Bonds broke McGwire's record, while McGwire, hobbled with a knee injury, retired. Many fans credit the Great Home-Run Chase of 1998 with saving major-league baseball. MLB attendance exceeded 1993 for the first time. McGwire and Sosa, filling ballparks at home and on the road, had provided "a glorious season of redemption."



St. Louis Cardinals slugger Mark McGwire watches his record-setting 70th home run of the season, 1998. © AP / Wide World Photos

Beyond his on-field presence and box-office appeal, McGwire rejuvenated the Cardinals' front office. The successful courting of McGwire emboldened general manager Walt Jocketty to continue the strategy that had attracted McGwire to St. Louis. By 2004, when the Cardinals won the NL championship, their lineup included seven starters added by trades or free agency, including Larry Walker, who earned \$12.7 million. The entire team's salary was \$83.2 million, ninth highest in MLB.

The only homegrown regular on the 2004 Cardinals, Albert Pujols, has succeeded McGwire as the symbolic face of the ball club. After Pujols homered in his Busch Stadium debut on April 9, 2001, the late Jack Buck, in his 48th and last year of Cardinals radio broadcasts, prophetically anointed the 21-year-old rookie as a new hero in town. A unanimous choice as the league's Rookie of the Year, Pujols pounded 114 homers from 2001 to 2003, tying Hall of Famer Ralph Kiner's record for the most home runs in a player's initial three major-league seasons. He won the 2003 batting championship with a .359 average, and in 2004 joined the immortals Ted Williams and Joe DiMaggio as the only players to drive in over 500 runs in their first four major-league seasons. He

was runner-up to Bonds in the MVP balloting in 2002 and 2003. Pujols hit .500 against Houston in the 2004 NLCS and was named MVP of that series.

The Cardinals broke ground on a new \$387 million stadium at a January 2004 ceremony. Stan Musial serenaded fans with "Take Me Out to the Ballgame" on his harmonica, and other former Cardinal stars also attended. The Cardinals insisted that, as the only major-league franchise in the lower third of market size and the upper third of salary expenditures, they need additional revenue from a new ballpark to maintain a competitive team. Yet in 2001, a year for which there are detailed records, the Cards behaved more like a large-market city. They drew over 3 million spectators for a gate of \$67 million, sixth in all of MLB and \$15 million more than anyone in their division. The team overall generated \$109 million in total local revenue, well above the average for MLB, and \$50 million more than the Phillies in their much larger city of Philadelphia. On the other hand, the Cards were only 17th in revenue from parking, concessions, stadium advertising, and luxury boxes, which supported the team's call for a new park. In 2001 the team finished in the black, but because it gave up \$8.2 million in revenue sharing, the team (according to MLB) actually lost \$6 million.

The Cards will move into a new, \$344.8 million, 46,000-seat Busch Stadium, adjacent to and somewhat overlapping the present field on Opening Day of 2006. The Cardinals planned on sharing construction costs with the state, county, and city governments, but many politicians and taxpayers opposed public funding. Eventually, a compromise was crafted with the state and local governments that required the Cardinals to shoulder more of the financial burden than originally envisioned. The negotiations also called for the Cardinals to spearhead a \$300 million Ballpark Village, a commercial-residential-entertainment neighborhood to be built on the site of the current stadium. The Cardinals turned to private investors as a source of revenue to alleviate their obligations, selling naming rights to the new park to Anheuser-Busch.

In 2005, the Cardinals, worth an estimated \$370 million, won 100 games for the second straight year in their farewell season at current Busch Park. Pujols hit .330 with 41 homers and 117 RBIs and was elected MVP, and the team received terrific pitching, led by Chris Carpenter at 21–5. The Cards swept the Padres in the first round of the playoffs and moved on to the NLCS against Houston. In game five, with the team one out from elimination, Pujols hit a dramatic three-run homer to prolong the series; however, the Cards lost in game six to end their season.

The future appears bright. Since the new owners bought the Cardinals in 1995, the value of the ball club has more than doubled. *Forbes* has described St. Louis as "the best baseball town in America," and for seven of the last eight seasons the Cardinals have drawn more than 3 million spectators. The 2005 Cards set a new record at 3.5 million, second highest in the NL.

If Chris Von der Ahe visited the twenty-first-century Cardinals, he would recognize the baseball business. Von der Ahe would be amused that Anheuser-Busch had obtained beer concession rights at the new ballpark, just like he had

done in 1881. Applauding the development of the Ballpark Village, he would compare this project to his nineteenth-century investments in the neighborhood surrounding Sportsman's Park. Above all, Von der Ahe would derive pride from having formed a major-league franchise considered a revered component of the traditions and history of St. Louis.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1931	Frankie Frisch	2B
1934	Dizzy Dean	P
1937	Joe Medwick	OF
1942	Mort Cooper	P
1943	Stan Musial	OF
1944	Marty Marion	SS
1946	Stan Musial	1B
1948	Stan Musial	OF
1964	Ken Boyer	3B
1967	Orlando Cepeda	1B
1968	Bob Gibson	P
1971	Joe Torre	3B
1979	Keith Hernandez	1B
1985	Willie McGee	OF
2005	Albert Pujols	1B

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1968	Bob Gibson	RHP
1970	Bob Gibson	RHP
2005	Chris Carpenter	RHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1954	Wally Moon	OF
1955	Bill Virdon	OF
1974	Bake McBride	OF
1985	Vince Coleman	OF
1986	Todd Worrell	P
2001	Albert Pujols	1B

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1901	Jesse Burkett	.376
1920	Rogers Hornsby	.370
1921	Rogers Hornsby	.397
1922	Rogers Hornsby	.401
1923	Rogers Hornsby	.384
1924	Rogers Hornsby	.424
1925	Rogers Hornsby	.403
1931	Chick Hafey	.349
1937	Joe Medwick	.374
1939	Johnny Mize	.349
1943	Stan Musial	.357
1946	Stan Musial	.365
1948	Stan Musial	.376
1950	Stan Musial	.346
1951	Stan Musial	.355
1952	Stan Musial	.336
1957	Stan Musial	.351
1971	Joe Torre	.363
1979	Keith Hernandez	.344
1985	Willie McGee	.353
1990	Willie McGee	.335
2003	Albert Pujols	.359

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1922	Rogers Hornsby	42
1925	Rogers Hornsby	39
1928	Jim Bottomley	31
1934	Rip Collins	35
1937	Joe Medwick	31
1939	Johnny Mize	28
1940	Johnny Mize	43
1998	Mark McGwire	70
1999	Mark McGwire	65

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1914	Bill Doak	1.72
1921	Bill Doak	2.59

1942	Mort Cooper	1.78
1943	Howie Pollet	1.75
1946	Howie Pollet	2.10
1948	Harry Brecheen	2.24
1968	Bob Gibson	1.12
1976	John Denny	2.52
1988	Joe Magrane	2.18

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1906	Fred Beebe	171
1930	Bill Hallahan	177
1931	Bill Hallahan	159
1932	Dizzy Dean	191
1933	Dizzy Dean	199
1934	Dizzy Dean	195
1935	Dizzy Dean	182
1948	Harry Brecheen	149
1958	Sam Jones	225
1968	Bob Gibson	268
1989	Jose DeLeon	201

No-Hitters

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Jesse Haines	07/17/1924
Paul Dean	09/21/1934
Lon Warneke	08/30/1941
Ray Washburn	09/18/1968
Bob Gibson	08/14/1971
Bob Forsch	04/16/1978
Bob Forsch	09/26/1983
Jose Jimenez	06/25/1999
Bud Smith	09/03/2001

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES

AA Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1885	79-33	Charles Comiskey
1886	93-46	Charles Comiskey

1887	95–40	Charles Comiskey
1888	92–43	Charles Comiskey

NL East Division Titles

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1982	92–70	Whitey Herzog
1985	101–61	Whitey Herzog
1987	95–67	Whitey Herzog

NL Central Division Titles

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1996	88–74	Tony La Russa
2000	95–67	Tony La Russa
2002	97–65	Tony La Russa
2004	105–57	Tony La Russa
2005	100–62	Tony La Russa

NL Wild Cards

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
2001	93–69	Tony LaRussa

NL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1926	89–65	Rogers Hornsby
1928	95–59	Bill McKechnie
1930	92–62	Gabby Street
1931	101–53	Gabby Street
1934	95–58	Frankie Frisch
1942	106–48	Billy Southworth
1943	105–49	Billy Southworth
1944	105–49	Billy Southworth
1946	98–58	Eddie Dyer
1964	93–69	Johnny Keane
1967	101–60	Red Schoendienst
1968	97–65	Red Schoendienst

1982	92–70	Whitey Herzog
1985	101–61	Whitey Herzog
1987	95–67	Whitey Herzog
2004	105–57	Tony LaRussa

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>	<i>MVP</i>
1926	New York	
1931	Philadelphia	
1934	Detroit	
1942	New York	
1944	St. Louis	
1946	Boston	
1964	New York	Bob Gibson
1967	Boston	Bob Gibson
1982	Milwaukee	Darrell Porter

MANAGERS

1996–	Tony LaRussa
1995	Mike Jorgensen
1990–1995	Joe Torre
1990	Red Schoendienst
1981–1990	Whitey Herzog
1980	Red Schoendienst
1980	Whitey Herzog
1980	Jack Krol
1978–1980	Ken Boyer
1978	Jack Krol
1977–1978	Vern Rapp
1965–1976	Red Schoendienst
1961–1964	Johnny Keane
1959–1961	Solly Hemus
1958	Stan Hack
1956–1958	Fred Hutchinson
1955	Harry Walker
1952–1955	Eddie Stanky
1951	Marty Marion
1946–1950	Eddie Dyer
1940–1945	Billy Southworth

1940	Mike Gonzalez
1939–1940	Ray Blades
1938	Mike Gonzalez
1933–1938	Frankie Frisch
1930–1933	Gabby Street
1929	Bill McKechnie
1929	Gabby Street
1929	Billy Southworth
1928	Bill McKechnie
1927	Bob O'Farrell
1925–1926	Rogers Hornsby
1919–1925	Branch Rickey
1918	Jack Hendricks
1913–1917	Miller Huggins
1909–1912	Roger Bresnahan
1906–1909	John McCloskey
1905	Stanley Robison
1905	Jimmy Burke
1904–1905	Kid Nichols
1901–1903	Patsy Donovan
1900	Louis Heilbroner
1899–1900	Patsy Tebeau
1898	Tim Hurst
1897	Chris Von der Ahe
1897	Bill Hallman
1897	Hugh Nicol
1896–1897	Tommy Dowd
1896	Roger Connor
1896	Chris Von der Ahe
1896	Arlie Latham
1896	Harry Diddlebock
1895	Lew Phelan
1895	Joe Quinn
1895	Chris Von der Ahe
1895	Al Buckenberger
1894	Doggie Miller
1893	Bill Watkins
1892	Bob Caruthers
1892	George Gore
1892	Jack Crooks
1892	Cub Stricker
1892	Jack Glasscock
1891	Charles Comiskey

1890	Joe Gerhardt
1890	Count Campau
1890	Chief Roseman
1890	John Kerins
1890	Tom Gerhardt
1884–1889	Charles Comiskey
1884	Jimmy Williams
1883	Charles Comiskey
1883	Ted Sullivan
1882	Ned Cuthbert

Team Records by Individual Players

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Plate Appearances
Batting average	Tip O'Neill	.435	1887	Rogers Hornsby	.359	6,714
On-base %	Rogers Hornsby	.507	1924	Mark McGwire	.427	2,251
Slugging %	Rogers Hornsby	.756	1925	Mark McGwire	.683	2,251
OPS	Rogers Hornsby	1.245	1925	Mark McGwire	1.111	2,251
Games	Jose Oquendo	163	1989	Stan Musial	3,026	12,712
At bats	Lou Brock	689	1967	Stan Musial	10,972	12,712
Runs	Tip O'Neill	167	1887	Stan Musial	1,949	12,712
Hits	Rogers Hornsby	250	1922	Stan Musial	3,630	12,712
Total bases	Rogers Hornsby	450	1922	Stan Musial	6,134	12,712
Doubles	Ducky Medwick	64	1936	Stan Musial	725	12,712
Triples	Werden	29	1893	Stan Musial	177	12,712
Home runs	Mark McGwire	70	1998	Stan Musial	475	12,712
RBI s	Ducky Medwick	154	1937	Stan Musial	1,951	12,712
Walks	Mark McGwire	162	1998	Stan Musial	1,599	12,712
Strikeouts	Jim Edmonds	167	2000	Lou Brock	1,469	9,927
Stolen bases	Arlie Latham	129	1887	Lou Brock	888	9,927
Extra-base hits	Stan Musial	103	1948	Stan Musial	1,377	12,712
Times on base	McGwire	320	1998	Stan Musial	5,282	12,712

Pitching Leaders	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
Era	Bob Gibson	1.12	1968	Ed Karger	2.46	647
Wins	Silver King	45	1888	Bob Gibson	251	3,884.3
Won-loss %	Howie Krist	.812	1942	John Tudor	.705	881.7
Hits/9 IP	Bob Gibson	5.85	1968	Fred Beebe	7.29	8,610
Walks/9 IP	Bob Tewksbury	0.77	1992	Cy Young	1.04	690.7
Strikeouts	Jack Stivetts	289	1890	Bob Gibson	3,117	3,884.3
Strikeouts/9 IP	Rick Ankiel	9.98	2000	Todd Stottlemire	7.97	565.7
Games	Steve Kline	89	2001	Jesse Haines	554	3,203.7
Saves	Lee Smith	47	1991	Lee Smith	160	266.7
Innings	Silver King	585.7	1888	Bob Gibson	3,884.3	3,884.3
Starts	Silver King	65	1888	Bob Gibson	482	3,884.3
Complete games	Silver King	64	1888	Bob Gibson	255	3,884.3
Shutouts	Bob Gibson	13	1968	Bob Gibson	56	3,884.3

Source: Drawn from data in "St. Louis Cardinals Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/STL/leaders_bat.shtml; "St. Louis Cardinals Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/STL/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Washington Nationals

Michel Vigneault

In 2004, the first franchise shift in over 30 years took place when the Montreal Expos moved to Washington, DC, the city deserted by the Senators after the 1971 season. The Expos had been created in 1969 as the first expansion team located outside of the United States. For 35 years, baseball was played in a city where French was the primary language and that had a distinctly different culture than the rest of North America. But baseball was a game played in the city as long as ice hockey.

Professional baseball was not new to the city. From 1898 to 1961, there was a professional team located in Montreal known as the Royals. They played in the Triple-A International League and became a Dodgers farm team in 1939. In 1946, the Royals became a focal point for baseball when Jackie Robinson was signed by the Dodgers and assigned to their Canadian minor-league team. Robinson was the first African American to play in a white league in the twentieth century. He helped the Royals beat Louisville in the Little World Series, and after the final game, the crowd hailed Robinson as a hero. For some, it was the first time they had seen a white crowd cheer an African American. After the Dodgers moved to Los Angeles in 1958, many predicted the end of professional baseball in Montreal, since the Royals were located so far from the West Coast. Those predictions came true in 1961, when the Royals folded.

With the Quiet Revolution, a sociopolitical modernization movement coinciding with the 1960–66 governing reign of Quebec prime minister Jean Lesage's Liberal Party, the province announced its arrival into the modern world, though retaining its distinct French identity. One politician in the center of these changes was Mayor Jean Drapeau. By 1964, he was envisioning great things for his city. New skyscrapers were built downtown, and the sparkling new subway, the

Metro, opened in 1966. The mayor orchestrated the staging of the World Exposition in 1967, the same year as Canada's centennial. In 1970, Drapeau landed the Olympic Games for 1976 after being unsuccessful four years earlier.

Montreal has a strong reputation as a sporting city, with champions in many sports. The Royals were the summer team, while the Alouettes, in the Canadian Football League, and the Canadiens, in the National Hockey League, were the focal points for the rest of the year. When the Royals were disbanded, the city had no professional sport in the summer. To fill the gap, Drapeau and his colleagues began working on bringing in a new professional baseball team, but this time in the major leagues. After all, Montreal was attracting many notable events, and as a world-class city, why shouldn't it have a major-league team as well?

MAJOR-LEAGUE BASEBALL COMES TO MONTREAL

Montreal city councillor Gerry Snyder gave Drapeau the idea of bringing such a team to the area. In 1967, when MLB announced its second expansion that decade, adding American League teams in Seattle and Kansas City for the 1969 season, Snyder and Drapeau believed the National League would soon follow suit. Snyder and fellow city councillor Lucien Saulnier met with NL president Warren Giles in 1967 and attended the MLB meetings in Mexico, New York, and Chicago to determine the potential for a new team in Montreal. They also met with expansion-committee members Walter O'Malley (Dodgers), Roy Hofheinz (Astros), and John Galbreath (Pirates), presenting plans showing how the Autostade, a stadium where the Alouettes played football, could be transformed to accommodate a baseball team as well. Snyder also presented a list of potential part owners, all prominent Montreal businessmen. On May 27, 1968, the NL awarded Montreal, along with San Diego, a franchise for the 1969 season.

Problems soon arose. The losing bidders complained loudly, and the U.S. Congress issued a message of condemnation for awarding a major-league franchise to a foreign city. Crucial deadlines came and went, and the coalition of buyers began to fall apart. Two of the seven original backers withdrew, including industrialist Jean-Louis Levesque and his considerable financial support. Seeking to keep Montreal's bid alive, Walter O'Malley conferred with liquor magnate and vice chairman of the board Charles Bronfman, who assured O'Malley he and his fellow investors would meet their financial commitments. Good on his word, a deposit of \$1,112,000 on the \$10 million franchise fee for the Montreal Baseball Club Ltd. was paid to the NL. Three new people joined the owners group, including John J. McHale, an experienced baseball man who worked for the baseball commissioner's office, where he had investigated the franchise's problems. McHale was hoping to become the next commissioner, but after meeting with Bronfman, the primary stockholder, accepted an offer to become team president. Bronfman was named chairman.

The team's other pressing problem was finding a site to play, pending construction of a domed stadium. The Autostade was deemed inappropriate for baseball, forcing the owners to find a new site. They chose Jarry Park (Parc Jarry), a 3,000-

seat publicly owned field built for a local junior team, as an interim stadium. In October the city began renovations on Jarry Park, expanding its seating to 28,500. Jarry Park is still used today for professional tennis and other events.

The team's name, the Expos, referred to the World Exposition of 1967, billed as "Expo '67," which Montreal hosted. The name "Royals" was considered, to honor Montreal's former Triple-A Dodgers affiliate, but since the new Kansas City team had already taken the name, something else would have to be selected. McHale and Bronfman each wrote a possible name for the club on a piece of paper, and both selected Expos.

The red, white, and blue colors for the team were taken from the Canadiens hockey club, the Canadian flag, and the Quebec flag. The new team's uniform differed little from those of the other MLB team with one exception: its cap. Expo caps were tricolored, with a white section on the front. Many baseball purists were against it, but the cap became the best-selling souvenir for the Expos.

The next step was to form the team. McHale hired Jim Fanning, a former colleague in the commissioner's office, as general manager. On September 8, 1968, they selected the experienced and highly regarded Gene Mauch to manage the club, shortly after he had been fired by the Philadelphia Phillies after nine years as their skipper. Six scouts were hired to prepare for the special draft. The draft of NL players was held at the Windsor Hotel in Montreal on October 14, 1968. Every team could protect 15 players, and the new franchises drafted 30 unprotected players. The Padres went for younger players, while the Expos opted for more experienced ones. Notable Expo selectees included Manny Mota, Jesus Alou, Bill Stoneman, Maury Wills, and Jim "Mudcat" Grant. Montreal planned to use these well-known players as trade bait to strengthen its roster before the start of the inaugural season.

Right after the draft, the Houston Astros expressed interest in trading for Jesus Alou. Finalized in January 1969, the Expos sent Alou and Donn Clendenon to Houston in return for Rusty Staub. But Clendenon retired from baseball in February, seemingly voiding the trade. New MLB commissioner Bowie Kuhn declared the trade was still valid, but asked the Expos to add Jack Billingham and Skip Guinn while the Astros added Howie Reed and Steve Shea. Clendenon ended up playing briefly for the Expos that season but was eventually traded to the Mets. Born in New Orleans, the French-speaking Staub was dubbed "Le Grand Orange" because of his red hair, and became the Expos' first star.

The Expos' first official game was at New York's Shea Stadium on April 8, 1969. Many Montrealers attended, including fans, journalists, and Mayor Jean Drapeau. After more than three hours of play, the Expos won the game 11–10. Relief pitcher Dan McGinn had the honor of hitting the team's first home run.

The first home game at Jarry Park was on April 14. The Expos organized a pregame parade through the streets of Montreal. Although many American journalists had written unfavorable things in the months previous about Montreal's cold springtime temperatures, April 14, happily, turned out to be a warm, sunny day. The Expos won the game 8–7 over the St. Louis Cardinals. Left

fielder Mack Jones was the game's hero, homering into the bleachers he played in front of. Thereafter, the left-field bleachers were known as "Jonesville."

In Philadelphia three days later the Expos entered the record books when Bill Stoneman pitched the first of his two career no-hitters, the second coming at Jarry Park on October 2, 1972. A local paper headline the next day was "Nos Expos, nos Amours" (Our Expos, Our Loves), a phrase that lasted as long as the Expos were in Montreal.

On August 19 the Expos made a very popular trade, acquiring native son and Montreal resident Claude Raymond from the Atlanta Braves. First pitching at Jarry Park in a Braves uniform, Raymond had dreamed of playing for the Expos ever since Montreal got the franchise. He became an instant local hero even though his career was nearing its end. He would retire after the 1971 season.

At the end of their inaugural season the Expos finished tied for the worst record with San Diego, with 52 wins and 110 losses. With a 4.33 ERA, their pitching was the worst in the NL. Expos team batting, at .240, was second worst. On the brighter side, attendance at the small park was a respectable 1.2 million, good enough to place seventh in the NL. All-Star Rusty Staub hit .302 and drove in 110 for the season. Another notable highlight was the *Sporting News* naming third baseman Jose "Coco" Laboy their NL Rookie Player of the Year.

EXPOS BALL IN THE 1970s

The 1970 season began with high hopes from the Montreal organization. They launched the slogan "70 in 70," meaning 70 wins for the 1970 season. They succeeded in winning 73 times, and were led by 18-game winner and Rookie of the Year Carl Morton.

By the end of the 1971 season, when the club moved up to fifth place after posting a 71–90 record, many new faces were wearing the Montreal uniform. Reliever Claude Raymond had retired, giving way to the young Mike Marshall. Fan favorite Rusty Staub was traded to the New York Mets a few days before Opening Day in 1972 for young and promising players Ken Singleton, Mike Jorgensen, and Tim Foli. The latter trade was big news in Montreal since Staub was the team's superstar, but the new players would have important roles in the team's future. Expos player Ron Hunt made it into the record books in 1971 after being hit by 50 pitches, the most since 1896 and still a modern record.

In 1973, the Expos improved to fourth in the NL East (79–83) and came close to contending for postseason play for the first time. One game behind New York, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh with a week to go in the regular season, the Expos faltered, finishing three and a half games behind the victorious Mets. Still, it was their best season to date.

By 1974 two promising products of the Expos' farm system had made it to Montreal, catcher Barry Foote and pitcher Steve Rogers. Over the next few years future Hall of Fame catcher Gary Carter, third baseman Larry Parrish, and outfielders Andre Dawson, Warren Cromartie, and Ellis Valentine would

follow. This was known as “Phase 2” of the Expos’ long-term planning. The Expos’ productive farm system began to produce, due in great part to general manager Jim Fanning’s baseball acumen.

However, the front office did not consider Gene Mauch the person to help these youngsters perform in the major leagues. After the 1975 season, when the club slipped to fifth place and attendance dropped under 1 million, Mauch was fired. In his seven years in Montreal, the team never had a winning record or finished higher than fourth. He was replaced by Karl Kuehl, who had managed the franchise’s Triple-A minor-league team. But Kuehl did not last long. Charlie Fox, the Expos’ new general manager, fired him after just 128 games and took over as manager. The Expos managed just 55 wins, their second-worst record in history. Attendance fell to 646,704 in 1976, the second lowest in franchise history and the second lowest in the NL that year. To be fair, much of the drop in attendance can be attributed to the warm reception locals gave to the 1976 Montreal Summer Olympics, which overlapped with the Expos’ season and drained baseball attendance during the two-week event.

On April 15, 1977, the Montreal Expos played in a new ballpark, the Stade Olympique, built for the 1976 Summer Olympics. The cost of the Olympic facilities, including the stadium, swimming pool, velodrome, and the rest, was well above \$1 billion, a tab the people of Quebec are still paying today. The playing field was revamped to make it suitable for baseball, and movable seats were installed, enabling it to double as a football field for the Alouettes. The original dimensions were 325 feet to the foul lines and 404 feet to center field. Opening attendance was 57,592, and most of the fans complained about the view because most seats were far from the field, unlike in cozy Jarry Park. Nonetheless, attendance doubled from the previous season, to 1,433,757.

The original intent was to enclose the structure as a way to deal with the cold climate. The 556-foot-high leaning tower that was going to retract the roof was half finished until the roof was completed in 1988. However, the retractable roof did not work properly. It was opened a few times in 1988, but afterward, the Régie des Installations Olympiques (RIO), a provincial government agency in charge of the stadium and other facilities, announced the roof would remain closed indefinitely. In 1998, the Expos played with an open roof the entire season because the original roof was torn down and replaced by a new one for 1999. In September 1999, a 55-ton concrete beam fell down. The authorities closed the stadium for the rest of the Expos’ season, and they had to play their 13 remaining home games on the road. The roof is still a problem for the RIO, and a new one is expected for 2006 or 2007.

However, those stadium troubles lay in the future. In 1976 the Expos planned to bring a new image to the team along with a new stadium. Dick Williams was brought in to manage. Williams coached the Expos in 1970 and then departed the next year to manage the Oakland A’s, where he led the team to three consecutive division titles and two World Series wins in 1972 and 1973. Veterans Tony Perez, Dave Cash, and Chris Speier were added in the off-season to help the

younger players to establish themselves in the major leagues, among other more obvious reasons. In 1978 Ross Grimsley became the first Expo to win 20 games (out of a total of 78 team victories), and is the lone pitcher in team history to accomplish that feat. The Expos contended in 1979, winning 95 games that season, the club's high-water mark to date, but finished two games back of Pittsburgh. Pitching was the team's strong suit, leading the NL with a 3.14 team ERA. Winning play on the field energized fan interest, and attendance rose to 2,102,173. The club's record dropped by 5 in 1980 to 90 wins, putting them second in the NL East and finishing one game behind division-winning Philadelphia.

A popular innovation in Montreal baseball in 1979 was the creation of a mascot. Copying the San Diego Chicken (1974) and Phillie Phanatic (1978), "Youpi" ("Yippee" or "Hooray" in French) was a huge orange figure clad in an Expos uniform with an exclamation point on his back instead of a number. Youpi was very popular with children, who enjoyed him wildly running around during the games. Youpi has the distinction of being the first mascot ejected from a game. On August 23, 1999, he was tossed in the 11th inning after Dodgers manager Tom Lasorda complained about his dancing on top of the visitor's dugout.

HIGH HOPES IN THE 1980s

In 1981 there was a split season following the players' strike. The Expos finished with an overall record of 60–48, good enough for second place the NL East. They placed third in the first half (30–25) of the split season and won the second half (30–23), under the guidance of Jim Fanning, who had replaced Williams as manager. MLB decreed that the winner of each half season would meet in divisional finals before the league finals. As a result, Montreal played first-half leader and defending World Series champions Philadelphia for the divisional championship. On a complete-game shutout by ace Steve Rogers, the Expos captured their only division championship, beating the Phillies 3–0 in the decisive fifth game of the best-of-five series. Then they met the Dodgers in the NL Championship Series. After splitting the first two games in Los Angeles, the Expos took the third back in Montreal. One more win, and the Expos were in the World Series for the first time. But the Dodgers won game four 7–1 to force a fifth and final game. Expo fans remember this game as "Blue Monday." On October 19, a Monday night, the game was tied at 1–1 at the top of the ninth inning. Instead of using closer Jeff Reardon, Jim Fanning gambled by sending Steve Rogers in to relieve Ray Burris. The gambit failed when Dodgers right fielder Rick Monday hit a long solo home run off Rogers to give Los Angeles a 2–1 lead, the victory, and the NL championship, sending 36,491 Expo fans home crying that night.

Montreal was a hotbed of baseball interest in the early 1980s. Home attendance surpassed 2.3 million in 1982 and 1983. The Expos averaged 28,600 fans per game, the most in team history. On July 13, 1982, the All-Star Game was played at the Stade Olympique, the first time that spectacle had been held outside of the United States. Five Expos were named as NL All-Stars, four as

starters: Gary Carter, Steve Rogers, Tim Lincecum, Andre Dawson, and Al Oliver. A total of 59,057 spectators saw the NL defeat the AL 4–1.

The Expos came in a disappointing third in 1982 despite a very fine offense led by first baseman Al Oliver, who led the NL in batting (.331) and RBIs (109), and excellent pitching, anchored by Steve Rogers, who was 19–8 with a league-leading 2.40 ERA. Fanning turned over the managerial reins to Bill Virdon for the 1983 season so he could return to the front office. The club again came in third but dropped to a record of 82–80. Andre Dawson was the team's star. The former Rookie of the Year (1977) had 32 homers and 113 RBIs, batted .299, and led the NL with 189 hits and 341 total bases. He also was a brilliant outfielder who captured six straight Gold Gloves with the Expos.

The Expos went backward again in 1984, finishing fifth while compiling a losing record of 78–83 despite having one of the strongest pitching staffs in the NL. Fanning returned as manager for the last third of the season. Before the season started, the club signed Pete Rose, who reached his 4,000th hit against Philadelphia on April 13, 1984. He was traded later that season to Cincinnati.

Buck Rodgers took over as manager in 1985. The team underwent a big change before the season when Gary Carter was traded to the New York Mets for youngster pitcher Floyd Youmans, catcher Mike Fitzgerald, infielder Hubie Brooks (who drove in 100 runs in 1985 and hit .340 in 1986), and outfielder Herm Winningham. The Expos had a good season in 1985, finishing third in the East with a winning record of 84–77. Speedster outfielder Tim Lincecum caused much excitement that year, stealing 70 bases (and another 70 the following season), while pitcher Bryn Smith had a career year, going 18–5 with a 2.91 ERA. The club fell to fourth in 1986 with a losing record (78–83), but bounced back the following year, winning 91 games and finishing in third place, a mere three games behind the front-running St. Louis Cardinals. Third baseman Tim Wallach drove in 123, and Tim Lincecum hit .330 or more for the second straight year. In 1988 the Expos came in third for the third straight year (81–81). The offense struggled, but the pitching was superb, with a team ERA of 3.08, led by Pascual Perez (2.44) and Dennis Martinez (2.72). The mediocrity continued in 1989 (81–81) with a fourth-place finish, but a slight improvement the following year raised them to third (85–77), with the best pitching in the NL.

In the late 1980s the team was estimated to be worth \$74 million, second lowest to Seattle in the majors, and it subsequently remained at or near the bottom. In 1991, the club foundered, and ended in sixth (71–90). Rodgers was fired a third of the way through the season and replaced by Tom Runnells. Runnells couldn't stop the bleeding, and the Expos finished last in the NL East. The only bright spot was veteran hurler Martinez, who pitched a perfect game against the Dodgers on July 28 and led the NL with a 2.39 ERA.

FELIPE ALOU AND THE EXPOS

A few weeks into the 1992 season Runnells was ousted in favor of Felipe Alou, a former star player who briefly played for the Expos in 1973. Alou had

worked as a batting coach and minor-league manager for the Expos organization after his playing career was over. Under Alou, the Expos relied heavily on younger players like Larry Walker, Marquis Grissom, Pedro Martinez, and rookie Moises Alou, Felipe's son. Gary Carter returned to Montreal in 1992 after a successful stint with the New York Mets. As a sidebar, in 2003 Carter became the first Expo elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame. Alou did a great job right off the bat, bringing the club to second place (87–75), led by his excellent pitching staff, and repeating their second-place finish in 1993, despite having a weak offense. Closer John Wetteland hurled 37 saves in 1992 and 43 in 1993.

In 1994 everything came together for the Expos, but the players' strike destroyed it all. When the work stoppage began on August 12 the Expos owned the best record in the major leagues, 74–40. But there was no more baseball played that season and no World Series. Led by Alou and Walker, the team had one of the strongest lineups in the game, and the club's pitching was again the league's best. Felipe Alou was named Manager of the Year.

Just when it seemed Montreal was on the verge of greatness, management decided to cut costs for fear of losing more money after the strike-shortened 1994 season. Claude Brochu, president of the club since 1991 when he and other local investors bought the team from Bronfman, traded highly paid stars Ken Hill, John Wetteland, Marquis Grissom, and Larry Walker. The team had consistently drawn poor attendance numbers and was among the worst draws in the NL, never finishing higher than eighth starting in 1984. Even when the Expos fielded a championship-caliber team, they struggled at the gates and were 11th out of 14 NL teams by averaging just 24,543 per game. The trades marked the beginning of the end for the Expos, and in 1995 the team finished a dismal fifth (66–78). Yet they returned to respectability a year later, churning out 88 wins against 74 losses, a result of the team tapping into its excellent farm system.

Brochu suggested building a new stadium in downtown Montreal with the help of the federal and provincial governments and put forward the plans for the stadium in 1996, having secured some financial approbation from the provincial government. But the people and most politicians in Quebec did not support using public funds to help professional sports. The Canadiens had built their own arena in 1996 with their own money, and the public could not understand why the Expos felt entitled to public funding another, more storied, Canadian sports franchise did not need.

The team fell back to fourth in 1997, and another losing record. The team was bolstered by a brilliant rookie, 21-year-old Vladimir Guerrero, who hit .302, and by hurler Pedro Martinez, who went 17–9 with a sizzling 1.90 ERA and 305 strikeouts. Martinez won the Cy Young Award, but after the season was traded to the Boston Red Sox. The payroll dropped from \$18.3 million in 1997 to just \$8 million in 1998. That season, Alou's crew finished 41 games out of first place, with just 65 victories. The batting was the worst in the NL despite Guerrero's 109 RBIs. The Expos repeated in fourth in 1999 and 2000 (68 and

67 wins, respectively), even though Guerrero hit .316 with 42 homers and 131 RBIs in 1999, and .345 with 44 homers and 123 RBIs in 2000.

JEFFREY LORIA TAKES CHARGE OF THE EXPOS

After three years of negotiations for a new ballpark Brochu gave up trying and looked to sell out. The 11 Canadian limited partners sought an outside investor and a new managing partner. They turned to Jeffrey Loria, a New York art dealer who had previously owned the Triple-A Oklahoma City 89ers and had tried to buy the Orioles in 1993. He obtained a 24 percent share for \$12 million. Stephen Bronfman and Canadian billionaire Jean Coutu also joined the team. Loria named his stepson David Samson as vice president.

Hopes ran high in Montreal with Loria's arrival. But he did business without consulting his partners, and the Expos made little forward motion—so little, in fact, that rumors spread that Loria had made a deal with Commissioner Bud Selig to disband the team or sell it later to another owner who would move it elsewhere. But these were only speculations, and no proof was ever uncovered.

When Loria and Samson took over, no agreement was reached for a TV deal, and the only media outlet in 2000 was on a French radio station. Almost no marketing was done to bring fans to Olympic Stadium. During Loria's two years in town, the Expos were almost absent from the media, both French and English. Some observers felt he had little interest in staying in Montreal. He invited Maury Wills and Jeff Torborg to work as spring-training instructors without consulting Alou. Loria stirred up a fan revolt when he fired the popular Alou midway through the 2001 season and replaced him with his friend Torborg. Alou had spent 27 seasons with the Expos as a player, minor-league manager, and Expos manager. The inexperienced team floundered in fifth place (68–94) and attendance plummeted to 642,705, the lowest in team history.

The payroll more than doubled from \$15 million in 1999 to \$36 million in 2000, which led to higher losses. He made initiated capital calls on his partners to meet operating expenses, which they did not meet. The partners claimed that Loria had “misrepresented important facts in an effort to destroy Major League Baseball in Montreal.” The partners criticized his decisions to pull the Expos off local media and TV and to stop comping sponsors, and asserted he had undermined plans for a new stadium for which they had a site, \$8 million in annual tax relief from the province, and \$5 million a year from Quebec for the interest on a planned \$67 million bond. Loria put up \$18 million himself for the team's expenses, which set off a clause in the partnership agreement that permitted him to dilute the other owners' shares down to six percent. Consequently, he gained control of 94 percent of the team at a cost of about \$30 million. On February 1, 2002, Loria sold the team to MLB for \$120 million and used the money to buy the Florida Marlins for \$158.5 million. No one in Montreal had expressed interest in buying the floundering team, which was a candidate for contraction

until the Players Association blocked that in a grievance case. Once MLB took over the Expos, there was very little change from the Loria regime. There was no marketing and no television deals, only radio broadcasts.

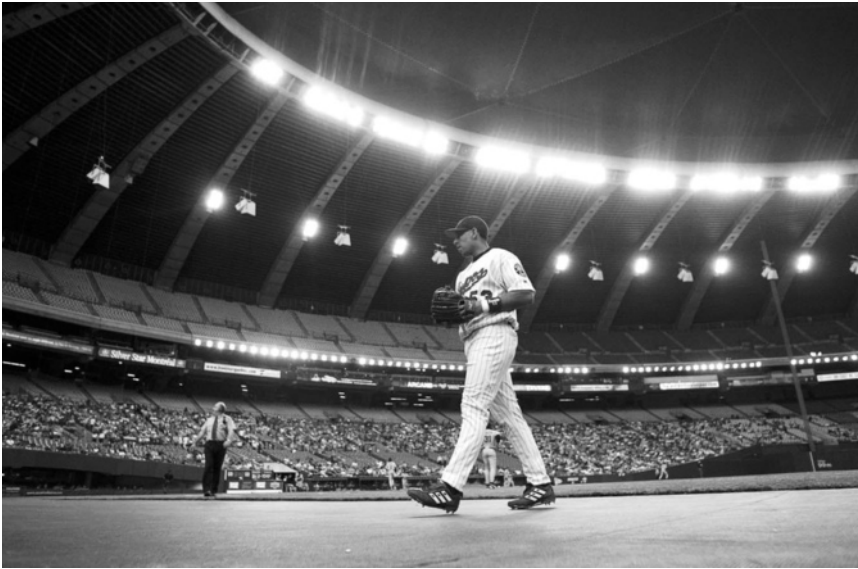
THE TEAM NO ONE WANTED



Washington Nationals manager Frank Robinson tips his hat to the crowd as he is introduced during their home opener against the Arizona Diamondbacks, 2005. © AP / Wide World Photos

For three more seasons the Expos were the team nobody wanted. Almost nothing was done in Montreal to advertise the home games. Montreal continued its streak of having the lowest attendance in the NL since 1998. Under new manager Frank Robinson the Expos did surprisingly well in 2002, coming in second, but drew only 812,045 at home. The team still had some very good players, like pitchers Bartolo Colon and former Expos farmhand Javier Vazquez, along with \$8 million superstar Guerrero, who hit .336 with 39 homers and 111 RBIs and led the league in hits and total bases. In 2003, splitting the season between Montreal and 22 games at San Juan's Hiram Bithorn Stadium, the club still managed to finish with a winning record. It was the only season since 1994 that attendance had surpassed 1 million. The team's payroll was \$41,197,500, fifth lowest in the majors.

At the start of the 2004 season, *Forbes* valued the team at \$145 million, half of what the average team was worth. In 2004, with Vazquez traded to the Yankees and Guerrero gone to the Angels as a free agent, the club collapsed and finished fifth with just 67 wins. Everyone in Montreal wanted to know when the team would be sold or moved. When rumors of a possible move to Washington were made public in 2003, people in Montreal were skeptical, because a new owner had not been secured. How could you move a team without any assurance of someone ready to buy it? And was there a city ready to build a new stadium for the team? It was understandable that MLB was ready to move the team, but where, and with what conditions?



Juan Rivera walks off the field before a sparse crowd at Montreal's Olympic Stadium after a game in 2004. © AP / Wide World Photos

Finally, the announcement came on September 29, 2004, that the Expos were moving to Washington, DC, right after their last home game, not giving a chance to the Montreal fans to say goodbye to the players and team. The Washington city council approved the move and the use of RFK Stadium for the new team. The suit by Canadian owners against Loria and Selig came to an end in December 2004, freeing the club to move. The new Washington Nationals had a \$48,581,500 roster, and after threatening to make the play-offs, ended the season in last place, with the weakest offense in the league. Yet the squad finished with a very respectable .500 record in the very competitive NL East. Fan support was outstanding, with 2,693,123 people going to the games.

The ownership is still in the hands of MLB, seeking to sell the franchise for at least \$300 million. Plans are underway for a new ballpark to open in 2008 at a cost originally pegged at \$440 million, to be financed entirely by city bonds, scheduled to be paid off by in-stadium taxes on tickets, concessions, and merchandise; a new tax on businesses with over \$3 million in gross receipts; and \$5.5 million yearly rent from the team.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1997	Pedro Martinez	RHP



Chad Cordero pitches during the 2005 MLB All-Star Game. © AP / Wide World Photos

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1970	Carl Morton	P
1977	Andre Dawson	OF

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1982	Al Oliver	.331
1986	Tim Lincecum	.334

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1982	Steve Rogers	2.40
1991	Dennis Martinez	2.39
1997	Pedro Martinez	1.90

No-Hitters (*Italics* = Perfect Game)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Bill Stoneman	04/17/1969
Bill Stoneman	10/02/1972

Charlie Lea 05/10/1981
 Dennis Martinez 07/28/1991

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES

NL East Division Titles

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1981	60–48	Dick Williams Jim Fanning
1994	74–40	Felipe Alou

MANAGERS

2002– Frank Robinson
 2001 Jeff Torborg
 1992–2001 Felipe Alou
 1991–1992 Tom Runnels
 1985–1991 Buck Rodgers
 1984 Jim Fanning
 1983–1984 Bill Virdon
 1981–1982 Jim Fanning
 1977–1981 Dick Williams
 1976 Charlie Fox
 1976 Karl Kuehl
 1969–1975 Gene Mauch

Team Records by Individual Players

	Batting Leaders			Career		
	Single Season		Year	Career		Plate Appearances
	Name			Name		
Batting average	Vladimir Guerrero	.345	2000	Vladimir Guerrero	.323	4,220
On-base %	Mike Jorgenson	.444	1974	Rusty Staub	.402	2,163
Slugging %	Vladimir Guerrero	.664	2000	Vladimir Guerrero	.588	4,220
OPS	Vladimir Guerrero	1.074	2000	Vladimir Guerrero	.978	4,220
Games	Rusty Staub	162	1971	Tim Wallach	1,767	7,174

(Continued)

Batting Leaders (Continued)						
	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Plate Appearances
At bats	Cromartie	659	1979	Tim Wallach	6,529	7,174
Runs	Tim Raines	133	1983	Tim Raines	947	6,256
Hits	Vladimir Guerrero	206	2002	Tim Wallach	1,694	7,174
Total bases	Vladimir Guerrero	379	2000	Tim Wallach	2,728	7,174
Doubles	Grudzielanek	54	1997	Tim Wallach	360	7,174
Triples	Tim Raines	13	1985	Tim Raines	82	6,256
Home runs	Vladimir Guerrero	44	2000	Vladimir Guerrero	234	4,220
RBI's	Vladimir Guerrero	131	1999	Tim Wallach	905	7,174
Walks	Ken Singleton	123	1973	Tim Raines	793	6,256
Strikeouts	Andres Galarraga	169	1990	Tim Wallach	1,009	7,174
Stolen bases	Ron LeFlore	97	1980	Tim Raines	635	6,256
Extra-base hits	Vladimir Guerrero	84	1999	Tim Wallach	595	7,174
Times on base	Vladimir Guerrero	296	2002	Tim Raines	2,440	6,256

Pitching Leaders						
	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
ERA	Pedro Martinez	1.90	1997	Tim Burke	2.61	600.3
Wins	Ross Grimsley	20	1978	Steve Rogers	158	2,837.7
Won-loss %	Bryn Smith	.783	1985	Pedro Martinez	.625	797.3
Hits/9 IP	Pedro Martinez	5.89	1997	Pedro Martinez	7.00	797.3
Walks/9 IP	Bryn Smith	1.45	1988	Carlos Perez	1.92	511.3
Strikeouts	Pedro Martinez	305	1997	Steve Rogers	1621	2,837.7
Strikeouts/9 IP	Pedro Martinez	11.37	1997	Pedro Martinez	9.52	797.3
Games	Mike Marshall	92	1973	Tim Burke	425	600.3
Saves	C. Cordero	47	2005	Jeff Reardon	152	506.3
Innings	Steve Rogers	301.7	1977	Steve Rogers	2,837.7	2,837.7
Starts	Steve Rogers	40	1977	Steve Rogers	393	2,837.7
Complete games	Bill Stoneman	20	1971	Steve Rogers	129	2,837.7
Shutouts	Bill Stoneman	5	1969	Steve Rogers	37	2,837.7

Source: Drawn from data in "Washington Nationals Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/WSN/leaders_bat.shtml; "Washington Nationals Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/WSN/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Major League Baseball Clubs**

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

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VOLUME II | THE AMERICAN LEAGUE

Edited by Steven A. Riess



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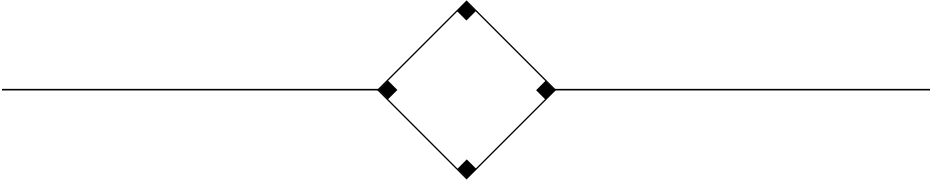
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American League

Baltimore Orioles

William A. Borst

Had Charles Dickens been writing about baseball instead of the French Revolution, he could have substituted St. Louis and Baltimore for London and Paris in his novel *A Tale of Two Cities*. Both cities have enjoyed a storied past that has contributed scores of memories and traditions to baseball's unique history.

St. Louis's baseball history dates back to just after the Civil War. The city had early entries in the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players, the National League, and the Union League before finally establishing its baseball roots with the American Association in 1881. Tavern owner Chris Von der Ahe, a German immigrant with a keen business sense, was the first entrepreneur to realize that baseball fans got thirsty while watching a game in the summer sun.

Von der Ahe owned the Brown Stockings in the AA from 1882 to 1891. While his team consistently won on the field, the AA's demise in 1891 prompted him to join the NL as part of a 12-team circuit. Before the turn of the century the Brown Stockings changed the color of their hose and their name to the St. Louis Cardinals.

THE BROWNS' FIRST OWNERS

After the American League's maiden season in 1901, its founder, Ban Johnson, was convinced his AL could compete with the NL in its major cities. He recruited a new set of owners for his last-place Milwaukee Brewers, which with Detroit were the only teams from the minor Western League to have made the

transition into the AL. Financial wizard Ralph T. Orthwein's syndicate purchased the Brewers from Milwaukee businessmen Henry and Matthew Killea with the intention of transferring the franchise to St. Louis, then the nation's fourth-largest city.

The St. Louis Browns, who took their name from the former St. Louis Brown Stockings of the AA, began play in 1902. They were an important part of the St. Louis sports scene during the first half of the twentieth century. Though they finished in the AL first division a mere 12 times, the players endeared themselves to a city whose baseball passions were not satisfied by just one team. For 52 seasons the Browns did everything they could to win on the field for their baseball public but usually failed, giving rise to the anonymous old adage that St. Louis was "first in shoes, first in booze, and last in the American League." The shoes were represented by the Brown Shoe Company, while the booze was Anheuser-Busch, the large beer manufacturer.

Of baseball's original 16 teams, the Browns had the worst composite record, compiling a dismal record of 3,414–4,465 (.433). The team's only pennant came in 1944 during World War II. Even then the Browns' achievement was denigrated by the derisive claim that war conditions had so watered down the competing talent that even the Browns could win a pennant. Little known to most baseball fans was that for many years the Browns were the best team in St. Louis.

Owner Orthwein naturally gravitated to Sportsman's Park, on Grand and Dodier, the former home of the Double-A Brown Stockings. Von der Ahe had turned his ballpark into a racetrack after a disagreement with his partner Al Spink of the *Sporting News*. Though seriously run-down, it was much easier to renovate an old ballpark than build a new one on short notice.

The Browns began building their roster by raiding their city rivals, the Cardinals, of their best players, including future Hall of Famers shortstop Bobby Wallace (inducted in 1953) and outfielder Jesse Burkett (inducted in 1946). The Browns lured Wallace away from the Cardinals with a five-year no-trade contract worth \$32,000, including a \$6,500 signing bonus, making Wallace the highest-paid player in the majors at the time. This underhanded act left a bad taste in the mouths of most St. Louisans. Orthwein's reign was short-lived, and he sold his stock in the club to carriage maker Robert Hedges in 1903 for \$35,000. Burkett's highest annual salary was \$5,300.

The Browns opened their maiden season on April 12, 1902, on a positive note by defeating the Cleveland Blues 5–2 before 8,000 fans. They finished the year in second place with a record of 78–58, just five games behind the Philadelphia Athletics. The Browns' best club during their first decade, in 1908, was in a four-team race until near end of their season. This was largely due to eccentric lefty pitcher Rube Waddell, who came to the Browns after he had worn out his welcome in Philadelphia. The Athletics' owner and longtime manager, the usually patient Connie Mack, had exhausted all his patience for the southpaw's erratic antics. On impulse, Waddell often left the

team to go fishing, lead a parade, or just sit under a tree. He won 19 games for the fourth-place Browns.

After the 1908 season, Hedges erected a double deck made from concrete and steel that stretched from first to third with pavilions adjacent to the grandstand and the bleachers in the outfield. He also introduced steel and concrete to his structure, greatly adding to its longevity. The Browns opened in their new park in 1909, but it did not help their play on the field. Their lackluster performance that year put them in seventh place for the first of 12 times in franchise history.

In 1910 manager "Peach Pie" O'Connor tarnished the team image by participating in a scheme to deny that year's batting title to the widely despised Ty Cobb of the Detroit Tigers. The schedule called for Cleveland to finish the season with the Browns. O'Connor, who had succeeded the Browns' original manager, Jimmy McAleer, instructed rookie third baseman Red Corriden to play deep. This allowed Cleveland second baseman Nap Lajoie, the only player with a mathematical chance of catching Cobb, who tripled in his first at-bat, to bunt seven times for easy hits. Both O'Connor and third-base coach Harry Howell visited the press box to lobby the official scorer on Lajoie's behalf. They were banished from MLB for impugning the game's integrity.

THE BALL YEARS

After the Browns' sixth-place finish in 1915, Hedges sold the team to ice magnate Philip DeCatesby Ball, a former minor-league catcher, for \$425,000, making Hedges a nearly \$400,000 profit. Ball had recently owned the rival St. Louis Terriers of the recently defunct Federal League. He brought new enthusiasm, organization, and, more importantly, money to the Browns. Ball also signed 11 members of his Terriers squad to play for the Browns, including future Hall of Fame pitcher Eddie Plank (inducted in 1946) and outfield mainstay Johnny Tobin. Ball's reign (1916–33) is considered the golden era of St. Louis Browns' history. Under Ball's ownership the Browns fielded their best teams and their best players, and were regular members of the first division. Unfortunately, Ball would later make three disastrous decisions that hastened the decline and eventual departure of the team from St. Louis after the 1953 season.

The first was allowing the Cardinals to continue to play in St. Louis. After a second straight dismal season in 1919, the crosstown rival Redbirds were in dire straits and were forced to vacate their stadium, Robison Field, which was a firetrap. On bended knee, Cardinals owner Sam Breadon asked Ball to allow his team to play at Sportsman's Park and become his tenants. Ball could have easily forced the Cardinals out of St. Louis, but his magnanimity got the better of him. For a modest rental of between \$20,000 and \$25,000 a year, the Cardinals henceforth played their home games in Sportsman's Park.

Ball's second failure was to alienate Branch Rickey, the man who invented the farm-team system. After an arm injury ended his catching career, followed

by a law degree at the University of Michigan, where he coached the baseball team, Rickey took a front-office job with the Browns. Near the end of the 1913 season, Rickey replaced George Stovall as manager. Rickey had already shown signs of his visionary genius and could have done for the Browns what he would later do for the Cardinals and the Brooklyn Dodgers. Unfortunately, there was room for only one ego in the Browns' offices, and Ball's was it. After a couple of years of not getting along with Ball, Rickey moved across the hall to work for Breadon's Cardinals in 1919, when he returned to baseball after serving in the army during World War I. Breadon was wise to allow Rickey the freedom to demonstrate his organizational genius, which would revolutionize the game. Rickey used the revenue gained from the sale of Robison Field to the St. Louis Board of Education to develop the farm system that sent a parade of future stars to the Cardinals' roster.

The third was hubris. In 1925, Ball remodeled and renovated his park at a cost of \$500,000, and Ball boldly predicted there would be a World Series in Sportsman's Park in 1926. Ball extended the double-deck grandstand Hedges had erected into the left- and right-field corners and put a roof on the right-field pavilion. This raised the Browns' per-game capacity from 18,500 to just over 30,500. The rehab also extended the dimensions from 315 feet to 320 feet in right field and from 340 feet to 355 feet in left field while leaving centerfield at 430 feet. But Ball's bold prediction was only partly correct. There was a World Series in St. Louis, but it was hosted by the Cardinals, not the Browns. After their thrilling upset of the Yankees in seven games, St. Louis fans traded in their brown for cardinal red.

A WINNING FORMULA? THE TEENS

The first element in the Browns' winning formula was the acquisition in 1915 of left-handed pitcher George Sisler. Branch Rickey, who had been his coach at Michigan University, was instrumental in signing him. Sisler, who would prove much more potent in the batter's box than on the mound (his major-league record was 5–6), would ultimately be the most outstanding star in the team's small galaxy. In 15 major-league seasons, 12 with the Browns, he batted .340 and led the AL four times in stolen bases.

After his shift to first base in 1917, Sisler hit .353 to finish second in the AL behind perennial batting champion Ty Cobb. In 1917 the seventh-place Browns won only 57 games, but two pitchers threw no-hitters, Ernie Koob and Bob Groom on May 5 and 6 against the Chicago White Sox. (Groom's was in the nightcap of a doubleheader, so the games were not in succession.)

Following America's entry into World War I, MLB shortened the 1918 season by a month. Regulars Bull Rumler, Yale Sloan, and Bill Fincher and the newly acquired Urban Shocker traded their flannels for government issue. While the Browns were fifth in the standings, they did finish first in one category. As a patriotic gesture, AL president Ban Johnson promoted a drilling

competition between each of his AL teams. Using bats instead of rifles, the players marched around the diamond and performed close-order drills before some of their games. The Browns “soldiers” were voted as the “most military” of the AL teams and were awarded a \$500 first-place prize.

THE ROARING TWENTIES

In 1920 the Browns reentered the first division after an absence of 12 years, batting a remarkable .308. The revamped Browns gave some indication of what was to come; over the first seven years of the decade, the club earned an average of \$133,500. Urban Shocker recorded 20 victories while Sisler won the first of his two batting titles with an incredible .407 average. He set a major-league record, which stood until 2004, with 257 hits. His 19 home runs were second only to Babe Ruth’s 54.

In 1922 baseball was more exciting than ever before. MLB teams combined for a record 1,055 homers, when just five years before they had only hit 339. The big difference in production has been attributed to a combination of the livelier ball in 1920 and the banning of such trick pitches as the spit, shine, coffee, and mud ball. The 1922 season also stands out as the pinnacle of the Browns’ achievement on the field. While the Browns had a stellar pitching staff, led by Urban Shocker, hitting was the team’s strong suit. The team hit a collective .313, surpassed in AL history only by the 1921 Detroit Tigers’ .316. Sisler hit an incredible .420 to lead all AL hitters and was MVP.

The Browns had an outstanding outfield, each of which hit .300 or better for three consecutive seasons. Ken Williams, whose 39 homers and 155 RBIs had dethroned Babe Ruth for AL leadership in both categories, led this superlative trio. A quiet man from Grants Pass, Oregon, Williams also stole 37 bases, which gave him the distinction of being the first (albeit unheralded) member of the prestigious 30-30 club. Over his 14-year career, he batted a potent .319. He hit 196 homers, and finished in the top four from 1921 through 1927.



George Sisler, 1915. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame.

“Baby Doll” Jacobson, a lifetime .311 hitter, roamed center field, while expert bunter Johnny Tobin, who hit .309 for his career, manned right field. Jacobson’s colorful nickname was a throwback to his days with Mobile in the Southern Association. Whenever he came to bat, the band played “Oh You Beautiful Doll.”

The Browns had boosters called “the Pennant Rooters” who supported the team with a frenzied passion in stark contrast to the more blasé demeanor of Cardinal fans. On September 5 they presented each member of the team with a gold watch in premature recognition of the team’s first pennant. Sisler told the fans that during a secret meeting the players had vowed not to lose another game the rest of the season. The Rooters gave out horns, cowbells, and other noisemakers to cheer the team down the pennant stretch.

The race was all but decided in mid-September. Sisler was nearing the end of a 41-game hitting streak that would set the AL standard, but his tender shoulder made his play painfully erratic. He amassed just a pair of hits in the crucial three-game home series with the Yankees. In front of 30,000 screaming fans, the Browns split the first two games, leaving the Browns just a half game back. With a 2–1 lead going into the ninth inning in the rubber game, Whitey Witt, who had been hit in the head by a beer bottle in the first game, stroked a bases-loaded single off Shocker to rally the Yankees to victory. Even though they finished a game behind the Yankees, their 93 victories rank as the best in franchise history. The club drew an all-time team record attendance of 712,918 and a profit of \$260,498.

The Browns averaged nearly 77 wins for the next three seasons, until their stars started to fade. In 1927 the Yankees won the first 21 of the season’s 22 games with the Browns. After the Browns’ seventh-place finish, under manager Dan Howley (59–94), 50 1/2 games behind the Yankees, Ball cleaned house with a vengeance. The team’s aging superstars departed as Sisler was traded to Washington and Williams joined the Boston Red Sox.

A vastly improved pitching staff led by Alvin “General” Crowder resulted in third place in 1928. Crowder compiled an amazing 21–5 record, while Sam Gray went 20–12. Ernie Nevers, who would set the all-time record by scoring 40 points in an NFL game for the Chicago Cardinals in 1929, finished his short-lived three-year major-league career with the Browns, the most significant note in which was the fact that he had surrendered 2 of Babe Ruth’s 60 home runs in 1927. Newcomer Heinie Manush hit .378, only a single point behind AL leader Goose Goslin of the Senators.

Ball’s close friendship with AL president Ban Johnson put him at constant odds with Commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis. The epicenter of his biggest dispute with Landis was over oft-injured minor-league outfielder Fred Bennett. The Browns put Bennett on waivers in 1930 but quickly removed him once the Pirates expressed interest. Bennett protested to Landis that he was being unfairly prevented from playing in the majors. The case went to court, and

all sides lost. Judge Walter C. Lindley ruled that there was nothing inherently wrong with major-league teams owning minor-league players. The Browns were forced to put Bennett on their roster or declare him a free agent. Bennett never played another game in the major leagues. Landis finally lost all patience with the Browns' irascible owner. He petitioned the other owners to discourage his continual litigation against Landis's office. On the sage advice of business manager Bob Quinn, Ball reluctantly dropped his appeal to the Supreme Court.

In 1933 the Browns hit rock bottom in the heart of the depression, finishing last for the first time since 1913. While the players earned just \$140,789, the second lowest in MLB, Ball lost \$33,559 because only 88,113 fans attended games, on top of the nearly \$300,000 he had lost in the three previous years. In August the cantankerous Rogers Hornsby became the team's third manager.

Ball's untimely death in 1933 left the organization in chaos. The team had consistently lost money since 1926, with only one year in the black since then. The bulk of his estate, including 87 percent of the team, went to his widow, Harriet, and their two children. Ball's attorneys, Louis B. Von Weise and Ellen M. Jacoby, both baseball neophytes, held the estate, including the team, in trust. Rumors persisted that Harry Sinclair, the oil magnate involved in the Teapot Dome scandal, was interested in buying the team. The trustees unwisely decided to run the Browns themselves, with every intention of restoring the franchise to profitability. They steadfastly maintained a hold on the purse strings, resolutely refusing to dip into Ball's personal estate to pay their bills, much to Hornsby's displeasure.

One of the most despised men in baseball, Hornsby's only good decision in 1934 was acquiring pitcher Bobo Newsom from Los Angeles of the Pacific Coast League, whom he had managed with the Cubs. Newsom personified the ill fortunes of the team when he took a 1-1 no-hitter into the 10th inning, only to lose the game 2-1.

Hornsby tolerated no interference from the trustees as he attempted to run the franchise into the ground. He started a fire sale to make ends meet, including sending the peripatetic Newsom to Washington in 1935. The seventh-place Browns lost 44 of their 76 home games, before only 80,927 fans, their lowest attendance figure in franchise history and the lowest in modern MLB history.

After the end of the 1935 season, Von Weise asked Branch Rickey of the Cardinals for assistance in finding a buyer for the team. Rickey delegated this task to his able lieutenant Bill DeWitt. Over dinner one night DeWitt learned that insurance executive Donald Barnes, the president of the American Investment Company, was interested in purchasing the beleaguered Browns. Barnes formed a syndicate, which paid \$325,000 for the team. Sportsman's Park remained the property of the local Dodier Realty Company until 1946. For the first time in their history, the Browns were the tenants and not the landlord. The Cardinals continued under their old agreement with the trustees. The financially astute Rickey collected a \$40,000 finder's fee.

THE BARNES YEARS

While Donald Barnes was a baseball novice, he knew a good deal about business. A native Chicagoan, Barnes had built his insurance company on borrowed money into a \$250 million enterprise by the time he moved to St. Louis. He instituted an era of the small stockholder by selling shares in the franchise to the public at five dollars a share. These shares provided a necessary financial lift that kept the team afloat during the closing days of the depression. They remained on the books until Baltimore Orioles owner Edward Bennett Williams redeemed them for \$40 apiece in 1981.

The best player to don a Browns uniform in the 1930s was infielder Harland Clift. After breaking in with the Browns in 1934, Clift spent nine productive seasons with the team, and drove in 118 runs in 1937 and 1938, with 63 homers those two years. In 1936 attendance picked up to 93,267. Hornsby stood pat with what was left of his lineup for another seventh-place finish.

Barnes tried to enhance the team's image with the creation of a new team emblem. The winning entry in a fan contest was an opaque figure of King Louis IX of France atop his mighty steed. It would remain the team's emblem until 1952 when Bill Veeck unveiled "Louie," an impish figure that blended the mystery of a leprechaun with the playfulness of an elf, a fitting logo for their final seasons in St. Louis.

The team's new logo did not help their performance on the field. The 1937 Browns were one of the most inept teams in baseball history, losing 108 games. Hornsby's penchant for gambling prompted Barnes to resort to wiretapping and hiring a private detective to control his erratic manager, who was replaced halfway through the season by Jim Bottomley. The Browns used 21 different pitchers before the season was over, and for the first time none had 10 wins. Surprisingly, attendance increased to 123,121. Under constant financial pressure, Barnes went to the city's business leaders and secured 10 pledges of over \$5,000 apiece to tide the team over during the nation's difficult economic times.

The 1939 season ranks as the worst in Browns history. During Fred Haney's first full year at the helm, the team lost 111 games, surpassing the 1910 team's bellwether for futility. Home attendance increased to over 130,000, however, even though the team won a mere 13 games at their own park.

THE WAR YEARS

With the winds of war blowing, Barnes kept his focus on the business at hand. The first-ever Browns night game on May 24, 1940, drew 24,827. Fans saw Eldon Auker lose to Bob Feller and the Cleveland Indians 3–2. The team was floundering when Barnes hired the cerebral Luke Sewell to manage the club in mid-1941. A dedicated student of pitching, Sewell had been a catcher who often advised Senators manager Joe Cronin during games.

The grind of financial pressures ate away at Barnes's hope of success in St. Louis. He quietly made plans to shift the team to Los Angeles, which would have been a move of historic proportions. Barnes rightfully proclaimed that there were not enough fans in St. Louis to support two teams. Barnes's old friend Philip K. Wrigley, owner of the Chicago Cubs, agreed to sell Barnes his rights to Los Angeles and move his Hollywood Stars to Long Beach. Cardinals owner Breadon agreed to pay Barnes \$350,000 to leave St. Louis. The fear of losing the entire team in a plane crash prompted Barnes to make arrangements with TWA president Jack Frye to fly two players on each of the 12 daily flights between Chicago to Los Angeles.

Barnes was poised to receive the approval of AL owners to relocate his club to California at their December 8, 1941, meeting in Chicago. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7 and America's subsequent entry into the war prevented the Browns from relocating, permanently altering the team's future. The Pacific Coast transfer now impossible, Barnes turned to his stockholders for the necessary capital to stay solvent. Ice magnate Richard Muckerman provided \$300,000, for which he was named club vice president.

After Pearl Harbor, owners were fearful that their game would be shut down. Recognizing the countless benefits that baseball provided for millions of Americans, President Franklin Roosevelt's "Green Light letter" eased their fears about a baseball shutdown during the coming war.

The Browns' third-place finish in 1942 gave promise of a more successful future. Two players in particular gave the team a boost. Power-hitting rookie Vern Stephens and George McQuinn, who anchored the infield at first base, were integral parts of the winning formula. McQuinn's skills were comparable to Browns legend George Sisler. His model baseball glove became an immediate best seller and was used by future president George H.W. Bush when he played first base for Yale University during the 1947–48 seasons. In 1942 the Browns made \$80,455, their biggest profit since 1926, and only the third year they did not lose money since 1929.

Nine out of 10 major leaguers active during the 1941 season traded their flannels for Uncle Sam's olive drab during the war years. Teams struggled to fill their rosters with able players who were ineligible for military service so they could compete on the field. By 1944 the Browns had assembled a crew of talented 4-Fs, work-deferred, older, and married players who amassed 89 wins and captured the franchise's first and only pennant in team history.

A MOMENT IN THE SUN

Major-league teams were prevented from holding spring-training camps in the warm South to prepare for the upcoming 1943 campaign, and were instead forced to make do in the colder climes of New York, Indiana, Missouri, and Illinois. With railways overtaxed from carrying troops and war material, Landis and director of the Office of Defense Transportation Joseph B. Eastman

agreed in January 1943 that clubs would restrict their springtime travel, and announced the imposition of the Landis-Eastman Line. The Landis-Eastman Line decree prohibited major-league teams from enjoying the southerly climates of any location south of the Mason-Dixon Line or west of the Mississippi River. This policy of austerity existed until the end of the war.

So for the next three seasons, all major-league teams trained near their hometowns. The Browns erected their camp 30 miles north, on the Missouri side of the Mississippi River in a small college town named Cape Girardeau. The city's fairgrounds had an indoor arena that the Browns were able to convert into a dirt field, so the inclement chilly weather never bothered them. This publicity device paid huge dividends for the Browns in 1944.

Thanks to the stellar pitching of 32-year-old rookie Sigmund Jakucki, Jack Kramer, and Steve Sundra, the Browns reeled off nine consecutive wins to start the season, shattering the prior record of seven in a row set by the 1933 Yankees. The team's most important season came down to a crucial end-of-the-year series against the Yankees, who were out of the pennant race. The Browns trailed the Detroit Tigers by a full game with only four home games remaining. Sweeping a doubleheader, the Browns' Kramer won his 17th game of the season, while Nelson Potter won his 19th on a 1–0 shutout. With the Tigers splitting their doubleheader against the Senators, the Browns moved up one game in the standings and into a tie for first place. Both teams won their next game. In the final game of the season, Dutch Leonard of the Senators defeated the Tigers 4–1. With the heavy-drinking Jakucki on the mound, the Browns won the game and the AL pennant on the strength of a pair of two-run homers by part-time player Chet Laabs, as the Browns avenged their 1922 disappointment with a 5–2 victory. Posting an 89–65 record, that year the club was second in the AL in pitching and runs scored, despite a dismal .252 team batting average, second lowest in the league.

The Browns' World Series opponent was the local rival Cardinals, who had cruised to their third conservative pennant. The Cardinals' roster had been hurt by players departing for military service, but the nucleus of their champion teams was basically intact. They still had Stan Musial, NL MVP Marty Marion, Mort and Walker Cooper, and third baseman Whitey Kurowski.

The Browns won the first game 2–1 behind Denny Galehouse, with McQuinn's two-run homer marring the expert pitching of right-hander Mort Cooper, who allowed just two hits. Nelson Potter's misplay of a bunt by Cardinals pitcher Max Lanier led to the Browns' 10th-inning loss in the second game. The Browns won the third game easily by a score of 6–2 behind Jack Kramer, but it was the team's high-water mark, as the Cardinals combined timely hitting with the pinpoint control of Cooper, Hal Lanier, Harry Brecheen, and Ted Wilks to sweep the remaining three games.

The Browns had high hopes for the 1945 season, which was remarkable for the presence of Pete Gray, who had lost his right arm above the elbow in a childhood accident. Born Pete Wyshner in 1915, Gray led the Southern As-

sociation with a .333 mark with 68 stolen bases in 1944, garnering the SA's MVP award. With the Browns, however, he hit only .218 and was blamed by most his teammates for their failure to repeat as AL champions. They regarded his presence as a publicity stunt designed to win more fan support than games. Vern Stephens led the third-place Browns and the AL in home runs with 34, making him the first Brown to do so since Ken Williams in 1922. In August a weary Donald Barnes sold his 31 percent interest in the team to partner Robert Muckerman.

POSTWAR CHANGES

Richard Muckerman had been involved with the Browns since 1939, when he bought his first shares of stock. In 1942, during the club's reorganization, he increased his share to a quarter of all outstanding stock. Muckerman also bought back Sportsman's Park from the Dodier Realty Company in 1946, and that year saw the Browns attract 526,435 fans, more than the 508,644 that came during the pennant-winning season of 1944. This was the Browns' fourth-largest attendance and the most since 1922. Unfortunately, the timing could not have been worse for Muckerman and the Browns. The end of the war and the return of players from the military in 1946 brought imbalance back to professional baseball, and the Browns fell back to seventh place. The team released Gray, who returned to his native Nanticoke, Pennsylvania, where he lived in bitterness until his death in 2003.

Postwar inflation and the need to build a new ballpark for their farm club, the San Antonio Missions, eroded the slim profits the team had garnered during the war. The Browns seldom had any money in the bank, hardly surprising since from 1926 through 1943 they had the lowest attendance in the AL. In 1944 the Browns made a profit of \$285,034. With that sole exception, since Ball's death in 1933 the team stayed just a few steps ahead of its creditors. This forced the Browns into the harmful position of having to sell its best players to pay the bills. Predictably, attendance declined, translating into less revenue and more debts, forcing yet another round of player sales.

Muckerman's second season witnessed the racial integration of MLB, which had fought the use of African American players for several generations. In the wake of Cleveland's signing of Larry Doby, the major sportswriters in the East opined that St. Louis was too southern a city to tolerate a black player. The Browns defied the conventional wisdom when in 1947 they signed Willard Brown and Henry Thompson from the Kansas City Monarchs and took out a 30-day option on Piper Davis of the Birmingham Black Barons.

The motives for the Browns' experiment in integration seemed mixed. Muckerman thought adding black players to the roster would increase the team's sagging attendance. General manager Bill DeWitt added, "It seems in order that this large Negro population should have some representation on their city's ball team," which author Jules Tygiel wrote in his *Baseball's Great Experi-*

ment was “a revolutionary concept amidst the cobwebbed conservatism of the baseball hierarchy.”

Unfortunately, integration did nothing for the Browns, who ended in last place. Thompson hit a modest .256 in 27 games, while Brown had just 12 hits in his 67 at bats, including an inside-the-park home run, the first home run by a black player in the AL.

THE DEWITT YEARS

Even though the Browns improved two notches in the standings in 1948, Muckerman was forced to sell the team to baseball executive Bill DeWitt and his older brother, impresario Charley DeWitt, for \$1 million on February 2, 1949. Both had enjoyed a long history with the Browns in the front office and were confident that they could swim against the financial currents that had swamped their last two predecessors. Charley, affectionately known as “the Senator,” provided the charm, while his brother Bill, as the new president, provided the brainpower in running the club. Their fraternal dynamic produced another seventh-place finish. Rookie outfielder Roy Sievers compiled a solid .306 batting average to win the AL Rookie of the Year Award, making him the last Browns player to win a major award.

DeWitt hired psychologist David Tracy in a bid to improve his players’ performance on the field. Tracy employed hypnosis and other relaxation techniques without any apparent success. DeWitt probably would have been better off with better players who were better paid. The team in 1950 had a payroll of \$234,125, slightly more than half of the AL average of \$441,297. On June 8, 1950, in what might be termed the second Boston Massacre, the Browns were outscored 29–4 in Fenway Park, with the Red Sox banging out 28 hits.

DR. VEECK’S ELIXIR

A sea of red ink forced the DeWitts to sell to the self-styled “savior of the St. Louis Browns,” Bill Veeck, in 1951. He was the front man in a 16-member syndicate that included meatpackers Lester Armour and Philip Swift. The fans were betting on the riverboat swagger of the Chicago entrepreneur to save their team.

Veeck came to St. Louis after winning the World Series with Cleveland in 1948 and then selling his stock to insurance executive Ellis Ryan in November 1949. The game’s most aggressive promoter saw St. Louis as another sick franchise that would respond favorably to “Dr. Veeck’s” patented elixir. Veeck was well aware that his experimental medicine would only work if he could force the Cardinals, whose owner, Fred Saigh, was caught in the tangled web of a tax scandal and was facing prison, to leave town.

Even before Veeck moved in, it was apparent that the team’s health was in serious jeopardy. St. Louis mayor Joe Darst and former mayor Aloys P. Kaufman

formed a committee to keep the team in St. Louis. One loyal backer, Norman Handel, a former clothing executive, formed the St. Louis Browns Booster Club, which had over 5,000 members. Inexplicably, Veeck failed to enlist their support. This clearly indicated that he had no intention of a long-term stay in St. Louis.

Veeck used every promotional gimmick in his hustler's handbook to capture the public's imagination. He sponsored jazz bands, Bat Days, and Grandstand Manager's Night. He hired clowns and acrobats, providing a bread-and-circus atmosphere that made the crowds forget his team was not the Yankees. He worked with the tireless dedication of a public performer animated by the smell of the greasepaint and the celebratory adulation of a hungry crowd.

Veeck's most infamous stunt came from the pages of a James Thurber short story, "You Could Look It Up." On August 19, 1951, in the home half of the first inning of the nightcap of a doubleheader with the Detroit Tigers, Veeck sent three-foot seven-inch Eddie Gaedel to pinch-hit for reserve outfielder Frank Saucier. When Detroit manager Red Rolfe and umpire Ed Hurley stopped play, Browns manager Zack Taylor quickly produced the midget's legitimate contract.

As the crowd watched intently, the diminutive Gaedel strode to the plate, lustily swinging a bat more suitable for an eight-year-old. After milking the at bat for its attendant fanfare, Gaedel walked on four pitches against Tigers lefty Bob Cain. Regular outfielder Jim Delsing came on to run for him. AL president Will Harridge quickly (though temporarily) banished Gaedel's appearance from the record book. Veeck earned the enmity of the entire AL.

The team was in turmoil by June. Veeck flew up to Boston on June 9 to personally fire Rogers Hornsby, the team's manager. The players were so thankful for Veeck's removal of the tyrannical Hornsby that they had a silver tray made in his honor. Marty Marion, former Cardinals shortstop and then a Browns coach, became their last manager. The high point of Veeck's first season was Ned Garver's outstanding 20–12 record. He became the only pitcher to win 20 games for a last-place team that lost 100 games. His .305 batting average also led the team.

The Browns improved dramatically at the gate during the 1952 season. Attendance jumped 76 percent to 518,796, the team's fifth highest ever. Veeck's promotional gimmicks were bringing in the fans and his plan to resurrect Browns baseball was working—that is, until Anheuser-Busch bought the Cardinals and Sportsman's Park in 1953.

Veeck was a gambler but not a fool. With the cross-fingered sincerity of a seasoned politician, Veeck had promised the St. Louis fans in 1951 that he had no intention of ever leaving St. Louis. Realizing his gamble was about to fail, Veeck played his ace in the hole, a quick move to Milwaukee. However, Lou Perini of the Boston Braves exercised his territorial rights, trumping Veeck. Veeck then looked to Baltimore, whose mayor, Tom D'Alesandro, had expressed great interest. Any decision to move required the unanimous approval of his fellow AL

owners, owners who were embarrassed by Veeck and his antics. They patiently bided their time, hoping to force the always cash-poor Veeck out of the game.

THE FINAL SEASON

The advent of the 1953 season found the country in a time of both great uncertainty and unlimited promise. The Korean War, which would claim over 50,000 American lives, was a costly stalemate. Television, which would impact baseball's fortunes beyond all imagination, was already making its presence felt. In St. Louis the Browns were televised on Channel 5, KSD-TV.

The 1953 season opened on a note of optimism despite the inner turmoil besetting the club's ownership. Manager Marion fielded a reconstructed team that included such veterans as outfielders Don Lenhardt and Vic Wertz, Bobby Young at second, and promising rookie Billy Hunter at shortstop. The real problem was the pitching staff. Former Cardinals great Harry "the Cat" Brecheen anchored a staff that included veteran Virgil Trucks and rookies Bob Turley and Don Larsen.

When word of Veeck's intentions of moving the franchise leaked out, most long-term fans boycotted the team. Veeck was hung in effigy. Veeck's financial uncertainty worked on the players, as losing became standard fare, especially before the home crowds. With attendance declining to 297,238, the team lost 20 home games in a row, still the major-league record. The home highlight was a chilly May 6 night game against the Philadelphia Athletics when rookie Alva "Bobo" Holloman pitched a no-hitter in his first start, a feat last accomplished in 1892. Just 2,473 loyal fans attended his historic performance. By the end of the season Holloman was out of MLB.

On June 16, with the team riding another losing streak, this time a franchise record of 14 straight losses, the Browns were in Yankee Stadium to play the front-running Yankees, who had a streak of 18 straight victories. Satchel Paige was brilliant in relief of Duane Pillette as the Browns beat the Yankees 3-1, snapping both teams' streaks. The old-timer was the team's closer and appeared in 57 games. Marion had been so frustrated by the team's problems that he allowed sportswriter Milton Richman to pick out his starting lineup. Marion even donned a glove and made a rare appearance at third base.

September 27, 1953, would be the last game the team would play as the Browns. In the third inning, first baseman Ed Mickelson hit a double that scored Johnny Groth from second base. Few of the 3,174 fans in attendance realized that it was the last run scored by the Browns. The game went to extra innings, and in the top of the 12th, the White Sox scored a run to win 2-1, giving the Browns 100 losses for the eighth and final time. Fittingly, the umpires ran out of new baseballs. The public-address announcer asked the few remaining fans to return any balls that left the playing field. The ball in play before the last out had a dirty brownish hue, reminiscent of the days when the spitball, coffeeball, and other doctored balls were legal.

VEECK AS IN WRECK

The AL made it clear that any sale of the Browns would have to exclude Veeck. A local fan group tried to prevent the sale, but it was to no avail. Veeck agreed to sell his 80 percent of the stock for \$2.45 million to Clarence Miles and a consortium of Baltimore businessmen, spearheaded by mayor Tom D'Alesandro. Surviving St. Louis Browns fans still regard Veeck's memory with the same cold contempt that Brooklyn fans reserved for Walter O'Malley after he moved their beloved Dodgers to Los Angeles.

D'Alesandro and Miles made for an odd couple. The mayor was the son of an immigrant laborer who had risen from the streets of Baltimore's Little Italy, where he still lived. He was a doer who had overseen the opening of the city's Friendship Airport and presided over the expansion of Memorial Stadium. The mayor numbered presidents and congressmen among his intimates. His daughter Nancy Pelosi would become House minority leader during George W. Bush's administration.

Miles was a patrician lawyer who joined the mayor not because he loved baseball, like D'Alesandro, but because he thought baseball was good for the city. Baltimore faced some stiff competition from other cities as well as the obstinacy of some AL owners, especially the Yankees' Del Webb. Their syndicate included such prominent business leaders as Zanvyl Krieger, president of the Gunther Brewing Company; Jerry Hoffberger, president of the National Brewing Company; investment specialist Joseph Iglehart; and real-estate executive James Keelty. Their financial clout, along with the expansion of the stadium, had already helped Baltimore lure an NFL franchise. This made Baltimore the best possible venue for the struggling Browns.

BALTIMORE'S BASEBALL LEGACY

Baltimore had a rich baseball history. Named after Maryland's state bird, the Orioles had been a member of the American Association between 1882 and 1891, and then jumped leagues and played in the 12-team NL from 1892 until 1899. In 1901 Baltimore became a charter member of the upstart AL, but only lasted two seasons. The team was decimated in 1902 when manager John J. McGraw jumped to the New York Giants along with several of his top players. When the Boston Somersets defeated the Orioles on September 19, 1902, in old Oriole Park, it marked the end of AL baseball on the banks of the Chesapeake Bay for more than a half century.

Baseball impresario Jack Dunn and his family kept baseball enthusiasm alive in Baltimore until the purchase of the Browns in 1953. A former major-league pitcher, Dunn switched to Baltimore in 1907 after having managed Providence in the Eastern League. Baltimore had joined the EL, moving to the International League the following season. As the owner and manager he built the most successful minor-league franchise in history. He found and developed players

such as Lefty Grove, Jack Bentley, and Babe Ruth. Stiff competition from the Baltimore Terrapins of the upstart Federal League (1914–15) prompted Dunn to sell many of his top stars to the majors, including Babe Ruth to the Red Sox, and move to Richmond and become the Climbers.

The Terrapins were the only FL franchise that came close to making a profit during the gloomy days of 1915. When the Feds' owners failed to tell the Terrapins of their deal to insure that Phil Ball of the St. Louis Terriers and the owners of the Chicago Whales would get major-league franchises, the Terrapins sued in federal court. Their suit culminated in the 1922 Supreme Court *Baltimore Federal League v. Organized Baseball* decision in which Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes argued that baseball was not subject to the nation's antitrust statutes.

After returning to Baltimore in 1919, Dunn's Orioles won seven consecutive IL pennants (1919–25). Dunn succumbed to a heart attack in 1928. His widow, and later Dunn's grandson, Jack Dunn III, whose father had predeceased both his parents, continued the family ownership and management of the franchise until MLB returned to Baltimore in 1954. The Orioles paid Dunn \$350,000 for the team's name and territorial rights.

THE OLD AND THE NEW

The Dunn family had operated the 14,000-seat Oriole Park, the wooden bandbox home of the Orioles of the International League, since 1915, except for their four-year hiatus in Virginia. After it burned down for a second time in 1944, they found an old football stadium, Municipal Stadium, that proved to be quite serviceable for both sports. Ten years later Baltimore's latest entry in the AL arrived at the Camden Yard railroad station and rode up Charles Street in a convoy of open convertibles to their new home on 33rd Street, renamed Memorial Stadium.

The Dunns enlarged its capacity, which eventually reached 52,137. The stadium's dimensions were a symmetrical 309 feet down the lines, and to the power alleys the distance was a cavernous 390 feet. Dead center was 410 feet. The stadium's upper deck was unique in that it did not have any roof. When the stadium first opened it had hedges running around the center-field barrier. Later a seven-foot-high wire fence was installed in right center all the way over to left center.

Stadiums often reflect the culture in which they are built, particularly the cuisine of the home city. Baltimore was no exception. Memorial Stadium had beneath its stands a cornucopia of vendors that sold submarine sandwiches and seafood delicacies, especially crab cakes, which many said surpassed all other baseball food.

The new stadium, new uniforms, and new management did not translate into more victories, as the "old Browns" stumbled home with the same 54–100 record they had had in their final season in St. Louis. However, the Orioles drew over a million fans to Memorial Stadium. After losing their inaugural

game on April 13 in Detroit 3–0, the Orioles hit a positive note, defeating the Chicago White Sox 3–1 in their first home game on April 15, 1954. “Bullet Bob” Turley pitched a seven-hitter before a crowd of 46,354 that included Vice President Richard M. Nixon, who threw out the first ball. “Old Scrap Iron,” catcher Clint Courtney, hit the team’s first home run. Six days later Turley fanned 14 in losing the first night game in Memorial Stadium by a score of 2–1. Turley’s 185 strikeouts led the AL in 1954, the only Oriole to ever do that. After the season the Orioles engaged in what may have been the biggest trade in baseball history, shipping six players to the Yankees, including Turley, pitcher Don Larsen, and infielder Billy Hunter, in return for 10 players, including Gene Woodling, Gus Triandos, Willie Miranda, and Harry Byrd. The trade helped the Yankees but did little for the Orioles. In 1955, with Paul Richards at the helm, the Orioles continued to struggle, finishing in seventh place (57–97). The following season they improved to sixth place and a 69–85 mark. By 1957 the team finally reached the .500 plateau, with a record of 76–76.

In 1958 Lee MacPhail, son of longtime baseball magnate Larry MacPhail, became Orioles general manager. In 1958 and 1959 the team struggled through a pair of sixth-place finishes. However, under MacPhail the Orioles sowed the seeds of future success by developing a highly productive farm system. They did a great job scouting, signing, and developing major-league talent, particularly pitching. As president and general manager from 1960 to 1965, MacPhail laid the foundation for the team’s soon-to-come dominant years. Between 1960 and 1963 chief scouts Jim Russo and Arthur Ehlers signed up “the Kiddie Corps,” led by teenage phenoms Milt Pappas and Jerry Walker. The twenty-something arms of Chuck Estrada, Steve Barber, and Jack Fisher portended a bright future on the Orioles’ mound.

In 1960 the Orioles made a great leap forward, propelled by a 15-game winning streak in September that led them to an 89–65 record and a second-place finish. The club was carried by its terrific pitching, led by Estrada’s 18 victories. The entire staff led the AL with a 3.52 ERA. The following season, with the team winning consistently, Richards moved on, returning home to Houston late in the season to head up the newly created Houston Colt .45s. Lum Harris replaced him as manager and the team finished in third, with its best record ever up until then at 95–67. Twenty-three-year-old Steve Barber won 18 games, and the pitchers repeated as ERA leaders (3.22).

In 1962 the Orioles’ pitching collapsed and the team dropped to seventh place under new manager Billy Hitchcock (77–85). An important addition that year was soft-throwing Dave McNally, arguably the best left-hander in team history. McNally would go on to win 181 games as an Oriole over 13 seasons. After an improvement to fourth place in 1963, new manager Hank Bauer led the Orioles to first place in September 1964, only to slip to third at the end of the season, finishing one game behind Chicago and two behind New York. The Orioles maintained their consistency with another third-place finish (94–68) in 1965, led by the outstanding hurlers, who posted a league best 2.98 ERA. By

then pitching was completely dominant in the majors. The average ERA for the entire AL was just 3.46. The club had a notable addition that year, 19-year-old Jim Palmer, who would prove to be the best of “the Baby Birds.”

One of MacPhail’s last acquisitions before leaving Baltimore to join the commissioner’s staff was his best, Frank Robinson. Robinson came to the Orioles from Cincinnati in 1966 in exchange for pitcher Milt Pappas and two other players. Robinson immediately assumed the team’s leadership on and off the field. He led the team to the 1966 AL pennant and a 97–63 record, and won the Triple Crown with a .316 batting average, 122 RBIs, and 49 home runs. The AL MVP also led the league in slugging percentage, runs, and total bases. The club led the AL in hitting, but was only fourth best in pitching.

In the World Series, the Dodgers, even with aces Sandy Koufax and Don Drysdale, were outscored 13–2 in the Orioles’ four-game sweep, which included shutouts by Jim Palmer, Claude Osteen, and Dave McNally. The Dodgers scratched out a mere 14 hits over the four-game series. Robinson was voted the Series MVP. Already the Orioles had surpassed the entire postseason history of the St. Louis Browns.

THE HEYDAY OF JERRY HOFFBERGER

Jerry Hoffberger was a minor figure in the Orioles’ first decade in Baltimore, but in 1965, when a conflict in ownership of CBS stock forced senior partners Joe Iglehart and Zanvyl Krieger to sell their shares, Hoffberger jumped at the opportunity to become the primary partner in the Orioles’ ownership. He was an avid fan who sat behind the dugout and cheered like a regular fan. The scion of one of Baltimore’s most influential families, Hoffberger was 46 years old when he assumed control of the team. His father, Charles, was a lawyer who built the city’s first low-cost housing during the depression.

Before Hoffberger took charge the Orioles were less popular than their football rivals, the Colts. Hoffberger brought a new enthusiasm to marketing the team during his 14-year tenure, which included some of the most turbulent and also some of the most successful in the club’s history. Hoffberger gave the team a stature that rivaled the Colts, and instituted modern business principles and organized the front office so that it would function more smoothly.

Hoffberger made his greatest contribution by easing the transition of Frank Robinson from Cincinnati to Baltimore. When Jackie Robinson broke the game’s minor-league color barrier in 1946, the toughest city he had played in outside of Miami or Daytona was Baltimore. Citizens of the city exhibited a deep-seated racial bias that made Robinson and his wife feel unwanted. Hoffberger stepped in and made certain that the Robinsons could find suitable housing and a tolerable level of social acceptance.

The Orioles fell badly the year after the championship, slipping down to seventh place (76–85). The following year the team improved at midseason to 43–37, but that was not good enough for Hoffberger. Manager Hank Bauer’s

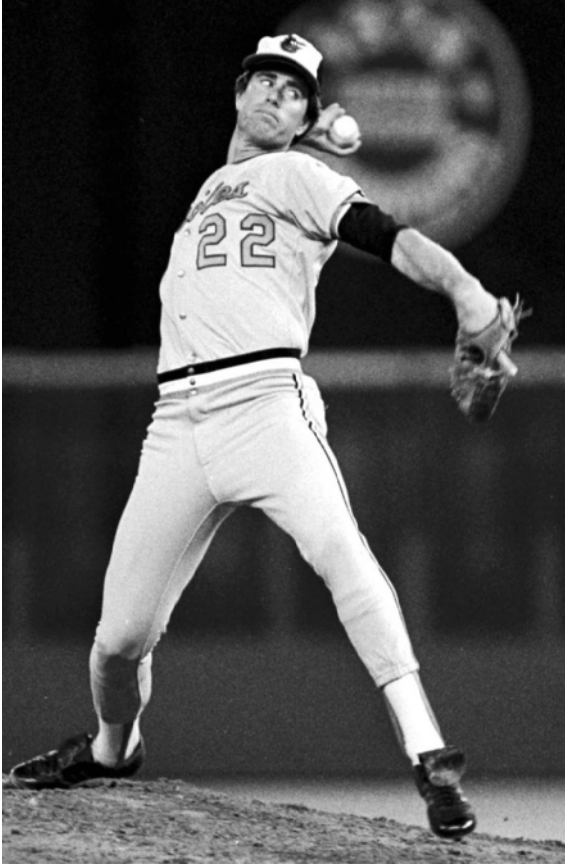
failure to pass the Detroit Tigers cost him his job in July. General manager Harry Dalton replaced Bauer with St. Louis native Earl Weaver, himself a product of the Orioles' farm system, albeit a product who never played a major-league game. He was an irascible, umpire-baiting bandy rooster who liked to poke the peak of his cap into the faces of the many umpires he pestered. His aggressive behavior led to four suspensions and nearly 100 ejections over his 18-season career. While managers such as Billy Martin played "inside baseball," scratching for runs with sacrifice bunts, squeeze plays, and stolen bases, Weaver preferred to play long ball and wait for the three-run homer.

That winter the team owners, led by Hoffberger, dropped a bombshell when they fired Commissioner William Eckert. During his short tenure, "the Unknown Soldier," as he was disparagingly called, was indecisive and had a poor public image. Bowie Kuhn, a Wall Street attorney with a physical stature that prompted immediate respect, soon replaced him. Kuhn presided over MLB's move to division play. Baseball divided its leagues into two six-team divisions. The change revitalized pennant races, which had grown stagnant under the old system.

The fiery Weaver directed the Orioles to 109 victories and a 19-game margin over second-place Detroit during the 1969 regular season, and then a sweep of the Minnesota Twins in the initial AL Championship Series. The lowered mound seemed to favor the Orioles, who had a lineup loaded with sluggers, four of whom hit over 20 homers that year. Led by sluggers Boog Powell and Frank Robinson, the Orioles scored 200 runs more than they had the previous season. The Orioles' defense was spectacular, committing just 101 errors for an awesome .984 fielding percentage. The lowered mound did not seem to hurt their pitching staff, going from an AL-leading 2.66 in 1968 to an AL-leading 2.83 in 1969. Mike Cuellar (23–11) tied Detroit's Denny McLain for the Cy Young Award. In 1982 baseball historian Donald Honig ranked the 1969 Orioles as one of the 10 best teams of all time. The 1969 club had six All-Stars and personified "the Oriole Way," which emphasized fundamentals and carefully measured development of youngsters in the minor league.

As good as the Orioles were, they stumbled against the upstart "Miracle Mets" in the World Series. After Baltimore defeated New York's ace, Tom Seaver, in the first game 4–1, they could not overcome the Mets' superlative pitching and timely hitting, or the otherworldly fielding of center fielder Tommie Agee. The deciding fifth game was highlighted by a replay of the infamous shoe-polish incident of the 1957 series between the Yankees and the Braves when Cleon Jones was awarded first base after Mets manager Gil Hodges noticed a black mark on the ball. Donn Clendenon followed with a clutch home run.

The Orioles won 108 games in 1970 with the AL's best pitching and hitting, led by McNally (24 wins), Cuellar (24), and Palmer (20). The Orioles again swept the Minnesota Twins in the ALCS, and then proceeded to take the World Series from the Cincinnati Reds in five games. Brooks Robinson electrified the baseball world with his spectacular play at third base and timely hitting (.429) to earn the Series MVP Award.



Jim Palmer hurls a pitch against the Philadelphia Phillies during his ninth World Series appearance, 1983. © AP/Wide World Photos

The Orioles made it to the World Series for the third consecutive season in 1971, and again had the league's best hitting and pitching. They amassed 101 victories, including the final 11 games of the season, making it three straight years with at least 100 wins. The three-year total of 318 wins marked the team's apex. McNally led the staff with 21 wins, as Palmer, newcomer Pat Dobson, and Cuellar joined him with 20 wins apiece. They swept Oakland in the ALCS and won the first two games of the World Series against the high-flying Pirates, led by Roberto Clemente. The home team won every game until the tension-filled seventh game, which Pittsburgh won 2–1, spoiling the Orioles' outstanding season.

Before the 1972 season, general manager Frank Dalton

resigned to take a similar position with the California Angels. Executive vice president Frank Cashen became director of player personnel and traded the aging Frank Robinson to the Dodgers for pitching prospect Doyle Alexander. Palmer's 20 wins and 2.07 ERA were the only bright spots in the team's third-place finish.

The Orioles returned to the top of the Eastern Division in 1973 (97–65), sparked by Jim Palmer's 22–9 record and AL-leading 2.40 ERA. On June 16, he retired the first 25 Texas Rangers before catcher Ken Suarez broke up his perfect game with one-out single. Palmer finished with a two-hit, 9–1 victory. The team's leading hitter was former Chicago Cub Tommy Davis, the team's first designated hitter. The DH had been created to modernize the game and increase the offense. But the Orioles failed to get past the defending world champion Oakland A's, who won the ALCS in five games.

In 1974 Baltimore repeated as division champs. With a month to play, they were in fourth place, eight games behind Boston. But in the final month, the

Orioles won 28 of 34 to edge the revitalized Yankees. Weaver drove his team like a relentless jockey down the stretch, which included 15 one-run victories. Ross Grimsley, a classic left-hander acquired from Cincinnati, was the difference. His 18 wins more than made up for Palmer's uncharacteristic 7–12 season. But Oakland continued its postseason mastery of the Orioles in the ALCS. The Orioles managed just one run in the final three games of their four-game series.

The big news in 1975 was not the Orioles' second-place finish or Palmer's Cy Young Award season (23–11, 2.09 ERA) but the free-agency suits of pitchers Andy Messersmith and former Oriole Dave McNally. Arbitrator Peter Seitz ruled for the players, opening the free-agency gates and spawning a new era in baseball labor relations.

One year later, the Orioles came in second (88–74) and Palmer won his second Cy Young Award (22–13, 2.51 ERA). In a multiplayer deal, the Orioles acquired slugger Reggie Jackson and pitcher Ken Holtzman from Oakland in exchange for Don Baylor and pitcher Mike Torrez. Jackson's stay in Baltimore was brief. He lobbied from the start for a chance to play for the Yankees for fame and fortune. His home-run total slipped to just 27, but he led the league in slugging percentage with a .502 mark.

By 1977 free agency and Yankees owner George Steinbrenner's unbridled determination to secure the best team money could buy made it extremely difficult for the more business-minded Orioles to compete. The Orioles still won 97 games, finishing just two and half games behind New York. Eddie Murray became the AL's first Rookie of the Year to play as DH. The following season Murray moved to first base, where he won three straight Gold Glove Awards and became a steady cog in the Orioles' defense, which contributed significantly to their success in the 1970s and 1980s.

The 1977 season marked the end of the legendary career of Brooks Robinson. Discovered on a church-league sandlot, the native Arkansan had made steady progress since his 1955 debut. He played the hot corner for 23 seasons with a style and grace that was unparalleled for its time. He won the Gold Glove 16 times and for 15 straight seasons was the AL's starting third baseman in the All-Star Game. Robinson was inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1983.

The Orioles won 90 games in 1978 yet finished in fourth, but rebounded in 1979 to win the AL East at 102–52. They were led by the pitching staff, whose ERA of 3.26 was more than half a run better than any other team. Cy Young Award winner Mike Flannigan led the way with a sterling 23–9 record and 3.08 ERA, propelling the Orioles to another World Series appearance after defeating the Angels in the ALCS three games to two. Unfortunately, Willie Stargell rallied the Pirates from a three-games-to-one deficit to frustrate the Orioles' dream of another championship.

WILLIAMS AND A SEA OF RED INK

From the moment that Hoffberger, whose teams had won five pennants and two World Series, sold the Orioles to Edward Bennett Williams in 1979 for \$11 million, the low-budget stability that had marked his ownership vanished. The team shed its stingy demeanor as a waterfall of new talent bathed its finances in red ink. The problem remained how to balance financial solvency and still compete on the field. A graduate of Holy Cross College, Williams was a pillar of the Washington community. His legal career included such clients as Jimmy Hoffa, Frank Costello, and Joe McCarthy. Though he was an outstanding lawyer and a great intellect, as an owner he was just a rung above a dilettante.

In 1980 Scott McGregor and Cy Young Award winner Steve Stone (25–7) led the Orioles to another 100-win season, yet they finished three games behind the Yankees. The 1981 season was one of the most convoluted in baseball history. The owners and the Players Association reached an impasse that resulted in a full one-third of the schedule being lost to a labor strike. When play resumed, the owners devised a split-season format often found in the minor leagues in a heedless effort to salvage the semblance of a competitive season. The winners from each half of the season met in a playoff at the end of the season. The Orioles finished second overall in the AL East at 59–46.

In 1982 Weaver announced his retirement effective after the season, and turned in his finest hour as the team's manager, coaxing Eddie Murray, Palmer, and 1981's AL Rookie of the Year Cal Ripken Jr. into the thick of the pennant race. Murray had a great all-around season with a .316 average, 32 home runs, and 110 RBIs. Weaver moved six-foot-four Ripken from third to short, almost immediately making him the tallest regular shortstop in history, an honor formerly held by the six-foot-three Orioles fielding great Mark Belanger. Over the course of his lengthy career Ripken redefined the shortstop position with his range, powerful arm, and consistent stroke at the plate. Weaver had the Orioles positioned three games behind division-leading Milwaukee with the final four games of the season to be played by them. Baltimore swept the first three games to deadlock the race. But in the deciding game Don Sutton defeated Palmer 10–2, backed by Robin Yount's pair of two-run home runs.

Because of a series of nagging injuries to many of its key players in 1983, rookie manager Joe Altobelli masterminded a platoon system that mixed well with the MVP heroics of Ripken, who batted .318 with 211 hits to win their division (98–64) by six games over Detroit. The club led the AL in homers and was second overall in hitting and pitching. Rookie pitcher Mike Boddicker baffled AL hitters with his "foshball," winning 16 of his 24 decisions. The White Sox took the first game of the ALCS, but then Boddicker shut out the Pale Hose, and the Orioles took three straight. In the World Series the Orioles dropped the first game and then swept the next four to win the title. The 25-year-old Boddicker provided the

pitching spark in game two with a three-hit, 4–1 victory over a Philadelphia team so overburdened with aging veterans that they called them “the Wheeze Kids.” The Orioles captured their first World Series since 1970. Unheralded catcher Rick Dempsey batted .385 and became the third Oriole to win a Series MVP Award.

The Orioles’ unimpressive fifth-place finish (87–75) in 1984 marked Jim Palmer’s 19th and last season in MLB. His pitching success was unparalleled in Orioles history. He won 20 or more games eight times, was the AL’s Cy Young Award winner three times, and was a six-time All-Star. He went 268–152 in his career with an ERA of 2.68, and regularly pitched over 300 innings.

Winter baseball, personal conditioning, and a strong will to win enabled him to overcome a multitude of real or imagined physical ailments. On the mound his high kick and superior athleticism made him a four-time Gold Glove winner. Palmer’s love-hate relationship with manager Earl Weaver seemed to be more for dramatic effect than from any deep-seated feeling. In 1990 he was inducted into the Hall of Fame.

In 1985 MLB’s labor unrest resurfaced when the Players Association staged a two-day walkout that jeopardized the entire season. Less than a third into the 1985 season, Altobelli received his walking papers. Earl Weaver was coaxed from his short-lived retirement only to find the AL East had moved ahead of the Orioles. The club finished at 83–78, fourth in its division. Then, in 1986, Weaver suffered through the only losing season in his career (73–89), ending in seventh place. Weaver retired for good after the season. The team’s most successful manager was elected to the Hall of Fame in 1996.

Longtime Baltimore coach Cal Ripken Sr. replaced the tired Weaver, but the next season was equally dreadful (67–95), good only for sixth place. On September 14, 1987, with the team in the midst of a losing rout, Ripken Sr. caved in to front-office pressure and replaced Ripken Jr. with infielder Ron Washington, which ended his streak of playing 8,243 consecutive innings over 908 games.

A DARK NIGHT

Even the great teams sometimes suffer through a dark night of the soul. The 1988 season proved to be the darkest moment in team history and tested the true mettle of the team’s adoring fans like “Wild Bill” Hagy, a hairy, beer-swilling cabbie who danced on the dugout roof when the occasion seized him. He was the Orioles’ self-appointed cheerleader and was more entertaining than the horde of escapees from a puppet menagerie who have plagued baseball since the San Diego Chicken first flapped his feathers in the 1970s.

The Orioles opened the season with a 12–0 shellacking at the hands of the Milwaukee Brewers with Hagy in attendance. The team’s downward spiral reached its nadir as it lost the following 20 games to set a new record for April futility. Hagy had nothing in his personal repertoire that could produce a victory. A banner in center field raised the mathematical horror of 0–162.

Management showed little patience with Ripken Sr., firing him just six games into the disastrous season. Frank Robinson, who had rejoined the club in 1986 as a coach, was installed as the new manager. Robinson had been the first black manager in MLB in 1975 with Cleveland, but he had no magic potion. The Orioles finished with a .335 winning percentage (55–107) the worst in franchise history since the lowly Browns' .279 (43–111) of 1939.

Early in the season, when the Orioles were 1–23, hopes were revitalized when Governor William Schaefer announced that team owner Williams and the Maryland Stadium Authority had agreed on a long-term lease for a new downtown ballpark to be built for the 1992 season. Williams himself never attended another game, succumbing to cancer on August 13, 1988.

A LEVERAGED BUYOUT

Much changed before the start of the 1989 season. Williams's estate sold the Orioles for \$70 million to Eli Jacobs, a New York investment specialist, in a leveraged buyout. He had borrowed the entire purchase price. His minority investors were team president Larry Lucchino, Williams's protégé in sports and law, and former Peace Corps director Sargent Shriver.

In December the Orioles traded star Eddie Murray, who had been feuding with the media, the front office, and even the fans, to the Dodgers for three unheralded players. In his very consistent 12 years with the team, Murray hit .295 with 2,021 hits and 303 homers. The owners, while keeping a low payroll, paid themselves enough to cover their interest payments to Citicorp. It was a terrific investment, because after the opening of Camden Yards, the Orioles became a virtual gold mine, netting \$20 million a year.

Sporting new uniforms and a reformed attitude, the Orioles spent nearly three months of the 1989 season in first place. They combined timely hitting, especially that of reserve catcher and DH Mickey Tettleton, who hit 26 home runs, and improved defense with an inspired pitching staff, led by the resurgence of Jeff Ballard to give the Blue Jays a run for their money, but Toronto rebounded from a horrible start to pass the Birds by two games in September. Robinson was named AL Manager of the Year.

Spring training in 1990 was delayed for 32 days as the owners and players radiated ominous warnings of a dispute that would nearly tear the game apart four years later. The season's opener was pushed back to April 9 after a tenuous agreement was reached. The Orioles collapsed to fifth place (76–85). At this time, the Orioles payroll was \$8.1 million, and the franchise was worth an estimated \$200 million, tied for second in MLB.

The 1991 season marked the Orioles' final season on 33rd Street. Ripken had a career year by hitting .323 with 210 hits, 34 homers, and 144 RBIs. He swept the All-Star and AL MVPs, was Major League Player of the Year, and even won the All-Star Home Run Derby. Mike Flanagan pitched the last inning of the last game at Memorial Stadium. Robinson was fired after 37 games, replaced by Johnny Oates, and the team ended up back in fifth place.

A BRICK AND MORTAR TRIBUTE

The throwback or retro concept, which evolved over four years, was unveiled on Opening Day in 1992. The Kansas City architectural team of Hellmuth, Obata, and Kassabaum (HOK) designed a magnificent \$110 million stadium in the midst of an old railroad yard that captured the city's historic beauty amid a tower of modernity that paid tribute to modern comfort and style. HOK received its direction and input from the Orioles and the state of Maryland, which owns and operates through the Maryland Stadium Authority. Oriole Park at Camden Yards, with a capacity of 48,876 (including standing room), blended the urban development of Baltimore's new architecture with a nostalgic asymmetry and natural grass. It stood proud and tall as a brick and mortar tribute to baseball's glorious past.

In a single gesture it obliterated a half century of insipid stadium designs and ugly architecture that characterized the tasteless cookie-cutter stadiums in St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh. The uneven outfield with a high wall and hand-operated scoreboard was a salute to Ebbets Field, Wrigley Field, and Fenway Park. In the right-field background, the B&O Railroad warehouse rises like a giant tribute to simpler times. "The Yard" sported red brick walls, high arches, cast-iron gates, and 1890s Baltimore Baseball Club logos emblazoned at the end of every row. The park was a true marriage of baseball nostalgia and modern innovation, such as a drainage system that kept the field in pristine condition. The stadium was located only 12 minutes from the birthplace of Baltimore's most famous baseball player, Babe Ruth. The fans flocked 48,000 at a time, because no game respects its past better than baseball. The Orioles, inspired by the new field, improved to 89–73 (third place).

Only the Toronto Blue Jays, who drew over 4 million fans from 1991 to 1993, surpassed the Orioles during this period. Since the Yard's opening, the Orioles have averaged over 3.3 million fans a year, a significant improvement over the 2.5 million of the last season at Memorial Stadium. The completion of the field helped drive the Orioles' value, which had fallen from \$200 million in 1990 to \$129 million in 1993, up to \$164 million one year later, second highest in MLB to the Yankees. It peaked at \$351 million in 1998.

THE STREAK

In 1993 Ripken drew 162 games closer to Gehrig as the Orioles engaged in a donnybrook with most of their division. The team's anticlimactic third-place finish paled by comparison with Ripken's everyday contributions. His 1,735 consecutive games put Gehrig's 2,130 streak well within his reach. The following season, Ripken played in only 112 games because of the baseball strike. The club moved up to second place (63–49).

Before the start of the 1995 season, the owners threatened to employ replacement players, but Orioles owner Peter Angelos, a labor attorney, swore he would never use such scabs. Opening Day was pushed back for three weeks, shortening the season to 144 games. On September 6 Ripken passed Lou Gehrig to



Cal Ripkin during a game against the Kansas City Royals, 1996. © AP / Wide World Photos

establish the new mark of 2,131 consecutive games before a packed house and a global television audience. But the club, under rookie manager Phil Regan, dropped to third (71–73).

In 1996 baseball did its best to lure the fans back to the game. The advent of the towering home run had worked miracles in the aftermath of the Black Sox scandal of 1919. Not coincidentally, baseballs started flying out of major-league parks at an alarming rate. The 30 teams combined for a resounding 4,962 home runs, shattering the old record by more than 500. Under yet another new manager, former Orioles second baseman Davey Johnson, Baltimore set a new major-league record with 257 home runs, 17 more than the former record of the 1961 Yankees. Unlikely slugger Brady Anderson's 50 home runs led a phalanx of seven Orioles with over 20 home runs, which propelled the Orioles to the wild card (88–74).

Regrettably, the Orioles' newfound power was not enough to overcome the strength and pitching of their New York nemesis. After defeating Cleveland in the AL Divisional Series three games to one, the Orioles' luck ran out in the opening game of the ALCS. Jeffrey Maier, a hooky-playing 12-year-old from Old

Tappan, New Jersey, interfered with a Derek Jeter fly ball destined for the waiting hands of Orioles right fielder Tony Tarasco. The umpire inexplicably ruled it a home run, tying the score at four. The Orioles never fully recovered from the blown call, dropping the series in five games.

The next season the Orioles went wire to wire as the division leader (94–64), led by the stellar pitching of Scott Erickson, Jimmy Key, and Mike Mussina, to finish two games ahead of the Yankees, who earned the wild-card slot. Ripken returned to third base in favor of Mike Bordick. This time Cleveland frustrated the Orioles' run to another World Series in the six-game ALCS.

In 1998, the Yankees made a shambles of the race, finishing with an amazing 114 victories, breaking the former AL record of 111 set by the 1954 Cleveland Indians. The Birds had the highest payroll, but the best they could manage was a fourth-place finish under the new manager, former pitching coach Ray Miller. Cal Ripken voluntarily ended his streak at 2,533 on the last day of the season. Sharing the human-interest spotlight was Eric Davis, who rebounded from colon cancer to hit .327 with 28 home runs.

In 1999 the team remained mired in fourth place as Ripken played in only 85 games due to unprecedented chronic injuries. The following season the Orioles began a rebuilding program that maintained their fourth-place status quo under rookie manager Mike Hargrove. Ripken had another injury-ridden season, which limited him to just 83 games. Free-agent slugger Albert Belle rarely appeared, as he was suffering from what became a career-ending hip injury. Three seasons later, the Orioles were still paying him \$12,449,999.

The 2001 season served as Cal Ripken's personal farewell tour. Ripken celebrations overshadowed the play on the field. When the Orioles ran on the field for their Cal Ripken Day, first baseman Jeff Conine tossed an infield warm-up ball into the outfield grass toward Ripken, who had to turn his back to the field to retrieve it. When he turned around, his current team had been replaced with the surviving members of his 1981 rookie team. It was a magnificent moment of baseball reverence and sentimentality. The only position left unoccupied was shortstop, for Mark Belanger had died on October 6, 1998. As a crowning touch, white-haired Earl Weaver walked up to home plate with his lineup card. The regular season ended on October 6 with the customary fourth-place finish (63–98). That year *Forbes* estimated the team made \$3.2 million (compared to MLB's reported loss of \$5.347 million). The profit would have been larger, except the club had to pay out \$1.46 million for revenue sharing, and the team only made \$21 million in local media money despite being located in the third-largest metropolitan area, after New York and Los Angeles.

Ripken's retirement cost the Orioles more than the loss of a perennial All-Star. For 20 seasons he had provided the baseball community with a shining example of character and fortitude that provided a necessary antidote to the sordid affairs of many of the game's leading players. He symbolized the hardworking American man, who always showed up, never complained, and gave his best. This was a huge contrast to the pampered, overpaid professional

athletes that sports fans were becoming accustomed to. Years after he left the team, Ripken continues to give back to the Baltimore community. His foundation built a small version of Camden Yard at his Aberdeen baseball complex, which hosts the nation's finest youth-baseball facility.

CHAIRMAN ANGELOS

Chairman Peter Angelos, who purchased the team from Jacobs for \$170 million in 1993, had to deal with the prospects of a rival team in the Washington-Virginia area that would have seriously jeopardized his fan base. On a more grievous note, he called on MLB to ban the use of ephedrine, a stimulant often used by athletes to lose weight. It was reputed to have played a large role in the premature death of Orioles pitcher Steve Bechler during spring training in 2003. The new season marked the 50th anniversary of the franchise's final season in St. Louis. As part of interleague play, the Orioles visited St. Louis to play the Cardinals the weekend of June 6. Several former Browns players from the 1953 team, including Roy Sievers and Don Larsen, were introduced on the field before Friday's night game at Busch Stadium. The Saturday game was a "throwback game" that witnessed the "Browns" and Cardinals dressed in polyester replicas of the regalia of the 1944 teams. The Orioles won the game behind the strong pitching of Sidney Ponson, 8–3. The team limped home in fourth place (71–91) for the sixth year in a row.

In the hope that there was magic in the Yankees' uniform, the Orioles turned to Yankees first-base coach Lee Mazzilli for 2004. At the start of the season, *Forbes* rated the team as worth \$296 million, 12th in MLB. The rookie manager took over an upstart team that had high hopes for improving itself in the free-agent market. Jim Beattie, the team's executive vice president for baseball operations, thought their chances of solidifying the team would give "the Italian Stallion" a prime opportunity to return the Orioles to their fruitful days. A 12-game losing streak in August ruined any hopes for the playoffs. Mazzilli rallied his team to a third-place finish with a 79–83 mark.

In 2005, the Orioles started out all ablaze, but Sammy Sosa and Sidney Ponson flopped. Sam Perlozzo became the interim manager, replacing a clueless Mazzilli, and was hired full-time after the season. In September slugger Rafael Palmeiro, who had reached 3,000 hits and 500 home runs in an Orioles uniform, "retired" early because of a positive steroid test and contradictions in his congressional testimony earlier in the year. The Orioles finished in fifth place with a 74–88 mark, 21 games behind New York and Boston.

A FINAL REVIEW

In this modern tale of two cities, the contrast between the history of the St. Louis Browns and that of the Baltimore Orioles is striking. During their 52 seasons the Browns were "the worst of times," winning only one pennant. In their 51 seasons the Orioles enjoyed "the best of times," playing in the postseason

nine times and appearing in six World Series, winning three of them. Of all the premier players in MLB history, George Sisler is the only Browns player who stood above his peers. The list of premier Baltimore players is too long to list.

The unwise business decisions of dilettante owner Philip Ball and the decline of the two-team city hastened the Browns' transfer to Baltimore. With only the Cardinals in town, St. Louis has become one of the most successful franchises in history. The Browns' move to Baltimore was good not only for the franchise but also for MLB. Baltimore had an enjoyable taste of major-league baseball in the early days of the AL. Given a second chance, it has proven to be a reservoir of baseball prosperity and energy. The franchise flourished in ways that that it never could have in St. Louis.

The pivotal question for the future of the Orioles concerns their ability to sustain their thriving prosperity. Demographic pressures and the strategic business needs of MLB have beckoned the owners to move the Montreal Expos into nearby Washington, DC, as the new Washington Nationals. Can the Orioles survive this new threat to their longevity, or will it go the way of its St. Louis predecessor? That is the remaining question that only the future will answer.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1964	Brooks Robinson	3B
1966	Frank Robinson	OF
1970	Boog Powell	1B
1983	Cal Ripken Jr.	SS
1991	Cal Ripken Jr.	SS

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1969	Mike Cuellar	LHP
1973	Jim Palmer	RHP
1975	Jim Palmer	RHP
1976	Jim Palmer	RHP
1979	Mike Flanagan	LHP
1980	Steve Stone	RHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1949	Roy Sievers	OF
1960	Ron Hansen	SS
1965	Curt Blefary	OF
1973	Al Bumbry	OF

1977	Eddie Murray	1B
1982	Cal Ripken Jr.	SS
1989	Gregg Olson	P

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1906	George Stone	.358
1920	George Sisler	.407
1922	George Sisler	.420
1966	Frank Robinson	.316

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1922	Ken Williams	39
1945	Vern Stephens	24
1966	Frank Robinson	49
1981	Eddie Murray	22

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1959	Hoyt Wilhelm	2.19
1973	Jim Palmer	2.40
1975	Jim Palmer	2.09
1984	Mike Boddicker	2.79

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1922	Urban Shocker	149
1954	Bob Turley	185

No-Hitters

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Earl Hamilton	08/30/1912
Ernie Koob	05/05/1917
Bob Groom	05/06/1917
Bobo Holloman	05/06/1953
Hoyt Wilhelm	09/20/1958
Tom Phoebus	04/27/1968
Jim Palmer	08/13/1969

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES

AL East Division Titles

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1969	109–53	Earl Weaver
1970	108–54	Earl Weaver
1971	101–57	Earl Weaver
1973	97–65	Earl Weaver
1974	91–71	Earl Weaver
1979	102–57	Earl Weaver
1983	98–64	Joe Altobelli
1997	98–64	Davey Johnson

AL Wild Cards

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1996	88–74	Davey Johnson

AL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1944	89–65	Luke Sewell
1966	97–63	Hank Bauer
1969	109–53	Earl Weaver
1970	108–54	Earl Weaver
1971	101–57	Earl Weaver
1979	102–57	Earl Weaver
1983	98–64	Joe Altobelli

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>	<i>MVP</i>
1966	Los Angeles	Frank Robinson
1970	Cincinnati	Brooks Robinson
1983	Philadelphia	Rick Dempsey

MANAGERS

2005–	Sam Perlozzo
2004–2005	Lee Mazzilli
2000–2003	Mike Hargrove
1998–1999	Ray Miller
1996–1997	Davey Johnson

1995	Phil Regan
1991–1994	Johnny Oates
1988–1991	Frank Robinson
1987–1988	Carl Ripken Sr.
1985–1986	Earl Weaver
1985	Carl Ripken Sr.
1983–1985	Joe Altobelli
1968–1982	Earl Weaver
1964–1968	Hank Bauer
1962–1963	Billy Hitchcock
1961	Lum Harris
1955–1961	Marty Marion
1954	Jimmie Dykes
1952–1953	Marty Marion
1952	Rogers Hornsby
1948–1951	Zach Taylor
1947	Muddy Ruel
1946	Zack Taylor
1942–1946	Luke Sewell
1939–1941	Fred Haney
1938	Ski Melillo
1938	Gabby Street
1937	Jim Bottomley
1933–1937	Rogers Hornsby
1933	Allen Sothoron
1930–1933	Bill Killefer
1927–1929	Don Howley
1924–1926	George Sisler
1923	Jimmy Austin
1921–1923	Lee Fohl
1918–1920	Jimmy Burke
1918	Jimmy Austin
1916–1918	Fielder Jones
1913–1915	Branch Rickey
1913	Jimmy Austin
1912–1913	George Stovall
1911–1912	Bobby Wallace
1910	Jack O'Connor
1902–1909	Jimmy McAleer
1901	Hugh Duffy (Milwaukee)

Team Records by Individual Players

	Single Season			Career		Plate Appearances
	Name		Year	Name		
Batting Leaders						
Batting average	George Sisler	.420	1922	George Sisler	.344	7,269
On-base %	George Sisler	.467	1922	Ken Williams	.403	4,668
Slugging %	Goose Goslin	.652	1930	Ken Williams	.558	4,668
OPS	Goose Goslin	1.082	1920	Ken Williams	.961	4,668
Games	Brooks	163	1961	Cal Ripken	3,001	12,883
	Robinson					
At bats	B. J. Surhoff	673	1999	Cal Ripken	11,551	12,883
Runs	Harlon Clift	145	1936	Cal Ripken	1,647	12,883
Hits	George Sisler	257	1920	Cal Ripken	3,184	12,883
Total bases	George Sisler	399	1920	Cal Ripken	5,168	12,883
Doubles	Beau Bell	51	1937	Cal Ripken	603	12,883
Triples	George Stone	20	1906	George Sisler	145	7,269
Home runs	Brooks	50	1996	Cal Ripken	431	12,883
	Anderson					
RBI's	Ken Williams	155	1922	Cal Ripken	1,695	12,883
Walks	Lu Blue	126	1929	Cal Ripken	1,129	12,883
Strikeouts	Mickey	160	1990	Cal Ripken	1,308	12,883
	Tettleton					
Stolen bases	Luis Aparicio	57	1964	George Sisler	351	7,269
Extra-base hits	Brady Anderson	92	1996	Cal Ripken	1,078	12,883
Times on base	George Sisler	305	1920	Cal Ripken	4,379	12,883

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		Innings Pitched
	Name		Year	Name		
ERA	Barney Peltz	1.59	1906	Harry Howell	2.06	1,580.7
Wins	Urban Shocker	27	1921	Jim Palmer	268	3,948
Won-loss%	Alvin Crowder	.808	1928	Mike Mussina	.645	2,009.7
Hits/9 IP	Dave McNally	5.77	1968	Stu Miller	6.90	502
Walks/9 IP	Scott McGregor	1.19	1979	Dick Hall	1.47	770
Strikeouts	Rube Waddell	232	1908	Arthur Rhodes	837	622.3
Strikeouts/9 IP	Mike Mussina	8.73	1997	Jim Palmer	2,212	3,948
Games	Tippy Martinez	76	1982	Jim Palmer	558	3,948
Saves	Randy Myers	45	1997	Greg Olson	160	350.3
Innings	Urban Shocker	348	1922	Jim Palmer	3,948	3,948
Starts	Bobo Newsom	40	1938	Jim Palmer	521	3,948

(Continued)

Pitching Leaders (continued)

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
Complete games	Jack Powell	36	1902	Jim Palmer	211	3,948
Shutouts	Tim. Palmer	10	1975	Tim Palmer	53	3,948

Source: Drawn from data in "Baltimore Orioles Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/BAL/leaders_bat.shtml; "Baltimore Orioles Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/BAL/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Boston Red Sox

Robert K. Barney and David E. Barney

Fred Hale Sr. was born in New Sharon, Maine, on December 1, 1890. By the time he was a teenager, similar to many New England boys, he had developed a fascination, indeed a passion, for the new professional baseball club in Boston, the so-called Boston Americans, a short time later to become the storied Red Sox. In 1903 he thrilled to their victory over Pittsburgh in what passed for baseball's first-ever World Series. Over the next decade and a half, Hale witnessed five more Red Sox World Series victories, the last of which occurred in 1918, an achievement he would live the greater part of a century to see repeated. In October 2004, at 113 years of age, Fred Hale, the world's oldest man, thrilled once again to a Red Sox World Series win, a feat he had waited exactly 86 years to behold. Less than a month following an improbable Red Sox demolation of the hated Yankees for the American League championship, followed by a four-game sweep of the Cardinals in the World Series, Fred Hale, 12 days short of his 114th birthday, passed away peacefully in his sleep, content in the euphoric realization that all was well at last in the Red Sox Nation.

IN THE BEGINNING

Major-league baseball has long been an indelible part of Boston and Greater New England life, as eternally embedded in household culture as broiled had-dock on Friday nights and baked beans and brown bread on Saturday nights. The Boston Red Stockings were a charter member of the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players league founded in 1871, and moved into the National League of Professional Clubs in 1876, when they were known as

the Red Caps. In 1900, the energetic, effervescent, and scheming Ban Johnson modified and expanded the Western League into the American League. Essentially a Johnson crusade to challenge the NL head-to-head, the AL sported franchises moved from minor-league western cities (Kansas City, Indianapolis, and Minneapolis) to Baltimore, Washington, and Philadelphia. A Boston franchise was not a part of Johnson's original plans, but even before the highly successful inaugural season of the AL unfolded in 1900, he learned that the American Association might locate a franchise in "the best baseball town in the country" to challenge the Boston Beaneaters for the affections of the city's baseball faithful. Johnson quickly abandoned his scheme for an AL team in Buffalo; enlisted the financial backing of Cleveland's Charles Somers, a millionaire shipper of coal and lumber on the Great Lakes; and offered him controlling ownership of an AL Boston franchise. Johnson then sent emissary Connie Mack, a Massachusetts native and former major leaguer, scurrying off to Beantown to survey real estate for a ballpark. In just two days in January 1900 the hugely popular Mack found the first home for Johnson's Boston experiment, a site then conveniently situated adjacent to, and owned by, the Boston Elevated Railroad. Formerly used by traveling carnivals and Buffalo Bill's Wild West Shows, a new \$35,000 ballpark, affectionately known as the Huntington Avenue Grounds, rose in time for the April 1901 inaugural Boston Americans season. Three months previous, a *Boston Post* headline trumpeted, "Rival Baseball Nine for Boston."

Across town, the Beaneaters seethed. "I can see only one termination for this state of things," thundered their owner, Arthur Soden, to a reporter. "The newcomers will have to surrender." The Americans did not surrender, and inveigled three key Boston Nationals to switch teams. A \$4,000 contract lured the peerless Jimmy Collins to play third base and manage the team in 1901, and his good friends Chick Stahl and Buck Freeman followed suit. Collins solved much of the problem of pitching by luring Denton True "Cy" Young from St. Louis. At the time, Young, 35 years old and destined to be the winningest pitcher in major-league history, was slightly more than halfway along toward his eventual career mark of 511 victories. His record of 33 wins against 10 defeats in his first year in Boston was worth every penny of his \$3,500 salary. On May 8, Boston's Americans opened their home season at the Huntington Grounds following a season-opening road trip that produced a 5–5 record. The new spacious, elegant field seated 9,000, plus standing room for a few thousand more in roped-off areas at the perimeters of the outfield. The multitude assembled on that auspicious day witnessed Cy Young defeat Philadelphia 12–4. The Americans, playing eye-catching ball for the remainder of the 1901 season, achieved a close second-place finish to Chicago, gaining instant credibility.

In its first season, the AL declared its parity with the NL, demanded recognition as an equal circuit, and pushed ahead in its quest for nationwide public attention. It drew 1,683,584 spectators, against the NL's 1,920,031. The following year the Boston Somersets, as journalists nicknamed the team, drew

348,567 fans to their home games, finishing in third place, six and a half games behind Philadelphia's A's. More importantly, the 1902 spectator total for the AL was 2,206,457, surpassing the NL by more than 300,000 fans. The NL recognized the junior circuit as a bona fide brother major league in January 1903, just in time for the upcoming season. The two leagues reached consensus, recognized each other as being equal but separate, adopted identical playing rules, and agreed to respect each other's rights with regard to player contracts. When peace was achieved, Charles Somers sold his controlling interest in the Boston Americans, as the team was still known to the fans, to Ban Johnson's handpicked crony, Henry Killilea. Both leagues drew almost 2.5 million spectators. However, in Boston and Chicago, which had competing franchises, the AL clubs outdrew their crosstown rivals by more than two to one. With peace in place, the roots of a historic rivalry germinated, one that captivates the attention of sports fans across America every October: the World Series.

The 1903 season produced the first pennant for Boston's newly nicknamed Pilgrims (91–47) by a whopping 14 1/2 games. Led by the pitching of Cy Young, who led the AL with 28 wins, and Long Tom Hughes and Bill Dineen, who also topped 20 wins, and the hitting of Patsy Dougherty, Chick Stahl, and Buck Freeman, who won the league home-run and RBI titles, Boston clinched the flag on September 17, one day before Pittsburgh accomplished the same feat in the NL. A postseason meeting between the two pennant winners was a natural, a "world's series," the press exclaimed. Owners of the two clubs, salivating at the prospect of bulging cash tills from such an event, agreed to play a best-of-nine series to declare a "champion of the world." Pittsburgh presented formidable talent. The incomparable Honus Wagner dominated the field at short-stop. Player-manager Fred Clarke, Ginger Beaumont, and Tommy Leach led the hitting. Pitchers Sam Leever and Deacon Phillippe won 25 and 24 games, respectively, during the regular season. Though Young lost the series opener in Pittsburgh, he recovered magnificently, and together with Dineen turned the tide in favor of the Americans. Boston won the series, five games to three. Though not sanctioned by either the AL or NL, in effect baseball history's first World Series was recorded, and the Pilgrims emerged as the champions. In the face of a mediocre Beaneaters team across town, the Pilgrims commenced to gain fan attendance, and following that would rapidly eclipse their rivals by a fourfold margin.

After owning the club for one season, and despite seeing 30-foot "American League Champions" and "World Champions" banners hoisted on the center-field flagpole of the Huntington Avenue Grounds on Opening Day, Killilea, in agreement from Johnson, sold the club in April 1904 to General Charles Taylor, owner-publisher of the *Boston Globe*. The most serious of other bidders was John "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald, grandfather of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th president of the United States. But Honey Fitz was problematic because he was Irish Catholic, was as pugnacious as Johnson, and controlled a powerful political base that would subsequently elect him mayor of Boston. He might have

been entirely too difficult for Johnson to manipulate. Taylor represented a more comfortable option. The general, in an act of indulgence, bestowed the club's presidency on his son, John I. Taylor. The spoiled, high-living, incompetent young Taylor ran talent through the system so rapidly that scorecard printers often had to work frantically to keep pace with developments. As ineffectual as Taylor was, however, he did make one lasting contribution—he conceived the storied name “Red Sox.” In December 1906, before escaping the rigors of a New England winter for sunny California, he met with Wright and Ditson Sporting Goods representatives to discuss new club uniforms for the coming season. At the completion of the 1906 season, the crosstown Nationals abandoned their traditional red stockings in favor of blue. Hence, Taylor announced that his team's new home uniforms would be white with bright scarlet stockings, and the team's nickname, henceforth, would be the Red Sox.

“BOSTON'S TEAM,” FENWAY PARK, AND THE CURSE OF THE BAMBINO

The 1904 edition of the Pilgrims repeated their 1903 championship, winning the pennant by a game and a half over the New York Highlanders. The pitching was outstanding. Young, Dineen, and Jesse Tannehill all won over 20 games, and the staff had a 2.12 ERA to lead the league. The nation clamored for a reenactment of the previous year's World Series, but neither manager John J. McGraw nor John T. Brush, owner of the pennant-winning New York Giants, supported a World Series. Brush's Giants locked up the NL pennant race by midsummer and soon brashly announced there would be no postseason play for his club. He feared that the rival Highlanders would win the AL pennant and force a showdown that might well endanger his team's popularity in New York. When Boston finally prevailed over New York on the next-to-last day of the season, Brush remained adamant. McGraw did not want to play the series because of his loathing of Johnson stemming from his tenure as Baltimore Orioles (AL) manager in 1902. The Red Sox claimed the world championship by default. Oddly enough, Brush chaired an interleague commission during the off-season that, in fact, resolved to institute an official World Series commencing with the 1905 season.

A period of quiescence prevailed for the Red Sox from 1905 to 1911. The team got older and won far fewer games, and the scatterbrained decision making and presidential leadership of young Taylor decimated the ranks of tried-and-true players and kept those that remained in a constant state of turmoil. For much of the period the team was reduced to the second division of the AL. But one bright spot emerged; against the dwindling popularity of the local NL club, now known as the Doves, the Red Sox solidly established themselves as “Boston's team.” Despite modifications to accommodate some 14,000 spectators by dint of adding bleachers in the outfield and enlarging the grandstands and pavilions flanking the infield and the right- and left-field foul lines, the Red

Sox were clearly outgrowing their playing precinct on Huntington Avenue. In 1909, for instance, they drew 668,965 fans—the most until 1940!

In 1911, General Taylor divested himself of a large chunk of his baseball interests, selling half his ownership to James McAleer, a Johnson crony and manager of the Washington Senators, and Robert McRoy, Johnson's secretary. McAleer was installed as club president. Taylor expanded his interests beyond simply baseball and newspaper publishing by becoming a developer and landlord of what would become one of the most celebrated baseball parks in all the land—storied Fenway Park.

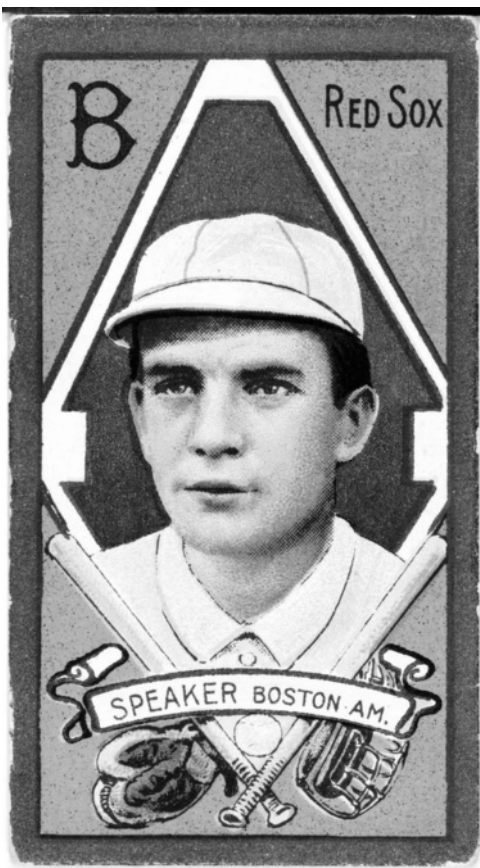
The Sox needed a larger, fire-resistant ballpark to house all its fans. Most grandstands had been built of wood, and as a result there were several ballpark fires early in the century. But beginning in 1909, major-league teams had moved to building steel and concrete parks. Aside from the limited capacity of the Huntington Grounds and accelerating insurance rates, another motivation was that the 10-year lease on the site was expiring. General Taylor created a new initiative, connected to his major shareholder interest in the Fenway Realty Company. The Fenway, affectionately dubbed “the Fens,” was a tract of once unsightly and evil-smelling mudflat land reclaimed and rejuvenated into public parkland in the 1880s by landscape architect Frederick Lewis Olmsted, thereby providing Boston with a municipal park emulating his earlier Central Park achievement in New York. By 1911, nearby Kenmore Square was in its developmental infancy, with no real identity and no trolley line extended toward it. A new baseball park would solve the identity problem and provide investors with profitable opportunities in real-estate and urban-railroad development. Using the greater portion of his proceeds from his sale of Red Sox stock, General Taylor and his partners paid the Fenway Realty Company \$300,000 for the site of the new Fenway Park. Construction began in the summer of 1911 and the foundations were completed by the end of November. By then the expanse of infield and outfield had been layered with six inches of loam and bushels of grass seed, the ensuing results of which moved Irish Bostonians to extol the field's aura as being “green as the flag of the Gael.” Early in the New Year the infield grandstands were completed and construction of the roof began. The right- and left-field-line grandstands, made entirely of wood, followed rapidly. On April 9, 1912, the field was dedicated. The day featured an exhibition game between the Red Sox and Harvard attended by 3,000 fans, enveloped by the snowflakes of a late spring storm, who witnessed a 2–0 Sox victory.

James McLaughlin, the park's architect, had a complex task with the owner's misshapen real estate. McLaughlin faced several design problems, particularly Taylor's order to retain the orientation of the old Huntington Avenue Grounds to the sun with respect to the location of home plate to left field (Among Bostonians the saying goes that the sun rises in the east and sets in the eyes of the right fielder. Harry Hooper was the first outfielder to wear sunglasses). This meant, of course, that the left-field foul pole had to be located due north of home plate, which placed the extremity of left field hard against Lansdowne

Street, a little over 300 feet from home plate. The constraint invoked by Lansdowne did not pose the problem it would later, since few batters of the so-called dead-ball era hit the ball that far. But the die was cast, and perhaps it's a good thing that problem was not originally envisioned, because it would have necessitated the purchase of the Lansdowne Street property and produced a symmetrical configuration of the park. The high left-field wooden wall 315 feet down the line, in essence the future Green Monster; the park's tricky carom angles in the left- and right-field corners; and the vast expanse to center and right fields made defensive play a nightmare at times even for the best outfielders of the day. From home plate to the far corner of center field was a monstrous 550 feet. At the same time, the original emerald green decor of the park's interior became the delight of the Boston Irish. The new Fenway Park showcased some features that soon became commonplace in other major-league stadiums—a parking area for automobiles, a wire screen in front of the stands behind home plate, and an electric scoreboard. The park accommodated 15,000 reserved seats and 13,000 bleacher seats, just about doubling the seating capacity of the old Huntington Grounds. Fenway Park is now the oldest of all major-league venues, and the most picturesque in an age when new park construction struggles

to balance grotesque urban design with an embodiment of the old and bygone.

If the new Fenway Park was greeted with awe and acclaim by Boston fans in 1912, then the ensuing season provided equal bliss. A budding young outfielder that eventually became legendary was in place as the 1912 season opened. Duffy Lewis in left field, Tris Speaker in center, and Harry Hooper in right were mainstays in Red Sox success. They were one of the stellar defensive outfields in the history of the game, and each was a dangerous batter, especially the peerless Speaker, who led the AL in hitting (.383), and won the Chalmers Most Valuable Player Award. On a team that stressed speed and defense, pitching, of course, was crucial. And in 1912 the Red Sox boasted one of the best staffs in all baseball. The storied Cy Young was no longer in Boston, having been dealt to Cleveland in 1909 in yet another of the incompetent John I. Taylor's trades. "Smoky" Joe Wood, who won 34 games and struck out 258, headed the staff. Wood's "smoke-ball" was so fast that the famous Walter Johnson was led to pose the rhetorical question "Can I throw harder



Tris Speaker's baseball card, 1911. Courtesy of the Library of Congress

than Joe Wood? Listen my friend, there's no man alive that can throw harder than 'Smoky' Joe Wood." Complementing Wood was Hugh Bedient and Buck O'Brien, each of whom won 20 games. Their catcher was Bill Carrigan. Jake Stahl, who had come out of retirement from his banking job in Chicago, managed the team.

The season-opening debut of Fenway Park was scheduled for April 17, but it was rained out, as were the three following games. Finally, sunshine prevailed, the field dried out, and on April 20 the Red Sox hosted the New York Highlanders. Bleacher tickets were 50 cents, and reserved seats sold by scalpers went as high as five dollars. Mayor Honey Fitz threw out the first ball, and 24,000 fans enthused to a 7–6 Sox come-from-behind victory. By the time the season came to an end a trifle over five months later, the Red Sox had compiled a new AL won-lost season record, 105–47. The World Series opened in the Polo Grounds in New York against John McGraw's Giants, led by Christy Mathewson, Rube Marquard, Fred Merkle, Buck Herzog, and Fred Snodgrass. The series went the full seven games before the Red Sox finally prevailed. Game seven was played in Fenway Park. The game went into extra innings, tied 1–1. The Giants took the lead in the top of the 10th, and with Mathewson on the mound, felt sure of the title. However, in the bottom of the frame center fielder Fred Snodgrass dropped an easy fly ball, which led to a two-run rally, and the Sox took the game 3–2. They were once again world champions. A raucous celebration parade was held the next day, led by Mayor Fitzgerald.

On the eve of World War I, Boston was a city that showcased social, economic, and cultural features that made it the envy of most American cities. In stride with America's early twentieth-century Progressive Era, institutions of higher learning and special schools addressing people's disabilities mushroomed, prompting the city toward becoming known throughout the world as "the Athens of the West." The rise of Irish American political power in the city featured two of the most historic of all Boston mayors before or since: the popular John "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald and his successor, the irrepressible James Michael Curley. Civic pride in its two major-league baseball nines was pronounced, especially the Red Sox.

The Red Sox began the 1913 season with one of the highest payrolls in the big leagues. The high expectations for the season were dashed in spring training when Joe Wood sprained an ankle. He never recovered sufficiently to regain his normal form, limping through half the season before retiring altogether in late July with a badly sprained thumb that had never healed. In fact, Wood won only 24 games over the remainder of his career. Wood's troubles were reflective of many Red Sox players that season; only the incomparable outfield of Lewis, Speaker, and Hooper played to potential. Jake Stahl was fired as manager in July, succeeded by longtime Sox catcher Bill "Rough" Carrigan, a move that delighted the club's huge Irish American following. Carrigan was tough but fair, a superb handler of pitchers, impartial to favoritism, and a tenacious competitor. Commanding respect from every Red Sox player, Carrigan

spent the remainder of the 1913 season trying to rebuild and rejuvenate the Red Sox, who barely mustered a .500 record, finishing fourth, 15 1/2 games behind Philadelphia's Athletics. Nevertheless, McAleer's appointment of Carrigan paid huge dividends over the next few years.

Several changes greeted the 1914 Red Sox season. League president Ban Johnson, angered at McAleer's firing of Jake Stahl and doubly irritated by what he perceived as the increasing independence of the Boston owner, orchestrated a secret campaign to oust him in favor of a more malleable soul. He found such a man in Joseph L. Lannin. Quebec-born but Boston-reared, Lannin arrived in Boston as an impoverished youth, pursued the American dream in Horatio Alger-like fashion, and became a wealthy man in a relatively short time, mainly from real-estate dealings. Lannin was also a baseball fanatic, a minor shareholder in the Boston Braves, and an individual who longed to own a major-league team, if not in Boston then elsewhere. When Johnson approached him about buying the Red Sox, Lannin was already well along in a deal to buy the Philadelphia Phillies. With Johnson's blessing and encouragement, Lannin abandoned his Philadelphia quest, sold his small interest in the Braves, and paid \$200,000 for McAleer's half of the Red Sox. A few months later, in May 1914, Lannin bought out General Taylor and became sole owner. Lannin gave Carrigan full control of baseball operations. Carrigan's first order of business was to keep Tris Speaker on the team. Speaker, Ty Cobb, and Walter Johnson were the premier AL players of the era, and were seriously recruited by the rival Federal League. Though few players ended up jumping to the Feds, the cost in player salaries to organized baseball was devastating. For instance, to retain the services of Tris Speaker, Lannin was forced to ante up a two-year, \$36,000 contract, the largest in baseball history, doubling the outfielder's previous contract. As good a manager and developer of talent as Carrigan was, the Red Sox were no match for Connie Mack's powerful Athletics in 1914. But before the season ended, and with the Red Sox out of the pennant race by late July, an event transpired that was destined to create one of the major bits of anguish in Red Sox history—the first chapter in the saga known as “the Curse of the Bambino.”

Unlike in Boston, where the Federal League was either scorned or looked upon with amusement, the upstart rival league went head-to-head with major-league teams in such traditional baseball markets as St. Louis, Chicago, and Brooklyn. In Baltimore the attendance figures of the International League's Orioles faltered badly in the face of the competition provided by the Federal League's Terrapins, housed in a stadium located just across the street from the Orioles' ballpark. An age-old solution reared its head: Orioles owner Jack Dunn was forced to sell prized players to stave off bankruptcy. In just three days, Dunn decimated his ball club. News of the impending Orioles fire sale reached Lannin in nearby Washington, where the Red Sox were in town for a series with the Senators. Lannin rushed to Baltimore to be first in line when the sale opened. For a reported \$25,000, Lannin bought the contracts of Ori-

oles pitcher Ernie Shore, catcher Ben Egan, and a 19-year-old baby-faced left-handed pitcher of some promise, the player whose name would later become known as no other in the history of baseball—the immortal George Herman “Babe” Ruth.

Ruth arrived in Boston on July 11, 1914, but his debut was inauspicious. He started that afternoon against last-place Cleveland, leaving the game after seven innings with the score tied, having yielded eight hits and three runs. Carrigan handled Ruth carefully, grooming him for a regular spot on the pitching staff of the Red Sox future. To smooth out the rough spots in Ruth’s delivery, as well as to try and bring a small measure of maturity to an obviously cocky, naive, egotistical, foul-mouthed, and devil-may-care youth, Carrigan sent him to Providence in the International League, the top Red Sox minor-league franchise. There he won an astounding 22 games in leading the Grays to the league championship. Decades later, an aged and long-retired Harry Hooper—who, with Duffy Lewis and Tris Speaker, formed what some baseball historians have labeled as the most gifted Red Sox outfield combination in the club’s history—gave an interview to noted baseball chronicler Lawrence Ritter, in which Hooper recalled his impressions of Ruth when the Babe arrived in Boston: “He was a left-handed pitcher then and a good one. He had never been anywhere, didn’t know anything about manners or how to behave among people—just a big overgrown ape . . . You know I saw it all happen, from beginning to end. But sometimes I can’t believe what I saw . . . a man transformed from a human being into something pretty close to a god. If somebody had predicted that back on the Red Sox in 1914, he would have been thrown into a lunatic asylum.”

While Carrigan was assembling the future Red Sox pitching staff and making other personnel moves to guarantee success in 1915, the crosstown Boston Braves put a serious dent in the Red Sox’s wide margin of popularity. Mired in last place at the end of June, the Braves reeled off 52 wins in 60 games in July, August, and early September to eventually win the NL pennant. Further, the so-called Miracle Braves flabbergasted the baseball world by sweeping past Mack’s thought-to-be-invincible Athletics to win the World Series. The Braves’ South End Grounds was old and ramshackle, woefully small, and completely inadequate for accommodating a Boston baseball community suddenly gone mad over its NL entry. In an act of baseball camaraderie as well as business acumen, Lannin leased Fenway Park to the Braves for their stretch run to the 1914 pennant and World Series home games. The arrangement continued through much of the following season until Braves Field, featuring a mammoth playing area and the largest spectator accommodation in MLB, was completed near the banks of the Charles River, roughly a mile northwest of Fenway Park.

Things boded well for the Red Sox in 1915. Lannin and Carrigan had assembled what the press referred to as “the million dollar pitching staff,” a term used figuratively to describe Eddie Shore, George Foster, Dutch Leonard, Ray Collins, Carl Mays, and Ruth. Together with its superb outfield, defensive infield stars Jack Barry and Everett Scott, and his own services as

catcher at appropriate times, Carrigan's aggregation raised the hope of Bostonians for a repeat of the glorious 1912 season. Most of Boston was gratified. On September 20, as the Red Sox battled Detroit and Ty Cobb for the championship, a crowd of 37,528 occupied every nook and cranny of the ballpark, setting a record as the largest ever to watch baseball in Fenway Park. The Red Sox won the pennant by two and a half games over the Tigers. The team won 101 games and lost 50. Five pitchers won 15 or more games, including Ruth, who won 18 games and batted .315. For the World Series against Philadelphia's Phillies, Lannin engaged the new Braves Field, which could seat 10,000 more fans than Fenway. The Red Sox triumphed by four games to one, reaping rich financial rewards at the gate. Inexplicably, Carrigan, surrogate father, psychologist, master motivator, and drill sergeant to Ruth, kept him out of the series. But he wasn't needed, as Ernie Shore, Dutch Leonard, and Rube Foster, who all pitched complete games and limited the Phillies to a batting average of .182, took the series. Boston and New England rejoiced.

With the demise of the upstart Federal League after the 1915 season, the salary leverage that players enjoyed from the existence of a competing market disappeared. Lannin attempted to cut Red Sox salaries to pre-Federal League levels, offering Tris Speaker \$9,000, or half his wages in 1915. When Speaker balked, Lannin sold him to Cleveland for the largest sum ever up to that time, \$50,000, plus two players. Boston fans seethed. Despite Speaker's absence, a still-intact pitching staff, solid defense, and speed in the outfield and on the bases led to another pennant in 1916. Ruth won 23 games, posted a league-leading 1.75 ERA, and beat Walter Johnson four times. The Sox finished two games ahead of Detroit and Chicago, its nearest contenders. Brooklyn's Dodgers were the opponents in the World Series following; Lannin once again engaged Braves Field for Red Sox home games. The Red Sox won the opener, 6-5. Ruth pitched the second game, which went 14 innings before the Red Sox prevailed, 2-1. In the flush of victory, an elated Ruth grabbed Carrigan in a congratulatory bear hug, boasting, "I told you I could take care of those National League sons of bitches." The Dodgers won game three in Brooklyn, but the Red Sox won game four, returned to Boston on Columbus Day, and concluded the series, winning the final game 4-1. Two consecutive World Series championships! Only the Cubs and Athletics had ever achieved that feat. The celebration was short-lived. Only 33, Carrigan retired from baseball and returned to his home in Maine to become a rural banker. The quiet but at times fiery Carrigan had proven to be a master manager of players often at odds with each other over religion, politics, and, of course, egos. And, for Babe Ruth, Carrigan may well have been the difference between a career ended prematurely by immaturity and gross behavior and one that ultimately endeared the Bambino to legions of baseball fans, though hardly his managers.

Less than a month after his club's 1916 World Series championship, Joe Lannin sold the Red Sox. His three years of ownership were marked by declining health, constant run-ins with league president Ban Johnson, and disenchant-

ment with the politics of MLB. He had, however, made a reported \$400,000. One offer came from a consortium of local Bostonians and Hibernians, headed by Honey Fitz's son-in-law, Joseph Kennedy. However, the successful buyer was Harry Harrison Frazee, destined to become one of the most infamous and scorned names in Boston baseball history. The purchase price was \$675,000, which included ownership of Fenway Park, a property that Lannin had finally pried away from the Taylor family and the Fenway Realty Company.

A midwesterner from Illinois, Frazee had long been involved in the theater, first as a ticket taker, then as a theater manager, then as a booking agent, and finally as a producer of shows, many of which, starting in 1904, were smash hits. A lifelong baseball fan, he also sponsored sporting extravaganzas, including a 1913 tour by boxer Jim Jeffries, the 1915 Jack Johnson–Jess Willard heavy-weight title fight in Havana, and various minor-league barnstorming tours. By 1916, Frazee was a well-established millionaire with business interests in real estate and stock brokerage. MLB, though, gave “Handsome Harry” a measure of public celebrity.

Frazee's Red Sox began the 1917 season with most of the same team that had won the World Series a year earlier. With a month and a half to go they were in the thick of the pennant race, but faded badly and finished nine games behind the pennant-winning White Sox. For much of the season, two Red Sox figures were surrounded by continual turmoil—Frazee, in arguments with Ban Johnson and an increasingly alienated Boston press, and Babe Ruth, whose conduct under player-manager Jack Barry grew more and more erratic as the season progressed. Frazee thought Johnson incompetent and schemed incessantly to oust him as AL czar. Johnson, in turn, in accord with many members of the Boston press, scorned Frazee as greedy, devious, and corrupt, and alluded obliquely to his being Jewish (which he was not), an aspersion that never sat well in Boston, with its largely Irish population. Ruth had a brilliant season, with 24 wins, second in the league, and an ERA of 2.01. However, Ruth proceeded through the season in bizarre fashion; his on-field swagger and foul mouth earned him a nine-day suspension in midseason and a \$100 fine. Away from the ballpark, his drinking and whoring began to construct the legendary antiestablishment persona that would capture the awe and imagination of the entire baseball world in the 1920s and 1930s. But by the time of the World Series, Americans had more on their mind than baseball matters: the first doughboys were fighting in trenches, and the Selective Service Act, enacted the previous April, was already beginning to take its toll on playing rosters. To top it all off, America was on the verge of going dry with the passage of the 18th Amendment in the Senate, and the prohibition of sales of alcohol appeared imminent.

Despite all this, Frazee promised Boston a championship in 1918, and he delivered. In a deal \$10,000 richer than the Speaker sale, Frazee brought premier Philadelphia A's catcher Wally Schang, pitcher Joe Bush, and outfielder Amos Strunk to Boston for \$60,000 and two second-line players. Hardly had the new

year commenced when Frazee was at it again with the A's, this time acquiring an all-purpose player of supreme magnitude, the redoubtable Stuffie McInnis. When manager Barry was inducted into the service, Frazee secured Ed Barrow, former Tigers skipper and president of the Eastern League, to replace him. The ensuing pennant race was beset by a mass exodus of players leaving for the armed forces or, especially, for defense jobs, since the federal government had ruled that MLB was a nonessential activity. In a last-minute concession to an argument proposed by Frazee and a coalition of MLB club owners that baseball was good for the nation's morale, an abbreviated season was arranged, with the World Series taking place in early September. Nonetheless, the public was none too enthused by professional ballplayers who remained out of the war effort. Attendance at Fenway Park took a 50 percent hit. The Red Sox won the pennant by two and half games over Cleveland's Indians, led by their outstanding pitching. Carl Mays won 21 games, while Ruth pitched and played the outfield, winning 13 games and losing 7 while batting .300 and hitting 11 home runs, almost 11 percent of the league's total output. The Cubs, who furnished the World Series competition, were beaten four games to one. The 1918 Series was not without incident. Ruth set a World Series record, reaching 29 $\frac{2}{3}$ consecutive innings of scoreless pitching, a mark that remained intact until broken by the Yankees' Whitey Ford in 1961. The players, who had previously been granted 60 percent of the gate proceeds for the first four Series games, were confronted by a new formula for distributing the pot. The players' share was decreased to 55 percent of the total pot for the first four games, and participants only shared 60 percent of that total—the remainder went to players on teams that finished second, third, and fourth place in both leagues during the season. This meant that each Series player's share was reduced by almost three-quarters of what it had been. Clearly, labor had been compromised in favor of club ownership and league management. Enraged, the players threatened to strike and refused to take the field for game four. In the face of a demeaning and personally humiliating plea by Ban Johnson, together with rising unrest in the grandstands from the spectators, the players relented. In the end, each Red Sox player pocketed \$1,102.51 as his winner's share, while each Cub received a little more than half that, \$671.09, the smallest World Series players'-share payout in the history of the game.

Frazee continued to have a festering animosity and acrimonious relationship with Ban Johnson, and schemed for Johnson's demise as both AL president and chairman of the three-man board that served as baseball's National Commission. Frazee's grand plan envisioned a commissioner of MLB, an idea that actually materialized scarcely two years later following the infamous Black Sox scandal. On the other hand, Johnson hated Frazee more than any other owner. Handsome Harry's ego, lifestyle, wealth, success, and general demeanor rankled the powerful founder of the AL.

Frazee found himself often frozen out of the trade market by Johnson-backed AL clubs, and was reduced to mainly dealing with Chicago and es-

pecially New York. Despite the general press disenchantment with Frazee's numerous deals, most of his trades can be evaluated as having been good for Boston, at least on paper. At the end of 1918 he sent Shore and Lewis to the Yankees for four players, including pitcher Ray Caldwell, and \$15,000. During the season he traded the enigmatic pitcher Carl Mays, who had walked out on the team, to the Yankees for two pitchers and \$40,000. Then in 1920 he sent four players to the Yankees, including rookie Waite Hoyt, a future Hall of Famer, in return for four players, including the excellent infielder Del Pratt and catcher Muddy Ruel, who went on to have a 19-year major-league career. There were several other trades with the Yankees in the future, including a huge trade in late 1921, in which the Sox secured star shortstop Roger Peckinpaugh, aging spitballer Jack Quinn, and young pitcher Rip Collins for the superb Sox shortstop Everett Scott and the team's best pitchers, "Sad Sam" Jones and "Bullet Joe" Bush.

Frazee's most famous transaction was his sale of Babe Ruth. Before the 1919 season, Ruth demanded, for his double-duty performance in 1918, a doubling of his contracted salary of \$7,500. "No raise, I don't play," threatened Ruth. In response to this ultimatum, Frazee lectured the Boston press, "If Ruth doesn't want to work for the Red Sox . . . we can make an advantageous trade." There was no trade, and Frazee negotiated a three-year, \$30,000 contract with Ruth. The Sox commenced the 1919 season with high hopes. Ruth, rarely pitching, played the outfield and compiled batting statistics that amply signaled the career that lay before him. He broke the major-league record for home runs with 29, batted .322, and drove in a league-leading 122 runs. Despite his lofty batting statistics, Ruth was a disruptive force on the team. His continual salary demands, boisterous conduct, bizarre drinking and womanizing, and disintegrating physical fitness, which gave every indication of a short career, reduced the Red Sox to a badly fractured team unit. Not surprisingly, it showed in the standings. Boston finished a distant sixth, 20 1/2 games behind the White Sox. Frazee was faced with a decision—keep the cancerous Ruth and reap the consequences, or trade him for the best deal possible. Frazee elected the latter, except that the deal he eventually made with the Yankees in December 1919 returned no players to the Red Sox. It was cash only—\$100,000, \$25,000 of it up front and the balance in three \$25,000 notes payable at one-year intervals at six percent interest—by far the biggest dollar deal to that time. He also got a \$350,000 loan, used to pay off the mortgage on the ballpark. (He did not make the trade, as the conventional wisdom claimed, to pay off his theater debts.) Boston's press, consistently vitriolic over the years in its criticism of Frazee, was divided on the issue of trading Ruth. The sensationalist tabloid *Evening American* and *Herald* scolded Frazee unmercifully. The *Post* remained neutral. The *Globe* and *Evening Transcript* generally supported the move, citing Ruth's disruptiveness to team cohesion. As much as Red Sox fans adored the team's star players, an even greater priority remained the prospect of team success.

COMETH AND STAYETH THE DOLDRUMS

The 1920 season opened auspiciously for the Red Sox. After two months of play they led the Yanks in the standings. But injuries set in and the team faltered badly, finishing fifth—better, though, than the previous year *with* Babe Ruth. The Yankees finished third behind the Indians and White Sox. But Ruth, to the delight of Frazee scornors, had a terrific year, clouting an electrifying 54 home runs and driving in 137 runs. The era of the Yankees’ “Sultan of Swat” had commenced in spectacular fashion. Following the season the now-infamous Black Sox scandal erupted. Frazee blamed Johnson for doing nothing about a consistently growing gambling climate surrounding MLB, a climate in which the seeds of player acquiescence to gamblers’ overtures were planted. In rapid manner the espousers of a commissioner system for baseball, led by Frazee, were victorious, and Kenesaw Mountain Landis was named to the post. Ban Johnson, though he remained president of the AL, lost much of his wide-reaching influence.

With dismal seasons in both 1921 (fifth) and 1922 (eighth), it remained only for Harry Frazee to sell his Boston ball club and escape the accelerating wrath that he experienced daily from Boston newspapers and fans in the Hub City. Attendance at Fenway Park dwindled to 275,000 in 1921 and 259,000 in 1922, and they were last in the AL from 1921 through 1925. To make matters worse for local fans, the Braves, since their miracle feat of 1914, had become perennial lower-division NL finishers. The aura of big-league baseball sank to an all-time low in Boston. Only semipro twilight baseball seemed to capture the fancy of local fans.

On August 1, 1923, with the Sox mired in last place in the AL standings, Frazee’s stubborn resistance to sell the team finally crumbled. Bob Quinn, business manager of the St. Louis Browns, goaded in the background by a Ban Johnson eager to rid the game of his archenemy, gathered a group of investors and asked Frazee to name his price, which was \$1.15 million. They accepted it. Frazee left the Red Sox after turning a profit in each of his seven years of ownership. He was an astute businessman in the worlds of both theater and sports, and when he died in 1929, he left an estate valued at close to \$1.3 million.

Red Sox fortunes under the leadership of Quinn deteriorated to an excruciating level for the Fenway Faithful in Boston. In fact, the number of Fenway Faithful shrank alarmingly during owner Quinn’s one-decade stewardship of the Red Sox. During those 10 years (1923–32) the Red Sox finished last each year but 1924, when the club moved up to seventh. During this time, the team made a profit only once, \$7,764 in 1930, and lost a total of \$182,693. Abominable seasons that hovered between 42 and 58 wins shrank fan support drastically. Only 182,150 passed through the turnstiles in 1932.

In 1926, a fire in the left-field grandstands of Fenway Park reduced the once-proud edifice to an unsightly, derelict-appearing structure. The charred remains were removed, but no reconstruction followed as Quinn was dead broke, up to

his ear in debt. The Red Sox were a sorry picture, the laughing-stock of the AL, the dumping ground for the league's least talented players. Managers came and went under the increasingly desperate Quinn, six of them in 10 years: Frank Chance, Lee Fohl, Bill Carrigan (enticed from Maine), Heinie Wagner, Shano Collins, and Marty McManus. The crash of the stock market in 1929 and subsequent depression jarred Quinn to his last resorts. The Red Sox must be sold. On the downside was the fact that the club owned a derelict ballpark, a horrible pool of playing personnel, a drastically decreased fan base, and an organizational infrastructure in disarray. Under normal circumstances this debilitating picture alone would have led Quinn to entertain even the most preposterous offers for his ball club. But there was a redeeming feature of value—the land upon which Fenway Park rested, which even during the depression was worth well over \$1 million. Quinn found the angel he needed in Tom Yawkey.

Yawkey, destined to own and lead the Boston Red Sox for almost half a century, was hardly 30 years of age when he bought the team and the ballpark for \$1.2 million in the spring of 1933. Born to Augusta and Thomas J. Austin in February 1903, young Tom's father died from pneumonia seven months later. Three years later his mother consigned him to her brother, William Hoover Yawkey, the wealthy, high- and hard-living son of American lumber baron William Clyburn Yawkey. Bill Yawkey, who inherited most of his father's \$20 million estate, purchased the Detroit Tigers in 1904 for the bargain-basement price of \$50,000, a deal that his father was on the brink of consummating at the time of his death. Three-year-old Thomas was adopted by his uncle Bill and took the Yawkey family name. A bachelor until 1910 and a habitual traveler, Uncle Bill was away from home for long periods, leaving young Tom in the care and embrace of housekeepers. Tom's mother and uncle both died before he was 18, when he went off to Yale. Tom inherited a trust fund worth \$7 million when he turned 30 in 1933, and lost little time in pursuing his longtime interest in baseball. When the financially beleaguered Quinn put the decrepit Red Sox on the market, Yawkey stood ready to respond. A lot of his wealth was spent on the team, which lost \$1.5 million between 1933 and 1940.

Yawkey's checkbook went into action right away in a quest to invigorate the playing roster. He hired Eddie Collins as general manager, and after the end of the 1933 season, they fired holdover manager Marty McManus, replacing him with Bucky Harris of the Detroit Tigers. Yawkey, though well intentioned, was naive about baseball business matters, which was not lost on his fellow AL owners. In one five-day period, Yawkey spent some \$200,000 on new ballplayers, including unproven minor leaguers, over-the-hill veterans, and onetime stars gone sour. AL owners gloated. Even so, the 1933 Red Sox won 20 games more than the team did in 1932, the club's most dismal season to this very day. That July, Yawkey inherited another \$3 million from his aunt, much of which went to rehabilitate Fenway Park.

When Yawkey acquired the Red Sox, Fenway Park was in shambles and decay. Little maintenance had taken place over the prior decade, making it un-

pleasant and unsafe. The unrepaired damage from the fire added to the generally repugnant atmosphere. Yawkey spent \$1.5 million to rebuild the structure, and not just renovate it. Before the 1934 season opened the park was transformed to the basic outline of the current facility. Down came practically everything except the girder foundations for the grandstands. Up went new stands, all the way to the right- and left-field foul poles, as well as a huge bleacher section from dead center field to the right-field corner. New steel girders supporting the roof were added to the infield grandstands, making it possible in the future to add a second deck. Additional box seats were added in front of the infield stands. A new press box took shape. The playing field was scraped bare and 8,000 cubic feet of new sod was installed. An army of 750 skilled union workers were employed, making it the second-biggest construction project in depression-era Boston, second only to the Mystic River Bridge over the Charles River. The finished product increased seating capacity to 38,000. It sported a formidable left-field wall, 37 feet high, built to accommodate a huge new electric scoreboard and three huge advertising signs. Much later, the signature wall became known as “the Green Monster,” after the “Dartmouth Green” paint color that bathed the entire interior of Fenway Park. When the new Fenway Park opened on the first day of the 1935 season, nearly 33,000 fans made their way into Yawkey’s palace.

Yawkey was not reticent about buying talent. His most prodigious deal during the remainder of the 1930s was his acquisition of baseball’s best pitcher, the indomitable Philadelphia Athletics left-hander Robert Moses Grove, for whom he paid \$125,000. Grove, fast approaching his twilight years, nursed a sore arm for much of his Boston career. Still, during his eight-year tenure with the Sox he won 55 games in Fenway Park, including his 300th, the last of his storied career. Throughout his four decades of Red Sox ownership, Yawkey proved to be a ballplayer’s perfect boss. He paid well, related personally to his players, and maintained a generally relaxed and friendly atmosphere in which ownership, management, and labor functioned. The 1934 Sox improved to .500 for the season, and attendance rose to 600,000, a figure that remained static for the remainder of the decade. Following the end of the season Yawkey got busy in the player market. He sent Harris packing and inveigled the Senators’ Clark Griffith to part with his son-in-law, player-manager Joe Cronin, for the princely sum of \$250,000. Despite high hopes and parting with another \$300,000, Yawkey’s 1935 “Millionaires,” or “Gold Sox,” as they were dubbed, barely topped .500, winning 78 and losing 75. Despite slipping to 74–80 in 1936, the Sox gave signs of significant improvement. Yawkey acquired Jimmy Foxx from Philadelphia, a player with almost Ruthian performance statistics. Foxx led the team to a record of 80–72 in 1937, finishing fifth, and in 1938 (88–61) they finished second to the Yankees. Foxx was astounding, especially at home games at Fenway, where he hit .405, bashed 35 home runs, batted in 104, and had a Ruthian slugging percentage of .887. Foxx won the MVP Award with 50 hom-

ers and a league-leading .349 batting average and .704 slugging percentage. The entire squad hit .299. Teams began to recognize that the Red Sox were hard to beat at home; Boston fans rallied to the team as it rose in the standings. But Yawkey's inflated checkbook invariably dictated a philosophy of acquiring players through purchase or trade, many of them in the retiring years of their careers. Few teams in the major leagues spent less on their farm system than the Red Sox. The long-term impact finally became apparent to Yawkey and Collins, prompting them to focus more attention on identifying and developing talent in the minor leagues. Their first dividend was future Hall of Famer Bobby Doerr, who became a Sox fixture at second base for over a decade. The second dividend arrived in the elongated frame of Ted Williams, widely acknowledged as the greatest hitter in the history of baseball.



Undated photo of Ted Williams. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame

THE SPLENDID SPLINTER

In the autumn of 1936 the *Sporting News* made its first-ever notation of the player, who, for almost the next three decades, would capture more print in the storied baseball periodical than any other major leaguer of his time. Ted Williams, sometimes referred to as “the Kid” or “Teddy Ballgame,” but more aptly called “the Splendid Splinter,” had the greatest impact on the Boston Red Sox of any player in the long and distinguished history of the franchise. The *Sporting News* described the 17-year-old pitcher and outfielder of the Double-A Pacific Coast League as “a gangly high school fly chaser” who showed promise. The Red Sox brought Williams to spring training in 1938 and assigned him to Minneapolis of the Triple-A American Association for further seasoning. The precocious and temperamental Williams, though supremely confident of his abilities, masked his insecurity, like Ruth, with cockiness. But unlike the Babe, he would not erode his God-given natural talents by drinking and carousing. In Minneapolis he hit .366, with 42 home runs and 142 RBIs, which assured him a place in the Red Sox outfield for the 1939 sea-

son. Williams's rookie AL season was punctuated by a .327 batting average (second on the team to Foxx's .360), 31 home runs, and a league-leading 145 RBIs. His fielding was a bit less awesome. Though he demonstrated a strong throwing arm, he committed 19 errors in right field, and his lack of speed afoot compromised him from effectively patrolling Fenway's spacious right field, the largest and most difficult sun field of any AL ballpark. The Sox again finished a distant second to the Yankees.

For the 1940 season the Red Sox youth movement unveiled a solid-hitting, ball-hawking outfielder in the person of bespectacled Dominic DiMaggio, younger brother of superb Yankees star Joe DiMaggio, whom he equaled in almost every way except power. Williams was moved to left field, where he very rapidly mastered playing the imposing wall and the tricky carom angles of the flagpole corner. Williams was never as adept in the field as at bat, but nevertheless, he developed into a far better than average defensive player. The Sox finished the season at 82–72, nine games behind the pennant-winning Detroit Tigers. Williams, by any standard but his own, piled up impressive statistics: a .344 average, 23 home runs, and 113 RBIs. He led the league with 134 runs and an on-base percentage of .442. Whenever he failed, either in the field or at bat, he often indulged in temper tantrums. Spectators, sensing in the young star a severe case of “rabbit ears,” often rode him unmercifully from bleacher and grandstand alike. He badly overreacted to press criticism. His long and meritorious career in Boston was punctuated by a rancorous relationship with the press and a dismissing, aloof demeanor with his mostly adoring public.

In 1941 the Red Sox finished at 84–70, a habit-forming second to the Yankees, backed by the league's leading offense, which included three men with over 100 RBIs. The team earned a profit of \$57,342, its first year in the black since 1930. Williams had a remarkable season, batting .406, which was somewhat overshadowed by Joe DiMaggio's 56-game hitting streak. Williams's signature accomplishment ended in dramatic fashion when he went six for eight in a season-ending doubleheader with Philadelphia, lifting his final batting average to .406. He narrowly missed winning the coveted Triple Crown, leading the league in home runs (37) and finishing barely behind Joe DiMaggio in RBIs (125 to 120). He also led the league in on-base percentage (.553), runs (135), and slugging (.735). Williams was the first batter since the Giants' Bill Terry (.401) in 1930 to reach the .400 mark, and was the closest of anyone to do it since, when he hit .388 in 1957, until George Brett hit .390 in 1980.

Scarcely two months after the 1941 season, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor occurred, bringing America into World War II. Commissioner Landis offered to cancel the 1942 season if it was in the interest of national priorities, but President Franklin Roosevelt, borrowing from the nation's World War I experience, requested that the baseball season be played. Americans needed an outlet from the tensions and sacrifices endured during the great national war effort. In the end, few major-league players remained out of the armed forces, in-

cluding the heart of the Red Sox lineup. Williams, after an initial deferral due to his dependent mother, enlisted in the Naval Air Corps and entered active duty after the 1942 season. Though the Sox finished second yet again (93–59), Williams was once again sensational, winning the Triple Crown by batting .356, hitting 36 homers, and batting in 137 runs. Similar to other teams limping along on star-depleted rosters, the Red Sox labored through the next three seasons (seventh in 1943, fourth in 1944, and seventh again in 1945) as Williams spent the war years stateside in Pensacola, Florida, training to be a flight instructor. Williams loved flying almost as much as hitting and fishing.

High expectations for Red Sox success abounded in the postwar period. The team was very well paid. The 1945 team had a payroll of \$511,000, tops in the majors, which rose to \$561,000 in 1950, second only to the Yankees. The stars were back from military service, and new young talent had been assembled. The pitching staff, long in disarray, was formidable. Williams and DiMaggio anchored the outfield. Jim Tabor at third base, Doerr at second, Johnny Pesky at short, and Rudy York at first base were all All-Star infielders. Pitchers Tex Hughson, Joe Dobson, Mickey Harris, and Dave “Boo” Ferris formed the core of the pitching staff. The team led the AL in offense, with three 100-RBI men, and in defense, with the fewest errors. Williams was MVP, batting .342, and led the league with a slugging percentage of .667 and 142 runs scored. The Sox locked up the 1946 AL pennant by September 13, and season attendance more than doubled, reaching an all-time high of 1.4 million. After losing an average of \$82,621 from 1942 to 1945, the team made \$405,133 that season, and an average of \$117,000 from 1946 through 1950. The St. Louis Cardinals, winners of the NL pennant following a dramatic playoff series with the Brooklyn Dodgers, were the Red Sox’s opponents in their first World Series appearance since 1918. And it was in that series that the first of several bizarre World Series circumstances occurred, leading to a gut-wrenching ending that denied a championship and magnified the Curse of the Bambino. In the seventh and deciding game, with the score tied 3–3 with two outs in the ninth inning and Enos Slaughter on first base for the Cardinals, Terry Moore looped a hit-and-run single to short left center. Slaughter, running on the pitch, rounded second and, never hesitating, turned third base and headed for home. Expecting Slaughter to stop at third base, Leon Culberson lackadaisically relayed the ball back to Pesky. The second baseman, shocked at seeing a streaking Slaughter well on his way to home plate, hesitated, then threw desperately but futilely to try and cut down the winning run. Slaughter scored easily. Although most of the blame belonged to the unfortunate Culberson (subbing for an injured DiMaggio in center field), Pesky’s role became etched in legend as “Pesky held the ball,” a soliloquy in Boston baseball lore equal to and every bit as sad as Ernest Lawrence Thayer’s classic phrase “Mighty Casey has struck out.” The Red Sox threatened in the bottom of the ninth, but strange and highly debatable managing decisions by Cronin ultimately ensured defeat. Such grotesque circumstances would

reoccur for the Red Sox in each of their next three World Series appearances, defeats that formed a pantheon of tragic memories for all New Englanders.

The disappointment of 1946 carried over into the following year, when a third-place finish behind New York and Detroit was only salvaged by another vintage Williams performance—a second Triple Crown (.343 average, 32 home runs, 117 RBIs). Astonishingly, Williams lost the AL MVP distinction to Joe DiMaggio, who had batted only .315 but led the Yankees to the pennant and a World Series championship. In 1948 the Sox had a new manager, the veteran Joe McCarthy. The team had its usual complement of strong batting, with three men driving in at least 111 runs. The team won the final two games of the season to put itself into a tie with Cleveland for the pennant. This historic event in club history forced a one-game playoff, played in Fenway Park. Meanwhile, across town at Braves Field, Boston's NL entry was celebrating its first pennant since 1914. A "streetcar" World Series loomed, but Lou Boudreau's Indians took care of the Red Sox in handy fashion, 8–3, and went on to defeat the Braves in the Series, four games to two. McCarthy's pitching strategy for the climactic one-game playoff was denounced vehemently in every Boston newspaper. The 1948 nightmare finale was virtually repeated one year later. The last day of the season found the Red Sox and Yankees tied for first place with identical records (96–57), with the deciding contest in New York. After the Yankees prevailed, 5–3, angry rebukes of McCarthy's managerial decisions stirred not only the ire of the press and Red Sox fans, but also the frustrated players.

Three months into the 1950 season, the increasingly depressed and driven-to-drink "Marse" Joe McCarthy resigned, replaced by former Tigers manager Steve O'Neill. O'Neill lasted but two seasons before being succeeded by Lou Boudreau, who was replaced by Pinky Higgins in 1955; Higgins lasted until 1959. Yawkey spent lavishly for top talent either developed in the minor leagues or purchased from other clubs. He had coddled and spoiled his players with bonuses and above-market salaries. Yawkey built his team a model ballpark, still a hallowed cathedral of unique quality. The product was a perennial bridesmaid to Yankee superiority and an average fourth-place finish.

The Korean War broke out less than a week after McCarthy left. The United States mobilized for war in the next six months, and thousands of young men were inducted into the armed forces. At the start of the 1952 season, Williams, a member of the Marine Reserve, was called up. He eventually flew 39 combat and reconnaissance missions behind enemy lines. On one mission, his F-9 Panther jet fighter was hit by small-arms fire, disabling his radio, crippling his landing gear, and setting the aircraft on fire, but he was able to land it before it went up in flames. In July 1953, Williams was mustered out of the service for medical reasons; after a short hospital stay he reported back to the Red Sox. Commenting on Williams's statistics for the remainder of the season, particularly his .407 batting average, one sports scribe was moved to declare that the Splendid Splinter had "set spring training back ten years."

The 1950s were underscored by a continuation of prior campaigns in which the Sox finished behind the now-hated Yankees, who won every AL pennant

of the decade except in 1954 and 1959 and six World Series championships. Boston fans came to Fenway Park in the 1950s more to see Ted Williams in the twilight years of his magnificent and at times tempestuous career than to witness the (mis)fortunes of the Red Sox, underscoring that for the first time in Sox history, the mystique of a single player seemed more important than that of the franchise itself. His hitting remained majestic. However, his on-field conduct, particularly when booed for defensive misplays, often elicited juvenile gestures, such as giving a derisive crowd the finger or a spitting tantrum. On September 27, 1960, before a sparse Fenway gathering of less than 5,000 fans, Williams made his last career plate appearance, and homered for the 521st time in his career. John Updike captured the essence of that dramatic moment in Red Sox history in an elegiac essay written for the *New Yorker* in 1960: “Williams ran around the square of bases like a feather caught in a vortex at the center of our beseeching screaming. He ran as he always ran out home runs, hurriedly, unsmiling, head down, as if our praise were a storm of rain to get out of. He didn’t tip his cap. Though we thumped, wept, and chanted ‘We want Ted’ for minutes after he hid in the dugout, he did not come back. Our noise for some seconds passed beyond excitement into a kind of immense open anguish, a wailing, a cry to be saved. But immortality is nontransferable. The papers said that the other players, and even the umpires on the field, begged him to come out and acknowledge us in some way, but he refused. Gods do not answer letters.” During his 20-year career, the greatest Red Sox player of them all had 2,654 hits, 1,829 RBIs, and a batting average of .344.

“GET THOSE NIGGERS OFF THE FIELD”: RED SOX INTEGRATION

The Boston Red Sox were the last major-league ball club to embrace what Jules Tygiel has called “Baseball’s Great Experiment.” The Red Sox had no African American in its lineup until 1959, a full dozen years after Jackie Robinson broke the color line. Boston had long been a national leader in educational and social rights for the physically and mentally afflicted, as well as a hotbed center of pre-Civil War sentiment for the abolition of slavery and enhancement of the lives of black Americans. Why, then, did baseball segregation continue in “the cradle of American liberty”?

The answer was embedded in the character of Red Sox leadership—in the mentality and intolerant dispositions of owner Tom Yawkey and general manager Eddie Collins. In the mid-1930s, when the issue of Negro players in the major leagues became extensively covered in the black press, Boston’s baseball officials were queried by local black columnist Mabrey “Doc” Kountz on the question “Why not in Boston?” They shrugged their shoulders, made a weak apology, and nodded toward the front office. Yawkey continually rejected requests to meet with Kountz to discuss integration. In the early spring of 1945 Boston City Council member Isadore Muchnick, who was Jewish, took up the crusade for integration. Muchnick threatened to block the annual renewal of permission for Sunday baseball. “I cannot

understand," he wrote, "how baseball . . . can continue a pre-Civil War attitude toward American citizens because of the color of their skin." The Red Sox brass bowed to the pressure and invited Jackie Robinson, Marvin Williams, and Sam Jethroe to Fenway Park to demonstrate their talents. Lodged between Muchnick and Wendell Smith, editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier* and one of black America's most fiery crusaders for the integration of MLB, a somber Joe Cronin watched as the ballplayers repeatedly tattooed the left-field wall in batting displays and demonstrated great speed afoot. Collins was nowhere to be seen. According to legend, as the three players prepared to leave the field, a voice boomed out from the top of the grandstand near the entrance to the club's offices: "Get those niggers off the field!" None of the invitees ever heard from the Red Sox. According to some historians, the fraudulent tryout and the continuing segregation of the Red Sox stands as the franchise's greatest error.

Throughout the 1950s, while other clubs were actively identifying and signing black talent the likes of Satchel Paige, Hank Aaron, Larry Doby, Monte Irvin, Willie Mays, Don Newcombe, and scores more, the Red Sox stuck to their tradition. In 1953 they signed infielder Elijah "Pumpsie" Green, who was buried in the minors for six seasons. "The Red Sox will bring up a Negro when he meets our standards," exclaimed a defiant Tom Yawkey. Even more vitriolic was manager Pinky Higgins, who reported pontificated, "They'll be no niggers on this ball club as long as I have anything to say about it." In early July 1959, with the Red Sox wallowing in last place, Higgins was fired, and Billy Jurges replaced him. On July 21 Pumpsie Green was called up from the Triple-A Minneapolis Millers. The following morning the *Boston Traveler* reported, "The accusation of discrimination by the Red Sox was silenced last night." Green's call-up had finally broken the mold. A week later pitcher Earl Wilson followed.

REBIRTH AND THE RISE OF THE RED SOX NATION

Underscored by an increasingly disinterested owner, a dwindling fan base, a ballpark in alarming need of repair, and continuing charges of racism, the Red Sox reeled into the 1960s, with Pinky Higgins back as manager through 1962. An inept but nevertheless old crony, Higgins, retained in the general manager's position by patron Tom Yawkey, ensured that Red Sox purchases, trades, and player development remained well behind the integration standard demonstrated by the rest of the league. A string of near-bottom finishes in 1961 (sixth), 1962 (eighth), 1963 (seventh), and 1964 (eighth), when the team lost a record 100 games, finally raised the ire of even the normally placid Yawkey and weakened his support for Higgins, Johnny Pesky, and Billy Herman, the managers over those disastrous years. Finally, Yawkey made an intelligent baseball decision, promoting a local Irish lad who had labored in the Red Sox front office for over 15 years, performing all sorts of tasks, including, at last, the duties of assistant general manager. Dick O'Connell became general manager following the 1965

season, a campaign that turned out to be yet another Higgins- and Herman-led debacle. In 1966, O'Connell fired Herman before the season ended, and second baseman Pete Runnels guided the team as interim manager. Led by Ted Williams's heir apparent, Polish American Carl "Yaz" Yastrzemski, a hitting phenom almost as good as the Kid but far less controversial, the club produced plenty of runs, but the pitching faltered badly. The Sox finished ninth, half a game ahead of the Yankees, the first time they had bested the New Yorkers since 1948. After the season O'Connell hired Dick Williams as manager, a no-nonsense leader with NL experience. The country-club atmosphere, prevalent for decades under Yawkey, Collins, and Higgins, ceased. Black and Hispanic talent was pursued with fervor—George Scott, Reggie Smith, Jose Tartabull, Joey Foy, Jose Santiago, and John Wyatt were signed immediately, and scores more were acquired in the future. The Red Sox for the first time began to gain ground on integration.

The first dividend of O'Connell's wisdom and energy and Williams's discipline and verve occurred immediately. The Red Sox captured the AL pennant on the last day of the 1967 season by beating the Minnesota Twins 5–3. As the Sox moved through the season and upward in the league standings, the pathetic array of some 8,000 fans present on Opening Day in Fenway swelled into daily capacity crowds. Bumper stickers appeared all over New England. The Boston press became enraptured by the drama of it all. Fans in the region went crazy. Yastrzemski, who won the Triple Crown, batting .326, knocking in 121 runs, and hitting 44 home runs (tied with Harmon Killebrew of the Twins), and the MVP Award, was lionized almost at Ted Williams's level. Pitcher Jim Lonborg was irrepressible and indefatigable, winning 22 games and the Cy Young Award. While the pitching was shaky, the lineup, with Yaz, Tony Conigliaro, Rick Burleson, Rico Petrocelli, and others, helped achieve "the Impossible Dream." A long-slumbering fandom awakened. The Red Sox Nation was born!

It mattered little that the Red Sox failed to win the 1967 World Series, losing in seven games to the Cardinals, because they were back on the baseball map—that's what counted most. A weary Lonborg pitched two masterpieces for the Sox, but a well-rested Bob Gibson pitched three for the Cardinals. Their timely hitting and speed on the bases did the rest. Under a trio of managers (Dick Williams, Eddie Kasko, and Darrell Johnson) the Sox finished between second and fourth from 1968 to 1974.

In 1975, the Red Sox captured the AL East under the divisional format established in 1969. The team was still an offensive juggernaut with weak pitching, although five men won in double figures. The star was Freddie Lynn, the AL MVP, who batted .331 and led the majors in slugging percentage (.566). The club then moved on and swept the AL Championship Series in three games against the defending world champion Oakland A's. The club met Cincinnati's Big Red Machine in the World Series. In an outcome that seemed to have become habit forming, the Red Sox were once again beaten in seven dramatic games. Luis Tiant led off the series by shutting out the Reds, who came back the next day to win in the

bottom of the ninth, 3–2. The Reds eventually went up three games to two. The sixth game went into the bottom of the 12th all tied up when catcher Carleton Fisk hit a dramatic homer off the left-field foul pole to win the game. Red Sox fans will forever remember Fisk trotting to first, waving his arms, trying to will the ball fair. However, the Reds took the seventh game 4–3 to capture the series.

Seven months later, Yawkey passed away from leukemia. Boston mourned his loss, particularly those of the younger generation who experienced “the birth of the Nation” and the rise of Red Sox fortunes in the late 1960s and 1970s. Forgotten were the negative aspects of his leadership, which had produced decades of mediocrity and frustration. Remembered instead were his kindly and compassionate nature and his extreme generosity to all those involved in the Red Sox enterprise.

Tom Yawkey willed ownership and control of his Red Sox to a trust, which in effect dictated that the Yawkey tradition continue, administered by his widow, Jean. She was later joined by former bullpen catcher Haywood Sullivan and clubhouse trainer Buddy LeRoux. The result was years of power struggles and controversy when what was needed was a new-age philosophy of team enterprise. The parties rapidly became disenchanted with each other, and following vitriolic proceedings in the Suffolk County Superior Court in the mid-1980s, LeRoux was bought out. Sullivan remained a partner until shortly before Jean Yawkey's death in 1992, when he was bought out for \$33 million. The club presidency and chief trust administrator was now Bostonian John Harrington, a longtime front-office employee and favorite of Mrs. Yawkey's. Eight managers came and went during the last quarter of the century (Darrell Johnson, Don Zimmer, Ralph Houk, John McNamara, Joe Morgan, Butch Hobson, Kevin Kennedy, and Jimmy Williams), along with several all-time Red Sox greats destined for the Hall of Fame—Dennis Eckersley, Wade Boggs, Roger Clemens, Pedro Martinez, and Nomar Garciaparra. In general, the record was good enough to bring in capacity crowds. The Sox won four Eastern Division championships and two wild-card berths, but only in 1986, under manager John McNamara, did they win the playoffs, beating the Angels four games to three to win the AL championship and advance to the World Series. The 1986 club, which earned \$15.5 million, third most in MLB, was led by Roger Clemens (24–4), MVP and Cy Young Award winner; Wade Boggs, who led the AL in batting (.357); and Jim Rice, who drove in 110 runs. They faced the Mets in a memorable World Series that went seven games. The key moment of the series was in the 10th inning of game six, when the Sox were one out from the championship. However, the Mets came back from a two-run deficit when a slow ground ball rolled between first baseman Bill Buckner's legs, allowing the winning run to score. This brought back memories of Pesky in 1946, Gibson's three-hitter in game seven in 1967, and Joe Morgan's bases-loaded bloop in the ninth inning of game seven in 1975, and provided credence to the idea that some mysterious power was at work.

The 1988 squad lost the AL Championship Series in four straight to the Athletics. That year Boggs won his fourth straight batting championship (.366)

and the entire team hit .291, but the pitching was suspect, with the exception of Clemens, who led the AL in strikeouts with 291. Two years later, Clemens led the club to the playoffs with a sensational 21–6 season and a fabulous ERA of 1.93, the first of three straight ERA titles. But the team was again swept by the Athletics in the ALCS. Clemens won three Cy Young Awards for Boston and 192 games in 13 years. He left the team as a free agent in 1996 because the team thought he was finished, and signed with Toronto.

The Sox had losing seasons from 1992 to 1994, which resulted in a low payroll in 1995 (\$28,672,250, 19th in the majors). They bounced back that season under Kevin Kennedy, and powered by four .300 hitters, won a divisional title. But the club was promptly swept 3–0 by the Indians in the AL Divisional Series. In 1998 and 1999, the club made the playoffs as a wild card, relying heavily on Pedro Martinez, acquired in a trade from Montreal, who won 19 and 23 games respectively. In 1999 he won the Cy Young Award, leading the AL in wins, ERA (2.07), and strikeouts (313). The Sox advanced in the ALDS by three games to two over Cleveland, but lost to the Yankees in the ALCS, four games to one. Since 1999, the team payroll has been among the five highest in MLB.

The new millennium opened with a strong Red Sox showing in 2000, finishing second behind the Yankees in the Eastern Division, led by Martinez, the Cy Young winner for the third time in four years, who again led the AL in ERA (1.74) and strikeouts (284). Nomar Garciaparra, Rookie of the Year back in 1997, won his second consecutive batting crown (.372). The payroll topped \$110 million, yet the team still turned a profit. Guaranteed capacity crowds, lucrative television income, exploding licensing sales, and corporate box leases generated a steady flow of dollars into the club's treasury while simultaneously elevating the franchise's estimated value to more than \$600 million.

Despite that disappointment, on October 6 the Red Sox Nation celebrated the startling public disclosure that the franchise was for sale. Harrington and the Yawkey Trust, as one author termed it, were "cashing in." At the same time, with Jimmy Williams managing and Dan Duquette in the general manager's chair, the club entered the costly free-agent market to acquire proven talent. The biggest addition was hitting genius Manny Ramirez, who signed for \$13 million.

The Sox in 2001 charged by far the highest average admission price in the majors (\$36.08). They were 2nd in regular-season gate receipts (\$89.7 million), but only 15th in other revenue at Fenway, reflecting the lack of luxury seating. Boston does not have a very large population, but only five teams represented larger metropolitan areas, which helped it rank fourth in local revenues. The team was fourth in local media money (\$33.4 million) with 67 games on TV and 85 on NESN, the cable network they control that televises throughout New England. Yet despite all this revenue, MLB reported that the team lost \$13.7 million in 2001, the sixth-highest amount among all teams.

In 2001, Jimmy Williams was fired as manager in midseason and pitching coach Joe Kerrigan took over. The season ended ingloriously (82–79) with another sec-

ond-place finish. On February 27, 2002, Harrington announced that the Red Sox franchise and Fenway Park had been sold to New England Sports Ventures, a consortium headed by entrepreneurs John Henry and Tom Werner and sports executive Larry Lucchino for slightly over \$700 million. General manager Duquette was summarily fired and popular bench coach Grady Little was named manager. The first season for the new owners boded well, with the team winning 11 more games, though still finishing second. Interim general manager Mike Port, Duquette's former assistant, effectively guided the front office. The Red Sox placed seven players on the All-Star team, including Ramirez (who led the AL in batting at .349), Garciaparra, catcher Jason Varitek, center fielder Johnny Damon, and Pedro Martinez, who dazzled the opposition. He finished with a record of 20–3, and led the AL in strikeouts (239) and ERA (2.26).

The new owners, at least in the opinion of most Red Sox fans, put an end to an ongoing and often vehement debate in Boston—whether to tear down historic Fenway Park and rebuild it anew in another location, or retrofit it by introducing innovative upgrades. Since the 1950s, several concepts had jeopardized the park's future, including the heresy of tearing down the Green Monster and expanding Fenway across Lansdowne Street or simply abandoning the park altogether for a more modern suburban stadium. While most New Englanders regard Fenway as a gem, the moneymakers see it more as a fish bone stuck in the throat of modernity, without 19 percent premium seating, a dome, or acres of parking. But there is plenty of green, and naughty nooks and crazy crannies, and especially the most famous wall in baseball, more cantankerous than cute but still a “lyric little bandbox of a ballpark,” according to John Updike. Perhaps that lyricism moved the new ownership to commit themselves to renovation.

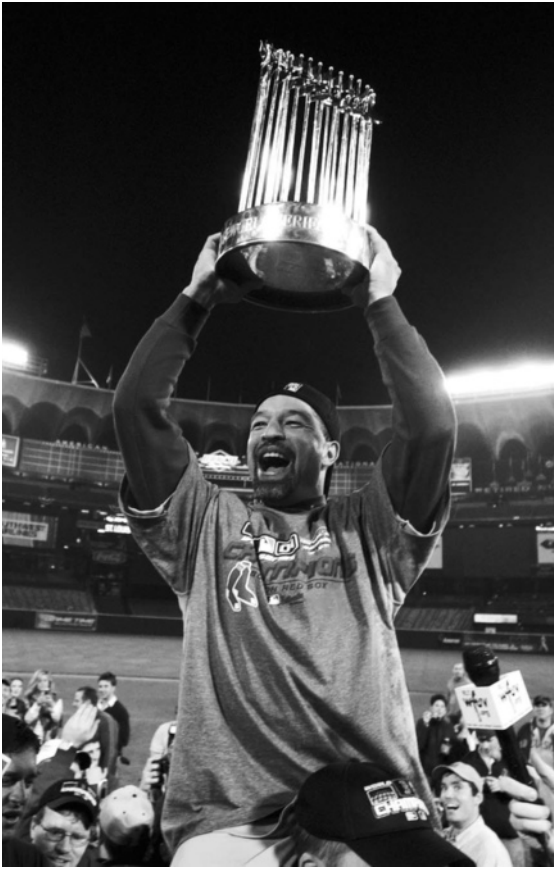
The most notable upgrades have been the construction of new rows of field boxes, the addition of premium-priced seating, and altering the upper contour of Fenway. In 2003, 274 “Monster seats” and 150 standing-room positions were added atop the famous left-field wall. Then a new deck was constructed with angled seating for more than 400 fans above the existing stands in the right-field corner. The best place to increase capacity is the upper-deck area behind home plate, where the .406 Club will be reconfigured, and two open-air grandstand areas will be added (the Home Plate Pavilion Club). The owners are involved in securing corporate sponsorships for areas inside the ballpark. By 2007, the capacity will be raised to 38,000, with hopes of reaching 40,000.

Regarding the field itself, little had been done to improve it since the 1930s, especially the infield, whose eight-and-a-half-inch crown was laid out in 1912. Initially it was designed to shed water rather than absorb it, but for the most part it merely moved accumulated moisture to the outfield grass, compounding the possibility of rain delays or postponements. Furthermore, the infield crown contributed to bad hops and created line-of-sight obstructions for spectators seated at field level and players and managers in the dugouts. Neither the infield nor the outfield possessed much of a drainage system. In the 2004–5 off-season, the entire playing field, 18 million pounds of dirt and grass, was dug

up and trucked away. In its place was installed a new playing surface with a flat infield, where a ball bounces more predictably. In addition, a sophisticated drainage system was developed, providing the most rain-absorbent playing field of any major-league outdoor ballpark.

To the new owners, the saga of Fenway Park was one thing, the critical general manager's position another. In a controversial and risky decision, the tripartite owners named a former Lucchino protégé, 28-year-old Theo Epstein, to the general manager's position, stunning the baseball world. Epstein proved up to the task, acquiring Todd Walker from Cincinnati, David Ortiz from Minnesota, Bill Mueller from the Cubs, and Kevin Millar from the Marlins to complement the club's core players—Varitek, Garciparra, Ramirez, Damon, and Trot Nixon. The team was an offensive juggernaut, batting a league-leading .291, with 238 homers, and scoring a run per game more than the league average. The result, if not electrifying, provided a fair measure of satisfaction to Red Sox fans. The team won 95 games, finishing behind the Yankees yet again, but won the wild-card spot. In the ALDS they came from two games down to defeat Oakland, including two victories in their last at bat. The ALCS against the Yankees went to a deciding seventh game. The Sox led 5–2 going into the eighth inning, but Pedro Martinez, exhausted and well beyond his normal 100-pitch effectiveness, was left in to pitch. Manager Grady Little had often confounded the experts during the season, relying more on his gut instinct strategically than on the statistical record of past performances. This time his instincts proved fatal to the Sox cause. By the time Little finally removed Pedro, after 123 pitches, the damage had been done, and the game was tied. The Yankees, inevitably, won with a home run by Aaron Boone in the 11th inning. Red Sox fandom rose in livid wrath, then retired to their all-too-familiar hot stoves to discuss the next season. Little paid for his gaffe and was unceremoniously fired. Former Phillies manager Terry Francona was signed to lead the Red Sox in 2004.

The 2004 season started with discord and discontent. To begin with, the Sox lost out to the Yankees for the services of superstar Alex Rodriguez. A limping and ego-injured Nomar Garciparra was dealt to the Chicago Cubs in midseason. But the Sox did manage to ink Arizona Diamondbacks ace Curt Schilling. The team's payroll was \$127,298,500, with Ramirez alone getting \$25 million. The Sox vigorously contested the Yankees all year long, with 98 victories, second most in the AL. A balanced Red Sox squad qualified for post-season play as wild-card winner. The club led the AL in hitting (Ramirez led the league with 39 homers, and he and David Ortiz each drove in over 130 runs) and were third in pitching, abetted by closer Keith Foulke's 32 saves. The Sox swept the Angels in the ALDS, 3–0, and then took on the Yankees in the ALCS. The Yanks went up three games to none, outscoring the Sox 32–16. Then, in improbable fashion, and to the absolute surprise and delight of millions of American baseball fans, the Red Sox caught fire and reeled off four straight wins to advance to the World Series, the first time any team had come back from a 3–0 deficit in postseason play. They then proceeded to sweep the



Dave Roberts hoists the World Series trophy at Busch Stadium in St. Louis, 2004. © AP / Wide World Photos

St. Louis Cardinals in the World Series. Red Sox Nation went berserk.

CODA: 2004

At the end of any other season we might have written that the end of life is always death, an existential thought, but in the “then” and “there” of Red Sox baseball it is an idea that addresses the glorious yet paradoxically tragic history of Boston’s Boys of Summer. At the end of any other season we might have written that Fenway’s flags flap once again at half-mast. After all, it is October, the cruelest month for Red Sox fans and a time of year that has perennially threatened both the nation’s love of the game as well as its fanatical loyalty to the Olde Towne team, which in the lexicon of the nation’s dictionary are synonymous. At the end of any other season we might have written that once again the Fenway Faithful had been lured to the very edge of baseball’s fountain of ecstasy, tasted sweetly, for just a fleeting moment, the elixir of what could or should have been

and then come away from it all with the same old familiar thirst that we’ve come to recognize simply as despair. *At the end of any other season we might have written that suffering is mythical and rooted in the essence of nobility, so like the Greeks of yore, we hunkered down and endured our Sophoclean pain and rationalized that if the Sox ever did shatter the Curse of the Bambino, could our nobility endure? Along with the rest of the Red Sox Nation, we pondered that question and consoled each other winter after winter while waiting patiently for yet another season to begin, still holding fast to habit and hope and the heaven of a World Series championship.*

Those were other years, other seasons, but now it is 2004 and October again, and oh the glorious contrasting aura of it all. Gone is the acrid stench of leaves burning, the ashy residue of loss. Gone are the old laments and the annual litany of “wait’ll next year.” Now we hear only echoic celebration, swirling sweet and golden in the crisp, autumn air of victory. The curse has run its course. Our suffering is assuaged. Amen! Hosanna! And the question has been answered: there is nobility in victory. “Yes,” exclaimed the *Boston Globe*. “Hallelujah!” cried the *Providence Journal*. “Ghost Busters!” shrieked New York’s *Newsday*. And rising majestically above the clamor of those head-

lines, above victory and nobility, above even the world-championship banner, soared something more eternal: the end of *death* is *life*, also an existential possibility.

POSTSCRIPT

The 2005 season brought Sox fans back to earth. Playing without Martinez, gone to the Mets as a free agent, and an injured Schilling, the team was very weak on the mound. The team had a terrific offense, with an AL-leading batting average of .280, and led in runs (910) for the third straight year. Ortiz and Ramirez combined for 91 homers and 292 RBIs. The Sox tied the Yankees with 95 wins, but their flaws cost them in the divisional playoffs, and they lost three straight to the White Sox.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1938	Jimmie Foxx	1B
1946	Ted Williams	OF
1949	Ted Williams	OF
1958	Jackie Jensen	OF
1967	Carl Yastrzemski	OF
1975	Fred Lynn	OF
1978	Jim Rice	OF
1986	Roger Clemens	P
1995	Mo Vaughn	1B

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1967	Jim Lonborg	RHP
1986	Roger Clemens	RHP
1987	Roger Clemens	RHP
1991	Roger Clemens	RHP
1999	Pedro Martinez	RHP
2000	Pedro Martinez	RHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1950	Walt Dropo	1B
1961	Don Schwall	P
1972	Carlton Fisk	C

1975	Fred Lynn	OF
1997	Nomar Garciaparra	SS

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1932	Dale Alexander	.367
1938	Jimmie Foxx	.349
1941	Ted Williams	.406
1942	Ted Williams	.356
1947	Ted Williams	.343
1948	Ted Williams	.369
1950	Billy Goodman	.354
1957	Ted Williams	.388
1958	Ted Williams	.328
1960	Pete Runnels	.320
1962	Pete Runnels	.326
1963	Carl Yastrzemski	.321
1967	Carl Yastrzemski	.326
1968	Carl Yastrzemski	.301
1979	Fred Lynn	.333
1981	Carney Lansford	.336
1983	Wade Boggs	.361
1985	Wade Boggs	.368
1986	Wade Boggs	.357
1987	Wade Boggs	.363
1988	Wade Boggs	.366
1999	Nomar Garciaparra	.357
2000	Nomar Garciaparra	.372
2002	Manny Ramirez	.349
2003	Bill Mueller	.326

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1903	Buck Freeman	13
1910	Jake Stahl	10
1912	Tris Speaker	10
1918	Babe Ruth	11
1919	Babe Ruth	29
1939	Jimmie Foxx	35
1941	Ted Williams	37
1942	Ted Williams	36
1947	Ted Williams	32
1949	Ted Williams	43

1965	Tony Conigliaro	32
1967	Carl Yastrzemski	44
1977	Jim Rice	39
1978	Jim Rice	46
1981	Dwight Evans	22
1983	Jim Rice	39
1984	Tony Armas	43
2004	Manny Ramirez	43

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1901	Cy Young	1.62
1914	Dutch Leonard	0.96
1915	Joe Wood	1.49
1916	Babe Ruth	1.75
1935	Lefty Grove	2.70
1936	Lefty Grove	2.81
1938	Lefty Grove	3.08
1939	Lefty Grove	2.54
1949	Mel Parnell	2.78
1972	Luis Tiant	1.91
1986	Roger Clemens	2.48
1990	Roger Clemens	1.93
1991	Roger Clemens	2.62
1992	Roger Clemens	2.41
1999	Pedro Martinez	2.07
2000	Pedro Martinez	1.74
2002	Pedro Martinez	2.26
2003	Pedro Martinez	2.22

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1901	Cy Young	158
1942	Tex Hughson	113
1967	Jim Lonborg	246
1988	Roger Clemens	291
1991	Roger Clemens	241
1996	Roger Clemens	257
1999	Pedro Martinez	313
2000	Pedro Martinez	284
2001	Hideo Nomo	220
2002	Pedro Martinez	239

No-Hitters (Italics = Perfect Game)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>Cy Young</i>	<i>05/05/1904</i>
Jesse Tannehill	08/17/1904
Bill Dineen	09/27/1905
<i>Cy Young</i>	<i>06/30/1908</i>
Joe Wood	07/29/1911
Rube Foster	06/21/1916
Dutch Leonard	08/30/1916
Ernie Shore	06/23/1917
Dutch Leonard	06/03/1918
Howard Ehmke	09/07/1923
Mel Parnell	07/14/1956
Earl Wilson	06/26/1962
Bill Monbouquette	08/01/1962
Dave Morehead	09/16/1965
Matt Young	04/12/1992
Hideo Nomo	04/04/2001
Derek Lowe	04/27/2002

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES**AL East Division Titles**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1975	95–65	Darrell Johnson
1986	95–66	John McNamara
1988	89–73	John McNamara Joe Morgan
1990	88–74	Joe Morgan
1995	86–58	Kevin Kennedy

AL Wild Cards

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1998	92–70	Jimmy Williams
1999	94–68	Jimmy Williams
2003	95–67	Grady Little
2004	98–64	Terry Francona
2005	95–67	Terry Francona

AL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1903	91–47	Jimmy Collins
1904	95–59	Jimmy Collins

1912	105–47	Jake Stahl
1915	101–50	Bill Carrigan
1916	91–63	Bill Carrigan
1918	71–51	Ed Barrow
1946	104–50	Joe Cronin
1967	92–70	Dick Williams
1975	95–65	Darrell Johnson
1986	95–66	John McNamara
2004	98–64	Terry Francona

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponents</i>	<i>MVP</i>
1903	Pittsburgh	Jimmy Collins
1912	New York	
1915	Philadelphia	
1916	Brooklyn	
1917	Chicago	
2004	St. Louis	Manny Ramirez

MANAGERS

2004–	Terry Francona
2002–2003	Grady Little
2001	Joe Kerrigan
1997–2001	Jimy Williams
1995–1996	Kevin Kennedy
1992–1994	Butch Hobson
1988–1991	Joe Morgan
1985–1988	John McNamara
1981–1984	Ralph Houk
1980	Johnny Pesky
1976–1980	Don Zimmer
1974–1976	Darrell Johnson
1973	Eddie Popowski
1970–1973	Eddie Kasko
1969	Eddie Popowski
1967–1969	Dick Williams
1966	Pete Runnels
1964–1966	Billy Herman
1963–1964	Johnny Pesky
1960–1962	Pinky Higgins
1960	Del Baker
1959–1960	Billy Jorges
1959	Rudy York
1955–1959	Pinky Higgins

1952–1954	Lou Boudreau
1950–1951	Steve O’Neill
1948–1950	Joe McCarthy
1935–1947	Joe Cronin
1934	Bucky Harris
1932–1933	Marty McManus
1931–1932	Shano Collins
1930	Heinie Wagner
1927–1929	Bill Carrigan
1924–1926	Lee Fohl
1923	Frank Chance
1921–1922	Hugh Duffy
1918–1920	Ed Barrow
1917	Jack Barry
1913–1916	Bill Carrigan
1912–1913	Jake Stahl
1910–1911	Patsy Donovan
1908–1909	Fred Lake
1907–1908	Deacon McGuire
1907	Bob Unglaub
1907	George Huff
1907	Cy Young
1906	Chick Stahl
1901–1906	Jimmy Collins

Team Records by Individual Players

Batting Leaders						
	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Plate Appearances
Batting average	Ted Williams	.406	1941	Ted Williams	.344	9,791
On-base %	Ted Williams	.553	1941	Ted Williams	.482	9,791
Slugging %	Ted Williams	.735	1941	Ted Williams	.634	9,791
OPS	Ted Williams	1.287	1941	Ted Williams	1.115	9,791
Games	Jim Rice	163	1978	Carl Yastrzemski	3308	13,991
At bats	Ted Williams	684	1997	Carl Yastrzemski	1,1988	13,991
Runs	Ted Williams	150	1949	Carl Yastrzemski	1,816	13,991
Hits	Wade Boggs	240	1985	Carl Yastrzemski	3,419	13,991
Total bases	Jim Rice	406	1978	Carl Yastrzemski	5,539	13,991
Doubles	Earl Webb	67	1931	Carl Yastrzemski	646	13,991
Triples	Ttris Speaker	22	1913	Harry Hooper	130	7,330
Home runs	Jimmy Foxx	50	1938	Ted Williams	521	9,791

(Continued)

Batting Leaders (Continued)

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Plate Appearances
RBIs	Jimmy Foxx	175	1938	Carl Yastrzemski	1,844	13,991
Walks	Ted Williams	162	1947	Ted Williams	2,021	9,791
Strikeouts	Mark Bellhorn	177	2004	Dwight Evans	1,643	10,240
Stolen bases	Tommy Harper	54	1973	Harry Hooper	300	7,330
Extra-base hits	Jimmy Foxx	92	1938	Carl Yastrzemski	1,157	13,991
Times on base	Ted Williams	358	1949	Carl Yastrzemski	5,304	13,991

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
ERA	Leonard	0.96	1914	Joe Wood	1.99	1,418
Wins	Joe Wood	34	1912	Cy Young	192	2,728.3
Won-loss %	Bob Stanley	.882	1978	Pedro Martinez	.760	1,383.7
Hits/9 IP	Pedro Martinez	5.31	2000	Dick Radatz	6.78	557.3
Walks/9 IP	Cy Young	.69	1904	Cy Young	.99	2,728.3
Strikeouts	Pedro Martinez	313	1919	Roger Clemens	2,590	2,776
Strikeouts/9 IP	Pedro Martinez	13.2	1999	Pedro Martinez	10.95	1,383.7
Games	Mike Timlin	81	2005	Bob Stanley	637	1,707
Saves	Tom Gordon	46	1998	Bob Stanley	132	1,707
Innings	Cy Young	384.7	1902	Roger Clemens	2,776	2,776
Starts	Cy Young	43	1902	Roger Clemens	382	2,776
Complete games	Cy Young	41	1902	Cy Young	275	2,728.3
Shutouts	Joe Wood	10	1912	Cy Young	38	2,728.3

Source: Drawn from data in "Boston Red Sox Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/BOS/leaders_bat.shtml; "Boston Red Sox Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/BOS/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Chicago White Sox

Richard C. Lindberg

Founded in a turbulent period of American baseball history, haunted by the memory of the game's worst scandal and plagued by successive misfortunes collectively known as "the Comiskey Curse," the Chicago White Sox, their ownership, and their embattled fans are hunkered down and operating in a siege mentality. In an average year the team can reasonably expect 1.7 to 2 million fans passing through the turnstiles of its modernistic stadium, derided as "the Ball Mall" by an impossible-to-please Sox fandom. These attendance figures consistently place the franchise in the lower strata of major-league clubs, equal to or shade better than such small-market AL competitors as Kansas City, Minnesota, Oakland, Detroit, Tampa Bay, and Toronto.

If past history is a future indicator, the second team in Chicago is likely to confront the specter of plummeting attendance, a deafening silence from what most Sox watchers consider to be a heavily biased pro-Cubs media, and rumors of impending relocation to another city following a string of bad years of play. It is no coincidence that the venerable White Sox franchise was on the threshold of leaving Chicago on four separate occasions between 1969 and 1988 for the usual reasons of fan disinterest, media apathy, negative perceptions about a lack of adequate security in the South Side neighborhood the team plays in, and of course attendant stadium issues. Thus, it has always been incumbent upon ownership to ensure that the team *never* falls below the break-even mark, knowing that a dwindling fan base (compromised by changing ethnic and commuter demographic patterns that overtook the city of Chicago in the last 50 years) is likely to boycott the club in the difficult years, or simply walk away.

Of course, operating in a city madly obsessed with the allure of Wrigley Field and its lovable but losing National League inhabitants would present a formidable challenge to any baseball operation fighting to establish parity. In Chicago, a benign and spirited civic baseball rivalry that existed long before the Tribune Company purchased the Cubs in 1981 has lately become a grim and polarizing David-and-Goliath marketing war to bolster the South Side fan base, one that has gradually eroded with the passage of time. Poorly planned marketing decisions, bad judgment, budgetary constraints, and repeated operational blunders in the baseball organization going back decades have placed the team at a competitive disadvantage against their North Side counterparts for the undivided loyalty and affection of the Chicago baseball fan.

CHARLES COMISKEY AND THE RISE OF THE WHITE SOX

Despite the recent travails of the White Sox, the team in its earliest days under founder Charles Albert Comiskey, the venerable “Old Roman” of the Chicago sporting world, enjoyed a brief 20-year flourish of success that established them as the preeminent and arguably the most popular sporting attraction in a two-team town between 1900 and 1920. Yet since the publication of *Eight Men Out* in 1963, Eliot Asinof’s quasi-fictional account of the 1919 Black Sox Scandal, a generation of revisionist authors and historians cast the White Sox founder into an unfortunate light as a miserly tightwad responsible for much of the game’s accumulated ills. Comiskey became symbolic of the venality and greed of the baseball moguls and their mistreatment of players. The unflattering portrayal is a greatly exaggerated image cloaked in misconception, half-truths, and the author’s labor-versus-capital political platform in which the essential facts of the Black Sox scandal became an expeditious propaganda tool to advance a particular agenda.

Charles Comiskey was for years revered as a civic leader and bold visionary well deserving of his place of honor in baseball’s Hall of Fame, the victim of a greedy cabal of players. He was born in 1859 to “Honest John” Comiskey, a prominent Irish Democratic alderman from County Cork representing the immigrant communities of the Near West Side. His competitive drive and devotion to the game of baseball was solidified in 1873 after his father sent him to St. Mary’s School in Kansas, where Ted Sullivan, an upperclassman with a penchant for organizing players and sandlot baseball games, mentored him. Sullivan later became Comiskey’s most trusted adviser and talent scout, trolling the western minor leagues for top-flight players later acquired at auction by the White Sox.

The indefatigable Sullivan helped Comiskey get a position with a semipro outfit, the Dubuque Rabbits of Iowa’s Northwestern League. Paid \$125 a month, he divided his time between baseball and selling newspapers and concessions for the local railroad line that had a financial interest in the team. He subsequently moved on to play first base for the St. Louis Browns of the upstart American Association, where he revolutionized first-base play

by moving off the bag, with the pitcher covering on grounders hit to the right side of the infield. Comiskey's career was given an immediate boost in 1883 when flamboyant Browns owner Chris Von der Ahe appointed him team manager. Comiskey's inspired brand of leadership and relentless determination to win at all costs left no holds barred, and led to four league championships (1885–88) and a salary of \$6,200 a year. The 1886 team bested the powerful Chicago White Stockings in the forerunner of the modern-day World Series. He became known as the Old Roman because of his stoic, gladiatorial expression and posture.

In 1890, Comiskey with misgivings sided with the Brotherhood revolt of 1890 and left the Mound City to take over the reins of the Chicago Pirates of the Players' League, which played on the city's South Side in front of a makeshift wooden grandstand at 35th and Shields. After the demise of the upstart league, Comiskey played a farewell season in St. Louis before moving on to Cincinnati for the 1892 season as player-manager. Three years later, Commy joined the Western League, a young minor league, as owner and manager of the St. Paul Saints. After the 1899 season, league president Ban Johnson realigned his circuit, renaming it the American League, and sanctioned Comiskey's request to move the Saints to Chicago, where they were reborn as the White Stockings. Organized baseball's National Agreement required the franchise respect the territorial restrictions imposed upon it by James Hart of the Chicago Colts, who forbade the interlopers from using the city's name in its publicity and written correspondence. Comiskey was also compelled to play on the South Side, south of 35th Street, an economically distressed district mostly populated by poor immigrant Irish, Poles, and Lithuanians, who freely partook of the neighborhood's saloon culture. The White Sox's arrival provided a common thread of recreation for local working-class men, in some cases ameliorating long-standing and hostile ethnic divisions.

Hart, along with the bankers, the downtown mercantile class, and certain members of the baseball fraternity, considered the South Side demographics poor for a baseball club, but Comiskey counted on his family name to help him gain support, and also his popularity with the Bridgeport Irish, who remembered his Players' League team. Comiskey was confident that the South Side



Charles Comiskey, 1900. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame

Irish and the foreign-speaking people of the stockyards district to the south and west would adopt his team as their own.

In the AL's inaugural season of 1901, the White Stockings played in an abandoned cricket and lacrosse field at 39th and Wentworth, retrofitted into a small wooden stadium known as the South Side Grounds. Once the home of the Chicago Wanderers' cricket team, the grounds were strewn with debris and litter by the time Comiskey secured a building loan from the First National Bank to build his field, which seated fewer than 5,000. Ideally situated near the Wentworth Avenue streetcar line opposite St. George's Parish, the South Side Grounds was expansive—355 feet down the lines and 450 feet to dead center. Comiskey's private office was built underneath the stands, but players had to change into their uniforms elsewhere. This sometimes precipitated fisticuffs between members of the visiting team, who had to pass through a gauntlet of heckling White Sox fans as they entered the park from an outfield gate.

Subject to the draft rules and restrictions imposed upon them by the NL, the odd assortment of veteran minor leaguers and professional castoffs like Dick Padden and "Dummy" Hoy coalesced under Comiskey's leadership. They finished first in 1900 with an 82–53 record. Their style of play that season perfectly mirrored the dead-ball era of limited offense, coupled with stellar pitching, inner defense, and abundant speed. As manager, Comiskey set the standard for the kind of club he preferred to lead. He believed that baseball in its purest form was a game of strategy played by thinking men who respected the stolen base and the hit-and-run, with a dominating pitching staff that minimized the opponent's score to less than three runs a game the surest way of winning championships. In other words, the "home run was bunk."

The Old Roman was a man of strong conviction and unwavering in his beliefs. Following the impressive debut of the AL in 1900, Ban Johnson was emboldened to move forward with a secret plan to overturn the National Agreement, declare the confederation a major league, and raid the senior circuit for their top talent. Comiskey, building on his team's artistic and financial success, spun his popularity into power and action. He endorsed the war plan and urged Johnson on, but broke with his friend and mentor on one critical issue. Johnson sought parity with the NL and believed that a balanced two-league system with a championship series played between the two circuits was in the best long-term interests of the game. However, the Old Roman was dead set against it, based on his strong enmity toward James Hart and the NL. Comiskey wanted to destroy the old league at all costs, not embrace it.

In the three-year trade war following the renunciation of the National Agreement that bound the AL to the onerous draft laws and secondary status, the White Sox owner raided the roster of his crosstown rivals, procuring Clark Griffith, a perennial 20-game winner; outfielder Sandow Mertes; and journeyman pitcher Jimmy "Nixey" Callahan with the inducement of higher salaries. Griffith, a resentful antimanagement baseball labor organizer, traversed the

country in a successful effort to persuade top NL stars, including Cy Young, Nap Lajoie, and Bill Dineen, to jump to the AL. The NL was in disarray, and the White Sox owner believed monopoly was firmly in the grasp of the AL. Johnson dismissed the advice as a reflection of Comiskey's greed and shortsightedness. He advocated an equitable, negotiated peace recognizing the legitimacy of the AL as the second bona fide major league. His refusal to bend on this point cost him his friendship with Comiskey.

The conflict between Johnson and Comiskey was exacerbated by petty bickering, Johnson's tendency to rule against the White Sox in player disputes, and the egoism of two headstrong moguls, each viewing the AL as his own private fiefdom. Comiskey, with bitter recrimination toward Johnson, the NL, and particularly the crosstown Cubs, opened his checkbook and secured top-flight talent from the high minor leagues along with key veterans through the waiver lists. He built a competitive, entertaining team that won the first official AL pennant in 1901. Pitcher-manager Clark Griffith (who won 24 games), Callahan, Frank Isbell, Fielder Jones, and Roy "the Boy Wonder" Patterson captured first place on July 18 and never let go. The Sox drew 354,350 fans, and outpaced the Colts by 150,000 fans—a remarkable showing that cemented their place in the professional sporting world. In this, their golden 20-year reign, the White Sox became the league's most popular drawing card, claiming 17.1 percent of AL attendance in the league's first decade.

The ball club had their only poor season in 1903, when under new manager Nixey Callahan it came in seventh. That year they were widely called the White Sox for the first time. Callahan was replaced early in 1904 by outfielder Fielder Jones, who led the club to the pennant in 1906. Callahan did return as manager for 1912–14. Jones's "Hitless Wonders," named by *Tribune* reporter Charles Dryden for the way they managed to win with a record of 93–58 despite a league worst .230 batting average and just seven home runs, at one point won 19 straight games. The Sox faced the 116–36 Cubs in baseball's first intracity world championship, and sadly, Chicago's last. The two clubs had played in a seven-game postseason series since 1903, which continued through 1912 in years when neither club made the Series. Comiskey's team thoroughly dominated the City Series to the point of ridiculousness.

The spirited leadership of manager Fielder Allison Jones (a firebrand innovator credited with inventing the "body twist" slide), a pitching staff without peer (Ed Walsh, Doc White, Nick Altrock, and Frank Owen), and enough moxie, luck, and drive allowed the underdog Sox to upend the heavily favored Cubs four games to two. Even more hitless in the series than in the regular season, the Sox batted .198 against formidable Cubs pitching, but took the match with fine pitching and clutch hitting. Unheralded bench reserve George Rohe swatted a record four doubles in game five to thoroughly demoralize Hart's team on the eve of the clincher, won in an 8–3 rout by off-season dentist Doc White the next day. As a result of the Sox slaying Goliath, Comiskey was looked upon as a beloved mogul as he adroitly played to the press and the South Side fandom with skill and aplomb.

The glory years of the franchise, the two decades leading up to the Prohibition era, were the high-water mark in Sox fortunes. The glorious Hitless Wonders era, chiseled into White Sox folklore, ended in the thrilling 1908 pennant race that went right down to the last two days of the season before the Sox bowed to Detroit. Iron man Ed Walsh, a spitball pitcher, won 40 games with 42 complete games, 464 innings, 11 shutouts, and 269 strikeouts. Comiskey gave him a \$3,500 bonus after the season. He pitched a four-hitter and struck out 15 on October 2 in a home game against Cleveland, but lost 1–0 when Addie Joss hurled a perfect game. The Hall of Famer retired in 1917 with a 1.82 ERA, the best in major-league history. Fielder Jones, the “little Napoleon” who kept his team in the thick of the race for five straight seasons, resigned after the heartbreaking setback, and the team fell into several years of mediocrity.

The personable Old Roman lavished politicians, civic leaders, reporters from the seven local newspapers, and a few close friends with a yearly all-expenses-paid fishing and hunting hegira to Mercer, Wisconsin, where his well-heeled guests and members of the White Sox Rooters Association (later known as the Woodland Bards), feasted on venison, fine wines, and more potent potables. His largesse endeared him to the media and earned the team added column inches and fan support. Comiskey’s private dining area inside the ballpark was named “the Bards Room,” and it was there that the press congregated in an amicable setting. The Sox faithful loved him for his jocular, generosity, and larger-than-life persona. By comparison, the superior Cubs lacked front-office charisma and failed to court the press like Comiskey. They played in an outdated grandstand in the poor, non-English-speaking West Side. Beset by several ownership changes, the Cubs were the losers in the battle to rule the Chicago market.

The dangerously overcrowded 39th Street Grounds proved inadequate for the crush of fans that had come to see the White Sox and the off-day attraction of semiprofessional games. Plans for a new and much larger park took shape in 1903, when Comiskey revealed to the press his intention to relocate within the neighborhood and build a model ballpark. In 1908, he purchased the old Wentworth estate where his Pirates had played, four blocks north of 39th and Wentworth but still adjacent to the streetcar line, for \$100,000.

On July 1, 1910, Comiskey opened his palatial two-tier \$550,000 Comiskey Park, designed by architect Zachary Taylor Davis. It was baseball’s third concrete and steel structure, with red bricks that helped integrate it into the local landscape. It had a huge playing field with imposing dimensions (363 feet down the lines and 420 feet to dead center). There were originally 32,000 seats, one-fourth in the bleachers selling for just 25 cents, which appealed to the fans in the surrounding working-class neighborhood. A long-term problem with the new park was that in the 1920s the dead-ball style of play faded away, dooming Comiskey Park to functional obsolescence. The park proved ill suited for big offense, as home runs were at a premium. The large capacity helped the Sox at home draw 18.2 percent of the *entire* AL attendance in the 1910s.

The White Sox were also-rans from 1909 to 1914. One significant development occurred in 1912, when Comiskey purchased controlling interest of a minor-league team in Des Moines, Iowa, to develop future talent, presaging Branch Rickey's conceptualization of baseball's modern farm system in 1926 by 14 years. Then, after the 1913 season, the Sox went on a world tour, playing 44 exhibition games against the New York Giants. The goodwill junket helped pave the way for the introduction of the professional game to Japan and advanced Comiskey's name beyond national borders. After his club came in seventh in 1914, Comiskey hired Pants Rowland as manager. Then the looming threat of the Federal League and its new North Side park motivated Comiskey to loosen the purse strings, and in December 1914 he purchased second baseman Eddie Collins, the captain of the Philadelphia Athletics, AL MVP, and a mainstay of its "\$100,000 infield." Collins batted .333 in 25 years in the majors and was one of the greatest second basemen in history. Comiskey also brought in rookie outfielder Happy Felsch to add to a core that included third baseman Buck Weaver, catcher Ray Schalk, and pitchers Ed Cicotte, the great knuckleballing right-hander, and young spitballing sensation Urban "Red" Faber, a 20-year White Sox mainstay and the winner of 254 games. In August 1915, he traded with the Indians for "Shoeless" Joe Jackson, the AL's second-most-feared batsman after Ty Cobb, for two undistinguished prospects and \$31,500 in cash. The club improved to 93–61 and third place. In 1916, Comiskey procured Claude "Lefty" Williams from the minors to complement an improving pitching staff, and the club moved up to second, just two games behind the Red Sox in 1916. Charles "Swede" Risberg, a gritty shortstop from the Vernon club of the Pacific Coast League, arrived in time for the 1917 season.

The 1917 Sox won 100 games, the most in team history. The pennant was clinched in dramatic fashion on September 21 when Cicotte induced Babe Ruth to hit into a double play to preserve a 2–1 extra-innings victory over Boston. They were perfectly balanced, with speed, strong inner defense, and timely hitting. The team led the AL in scoring, backed by Felsch's 102 RBIs, and also had the finest pitching. Cicotte led the league with 28 wins and a 1.53 ERA. Chicago went on to complete a six-game World Series triumph against John McGraw's Giants on the strength of Faber, who won three games, including the finale in New York, sealing Chicago's last world's championship of the century.

The 1918 squad was just a shadow of the championship team, finishing in sixth place (57–67), with several players away doing war-related work. However, with the squad intact in 1919, expectations were very high, and the players responded by easily winning the pennant under first-year manager Kid Gleason with just 88 victories, finishing three and a half games ahead of the Indians. The offense, which batted just .253, led the AL in runs, but the pitching was in the middle of the pack. Cicotte had a brilliant season, with a 1.82 ERA and a league-leading 29 wins and .806 winning percentage. Jackson led the offense with a batting average of .351 and 96 RBIs.

THE BLACK SOX SCANDAL

The fix was a puzzling and multilayered event more complicated than blaming Comiskey for being a nickel-nursing despot who rewarded his players' fine effort with broken promises and a case of stale champagne. Players were unhappy with the reserve clause that limited salaries, especially after the demise of the Federal League. Widespread gambling beset the sport, and there were incidences of collegiality between athletes and gamblers that were swept under the rug. In 1917, for example, the White Sox allegedly collected a pool to reward the Detroit Tigers for laying down in back-to-back doubleheaders on September 2–3. The internal dissension among the White Sox players, beginning in 1918, had its roots in regional and cultural differences. The Eddie Collins clique of educated northerners included pitchers Red Faber and Dickie Kerr, catcher Ray Schalk, and outfielders John "Shano" Collins and Harry "Nemo" Leibold, later known in the press as "the Clean Sox" for their unwavering loyalty and dedication to the owner. The other faction included first baseman "Chick" Gandil, Risberg, Weaver, Felsch, Jackson, Cicotte, Williams, and utility man Fred McMullin. They envied Collins's \$15,000 salary, which Comiskey had inherited from Philadelphia.

Cicotte's main grievance was that late in 1917, he was held back from taking his regular turn on the mound so that Comiskey could avoid paying him a \$10,000 performance bonus for winning 30 games. But he got to start five games in September, winning four and losing one. Two years later, Cicotte won 29. Manager Kid Gleason rested both Williams and Cicotte from September 11 to 17 in order to audition Erskine Mayer and Bill James for the postseason, and then Cicotte was granted a two-day leave to close on the purchase of a farm. Back in the rotation on the September 19, Cicotte had three more chances to achieve the coveted mark, but failed.

The team's payroll was in line with the league. Risberg and Williams earned \$3,435 and \$5,524 respectively, while Cicotte's \$9,075 was in the upper bracket. Weaver and Felsch pulled down \$7,644 and \$7,400. Jackson, at \$6,299, had a legitimate grievance. First baseman Gandil, the most acrimonious of the eight and the acknowledged ringleader, was a 10-year man earning \$4,500. These were very high wages by the standards of the general public. Charles Comiskey was a shrewd and sometimes petty and vindictive businessman who demanded a lot of his top players, but was more generous to his marginal, hardworking players.

The Sox were odds-on favorites to best the Redlegs, who had actually won more games, in the newly expanded nine-game World Series format. The White Sox came out of the gate flat, fueling suspicions of a fix from the opening frame. Rumors were rife, and the betting odds had mysteriously shifted. When it was over, the Redlegs had shocked the nation with a stunning five-games-to-three upset. Rookie Dickie Kerr won two games for the Pale Hose, but Cicotte lost two, and 23-game winner Williams dropped three.

Amid whispers and innuendo, the White Sox, except for Gandil, played the 1920 season and were in a position to repeat as league champions. They actually won eight more games than the year before. Jackson hit .382 and Collins .372, and four pitchers won over 20 games. In late September, a Cook County grand jury investigating an unrelated incident of bribe taking involving Chicago Cubs pitcher Claude Hendrix diverted its attention to the 1919 World Series. Jackson was subpoenaed, and without benefit of counsel, confessed to throwing games. Cicotte supported Jackson's testimony, and the stench of scandal was finally aired in public. The eight accused "Black Sox" (Cicotte, Gandil, Felsch, Jackson, McMullin, Risberg, Weaver, and Williams) were immediately suspended and the chances of a 1920 pennant blown. Subsequently, suspicions developed about some of the men not playing on the square in late August. The story was eclipsed and buried by the revelations of the World Series wrongdoing, headlining newspapers all across America on September 29. Despite these problems, the team made \$155,671 in 1920, second most in the AL.

One year later, seven of the alleged conspirators were tried (McMullin, who only appeared twice as a pinch hitter, was not indicted) for perpetrating a confidence game against one Charles K. Nims, an unlucky bettor who lost \$250 betting on the Sox. In the course of the trial the self-incriminating grand-jury confessions of Jackson, Cicotte, and Williams were conveniently lost (later found in the safe of Alfred Austrian, Comiskey's attorney), and the players were acquitted. But in the court of baseball justice, Kenesaw Mountain Landis, a federal judge appointed to serve as the game's high commissioner and moral arbiter, banned all eight for life.

Comiskey attempted to rebuild the shattered remnants of his team in time for the 1921 season, but without its nucleus, the team foundered. The Sox spent over \$1 million on unproductive minor leaguers. In the end, the Black Sox scandal and its aftermath broke Comiskey's spirit, tenacity, and resolve. Worse, the aftershocks doomed the franchise to mediocrity and secondary status in the Windy City for decades to come. However, the team remained in the black, earning an average of \$102,531 in the 1920s.

THE COMISKEY FAMILY AND THE DECLINE OF THE SOX

The White Sox had entered into a deadly 30-year losing cycle, otherwise remembered as the "wandering in the desert" years. From 1921 through 1950, there were only seven seasons on the plus side of the ledger: 1925, 1926, 1936, 1937, 1939, 1940, and 1943. In all other years, Comiskey's team was in the second division, finishing dead last in 1924, 1932, 1934, and 1948 and in seventh place six different times. Only in 1940 did the White Sox enter September in pennant contention. Not surprisingly, the team lost \$66,365 a year from 1930 through 1939.

Beset by ill health and a vanquished spirit, Comiskey left day-to-day operation of the team to his lieutenant, Harry Grabiner, and only son, John Louis. Comiskey passed away from the complications of old age on October 25, 1931. He was mourned as a wise and benevolent civic leader, a true baseball pioneer victimized and driven to the grave by the cruel betrayal of a cabal of pernicious, ungrateful players. He was elected to the Hall of Fame in 1939.

Reserved in nature, Lou Comiskey continued his father's free-spending policy aimed at restoring the luster and past glories of the franchise, even as losses mounted and 1932 attendance dwindled to 233,198. That year, Lou forked over \$150,000 in scarce depression-era dollars to the cash-strapped Connie Mack for slugger Al Simmons, infielder Jimmie Dykes, and George "Mule" Haas, a trio of proven AL players. The family could ill afford this expense in the heart of the depression. The yearly goal of drawing 500,000 fans a year into cavernous Comiskey Park had not been reached since 1927, when an upper deck was added to the park, whose capacity surpassed 50,000.

Journalists in the 1930s sentimentally conveyed their sincere personal regard for the White Sox to the fans, providing balanced, enthusiastic coverage of a persistently poor franchise that is absent in the modern day. Columnists Warren Brown, John Carmichael, and Arch Ward and beat reporter Irving Vaughn had come of age in the early 1900s, and were unabashed partisans. At the same time they were looking back on better days, a new fan generation was coming of age, and with each Cubs pennant achieved in "the Friendly Confines" of Wrigley Field by a galaxy of celebrity players, the colorless, punchless White Sox, playing in the stench of the stockyards, seemed bland and austere by comparison.

Sustained by shortstop Luke Appling, primarily a singles hitter; the fine pitching of Baylor University alum Ted Lyons; and an ensemble cast of bargain-basement castoffs, the Sox managed a few sanguine moments. The genial Appling, the pride of Oglethorpe University in Georgia, won the first of two batting titles in 1936 with a hefty .388 average. He had a lifetime .320 average with 2,749 hits in his 20-season Hall of Fame career. Lyons tossed a no-hitter in 1926 and posted three 20-win seasons in his 21 years that led to the Hall of Fame (260–230). Another two decades would pass before the full impact of television coverage heavily slanted in the Cubs' favor took a toll on the franchise, but the seeds were sown at a time when team fortunes were on the rise. As field manager from 1934 to 1946, Jimmie Dykes, a round little man who smoked big cigars and relentlessly baited umpires, was amusing and quotable on and off the field: "When you're winning, the beer tastes better!" Short-tempered and reputed to harbor racist sentiments, Dykes nevertheless was widely admired by his peers for making do with less.

Dykes might have done better if he had had additional working capital and a scouting system. The team was also struck by some very bad luck. Monty Stratton, a fine young pitching prospect, had posted impressive back-to-back 15-win seasons in 1937 and 1938 before blowing his leg off in a freakish off-season hunting accident.

In 1939 Lou Comiskey set in motion the first White Sox farm system, deciding that Mr. and Mrs. Roy Largent, the husband-and-wife team who scoured the South and West in their antique Model T observing high-school and college prospects, could not supply enough quality players to fuel the development pipeline. A working agreement was finalized with four Class D affiliates in the Southwestern League before Lou succumbed to heart failure at his Eagle River, Wisconsin, compound in July 1939—a month before the first night game was played in Comiskey Park. It was another in a series of unfortunate reversals coming at a moment when the team seemed to be shaking off its 20-year malaise and the sting of the Black Sox scandal. His death and the coming of war set back the rebuilding timetables by a decade.

Control of the franchise passed to his widow, Grace Reidy Comiskey, who was less interested in building up the team than acting as interim caretaker until her teenage son Chuck could take over. Grace was a stern, unbending matriarch reputed to suffer from a drinking problem and a streak of vindictiveness. She squabbled with Dykes over nickels and dimes, then insisted he resign after suffering an attack of the gallstones that had sidelined him for the start of the 1946 season. Ted Lyons, the ageless pitching marvel and a sentimental favorite of Grace and her daughter Dorothy, took over the reins of the club, but the team only got worse, reaching the nadir of its fortunes with 101 losses in 1948. Despite the disastrous play on the field, the team made \$69,000 that year, nearly half of the average \$126,648 profit in the period 1945–50.

The disastrous season led to a long-overdue front-office shakeup and housecleaning. Chuck Comiskey, now in his early twenties, was promoted to the executive suite following a brief internship with a Sox minor-league affiliate in Memphis. Chuck initiated some bold strokes, hiring former Big Ten official Frank Lane as general manager. Former Sox pitcher John Rigney, Dorothy's husband, restructured the meager farm system, such as it was, while Lane dealt the hand he was given. Meanwhile John Donaldson, the first full-time African American scout, was assigned to canvass the Negro Leagues.

The Sox were outfitted in stylish new uniforms with an Old English SOX logo on the front, mimicking the Yankee pinstripes, in hopes of instilling a winning attitude. Lane engineered a series of ingenious trades that catapulted the Sox into the first division in 1951 with their first winning season in eight years. Fireplug second baseman Nellie Fox came over from Philadelphia in 1949 for washed-up catcher Joe Tipton and became the heart and soul of the franchise for the next 14 years. The little iron man played in 798 straight games and was a great contact hitter. He was also a great fielder who won the defensive triple crown (percentage, putouts, and assists) three times. Fox was MVP in 1959 and eventually was elected to the Hall of Fame. Other major additions were stylish lefty Billy Pierce, heir apparent to Ted Lyons, acquired from Detroit for a mere pittance prior to the 1949 season, and the charismatic Orestes "Minnie" Minoso, "the Cuban Comet," who in May 1951 broke the color line in Chicago. He energized Sox fandom, blending speed, power, and defense. The trio of talented newcomers and a renewed commitment from the front office

to end years of complacency signaled to the fans that a new day had dawned on the South Side, and the fans responded to their “Go-Go” White Sox speed merchants and the left-handed slants of Pierce enthusiastically. Billy hurled 35 shutouts during his superlative 12-year White Sox career and held an important head-to-head 8–6 edge over Whitey Ford, perennial ace of the great 1950s Yankee teams.

Despite the presence of Minoso, the team did not draw well with the growing black community located directly to the east of the field. The city’s African American fans had embraced the Chicago Giants of the Negro League, who played in Comiskey’s vacated 39th Street Grounds from 1911 to 1949. However, they were generally apathetic toward the White Sox, and did not attend games in significant numbers until after the AL integrated in 1947. Thereafter, once the novelty wore off, blacks represented only a tiny fraction of paying ticket holders, despite noble attempts on the part of White Sox management to aggressively recruit and sign star Negro League players to contracts.

Riding the coattails of Fox, Minoso, Pierce, and company, the franchise drew a million paying customers for the first time in 1951, thereby reclaiming a share of lost market dominance in Chicago, which they held until 1967. But to sustain market success, the Sox had to win consistently, year in and year out. In 1948, WGN inaugurated live broadcasts of baseball games from Comiskey Park and Wrigley Field, with the personable Jack Brickhouse calling the action and affable sidekick Harry Creighton shilling the sponsor’s beer between innings. On the radio side, courtly Bob Elson manned the booth continuously for 40 years, until 1970, when his descriptive but admittedly bland nonpartisan play-by-play style was found wanting. The Cubs, playing exclusively in the sunshine, fit perfectly into the WGN afternoon programming schedule, but the station was reluctant to sacrifice its evening fare with a menu of White Sox baseball. Thus the Cubs managed to wean a generation of baby-boom youngsters away from the South Siders, although the White Sox were far more entertaining and competitive, and a much better spectacle.

Paul Richards, “the Wizard of Waxahachie,” ignited the long-abandoned running game as manager from 1951 to 1954. He taught a daring style of hit-and-run play that exploited every opponent’s defensive weakness. Base thieves Jim Busby, Minnie Minoso, Jim Rivera, and later Luis Aparicio revived the forgotten art of “little ball.” Aparicio arrived from Maracaibo, Venezuela, in 1956, and would spend 10 of his 16 years in the big leagues as the White Sox’s everyday shortstop. Teaming with Nellie Fox, “Little Louie” provided finesse up the middle and defensive prowess that keyed the team’s string of successes in the 1950s. Wedded to this “motion” style of play dictated by the contours of Comiskey Park, the White Sox finished in the first division 17 consecutive years (1951–67), an AL mark equaled or surpassed by only the Baltimore Orioles and the New York Yankees.

The Sox topped the 90-victory plateau in 1954 for the first time in 34 years, but Paul Richards bolted following a salary row with Grace, and was replaced

by Marty Marion. Dorothy, at constant odds with her younger brother over trifling family matters, blamed Chuck for the loss. Frank Lane was out the door a year later after Chuck sided with the league when the Sox general manager was suspended for unbecoming conduct toward an umpire. Chuck's family made him the scapegoat for Lane's departure.

Grace Comiskey suffered a fatal heart attack and passed away on December 10, 1956. Having soured on the whims of her capricious son years earlier, the widow entrusted 54 percent of the team stock to daughter Dorothy, giving her control of the board of directors and voting power, which she held on to, resisting Chuck's repeated offers to buy her out. The fissure widened after Dorothy sold her shares on March 10, 1959, to baseball showman Bill Veeck, a Chicagoan who had long coveted the chance to own a Chicago team. Chuck Comiskey fought a long and futile battle to block the sale to Veeck, who became majority stockholder and gave Comiskey a ceremonial title and a do-nothing job.

In 1959 the Sox won the pennant with a veteran nucleus mostly assembled by Comiskey, who also brought in Al Lopez as manager in 1957. Comiskey angered Sox fandom by dealing Minoza to Cleveland at the end of the 1957 campaign for Early Wynn, a gritty competitor and career 300-game winner. The 1959 flag chase was a down-to-the-wire affair between the Pale Hose and the Tribe, with the Indians enjoying an early advantage before falling back. A double-play ball off the bat of Vic Power in the ninth inning of a 4–2 thriller on the shores of Lake Erie on September 22 wrapped up the first pennant in 40 years for the South Siders. The team's strength was pitching, defense, and speed (Aparicio stole 56 bases), but they batted just .250. Fox was the MVP, and Wynn, who won 22 games, became the first Sox Cy Young winner. An important factor was the late-season acquisition of Reds slugger Ted Kluszewski. In the World Series the Sox faced a veteran Los Angeles Dodgers team with considerable postseason experience, while the Sox were just happy to hoist the AL flag over Comiskey Park. The Sox running game was stifled and the bats went silent for much of the series. The disappointing six-game defeat convinced Veeck that dramatic changes in player personnel were needed if the Sox hoped to repeat as champions.

"Barnum" Bill Veeck, who made his name for the many zany stunts and fan promotions he sponsored through three ownerships, gutted the farm system in the next two years, trading away a phalanx of future 1960s stars ready to step up, including catchers Earl Battey and John Romano; outfielder Johnny Callison; infielders Norm Cash, Bubba Phillips, and Don Mincher; and utility pitchers Barry Latman and Al Worthington. Dick Donovan, a mainstay of the 1950s, was gone after 1960, only to win 20 games for the Indians in 1962. The loss of Battey, a sensitive young African American from Los Angeles, hurt the most, creating a gaping hole behind the plate. In return, the Sox received aging veterans Gene Freese, Roy Sievers, and perennial fan favorite Minnie Minoza, but what the team really needed was to get younger. By 1962, these players, and Veeck, had exited the stage, leaving the Sox with nothing left to show except a

ransacked farm system, baseball's first exploding scoreboard, and the first uniforms with the players' names stitched to the backs of the home jerseys.

Ill health forced Veeck to sell his stock to Arthur C. and John Allyn in June 1961. The Allyn's ran several businesses, including an oil-drilling firm and a LaSalle Street securities house. They bought the White Sox purely as an investment after Veeck thumbed his nose at Chuck Comiskey and his syndicate, which included future mayoral candidate Bernard Epton and entertainer Danny Thomas. Comiskey finally gave up and sold his 46 percent of the stock to Arthur Allyn in 1962, an untimely ending to the Comiskey dynasty.

Art Allyn proved to be obdurate, hardheaded, and impossible to deal with among the other team owners and from the player's perspective—outfielder Dave Nicholson remembered Allyn's cautious, bottom-line approach to doing things. "He was a businessman," Nicholson remembered, echoing a code-word opinion shared by many of his teammates. Still, the White Sox managed to tread water in the first division through the 1967 season. A few good trades engineered by Edwin Short, former team publicist promoted to general manager in 1961, offset his disastrous decision to release pitcher Denny McLain in 1963. The team was in the thick of things in 1964 and 1967 that went right down to the final week of the season. But in the end, the total reliance on four brilliant pitchers—Gary Peters, Joel Horlen, Hoyt Wilhelm, and Tommy John—could not overcome serious offensive deficiencies. A survey of fans in 1966 found them bored with too many 2–1, 3–2, and 1–0 outcomes. The Sox played quintessential Comiskey Park dead-ball-era baseball that was out of vogue in the "swinging sixties." The fans demanded home runs and a high-scoring offense.

Growing racial tensions in the mid-1960s also hurt fan interest. One of the nation's most dangerous and crime ridden housing projects (the Robert Taylor Homes) was just a few blocks from Comiskey Park across the Dan Ryan Expressway, and there was a growing exodus from the Bridgeport neighborhood of ethnic Irish, Poles, Italians, and Lithuanians who had been among Charles Comiskey's most loyal ticket-paying customers. Bridgeport remained a tiny isolated pocket of white residents thereafter, but the sprawling South Side, extending to the Indiana state line, had changed dramatically. The public perceived the stadium's neighborhood as unsafe for suburban white fans. As a result, in 1966 attendance fell below 1 million for the first time in seven years.

The television situation was equally problematic. Executives at WGN-TV refused Sox demands to televise night home and road games. Sox ownership was left to deal as best it could with a terrible imbalance in the ratio of televised Cubs games airing in midday following the popular children's program *Bozo's Circus* versus the limited number of weekend Sox home games played in the sunshine.

Art Allyn correctly gauged that these factors were costing the Sox a generation of fans to the North Side ball club, but his ill-advised attempts to address the problems worked to the disadvantage of the team. In 1966, he submitted

a preliminary rendering to Mayor Richard J. Daley and the Chicago Planning Commission seeking state and municipal assistance to build a new stadium just south of downtown Chicago along the lakefront. Daley, a lifelong Sox fan, was sympathetic, but insisted upon a multipurpose facility inclusive of the football Bears and the baseball team, envisioning it upon landfill jutting out into Lake Michigan.

Allyn threw up his hands in disgust when it was apparent there was little chance for his plan to pass muster in city hall. Next, he tried to correct the broadcast imbalance by withdrawing his agreement with WGN and committing the team to a full-season telecast on WFLD-TV, the newly inaugurated city UHF frequency. Jack Brickhouse, the dean of Windy City television baseball broadcasting, warned Allyn that he was making a dreadful mistake by pulling away from WGN. Brickhouse foresaw the coming of cable television and the “superstation” concept, but Allyn did not listen. Since older televisions required the purchase of a decoder box to unscramble UHF signals, few Chicagoland households could even receive Sox broadcasts when they started on channel 32.

Meanwhile, the reenergized Cubs became competitive for the first time since World War II, and the thousands of baby-boom children growing up with day baseball piped into their living room from Wrigley Field formed the nexus of a new ticket-buying generation. The rise of the Cubs, dovetailing into the larger marketing issues plaguing the Sox in the late 1960s, soured Art Allyn on the game of baseball once his tax write-offs were exhausted. Preseason favorites to challenge for an AL pennant, the Sox instead tumbled to eighth place in 1968 with a home attendance figure barely shading 800,000, which included near sellouts from the nine “home games” played in Milwaukee. Drowning in a sea of red ink, Allyn was testing the Wisconsin market for future franchise relocation after his stadium demand was unceremoniously snubbed by Daley.

Following another losing season in 1969 and further erosion of the fan base (589,546 paid admissions that included 11 games in Milwaukee), Art opened discussions with Bud Selig, head of a Milwaukee investment group, aimed at luring the struggling franchise to the beer city. With the Sox on the verge of extinction, John W. Allyn, who was not on the best of terms with his brother Art, stepped forward at the 11th hour to buy controlling interest and rescue the team from certain demise.

Allyn realized that a winning attitude could go a long way toward healing old wounds and sweeping away misconceptions about neighborhood safety, even with the media tilting toward the Cubs. A highly motivated man of great ambition, the younger Allyn stopped Selig’s scheme and recommitted full resources toward revitalizing the franchise by bringing in the sharpest young minds and an outspoken radio play-by-play man from Oakland to inject enthusiasm and a winning spirit. Allyn quietly built a foundation for the future by raiding the California Angels’ minor-league system to come away with Chuck Tanner, the next Sox manager, and general manager Roland Hemond, a former farm director recognized for his exceptional player-development skill.

Before Allyn could begin to see the light of day, he had to first suffer a team record 106-game losing season in 1970, with a paltry 495,355 paid admissions. The pitiful box-office showing, the worst since the wartime 1942 season, convinced many Sox watchers that the team could no longer effectively compete for its fair market share.

Reminiscent of the 1949 rebuilding program launching the White Sox on a joyous, 17-year run in the first division, the Hemond-Tanner-Allyn combination introduced a snappy red pinstriped uniform (copying the Cincinnati Reds), 13 new faces for 1971, and Harry Caray, the audacious, opinionated former St. Louis Cardinals and Oakland Athletics broadcaster who sparked a revival of fan interest with his salty, colorful criticisms and observations. The improved Sox climbed to third place in the AL Western Division, and nearly doubled the 1970 attendance. For the moment, the chorus of complaints about the stadium and the neighborhood softened.

Hemond, a shrewd judge of talent hidden beneath a gentlemanly, almost reticent manner, engineered one of the most famous and controversial player trades of all time when he exchanged veteran southpaw Tommy John for the petulant Dick Allen, the ex-Phillies slugger. Allen related well to Chuck Tanner's gee-whiz, backslapping enthusiasm and earned MVP honors, shattering Bill Melton's two-year-old team home-run record with 37 rocketing moon shots. He led the team to an inspired second-place finish and their first winning season since 1967. Even more encouraging, the fans returned in droves, with attendance reaching 1.1 million.

Allyn was a reflective, pipe-smoking sportsman remembered as one of the unsung heroes of White Sox history. John enjoyed the camaraderie of sport and the chance to hobnob with his players. Soft-spoken and cheerfully optimistic, he did his very best to deliver a worthwhile product for the fans to enjoy without offending the sensitive egos of his players. He deserved far better than the three disappointing, injury-plagued seasons that followed and Dick Allen's sudden betrayal of his teammates in September 1974 when the enigmatic superstar walked out of the clubhouse, announcing that he was "retired" from the game, despite leading the league in home runs and basking in the admiration of hero-worshipping Chicago fans.

Without Chicago's most bankable celebrity superstar, 1975 home attendance plummeted to 770,000. In danger of missing his payroll late that season, the cash-strapped Allyn had no other choice but to put his team up on the auction block. The AL considered transferring the franchise to Seattle, where entertainer Danny Kaye had lined up an investment group to buy out Allyn and restore professional baseball to the Pacific Northwest after a five-year hiatus. The secret plan hatched in an AL star chamber was to allow Charles O. Finley to move his beleaguered Oakland A's into Comiskey Park once Kaye reached agreement with Allyn. But Allyn was not keen on the arrangement, preferring a local buyer, and Bill Veeck was waiting in the wings. Allyn accepted \$10 million from Veeck, far less than the prevailing 1975 market rate he would have

received from Kaye's group, but Allyn looked upon the White Sox as a cherished civic treasure, believing that his duty was to serve as team caretaker for future generations. Veeck managed to get approved by the conservative owners, though they did not relish welcoming a wooden-legged, antiestablishment carnival promoter back into their exclusive country club.

In hindsight, it would be nice to say that the Veeck years represented a panacea for the team and its fans. Barnum Bill was embraced as an ebullient, beer-guzzling, chain-smoking man of the people whose zany stunts and promotional zeal made a baseball game a total experience for fans of all ages and not just a grim and somber athletic contest. Beloved by a generation of Chicago fans who nostalgically longed for a repeat of the 1959 success in the naive belief that a casual wave of the magical Veeck wand would bring back the glory days of Nellie and Louie, they quickly found that the new owner's capital resources were stretched thin. His future promotions included Frisbee-catching dogs, beer-case-stacking competitions, cow-milking contests, belly dancers, Polish Night, and the infamous Disco Demolition Night—July 12, 1979, when 50,000 riotous teenagers swarmed the playing field, resulting in a forfeit and two decades of unending ridicule. But amid five years of bread and circuses, there was very little winning baseball to savor.

Veeck teams were a delightfully curious and weird amalgam of second-string players plucked from the league waiver lists, unwanted bargain-basement free agents, and other assorted castoffs and misfits unlikely to have made the roster of any professional ball club save one, the Chicago White Sox, where they donned baggy softball jerseys, blue clam-digger pants, and, on one ignoble occasion, *shorts*. The owner never took the game as seriously as some of his critics in the baseball establishment would have preferred, and the nightly zaniness earned the players lasting mockery from the media.

The 1976 Peter Seitz decision ushering in the era of free agency caught Bill Veeck unprepared and placed the franchise at a troublesome disadvantage. He could not afford to participate in a system of compensation that drove up the salaries of even the most marginal players. The front-office staff, the scouting system, and the minor-league operations were pared to the bone. Quality players like Richie Zisk and Oscar Gamble, who contributed to the success of the hard-hitting 1977 "South Side Hitmen," a surprising Cinderella club that rose from the ashes of a last-place finish in 1976 to challenge for division supremacy against the Kansas City Royals, a precision outfit of run-and-gun base thieves who played more like the 1950s Go-Go boys than the lumbering Sox, departed for greener pastures after only one year. The following season Larry Doby served briefly as skipper. Back in 1947 Veeck had brought him to the Indians as the second African American in the majors, and now he was the second to manage in the majors as well.

After Steve Stone, a sore-armed .500-caliber pitcher, fled to Baltimore when ownership failed to meet his 1979 salary demand, Veeck sensed that the game had passed him by and it was time to get out. It was ironic that the man who

had fought the injustices of baseball's reserve clause so long and so hard should now be victimized by the players he helped set free.

Escalating player salaries was not the only reason Veeck opted out. He noted with growing alarm the diminishing levels of media coverage for the White Sox. Veeck would measure the amount of editorial and column space devoted to the Cubs versus his White Sox—two years *before* the Tribune Company acquired the NL team. Veeck dismally concluded that it was becoming impossible for his team to receive a fair shake. Veeck concluded that the number of dyed-in-the-wool South Side fans was rapidly slipping away and that the Windy City could no longer sustain two teams. As home attendance sagged in 1980, the owner took immediate steps to divest his holdings. After clandestine negotiations with Denver oil billionaire Marvin Davis fell through, Veeck tried to sell to Edward DeBartolo of Youngstown, Ohio, the builder of some of the nation's first shopping centers and suburban malls and the owner of a race-track in Shreveport, Louisiana, and the San Francisco 49ers. Commissioner Bowie Kuhn and the lords of baseball got assurances from DeBartolo that he was committed to keeping the team in Chicago but were worried about his gambling connections. There was also a vicious whispering campaign against him that was perceived as anti-Italian bias. Anxious to win over the Chicago fans and secure some favorable PR, DeBartolo gave Veeck the necessary upfront money to sign Ron LeFlore, a blue-chip free agent. Nonetheless, DeBartolo was not admitted into the club.

A NEW REGIME TAKES OVER

The rejection of DeBartolo forced an embittered Veeck to sell the White Sox to the only serious bidder, a syndicate headed by Brooklyn-born Jerry Reinsdorf, chairman of the board and CEO of Balcor/American Express, a major investment firm. Reinsdorf and his partner, former law-school chum Eddie Einhorn, were distasteful to Veeck, who received a \$19 million check on January 29, 1981. Veeck nursed a grudge up to the moment of his death in 1986. The front men were viewed as a pair of greedy New York interlopers chasing the almighty dollar, who "are not our kind of people," with implications of anti-Semitism. Sox fans were particularly incensed by the new ownership's publicly stated objective of reinventing Comiskey Park as a wholesome, family-oriented attraction, turning their backs on the blue-collar urban factory workers who symbolized the team's traditional fan base. The press was hypercritical, dubbing the pair "the Sunshine Boys" who would exit the stage "once their tax breaks ran out," recalling Art Allyn's earlier rapacity. Working-class Sox fans, many of them notorious for engaging in unchecked beer-sloshing brawls at Comiskey Park during the Veeck years, thus earning the old stadium a surly reputation as "the World's Largest Outdoor Saloon," were not the most tolerant of folk. Veeck himself fanned the flames of discontent by fending off all invitations to appear at celebratory events and old-timer reunions hosted by Reinsdorf at Comiskey Park. Instead he joined a grow-

ing cadre of youthful Cub fans sunning themselves in the left-field bleachers of Wrigley Field, holding court—very near a WGN camera, to maximize his TV exposure.

Having gotten off on the wrong foot with a skeptical Sox fan base, the new owners plunged into the free-agent market and lured away Carlton Fisk from the Boston Red Sox and Greg Luzinski from Philadelphia. On the field, at least, the ball club attained instant credibility. Only the players' strike, canceling out half of the 1981 season, prevented the season attendance record of 1.6 million set in 1977 from falling. An infusion of working capital was used to hire media strategists and marketing professionals. Einhorn, a former television executive, explored possible cable TV deals before launching Sportsvision, a pay-per-view arrangement about 10 years ahead of its time. Pulling the Sox off of the local station proved wildly unpopular with Chicago baseball fans accustomed to a full menu of free TV baseball all the time.

The Sportsvision fiasco cost the White Sox the services of announcer Harry Caray. Sensing that he was about to lose four-fifths of his TV viewing audience, Caray bolted the South Side in a huff, blasting the Sox ownership and his personal enemy, manager Tony LaRussa (the most unpopular Sox manager in at least two generations), for rank stupidity. Wisecracking sidekick Jimmy Piersall was dismissed one year later after several transgressions, notably an unprovoked physical assault against sportswriter Rob Gallas inside the clubhouse. The loss of Harry and Jimmy fed the growing rage among fans. Caray was picked up by the Chicago Cubs as heir apparent to the aging Jack Brickhouse. The Sox countered the move and brought in Ken "Hawk" Harrelson and Don Drysdale for 1982. They were polished play-by-play men and competent baseball analysts, but there was no escaping the impact of the costly Caray defection, the first of several misfires by the Reinsdorf team. Once again intrigues off the field overshadowed the steadily improving play on the diamond.

The Sox shed their insulting "Keystone Sox" identity to emerge as a serious contender in the AL Western Division with new faces acquired through trades and free agency. In 1983 Veeck holdovers Harold Baines and pitchers Britt Burns, La Marr Hoyt, and Richard Dotson, joined by newcomers Floyd Banister, Tony Bernazard, Tom Paciorek, Jerry Koosman, Rudy Law, and Vance Law, won the West with 99 victories, the most in the majors and second-highest total in team history. It was the first major title from any of the city's major team sports since the 1963 Bears championship. La Marr Hoyt (24–10), unhittable down the stretch, grabbed Cy Young honors. Rudy Law pilfered a team record 77 bases, and Gary, Indiana, strongman Ron Kittle was named Rookie of the Year with 35 home runs. The White Sox adopted "Winning Ugly" as their rallying cry. Autumn hopes soared as the Sox crossed the 2 million threshold in home attendance for the first time. However, the pennant-starved White Sox—invincible from early July though the end of September—left their bats at home in the AL Championship Series, falling to the Baltimore Orioles in four closely fought games. Bitter and heartbreaking was the only way to describe the

finale, after Orioles bench player Tito Landrum broke up a scoreless 10-inning pitcher's duel with a home run to the upper deck, connecting off of Burns's 150th pitch of the game.

The 1980s, a decade that began so promisingly, soured after the 1983 season, and only in 1985 did the Sox breach the .500 mark. Tony LaRussa was fired in 1986 following a storm of criticism over his methods and a contentious power struggle with broadcaster Ken Harrelson, who took the Sox manager to task for the team's shortfalls the year before. Harrelson stepped in as general manager for one ill-fated season, replacing Hemond, who left the organization after 16 seasons. Jim Fregosi, the new manager, was left with little material due to chronically poor draft picks. In 1985 Ozzie Guillen continued the White Sox tradition of shortstop excellence with his Rookie of the Year Award, and Tom Seaver won his 300th game in a White Sox uniform. But Seaver was traded a year later.

Attendance withered after 1984. Harry Caray, leading a chorus of soused Cub fans crooning "Take Me Out to the Ball Game" during the ceremonial seventh-inning stretch within the Friendly Confines, siphoned away a generation of fans that might have embraced the Sox, if only he had remained a South Side stalwart. As the decade wore on, neither Carlton Fisk nor Harold Baines—the only true celebrity athletes with much tenure on the team—were willing to act as public-relations spokespersons. Baines was as silent as the Sphinx, and Fisk was too proud to shill for the front office at autographing sessions, fan gatherings, or the banquet circuit. The Sox suffered from an image problem compounded by the most serious crisis since the Black Sox scandal: whether they could secure sufficient public monies for the construction of a new Comiskey Park.

BUILDING A NEW PARK TO "SAVE OUR SOX"

In December 1985, AL president Bobby Brown warned Reinsdorf about the necessity to "step up the timetables" for development of a new baseball-only facility, threatening that the "final alternative" of moving the franchise would "have to be considered" unless progress was made. The White Sox had already set their sights on a location just south of downtown, since it had become apparent that the outmoded and crumbling edifice at 35th and Shields could not be saved or renovated to satisfy the league's criteria for generating revenue.

Decades of neglect had taken their toll on Comiskey's "Baseball Palace of the World." Little had been done since 1927, when the outfield upper deck was installed. The masonry was slowly crumbling and the vertical support beams propping up the grandstands had decayed. Owners unable to afford costly infrastructure repairs made cosmetic repairs, painting the seats and the exterior walls; built exploding scoreboards; and added parking lots. The infield was carpeted with lime green Astroturf in 1969, and the first skyboxes went in after Reinsdorf took over. But the necessary behind-the-scenes im-

provements were largely ignored, leaving the new owners holding the bag when the aging *grande dame* of American stadiums threatened the comfort and safety of fans.

On July 8, 1986, Reinsdorf stunned the press when he announced that he would seek assistance in building a new Comiskey Park on 140 acres of empty land in suburban Addison—30 miles due west of the stadium. Reinsdorf did not convincingly explain the rationale and his timetable. He probably should have slowly leaked the details of the plan in graduated stages, allowing Sox fans some time to reconcile themselves to the idea that the old park's days were numbered. In response, ticket buyers, and a significant number of non-fans who had never attended a game in Comiskey Park, called to mind the wonderful nostalgia the old place evoked and how it would be a terrible civic tragedy to see it go. But if the old park was such a timeless architectural treasure and enduring landmark, why had so many seats gone unsold for so many years?

Although a five-year streak of winning baseball (the longest consecutive run since the 1960s), record attendance, and soaring revenues lay just over the horizon, the franchise and its browbeaten fans had to first endure four of the most miserable, anxiety-ridden seasons in team history as downstate and city politicians wrangled and postured and the front office, community activists, and historical preservationists exchanged hot words, empty rhetoric, and otherwise debated the burning question of the decade: build or move?

The front office leveraged the threat of franchise relocation to St. Petersburg, Florida, to pressure policymakers to move expeditiously, but failed to convince Addison voters, who in a nonbinding referendum on November 4, 1986, turned down by 43 votes a proposal to build a park in their city. Analysts claimed the voters were worried about traffic congestion, the spoilage of natural wetlands, and noise pollution, but knowledgeable insiders blamed local politicians for whipping up illusory fears of encroaching black crime and declining property values. Once again the race card played a dramatic role in White Sox fortunes.

In a curious twist, Sox fan Harold Washington, who had been elected Chicago's first African American mayor in 1983, declared that the "Sox aren't going anywhere," except perhaps across the street, where he envisioned a second Comiskey Park. Less than a month after the Addison setback, Washington pledged to work together with the city and the ball club to quitclaim and demolish the shabby tenement housing in South Armour Square, relocate the residents into more desirable quarters in a gentrifying neighborhood, and explore the means for public financing.

Downstaters were opposed to state support. Cardinals and Cubs fans dominated south of Kankakee, and legislators saw no political advantage in endorsing the project. In addition, community activists and self-styled urban radicals seized the opportunity to foment old racial and class divisions on the South

Side. A militant grassroots “Save Our Sox” (SOS) movement appealed to all Chicagoans to oppose the legislation, but they were duped by the activists, who cared less about baseball, the White Sox, and their stadium crisis than minority empowerment. For SOS, saving Comiskey Park at all costs was paramount, regardless of whether the White Sox chose to remain in town or not. Reinsdorf was disliked, and the public was opposed in principle to a taxpayer-financed stadium.

Meanwhile, the threat of moving to St. Petersburg grew even after four appointees were named to head the Illinois Sports Facilities Authority (ISFA), charged with overseeing the construction of new Comiskey—dependent on the legislature’s willingness to fund it. Legions of disgruntled fans and Reinsdorf bashers believed the ownership was bluffing and would never abandon Chicago. But the truth was that there had to be a new park or the team was off to Florida for the 1989 season. The Illinois General Assembly took up the stadium-funding bill as their last order of business on June 30, 1988. The vote was delayed to enable the White Sox and ISFA lobbyists to marshal their forces.

It all boiled down to the persuasive abilities of Illinois governor James R. Thompson, a liberal Republican who coaxed, cajoled, and twisted arms on the floor of the chamber as the final minutes of the session ticked away. Thompson paced the aisle, whispering in the ears of key legislators and calling in the chips on old favors granted when necessary. The clock brushed past midnight as the final roll call was taken, and the funding was approved.

The second Comiskey Park was delivered within 22 months of groundbreaking, on time and under budget, on April 18, 1991. The scaled-down design cost taxpayers \$119 million—\$18 million *less* than the original state appropriation. The gleaming new Comiskey Park was hailed as “the wave of the future” by *Time* magazine in 1991. The old park in 1990, its last year, drew 2 million, double the prior year, because of nostalgia and an exciting pennant race. The first year of the new park saw attendance skyrocket to 2,934,154 because of the novelty of a new home and high hopes following the successful 1990 season. The huge crowds established a citywide record that held up until 2003, when the Cubs shaded the mark by 28,000. The team followed the record year by drawing over 2.5 million the next two seasons. White Sox apparel featuring a revival of the vintage 1950s Old English and black and white pinstripe configuration soared to number one in the sale of sports merchandise nationwide. During this “halo period” surrounding the opening of the modern new park, the White Sox were lumped together with the Yankees, Dodgers, Red Sox, and Cubs as baseball’s elite big-market teams, benefiting from solid revenue streams, rising attendance, merchandising sales, and the ability to sign “Type A” free agents. The era of good feeling was short-lived, however, and the Sox were soon viewed by sports-marketing professionals and player agents as a small-market team just trying to get along in a large-market city.

Subsequent publicly built stadiums drew upon the fans' craving for nostalgia. Chic retro parks re-created the look and feel of the creaky dead-ball-era stadiums the baby-boom generation of ticket buyers remembered from their childhood. Careful to sidestep the mistakes made in Chicago, the next generation of new parks like Camden Yards set standards by which the new Comiskey was unfavorably judged. Its biggest design flaw, apart from the bland symmetry of the outfield walls and the unappealing blue color scheme of stadium seating, was the upper deck, perched atop two levels of private suites and pitched at a dizzying 35-degree slope. The top row was equivalent in height to a 13-story building, and the infield from that altitude looked like an ant hill. The structure itself looked to motorists on the adjacent highway like a gigantic flying saucer.

THE SECOND TEAM IN THE THIRD CITY

The team did poorly in the late 1980s, with four straight fifth places, and a seventh in 1989 (69–92). This gave the club a lot of high draft choices in baseball's annual amateur draft, and under the astute direction of general manager Larry Himes, the Sox chose wisely from a pool of vaunted college and high-school prospects. In a remarkable four-year stretch (1987–90) the top four Sox draft picks went on to make significant contributions at the major-league level. Future Cy Young winner Jack McDowell arrived from Stanford in 1987, followed a year later by Robin Ventura of Oklahoma State, arguably the most polished third baseman in team history. Burly Auburn slugger Frank Thomas, a real sleeper, was selected with the seventh pick of the first round in 1989, followed in 1990 by Miami-Dade right-hander Alex Fernandez, who was the fourth player chosen. That level of success was never duplicated by the front office before or since. The team then was operating under tight financial restrictions. The total payroll in 1988 was \$5,906,952, lowest in MLB, and the Sox remained at the bottom for two more years.

On the field the fans celebrated a marvelous season in 1990 under manager Jeff Torborg. After finishing dead last the year before, the Sox continued their 20-year cycle of emerging from the abyss with an unexpected show of success on the field. This Sox unit was composed of a potent blend of talented youngsters nurtured and developed in the minor leagues. The team was embroiled in a tight division race with the Oakland A's. They won 94 games, a dramatic 25-game improvement over 1989, largely on the tired shoulders of overworked bullpen closer Bobby Thigpen, who notched 57 saves—a major-league record. The comeback season went a long way toward soothing the strained relations between the front office and the fans, and for the moment it vindicated Jerry Reinsdorf's methodical analogies of moving from point B (early rebuilding) to point A (pennant contention).

The Torborg-Himes tandem seemed to be the perfect melding of front-office wisdom and between-the-lines strategy, but their tenure was short. In

what might have ranked as the greatest baseball trade for all time, Himes sent the fading Harold Baines to the Rangers on July 29, 1989, for Sammy Sosa, pitcher Wilson Alvarez, and infielder Scott Fletcher. Sosa was an extremely talented but raw player from the Dominican Republic. Himes begged the organization for a little patience, fearing that the Dominican's acclimation to the big leagues might take some time. But patience was in short supply on the South Side. Reinsdorf felt that Himes did not get along well with people and fired him on September 15, 1990. Ron Schueler, architect of the Oakland A's string of successes in the late 1980s, was brought in as the new vice president of baseball operations and general manager two months later. Reinsdorf was not a fan of Torborg, who was tied to his book of theories and statistical probability, and forced him to resign in October 1991. He hired laid-back Gene Lamont as manager. He was the first in a succession of rookie managers for the White Sox.

Building upon the Himes framework, Schueler added a veteran presence in Tim Lincecum, Cory Snyder, Bo Jackson, and Tim Belcher through trades or free agency. In March 1992 Schueler decided he had to fortify the offense with another veteran. Sharing the conventional wisdom that Sosa, who had an alarming strikeout ratio, was unteachable and a defensive liability, the future NL home-run king was sent to the Cubs for George Bell, a Sox killer during his years with the Toronto Blue Jays, but now reaching the tail end of his productive career. This disastrous trade helped cement the Sox's second-class stature in Chicago. Bell had a few good moments in his two-year run on the South Side, helping lead the team to a 94–68 division title in 1993, but he was quarrelsome and out of sync with manager Gene Lamont's laid-back approach. The strength of the team was its pitching, which was the best in the AL. Jack McDowell won the Cy Young Award with a league-leading 22 victories. The campaign, remembered mostly for the heroic comeback of Bo Jackson, the first major leaguer to play a full season with a replacement hip, also marked the first of two consecutive MVP Awards for Frank Thomas. "The Big Hurt" never matched Sosa's flamboyance or his ability to bond with fans. He was moody, introspective, and injury prone, and often squabbled with the front office over their refusal to renegotiate his multiyear contract. That year management began opening the purse strings, and the team had the 13th-highest payroll. By 1997 the team's payroll was 3rd in the league (\$54,377,500), but in the following year it dropped to 18th (\$36,840,000).

As was fast becoming their playoff custom, the Sox offense fell asleep against the victorious Toronto Blue Jays after advancing to the 1993 ALCS. On a blustery, cold October night in Comiskey Park, more than 45,000 shivering and despairing Sox fans attired in winter coats sat in muted silence as Alex Fernandez failed to contain the World Series-bound Jays. Bo Jackson went hitless for the series and Jack McDowell's ERA ballooned to 10.00. "Wait till next year" was the familiar refrain, but what happens to a contending team when next year is called off?

To this day, White Sox enthusiasts are convinced that if the final third of the 1994 season had not been canceled as the result of an acrimonious player strike, a trip to the World Series was their destiny. Instead of sipping victory champagne and throwing ticker tape, the celebrations abruptly ended on August 12 with the 67–46 White Sox holding down a slim one-game advantage over the onrushing Cleveland Indians, whose energetic young general manager John Hart provided Schueler and Reinsdorf with a perfect blueprint for building sustained success: draft the brightest young stars and lock them up with long-term contracts. The work stoppage quickly became the fodder of massive fan discontent leveled at Reinsdorf, who had become a major AL power broker, for allowing the strike to go on as long as it did. The bitter aftertaste of the strike festered in the minds of the slow-to-forgive White Sox fans. Home attendance tumbled to 1.6 million in 1995 and failed to approach the coveted 2 million mark again until 2000. Meanwhile the Chicago Bulls, Reinsdorf's other sporting venture, were winning championships on the shoulders of Michael Jordan and selling out the Chicago Stadium every night. Nonetheless, never has one man been so thoroughly vilified for his management style of a baseball team than Reinsdorf was. If it wasn't the strike that threw the fans into a frenzy, it was the stadium: the second Comiskey Park, with its half-empty stands parallel to the asphalt parking lot where the Baseball Palace of the World once towered over the tired landscape of bungalows, factories, and church parishes, became the target of their mutual disdain.

The debut of 24-hour sports talk radio in 1992 gave fans a public forum to vent their frustrations and accumulated hostility directed toward Sox ownership. They forgot that there were 25,000 close-in seats in the lower deck that were available most of the time. By 1999 Sox home attendance had slipped to 1.3 million, unsatisfactory by any standard of comparison, especially when the sixth-place Cubs surpassed 2.8 million fans.

The best way to address this imbalance was to field a contending team in the AL Central, baseball's weakest division. At the same time, Reinsdorf warned Sox fans that unless attendance improved, his ability to sign choice free agents was limited. His carrot-and-stick approach to building goodwill belied later actions, as the organization's forays into baseball's annual player sweepstakes quickly proved. The Sox were active participants, but their choice of players was often unwise. After posting the best won-lost record in the AL between 1990 and 1995 (496–409, a .548 winning percentage), the Sox unraveled in the second half of the decade, duplicating the same tired old script of one winning season wrapped around sub-.500 performance and front-office intrigue.

In November 1996 free-agent slugger Albert Belle inked a five-year, \$55 million deal with Chicago, astonishing both fans and the media, who had expected the Sox to remain passive observers. But Belle hit (for him) a disappointing .274 with 30 home runs. The White Sox were three and a

half games out of first on July 31 when they waved the white flag, trading three of their better pitchers for prospects. At the end of the contentious and disappointing 1997 season, when so much more had been expected of their touchy new superstar and the club ended below .500, Terry Bevington, the inept Sox rookie manager, was fired. He was replaced by taciturn Jerry Manuel, the second African American skipper in team history. Belle set a club home-run record the following year by clouting 49 dingers but proved that he was no team leader, sowing dissent in the clubhouse with antics like destroying the thermostat in the locker room after his teammates turned up the temperature without asking his permission. Then in July 1998 he was accused of domestic battery the same afternoon he was named AL Player of the Week for the second week in a row. Not surprisingly, the image-conscious Reinsdorf let Belle leave after he exercised a little-known clause in his contract allowing him to become a free agent if he was not one of the three highest-paid players in the game. Other costly free-agent acquisitions elevated hopes and fueled ticket sales in the off-season but proved useless after the opening bell rang. Jaime Navarro, a 15-game winner with the Cubs in 1996, led the AL in hits allowed and earned runs in 1997 after signing a four-year contract.

The press continued to grind away at Reinsdorf for nearly every reversal of fortune on the South Side, abetting fan antagonism toward the White Sox. Gone were the days of gentlemanly regard between the press and team moguls. Chicago sports journalism in the new millennium more closely resembles the set of *The Jerry Springer Show*. A hostile press and the shrinking demographics of the Chicago baseball market further dictate that the White Sox do not have the luxury of falling back and waiting for the farm system to bear fruit. In 2001, according to *Forbes*, the team lost \$3.8 million. The Sox were 21st in gate revenue (\$30,898,000) based on an attendance of 1,766,172 at \$19.19 a ticket, but were 5th in TV revenue (\$30.1 million).

Sox management knew that the fan base (or what was left of it) demanded a winner, or at the very least a team that can consistently surpass the .500 mark. But the team did not have the luxury of slowly rebuilding, because of competition from the Cubs. Kenny Williams, the gambling Sox general manager cut out of the Frank Lane wheel-'em-and-deal-'em mode, said he was constrained by budget considerations. The payroll in 2004 was \$65,212,500, 15th in MLB. Nonetheless, he has raised the bar and fired up the hot stove in the long winter months, often trading away top minor-league prospects to the point of nearly gutting the farm system. His willingness to part with top-rated outfield prospect Jeremy Reed in June 2004 for veteran Seattle right-hander Freddy Garcia underscores the inescapable fact that the competitive stakes in Chicago have been raised.

The White Sox recognized criticism of the ballpark by conceding in 2001 that the original design was flawed and unveiling the first part of a five-year renovation plan to improve the look and feel of the park. Sixty-nine million

dollars was budgeted to HKS of Dallas to design a center-field fan deck, shift the bullpens, and shave off eight rows of the upper-deck “death valley,” while adding a flat roof and decorative trusses. In January 2003, stadium naming rights were sold to U.S. Cellular, a Chicago-based wireless provider, and so Comiskey Park is now known as U.S. Cellular Field, or, more colloquially, “the Cell.” The infusion of cash helped fund the final and most critical stage of the makeover—the removal of the unsightly blue canopy roof and the eight rows of seating. By the start of the 2004 season, the park was dramatically transformed to better adapt to the blue-collar industrial character of the nearby neighborhood surroundings. From the exterior, the flattened roof and new translucent screens designed to repel the swirling spring and autumn winds adds an element of attractive urban functionalism to the much-maligned Cell.

Will the White Sox break the 30-year cycle of achieving success early in the decade, followed by a collapse in the second half? In 2000, they won the Central with 95 wins, the most in the AL. The new generation of offense-minded Sox led by Paul Konerko, Magglio Ordonez, Carlos Lee, Frank Thomas (143 RBIs), and Jose Valentin provided lots of firepower and thrills, but for all their success in dethroning the slipping Indians, the 2000 edition proved once again that this game is still all about pitching and defense. Manuel was selected as Manager of the Year. However, the season ended with a bitter taste as the squad was humbled by Seattle in the AL Divisional Series. The glaring shortcomings of a pitching staff whose collective ERA soared to a ghastly 4.90 made older fans long for the great Sox moundsmen of the 1950s and 1960s. They have since almost always been the bridesmaids in the lame Central Division, first to Cleveland, then to the more frustrating small-market Minnesota Twins.

Jerry Reinsdorf has been at the helm of the ship for 25 seasons, the third-longest tenure of any current owner. He is well respected among his peers in league circles as cochairman of the Equal Opportunity Committee and a four-term member of the Major League Executive Council. He effectively championed the rise of minorities with the appointments of Ken Williams as general manager and Jerry Manuel and Ozzie Guillen (in 2004) as field managers.

Reinsdorf has managed the affairs of the ball club remarkably well. He is acknowledged as the smartest moneyman in baseball, and after nearly three decades he has kept the team on firm financial footing. Recalling the many trials, tribulations, and near bankruptcies of the Allyn brothers and Bill Veeck’s dime-store shopping-cart budget, the critical importance of the underdog franchise maintaining financial solvency in this volatile two-team market cannot be overstated, though it is often overlooked. Moreover, the team *has* achieved a measure of success despite the five-decade South Side pennant drought that ended in 2005. Since the dawn of free agency in 1976 (five years before the Reinsdorf syndicate took control), the White Sox are on the winning side of the ledger (2,399–2,328, ranking them 12th in all of baseball).

General manager Williams forsook the traditional Sox style of play, forsaking pitching, speed, and defense to build a ball club that lived and died with long-ball offense. His club walloped their way into baseball's record books, joining the New York Yankees as the only other major-league team to slug 200-plus home runs in five consecutive seasons. In 2004, Paul Konerko, Carlos Lee, Jose Valentin, Frank Thomas, Aaron Rowand, and the rest of the supporting cast sent 242 baseballs flying into the stands—a team record. But on the other side of the ledger, the team ERA swelled to 4.91, ranking the Sox a dismal 11th in the league. Following that season, Williams decided on a total turnaround, and restructured the team to re-emphasize small ball and defense. He copied the blueprint of the low-paying Minnesota Twins, who had won three straight division titles. They demonstrated that by employing solid fundamentals without an overreliance on home runs or a marquee superstar it was possible for a small-market team to achieve success through “grinder” baseball. This was a ball club devoid of big egos, but one stocked with 25 situational players who run, hit, lay down sacrifice bunts, and prepare for their job every day in a workmanlike manner without voicing complaint.

In 2005, the front office promised to “Win or Die Trying,” employing the long-absent grinder style of team play, and wash away the 88-year-old “Comiskey Curse” and the longest championship drought in AL history. Williams dipped into the free-agent market and signed combative, mentally tough catcher A.J. Pierzynski to steady the young pitching staff; outfielder Jermaine Dye to replace embittered free-agent right fielder Magglio Ordonez; and Tadahito Iguuchi, a veteran second baseman with the Fukoka Daiei Hawks. However, the key acquisition was leadoff hitter Scott Podsednik, who had swiped 70 bases but batted only .244 the year before for the Milwaukee Brewers, in return for slugger Carlos Lee.

Guillen's team emphasized pitching, defense, speed, and timely hitting. The starting five of Mark Buehrle, Jon Garland, Freddy Garcia, Orlando Hernandez, and Jose Contreras were simply outstanding. If the term *perfect team play* could ever be applied to one ball club, it was the 2005 White Sox. The Sox occupied first place wire to wire for the first time in team history, building a 15 1/2 game lead in early August, making a legion of skeptics into true believers but earning little attention from the national media. The team did falter late in the season, but fended off a late-season rush by the Cleveland Indians to capture the Central Division. This helped relax the squad, which played self-assured baseball throughout the postseason.

The real litmus test was against the elite of the AL. The Boston Red Sox, old, slow, and weakened by free-agent losses, were easily swept away in the ALDS. The Los Angeles Angels, a more formidable opponent who closely mirrored the grinder style, put up a tougher fight and handed the Sox their only postseason defeat. In the Fall Classic, the Houston Astros managed to keep the games close, but White Sox pitching stifled their aging “Killer Bs” (Biggio,



Chicago White Sox players singing “Don’t Stop Believin’” after winning the World Series in 2005. © AP / Wide World Photos

Bagwell, and Berkman) while the grinders came through in clutch situations in such a way that caused Sox fans to rub their eyes in astonished disbelief. A four-game sweep, and no one, least of all the South Side fandom, could believe it. “Who are these guys?” The question was asked even as the motorcade of World Champions wound its way past thousands of cheering spectators in Chicago’s first downtown ticker-tape parade in many a year.

For the moment, no one dared look beyond 2005. Curses, being what they are, sometimes come back. The ominous thought was inescapable. But following this one joyous season, it was time to reflect back on the significance of the White Sox’s storied past; the team’s perseverance against formidable odds and its visible and enduring embodiment in the historic Bridgeport neighborhood of Chicago must never be separated from its current and future destiny, whatever that future may hold.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1959	Nellie Fox	2B
1972	Dick Allen	1B
1993	Frank Thomas	1B
1994	Frank Thomas	1B

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1959	Early Wynn	RHP
1983	La Marr Hoyt	RHP
1993	Jack McDowell	RHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1956	Luis Aparicio	SS
1963	Gary Peters	P
1966	Tommie Agee	OF
1983	Ron Kittle	OF
1985	Ozzie Guillen	SS

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1936	Luke Appling	.388
1943	Luke Appling	.328
1997	Frank Thomas	.347

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1971	Bill Melton	33
1972	Dick Allen	37
1974	Dick Allen	32

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1906	Doc White	1.52
1907	Ed Walsh	1.60
1910	Ed Walsh	1.27
1917	Eddie Cicotte	1.53
1921	Red Faber	2.48
1922	Red Faber	2.80
1941	Thornton Lee	2.37
1942	Ted Lyons	2.10
1947	Joe Haynes	2.42
1951	Saul Rogovin	2.48
1955	Billy Pierce	1.97
1960	Frank Baumann	2.67

1963	Gary Peters	2.33
1966	Gary Peters	1.98
1967	Joe Horlen	2.06

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1908	Ed Walsh	269
1909	Frank Smith	177
1911	Ed Walsh	255
1953	Billy Pierce	186
1958	Early Wynn	179
2003	Esteban Loaiza	207

No-Hitters (Italics = Perfect Game)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Nixey Callahan	09/20/1902
Frank Smith	09/06/1905
Frank Smith	09/20/1908
Ed Walsh	08/27/1911
Joe Benz	05/31/1914
Eddie Cicotte	04/14/1917
<i>Charlie Robertson</i>	<i>04/30/1922</i>
Ted Lyons	08/21/1926
Vern Kennedy	08/31/1935
Bill Dietrich	06/01/1937
Bob Keegan	08/20/1957
Joe Horlen	09/10/1967
Joe Cowley	09/19/1986
Wilson Alvarez	08/11/1991

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES**AL West Division Titles**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1983	99–63	Tony LaRussa
1993	94–68	Gene Lamont

AL Central Division Titles

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1994	67–46	Gene Lamont
2000	95–67	Jerry Manuel
2005	99–63	Ozzie Guillen

AL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1901	83–53	Clark Griffith
1906	93–58	Fielder Jones
1917	100–54	Pants Rowland
1919	88–52	Kid Gleason
1959	94–60	Al Lopez
2005	99–63	Ozzie Guillen

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>	<i>MVP</i>
1906	Chicago	
1917	New York	
2005	Houston	Jermaine Dye

MANAGERS

2004–	Ozzie Guillen
1998–2003	Jerry Manuel
1995–1997	Terry Bevington
1992–1995	Gene Lamont
1989–1991	Jeff Torborg
1986–1989	Jim Fregosi
1986	Doug Rader
1979–1986	Tony LaRussa
1979	Don Kessinger
1978	Larry Doby
1977–1978	Bob Lemon
1976	Paul Richards
1970–1975	Chuck Tanner
1970	Bill Adair
1969–1970	Don Gutteridge
1968–1969	Al Lopez
1968	Les Moss
1966–1968	Eddie Stanky
1957–1965	Al Lopez
1954–1956	Marty Marion
1951–1954	Paul Richards
1951	Red Corriden
1949–1951	Jack Onslow
1946–1948	Ted Lyons

1934–1946	Jimmie Dykes
1932–1934	Lew Fonseca
1930–1931	Donie Bush
1928–1929	Lena Blackburne
1927–1928	Ray Schalk
1924–1926	Eddie Collins
1924	Ed Walsh
1924	Johnny Evers
1919–1923	Kid Gleason
1915–1918	Pants Rowland
1912–1914	Nixey Callahan
1910–1911	Hugh Duffy
1909	Billy Sullivan
1904–1908	Fielder Jones
1903–1904	Nixey Callahan
1901–1902	Clark Griffith

Team Records by Individual Players

	Single Season			Career		Plate Appearances
	Name		Year	Name		
Batting average	Luke Appling	.388	1936	Joe Jackson	.340	2,797
On-base %	Frank Thomas	.487	1994	Frank Thomas	.427	8,602
Slugging %	Frank Thomas	.729	1994	Frank Thomas	.568	8,602
OPS	Frank Thomas	1.217	1994	Frank Thomas	.995	8,602
Games	Don Buford	163	1966	Luke Appling	2,422	10,243
At bats	Nellie Fox	649	1956	Luke Appling	8,856	10,243
Runs	Johnny Mostil	135	1925	Luke Appling	1,319	10,243
Hits	Eddie Collins	224	1920	Luke Appling	2,749	10,243
Total bases	Albert Belle	399	1998	Frank Thomas	3,949	8,602
Doubles	Albert Belle	48	1996	Frank Thomas	447	8,602
Triples	Joe Jackson	21	1916	Shano Collins	104	5,307
Home runs	Albert Belle	49	1998	Frank Thomas	448	8,602
RBIs	Albert Belle	152	1998	Frank Thomas	1,465	8,602
Walks	Frank Thomas	138	1991	Frank Thomas	1,466	8,602
Strikeouts	Dave Nicholson	175	1963	Frank Thomas	1,165	8,602
Stolen bases	Rudy Law	77	1983	Eddie Collins	368	7,405
Extra-base hits	Albert Belle	99	1998	Frank Thomas	906	8,602
Times on base	Frank Thomas	317	1991	Luke Appling	4,062	10,243

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
ERA	Ed Walsh	1.27	1910	Ed Walsh	1.81	2,946.3
Wins	Ed Walsh	40	1908	Ted Lyons	260	4,161
Won-loss %	Sandy Consuegra	.842	1954	Lefty Williams	.648	1,156
Hits/9 IP	Ed Walsh	5.89	1910	Hoyt Wilhelm	6.19	675.7
Walks/9 IP	La Marr Hoyt	1.07	1983	Nick Altrock	1.49	1,340
Strikeouts	Ed Walsh	269	1908	Billy Pierce	1,796	2,931
Strikeouts/9 IP	Juan Pizarro	8.69	1961	Jason Bere	7.50	551
Games	Wilbur Wood	88	1968	Red Faber	669	4,086.7
Saves	Bobby Thigpen	57	1990	Bobby Thigpen	201	541.7
Innings	Ed Walsh	464	1908	Ted Lyons	4,161	4,161
Starts	Ed Walsh	49	1908	Ted Lyons	4,84	4,161
Complete games	Ed Walsh	42	1908	Ted Lyons	356	4,161
Shutouts	Ed Walsh	11	1908	Ed Walsh	57	2,946.3

Source: Drawn from data in "Chicago White Sox Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/CHW/leaders_bat.shtml; "Chicago White Sox Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/CHW/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Cleveland Indians

Philip C. Suchma

In over a century of existence, Cleveland's American League franchise (known as the Indians since the 1915 season) has ridden a roller coaster of extreme highs and lows, successes and failures. The year 2001 marked the centennial of the founding of the AL, of which Cleveland was a charter member, while 2004 marked 50 years since the Indians won a then AL record of 111 regular-season games (only to be swept by the New York Giants in the 1954 World Series) and 10 years since the opening of Jacobs Field. These anniversaries celebrated the moment in question and served as a benchmark for new eras in the team's history. The year 1954 culminated what some have called the golden era of Cleveland baseball: two AL pennants (1948 and 1954), one World Series title (1948), and numerous Hall of Fame performers on the team's rosters (names like Feller, Lemon, Boudreau, and Doby). What followed was the beginning of the franchise's decline and 40 years of baseball misery. Finally, 1994 and the opening of Jacobs Field reunited Cleveland and its baseball fans with a successful Indians franchise and a new golden era. Four decades of losing games and future stars and franchise instability gave way to two AL pennants and six playoff appearances in seven years before small-market economics caught up with the Indians. The symbolism of these events, however, tells only a portion of the story of the Cleveland Indians. Changes in ownership, issues of ball-park construction, aspects of financing and advertising, and recurring threats of franchise relocation shed light on the Indians' pattern of growth and decline that mirrors those experienced by the city of Cleveland itself.

CLEVELAND

The existence of a financially stable baseball franchise with a supportive fan base on the shores of Lake Erie was made possible by the powerful transformation the city began undergoing in the late nineteenth century as a result of the economic turn toward heavy industry and a second wave of immigration from southern and eastern Europe. Booms in Cleveland's population and industry accompanied each other as the city grew at accelerated rates during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Cleveland rose to prominence as an American center of industry and by the mid-1920s was the nation's fifth-largest city and third-largest metropolitan area, and looked to challenge Chicago as the economic and cultural capital of the Midwest and New York as the sporting capital of the America. The onset of the Great Depression stunted the city's growth and adversely changed such outlooks. Cleveland began spiraling into a decline from which some say the city is still struggling to escape. World War II and the need to produce war equipment and munitions provided a respite for Cleveland's industrial economy, but despite wartime efforts to prepare the city for postwar changes, Cleveland unsuccessfully adapted to an emerging postindustrial American economy.

The city's population in 1950 was over 900,000, but it drastically decreased in ensuing decades due to suburban sprawl, "white flight," and the relocation of jobs to the Sunbelt. Like many other midwestern and northeastern cities that had been America's chief centers of industry and culture, Cleveland transformed into a rust-belt city. In 1978 Cleveland reached its nadir when it went into default—the first major American city to do so since the depression. A brief reprieve came during the renaissance of the early 1990s with the revitalization of the downtown area, but the city's troubles continue to this day. Through it all, the Indians have sputtered along in unison with the ups and downs of the city. Taking the good with the bad, however, the Indians' baseball tradition has yielded multiple moments and characters that continue to reassert baseball's value in Cleveland's sporting culture and the team's place as a civic institution.

NEW TEAM IN A NEW LEAGUE

Cleveland served as the home to several professional baseball teams in numerous leagues during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The Forest City Baseball Club was an amalgamation of amateurs and a few professional ballplayers. In 1869 the team played the first professional game in Cleveland's history, and two years later joined the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players. The most prominent of the early professional teams was the Cleveland Spiders, who began play in 1887 and joined the National League in 1889. The Spiders played their home games in League Park starting in 1891. The park was located on Cleveland's east side at the corner of Lexington and

East 66th. Team owner and streetcar executive Frank DeHaas Robison picked this location because it intersected two of his trolley lines. Fans were dropped off 20 feet from the ballpark's entrance. The link between transportation firms and baseball was strong in the nineteenth century, with approximately 15 percent of baseball owners having ties to the transit industry. The park opened in 1891 to a sellout crowd of 9,000 fans who saw Cy Young and the Spiders beat Cincinnati. In 1895 the Spiders finished second in the regular season and qualified for the Temple Cup Series, where they defeated Baltimore four games to one to win the championship.

In subsequent seasons the Spiders' stability increasingly came into question, and declining attendance and a perceived loss of fan loyalty angered Spiders' owner Robison. In 1899 he reacted by purchasing an NL franchise in St. Louis and looked to terminate his connections to Cleveland baseball. Unable to find a buyer for the Spiders, Robison transferred the team's most talented players, including Cy Young and Jesse Burkett, to his St. Louis team (soon to be known as the Cardinals) before the 1899 season. Attendance in Cleveland suffered with the gutting of the Spiders. Only 500 fans attended the Opening Day doubleheader in 1899, and small crowds continued as the season progressed. Robison set a July 1 deadline for attendance to improve or have the remaining games played elsewhere. A few games were played in Cleveland following the deadline thanks to a small increase in attendance, but the Spiders eventually deserted the city and played the rest of season on the road. The Spiders performed terribly, winning 20 games and losing 134 in 1899. About 6,000 fans came to watch Spider home games that year. The disaster came to an end when the NL subsequently dropped the franchise along with those in Baltimore, Louisville, and Washington in an effort to shrink the league.

The loss of the Spiders left the city without professional baseball and seemed to signal an end to future hopes for a Cleveland baseball team. The opening of the Cleveland market with the NL's departure, however, provided a new opportunity that would prove most beneficial in the long run. Western League president Byron "Ban" Johnson had hoped to expand into new, larger markets and challenge the NL for major-league status. Cleveland, now an uncontested territory, joined that league in 1900. Johnson had originally sought out Cleveland banker and former Spiders secretary Davis Hawley to run the new team. He refused the offer, but introduced Johnson to clothier John F. Kilfoyl, who became team president and treasurer, and coal magnate Charles Somers, who was made vice president.

Johnson's revamped Western League existed as a minor league in 1900, during which time it took further steps toward eventual major-league status. Johnson wanted to move into the Chicago market, which was controlled by the NL, and was forced to make concessions, which included reimbursing the NL for improvements made to Cleveland's League Park by the previous owners.

Charles Somers, a millionaire by age 31, was not only the key financial figure in the franchise, but also a primary financial contributor to the young league.

The stability of the new AL and competition with the NL rested heavily on Somers's financial backing. He bankrolled Charles Comiskey's new Chicago franchise and ballpark in 1900, financed new AL franchises in Philadelphia and Boston in 1901, and financially supported the new St. Louis franchise after it moved from Milwaukee in 1902. In the process Somers contributed nearly \$1 million to strengthen the new league, and more importantly, stabilized the landscape for his investment in a Cleveland team. His financial generosity guarded his investment by stabilizing the AL.

The Cleveland Blues (named for their bright blue uniforms) finished seventh among the eight teams in the AL during its inaugural season, and drew 131,380 fans in 136 games. Given the past failures of Cleveland baseball teams, most notably the Spiders and their 134-loss season, fielding a successful team and gaining a public following was essential to the new club's success. Somers and Kilfoyl were willing to spend to improve their team. When Philadelphia's Athletics (AL) and Phillies (NL) became embroiled in a legal battle over the services of star second baseman Napoleon Lajoie and pitcher William Bernhard, the Athletics' Connie Mack transferred Lajoie and later traded Bernhard to Cleveland when it became clear that they could not play for him. Mack's actions were viewed as repayment for the financial assistance Somers gave the Athletics in their inaugural season as much as a way to spite the Phillies. Playing for the renamed Cleveland Bronchos in 1902, Bernhard posted a record of 17–5 and Lajoie batted .379 in 86 games. Attendance grew to 275,395 that season. The new second baseman quickly became the star attraction in Cleveland, and prior to the 1903 season the team was renamed the Naps in conjunction with a fan contest in the *Cleveland Press*.

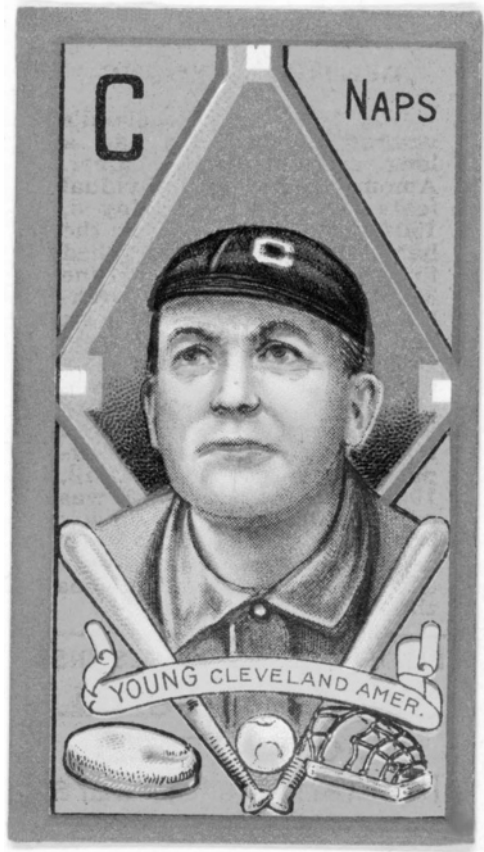
The addition of Lajoie marked one of several key signings that helped cement the place of professional baseball in the city's sporting culture. Prior to the 1902 season the team signed Addie Joss from the Toledo Mud Hens of the Western Association, where he had won 25 games. After the season he was pursued by Charles Ebbets of the Brooklyn Dodgers as well as Charles Strobel, owner of the Mud Hens, who wanted to retain his star pitcher, but Cleveland offered Joss a \$500 signing bonus and promised to protect him from any legal problems he might encounter from jumping leagues. In nine seasons Joss compiled a record of 160–97 with a career ERA of 1.89. But he contracted tubercular meningitis and died on April 11, 1911, at the age of 31. On May 24, a benefit game was played to raise money for Joss's widow. In a tribute to Joss's popularity among his peers, AL stars such as Walter Johnson, Ty Cobb, Frank "Home Run" Baker, and Tris Speaker played against Cleveland, and raised over \$13,000. This tragedy marked the first of several deaths and injuries that would haunt the Cleveland franchise over the next century.

The popularity of baseball in Cleveland and improvements in ballpark safety and design led Somers to renovate League Park following the 1909 season, increasing seating capacity from 9,000 to 21,000. These renovations coincided with a national movement that saw construction and renovation projects

modernize ballparks in many cities. A concrete and steel foundation replaced League Park's pavilion and wooden grandstands. Box seats were added in addition to the benches used for general admission. New bleachers were built along the left-field foul line, and the old wooden fence in left field was replaced by one made of 20 feet of concrete topped with 20 feet of screen. Architect Frank B. Meade of the Cleveland-based Osborn Engineering Company directed the rush job, which began soon after the season ended. The renovation project marked the beginning of Osborn Engineering's involvement with stadia and ballparks, which included the construction of Fenway Park, Yankee Stadium, and Cleveland's Municipal Stadium. Hunkin Brothers Company and Forest City Steel and Iron Company handled construction. The cost was approximately \$325,000. The newly renovated League Park was a statement of the popularity and permanence of professional baseball as an integral part of a modern city across American and in Cleveland.

At the start of the 1908 season, Somers declined a trade proposal from Detroit that would have brought a young Ty Cobb to Cleveland and sent an aging Elmer Flick to the Tigers. Cobb's cantankerous demeanor was wearing thin on Detroit manager Hugh Jennings and the rest of the Tigers. Somers, not wanting to disturb his team by inserting Cobb in the locker room, declined. Cleveland finished half a game behind Detroit, which did not have to make up a rainout against Washington. Even though a Tigers loss would have impacted the final standings and sent Cleveland to the World Series, there were no league rules requiring a team to make up a rainout game. It would be another decade before Cleveland would find itself in such a pennant chase.

Over the next few years poor play, feuding, and financial problems haunted the franchise. Kilfoyl left the team for health reasons following the stressful finish to the 1908 season. Somers, always the financial power in the franchise, now stepped up to the position of president. E.S. Barnard, the Naps' traveling secretary since 1904, became the vice president and eventually was named general manager. Over the next five seasons the Naps never finished better than third (1911 and 1913) or nine and a half games back of first place (1913), and in 1914 they finished last. Nap Lajoie requested and was granted a trade following the 1914 season after feuding with the team's manager. In 13 seasons in Cleveland,



Cy Young's baseball card, 1911. Courtesy of the Library of Congress

Lajoie batted .339 and won two batting titles. Cleveland lost its star and its name-sake. More importantly, Somers experienced significant financial troubles. On August 20, 1915, Cleveland traded outfielder Joe Jackson to the Chicago White Sox for a reported \$31,500 and three players. Jackson batted .375 while in Cleveland, and set team records for highest season average (.408), most hits (233), and most triples (26). Somers parted with the talented "Shoeless" Joe to restore some financial solvency, but still found himself \$1,750,000 in debt by 1916, victimized by bad real-estate investments, decreased coal-industry profits, and dwindling attendance in baseball. The banks issued Somers an ultimatum: sell the team or lose his coal industry and nonbaseball businesses. Somers turned to Ban Johnson, who located a buyer for the franchise with Comiskey's aid. In February 1916 Chicago businessman James Dunn and a group of investors including Johnson and Comiskey purchased the Indians for \$500,000.

Lajoie's departure had left Cleveland in need of a new nickname. In 1915 the team was renamed the Indians. For decades, newspaper accounts, popular histories of the team, and the franchise's official media guide perpetuated the myth of how the franchise chose that nickname. Supposedly the team was named "Indians" after a fan submitted the name in a newspaper contest held after Lajoie's departure, to honor Louis Sockalexis, a Penobscot who played outfield with the Spiders from 1897 to 1899. In truth, Somers organized a committee of baseball writers to choose the new name. Newspaper reports from January 1915 announced that the committee had decided upon "Indians" as the new name, although it was initially given only temporary status. The baseball franchise kept the name, and it has been used since.

The sale of the Indians to Dunn injected new life into Cleveland baseball. The team remedied the loss of Joe Jackson in the outfield by trading for Boston's Tris Speaker in 1916. Speaker had batted .322 and helped lead the Red Sox to a World Series title in 1915. During the off-season he anticipated a raise. When Boston refused to give him one, Speaker demanded a trade. Ed Bang, sports editor of the *Cleveland News*, made Indians general manager Bob McRoy aware of Speaker's trade demand and told him that Red Sox owner Joe Lannin would sell any player if offered enough money. McRoy and Lannin agreed to send Speaker to Cleveland for two players and \$55,000, but Speaker balked at coming to Cleveland, which he considered a bad baseball town with a bad team. Only after receiving \$10,000 of the purchase price from Boston (given at the insistence of Ban Johnson) did Speaker agree to come to Cleveland. He won the AL batting title (.386) in his first season with the Indians, but the team still finished in seventh place. Over the next three seasons the Indians developed into a challenger for the AL pennant. Stanley Coveleski and Jim Bagby anchored the pitching staff while Speaker and shortstop Ray Chapman led the offense. Speaker also took over as manager midway through the 1919 season. The Indians finished second to the Chicago White Sox by three and a half games that year, but made strides in putting together a well-rounded team that would contend in 1920.

The Indians had finished second in 1918 and 1919, each time losing the AL pennant in the final week of the season. In 1920 they overcame challenges from the White Sox and New York Yankees to win the AL by two games. Bagby led the AL in wins (31) and Coveleski led the AL in strikeouts (133), while posting 24 wins. Speaker batted .388, one of six regulars to hit over .300. The Indians' offense led the AL in runs, RBIs, doubles, triples, and walks. Cleveland set a new team record for season attendance as 912,849 fans turned out in support. The celebration of Indians' first pennant was tempered by the tragic death of Ray Chapman in a game against the Yankees at the Polo Grounds. On August 16 Chapman's skull was fractured when a Carl Mays pitch hit him on the left temple. Chapman died the next day, the only major-league player to die from injuries sustained in the course of a game. Future Hall of Famer Joe Sewell took over shortstop duties, and hit .322 over the final 22 games of the 1920 season.

In its 20th season the Cleveland Indians franchise made it to the World Series, playing the Brooklyn Dodgers in the best-of-nine contest. Cleveland defeated Brooklyn five games to two, including a memorable game five in which three Indians recorded three World Series firsts: Bill Wambsganss turned the first unassisted triple play, Elmer Smith hit the first grand slam, and Jim Bagby became the first pitcher to hit a home run.

A COG IN THE "CITY OF CHAMPIONS"

Following the World Series championship of 1920, the Indians sank back into mediocrity over the next two decades. Hopes for the 1921 AL pennant were crushed when Wambsganss and Speaker suffered season-ending injuries late in the campaign. Between 1921 and 1947, the Indians finished less than 10 games back only three times, and consequently attendance hovered around 500,000 for much of that time. The Indians were also a middle-of-the-pack franchise in terms of revenue. In the exciting 1920 and 1921 seasons, the team made a total of \$603,916. Then, from 1922 to 1945, the Indians surpassed \$100,000-a-year profits seven times, but also lost money on seven occasions, including five of six years from 1927 to 1933. The phenomenal growth and prosperity of Cleveland through the 1920s encouraged thoughts of grandeur. Cleveland's civic leaders and sports-minded fans, despite the Indians' shortcomings, envisioned a regional and national prominence for their city. Civic leaders envisioned a new downtown of modern buildings that provided beauty and function in the Progressive tradition. Instead of an amalgamation of derelict buildings, with several civic institutions housed in rented structures, there would be a new downtown, planned by the incorporation of urban planner Daniel Burnham's Group Plan of 1903 that designed and organized public buildings and open space for leisure. All that was lacking from completing the plan was the vacant northern foot of land along the shores of Lake Erie, where City Manager William Hopkins and the Cleveland Indians hoped to build a new ballpark.

The idea of placing a stadium on the shores of Lake Erie originated nearly a decade earlier. Plans were proposed to house high-school football and other sports but were never acted on. Only when the city and the Indians joined together did the concept gain enough influence for serious consideration. Cleveland's rapid growth in the 1920s inspired civic and business leaders to push for greater urban development. League Park, located on the city's east side, was neither centrally located nor large enough to meet visions of baseball's continued popularity. Discussions between Hopkins, E. S. Barnard, and Ed Bang of the *News* between 1926 and 1927 helped determine that Cleveland would build a municipally owned stadium with the Indians being the primary tenant. Barnard had been running the Indians for Edith Dunn, Jimmy Dunn's widow, since June 1922, and was under orders to locate a buyer for the team. Barnard believed local ownership was all that was needed to make the stadium a certainty. In November 1927 a syndicate of local owners with real-estate tycoon Alva Bradley serving as president purchased the Indians for \$1 million. The city then began preparations to construct the stadium on lake-front landfill.

The arguments surrounding the bond issue and construction of a municipal stadium for the Indians foreshadowed debates over ballpark, stadium, and arena construction that linger to this day. Stadium supporters argued that the facility would host a variety of sporting and nonsporting events benefiting all citizens and not just baseball fans. Bradley himself drew considerable public support for building the stadium by promising the Indians would play there, but he did not sign a lease beforehand. Opponents, who were given little coverage in the local papers, correctly feared the facility was being built by the city for the Indians and that it would never pay off the bonds, becoming a white elephant on the shores of Lake Erie. The city's black press also argued against the bond issue by pointing out that city funds should not be used as long as black ballplayers could not play in the AL. After the city council approved the idea of building a municipal stadium, residents voted on a \$2.5 million bond issue to fund the construction. On November 6, 1928, nearly 60 percent approved the bond issue.

Construction was delayed by a lawsuit brought by Cleveland resident Andrew Meyer, who claimed the city did not automatically possess the rights to land created through fill. Meyer's suit also argued the stadium was being built for the Indians' benefit and was therefore not a lawful municipal act. The case went to the Ohio Supreme Court, which ruled in favor of the city government in January 1930. Legal tangles resolved, construction commenced on the proposed 80,000-seat facility. In the meantime Bradley, who had verbally agreed to gradually move Indians' home games from League Park to Municipal Stadium, wanted the new stadium to be a means of strengthening his franchise on the field and making it a bigger entertainment draw. He sought, unsuccessfully, to acquire superstars Lou Gehrig and Rogers Hornsby, which showed a desire by Indians management to build a winning franchise that would draw fans.

The \$3 million Cleveland Municipal Stadium had a \$500,000 cost overrun because of construction delays, effects of the Great Depression, and rising costs of materials. It opened with much fanfare and pageantry and was described as a monument to the people of Cleveland. Its first sporting event was a heavy-weight boxing match between champion Max Schmeling and Willie Stribling on July 3, 1931. The Indians still had not signed a lease with the city. Despite the presence of boxing, concerts, and other large gatherings Municipal Stadium did indeed become the white elephant opponents of the bond issue feared it would become without baseball.

Beginning in June 1931 local papers reported on the ongoing negotiations between the Indians and Cleveland. City officials wanted the Indians to pay a base rent of between \$80,000 and \$85,000 to cover the cost of the bonds, agree to pay the city 15 percent of paid receipts over \$600,000, and sign a 25-year lease to ensure the stadium's use. Bradley and the Indians counteroffered a \$50,000 base rental, 15 percent of paid receipts over \$750,000, and a shorter lease in case they could not draw crowds in the huge facility. One local editorial called the Indians offer "adequate but not generous" and argued that Bradley should get some leeway since he did make the Indians a "Cleveland owned" team again. Hopes the Indians would play their inaugural game in the stadium in 1931 went unrealized as the team refused to sign a lease and continued to play home games in League Park. Newly elected mayor Ray T. Miller began face-to-face negotiations with Bradley at the start of 1932. Shortly after the start of the baseball season, the two sides reached agreement on a temporary lease that gave both the Indians and the city the ability to terminate the lease after the 1932, 1933, or 1934 season.

The Indians, with the lease now signed, christened Cleveland Municipal Stadium on July 31, 1932. Mel Harder lost to Lefty Grove and the Philadelphia Athletics 1–0 in front of 80,184 fans. Bradley was excited by the huge crowd and had 32 of the Indians 54 remaining home games scheduled for Municipal Stadium. He envisioned a continuance of large crowds since downtown workers could walk from their jobs to the stadium. The splendor of the first game, however, was hardly the norm. By 1933 attendance at Municipal Stadium fell to an average of roughly 6,000 per game. Such sparse crowds seemed even smaller given the facility's cavernous size. A despondent Bradley terminated the temporary lease with the city in October 1933 and moved the Indians back to League Park on a full-time basis for 1934, 1935, and all but one game in 1936. In a letter to Mayor Miller, Bradley justified his move through a comparison of a similar number of games at Municipal Stadium and League Park over the 1932 and 1933 seasons, which showed that the Indians were losing attendance and money at the new stadium. Specifically, in 91 games at Municipal Stadium the Indians drew 529,340 fans (an average of 5,817 per game) and made \$338,228.94 (an average of \$3,716.80 per game). In a similar number of games at League Park the Indians drew 663,407 fans (6,960 per game) and made \$487,853.89 (\$5,361.03 per game). During the 1933 season, Bradley

forbade radio broadcasts of Indians games out of a belief that they were partly responsible for the decline in attendance. The optimism the Cleveland owner held in his first few years of ownership gave way to the realities of a mediocre team in troubled economic market.

Several players stood out during Bradley's ownership. Outfielder Earl Averill was a skilled batter who represented the Indians in six All-Star Games, but fell out of Bradley's favor following a contract holdout after the 1936 season and was traded in 1940. He recorded over 1,000 hits and RBIs as an Indian. Hal Trosky played first base from 1933 to 1941 and was also a .300 hitter with power. Between 1929 and 1932 Wes Ferrell won 20 games each season, but was traded in 1934 while holding out. Pitcher Mel Harder was a workhorse who made four All-Star Game appearances during his 20-year career with the Indians. He won over 15 games in eight straight seasons, twice winning over 20 games in that stretch. Although these Indians stood out from their peers, many players during Bradley's ownership were unspectacular. The Indians commonly finished over 10 games behind the AL pennant winner.

While Bradley's reign as owner of the Indians failed to bring a pennant to Cleveland, it did bring arguably the greatest baseball player in the franchise's history. In 1935 scout C.C. Slapnicka signed a 16-year-old pitcher from Van Meter, Iowa, by the name of Robert Feller. Feller signed a contract with the Indians, receiving an autographed Indians baseball and a one-dollar bonus, and was assigned to Cleveland's Class D farm team in Fargo-Moorehead for the 1936 season. But he never arrived at Fargo. The signing came under the scrutiny of baseball commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis for violating contract rules. No player then could be signed directly out of high school or amateur ball by a major-league team because local minor-league teams were given first rights to area talent. Since Feller reported directly to Cleveland, never to Fargo or to New Orleans, where he was later "assigned," the Indians violated this rule and faced the possibility of their young prospect becoming a free agent whom many teams would eagerly sign. To make matters even more interesting, Bill Feller, Bob's father, threatened Landis and MLB with a civil suit if Bob were prevented from re-signing with the Indians. Landis's decision came down in December 1936: the Indians would pay the minor-league Des Moines Demons \$7,500 in damages (the amount the Demons were set to offer Feller), but would keep the rights to Feller.

Feller's first major-league start saw him strike out 15 St. Louis Browns on August 23, 1936. He possessed a fearsome fastball that helped him become the most dominant pitcher of his era and earned him the nickname "Rapid Robert." Following his brief appearances at the end of the 1936 season, Feller joined the Indians' rotation on a full-time basis the next year. He led the AL in wins from 1939 to 1941, with a high of 27 in 1940. Feller also led the league in strikeouts from 1938 to 1941, averaging just under 252 per year during those four seasons. On April 16, 1940, he pitched a no-hitter on Opening Day against the Chicago White Sox. Five of his 12 one-hitters came before he enlisted in the

U.S. Navy the day after Pearl Harbor. Feller would spend the next four years on active duty.

In 1940, Feller and several of his teammates were linked to an attempt by the players to have manager Oscar Vitt fired. Vitt's abrasive style wore on many of the players. Their spokesman, Mel Harder, approached Bradley and suggested the Indians would be better off with a new manager. Bradley promised to look into their allegations but took no action. Word of the players' actions leaked to the local press, who labeled the players "the crybaby Indians." The Indians finished one game out of first place.

Freshly discharged from the Marine Corps, Bill Veeck, recent owner of the Milwaukee Brewers of the American Association, assembled a syndicate that sought to purchase a major-league franchise. Pittsburgh and Cleveland were targeted. He turned down the chance to purchase the Pirates for \$1.6 million. Setting his sights on Cleveland, Veeck toured the city incognito for four days, talking to locals to get their thoughts on the Indians and baseball, sounding out their feelings toward the current ownership. Finding Clevelanders enthused over the Indians but disenchanted with their owners, Veeck inquired on the price of the franchise. Publicly, Bradley denied rumors of the Indians' sale. Privately, he arranged with ownership syndicate member John Sherwin Jr. to pursue it, but with instructions to not inform Bradley until it was finalized. Veeck offered \$2.2 million for the club and worked the financing so he would contribute his own money, like other members of his syndicate, but maximize the potential for reward with his risk. Veeck took out a \$1 million loan in the new company's name rather than in his own, and fronted \$250,000 of his own money. Veeck also received \$18,000, equal to 10 percent of the available stock, as a finder's fee and for putting together the additional investors. In total Veeck wound up with \$268,000 worth of stock, equaling a bit more than 30 percent. The next highest stockholder owned 6 percent.

Bradley reportedly did not want sell the Indians to Veeck. He wanted an ownership group with close ties to the city, and he believed Veeck's promotional tactics would undermine baseball in Cleveland and the game in general. Nonetheless, on June 22, 1946, Veeck and his cabal of financial backers became the new owners of the Cleveland Indians. To celebrate the purchase, Veeck went to League Park to mingle with fans in various parts of the park, and watched his new investment defeat Boston 4–3. The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* celebrated the arrival of the new owner, who, while not a Cleveland native, could be expected to spend money and try harder to build a winning team.

Two weeks after Veeck purchased the Indians, team business manager Frank Kohlbecker resigned unexpectedly, apparently disapproving of Veeck's business practices. Veeck's reputation as a showman from his earlier days as owner of the Milwaukee Brewers was well known. He believed it was the team's duty to make itself attractive to its fans rather than expecting the city to blindly support a team.

Veeck followed a three-pronged plan of attack to promote baseball in Cleveland. First, he needed to ensure time spent at Municipal Stadium was entertaining and fun. Second, he stumped for the Indians to the members of any school, church, business, or bar that would listen to him. Third, he needed to put a winning team on the field. With the Indians' season half over at the time of the purchase, he went right to work promoting a sixth-place team to the entire community. Veeck reinstated Ladies' Day and invited radio stations to renew game broadcasts since there was no contract under the previous administration. He also held multiple fireworks displays after night games. One display was so loud that members of the city council wanted Cleveland to terminate the Indians' stadium lease and arrest Veeck. Mayor Thomas A. Burke dismissed the council's charges. Veeck's promotional efforts increased attendance that year, and as a gesture of thanks to Indian fans, he offered free admission to the club's final home game. When the 1946 season ended, the Indians had drawn 1,052,289 fans, a phenomenal figure since Cleveland had never drawn over 1 million fans, and had just 558,182 the year before. The team made over \$375,000. Veeck accomplished this feat by moving many remaining home games to spacious Municipal Stadium and reviving interest in the Indians around Cleveland and northeast Ohio. Later promotions like Good Neighbor Night and Good Old Joe Early Day (a tribute to the average fan) continued to add excitement to a day at the stadium. In Veeck's own words, every day in Cleveland was like Mardi Gras, and every fan was a king.

Veeck was pleased with the rise in attendance in 1946, but was unhappy with the team's performance. Feller's stellar 26 wins and 348 strikeouts paced the Indians to a disappointing sixth-place finish, hobbled by a dismal offense. Veeck set out to revamp the roster before the 1947 season. Feller, shortstop Lou Boudreau, and third baseman Ken Keltner were key holdovers. Catcher Jim Hegan, pitcher Bob Lemon, and outfielders Dale Mitchell and Eddie Robinson were important young players. Veeck wanted a championship quickly, and was not content to stand pat or hope that potential would be realized. He started making trades for veteran leadership and key role players. Pitching prospect Allie Reynolds was sent to the Yankees for second baseman Joe Gordon following the 1946 season. Veeck later acquired pitcher Gene Bearden and catcher Al Lopez in trades. The most significant signing of the season, however, came in the shadow of Jackie Robinson.

During the start of the 1947 season, Jackie Robinson's Brooklyn Dodgers and the Negro Leagues' Cleveland Buckeyes received more coverage than the Indians in the city's historic black newspaper, the weekly *Cleveland Call and Post*. Veeck soon had scouts scouring the Negro Leagues looking for a quality player he could bring to the Indians and break the AL color line with. In preparation, he hired African American public-relations man Lou Jones to serve as a traveling companion and mentor for the as-yet-unchosen player. Veeck also informed Cleveland's black leaders of his intent to break the color barrier so they could prepare the black population for any and all situations. Realizing the

limited opportunity in making such a move and the intense scrutiny it would be under, Veeck wanted to sign a young player with star potential. Veeck hoped that any criticism of the player would be based in prejudice, not ability, and thereby illegitimate. Even though the Cleveland Browns of the All American Football Conference had already signed African Americans Marion Motley and Bill Willis, Veeck was unsure how Cleveland's baseball fans would react to an integrated team. Cleveland was not as ethnically diverse as New York, and success was therefore uncertain. Based on his criteria, Veeck's scouts recommended the Newark Eagles' talented second baseman Larry Doby.

When Branch Rickey signed Jackie Robinson, he did not compensate the Kansas City Monarchs, his Negro League team. Veeck, on the other hand, offered Newark owner Effa Manley \$10,000 for Doby's contract with an additional \$5,000 if he made the team. Manley felt that Veeck's offer was low, but felt she should not obstruct the integration of MLB, so she accepted the offer. Doby made his debut with the Indians on July 5, 1947, striking out as a pinch hitter. Some teammates welcomed Doby, but others refused to shake his hand. In his first season he batted .156 in 29 games while coming off the bench. Doby's struggles on the field coincided with problems he faced while traveling. Many hotels were segregated, and opposing fans were often hostile. Veeck later concluded that Doby was probably too sensitive, or not hardened enough, to carry the weight of integrating the AL. Still, Doby emerged as a star in Cleveland. In his first full season he batted .301, hit 14 home runs, and had 66 RBIs in 121 games. This success enabled Veeck to further integrate the team, including the signing of Satchel Paige in 1948. Leroy "Satchel" Paige had long been regarded as one of baseball's most dominant pitchers, but in 1948 he was 42 years old and past his prime. Page was a noted showman because of the antics he had performed on barnstorming tours and his colorful sayings. There were many critics of his signing. However, Paige played a pivotal role in the Indians' drive to the 1948 World Series, compiling a 6-1 record and 2.48 ERA in 21 games as a spot starter and in relief.

The addition of Doby along with others after the 1946 season did not result in a pennant in 1947, but they did help the Indians improve by 12 games and finish in fourth place. Veeck's acquisitions in his first two years combined with holdovers from the Indians' roster to produce a well-rounded team that, with a little luck, could challenge for the AL pennant. Bob Lemon had been a third baseman in the Indians' farm system, but could not unseat Ken Keltner. After showing a strong arm while throwing batting practice, Lemon was converted to a pitcher in 1946 and joined the starting rotation the following year, winning 11 games. Gene Bearden, acquired from the Yankees, won only 29 games in four seasons with the Indians, but 20 of those victories came in 1948. On offense, outfielder Dale Mitchell became a consistent .300 hitter for most of his 11 seasons in Cleveland. The infield was anchored by veteran player-manager Lou Boudreau, a holdover from the Bradley era. Boudreau played a solid shortstop and was a quality hitter from 1938 to 1950. He was joined by second baseman Joe Gordon, acquired from

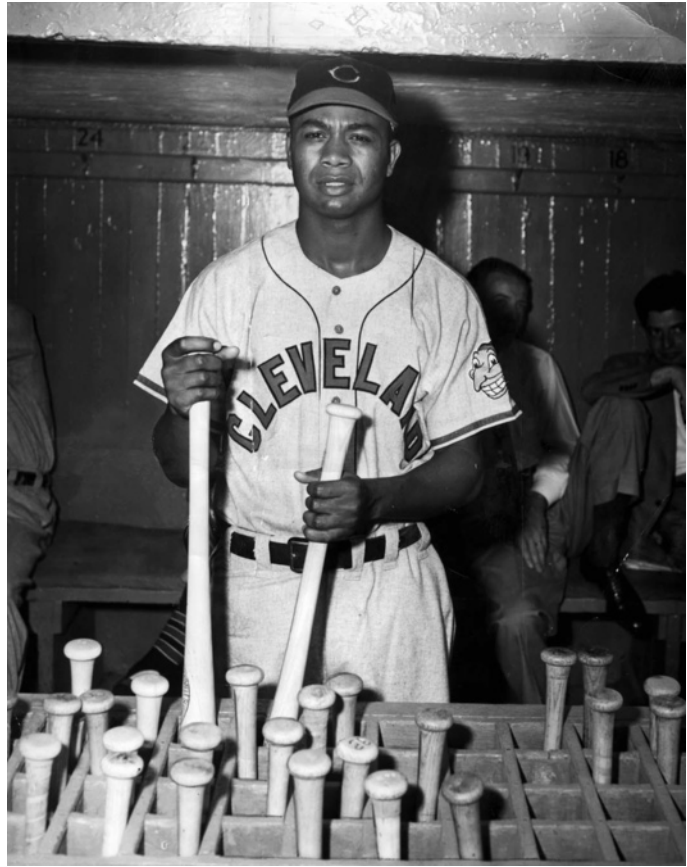
the Yankees after the 1946 season to solidify the middle infield and providing a powerful bat in the lineup.

The year 1948 was a great one for Cleveland sports, beginning with the Cleveland Barons of the American Hockey League winning the Calder Cup championship and ending with the Cleveland Browns of the All America Football Conference winning their third straight league championship and completing an undefeated season. The Indians entered MLB record books by drawing 2,620,627 fans during the city's fabled 1948 regular season. Veeck produced a winner on the field and at the gates. His three-pronged philosophy for marketing the Indians and his belief that you build a team to win in the present and should not become infatuated with the future brought Cleveland its second pennant. Feller, Lemon, and Bearden combined for 59 victories in 1948. The team led the league in scoring. Keltner and Gordon each hit over 30 home runs, Boudreau batted .355 on his way to winning the AL MVP Award, and all three drove in over 100 runs. Mitchell batted .336, Doby .301. The Indians finished the 1948 regular season tied for first with the Boston Red Sox. For the one-game playoff in Fenway Park manager Boudreau selected Bearden to start, to the surprise of many. Bearden and the Indians defeated the Red Sox 8–3, capturing their second AL pennant in franchise history and their first in almost three decades. As the Indians prepared to play the Boston Braves in the World Series, Clevelanders reveled in their moment in the national spotlight. Local papers were able to interject news on the Indians and the forthcoming opportunity to showcase Cleveland into headlines and editorials that were otherwise dominated by the 1948 presidential election and continued Soviet maneuvers regarding Berlin. Mayor Burke called for a massive cleanup campaign in preparation for the city's presentation to visiting baseball's dignitaries, celebrities, and members of the media. Civic leaders presented the 1948 World Series as a showcase where the Indians would prove themselves as the best team in baseball while Cleveland would prove itself as the best city in America.

After fighting past the Red Sox and Yankees to win the AL pennant, the Indians faced a daunting Braves team with five .300 hitters and the pitching combination of Warren Spahn and Johnny Sain, who together won 39 games in the regular season. Indians pitching ace Feller lost 1–0 to Sain in game one in Boston. The game was marked by a controversial missed call on a pickoff attempt that eventually led to the game's only run. The Indians won the next three games behind solid pitching from Lemon and Bearden. Feller lost his second start and a chance to clinch the series in game five in Cleveland in an 11–5 drubbing by the Braves. Lemon and Bearden limited the Braves to three runs in game six in Boston, giving the Indians a 4–3 victory and Cleveland its second World Series championship. With that victory the Indians fulfilled their part in helping Cleveland's professional teams complete their champion trifecta for the year. Local sports journalists and advertisers quickly coined Cleveland "the City of Champions" in honor of its sports heroes. This new title coincided

with the “Cleveland: Best Location in the Nation” slogan being used to promote the city in general. Professional sports added to a city’s status within the American landscape. Not only did Cleveland know it was home of the World Series champions, but sports fans in New York, Chicago, and elsewhere also would make the connection between the city and sporting success.

Veck believed that a new ownership group had a three-year window to produce a winning team after taking over a franchise. Two and a half years after purchasing the Indians, he had beaten this self-imposed deadline. But the excitement and fulfillment of a championship did not keep Veck in Cleveland. Following the 1949 season, only three



Larry Doby, 1949. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame

and a half years after arriving and reviving the sleeping giant that was Cleveland as a baseball town, Veck moved out of town. Perhaps the reason was the frustration of the 1949 season, which saw the Indians drop to third, with an 89–65 record; a feeling that the Indians would not be able to beat out the Yankees year after year in the long run; or perhaps a general feeling that the best had come and gone with the 1948 championship. Veck insisted in his autobiography that his impending divorce with wife Eleanor and a desire to have money available for a settlement was the primary reason for the sale. He and his group sold the Indians for \$2.2 million to a group headed by insurance executive Ellis Ryan. Although Veck’s stay in Cleveland was brief, it produced levels of excitement for and celebration of the Indians previously unseen. Popularity spurred profitability, especially in regards to filling Municipal Stadium. Between 1946 and 1950, the team averaged \$431,842 a year, peaking at \$506,000 in 1949, the year *after* the world championship. For decades after Veck’s departure, especially during the team’s struggles and ownership turnover of the 1970s, Cleveland’s baseball fans hoped a new Bill Veck would arrive in town to save the Indians once again.

The 1948 World Series victory marked the beginning of the golden era of Cleveland baseball. Between 1948 and 1959 the Indians possessed dominat-

ing pitching staffs and dangerous lineups. As stars from the 1948 squad retired, were traded, or became role players, new talent was infused from the farm system or acquired via trade. Rookies Al Rosen and Luke Easter joined the Indians in 1950. Each drove in over 100 runs, and Rosen set a then record for home runs by a rookie with 37. They combined with Doby to give the Indians a powerful trio until Easter suffered a career-ending injury in 1953. Rosen batted .336 in 1953 and led the AL in runs (115), home runs (43), and RBIs (145), and was the unanimous selection as MVP. Feller was in the twilight of his career in the 1950s, but Early Wynn and Mike Garcia joined Lemon to form the “Big Three” pitching staff. Wynn was acquired from the Washington Senators in December 1948. In 10 seasons with the Indians he won 164 games, winning 20 or more in a season four times. Garcia was a product of the Indians’ farm system and went on to a 12-year career in Cleveland that included two 20-win seasons and three All-Star Game appearances. From 1951 to 1956 Al Lopez managed the Indians, compiling a spectacular 570–354 win-loss record. Despite the Indians’ outstanding talent, they were eclipsed by the Yankees between 1949 and 1956 every year but one. The Indians won more than 90 games in seven different seasons (coming close with 89 in 1949 and 88 in 1956) during that stretch, yet they only managed to win one more AL pennant, in 1954. The Yankees proved to be their bane, as the Indians finished second to them five times in six years between 1951 and 1956.

The 1954 season was a last hurrah for the Indians, but what a hurrah it was. Winning 111 games, they set an AL record for regular-season wins that stood until 1999. The Big Four pitching staff of Bob Lemon (23–7), Early Wynn (23–11), Mike Garcia (19–8), and Art Houtmann (15–7), who had supplanted Feller (13–3) as the fourth starter, and an offense featuring the powerful bats of Al Rosen and Larry Doby led the Indians into the World Series, where they entered as heavy favorites against the New York Giants. It took only four games, however, for the Giants to sweep the Indians. The unique configuration of the Polo Grounds arguably shifted the outcome of game one, and the momentum in the Giants favor. Dusty Rhodes’s home run in the first game took advantage of the short foul lines, and Willie Mays’s spectacular back-to-the-plate catch of Vic Wertz’s long drive to center could only have happened in the Polo Grounds. Having again prepared for numerous visitors during the World Series, Cleveland’s citizens and civic leaders were disappointed by the Indians’ loss. After playing second fiddle to the Yankees for so many years, the 1954 team seemed destined for a championship. Rather than dwell on the defeat, the local media professed pride in the Indians’ season and proclaimed them winners in the hearts of Clevelanders. The World Series loss, nonetheless, marked a downward shift in Indians baseball. Player movement, both trades and retirements, saw the departure of the likes of Feller and Doby, leaving the club in the care of younger players who were unable to regain pennant-winning form. Feller, a lifelong Indian, finished his Hall of Fame career with a record of 266–162, leading the league in wins six times and strikeouts seven times.

THE CURSE OF COLAVITO

Until their 2004 World Championship, Boston lamented the Curse of the Bambino. Chants of “1908” and reminders of the Billy Goat Curse continue to haunt Chicago Cubs fans. Cleveland had its own, if lesser known, curse tormenting the franchise from 1960 to 1995. Indian teammates Herb Score and Rocco Colavito were roommates on the road and the projected cornerstones of the Indians future. Score was a hard-throwing left-handed pitcher who took the AL by storm in his rookie season in 1955. He won 16 games that year and, more impressively, led the AL with 145 strikeouts, a rookie record. The following season he won 20 games, struck out 263 batters, and posted a 2.53 ERA. Score was an All-Star both seasons. Colavito, after appearing in only 5 games in 1955, played in 101 in his rookie season the following year and belted 21 home runs. The 23-year-old rookie was the Indians’ major home-run threat over the next four seasons. More importantly, he represented the ethnic, working-class values many Clevelanders identified with, and emerged as the city’s foremost sports idol. Colavito was a handsome, clean-living Italian American whom many of Cleveland’s ethnic and working-class residents connected to and admired. Some considered him heir apparent to Joe DiMaggio. Together, Score and Colavito’s presence augured a bright future for the Cleveland Indians.

The prosperous future the Indians envisioned with Score and Colavito leading the team into the next decade would not be realized. In a much-hyped series against the New York Yankees in May 1957, a line drive off the bat of Gil McDougald hit Score’s eye, inflicting multiple injuries including a broken nose, swelling of the right eye, and a lacerated right eyelid. Score sat out the rest of that season, returning to spring training in 1958, but did not exhibit his prior command or velocity with his pitches. He never returned to form, and after the accident posted a 17–26 record and a 4.48 ERA with the Indians and the Chicago White Sox. The eye injury was commonly cited as the reason for the fall-off, but Score later asserted that it was arm trouble developed early in the 1958 season. Score returned to the Indians in 1964 as part of the team’s television broadcasting crew. In 1968 he moved into the radio booth, where he established himself as a Cleveland institution until he retired in 1999.

The Indians lost the AL pennant to the “Go-Go” White Sox by five games in 1959, though many felt a pennant was only a matter of time, largely because Colavito had developed into one of the AL’s premier power hitters, having belted 42 home runs with 111 RBIs that year. General manager Frank Lane, otherwise known as “Trader” Lane for his propensity to make deals, was unsatisfied with Colavito’s performance. He previously had two separate deals in place to trade Colavito and once tried to interest the Yankees in swapping Mickey Mantle for the Cleveland slugger, all to no avail. Lane and Colavito had also butted heads during yearly contract negotiations, out of which came Colavito’s contention that Lane was a liar. Lane blasted Colavito as a selfish player whose preoccupation with hitting home runs was costing the Indians

games. He even inserted a clause in Colavito's contract for the 1960 season that rewarded the slugger for hitting *fewer* than 30 home runs in an attempt to increase run production through a higher batting average. The issue became a moot point when Lane shocked Colavito, the Indians and its ownership, and most especially Cleveland's baseball fans by trading the 26-year-old outfielder to Detroit for Harvey Kuenn just one day before the start of the 1960 season. The loss of Colavito drew the ire of thousands, who flooded the local press with letters of complaint and demands for Lane's firing. Similar sentiment was expressed on signs hung at Municipal Stadium during the season's first series, ironically against Detroit. The Indians went from pennant contenders in 1959 to a fourth-place finish in 1960, and finished fifth and sixth in the following two seasons. The loss of the beloved Colavito and the Indians' new misfortunes stirred speculation that the trade cursed the franchise. A generation passed with the Indians finishing better than .500 only six times and never finishing higher than fourth place, and with attendance dropping below 1 million for 18 of the next 20 years. The correlation of the two lent further credence to the validity of the Curse of Colavito.

Between 1949 and 1972 the Indians' ownership group constantly shuffled themselves. Unlike the winning Veeck years, these new groups were marked by failure on the field and at the gate. Even during the team's 111-win season in 1954, concerns about fan attendance and the Indians' financial state were already intensifying. The Indians also had 11 different managers filter in and out of the dugout from Lopez's departure in 1956 to 1972. The managerial scene took a weird turn in 1960 when Frank Lane traded manager Joe Gordon to Detroit for their manager, Jimmie Dykes. The Indians' roster was haunted by the same instability from season to season. From 1950 to 1980 the Indians traded away many promising prospects or players in their prime, including Colavito, Mickey Vernon, Early Wynn, Norm Cash, Hoyt Wilhelm, Roger Maris, Tommie Agee, Tommy John, Graig Nettles, Chris Chambliss, Luis Tiant, Pedro Guerrero, Dennis Eckersley, and Buddy Bell. Losing these high-caliber players dampened fan enthusiasm for the Indians, adding to the decline in attendance. From the 1950s into the 1970s, the constant rotation of ownership groups, managers, and players epitomized the organization's instability. It was also a period marked by threats of relocation, continued concerns about civic-minded local ownership, and hopes for a new stadium.

Ellis Ryan was the power broker in his seven-man ownership group and served as the Indians' president for three seasons. In 1952, a power struggle between Ryan and general manager Hank Greenberg led to a restructuring of ownership. The retired Detroit Tigers slugger Greenberg came to the Indians under Veeck and worked his way into both the vice president and general manager positions. Ryan's attempt to oust Greenberg was voted down by the other stockholders, and in the aftermath Ryan sold his shares in the team, netting a \$250,000 profit thanks to a generous buyout. Myron Wilson Jr., an insurance executive holding only a little over three percent of team stock, was

named president in his place. Wilson was a compromise candidate, chosen by Ryan and agreed upon by Greenberg and others in conjunction with Ryan selling off his shares of stock. Wilson remained in control until February 1956, when a new ownership syndicate, headed by William R. Daley and including Greenberg and Minneapolis businessman Ignatius A. O'Shaughnessy, bought the Indians for nearly \$4 million. Daley, an industrialist and financial wizard, became president. The stability projected by this syndicate lasted one year before internal turmoil again hit Indians management. The team fell to sixth in the standings in 1957 and attendance declined by 140,000 from the previous year. In October 1957 Daley fired Greenberg. He argued that the fans demanded change, but was also concerned that Greenberg was organizing a group of stockholders to relocate the Indians to Minneapolis–St. Paul, a growing market benefiting from both improvements in communication and transportation and the urban decline of traditional markets in the Northeast and Midwest. The relocation of teams to Milwaukee, Los Angeles, and San Francisco in the 1950s indicated that franchises would now shift from coast to coast. Greenberg, who retained his status as a shareholder and kept a seat on the board of directors, later told the board that baseball was dead in Cleveland. He was replaced by Frank Lane, who created his own turmoil while with the Indians.

Former team president Myron Wilson passed away in August 1962. The transfer of his stock shares, although minor, initiated another restructuring of Indians' ownership determined to place it in local hands. O'Shaughnessy, from St. Paul, and several minority stockholders sold their shares in the team for \$6 million to a 29-member syndicate made up of Cleveland's civic elite, and the old company was liquidated. After the restructuring of the new organization, Gabe Paul, the largest stockholder, with 20 percent, was elected president, treasurer, and general manager. Paul had previously worked for the Cincinnati Reds and Houston Colt .45s before joining the Indians after the 1961 season.

Under his direction the Indians managed to stay in Cleveland in the midst of rumors that the team was bound for Dallas, Oakland, or Seattle. The franchise continued to experience financial losses and attendance declines by staying. The Indians reportedly lost \$1.2 million each of Paul's first two years at the helm. In 1964 Paul asked each stockholder to contribute additional cash for operating costs. Cleveland's population decreased by 38,758 between 1950 and 1960, and once-wealthy neighborhoods had become ghettos. The board of directors subsequently instructed Paul to study the viability of Oakland and Dallas as possible options for the team. Difficulties with the city in lease negotiations for Municipal Stadium added to the overall tensions from financial losses and possible relocation. Paul and his group concluded that Cleveland was still the best choice provided an acceptable lease could be reached. The Indians stayed in Cleveland, and even brought back Colavito in a trade that gave up good young talent (Tommy John and Tommie Agee) but revived fan interest (up from 653,293 in 1964 to 934,786 in 1965). Paul was unable to re-

build a winning franchise, and in 1966 he sold the team to minority stockholder Vernon Stouffer.

Vernon Stouffer, a frozen-food and restaurant entrepreneur and a minority stockholder since 1962, purchased the Indians for \$8 million toward the end of the 1966 season. The Cleveland native was commended for his act of civic kindness in purchasing the team and saving the Indians from imminent relocation, according to the media. Stouffer wanted only Clevelanders on the board of directors to keep the team in Cleveland. Each remaining stockholder was bought out at \$300 per share. Stouffer also took on responsibility for \$2.5 million in team debentures. He paid for all of this with his own \$5 million and a \$2.5 million bank loan. Stouffer seemed an ideal, financially independent owner for the Indians. Unfortunately he lost heavily in the 1970s stock-market plunge and soon after cut expenses by reducing the farm system and scouting, which set back player development for almost two decades. Rumors of relocation continued off the field, and the franchise continued to struggle on the field. Attendance figures again began a yearly decline as fans increasingly accused Stouffer of being cheap.

The Indians' struggles and decline paralleled those of Cleveland Municipal Stadium. The lakefront stadium was not even 40 years old, but had been battered by Cleveland's winters and was outdated with the emergence of artificial turf and domed stadiums. In June 1968 Cleveland hired Charles Luckman Associates of New York City to examine the feasibility of either building a domed stadium and arena downtown or renovating Municipal Stadium with a dome. Stouffer, Art Modell of the Cleveland Browns, and Paul Bright of the Cleveland Barons all endorsed the study. Supporters of the Luckman plan hinted that a domed stadium and new arena for downtown would improve Cleveland's image. The city, however, was in no condition to aid the Indians, its owner, or any of its professional sports teams. Citizens protested using city money on a new stadium while many neighborhoods and downtown were plagued by crime and pollution, and the city's public education system was in disarray. In February 1970 Luckman concluded that neither the proposed dome and arena plan nor a renovated Municipal Stadium was economically feasible. Projections estimated that a new dome would cost the city \$60.5 million and run a deficit of \$3 million annually. Putting a dome on the current stadium would have cost \$44 million and run a yearly deficit of \$2.6 million. The media lamented the \$120,000 in city, county, and state funds that paid for the study.

The 1970s were unkind to Cleveland, and likewise for the Indians, whose owners were always looking to save money. The team had an overall record of 737–866, never finishing higher than fourth in the Eastern Division or within 14 games of the division leader. It exceeded 1 million in attendance just twice. The Indians ended the 1971 season 43 games out of first place with a 60–102 record, and drew an AL low of 591,348 fans, a drop-off of 138,404 from the previous year. The team was up for sale for \$9 million, which no one offered, although George Steinbrenner did submit a \$6 million offer. By the season's end

Stouffer was entertaining new options to make his franchise more financially viable. In August the local media reported a proposal to share the Indians with New Orleans. The plan called for the Indians to play 30 home games in the new Louisiana Superdome to start the season. Stouffer argued that this would give the franchise \$2.5 million through the transfer of 25 percent of team stock to New Orleans investors, as well as help attendance hurt by Cleveland's cold April weather. Stouffer possessed roughly 78 percent of the Indians' stock, so the sale of the proposed portion to New Orleans investors would still have left him with majority ownership.

In March 1972 native Clevelander Nick Mileti purchased the Indians from Stouffer. Mileti was a sports entrepreneur who had used syndicates to build a sporting empire including the Cavaliers, the Barons of the AHL, the Cleveland Arena, and a new suburban arena. By year's end he would also add the Crusaders of the World Hockey Association. Mileti turned to the city's civic leaders and boosters for financial backing to meet the \$10 million price tag. Local businessmen Alva Bonda, Joseph Zingale, and Bruce Fine (each a member of the Cavaliers ownership syndicate) were joined by Howard Metzenbaum and Bruce's brother Marshall Fine in forming a potential ownership syndicate. Each member contributed \$100,000 up front while Mileti put forth \$500,000 he had borrowed. Eighty percent of the \$1 million would go toward the first payment in the buyout of Stouffer, and the rest toward working capital to operate the team.

The AL owners rejected Mileti's original offer, concerned about Mileti's financial stability and cautious given the recent relocation of franchises in Seattle and Washington, DC. Brothers Dudley and C. Bingham Blossom, members of one of Cleveland's most prominent families; local attorney Richard Miller; and numerous minor partners joined the syndicate, bringing an infusion of cash. On March 22, 1972, the AL announced its approval of the sale. Mileti owned just 7.5 percent of the stock, whereas he held 51 percent of stock in his other investments. He was voted general partner and given a salary. More importantly, the public was ecstatic with the local ownership, which vowed to keep the team in town.

In 1970 the census indicated that Cleveland's inner-city population declined by 101,000 between 1960 and 1969 while its suburbs gained 241,000. As a sports businessman, Mileti wanted to capture the growing suburban market, and in the summer of 1971 he announced his hockey and basketball teams were leaving the Cleveland Arena for a new arena in Richfield, Ohio. Four million people in the metropolitan area lived within an hour's drive of that rural town. When the Indians joined Mileti's empire, Clevelanders worried he would move the Indians to Richfield too. Near the end of the 1972 season, the city canceled the Indians' stadium lease. They hoped to sign a new long-term lease in Municipal Stadium before plans for a new ballpark in Richfield would emerge. Mileti, the city, and Modell, who now controlled the Cleveland Stadium Corporation and handled all the leases, bickered privately

and publicly about keeping baseball downtown, the stadium's conditions, and the strong-arm tactics used by each. In the end, Mileti and the Indians signed a new 10-year lease.

During Mileti's tenure one of the rare moments that Indians fans had reason to celebrate was Frank Robinson's arrival. Signed by the Indians in 1974, Robinson was nearing the end of a Hall of Fame career. Ted Bonda, a member of the new ownership syndicate, viewed Robinson as a future manager because he had the ability, and felt the opportunity should come in Cleveland rather than elsewhere. Secondly, he hoped to revive the team's poor attendance and diminishing drawing power among local African Americans. After the season, the Indians failed to renew manager Ken Aspromonte's contract, and on October 3 they introduced Robinson as their new manager, the first black manager in MLB history. On April 8, 1975, 56,715 fans, including Commissioner Bowie Kuhn, witnessed Robinson hit a home run in his first game as player-manager. Robinson compiled a 186–189 record in Cleveland over two and a third seasons. In 1976 the Indians finished over .500 for the first time in seven years, but overall made little improvement under Robinson. His authority over the team led to notable confrontations with several players. After pitchers Jim Perry and Gaylord Perry butted heads with Robinson early in 1975, they were traded away. Designated hitter Rico Carty, the Indians' Man of the Year in 1976, stated that Robinson lacked leadership skills at a banquet prior to the 1977 season. Carty was fined and suspended, but his comments left Robinson susceptible to growing criticism from members of the organization and the media. Fifty-seven games into the 1977 season, the Indians fired Robinson.

The onset of free agency offered a new method through which the Indians could rebuild the team. After losing out to the New York Yankees in their pursuit of pitcher Jim "Catfish" Hunter in 1975, the Indians in 1976 signed 26-year-old pitcher Wayne Garland, who had won 20 games for Baltimore, for \$230,000 a year over 10 years. After hurting his arm in his first spring-training game, Garland pitched with pain that season and lost 19 games. He was diagnosed at season's end with a torn rotator cuff, from which he never fully recovered. After four more seasons the Indians released Garland, still owing him \$1,150,000 in salary. The Indians' financial problems and losing ways contributed to the lack of any significant free-agent moves until 1990, when they signed first baseman Keith Hernandez to a two-year contract worth \$3.5 million. Like Garland, Hernandez got injured and played only 43 games for Cleveland. At this time, the team was worth \$75 million, 23rd out of 26 major-league teams. Two years later, the Indians had the lowest worth of any team in MLB (\$81 million).

The celebratory beginning of Mileti's tenure as Indians owner did not last long. Like the other elements of Mileti's sporting empire, the Indians faced financial problems and floundered on the field. New ownership had not guaranteed profits, and Mileti's innovations did not increase revenue. Stockholders pushed for Mileti's removal after the 1972 season, and in August 1973 Bonda replaced Mileti as managing partner. In two years under Mileti the

Indians lost \$8 million, lacked operating capital and incoming funds, and got into serious financial trouble. Some visiting clubs complained they did not receive their guaranteed 20 percent share of gate receipts on time. In 1975, Bonda secured extensions on the \$6 million loans Mileti's syndicate used to purchase the Indians, and sought new ownership. Concerned about the impact the Indians' financial state was having on fan attendance, Art Modell interceded and arranged for trucking magnate F.J. "Steve" O'Neill to purchase the team for \$11 million in February 1978, with \$5 million going toward the debt.

With Gabe Paul back as general manager, the new ownership group promised to spend on players to rebuild the franchise. But large operating deficits, including \$5 million just in 1982, hampered the franchise. Steve O'Neill passed away in August 1983. His nephew Patrick took over and put the team up for sale. Finding a buyer was difficult with a reported \$11.5 million in debt, especially one willing to keep the team in Cleveland. Many fans and members of the media feared the Indians would leave when Peter Bavasi was appointed team president in 1984. Bavasi had previously worked to bring a baseball franchise to the Tampa–St. Petersburg, Florida, area. These speculations were heightened when Bavasi had *Cleveland* removed from team uniforms and argued that the city was a bad baseball environment.

In 1986 real-estate developers and brothers Richard and David Jacobs purchased the Indians for \$35.5 million and assumed responsibility for \$12 million in loans. Hank Peters, who had previously helped build the Baltimore Orioles into pennant contenders in the late 1970s and early 1980s, was named team president and chief operating officer. In the early 1980s the Indians had surpassed the 1 million mark in attendance three times, but also dipped below 800,000 between 1983 and 1985.

The new ownership slowly rebuilt the Indians into a contender. Peters invested money in the farm system, which by the early 1990s turned out players such as Albert Belle, Jim Thome, Charles Nagy, and Manny Ramirez. Peters and John Hart, who became general manager in 1991, also brought in Omar Vizquel, Kenny Lofton, Sandy Alomar Jr., and Carlos Baerga through trades. Hart's strategy was to sign selected young players to long-term contracts to avoid inflating the payroll or losing a player to free agency. Although some money was wasted on prospects that never developed, it worked well with key players like Thome and Nagy. When the Indians moved into Jacobs Field in 1994 and experienced a new flow of income from the park, they dabbled in free agency, signing veterans Eddie Murray, Dennis Martinez, and Orel Hershiser a year later.

Hart enabled the Indians to end decades of futility. They had not finished as high as third since 1968, and had only three winning seasons in those years. The 1994 team under manager Mike Hargrove went 66–47 in the strike-shortened season, the team's best record since 1955. Then in 1995 the transactions and player development came together as the Indians won 100 regular-

season games and the AL Central Division by 30 games. Cleveland was an offensive juggernaut, with five players hitting over 20 home runs. The Indians' offense led the AL in almost every category, and its pitching staff owned the lowest ERA. Belle led the AL in home runs, RBIs, runs, doubles, slugging percentage, total bases, and extra-base hits that year. The Indians made their first postseason appearance in 41 years against the Boston Red Sox in the AL Divisional Series. They swept the Red Sox in three games and then faced the Seattle Mariners in the AL Championship Series. Losers of two of their first three games, the Indians won the next three to clinch their first AL pennant since 1954. But outstanding Atlanta Braves hurlers stymied the Indians batters (.179) in the Series, which was lost 4 games to 2.

The success of the franchise on the field and at the gate temporarily gave Cleveland large-market status. Pursuing a World Series championship made the Indians accumulate an upper-echelon team payroll that ranked with the likes of the New York Yankees, Atlanta Braves, and Los Angeles Dodgers. With the city undergoing a renaissance of its own during the late 1980s and early 1990s, large-market status seemed fitting. The 1995 team payroll was just over \$40 million. It would hit nearly \$92 million by 2001. The surge in payroll coincided with sellout crowds at Jacobs Field. Between 1995 and 2001, Cleveland won the Central Division six times and appeared in two World Series. Following its pennant-winning 1995 season, the Indians again won the division crown with league-leading pitching and excellent hitting for average and power. Belle continued to put up big numbers with 48 homers and a league-leading 148 RBIs. But the Orioles upset the Tribe in the ALDS 3–1.

In 1997 the team fell to 87 victories as its pitching faltered. But the batting remained powerful, with a club mark of 220 homers and three 100-RBI men (Jim Thome, David Justice, and Matt Williams). Having defeated the Yankees (3–2) and the Orioles (4–2) in the ALDS and ALCS, Cleveland faced the Florida Marlins in the World Series. In the ninth inning of game seven relief pitcher Jose Mesa blew the series-clinching save, which led to an extra-innings victory for the Marlins and bitter disappointment for the Indians.

The Indians management had built a young and promising team in anticipation of the opening of Jacobs Field in 1994, which was the culmination of the city's quest for modern sporting facilities in the downtown area. Getting "the Jake" built hadn't been easy. Past dilemmas over sports facilities sullied 1980s initiatives. In 1984 Cuyahoga County voters rejected a property-tax issue to fund a \$150 million domed stadium for the Indians and Cleveland Browns. But in 1987 Cleveland's Central Market and several other buildings were razed in an area that became known as the Gateway District. Redevelopment of the area included a new arena and ballpark. The Indians anticipated leaving outdated Municipal Stadium, where the weather was uncomfortable for baseball, the dimensions were too large, and there were too many empty seats. Furthermore, they felt like secondary citizens to the Browns, especially since Art Modell was their landlord. The proposed

ballpark had a \$375 million price tag. Funding was projected to come from a sin tax on alcohol and cigarettes in Cuyahoga County. In preparation for the countywide vote, Commissioner Fay Vincent hinted that passing the sin tax and building the new ballpark was needed to keep the Indians in Cleveland. Clevelanders rejected the tax but the rest of the county did not, passing it by a 1.2 percent margin in May 1990. HOK Sport, the designers of Oriole Ballpark at Camden Yards in Baltimore, designed Cleveland's ballpark to capture the intimacy of historic ballparks and mirror the city's industrial feel in its appearance, including light towers designed to mimic smokestacks. The retro-ballpark design also ensured that the facility would not have the multipurpose options of the stadiums and domes built in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. New ballparks in Denver, Arlington, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, San Francisco, and Seattle followed in the same pattern as those in Baltimore and Cleveland. The Indians signed a 20-year lease to play in Jacobs Field, and Richard Jacobs paid \$13.9 million for naming rights. The 42,400-seat park opened on April 4, 1994, with the Indians defeating the Mariners 4–3 in 11 innings. By then the team's value had surpassed \$100 million, moving the franchise to 12th in worth. Four years later the team was worth \$359 million, second only to the Yankees. The success of the team and the popularity of Jacobs Field resulted in a sellout streak of 455 consecutive games between 1995 and 2001.

The Indians were one of the most successful franchises in baseball at the end of the century. In 1998 Manny Ramirez had 145 RBIs, leading the club to the ALDS, where they beat the Red Sox in four games, and then on to the ALCS, where the Yankees took the last three games to win 4–2. Ramirez did even better in 1999, with 165 RBIs and a .333 batting average. The Tribe lost the ALDS to Boston in five games, however.

Many observers felt the team's fairy tale was coming to an end, as the Cleveland area suffered a recession in the late 1990s. The cash surplus accompanying the new ballpark and the novelty of a pennant contender withered as a result, and the Indians returned to their mid- or small-market economic standing. Having seen his franchise experience an era of unparalleled success and playoff appearances, Richard Jacobs (the sole owner after the passing of his brother in 1992) announced his intent to sell the franchise in May 1999. To many it was a case of getting out while the getting was good. He sold the Indians to Lawrence Dolan for \$323 million. Dolan was a Cleveland native, multimillionaire lawyer, and businessman who also held stock in his brother's Cablevision Systems Corporation. Dolan believed in responsible spending, and in 2002 he trimmed \$15 million off the \$91 million payroll. Fan favorites Thome, Ramirez, and pitcher Bartolo Colon were traded for younger, less costly prospects or were allowed to leave through free agency.

Cleveland and Cuyahoga County were also caught in a backlash of new economic realities when dealing with their contribution to the Indians' rise to

prominence: the economic benefits to the area promised by the development of Jacobs Field and the Gateway Project had not appeared. The public wound up paying 70 percent of the cost to build Jacobs Field and Gund Arena rather than the promised 50 percent. As of 2000, the city and county used higher taxes to pay for the \$125 million cost overruns. Furthermore, people of modest means were priced out of attending games as ticket prices rose in an attempt to generate more revenue.

In 2001, *Forbes* estimated the Indians were worth \$360 million. According to MLB, the Tribe was one of only 11 teams to make a profit from its baseball operations, although their share of revenue sharing resulted in an \$11.4 million loss (which *Forbes* downgraded to \$3.6 million). The team made \$137,841,000 in local revenues, compared to the MLB average of \$94 million, which was fourth highest on a per-capita basis. Two major local revenue streams were local media, at \$21.1 million the second highest in MLB on a per-capita basis, and other operating revenue at \$45.3 million, comprised of concessions, parking, and luxury seating, fourth highest in the big leagues.

In 2000 the squad fell to second in the division and missed the playoffs despite record-setting defense from the great middle-infield combo of Roberto Alomar and Omar Vizquel. The club returned to first in 2001, led by three 100-RBI men: Alomar, Thome (124), and outfielder Juan Gonzales (140). The Tribe lost the ALDS in five to the Seattle club that set a league record of 116 wins. In 2002 the Indians faltered and finished with a losing record. Third-year manager Charley Manuel was let go in midyear for Joel Skinner. Then, under Eric Wedge, the team had its worst season in years (68–94). In 2004, the Indians were back on the verge of returning to contention after winning 80 games and briefly challenging for first place in the Central Division in midseason. General manager Mark Shapiro's five-year plan of building around pitching, strengthening the farm system, and trading veterans for young talent was firmly in place. Like Hart, he signed young talent like catcher Victor Martinez and pitcher C. C. Sabathia, each an All-Star in 2004, designated hitter Travis Hafner, to multiyear deals. The Indians remained cautious and cost conscious in approaching free agency, but for 2005 they did add free-agent hurler Kevin Millwood. Nonetheless, the total payroll was just \$48 million, 26th in MLB. In 2005 the team struggled for a third of the season, but then went 76–46 the rest of the way. They led the wild-card race in the last week of the season, but then lost five of their last six games. The late-season run provoked a guarded return of fans to Jacobs Field. Attendance surpassed 2 million despite local competition for sports dollars and the depressed economy.

Like so many seasons before, fans and the local media were left to cautiously mutter, "Wait till next year." Cleveland's baseball future, like its team, remains a question of potential. Whether it will be fulfilled or not remains to be seen. With no World Series championship since 1948 and no professional sports championship of any sort since 1964, Cleveland anxiously hopes that this potential develops sooner rather than later.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1948	Lou Boudreau	SS
1953	Al Rosen	3B

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1972	Gaylord Perry	RHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1955	Herb Score	P
1971	Chris Chambliss	1B
1980	Joe Charboneau	OF
1990	Sandy Alomar Jr.	C

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1903	Nap Lajoie	.344
1904	Nap Lajoie	.376
1905	Elmer Flick	.306
1916	Tris Speaker	.386
1929	Lew Fonseca	.369
1944	Lou Boudreau	.327
1954	Bobby Avila	.341

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1915	Braggo Roth	7
1950	Al Rosen	37
1952	Larry Doby	32
1953	Al Rosen	43
1954	Larry Doby	32
1959	Rocky Colavito	42
1995	Albert Belle	50

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1903	Earl Moore	1.74
1904	Addie Joss	1.59
1908	Addie Joss	1.16
1911	Vean Gregg	1.80
1923	Stan Coveleski	2.76
1933	Monte Pearson	2.33
1940	Bob Feller	2.61
1948	Gene Bearden	2.43
1950	Early Wynn	3.20
1954	Mike Garcia	2.64
1965	Sam McDowell	2.18
1968	Luis Tiant	1.60
1982	Rick Sutcliffe	2.96
2005	Kevin Millwood	2.86

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1920	Stan Coveleski	133
1938	Bob Feller	240
1939	Bob Feller	246
1941	Bob Feller	260
1943	Allie Reynolds	151
1946	Bob Feller	348
1947	Bob Feller	196
1948	Bob Feller	164
1950	Bob Lemon	170
1955	Herb Score	245
1956	Herb Score	263
1957	Early Wynn	184
1965	Sam McDowell	325
1966	Sam McDowell	225
1968	Sam McDowell	283
1969	Sam McDowell	279
1970	Sam McDowell	304
1980	Len Barker	187
1981	Len Barker	127

No-Hitters (Italics = Perfect Game)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Bob Rhoads	09/18/1908
Addie Joss	10/02/1908
<i>Addie Joss</i>	<i>04/20/1910</i>
Ray Caldwell	09/10/1919
Wes Ferrell	04/29/1931
Bob Feller	04/16/1940
Bob Feller	04/30/1946
Don Black	07/10/1947
Bob Lemon	06/30/1948
Bob Feller	07/01/1951
Sonny Siebert	06/10/1966
Dick Bosman	07/19/1974
Dennis Eckersley	05/30/1977
<i>Len Barker</i>	<i>05/15/1981</i>

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES**AL Central Division Titles**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1995	100–44	Mike Hargrove
1996	99–62	Mike Hargrove
1997	86–75	Mike Hargrove
1998	89–73	Mike Hargrove
1999	97–65	Mike Hargrove
2001	91–71	Chuck Manuel

AL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1920	98–56	Tris Speaker
1948	97–58	Lou Boudreau
1954	111–43	Al Lopez
1995	100–44	Mike Hargrove
1997	86–75	Mike Hargrove

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>
1920	Brooklyn
1948	Boston

MANAGERS

2003–	Eric Wedge
2002	Joel Skinner
2000–2002	Charlie Manual
1991–1999	Mike Hargrove
1990–1991	John McNamara
1989	John Hart
1987–1989	Doc Edwards
1983–1987	Pat Corrales
1983	Mike Ferraro
1979–1982	Dave Garcia
1977–1979	Jeff Torborg
1975–1977	Frank Robinson
1972–1974	Ken Aspromonte
1971	Johnny Lipon
1968–1971	Alvin Dark
1967	Joe Adcock
1966	George Strickland
1964–1966	Birdie Tebbetts
1964	George Strickland
1963–1964	Birdie Tebbetts
1962	Mel Harder
1962	Mel McGaha
1961	Mel Harder
1960–1961	Jimmie Dykes
1960	Jo-Jo White
1958–1960	Joe Gordon
1958	Bobby Bragan
1957	Kirby Farrell
1951–1956	Al Lopez
1942–1950	Lou Boudreau
1941	Roger Peckinpaugh
1938–1940	Ossie Vitt
1935–1937	Steve O'Neill
1933–1935	Walter Johnson
1933	Bibb Falk
1928–1933	Roger Peckinpaugh
1927	Jack McCallister
1919–1926	Tris Speaker
1915–1919	Lee Fohl
1912–1915	Joe Birmingham
1912	Harry Davis
1911	George Stovall

1909–1911	Deacon McGuire
1906–1909	Nap Lajoie
1905	Bill Bradley
1905	Nap Lajoie
1902–1904	Bill Armour
1901	Jimmie McAleer

Team Records by Individual Players

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Plate Appearances
Batting average	Joe Jackson	.408	1911	Joe Jackson	.374	2,852
On-base %	Tris Speaker	.483	1920	Tris Speaker	.444	6,628
Slugging %	Albert Belle	.714	1994	Manny Ramirez	.592	4,095
OPS	Manny Ramirez	1.154	2000	Manny Ramirez	.998	4,095
Games	Leon Wagner	163	1964	Terry Turner	1,619	6,515
At bats	Joe Carter	63	1986	Nap Lajoie	6,034	6,695
Runs	Earl Averill	140	1931	Earl Averill	1,154	6,708
Hits	Joe Jackson	233	1911	Nap Lajoie	2,046	6,695
Total bases	Hal Trosky	405	1936	Earl Averill	3,200	6,708
Doubles	George Burns	64	1926	Tris Speaker	486	6,628
Triples	Joe Jackson	26	1912	Earl Averill	121	6,708
Home runs	Jim Thome	52	2002	Jim Thome	334	5,723
RBIs	Manny Ramirez	165	1999	Earl Averill	1,084	6,708
Walks	Jim Thome	127	1999	Jim Thome	997	5,723
Strikeouts	Jim Thome	185	2001	Jim Thome	1,377	5,723
Stolen bases	Kenny Lofton	75	1996	Kenny Lofton	450	5,570
Extra-base hits	Albert Belle	103	1995	Earl Averill	724	6,708
Times on base	Tris Speaker	316	1920	Tris Speaker	2,864	6,628

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
ERA	Addie Joss	1.16	1908	Addie Joss	1.89	2,327
Wins	Jim Bagby	31	1920	Bob Feller	266	3,827
Won-loss %	Johnny Allen	.938	1937	Vern Gregg	.667	898.3
Hits/9 IP	Luis Tiant	5.3	1968	Herb Score	6.17	714.3
Walks/9 IP	Addie Joss	0.83	1908	Red Donahue	1.40	551.3
Strikeouts	Bob Feller	348	1946	Bob Feller	2,581	3,827
Strikeouts/9 IP	Sam McDowell	10.71	1965	Herb Score	9.35	714.3

(Continued)

Pitching Leaders (Continued)

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
Innings	Bob Feller	371.3	1946	Bob Feller	3,827	3,827
Starts	George Uhle	44	1923	Bob Feller	484	3,827
Complete games	Bob Feller	36	1946	Bob Feller	279	3,827
Shutouts	Bob Feller	10	1946	Addie Joss	45	2,327

Source: Drawn from data in "Cleveland Indians Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/CLE/leaders_bat.shtml; "Cleveland Indians Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/CLE/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Detroit Tigers

Steven A. Riess

The Detroit Tigers, one of the original American League teams, and the only that has always had a downtown ballpark, has had an extremely loyal following for most of its existence. Perhaps more than any other team, it has long been identified with its working-class fans. The Tigers have had their share of great players and outstanding teams, with stable ownership, but the glory years were a long time ago.

Detroit's first professional team was the Hollinger Nine, which lost its first game on May 12, 1879, by a score of 7–1 to the Troy, New York, team of the National League in front of 1,500 paying customers at multipurpose Recreation Park. The city of 120,000 secured a National League franchise two years later for \$20,000. The Wolverines, operated by Mayor William G. Thompson and his associates, grossed \$35,000 and made a \$12,440 profit in 1881, but struggled on the field. Thompson sold out two years later to businessman Joseph H. March, who in turn sold the squad in 1885 to Frederick K. Stearns, whose father had a pharmaceutical business. Stearns added Buffalo's "Big Four" infield of Dan Brouthers, Hardy Richardson, Jack Rowe, and Deacon White for \$8,000, resulting in a second-place finish in 1886. The Wolverines captured the pennant a year later with a record 969 runs (8 per game), and defeated the St. Louis Browns of the American Association 11 games to 4 for the world's championship. In 1888, Stearns resigned as president to run the family business and was replaced by Charles W. Smith, a business partner of future reform mayor Hazen Pingree. The new owners lost \$58,000, sold off the squad, and gave up the franchise.

In 1889 and 1890, the city had a team in the International Association, then none until 1894, when it landed a team in the new Western League, operated by businessman George A. Vanderbeck. He had owned the Los Angeles team in the California League until he was kicked out after the 1892 season for bickering with other owners and organizing a postseason series without permission. The team played at 3,500-seat League Park, just outside the eastern city limits, near the Belle Isle Bridge, a 10-minute walk from city hall and accessed by three trolley lines. The club was known as the Creams (because they were “the cream of the league”), but in 1895 the press began calling them the Tigers, possibly after the Detroit Light Guard, the city’s leading military and social organization, nicknamed the Tigers.

In 1896, after two profitable seasons, Vanderbeck moved to the larger 3.3-acre site of the Western Market, home of a former hay market, lumber mill, and dog pound at Michigan and Trumbull (“the corner”), seven minutes from city hall. He built an L-shaped grandstand with a peaked roof. The 5,000-seat park was named for Charley Bennett, star catcher of the Wolverines, who had lost a leg and a foot in a train accident.

THE COMING OF THE AMERICAN LEAGUE

In 1900, the Western League was renamed the American League, and the teams in St. Paul and Grand Rapids moved to Chicago and Cleveland. Vanderbeck sold the team, because of alimony problems, on March 6 for \$12,000 to James D. Burns, the son of a pioneer Irish brick manufacturer. Burns was a star amateur boxer and wrestler who ran a saloon next door to the Majestic Building, the city’s tallest edifice, which was popular among the sporting crowd, politicians, and journalists, and also the Cadillac AC, a famous boxing arena. He backed world-champion pugilists middleweight Tommy Ryan and heavyweight Tommy Burns. Burns was heavily into Democratic politics, and in 1905 he was elected Wayne County sheriff.

Burns kept on manager George Stallings, despite his reputation for lacking discipline. The team came in fourth in the pennant race and second in attendance. Working-class fans had a hard time attending games because of the late starting time and the absence of Sunday baseball. The Sabbatarian opposition included Mayor William C. Maybury, a leader in the Episcopal Church across the street from the ballpark. The Tigers had previously played a few Sunday games at suburban locations, which drew well. Burns scheduled Sunday games at suburban Burns Park, which he built on family property at Springwells Township by the western boundary of Detroit.

On October 14, the AL proclaimed itself a major league. The league moved out of Indianapolis, Kansas City, Buffalo, and Minneapolis and expanded into the east with teams in Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Washington. Detroit was the smallest city in the AL, with a population of 285,704, one-third foreign born. Burns was owner of record, but AL president Ban Johnson kept

51 percent of the stock in his own name. The team played at Bennett Park, whose 8,500-seat capacity was the smallest in the majors. Its dimensions were 308 feet to left field, 390 feet to center, and 324 feet to right, although the deepest part, in left center, was 420 feet. Detroit's first major-league game since 1888, on April 25, was attended by a city record crowd of 10,023. Milwaukee took a 13–4 lead into the ninth, and thousands of disappointed Tiger fans left early. But the Tigers staged a phenomenal rally, scoring 10 runs in the ninth to win. The Tigers finished the season in third place (74–61), and Burns made a \$35,000 profit, based on an attendance of 259,430. However, management was in disarray because Stallings, a minor stockholder, and Burns did not get along. Then, when Johnson heard that Burns was allegedly cooking the books, he forced them both out. On November 14, 1901, Burns sold the team to a syndicate headed by Samuel F. Angus, who was in the railroad and insurance businesses.

In 1902 the team fell to seventh place and attendance dropped by 27 percent. There were problems with rowdy players and misbehaving fans, especially on Sundays, when many spectators were drunk before they got to the ballpark. A free-for-all at one Sunday game followed the third ejection of a player in three days, and Sunday ball was halted until 1907. Manager Frank Dwyer was fired and replaced by pitcher Win Mercer, an inveterate gambler who committed suicide while on a West Coast exhibition tour. Ed Barrow, who doubled as general manager, took his place. In 1903, when Detroit was the only Western League city still in the AL, the junior circuit merged with the NL. The agreement allowed the Tigers to keep its two latest NL signees, “Wahoo” Sam Crawford of the Cincinnati Reds and pitcher “Wild” Bill Donovan of the Brooklyn Superbas. Crawford batted .332, second in the AL, with a then major-league record 25 triples. He still holds the career marks for the most inside-the-park homers (51) and triples (309).

Johnson wanted a stronger hand in Detroit than Angus, whose primary business was failing. His bookkeeper, Frank Navin, a night-school law graduate whose brother was the city's Republican boss, orchestrated the sale for \$50,000 to William H. Yawkey, the 28-year-old heir to a \$10 million lumber fortune. Navin got 10 percent as a finder's fee, and Yawkey, who considered the team his personal toy, left Navin in charge.

In 1904 Barrow made several important deals, securing shortstop Charley O'Leary; third baseman Bill Coughlin, a future team captain; and left fielder Matty McIntyre, laying the groundwork for future great Tiger teams. However, the team was floundering in seventh place (62–90), and he was fired.

THE ERA OF TY COBB

The new manager in 1905 was Bill Armour, who had led the Cleveland Blues to three straight winning campaigns. The team brought in two new players, outfielder Ty Cobb, one of the first southerners in the majors, and daffy second

baseman Herman "Germany" Schaefer. Schaefer was best known for stealing first base when on second, with another runner at third, hoping to draw a throw and enable his teammate to score.

Cobb was just 18 when he joined the Tigers at the end of August. He was extremely talented and physically imposing, a little over six feet tall and 180 pounds. Cobb was obsessed by a thirst to succeed and haunted by his mother's murder of his father. A keen student of the game, Cobb used a 34-inch-long bat that weighed 38–40 ounces and batted with his hands spread apart. He was a great base runner who swiped home a record 54 times, and on occasion stole second, third, and home in the same inning.

Cobb soon became the best player in the majors, and the most hated, with no friends on the team; McIntyre once did not talk to Cobb for two years. He was a loner, a racist, and had a terrible temper. He tried to intimidate opponents, though he did not sharpen his spikes, as was often alleged. He was involved in several violent episodes, beginning in spring training of 1906, when he attacked a black groundskeeper and his wife.

The 1905 team improved markedly to third (79–74), but faltered at the box office, drawing just 193,384, worst in the AL. Detroit was not yet an established baseball town. The next year the team fell to sixth (71–78), and attendance dropped to a mere 174,043, lowest in team history. Cobb led the team with a batting average of .320, 35 points higher than anyone else, and earned a 60 percent raise to \$2,400. The low attendance was not only attributed to the poor play, but also competition from 50-foot-high wildcat bleachers located beyond the left-center-field fence that drew up to 400 lower-class young men at a cost of 10 cents. After the 1907 season, Navin put up a large canvas to try to block their view, with little success.

In 1907 Armour was supplanted by Hugh Jennings, a former star with the Baltimore Orioles, then managing Baltimore's minor-league team. The Tigers improved to 92–58 and took the 1907 pennant over the Philadelphia A's, led by 25-game winners Bill Donovan and Ed Killian and the majors' best team batting average (.266). Cobb won his first batting championship (.350), as well as leading the league in RBIs (119), hits (212), total bases (283), and stolen bases (49). They faced the Chicago Cubs, who had won 107 games, in the World Series. In game one, the Tigers led in the ninth, but with two out, the tying run scored when Del Howard struck out but was safe on a passed ball. The game ended in a 3–3 tie, called after 12 innings. The Cubs then went on to win the next four contests, giving up just three runs. Only 7,370 attended the final game in Detroit. Nonetheless, the players were amply rewarded for the series, earning \$1,946 each. The players' share of the postseason receipts was nearly \$22,000, and then Yawkey donated his \$15,000 portion to the team as well. Navin had previously been lent \$20,000 by Yawkey to buy a half interest in the team, and he used a portion of his \$50,000 profits to repay Yawkey. Yawkey resigned as president, replaced by Navin, but remained a major stockholder until his death in 1919.

The substantial profits came because attendance (297,079) had risen by 40 percent, partly due to the resumption of Sunday baseball. A stumbling block was Navin's longtime feud with businessman Frank H. Croul, a future police commissioner. Some years earlier, when Navin worked as a bookmaker, Croul tried to make a \$500 wager on a 3–1 favorite, but Navin would not accept the bet, saying it was given too late. Croul told the Tigers executive that he would not interfere with Sunday ball if Navin paid up, and Navin wrote out a \$1,500 check that Croul's attorney gave to charity. The first Sunday game at Bennett Park was played on August 18, with 9,635 in attendance, including the mayor, police chief, and sheriff. The Tigers trounced the New York Highlanders 13–6. After the season Navin bought the factory behind right field and expanded the park's capacity.

In 1908, Cobb and Crawford received raises to \$4,000, and Cobb also had a bonus clause calling for another \$800 if he hit .300. The Tigers reached first place by Memorial Day, and remained on top for most of the summer. The race heated up in late September. Starting the last day of the season, the Tigers were up by a half game over Chicago and Cleveland. They clinched the title that day with a 7–0 victory in Chicago, ending the closest three-team pennant race in major-league history, up by half a game over Cleveland, who had played one more game, with Chicago a game and a half back. Attendance in the expanded park zoomed to 436,199, third best in the AL. Cobb led the league in batting (.324), slugging (.475), RBIs (101), hits (188), and total bases (276). McIntyre topped the AL in runs scored (105), and Crawford led with seven homers. The pitching dropped off, but knuckleballing rookie lefty Ed Summers went 24–12 with a 1.64 ERA.

The World Series opponents were again the Cubs. In Detroit the Tigers led game one 6–5 in the ninth, but the Cubs came back with five to steal the game. The next day was Sunday, and the series moved to Chicago. The Cubs got six runs in the eighth inning off Donovan and won 6–1. The following day, the Tigers won their first game against the Cubs in two years, 8–3. But the Cubs came back in game four in Detroit, blanking the Tigers 3–0 behind Three Finger Brown. Only 6,210 turned out for the fifth and final game, with Orval Overall shutting out the Tigers 2–0 in just 85 minutes. This was the poorest-attended game in World Series history. The low attendance in Detroit, and Navin's decision not to add his share into the players' pockets, resulted in their share dropping to \$871.

The Tigers continued to play great baseball in 1909, winning an AL record 98 games, including 57 at home, still a team record. George Mullin won 29 to lead the majors. He had a terrific career in Detroit, winning 209 games in 12 seasons, including a no-hitter in 1912. The Tiger batsmen, tops in the AL (.267), were led again by Cobb, who led the league in batting (.377), homers (9), and RBIs (107), an achievement later known as the Triple Crown. He also led the league in hits (216), stolen bases (76), and total bases (296). The team drew a record 490,490 attendance, which encouraged Navin to raise Bennett's capacity to 13,000.

The Tigers advanced to play the Pirates in the World Series. Fans were excited by the anticipated match between baseball's two star players, Cobb and shortstop Honus Wagner of the Pirates. The teams split the first six games, but the Tigers were trounced in the finale at home, 8–0, and lost the World Series. Wagner hit .333, had six steals, and fielded brilliantly, outshining Cobb, who had his third straight disappointing Series performance, batting just .231. The total attendance set a World Series record, but the crowds at Pittsburgh's new Forbes Field were about one-third larger than at Bennett. Each Tiger got \$1,273.50. After the season, McIntyre led several Tigers to Cuba on an exhibition tour, and won just 4 out of 12 games against local teams bolstered by black American ringers.

In 1910 Cobb signed a three-year contract at \$9,000 a year, second only to Honus Wagner. The Tigers could not keep up with the A's, ending a distant third, 18 games off the pace. In the batting race, Cobb elected to sit out the last two games with a seemingly insurmountable lead over Napoleon Lajoie, who played a doubleheader on the last day of the season. Cobb was so hated by Browns manager Jack O'Connor that he tried to help Lajoie take the batting crown. O'Connor told rookie third baseman John "Red" Corriden to play on the outfield grass for his safety against Lajoie's famed lined shots. Lajoie tripled his first time up, and then bunted successfully seven times, going eight for nine. The press reported conflicting statistics, but the AL declared Cobb the winner, .3849 to Lajoie's .3841. Statisticians have since readjusted Cobb's mark to .383.

The Tigers traveled to Cuba after the season for a series of exhibitions and went 7–4–1. Cobb batted .370 in five games, but was outhit by three black Americans playing for local teams. Cobb promised to never again play against blacks.

In 1911 the Tigers went 86–65, second to the Athletics. The entire team hit a robust .292, second best in the AL. Crawford hit .378, his all-time high, with 115 RBIs, while Cobb was sensational, batting .420 with 248 hits, 147 runs, and 144 RBIs. He also led the league in doubles, triples, slugging, and stolen bases, and hit in an AL record 40 straight games. The Base Ball Writers Association of America chose him as AL MVP, for which he was awarded another Chalmers automobile. The team was beset by growing dissension and a near revolt against Jennings, who irritated them with his sarcastic criticism, failure to discipline Cobb when he got out of line, and questionable decisions with his pitching staff.

Increased fan interest in booming Detroit, whose population reached 465,766 in 1910 and would double to 993,678 by 1920, when it was the fourth-largest city in the United States, encouraged Navin to rebuild. In 1912 his Tigers moved into a \$300,000 concrete, single-decked, 23,000-seat ballpark. Navin Field was nearly twice the size of Bennett Park. The field was symmetrical, 365 feet in right field, 400 feet to center, and 340 feet in left.

It had a 125-foot flagpole in center field, the tallest structure in fair territory inside any major-league ballpark, and a giant scoreboard in left field that reported out-of-town games. On Opening Day, April 20, 24,382 filled the park, including fans who stood in the roped-off outfield. They were entertained by a 6–5 extra-innings Tiger victory over Cleveland.

The pitching and the supporting cast collapsed that season, and the Tigers finished with their worst record since Cobb joined the club (69–84). Cobb, though, was spectacular, leading the AL in batting (.410), hits (227), and slugging (.586). The team's on-field struggles were reflected by a nearly 20 percent drop in home attendance, very unusual at a new ballpark. Yet the season was still very profitable, mainly because of the Tigers' share of out-of-town games—*Sporting Life* estimated that Cobb was such a big gate attraction that his presence was worth an additional \$30,000 on the road—and such sources of revenue as the fees paid by Western Union (\$17,000 in 1913) to telegraph results to poolrooms and saloons. By the end of the season, Navin had made \$365,000 from his team, which was reportedly worth \$650,000.

Cobb's temper got the better of him on May 15 in New York, when he was ragged by a fan sitting near the bench. After the third inning Cobb jumped into the stands and began beating up the fan, Claude Lueker, a former printing-press operator who had lost a hand and three fingers in an accident at work. Cobb was thrown out of the game and suspended indefinitely by the league. After he missed one game, his teammates, surprisingly, rallied behind him, telegraphing AL president Ban Johnson that they would not play until his reinstatement. On May 18 at Shibe Park, the Tigers fielded a team comprised of 12 Philadelphia semipro and college students at \$10 each, except the pitcher, who got \$50 for his efforts in a 24–2 debacle. The regular players returned for the next game, receiving a fine of \$100. Cobb got off with a 10-day suspension and a \$50 fine.

The team stagnated in sixth place in 1913 with the worst pitching in the AL. Cobb, who had held out to get a \$12,000 contract, again led in batting at .390, and was second in slugging. One year later the Tigers were one of the highest-paid teams because Cobb (\$15,000), Crawford (\$7,500), and shortstop Donie Bush got big raises to prevent them from jumping to the rival Federal League. Navin raised box seats to \$1.25 and grandstand seats to 75 cents and \$1 to help pay for the raises, but kept the pavilion (50 cents) and bleacher (25 cents) prices low, very affordable for Henry Ford's employees, who were earning \$5 a day. The team began rebuilding, and even though Cobb missed nearly two months of the season because of a cracked rib from a pitched ball and then a broken thumb from a fight with a butcher he felt had insulted his wife, the Tigers rose to third place (80–73).

The Tigers fended off Federal League recruiters by offering generous raises. Cobb was upped to \$20,000 for three years, making him the highest-paid player



Ty Cobb, Detroit, and Joe Jackson, Cleveland, standing alongside each other, 1913. Courtesy of the Library of Congress

in baseball. The Tigers in 1915 were led by their outfield of Cobb, Crawford, and Bobbie Veach and the pitching of Harry Coveleski (22–13) and George “Hooks” Dauss (24–13), ending with a record of 100–54. They finished two and a half games behind the Red Sox, and were the first team with 100 victories to not win a pennant. Cobb had another remarkable season, leading the AL with a .369 batting average as well as in hits (208), runs (144), and stolen bases (96, a record that lasted until 1962, though he was also thrown out a record 38 times). His outfield mates tied for the AL lead in RBIs with 112, and Cobb was third with 99. The team made about \$64,000, one of only two clubs to finish in the black as MLB struggled against the Federal League.

The Feds went out of business after the season, which resulted in many reduced salaries, except for those like Cobb with long-term salaries. His salary was one-fifth of the

entire team payroll. In 1916 Harry Heilmann broke into the starting lineup, replacing the aging Crawford, who had lost his speed. The club was in a virtual tie with the Red Sox in mid-September, but their hopes were killed when the Sox swept a three-game series in Navin Field. The Tigers finished third, four games out. Cobb lost the batting crown for the first time since 1910, though he cranked out 200 hits for the sixth straight year and led the majors in steals (68) and runs scored (113). Tigers’ stockholders enjoyed a banner season, with profits of \$126,000, double that of 1915.

The optimism that greeted the 1917 season faded as the Tigers started out poorly, and they were in last place in late May. The team ended up in fourth (78–75), despite a league-leading .259 batting average. Crawford’s distinguished career came to an end after 19 years, with a lifetime batting average of .309 and 2,964 hits. Cobb regained the AL batting title at .383, some 30 points ahead of anyone else; led the majors with 55 steals; and led the AL in base hits (225), doubles (44), triples (24), total bases (336), and slugging (.571). The Tigers continued in the black, earning \$50,000.

Wartime restrictions in 1918 hindered baseball. The season was cut to 140 games. Extended workdays and the absence of star players who avoided the draft by getting jobs in defense industries hurt attendance. The Tigers had a dismal season, ending in seventh place (55–71), and lost about \$30,000. Cobb again led the AL with a .382 mark, 100 points higher than any teammate. Cobb volunteered for the military, despite his deferred status as a father, and served overseas as a captain in the Chemical Warfare Service.

In 1919 rosters were cut back to 21 for the 140-game season, which started two weeks later than usual. A big addition was Dutch Leonard, purchased from New York for \$15,000, which helped give the Tigers a solid pitching staff along with Howard Ehmke, George “Hooks” Daus, and Bernie Boland. The team fell off the pace in September and came in fourth, one spot out of World Series money. The exciting pennant race enabled the Tigers to lead the AL in attendance for the first time (643,805), earning the stockholders \$110,000. Cobb led the majors in batting (.384) and hits (191). Veach had a very strong year, batting .355 and leading the league in doubles (45) and triples (17), and was second to Ruth in RBIs.

In 1920 the nature of play began to change dramatically as offense became emphasized. The balls carried a lot farther, all pitches that adulterated baseballs were barred, and only clean balls were used. Furthermore, players were emulating the power and prowess of Babe Ruth instead of the hard work, guile, and meticulousness of Cobb, who resented the changes. The Tigers that year were dreadful, ending in seventh, 37 games out of first. There was dissension all season between Jennings, now a heavy drinker, and his players, especially the pitchers. Cobb was injured twice and played just 112 games, batting .334. During the season Yawkey sold his stock to auto-industry tycoons John Kelsey and Walter Briggs for \$500,000. Briggs was a self-made man who made a fortune in the trim- and paint-shop business, employing 40,000 workers, and had become a fixture in the city's social elite.

Jennings resigned as manager after the season, after 14 years and 1,311 victories. Navin and his new partners, after a lot of cajoling, convinced the wealthy Cobb to become player-manager, despite his own misgivings. On December 18, 1920, Cobb signed a contract to manage the Tigers for one year for \$35,000, a salary second only to John J. McGraw of the Giants. Cobb's signing was well received by the fans, and, surprisingly, by his teammates. Cobb was hired because he was the Detroit Tigers, even though he lacked a manager's temperament. He was moody; easily frustrated; a harsh, unrelenting critic; and a hot-tempered man.

Cobb stressed fundamentals in spring training, especially bunting, base stealing, and the hit-and-run, even though he had a very slow team. He warned against fraternizing with opponents, yet gave his players freedom off the field. Cobb often platooned players, and did well instructing batting, but was not a good handler of pitchers. He was on bad terms with several players, especially

Heilmann. Late in the season he got so irate at umpire Billy Evans's calls that he followed him into the umpire's dressing room. They had what was reputedly one of the bloodiest fights in baseball history. Cobb was briefly suspended from play, but allowed to manage.

The team ended in sixth place, with 10 more victories than in 1920. Heilmann edged Cobb for the batting crown by five points with a mark of .394, earning him a 67 percent raise to \$12,000. The entire team batted .316, an all-time league record, while the three starting outfielders drove in 368 runs, the most ever by an AL outfield. But the team was sixth in defense and giving up runs.

In 1922, the season started inauspiciously on April 30 when White Sox rookie Charlie Robertson pitched a perfect game against Detroit. The Tigers finished in third (79–75) as the team again batted over .300, but the only reliable hurler was Herman Pillette, with 19 wins. Cobb batted .401, second only to George Sisler's spectacular .420. The fans came out in droves, as attendance reached 861,206, second only to the Yankees. Cobb directly benefited because he got 10 cents for every ticket sold over 700,000.

Cobb brashly predicted a pennant in 1923. The fans were ready for the season, since 36,000 attended Opening Day, and then a Sunday game on May 13 against Ruth and the Yankees drew 40,884. The team, as expected, did a great job at bat, and collectively hit .300, led by Heilmann, who led the league with .403, while Cobb .hit 340 and rookie Heinie Manush, who platooned in the outfield, hit .334. But the team had the second-highest ERA (4.09) in the AL, and the defense made the fewest double plays in the majors. The team ended up in second to the Yankees, 16 games off the pace. Over the course of the season, over 900,000 Tiger fans came out to support their team, second only to the attendance at the new Yankee Stadium. The Tigers were then considered among the four richest teams in MLB.

The fan interest convinced Navin to double-deck the grandstand, raising capacity in 1924 to 30,000, with an accompanying 25-cent rise in ticket prices. His Tigers tried to make a race of it, and led the league in batting (.298), but only hit 35 homers and had inadequate pitching and too many injuries, and came in third, drawing a record 1 million fans. The long-standing feud between Cobb and the Yankees, especially Ruth, blew up in Detroit on June 13. Cobb was very jealous of Ruth, who tested his value system, which stressed family and traditional morality; challenged the old game of inside baseball; and threatened his stature as the best player in the game. The Yankees were ahead 10–6 in the ninth when pitcher Bert Cole threw at Ruth's head. After Ruth fouled out, he told Bob Meusel, who was up next, that Cobb had signaled the pitcher to throw at him too. When the first pitch hit Meusel in the ribs; he ran out to the mound, and both teams went at it. Umpire Billy Evans had the police take the Yankees to their dressing room and forfeited the game to New York.

In 1925, Cobb made \$50,000, equal to AL president Johnson. On May 4, Cobb told reporters in St. Louis that he was mad that the press saw him as the antithesis

of Ruth. "I'll show you something today. I'm going for home runs." The following day Cobb had six straight hits, including three homers and a double, setting an AL record of 16 total bases. One day later, he hit two more homers, plus a single, for nine straight hits. No one had hit five homers in two games since 1884. By the end of the season, the press was applauding him as a model, disciplined athlete, unlike Ruth, hospitalized purportedly because of overeating and fined \$5,000 by Miller Huggins for insubordination. The team came in fourth, with Cobb at 38 batting .378 while Heilmann hit a league-leading .393. The offense was stellar, batting .304, but the pitchers had a very high 4.61 ERA.

By 1926, Detroiters were getting tired of Cobb, who baited umpires and seemed to overmanage, especially since the team came in sixth, despite a winning record (79–75). Manush won the batting championship with a .378 average; the other outfielders, Bob Fothergill and Heilmann, both hit .367; and rookie second baseman Charlie Gehringer batted .277 in the first of his 17 seasons with the Tigers, and became known as "the Mechanical Man" for his reliability. Cobb cut back on his play, though he was still frisky enough to steal home plate on July 3, and retired as manager after the season. He amassed 4,189 hits in his career, 3,900 with the Tigers, batting .366 with 11 batting championships, and stole a record 892 bases. He led in slugging eight times, on-base percentage seven times, hits eight times, runs five times, total bases six times, and stolen bases six times, and was an original inductee into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1936.

On December 21, Dutch Leonard charged Cobb and Tris Speaker, who had just retired as Indians manager, with having tried to fix a game in late 1919. Leonard claimed that at a meeting with them and outfielder Joe Wood, Speaker had pointed out that since his Indians had already clinched second, the next day's game was meaningless for them, but vital for the Tigers, fighting with New York for third place and World Series money. Leonard claimed they agreed to bet \$5,500 on the game. The Tigers won 9–5, in a game that took just 66 minutes. Leonard produced letters from Cobb and Wood that seemed to confirm his story. Leonard admitted a grudge against Cobb and Speaker, who he thought had helped push him out of baseball.

Subsequently, Swede Risberg, the Black Sox shortstop, claimed that the 1917 Sox had contributed \$1,100 to the Tigers to throw doubleheaders in Chicago on September 2 and 3, and that near the end of the 1919 season, the Sox had not tried their hardest in late-season games with the Tigers. Fellow Black Sox outfielder Happy Felsch confirmed that story. Landis interviewed 34 players from the 1917 teams. They claimed the money was a reward to the Tigers for beating the Red Sox in 12 of 21 games, which was often done back then. Landis exonerated Cobb and Speaker. Cobb returned to the diamond with the Philadelphia A's, who gave him the highest salary in MLB.

George Moriarty, the old Tigers hurler, replaced Cobb as manager in 1927 and took the team to a fourth-place finish (82–71). The team continued to hit well, led by Heilmann's .398, his fourth batting title in alternating years. The

highlight was an unassisted triple play on May 31 by first baseman Johnny Neun, the fourth in baseball history. Tiger games were broadcast for the first time on WWJ, with the hope that it would promote attendance. Edwin "Ty" Tyson was the voice of the Tigers through 1942. In 1934 WXYZ paid the Tigers \$25,000 to broadcast over the new Michigan Radio Network. Their show featured Heilmann, whose storytelling captivated the fans.

The club repeated in fourth in 1928, but with a dismal 68–86 record, and attendance dropped by almost 300,000, producing a loss of \$85,150, most to then in team history. Only 404 attended the September 25 game with the Red Sox. Moriarty was replaced by Bucky Harris, but the team remained mediocre. The club skidded to sixth place in 1929 (70–84), while continuing to pound the ball, leading the AL in batting (.299) and runs (926), but dead last in pitching (4.96 ERA). The crowds returned, nearly doubling to 869,318. Twenty-six-year-old rookie Dale "Moose" Alexander, a six-foot three-inch, 215-pound farm boy, hit .343 with 137 RBIs and 25 homers (a Tigers record), and tied for the AL lead in hits with 215. He hit .331 in six seasons, but was a butcher at first base.

The Tigers' poor play, finishing fifth three times between 1930 and 1933 and seventh in 1931, and the collapse of the auto industry during the depression, which pushed 220,000 out of work, hurt the Tigers at the box office. In 1933 attendance was down to 320,972, the lowest since 1907, and losses were nearly \$85,000. Navin tried to cut three straight years of losses by barring radio broadcasts on weekends and holidays and adding such promotions as footraces and milking contests.

THE ERA OF HANK GREENBERG

In 1933 a promising rookie, Hank Greenberg, joined the Tigers, along with lefty Schoolboy Rowe, a recent Arkansas high-school graduate. Greenberg, at six feet four inches and 215 pounds, was a highly sought-after high-school ballplayer from the Bronx whom the Tigers signed in September 1929 for \$6,000 and another \$3,000 when he left NYU and reported to the Tigers. He became a starter in August, and hit .301 with 87 RBIs in 117 games.

After the season, the Tigers took advantage of Connie Mack's financial woes to bolster their squad. Mack started selling off his star players. He sold superstar catcher Mickey Cochrane for \$100,000 to the Tigers, who made him player-manager.

Cochrane's tough leadership led the team to a remarkable turnaround. Predicted to finish in the middle of the pack, the Tigers won the pennant handily with 101 victories, leading the AL in offense and defense and second in pitching. The entire team, including six starters, batted .300. The infielders drove in 462 runs, including 139 for Greenberg and 127 for Gehring. Cochrane, who hit .320, was MVP. Gehring led the AL in hits (214) and runs scored (134), and Greenberg led the AL with a near record 63 doubles. The pitching improved dramatically, with Tommy Bridges emerging as a star with 21 wins. Submariner

Eldon Auker went 15–7, and Schoolboy Rowe won 24, including 16 straight, tying a league record. Attendance rose to 919,161, tops in the AL. The success of the team reputedly built up the city's self-confidence in its fight against the depression.

Greenberg was embraced by Jewish Detroiters, beset by the anti-Semitism of Henry Ford and Royal Oak radio priest Father Charles Coughlin, as a hero. Greenberg was uncertain about playing on Rosh Hashanah, but played and hit two homers, enabling the Tigers to beat Boston 2–1. He did not play on Yom Kippur, by which time the Tigers had virtually clinched the pennant. Greenberg encountered a lot of anti-Semitism, but refused to turn the other cheek. Following a game in 1938 when one of the White Sox on the bench called him a “yellow Jew son of a bitch,” he went into the Sox clubhouse. According to Eldon Auker, Greenberg called them out, “‘The guy that called me a yellow son of a bitch get on his feet and come up here and call it to my face.’ Not a guy moved. He was damn lucky, because Hank would have killed him. Hank was a tough guy.”

The World Series against the Cardinals was partly sponsored by Ford Motor Company, which put \$100,000 into the player's pool. Dizzy Dean won game one in Detroit before 42,505 raucous fans, 8–3, as the Tigers infield committed five errors. The Bengals won game two 3–2 in 12 innings with Rowe pitching a complete game, and then two of three in St. Louis. But they lost game six in Detroit 4–3, and then in the seventh game, before 40,902 home fans, were routed 11–0.

In 1935 the confident and hungry Tigers led the pennant race most of the season, finishing with a record of 93–58, outscoring the opposition 919–665. The Tigers again led the AL in batting (.290), and averaged a half run more than their rivals per game; made just 126 errors (.979), 25 fewer than anyone else; and had a staff ERA (4.38) that led the league. Auker had a league-leading .720 winning percentage, while Bridges (163) and Rowe (140) were first and second in strikeouts. Greenberg, who was already earning \$15,000, had 110 RBIs at the All-Star break, yet was not selected for the All-Star Game. Greenberg was selected as MVP and led the league in RBIs (170, 51 more than Lou Gehrig, who was second), total bases (389), and extra-base hits (98), and tied for most homers (36) with Jimmy Foxx.

The first game of the 1935 World Series in Detroit against the Cubs drew a record 47,391, but fans went home disappointed, as the Tigers were shut out 3–0 by Lon Warneke. Game two started with the temperature at 48 degrees, the coldest for a Series game since 1907, when the same two teams had played in a snowstorm. The Tigers won 8–3, but Greenberg, who had homered earlier, broke his wrist in a play at home plate. The series moved to Wrigley Field, where the Tigers captured the next two games. The Cubs stayed alive in the fifth game, winning 3–1. The Tigers closed out the series in Detroit with a 4–3 victory, as Goose Goslin drove in Cochrane from second base with a single in the bottom of the ninth. Detroiters reveled in the victory and covered down-

town with ticker tape and confetti. The club earned a record \$521,202 in the championship year of 1935, and declared \$200,000 in dividends. Overall, in the 1930s the Tigers made \$1,345,531, not bad for the depression.

That fall, Navin had a heart attack while horseback riding and died. Only then did the players learn that Briggs was a silent partner. Briggs had a reputation as a paternalistic and generous owner, who mainly used baseball to serve his city. He never took a salary and reinvested his profits back in the team. Briggs purchased Navin's share for \$1 million, \$100,000 over the team's book value, and then spent another \$1 million fixing up the park, expanding the second deck into right field and raising the capacity to 36,000. Before the 1938 season he spent about \$1 million to double-deck the left-field stands and the center-field bleachers, expanding capacity to 52,416, and renamed the stadium for himself.

In 1936 the Tigers purchased the great Al Simmons from the White Sox for \$75,000. Confident of a three-peat, the team was hindered by injuries, including Greenberg, who broke his wrist and missed nearly the whole season. Cochrane suffered a nervous breakdown in June and was replaced for several weeks by coach Del Baker. The team batted .300, second best in the AL, led by Gehringer (.354) and outfielder Gee Walker (.353). Gehringer amassed 227 hits, including a league-leading 60 doubles, and four players, led by Goslin, had 100 or more RBIs. But the pitching was subpar, with only Tommy Bridges (23–11), who led the AL with 175 strikeouts, and Rowe (19–11) having solid seasons. The Tigers finished a distant second to the Yankees.

In 1937 the Tigers fell to fourth despite batting a league-leading .291, with four men amassing over 200 hits. Gehringer won the batting title (.371) and MVP Award, and Greenberg drove in 183 runs, one short of the AL record. Rudy York was a big addition behind the plate, batting .307 with 35 homers (including a record 18 in August) and 103 RBIs. But the pitching was among the worst in the AL. Cochrane was beamed on June 25, which ended his playing days, and thereafter he became a less effective manager.

In 1938, Greenberg, a notorious pull hitter, hit 58 home runs. He enjoyed hitting in Briggs Stadium, where batters had a good background and the power alley in left center was just 365 feet. Greenberg had 46 homers by the end of August, six days ahead of Ruth's pace. His race to beat Ruth dominated fan interest because the Yankees had made a shambles of the pennant race. He had 58 with five games to go, but did not homer again. He felt he had a fair chance to beat the record, and that pitchers did not pitch around him out of respect for Babe Ruth or because of anti-Semitism. Despite his brilliant season, he had to fight with Briggs to raise his \$35,000 salary by \$5,000.

That season, Cochrane, who was making \$45,000 as manager and vice president, would often get phone calls from the tyrannical Briggs, complaining about his work with the pitching staff. Cochrane was also second-guessed by the fans, sportswriters, and even his own players. Cochrane was fired on August 6, replaced by third-base coach Del Baker.

The Tigers fell to fifth in 1939 under Baker. One year later, he shifted York, a poor catcher but a powerful hitter, to first base. Greenberg was told to play left field or face a salary cut, agreeing only after getting a \$10,000 bonus. One year later, Greenberg led the Tigers to the pennant, hitting a career high of .340, which tied him for the team lead with outfielder Barney McCoskey. He led the league in homers (41), slugging (.670), doubles (50), total bases (384), and RBIs (150), and was voted MVP, the first player so honored at two different positions. The pitching was average, except for Bobo Newsom, who went 21–5, but the strong offense, which led the league in runs and batting (.286), made up for it. Rudy York had 33 homers and 134 RBIs. The key stretch came in late September when the team won 15 of its last 21 games, with Greenberg hitting .429, with 37 RBIs and 33 runs. The late-season batting surge was probably helped by Tommy Bridges, who had started using a telescopic lens from a new rifle to read the opposing catcher's signals from a seat in the upper deck.

In the World Series, the Tigers continued to steal signals at home, but not in Cincinnati, fearful that a detected spy would be beaten up. But once Reds starting catcher Ernie Lombardi got hurt and was replaced by Jimmy Wilson, his signals were given so low that the Tigers in the dugout could see them. The veteran Tigers were favored in the series, and took game one at Crosley Field 7–2, but lost game two 5–3. The teams split the next two games in Detroit, and the Tigers took game five 8–0 behind Newsom's three-hitter. But back in Cincinnati, Bucky Walters shut out the Tigers 4–0 even though the Tigers knew every pitch that was coming. Paul Derringer beat Newsom in the final game, working on one day's rest, 2–1 to take the series.

The Tigers squad was severely weakened in 1941 when Greenberg was drafted. He was honorably discharged on December 5, but enlisted in the Army Air Corps after Pearl Harbor, the first major leaguer to sign up. The Tigers slumped to fourth (75–79). Newsom fell to 12–20, was cut from \$34,000 to \$12,500, and refused to sign. He was subsequently sold to Washington and led the league in strikeouts.

In 1942 and 1943, the team came in fifth, reliant on the pitching staff, which in 1943 had an ERA of 3.00. Dizzy Trout was 20–12 with a 2.48 ERA and tied for the league lead with five shutouts. The team should have done better, since it led the AL in batting and was third in run production, but they committed 171 errors, second highest in the AL. York had 34 homers, 118 RBIs, and 301 total bases, and rookie outfielder Dick Wakefield hit .316 with 200 hits. Wakefield had been signed off the University of Michigan campus for a record \$52,000 bonus and automobile. He batted .293 in seven years with Detroit. Another promising youngster was 22-year-old Hal Newhouser, a local boy who had joined the Tigers four years earlier, straight off the sandlots. Hal was exempt from the draft with a heart murmur.

The Tigers sold a lot of tickets during the war. In 1943 they drew over 600,000, second best in the AL, which reflected the city's large population of war-related industrial workers looking for inexpensive entertainment. The team

tried to start games around 5 P.M. to entertain defense-plant workers, but the natural lighting was inadequate. Briggs Stadium also hosted Negro League ball games aimed at a black population that doubled to 300,000 during the war.

In 1944, the Tigers led the pennant race by a game going into the final weekend, then were tied starting play on Sunday. But they lost to last-place Washington and finished second, one game behind the St. Louis Browns. The team led the AL in attendance (923,176) and in pitching with the fabulous tandem of Trout (27–14) and MVP Newhouser (29–9), the only 20-game winners in the AL. They went one-two in innings pitched (352.3 and 312.3), ERA (2.12 and 2.22), complete games (33 and 25), and shutouts (7 and 6). Newhouser led in strikeouts (187), with Trout second (144).

Greenberg was the first major leaguer to return from the military in 1945, joining the Tigers on July 1, when they were just a game out of first place. He homered that day in front of 55,000 fans. On the final day of the season, the Tigers were in first by one game over the Senators, playing a doubleheader against the third-place Browns, needing a victory to clinch the pennant. The Browns were up 4–3 in the ninth, but Greenberg hit a grand slam to win the game and take the pennant. Greenberg hit .311 in 78 games, but did not have enough at bats to qualify for the batting title. The team was second in runs scored and second in ERA (2.99), led by Newhouser, who won the pitching triple crown (25–9 with a 1.81 ERA and 212 strikeouts) and MVP Award. The team again led the AL in attendance.

The World Series against the Cubs began in Detroit, where three games drew an average of over 54,000 fans. The rest of the games were scheduled for Chicago because of travel restrictions. Hank Borowy surprised the Tigers and Newhouser by beating them 9–0 in the opening game, but the Tigers came back to win game two, 4–1, with a Greenberg homer. Claude Passeau pitched a one-hitter to beat the Tigers 3–0, but the Tigers bounced back, taking the next two games at Wrigley, 4–1 and 8–4. In game six, the Tigers were down 7–3, but tied it up in the eighth, highlighted by a Greenberg home run. But the Cubs won in the 12th when a ball hit to left struck the head of a sprinkler system and bounced over Greenberg's head, letting a runner on second score the winning run. Game seven proved to be a cakewalk, as the Tigers scored five runs in the first, the key hit a bases-loaded double by Paul Richards, and won 9–3. The Tigers got over \$8,000 for the winner's share, a record at the time.

After the season York was traded to Boston, and Greenberg returned to first base at his prewar salary of \$55,000, plus a \$20,000 bonus, which made him the highest-paid player in MLB, second in history only to Babe Ruth. The Tigers won 92 games, 4 games more than the year before, but finished 10 back of the high-flying Boston Red Sox. Greenberg batted under .300 for the first time in his career (.277), yet led the AL in homers (44) and RBIs (127). Newhouser proved to critics that he was not just a war-era pitcher by leading the AL for the third straight time in wins and the second straight time in ERA (1.94). Attendance in the first postwar season soared to 1,722,590, one-third higher than

the year before. Since 1934, the Tigers had led the AL in attendance six times and were second five times. From 1920 through 1945, the Tigers earned at least \$100,000 in 21 seasons, second only to the Yankees. Detroit after the war was at the height of its economic power, with the auto industry booming and workers making a lot of overtime money. Downtown was bustling with commerce during the day and entertainment at night. The Tigers' average attendance from 1946 to 1950 was 1.6 million, more than even the Yankees. The average profit between 1934 and 1945 was \$151,016, which then from 1946 to 1950 rose to \$213,009. Seventy-five percent of the earnings came from the box office.

The 1947 season opened without Hank Greenberg, who was unceremoniously traded to the lowly Pirates for \$10,000. This was an odd send-off for the current home-run champion, longtime Detroit favorite, and future Hall of Famer. A New York paper had inaccurately implied that Greenberg wanted to play for the Yankees, which the local papers, probably egged on by Briggs, picked up on.

Attendance dropped that season by 300,000, partly due to the loss of Greenberg. However, Briggs Stadium was the scene of the largest crowd in Detroit history when 58,369 attended a Sunday doubleheader on July 20 against the hated Yankees. The Tigers came in second to the Yankees. Newhouser fell off to 17–17, but led the league in complete games and was second in strikeouts. Young third baseman George Kell, who hit .320, was the only dependable hitter on the team.

Televised TV began in Detroit on June 3, 1947, when there were only about 2,000 TVs in the city, mainly in bars and hotel lobbies, with Ty Tyson as the broadcaster. It produced little revenue at first, but by 1952, local TV was bringing in \$320,000. WWJ televised about one-third of the home games in the 1950s, mostly with Van Patrick reporting the games and anecdotal Dizzy Trout, with his malapropisms, doing the color. In 1959 George Kell replaced Patrick, and one year later Ernie Harwell was added. They would both call Tiger games for over 30 years, Harwell exclusively on the radio in 1965. In 1960 the Tigers televised 42 day games, including 24 on Saturdays, and had the highest rating of any team in MLB. In 1965 local TV brought in \$12 million. The Tigers made another \$300,000 from WJR, its radio outlet, equal to its share of national TV.

On June 15, 1948, the Tigers introduced night baseball, the last team in the majors other than the Cubs to install lights. Briggs wanted baseball to be played only in daylight, but his son, Walter "Spike" Briggs Jr., pushed for the change. The 14 night games in 1948 averaged about 45,000 in attendance, which reflected the team's working-class fandom. Evening attendance declined once the novelty wore off, but still averaged about 30,000 in the 1950s, well above the league average.

YEARS OF MEDIOCRITY

The Tigers were competitive through 1950. Former Yankees third baseman Red Rolfe took over as skipper in 1948, and the team came in fifth (78–76)

followed by a strong fourth in 1949 (86–67), when first baseman Vic Wertz had 133 RBIs and the team drew nearly 2 million. In 1950 the team did have a great season with 95 wins, just three games behind first-place New York. Kell hit .340 and led the league in doubles (56) and hits (218). But the Tigers fell to fifth in 1951 (73–81) and then into the cellar in 1952 for the first time (50–104). The only highlights that year were Virgil Trucks's two no-hitters. The team went through six different manager and five general managers in the 1950s, and never finished closer than 17 games from first place, a poor showing compared to the NFL Lions and NHL Red Wings, who won seven championships between them.

In 1953 Fred Hutchinson took over as manager in midseason as the team went 60–94 and came in sixth. The batting was solid (.266), led by Rookie of the Year shortstop Harvey Kuenn, who had 209 hits, but the pitching was the worst in the AL, with a 5.25 ERA. That season marked the first appearance of 18-year-old phenom Al Kaline, who joined the Tigers right off the Baltimore sandlots. The right fielder played 22 years with the Tigers, appeared in 18 All-Star Games, hit .297 with 3,007 hits, and earned 10 Gold Gloves. He specialized in robbing batters of home runs, especially at Yankee Stadium. Attendance dropped to under 900,000 for the first time since 1943. The Tigers finished fifth from 1954 through 1956, though the number of victories increased from 68 to 79 and then 82. In 1955, Kaline, at age 20, became the youngest batting champion (.340) since Cobb. The following year the Tigers led the league in batting (.279), while Frank Lary won a league-leading 21 games and Billy Hoelt won 20. Lary became known as “the Yankee Killer” after going 13–1 against them over two years. He led the AL three times in innings pitched and complete games. The staff also included Jim Bunning, a future Hall of Famer, who from 1955 through 1963 won 118 games and threw a no-hitter.

The team's ownership then was totally reconfigured. Walter Briggs died in 1952, and Spike became team president, but his father's holdings were put into trust. When the heirs could not come to an agreement, the probate court ordered the team sold to the highest bidder. In 1956 the team was purchased for \$5.5 million by a syndicate headed by Fred A. Knorr, owner of WKMH, which had broadcast Tiger games since 1952, and John Fetzer, a pioneer in communications who served as the U.S. censor for radio during World War II. Afterward Fetzer helped design national broadcast policies and codes of ethics and then built up a statewide network on radio and TV. Knorr became president and Spike became executive vice president and general manager. One year later, Knorr, a friend of Spike's, resigned in favor of businessman Harvey Hansen. Spike was forced out and replaced as general manager by John McHale, a former Tigers first baseman.

The Tigers fell into a period of extreme mediocrity, going 78–76, 77–77, and 76–78 between 1957 and 1959. When the 1959 team started out at 2–15, manager Bill Norman was sacked and replaced by veteran manager Jimmie Dykes, whose team at one point was within half a game of first place. The outfield

was outstanding: Kuenn led the AL in batting (.353), Kaline was second, and Charlie Maxwell hit 31 homers. He was especially outstanding on Sundays, when he hit 12 home runs, including 4 straight in a doubleheader at Yankee Stadium.

The mediocre play resulted in attendance of about a million, slightly above the league average but a marked decline from the late 1940s. Daytime attendance was down to 11,088, about one-third of evening events. The team tried to change this by reinstating Ladies' Day, selling women tickets for 50 cents. The promotion had been stopped in 1944 when male fans complained about women at the park. On the other hand, in 1957 the new owners raised prices for box seats to \$3 (from \$2.50) and reserve seats to \$2 (from \$1.75). General admission at \$1.25 and bleachers at 75 cents were still very affordable.

The Tigers were the second-to-last team to integrate, even though Detroit had a black population of 303,721 in 1950. Walter Briggs always opposed integration, and the Tigers in 1953 were the last team to sign a black minor leaguer, a year after his death. The African American community chastised Tigers management as racist while warmly welcoming visiting black players like Larry Doby and Luke Easter of the Indians. Finally, on June 6, 1958, the Tigers brought up Ozzie Virgil, a native of the Dominican Republic who had grown up in New York City, to be their first player of color. However, as far as the local black community was concerned, Virgil was not a "Negro," and integration did not occur until the following year, when the Tigers signed veteran Larry Doby.

THE ERA OF JOHN FETZER

In 1960 John Fetzer became the largest stockholder, and a year later, the sole stockholder. He was highly regarded by the other owners, and was responsible for negotiating the first national TV contract in 1965. While not looking to make money, from 1961 to 1980 the capital invested in the Tigers appreciated 8.3 percent annually. Bill DeWitt, the new team president, made several big deals with the Indians, especially the trade of Kuenn, who had hit .314 in eight seasons, for slugger Rocky Colavito, who at 26 already had 129 homers. Rocky was a great gate attraction because of his power and matinee-idol good looks. He homered in his first at bat at Tiger Stadium and finished with 35, the most by a Tiger since 1945. However, the Tigers fell to sixth place, due to a dismal .239 batting average. DeWitt traded Dykes to Cleveland for their manager, Joe Gordon, the first midseason trade of field managers in baseball history. The team also renamed the ballpark Tiger Stadium, following a long-standing request by Spike Briggs.

The 1961 Tigers improved enormously over the dismal 1960 squad under new manager Bob Scheffing, winning 30 more games. His squad finished at 101–61, a new franchise record, but the Yankees, with 109 victories and the Mantle-Maris home-run race, garnered the most headlines. The Tigers led the AL in batting (.266) and runs (841). First baseman Norm Cash, who later ad-

mitted using a corked bat, led the majors with a .361 batting average, and Kaline was second (.324). Colavito had 45 homers and 140 RBIs, while Frank Lary went 23–9 and led the AL with 22 complete games.

In 1962 the Tigers fell back to 85–75 and fourth place, hurt by a shoulder injury to Kaline and the team's poor batting (.248), eighth in the AL. Cash alone dropped over 100 points, down to .243. But there was a lot of power, and the squad set a team record of 209 homers to lead the AL. Cash had 39 and Colavito 37, and Colavito led the league in total bases. Stylish lefty Hank Aguirre (16–9) led the majors with a sizzling 2.21 ERA.

The team fell further in 1963 to sixth place. Scheffing was fired after 60 games, and Bunning and Colavito were traded after the season. The roster did have several future stars who were products of the rebuilt farm system, including Mickey Lolich, a lefty who won 207 games in 13 years; catcher Mickey Freehan, a former Michigan football end, who made 11 All-Star teams in 15 years; and Willie Horton, a product of the city's housing projects, the team's first black star, who hit 262 homers in 15 years with the club. In 1964 the team improved to fourth (85–77). The Tigers batted .253, which in an era of great pitching was second in the AL. The team repeated in fourth place the following year, and finished third in 1966.

The Tigers stepped up in 1967 under manager Mayo Smith to win 91 and make second place. Their .243 batting average was second in the AL, and Earl Wilson went 22–11 to pace the staff. Four teams were within one and a half games of first with two days to go. The Tigers played two doubleheaders against the Angels, splitting the first and then taking the first game of the second, leaving them a half game behind Boston. But they lost the nightcap 8–5 and missed out on a playoff. Afterward hundreds of fans rioted at the ballpark, destroying seats and other property.

The city had already suffered through the riotous summer of 1967. On July 23, the Detroit riots broke out during a game against the Yankees, and smoke from the riot scene was visible inside the ballpark. Players were sent home after the game and Willie Horton pleaded with his townsfolk to cool it. The four-day riot resulted in 43 deaths and the looting of 1,700 stores, the most violent riot in American history. The game on July 25 was canceled, and then the next two games were moved to Baltimore.

THE YEAR OF THE TIGER

The Tigers came back in 1968 primed to make up for their disappointing finish in 1967. The Tigers lost on Opening Day, but then won nine straight, and were on their way to a record 103 victories and the AL pennant. They led the AL in attendance, surpassing 2 million for the first time. In an era of great pitching, the team was led by 24-year-old Denny McLain, who went 31–6 (the first 30-game winner since 1934) with a 1.96 ERA and 280 strikeouts, and led the league with 336 innings and 28 complete games. He won both the Cy

Young and MVP Awards. The entire team had an ERA of 2.71. The team batted .235, third in the league; scored the most runs (4.09 per game); and hit the most homers (185, 52 more than anyone else), led by Horton's 36.

In game one of the World Series against the Cardinals in St. Louis, Bob Gibson struck out 17 Tigers, a Series record, to win 9–8, but Lolich won the next game, 8–1. When the series switched to Detroit, the Cards took the next two games, and led 3–2 going into the seventh inning of game five, but Kaline singled with the bases loaded to give the Tigers the lead, and they won 5–3. Then, back in St. Louis, McLain led them to a 13–1 rout, and in the final game Lolich bested Gibson as the Tigers scored four times in the seventh to win 4–1. Lolich won three starts and was Series MVP. Journalists originally claimed that the team's success played a big role in healing the city's wounds, but in hindsight, it was no more than a respite.

THE ERA OF DIVISIONAL PLAY

In 1969 the Tigers were placed in the Eastern Division of the AL. The team tailed off, with 90 victories and a second-place finish. McLain went 24–9; led the league in wins, innings pitched (325), and shutouts (9); and shared the Cy Young Award with Mike Cuellar of Baltimore. The club fell to fourth place in 1970, finishing with a losing record (79–83). McLain's personal world was unraveling, and he was suspended three times: first for his alleged involvement in a bookmaking scheme in 1967, when he had a mysterious foot injury and missed several key games; then for throwing buckets of water on sportswriters; and then for carrying a gun. He got into just 14 games in 1970, going 3–5, and was packed off to the Senators in a multiplayer trade that brought Joe Coleman, Aurelio Rodriguez, and Eddie Brinkman.

Billy Martin was hired to manage the team in 1971, and he turned things around, coming in second (91–71). The Tigers led the league in homers and were second in runs scored, but key were the performances of Mickey Lolich, who went 25–14 and pitched an incredible 376 innings, and Joe Coleman, 20–9, who threw 286 frames.

The Tigers were in the heart of the pennant race in 1972 despite a very weak offense because the pitchers had an ERA of 2.96, fifth in the AL. Lolich and Coleman carried the team with 41 wins between them, abetted by Woody Fryman, who won 10 games in half the season. The team had a superb defense and committed just 96 errors (.984 fielding percentage), best in the AL, led by Eddie Brinkman at short, who had 72 straight errorless games, and Aurelio Rodriguez at third. The Tigers finished the season at home in a series against the first-place Red Sox, down by just a half game. The Tigers took the next two games for their 85th and 86th wins and clinched the division. The Tigers then faced the powerful Oakland Athletics for the pennant. The A's took the first two games in Oakland, and then the Tigers won twice at home. The A's took the exciting finale, 2–1, and advanced to the World Series. In 1973 the team won



Al Kaline during a game in 1970. © AP / Wide World Photos

85 games, but the Billy Martin mystique blew up, and he was fired late in the season for his inability to discipline himself. Martin had a major problem with alcohol, and the players felt he was paranoid and a manipulator.

The Tigers were a great attraction from 1968 through 1973, after the 1967 riot. They averaged 1.7 million fans, and were annually first or second in the AL. This reflected the quality of the team and its fan support. The spectators were increasingly suburbanites, who found that going to games helped them maintain a sense of being Detroiters. They had excellent access to the field via the vast highway system built in the 1950s, and were apparently not afraid of the neighborhood or the city.

There was a problem with traffic, and in 1958 the team shifted starting times to 1:30 compared to 3:30 in the past to avoid rush hour, which made attending games harder for industrial workers on regular shifts. The suburbanites' main problem was parking. The Tigers had no lot, but there were 6,000 private spots near the park, along with rented-out front lawns. In the 1970s people would park on city streets and pay a youth to "watch" the car.

Attendance began to decline in 1974, the year Ralph Houk, former Yankees manager, took over. His team came in sixth and last in the AL East in 1974 (72–90), with the poorest pitching in the entire league, and then things got worse. The Tigers lost 102 games, including 19 in a row, in 1975, and then won only 74 games each of the next two years. The Tigers did not finish in the first division again until 1983. The decline was also due to the decline of the rust-belt city. Detroit's population peaked at 2 million in the early 1950s, and then began to decline as white residents moved out of the city, attracted by cheap homes, improved highway travel, and fear of blacks, who in 1970 comprised 44 percent of the city's population. This led to a shift in the tax base, the migration of downtown institutions like departments stores to the suburbs, and a decline in urban services, including mass transit and police.

They city began to be perceived, correctly, as increasingly dangerous (for instance, the interstate highway inside the city had to be protected by the state police), and was known as “the Murder City,” which deterred suburban fans. White fans were not replaced by black fans, who were put off by the team’s racist reputation.

The team was slightly better than average from 1978 to 1980, winning 86, 85, and 84 games, but finishing in fifth each year in the powerful Eastern Division. Les Moss took over in 1979, supplanted one-third of the way into the season in favor of the legendary Sparky Anderson. The team’s competitiveness was limited by a reticence to enter into free agency, ostensibly because of costs. They signed one, shortstop Tito Fuentes, between 1976 and 1979. The Tigers could have afforded to enter the bidding. In 1979 their salaries were 24th out of 26 teams. Yet the following year the team’s net earnings were \$2 million, followed by \$900,000 in 1982. Fetzer made an average of \$2.1 million between 1961 and 1981, half of the profit coming from nonbaseball operations, including rent from the Detroit Lions. The avoidance of free agency symbolized the old-fashioned ways of the management, which did not keep up with the times, avoiding promotional events and skimping on scouting, which resulted in the production of few major-league prospects.

The team did have a few notable performers in the 1970s, including Detroit’s Ron LeFlore, who was paroled from Jackson State Prison to play baseball. He averaged 49 steals a year from 1974 to 1979 and hit .300 three times, while Rusty Staub, the primary designated hitter, averaged 106 RBIs between 1976 and 1978. The most refreshing performer was Mark “the Bird” Fidrych, a 21-year-old rookie in 1976, who started the All-Star Game and went 19–9, leading the AL with a 2.34 ERA. Earning just \$16,000, his starts attracted 60 percent of the Tigers’ home audience and accounted for \$1 million of the team’s revenues. But injuries led to his premature demise.

THE PIZZA BOYS

In 1981 the players went on strike and got little sympathy from struggling blue-collar workers, who did not empathize with athletes who averaged nearly \$200,000 a year. In the split season of 1981, the Tigers finished fourth in the first half of the season and second in the second half, with an overall record of 60–49. In 1982, Anderson led the team to its fifth straight winning year, but still only finished fourth in the tough AL East. Finally, in 1983, the city had a contender, coming in a strong second (92–70), led by Jack Morris, who won 20 games, and Dan Petry, who won 19; the sparkling keystone combination of Alan Trammell and Lou Whitaker, who hit .319 and .320 respectively; and catcher Lance Parrish, who drove in 114 and hit 27 homers. Trammell and Whitaker eventually set a record for the longest careers as shortstop and second base teammates (1977–95). Whitaker hit .276 with 2,369 hits in 19 seasons, and Trammell hit .285 with 2,365 hits in 20 seasons.

After the season Fetzer sold the team in a highly leveraged deal for \$53 million, 10 times what the team had cost back in 1956, to Tom Monaghan, the founder and owner of Domino's Pizza. Monaghan was a self-made man worth nearly \$500 million who spared himself few extravagances, including a collection of over 100 antique cars. He was originally perceived as a white knight, but according to Tigers historian Richard Bak, he was "a socially inept public figure and no friend of the city." Monaghan owned the team for nine years and never lost money. His biggest source of new revenue was from the media. Detroit had the seventh-largest TV market in America, and in the mid-1980s the Tigers had the highest ratings of any team. The money made from radio and local, national, and cable TV rose from \$14.4 million in 1987 to \$24.9 million in 1991.

Before the 1984 campaign, Anderson promised the city the best Tigers team of all time, and he may have been right. General manager Bill Lajoie, who replaced Campbell, promoted to team president, made important trades to bolster the squad, sending John Wockenfuss and Glenn Wilson to the Phillies for much-needed lefty reliever Willie Hernandez and first baseman Dave Bergman. He also spent \$800,000 outbidding 20 teams for the services of slugger Darrell Evans, the team's first important free agent. The average Tiger salary jumped from 17th (\$263,899) to 10th (\$371,332). The team won 104 games, was in first place from day one, and took the division by 15 games. The Tigers were a scoring machine, leading the AL in homers and runs scored. Parrish and Kirk Gibson combined for 60 homers and 189 RBIs. The pitching staff led the AL in ERA for the first time in 40 years. Five pitchers won 10 or more games, led by Morris (19–11), Petry (18–8), and Milt Wilcox (17–8). Hernandez was outstanding, going 9–3 with 32 saves in 80 games, and won the Cy Young and MVP Awards. Sparky Anderson was selected Manager of the Year. Fans came out in droves—2.7 million, still the team record. The Tigers made \$7.8 million that year, second in all of baseball.

The Tigers played Kansas City for the pennant and swept them in three games, moving on to the World Series against the San Diego Padres. The teams split two games on the West Coast, and then the Tigers took three straight at home to take the series. The heroes were MVP Alan Trammell, with nine hits, and local boy Gibson, a former football star at Michigan State, who hit two homers and drove in seven. He was an extremely intense athlete, who had hit 27 homers and stolen 19 bases during the regular season. Local fans responded by rioting, which was picked up by national TV and reinforced Detroit's negative image.

In 1985, the Tigers failed to defend their crown, winning 20 fewer games and falling to third place, despite hitting 202 home runs. Evans hit 40 to lead the AL, the first Tiger to do so since Greenberg in 1946. Gibson had 39 homers, 97 RBIs, and 30 steals. He was rewarded with a \$4 million contract for three years, making him the first million-dollar Tigers player. The Tigers came in third again in 1986. Jack Morris went 21–8, led the AL with eight shutouts, and gained a \$1.85 million contract in arbitration.

In 1987, the divisional race came down to the final weekend in Toronto, with the Tigers down by one game. They swept the series to capture the division, with Detroit's Frank Tanana winning the final game 1–0. Morris won 21 games and got support from a late-season pickup, the veteran Doyle Alexander, who won nine straight. The offense was led by Trammell, who batted cleanup and hit .343 with 28 homers and 105 RBIs, and newcomer catcher Matt Nokes, who hit 32 homers. The team led the majors with 225 home runs and 896 runs, the most in baseball in 34 years. The Tigers, who won 98, the most in the majors, were expected to roll over the Minnesota Twins, but lost the first two games in the Metrodome. Detroit salvaged game three at home, but lost the next two and were eliminated. After the season the Tigers lost several key players, most notably Gibson, when an arbitrator ruled that the owners had conspired to restrict the opportunities of free agents. The Tigers' share of the collusion settlement was \$10.8 million, including \$1,786,666 to Parrish. Morris stayed with the Tigers until 1991, winning 198 games over 14 seasons.

In 1988, with the second-highest payroll in MLB, nearly \$16 million, the club came in second with 88 wins, but one year later the club collapsed to seventh and just 59 victories due to the worst pitching and batting in the AL. But the Tigers bounded back in 1990 with 20 more wins, and moved up to third place. The Tigers led the league in homers in 1990 behind first baseman Cecil Fielder and his 51 homers. Fielder was a run-making machine, leading the majors in RBIs from 1990 through 1992, averaging over 129 a year. The team was first or second in the majors in both homers and runs from 1990 through 1993, with a high of 899 in 1992. The price, however, was a league record in strikeouts (1,185) in 1991, led by Rob Deer's 175.

On January 8, 1990, Campbell was promoted to chairman and CEO to make way for Monaghan's old friend, Bo Schembechler, former University of Michigan head football coach. His tenure was a total disaster. Late in 1990, WWJ fired the popular Ernie Harwell, a Hall of Fame announcer, and the public blamed Schembechler. Another problem was the status of Tiger Stadium, which had been antiquated by the 1960s, and its foundation was crumbling. In 1972 the Tigers and the Lions failed to get a bond issue passed for a \$126 million domed stadium. Five years later Fetzer sold the park to the city for one dollar. The city rehabbed the edifice for \$18.1 million and gave the Tigers a 30-year lease. The city was desperate to turn things around, but the quality of life in Detroit continued to decline. Fifty thousand jobs were lost between 1978 and 1988, helping push the black middle class out of the city, which had a black majority since 1973.

Schembechler and Monaghan wanted a new publicly financed stadium, but the fans wanted renovations. They liked that Tiger Stadium had the most bleacher seats in MLB, and did not care about the 10,000 obstructed seats because the seating area was so close to the field. Fans organized the 11,000-member Tiger Stadium Fan Club. The club got the field listed in the National Register of Historic Places, produced their own renovation study, and in 1992

supported a successful ballot initiative to prevent city funds from being used for a new stadium.

In 1992 Monaghan overextended himself financially, and his bankers forced him to sell the Tigers for \$85 million to Mike Ilitch, owner of Little Caesar's Pizza, leaving a net profit of \$40 million from the ball club. Ilitch, whose total worth in 2004 was \$750 million, was a local boy and a legitimate civic booster. He moved his corporate headquarters downtown, operated the Red Wings and the Olympia Arena, and spent a lot of money renovating downtown recreational facilities. He seemed to do all the right things, bringing back Harwell and Gibson, spending \$8 million renovating the ballpark, and creating a fun atmosphere at the ballyard. At first he opened his deep pockets to rebuild the team, but he passed the expense on to the fans. A family of four paid \$103.45 for the full baseball experience, which rose in 2000 to \$165, fourth highest in the majors. Ilitch established a premium seating area called the Tiger Den for the corporate crowd, creating a class division antithetical to the Tigers' tradition.

The 1992 squad had the worst pitching in the AL and came in sixth (75–87). The next year the team came in fourth with a winning record (85–77), the last Tiger team do so. It had a strong offense, but some of the poorest pitching in the major leagues. One year later, MLB established its three-division format and assigned the Tigers to the tough East. In the shortened strike season, the Tigers ended in last place. They were last in attendance in the AL and lost an estimated \$5.4 million, the first losing season since 1941.

In the 1990s, according to historian Patrick Harrigan, "the club became separate from the city, and the wider metropolitan community divorced itself from the city." By 1990, the city's population, down to 1 million, was 80 percent African American, and while there was a lot of poverty, many could afford a game. The household income of \$16,403 was among the highest of any city, reflected by their presence at the more expensive Pistons games. The low African American attendance in Detroit was hardly unique, but occurred across the country. The team did not ardently try to reach out to the community. When combined with mediocre teams, the result was that the Tigers were no better than 11th out of 14 AL teams in attendance from 1989 through 1998. In the 1990s the team averaged about 1.5 million in attendance, 25 percent below the AL norm. In the next few years, the Tigers finished as high as seventh in attendance only once after 1987. Detroit is no longer one of the top baseball towns.

Ilitch's investment dropped in value by \$16 million in the two years after he bought the team. The team was still out of touch with its fans and with young players, who, if they could, avoided the Tigers. Ilitch's money was wasted on unproductive free agents. Harrigan also blamed public-relations flaps, a more critical media, an alienating mayor, and downtown violence in America's murder capital.

Following losing seasons in 1994 and 1995 (when the Tigers had the eighth-highest payroll in MLB), Anderson retired after 18 years in Detroit with a win-

ning percentage of .516. He was replaced by Buddy Bell, burdened with a 40 percent cut in payroll (23rd in MLB) and a team comprised of inexperienced players and retradees. They went 53–109, and were last in the AL in batting (setting a record for strikeouts with 1,268), fielding, and ERA. The team's 6.38 ERA was the second worst in baseball history. Attendance was a dismal 1.2 million, half of whom were no-shows. The 1997 payroll was just \$16.3 million, second lowest in MLB, but the team improved to third place in the AL East (79–83), the highest team finish since 1991. The Tigers since 1997 have ranked on average 21st out of 30 clubs in salaries. Bell was replaced late in 1998 by Larry Parrish, and then by Phil Garner in 2000.

In 1995 a deal was completed with the city for a new 25-acre park a few blocks east of Woodward Avenue and south of I-75, in an area of boarded-up buildings. The municipality's goal was to help revitalize downtown in conjunction with the creation of new museums and General Motors' purchase of the Renaissance Center for its world headquarters. The proposal to use \$115 million in public funding, with Ilitch paying the balance, was approved one year later by 81 percent of Wayne County voters, especially since a lion's share of the cost would be borne by tourists paying new hotel and car-rental taxes and money from Indian casino revenue.

The park is owned by the Stadium Authority, which has leased it to the Tigers for 35 years. The team pays most of the projected \$6.5 million operating costs and gets all concessions revenue from baseball events. It was designed as a 40,120-seat retro park, similar to Camden Yards, with three decks, 65 luxury boxes, 5,200 club seats, and 4,500 parking spaces. In 2000, ticket prices were the fourth highest in MLB. The field includes such old-fashioned touches as brick and steel construction and asymmetrical dimensions. Its new features included a sunken playing field, rides for children, a huge concourse, a "Walking Hall of Fame," the largest scoreboards in the United States, and a great view of downtown. It is the hub for a growing entertainment industry in its vicinity. Comerica, a locally based financial-services company, bought the naming rights for \$66 million over 30 years.

The opening of Comerica Park bumped up attendance by 20 percent to 2.4 million, but the team has not reached 2 million since then. Garner was ignominiously cashiered after six games in 2002 and replaced by Luis Pujols, and the team won just 55 games. Former star shortstop Alan Trammell took the reigns in 2003, and the young team was abysmal, going 43–119, one of the all-time worst records in MLB history. The experience gained that season and the addition of free agent Pudge Rodriguez helped the Tigers improve to 72–90 in 2004, giving long-suffering Tigers fans hope for the future. But there was no improvement in 2005, and Trammell was fired. Despite the poor play on the field, the Tigers in 2005 were worth \$239 million, a handsome return on Ilitch's original investment.

Throughout the Tigers' history, they have had a strong fan base, and the team itself has nearly always been an important Detroit institution, one that especially appealed to blue-collar workers. In good times and bad, it has typically

stood for the finest qualities with which Detroiters identify. But what was once a booming city has deteriorated dramatically because of suburbanization and the weakening of the auto industry. Safety is a big concern when your hometown is rated in 2005 as the most dangerous city in America. The franchise's financial success depends on the continuing identification of suburbanites with their hometown team, but management has had a hard time securing the talent to bring back the fans.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1934	Mickey Cochrane	C
1935	Hank Greenberg	1B
1937	Charlie Gehringer	2B
1940	Hank Greenberg	OF
1944	Hal Newhouser	P
1945	Hal Newhouser	P
1968	Denny McLain	P
1984	Willie Hernandez	P

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1968	Denny McLain	RHP
1969	Denny McLain	RHP
1984	Willie Hernandez	RHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1953	Harvey Kuenn	SS
1976	Mark Fidrych	P
1978	Lou Whitaker	2B

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1907	Ty Cobb	.350
1908	Ty Cobb	.324
1909	Ty Cobb	.377
1910	Ty Cobb	.383

1911	Ty Cobb	.420
1912	Ty Cobb	.410
1913	Ty Cobb	.390
1914	Ty Cobb	.368
1915	Ty Cobb	.369
1917	Ty Cobb	.383
1918	Ty Cobb	.382
1919	Ty Cobb	.384
1921	Harry Heilmann	.394
1923	Harry Heilmann	.403
1925	Harry Heilmann	.393
1926	Heinie Manush	.378
1927	Harry Heilmann	.398
1937	Charlie Gehringer	.371
1949	George Kell	.343
1955	Al Kaline	.340
1959	Harvey Kuenn	.353
1961	Norm Cash	.361

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1908	Sam Crawford	7
1909	Ty Cobb	9
1935	Hank Greenberg	36
1938	Hank Greenberg	58
1940	Hank Greenberg	41
1943	Rudy York	34
1946	Hank Greenberg	44
1985	Darrell Evans	40
1990	Cecil Fielder	51
1991	Cecil Fielder	44

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1902	Ed Siever	1.91
1944	Dizzy Trout	2.12
1945	Hal Newhouser	1.81
1946	Hal Newhouser	1.94
1962	Hank Aguirre	2.21
1976	Mark Fidrych	2.34

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1935	Tommy Bridges	163
1936	Tommy Bridges	175
1944	Hal Newhouser	187
1945	Hal Newhouser	212
1949	Virgil Trucks	153
1959	Jim Bunning	201
1960	Jim Bunning	201
1971	Mickey Lolich	308
1983	Jack Morris	232

No-Hitters

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
George Mullin	07/04/1912
Virgil Trucks	05/15/1952
Virgil Trucks	08/25/1952
Jim Bunning	07/20/1958
Jack Morris	04/07/1984

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES**AL East Division Titles**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1972	86–70	Billy Martin
1984	104–58	Sparky Anderson
1987	98–64	Sparky Anderson

AL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1907	92–58	Hughie Jennings
1908	90–63	Hughie Jennings
1909	98–54	Hughie Jennings
1934	101–53	Mickey Cochrane
1935	93–58	Mickey Cochrane
1940	90–64	Del Baker
1945	88–65	Steve O'Neill
1968	103–59	Mayo Smith
1984	104–58	Sparky Anderson

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>	<i>MVP</i>
1935	Chicago	
1945	Chicago	
1968	St. Louis	Mickey Lolich
1984	San Diego	Alan Trammell

MANAGERS

2006	Jim Leyland
2003–2005	Alan Trammell
2002	Luis Pujols
2000–2002	Phil Garner
1998–1999	Larry Parrish
1996–1998	Buddy Bell
1979–1995	Sparky Anderson
1979	Dick Tracewski
1979	Less Moss
1974–1978	Ralph Houk
1973	Joe Schultz
1971–1973	Billy Martin
1967–1970	Mayo Smith
1966	Frank Skaff
1966	Bob Swift
1965	Chuck Dressen
1965	Bob Swift
1963–1964	Chuck Dressen
1961–1963	Bob Scheffing
1960	Joe Gordon
1960	Billy Hitchcock
1959–1960	Jimmie Dykes
1958–1959	Bill Norman
1957–1958	Jack Tighe
1955–1956	Bucky Harris
1952–1954	Fred Hutchinson
1949–1952	Red Rolfe
1943–1948	Steve O'Neill
1938–1942	Del Baker
1938	Mickey Cochrane
1937	Cy Perkins
1937	Del Baker
1937	Mickey Cochrane

1936	Del Baker
1934–1936	Mickey Cochrane
1933	Del Baker
1929–1933	Bucky Harris
1927–1928	George Moriarty
1921–1926	Ty Cobb
1907–1920	Hughie Jennings
1905–1906	Bill Armour
1904	Bobby Lowe
1903–1904	Ed Barrow
1902	Frank Dwyer
1901	George Stallings

Team Records by Individual Players

	Single Season			Career		Plate Appearances
	Name		Year	Name		
Batting average	Ty Cobb	.420	1911	Ty Cobb	.368	12,105
On-base %	Norm Cash	.487	1961	Ty Cobb	.434	12,105
Slugging %	Hank Greenberg	.683	1938	Hank Greenberg	.616	5,586
OPS	Norm Cash	1.148	1961	Hank Greenberg	1.028	5,586
Games	Rockey Colavito	163	1961	Al Kaline	2,834	11,597
At bats	Harvey Kuenn	679	1953	Ty Cobb	10,591	12,105
Runs	Ty Cobb	147	1911	Ty Cobb	2,088	12,105
Hits	Ty Cobb	248	1911	Ty Cobb	3,900	12,105
Total bases	Hank Greenberg	397	1937	Ty Cobb	5,466	12,105
Doubles	Hank Greenberg	63	1934	Ty Cobb	665	12,105
Triples	Sam Crawford	26	1914	Ty Cobb	284	12,105
Home runs	Hank Greenberg	58	1938	Al Kaline	399	11,597
Strikeouts	Cecil Fielder	182	1990	Lou Whitaker	1,099	9,967
Stolen bases	Ty Cobb	96	1915	Ty Cobb	865	12,105
Extra-base hits	Hank Greenberg	103	1937	Ty Cobb	1,060	12,105
Times on base	Ty Cobb	336	1915	Ty Cobb	5,133	12,105

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
ERA	Summers	1.64	1908	Harry Coveleski	2.34	1,023.3
Wins	Denny McLain	31	1968	Hooks Dauss	222	3,390.7
Won-loss %	Bill Donovan	.862	1907	Denny McLain	.654	1,593
Hits/9 IP	Jeff Robinson	6.33	1988	Denny McLain	7.46	1,593
Walks/9 IP	Fred Hutchinson	1.29	1951	Don Mossi	1.75	929.7
Strikeouts	Mickey Lolich	308	1971	Mickey Lolich	2,679	3,361.7
Strikeouts/9 IP	Mickey Lolich	8.69	1969	John Hiller	7.51	1,242
Games	Mike Myers	88	1997	John Hiller	546	1,242
Saves	Todd Jones	42	2000	Mike Henneman	154	669.7
Innings	George Mullin	382.3	1904	George Mullin	3,394	3,394
Starts	Mickey Lolich	45	1971	Mickey Lolich	459	3,361.7
Complete games	George Mullin	42	1904	George Mullin	336	3,394
Shutouts	Denny McLain	9	1969	Mickey Lolich	39	3,361.7

Source: Drawn from data in "Detroit Tigers Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/DET/leaders_bat.shtml; "Detroit Tigers Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/DET/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Kansas City Royals

Myles Schrag

The Kansas City Royals were the shrewdest, most innovative, and most successful franchise of the first expansion era. In their first 17 seasons they won a World Series, two American League pennants, and seven AL Western Division titles, and were in serious playoff contention within five years. However, the Royals struggled mightily to adapt to the new economic realities of the 1990s. While the team's deceased founder long vowed that the team would never be relocated, the Royals are now the poster child of small-market franchises, and suffer economically for it.

EWING KAUFFMAN: THE ANTI-FINLEY

Almost from the moment on October 18, 1967, that Charles O. Finley finally made good on his perpetual threat to move his Athletics, Kansas City baseball fans could not have asked for, let alone receive, a better benefactor. Ewing Kauffman was the anti-Finley. Whereas Finley had threatened moves to Dallas-Fort Worth, Louisville, Atlanta, Milwaukee, and Seattle in the seven years since he had bought the A's in December 1960, Kauffman readily admitted his decision to buy a baseball team was made largely because he wanted Kansas City to have one. Whereas Finley craved headlines and was known for well-publicized antics, Kauffman was an efficient, bright businessman that stayed in the background and put baseball operations in the hands of baseball men. He had started a pharmaceutical company, Marion Laboratories, in his Kansas City basement back in 1950 and turned it into a billion-dollar company by the time he sold it in 1989.

Kauffman was not even much of a baseball fan, but he had great loyalty to his city and craved a new business challenge at the time that civic leaders asked for his support in bringing a new baseball team to Kansas City. When Kauffman was officially awarded the franchise by AL president Joe Cronin on January 11, 1968, Kauffman distinguished himself from Finley in no uncertain terms: "In my lifetime, this team will never be moved. If there is a financial loss, I can stand it. But I hope we can develop a successful organization."

At the AL meeting in late 1967, Finley asked his fellow owners for permission to move to Oakland the next season, but only got five of nine votes. After a short break, another vote was taken. The Yankees changed their vote to a yes, giving Finley the necessary two-thirds. Kansas City was promised an expansion team no later than 1971 as consolation. Missouri senator Stuart Symington and others in the Kansas City delegation weren't so easily appeased. The influential Symington chastised Cronin, threatening to revoke baseball's antitrust exemption, and demanded action sooner than 1971. While Kansas City had grown tired of Finley long ago, local leaders wanted to keep professional baseball, which had arrived in 1955. The city's voters had approved in June 1967 a \$42 million bond issue for the construction of a state-of-the-art baseball/football sports complex. It needed another tenant besides the defending AFL champion Chiefs. The city's representatives knew the AL had no desire to go through the hassles of litigation that the NL had two years earlier when Milwaukee had unsuccessfully sued to keep the Braves. Cronin managed to convince enough team representatives to reconsider their options. After midnight, the AL and Kansas City had agreed on granting an 11th franchise for the 1969 season.

Kauffman outbid three other local proposals to get the promised expansion team with a \$5.3 million purchase price, but he had proved his ownership mettle even before the January 1968 announcement. At a chamber-of-commerce luncheon in Kansas City concerning the need to mount a financial effort for the new franchise, Kauffman raised his hand and said he would be willing to put in \$1 million to the cause. When legendary *Kansas City Star* sports editor Ernie Mehl and businessman Earl Smith visited Kauffman in the weeks leading up to the AL owners meeting to tell him nobody else had come forward to join a consortium to purchase the team, he quickly obtained letters of credit for \$4 million and \$6 million to demonstrate he could afford it.

Once Kauffman had won the franchise, Cedric Tallis was his first major hire. Most recently vice president of the California Angels, Tallis would be Kauffman's executive vice president. Tallis picked Lou Gorman, Baltimore's director of minor-league clubs, to be director of player development, and longtime scout Charlie Metro to be director of player personnel. The team name was a nod to the American Royal parade and pageant held annually to celebrate Kansas City's livestock industry. Kauffman's board of directors included many local leaders, including the *Star's* Mehl.

The experienced Joe Gordon was chosen as field manager on September 9, five weeks before the expansion draft. In the draft, the organization proved

sincere in its claims to want to build steadily with youth rather than rely on veterans. The highlight of the Royals' inaugural 69–93 campaign (fourth out of six teams in the newly formed AL Western Division) was Lou Piniella's Rookie of the Year Award. Piniella was a steal Tallis engineered from the Seattle Pilots prior to the 1969 season for Steve Whitaker and John Gelnar. Some expansion draftees became Tallis's trade bait for the future. Tallis's patience in building a strong farm system and his shrewd dealings soon made the Royals one of the most feared teams in the AL.

THE BASEBALL ACADEMY

The hallmark of that farm system was a Kauffman brainstorm known as the Royals' Baseball Academy. Kauffman felt that he needed to find an edge over his more established opponents by developing players more efficiently than traditional means. He had already hired more coaches at the minor-league level than other major-league teams, but the \$1.5 million academy was a significant undertaking that showcased Kauffman's entrepreneurial spirit and creative problem solving. The academy, which opened in Sarasota, Florida, in August 1970, attempted to use science, technology, and better training methods to develop baseball skills in nonbaseball players that showcased athletic abilities. Kauffman sought athletes overlooked by the baseball-scouting establishment, figuring someone with the right temperament and talent could be taught baseball skills.

Longtime scout Syd Thrift became director of the academy, and put together a staff of baseball coaches, former players, a strength coach, a trainer, a track coach (former Olympic distance runner Wes Santee), two ophthalmologists, a physiologist, and a psychologist. This crew became the first concerted effort to measure, evaluate, and improve baseball players and the way that baseball is played. Academy teams played in the rookie Gulf Coast League. Players lived on campus at least 10 months a year and were required to take courses at Manatee Junior College.

The academy's legacy is mixed. Thrift and Kauffman wanted it to continue despite its annual \$700,000 cost. Other key figures saw it as competition for resources that could be used in more traditional player development. Thrift resigned in 1972 out of frustration, and while Kauffman wanted to give the academy more time, he admitted the financial commitment was considerable. Teams fully stocked by academy players only played three seasons, 1971–73.

On the positive side, the instruction players received there was highly regarded, particularly the emphasis on smart and aggressive baserunning that became a hallmark of the dominant Royals teams of the late 1970s. Two of the three teams that consisted solely of academy players finished in first place or tied for first place in the Gulf Coast League, and all three squads led the league in stolen bases. Most importantly, some graduates moved up in the Royals' farm system, most notably Frank White, who joined the big-league squad in

June 1973 and manned second base for much of the next 18 years. White was a Kansas City native, having grown up within walking distance of Municipal Stadium. Because his high school didn't offer baseball, he had only played in summer leagues as a teen and wasn't scouted. When Royals manager Jack McKeon wanted to bring him up to the major-league team, White recalled that some in the organization were not pleased because they felt it would only encourage Kauffman to keep the academy funded.

Whether the academy only served as a bizarre, expensive baseball experiment or was a precursor to more advanced scientific and psychological testing of ballplayers that would become commonplace years later, 14 graduates eventually reached the majors. Without it, White would have kept working at a Kansas City sheet-metal company rather than become the best defensive second baseman of his era and MVP of the 1980 AL Championship Series. Interestingly, Kauffman's vow to listen to his baseball men in making baseball decisions eventually doomed the academy.

BUILDING A CONTENDER

The Royals had their first winning season in only their third year, under manager Bob Lemon in 1971, but were only a shadow of the A's, who won consecutive World Series crowns from 1972 to 1974. Kansas City was a model expansion franchise with its quick ascent, but it was unclear if the Royals would ever surpass the A's to reach the postseason. "Trader Tallis" gave the Royals that opportunity with many shrewd trades in the Royals' early years. Indeed, by the time the free-agency era opened in 1976, the Royals' patient approach to building a contender had developed a lineup that would be in place for many successful campaigns to come, while Finley's A's would soon be dismantled. It could easily be argued that until after the 1981 season, no trade the Royals had made in franchise history was a complete bust. Tallis made a number of one-sided deals in favor of the Royals. He obtained Amos Otis from the Mets in December 1969, who became a three-time Gold Glove center fielder and a crowd favorite when the team was still seeking an identity. Seven months later he obtained Cookie Rojas, a steady second baseman for the Cardinals, who held down the position until White was ready to take over full time in 1976. In December he obtained the spunky five-foot four-inch shortstop Freddy Patek from Pittsburgh, who contributed to a strong defensive presence up the middle. Burly John Mayberry came from the Astros in December 1971 and provided the Royals' biggest home-run threat during their championship years. Finally, Hal McRae, a hard-nosed competitor, came from the Reds in December 1972. He started as an outfielder and later emerged as the first designated-hitting star.

The Royals' pitching, by contrast, was mostly homegrown. Paul Splitteroff, the first player originally signed by the Royals to make the big-league squad, became the team's first 20-game winner in 1973. Steve Busby tossed no-hitters

in 1973 and 1974. Larry Gura, who was acquired from the Yankees in May 1976, and Dennis Leonard grew into two of the AL's most consistent starters.

Led by these players, the Royals fielded a scrappy team that could generate hits, take extra bases, and consistently force opposing bats to put the ball in play against a defense that regularly turned them into outs. This was especially important when Royals Stadium opened in 1973 as part of the Harry S. Truman Sports Complex next door to football-only Arrowhead Stadium. The team was tailor-made for the cavernous, artificial-turf-laden ballpark, where I-70 speeds past beyond left field, a regal 12-story-high scoreboard in the shape of a Royals crown is a trademark beyond center field, and a beautiful water spectacular arcs just out of the right fielder's reach as the largest privately funded fountain in the world.

GEORGE BRETT

While the Royals were motoring to an 88–74 record and second-place finish in 1973, George Brett was a stubborn but talented young third baseman struggling to get on base. The Royals' 1971 second-round draft pick was ready to give up on his career when Royals batting coach Charley Lau took him under his wing. He struggled as a rookie to adjust to big-league pitching until Lau taught him to change his mechanics, including letting his left hand off the bat at the conclusion of his swing. Brett developed a sweet swing, and became one of the AL's most consistent batsmen. He is the only player to win batting titles in three decades, plus get 3,000 hits, 300 home runs, 600 doubles, 100 triples, and 200 stolen bases. He was the 1980 AL MVP and the 1985 ALCS MVP. He was elected to 13 All-Star teams and was a first-ballot Hall of Famer, with 98 percent of the votes cast, in 1999.

One of the most memorable moments in Brett's career was the 1983 pine-tar incident, which showed Brett at his spit-fired best. Umpire Tim McClelland disallowed his go-ahead ninth-inning two-run home run off Yankees fireballer Rich "Goose" Gossage for having pine tar on his bat above the prescribed 18-inch limit. After circling the bases and waiting for the ruling in the dugout, he sprinted to home plate to confront McClelland in a moment of great drama. AL president Lee MacPhail allowed the homer on appeal, citing the "spirit of the rules," and the remaining inning of the game was played weeks later with the Royals leading, and they won, 5–4.

Other memorable images were his pennant-clinching three-run homer off Gossage in game three of the 1980 ALCS; his doff of the helmet at second base as his average soared over .400 for the first time on August 17, 1980; his penchant for challenging outfielders by taking the extra base; and his constant jabbering with players and umpires. These moments all showcased a baseball player that loved his job and was committed to his team.

Most importantly, he never left Kansas City. The free-agency era had not yet blossomed to the point where he got offers too good to refuse, so he was willing



George Brett singles off California Angels Tim Lincecum to collect his 3,000th career hit, 1992. © AP / Wide World Photos

to stay put in his adopted hometown. This was a true blessing for the Royals. As a result of the new economics of the game, the young stars that the Royals later developed were destined to maximize their salaries on the open market. Brett will likely forever remain the only player ever inducted into the Hall of Fame as a Royal.

Brett's career coincides with the Royals' rise and fall as a franchise. When Brett emerged from Triple-A Omaha for good early in the 1974 season, the fledgling Royals fought with the A's for the AL West housed in a classy year-old stadium perfectly suited for their skills. As Brett rose to stardom, the Royals locked horns with the Yankees for supremacy in the AL, a rivalry that took five years to finally tilt in the Royals' favor. As Brett matured as a player, the franchise dealt with a shocking drug scandal and emerged as a World Series champion. By the time of his retirement after the 1993 season, the prospect of labor strife in 1994 was becoming clear, and the developing economics of the game would prove disastrous for small-market teams.

RIVALRY WITH THE YANKEES

Kansas City's first serious run at an AL West title occurred in 1973, when McKeon's squad took over first place in August before settling in behind the

A's. In 1975 McKeon was let go with the club at 50–46, and then White Herzog came in to go 41–25, a harbinger of the future. In 1976 Brett and company finally overcame their perpetual runner-up status to Oakland in convincing fashion with a 90–72 record. Yet there was drama up until the season's final game, as Brett, McRae, and Minnesota's Rod Carew battled for the batting crown at Royals Stadium. McRae led Brett by .00005 points heading into the last game. Carew was eliminated from the title chase in the course of the game, leaving McRae and Brett both two for three heading into the ninth inning. Brett lofted a fly ball to Twins left fielder Steve Brye, but Brye misplayed the ball, and Brett circled the bases for an inside-the-park homer, finishing at .333. McRae grounded out, knowing that he had lost the batting title. As McRae, who is black, headed to the dugout, he acknowledged the fans' standing ovation with a tip of his helmet, then flipped off the Twins dugout, suggesting manager Gene Mauch conspired to assure a white man would win the award. Benches emptied and accusations flew, but by the next day the Royals were laughing about the incident, preparing for the AL East champion Yankees.

The Royals' first postseason appearance was heart-wrenching. In the deciding game five, Brett's three-run homer in the top of the eighth inning tied the game 6–6 until Chris Chambliss sent Mark Littell's first pitch in the bottom of the ninth over the right-field wall to clinch the pennant. The Royals hoped to erase that memory in 1977 after a 102–60 campaign that remains the franchise record. The team took control of the division with a 16-game September winning streak. The pitchers had the best ERA in the AL (3.52), and Dennis Leonard won 20 games. Unfortunately, a three-run ninth inning by the Yankees in game five allowed them to dash Kansas City's hopes once again. In the following season the speedy team reached its height with a league-leading 216 stolen bases. The 1978 ALCS featured the same two teams again, and New York won it again in four games, overcoming Brett's three solo home runs in game three against Catfish Hunter.

Herzog was fired after the Royals lost the 1979 division title to California and was replaced by Jim Frey. Fueled by outstanding seasons by Brett and his .390 batting average, speedy Willie Wilson and his 230 hits, and young relief specialist Dan Quisenberry and his 33 saves, and a third straight season of leading the league in steals, Frey's squad sealed the 1980 division title early (97–65). They swept the Yankees in the playoffs to finally gain the upper hand against their hated rivals. However, the Royals' first pennant winner failed to deliver a world championship. The dominating season fell apart in six games to the Philadelphia Phillies. Wilson struck out 12 times, Quisenberry was shelled, and Brett had to leave game two because of hemorrhoids that required surgery prior to game three. He dealt with the incessant media questions with humor—famously commenting that the event would go down in the “*anals of history*”—but his woes certainly helped create a disappointing end to an otherwise stellar summer in Kansas City.

THE I-70 SERIES

The misfortune and poor performances suffered by the Royals in their initial World Series appearance were a distant memory by the time they returned to the Fall Classic in 1985. The team lived a charmed life throughout that postseason as the Royals constantly flirted with elimination only to emerge as champions. To reach that point, however, Kansas City had endured a difficult five years, almost from the moment Wilson whiffed to end the 1980 World Series. The Royals made the Western Division playoff series in 1981 with a mediocre 50–53 record only because of the ill-conceived split-season format necessitated by the player's strike. Oakland took the division in a three-game sweep. Frey was fired and replaced by Dick Howser midway through the 1981 campaign. Throughout these years, the Royals were a solid gate attraction. The Royals drew 2.2 million every year from 1978 to 1982 except for the strike-shortened 1981 season, and beginning back in 1975 were no worse than fourth in AL attendance.

In the summer of 1983, four Royals were implicated in the league-wide drug scandal that rocked the sport. Wilson, Jerry Martin, Vida Blue, and Willie Aikens pleaded guilty to charges of soliciting cocaine and received prison time, and only Wilson ever returned to the team. The ordeal stunned the organization and its fans. Kansas City's successful teams had always been considered rather sterile compared to the headline-generating characters in Oakland and New York, which suited the Midwest temperament just fine. The involvement of four Royals in a scandal of that magnitude shook that assumption to its core.

The Royals won the AL West in 1984 with Wilson patrolling center field again, but succumbed quickly to Detroit in the ALCS. After the season, Kauffman confronted Brett about the need to stay healthy. Brett had missed considerable playing time with injuries during each of the previous five seasons, including only 104 games in 1984. He responded to the challenge by rededicating himself to working out in the off-season. In 1985, he played in 155 games, batting .335 with 112 RBIs and 30 homers. He won his first Gold Glove and placing second in AL MVP voting.

General manager John Schuerholz, stung by his trades for veterans Martin and Blue after he first took the job in 1981, made a brilliant move by trading for seasoned catcher Jim Sundberg just before the 1985 season opened. Sundberg proved invaluable working with a talented young pitching staff led by Bret Saberhagen, the Cy Young winner (20–6). Kansas City finished 91–71. The pitching carried the team, whose run productivity was second worst in the AL. The Royals faced the Toronto Blue Jays in the ALCS, which was now a best-of-seven series. They lost the first two games before storming back behind Brett's two-home-run performance in game three. Then, down three games to one, Danny Jackson came through with a shutout to give the Royals' hope. The Royals took the final two games to take the pennant.

The Royals were underdogs to World Series foe St. Louis, their cross-state rivals, who had posted a baseball-best 101 wins. They used a formula of excellent pitching, defense, and speed concocted by none other than Herzog. While the national audience to the first all-prime-time Series might have been put off by the lack of a marquee market, the 1985 World Series was a huge happening for Missouri.

Pitching, not surprisingly, dominated. Kansas City pitchers gave up just 13 runs and the formidable Cardinal offense batted just .185 over seven games. Saberhagen won the Series MVP Award with two wins and a 0.50 ERA. The defining moment came in the bottom of the ninth inning of game six. The Royals trailed in the series three games to two and St. Louis led the game 1–0 with young relief ace Todd Worrell entering. During the season the Cards had won all 88 games in which they had led in the ninth. Pinch hitter Jorge Orta led off with a weak grounder to first baseman Jack Clark. Worrell and Clark's throw easily beat Orta to the bag, but umpire Don Denkinger signaled Orta was safe. Clark then failed to catch Steve Balboni's foul pop-up, and the big first baseman then responded with a bloop single. With one out, the runners advanced on a passed ball. McRae was promptly walked to load the bases. Pinch-hitting journeyman Dane Iorg then smashed a single to bring home the Royals' only two runs. The finale was a complete anomaly. Darryl Motley's two-run homer in the second inning set off an 11–0 rout against John Tudor, who had given up just one run in 15 innings in his two prior wins in the series. The Royals were only the second expansion team to win the World Series.

Fans in St. Louis will never forgive Denkinger's fateful call, but in Kansas City the comeback is recalled fondly. The Royals became the first team ever to lose games one and two at home and come back to win the World Series. They also became only the fifth team to ever overcome a 3–1 series deficit. However, the Royals were unable to build on their momentum. Tragedy, unfulfilled potential, and looming economic problems ensured the Royals' next generation would pale considerably to its first.

BAD BREAKS, NEW REALITIES

Howser's opportunity to bask in the team's first championship was cut far too short. Two days after he managed the AL to victory in the 1986 All-Star Game, he was diagnosed with a brain tumor and missed the rest of the season, in which the team had a losing record. He hoped to rejoin the team in 1987, but his condition did not improve. Howser died on June 17, 1987, and two weeks later his uniform number 10 was retired.

At the same time the Royals family was dealing with Howser's illness and death, on-field excitement came back in the form of Bo Jackson, the Heisman Trophy-winning Auburn tailback, who was also highly regarded as a baseball player. The Royals plucked him out of the amateur draft and then managed to persuade him to forgo a football career. Immediately, the Bo buzz indicated



Bo Jackson in a game against the California Angeles, 1989. © AP / Wide World Photos

a great future for the Royals. Jackson's short stint in the minors was followed by a home run in his first major-league at bat in September 1986. His first full season in Kansas City resulted in a lot of strikeouts, mammoth home runs, and rocket throws from left field. It culminated with his announcement that he would play football in the off-season for the Los Angeles Raiders. For three more years the excitement he generated whenever he stepped to the plate—which included winning the 1989 All-Star Game MVP trophy—never resulted in consistent production. When he injured his hip in 1990 while playing with the Raiders, the Royals released him, and his professional athletic career ended soon afterward.

By then the Royals were clearly a team in transition. They bounced back from the difficult 1986 campaign with winning seasons five out of the next seven years, but no postseason appearances. An ailing Kauffman died on August 1, 1993, and Brett retired after the season. That dual loss of leadership has yet to be regained, although Brett has remained in the front office since his retirement.

The economics of baseball were changing, as local broadcast revenue provided a means for large-market teams to make money that did not have to be shared with other teams. For small-market teams like the Royals, who had always relied on a far-flung regional fan base, that source of income was much less substantial. As the 1994 labor negotiations moved ominously forward, the owners cited the Royals as an example of a team that could not compete under the current economic system. The players went on strike on August 12, 1994.

Much has been said about how the players' strike of 1994–95 was fatal to the Montreal Expos, the class of the NL and stocked with young stars, but the Royals were similarly harmed. They were surging in the AL West standings with a 14-game winning streak that ended the week before the strike. They lost a chance for large attendances down the stretch and, like all teams, encountered considerable anger from their fans when games resumed.

Worse, the Royals were operating without an owner. Kauffman had tried for years to find a successor that would keep the team in town, and even tried to give the team to the city, but AL owners blocked that action. Instead Kauffman set up the Greater Kansas City Community Foundation and Affiliated Trusts to own and operate the club for up to six years, or until a local buyer could be found, and to ensure local charities would benefit from the eventual sale. Afterward the Royals would be sold to the highest bidder.

The foundation put the Royals up for sale in September 1997 for \$75 million, requiring potential buyers to raise at least half of their money from local investors and keep the team in town. Miles Prentice headed up a group that sought to buy the team, and the foundation accepted its bid. However, MLB did not, citing too many investors and a concern that the group was undercapitalized. Ultimately, David Glass, CEO and president of Wal-Mart and the chairman of the Royals' board since September 1993, bought the team in May 2000 for \$96 million.

The damage wrought by almost seven years of ownerless limbo cannot be overstated. The Royals had to deal with the aftermath of the strike without a clear budget or direction. Their farm teams, long considered some of the most impressive in baseball, were neglected. Management went after fading stars in hopes of a quick fix and dumped payroll, to the dismay of fans. In April 1995, with the taint of the strike still thick in the air, the Royals traded the 1994 Cy Young Award winner, David Cone (16–5, 2.94 ERA), to Toronto for Chris Stynes, David Sinnes, and Tony Medrano. That clunker was the warning shot for a dismal decade to come and a sure sign to fans that the labor war had not helped the Royals compete. In 1996 and 1997, the Royals finished in last place in their division for the first time. Even their beautiful stadium, renamed after Kauffman shortly after his death, was an ironic problem in this economic puzzle. While the stadium boom swept the country, prompting new revenue streams for owners who got cities to fund significant portions of proposed ballparks, “the K” had stood the test of time. Its construction foresaw the single-sport venues some 20 years before other stadiums were lauded for that feature. It was still a beautiful place for a ballgame, especially after the turf was replaced by natural grass in 1995. There was no chance voters would approve a new downtown stadium, especially when there was no owner to lobby for it. In an odd twist, the assets the Royals had going for them almost since their inception—dedicated, stable leadership; a commitment to their farm system; and a universally admired ballpark—all were working against them at a critical juncture.

Angry fans symbolically expressed their displeasure over baseball's economic structure on April 30, 1999, when the world champion Yankees were in town.

A local radio station organized a walkout. Some 3,000 fans left Kauffman Stadium en masse in the middle of the game, wearing shirts that read “Share the Wealth” and littering the field with fake \$100 bills.

THE GLASS YEARS

In 2003 the Royals had their first winning season in eight years.

Despite staying in contention for the AL Central title almost to the season's final week under 2003 Manager of the Year Tony Pena, new ownership has not resulted in a clear direction for the Royals. Glass and general manager Allard Baird have received decidedly mixed reviews since that purchase. Exciting young stars like Johnny Damon, Jermaine Dye, and Carlos Beltran ripened and then were traded before they could become free agents. Baird's infrequent trips to acquire established names, most notably Chuck Knoblauch and Juan Gonzalez, have been disasters. The team followed up its surprise 2003 campaign with a 58–104 mark in 2004 and a laughable 2005 campaign that resulted in a franchise worst 56–106 record and a 19-game losing streak that fell just 2 short of that ignominious AL record. In a case of miserable timing, the 20th-anniversary celebration of the World Series championship and Saberhagen's induction into the team hall of fame were scheduled for two consecutive nights during the skid—and rain postponed both of those much-anticipated bright spots! Buddy Bell was hired to replace Pena after he resigned abruptly early in the 2005 season. Bell will rely on a crop of talented young pitchers led by Zack Greinke to try and right the course. The number two overall pick in the 2005 amateur draft, third baseman Alex Gordon, was signed in the last week of that dismal Royals' season, providing a glimmer of hope for an offense that was absent that summer.

The Royals' continuous stumble from baseball's elite has been tough for Kansas City fans long accustomed to a winner, but Glass's investment is still in good shape. *Forbes* magazine estimated the Royals' franchise value at \$187 million in 2005, 27th among baseball's 30 franchises, but it represents a hearty 95 percent increase over Glass's purchase price five years earlier. Glass admitted that the Royals made \$3 million in 2004, but added that they had lost \$27 million since he bought the team.

Kauffman's vow to keep the team in his town nearly 40 years ago still rings true, but the requirement to keep the Royals in Kansas City created turmoil during a difficult transition. Meanwhile, the fan base has stagnated. Despite consistently being among the smallest media markets and population centers, the Royals used to be able to count on decent attendance. From 1973 to 1990, they were always in the top half of the AL in attendance, and attracted more than 1.8 million fans every nonstrike year from 1977 to 1993. Since the 1994–95 strike, the Royals haven't cracked that barrier and have not been better than 10th best in attendance among 14 AL clubs. The inconsistency and disappointment of the more recent Royals seems likely to continue rather than a return to the glory days, when the Royals were the class of the expansion field.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS**Most Valuable Players**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1980	George Brett	3B

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1985	Bret Saberhagen	RHP
1989	Bret Saberhagen	RHP
1994	David Cone	RHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1969	Lou Piniella	OF
1994	Bob Hamelin	DH
1999	Carlos Beltran	OF
2003	Angel Berroa	SS

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1976	George Brett	.333
1980	George Brett	.390
1982	Willie Wilson	.332
1990	George Brett	.329

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1989	Bret Saberhagen	2.16
1993	Kevin Appier	2.56

No-Hitters

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Steve Busby	04/27/1973
Steve Busby	06/19/1974
Jim Colborn	05/14/1977
Bret Saberhagen	08/26/1991

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES***AL West Division Titles***

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1976	90–72	Whitey Herzog
1977	102–60	Whitey Herzog
1978	92–70	Whitey Herzog
1980	97–65	Jim Frey
1981	50–53	Jim Frey Dick Howser
1984	84–78	Dick Howser
1985	91–71	Dick Howser

AL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1980	97–65	Jim Frey
1985	91–71	Dick Howser

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>	<i>MVP</i>
1985	St. Louis	Bret Saberhagen

MANAGERS

2005–	Buddy Bell
2002–2005	Tony Pena
2002	John Mizerock
1997–2002	Tony Muser
1995–1997	Bob Boone
1991–1994	Hal McRae
1991	Bob Schaefer
1987–1991	John Wathan
1987	Billy Gardner
1986	Mike Ferraro
1981–1986	Dick Howser
1980–1981	Jim Frey
1975–1979	Whitey Herzog
1973–1975	Jack McKeon
1970–1972	Bob Lemon
1970	Charley Metro
1969	Joe Gordon

Team Records by Individual Players

Batting Leaders	Single Season			Name	Career	Plate Appearances
	Name		Year			
Batting average	George Brett	.390	1980	George Brett	.305	11,624
On-base %	George Brett	.454	1980	Kevin Seitzer	.380	3,163
Slugging %	George Brett	.664	1980	Danny Tartabull	.518	2,684
OPS	George Brett	1.118	1980	Danny Tartabull	.894	2,684
Games	Al Cowens	162	1977	George Brett	2,707	11,624
At bats	Willie Wilson	705	1980	George Brett	10,349	11,624
Runs	Johnny Damon	136	2000	George Brett	1,583	11,624
Hits	Willie Wilson	230	1980	George Brett	3,154	11,624
Total bases	George Brett	363	1979	George Brett	5,044	11,624
Doubles	Hal McRae	54	1977	George Brett	665	11,624
Triples	Willie Wilson	21	1985	George Brett	137	11,624
Home runs	Steve Balboni	36	1985	George Brett	317	11,624
RBI s	Mike Sweeney	144	2000	George Brett	1,595	11,624
Walks	John Mayberry	122	1973	George Brett	1,096	11,624
Strikeouts	Bo Jackson	172	1989	Frank White	1,035	8,467
Stolen bases	Willie Wilson	83	1979	Wwillie Wilson	612	7,302
Extra-base hits	Hal McRae	86	1977	George Brett	1,119	11,624
Times on base	Mike Sweeney	292	2000	George Brett	4,283	11,624

Pitching Leaders	Single Season			Name	Career	Innings Pitches
	Name		Year			
ERA	Roger Nelson	2.08	1972	Dan Quisenberry	2.55	920.3
Wins	Brett Saberhagen	23	1989	Paul Splittorff	166	2,254.7
Won-loss %	Larry Gura	.800	1978	Fitzmorris	.593	1,098
Hits/9 IP	Roger Nelson	6.23	1972	Jeff Montgomery	8.05	849.3
Walks/9 IP	Doug Bird	1.41	1976	Dan Quisenberry	1.36	920.3
Strikeouts	Dennis Leonard	244	1977	Kevin Appier	1,458	1,843.7
Strikeouts/9 IP	Kevin Appier	8.82	1996	Tom Gordon	7.82	1,149.7
Games	Dan Quisenberry	84	1985	Jeff Montgomery	686	849.3
Saves	Jeff Montgomery	45	1993	Jeff Montgomery	304	849.3
Innings	Dennis Leonard	294.7	1978	Paul Splittorff	2,254.7	2,254.7
Starts	Dennis Leonard	40	1978	Paul Splittorff	392	2,254.7
Complete games	Dennis Leonard	21	1977	Dennis Leonard	103	2,187
Shutouts	Roger Nelson	6	1972	Dennis Leonard	23	2,187

Source: Drawn from data in "Kansas City Royals Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/KCR/leaders_bat.shtml; "Kansas City Royals Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." <http://baseball-reference.com/teams/KCR/staff.shtml>.

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Los Angeles Angels of Anaheim

Joel S. Franks

The exciting 2002 World Series witnessed the Anaheim Angels ending a four-decade-long drought in which the franchise had failed to ever win a world championship. From the time the franchise first joined MLB as the Los Angeles Angels in 1961 until the team beat the San Francisco Giants in that Fall Classic, it had often been the subject of ridicule and neglect. During those years, the team has had its share of interesting and frequently talented ballplayers, managers, and coaches, but none as interesting as owner Gene Autry.

RUDOLPH'S BALL CLUB

Major-league baseball came to Los Angeles in 1958, though it had had high-quality minor-league ball from the turn of the century with the Pacific Coast League. The PCL had one and often two franchises in the Los Angeles area, including the Angels, taken over in the 1920s by Philip Wrigley of the Chicago Cubs. He built near downtown a second Wrigley Field, a smaller but no less beautiful version than the one in Chicago. The Angels became one of the most stable PCL franchises, drawing well and winning its share of pennants. Nevertheless, the Angels had to usually share the spotlight with other Los Angeles-based franchises, mainly the Hollywood Stars, playing out of Gilmore Field in West Hollywood.

Wrigley sold his share of the Angels and Wrigley Field to Walter O'Malley in 1957 to smooth the Dodgers' transition. The Angels and the Stars disappeared as PCL franchises, and at least some Los Angelenos celebrated that their city had at last gone big-league. MLB hoped that the plague of major-league franchise movements would end. But Clark Griffith, owner of the Washington Senators,

was eyeing Minneapolis, and MLB was challenged by the probability of a third major league, the Continental League, locating a franchise there, as well as in such cities as Houston, Dallas, and New York City. Launching a preemptive strike, MLB allowed Clark Griffith to move his franchise to Minnesota and granted National League franchises in New York City and Houston.

Moving the Senators out of Washington, DC, was a touchy issue because there was concern that powerful congressmen might respond by eliminating baseball's antitrust exemption. Consequently, MLB placed an American League expansion franchise in Washington, DC, to start play in 1961, and to keep an even number of teams, also granted a franchise to Los Angeles.

Los Angeles in the 1960s was a metropolitan behemoth with a relatively prosperous and diverse economy. The city's population was 2,479,015, and Los Angeles County had 6,039,834 residents. The city had no clearly identified urban center, but had plenty of middle- and upper-class neighborhoods connected by freeways. Moreover, as Dodgers owner Walter O'Malley was finding out, a major-league team could draw baseball fans from Long Beach, Riverside, Orange County, and even Santa Barbara and San Diego. The AL magnates anticipated that these fans were not satisfied with just watching visiting NL stars like as Mays, Aaron, and Clemente, but also wanted to see AL greats such as Mantle, Maris, and Kaline.

An ownership group headed by Gene Autry took over the new Los Angeles franchise. Autry had gained fame and considerable wealth as a singing cowboy in countless B movies in the 1930s and 1940, and then along with Roy Rogers and Hopalong Cassidy thrilled baby boomers on TV. Moreover, millions heard his voice over the radio around Christmastime singing the ever-popular "Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer," as well as all sorts of renditions of his composition "Here Comes Santa Claus." Few Americans symbolized the wholesome 1950s better than Gene Autry.

By 1960 Autry no longer performed, but because of sound investments, he ranked for years on the *Forbes* list of the 400 wealthiest Americans. In 1952 he bought Los Angeles radio station KMPC, and eventually built a media empire through Golden West Broadcasters, which possessed several radio and television stations in Southern California and the West. Autry's key partner was Robert Reynolds, a former football star at Stanford and KMPC executive, who was the Angels president from 1961 to 1974.

THE LOS ANGELES YEARS

In 1961, Autry's Angels became the third major-league franchise to play on the Pacific Coast. However, right from the start the team played in the shadow of O'Malley's Dodgers, who had carved out a firm identity in Southern California. After a disappointing first season in Los Angeles in 1958, the Dodgers won the 1959 World Series with a team that excelled in pitching, speed, and defense. Nothing served the Dodgers better in Los Angeles than Vin Scully, whose voice echoed

through thousands of transistor radios in the mammoth Los Angeles Coliseum and thousands more portable and car radios heard on beaches, porches, and freeways. Finally, O'Malley had done a good job of gaining Hollywood support. Movie stars such as Frank Sinatra, Doris Day, Cary Grant, and Bing Crosby regularly attended games and lent a glamorous sheen to Dodgers.

Making matters worse for Autry's Angels was that Southern Californians did not have to watch and listen to baseball games to have a good time from April to October. They had plenty of indoor and outdoor recreational and leisure activities to divert them from major-league baseball. They could golf, play tennis, shop, barbecue, attend Little League games, lounge by their swimming pools, or just drive someplace—anyplace.

Autry picked baseball men for his management team who had considerable experience in Pacific Coast baseball and new major-league markets. General manager Fred Haney had managed the Hollywood Stars and led the Milwaukee Braves to the world championship in 1957. The field manager was Bill Rigney, who had previously managed the Giants when they moved west. In the expansion draft, the Angels got to purchase, for \$75,000 apiece, players already deemed as expendable by their old clubs. The Angels' first choice in the expansion draft was gifted but wild Yankees pitcher Eli Grba. There were a few stars, presumed over the hill, including veteran first baseman Ted Kluszewski, who was one of the NL's most feared hitters when he played for the Cincinnati Reds, but injuries and age had reduced his effectiveness. The Angels also picked up Steve Bilko, who had slugged over 50 homers in one season for the old Los Angeles Angels, and the quick, diminutive outfielder Albie Pearson, former Rookie of the Year with the Washington Senators. Another former PCL standout, Pearson had fallen on hard times since and was drafted from the Baltimore Orioles. Outfielder Bob Cerv once hit 38 homers for the Kansas City Athletics, but could no longer break into the Yankees' formidable lineup. In April 1961, the Angels also acquired former Yankee Ryne Duren, a flamethrowing relief pitcher who, like Grba, too infrequently found the strike zone. Acquired after the season started, Leon Wagner was an NL castoff who had showed some promise for the San Francisco Giants.

The Angels played their home games in comfy Wrigley Field, a better place to watch a ball game than the spacious Los Angeles Coliseum. But the Dodgers pulled in up to 90,000 people, while Wrigley Field could fit only about 20,000. Moreover, there was not a great deal to excite Angel fans, although they finished a surprising 8th in the 10-team league, ahead of the expansion Washington Senators and the Kansas City Athletics. The Angels finished just a half game behind the Minnesota Twins, and higher than any other major-league expansion team in its first year. The presence of both the Angels and the Senators in the AL also helped generate a little more excitement in a year easily dominated by the Yankees by diluting the talent pool of pitchers. This contributed to an explosion of homers and high batting averages in the junior circuit in 1961.

The Angels drew only around 600,000 to Wrigley Field in 1961—far less than the 1 million that used to mark a franchise's success and much less than

the 1.8 million the Dodgers drew in their first year in Los Angeles in 1958. The Coliseum, which was a poor fit for baseball, became available in 1962 because the Dodgers moved to their own new park. Instead, Reynolds opted, reluctantly, to play in Dodger Stadium where O'Malley wanted an exorbitant rent.

In 1962 the Angels amazed many by staying in the pennant race for much of the season. When the dust settled, the Angels were third place, a remarkable finish for a major-league team in its second year. The Angels' offense was led by Leon Wagner and Lee Thomas. Its pitching staff featured a talented young right-hander, Dean Chance, and Bo Belinsky, a colorful, egotistical southpaw, who in early May pitched the first no-hitter in the franchise's history over the Baltimore Orioles. The erratic Belinsky won 10 out of 21 decisions in 1962, initiating a three-year stint as the Angels' one-man publicity mill, which included a very public relationship with Hollywood blonde bombshell Mamie Van Doren. The Angels' strong performance helped draw 1 million fans. But despite fine play from individual performers such as Dean Chance (Cy Young winner in 1964, 20–9, 1.65 ERA), Fred Newman, Albie Pearson, and Jim Fregosi, the Angels slipped back into mediocrity from 1963 to 1965, and fans stayed away.

ORANGE COUNTY TO THE RESCUE

In the early 1960s, Orange County was best known as the home of Disneyland and a large area of political conservatism, or simply Los Angeles south. Local businessmen were tired of tourists thinking that Disneyland was in Los Angeles and wanted the county to possess its own identity. Disneyland had aided somewhat in this endeavor, but attracting a major-league baseball club to the county would help even more.

Modern major-league franchises had hitherto been located in major cities. Autry broke the mold by moving the Angels to Anaheim, the home of Disneyland and a suburb of Los Angeles. All Southern California had benefited from the economic prosperity fostered by World War II and then the cold war. Government defense contracts meant more jobs for assemblers, technicians, drafters, engineers, and scientists. Military personnel stationed in El Toro in Santa Ana and other parts of Southern California were drawn to the possibility of relocating there permanently. The GI Bill encouraged housing and highway construction, as well as the expansion of educational facilities.

Orange County's population grew dramatically like other suburban postwar Sunbelt areas, with plenty of land for defense plants, supermarkets, department stores, single-family homes, schools, and freeways. It especially offered prospective white residents an opportunity to move away from people of color in Los Angeles.

Orange County attracted Walt Disney. Admitting to a distaste for urban amusement parks that drew culturally diverse working- and middle-class Americans, Disney wanted to construct a profitable theme park to evoke a world beyond Coney Island—a world without the painful reminders of class,

race, and ethnicity. He wanted his park close to major freeways linking it to Southern California's population centers, but well isolated from surrounding neighborhoods populated with folks one did not see in his movies unless they posed as contented slaves telling young viewers Joel Chandler Harris tales about Brer Rabbit and Brer Bear and singing "Zippidy Do Da," or in his TV show *Disneyland*, which started in 1954.

Anaheim served his needs. It was largely inhabited by middle-class whites whose civic leaders enthused about filling Disney's every whim. It was near completed or projected freeways and possessed acres and acres of orange groves that could be transformed into a Magic Kingdom and parking lots. The coming of Disneyland in 1955 helped Anaheim boom. It grew from 14,556 people in 1950 to 146,000 15 years later.

In 1964, the Angels broke ground on former farmland for Anaheim Stadium, better known as "the Big A," in recognition of the large A observable from the Orange Freeway that marked the stadium's site. The city paid for the \$24 million baseball-only facility, which was constructed by the Del E. Webb Company. Civic leaders in Anaheim and the surrounding communities believed that they had effectively differentiated Orange County from Los Angeles, and thereby rendered it big-league, but Autry was less certain. He did not rename the club the Anaheim Angels, but rather the California Angels, which stuck for over 30 years.

The Angels played their first major-league game in Anaheim on April 19, 1966, before a crowd of 31,660. The team drew over 1.4 million that year. The team was mired in mediocrity for the next several years, despite the presence of several fine ballplayers. From 1966 to 1977, the Angels only finished above .500 twice—1967 and 1970. Moreover, after a fine 1967 season in which the Angels were 10 games over .500, the team plummeted to 67–96, 36 games out of first place. Rigney managed through early 1969.

Angel fans could find comfort in the fact that the Angels were not bereft of talent. Shortstop Jim Fregosi, a fan favorite, played for the Angels from 1961 to 1971. Outfielder Alex Johnson batted .329 in 1971 and won the AL batting crown. Hall of Fame outfielder Frank Robinson swatted 30 homers for the Halos in 1973. Speedy outfielder Mickey Rivers stole 70 bases in 1975. Outfielder Bobby Bonds gave the Angels speed and power in 1977. Rudy May was a solid pitcher for the Angels in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Left-hander Clyde Wright in 1970 and the talented Andy Messersmith in 1971 both won 20 games. Left-hander Frank Tanana emerged as one of the best young talents in big-league baseball in the mid-1970s, with three All-Star appearances. In 1975 he led the league in strikeouts (269), and two years later he led in ERA (2.54).

The biggest star on the Angels for much of the 1970s was fastballer Nolan Ryan. Acquired from the New York Mets for the popular Jim Fregosi, the hard-throwing right-hander joined the Angels in 1972. In 1973, he became the fifth major-league pitcher to hurl two no-hitters in a single season, followed by a third no-hitter in 1974. The next year, Ryan hurled his fourth no-hitter in front of just 8,000 spectators. Ryan made his last pitch for the Angels in 1979, after

achieving two 20-win seasons for the Halos and leading the AL in strikeouts seven of eight seasons. His overall Angels record of 138–121 was achieved with inferior teams that had winning records only in 1978 and 1979.

During the 1970s, the managers came and went with great rapidity. They started with Lefty Phillips, Del Rice, Bobby Winkles, and Whitey Herzog. Dick Williams was hired in the middle of 1974, following his great three years at Oakland, but could not replicate his winning ways. He was fired in 1976, replaced by Norm Sherry, Dave Garcia, and then Jim Fregosi, who joined up one-third of the way into the 1978 season. By then, free agency had significantly impacted major-league baseball. The Angels, with Autry's deep pockets, seemed better prepared than most clubs to take advantage. Autry signed some terrific players, including outfielders Don Baylor, Joe Rudi, and Lyman Bostock and infielder Bobby Grich. Before then, Autry had a hard time hiring a manager to take the Angels to the top. Bill Rigney had been fired in the midst of the 1969 season. The relatively youthful Jim Fregosi led the team in 1978 to its first winning season since 1970, and second place in the AL West. The pitching staff was solid, with left-hander Frank Tanana winning 18 games. However, the season was marred by the late-season murder of Lyman Bostock, gunned down while a car passenger in Gary, Indiana. Bostock was in his first year with the Angels, and in four major-league seasons had batted .313.

In 1979, Autry's Angels captured the AL West (88–74), their first major-league title of any kind, and drew over 2 million for the first time. Fans witnessed potent bats (the team led the league in offense) and effective pitching. Baylor slugged his way into an MVP season with a league-leading 139 RBIs. He was backed by Bobby Grich (101 RBIs), young catcher Brian Downing (.326), and Rod Carew (.318), one of the best hitters in the AL, acquired via a trade from Minnesota. As for the pitching, Ryan was his usual overpowering self, with 223 strikeouts, while Tanana supplied clutch performances despite an injured left arm that had diminished his speed and transformed him into a southpaw craftsman. However, they were defeated in the AL Championship Series by Earl Weaver's Baltimore Orioles in four games.

Despite the relative success enjoyed by Autry's Angels in 1979, Doug Pappas, the late statistical expert, was not impressed. Analyzing the Angels' payroll from 1977 to 1979, he argued that compared to teams such as Kansas City and the Chicago White Sox, Autry was paying players a great deal and getting disappointing on-field results. In 1977, Autry spent \$2,415,050 on his Angels' payroll and got 77 wins, while the Chicago White Sox won 90 games with a \$1,630,500 payroll. Two years later, when California won 88 games, their payroll had climbed to \$3,767,792. However, the Kansas City Royals won 85 games with a payroll of just \$1,976,324, a little over half of the Angels.

YEARS OF HEARTBREAK

During the 1980s, the Angels flirted with greatness but more often found heartbreaking defeat. Autry could not hold on to Ryan, who in 1980 signed a free-agent contract with the Houston Astros. Autry kept such high-priced talent

as Baylor, Carew, and Grich. In 1981 he traded for Fred Lynn from the Boston Red Sox and added to the mix Reggie Jackson, signed away from Steinbrenner's New York Yankees in time for the 1982 season. The Angels replaced the Ryan-led pitching staff with such solid hurlers as 20-year-old Mike Witt in 1981 and the venerable Tommy John in late 1982.

The 1980 season was a total disaster, as the team fell off to 65–95. Early in the 1981 season, Gene Mauch took over for Jim Fregosi, and the team went 51–59 in the split season. Considered one of baseball's cleverest managers, Mauch's reputation was tainted by the 1964 collapse of the Phillies. This time, however, Mauch's Angels won the Western Division race as Reggie Jackson had one of his very best seasons in a colorful career, slugging 39 home runs and knocking in 101 runs. Five Angels had 20 or more homers, and the pitchers had the second-best ERA in the league. After putting together a 93–69 record, the Angels faced the potent Milwaukee Brewers in the ALCS for the pennant. In the best-of-five series, the Angels won the first two and seemed poised to give Autry his coveted World Series team, but they lost the next three games and were eliminated. Many Angel fans faulted Mauch's pitching moves, and once again he faced demons unleashed by a championship almost won.

Mauch resigned before the start of the 1983 season, perhaps stung by the criticism of his handling of the 1982 ALCS. His replacement was the solid John McNamara, whose Angels were at best second-rate. In 1983 the team plummeted to 70–92 record, but improved to .500 in 1984. Then, when the Red Sox hired McNamara away from the Angels, a perhaps-grateful Autry rehired Mauch for the 1985 season. His Angels in the mid-1980s were a veteran club, and perhaps a little too old. Still, the Angels had a steady and strong right-hander in Mike Witt, who had pitched a perfect game in 1984; a future Hall of Famer in Don Sutton; and a top reliever in Donnie Moore. There was speed with Gary Pettis and solid position players and hitters such as third baseman Doug DeCinces, catcher Bob Boone, and DH Brian Downing, and the ever-reliable Grich. The 1985 squad showed promise, winning 90 games and finished a game behind Kansas City in the AL West race.

In 1986, the Angels added rookie sensation Wally Joyner, and Anaheim Stadium became known as "Wally's World." The Angels took the 1986 Western Division title (92–70) and moved on to face the Red Sox in the AL playoffs. The team featured a balanced offense, led by Joyner, with a .290 batting average and 100 RBIs, and DeCinces, who at \$1.2 million was the highest-paid player on the team. The pitching staff featured solid performances from the 41-year-old Don Sutton (15–11, 3.74, ERA), Kirk McCaskill (17–10, 3.36 ERA), and Mike Witt (18–10, 2.84 ERA). In the best-of-seven ALCS, the Angels went up three games to one. In game five at the Big A, the Angels had a three-run lead going into the top of the ninth inning. Baylor hit a two-run homer. After two were out, Lucas came in to pitch and hit his batter. Then Mauch brought in reliever Donnie Moore, who had shut down the opposition effectively all year. With thousands of Angel fans on their feet, Moore had two strikes on outfielder Dave Henderson, who launched a two-run homer to take the lead. The Angels

tied the score in the bottom of the frame. However, the Red Sox scored again off Moore in the 11th to win the game. The Red Sox swept by the Angels in the next two games and went on to the World Series. Moore never recovered from the debacle, and three years later committed suicide.

For the next several years, the Angels were consistent losers, depending on veterans, some of whom were over the hill. Gene Mauch's last year with the Angels ended with a disappointing 78–84 record in 1987. Two years later the team showed a lot of improvement under Doug Rader, finishing third in the division with a 91–61 record. The team was carried by a terrific pitching staff, led by curveballing 38-year-old Bert Blyleven (17–5, 1.73 ERA).

While Autry's Angels achieved occasional triumphs in the AL West, Doug Pappas's statistical analysis reveals that the singing cowboy continued to overspend on a generally mediocre ball club. When the Angels won the West in 1982 with a 93–69 record, they had the highest payroll in the major leagues—\$10,917,284. Kansas City came in second in the West at a cost of just \$6,288,548. In 1983, the Angels' payroll of \$9,935,324 was the highest in the AL West, but the team won only 70 games while the division champion Chicago White Sox won 99 games with a \$7,171,192 payroll. In 1987, the Angels and the Texas Rangers both won 75 games. The Angels' payroll was \$12,985,489, while the Rangers' was only half as costly—\$6,342,718. In 1992, when the Angels were second to the division-winning Oakland Athletics in players' salaries, the Angels won just 72 games with a \$33,529,344 payroll, \$6 million more than second-place Minnesota.

By the early 1990s, Gene Autry and his wife, Jackie, who had become very involved in running the Angels, had soured on spending so much money on their beloved franchise. The team was operating at such losses that the Autrys had to borrow \$40 million from Wells Fargo. There was thought that the Angels might have to declare bankruptcy or relocate the team. In 1993, having concluded they could spend a lot less and not do much worse in the standings, the Angels had the lowest payroll in the Western Division, \$27,230,334. They ended with a 71–91 record, virtually the same as 1992, but \$6 million cheaper. In the strike-shortened 1994 season, the Angels' payroll remained the lowest in the division at \$20,691,000, \$7 million less than the next highest, the Seattle Mariners, who won only two more games. Then, in the strike-delayed 1995 season, Marcel Lachemann led the Angels to a division lead for most of the season, only to fall into a tie (78–66) with Seattle. The Mariners then trounced the Angels in a playoff, 9–1. The Halos had five men hit over 20 homers and had the league's best outfield in Garret Anderson (.321), Tim Salmon (.330), and Jim Edmonds (.290). Lee Smith had 37 saves.

THE DISNEY YEARS

Thankfully for Orange County's baseball fans, the Walt Disney Company bought 25 percent and management control of the Angels in 1996 from the

aging Autry, who did not want to entirely cut his financial and emotional ties to the Angels. Disney was not just satisfied to run a couple of theme parks and turn out movies and television shows, but sought to broaden its holdings in the media and entertainment industries. Locally, it was frustrated with its inability to control economic development around Disneyland. While Disney envisioned its Anaheim theme park as a place that would stand above time and place, the real world surrounded Disneyland with a vengeance. There was traffic congestion, motels, bars, and gift shops. Fast-food restaurants sprouted up and prostitutes set up business along Harbor Boulevard, the main street leading to Disneyland. Orange County political and business interests did not want to just attract wholesome families to their region, but also more hedonistic tourists and conventioners.

By adding local sports franchises, Disney could expand its economic base and also gain greater control over Orange County's economic future. In the early 1990s, Disney acquired ownership of an NHL expansion team located in Anaheim. The company had just made a popular movie about a youth hockey team called *The Mighty Ducks*, and to the dismay of traditional NHL fans and the delight of local hockey novices, the new team also became known as the Mighty Ducks. Disney could now merchandise Mighty Duck T-shirts.

Purchasing a controlling interest of the Angels went along with a Disney strategy that soon set its sights on ABC and ESPN. It also followed Disney's production of the movie *Angels in the Outfield*, a pleasant remake of a 1950s hit, in which the Pittsburgh Pirates became an NL powerhouse through divine intervention. The 1994 remake targeted the California Angels, although home scenes were shot at the Oakland Coliseum.

In 1997 the franchise became known as the Anaheim Angels. At long last, Orange County, with the help of Michael Eisner, had become big-league. Disney helped finance a renovation of the Big A, turning it into a baseball-only facility following the NFL Rams' move to St. Louis. The region's primary utility company, Edison International Corporation, paid \$50 million to rename the park Edison International Field for 20 years.

In 1998, Gene Autry died without ever seeing his beloved Angels in the World Series, the team finishing for the second straight year in second place. The Disney Corporation bought out the Autry family's share of the Angels. Their main free-agency signing was Boston's slugging first baseman Mo Vaughn to provide much-needed punch. He earned \$18.3 million in the 1999–2000 seasons and hit a total of 69 homers and drove in 225 runs. But otherwise, the offense was moribund in 1999, 13th out of 14 in run production, and the club fell to 70–92.

Former Dodgers catcher Mike Scioscia was signed as Angels manager in 2000, and finished with a winning record despite weak starting pitching. The team clouted 236 homers, led by Troy Glaus (47), and four players had over 100 RBIs. Hard-throwing Troy Percival had 32 saves. He, like Anderson, Darrin Erstad, Edmonds, Salmon, and Glaus, were all products of the team's farm system.

The club faltered in 2001, but in 2002, bolstered by a reliable pitching staff, excellent defense, and the highest batting average in the AL, the Angels won 99 games, coming in second in the West and gaining a wild-card berth in the playoffs. Lefty Jerrod Washburn went 18–6 and Percival saved 40 games. Edison International Field, meanwhile, became a hell for baseball traditionalists as Angel fans were cued by “the Rally Monkey” on Edison’s big screen to bang thunder sticks together whenever the home team needed runs. The Angels upset the Yankees in four games and then the Minnesota Twins in five. In both series, the Angels lost the first game and seemed on the ropes before coming back to dump the opposition.

The 2002 World Series brought together two West Coast wild-card teams. The match with the upstart San Francisco Giants turned into one of the finest Series in recent memory. This time, destiny was on the side of the Angels. Going into the middle of game six, it looked like the Giants were about to win the championship. They were leading the Angels 5–0 going into the seventh inning when a three-run homer by Scott Spezio narrowed the gap. As thousands of thunder sticks were beating together, the Angels rallied for three more runs in

the eighth off of hapless Giants relievers to pull out a 6–5 victory and force a deciding seventh game. Rookie John Lackey pitched a near-flawless game, and with strong relief support, the Angels took game seven 4–1 to capture the World Series.

THE MAGIC KINGDOM SHRINKS (A BIT)

By the time the Angels won the World Series, the Disney Corporation recognized it had overextended itself by getting into professional sports. Owning the Angels garnered goodwill, but running a major-league franchise was not the best way for it to make money. Arizona advertising mogul Arturo Moreno bought the Angels after the 2002 season for \$186 million. The first Mexican American to own a major-league baseball team, Moreno had previously owned shares of the Arizona Diamondbacks and the NBA’s Phoenix Suns. Among his first popular actions was lowering the price of the \$8.50 beer.



Garret Anderson, who hit the game winning ball, runs with the World Series Championship trophy, 2002. © AP / Wide World Photos

The 2003 season was a disappointment as the Angels dropped to a 75–87 record, 19 games behind the Western Division champion Oakland Athletics. Injuries to Glaus and Erstad did not help, and the starting pitching declined. The relief corps headed by closer Troy Percival remained effective, and outfielder Garret Anderson continued to provide a reliable bat, following his 123 RBIs in 2002 with 116 a year later.

During the off-season, Moreno won the bidding war for Vladimir Guerrero, a talented outfielder who had battered NL hurlers as a Montreal Expo. Guerrero furnished the 2004 Angels with 39 home runs, a .337 batting average, and 126 RBIs. Jose Guillen, a much-traveled outfielder, knocked in 104 runs. The team led the AL in batting (.281), but was only seventh in run production. Free-agent right-hander Bartolo Colon led the starters with 18 wins, albeit with an ERA of over 5.00. These additions helped the team fight off the Oakland Athletics to win the AL West with a 90–72 record. However, Mike Scioscia's widely respected managing could not keep the Angels from getting swept by the Boston Red Sox in the AL Division Series.

In the process, the Angels have put together one of the best-paid teams in the major leagues. In 2004, only the Yankees and the Red Sox had higher payrolls. With a \$100 million payroll, the Angels even outspent their often overly generous neighbors—the Los Angeles Dodgers, who paid out about \$92 million on their NL West champions.

While the Angels might be finally emerging from the shadow cast by the Dodgers on Southern California baseball, the financial ledger does not seem to bear that out. As of 2004, *Fortune* estimated that the Dodgers were the 4th-most-valuable franchise in MLB, while the Angels ranked 20th. Still, at the end of the 2004 season, the Angels possess an entertaining ball club, blending hustling overachievers with the superbly talented Vladimir Guerrero—a recipe for winning seasons and hopefully large, enthusiastic crowds cramming into their ballpark, now called Angel Stadium.

Renamed the Los Angeles Angels of Anaheim, the 2005 squad had a terrific season,



Vladimir Guerrero in a game against the Seattle Mariners, 2004.
© AP / Wide World Photos

Mike Scioscia's team, led by Bartolo Colon's 21 wins, fought off a second-half surge by the Oakland Athletics and won the AL West. In the ALDS, the Angels subdued the Yankees in the decisive fifth game but fell in five games to the White Sox's magnificent starting pitching in the ALCS. The entertaining Angels blend hustling overachievers with the superbly talented Vladimir Guerrero—a recipe for winning seasons and hopefully large, enthusiastic crowds cramming into Angel Stadium.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1979	Don Baylor	OF
2004	Vladimir Guerrero	OF

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1964	Dean Chance	RHP
2005	Bartolo Colon	RHP

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1970	Alex Johnson	.329

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1981	Bobby Grich	22
1982	Reggie Jackson	39
2000	Troy Glaus	47

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1964	Dean Chance	1.65
1977	Frank Tanana	2.54

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1972	Nolan Ryan	329
1973	Nolan Ryan	383
1974	Nolan Ryan	367
1975	Frank Tanana	269
1976	Nolan Ryan	327
1977	Nolan Ryan	341
1978	Nolan Ryan	260
1979	Nolan Ryan	223

No-Hitters (Italics = Perfect Game)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Bo Belinsky	05/05/1962
Clyde Wright	07/03/1970
Nolan Ryan	05/15/1973
Nolan Ryan	07/15/1973
Nolan Ryan	09/28/1974
Nolan Ryan	06/01/1975
<i>Mike Witt</i>	<i>09/30/1984</i>

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES**AL West Division Titles**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1979	88–74	Jim Fregosi
1982	93–69	Gene Mauch
1986	92–70	Gene Mauch
2004	92–70	Mike Scioscia

AL Wild Card

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
2002	99–63	Mike Scioscia

AL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
2002	99–63	Mike Scioscia

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>	<i>MVP</i>
2002	San Francisco	Troy Glaus

MANAGERS

2000–	Mike Scioscia
1999	Joe Maddon
1997–1999	Terry Collins
1996	John McNamara
1994–1996	Marcel Lachemann
1993–1994	Buck Rodgers
1992	John Wathan
1991–1992	Buck Rodgers
1989–1991	Doug Rader
1988	Moose Stubing
1988	Cookie Rojas
1985–1987	Gene Mauch
1983–1984	John McNamara
1981–1982	Gene Mauch
1978–1981	Jim Fregosi
1977–1978	Dave Garcia
1976–1977	Norm Sherry
1974–1976	Dick Williams
1974	Whitey Herzog
1973–1974	Bobby Winkles
1972	Del Rice
1969–1971	Lefty Phillips
1961–1969	Bill Rigney

Team Records by Individual Players

	Single Season			Career	Plate Appearances	
	Name		Year			
Batting average	Darin Erstad	.355	2000	Rod Carew	.314	3,570
On-base %	Jason Thompson	.439	1980	Rod Carew	.393	3,570
Slugging %	Troy Glaus	.604	2000	Tim Salmon	.500	6,795
OPS	Tim Salmon	1.024	1995	Tim Salmon	.886	6,795
Games	Sandy Alomar	162	1970	Brian Dowling	1,661	6,912
At bats	Sandy Alomar	689	1971	Garret Anderson	6,472	6,849

(Continued)

Batting Leaders (Continued)

	Single Season			Name	Career	Plate Appearances
	Name		Year			
Runs	Vladimir Guerrero	124	2004	Tim Salmon	956	6,795
Hits	Darin Erstad	240	2000	Garret Anderson	1,929	6,849
Total bases	Darin Erstad	366	2000	Garret Anderson	3,062	6,849
Doubles	Garret Anderson	56	2002	Garret Anderson	403	6,849
Triples	Chone Figgins	17	2004	Jim Fregosi	70	5,944
Home runs	Troy Glaus	47	2000	Tim Salmon	290	6,795
RBI s	Don Baylor	139	1979	Garret Anderson	1,043	6,849
Walks	Tony Philips	113	1995	Tim Salmon	941	6,795
Strikeouts	Mo Vaughn	181	2000	Tim Salmon	1,316	6,795
Stolen bases	Mickey Rivers	70	1975	Gary Pettis	186	2,156
Extra-base hits	Garret Anderson	88	2002	Garret Anderson	656	6,849
Times on base	Darin Erstad	305	2000	Tim Salmon	2,623	6,795

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Name	Career	Innings Pitched
	Name		Year			
ERA	Dean Chance	1.65	1964	Andy Messersmith	2.78	972.3
Wins	Clyde Wright	22	1970	Chuck Finley	165	2,675
Won-loss %	Bert Blyleven	.773	1989	Jarrod Washburn	.568	1,153.3
Hits/9 IP	Nolan Ryan	5.26	1972	Troy Percival	6.03	5,86.7
Walks/9 IP	Paul Byrd	1.23	2005	Bert Blyleven	1.74	508
Strikeouts	Nolan Ryan	383	1973	Nolan Ryan	2,416	2,181.3
Strikeouts/9 IP	Nolan Ryan	10.57	1973	Troy Percival	10.43	586.7
Games	Scot Shields	78	2005	Troy Percival	579	586.7
Saves	Bryan Harvey	46	1991	Troy Percival	316	586.7
Innings	Nolan Ryan	332.7	1974	Chuck Finley	2,675	2,675
Starts	Nolan Ryan	41	1974	Chuck Finley	379	2,675
Complete games	Nolan Ryan	26	1973	Nolan Ryan	156	2,181.3
Shutouts	Dean Chance	11	1974	Nolan Ryan	40	2,182.3

Source: "Los Angeles Angels of Anaheim Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/ANA/leaders_bat.shtml; "Los Angeles Angels of Anaheim Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/ANA/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Minnesota Twins

Kristin M. Anderson and Christopher W. Kimball

At the dawn of the 2005 season, Major League Baseball returned to Washington, DC, with the arrival of the former Montreal Expos. This gave the city its third MLB franchise. This chapter examines the history of the first of those teams, the current Minnesota Twins, which traces its history back through the Washington Senators, one of the original members of the American League, into the mid-nineteenth-century origins of the game on the East Coast.

While both the Senators and the Twins have been famous for their lack of success—“First in war, first in peace, and last in the American League” is the signal joke about Washington baseball—the century-long history of the teams includes some significant successes, including World Series wins in 1924, 1987, and 1991; league championships in 1925, 1933, and 1965; AL Western Division championships in 1969 and 1970; and AL Central Division championships in 2002, 2003, and 2004.

The franchise has shared several characteristics with many other teams, such as troubles with facilities development, but also more distinctive ones, including decades-long ownership by a single family and an enterprise often running on the financial margins. With the team’s 1961 move from the East Coast to the Midwest, its story became intertwined with the westward movement of existing franchises as well as expansion in MLB. This also represented a shift from an urban to a suburban setting, followed by a subsequent move near the central business district. In two different cities, then, the Senators-Twins franchise provides strong ties to the beginnings of professional baseball in the nineteenth century, demonstrates the growth and development of the game in an urban center in the East followed by its flight move to the homogeneous Midwest, and

illustrates recent struggles as a small-market team in an outmoded facility. The story demonstrates the possibility of triumph and success, if only occasionally, under difficult circumstances.

EARLY BASEBALL IN WASHINGTON, DC

The Senators' prehistory in Washington goes back to the earliest years of professional baseball, following a typical pattern reflecting league instability, peripatetic use of ballparks and fields, and episodes of unreliable management and ownership. As in many cities, these years saw the emergence of one or two dominant teams. One of the prominent 1850s clubs was the Nationals, founded in 1859 by government clerks, whose name was later taken up by the city's AL team (until 1957), and reinvented for the new NL team in 2005.

Washington played a part in early intercity matches. The Brooklyn Atlantics and the Philadelphia Athletics visited Washington in 1865 to play local teams and demonstrate their superior skill, having recently competed in the season's championship. More significant, perhaps, were the 1867 western travels of the Nationals to compete against eight teams in cities as far west as St. Louis and as far north as Chicago. There they played a Rockford team, led by young pitching star A. G. Spalding, that beat the Nationals for their only loss on the tour.

The city's role as national capital meant that baseball received a seal of approval when government officials attended games. Abraham Lincoln is supposed to have watched games there in 1862, and Andrew Johnson was said to have watched the Nationals play in the intercity tournament of 1865. Some early teams played at the White Lot, on what is now the Ellipse, bringing baseball into the backyard of the White House. In 1897, President William McKinley was invited to throw out the first ball at the beginning of the season. The presidential tradition became formalized as an annual event in the early twentieth century, enduring even when there was no team in Washington.

The location and establishment of playing fields in Washington reflected broader trends in ballpark design and function. Early teams played in various parks around the city at a time when identifying and using open areas was relatively easy. Longtime Washington baseball entrepreneur Mike Scanlon is credited with the building of the city's first formal ballpark in 1870—an enclosed space with permanent seating, allowing the club owners to charge admission. This assisted clubs to generate revenue to pay professional players.

As standards for playing space and seating capacity increased, new facilities were constructed to meet these demands. For instance, Capitol Park was constructed in 1886, at the site of Union Station. It seated about 6,000 people in a huge facility that was 400 feet by 800 feet. Such capacious facilities could not be sustained for long on valuable core city real estate, and the Capitol Grounds were replaced in the early 1890s by National League Park in northwest Washington.

As spectator capacity increased and the size of the city grew, attention was paid to transit issues. In contrast to other cities, where transit companies invested in ballparks along or at the end of their lines, thereby bringing traffic, in Washington the transit company brought the lines to the ballpark. At Capitol Park in the late 1880s, temporary rails were laid for each game so that the city's horse cars could get fans to and from the grounds.

Available space and convenient transportation were only two of the location-related issues facing Washington teams. As elsewhere, Washington club owners pushed against legal prohibitions forbidding Sunday games. In 1890, for example, the Nationals played a Sunday game in Alexandria to avoid the blue laws in Washington. They later returned to the site to play again, hoping that a previously lucky location would bring much-needed fortune to the team. This was one illegal game too many for local authorities, and the confrontation with law enforcement played out as it often did in other cities, with fans harassing the police and stealthy escapes of team officials attempting to avoid arrest.

Typical of many late nineteenth-century teams, special promotions were devised to attract female fans to the ballparks. Washington's best-known example of this was a Ladies' Day scheduled to coincide with the pitching appearances of the handsome Win Mercer in 1897, capitalizing on his particular appeal to Washington's women fans. The intent was to increase the fan base and encourage better behavior in the grandstand. Over 1,000 women attended the game. Unfortunately, Mercer was thrown out of the game arguing a call with the umpire. The female fans harassed the umpire for the remainder of the game. Afterward, many rushed the field to attack the umpire with their parasols.

One of the prominent characteristics of baseball's late nineteenth-century evolution was the rationalizing and professionalizing of the game, including the development of teams with paid players that joined leagues that helped schedule and coordinate games and regulate the process of player acquisition. Washington's teams, especially the Olympics and the Nationals, appeared on the league landscape quite early, and yet both teams demonstrated the instability in league affiliation common in this period. These problems were due not only to shakiness in the leagues themselves, but also to an early-established tradition of perennially bad play that made Washington teams especially vulnerable to shifting league membership.

In 1871, the Washington Olympics played in the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players, going 15–15, but dropped out the next year after nine games. The Washington Nationals joined the NA in 1872, lost all 11 games, and dropped out, while the Washington Blue Legs came in seventh (8–31) in 1873. A new Nationals entry in 1875 finished a dismal ninth (5–23). In 1884 the city had a team in the Union Association called the Nationals, which finished seventh (47–65), while the Statesmen played in the American Association, and fared even worse, coming in last (12–51).

There was no Washington entry in the National League until 1886. The Nationals were very weak, coming in last three seasons out of four, and won less than one-third of their games. They were replaced in 1889 by the Cincinnati Reds, who transferred in from the American Association. In 1892, when the NL expanded from 8 to 12 teams, Washington was again included. Owners George and Earl Wagner of Philadelphia became the first in a famous sequence of notoriously stingy owners. They traded players for financial gain rather than for the good of the team, which guaranteed losing seasons and made them very unpopular with the fans. Their failure was acknowledged by the NL, which bought them out prior to the 1900 season when it reduced itself to an eight-team league, also cutting Cleveland, Louisville, and Baltimore.

THE RISE OF THE WASHINGTON SENATORS

In 1900 Washington had a team in the new American League, which was a reconstituted form of the old minor Western League. One year later the AL proclaimed itself a major league. The Washington franchise was ostensibly owned by Detroit hotelier Fred Postal and managed by Jimmy Manning, owner of the Kansas City minor-league club. In fact, AL president Ban Johnson owned the team. The Senators in 1901 drew 161,661 fans—a respectable number—to the new American League Ballpark, located near Capitol Hill in northeast Washington, but finished a less-than-respectable sixth place. Their first season set the tone for much of the team's subsequent history. In the off-season, they signed four players from the NL's Philadelphia Phillies, including superstar Ed Delahanty, who hit .376 (second in the AL) and led the league with a .590 slugging percentage. But despite the new additions, the team again finished sixth, though attendance rose to 188,158. The following season, the team collapsed, finishing last, and attendance dropped by a third. Delahanty died accidentally on a road trip in a drunken fall off a railroad bridge at the Canadian border.

The team returned to the old National Park in 1904, taking with them some of the stands from American League Park. Then, just to confuse everyone, or perhaps in honor of the transplanted stands, the Senators renamed their new home American League Park! The stadium was located at the junctions of Georgia Avenue and Seventh, W, and U Streets, Northwest, a site used for baseball from 1891 until 1961, and today the site of Howard University Hospital. Since the owners failed to acquire all of the adjoining property, when the park was rebuilt in 1911 after a fire it featured a V-shaped projection in right center field where the wall wound around five houses and a tree. The dimensions were a spacious 421 feet, 400 feet, and 399 feet from left to right.

In 1904, Ban Johnson sold the team to a local syndicate led by Thomas C. Noyes, owner of the *Washington Evening Star*, inspiring hope for the franchise's fortunes. The ownership change, however, did nothing for the

team's on-field performance as they finished 38–113 (.252), their worst record so far. In early 1905, Noyes took on the role of team president and exercised a greater hand in management. His presence portended several changes and provided some stability over his 15-year tenure. The team changed its official nickname to the Nationals, though “Senators” was the name that stuck with the public. Noyes also began investing more heavily in new players, but the team's performance showed little improvement. In 1906, for example, the team's struggles continued as it finished seventh, at one point losing three doubleheaders in three days.

Joe Cantillon was appointed manager for the next season, having previously managed the Minneapolis Millers of the American Association. He guided the Senators over the next three years, finishing last twice and seventh once. His most significant action was acquiring a young Idahoan pitcher, Walter Johnson, the cornerstone of the franchise and one of the greatest pitchers of all time. Johnson signed for a \$100 bonus, train fare, and a big-league salary of \$350 a month. He lost his debut in August 1907 and finished the season with a 5–9 record on a last-place team (49–102).

Johnson began to establish his dominance one year later, when he pitched three shutouts in four days against the New York Highlanders. The season was also noteworthy for catcher Gabby Street's successful catch of a ball dropped from the top of the Washington Monument. Previous efforts had been blocked by the police, but this time the stunt was officially sanctioned. The episode signified that baseball had become an acceptable form of entertainment. The following year saw the Senators back in the cellar (42–110), leading to Cantillon's dismissal and replacement by Jimmy McAleer.

In 1910 the Senators started what became a fixture on Opening Day when President William Howard Taft threw out the first pitch. Previous presidents had thrown out the first ball, but now it became an annual ritual. Less well remembered was that Secretary of State Charles Bennett was hit by a line drive that day. The remainder of the season followed another tradition, as the club finished seventh, despite Johnson's 25 victories.

On March 17, 1911, the ballpark's wooden stands burned to the ground, a not-infrequent occurrence in that era. Noyes accepted the accident with good grace, even though the \$15,000 insurance payment came nowhere near the estimated rebuilding expenses of \$125,000. Taking a tremendous gamble, Noyes and his board of directors borrowed \$100,000 from a local bank and immediately set about to build a fire-resistant structure fabricated with steel and concrete. The prominent Cleveland firm of Osborn Engineering, considered “the national pastime's foremost architectural player,” designed and constructed the new park. Osborn specialized in constructing temporary stands, which made them an attractive partner for teams seeking to recover from fires and other disasters. The company also built Cleveland's League Park (1910), the Polo Grounds (1911), Navin Field (1912), Braves Field (1915), and Yankee Stadium (1923). The new ballpark was designed to resemble Forbes Field and Shibe

Park—but with a smaller capacity. A double-decked grandstand surrounded the infield; a single-decked, covered grandstand extended out to the foul poles; and there were bleachers in the outfield. The field's dimensions were an asymmetrical 407 feet, 421 feet, and 328 feet. The structure was not completed until the summer, but enough was finished by Opening Day to allow President Taft and 11,000 fans to inaugurate the new American League Park on April 12, 1911. Unfortunately the new grounds had a troubled history, and later became known as “the Rodney Dangerfield” of ballparks.

Clark Calvin Griffith, an old friend of Cantillon, became the team's field manager after the 1911 season, and he went on to become the dominant figure in the franchise's history. Griffith was an outstanding pitcher who went 237–146 in his 20 major-league seasons. In 1901, he became the player-manager of the AL's Chicago White Sox. Griffith then moved on to manage the New York Highlanders (1903–8) and the Cincinnati Reds (1909–11). He borrowed funds to secure a 10 percent interest in the Reds. Overall, he managed for 20 straight seasons in the majors. Griffith was elected to the Hall of Fame in 1946.

In his first year in Washington, Griffith led the team to a second-place finish with 91 wins, 27 more than the year before. Johnson was sensational in 1912, going 33–12, with a league-leading 1.39 ERA and 303 strikeouts. The next year, when the club again came in second, Johnson went 36–7, with a league-leading 1.14 ERA, 336 innings pitched, 243 strikeouts, and 29 complete games. He achieved the pitching triple crown and was league MVP. In 1914, the team slipped to third place and then found itself competing with the new Federal League to retain Johnson's services. In December, the Big Train signed a two-year, \$40,000 contract with the Chicago Whales, but he backed out of it and stayed with the Senators. Over the next three years, the team sank back to fourth, seventh, and fifth. This was accompanied by falling attendance, and the board of directors was forced to borrow money to keep operating.

When the United States got into World War I, the team played a significant role in persuading the Woodrow Wilson administration that baseball was an important contributor to the home front. The Senators drilled before games, gave soldiers free tickets, and urged fans to buy war bonds. Griffith established a “Bat and Ball Fund” to send baseball equipment to the American troops in Europe. Griffith later claimed that Franklin Roosevelt's decision to allow MLB to continue playing during World War II was based on the sport's support for the war effort of 1917–18. Griffith's political acumen also extended to other matters. He provided free tickets to clergy, partly to head off opposition to Sunday baseball. In the war-shortened 1918 season, the Senators advanced to third behind MVP Johnson, who went 23–13 and again won the pitching triple crown, but they fell to seventh the following year.

In 1920, Griffith turned to his more well-heeled fellow owners for an infusion of cash, but was turned down. So, with the backing of Philadelphia grain merchant William Richardson, Griffith bought 40 percent of the team's stock for less than \$100,000, mortgaging personal property in order to make

the purchase. The cash-strapped Griffith became president of the club while continuing as manager that season.

The new ownership thoroughly renovated the ballpark and renamed it Griffith Stadium. The ballpark could not expand outward to new land, but did expand upward, much like contemporary central business districts. By 1920, the single-decked stands were double-decked, with a higher roofline and a steeper pitch than in the main grandstand. The changing roofline defined the ballpark as a place that had been cobbled together, not something carefully integrated by a master design. Seating was increased to 13,000 (still the smallest in the AL), a new concrete and steel stand was constructed along the left-field line, the clubhouses were renovated, and the playing field was resodded.

This unattractive appearance matched the state of a franchise that was always near financial ruin. A weak financial base with minimal initial capitalization was aggravated by limited operating revenues. The team's finances led to more weakness on the field and a revolving door in leadership, with a new manager each year between 1921 and 1924. But the leadership vacuum was about to change, and for a brief period, the financial situation also improved.

THE GLORY YEARS, 1924–33

In 1924, 27-year-old Bucky Harris became the Senators' field manager and led them to the pennant, going 92–62, a 17-game improvement over 1923. The team led the AL in pitching with a team ERA of 3.34. Johnson went 23–7 and won his third pitching triple crown. Goose Goslin batted .344 and led the AL in RBIs (129), while Sam Rice batted .334 and led the league in hits (216). In their first World Series appearance, the Senators defeated John McGraw's New York Giants four games to three, taking the deciding game in the 12th inning. Walter Johnson won game seven in relief, after having lost his two series starts. The series was a sensation in Washington. Each of the four home games drew more than 30,000 people, with the first two drawing more than 35,000. The big crowd was accommodated by temporary seats in center field. Game one marked the first time that a president and first lady, the Coolidges, attended a World Series opener. The games were broadcast by WRC, the city's first radio station. The season was a financial boon for the team as it turned a profit of \$231,037. The following year, Griffith and his family moved into a substantial home near Washington's Embassy Row, reflecting his improved financial situation.

Expectations and fan interest were high in 1925. Attendance jumped from 584,310 in 1924 to 817,199, a team record until 1946. All Senators road games were broadcast on WRC. The fans were not disappointed, as the Senators won the league championship by eight and a half games, with a record of 96–55. The entire team batted .303, led by Rice at .350 and Goslin at .334, while shortstop Roger Peckinpaugh was MVP. The pitching was again the best in the AL, with a 3.70 ERA. Stan Coveleski and Johnson both won 20. Coveleski's 2.84 ERA led the AL, as did Firpo Marberry's 15 saves. In the World Series against the

Pittsburgh Pirates, the Senators took a 3–1 lead, led by two Johnson victories. But the Pirates fought back and forced a game seven, which was played in dreadful weather, and probably should have been postponed. The Senators took the lead in the eighth inning on a Peckinpaugh homer. But Johnson failed to hold the lead in the bottom of the frame. The Pirates staged a two-out rally, tallying the winning runs in a 9–7 game after a Peckinpaugh error.

In 1926 the short run of pennants ended, as the Senators finished fourth. While the Senators led the league in hitting (.292), their pitchers, including the great Johnson (15–16), struggled. The following season started poorly when in spring training Johnson was hit by a pitch and broke his leg. He only pitched in 18 games, but the team still finished third. On August 2 the team celebrated Johnson's 20th anniversary with the franchise and gave him the gate receipts from the game.

This event marked the beginning of the end for Walter Johnson. In 1928, he contracted influenza and was forced to retire. The team was also hurt when star outfielder Goose Goslin injured his arm. The team finished fourth, and manager Bucky Harris was fired at season's end. Johnson pitched 21 seasons for the Senators, going 417–340 and earning election with the first group of players to the Hall of Fame in 1936. His winning percentage of .599 was sensational for a franchise that finished seventh or eighth seven times during his career. He often had little support from his teammates, getting shut out 65 times, including 27 1–0 losses. He primarily threw fastballs of nearly 100 miles per hour, probably about 10 miles per hour faster than other top pitchers, and his record for lifetime strikeouts lasted for 56 years. After retiring from the diamond, Johnson managed the Newark minor-league club.

In 1929 Johnson was brought back as manager. He led the club to a fifth-place finish in 1929, but they rose to second in 1930 with 94 wins, more than the 1924 champion team. The squad batted .302, second in the league, led by outfielder Heinie Manush's .362. The pitching led the AL, with five hurlers winning over 15 games. In 1931, the team won 92 games, also more than the 1924 champions, but they finished third. They finished third again in 1932 with 93 wins. Despite this fine record (.570 winning percentage), Johnson was subsequently fired, replaced by 26-year-old shortstop-manager Joe Cronin, the youngest manager in major-league history. Not incidentally, the change saved Griffith some \$17,500.

In general, the team remained successful on and off the field in the 1920s and 1930s. By 1932, it had finished in the first division 9 of the last 10 years. During the 1920s the team averaged an annual profit of \$121,000, including \$408,746 in the exciting 1925 pennant-winning season. For the first time in years, the team lost money in 1931, and in 1932 they lost \$76,634. This probably contributed to Johnson's firing, though the Great Depression undoubtedly contributed to lower revenues.

The Senators made their third, and last, World Series appearance in 1933 after winning the pennant (99–53), seven games ahead of the Yankees. The

squad led the AL in batting (.284), headed by Cronin, who drove in 118 runs, and Manush, whose 221 hits put him first in the AL. The defense led the league, and the pitching was near the top, led by 20-game winners Earl Whitehill and Alvin Crowder. The New York Giants, however, defeated the Senators in five games in the Series. Game three in Washington was attended by 27,727 people, including President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The team nearly broke even that year, the only AL franchise that did not lose a lot of money.

LAST IN THE AMERICAN LEAGUE: DEPRESSION AND WAR, 1934–45

At this point, the Senators seemed to be a relatively healthy franchise, with three World Series appearances in 10 years and the resources needed to acquire a competitive team. But the team could not repeat the success of the 1920s and early 1930s, and instead struggled for years to come. Furthermore, as they were located in the smallest city in the AL, the Senators suffered at the gate as well as on the field.

In 1934, the team was hampered by injuries to several key players and fell to seventh place. Cronin was sold to Boston at the end of the season for a record \$225,000, perhaps because of his marriage to Mildred Robertson, Griffith's secretary and niece. Griffith reportedly believed it would be easier for Cronin to escape talk of nepotism if he played in another city, even though Griffith's employment loyalty to family members was well known. Besides that, Cronin was so outstanding that nepotism was really not at issue. In any event, it was unusual for Griffith to sell a star player in his prime. Cronin, who signed a five-year, \$50,000 contract with the Red Sox, remained loyal to the Senators, and years later, when serving as AL president, assisted with the team's move to Minnesota.

Bucky Harris returned as manager in 1935, continuing Griffith's tradition of hiring only former players and managers to skipper the club. Unlike his first tour of duty, however, Harris led the club to many poor finishes, bouncing between fifth and seventh, with only one first-division finish before 1942. The 1935 team had excellent hitting, with second baseman Buddy Myer leading the AL in batting (.349), but the pitching was among the league's worst. Myer played 17 years in the majors, nearly all in Washington, and had a lifetime .303 batting average. The team's weak farm system began to hurt the Senators, who did not have enough good young players to bring up to the parent club who could contribute to the team's on-field success. To make up for that deficit, the Senators recruited Cuban players who were white or could pass for white, as they had done as far back as 1913. Griffith himself had led the way in recruiting Cubans in 1911 when he had managed the Reds. This openness is ironic given the team's difficulties with race issues in the future. Joe Cambria, a sometime minor-league owner and longtime scout, brought Cuban players to the United States to play in the Senators' organization. A few made the major leagues, and many others found positions in the minor leagues.

In 1935, Calvin Griffith was appointed secretary-treasurer of the Senators' minor-league Chattanooga franchise. Born Calvin Robertson, he grew up poor in Montreal and moved to Washington at age 11 to live with his uncle Clark. Though never formally adopted, Calvin took the Griffith name, as did younger sister Thelma. Calvin Griffith was just one of many family members who would be part of the team's management, and he would be the one groomed to replace his father.

Despite the difficult years of the depression, the Senators made a little money (\$27,509) in the 1930s. In 1941, Clark Griffith put lights on his stadium at a cost of nearly \$250,000, half of which was a loan from the league, so the Senators could play night games. He had originally opposed night games, but was persuaded by improved attendance and quickly became a leading advocate when he saw how much more money could be made.

Harris resigned after finishing in seventh place in 1942, and was replaced by yet another former player, coach Ossie Bluege. Calvin Griffith was called to Washington from Chattanooga to become director of concessions. He was quickly elevated to a vice presidency and began representing the team at league meetings.

The Senators made a huge improvement in 1943 by finishing second, their best season in a decade, but future high hopes were dashed when they finished last one year later. The team, like others, was hurt by military call-ups, but also by the departure of Cuban players when they learned they would be eligible for the military draft. Despite all the team's struggles and the joke about being "first in war, first in peace, and last in the American League," 1944 was actually the first time that a Griffith-owned team had finished at the bottom of the AL.

In 1945, the team rebounded with an excellent season, coming in second by just a game and a half. The team had the best pitching in the AL (2.92 ERA), led by 20-game winner Roger Wolff; he and Dutch Leonard each had a 2.12 ERA. Some observers argued that the team might have won but for business considerations. Griffith had not expected to contend, and so he scheduled several doubleheaders to free up Sundays for rental to the Washington Redskins. As a result, the pitching staff was overworked. That year the team made \$222,473, a very healthy profit that equaled the combined earnings of the prior five years.

DECLINE AND FALL, 1945–60

Following World War II, major-league baseball was transformed by many social and economic pressures. The two-league, 16-team, 10-city major-league arrangement that had endured for half a century was replaced by a newer, less stable arrangement of franchises, leagues, and ballparks. The changing pattern was directly connected to economic and demographic changes in MLB's northern and midwestern urban strongholds, which suffered from white flight, middle-class suburbanization, and the physical decay of the inner cities.

Cities became poorer, infrastructure deteriorated, and the racial profile of cities changed. Baseball teams, like many other businesses and retail establishments, recognized the need to respond, especially as their old ballparks were deteriorating and were located in less desirable neighborhoods.

Major-league teams in the 1950s recognized these trends and considered their options. They did not get very involved in urban renewal or redevelopment in their hometowns, but rather started considering new and better markets. Cities with multiple teams—Boston, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and New York—soon found themselves with only one team. The Senators were not in a two-team city, but the migration of other teams in the 1950s had a profound impact on the Senators' fortunes.

Survey research helped owners and suitors approach potential new locations with some precision. For example, in 1953 the city of Minneapolis hired Market Facts Inc. of Chicago to evaluate its ability to host a profitable big-league franchise. The study found that "baseball attendance can be predicted on five key facts: the so-called natural trading area, that is, the health of the regional economy; team standing, or how much it wins; the closeness of the league's pennant race, or how balanced the competition in a league is; spectacular or colorful players on a team, that is, stars; and skillful promotion, that is, the creative marketing of the franchise; and other variables." The Washington Senators measured up in none of those categories.

In 1946 the team finished fourth and drew more than a million fans, both false promises. Mickey Vernon led the AL with a .353 batting average, and repeated seven years later, batting .337. In 1947 and 1948, the team stumbled to seventh place under manager Joe Kuhel, yet another former Senators player, and 1949 was even poorer, as the team finished last for only the second time in the Griffith era, going 50–104, the worst mark since 1909. The Senators earned over \$1 million during the first three years after the war, but then went into the red.

Griffith took heavy criticism for bad trades and not developing young players, and faced a challenge to his ownership. A young Detroit Tigers employee, John Jachym, purchased 40 percent of the team's shares from the heirs of William Richardson, Griffith's original partner. While Richardson had been inactive, Jachym wanted to be very involved in the team's operations. Fearing that Jachym might get majority ownership, Griffith ignored the intruder, refusing him a seat on the team's board. To placate fans whose discontent might lead them to support Jachym, Griffith again turned to Bucky Harris as his field manager.

Harris led the team to a fifth-place finish in 1950, and a frustrated Jachym sold his shares to local insurance executive H. Gabriel Murphy, an old friend of Griffith's. Murphy then sold Griffith enough shares to give him a majority interest in exchange for a "first purchase" option on Griffith's shares. Murphy was welcomed as a savior, though his relationship with the Griffith family would sour later.

While Griffith's hold over the team remained secure, its on-field performance was dismal. Throughout the 1950s the team was deeply mired in the second

division, especially from 1955 to 1959, when the Senators finished seventh once and eighth four times. The team failed to keep up with changes in player development. While other teams relied heavily on farm systems to develop future talent, the Senators owned only three franchises, in Charlotte, Chattanooga, and Orlando, and had no working agreements with other clubs. In addition, the club was one of the last to integrate. In September 1954, Cuban outfielder Carlos Paula became the first person of color to play for the Senators, and he started the following season. In 1957, veteran African American hurler Joe Black joined the team, but only pitched 12 innings.

This situation reflected the simple, even old-fashioned, state of the Washington franchise. One writer labeled the team the “country store” of MLB, a metaphor often used to describe the last decades of Griffith control. Besides lagging in player development, the team also lacked a modern administration. Griffith operated as general manager, chief scout, public-relations officer, and player developer, positions that other clubs delegated to different men. Griffith, however, liked to note that the team was one of the few that made money and remained debt free. Clark Griffith died in 1955, leaving a majority stake in the Senators to Calvin and Thelma, who could not sell their shares without the other’s permission. They inherited a team with only \$25,000 in the bank, and heavily reliant on concessions and rent—for example, the seven or eight games a year played at Griffith Stadium by the Redskins—to turn a profit. Calvin Griffith considered himself a baseball expert, and even as owner was active in game and player management. However, he was not universally admired for his judgment. For instance, noted baseball executive Gabe Paul described Calvin as “baseball dumb.”

Griffith took over the Senators operation just when the urban crisis of the postwar era and the economic and geographic expansion of the United States were spurring franchise shifts. In 1954, the St. Louis Browns moved to Baltimore to become the Orioles, which put an AL rival just north of Washington and cost the Senators needed advertising revenue from Baltimore-based breweries, a sign of economic troubles to come. The Griffiths began getting relocation offers from other cities. A Louisville group presented plans for a 50,000-seat ballpark and a guarantee of 1 million fans annually for three years. Los Angeles, Houston, Dallas, Toronto, and Minneapolis were other possibilities. As a result, Griffith began thinking of moving, if only to press Washington to build a new stadium, and in 1956 tentative plans were announced to move to the West Coast. An advertisement in the 1957 season-opening supplement of the *Washington Post* begged for fan support, suggesting that the franchise’s future was in grave danger: “There are at least three other cities waiting on the sidelines ‘smacking their lips over this juicy plum.’ Are we going to let them have it? I say No! No—a thousand times NO!” By 1958, negotiations were underway with the twin cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, whose combined population was larger than Washington’s and who had no nearby team with which to share the metropolitan market, an important criterion for future success.

When word of these offers got out, Griffith vigorously denied any interest in them in order to head off fan discontent. Griffith promised the fans that the team would stay in Washington forever. Griffith discovered that he lacked support for moving from fellow owners, afraid that Congress would be angry over losing Washington's team and would revoke MLB's antitrust exemption. This pattern of denial while listening to offers, as well as difficulties negotiating the political world, would harm the team's reputation in the future and would help shape negative images of Calvin Griffith.

To stimulate attendance, Griffith introduced some popular innovations. Clark Griffith had long resisted selling alcohol in the ballpark, but in 1957 Calvin opened up a beer garden. The ballpark was also modified to promote more offense by moving in the fences by about 30 feet, changing the dimensions to 408, 438, and 380 feet. This change helped slugger Roy Sievers, whose home-run output jumped from 29 to 42 in 1957, with 38 home runs the following year. He drove in over 100 runs in four seasons.

Despite this adjustment, the deteriorating state of Griffith Stadium was one of the main reasons for Griffith's interest in moving. The neighboring Orioles used this to their advantage. With the opening of Baltimore's Memorial Stadium for major league baseball in 1954, the Orioles began to take prospects to Griffith Stadium to contrast their new home with the Senators' drab ballpark. While its location along the streetcar line remained important, there were only 200 parking spaces next to the ballpark, a critical shortage in the new era of the suburban auto-driving commuter. The neighborhood became increasingly African American, a troubling fact for the owner and white fans. Attendance began to fall under 500,000, and few season tickets were sold. As the smallest city in the AL, Washington increasingly lacked the population base needed to keep attendance up. Many fans came only to see the visiting teams. Following Clark Griffith's death, the family, faced with a large inheritance tax bill, sold the stadium to Howard University for \$1.5 million, more than half of which went to pay the tax.

In 1959, some 615,372 fans watched the Senators finish in last place. The one bright spot was the maturation of bonus-baby third baseman Harmon Killebrew, who in his first five seasons had only played 113 games. But the 23-year-old had a breakout season in 1959 with a league-leading 42 homers. Despite Killebrew's on-field heroics, city officials became increasingly unsympathetic to the Griffith family's weak finances. City officials, like the press and the fans, tended to discount Griffith's claims of poverty, though the city did drop its \$12,000 annual fee for police protection. In general, though, Griffith fought with politicians over stadium issues, and his effort to secure a new ballpark made little headway. He opposed Congress over the possible site in northeast Washington, favoring a site in the more prosperous south and west regions. He also resisted a proposed new municipal stadium that would house both the Senators and the Redskins since he would lose the Redskins as tenants, thereby foregoing crucial revenues necessary to supplement the baseball team's

balance sheet. Although the Senators had the lowest attendance in the AL for the sixth straight year, attendance rose to 743,404 in 1960; by then, however, Calvin Griffith was anxious to leave Washington.

READY AND WAITING: THE TWIN CITIES LURE MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL

In the mid-nineteenth century, baseball had established a foothold in the Twin Cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis, whose centers were about nine miles apart along the Mississippi River at the head of navigation (St. Paul) and at a large waterfall (Minneapolis). Each city established and maintained its independent identity, including the fielding of separate professional baseball teams. The cities grew into contiguous municipalities at the core of a single metropolitan region, but did not merge, and residents tended to exaggerate their differences. This made for a competitive environment for the development of professional baseball, and remains a factor in debates about new stadiums and sports facilities.

The emergence of professional baseball teams occurred after the Civil War. St. Paul had a team in the Union Association in 1884, which lasted just eight games. Minneapolis and St. Paul both had teams in the Western League, known by the late nineteenth century as the Minneapolis Millers and the St. Paul Saints.

After a few years in the Western League, including four when Charles Comiskey owned and managed the Saints, the league reorganized itself as the American League. Comiskey took the Saints to Chicago after the 1899 season, where they became the White Stockings, and Minneapolis was left without a league affiliation. Both cities joined the minor-league American Association on its founding in 1902, and each fielded a team until the 1961 season, when the Senators arrived.

The first wooden ballparks in the Twin Cities were located in or near their central business districts until the mid-1890s, when they were replaced by larger grounds well outside of the city centers, along the streetcar system at the junctions of major lines. They were used for many purposes, including high-school and college baseball and football games. Both cities hosted barnstorming teams and African American teams: the St. Paul Colored Gophers and the Minneapolis Keystones. Minneapolis's Nicollet Park and St. Paul's Lexington Park were remodeled in the 1910s, the latter because of a fire, using modern ferroconcrete construction. These grounds were not replaced until the mid-1950s, when each city built a new facility to help it attract a major-league franchise.

The intercity competition of the Millers and Saints helped build up an unusually fervent interest in baseball. Most municipal services were and remain separate in the Twin Cities, but a single transit company provided an integrated, metropolitan-wide system that extended for nearly 50 miles across

the area, with amusement parks at each terminus. This network allowed easy access to both ballparks. On holidays such as Memorial Day, the Fourth of July, and Labor Day, the streetcars would carry thousands of fans from one ballpark to the other.

The presence of multiple competing morning and evening newspapers in each city gave readers plenty of opportunity to follow local and major-league baseball. Once the clubs were no longer independently owned—the Saints became part of the farm system of the Dodgers, and the Millers were affiliated with the Giants (and later the Red Sox)—fans got to see future stars such as Ted Williams, Willie Mays, and Roy Campanella on their way up, and players such as Rube Waddell, Monte Irvin, and Joe Hauser as they moved toward retirement.

While Washington struggled to retain the Senators, civic leaders in Minneapolis and St. Paul worked hard to bring them—or any other team—to the Twin Cities. Their combined populations placed the metropolitan area among the largest urban places in the 1950 census, but population, economic success, and other markers of accomplishment were not enough. The Twin Cities, like other growing urban areas outside the East, were anxious to acquire the trappings of established urban life to prove their stature. Having a major-league baseball team would show that they were a major metropolitan area.

At first, Minneapolis and St. Paul attempted to cooperate in attracting a team, jointly investigating cities with struggling squads or multiple teams. However, their inability to cooperate was demonstrated in the debate over a new ballpark. The existing parks were aging stylistically, functionally antiquated, located in areas not amenable to automobile traffic, not large enough, and not able to be sufficiently expanded for major-league crowds. The two cities competed for control of the process and the positioning of the new ballpark. This makes the eventual move of the Senators to the Twin Cities area even more remarkable, as the full influence, power, and direction of the metropolitan area was not entirely behind the project until 1959. Only after both cities had built stadiums to attract baseball were overtures made to end the enmity over the hosting of MLB.

Each city's proposed solution was as different as the cities themselves. St. Paul's plan used the existing infrastructure and transportation and embraced the urban environment. In 1957 the city of St. Paul built a new stadium within the city limits in an industrial area near existing highway and rail routes, equidistant from the two downtowns, and close to the area's only zoo and the immensely popular and widely familiar State Fair Grounds.

Minneapolis's stadium plan was in sharp contrast to St. Paul's. Local boosters were not obligated to use city land like their neighbor, and instead cooperated with the village of Bloomington, adjacent to Minneapolis's south side, in acquiring a spacious 163-acre site identified earlier in a St. Paul-funded stadium study. The location provided an opportunity for newness and space at a time when people were concerned about urban decay and congestion. Metropolitan

Stadium was constructed at the same time as the nearby Southdale Shopping Center, the nation's first enclosed mall. The triple-decked Met opened in 1956 and served as the home of the Millers of the American Association.

The illusion created by the site, a former working farm, was that it was open space, a significant commodity in postwar suburbia. While many suburban developments put houses in close proximity, having one's own yard (even if terribly small) was an important part of the suburban mystique. The stadium's location satisfied this, as did the view from its upper decks, displaying both suburban development and agricultural land. The location and view reinforced the notion of baseball's pastoral and bucolic setting, increasingly difficult to achieve in the old urban parks.

Suburban facilities like Met Stadium were no longer determined by their environment, like the old urban ballparks, designed in an age of mass transit and confined to limited and sometimes oddly shaped space. Instead, the suburban structures shaped and transformed the land they occupied. Furthermore, the open land provided a large blank canvas upon which the architect could create a perfect modernist vision, without the messy distractions of an established built environment. Following modernist principles of avoiding historic quotation and ornament in favor of revealing structure and materials, Met Stadium was a massive steel-frame facility, inviting frequent comparisons to Erector Set construction.

Metropolitan Stadium's design not only focused on the building but also included acres of parking for thousands of cars, and was close to major new superhighways. The Interstate Highway Act of 1956, reflecting changes already underway, furthered suburban developments and their accompanying car culture: shopping malls, drive-in restaurants, and even tailgating at sports events. It was precisely at this time that the Twin Cities' extensive and well-developed 60-year-old streetcar system was bought out and dismantled in favor of highways and buses, ending an era of sophisticated and useful public transportation. There was little need to plan a stadium that would take mass transit into account, because the car was now king.

There was a lot of competition for the few teams considering relocating, and it would take more than a suitable ballpark to secure a major-league franchise. A small group of men backed by the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, an organization that promoted economic success and civic pride, led the quest for a major-league team. Their decade-long struggle to land a team was summed up by the expression (made famous by Hubert Humphrey) that without major-league sports, the Twin Cities would simply be a "cold Omaha." To avoid that fate, and achieve other, more positive outcomes, the chamber-of-commerce group worked tirelessly to secure a big-league baseball team.

Charles Johnson, a senior sports editor from the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, was one of the leaders of the committee, which reflected how important a close connection to the press was to the effort to attract MLB. The mutually beneficial relationship between the media and professional sports came up

again a generation later when the *Star and Tribune* owner played a key role in the construction and location of the Metrodome, which opened in 1982 adjacent to its downtown headquarters.

The committee contacted the Cleveland Indians, the Philadelphia Athletics, the St. Louis Browns, and the New York Giants, whose owner, Horace Stoneham, also owned the Minneapolis Millers and had watched the progress of stadium planning from the inside. Stoneham had expressed an interest in moving west, and even purchased land in a Minneapolis suburb in anticipation of a new stadium. When Stoneham announced his decision to move to San Francisco for the 1958 season, the committee expressed surprise and disbelief at Stoneham's decision, not yet understanding that owners were playing cities off against each other to get the best deal.

The efforts to get a team soon took a new route. Chamber of Commerce member Wheelock Whitney joined Branch Rickey's campaign to create the Continental League, a rival major league. Whitney's alliance with Rickey coincided with the chamber's efforts to woo the existing leagues, creating additional pressure on the owners to address expansion. Whether Rickey ever intended to form a new league or simply hoped to force MLB to expand the number of franchises is less important than the recognition of aggressive local endeavors to get a team.

City boosters first considered the possibility of the Senators moving to the Twin Cities back in the early 1950s, and President Jerry Moore of the Chamber of Commerce, a leader in the sports-recruitment committee, made a number of trips to Washington to court the Griffith family. In 1958 Griffith brought his team to Met Stadium for an exhibition game with the Philadelphia Phillies, and received a generous \$10,000 fee. Griffith remained in the area for a few days and was heavily wooed by local leaders seeking his franchise.

The Minneapolis promoters made the relocation as appealing as possible. They guaranteed Griffith more than 750,000 attendees per year for the first three years, moving expenses of approximately \$250,000, payment of \$225,000 to the Red Sox and the Dodgers for the territorial rights of their local farm clubs in the American Association, and financial backing from area banks. Griffith was also promised broadcast contracts in the range of \$600,000, far beyond what he was getting in Washington. The new and recently expanded \$8.5 million Met Stadium was an important enticement, especially with over 14,000 parking spaces and access to the developing freeway system. In addition, Griffith was able to negotiate a lucrative concessions deal that gave him 90 percent of concessions revenue for every event at the Met. Having been the sole recipient of concessions revenue in Washington, he understood the value of this income stream.

Although Griffith was concerned about the competition from Minnesotans' summer fascination with boating, fishing, and cabin life, he was persuaded of the value of a potential fan base that covered six states and a couple of Canadian provinces—with little or no professional sports competition.

The possibility of drawing fans from a wide area was a great advantage, as were the broadcast revenues from a large geographical territory.

Calvin Griffith's decision to move the club became public on the morning of October 26, 1960, at the annual league meeting when the owners were discussing expansion. Griffith requested permission for the Senators to be moved to Minneapolis–St. Paul. The meeting was going to place an expansion team in Los Angeles, and he recommended the other new team could replace his club in Washington, satisfying the concerns of local fans and alleviating the owners' political concerns with Congress. After Calvin's request was rejected by a two-vote margin, he complained to his fellow magnates that he was now "finished" in baseball because his desire to leave would become public and he would be forced out of the game by discontented Senators fans. Following some informal discussions, his proposal was reconsidered after the lunch break, and was approved 5–3. Once Baltimore owner Joseph Iglehart realized the impact of the action, he asked to change his vote, but AL president Cronin rejected the request, saying that the Senators were in Minnesota now.

A HONEYMOON: THE TWINS IN MINNESOTA IN THE 1960S

In many ways, the 1960s were the most successful decade in the history of the Senators-Twins franchise, and certainly the best for Calvin Griffith. The team had a fresh start in a new location, with significant community and financial backing, fan support, and goodwill toward the team and its owners. The team went on to have winning seasons, division championships, and a pennant. When this generally positive environment changed in the early 1970s, Griffith looked back to the 1960s as a honeymoon. Unfortunately for Griffith, his new Twins did not function in an unchanging vacuum. While the decade brought a favorable transition in the team's fortunes and outlook, it also brought changes in how the sport was run detrimental to the Griffith's family-led operation. The club continued to operate under an old model while new and successful ways of running teams emerged and developed.

Griffith began his new venture on a relatively strong financial footing, and the prospect of strong attendance figures seemed to ensure the team's initial financial success in Minnesota. Promises of 750,000 fans a year seemed amazing to a team that had played to relatively small crowds during many losing seasons, including six consecutive years with the lowest attendance in the AL and a Griffith Stadium record-low crowd of 460 fans on September 7, 1954. Attendance in the 1960s far exceeded the guarantee, with the Twins drawing over a million fans every year, sometimes leading the AL in season attendance. It was an astonishing change of fortune for the Griffith family.

Met Stadium's capacious seating facilitated drawing large crowds. Griffith Stadium's capacity in the 1950s was below 30,000, and although Met Stadium opened in 1956 with 18,200 seats, local boosters immediately began a second

funding project to bring the stadium capacity to major league standards, at about 45,000 seats. Later additions were made to satisfy the requirements of the expansion Minnesota Vikings of the NFL, whose capacity wishes were similar, but with different requirements for seating configuration.

When the 1961 season began, the old Washington team had a new identity. They were now the Minnesota Twins. The choice of name was significant, relating to location, forging a regional identity, and establishing a new naming pattern followed elsewhere. Named for both of the home cities, the Twins sported a TC on their caps and developed an emblem showing two ballplayers—each representing one of the two local cities—shaking hands over the Mississippi River. The team name represented a reconciliation of the separate interests that had divided Minneapolis and St. Paul in their attempts to land a franchise.

In this spirit of reconciliation, the team's location could hardly be the name of a single city. Instead, the Twins' home was Minnesota, just like the new Vikings, and both teams represented the state instead of the metropolitan area. The large territory that had so appealed to Griffith was reflected in his geographic moniker. All of the area's future franchises—the NHL North Stars and Wild, and the NBA Timberwolves—would adopt the state, rather than a city, as their identity. The practice has become widely copied in MLB with the Colorado Rockies, Texas Rangers, Arizona Diamondbacks, and Florida Marlins, helping clubs entice a broad base of fans to associate themselves with the teams and forge a regional, rather than urban, identity.

The Twins finished seventh in 1961 (70–90), but drew over a million fans, a big improvement from the attendance in Washington. Manager Cookie Lavagetto, who sported a losing .414 winning percentage in four and a half seasons at the helm, was replaced in midyear by Sam Mele, who turned the team around. The 1962 and 1963 teams produced nearly identical winning records of 91–71 and 91–70, the squad's best mark in nearly two decades. Harmon Killebrew hit a total of 93 homers during those two years. In 1963 the Twins led the AL in batting and homers (225) and had strong pitching, led by 20-game winner Camilo Pascual. Behind the plate, Earl Battey, a four-time All-Star, was a stalwart. The fans were delighted by the novelty of the team and its early success.

The club struggled in 1964 and finished sixth. The main bright spot was young outfielder Tony Oliva, Rookie of the Year, who led the AL in batting (.323), runs (109), hits (217), doubles (43), and total bases (374). The following season was a complete turnaround. The Twins hosted the All-Star Game at Met Stadium, bringing national attention to the Twin Cities, their stadium, and their team, which had placed seven men on the AL squad. The Twins won the pennant (102–60) by seven games with the best offense in the AL and sound pitching, though they did have the worst defense in the league. Shortstop Zoilo Versalles led the AL in runs (126), doubles (45), and total bases (308) and was elected MVP. The sensational Oliva repeated as AL batting champ (.321). Pitchers Mudcat Grant (21–7) and Jim Kaat (18–11) had successful seasons.

Fan support was outstanding, reaching 1.46 million, the most in the AL. The Twins played the Dodgers in their first World Series since 1933. They took the first two games at Metropolitan Stadium, but faltered and lost in seven games. They could not match up with Sandy Koufax, who shut them out in games five and seven, giving up just seven hits.

The team's new life in Minnesota was not free of the echoes of the past. Calvin Griffith was unable to attend the pennant-clinching game in Washington because he was worried that process servers would find him in the city, serving papers on yet another lawsuit filed by the team's minority shareholders, who continued to object to the Senators' departure from the capital. Griffith watched the game on television from his box at Met Stadium while the Vikings played on the field below.

The club finished second in 1966 to a strong Baltimore club. Kaat had a splendid season and was selected as *The Sporting News* Pitcher of the Year. He led the AL with 25 wins, 304.7 innings, and 19 complete games. Kaat pitched 25 seasons in the majors, 15 of them with the Senators and Twins, and won 283 games (190 for the Griffith franchise). He was the finest fielding pitcher of his era, taking 14 Golden Gloves (1962–77). In 1967, the Twins started slowly, and after going 15–15, Mele was replaced by Cal Ermer. Then the club went on a roll, winning a total of 91 games and finishing one game out of first place. Killebrew had 44 homers for his fourth championship, and young Dean Chance won 20 games. The exciting season drew a then-record attendance of nearly 1.5 million. The team slipped badly in 1968, finishing in seventh place. The next season marked the first year of divisional play. They were placed in the Western Division because of Griffith's influence with the owners, and made a huge turnaround under new manager Billy Martin, who had worked for the organization as a minor-league manager in Denver and as the Twins' third-base coach. They captured the division with a stellar mark of 97–65. The team had the most productive offense in the league and very strong pitching. Killebrew was MVP, leading the league in homers (49), RBIs (140), and walks (145). But the Twins were no match for the juggernaut Baltimore Orioles, winners of 109 games, and were swept in three games in the AL Championship Series.

After the season, fan support for the Twins was shaken when the popular Billy Martin was fired for some significant behavior issues, most notably his bar fight with pitcher Dave Boswell, and for ignoring Calvin Griffith. Martin's firing was very unpopular with some local sportswriters, who actively encouraged discontent with Griffith's leadership. Martin was replaced by the very experienced Bill Rigney. The Twins repeated as division champs (98–64) in 1970, led by Cy Young Award winner Jim Perry (24–12) and a strong pitching staff, and the league's highest batting average. Killebrew and Oliva both had over 100 RBIs. But the postseason was a repeat of the year before, as the Orioles again swept the Twins to capture the pennant.

Thereafter less successful teams were on the horizon, and the fans' goodwill was stretched. A big part of the problem was that the front office continued to

employ an increasingly anachronistic approach to ownership and management. It was still a family-run operation, with Griffith's siblings, cousins, and in-laws working for the team. This sense of family was often extended to former players who worked in the minor-league system. Personal relationships complicated or compromised professional decisions. Generational differences between Calvin and his son, Clark II, were symptomatic of the many changes underway. Where Calvin had been tutored by his uncle/adopted father, Clark received an Ivy League education. Clark was interested in being innovative and wanted to employ modern marketing techniques that were foreign to his father. The conflict between traditional management and modernization became increasingly personal.

Calvin Griffith was not only unaccustomed to new management methods, but insisted on mixing front-office work with managerial decisions on the field. His ability to identify baseball talent kept him far more involved in player decisions than the new breed of businessmen now owning teams. While investors who owned professional sports franchises delegated on-field responsibilities to baseball professionals and front office tasks to trained specialists, Griffith stayed involved at all levels of the operation. This was probably wise for the baseball aspects, his strong suit. However, he insufficiently delegated business and executive authority, retaining a mom-and-pop approach that weakened the team.

Griffith's hands-on involvement made him and the team vulnerable when unpopular decisions were made, especially in baseball operations, leaving no insulating layers of management to absorb the wrath of fans and sportswriters. A series of unpopular decisions—like firing Billy Martin—eroded public confidence. Losing records in the early 1970s compounded the loss of fan support. Although increasingly unpopular in the Twin Cities, Griffith's experience made him influential in the AL, and he used that influence to establish the designated hitter, in part because he had excellent older hitters whose defensive skills had eroded. While Griffith's and the Twins' images suffered, the Minnesota Vikings became regional fan favorites because of their on-field performance, the image of their stars, and the rising popularity of professional football.

The changing situation in MLB, particularly the rising power of the players' union, which Griffith opposed, had a big impact on the Twins. Griffith's long history in the game and his tutelage at the knee of his uncle, whose history in organized baseball stretched back into the nineteenth century, meant that Griffith, perhaps more than other owners, saw the changes in baseball in the 1960s and 1970s as radical. Griffith was generally cash poor. Unable to buy high-cost players, he had relied on scouting to identify talent and on the farm system to develop it. The investment often paid off in fine young, low-cost athletes. However, Griffith could only look ahead to losing the talent he had cultivated due to the new trends in salary negotiation.

Griffith was uncomfortable with the changing nature of management-player relations. Griffith had always believed that the team was the crucial entity, and

that players were fortunate to be associated with a team. Their ability to bargain for high salaries changed that relationship, making them a powerful economic force in their own right—not just mere employees—looking out for themselves as individuals rather than for the team as a group. As much as Griffith disliked the new salary negotiations and what they meant for his team, his finances, and his carefully trained farm-system players, Griffith was particularly annoyed at having to deal with agents. He was used to negotiating directly with his players, and the appearance of a third party was unpalatable to him.

THE 1970S AND BEYOND: CHALLENGE AND CHANGE

Although the Twins ended the 1960s in relatively good shape, having won two Western Division championships and maintained good attendance throughout the decade, significant problems lay ahead. Two of Calvin Griffith's family members and professional associates had died, Sherry Robertson and Joe Haynes. Fans remained angry about the firing of manager Billy Martin. Star players, some of whom had come with the team from Washington, were getting older. The world of baseball was changing rapidly, and Griffith was lagging behind.

Accordingly, the team's fortunes changed for the worse in the 1970s. The Twins were mediocre in the 1970s, finishing fifth in 1971, even with Oliva batting a league-leading .337. While their payroll had been the highest in the AL in the last half of the 1960s, they quickly dropped to one of the lowest-paid teams, with salaries often one-fourth or less than the highest-paid teams. The inability or unwillingness to pay for high-quality players hampered the Twins' success on the field. The club ended up in third or fourth under managers Frank Quilici, who took over in mid-1972, and then Gene Mauch, in 1976. Ownership suffered from increasingly negative public opinion.

In an era of change and protest, conservative Calvin Griffith represented the old way of doing things. Although he moved to advance the quality of play on the field, his actions failed to endear him to fans and sportswriters. One result was the team's losing over \$500,000 in 1974, and then again in 1980. With stars like Harmon Killebrew aging, Griffith was forced to choose between cost and efficiency, between history and future concerns. He wanted Killebrew to retire after his 21st season and take a job with the organization. But Killebrew wanted to continue playing and sought a big raise. When it was not forthcoming, "Killer" Killebrew moved on to the Kansas City Royals for one more season. The future Hall of Famer ended his career there, with a lifetime 573 home runs and 11 All-Star appearances. Griffith's disagreement with Killebrew signaled a change in how things were done: an aging player negotiated for more money, while an aging owner remembered old ways of rewarding performance through a different path to retirement.

After Killebrew's departure, Tony Oliva assumed a leadership role, but injuries forced him to retire in 1976. After 15 years with the Twins, Oliva departed with

a lifetime batting average of .304. The team's tradition of excellent batting was continued by second baseman Rod Carew, the 1967 Rookie of the Year, who won seven batting titles in his 12 years in Minnesota and made the All-Star team every year he wore a Twins jersey. The Hall of Famer's best season came in 1977, when the Twins came in fourth (87–77). Named *The Sporting News* Player of the Year and AL MVP, Carew led the major leagues with a .388 batting average, along with 239 hits and 128 runs.

Most problematic for Griffith's image was a newspaper account of a 1978 Lion's Club talk in Waseca, a small southern Minnesota town. Griffith spoke off the cuff in his characteristic less-than-eloquent English. A young journalist for the *Minneapolis Tribune* reported that Griffith told his audience that one of the reasons the team moved to Minnesota was because "you only had 15,000 blacks there," and as a group they did not attend a lot of baseball games, and because there were "good, hard-working white people here." His comments were outdated at best and openly racist at worst. Griffith's reputation in the community and with some of his players was irreparably damaged. Rod Carew left the team in 1979, saying, "I refuse to be a slave on this plantation and play for a bigot."

The Griffith family record on race was poor. Calvin admired talented "colored" players, saying, "They're the best ones." His father had welcomed the Homestead Grays to Griffith Stadium and built a special section at the ballpark for black Washingtonians to attend Senators games, but these were actions calculated to make money. It was not until 1964 that the Twins integrated their spring-training facilities, the last major-league team to do so, and then only after pressure from the press, the state government, civil rights groups, and behind-the-scenes lobbying by Earl Battey. Even his sister Thelma expressed controversial views: "The problem that we had run into in Washington was that our ballpark was in a very black district, and people were afraid of getting their tires cut up all the time and things like that, not that whites don't do the same thing. I don't mean that. But it was hard to control and we didn't have the parking facilities like [in Minnesota]."

In the early 1980s, the team struggled even more than before, and did not have a winning record until 1986. When the 1981 players' strike began, the Twins were in seventh place and drawing poorly. Griffith collected insurance payments greater than what he would have earned had the team played, something that reflected his dire financial situation. He had little incentive to settle the strike, especially since he was strongly opposed to players' rights and high-powered negotiations. The owners of more profitable clubs forced a settlement. The following year the team hit rock bottom, finishing in seventh place (60–102) under manager Billy Gardner. Yet Gardner kept his job through the start of the 1985 season.

Griffith also faced difficulties with Met Stadium. It was showing its age and needed nearly \$1 million in renovations. Fixing an outmoded ballpark when stadium trends had moved in a different direction was an expenditure the cash-strapped

team would not make. Also, the increasingly popular Vikings football franchise had grown tired of playing in a baseball stadium and of supporting Griffith's concessions income. They sought a bigger stadium to increase their own revenues.

The same downtown businesses and media interests that had helped bring the Senators to Minnesota now wanted a new stadium. Recent suburban growth was economically threatening to Minneapolis and St. Paul. Putting a stadium in the center of a city was perceived as a way to associate the team with its location. A TV shot of a stadium with the city's skyline behind it made a powerful statement to local and national viewers about the vitality of the city and its distinctive appearance and characteristics. A downtown facility would supposedly prevent or reverse urban decay, especially by bringing more people into the city, if only on evenings and weekends.

The design standards for the type of multipurpose stadium being considered were established in the mid-1960s with facilities like the Houston Astrodome. There were numerous attractions to enclosed stadiums. The huge investment was more easily justified if the edifice hosted many events, including sporting contests, concerts, religious rallies, and festivals. Weather was no impediment to indoor games, no small matter in the cold Minnesota climate. It was also important for teams with a geographically broad regional market. Fans were more likely to drive long distances if they knew the game would be played regardless of the weather. Guaranteed games were important for broadcasters and their revenues, and in many ways bright colors and controlled lighting made the Metrodome an ideal television studio for broadcast sports.

Local architects had toyed with domed stadium designs since the late 1960s, and in the mid-1970s serious discussions about such structures began between teams and civic leaders. Knowing it was not his best option but unable to craft an alternative plan, Griffith delayed his participation in stadium discussions, finally signing a lease in August 1980 with the Metropolitan Sports Facilities Commission. The Hubert H. Humphrey Metrodome, which cost \$68 million, was designed by Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill and opened on April 3, 1982, with a capacity of 55,883. The only air-supported dome in the major leagues, it was covered by over 10 acres of Teflon-coated fiberglass.

Like other concrete doughnuts, the Metrodome was neither fussy nor ornamental in its appearance. There was no virtue in postmodern references to historic ballparks or nostalgic aspects of the urban environment. What now seems harsh represented the glorification of materials typical of the end of architecture's modernist era. Minneapolis's desire for a cost-conscious stadium encouraged this characteristic. The Metrodome was mainly a football stadium, whose design and economics favored the Vikings, whereas the Met had been built for baseball, and its revenues, especially concessions, heavily favored the Twins. The Metrodome was deliberately plain, and, as a point of pride, it was built on time and under budget. Until the Twins generated some memorable moments in the building, there was little to recommend it. The structure remains dull, uninviting, and uninteresting.

The Vikings were locked into the new edifice for 30 years, but Griffith had escape clauses. The Twins could leave if attendance fell below 1 million for three years (as it did in 1982 and 1983), or if the team had three successive years of financial losses. Griffith had been considering offers to sell the team to syndicates based in Seattle and Tampa since the mid-1970s. In fact the Tampa suitors eventually purchased Gabe Murphy's minority shares at the time of the 1984 sale to Carl Pohlad. The geographic proximity of Tampa and St. Petersburg suggested that the team might keep its nickname if it moved there.

In an effort to keep the team in the Twin Cities, one local businessman devised a massive ticket buyout in 1984 that would, in theory, generate the minimum attendance numbers required. This neither put more people into the stadium nor addressed the other part of Griffith's escape clause. In any case, the ticket scheme was unnecessary because banker and dealmaker Carl Pohlad bought the team. In 2005 Pohlad was the richest person in Minnesota and among the 100 wealthiest in the country. Nevertheless, he was considered an outsider in the Twin Cities business community, and was not especially involved in civic organizations or cultural philanthropy. He bought the Twins as an investment. Although the Twins did not have a particularly strong financial history, an entrepreneur looking at the possibilities in the higher echelon of baseball teams might consider a major-league franchise a reasonable option. Pohlad also intended to use the team as a vehicle to help him quickly become an insider in the region's power base. His motivation was very different from the Griffith family's, whose commitment was to the game of baseball and their family's place in it.

THE WORLD SERIES AND BEYOND

After a 63-year interim the franchise won the World Series a second time in 1987, and repeated four years later. Several key players had been acquired a number of years earlier by Griffith, especially as he retooled his team after its 1982 move into the Metrodome. Unable to buy expensive players in the open market, Griffith relied on his and his scouts' ability to identify talent and bring players up through the team's minor-league system. To the extent that the 1987 team represented a maturing of the young players of the early 1980s, like Kirby Puckett, it proved the strategy could work, and did not require a big payroll to win. In fact, the payroll in the years leading up to 1987 was at or near the bottom of all 26 major-league teams.

Their young manager Tom Kelly, who had taken over in the last month of 1986, going 11–12, led the Twins. The next year the team improved from 20 games under .500 to 85–77, good enough to top the AL West (although it would have placed them fifth in the AL East). The squad was, statistically speaking, one of the weaker hitting and pitching teams in the AL, but it was first in fielding. Only outfielder Kirby Puckett, who batted .332 and led the AL with 207 hits, was a 1986 All-Star. The squad took the ALCS four games to one over

the Tigers, and then took the World Series in seven games over the Cardinals. The Twins won all four games at home, and pitcher Frank Viola was Series MVP. Many observers attributed the success of the team to its noisy crowd and the idiosyncratic building. The Twins knew how to play in the Metrodome, with its peculiar bounces, difficult roof, tremendously loud noises, and otherwise nontraditional and inhospitable surroundings.

The Twins improved to 91–71 in 1988, but came in second. They fell off to fifth and seventh the next two years, but then in 1991 jumped to first with 95 wins, the most in the AL. Kelly was Manager of the Year and second baseman Chuck Knoblauch was Rookie of the Year. The club had the highest batting average in the AL and very strong pitching, led by Scott Erickson (20–8) and Jack Morris (18–12). The squad took the pennant by beating Toronto 4–1 in the ALCS and then captured the World Series over the Braves in seven. Morris was Series MVP, shutting out Atlanta for 10 innings in the decisive game seven, winning 1–0. As in 1987, the home-field advantage was crucial, with the Twins again sweeping all their home games. In the era before interleague play, NL teams had no experience in the stadium and played at a disadvantage in the World Series. Then again, the Twins were perennially disadvantaged in this facility, especially in terms of revenue, so to turn the stadium to their advantage was neither unfair nor unreasonable. The Twins followed up with a second-place finish in 1992, led by Puckett, who hit .329 and led the AL in hits (210) and total bases (313). The popular Puckett had to retire after the 1995 season since glaucoma had blurred his vision. A .318 hitter in 12 seasons, Puckett was elected to the Hall of Fame in 2001.

Attendance at the new park started out poorly in 1982 (921,186, lowest in the AL), and it dropped the next season. Soon, however, attendance rebounded, reaching 1.6 million in 1984, 2.1 million in 1987, and then an all-time franchise high of just over 3 million in 1988, becoming the first AL team to reach that milestone. But thereafter the Twins only once finished in the top half of AL attendances, and since 1993 attendance has remained below 2 million. Much of this was brought on by poor performance on the field, as the Twins posted losing records from 1993 through 2000. Then, in 2001, the team made a breakthrough and moved up to second place. Kelly retired and was replaced by Ron Gardenhire.

Hampered by a football-friendly and outmoded stadium and a low-payroll and low-revenue team, and inspired by the stadium success of the Selig family in Milwaukee, Pohlad began to push for a new state-funded ballpark in 1996, getting Minneapolis and St. Paul to compete for the new ballpark. As his ultimate bargaining chip, Pohlad announced in 1997 that if a stadium were not built, he would sell the team to investors in North Carolina. Commissioner Bud Selig actively supported Pohlad, whose threatened sale turned out to be a bluff, concocted to push the community to build him a ballpark. The public distrust created by Pohlad's dissimulation has plagued every successive attempt to build a new ballpark, regardless of the funding details.

In November 2001, Selig stunningly announced that MLB planned to contract the leagues from 30 to 28 teams. The small-market, low-budget

Minnesota Twins and Montreal Expos were considered the most vulnerable targets in this plan. There are suspicions that the scheme was arranged with the cooperation of Pohlad, who had long complained that team ownership was a losing proposition. The Twins' 2000 season attendance was barely over 1 million, surpassing the major-league bottom-feeder Montreal Expos by fewer than 75,000 fans. Yet the team had made a profit, mainly from the \$21 million it got from revenue sharing, \$5 million more than its entire payroll. Contraction was seen as a way to solve Pohlad's problems, and it was suggested that he would receive as much as \$250 million for surrendering the team.

In 2001, the Twins' local media revenue for the season was just \$7.3 million, 26th in MLB. Cleveland, which had the same metropolitan population as the Twins, made three times as much money from the media. They also ranked 26th in other local operating revenue, reflecting their terrible contract with the Metrodome, and next to last in total local revenue (\$31.9 million), surpassing only the lowly Montreal Expos. The team had the lowest payroll in the majors at \$24.9 million, but got the most bang for the buck, finishing with a .525 winning percentage. The team made \$526,000 in 2001 according to MLB, eighth best among all teams. The profit came from its revenue-sharing money (\$19,089,000), which wiped out losses from the baseball operations.

If Pohlad was unenthusiastic about the team, the community more than compensated for his lack of interest. Many approaches were used to keep contraction at bay, including rallies by fans and congressional hearings, but legal avenues proved most effective. The Metropolitan Sports Facilities Commission, the state-appointed public agency charged with managing the Metrodome as well as keeping major-league sports in the state, sued the Twins over a potential breaking of their Metrodome lease. A county judge issued an injunction requiring the Twins to play there, a ruling upheld by the state supreme court despite challenges from the Twins and MLB. In the end, community support for the team has been strengthened, with attendance nearing 2 million every year since 2002.

In the years following the contraction threat the team's fortunes rose both on and off the field. Management made additional investments aimed at acquiring and retaining productive players who were fan favorites. Increasingly clever marketing focused fan attention on particular players, building loyalty to the team through well-known faces and personalities. Winning divisional championships in the weak AL Central in 2002 (after nearly doubling payroll to \$40 million), 2003, and 2004 helped build fan interest and loyalty while at the same time extending the season, and revenues, into the fall. But the furthest they advanced was to the ALCS in 2002, when the Twins lost in five to the Anaheim Angels. The Yankees trounced the Twins in the 2003 and 2004 AL Divisional Series. The 2004 team had a payroll of \$53,585,000, 18th in MLB, and was led by the best pitching staff in the AL, most notably Johan Santana, who won the Cy Young Award, going 20–6 with a league-leading 2.61 ERA and 265 strikeouts. Yet despite their recent success on the playing field, the team was only worth \$178 million in 2004, second lowest in MLB. The team's



Johan Santana pitches against the Texas Rangers, 2005. © AP / Wide World Photos

performance in 2005 was disappointing, getting eliminated from the playoffs with two weeks left in the season. The strong pitching could not make up for the weak hitting. Yet over 2 million fans turned out, the most since 1993.

Remaining competitive with a low payroll and low revenues remains a challenge, consistent with the history of the franchise. The Twins continue to seek a new ballpark as a way to increase local revenues. The Metrodome's drawbacks, recognized even before its completion, and competition from a newer generation of ballparks have made a bad situation worse. Concessions revenues, naming rights, luxury seating, and other recent innovations are unavailable in the current building, and it remains a football stadium in which baseball is played. Nearly annual pitches for a new stadium have been made in various government forums for the past decade, not only for the Twins, but also for the Vikings and the University of Minnesota football team, all of which share the Metrodome.

In a promising proposal, Carl Pohlad in 2005 volunteered to contribute \$125 million toward the cost of a \$478 million roof-ready stadium to be built at the edge of downtown Minneapolis and opened by 2009. The projected site is considered less than desirable by many since it would sit next to a state-of-the-art garbage incinerator. The site is adjacent to the Target Center arena, home of the NBA Timberwolves; near a popular entertainment district; and at a transportation hub. The majority of stadium funding would come from a countywide sales tax that requires no referendum. At this writing, the project remains in the hands of the state legislature, which must approve this form of government support even if state funds are not used.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS**Most Valuable Players**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1965	Zoilo Versalles	SS
1969	Harmon Killebrew	1B/3B
1977	Rod Carew	1B

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1970	Jim Perry	RHP
1988	Frank Viola	LHP
2004	Johan Santana	LHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1958	Albie Pearson	OF
1959	Bob Allison	OF
1964	Tony Oliva	OF
1967	Rod Carew	2B
1979	John Castino	3B
1991	Chuck Knoblauch	2B
1995	Marty Cordova	OF

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1902	Ed Delahanty	.376
1928	Goose Goslin	.379
1935	Buddy Myer	.349
1946	Mickey Vernon	.353
1953	Mickey Vernon	.337
1964	Tony Oliva	.323
1965	Tony Oliva	.321
1969	Rod Carew	.318
1971	Tony Oliva	.337
1972	Rod Carew	.318
1973	Rod Carew	.350
1974	Rod Carew	.364
1975	Rod Carew	.359
1977	Rod Carew	.388

1978	Rod Carew	.333
1989	Kirby Puckett	.339

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1957	Roy Sievers	42
1959	Harmon Killebrew	42
1962	Harmon Killebrew	48
1963	Harmon Killebrew	45
1964	Harmon Killebrew	49
1967	Harmon Killebrew	44
1969	Harmon Killebrew	49

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1912	Walter Johnson	1.39
1913	Walter Johnson	1.09
1918	Walter Johnson	1.27
1919	Walter Johnson	1.49
1924	Walter Johnson	2.72
1925	Stan Coveleski	2.84
1928	Garland Braxton	2.51
1988	Allan Anderson	2.45
2004	Johan Santana	2.61

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1910	Walter Johnson	313
1912	Walter Johnson	303
1913	Walter Johnson	243
1914	Walter Johnson	225
1915	Walter Johnson	203
1916	Walter Johnson	228
1917	Walter Johnson	188
1918	Walter Johnson	162
1919	Walter Johnson	147
1921	Walter Johnson	143
1923	Walter Johnson	130
1924	Walter Johnson	158
1942	Bobo Newsom	113
1961	Camilo Pascual	221

1962	Camilo Pascual	206
1963	Camilo Pascual	202
1985	Bert Blyleven	206
2004	Johan Santana	265
2005	Johan Santana	238

No-Hitters

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Walter Johnson	07/01/1920
Bobby Burke	08/08/1931
Jack Kralick	08/26/1962
Dean Chance	08/25/1967
Scott Erickson	04/27/1994
Eric Milton	09/11/1999

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES

AL West Division Titles

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1969	97-65	Billy Martin
1970	98-64	Bill Rigney
1987	85-77	Tom Kelly
1991	95-67	Tom Kelly

AL Central Division Titles

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
2002	94-67	Ron Gardenhire
2003	90-72	Ron Gardenhire
2004	93-70	Ron Gardenhire

AL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1924	92-62	Bucky Harris
1925	96-55	Bucky Harris
1933	99-53	Joe Cronin
1965	102-60	Sam Mele
1987	85-77	Tom Kelly
1991	95-67	Tom Kelly

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>	<i>MVP</i>
1924	New York	
1987	St. Louis	Frank Viola
1991	Atlanta	Jack Morris

MANAGERS

2002–	Ron Gardenhire
1986–2001	Tom Kelly
1985–1986	Ray Miller
1981–1985	Billy Gardner
1980–1981	John Goryl
1976–1980	Gene Mauch
1972–1975	Frank Quilici
1970–1972	Bill Rigney
1969	Billy Martin
1967–1968	Cal Ermer
1961–1967	Sam Mele
1957–1961	Cookie Lavagetto
1955–1957	Chuck Dressen
1950–1954	Bucky Harris
1948–1949	Joe Kuhel
1943–1947	Ossie Bluege
1935–1942	Bucky Harris
1933–1934	Joe Cronin
1929–1933	Walter Johnson
1924–1928	Bucky Harris
1923	Donie Bush
1922	Clyde Milan
1921	George McBride
1912–1920	Clark Griffith
1910–1911	Jimmy McAleer
1907–1909	Joe Cantillon
1905–1906	Jake Stahl
1904	Patsy Donovan
1904	Malachi Kittridge
1902–1903	Tom Loftus
1901	Jim Manning

Team Records by Individual Players

Batting Leaders

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Plate Appearances
Batting average	Rod Carew	.388	1977	Rod Carew	.334	6,980
On-base %	Buddy Myer	.454	1938	Rod Carew	.393	6,980
Slugging %	Goose Goslin	.614	1928	Harmon Killebrew	.514	9,462
OPS	Goose Goslin	1.056	1928	Harmon Killebrew	.892	9,462
Games	Cesar Tovar	164	1967	Harmon Killebrew	2,329	9462
At bats	Kirby Puckett	691	1985	Sam Rice	8,934	9,879
Runs	Chuck Knoblauch	140	1996	Sam Rice	1,466	9,879
Hits	Rod Carew	239	1977	Sam Rice	2,889	9,879
Total bases	Tony Oliva	374	1964	Harmon Killebrew	4,026	9,462
Doubles	Mickey Vernon	51	1946	Sam Rice	479	9,879
Triples	Goose Goslin	20	1925	Sam Rice	183	9,879
Home runs	Harmon Killebrew	49	1964	Harmon Killebrew	559	9,462
RBI's	Harmon Killebrew	140	1969	Harmon Killebrew	1,540	9,462
Walks	Eddie Yost	151	1956	Harmon Killebrew	1,505	9,462
Strikeouts	Bobby Darwin	145	1972	Harmon Killebrew	1,629	9,462
Stolen bases	Clyde Milan	88	1912	Clyde Milan	495	8,312
Extra-base hits	Tony Oliva	84	1964	Harmon Killebrew	860	9,462
Times on base	Eddie Yost	318	1950	Sam Rice	3,623	9,879

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
ERA	Walter Johnson	1.14	1913	Walter Johnson	2.17	5,914.7
Wins	Walter Johnson	36	1913	Walter Johnson	417	5,914.7
Won-loss %	Walter Johnson	.837	1913	Johan Santana	.702	856
Hits/9 IP	Walter Johnson	6.03	1913	Dave Boswell	7.15	1,036.3
Walks/9 IP	Carols Silva	043	2005	Al Orth	1.55	677.3
Strikeouts	Walter Johnson	313	1910	Walter Johnson	3509	5,914.7
Strikeouts/9 IP	Johan Santana	10.46	2004	Johan Santana	9.47	856
Games	Mike Marshall	90	1979	Walter Johnson	802	5,914.7
Saves	Eddie Guardado	45	2002	Rick Aguilera	254	694
Innings	Walter Johnson	371.7	1914	Walter Johnson	5914.7	5,914.7
Starts	Walter Johnson	42	1910	Walter Johnson	666	5,914.7
Complete games	Walter Johnson	38	1910	Walter Johnson	531	5,914.7
Shutouts	Walter Johnson	11	1913	Walter Johnson	110	5,914.7

Source: Drawn from data in "Minnesota Twins Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/MIN/leaders_bat.shtml; "Minnesota Twins Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/MIN/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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New York Yankees

Steven A. Riess

The Yankees are the most important and successful sports franchise in the history of North American sport. In 103 years the Yankees have won 26 world championships and 39 pennants, playing in the most storied of all ballparks. The team's record over this period was 9,074–6,876, a percentage of .569. While never the most beloved team, even their enemies have respected the Yankees for their outstanding accomplishments.

THE HIGHLANDERS

The Yankees were created in 1903, the last new major-league franchise until expansion in 1961. The franchise struggled for two decades. The team was the successor to the Baltimore Orioles, an original American League team, which had finished in fifth place in 1901. In the middle of the 1902 campaign, manager John J. McGraw left the team, following frequent fines and suspensions for attacking umpires. McGraw sold his stock to Giants owner Andrew Freedman, who signed him on July 8 to manage the Giants. Freedman arranged for the transfer of four star Orioles to the Giants and two to Cincinnati. One week later AL president Ban Johnson declared the franchise vacant, and the league took over the club, which finished in last place (50–88). Johnson planned to move the franchise to New York to certify his league's status and convince the NL to recognize the AL. Johnson stocked the team with experienced players, including ex-Baltimore star Wee Willie Keeler, who "hit 'em where they ain't" and had never hit under .333; Dave Fultz of the Athletics, who led the league in runs scored; and six men from the National League champion Pittsburgh

Pirates, including pitchers Jack Chesbro and Jess Tannehill, who had won 48 games between them. Johnson also convinced Charles Comiskey of the Chicago White Sox to let star pitcher Clark Griffith serve as the team's manager.

The politically connected Freedman used his clout to block the AL. Consequently, Johnson had to find politically connected men to break into New York. In March, the AL sold the franchise for \$18,000 to a Tammany syndicate ostensibly headed by Joseph Gordon, a former deputy superintendent of buildings, but actually led by Frank Farrell and William Devery. Farrell operated the city's preeminent gambling casino and the Empire Race Track, and was a key figure in Tim Sullivan's Gambling Trust. Devery was the notorious ex-chief of police. They secured a 10-year lease for a site at 165th and Broadway for \$100,000, and then spent \$200,000 excavating the rocky site and \$75,000 to build the spacious 16,000-seat, single-deck Hilltop Park. The team was called the Highlanders, supposedly after the British regiment the Gordon Highlanders, or the park site, which was the highest point in Manhattan. The team started the season with a 24-day road trip, the longest in team history, because the facility was still under construction. They finished at 72–62, in third place, led by Chesbro, who won 21 games. Attendance was just 211,808.

Hopes were high in 1904. The Highlanders added pitchers Jack Powell (a 15-game winner for the Browns with 33 complete games), Al Orth from the Senators, and rookie Walter Clarkson of Harvard (who signed for \$4,000) along with Patsy Dougherty, an outstanding Boston outfielder who had a career batting average of .336. A tight pennant race came down to the last five games of the season with rival Boston. Chesbro won the first game in New York on a Friday, 3–2, but lost the first game of a doubleheader the next day in Boston. Cy Young took the nightcap 1–0 in a darkness-shortened game. On Monday, Chesbro started the morning game of a doubleheader, and went into the ninth inning with the score 1–1, but threw a wild pitch with a runner on third, which brought in the winning run. The Highlanders took the anticlimactic afternoon game, finishing 92–59, for second place. Chesbro went 41–12, the most wins in modern baseball history; finished 48 of 51 games; and threw 454 2/3 innings. The exciting season resulted in the doubling of attendance to 438,919.

The Highlanders were confident they would take the pennant in 1905, but struggled with the worst pitching staff in the league. The team finished 71–78, in sixth place, 21 1/2 games back of the Athletics, but reportedly made a profit of \$30,000 to \$40,000. Twenty-two-year-old rookie first basemen Hal Chase was a major addition. He quickly became a fan favorite, playing with exceptional skill and élan. In 1911 "Prince Hal" became the first major leaguer to star in a movie, *Hal Chase's Home Run*. He was an accomplished batter who hit over .300 four times, once led the AL in batting average, and was an outstanding first baseman. However, some critics claim he was mostly flash, setting the AL record for errors at first base with 285 in 10 seasons.

The team made a marked turnabout in 1906, going 90–61. Orth won 27 games, Chesbro bounced back with 24, and Chase hit .323, third best in the

league. They were in a tight pennant race nearly the entire year and led the league in late September, following a 14-game winning streak. They still led with two weeks left in the season, but ended in second, three games back of the White Sox. The team was well known for its rowdy play. There was a lot of gambling on games in and around the ballpark, possibly by players, some of whom frequented the city's gambling emporiums. The first Sunday game at the park was played on April 25, an exhibition game against the Athletics attended by 15,000, which raised over \$10,000 for the survivors of the San Francisco earthquake.

The Highlanders followed up with another poor season in 1907, finishing fifth (70–78), but made a \$50,000 profit. When Farrell became team president in 1908 the season started out surprisingly well and the club was in first place in June, but the roof fell in, and within three weeks the Highlanders were down to seventh. They had the worst defense in the league. On June 28 catcher Branch Rickey permitted a record 13 stolen bases. Farrell interfered with the team all season and got Griffith to quit as manager. He was replaced by the unlikely choice of injured shortstop Kid Elberfeld, whom Farrell had virtually accused the year before of throwing games. Farrell made him manager so he could get some work out of him. The players hated Elberfeld because he was arrogant and hot-tempered and frequently humiliated them. His managerial record of 27–71 is the worst in Yankees history, as he guided them to a last-place finish. Angered by not being named manager, Chase led an open revolt and left the team on September 3 for Stockton of the outlaw California State League.

Former major-league player and manager George Stallings replaced Elberfeld late in the season. Stallings was Farrell's partner in the Newark (Eastern League) team, and he gave Stallings a free hand to run the team. It improved in 1909 to fifth place (74–77). Attendance reached a record and profitable 501,000. The improved play was partly attributed to sign stealing, discovered in late September. A spotter behind the outfield fence used binoculars to steal the catcher's signs, which he then signaled to batters by manipulating the crossbar on the *H* in a hat sign on the outfield wall. Thereafter the AL banned all tipping of signs. The team uniform was redesigned, using an interlocking NY copied from police medals.

The 1910 Highlanders were very strong, improved by the addition of outfielder Birdie Cree and rookie pitcher Russell Ford, whose emery ball enabled him to go 26–6 in 300 innings with eight shutouts and a 1.65 ERA. The team finished 88–63, 14 1/2 games behind the Athletics. Despite their fine play, the team was badly divided between veterans, who had had enough of Stallings's criticisms, and newer players, who supported him. Stallings blamed team captain Chase, responsible for calling hit-and-runs and steals, for many of the team's problems. Stallings felt that his \$5,500 first baseman was fixing games to make Stallings look bad because he wanted his job. In late September Stallings told Farrell that either he or Chase had to go. When Farrell demurred, Stallings quit. Chase managed the last 14 games and then signed an \$8,000 contract to manage in

1911. The Yankees and Giants, who both finished second, played a postseason series, with the winning players getting 60 percent of 90 percent of the gate in the first four games. The Giants won the series, attended by over 103,000, four games to two, led by Christy Mathewson, who won three games. The winners each got \$1,100, the losers \$706.

After the Polo Grounds burned down in April 1911 Farrell rented Hilltop Park to them for two months until the new field was constructed. The Highlanders hit well and stole 270 bases, but had very modest pitching and were seventh in errors, and ended in sixth place. Cree came into his own, hitting .356 with a slugging percentage of .510 and 48 stolen bases.

In 1912, the team began planning to relocate, since its lease was expiring and the site was going to be used for apartment buildings. Blueprints were drawn up for a \$250,000, 40,000-seat double-decked ballpark at 225th Street, but financial troubles kept the project grounded. Money problems caused the team to sell rather than buy players, resulting in a weak team. Harry Wolverton replaced Chase as manager. Wolverton had managed Oakland in the Pacific Coast League (PCL) and had a reputation as a disciplinarian. The team had a terrible defense, and no offense after Cree broke his wrist in early July, winding up in last place (50–102), the worst season in team history. Attendance was down to 242,194. The team briefly wore pinstripes for the first time, which became permanent in 1915. At one home game Ty Cobb attacked a handicapped fan in the stands for heckling him.

In 1913 the team, rented the Polo Grounds for \$60,000 per year. They became known as the Yankees, likely a patriotic designation, or because they were in the American League. Writers Mark Roth and Sam Crane first used the nickname in 1904 because it fit better into headlines. The top-hat logo was introduced in 1914, probably a reference to Uncle Sam. The new manager was Frank Chance, the tough and highly respected “Peerless Leader,” who had led the Cubs to three world championships. He brought a managerial record of .667 and was paid \$25,000 a year plus five percent of profits. Chance altered the roster dramatically and even experimented with Chase at second base for five games, but the club started out 9–28, including 17 straight losses. Chance blamed Chase and other openly disrespectful veterans for the poor start. Chance felt Chase was not playing his hardest, and angrily told sportswriters, “He’s throwing games on me!” Chase frequently got to first base just late enough to miss accurate throws, creating errors. Two days later Chase was traded to the White Sox for two lesser players. The team ended 57–94, one game out of last place.

The Yankees improved in 1914 to 70–84 and sixth place. The team lacked chemistry, was inept on the field, and rebelled when Chance tried to discipline them. The owners did not back him up, and Devery even got into a fight with Chance when he overheard Chance complaining to sportswriters. Soon afterward Chase resigned and 23-year-old shortstop Roger Peckinpaugh became interim manager.

THE TWO COLONELS AND THE AGE OF RUTH

By 1915, the ownership was in total disarray due to the team's bad performance, poor outside investments and tensions between Devery and Farrell. The team was sold to two wealthy fans who had tried unsuccessfully to buy the Giants: C. Tillinghast Huston, a civil engineer and officer in the Spanish-American War, and beer manufacturer and Tammanyite Jacob Ruppert, a prominent figure in New York society, a member of Tammany's influential Finance Committee, and a four-term congressman. They bought the Yankees for \$450,000. Despite the windfall, Farrell and Devery both died nearly penniless.

The new owners introduced a new management style of staying out of the way of their manager and general manager while investing heavily in the team to build a winner. Winning was more important to Huston and Ruppert than profits, and during the 1920s they reinvested all their substantial dividends back into the team. AL president Johnson helped the new owners hire Wild Bill Donovan, manager of Providence and International League champion, to run the team. Johnson also assisted them in obtaining new players like first baseman Wally Pipp and pitchers Ray Caldwell and Ray Fisher. The owners started taking advantage of financially struggling teams like the Athletics to acquire talented players like Bob Shawkey, who would pitch 13 years and win 168 games for the Yankees. Despite the improved roster the club finished in fifth place (69–83). Attendance was just 250,000 and the owners lost \$30,000.

In 1916 Ruppert and Huston purchased the renowned "Home Run" Baker from the A's for \$25,000 and paid him \$24,000 over three years. Baker had led the AL in home runs from 1911 through 1914 but sat out the 1915 season in a salary dispute. Baker's presence helped the team improve to 80–74, which helped double attendance. After the United States entered World War I Huston enlisted and rose to the rank of colonel. The Yankees staged a rare Sunday game on June 17 against the Browns that drew about 30,000 spectators, and donated \$10,000 from ticket sales to a reserve regiment bound for overseas duty. The team struggled that season, ending in sixth place, and Donovan was fired. Huston wanted to hire his buddy, manager Wilbert Robinson of the Superbas, but Ruppert chose Miller Huggins, the diminutive Cardinals manager who had been recommended by Ban Johnson and J.G. Taylor Spinks, publisher of the *Sporting News*. During the 1918 season, while most teams were cautious about adding players to replace men in the service or doing war-related work, the cash-rich Yankees supplemented their roster with infielder Del Pratt and outfielder Ping Bodie, their first Italian American player. The squad went 60–63 in the abbreviated campaign.

Following the war the Yankees acquired several excellent players, mainly surplus from the world champion Red Sox. They acquired quality pitchers Ernie Shore and Dutch Leonard and an excellent veteran outfielder, Duffy Lewis, in return for talented but troubled pitcher Ray Caldwell, three lesser players, and \$15,000. Later that summer the Yankees got the Sox's excellent submariner

Carl Mays for pitchers Allen Russell and Bob McGraw and \$40,000. Mays had not gotten along with his teammates and had become so disgusted at their poor fielding that he left the Sox during the season. Sox owner Harry Frazee traded him rather than suspending him. AL president Johnson voided the trade and suspended Mays, but the Yankees secured a court injunction that let Mays pitch. The Yankees were in the pennant race all season, ending up in third place.

After the season the Yankees went after Babe Ruth. Ruth had just hit a record 29 home runs, but his team had fallen to sixth place. The Sox had soured on Ruth, who had threatened to hold out and no longer wanted to pitch. He repeatedly broke curfew, sought to remove manager Ed Barrow, and skipped the last day of the season to play an exhibition. Furthermore, Ruth was often drunk in public, had had multiple car crashes, and was in an unhappy marriage. After the season he again whined about his salary, encouraging teammates to make similar demands. Frazee sold Ruth on December 26 to the Yankees for \$25,000 in cash and three notes of \$25,000 at six percent (which made the deal worth \$110,000), plus a reported \$350,000 loan to pay off the mortgage on Fenway Park. Some historians believe Ruppert made the deal to bolster his baseball business to counter the coming impact of Prohibition on his brewery.

The Yankees welcomed Ruth with open arms and a \$20,000 bonus, anticipating he would propel them to the pennant and to larger gates because fans came out to see him swing and hit home runs. He appealed to the thousands of new fans coming out to the Polo Grounds, especially since Sunday baseball had just been legalized in New York, helping the Yankees swell their attendance in 1919 to 619,000. During the 1920s no ballplayer was as beloved for his prowess as a hitter, his lust for life, and his love of children. The press protected him, hushing up car accidents, drunken binges, and paternity suits, while playing up visits to orphanages and hospitals.

Ruth started in center field, avoiding the Polo Grounds' difficult right field with its short porch and the sun field in left. He batted fourth, but he took so many walks that they moved him to the third spot. He hit a record 54 home runs and led the AL with 137 RBIs and 158 runs scored. The Yankees ended up 95–59, but it was only good enough for third place, three games behind the champion Indians. Home attendance doubled to a major-league record of 1,289,422 (with a gate worth \$860,000) and the team's best turnout until 1946. The crowds also turned out whenever Ruth and the Yankees were on the road. The club set a major-league record for profits in 1920, earning \$373,862, over \$75,000 more than the Giants, who were second. However, a terrible tragedy occurred on August 16 when pitcher Carl Mays threw high and tight to shortstop Ray Chapman to push him off the plate. Mays beamed Chapman, who died from his head injuries the next day.

Business manager Harry Sparrow died after the season and was replaced by Red Sox vice president Ed Barrow, who became the team's first general manager. Barrow was given *carte blanche* to continue building the team. He

made several big deals with his old team, including a blockbuster eight-man trade that brought catcher Wally Shang and pitcher Waite Hoyt, a future Hall of Famer. The Yankees were now set to begin a brilliant era in sports history. Over the next 45 years, they won 29 pennants and 20 world championships, and led the league in attendance 80 percent of the time.

In 1921 Ruth was the second-fastest man on the team at a powerful 220 pounds, and tied for the team lead with 16 triples and 17 stolen bases. He had a sensational season with a record 59 homers (more than five teams) and led the league in slugging percentage (.846), on-base percentage (.512), runs (177), RBIs (171), and walks (145), while batting .378. Cleanup man Bob Meusel was second in the AL with 24 home runs. The pitching was the best in the AL, led by Mays with 27 victories. The Yankees were in a tight pennant race with the defending world champion Indians but took three of four in late September to edge Cleveland and win their first pennant (98–55).

The Yankees were favored over the Giants in an all-Polo Grounds World Series. The Yankees took the first two games by 3–0 scores with Mays and Hoyt pitching. In the second game Ruth stole second and third in one inning, but cut his elbow while sliding. The cut became infected. The Yankees seemed on their way to winning game three with a four-run lead in the fourth, but the Giants tied it up in their half inning and broke the game open with eight runs in the seventh to win easily, 13–5. Ruth reinjured his elbow and left the game in the eighth inning. He got two hits, including a home run in the next game, but Douglas bested Mays 4–2. Hoyt took game 5, but by then Ruth had a tube inserted into his elbow to drain his infected wound. He struck out three times and bunted for a single. Ruth sat out the rest of the series as the Giants took the next three games and the world championship.

After the season Ruth contracted to barnstorm the country with the Babe Ruth All-Stars, drawn by the potential to earn \$25,000. Postseason tours by pennant-winning players had been barred since 1911, and Commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis directed Ruth and his teammates to cancel the tour. Ruth and two teammates ignored the commissioner and went barnstorming. Landis fined them \$3,362 each, the equivalent of their World Series share, and suspended them for six weeks.

Barrow fine-tuned the roster to make it younger with more deals with the Sox. He traded team captain Peckinpaugh, veteran hurler John Quinn, and two others for shortstop Everett Scott and pitchers “Sad Sam” Jones and “Bullet Joe” Bush, who had just combined for 39 victories. Then in midseason they secured third baseman Joe Dugan to replace the aging Frank Baker. Afterward, MLB created a trading deadline. Then, one year later, the two teams concluded their last deal, which sent pitchers Herb Pennock and George Pipgras to the Yankees.

In 1922 the club was in turmoil. Huggins struggled to keep his players, especially Ruth, in line, and hired a private detective to keep an eye on them. Ruth was out of shape when he rejoined the club after his suspension. Then he got into a fight with teammate Wally Pipp, was fined for going after a fan in the

stands, and was suspended for five days for confronting umpire Bill Dineen. Nonetheless, the Yankees won 94 games and took the pennant by one game over the Browns. Ruth's production was down to 35 home runs and a .315 batting average, and he was beaten out for the home-run crown by the Browns' Ken Williams, who hit 39.

The Yankees played the Giants in the World Series in the new best-of-seven format. The Yankees led in every game but lost them all except one tied game, called because of darkness even though the sun was shining bright. Ruth was curved to death, with only two hits in 17 at bats.

In 1923 the Yankees left the Polo Grounds for Yankee Stadium. Charles Stoneham had wanted them out for several years because he wanted to keep all the lucrative Sunday dates for himself and was jealous of his tenant's financial success. Stoneham figured six or seven more Sunday games were worth about \$100,000, which more than offset the lost rent. Ruppert, for his part, wanted his own park to promote his own team's identity, especially after the Giants refused him a long-term lease in 1920.

Yankee Stadium was built on the old Astor estate in the West Bronx, purchased for \$675,000 in 1921. The area was about to undergo an enormous boom because of the completion of the Jerome Avenue elevated subway line. Construction of the park began a year later once labor and material costs dropped. The triple-deck stadium cost nearly \$2.5 million and had a seating capacity of over 60,000. The field had unusual dimensions: the foul lines were just 281 feet and 295 feet while the cavernous center-field fence was 501 feet. Reflecting its enormous size and advanced technology, it was the first baseball field referred to as a *stadium* instead of the traditional rural descriptors of *park*, *field*, or *grounds*. During the 1920s the Yankees made over \$3.5 million, far more than any other team, peaking at an AL record \$531,586 in 1927. They outdrew Stoneham's team in all but 2 of the next 44 seasons.

In 1923 Ruppert bought out Huston for \$1.25 million. The Yankees dominated the AL, virtually leading from wire to wire, winning by 20 games. Ruth had a great year, tying for the home-run title (41), reaching base a record 379 times, and setting career marks in doubles (45) and batting average (.393). The Yankees again faced the Giants in the World Series. In game one Casey Stengel of the Giants broke up a 4–4 tie in the ninth with an inside-the-park homer. In the next game Pennock pitched a fine game and Ruth hit two home runs, leading to a 4–2 Yankees victory. Then in game three another Stengel homer was the only run of the game. But the Yankees bounced back to win the next three games and capture their first Series.

The outlook for 1924 was outstanding. Most regulars were back and the Yankees added speedy outfielder Earle Combs, who was purchased from Louisville of the American Association, where he had hit .380. The Senators, with outstanding pitching, topped the Yankees in a tight pennant race by two games. Ruth won his only batting championship at .378 and hit 46 homers to lead the league.

The following season was a total disaster. Ruth reportedly ballooned to nearly 260 pounds. After spring training he got very sick on the train back to New York and collapsed with a heavy fever. Ruth had an operation, purportedly for appendicitis, a result of his huge appetite for hot dogs, soda, and beer, and remained in the hospital for seven weeks. Ruth returned 40 games into the season with the Yankees in seventh place, where they finished the year (69–85). Ruth hit just 25 homers and batted .290, the lowest of his career. His outfield colleagues performed admirably: Bob Meusel led the AL in homers and RBIs and Combs hit .342. Ruth repeatedly defied manager Huggins, often arriving late at the ballpark on road trips. When late to a game in St. Louis on August 29, Huggins suspended Ruth and fined him \$5,000. The season marked the end of Everett Scott's consecutive-game streak at 1,307. On June 2, after first baseman Wally Pipp was beamed in batting practice, he was replaced by Lou Gehrig.

In response to the bad season Ruppert opening the purse strings. The Yankees bought talented minor-league shortstops Mark Koenig and Tony Lazzeri. Lazzeri had hit an incredible 60 homers for Salt Lake City in the PCL and cost



Lou Gehrig and Babe Ruth. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame

\$65,000. His presence helped promote the Yankees among Italian Americans. The Yankees were not expected to contend for the pennant, but Ruth got back into shape and helped propel them to a very fast start, including 16 straight in mid-May. They cooled off later in the season, but won the pennant over the Indians by three games. Ruth had an outstanding season, batting .372 with 47 home runs, while Gehrig hit 16, fourth best in the league.

The Yankees played the St. Louis Cardinals in the World Series. The Yankees won the first game, the Cards the next two, and the Yankees the next two. The Cards tied up the series in the sixth game under veteran Grover Cleveland Alexander, who won his second game of the series. In game seven, with the score 3–2 in favor of the Cards, Alexander was surprisingly brought back in relief in the eighth inning with the bases loaded, two out, and Lazzeri up. Lazzeri hit a shot that looked like a grand slam, but it curved foul. He then struck out. In the ninth, Alexander walked Ruth with two out, bringing up Meusel, who had two extra-base hits off Alexander the day before. But Ruth tried to steal second and was thrown out by 10 feet. This was among the worst plays ever to end a World Series.

In 1927 Ruth made \$70,000, and the total payroll was a record \$350,000, \$100,000 more than the Giants, who were second. Still, wages comprised less than 30 percent of the team's expenditures. Most experts thought the Yankees' pitching staff was getting old and predicted the up-and-coming Athletics would win the pennant. One important new contributor was longtime journeyman minor leaguer Wilcy Moore, who had recently turned to pitching sidearm. He pitched relief at a time when relievers were mainly mop-up pitchers and went 16–1. Huggins changed his batting order. Gehrig batted cleanup and provided a lot of protection for Ruth, who got on base nearly half the time. Gehrig became a prolific RBI man and led the league with 174. The Yankees hit 158 homers, with Ruth and Gehrig accounting for 107; the Athletics were second in homers with just 56. The Yankees ran away with the pennant, clinching on September 13 on the way to 110 wins. Public attention instead focused on the home-run race between Ruth and Gehrig, and debated whether the Yankees, with their "Murderers' Row" lineup, speed, and very fine defense, were the greatest team ever. Ruth went on a tear in September with 17 home runs, and hit his 60th off Washington lefty Tom Zachary in front of just 10,000 spectators at Yankee Stadium. The New Yorkers were prohibitive favorites in the Series with the Pittsburgh Pirates, and swept them in four games.

The Yankees kept the pressure on the AL in 1928, taking 34 of their first 42 games. However, injuries and age slowed the team down. Moore could not regain his form, and the Athletics caught the Yankees in early September. However, the Bronx Bombers got hot and took the pennant with 101 victories. Ruth and Gehrig both played every game. Ruth hit 54 homers, and they tied for the RBI lead with 145. Pipgras and Hoyt both won 23 games. The Yankees again swept the Series, led by Ruth, who hit a record .625. The Babe and Gehrig together accounted for more runs and total bases than the entire Cardinals lineup.

The Yankees changed their lineup in 1929. Koenig replaced Dugan at third, second-year man Leo Durocher went from second to short, and promising rookie Bill Dickey went behind the plate. Numbers were worn on uniforms for the first time, with starters identified by their position in the batting order. The club was very strong at bat but the pitching was shaky, except for Tom Zachary, who went 12–0. The powerful Athletics outclassed the Yankees and eliminated them from the pennant race on September 14. Shortly thereafter, Huggins fell ill from a small boil under his left eye and tragically died of blood poisoning 10 days later. Coach Art Fletcher ran the team for the rest of the season, and the club ended up 88–66, 18 games out of first place. That season the Yankees started their farm system with Chambersburg of the Class D Blue Ridge League. Two years later the club bought Newark of the International League for \$600,000.

Coach Bob Shawkey became the new manager in 1930. The team added rookie third baseman Ben Chapman and acquired pitcher Red Ruffing from Boston. Because of their high salaries, Koenig and Hoyt were dropped. The Yankees had a banner offensive year, leading the AL in hitting at .309 and setting a record for runs scored with 1,062, but finished third with the second-worst pitching in the league. Ruth, earning a record \$80,000, hit 49 homers. Shawkey was fired and replaced by Joe McCarthy, former pennant-winning manager of the Cubs, who got a five-year contract at \$30,000 a year. McCarthy was renowned as a businesslike disciplinarian who emphasized fundamentals. Joe established a dress code for road trips and required players to make an 8:30 breakfast call. The innovations did not sit well with everyone, especially Ruth, irate that he did not get the manager's job.

In 1931 the team could not compete with the Athletics. The A's won 107 games and finished 13 1/2 games ahead of the Yankees, even though Ruth and Gehrig both hit 46 homers and Gehrig led the AL in RBIs for the second straight year. The Yankees dealt with the depression by cutting salaries, including Ruth's by half. Home attendance was a healthy 1,169,230, unsurpassed until 1946. Additional revenues came from staging Negro baseball games, started the year before, and boxing shows at Yankee Stadium. The Yankees were hardly hurt by the depression, losing money only in 1932 and 1933 for a combined \$130,000 loss. Overall the team made \$1,139,189 between 1930 and 1939.

The Yankees regained the pennant in 1932, winning 107 games. In early June Gehrig hit four home runs at Yankee Stadium, the first modern player to achieve that feat. The Yankees played the underdog Cubs in the World Series that year. McCarthy relished it, as that team had dumped him in 1930. Yankee players were mad at the Cubs because their old teammate, Mark Koenig, a midseason pickup by the Cubs, had batted .353 and played a big role in the pennant chase, but was voted only a partial share of the World Series paycheck. The Yankees took the first two games at home, 12–6 and 5–2. Then in Chicago Ruth homered in the first inning to give the Yankees a three-run lead. But the Cubs rallied to tie the game 4–4. In the fifth inning Ruth stepped

up to bat against starter Charlie Root. The Cubs' bench jockeys went after Ruth for calling them cheapskates because of the Koenig incident, and impugned Ruth's racial background. The *Chicago Tribune* reported that when the count moved to 2–2 Ruth held up two fingers; many fans thought he was pointing to center field. He homered over the center-field wall and seemed to laugh at the Cubs' dugout while running the bases. On the next pitch, Gehrig followed with a home run. The *World Telegram* headlined the event "Ruth Calls Shot," with an accompanying story, but other papers made no special mention of the event for several days. Ruth was bemused, and never denied the story. In time he embellished on it. In 1999 an amateur film was uncovered that seemed to indicate Ruth was not pointing to center field. The Yankees won the game 7–5, and romped in the finale 13–6. Gehrig led the way, hitting .529 with three homers, eight RBIs, and 19 total bases.

In 1933, when six Yankees made the first All-Star Game, the club fell to second with 91 wins. The starting lineup batted well, but not up to the previous season. Ruth, 39 years old, slipped to .301. In 1934 the Yanks faltered after Combs broke his clavicle and fractured his skull, effectively ending his career. The team won 94 games and finished second. Gehrig won the Triple Crown with a .363 batting average, 165 RBIs, and 49 home runs. Ruth left the team after the season. In his 15 years with the Yankees he hit 659 home runs, batted .349, and led the club to seven pennants and four world championships.

THE PRIDE OF THE YANKEES AND THE YANKEE CLIPPER

In 1935 Gehrig was installed as the first Yankees captain since Huggins had stripped Ruth of that title a decade earlier. George Selkirk replaced Ruth in right and hit .312 with 94 RBIs. The Yankees had the best pitching in the league, led by Lefty Gomez and Ruffing, but lacked enough offense to keep up with the Tigers. Without Ruth attendance dropped to 657,508, the lowest since 1919.

A new Yankees dynasty began one year later when the club clinched the pennant on September 10, finishing 19 1/2 games ahead of Detroit. The team batted .300 and outscored the opposition by over 300 runs. The big addition was brilliant rookie Joe DiMaggio, a five-tool prospect who hit nearly .400 for the San Francisco Seals in the PCL in 1935. DiMaggio started out in right but moved to center field in midseason. He batted .323 with 29 homers and 125 RBIs, and was one of eight Yankee All-Stars. Five teammates hit over .300, led by Dickey's .362. MVP Gehrig hit .354 with 49 homers and 152 RBIs.

The Yankees faced the Giants in the "Nickel Series," so named because a subway token cost a nickel. The Giants' great screwball pitcher Carl Hubbell won the first game at the Polo Grounds 6–1, but the Yankees came back to take the second game 18–4, with Lazzeri smacking the second grand slam in Series history. The series then moved across the Harlem River to Yankee Stadium, where the Bombers took the next two, while the Giants salvaged game five. The Yankees closed out the series in game six with seven runs in the ninth to win 13–6.

The 1937 Yankees were a run-producing machine, with three of the top four RBI men in the league, led by DiMaggio at 167 and Gehrig at 159. The pitching was outstanding, leading the AL in virtually every statistical category. Gomez won 21 and Red Ruffing 20. The team won the pennant in a rout, going 102–52, with six All-Stars. The Yankees again faced the Giants in the World Series, and took it four games to one. The Yankees won the first two at home by identical 8–1 scores, took the next at the Polo Grounds, and then lost to Hubbell, 7–3. They clinched the Fall Classic with a 4–2 win. Lazzeri hit .400 to lead the Yankees, yet was released after the season to make way for Joe Gordon, who along with Tommy Heinrich was brought up from the Yankees top minor-league team, the powerful Newark Bears.

The following season DiMaggio held out until the end of April, when he signed for \$25,000. The Yankees started slowly but went 48–13 in July and August and coasted to the pennant with a record of 99–53. The season was highlighted by Monte Pearson's no-hitter, the first by a Yankee since 1923. Gehrig fell to .295 with 29 homers and 114 RBIs, but DiMaggio hit .324 and Joe Gordon and Tommy Heinrich each hit over 20 homers and 90 RBIs. In the World Series the Yankees, led by Red Ruffing, who won twice, overwhelmed the Chicago Cubs in four straight games.

Early in 1939 Ruppert died, and his two nieces shared his \$7 million estate. He had recently sold Barrow 300 shares of stock and promoted him to team president. The team broadcast games on radio for a \$100,000 fee. Arch MacDonald was the first voice of the Yankees, later replaced by Mel Allen. However, the big story was Lou Gehrig, "the Pride of the Yankees." Gehrig fell ill during the off-season, was diagnosed with a gallbladder ailment, struggled in spring training, and once the season started got only four hits in his first 28 at bats. On May 2, he took himself out of the lineup, ending a 2,130 consecutive-game streak. Gehrig remained with the club for a month, but his condition worsened. He was eventually diagnosed by the Mayo Clinic as suffering from amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, an incurable nervous-system disease. In his honor the Yankees staged Lou Gehrig Appreciation Day on July 4, where he delivered one of the most memorable speeches in American history: "Fans, for the past two weeks you have been reading about what a bad break I got. Yet today, I consider myself the luckiest man on the face of the earth." He died two years later.

The Yankees of 1939 may have been stronger than Murderers' Row. The team scored 967 runs and gave up merely 556. DiMaggio hit .381 with a slugging percentage of .671. All starters hit at least 10 homers, four drove in over 100 runs, and seven pitchers won 10 games or more, leading the AL in virtually all team pitching statistics. Incredibly, 10 Yankees made the All-Star team. The team went 106–45, 17 games ahead of second-place Boston. The team won their fourth straight World Series, defeating the Cincinnati Reds in four straight games, making it nine straight victories in the Fall Classic. In the fourth game the Yankees scored twice in the ninth to tie the game 4–4. In the 10th inning DiMaggio singled with runners at first and third. When right fielder Irvan

Goodman misplayed the ball, Charlie Keller tried to score from first. He and the ball arrived almost simultaneously, and Keller collided with catcher Ernie Lombardi. DiMaggio circled the bases before Lombardi could retrieve the ball, giving the Yankees an insurmountable three-run lead and the World Series.

Surprisingly, the 1940 team struggled, hindered by DiMaggio's wrenched knee and declining veterans. The team made a vigorous attempt to stay in the pennant race, going 21–3 during the summer, and briefly took over first place on September 11. However, they faded and ended two games behind the Tigers.

The next season the Yankees again had a rough start, going 25–22, but thereafter turned the season around, winning 41 of 47. DiMaggio struggled early on but began a hitting streak on May 15. On July 2 DiMaggio homered, surpassing Willie Keeler's all-time record of 44 straight games with at least one hit. The streak had reached 56 when he was stymied by the Indians on July 17. DiMaggio batted .407 during his streak, leading the Yankees to another pennant, clinched on September 4, the earliest in history. They went 101–53, winning by 17 games over Boston. DiMaggio hit .357 with 30 homers and 125 RBIs, edging Ted Williams, who batted .406, for MVP.

The Dodgers were the strongest NL team to face the Yankees in years. The Yankees took game one, 3–2, for their 10th straight Series win, but the Dodgers took the next, 3–2. In the next game the Yankees scored two runs in the eighth off reliever Hugh Casey and won 2–1. In the dramatic fourth game Casey, who had been pitching since the fifth inning, had the Yankees down 4–3 in the ninth with two out. Heinrich worked him to a full count and then struck out on a spitter. But the pitch fooled catcher Mickey Owens, and it rolled to the backstop, allowing Heinrich to make it to first. Carey got two strikes on each of the next four batters but retired none of them. DiMaggio and Keller both singled, tying the game. After Dickey walked on a full count, Gordon doubled to bring in three runs and take the lead. The shocked Dodgers went quietly in their half of the ninth and the Yankees won, 7–4. The series was clinched in the next game, 3–1, with Ernie “Tiny” Bonham giving up just four hits.

When World War II came the Yankees used their rich 12-team farm system to supply players or facilitate trades. The system was reduced to five by 1943, when most major-league teams were down to two or three. DiMaggio and Phil Rizzuto were both classified 3-A and played the season. The offense was down but the pitching was strong, led by Bonham, who went 21–5 and led the league in ERA. The Yankees clinched the pennant on September 14 and went on to win 103 games.

The Yankees played the Cardinals in the World Series. The Yankees took the first game at Sportsman's Park 7–4 behind surprise starter Red Ruffing. The Cards took the next four games to win the series, handing the Yankees their first postseason defeat since 1926.

In 1943 spring training was held in nearby Asbury Park, New Jersey. Several players joined the military, including Phil Rizzuto, DiMaggio, and Ruffing, but the team still included Gordon, Keller, and pitchers Bonham, Spud Chandler,

Hank Borowy, and Johnny Murphy. McCarthy relied on rookies much more than in the past, with George “Snuffy” Stirnweiss at short, Billy Johnson at third, and Johnny Lindell in right field. The pitchers held hitters to 542 runs, lowest in the league since 1920. Chandler was outstanding, with a record of 20–4 and a league-leading 1.64 ERA. New first baseman Nick Etten had 107 RBIs, Keller had 31 homers, and Dickey hit .351 while playing part-time. The team won 98 games and finished in first by 13 1/2 games. The Yankees won the Series over the Cardinals in five games, employing superior pitching led by Chandler, who won twice, including a shutout in the final game. The attendance was 618,330, tops in the AL, but the lowest for the Yankees since 1919.

By 1944, nearly all the top Yankees were serving in the military. Spring training was held in Atlantic City. McCarthy's health was failing and he was temporarily replaced by coach Art Fletcher. The Yankees compiled a record of 83–71 and finished third behind the Browns.

On January 28, 1945, Ruppert's heirs sold the team, the ballpark, and the farm system for the bargain price of \$2.8 million to a syndicate led by playboy Dan Topping, son of a steel magnate, whose involvement in pro sports had begun in 1934 with his purchase of the Brooklyn Dodgers of the NFL. His partners were Del Webb, a well-connected construction magnate who had over \$100 million in government contracts during the war, and Larry MacPhail, a Columbus, Ohio, businessman who had been general manager of the Cincinnati Reds, where he instituted night baseball and radio broadcasts. In 1938 MacPhail moved on to the Dodgers, and had them in the World Series in three years. MacPhail became Yankees general manager and dominated the syndicate.

McCarthy kept his modestly talented squad in contention for the first half of the 1945 season. Stirnweiss, 4-F due to ulcers, had a banner year, leading the AL in batting (.309), slugging, hits, runs, triples, and stolen bases. But in July MacPhail sold pitcher Hank Borowy, who already had 10 wins that season, to the Cubs for \$97,000 without consulting his manager. McCarthy was already mad at MacPhail's criticisms and after this transaction left the team for three weeks, claiming gallbladder problems. The team finished 81–71 in fourth place. Overall, the Yankees made out well during the war era, earning an average of \$129,000 from 1940 to 1945, which included a loss of \$88,521 in 1943.

After the war MacPhail focused more on promotions than on building up the team. He organized a 50-game tour of the South and Midwest before the 1946 season that left his veteran team exhausted and disgruntled. More importantly, he had no relationship with McCarthy, who resigned during the season, knowing he would not be rehired. Coach Bill Dickey took over as manager, but he feuded with MacPhail and quit in September, leaving coach Johnny Neun as manager. Despite the managerial musical chairs, the club finished second to the Red Sox. Attendance nearly tripled to 2,265,512. Yankees historian Glen Stout has argued that the owners were more concerned about making money than winning, and were not concerned about the long haul. Yet they managed to do both in the postwar era, winning six world championships in seven years

(1947, 1949–53) and making a lot of money. From 1946 through 1950, the team's average profit was \$603,177.

A NEW DYNASTY

MacPhail tried to reshape the franchise after the 1946 season. He made an excellent trade when he sent Joe Gordon to the Indians for pitcher Allie Reynolds, but blundered by trading Ernie Bonham, who had won 89 games with a sub-3.00 ERA, to Pittsburgh for prospect Cookie Cuccurullo, who never pitched for the Yankees. MacPhail hired Bucky Harris to manage the team. Harris came with over 20 years' major-league experience, but mainly in the second division. MacPhail tried unsuccessfully to trade DiMaggio to the Senators for AL batting champion Mickey Vernon, and in April 1947 nearly dealt him for Ted Williams. Tom Yawkey of the Red Sox backed out after sobering up. The big event at Yankee Stadium that spring was Babe Ruth Day on April 27, attended by 60,000 people. The Babe was 52, but frail from cancer, and died one year later.

The team struggled early in the season with several injuries and was below .500 in mid-May. But the Yankees regrouped and won 19 straight games early that summer. The pennant was clinched by mid-September. DiMaggio hit .315 with 20 homers and 97 RBIs and won the MVP by one vote over Ted Williams, who won the Triple Crown.

The Yankees faced a very strong Dodgers team in the first televised World Series. That year radio rights (\$175,000) were nearly triple the television fees (\$65,000). By comparison, the series gate was \$1.7 million. The Yankees won the first two games 5–3 and 10–3, and the Dodgers came back to take the third game 9–8. In game four, journeyman pitcher Bill Bevens, 7–13 during the season, no-hit the Dodgers into the ninth inning, with the Yankees up 2–1. Bevens walked a batter, and after two outs pinch runner Al Gionfriddo stole second. Pete Reiser was intentionally walked and Eddie Miksis ran for him. Cookie Lavagetto pinch-hit for Eddie Stanky and sliced an inside fastball to the wall in right for the Dodgers' only hit of the game, driving in both runners to give the Dodgers a 3–2 win. The series went to the decisive seventh game, won by the Yanks 5–2, led by reliever Joe Page, who took over in the fifth and went the rest of the way.

After the series MacPhail sold out to Topping and Webb for \$2 million. George Weiss, a longtime Yankee functionary, became general manager. He developed a great scouting system, took advantage of weaker teams to secure needed players, and was a tough contract negotiator who figured World Series shares were just a regular part of a Yankees salary. He recruited "Yankee-type" players who were large, clean cut, and handsome.

In 1948 Weiss traded catcher Aaron Robinson and some throw-ins to the White Sox for 16-game winner Ed Lopat, who won 17 for the Yankees, second to Vic Raschi's 19. Catcher Yogi Berra made the All-Star team, the first of 15 straight

seasons over his 19-year Yankees career. The Yankees were in the pennant race all year but ended up in third place (94–60). The hot pennant race produced 2,373,901 in attendance, a team record that stood until 1979.

Weiss fired Bucky Harris after the season and replaced him with Casey Stengel. Stengel did not seem cut out of Yankee cloth, having had a reputation as a clown during his major-league career and amusing sportswriters with his malapropisms. He managed the hapless Dodgers and Braves for nine years before becoming a successful minor-league manager. Stengel showed his team he was the boss with twice-a-day workouts in spring training that stressed fundamentals. The club had excellent pitching with starters Raschi, Reynolds, Lopat, and Tommy Byrne, with Page in the bullpen, and a lot of depth, so Stengel avoided a set lineup. Weiss made a late-season trade to bolster the club, acquiring first baseman Johnny Mize from the Giants for \$40,000. Mize was a career .323 hitter, but he was injured in his third game and was out for the season. The Yankees were one game out with two left to play when first-place Boston came to town. The Yankees were down 4–0 but rallied behind Joe Page, who pitched six and two-thirds innings of scoreless ball to defeat the Sox 5–4. The Yankees prevailed the next day to win the pennant.

The Yankees finished at 95–57 and then faced the very strong and deep Dodgers in the World Series. Reynolds pitched a two-hitter to start the series with a 1–0 victory over Don Newcombe, but then Preacher Roe topped Raschi 1–0. The third game went to the ninth tied 1–1, with Page pitching relief since the fourth. Mize hit a bases-loaded pinch-hit single to take the lead, and the Yankees won 4–3. The Yankees took the next two games 6–4 and 10–6, winning the series in five. Stengel was named Manager of the Year.

The Yankees in 1950 were in a tight pennant race with the Tigers and did not take control until late September, finishing in first place. Rizzuto was MVP, and four starting pitchers won at least 15 games. DiMaggio, who had only played 76 games in 1949, struggled so much early on that he was briefly benched, but returned to his old form and batted .301 with 122 RBIs. In the Series the Yankees faced the worn-out Phillies, who had won the pennant on the last day of the season. Raschi led off with a two-hit 1–0 shutout. Reynolds also threw a complete game, winning 2–1 on DiMaggio's homer in the 10th. The Yankees went on to sweep the series, with rookie Whitey Ford, who had gone 9–1 during just half a season, winning the clinching game.

At the start of the 1951 season DiMaggio surprised everyone by announcing his retirement after the season. But the Yankees were loaded with young talent, especially 19-year-old rookie switch-hitter Mickey Mantle, who jumped from Class C to the majors. Stengel shifted him from shortstop to the outfield, where he could take advantage of his blazing speed (he was clocked at 3.1 seconds from home to first, the fastest ever) and strong arm. Mantle started out in right field, hit around .300, and led the club in RBIs. But after a long slump he was sent down to Kansas City on July 16, returning one month later. Stengel continued to experiment with lineups, platooning Gil McDougald, the



Joe DiMaggio scores during the 1949 World Series. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame

AL Rookie of the Year, and Jerry Coleman at second and giving Bobby Brown the job at third. Late in August the Yankees got veteran pitcher Johnny Sain for the stretch from the Braves for \$50,000 and prospect Lew Burdette. The big game that season was against Bob Feller and the Indians, in first place by one game, on September 16. Stengel put together an unorthodox lineup, with Mantle leading off and McDougald batting third. The Yankees won 5–1, tied for first, and never relinquished the lead, finishing 98–56. On September 28 Allie Reynolds pitched his second no-hitter of the season despite a miscue by Berra, who dropped Ted Williams's foul pop-up with two out in the ninth. But then Williams hit another pop-up that Berra corralled. Berra, who had become an excellent receiver, was named MVP, repeating in 1954 and 1955. Raschi and Lopat both won 21 games.

The Yankees faced the Giants in the World Series following their miracle playoff victory against the Dodgers. In game one at Yankee Stadium Mantle's spikes got caught on an outfield drain cover and he tore ligaments in his right knee. He thereafter had major recurring physical ailments, particularly episodes of osteomyelitis. Hank Bauer, a tough Marine veteran, replaced him in the lineup. The teams split the first four games, but in the fifth the Yankees clobbered the Giants 13–1. Behind Raschi's pitching the Yankees won the sixth and final game 4–3.

In 1952 eight players from the stellar squad made the All-Star team. The outstanding pitching staff limited the opposition to 557 runs. The Yankees

finished the season 95–59, took the pennant by two games over the Indians, and faced a powerful Dodgers squad in the World Series. The teams split the first four games, and then in game five the visiting Dodgers won 6–5 in 11 innings. Back at Ebbets Field for game six, Mantle and Berra homered off Billy Loes, and the Yankees survived to win 3–2 on Raschi’s second victory. In the decisive seventh game Mantle and Gene Woodling homered, giving the Yankees a 4–2 lead in the seventh inning. The Dodgers loaded the bases, and with two out reliever Bob Kuzava forced Jackie Robinson to pop up. First baseman Joe Collins lost the ball in the sun, but at the last moment second baseman Billy Martin rushed in full speed to catch the ball just above his shoes. Kuzava closed out the Dodgers and the Yankees took the series.



Mickey Charles Mantle, 1951. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame

In 1953 the Yankees had the best hitting and pitching in the AL, and finished first for the fifth straight year. The team went 99–52, which included an 18-game winning streak. Whitey Ford, now out of the army, won 18, while Lopat led the AL with a 2.43 ERA. A highlight of the season came on April 17 when Mantle, batting right-handed, hit a ball at Washington’s Griffith Stadium that supposedly went 565 feet, the longest reported homer ever. The Dodgers repeated as NL champions, setting up an exciting Series rematch. The Yankees won the first two games at home and the Dodgers took the next two at Ebbets Field, including Carl Erskine’s 14-strikeout effort in game three. The Yankees used four homers, including a Mantle grand slam, to win game five 11–7, and closed out the series in game six by scoring the winning run in the bottom of the ninth to prevail 4–3. Martin set a Series record with 12 hits.

In 1954 the Yankees had a brilliant season, winning 103 games, the most since 1942. But the Indians did even better, winning an incredible 111 games. The Yankees were the first team to win over 100 games and not win the pennant. The superb farm system produced three terrific first-year men, Rookie of the Year third baseman Andy Carey; first baseman Bill “Moose” Skowron, who batted .340 in part-time duty; and 20-game winner Bob Grim.

The team's pitching was depleted of its veterans with Raschi traded and Reynolds retired in 1954, so the Yankees tried to bolster their staff after the season with a blockbuster deal with the Baltimore Orioles, sending 11 men, mainly marginal prospects and aged veterans, in return for 7 players, most notably pitching prospects Bob Turley and Don Larsen and shortstop Billy Hunter, brought in to supplant the aging Rizzuto.

The Yankees did not integrate until 1955, and were among the last to do so. Back on Opening Day 1945 20 people had picketed the stadium carrying signs asking, "If We Can Pay, Why Can't We Play?" and "If We Can Stop Bullets, Why Not Balls?" One year later MacPhail wrote a secret report for MLB opposing integration because he felt it was necessary to protect the Negro Leagues. Left unspoken was an ulterior motive: he did not want to give up the over \$100,000 the Yankees got by renting the stadium and their minor-league parks to black teams. In 1950 the Yankees signed their first three players of color to minor-league contracts: Elston Howard and Frank Barnes of the Kansas City Monarchs and Cuban Vic Power, probably to keep them away from competition or use as trade bait, since Weiss had no intention of bringing them up. Weiss felt blacks were less competent and would attract black spectators and thereby curtail the growing suburban white crowds. Topping had years earlier signed African American Buddy Young for his football team, but did not interfere with his general manager. First baseman Vic Power was a particularly outstanding prospect. In 1953 at Kansas City he hit .349 with 109 RBIs and 18 stolen bases. The Yankees' lame excuse was that he was a poor fielder, but he eventually earned seven Gold Gloves. In management's eyes Power's real flaws were his race, flamboyance, and popularity with white women. He was traded in late 1953 as part of an 11-man deal with the A's.

The Yankees finally integrated in 1955 by bringing up Elston Howard, who had hit .330 and was MVP with Toronto in the International League. He was a fundamentally strong catcher, but with Berra behind the plate returned to his original outfield position. Howard had the attributes the Yankees sought in a black player: light-skinned, soft-spoken, and married. Howard was generally welcomed, but he had no roommate for his first five seasons.

The Yankees opened 1955 with a 19–1 rout over the Senators. They were in a four-team pennant race for much of the season, but broke from the pack late in September with eight straight wins. Their final record was 96–58, which was a drop of seven games from the year before. They had the best pitching in the league and were second in batting. Mantle led the league with 37 homers and a .611 slugging percentage, while Ford led in wins with 18.

For the third time in four years the Yankees and Dodgers squared off in the World Series. Mantle was injured, playing in only three games. The Yankees took the first game, going with a left-handed lineup against the powerful right-hander Don Newcombe, which paid off when first baseman Joe Collins hit two homers, leading to a 6–5 victory. Lefty Tommy Byrne took the following game

4–2. The match seemed well in hand since no team had ever won the Series after losing the first two contests. But the Dodgers were tough at Ebbets Field and took three straight. The Yankees tied the series at home behind Ford's pitching. Byrne started the deciding game seven against young lefty Johnny Podres, winner of game three. The Dodgers got just five hits, but they produced two runs. In the bottom of the sixth, with McDougald on first and none out, Berra hit a shot into the left-field corner that seemed a sure extra-base hit. Left fielder Sandy Amoros, brought in late in the game as a defensive replacement, made a great grab, but only because, as a left-hander, his glove was on his right hand. After his remarkable catch he returned the ball to first base, doubling up McDougald. That was as close as the Yankees got. The Dodgers won 2–0 and were world champions for the first time.

In 1956, the 24-year-old Mantle had one of the best seasons in major-league history. He staggered the baseball community with the power of his home runs, hitting two over 500 feet on Opening Day in Washington. On May 30 he hit a home run at Yankee Stadium against Pedro Ramos that missed going over the roof by two feet, a shot estimated at 550–600 feet. Mantle not only won the Triple Crown, batting .353 with 52 homers and 130 RBIs, but led *both* leagues in these categories, as well as in slugging percentage (.705), runs (132), and total bases (376). The Yankees took the AL by nine games, leading in batting and second in pitching. This earned them a rematch with the Dodgers, led by 27-game winner Don Newcombe. The Dodgers took the first two games at home 6–3 and 13–8. In desperation Stengel brought back Ford on two days' rest. He responded with a complete-game 5–3 win. Yankee Tom Sturdivant took the next game 6–2. Stengel then went with Don Larsen, who had been KO'd by the Dodgers in the second inning of game two. Mantle had the first hit in the game, a fourth-inning homer, and the Yankees scored another run in the sixth as they managed only five hits off Sal Maglie. Larson, amazingly, threw a perfect game, ending it with a called third strike on pinch hitter Dale Mitchell. It was the first no-hitter in the World Series and the sixth perfect game in major-league history. But the Dodgers were resilient, and Clem Labine shut out the Yankees over 10 innings at Ebbets Field to hand Brooklyn a 1–0 victory that tied the series at three games apiece. In the deciding game Yankee Johnny Kucks gave up only three hits and glided to a 9–0 victory, supported by three home runs.

On February 19, 1957, the Yankees made their first of several major trades with the Kansas City Athletics, securing pitchers Art Ditmar and Bobby Shantz and infield prospect Clete Boyer for Irv Noren, Tom Morgan, and Billy Hunter. The Yankees historically had taken advantage of weaker clubs and continued the tradition with the A's, purchased after the 1954 season by Chicago businessman Arnold Johnson, who was closely tied to Topping and Weiss, having bought Yankee Stadium in 1953 and then leased it back to them. In 1955 Johnson sold the stadium to Chicago banker John Cox and

moved the A's to Kansas City, where the Yankees sold him their territorial rights.

The Yankees also strengthened themselves through the farm system, bringing up second baseman Bobby Richardson and infielder and outfielder Tony Kubek, who won the Rookie of the Year Award. The Yankees took their third straight pennant, but not without some turmoil. On May 7, 1957, Indians strikeout phenom Herb Score fired a fastball that McDougald stroked right back at him, hitting him in the eye. Score did keep his eyesight, but never regained his pitching form. One week later several Yankees, including Mantle, Berra, Ford, Kucks, Martin, and their wives, celebrated Billy Martin's 29th birthday at the Copacabana nightclub. They got into an argument with customers who complained they were blocking their view and made racist comments about headliner Sammy Davis Jr. Weiss fined Mantle, Bauer, Martin, and Kucks, but mainly blamed Martin, traded two weeks later to the Athletics with Ralph Terry for outfielder Harry Simpson and reliever Ryne Duren. The trade sent a strong message to the Yankees to shape up. The squad had the best hitting and pitching in the league, with a team ERA of 3.00, led by Shantz at 2.45, and eight men made the All-Star team. Mantle was brilliant, hitting .385 until he was injured late in the season while playing golf, cutting his shin to the bone. He finished with a .365 average, 34 homers, and 94 RBIs.

The Yankees faced the formidable Milwaukee Braves, who had outstanding pitching and a powerful lineup, in the World Series. Ford beat Warren Spahn in game one 3–1, but the story of the series was former Yankee farmhand Lew Burdette, who won three games, including the second contest. The teams split the next two games, but in game five Burdette's sinker (or spitball) totally fooled the Yankees, and he won 1–0. In game six the Yankees won without Mantle, who had injured his shoulder in the fourth game and could not throw. Burdette pitched the final game on two days' rest, and again shut out the Yankees, 5–0, to win the series.

In 1958, with the Dodgers and Giants off to California, the Yankees were the only team in New York, but they made little effort to attract NL fans, who hated the arrogant Yankees. The Yankees started the season at 25–6 and coasted to the pennant, powered by the best pitching and batting in the AL, clinching on September 14. Mantle led the league in homers, runs, and total bases. Bob Turley won the Cy Young Award with a record of 21–7 while Ford had the lowest ERA, a spectacular 2.01. Nine men made the All-Star team.

The Series was a rematch with the Braves, who took the first two games in Milwaukee 4–3 and 13–5. The Yankees only got four hits in the next game back in New York, but Larsen shut out the Braves 4–0, with Bauer, hitting in his 17th straight Series game, responsible for all the runs. Spahn then put the Yankees into a huge hole, shutting them out 3–0 on two hits. No team had ever before come back from a 3–1 deficit. Braves manager Fred Haney inexplicably

altered his rotation for the next game, replacing Bob Rush, who had pitched well in game three, with Burdette on three days' rest. The Yankees prevailed 7–0. Spahn then went on two days' rest and lost 4–3 in extra innings. Burdette pitched again in game seven, also on two days' rest. The Yankees broke up a thrilling tie game in the eighth with four runs and won 6–2, capturing another World Series.

The Yankees struggled badly in 1959, falling into last place on May 21 for the first time in 19 years. As a result Sturdivant, Kucks, and Jerry Lumpe were traded to Kansas City for former Yankee Ralph Terry and infielder Hector Lopez, a fine hitter but a poor fielder. The club struggled all season long, ending at 79–75 in third place, 15 games off the lead, their worst season since 1925. Even Mantle hit only .285 with 75 RBIs, and had his salary cut by \$7,000.

That winter Weiss went back to Kansas City for a blockbuster trade. The A's got Larsen, Bauer, and Norm Siebern for Roger Maris and Joe DeMaestri. Maris was an outstanding fielder and strong left-handed hitter who was seen as a future star whose stroke was made for the short right-field porch in Yankee Stadium. The Yankees bolstered their defense in 1960 by putting Clete Boyer, a great fielder but weak hitter, at third and moving Lopez to left field. The club was in a tight pennant race with the defending AL champion White Sox, but the Yankees pulled away in September, going 20–7, and won the pennant by eight games. Maris batted cleanup behind Mantle and hit 39 homers, drove in 112 runs, led the league in slugging, and was named MVP.

The Yankees faced the Pirates in the World Series as prohibitive favorites. The Yankees clobbered the Pirates in the three games they won by a score of 38–3, but the Pirates narrowly won the first, fourth, and fifth games with good defense, timely hitting, and defense. In the decisive seventh game the Bombers took a 7–4 lead into the bottom of the eighth. Reliever Bobby Shantz gave up a single to Gino Cimoli, and then Bill Virdon hit a sure double-play ball to Kubek, but it took a bad hop and struck him in the neck. He had to be taken to the hospital. After Dick Groat singled, Jim Coates was brought in to pitch, and the runners were sacrificed into scoring position. Following a second out Roberto Clemente hit a grounder to Skowron, but Coates was late in covering the base. Then Hal Smith homered, giving Pittsburgh a 9–7 lead. In the ninth Richardson and Long singled, knocking out reliever Bob Friend. Harvey Haddix got Maris on a pop out but Mantle singled, making the score 9–8, with runners on first and third. Berra then hit a one-hopper to first baseman Rocky Nelson, who stepped on first for the force and started to throw to second for the game-ending double play. However, Mantle had not run to second, thinking Berra's shot would be caught. Nelson turned to throw and was stunned to see Mantle in front of him. Mantle dove back to first and avoided the tag, enabling the tying run to score from third. But in the bottom of the ninth, Ralph Terry threw one pitch to Bill Mazerowski, who parked it

over the 12-foot-high left-field fence, over the 406-foot sign, to win the series. This was the first walk-off homer to ever decide a World Series.

Major changes took place after the shocking outcome. Topping and Webb began to think about selling out, and cut back on reinvesting in the team. Stengel was forced out at age 70 after winning 10 pennants and seven World Series in 12 years, a record unmatched in baseball history. Ralph Houk, a former third-string catcher, became the new skipper. Weiss, at 65, was also let go, replaced by aide Roy Hamey, former general manager in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia.

Houk inherited a very strong lineup that ran away with the pennant with 109 wins. Six men hit over 20 homers and nine made the All-Star team, leaving the Mantle-Maris home-run race the focal point of public attention. Maris, who batted third in front of Mantle, started slowly, but beginning in mid-May he hit 23 during the next 36 games. The AL season had been increased to 162 games because of expansion, and Commissioner Ford Frick, Ruth's former ghostwriter, announced that anyone requiring more than 154 games to beat the record would go into the books with an asterisk. On August 2 Mantle caught up to Maris with 40 home runs. The public and the sporting press wanted their old hero to break the record, but in mid-September Mantle developed an infected abscess in his thigh after taking a shot for a cold and hit only two more homers, finishing with 54, 128 RBIs, and a .317 batting average. Maris marched on, hitting his 59th during the 154th game, when the Yankees clinched the pennant. He hit number 60 on September 26 off Jack Fisher of Baltimore, and on the last day of the season hit 61 off Boston's Tracy Stallard in front of just 23,154. Maris led the AL in RBIs with 142 and won his second straight MVP. Other stellar performers included Howard, who batted a sparkling .348; Luis Arroyo, who saved a record 29 games; and Ford, who went 25–4 and won the Cy Young Award. "The Chairman of the Board" mystified batters with his change of speeds, curveball, and pinpoint control. Stengel had used him carefully, seldom pitching him in more than 30 games and saving him to face the opposition's ace, but Houk pitched him every fourth day, and Ford responded with 39 starts and 280 innings. The Yankees faced the Cincinnati Reds in the World Series, and even though Mantle played just two games, they dominated, winning four games to one. Ford won twice, was Series MVP, and broke Babe Ruth's record for consecutive shutout innings in the Series. The club drew an attendance of 1,747,725, the highest since 1951 and the most until 1976.

In 1962 the Yankees fell off the prior year's pace, finishing just five games over Minnesota. Mantle tore his right hamstring and pulled the ligaments behind his left knee, injuries that reflected his poor training habits, chronic joint problems, and alcoholism. He played just 123 games and had to wrap his legs before every game. Maris fell to just 33 homers and 100 RBIs and a batting average of .256. Shortstop Tom Tresh was Rookie of the Year.

The Yankees played the Giants in the Series, led by former New York hero Willie Mays. Ford won the first game but had his scoreless streak ended at 33 innings. The teams alternated victories going into the deciding seventh game. The Yankees broke a scoreless tie in the fifth, getting a run on a double play. Yankees pitcher Ralph Terry, who had won 23 games, had a two-hitter going into the bottom of the ninth when Matty Alou bunted for a single and Mays doubled with two out. Brilliant rookie Willie McCovey smoked a line drive toward right field but straight at Richardson, who caught it and saved the 1–0 game. The Yankees had won another seven-game Series.

The 1963 team had some fine new talent, including 25-year-old pitcher Stan Williams, a 14-game winner acquired from the Dodgers for Moose Skowron. Joe Pepitone was poised to take over at first base, and Jim Bouton made the starting rotation. In June Mantle caught his spikes on a chain-link fence in Baltimore and broke his foot. His roster spot was taken by stylish rookie hurler Al Downing, the team's first African American starting pitcher, who threw a two-hitter in his first start. The offense exhibited little speed or power and batted .252, which in an era of great pitching was second highest in the AL. Catcher Elston Howard batted .287 and was named AL MVP. The team's pitching was outstanding, led by Ford's 24 wins and Bouton's 21.

The Yankees, with 104 victories, had high expectations for the World Series when they faced the Dodgers, who had outstanding pitching but no offense. They were confident they could hit Koufax's fastball, but struck out 15 times in the first game to set a new Series record. Houk pitched young Downing the next day, confident he could keep the speedy Dodgers from running, but lost 4–1. The Dodgers' Drysdale pitched a 1–0 gem in the third game, and in the fourth game Koufax gave up a homer to Mantle but won 2–1, for a series sweep.

Hamey retired after the embarrassing series, with Houk promoted to general manager. He hired popular Hall of Famer Yogi Berra to manage. Berra knew baseball and was popular with the press, who enjoyed his "Yogi-isms." However, there were questions about his intellect and his ability to work with former teammates, who tried to take advantage of him, and younger players. The Yankees started the season poorly, which reflected weak preparation in spring training and the failure to bring in new blood except for pitcher Mel Stottlemyre. A turning point came on a bus ride to the airport in Chicago on August 20 following a four-game losing streak. When reserve infielder Phil Linz pulled out a harmonica and began to sing, Berra blew up and told him to stop. Linz responded, "I didn't lose the game," and kept playing. Berra then knocked the harmonica out of his hand. Linz was fined \$200 but got a \$20,000 endorsement from a harmonica company. Thereafter the Yankees went 22–8, abetted by new reliever Pedro Ramos, and took the pennant with 99 wins, one game over the White Sox. The team relied mainly on excellent defense and terrific starting pitching. The offense depended heavily on Mantle, who batted .303 with 35 homers and 111 RBIs despite injuries that moved him into right

field. Attendance dropped for the third straight year to 1.3 million, 400,000 less than the rival Mets. Perhaps the fans had become jaded.

CBS AND THE FALL OF THE YANKEES

On August 13, 1964, CBS bought an 80 percent share of the Yankees for \$11.2 million. Webb sold his remaining 10 percent a few months later, and Topping sold out in 1966. The public was uncomfortable with the new alliance between sports and TV, and the deals gave Yankee haters another reason to loathe them. CBS anticipated great synergy with the team, already earning about \$2 million a year from broadcasting, hoping to feature the Bronx Bombers on its *Game of the Week* program. But it had no intention of spending money on the team.

In the 1964 World Series the Yankees were heavily favored over the youthful St. Louis Cardinals, built on speed and pitching. But in game one Ford lost 9–5, partly due to an arterial problem that slowed the blood flow to his fingers. Stottlemyre defeated Bob Gibson 8–2 in the next game. Game three was tied going into the bottom of the ninth, 1–1, when the Cards brought in star reliever Barney Schultz. He threw one pitch to leadoff hitter Mantle, which he deposited in the right-field stands to end the game. The Cards won the next two and the Yankees took the sixth game. But Gibson, the Series MVP, closed out the series with a 7–5 win. The Yankees were led by Bobby Richardson, who had a record 13 hits, and Mantle, who played with a hurt leg and hit three home runs.

Despite winning the pennant, the Yankees fired Berra. They also fired Mel Allen, the broadcast voice of the team since 1939, who had been a face for Yankee class and mystique. Berra's replacement was Cardinals manager Johnny Keane, who had just quit. Keane pushed discipline and direction, stressing fundamentals during spring training and setting a curfew. However, the veterans tuned him out. Then during the season he managed poorly, playing for one run with a team built for power. The team suffered through many injuries and was mediocre, batting a sickly .235. The team ended in sixth place at 77–85, the worst finish in 40 years. The sole bright spot was Stottlemyre, with 20 wins and 18 complete games.

When the Yankees started 1966 at 4–15, Keane was fired and Houk returned as manager. The Yankees seemed to respond to the change and went 36–29 over a two-month period in which Mantle had 18 homers and returned to center field. But Houk had lost the respect of the veterans, whom he had disparaged when negotiating contracts. The team faded to last place (10th), and the attendance of 1,124,618 was the lowest since World War II. Supporters were fed up with the poor play and were worried about the park's declining South Bronx neighborhood. When broadcaster Red Barber made fun of the poor attendance and had the TV director show the empty seats on September 21, when only 413 attended, the Yankees fired him, ending his 32-year broadcasting career.

Michael Burke became team president late that season. He was a former star football player at Penn, an Office of Strategic Services hero, and CBS's vice president for development. He brought in Lee MacPhail, former Orioles

president and general manager and son of the former Yankees owner, as general manager. Maris was traded before the 1967 season to the Cardinals and Ford retired with arm trouble after losing circulation in his arm. The Hall of Famer finished with a brilliant 236–106 record (.690, fifth highest of all time). The team batted a miserable .225 and committed the most errors in the AL, finishing in ninth place (72–90).

The team did make a big improvement in 1968 to finish fifth (83–79). The offense was abysmal, even for a pitching-dominated era. Their .214 batting average was lowest in the majors. The strength of the team was on the mound, particularly Stottlemire, 21–12 with a 2.45 ERA, while Stan Bahnsen was Rookie of the Year, going 17–12 with a 2.05 ERA. Stottlemire won 164 games from 1964 to 1974, including 20 or more three times. Mantle hit just .237 and retired, embarrassed that his career average had fallen to .298. He played more games than any other Yankee (2,401), hit 536 homers (then 3rd best in history, currently 12th), and hit 18 homers in 12 World Series. His retirement marked the end of an era.

The squad again finished in fifth in 1969, dropping to 80–81. Only Stottlemire, Downing, and Pepitone remained from the last pennant winners. The offense was moribund at .235 with just 94 homers, though the starting pitching was excellent, led by Stottlemire with 20 wins. The outcome was especially embarrassing since the Mets won the World Series that season. The good pitching of Stottlemire; Fritz Peterson, who won 20; and Bahnsen helped propel the club in 1970 to 93 victories and second place, but 15 games shy of the Orioles' division-leading pace. A huge addition was first-round draft pick Thurman Munson. The Rookie of the Year batted .302, the highest for a Yankee since 1964. But the club fell off to 82–80 the next season with mediocre offense and defense, except for Bobby Murcer's career-year .331 average, 25 homers, and 96 RBIs.

The Yankees' downward attendance spiral became a public policy issue, and there was talk of moving. The decline was attributed to mediocrity on the field, the age of the ballpark, inadequate parking, and a declining neighborhood. In 1970 Mayor John Lindsey responded to the Yankees' call for help by promising the municipality would support the team as it had the Mets, who played at the city's \$25.5 million Shea Stadium. In March 1971 Lindsay announced the city would buy the stadium and lease it back on favorable terms for 30 years. The \$25 million project ended up costing \$97.4 million plus another \$16 million for improved highway access.

MacPhail made several moves before the 1972 season, including a terrible trade with the White Sox, giving up Bahnsen for third baseman Rich McKinney, but he also traded first baseman Danny Cater to the Red Sox for much-needed reliever Sparky Lyle, who saved 35 games. The Yankees fell to fourth at 79–76, with attendance at a disturbingly low 966,328, the worst since World War II. CBS recognized their mistake in buying the club, in which they had not intended to invest money or energy. The company had lost money (as much as \$1 million) in six of eight years. Broadcast revenues were down to \$200,000,

and the team had to pay to get on radio. CBS president William Paley decided to sell the club.

THE ERA OF GEORGE STEINBRENNER

Paley was offered, and rejected, a \$14 million offer by a syndicate who wanted to move the team to the Meadowlands in nearby New Jersey. But Paley did not want the team to leave New York. Instead, on January 3, 1973, the team was sold to a syndicate that promised to stay in the city for a bargain \$10 million, \$3 million less than what CBS had paid, and about half the team's real value. The group was led by Cleveland shipbuilder George M. Steinbrenner III, whose personal investment was about \$833,000. By 1979 he had bought 55 percent of the stock. Steinbrenner went into baseball with a win-at-all-costs mentality and was prepared to spend to achieve it. When he took over he got the city to put into the ballpark lease a clause permitting the Yankees to deduct maintenance expenses from rent. Thus in 1976, when the Yankees were back at the rebuilt stadium, they grossed \$11.9 million. Under the old contract they would have paid \$854,504 in rent, but the new agreement resulted in the city *owing* the Yankees \$10,000. One year later, when the Yankees grossed \$13.4 million, the city got just \$170,681. By 2003 the rent was up to \$11.4 million, but after deductions for various expenses, the Yankees paid just \$5.1 million.

Steinbrenner eased Burke out as president for Gabe Paul, an experienced baseball executive, and promised to be an absentee owner. But he became involved in everything, including players' hairstyles. The team in 1973 continued to have good pitching, but the offense was moribund, and the Yankees finished fourth at 80–82. The stadium was shut down after the season for renovations, and some fans attending the final game brought wrecking tools to secure memorabilia.

When Houk resigned after the season Steinbrenner wanted to hire Dick Williams, the Oakland Athletics' skipper, but the league rejected the deal. Instead, the Yankees hired Bill Virdon. Paul began rebuilding, bringing in Lou Piniella, Elliott Maddox, Chris Chambliss, and Dick Tidrow. The Yankees played at Shea and finished second (89–73) in the Eastern Division in 1974, with the second-highest attendance in the AL. Dobson and Doc Medich each won 19 games. Steinbrenner was indicted on April 5 on 14 felony counts for illegal contributions to the 1972 Nixon presidential campaign. In August he pleaded guilty to having authorized \$142,000 in illegal corporate contributions to various politicians and giving a "false and misleading explanation" about a \$25,000 campaign gift. He was fined \$15,000 but, surprisingly, did not get jail time. Commissioner Bowie Kuhn suspended him for two years.

The Yankees improved their lineup for 1975 by trading Bobby Murcer for Bobby Bonds, who hit 32 homers, and signing free agent and Cy Young winner Catfish Hunter to a five-year, \$4.75 million contract. Hunter had just led the

A's to their third straight Series title. He was declared a free agent by an arbiter because his boss, Charles Finley, had not fulfilled an annuity clause in Hunter's contract. Hunter pitched every fourth day for the Yankees and did a brilliant job. He went 23–14, pitching 30 complete games, seven shutouts, and 328 innings, with an ERA of 2.58. But the team only went 83–77, coming in third despite outscoring the opposition by nearly 100 runs. Steinbrenner, who was running the team behind the scenes, was very disappointed in the team's performance. He changed managers on Old Timers' Day, August 1, bringing in Billy Martin. Martin was experienced, creative, aggressive, inspirational, and tough. He also provided a connection to the Yankees' golden era. Martin had worked wonders with his previous teams, getting them to play over their heads, but had a history of drinking too much, getting out of control, and being fired.

The team reshaped itself with several trades, sending Pat Dobson to Cleveland for Oscar Gamble, Bonds to California for Mickey Rivers and Ed Figueroa, and Doc Medich to Pittsburgh for Doc Ellis and rookie Willie Randolph. They combined with stars Hunter and Munson, and the invaluable third baseman Graig Nettles and first baseman Chris Chambliss. Then on June 15 pitcher Rudy May and four players were sent to Oakland for hurlers Ken Holtzman, Doyle Alexander, and Grant Jackson. The Yankees also bought star pitcher Vida Blue of the A's for \$1.5 million, as Finley was breaking up his club because of concerns about spiraling salaries due to free agency and arbitration. However, the commissioner voided the sale in the best interests of baseball.

The Yankees easily took the division with 97 wins, 10 1/2 games ahead of Baltimore. The Yankees were second in offense, emphasizing speed, with 162 stolen bases, and led in defense and pitching. Hunter had a sore shoulder and won just 17, but Figueroa won 19 and Ellis 17, and Alexander and Holtzman combined for another 19. Munson was selected as MVP. The excellent play, along with the reopening of Yankee Stadium, helped nearly double attendance, and marked the first time the Yankees outdrew the Mets since 1964.

The Yankees took on the Royals, who had stolen over 200 bases and had excellent defense, in the AL Championship Series. The series was tied 2–2 going into the decisive game five. Martin sent out Figueroa with three days' rest rather than the well-rested Alexander or Holtzman, whom Martin had never wanted on the team. The Yankees led 6–3 going into the eighth, but Grant Jackson gave up a three-run homer to George Brett to tie the game. Then Chambliss, who batted .524 in the ALCS, led off the ninth inning with a home run to win the pennant. The Yankees took on Cincinnati's powerful Big Red Machine in the World Series. Munson played brilliantly, batting .529, but the Yankees were completely outclassed and handily lost all four games.

The Yankees were not discouraged, and became very active in signing more experienced talent through the new reentry draft, held to determine negotiating rights to 24 free agents. The Bombers signed former A's slugger Reggie Jackson for \$2.5 million over five years. His stroke was made for the short right-field

porch. Trades brought in Bucky Dent to fill a glaring need at shortstop and pitcher Mike Torrez.

Jackson was energized to be on center stage in New York City, but his teammates were not crazy about Reggie and his ego, especially after he told *Sport* magazine that "I'm the straw that stirs the drink." Team captain Munson, who already felt undercompensated and taken for granted, was especially irritated. The team's internal problems led Graig Nettles to nickname it the Bronx Zoo.

Despite fielding a nearly All-Star lineup, the Yankees struggled through mid-June. Martin and Jackson had a major argument on June 18. In the sixth inning, with the Red Sox up 7–4 and Fred Lynn on first base, Jim Rice hit a check-swing fly to short right. Jackson was playing him deep and did not break sharply for the ball, which dropped in front of him for a bloop double. As Martin jumped out of the dugout to change pitchers, he also took out Jackson for his lazy play. Their dugout harangue was captured on national TV.

The Yankees got hot in the second half of the season, feasting on weak teams. Rookie Ron Guidry became a starter and won 16 games. Rivers hit .326 and Munson .308, and Jackson had 110 RBIs, nearly half in the last 50 games. The Yankees finished the season with a 40–10 run, winning their division with a record of 100–62. Sparky Lyle, with 26 saves and 72 appearances, won the Cy Young Award. The Yankees played the Royals in the ALCS and won in five, taking the final game 5–3 with a three-run rally in the ninth inning.

The Yankees met the Dodgers in the World Series. The Yankees won the first game 4–3 with strong relief from Sparky Lyle, who came in in the 9th inning and pitched through the 12th, when the winning run scored. Catfish Hunter, out for a month, started game two but was knocked out early, and the Yankees lost. The series shifted to Dodger Stadium, where Torrez and Guidry each pitched shutouts, with the Dodgers salvaging game five. Back in New York the Dodgers were up 3–2 in the fourth when Jackson hit a two-run homer; he hit another two-run homer in the fifth, and homered again in the eighth. Yankees won 8–3 and captured the series, their first since 1962. Jackson had homered in his last at bat in game five and walked in his first appearance the next game, meaning he had hit four straight homers. "Mr. October," the Series MVP, had five homers in all, with 25 total bases, both Series records, and batted .450.

By 1978 the team was worth \$25 million. Gabe Paul retired and Al Rosen, Steinbrenner's boyhood idol with the Indians, became team president, and Cedric Tallis general manager. There were a lot of problems on and off the field. Most of the starters had arm problems and Lyle was upset that the Yankees brought in the younger Goose Gossage, who had already twice led the AL in saves. Gossage ended up with a 2.01 ERA and won the Rolands Reliever of the Year Award with 27 saves. Martin was unhappy that his pal pitching coach Art Fowler was demoted, and his relations with Jackson remained difficult. In July Munson was put into right field to ease his aching knees, making Jackson the DH, which put him into a funk. On July 17 Munson led off the 10th inning of a game with the Royals with a single. Jackson, for the first time all season,

was signaled to bunt. He fouled one off, and after Martin took off the signal he bunted twice more and popped out. Martin suspended Reggie and fined him \$12,500. A few days later, an inebriated Martin told reporters that George and Reggie “deserve each other. One’s a born liar, and the other’s convicted.” Steinbrenner blew a gasket and Martin had to resign. Ironically, they had recently taped a Miller Lite commercial in which they argued about “tastes great, less filling” that ended with George telling Billy, “You’re fired.”

Martin was replaced by an entirely opposite personality, mellow Bob Lemon, the former great pitcher, Yankees pitching coach in 1976, and recently fired manager of the White Sox. When Lemon was hired the Yankees were 14 games behind Boston. Lemon restored the old lineup with Munson at catcher and Jackson in right field and the squad turned things around, going 48–20 for the rest of the season. On Old Timers’ Day, the Yankees, bizarrely, announced that Lemon would manage through 1979 and then move up to general manager, with Martin back as skipper. The Yankees made up 10 games in the pennant race by September 7, when they staged a four-game sweep at Fenway Park known as the Boston Massacre, winning by a cumulative score of 42–9. The team had been held together that season by the pitching staff, the best in the AL, especially by 160-pound Ron Guidry, who had an excellent fastball (nicknamed “Louisiana Lightning”) and a superb slider. On June 17, he struck out 18 batters to tie the then-current major-league record. He went 25–3 for the season, with a winning percentage of .893, a 1.74 ERA, and nine shutouts, all league-leading performances, and won the Cy Young Award. This may have been the finest performance ever by a Yankees pitcher.

The Yankees were up a game over the Red Sox going into the final day, but lost to the Indians 9–2, while the Sox won. A playoff was held on October 2 at Fenway with Mike Torrez of the Sox and Guidry, both starting on three days’ rest. The Yankees were down 2–0 going into the seventh when Chambliss and White singled. After two outs, Dent, who had hit just .140 in his last 20 games, came up, yet Lemon let him bat because there was no one else to play short. Torrez got two quick strikes, and then Dent hit a painful foul ball off his left foot. After a five-minute wait, Dent went back into the batter’s box, and propelled the next pitch over the left-field wall for a three-run homer, giving the Yankees the lead. The drama peaked in the bottom of the ninth, when Gossage gave up two runs and the Sox had the tying run on base. Jerry Remy hit a soft liner to right that Piniella lost in the sun, but he put out his glove where he guessed the ball was coming, and made the catch. Then Carl Yastrzemski came up with two out and the tying run on third, but popped up to Nettles, and the Yankees were division champs with a record of 100–63. The Yankees then defeated Kansas City in the ALCS in a competitive four-game series and moved on to the World Series.

The Series opponents were the Dodgers, who had the best batting, pitching, and defense in the NL. The Dodgers took the first two games in Los Angeles, 11–5 and 4–3. The Yankees came back in New York, 5–1, behind Guidry and spectacular play by Nettles at the hot corner. In game four the club was down

3–1 in the sixth with Munson and Jackson on base. Piniella hit a low liner to shortstop Bill Russell, who dropped it, then ran to second to force Jackson and threw to first for the double play. Jackson stopped on the baseline and purposefully stuck out his hip to deflect the throw, for what seemed intentional interference. But the umpire did not so rule, enabling Munson to score. The Yankees tied the game in the eighth on a Jackson double and won in extra innings. The fifth game was a 12–2 route in which Munson had five RBIs. Hunter closed out the series in game six by a 7–2 score. Denny Doyle, a late-season fill-in for the injured Randolph, hit a surprising .438, with 10 hits and eight RBIs, and was named Series MVP.

Despite the two straight World Series championships, the roof fell in on the Yankees, partly through bad luck, as Hunter, Figueroa, and Jim Beattie all got sore arms and Gossage tore his ligaments in a scuffle with catcher Cliff Johnson and missed half the season. But in addition, Steinbrenner poisoned the clubhouse atmosphere and allowed the organization to become dysfunctional, which discouraged free agents. Steinbrenner had no confidence in young players, trading off his best prospects, nor was he loyal to veterans like disgruntled Sparky Lyle, who was shipped off to Texas for Dave Righetti, the top minor-league pitching prospect. At midseason, when the Yankees were 34–31, Steinbrenner unceremoniously fired Lemon and brought back Billy Martin, thrilling the fans, but not the players. Then, on August 2, Munson crashed his new eight-seat Cessna while practicing landings. His death took the life out of the team. The Yankees' offense was dismal, finishing 10th in run production, although the pitching was second in the league, abetted by free agents Luis Tiant, who won 13, and Tommy John, who won 21, while Guidry won 18 with an ERA of 2.78. The Yankees' slide to 89–71, fourth in the AL East, was a better record than California's, which won the AL West. After the season, Martin got into a fight at a hotel bar with a marshmallow salesman, sending him to the hospital, and he was immediately fired. Coach Dick Howser, a former Yankees infielder, took over as manager. Steinbrenner named himself president and made former shortstop Gene Michael general manager.

The 1980 Yankees rebounded in a big way, winning 103 games, the most since 1963. Rick Cerone was secured from the Blue Jays for Chambliss to fill Munson's shoes as catcher. The Yankees had the second-best pitching and offense, led by Jackson, who had a superb season with a league-leading 41 homers and a .300 average, second only to new first baseman Bob Watson's .307, and John had 22 victories. However, the team faltered in the playoffs, losing the ALCS in three straight games to Kansas City. The key play occurred in the second game, when, down 3–2 with Randolph on first, Watson hit a double. Randolph stumbled between first and second, but coach Mike Ferraro still sent him home, and he was out. Ferraro became the scapegoat for the disappointing series, and Steinbrenner wanted him fired. Howser demurred, and so he was terminated. General manager Gene Michael became manager.

By 1981, Steinbrenner had had enough of Reggie, replacing him with free agent Dave Winfield of the Padres, who signed a 10-year contract with a base salary of \$1.4 million, an annual 10 percent cost-of-living escalator, and contributions to his future charity. The contract was eventually worth \$23 million. On June 12, a strike began over free-agent compensation, with the Yankees in first with a record of 34–22. After the owners caved in on August 8, Commissioner Kuhn set up a split-season plan that put teams into the playoffs if they were in first place at the break or after the second half of the season. The Yankees went through the motions in the second half, and after 26 games, Michael was fired and Lemon was brought back. They ended up 25–26, in sixth place. Other AL teams had better overall records, but the Yankees were in the playoffs. Guidry led the league with 11 wins. Winfield hit .292, and Jackson led the team in homers and RBIs, but dropped to .237. Righetti at 8–4 was Rookie of the Year. The Yankees defeated Milwaukee in the first round of the playoffs, and then swept Billy Martin's A's in the ALCS. The Yankees faced the Dodgers in the World Series, and won the first two games in New York, but lost the next three in LA, all by one run, and were clobbered back home in game six, 9–2. Winfield was a big disappointment, going 1 for 22, while reliever George Frazier lost three games, tying Lefty Williams's 1919 record for most losses in one World Series.

Steinbrenner opened his checkbook wide open after the season. The Yankees signed Cincinnati outfielders Ken Griffey and the extremely fast Dave Collins, but traded their own speedy prospect, Willie McGee. Jackson became a free agent, but never got an offer from the Yankees and moved on to the Angels. During his five seasons in New York, he hit 144 homers, with a .400 average and 8 homers in three World Series. He was a terrific attraction, and attendance went up each season, reaching a record 2.6 million in 1980.

Winfield altered his batting approach after Jackson was gone, looking for the long ball. He hit 37 homers, the most of any right-handed Yankee other than DiMaggio. But the team was on the skids, overpaying for over-the-hill free agents, making poor trades, and depleting the farm system. Lemon was fired after a 6–8 start and Michael returned, but he only lasted 86 games. He was replaced by Clyde King, the pitching coach in 1981. The team ended in fifth (79–83). Steinbrenner attracted a lot of negative attention, complaining about the ballpark and its neighborhood. He also had a falling-out with Winfield, who sued him to get \$300,000 promised for his foundation.

On January 11, 1983, the Yankees rehired Billy Martin, recently fired by Oakland, for the third time, and the team improved to 91–71, good for third. There were some interesting moments. On July 4 Dave Righetti pitched the first Yankees regular-season no-hitter since 1951. Twenty days later, the Yankees were up 4–3 against Kansas City when George Brett hit a two-run homer off Gossage. However, Martin protested that Brett's bat had pine tar beyond the permitted 18 inches, and umpire Tim McClelland called Brett out. However, AL president Lee MacPhail ruled the bat should have been thrown out, the homer

counted, and the game replayed. Later that season, in Toronto, when Winfield was warming up in the outfield before the fifth inning, one of his throws hit and killed a seagull. He was afterward charged with cruelty to animals, but the complaint was dropped the next day. Finally, in September, Martin was suspended for fighting umpires.

Martin was fired in December and replaced by Yogi Berra, who had managed back in 1964. Twenty-three-year-old Don "Donnie Ball" Mattingly, a 19th-round draft choice, took over at first base and became a big hero with New York fans, who respected his work ethic, great fielding, and outstanding batting. He led the league in batting in 1984 at .343 and was MVP in 1985, with 145 RBIs. Two years later he hit homers in 10 straight games. He was a six-time All-Star and nine-time Gold Glove. He played for 14 years and had a lifetime .307 batting average. The Yankees, led by Winfield and Mattingly, had a terrific offensive team and a first-rate closer in Righetti, who had 31 saves, but lacked starting pitching. The team ended up in third in its division, 87–75.

In 1985 the Yankees made a great acquisition by bringing in Rickey Henderson at a salary of nearly \$1.5 million. He was the Yankees' best leadoff man ever, and one of their most flamboyant players, snatching flies one-handed. He stole 80 bases and scored 146 runs. During his four and a half years in New York, he hit around .300, led the league in steals three times, and set records for leadoff home runs. The Yankees started out slowly at 6–10, and Steinbrenner pulled the plug on Berra and brought back Billy Martin. The team went 97–64, second in the division.

Managerial musical chairs continued in 1986, with Lou Piniella the new manager. The team went 90–72, again good for second. Mattingly was outstanding, batting .352 with 238 hits, the most in team history. Dennis Rasmussen was the only solid starter (18–6), but the strength of the pitching corps was Righetti, with 46 saves. The next season the team had an almost identical mark of 89–73, but fell to fourth place. A disappointed Steinbrenner sacked Piniella and went back to Martin. But early in 1988, he got into a brawl in a topless bar, and was fired for the last time. He had managed the Yankees six times, with a record of 556–385 (.591) and two World Series championships. Piniella was brought back with the Yankees at 40–28, and the team ended up at 85–76, fifth place, but only three and a half games out of first. Winfield and Jack Clark both knocked in over 100 runs, but the pitching was abysmal. Attendance was 2,627,417, a new team record.

Dallas Green was the new skipper in 1989, brought in to run a very tight ship. He got along poorly with Steinbrenner, whom he felt was a meddler. The team struggled, and after amassing a 56–65 record, Green was sacked and Bucky Dent was in. The season ended a dismal 74–87, for fifth place. Winfield missed the entire season with back surgery, and the pitching staff was even worse than the year before.

The Yankees hit rock bottom in 1990, finishing last (67–95). On May 16 Winfield was traded to California after it was revealed Steinbrenner had paid

small-time crook Howard Spira \$40,000 for derogatory information about Winfield's foundation. As a Yankee, Winfield had 1,300 hits, 205 homers, and 818 RBIs. Steinbrenner's unprofessional conduct resulted in a two-year suspension from Commissioner Fay Vincent. The team was a disaster, with the worst offense and defense in the league, and an especially poor pitching rotation. Dent was out after 49 games, and Stump Merrill was promoted from Triple-A to be the new manager. One game that epitomized the season was Andy Hawkins's no-hitter, which he lost 4–0. After another dismal season in 1991, in spite of salaries skyrocketing from 28 percent to 54 percent of the team's budget, Merrill was replaced by minor-league manager Buck Showalter. Given Steinbrenner's track record, no one would have predicted that the Yankees would only have two managers since 1992.

Notwithstanding the poor play, the Yankees were doing well financially, drawing nearly 1.9 million in 1991, and signed a 12-year deal with the Madison Square Garden cable system worth \$50 million annually. Fans hoped that with Steinbrenner out of the picture (he would return on March 1, 1993), the team might sign some important free agents. In 1992 outfielder Danny Tartabull signed a four-year deal for \$25 million, the biggest contract in team history, surpassing Mattingly, who was making \$3.6 million. Tartabull batted .266 with 85 RBIs and a team-leading 26 homers. The offense was about average for the league, but the pitching was near the bottom. The team improved slightly to 78–86 for fourth place, but attendance dropped to 1.7 million, the eighth straight year the Mets outdrew them.

The front office did a terrific job in 1993, building up the team with free agents Wade Boggs at third (\$2.95 million) and pitcher Jimmy Key (\$4.9 million), who went 18–6, and the trade of Roberto Kelly for Paul O'Neill of the Reds, a very tough player whose swing was made for the short right-field fence. It was a veteran team, averaging 30 years of age, abetted by the new center fielder, switch-hitter Bernie Williams, a product of the Yankees' farm system. The offense was very strong, leading the league in batting average (.271) and second in homers (178). The team briefly tied for first in September, but with below-average pitching and injuries to Mattingly and Tartabull, the team ended in second, at 88–72. Attendance rose to 2.4 million, a 38 percent improvement over the prior season.

Realignment took place in 1994, dividing the AL into three divisions, with the champions and a fourth team with the best record making the playoffs. In August the season was halted by a strike caused by conflict over the salary cap, and there was no World Series. The Yankees had the best record in the AL at 70–43. The offense was outstanding, batting .290, tops in the league, led by O'Neill (.359), who led the league, and Boggs (.342). Jimmy Key was sensational, with a record of 17–4.

The following season began poorly as the strike continued into spring training. After the dispute was settled, 18 games were cut off the season. The Yankees struggled all year, with a much weaker offense and mediocre pitching. Few players came close to their 1994 performances. The Yankees traded for starting

pitcher Jack McDowell and Expos star closer John Wetteland, but Key was out for the year with a torn rotator cuff. At midseason the squad secured Toronto's David Cone, about to become a free agent. He and rookie Andy Pettitte both won nine in the second half of the season, propelling the Yankees to their best September in 10 years. The team finished 79–65 and won the wild-card berth for the playoffs. They faced Western Division champion Seattle in the AL Divisional Series, winning the first two games, but lost the next four and were eliminated. Playing in his first postseason series, Mattingly hit .417 with 10 hits and six RBIs. Steinbrenner was fined \$50,000 for complaining about the umpiring.

Steinbrenner took out his disappointment on his staff, pushing out general manager Michael. Five men turned down the job until Houston general manager Bob Watson, a former Yankee, took it. He was the first African American hired by the Yankees to a major front-office job. Manager Showalter was offered a new two-year contract, but was told to get a new batting coach. He refused, and he was out, replaced by a man with no connections to the Yankees, Brooklyn's own Joe Torre, a former NL star, who had managed several mediocre teams. He was considered flexible, and would operate around his players' strengths. Joe got a two-year contract, but Steinbrenner appointed a lot of the staff, including pitching coach Mel Stottlemyre.

In 1996 Mattingly was unceremoniously pushed out at first base after the Yankees traded two young pitchers to Seattle for first baseman Tino Martinez and reliever Jeff Nelson. The starting lineup was bolstered with 22-year-old Derek Jeter, a former first-round draftee at shortstop. The team was so confident in him that he was given a prestigious single-digit uniform number (2). During the season the team added Darryl Strawberry, who had started the year in independent baseball, and prior to the trading deadline sent Ruben Sierra to Detroit for highly paid (\$9.2 million) right-handed slugger Cecil Fielder. The team's batting average of .288, which included four .300 hitters, was second in the league, but they were only ninth in runs scored, as Torre emphasized "small ball." Pitching was the key, and Cone was signed as a free agent along with Kenny Rogers, who replaced McDowell. When Cone had an operation to replace part of an artery in his arm, his spot in the rotation was taken by free agent "Doc" Gooden, trying to salvage his career. Gooden struggled at first, but on May 14 pitched a no-hitter, and won seven of his next eight decisions. The starters were mediocre except for Andy Pettitte, who won 21 games, but the relief corps was outstanding, with setup men Nelson and Mariano Rivera and closer Wetteland. Torre managed for short games, since any late lead was secure. The team went 70–3 when leading in the sixth inning. In September Cone bolstered the staff with his return, throwing a seven-inning no-hitter his first time out. The Yankees won 92 games and took the AL East.

The Yankees defeated the Rangers in the playoffs, three games to one, and then played wild-card winner Baltimore. In the first game at Yankee Stadium, the Yankees were down 4–2 in the eighth inning when Jeter hit a fly ball toward the right-field seats. Twelve-year-old Jeffrey Maier reached out into the playing field

and grabbed the ball. The umpire mistakenly ruled it a home run, tying the game. Williams won the game in the 11th with a home run. The Orioles took the second game, but the Yankees won the next three.

The Yankees faced the defending world champion Atlanta Braves in the World Series and lost the first two games at home, 12–1 and 4–0. In Atlanta, Torre stacked the lineup with right-handed batters against Tom Glavine, and the Yankees won 5–2. Rogers pitched poorly in game four, and the Braves coasted to a seemingly insurmountable 6–0 lead. The Yankees got three in the sixth, and then in the eighth, after 99-mph closer Mark Wohlers gave up two singles, Jim Leyritz hit a slider into the left-field seats to tie the game. The Yankees scored twice in the 10th to win, Boggs driving in the go-ahead run with a bases-loaded walk. The Yankees had made up the biggest margin in Series history since 1929. In the fifth game, Pettitte, with relief help, shut out the Braves 1–0. In game six, Key took the Yankees to a 3–1 lead in the sixth, and the bullpen closed out the game. The Yankees had won the series, four games to two.

In 1997 the Yankees lost Wetteland and Key to free agency, but signed pitcher David Wells and traded several prospects and \$3 million for the rights to Japanese hurler Hideki Irabu, who was a bust. The team led the AL in pitching and was second in batting, finishing with a record of 96–66, second in the East. Martinez had 44 homers and drove in 141 runs. The Yankees took on the Indians in the playoffs, and lost a hard-fought series three games to two.

After the season Steinbrenner made several adjustments, including trading Kenny Rogers for third baseman Scott Brosius and bringing in Chili Davis to DH. Watson resigned, unhappy that many changes were made without his input, and was replaced by his assistant, 31-year-old Brian Cashman. Cashman obtained Twins All-Star second baseman Chuck Knoblauch, an excellent leadoff man, for cash and several outstanding prospects. The team started the year with a \$72 million payroll, which included big raises to Pettitte (\$3.8 million) and Williams (\$8 million) to avoid arbitration.

The team was expected to repeat, and in April went 17–6. The season was disrupted on April 13 when a support beam fell in the stadium, which was temporarily closed for repairs. One game was shifted to Shea, and a home series was switched to Detroit. By the end of June the team was 56–20, yet no player was elected to start the All-Star Game. Two months later the record stood at 94–32, and thereafter the team coasted to a final mark of 114–48 (.704), second only to the 116 victories by the Cubs in 1906. They scored 965 runs, nearly one run per game more than the league average, while giving up just 656, one per game fewer than the league average of five. Williams led the league with a .339 average. Six pitchers won 10 or more games, led by Cone (20–7) and Wells (18–4), who on May 17 pitched a perfect game. The starting staff was bolstered by the addition of 32-year-old Cuban refugee Orlando “El Duque” Hernandez, who signed a four-year, \$6.6 million contract, and won 12 games in half a season. The team set an attendance record of 2.95 million.

The Yankees started the playoffs by sweeping the Rangers, with Wells and Cone pitching shutouts. The Yankees outscored the Rangers 12–1 and gave up just 13 hits. In the ALCS against the power-laden Indians, the Yankees persevered, four games to two, led by two victories by Wells. The Yankees moved on to the World Series against the San Diego Padres. Wells started game one, but was hit hard, and the Padres took a 5–2 lead into the sixth, when the Yankees scored seven runs. In game two, the Yankees had a seven-run lead after the third, and coasted behind Hernandez to a 9–3 win. Then, at Qualcomm Park, the Padres led 3–0 in the seventh when, led by two Brosius homers, the Yankees stormed back to win 5–4. The sweep was completed the next day, 3–0. The series was a success for the Yankees, but drew the lowest TV ratings in history. In all, the Yankees earned 125 wins and made some claim to be the greatest team of all time. Forbes estimated the team to be worth \$425 million, 60 percent of which belonged to Steinbrenner.

The Yankees rearmed for 1999 by signing their own players, beginning with Bernie Williams, who got an \$87.5 million contract for seven years. The club traded David Wells, their popular, out-of-shape, free-spirited left-hander, who had gone 27–7 in New York, with pitcher Graeme Lloyd and infielder Homer Bush to Toronto for future Hall of Famer Roger Clemens. The team started well, led by Jeter, who reached base in the first 53 games of the season. He led the league with 219 hits and reaching base 322 times, and was second in batting (.349), just ahead of Bernie Williams (.342). The team staged Yogi Berra Day on July 18, marking the end of his long estrangement from the Yankees. Afterward, David Cone threw an 88-pitch perfect game. The Yankees won 98 games to lead the AL East. Hernandez had 17 victories, and Rivera earned 45 saves and won the Rolands Relief Award. The Yankees were a great attraction on the road and in the Bronx, where they drew a team record 3,292,736.

The Yankees slaughtered Texas in the opening round of the playoffs, winning three straight games by a total score of 15–1, and moved on to the ALCS with their hated foe, the Red Sox. The Yankees took the first two games, but were thumped in the highly anticipated Clemens-Martinez clash, 13–1. However, the Yankees won the next two contests handily, 9–2 and 6–1, to close out the Red Sox. The Yankees faced the Braves in the World Series. In game one, the Braves were up at home 1–0 in the eighth, even though Hernandez was pitching a one-hitter. But the Yankees scored four runs to win. The Yankees took game two behind Cone 7–2. In game three, at Yankee Stadium, the Braves knocked out Pettitte in the fourth and took a 5–1 lead. But three Yankee homers tied the game, and Chad Curtis homered in the bottom of the 10th to win the game. Clemens won the final 3–1, making the Yanks the first team to win the Series with back-to-back sweeps since the 1938–39 Yankees. Rivera was Series MVP. The Yankees had gone 22–3 over the past two postseasons.

The Yankees in 2000 had a huge payroll of nearly \$93 million, with Williams and Cone at around \$12 million and Jeter at \$10 million. Ten players earned

over \$5 million, and another 10 were millionaires. Wages comprised over 60 percent of team expenditures for the first time since 1993 (and peaked at over 70% in 2003). The team started well, going 22–9, but the starting pitching was not reliable, and the Yankees slumped to 37–35. Several important trades were made, especially one that brought in power hitter David Justice. The Yankees had an excellent summer, and by mid-September they were well ahead at 84–59. But they slumped terribly at the end, losing 16 of the last 19 games, and were big underdogs as postseason play began against the Athletics. In the ALDS, Torre made Knoblauch a DH and sent Cone to the bullpen. The teams split the first four games, but the Yankees prevailed in the deciding fifth game in Oakland 7–5. They then met the Mariners, and prevailed in six games. The match was highlighted by Roger Clemens's 15-strikeout, one-hit shutout in game four.

This set up a subway World Series with the Mets, the first since 1956. There were a lot of ill feelings between the teams, mainly because Clemens had beamed star catcher Mike Piazza on July 8 during interleague play. The Mets appeared on their way to winning the first game with a 3–2 lead in the ninth when O'Neill fouled off 10 pitches from closer Armando Benitez to earn a walk and load the bases. Knoblauch followed with a sacrifice fly to tie the game. Then in the 12th, Jose Vizcaino singled in the winning run. In game two, Clemens broke Piazza's bat, with a large piece ending up near the pitcher's mound, which Clemens then threw at Piazza, running to first. The Yankees took a 6–0 lead into the ninth and won 6–5. The Mets took the third game, beating Hernandez, who had been 8–0 in postseason play, breaking the Yankees' streak of consecutive Series victories at 14. The Yankees came back to capture the next game 3–2 behind the strong relief work of Cone and Rivera. The fifth game was tied 2–2 going into the ninth when Al Leiter's 142nd pitch resulted in a single by Luis Sojo, driving in the go-ahead run. The Yankees scored another run, and Rivera closed out the series in the bottom of the ninth. Derek Jeter was Series MVP.

After the season, Nelson and Cone left as free agents, while Mike Mussina, who had already won 147 games for the Orioles, was added as a free agent. The payroll was \$117,936,000, slightly less than the Red Sox's. Knoblauch was shifted to the outfield to make way for Alfonso Soriano at second base. The baseball season was canceled for nearly a week after 9/11, and the Yankees played out of town until September 25, when a big ceremony was held in honor of policemen and firemen killed in that tragedy. The Yankees won the Eastern Division with a record of 95–65, powered by 204 home runs and pitching. Clemens went 20–3, including 16 straight wins, tying the club record, and he, Pettitte, and Mussina all struck out over 200 batters. Clemens won the Cy Young Award, and Rivera, with 50 saves, received the Rolands Award. Yet the club was an underdog in the ALDS against the hot Athletics, with 102 wins. The A's took the two games in Oakland. The series shifted to Yankee Stadium. The key play occurred in game three with the Yankees, with only two hits in the entire game, up 1–0 late in the contest. Jeremy Giambi singled, and when Terrence Long followed with a double into the right-field corner, he tried to score when Shane Spencer threw the ball

back beyond the cutoff men. However, Jeter had raced in from shortstop to help out, and caught the errant throw while running full-speed into foul territory. He tossed it backhand to Posada to tag out Giambi at the plate, saving the game. Yankees took the next two games, 9–2 and 5–3, to finish off the A's.

The underdogs then took on the Mariners, who had won a record 116 games. The Yankees, surprisingly, took the first two games in Seattle, but lost the third in New York, 13–2. In the next game, Seattle took a 1–0 lead in the top of the eighth, but Williams homered in the bottom of the frame to tie it. In the ninth, Rivera got three outs on three pitches, and then Soriano homered after a Brosius single to win the game. The next day, Pettitte, the ALCS MVP, pitched the Yankees into the World Series with a 12–3 victory.

The Yankees then faced the Arizona Diamondbacks with Curt Schilling and Randy Johnson. The Diamondbacks took the first two games in Phoenix handily, 9–1 and 4–0. Back in New York the Yankees, behind Clemens, took the third game 2–1. Schilling came back on three days' rest and left in the eighth up 3–1. Byung-Hyun Kim struck out the side in the eighth, but with one out in the ninth, O'Neill singled and Martinez homered on the next pitch, tying up the game. This was the first Series game since 1947 that a team down by two runs in the ninth had caught up. Jeter homered in the next inning to win the game. On the following day Kim tried to protect a 2–0 lead in the ninth, but gave up a double to Posada and a two-out homer to Brosius to tie the game. The Yankees won the game in the 12th when Soriano singled home Knoblauch. Back at Bank One Ballpark, Arizona took the sixth game 15–2, with a record 22 hits. The decisive seventh game featured Clemens against Schilling. The game was tied 1–1 in the eighth when Soriano homered. Rivera struck out the side in the eighth. In the ninth, Mark Grace singled softly to center. The next batter bunted, and Rivera threw it into center field. Another bunt followed. Rivera got a force-out at third, but Brosius held onto the ball and missed out on the potential double play. Tony Womack followed with a double down the right-field line, tying the game. With the infield drawn in, Luis Gonzalez hit a flare into center field to win the game and the series. The Yankees had been stymied by the Diamondback hurlers, batting only .183 and getting outscored 37–14.

In 2001, the Yankees were worth \$635 million, nearly \$200 million more than the Mets, the second-place team. That year regular-season game receipts were \$98 million, the highest in the majors. The team had MLB's third-highest attendance and second-highest ticket price. They earned \$47 million from operating revenues (concessions, parking, stadium advertising, and luxury boxes and club seats). The Yankees showed 50 games on local TV and 100 on cable, for which they were paid \$56,750,000, nearly \$20 million more than any other team except the Mets. Finally, the club earned \$16 million from postseason play, \$3 million more than the Diamondbacks, who had defeated them. After deducting expenses, the Yankees made \$40,859,000 from baseball

revenues. However, they had to pay \$26 million in revenue sharing, leaving a net gain of \$14,319,000, third highest behind Milwaukee and Seattle.

Steinbrenner made two major moves in free agency in 2002, bringing in slugger Jason Giambi to replace Tino Martinez at first and bringing back David Wells. The offense hit 223 homers and produced the most runs in the AL. Six men made the All-Star team, including Williams, who batted .333; Soriano, who led the league in hits (209), runs (128), and stolen bases (41) and was second in total bases (381); and Giambi, who had 122 RBIs and 41 homers. The pitching was also strong, led by Wells with 19 wins and Mussina with 18. The result was an outstanding season, with a record of 103–58 and a team attendance record of 3,465,807. However, the pitching went south in the playoffs, and the Yankees were eliminated by the Anaheim Angels, three games to one.

In 2003, the team's payroll on Opening Day was \$152,749,814, including 20 players at \$1.5 million or more. The team had a superb season, finishing 101–61. Giambi had 41 homers and three Yankees had over 100 RBIs, including rookie Hideki Matsui, the "Godzilla" of Japanese baseball. Four pitchers won 15 or more games, led by Pettitte with 21, and Rivera led the AL in saves with 40. The Yankees won the ALDS 3–1 over Minnesota, followed by a memorable seven-game ALCS with the hated Red Sox. The closely matched teams split the first six games. In the deciding seventh game, the Sox had a 5–2 lead in the bottom of the eighth, but Pedro Martinez had tired. With one out Jeter doubled, Williams singled, and Matsui and Posada doubled to tie the score. Rivera came in in the ninth and pitched three innings. Then, in the bottom of the 11th, Aaron Boone hit a walk-off homer, and the Yankees were AL champions. After this drama, the Yankees seemed flat in the World Series against the Florida Marlins. After winning two of the first three games, they dropped the next three against surprisingly tough pitching for a disappointing conclusion to another exciting season.

The Yankees rearmed after the season, signing free agent Gary Sheffield, sending Jeff Weaver to the Dodgers for Kevin Brown, and securing superstar shortstop Alex Rodriguez from Texas for Soriano and other considerations. This helped propel the team's salary to \$184,193,950. The Yankees took the division with 101 wins, powered by 242 homers and over 100 RBIs each from Sheffield, Matsui, and Rodriguez. The starting pitching struggled, often bailed out by Rivera, who won the Rolands Award with 53 saves and a 1.94 ERA. The club led MLB in attendance with 3,775,292. The Yankees took the ALDS over the Twins three games to one, but faltered badly in the ALCS after winning the first three games handily. The Red Sox came back to win the next four games and capture the pennant.

The 2005 squad had a payroll of \$208 million with the addition of Randy Johnson, Carl Pavano, and Jaret Wright, but suffered from an unreliable defense, little speed, and major injuries, which contributed to a patchwork pitching staff. The team struggled for most of the season, but willed themselves to 95 wins and the Eastern Division title. The team boasted a powerful lineup with 229

homers, led by Rodriguez, who had a superb season with 48 homers and 130 RBIs and won the AL MVP Award. However, he disappeared in the playoffs when most needed, and the club lost in five games to the Angels.

In the summer of 2005, plans were announced for an \$800 million, 51,000-seat ballpark that will replicate the original Yankee Stadium. It will be located in the park across the street from the current site, part of a broader urban-redevelopment plan. The Yankees will pay all construction, operating, and maintenance costs. The city and state will pay an additional \$220 million for parking garages and to replace the public parks where the field will be built.

The Yankees remain the outstanding professional sports franchise in North America, worth an estimated \$1 billion in 2006. The club has drawn over 3 million spectators every year since 1999, including over 4 million in 2005. The organization continues to be a model of outstanding business and field management, with a newfound stability under Joe Torre. It was this success that set the Yankees apart, especially the incessant desire to continue as the best in their field. Second place is not an option.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1936	Lou Gehrig	1B
1939	Joe DiMaggio	OF
1941	Joe DiMaggio	OF
1942	Joe Gordon	2B
1943	Spud Chandler	P
1947	Joe DiMaggio	OF
1950	Phil Rizzuto	SS
1951	Yogi Berra	C
1954	Yogi Berra	C
1955	Yogi Berra	C
1956	Mickey Mantle	OF
1957	Mickey Mantle	OF
1960	Roger Maris	OF
1961	Roger Maris	OF
1962	Mickey Mantle	OF
1963	Elston Howard	C
1976	Thurman Munson	C
1985	Don Mattingly	1B
2005	Alex Rodriguez	3B

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1958	Bob Turley	RHP
1961	Whitey Ford	LHP
1977	Sparky Lyle	LHP
1978	Ron Guidry	LHP
2001	Roger Clemens	RHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1951	Gil McDougald	3B
1954	Bob Grim	P
1957	Tony Kubek	SS/OF
1962	Tom Tresh	SS/OF
1968	Stan Bahnsen	P
1970	Thurman Munson	C
1981	Dave Righetti	P
1996	Derek Jeter	SS

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1924	Babe Ruth	.378
1934	Lou Gehrig	.363
1939	Joe DiMaggio	.381
1940	Joe DiMaggio	.352
1945	Snuffy Stirnweiss	.309
1956	Mickey Mantle	.353
1984	Don Mattingly	.343
1994	Paul O'Neill	.359
1998	Bernie Williams	.339

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1916	Wally Pipp	12
1917	Wally Pipp	9
1920	Babe Ruth	54
1921	Babe Ruth	59
1923	Babe Ruth	41
1924	Babe Ruth	46
1925	Bob Meusel	33

1926	Babe Ruth	47
1927	Babe Ruth	60
1928	Babe Ruth	54
1929	Babe Ruth	46
1930	Babe Ruth	49
1931	Lou Gehrig	46
	Babe Ruth	46
1934	Lou Gehrig	49
1936	Lou Gehrig	49
1937	Joe DiMaggio	46
1944	Nick Etten	22
1948	Joe DiMaggio	39
1955	Mickey Mantle	37
1956	Mickey Mantle	52
1958	Mickey Mantle	42
1960	Mickey Mantle	40
1961	Roger Maris	61
1976	Graig Nettles	32
1980	Reggie Jackson	41
2005	Alex Rodriguez	48

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1920	Bob Shawkey	2.45
1927	Wilcy Moore	2.28
1934	Lefty Gomez	2.33
1937	Lefty Gomez	2.33
1943	Spud Chandler	1.64
1947	Spud Chandler	2.46
1952	Allie Reynolds	2.06
1953	Ed Lopat	2.42
1956	Whitey Ford	2.47
1957	Bobby Shantz	2.45
1958	Whitey Ford	2.01
1978	Ron Guidry	1.74
1979	Ron Guidry	2.78
1980	Rudy May	2.46

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1932	Red Ruffing	190
1933	Lefty Gomez	163

1934	Lefty Gomez	158
1937	Lefty Gomez	194
1951	Vic Raschi	164
1952	Allie Reynolds	160
1964	Al Downing	217

No-Hitters (*Italics* = Perfect Game)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
George Mogridge	04/24/1917
Sam Jones	09/04/1923
Monte Pearson	08/27/1938
Allie Reynolds	07/12/1951
Allie Reynolds	09/28/1951
<i>Don Larsen</i>	10/08/1956
Dave Righetti	07/04/1983
Andy Hawkins	07/01/1990
Jim Abbott	09/04/1993
Dwight Gooden	05/14/1996
<i>David Wells</i>	05/17/1998
<i>David Cone</i>	07/18/1999

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES

AL East Division Titles

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1976	97–62	Billy Martin
1977	100–62	Billy Martin
1978	100–63	Billy Martin Bob Lemon
1980	103–59	Dick Howser
1981	59–48	Gene Michael Bob Lemon
1994	70–43	Buck Showalter
1996	92–70	Joe Torre
1998	114–48	Joe Torre
1999	98–64	Joe Torre
2000	87–74	Joe Torre
2001	95–65	Joe Torre
2002	103–58	Joe Torre
2003	101–61	Joe Torre
2004	101–61	Joe Torre
2005	95–67	Joe Torre

AL Wild Cards

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1995	79–65	Buck Showalter
1997	96–66	Joe Torre

AL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1921	98–55	Miller Huggins
1922	94–60	Miller Huggins
1923	98–54	Miller Huggins
1926	91–63	Miller Huggins
1927	110–44	Miller Huggins
1928	101–53	Miller Huggins
1932	107–47	Joe McCarthy
1936	102–51	Joe McCarthy
1937	102–52	Joe McCarthy
1938	99–53	Joe McCarthy
1939	106–45	Joe McCarthy
1941	101–53	Joe McCarthy
1942	103–41	Joe McCarthy
1943	98–56	Joe McCarthy
1947	97–57	Bucky Harris
1949	97–57	Casey Stengel
1950	98–56	Casey Stengel
1951	98–56	Casey Stengel
1952	95–59	Casey Stengel
1953	99–52	Casey Stengel
1955	97–57	Casey Stengel
1956	97–57	Casey Stengel
1957	98–56	Casey Stengel
1958	92–62	Casey Stengel
1960	97–57	Casey Stengel
1961	109–53	Ralph Houk
1962	96–66	Ralph Houk
1963	104–57	Ralph Houk
1964	99–63	Yogi Berra
1976	97–62	Billy Martin
1977	100–62	Billy Martin
1978	100–63	Billy Martin
		Bob Lemon
1981	59–48	Gene Michael

		Bob Lemon
1996	92–70	Joe Torre
1998	114–48	Joe Torre
1999	98–64	Joe Torre
2000	87–74	Joe Torre
2001	95–65	Joe Torre
2003	101–61	Joe Torre

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>	<i>MVP</i>
1923	New York	
1927	Pittsburgh	
1928	St. Louis	
1932	Chicago	
1936	New York	
1937	New York	
1938	Chicago	
1939	Cincinnati	
1941	Brooklyn	
1943	St. Louis	
1947	Brooklyn	
1949	Brooklyn	
1950	Philadelphia	
1951	New York	
1952	Brooklyn	
1953	Brooklyn	
1956	Brooklyn	Don Larsen
1958	Milwaukee	Bob Turley
1961	Cincinnati	Whitey Ford
1962	San Francisco	Ralph Terry
1977	Los Angeles	Reggie Jackson
1978	Los Angeles	Bucky Dent
1996	Atlanta	John Wetteland
1998	San Diego	Scott Brosius
1999	Atlanta	Mariano Rivera
2000	New York	Derek Jeter

MANAGERS

1996–	Joe Torre
1992–1995	Buck Showalter

1990–1991	Stump Merrill
1989–1990	Bucky Dent
1989	Dallas Green
1988	Lou Piniella
1988	Billy Martin
1986–1987	Lou Piniella
1985	Billy Martin
1984–1985	Yogi Berra
1983	Billy Martin
1982	Clyde King
1982	Gene Michael
1981–1982	Bob Lemon
1981	Gene Michael
1980	Dick Howser
1979	Billy Martin
1978–1979	Bob Lemon
1978	Dick Howser
1975–1978	Billy Martin
1974–1975	Bill Virdon
1966–1973	Ralph Houk
1965–1966	Johnny Keane
1964	Yogi Berra
1961–1963	Ralph Houk
1949–1960	Casey Stengel
1947–1948	Bucky Harris
1946	Johnny Neun
1946	Bill Dickey
1931–1946	Joe McCarthy
1930	Bob Shawkey
1929	Art Fletcher
1918–1929	Miller Huggins
1915–1917	Bill Donovan
1914	Roger Peckinpaugh
1913–1914	Frank Chance
1912	Harry Wolverton
1910–1911	Hal Chase
1909–1910	George Stallings
1908	Kid Elberfeld
1903–1908	Clark Griffith
1902	Wilbert Robinson (Orioles)
1901–1902	John McGraw (Orioles)

Team Records by Individual Players

	Single Season			Career		
	Name	Year	Name	Plate Appearances		
Batting average	Babe Ruth	.393	1923	Babe Ruth	.349	9,197
On-base %	Babe Ruth	.545	1923	Babe Ruth	.484	9,197
Slugging %	Babe Ruth	.849	1920	Babe Ruth	.711	9,197
OPS	Babe Ruth	1.382	1920	Babe Ruth	1.195	9,197
Games	Hideki Matsui	163	2003	Mickey Mantle	2,401	9,909
At bats	Alfonso Soriano	696	2002	Mickey Mantle	8,102	9,909
Runs	Babe Ruth	177	1921	Babe Ruth	1,960	9,197
Hits	Don Mattingly	238	1986	Lou Gehrig	2,721	9,660
Total bases	Babe Ruth	457	1921	Babe Ruth	5,131	9,197
Doubles	Don Mattingly	53	1986	Lou Gehrig	534	9,660
Triples	Earle Combs	23	1927	Lou Gehrig	163	9,660
Home runs	Roger Maris	61	1961	Babe Ruth	659	9,197
RBI s	Lou Gehrig	184	1931	Lou Gehrig	1,995	9,660
Walks	Babe Ruth	170	1923	Babe Ruth	1,852	9,197
Strikeouts	Alfonso Soriano	157	2002	Mickey Mantle	1,710	9,909
Stolen bases	Rickey Henderson	93	1988	Rickey Henderson	376	2,735
Extra-base hits	Babe Ruth	119	1921	Lou Gehrig	1,190	9,660
Times on base	Babe Ruth	379	1923	Babe Ruth	4,405	9,197

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		
	Name	Year	Name	Innings Pitched		
ERA	Spud Chandler	1.64	1943	Goose Gossage	2.14	533
Wins	Jack Chesbro	41	1904	Whitey Ford	236	3,170.3
Won-loss %	Ron Guidry	.893	1978	Spud Chandler	.717	1,485
Hits/9 IP	Tommy Byrne	5.74	1949	Goose Gossage	6.59	533
Walks/9 IP	David Wells	0.85	2003	David Wells	1.47	851.7
Strikeouts	Ron Guidry	248	1978	Whitey Ford	1,956	3,170.3
Strikeouts/9 IP	David Cone	10.25	1997	David Cone	8.67	922
Games	Paul Quantrill	86	2004	Mariano Rivera	657	806.7
Saves	Mariano Rivera	53	2004	Mariano Rivera	379	806.7
Innings	Jack Chesbro	454.7	1904	Whitey Ford	3,170.3	3,170.3
Starts	Jack Chesbro	51	1904	Whitey Ford	438	3,170.3
Complete games	Jack Chesbro	48	1904	Red Ruffing	261	3,168.7
Shutouts	Ron Guidry	9	1978	Whitey Ford	45	3,170.3

Source: Drawn from data in "New York Yankees Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/NYY/leaders_bat.shtml; "New York Yankees Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/NYY/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Oakland Athletics

Robert F. Lewis II

In *Moneyball*, the most popular baseball book thus far in the twenty-first century, Michael Lewis analyzes the unorthodox approach that the Oakland A's, a small-market team, use to achieve competitive parity with clubs whose payroll is two to three times as great. His book centers on the major-league amateur draft of June 2002, as the A's were progressing to their third consecutive playoff appearance. Lewis, a former Wall Street broker who had achieved literary success a decade earlier with *Liar's Poker*, in an insightful probe into the financial game discovers a contrarian strategy alive and well in the national pastime. The A's relied on analyzing performance imaginatively to gain competitive advantage in the business of baseball.

Major League Baseball has compiled and increasingly revered performance statistics since Harry Chadwick, a British immigrant sportswriter, created a sustainable version of the box score in 1876. Lewis finds that the A's applied and modified *sabermetrics*, the imaginative statistical analysis that Bill James had been employing for the past quarter century. They used their analysis to supplement or supersede traditional assessments made by baseball scouts and general managers. Operating within tight budget constraints, general manager Billy Beane cut scouting expenses and redirected the savings to pay Harvard graduates to analyze the player market in order to determine what a team needed to win.

Although Lewis's label of "moneyball" represents the latest financial ploy for the A's, acquiring and spending money wisely to build competitive teams have been continuing challenges for the team since its American League inception in Philadelphia in 1901. The A's earlier versions of moneyball, herein defined as the skillful acquisition and deployment of resources to enhance competitiveness,

have changed over the years. They have been forced in each of their three homes—two with competitors in the same market and the other of marginal size—to optimize what has generally been a modest revenue base compared to their competition.

THE PHILADELPHIA ATHLETICS (1901–54)

The Rise and Fall of a Dynasty, Part 1

There were several Philadelphia Athletics teams before the one headed by Connie Mack entered the newly formed American League in 1901. In 1860 U.S. Marshal James N. Kearns founded an Athletics club that quickly became the dominant team in the area, which was, like other northeastern cities, helping to develop the game. In 1865 that team signed to a \$1,000 contract a left-handed second baseman named Al Reach, generally considered the first professional baseball player. Reach subsequently became owner of a prominent sporting-goods company and part owner of the National League Phillies in 1883 when the Worcester, Massachusetts, Brown Stockings franchise relocated to Philadelphia.

In 1871 another Athletics team won the first championship of the newly formed National Association of Professional Base Ball Players, the first professional baseball league. For that team in 1875 Joe Borden pitched what is regarded as the first professional no-hitter. The National Association folded after that season. An Athletics nine joined the new National League in 1876 and won the league's first game, but they lasted only one season. A fourth Athletics team joined the new American Association in 1882 and won its pennant the following year. That Athletics team died with the American Association in 1891.

In 1901, Byron Bancroft "Ban" Johnson reorganized the former minor Western League as the major American League. Bancroft chose Connie Mack to lead the new Philadelphia club. Mack had managed Milwaukee's club and named his new team the Athletics to emphasize its Philadelphia baseball legacy. Mack put up \$5,000–\$10,000 and received a 25 percent interest in the team while Charles W. Somers, a Cleveland coal baron, supplied \$30,000, the remainder of the seed money.

Mack was born Cornelius McGillicuddy on December 22, 1862, in East Brookfield, Massachusetts, to Irish immigrants. He escaped the industrial toil of the local shoe factory by playing professional baseball. Mack was tall, and was a good-fielding but poor-hitting catcher. Starting at Meriden in the Connecticut State League in 1884, he progressed to the majors at the end of 1886 with Washington in the NL. In 1890 he jumped to Buffalo with the renegade Players' League and invested in the team, only to lose it when the league folded after one season. Returning to the NL with Pittsburgh in 1891, he became player-manager toward the end of the 1894 season, and was fired after the 1896 season despite winning records. The next year he met Johnson and joined Milwaukee as its manager.

Having retired as a player, he decided there was no need to wear a team uniform. His trademark attire consisted of a dark three-piece suit, stiff collar, straw hat, and scorecard. Not being permitted on the field out of uniform, he used the scorecard to signal his players and coaches from the dugout. During his half century as manager of the Athletics, the gentlemanly Mack became known as “the paragon of managers,” “a symbol of enduring values of the national pastime,” and, ultimately, “the Grand Old Man of Baseball.” Arriving in Philadelphia, Mack enlisted two sportswriters, Samuel “Butch” Jones of the Associated Press and Frank Hough of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, to locate a ballpark site. They eventually leased a vacant lot at 29th and Columbia in the Brewerytown section, constructed a 12,000-seat wooden grandstand, and called it Columbia Park, which would be home to the Athletics for the next eight years.

Jones and Hough introduced Mack to Ben Shibe, a partner of Reach’s in the sporting-goods company. With encouragement from Reach, who was losing interest in his Phillies investment, and a promise from Mack, with Johnson’s approval, that the AL would use Reach-manufactured baseballs, Shibe acquired a 50 percent interest in the team. Jones and Hough completed the buyout of Somers’s interest and shared the remaining 25 percent. The ownership interest of sportswriters tangibly underscored a major role that sportswriters played during that era as public-relations spokespersons for sports, notably baseball, which by then had become the national pastime.

During the Progressive Era writers equated baseball with a bygone idealized American agrarian past. They focused on physical culture and youth development, relief from boring work, and assertion of civic pride and community integration to the point where baseball became a secular religion. “The arcadian, integrative, and democratic attributes of professional baseball were largely myths,” asserts Steven A. Riess, in *Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era*. “A substantial disparity existed between the ideology of baseball, which presented baseball in its most favorable light, and the realities of the game,” he notes, but acknowledges that the public accepted the ideology as truth and responded positively. Baseball was influential in the development of urban culture.

With the financial structure in place Mack implemented an initial moneyball strategy that was virtually the antithesis of Beane’s current approach. With sportswriter-partner Hough’s player contacts and the seed money, he raided his NL rival, the Phillies, thereby testing whether Philadelphia, then the third-largest city in the country, could support two major-league baseball teams and who would prevail—questions that wouldn’t finally be resolved until a half century later.

Philadelphia, then in what Riess calls “the industrial radial” stage of development, was a blue-collar city with heavy industry concentrations in iron, steel, coal, and the related railroad and shipbuilding businesses, as well as carpets and textiles. It was the largest city in geographic area, expanded by a

growing radial network of rail lines, but generally homogeneous in population. A majority had come from Great Britain and Ireland, but there were also significant Russian Jewish and Italian elements. The African American immigration from the South was just beginning. The city's interest in sports, which had started with cricket because of the British influence, would continuously expand over the years to the present. As Rich Westcott noted, "Nothing defines the City of Philadelphia more than its passion for sports."

Unlike other major cities, Philadelphia was dominantly Republican, but like its Democratic-dominated counterparts, graft was rampant. From the first Athletics teams the Republican machine was involved in baseball. The machine generally supported it for constituent pleasure as well as tax- and license-revenue opportunities. Shibe, Mack, and the sportswriter-owners established political connections that would continue to favor the Athletics as a Republican-backed team for several decades. Although coincidental, the decline of the Athletics in Philadelphia occurred after World War II, as the political power shifted from Republicans to Democrats. Ironically, never in its history would the city name or initial appear on the uniform—it successively displayed a large A, an elephant, and, finally the word *Athletics* on the shirt—nor would a *P* ever appear on the cap.

Mack took advantage of an NL salary cap that limited the salaries of the better players to sign five Phillies players for the initial season. Future Hall of Famer Napoleon Lajoie was his best signing. He won the first AL Triple Crown, hitting .422 with 14 home runs and 125 RBIs. His batting average still stands as the league record.

The acquisitions helped the Athletics (or, as Mack called them, the "Ath-el-etics") finish their first year in fourth place with a 74–62 record and almost match (206,000 to 234,000) the Phillies' home attendance, despite the latter's established presence and better season record (83–57, second place). The Athletics signed three more Phillies before the 1902 season. Angered by the raids, the Phillies sued Lajoie. The state supreme court enjoined him from playing in Pennsylvania for any team but the Phillies, although it didn't require him to return to the Phillies. He and two others raided by the Athletics signed with Cleveland, which let Mack sign two of its players in apparent recompense. The Athletics laid claim as Philadelphia's favorite in 1902 when they won the AL pennant and more than doubled attendance, to 442,000, while the Phillies, beset by the player flight, fell to seventh and more than halved their attendance to 112,000. The A's would remain Philadelphia's favorite until after World War II.

Mack implemented another moneyball approach, one similar to the later Beane strategy. In addition to the normal, albeit informal, scouting that identified talent from sandlots, Mack emphasized college recruiting. At the time colleges were quickly and effectively developing organized, competitive sports programs, and baseball was more popular than football. Mack believed that the formal college-baseball program provided more valuable skills and training

than the sandlots. He also believed student-athletes were both better learner-practitioners and gentlemen who could positively influence the roustabouts on a team. He required all his players to wear suits when they traveled to portray the gentlemanly image that he felt baseball needed.

Starting with future Hall of Famer Eddie Plank in 1901, he acquired 10 collegians for his roster five years later. Among them were Albert “Chief” Bender, a pitcher who was one-fourth Chippewa and a product of the Carlisle Indian School and Dickinson College; Eddie Collins, a second baseman from Columbia University; and Jack Coombs, a pitcher from Colby College. Bender and Collins would join Plank in the Hall of Fame. That strategy helped the A’s win six pennants and three World Series in 13 years (1902–14) to establish its first and second dynasties. (*Dynasty* is herein defined as winning at least three pennants in four years.) The Athletics accomplished that four separate times in their history: 1911, 1913, and 1914; 1929, 1930, and 1931; 1972, 1973, and 1974; and 1988, 1989, and 1990. Only the New York Yankees have achieved dynasty status more often.

A notable complement to the college-recruiting strategy was George Edward “Rube” Waddell. Waddell pitched for Mack in Milwaukee and was probably mentally handicapped. Persuaded by Mack (and the Pinkerton detectives he sent) to join the A’s from California, Waddell led them to their 1902 pennant with 24 wins, then topped that with 26 as they won again in 1905. An unfortunate late-season injury kept him out of the World Series. Waddell’s occasional absences, prompted by emotional cravings for booze, women, and even fire engines, finally proved too much for the patient Mack, and he lasted only six years with the A’s.

The second pennant victory in 1905 sent the A’s to the World Series for the first time (there was no World Series in 1902) and inaugurated a rivalry with the New York Giants and manager John McGraw. In 1901 McGraw had called the Athletics “white elephants” (money losers) because of their NL recruiting. Responding quietly but pointedly as was his nature, Mack adopted the white elephant as a team mascot, put a likeness on the team uniform, and even purchased an elephant for the amusement of the fans. The elephant stayed on the uniform until 1928 in some form and returned in 1955, the A’s first year in Kansas City. Charlie Finley replaced the elephant with a mule during his ownership, but it returned again in 1988 to inspire the A’s to the first of three successive pennants, their fourth dynasty, and has since remained.

While both were successful Hall of Fame managers, McGraw and Mack were virtually opposites in appearance, personality, and style. McGraw was a short, heavy, swearing drinker-smoker, while Mack was a tall, thin, taciturn, nonswearing teetotaler. In contrast to the provocative McGraw, Mack was never ejected from a game. In management style McGraw represented the older, scientific management approach, while Mack displayed the new newer, human-relations approach. Emphasizing what is now called “small ball,” McGraw employed precise strategies in contrast to the manly game of slugging and

aggressive play of early baseball. His style conformed to the theory espoused by Frederick W. Taylor, the father of scientific management.

To employ his version, McGraw ran his team with an iron fist and controlled players closely on and off the field. He even monitored their eating and drinking habits to assure that they would be in winning form and to reinforce absolute discipline. Taking full accountability for results, he was the epitome of a top-down manager. His results—10 pennants and three World Series victories in 31 years with Giants—supported his approach.

In contrast, Mack, a precursor of the human-relations school, encouraged independent thought from his players as well as collaboration and cooperation between workers (players) and management (Mack and coaches). Mack directed his players with the carrot rather than the stick. As a result, Mack developed perhaps the best and certainly the longest sustained labor-management relationship in one team's history.

Mack's results compared favorably with McGraw's over their common tenure of 1902–32, when McGraw managed the Giants. Mack won nine pennants, one less than McGraw, but won five World Series, two more than McGraw, and was 2–1 in head-to-head competition. Mack finished above .500 21 times compared to McGraw's 27, largely because of the A's lower revenue base, which forced them to sell off players and spend seven consecutive years (1915–21) in the cellar before recovering.

In their 1905 inaugural World Series meeting, Mack presented McGraw with a replica of a white elephant; the Giants countered by wearing black uniforms. McGraw's Giants humbled the A's 4–1, with all five games being shutouts, three by future Hall of Famer Christy Mathewson. Only Bender's second-game shutout kept the A's from being swept when the A's scored their only runs in the series.

The A's would not win another pennant until 1910, when they went on to beat the favored Cubs, Series winners in 1907–8, 4–1 for their first world championship. The series hero was "Colby Jack" Coombs, whose 31 season victories almost matched his 35 wins in his first four years with the A's. Following Bender's three-hit victory in the opener, the next three A's wins belonged to Coombs. Only an extra-innings 4–3 victory kept the Cubs from being swept as the A's outscored them 35–15 and outhit them 56–35.

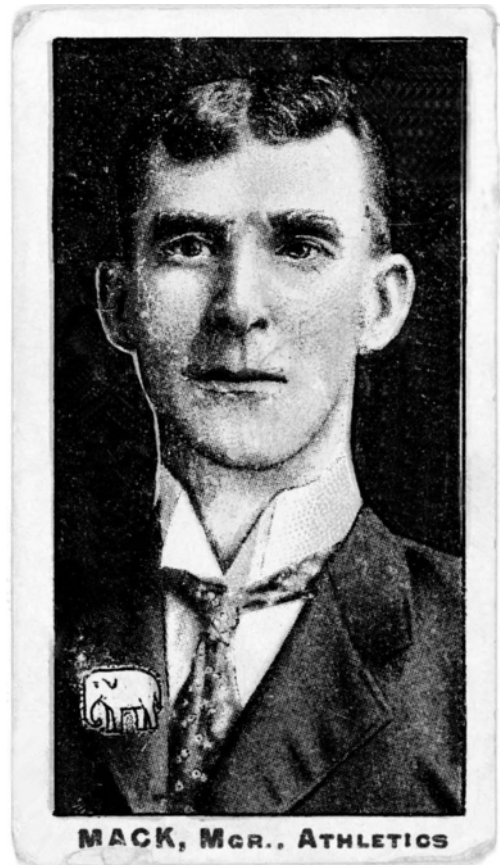
The next year Mack got revenge when the A's met the Giants again in the World Series after winning the pennant by 13 1/2 games over Detroit. In the series opener McGraw again outfitted the Giants in the black uniforms they had worn in the 1905 opener. Again Mathewson defeated the Athletics and Bender, as he had done in the 1905 finale. Despite that initial loss, the A's rebounded behind collegians Plank and Coombs to take a 2–1 lead before rain and mud postponed the series for a week. When play resumed Mack's other college pitcher, Bender, won the next game as well as the clincher in Philadelphia, 13–2. Third baseman Frank Baker acquired his nickname,

“Home Run,” by hitting two crucial homers in the series to highlight his Hall of Fame career.

After a third-place finish in 1912, the A's won the pennant by six and a half games over Washington and again faced the Giants in the 1913 Series. This time Bender and Plank led the staff, while Coombs was lost for the entire season after he contracted typhoid fever. Keying the offense was the “\$100,000 infield” consisting of first baseman John “Stuffy” McInnis, second baseman Collins, shortstop Jack Barry from Holy Cross, and third baseman Baker, who won the home-run and RBI titles that year. He hit .450 in the series, including a homer; Collins hit .421, including two triples; and each accounted for 8 of the A's 21 series runs as the A's prevailed 4–1. Mack used just 12 players, including only three pitchers, in the five games. Bender won two games and Plank bested Mathewson 3–1, yielding only two hits and an unearned run in the finale.

In 1914 the A's won the pennant again, but the Giants finished second to the “Miracle” Boston Braves, who had been in last place as late as July 18. In the opener they shocked the A's by knocking Bender of the game for the first time in his 10 Series starts and coasting to a 7–1 win. They went on to sweep, albeit in close games: 1–0, 5–4 in 12 innings, and 3–1. This major upset prompted some rumors that A's players had thrown games because of their low salaries. In fact the A's salary costs had risen and attendance shrunk, so that they lost \$60,000 in that pennant year. In response Mack abruptly cut costs by dismantling his dynasty team. As they floundered with seven consecutive last-place finishes (1915–21) local sportswriter Bugs Baer accurately quipped that for the A's “a base on balls constitutes a rally.”

Mack shifted his recruiting strategy toward less expensive wholesale player tryouts and bargain hunting for also-rans. Not coincidentally, Ring Lardner's Jack O'Keefe of the contemporary popular fiction *You Know Me, Al* finished his career with the A's. A central character in one of James T. Farrell's novels wrote Mack for a job. One positive outcome of Mack's cheap recruiting approach, however, was Jimmie Dykes, who took three trolleys to Shibe Park for a tryout that launched a 22-year major-league playing career.



Manager Connie Mack's baseball card, 1910. Courtesy of the Library of Congress

The Making of Shibe Park

With growing popularity and profitability, including a record 625,881 attendees supporting a second-place finish in 1907, Mack and Shibe implemented a new moneyball strategy by planning for a new, larger home to replace Columbia Park and increase revenue opportunities. Representative of baseball parks of the day, Columbia was built of wood and thus vulnerable to fire and collapse, as had befallen several such structures in the prior decade. With his engineering background Shibe sought an improved construct utilizing a recent technological advance, ferroconcrete (steel-reinforced concrete), that strengthened the building frame and made it fireproof. They broke ground in April 1908 and completed the park in time for the 1909 season opener. Riess observes that it was “the first fully modernized baseball field.”

Shibe Park covered a full city block (Lehigh–Somerset, 20th–21st Streets) on the north side of Philadelphia in an Irish-dominated area called Swampoodle, a short distance from the confluence of three railroad lines. A block away from the site was the city’s smallpox hospital, but the politically connected Shibe learned that it was soon to be closed before he began to acquire the property for a total cost of \$67,500 through a series of clandestine transactions early in 1907. William Steele and Sons, pioneer constructors of concrete and steel buildings and many of the manufacturing facilities in Philadelphia, were named the general contractors.

The facade of the park was in the French Renaissance style, featuring a domed tower at the main (21st and Lehigh) entrances and a facade including rusticated bases, composite columns, and arched windows and vaultings, with terra-cotta casts of Shibe (at Lehigh) and Mack (at 21st) over the main entrances. The tower included an office suite for Ben’s son Jack, the financial head of the A’s, and, above that, Mack’s “oval office.” After buying tickets patrons entered a 24-foot-diameter circular lobby, by far the most elegant in baseball. Grandstand fans proceeded to a pavilion, then up a 21-foot-wide stairway to a promenade and 5,500 lower-deck and 4,500 upper-deck seats, while bleacherites followed 14-foot concourses past player dressing rooms and workrooms to their 13,000 seats, which initially sold for a quarter. The segregated grandstand-bleacher combination reinforced the A’s scheme to attract upscale customers as well as to continue to appeal to the common man, with standing room for 7,000 in the wide aisles behind the bleachers and an additional space for 10,000 in a banked outfield and terraced lobby in the upper grandstand, totaling a theoretical capacity of 40,000. The field included sod transplanted from Columbia Park to preserve the team’s growing baseball tradition (and to save money). Management claimed that cantilevered seats afforded unobstructed views, although steel columns impaired some. Unlike other parks, there was no advertising on the green outfield walls to distract from its “field of dreams” image. An electric scoreboard recorded who was playing and at bat.

The park was built at a cost of \$301,000 plus an additional \$76,000 for 1913 improvements that included covering the existing bleachers and adding

unroofed stands as additional bleachers from left to center field. The park was a business investment that both reflected Shibe's entrepreneurial desire to display his wealth and business stature and to produce more revenue for the team. Historian Bruce Kuklick observes that the park's imperial and impersonal look was representative of robber-baron tastes of the time, but eliminated the intimacy of Columbia and other contemporary baseball parks. Cartoonists poked fun at Shibe Park with its long walks to seats, fan removal from the field of play, crowd crushes, and the concrete walls that precluded the "knothole gangs" of boys peeking from outside. Nevertheless, Shibe Park produced its own intimacy, enhanced by lively fan participation.

Opening Day was a sellout (23,000 seats plus 7,000 standing-room tickets), not counting the eager unticketed fans that crowded into neighborhood buildings with a view or that lined the adjacent streets, some 5,000 of whom broke through a gate into the outfield and stood behind ropes. Ceremonies included bands and speeches and Mayor John Reyburn throwing out the first ball. Plank completed the day by pitching the A's to an 8-1 victory over the Boston Red Sox. But the day had a tragic element as well. His catcher, Maurice "Doc" Powers, a practicing physician, was rushed to the hospital after the game and later died of intestinal complications attributed to a cheese sandwich he had eaten before the game.

The increased attendance, at least partially attributable to the new showcase, facilitated the emergence of the first A's dynasty. After finishing second in 1909 with record attendance of 675,000 (up from a depressed 455,000 a year earlier), the A's continued to draw well during their winning years. The Shibes made almost \$350,000 between 1902 and 1913, and Mack also fared well. He received a \$15,000 salary that was increased by an ownership share of the profits. Profitability, then as now in baseball, enabled the A's to pay their players well. Visibly representative of that was the \$100,000 infield of McInnis, Collins, Barry, and Baker, who were the offensive core of the team.

Curiously, however, attendance in 1914, the dynasty's final pennant year, dropped to 346,541 from 571,896 in the prior year. Mack theorized that fans became bored with a repeat winner and that they were more supportive when the club simply contended. Further, he believed that player salary demands wouldn't increase if the team were merely a contender, not a winner. Baseball statistician Rob Neyer likens Mack's theory to the economic tenet of the law of diminishing marginal returns, which holds that repetitive occurrence leads to reducing yields. In that context he suggests that continued winning could lead to reduced attendance. Some of the result could also be attributable to the diminishing impact of the attraction of the new Shibe Park rather than of winning. The entry of the competing Federal League in 1914 may also have hurt attendance. Nevertheless, Mack acted aggressively on his belief, and would reaffirm it and act again, albeit more slowly, at the end of the second dynasty in 1932.

Shortly after the 1914 World Series sweep by the Boston Braves, Mack began dismantling the team. He waived the core of his pitching staff, collegians Plank,

Bender, and Coombs, and sold Collins to the Chicago White Sox, then refused to match Baker's offer from the Federal League. In defiance, Baker sat out and played semipro ball in 1915, then signed with the Yankees the following year. During the 1915 season Mack sold Barry and Herb Pennock to the Red Sox, Bob Shawkey to the Yankees, and Jack Lapp and Danny Murphy to the White Sox. While most of the players faded quickly, Baker and Collins continued their productive careers. Young pitchers Pennock, a future Hall of Famer, and Shawkey would win a combined 392 games with other teams.

The net result was that the 1915 team became the first in major-league history to fall from first to last place in one season, and attendance plummeted to 146,223, thereby affirming a continuing truism in baseball that fans don't support losers. The attendance drop may also have been influenced by the performance of the Phillies, who captured their first NL pennant. The 1916 A's, who may have been the worst team in major-league history, set a club loss record of 36–117, finishing 40 games behind the seventh-place Washington Senators and continuing what would be a seven-season run of finishing in the cellar.

Shibe Park also played a moneyball role in keeping Mack with the A's. As the dynasty leader, Mack became the recruiting target of the New York Highlanders, who were competing with the Giants for that city's attention. After the A's 1913 World Series triumph over the Giants, Mack was offered the Yankees' manager job. To counter that move, Shibe implemented a financial restructuring that benefited Mack as well as himself. First he sold Shibe Park, whose land, structure, and improvements had cost the A's almost \$450,000, for \$46,000 plus assumption of its \$150,000 mortgage. A paper loss and a cash generator for Shibe, the transaction substantially increased the value of the A's franchise, of which Shibe was majority stockholder. It also benefited the minority stockholders, including Mack. To sweeten the deal even more Shibe loaned Mack \$113,000 to buy out Hough and Jones's combined quarter share of the A's. Mack then became a half owner of the club, which now had a valuable real-estate asset, and stayed in Philadelphia.

The A's and Urban Culture

As the club's principal asset, Shibe Park was also the club's most tangible connection with Philadelphia and a historical link to the changes it would undergo during the first half of the twentieth century. Mack and many of the players chose to reside in the neighborhood of the park. Mack had lived across the street from Columbia Park when the A's played there, then moved to within seven blocks of Shibe. Despite getting an automobile as a gift from the team after the 1910 Series victory, he continued to take the trolley to work like other residents of the blue-collar community that grew around the ball park. Mack's ethnicity conformed to the neighborhood as well. "The Irish and their culture stamped the area," observes Kuklick, in noting the central presence of

St. Columbia's church and saloons such as Kilroy's, owned by Matt Kilroy, a famous nineteenth-century ballplayer, and frequented by baseball fans and players. Since in those early days the Irish were disproportionately represented throughout baseball, the neighborhood was an ethnic match for the A's.

The gentleman Mack's Athletics and the upscale Shibe Park had a reforming influence on the neighborhood despite the class segregation in the seats. Promoters of baseball argued that Shibe Park took the game off the streets and refined it in a formal setting, so that the rowdy workingmen conformed more to the behavior standards of middle-class entertainment. Conversely, the park may have popularized the working-class behaviors of informality, physical intimacy, and mixing of sexes among the middle class, thereby helping to relieve the monotony and tedium of work in industrial society. "The sport was as much the invention of industrial America as it was its antidote." And Shibe Park was a proving ground. In some sense, this reforming influence was self-fulfilling, if exaggerated. Riess observes, "The public saw baseball as an accurate reflection of contemporary society."

While the A's floundered after Mack's purge, the area around Shibe coalesced from a collection of small neighborhoods into a defined community. The Pennsylvania Railroad tracks formed a diagonal southern boundary that kept the growing black population out. Lehigh and 22nd became the hub of what locals were now calling "North Penn," which continued to be home to many ballplayers. Although thriving adjacent industries provided substantial work opportunities for the blue-collar community, the advent of Prohibition brought crime to the area.

Local religious-ethnic political differences manifested themselves in the societal issue concerning the Sunday blue laws, a collection of local ordinances and state laws in Pennsylvania that dated back to 1794. This meant the A's could not play on Sunday, potentially the best day for customers, particular the blue-collar workers that made up the majority of the neighborhood and the city. The A's tested the laws by illegally playing one Sunday game on August 22, 1926, but didn't continue because of opposition from religious groups, neighborhood residents, and eventually the county court in October. For the next seven years the A's and Phillies tried unsuccessfully to effect legislative change, even supporting Democratic blue-law-repeal candidates and threatening to build a stadium across the river in Camden, New Jersey, in order to play Sunday games.

Eventually persuaded by the opportunity to increase tax revenue during the depression, the Pennsylvania legislature passed a local option law in April 1933 that enabled Philadelphia to push through a referendum in November granting limited approval for Sunday games. Beginning with an A's-Phillies exhibition game on April 8, 1934, the teams played Sunday games between 2 and 6 P.M. They were the last major-league teams to play on Sunday. The next year the window was extended to 1-7 P.M.

The blue laws also regulated drinking and prohibited the sale of beer at Shibe Park on Sunday. Politically influenced by an unlikely alliance of temperance

leaders, who generally opposed liquor, and neighborhood bar owners, who feared loss of fan business, the prohibition lasted until 1961. Mack contended that the blue laws were a major factor in the reduced revenues that caused him, beginning in 1923, to dismantle his second dynasty.

Another fan issue was the “spite fence” of 1935. From the opening of Shibe Park, houses beyond the outfield fence on 20th (right to center field) and Somerset (left to center) streets had second-story views of the ballpark. Those rooms as well as the building roofs produced income for residents. Somerset landlords lost their view and income opportunity when Shibe installed additional bleachers in 1913, but the view for those on 20th remained.

The neighborhood viewing license became an issue when the second dynasty produced bigger crowds and World Series games that inspired residents to increase viewing space by constructing stands between houses. The hard times of the depression also enhanced resident interest in acquiring income. The A’s, who also needed revenue, contested resident activity through their political contacts while residents bribed officials to preserve their opportunity. The A’s may also have been spurred by resident objections to the Sunday baseball initiative.

A compromise was reached whereby residents agreed not to open their business unless the A’s sold out, so as not to undercut A’s prices. However, one owner broke ranks by turning second-floor rooms into a permanent baseball-viewing area. After Mack began the second dynasty breakup and attendance declined, all residents opened their viewing spaces and undercut Shibe Park prices in an effort to make money. Jack Shibe retaliated after the 1934 season by adding 38 feet to the 12-foot outfield wall. Covered with corrugated tin, the extended fence became known as “the Great Tin Monster” and created challenges for outfielders because of unpredictable bounces off the uneven surface.

Night baseball became the next significant neighborhood moneyball issue. The Cincinnati Reds pioneered night baseball in 1935. Four years later the A’s became the first AL team to host night baseball, which was accelerated by the Phillies, who moved to Shibe Park in 1938. Both team owners correctly projected that the costs of constructing eight 146-foot light towers and operating them would be more than offset by larger crowds and dinnertime concessions. The city zoning board complied with the building request despite strong objections from the same neighbors who had fought the spite fence. In 1939 the A’s and Phillies each played nine night home games, and Mack installed a restaurant, Café Shibe, inside the park to serve dinner to patrons.

During the depression, gambling, long a problem in baseball, continued to increase at Shibe Park without curtailment by the A’s. So prevalent was gambling on baseball games and boxing matches at Shibe that the lower right-field stands became locally known as “Gamblers Patch.” Major-league commissioner Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis once contended that Shibe Park gambling was the worst in baseball.

Shibe Park was also used for activities other than baseball and boxing. In order to build goodwill, they let local schools use the space for free. The

most significant moneymaker was the rental to the Phillies and the football Eagles beginning in 1938. The Eagles stayed through 1957 before shifting to Franklin Field at the University of Pennsylvania. Shibe was not a football-friendly facility because of the location of fixed stands and the inadequacy of parking. Shibe also rented the facility to politicians, evangelists, and sports and other entertainment promoters. About a hundred boxing cards were staged, enhanced by Shibe's gambler-friendly environment.

Unlike many other major-league parks, however, it did not have a continuing rental relationship with Negro League teams. Eddie Gottlieb, a part owner of the Negro baseball Philadelphia Stars and later a noted basketball promoter, negotiated occasional Negro games at Shibe, which also hosted some Negro World Series games in the 1940s and some black college football games. Generally the neighborhood antipathy toward blacks kept this activity low.

For the A's and the Phillies the introduction of radio in the 1920s presented a delicate moneyball issue. Like many other teams, they initially feared that free broadcasts of games would reduce attendance. Like other two-team cities, they also tried not to compete overtly, fearful that such competition would ultimately hurt both clubs. Their first collaborative solution was to broadcast only home games, but later they liberalized the agreement to include an away game if there was no competing home game that day or if the away game occurred in a different time slot. Even when it became obvious that away broadcasts were not harmful to the other team's home attendance, the clubs were reluctant to spend the money to send broadcasters on the road. They employed "re-creation," utilizing telegraphed transmission of the action and embellishing it with theatrical commentary and local sound effects. In 1950 all games were transmitted live after franchise rights were profitably sold to a network of stations reaching a larger audience.

In 1937 Philco Radio and TV Corporation interviewed Mack on television in its factory a short distance from Shibe Park and transmitted several miles to a meeting of newspaper and magazine editors. Ten years later Mack televised the first game from Shibe Park, despite the recurring fear that television would hurt ballpark revenues. By 1950, convinced that television was another viable moneyball strategy, the A's and Phillies expanded from a simple one-camera presentation to a three-camera one.

During World War II, Kuklick observes, "Shibe Park became a center for community activity that downplayed diversity and conflict." In 1943 it hosted its first All-Star Game, the first to be held at night. Philadelphia was far enough inland to avoid military "dimout" regulations, so night baseball continued there throughout the war. To enhance its patriotic image, management began each game with "The Star-Spangled Banner," previously only reserved for special occasions. Both the Phillies and A's admitted servicemen free and sponsored games whose profits went for servicemen's relief. They auctioned off autographed baseballs with proceeds donated to the war effort. One ball, autographed by both Connie Mack and President Roosevelt, raised \$15,000 in war bonds.

Buoyed by the postwar surge in baseball popularity and a brief improvement in their play, the A's began what was to be a series of renovations to the park by spending \$300,000 before the 1949 season to add additional expensive seats, replace stairways with ramps, upgrade restrooms, install water coolers, and introduce an "annunciator" that displayed the at-bat number, the ball-strike-out count, a hit-error indicator, and the score. Later they installed an organ and upgraded team dressing rooms.

Despite the continuing need for attendance, the A's did not actively seek black fans or, after Jackie Robinson broke the color line in 1947, black players to attract black fans and improve team performance. A 1951 University of Pennsylvania Wharton School study found that with weak teams and a black population that had exceeded 400,000 by the 1940s, Philadelphia was a logical target for black-player recruiting and black-fan marketing. However, as Kuklick observes, "Shibe Park was a typical place of prejudice. More than many northern cities, indeed, Philadelphia was a white baseball town." Black fans tended to come only for infrequent black exhibitions or Negro League contests. In 1902 Mack had used a Colombian, Luis "Jud" Castro, as a replacement for Lajoie, and had acquired Chief Bender in 1903 despite major-league aversion to minorities. Nevertheless, his later actions suggested that he was fundamentally against desegregating the sport.

Once the color barrier was broken, Mack hired Judy Johnson, a former Negro League All-Star third baseman with the nearby Hilldale club and future Hall of Famer, to scout black players. Mack nevertheless rejected Johnson's recommendations of Hank Aaron, whom he could have signed for \$3,500, and Larry Doby and Minnie Minoso, whom he could have signed for \$5,000 each. So resistant were the A's to integration that they even employed a heckler, Pete Adelis, the "loudmouth" of Shibe Park, to harass Doby, who became the first black player in the AL in 1947, from a seat behind the visitor's dugout at Shibe and on the road. Johnson contended that signing those black players might have improved club performance and revenue enough to prevent the A's departure in 1954.

It was not until September 1953 that the A's fielded a black player, pitcher Bob Trice, who also played there in 1954 and briefly the next year in Kansas City. The Phillies would not have one until 1957, 10 years after Robinson's entry. By then the North Penn neighborhood was becoming a black community. Attendance at Shibe Park declined as whites feared going there and blacks boycotted the games. "There is no doubt," asserts black historian Christopher Thresh-ton, "that the racial chasm between black and white forced the removal of the Athletics and the relocation of the Phillies to a less threatening part of the city.

The Rise and Fall of a Dynasty, Part 2

Although starting slowly, the 1920s eventually roared for the A's. Emerging from the cellar in 1922, the year Ben Shibe died and was succeeded by sons Tom and Jack in the front office, they steadily progressed to second place in

1925. Confirming Mack's theory that contenders draw crowds, the 1925 A's drew 869,703, a record that lasted until the post-World War II boom. They continued to finish second or third until 1929, when they won the first of three consecutive pennants and the first of two straight World Series, thereby establishing a second dynasty.

Buoyed by rising attendance revenue, Mack's moneyball recruiting strategy shifted from the sandlots and also-rans to cronyism and veteran acquisitions, including some of his old stars. The former approach was more successful than the latter, perhaps because Mack's appraisal of his former players tended to be clouded by sentiment. His favorite and most productive crony was John Joseph (Jack) Dunn, owner of the Baltimore Orioles, which won seven consecutive International League pennants (1919–25) and was perhaps the most successful minor-league team ever. The International League was the only minor league that did not permit major-league teams to draft its players at a fixed price.

Like Mack, Dunn was a baseball-only businessman who believed his ballplayers should act like gentlemen for the good of the game. While Dunn obsessively wanted to win, he took advantage of the International League draft exemption to sell players to the majors at market prices in order to increase revenues. In 1914, needing cash but valuing his relationship with Mack, Dunn offered him a pitching prospect who beat the A's in an exhibition game—George Herman “Babe” Ruth—for a song. Ruth's nickname came from Oriole players who responded to Dunn's guardian relationship with the pitcher by calling him “Dunn's babe.” Mack declined the offer because he was cash poor and beginning the breakup of his first dynasty.

The relationship later paid off for the A's when Mack had more money. From 1923 to 1928 Mack bought four players—two pitchers and a double-play combination—who would become instrumental in the second A's dynasty. First was second baseman Max Bishop, who came for \$25,000 after the 1923 season. Next was Robert Moses “Lefty” Grove, for \$100,600 (to top the \$100,500 price the Red Sox received for the Ruth sale to the Yankees, but Mack paid in 10 \$10,000 annual installments plus \$600 interest) after the 1924 season. Shortstop Joe Foley came for \$65,000 in 1927 and pitcher George Earnshaw for \$70,000 in the middle of 1928.

Mack made three other purchases, all future Hall of Famers, who became critical to the second dynasty. In 1923, Mack bought outfielder Al Simmons from the minor-league Milwaukee Brewers for \$50,000. From Home Run Baker, minor-league team owner and former star on the first dynasty team, he bought Jimmie Foxx for \$2,500 in late 1924. Mack also purchased the entire Portland team in the Pacific Coast League in 1924 because he was so enamored of catcher Mickey Cochrane.

After second-place finishes to the Ruthian Yankees in 1927 and 1928, the A's beat New York by 18 games the next year to win the first of three consecutive pennants and establish a dynasty that has been compared to those Yankees. In contending that the 1929 A's should be favorably compared to the 1927 Yankees,



Robert "Lefty" Grove, 1925. Courtesy of the Baseball Hall of Fame

often labeled the best team in history, historian Bill Kashatus assesses the Yankees and A's over their three-peat periods of 1926–28 and 1929–31, respectively. He observes that the A's won 11 more games overall, lagged the Yankees in hitting, but outperformed them on the mound and in the field.

The 1929 A's were a very contentious team, as were those in the first dynasty and in the third in Oakland. They hated to lose and carried their competitive passion on and off the field. Mack described team leader Cochrane as Ty Cobb wearing a mask because of his aggressive play. Simmons would work himself into a rage before stepping to the plate. Dykes once threw his bat at Mack when he was lifted for a pinch hitter. When he was scheduled to pitch, Grove came to the clubhouse with a scowl, ignored teammates, and

snarled at reporters. Mack's human-relations management permitted them to vent, yet enabled them focus their energy on winning.

A notable example occurred that year during a game with Cleveland. Grove, who probably ranks as the A's best-ever pitcher as well as its most irascible, was so angered at back-to-back errors by Bishop and Dykes that he berated them on the field. He then proceeded to give up home runs to the next two Indian batters. In the dugout after the inning, Mack removed Grove from the game after taking a team vote. It took Grove a week to cool off, but he won 20 games that year and led the league in ERA.

The Chicago Cubs, led by Philadelphian Joe McCarthy, were the A's opponents in the 1929 World Series. Making their first appearance since 1918, the Cubs had batted .303 during the season with a predominantly right-handed lineup led by MVP and future Hall of Famer Rogers Hornsby. Keeping it secret until game time, Mack started 35-year-old right-hander Howard Ehmke, who was at the end of his career and had won only seven games that year. Ehmke hadn't pitched for nearly a month, but was allowed to work out at home and scout the Cubs when they visited the Phillies. Mack figured that the Cubs were primed to face one the A's aces, Grove, Earnshaw, or Rube Walberg, and a victory over one them at home might give the Cubs early momentum. Ehmke responded

by giving up only eight hits and an unearned run while striking out 13 (a new Series record) in leading the A's to a 3–1 victory.

The A's won the next game in Chicago behind Earnshaw and Grove, who pitched only in relief in the series, but lost the first game in Philadelphia. The Cubs jumped out to an 8–0 lead in the seventh inning of the fourth game and seemed assured of evening the count. But the A's staged the greatest comeback in Series history by scoring 10 runs off four Cubs pitchers in the bottom of the seventh before Grove came on to save victory. Critical to the rally was a fly ball that Hack Wilson lost in the sun, resulting in a three-run inside-the-park homer. The A's staged another comeback in the fifth game by scoring three runs in the ninth to clinch the championship, 3–2.

When the Great Depression hit two weeks after the A's 1929 World Series victory over the Cubs, Mack quickly reverted to his normal thrifty mode. He allegedly lost a lot of money in the market crash. Despite humanitarian gestures such as giving stadium jobs to out-of-work neighborhood families and sending leftover food to a local boys' home, for which he received Philadelphia's Outstanding Citizenship Award in 1931, he strongly resisted giving raises to his players. Having hit .329 in 1929, Dykes felt he deserved a raise, but Mack politely listened to the plea and then told him how lucky he was to be in the majors and continued his salary level for the next season. True to his conservatism, Mack typically offered one-year contracts, regardless of performance.

He reluctantly succumbed in 1930 to his two top sluggers, Foxx and Simmons, and gave them three-year contracts. Nevertheless, Foxx's annual salary (\$16,667) was still less than half of his Yankees first-base counterpart, Lou Gehrig, and Simmons (\$33,333) earned less than half of Yankees outfielder Ruth's \$80,000. Simmons had to sit out all of spring training before Mack finally yielded minutes before the Opening Day game began. As if to reinforce his value, Simmons homered in his first at bat. That set the tone for another runaway pennant and World Series victory over the St. Louis Cardinals, who had nosed out the Cubs for the NL pennant.

After building a 2–0 series lead behind Grove and Earnshaw before sellouts (and 3,000 rooftop and second-story fans) in Philadelphia, the A's lost the next two in St. Louis. Earnshaw and Grove combined on a three-hit shutout as Jimmie Foxx's ninth-inning homer gave the A's a 2–0 victory in game five. Returning home, the A's extended the Cardinals' scoreless streak to 21 innings before Earnshaw gave up a ninth-inning run en route to a 7–1 clincher. Neither team hit over .200 in the series, but more than half of the A's hits went for extra bases as they outscored St. Louis 21–12.

The next year the Athletics became the first team to win over 100 games three seasons in a row as they bested the Yankees by 13 1/2 games for the pennant. At 31–4, Grove had his best season, but was his usual irascible self. After starting with 10 straight victories, he lost an extra-innings game in relief. He then sped home to Maryland, where he closeted himself for five days. When he returned, however, he won another 16 in a row en route to winning the AL's first MVP

Award. The stage was set for a rematch with the Cardinals, led by MVP Frankie Frisch and a new weapon, rookie John Leonard "Pepper" Martin.

Once again Grove and Earnshaw provided more than 80 percent of the pitching for the A's, but they were bested 4–3 by Cardinal aces Burleigh Grimes and Wild Bill Hallahan. After Grove coasted to a 6–2 win in the opener in St. Louis, Earnshaw held the Cardinals to two runs the next day, but Hallahan shut the A's out. The two runs were manufactured by Martin singles, stolen bases, and teammate sacrifices. Grimes outpitched Grove in game three, but Earnshaw responded with a shutout to even the series at two. Martin dominated game five in Philadelphia by driving in four runs, two with a homer, in a 5–1 Cardinals win. After the homer the Philadelphia fans gave him a five-minute ovation, uncharacteristic of the partisan faithful. Martin batted .500 for the series, accounted for 9 of the Cardinals' 19 runs, and stole five bases.

After Grove tied the series Earnshaw and Grimes squared off in the finale before a St. Louis crowd that was barely half capacity, perhaps in anticipation of losing to the highly favored A's. Despite retiring 15 in a row at one point, Earnshaw gave up four runs while the 38-year-old Grimes held the A's scoreless until the ninth, when they scored two runs with two outs and had the tying runs on for pinch hitter Max Bishop. Bishop hit a line drive off reliever Hallahan that Martin snared with a spectacular one-handed catch to win the series.

Reacting to a depression-induced 100,000 drop in 1931 attendance and consequent sportswriter speculation about another dynasty sell-off, Mack denied rumors and stuck with his team. Led by Foxx, the league's Triple Crown and MVP Award winner in the final year of his contract, but offset by relative slumps by Simmons and Cochrane, the A's finished second in 1932, 13 games behind the Yankees. Financially the A's declined further, as attendance dropped more than 200,000 to a level less than half of the 1925 peak.

A highlight of the 1932 season was Foxx's pursuit of Ruth's 60-homer season record set in 1927. Foxx hit 58 home runs, but a combination of rule changes, a new ball, stadium adjustments, and fate kept him from breaking the record. In 1927 a "one-hop homer" was permitted, that is, a hit was considered a home run if it went into the stands on one bounce. In 1930, the current ground-rule double replaced the one-hop homer. In 1931 a less lively ball was introduced to bring more balance to the game, resulting in 500 fewer major-league homers that year. Between 1927 and 1932, St. Louis, Detroit, and Cleveland erected screens above their outfield fences to keep the ball in play. Foxx hit five potential homers into the screen in St. Louis in 1932. He also hit two home runs in Detroit in a game that was canceled by rain before the requisite five innings had been played. Nevertheless, his record for right-handed batters stood until Mark McGwire, a former Oakland Athletic, hit 70 for the St. Louis Cardinals in 1998.

After the season, Foxx re-signed for slightly less money, and Mack initiated the reduction of the largest payroll in baseball by selling Dykes, outfielder George "Mule" Haas, and Simmons to the White Sox as the World Series began. Having been just told by Mack that he was keeping the team intact, Dykes was furious

and vowed never to speak to Mack again. But he did, and in 1949 returned as Mack's head coach, succeeding him as manager after the 1950 season.

Dropping to third and suffering another 100,000-plus decline in attendance in 1933, despite a second straight Triple Crown and MVP year for Foxx, Mack accelerated the breakup by selling Cochrane to Detroit for \$100,000 and Grove, Bishop, and Walberg to the Red Sox, where Eddie Collins was now the general manager, for \$125,000. After a salary dispute he sent Earnshaw to the White Sox for \$20,000. Ironically, the sales occurred as the A's were getting a repeal of the Sunday ban on games and a consequent opportunity for increased revenue. That increase, however, didn't materialize as anticipated. Despite the added incentive of lowered admission charges, they only drew 8,000 more than the prior year. The A's dropped to fifth place in 1934.

The final sell-off occurred after a 1935 last-place season with only 233,173 customers. Mack traded Foxx to the Red Sox for two journeymen and \$150,000 in December, and a month later sent outfielder Doc Cramer and infielder Eric McNair to the Red Sox for two players and \$75,000. In the space of two decades, the A's had built and demolished a dynasty twice. A third comparable demolition would occur after the 1972–74 Oakland dynasty years. Although the second decline was slower than that of the first dynasty, it would prove to be longer lasting. The A's would only finish in the first division twice (fourth in 1948 and 1952), and would finish last 11 times in their remaining years in Philadelphia.

As if to signify the end, on February 16, 1936, team president Tom Shibe died; a year later his brother, Jack, who had succeeded him, also died. At Ben Shibe's death, his interest had passed to his four children. The two sons had administered the business while Mack concentrated on the field. Mack assumed the presidency shortly before Jack's death and bought his interest from his widow, thereby becoming the majority stockholder in the club.

Over the next decade Mack developed a personal moneyball plan for continuing the Mack baseball tradition and dividing his interest among his heirs. He had two sons from his first marriage, Roy and Earle, both of whom were involved in the franchise, and five children from his current marriage, including one son, Connie Jr. The elder Mack assumed that Earle would succeed him on the field and Roy in the front office. He kept some shares for himself and apportioned the remainder between his wife and three sons, denying the daughters any shares. His wife wanted equal distribution among the heirs in order to shift power to the second family and the women. The Macks briefly separated in 1946–47 as a result of the dispute, but reconciled. The sons weren't on the same page either. A resultant oppositional alliance developed between the second family and the Shibe heirs, who still owned about 40 percent of the team.

The power struggle crystallized in 1950 as Connie, at 87 and in his 50th year as head of the A's, was significantly losing his mental faculties. Trades of two future Hall of Famers exemplified Mack's decline: George Kell to the Tigers in 1946 and Nellie Fox to the White Sox in 1949. Roy and Earle raised the money, principally from mortgaging Shibe Park, to buy out the other side. They also

designated Dykes to replace Connie as manager after the season, but kept him in the public eye as nominal president. In 1950 the A's finished last, drew only 310,000 fans, and handily lost the crosstown competition with the Phillies, who won their first pennant since 1915.

Mack's 50-year record as manager of the Athletics was 3,582–3,814, with nine pennants, five (of eight) World Series victories, and 17 last-place finishes. Nine of his star players went to the Hall of Fame. He was elected to the Hall in 1937, the same year as McGraw, and the first time managers were admitted. In 1957, a year after his death, the Phillies changed the name of Shibe Park to Connie Mack Stadium. When Veterans Stadium replaced the park in 1970, the city put a statue of Mack waving his scorecard outside the front entrance. The statue was moved to outside the new Phillies home, Citizens Bank Park, when it opened in 2004.

Helped by acquisitions from the White Sox of Dave Philley and Gus Zernial, who won the homer and RBI crowns, and the development of Ferris Fain, who won the batting title, the A's climbed to sixth place under Dykes in 1951. Fain's second straight batting title and 24 victories from diminutive southpaw Bobby Shantz, the MVP, enabled the A's to finish fourth in 1952. When Shantz injured himself in his first 1953 start, the final slide started. The A's finished seventh and last in their final two seasons in Philadelphia. The 1954 team finished further (60 games) from first place than any team in A's history—no mean accomplishment for a club that had finished in the cellar in one-third (18 of 54) of its campaigns.

The continuing poor performances and mounting financial losses made the A's a prime candidate for purchase and/or relocation, particularly with the warring younger Macks at the helm. The major leagues had just broken its history of franchise stability after the 1952 season when the Boston Braves moved to Milwaukee, marking the first franchise relocation in the major leagues since 1903. Then, after the 1953 season, the St. Louis Browns moved to Baltimore.

Befitting their relationship, Roy and Earle Mack disagreed on what to do next with the team. In 1950 they had withstood Connie Jr. and the second Mack family's attempt to gain control, and had rebuffed a syndicate offer. In early 1954 a halfhearted, mayor-sponsored "Save the A's" ticket campaign failed. Roy could not secure enough financing to buy out his brother, who had lost interest, and his father, both of whom were reportedly willing to support an offer from Chicago businessman Arnold Johnson, who wanted to move the franchise to Kansas City.

Washington and Detroit owners opposed a move to Kansas City, the latter because of Johnson's connections with Yankee co-owners Del Webb and Dan Topping in gaining control of Automatic Canteen, a leading Chicago vending-machine company. He later developed a tax-favorable scheme for Webb and Topping to sell him Yankee Stadium and its minor-league stadium in Kansas City (and their nondepreciable land, which he sold to the Knights of Columbus and leased back), lease them back to the teams (and sublease the land), and hold a \$2.9 million mortgage.

In preparing his offer for the A's, Johnson agreed to sell the Kansas City stadium to the city at cost if he moved there. Kansas City passed a bond issue to fund purchase and enlargement of the stadium on August 3, 1954, and paid Webb and Topping \$100,000 to liquidate the mortgage. Johnson designated Webb's construction company to refurbish the stadium. As if recalling the Hough-Jones alliance with Mack at the beginning of the A's in Philadelphia, *Kansas City Star* sportswriter Ernest Mehl was the catalyst in getting Johnson and Kansas City officials together.

After three more months of meetings and negotiations, Johnson agreed to sell Yankee Stadium to avoid conflict of interest, and Phillies owner Bob Carpenter purchased Shibe Park (for \$1.675 million) to facilitate the A's departure. After all the financial maneuvering, the net cost to Johnson, who got 52 percent of the stock, was \$572,427.63. The corporation was capitalized at \$1 million, including all shares. The purchase was the first Kansas City A's moneyball maneuver.

THE KANSAS CITY ATHLETICS (1955–67)

The Profitable Launch of a Loser

The move to Kansas City not only signaled a new beginning for the team, but also represented a new phase in the relationships between major-league clubs and their cities. Unlike the privately owned park in Philadelphia, the A's now leased its park from the city, thanks to Johnson's financial manipulation. Publicly owned parks would become the norm in the latter half of the century, triggered either by team relocation or threat thereof. In addition, cities often included contract concessions to lure and/or retain teams. Such was the case in the initial Kansas City deal. The city guaranteed a minimum of 1 million attendees in each of the first three seasons—a number greater than the A's had ever had in Philadelphia. In an April 9, 1955, *Saturday Evening Post* article, Arthur Mann estimated that the guarantee produced \$750,000 for the team owners. Including park concessions and road receipts, which went to the club, the team stood to make about \$1 million in profits in each of the first three years, or a 100 percent annual return on the investment. The city also reduced the stadium rent to \$1,000 (plus \$24,000 if attendance exceeded 1 million) for each of the first two years instead of \$205,000 and \$155,000, respectively, that the normal rental rates would have produced.

In another subtly adroit tax maneuver, Johnson chose not to utilize the Philadelphia baseball corporation, which had a \$300,000 tax carryover, but instead displayed loyalty to his new home state by setting up a new Missouri corporation. This decision enabled him to take full advantage of player depreciation, a legal ploy that Bill Veeck had discovered a few years earlier. The Treasury Department had ruled that a new corporation could consider player contracts at fair market value as assets and depreciate them over five years. The total cost of the Athletics was slightly over \$2 million, including the amount paid to the Macks plus outstanding debts minus proceeds from

the sale of the stadium. Assuming reasonably that player contracts were \$1.8 million (90%) of the new corporation's assets, that amount of income was tax-free if earned in the first five years (and it was), resulting in a tax savings of \$936,000, using the 52 percent corporate tax rate at the time. Therefore, the Johnson group saved \$636,000 with the new corporation instead of using the tax carryover from the Philadelphia company.

Veek opined that Johnson really wanted to put the team in Los Angeles, but that the timing wasn't right in 1954. Therefore, Veck assumed, Johnson would stay in Kansas City for a few years to take advantage of concessions and player depreciation before trying again. An early indication supporting Veck's view came in 1957 when the city attempted to impose a five percent license fee on gross revenues from sporting events. When Johnson balked and threatened to move, the city didn't pass the ordinance. This confrontation evidenced an emerging general business trend where local political subdivisions were becoming more dependent upon potentially transient corporations for their economic well-being.

Because attendance was strong in the first few years, it became unlikely that AL owners could or would support another A's move. In the interim the New York Giants and Brooklyn Dodgers moved to San Francisco and Los Angeles, respectively, depriving both Johnson and the rest of the AL of those potentially lucrative markets. The A's lease expired at the end of 1959, so Johnson pushed for, and got, a short two-year extension in order to keep his options open.

Meanwhile, despite an encouraging first year, the A's would become the worst team in recent baseball history, with an aggregate record of 829–1,224. With future Hall of Fame shortstop and veteran manager Lou Boudreau at the helm, the A's finished sixth in 1955, with a 63–91 record, and played to 1,393,054 fans. In their 13 years in Kansas City the A's would never again finish that high in the standings or attendance. They would finish last or next to last in 10 of the remaining 12 seasons.

Aided by his favorable financial arrangement and player-depreciation opportunity, Johnson spent \$700,000 in 1955 to purchase players. A typical Johnson-era moneyball deal sought a combination of known has-beens and unknown wannabes, often from the Yankees. For example, shortly before the end of spring training the A's bought three pitchers from New York for \$400,000, including veteran Ewell Blackwell, who pitched in the opening game but was released a few weeks later. Only reliever Tom Gorman added value. During the Johnson years, the A's became a thinly disguised farm club of the New York Yankees. In his five years as owner, the A's made 16 trades involving 59 players with New York.

Critics accused Johnson of favoring his longtime associates Webb and Topping. Bill James's "win shares" analysis, which measures a player's long-term contribution to a team in comparative terms, however, suggests otherwise. Using that analysis, John E. Peterson argues that although short-term results seemed to support the criticism, the net long-term effect of the trades was more

beneficial to the A's than to the Yankees. Using the James approach, even the infamous December 11, 1959, Roger Maris trade modestly favored the A's despite Maris becoming the league MVP the next two years and breaking Ruth's season home-run record. The A's had almost traded Maris to the Pittsburgh Pirates for shortstop Dick Groat, who became the NL MVP the next year. The Maris trade was also Johnson's last, because he died three months later.

The most bizarre trade was one that didn't happen. Baltimore Orioles general manager Paul Richards proposed to then A's general manager Parke Carroll on June 15, 1956, an hour before the trading deadline, that they trade entire teams. Carroll agreed but couldn't reach Johnson for approval before the deadline. They almost swapped teams again during the 1957 spring training, but then the Orioles refused to part with rookie Brooks Robinson, who would go on to a Hall of Fame career.

The farm system produced little during the Johnson years, partially because he had inherited a weak system from Philadelphia. Connie Mack's moneyball strategies had never highly valued formal scouting and a minor-league system, but had preferred trading for talent or, earlier, using crony contacts to recruit directly to the parent club. Only 11 players from the inherited system made it to the majors. The A's had the fewest players advance to the majors or Triple-A in the years 1954–60. In their first three years in Kansas City the A's only signed two bonus players, partially because of turnover in the scouting ranks. Even after 1957, when more money was available in the system, they didn't pursue top prospects. A positive exception was shortstop Dick Howser, who would become an All-Star and the *Sporting News* Rookie of the Year in 1958 and team captain in 1961.

Following Johnson's death his widow unsuccessfully tried to get on the board and maintain current ownership. The executors and minority stockholders put the club up for sale on July 3, 1960. Bidders included syndicates wanting to relocate the team to New Jersey, Minneapolis, Dallas, and Houston as well as those wanting to keep the team in Kansas City. New options for the bidders emerged a month later, however, when the major leagues announced that they each would add two teams.

A Kansas City group received conditional approval from the AL on December 5 but lacked current shareholder approval. Charles O. Finley, the Chicago insurance broker who had unsuccessfully bid for the team in Philadelphia, submitted a higher bid for Johnson's 52 percent interest. Finley had also tried unsuccessfully to buy the Tigers in 1956 and the White Sox in 1958 and 1960, and to get the Los Angeles AL expansion team in 1960. Johnson's widow withdrew her option to buy the stock, leaving Finley and the Kansas City group to compete, and Finley won.

The Kansas City group still had an option to buy the remaining 48 percent of the stock. It waived its rights after Finley indicated that if he obtained complete control he would eliminate the stadium lease's attendance clause, giving the team the option to leave if it drew less than 850,000. Finley became sole owner

on February 16, 1961 at, a cost of nearly \$4 million. This was a fourfold increase from the Johnson deal in 1954—and a handsome financial return for investors in a losing team.

The Not-So-Merry Finley-Go-Round—and Out

Foretelling his egotistical flamboyance as well as his duplicity, Finley ceremoniously burned a document in the mayor's office to demonstrate his commitment to the city. It was later revealed that he had burned a standard contract form, not the stadium lease, so the attendance clause remained intact. He then made 125 public appearances in the next three months to promote his A's in the community. He also spent over \$400,000 in stadium improvements as a further goodwill gesture. They included a Fan-a-Gram next to the scoreboard to display messages; the addition of 1,200 bleacher seats and a picnic area beyond the left-field fence, which was moved back 30 feet; repainting the stadium; and installing new lights. Indicative of his penchant for innovation were Harvey, a mechanical rabbit that rose from the ground next to home plate to supply the umpire with new baseballs, and Blowhard, a compressed-air device that could dust off home plate as needed. These creative promotional efforts emulated Bill Veeck, who had implemented similar changes after buying the White Sox two years earlier. Finley won early acceptance by the city and its fans, which saw him as the savior of Athletics baseball.

With Veeck as a role model on the promotional side, Finley sought another on the baseball side, hiring veteran general manager Frank Lane on January 3, 1961. "Trader" Lane had built a reputation for turning around poor teams through aggressive player movement—and for creating conflicts with club ownership. He had made 241 trades involving 353 players during seven seasons (1949–55) with the White Sox. His trading helped the Cardinals move from seventh to second place in two years (1956–57) and enabled the Indians to go from sixth to second in his first two years there (1958–59). After trading the popular Rocky Colavito and dropping to fourth place in 1960, however, he became available once again. Lane made nine trades involving 36 players during his seven months with the A's before Finley fired him. There wasn't enough room for two such strong-willed men in team leadership. One notable example was when Lane traded pitcher Bud Daley to the Yankees four months after Finley publicly declared, in contrast to the Johnson-era practice, that the A's would no longer deal with New York.

As Finley would eventually demonstrate, there wasn't room for anyone but Charlie in charge of any aspect of the business. For instance, he fired minor-league director Hank Peters because he hadn't secured Finley's approval, only Lane's, to sign a prospect. Although Finley would hire more titular general managers, including Peters, in the future, he apparently thought he had learned enough from Lane in seven months to perform the baseball function well enough by himself. Eventually, in Oakland, he officially assumed the role.

His practice was the same on the business side as well. The leadership team could have only one significant player.

The honeymoon with the city and its press was short-lived, thanks in part to sportswriter Ernie Mehl, who ironically had facilitated Johnson's stadium-lease arrangement to lure the A's from Philadelphia. Mehl learned from manager Hank Bauer, who like every other Finley manager hated the boss's interference, that Finley was interested in moving the team to Dallas, which had twice the metropolitan-area population and a more lucrative radio and television audience. Mehl broke the story on August 17, 1961, and publicly revealed Finley's lease-burning charade as proof that he wanted to move the club. He accused Finley of no longer promoting the team in order to use the attendance clause as an escape route. Finley responded vindictively by staging an "Ernie Mehl Appreciation Day" between games of a Sunday, August 20, doubleheader and presented the "Poison Pen Award for 1961" to Mehl in absentia. He also tried, unsuccessfully, to get his announcers to describe the event and criticize Mehl. He replaced the announcers the next season.

MLB commissioner Ford Frick issued a statement decrying the event and called Mehl to apologize. Finley convinced the city council to send a telegram to Frick endorsing Finley. He also ordered his staff to stop making the usual travel arrangements for Kansas City sportswriters, and excluded the writers two days later from a Chicago press conference where he announced the firing of Lane. Finley did not end the feud with Mehl until Opening Day 1962, when he asked him to throw out the first ball.

Having been exposed by Mehl, Finley deleted the attendance clause from the stadium-lease contract on August 26, 1961. Relocation activity was dormant until Lamar Hunt announced on February 8, 1963, that he would move his American Football League team from Dallas to Kansas City. Finley was furious at the lease Hunt negotiated and demanded a comparable arrangement, including reimbursement for the over \$400,000 he had unilaterally spent in stadium improvements. He signed a new seven-year lease with the outgoing city council that included the 850,000 attendance clause and an opportunity to recover \$300,000 of his stadium-improvement costs from city-waived concessions income. However, the city counsel immediately ruled the lease invalid on a technicality. Finley responded by refusing to negotiate until after the season was over. He decided in the interim to relocate to Atlanta and tried to persuade Hunt to move there as well.

Atlanta organized a stadium authority in June and invited Finley to negotiate a 1964 move to an enlarged minor-league park until a 54,000-seat stadium could be built. The Kansas City city council offered Finley a choice of two leases on July 3, but he rejected them as not comparable to the April lease he had signed. After learning that league owners would likely not approve a move to Atlanta, he then set his sights on Oakland, which would add another West Coast team to pair with the Angels. Oakland expected to have a new stadium

ready by 1965, but Finley sensed at a July league meeting that the owners wouldn't endorse any move at this time.

He nevertheless waited until December 20 to reopen lease negotiations with Kansas City, by which time he was focusing on Milwaukee, whose NL Braves were considering a move to Atlanta. When AL president Joe Cronin declared that the A's would stay in Kansas City for 1964, Finley offered a two-year lease proposal to the city, but it was rejected. So he went to Louisville and signed a two-year conditional lease without AL approval. At a January 16 meeting, the other league owners unanimously voted against Louisville and gave him until February 1 to sign a new Kansas City lease or face expulsion. He renewed negotiations on January 25, received a two-week deadline extension from the league, and went to Oakland on January 26 to resume negotiations. At February 19 and 21 league meetings, the owners rejected his request for an Oakland move and endorsed the Kansas City lease proposal. After a local group of businessmen announced on February 22 that they would seek to purchase the A's, Finley accepted terms of a four-year lease and signed it on February 28, committing the A's to Kansas City through 1967. Like role model Veeck, he was unable to gain support from other league owners for a franchise move.

While Finley was negotiating for relocation and/or better financial terms, the A's continued to perform poorly on the field, and attendance fell accordingly. In 1962, they drew 635,675, the lowest in their eight seasons. To spice things up for the next season, Finley introduced new Kelly green and Fort Knox gold uniforms (his wife's favorite colors) with player names on the backs. A year later, he would add sea-foam green and wedding-gown white to the colorful player attire. Although ridiculed by players and the press, these uniforms would set a trend away from the traditional home-white and away-gray pattern that had existed from the majors' early days.

As he had done in the business and baseball-operations areas, Finley immersed himself in scouting to learn that aspect of the business, then pared back his staff by half after two seasons. Recognizing that the A's had few very good players in the pipeline, he worked the scouting area relentlessly and participated in the signings. His moneyball strategy resembled Branch Rickey's "quality out of quantity" of 40 years earlier, only Finley was willing to pay much more money. A notable early example was the signing of 18-year-old pitcher Lew Krausse Jr., whose father had pitched and later scouted for Connie Mack. Finley paid him \$125,000, the highest amount ever, and immediately started him in a June 16, 1961, game. Krausse responded with a three-hit shutout victory. Finley's demonstrated willingness to move signees up to the majors quickly enhanced his ability to sign players.

Finley's strategy was buoyed by profits from his insurance business as well as player-depreciation opportunities. Wisely anticipating the added negative financial impact of the amateur draft beginning in 1965, Finley signed 80 players for a total of \$662,000 in 1964, the most ever spent by a team in one season. Included among them were Jim "Catfish" Hunter, John "Blue Moon"

Odom, Chuck Dobson, and Joe Rudi, who would all contribute significantly to the A's 1972–74 dynasty in Oakland. Complementing them were selections from the first three years (1965–67) of the amateur draft: Rick Monday, Sal Bando, Gene Tenace, Rollie Fingers, Reggie Jackson, and Vida Blue. Monday, the first ever amateur-draft selection, became the key component in a trade that brought pitcher Ken Holtzman, who won 59 regular-season and 4 World Series games for the 1972–74 A's despite Finley's having cut his salary 10 percent upon arrival. Finley's scouting strategy and eye for talent, supported by a few expert scouts, built the foundation of the dynasty from within the organization.

But the payoff wasn't imminent either on the field or in the stands, so Finley again sought to move in the final lease year of 1967. A new local sports authority recommended twin football and baseball stadiums for Kansas City in January, and a bond issue passed in June. Meanwhile, Oakland had completed its new stadium in advance of the Raiders' football season in 1966. Finley visited Oakland, Seattle, Milwaukee, and New Orleans as possible relocation sites, but quickly eliminated New Orleans because its contemplated stadium (the Superdome) wouldn't be ready until 1972. Milwaukee wanted local majority ownership, and Finley was unwilling to assume a minority position. Both Seattle and Oakland offered more promising television and radio possibilities than Kansas City. Seattle wasn't voting on a stadium bond issue until the next year, but was willing to expand a minor-league park to 25,000 in the interim. Meanwhile, the AL was considering further expansion from 10 to 12 teams.

In anticipation of an October 18 league meeting, Finley formally announced his intent to move to Oakland on October 11, giving the league three options: force the A's to stay in Kansas City, get a local group to buy the A's and give Finley an expansion franchise in Oakland, or authorize the A's move to Oakland and grant Kansas City an expansion team. Finley claimed he had lost \$4 million in his seven-year tenure in Kansas City and presented a presumably biased study that favored Oakland over Seattle and Kansas City. At the meeting, the league owners approved his move to Oakland and granted expansion franchises to Kansas City and Seattle, concluding the first era in sports migration, which had started in 1952. Only the A's and the NL Braves moved twice during this period. Later, responding to political pressure, the owners accelerated the start of the 12-team league to 1969, leaving Kansas City only one year without major-league baseball. After calling Finley "one of the most disreputable characters ever to enter the American sports scene," Missouri senator Stuart Symington quipped, "Oakland is the luckiest city since Hiroshima."

THE OAKLAND ATHLETICS (1968–PRESENT)

"An Equal Opportunity Tyrant"

Local columnist Glenn Dickey identifies three problems from observing Finley and his team in Oakland: lack of staff, inability to build attendance,

and promotion of self above the team. Each of those problems had surfaced in Kansas City and increased in Oakland, particularly in the later years. Having learned enough (in his mind) from Veeck, Lane, and scouts in the early Kansas City days, Finley became increasingly self-reliant. By the time he left Kansas City, he had become his own general manager.

While Finley committed to signing talent and developing them in the 1960s, he shifted his moneyball strategy to aggressive trading in the 1970s. “Trader” Finley kept churning his roster, often with recurring faces. He acquired, got rid of, and reacquired 16 players from 1970 to 1980. He also sought name talent, usually after their prime, to fill key spots, acquiring 22 former All-Stars from 1970 to 1976.

Apparently he also felt that his background in direct-mail marketing of insurance was sufficient training to enable him to attract customers to the ballpark, but his record was dismal in both cities, despite numerous (and some imaginative) promotional gimmicks. His largest promotion, however, was not for the A’s, but was a 1964 Beatles children’s hospital benefit concert in Kansas City that lost money. His Kansas City A’s never approached the 1 million attendance mark during his seven-year tenure, while his Oakland teams only drew over 1 million twice during his 13-year ownership. The expansion Kansas City Royals almost doubled Finley’s Oakland attendance during their common 12-year run (1969–80) despite the A’s having the larger market and finishing higher in the first seven of those years. He would also own the local NHL Seals and the ABA Memphis Tams, but couldn’t get those franchises to attract customers either.

Compounding the small staff problem was his absentee ownership position. He never relocated from Chicago either to Kansas City or to Oakland, yet he tinkered far too often. Recalling Finley’s penchant for phoning, Blue later mused that it was fortunate that there weren’t cell phones in the 1970s or Finley would have called his manager as he walked to the mound. In his first 10 years as A’s owner he ran through 10 managers. It was not until he hired Dick Williams, perhaps his best move ever, on October 2, 1970, that some continuity came to the A’s field leadership. Yet even with Williams, who led the team to its first division championship in 1971 and consecutive World Series victories the next two years, Finley crossed swords frequently. Williams quit after the 1973 world championship because he could no longer put up with Finley’s intrusions.

Finley was “an equal opportunity tyrant,” observes Hall of Fame researcher Bruce Markusen. When Blue claimed that Finley treated his black players like niggers, white catcher Dave Duncan responded, “He treats his non-black players like niggers, too.” For example, during 1974, their third straight World Series–winning season, Finley stopped paying postage for players answering fan mail. Finley’s offenses may well have aggravated feuding among a contentious group of athletes. Catcher Ray Fosse rationalized that the aggravation may have helped them be a better team on the field. Captain Bando went further to assert that the players united in their dislike for

Finley and became stronger as a team. Cohesiveness was a common characteristic among the first three dynasties. Mack was a positive unifier, Finley a negative one.

Dickey asserts that the major leagues implemented the salary-arbitration process primarily because of Finley, who had more players go to arbitration the first year than all other teams combined. Arbitration, of course, foreshadowed free agency, which was also triggered by Finley's mishandling of Hunter's contract in 1974. Those two structural changes led to his downfall as well as to an overall power shift to the players throughout baseball.

Finley also continued his virulent relations with the press in Oakland. One time he excluded Ron Bergman, a local beat writer, from team charter flights because of his statement that the A's broadcasters were competing to curry favor with Finley. Virtually every time a negative comment about the A's hit the press, Finley would respond vindictively. But if a positive comment were made, the originator became his instant friend. He also routinely withheld payment from vendors, often forcing a lower payment settlement. For Finley, it was Charlie's way or the highway. As Dickey observes, "Charles Finley was a man of many despicable qualities."

But he was also was an innovator, albeit without the class of his role model, Veeck. In addition to colored uniforms, the ball rabbit, and the plate duster, he advocated several substantive changes that were later implemented, albeit without crediting him, including night All-Star, playoff, and World Series games; the designated hitter; minor-league rehabilitation assignments for injured players; and interleague play. Not implemented were the designated runner and a three-ball, two-strike limit to speed up games. Finley also warned his fellow owners of the dire consequences of accepting arbitration and free agency, yet contributed to their implementation and became the first to suffer from them.

Ironically, when the designated-hitter idea came up for approval, Finley voted against his own idea because he wanted to package it with a designated runner. (He also didn't have a good designated-hitter candidate on the roster at the time, having just released Orlando Cepeda.) Undeterred, he created a roster spot for a designated runner, first Allan Lewis, a speedy minor leaguer with minimal overall baseball skills, then Herb Washington, a world-class sprinter who hadn't played baseball above the high-school level. Both attempts were failures.

Perhaps the most visible trademark of his Oakland regime were the mustaches worn by his dynasty team. The look started with future Hall of Famer Jackson sporting a mustache when he arrived at 1972 spring training. At Finley's direction, Williams tried to get him to shave it off, but failed. So Finley induced others to grow them in an effort to dilute Jackson's individuality. He offered \$300 to any player who would grow one by Father's Day. Even the militaristic Williams joined in. Capitalizing on the look, Finley announced in May that the Father's Day game would be Mustache Day, with free admission to anyone

sporting a mustache. Fingers, a 1992 Hall inductee, epitomized what would become the emblem of the A's dynasty with his elaborate waxed handlebar rendition.

Although they won eight less games than the 1971 Western Division champions, the 1972 A's repeated in the West and defeated Detroit in the AL Championship Series (inaugurated in 1969) 3–2 behind the clutch pitching of “Blue Moon” Odom, who recorded two wins and didn't allow an unearned run in the 14 innings he pitched. The first Oakland World Series pitted the A's against the favored Cincinnati Reds, who had dispatched 1971 NL champion Pittsburgh in the league playoffs. Compounding the challenge was the loss of slugger Reggie Jackson, disabled with a pulled hamstring, and key left-handed reliever Darold Knowles, who broke his thumb the last week of the season.

The series hero emerged early when backup catcher Gene Tenace, starting on a hunch by Williams, hit two home runs in the A's 3–2 opening-game victory. Tenace would hit four homers in the series, but it was his two RBIs, including the game winner in the deciding seventh-game 3–2 win, that gave Oakland its first world championship and made him the MVP. Fingers had two saves and a win, but also a loss in the fifth game that could have given the A's the series earlier.

After three-peating in the West and defeating the Orioles 3–2 for the pennant behind Catfish Hunter and Ken Holtzman, the A's battled the Mets in another seven-game World Series. Down 3–2, the A's got even as Hunter outpitched future Hall of Famer Tom Seaver, then won the deciding game 5–2 with two-run homers by Bert Campaneris and Series MVP Jackson, who accounted for 8 of the A's 21 runs. Knowles also reminded the A's what they had missed a year earlier by appearing in all seven games, not giving up a run, and recording two saves, including the clincher.

With Williams gone, Alvin Dark led the 1974 A's to their fourth West title, third pennant, and third Series championship in a row. After losing the ALCS opener to the Orioles, the A's allowed them only one run behind Holtzman, Blue, and Hunter over the final three games. Only 18 runs were scored in the four games and both teams batted under .200, but Oriole pitchers walked 22. The World Series with the Dodgers was another pitchers' battle, with only 27 runs scoring in the five games as the A's prevailed again. With a victory and two saves in four appearances, Fingers was the Series MVP.

After three straight world championships—the only time in A's history—the third dynasty began to unravel almost immediately. Hunter's grievance contended that Finley's failure to pay the premium in 1974 on a life-insurance policy that was part of his compensation voided his player contract. Peter Seitz ruled on December 13 that Finley's failure enabled Hunter to become a free agent, so the ace of the dynasty pitching staff signed a record five-year, \$3.75 million contract with the Yankees. Without Hunter, the A's won the division in 1975, but were swept by Boston in the playoffs.

A few days before the 1976 season opened Finley sounded the death knell by trading Jackson, the man most identified with the A's success, to Baltimore. On June 15, he announced the sales of Rudi and Fingers to Boston for \$1 million each and Blue to the Yankees for \$1.5 million. All three, along with Bando, Campaneris, Tenace, and Don Baylor, acquired in the Jackson trade, were eligible for free agency after the season. MLB commissioner Bowie Kuhn voided the sales as not in the best interests of baseball. Finley sued the commissioner for restraint of trade, but was ultimately overruled in court. With the three players back in the fold, the A's finished second in the division. The seven free agents celebrated the end of the season with a champagne party, and all but Blue moved on to other clubs for 1977. As a result, the A's plummeted to last place in the division.

From Tyranny to Philanthropy

By the end of 1979, Finley knew he had to sell the team. The team finished last with an Oakland record 108 losses and a record-low attendance of 306,763, less than some minor-league teams. Moreover, his wife had sued for divorce and wouldn't take stock in the team as part of the settlement. He struck a deal with Denver oilman Marvin Davis, who wanted to move the team to Colorado. The Oakland Coliseum had an ironclad lease with the A's through 1987, however, so Finley had no choice but to renege and seek a buyer who would keep the team there. Walter Haas Jr., CEO of Levi Strauss and a friend of Bob Lurie, the San Francisco Giants' owner, was part of a local business group organized by Cornell Maier, CEO of Kaiser, to make an offer.

Finley decided he would deal only with Haas, who was reluctant because of his friendship with Lurie. Haas agreed to pursue negotiations only after his son, Wally, and son-in-law, Roy Eisenhardt, expressed enthusiasm. They closed the deal with Finley, and Roy became president in charge of operations while Wally focused on community outreach. They quickly and successfully set out to grow the previously neglected fan base to reinforce philanthropist Walter's long-standing commitment to the East Bay. "Haas was truly the last of the gentleman owners," observes Dickey, in noting how he financially and spiritually supported the team through its ups and downs while letting his operations people run the team.

Installing local icons Lon Simmons, who was elected to the Hall of Fame in 2004, and Bill King as broadcasters and Andy Dolich as marketing director, the A's built upon the respected Haas name to extend their market beyond the East Bay. In 1981, their first year, the Haas team was on target for 2 million attendance, almost twice Finley's best, before a player strike canceled one-third of the season. They actually drew over 1.3 million, 200,000 more than Finley's best, in two-thirds of the games. Admittedly, Finley's ingenious hiring

of mercurial manager Billy Martin in 1980 helped the rise in attendance as well as the standings. Playing “Billy Ball,” the A’s won the division in 1981, but lost to the Yankees in the ALCS. As was his penchant, enhanced by his drinking problems, Martin imploded the next year as the A’s slumped, and he was fired.

The new owners built up the farm system, which had been nearly eliminated by Finley in his trader phase. Unable to find an experienced general manager, they hired Sandy Alderson, a Harvard Law graduate who had represented them effectively in arbitration cases. Alderson went through a learning curve in hiring managers and securing, developing, and trading players, but emerged as a top baseball executive. He is currently executive vice president of operations in MLB. When Alderson hired Tony LaRussa, who had been a bonus baby with the Kansas City A’s in 1963 and resurfaced as a utility infielder in Oakland from 1968 to 1971, to manage the A’s in mid-1986, all of the managerial pieces were in place for a fourth A’s dynasty.

The upgraded farm system produced three consecutive Rookies of the Year: outfielder Jose Canseco in 1986, first baseman Mark McGwire in 1987, and shortstop Walt Weiss in 1988. The first two, labeled “the Bash Brothers,” would hit a combined 617 home runs over their Oakland careers. Shrewd Alderson trades brought two washed-up pitchers, Dave Stewart and Dennis Eckersley, who would become the dominant starter and closer, respectively, of the dynasty years. Eckersley, who had had a good career as a starter before succumbing to alcohol, would save 320 games for the A’s and earn a ticket to the Hall of Fame. His predecessor as closer, Jay Howell, would be used as trade bait with the Dodgers to lure starter Bob Welch, who would combine with Stewart to win 125 games for the A’s in their three championship seasons.

After finishing third in 1986 and 1987, the A’s won three straight pennants, but only one World Series, the 1989 Bay Bridge “Earthquake Series” with the Giants.

The 1988 team set an Oakland record with 104 wins, then swept the Red Sox 4–0 (the league championship series having expanded to seven games in 1985) for the AL title as Canseco hit three homers, including one that put the A’s ahead in the finale. They were heavily favored against the Dodgers, who had needed the full seven games to defeat the Mets for the NL crown, thereby idling the A’s for a week. In one of the most dramatic finishes in baseball history, a hobbled Kirk Gibson hit a game-winning two-out, two-run homer off premier reliever Eckersley in the ninth inning of the series opener—and the A’s never recovered. Bash Brothers Canseco and McGwire went a combined 2 for 36, both homers, and Dodgers ace Orel Hershiser allowed only one run in his two complete-game victories as Los Angeles prevailed 4–1.

The 1989 route to the Series was almost as easy, as the A’s won the West by seven games and prevailed 4–1 over Toronto in the ALCS behind Stewart’s

two pitching victories and Rickey Henderson's explosive offense. Reacquired from the Yankees in midseason, Henderson hit two homers, walked seven times, stole eight bases, and accounted for 11 of the A's 26 runs. The San Francisco Giants also dispatched the Cubs 4-1 in the NLCS, but proved no match for the A's in the first ever Bay Bridge series. They outscored the Giants 10-1 behind Stewart and Mike Moore, signed as a free agent before the season, in the first two games in Oakland. Their juggernaut was temporarily halted, however, when an earthquake hit San Francisco minutes before game three. Delayed 10 days by the resulting damage, the A's picked up where they left off and completed the sweep as Stewart and Moore recorded the two final wins.

The pennant three-peat again proved easy with a nine-game margin in the West and a 4-0 sweep of the Red Sox for the league championship. Stewart won two, Moore one, and Cy Young winner Bob Welch one as A's pitchers

allowed only 4 runs while the offense plated 22. Facing the Reds, victors over the Pirates in the NLCS, the highly favored A's were shocked 7-0 in the Series opener as Stewart's six-game postseason win streak abruptly stopped. As in 1988, the A's never recovered, and the Reds swept them. Once again, the Bash Brothers collapsed, going a combined 4 for 26 with one homer and one RBI. Adding insult to injury were the two dominant wins by pitcher Jose Rijo, who the A's had traded to the Reds after the 1987 season. The A's have not returned to the Series since.

A consequence of this sustained success was the highest payroll in the majors, supported by record attendance and the Haas family's willingness to pay. The A's high-water mark of 2,900,217 in 1990 exceeded the three-year total of Finley's 1972-74 world champions. Henderson, who would set all-time major-league highs in runs, stolen bases, leadoff homers, and walks (since passed by Barry Bonds) became baseball's highest-paid player following his 1990 MVP season, only to be eclipsed quickly by several others and by Canseco in mid-1991.



Rickey Henderson holds up the third base plate after breaking Lou Brock's all-time record for stolen bases, 1991. © AP / Wide World Photos

From Philanthropy to Moneyball

After dropping to fourth in 1991, the A's rebounded to win the division the next year, but lost to the Toronto Blue Jays in the playoffs. Thereafter, they declined as the dynasty talent aged or departed. Walter Haas was dying and put the team on the market. Committed to keeping the A's in the area, he sold them to local residential real-estate builders Steve Schott and Ken Hofmann for \$70 million, an estimated \$30 million below market, on November 1, 1995. The good deal that the buyers cut foretold how they would run the team—like a tightly run business. Reversion to budgeting control was a return to the A's norm. Only the Haas regime, supplemented by brief relaxations during prior dynasties, had differed from that.

Leaving the baseball operations to Alderson, managing partner Schott devoted his attention to initiating a plan for a publicly financed, baseball-only stadium, reflecting current trends. The 1960s dual-purpose stadium, now called Network Associates, was remodeled to lure Al Davis's NFL Raiders back to Oakland in 1997. The result, including the towering east grandstand known as "Mount Davis," is a venue less conducive to baseball. In his new stadium pursuit, Schott has tried unsuccessfully to gain access to the peninsula and the more lucrative Silicon Valley market, included in the Giants' territorial rights. Unwilling to finance a stadium without public money, Schott has also not been able to convince the Oakland-area municipal leadership to cooperate. In July 2002, he negotiated a lease extension to 2007 for Network Associates, with three one-year options extending to 2010, to buy time to continue his quest.

Despite initial fan criticism that likened the new owners to Finley, Schott quickly ordered Alderson to cut payroll through trades and releases, culminating in McGwire's mid-1997 trade to the Cardinals, where LaRussa had become manager. Alderson had advised the competitive LaRussa to leave after the team sale, replaced him with Art Howe, and developed a new, long-term moneyball strategy compatible with the new ownership: invest for the longer term in scouting and development and forgo the short term. Consequently, in 1996–98, the A's finished third-fourth-fourth in the newly created four-team Western Division. In anticipation of his moving to the commissioner's office, Alderson promoted his protégé and assistant, Billy Beane, to general manager at the end of the 1997 season.

Building upon the Alderson strategy of scouting and player development, Beane, the architect of the A's current success, incorporated his modified sabermetric statistical-analysis approach. To accomplish this, Beane, a bright student-athlete who had turned down a scholarship to Stanford when he was a first-round amateur-draft choice in 1980, has employed Harvard graduates, first Paul DePodesta (later general manager of the Los Angeles Dodgers), and then David Forst.

Rather than Branch Rickey's "quality out of quantity" wholesale recruiting approach that focused primarily on the speed of teenagers, the A's look for more

mature players who had learned patience at the plate, yet could hit for power. The dominant A's statistic has become OPS (on-base plus slugging percentage) because offense, Beane believes, is more important than defense in today's game. Runs, the key to victory, he reasons, depend first on reaching base, then on scoring, most easily with an extra-base hit. Players who could perform the on-base and slugging functions well, therefore, produce winning teams. Among pitchers, he prefers overall athletic ability and control over sheer speed. The traditional scouts euphemistically call his approach "performance scouting."

The older recruits are before signing, the more likely those characteristics could be substantiated, and therefore their progress toward the majors would be both quicker and more likely to succeed. Thus, the A's feel they are more likely to get a better and faster return from collegians—both position players and pitchers—on their market-limited investment. That preference recalls Connie Mack's early moneyball strategy of seeking college gentlemen players for their trained skills and mature demeanor in the early Philadelphia years.

Recognizing his limited financial resources, Beane's approach also avoids pursuit of foreign stars that aren't included in the draft. Instead, the A's nondraft concentrations are in the Caribbean and Mexico, where they sign young players for modest bonuses and spend money to school them. The A's have a successful baseball academy in the Dominican Republic that produced shortstop Miguel Tejada, who was signed by Hall of Famer Juan Marichal. Tejada was the AL MVP in 2002, then, as a free agent, signed a six-year, \$72 million contract with the Orioles a year later.

Losing emerging star players, like Tejada, through free agency to wealthier teams supplies the A's with high draft choices. In the 2002 *Moneyball* amateur draft, they received three additional first-round picks as well as three "sandwich" (between the first and second round) picks for the loss of three free agents. The A's selected college players with all seven picks. Extra high-level picks not only give the A's more talent to develop for the parent club, but also additional attractive personnel to use in trades.

To complement the young recruits, Beane looks for lower-tier veteran bargains because he can't afford to compete with the high-payroll teams for stars in the free-agent market. Backup catcher Scott Hatteberg signed for 2002 and was converted to replace departing free-agent first baseman Jason Giambi at less than 1/10 Giambi's annual salary with the Yankees.

Before the midseason trading deadline, Beane aggressively seeks currently needed niche players from teams out of the running and eager to sell. He often acquires the player only for that half season, particularly if he is eligible for free agency at the season's end, and therefore would generate two top draft picks. Second baseman and leadoff hitter Ray Durham, acquired in mid-2002 from the White Sox, helped the A's win the division, then signed with the Giants and generated two picks.

Beane also considers closers overpriced in the market, so he tends to trade or let his closer go to free agency after a successful year or two. Keith Foulke,

the 2003 closer acquired in a White Sox trade for 2002 closer Billy Koch, went to the Red Sox after the season as a free agent and generated two top picks. Ironically, it was A's manager LaRussa, pitching coach Dave Duncan, and pitcher Eckersley who defined and modeled the current version of closer.

MONEYBALL'S QUASI DYNASTY

While Beane's teams have not created a fifth A's dynasty, they made the division playoffs four straight years (2000–2003) with payrolls only about a third as large as the highest-paying teams—and weren't eliminated from the playoffs until the next-to-last day of the 2004 season. The 2004 failure revealed what has most contributed to the prior playoff years—consistent good pitching. Although the 2004 team had a higher batting average, run production, on-base percentage, and fielding percentage than the 2003 team, the staff ERA was more than half a run higher than the prior year. Subpar performances from their “Big Three” starters (Tim Hudson, Mark Mulder, and Barry Zito), who had been instrumental in the playoff years, and an erratic bullpen, which blew 28 of 63 save opportunities, were the key detriments that led to a late-season collapse. After going 70–30 in the prior four Septembers, the A's were 14–16 in September 2004, after leading the division from early August.

The 2004 performance added to the twenty-first-century A's October record, which saw them eliminated in the first round of the 2000–2003 playoffs, although each division series went the maximum five games. At the end of those four series, the A's lost nine games, any one of which would have sent them to the league championships. Beane asserts that his strategy works well for the long season, but not necessarily for short playoff series. He defensively contends that luck plays a major role in playoffs, although critics have suggested that his lack of emphasis on small ball, including sacrifices and stolen bases, and defense have contributed to the A's failures.

Nevertheless, a “wait till next year” response was reinforced by the 2004 farm-system performance, with winning seasons for all six teams, five of which made the playoffs and two of which won championships. However, they traded away Tim Hudson and Mark Mulder, two of their Big Three pitchers, and got off to a miserable start in 2005. Then during the summer, the Athletics surged, aided by two *Moneyball* draftees, Joe Blanton and Nick Swisher, and reached first place by early September. Alas, as in 2004, the Angels surged and the A's faded, resulting in a second-place finish and their worst record since 1999.

Given the budget constraints imposed by its business-focused leadership, the competition with the Giants in a market that is only marginally sufficient for two teams, the resultant negative impact on attendance and media revenues, the lack of a new stadium in a better market, and the player fluidity caused by free agency, it is unlikely that the current strategy will produce

another A's dynasty. But if success were to be redefined in financial terms, say, as wins per player salary dollar, the early twenty-first-century Beane A's would be a runaway qualifier and worthy extension of the historical legacy of Athletics moneyball. Even without a fifth dynasty, the leaders of the white elephants, from Mack to Finley to Beane, continue to haunt the ghost of John McGraw.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1931	Lefty Grove	P
1932	Jimmie Foxx	1B
1933	Jimmie Foxx	1B
1952	Bobby Shantz	P
1971	Vida Blue	P
1973	Reggie Jackson	OF
1988	Jose Canseco	OF
1990	Rickey Henderson	OF
1992	Dennis Eckersley	P
2000	Jason Giambi	1B
2002	Miguel Tejada	SS

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1971	Vida Blue	LHP
1974	Catfish Hunter	RHP
1990	Bob Welch	RHP
1992	Dennis Eckersley	RHP
2002	Barry Zito	LHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1952	Harry Byrd	P
1986	Jose Canseco	OF
1987	Mark McGwire	1B
1988	Walt Weiss	SS
1998	Ben Grieve	OF
2004	Bobby Crosby	SS

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1901	Nap Lajoie	.426
1930	Al Simmons	.381
1931	Al Simmons	.390
1933	Jimmie Foxx	.356
1951	Ferris Fain	.344
1952	Ferris Fain	.327

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1901	Nap Lajoie	14
1902	Socks Seybold	16
1904	Harry Davis	10
1905	Harry Davis	8
1906	Harry Davis	12
1907	Harry Davis	8
1911	Frank Baker	11
1912	Frank Baker	10
1913	Frank Baker	12
1914	Frank Baker	9
1918	Tilly Walker	11
1932	Jimmie Foxx	58
1933	Jimmie Foxx	48
1935	Jimmie Foxx	36
1951	Gus Zernial	33
1973	Reggie Jackson	32
1975	Reggie Jackson	36
1981	Tony Armas	22
1987	Mark McGwire	49
1988	Jose Canseco	42
1991	Jose Canseco	44
1996	Mark McGwire	52

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1905	Rube Waddell	1.48
1909	Harry Krause	1.39

1926	Lefty Grove	2.51
1929	Lefty Grove	2.81
1930	Lefty Grove	2.54
1931	Lefty Grove	2.06
1932	Lefty Grove	2.84
1970	Diego Segui	2.56
1971	Vida Blue	1.82
1974	Catfish Hunter	2.49
1981	Steve McCatty	2.32
1994	Steve Ontiveros	2.65

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1902	Rube Waddell	210
1903	Rube Waddell	302
1904	Rube Waddell	349
1905	Rube Waddell	287
1906	Rube Waddell	196
1907	Rube Waddell	232
1925	Lefty Grove	116
1926	Lefty Grove	194
1927	Lefty Grove	174
1928	Lefty Grove	183
1929	Lefty Grove	170
1930	Lefty Grove	209
1931	Lefty Grove	175

No-Hitters (*Italics = Perfect Game*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Weldon Henley	07/22/1905
Chief Bender	05/12/1910
Joe Bush	08/26/1916
Dick Fowler	09/09/1945
Bill McCahan	09/03/1947
<i>Catfish Hunter</i>	05/08/1968
Vida Blue	09/21/1970
Mike Warren	09/29/1983
Dave Stewart	06/29/1990

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES**AL West Division Titles**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1971	101–60	Dick Williams
1972	93–62	Dick Williams
1973	94–68	Dick Williams
1974	90–72	Alvin Dark
1975	98–64	Alvin Dark
1981	64–45	Billy Martin
1988	104–58	Tony LaRussa
1989	99–63	Tony LaRussa
1990	103–59	Tony LaRussa
1992	96–66	Tony LaRussa
2000	91–70	Art Howe
2002	103–59	Art Howe
2003	96–66	Ken Macha

AL Wild Cards

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
2001	102–60	Art Howe

AL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1902	83–53	Connie Mack
1905	92–56	Connie Mack
1910	102–48	Connie Mack
1911	101–50	Connie Mack
1913	96–57	Connie Mack
1914	99–53	Connie Mack
1929	104–46	Connie Mack
1930	102–52	Connie Mack
1931	107–45	Connie Mack
1972	93–62	Dick Williams
1973	94–68	Dick Williams
1974	90–72	Alvin Dark
1988	104–58	Tony LaRussa
1989	99–63	Tony LaRussa
1990	103–59	Tony LaRussa

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>	<i>MVP</i>
1910	Chicago	
1911	New York	
1913	New York	
1929	Chicago	
1930	St. Louis	
1972	Cincinnati	Gene Tenace
1973	New York	Reggie Jackson
1974	Los Angeles	Rollie Fingers
1989	San Francisco	Dave Stewart

MANAGERS

2003–	Ken Macha
1996–2002	Art Howe
1986–1995	Tony LaRussa
1986	Jeff Newman
1984–1986	Jackie Moore
1983–1984	Steve Boros
1980–1982	Billy Martin
1979	Jim Marshall
1978	Jack McKeon
1977–1978	Bobby Winkles
1977	Jack McKeon
1976	Chuck Tanner
1974–1975	Alvin Dark
1971–1973	Dick Williams
1969–1970	John McNamara
1969	Hank Bauer
1968	Bob Kennedy
1967	Luke Appling
1966–1967	Alvin Dark
1965	Heywood Sullivan
1964–1965	Mel McGaha
1963	Ed Lopat
1961–1962	Hank Bauer
1961	Joe Gordon
1960	Bob Elliott
1957–1959	Harry Craft
1955–1957	Lou Boudreau
1954	Eddie Joost
1951–1953	Jimmie Dykes
1901–1950	Connie Mack

Team Records by Individual Players

Batting Leaders

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Plate Appearances
Batting average	Nap Lajoie	.426	1901	Al Simmons	.356	5,586
On-base %	Jason Giambi	.477	2001	Jimmy Foxx	.440	5,239
Slugging %	Jimmy Foxx	.749	1932	Jimmy Foxx	.640	5,239
OPS	Jimmy Foxx	1.218	1932	Jimmy Foxx	1.079	5,239
Games	Sal Bando	162	1968	Bert Campaneris	1,795	7,895
At bats	Al Simmons	670	1932	Bert Campaneris	7,180	7,895
Runs	Al Simmons	152	1930	Rickey Henderson	1,270	7,481
Hits	Al Simmons	253	1925	Bert Campaneris	1,882	7,895
Total bases	Jimmy Foxx	438	1932	Al Simmons	2,998	5,586
Doubles	Al Simmons	53	1926	Jimmy Dykes	365	6,990
Triples	Frank Baker	21	1912	Danny Murphy	102	5,676
Home runs	Jimmy Foxx	58	1932	Mark McGwire	363	5,409
RBI s	Jimmy Foxx	169	1932	Al Simmons	1,178	5,586
Walks	Eddie Joost	149	1949	Rickey Henderson	1,227	7,481
Strikeouts	Jose Canseco	175	1986	Reggie Jackson	1,226	5,430
Stolen bases	Rickey Henderson	130	1982	Rickey Henderson	867	7,481
Extra-base hits	Jimmy Foxx	100	1932	Al Simmons	655	5,586
Times on base	Jimmy Foxx	329	1932	Rickey Henderson	3,050	7,481

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
ERA	Jack Coombs	1.30	1910	Rube Waddell	1.97	1,869.3
Wins	Jack Coombs	31	1910	Eddie Plank	284	3,860.7
Won-loss %	Lefty Grove	.886	1931	Lefty Grove	.712	2,401
Hits/9 IP	Cy Morgan	5.98	1909	Cy Morgan	6.86	862.7
Walks/9 IP	Catfish Hunter	1.30	1974	Dennis Eckersley	1.30	637
Strikeouts	Rube Waddell	349	1902	Eddie Plank	1,985	3,860.7
Strikeouts/9 IP	Todd Stottlemyre	8.80	1995	Dennis Eckersley	9.30	637
Games	Billy Koch	84	2002	Dennis Eckersley	525	637
Saves	Dennis Eckersley	51	1992	Dennis Eckersley	320	637
Innings	Rube Waddell	383	1904	Eddie Plank	3,860.7	3,860.7
Starts	Rube Waddell	46	1904	Eddie Plank	458	3,860.7
Complete games	Rube Waddell	39	1904	Eddie Plank	362	3,860.7
Shutouts	Jack Coombs	13	1910	Eddie Plank	59	3,860.7

Source: Drawn from data in "Oakland Athletics Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/OAK/leaders_bat.shtml; "Oakland Athletics Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/OAK/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Seattle Mariners

Adam R. Hornbuckle

The Seattle Mariners played their first game on April 6, 1977, in front of 57,762 fans at the \$67 million Kingdome, and promptly lost to the Anaheim Angels. The Mariners would go on to earn a reputation as the worst expansion team in the history of American professional sports over the next several years, as it failed to post a winning season until 1991. In three of their first seven seasons the Mariners lost over 100 games. Art Thiel, a sportswriter for the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, described the Mariners' quest to better .500 as "the slowest meandering to a winning season of any expansion team in modern American professional sports." By the mid-1990s, however, the Mariners had become a major-league powerhouse led by All-Stars Ken Griffey Jr., Randy Johnson, Edgar Martinez, and Alex Rodriguez. In 2001 the Mariners won 116 games, tying a major-league record for the most games won in a single season, but failed to win the American League pennant, losing to the New York Yankees.

THE MAJORS COME TO SEATTLE

Seattle had a long history as a minor-league baseball town, but did not get a major-league team until 1969, when it was awarded an expansion franchise, the Seattle Pilots. The team went 64–98, playing in Sick's Stadium. The team was days from bankruptcy during the 1970 spring-training season when owners and brothers Dewey and Max Soriano sold the Pilots to a Milwaukee business consortium led by Bud Selig. Selig, a prominent Milwaukee businessman and leader, wanted to bring MLB back to Milwaukee after Atlanta lured the Braves' franchise south for the 1965 season. Seattle lost the Pilots not because of a

distaste for professional sports, but because the city did not possess a wealthy individual or group willing to buy the Pilots and invest the capital needed to develop a winning major-league team. Washington attorney general Slade Gorton considered his hometown “quintessentially middle class” in contrast to the slums and great concentrations of wealth dotting the eastern seaboard. For example, the two wealthiest families in Seattle, the Boeings and the Weyerhaeusers, aircraft- and forestry-industry magnates respectively, had spread their wealth generously over several generations. Only the Nordstroms, owners of the Pacific Northwest’s leading upscale department store, possessed enough capital to finance a professional sports team. They had no interest in buying the Pilots, but they did bring the expansion NFL Seahawks to the Emerald City in 1976.

Exempt from antitrust laws, MLB enjoys unfettered discretion in determining who owns a franchise and where it is located. While most of MLB’s location decisions have been above the board, some were improperly influenced, as occurred in Seattle. In 1973 Attorney General Gorton sued the AL for violating its own code of conduct in determining the location of baseball franchises and for not upholding its promise to field a team in Seattle. There was talk about selling the White Sox and moving the club to Seattle to block Gorton’s suit. Gorton hired Bill Dwyer, an ambitious young Seattle attorney, to prosecute the case. Instead of charging the league with breach of contract and fraud in permitting the sale and relocation of the Pilots, Dwyer argued that the AL had violated its lease and other financial agreements with the city. Rather than seeking a financial settlement, Dwyer and Gorton sought to expose the owners’ improprieties to a jury and, ultimately, secure another expansion team for Seattle. The case went to trial in 1976 with witness Charles O. Finley, the boisterous and ill-tempered owner of the Oakland Athletics, exposing the major-league owners’ questionable business practices. Thanks to the loose-tongued Finley, the AL agreed to franchise a baseball team in Seattle for the 1977 season in exchange for the \$32.5 million suit being dropped.

News of major-league baseball’s return to Seattle resounded through the Puget Sound region, but the city lacked much enthusiasm for a new team, especially for one born from depositions and legal opinions. Emmett Watson, sportswriter for the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, remarked that the new team should have been named the Litigants instead of the Mariners. Despite the public’s lack of passion, Lester Smith, a local broadcasting and recording executive, stepped forward to be part owner of the Mariners along with his friend Danny Kaye, the renowned Hollywood entertainer. Kaye provided most of the \$6.5 million required to purchase and initially finance the team, but also received funds from four local businessmen interested in seeing baseball return to Seattle: jeweler Stan Golub, furniture executive Walter Schoenfeld, department-store executive Jim Walsh, and construction contractor Jim Stillwell.

Smith and Kaye owned the Mariners from 1977 to 1980, when the team won only 246 of 646 games. Total attendance at home games dropped each year, starting with an impressive 1,338,511 in 1977, but sinking to a bleak 836,204

in 1980. The drop was less from a lack of initial enthusiasm than overall fan dissatisfaction with a losing team and a bad place to watch the Mariners play ball, the sterile Kingdome. The Mariners' poor performance reflected in part management's failure to select promising young players during the 1977 expansion draft. Smith later revealed that the established owners had frozen "all the good players," limiting the Mariners and the Toronto Blue Jays, the other expansion team, to less talented players. "If I had known what was going happen," Smith remarked, "I wouldn't have touched [baseball] with a ten-foot pole." Some Mariners, however, gained recognition, such as outfielder Leon Roberts, who had 22 home runs, 92 RBIs, and a .301 batting average in 1978, and first baseman Bruce Bochte, an All-Star in 1979, who led the franchise with a .300 batting average and 78 RBIs in 1980. Former Dodger Maury Wills replaced Darrell Johnson as manager midway through 1980, but failed to lift the team. When the Mariners started the 1981 campaign 6–18 Wills was fired, to be replaced by Rene Lachemann. By the time Lachemann replaced Wills as manager, the partnership led by Smith and Kaye had disintegrated.

George Argyros, a real-estate developer from Orange County, California, bought the sagging team in January 1981 for \$13.1 million. The Mariners experienced much chaos and instability under Argyros. The team had seven managers in his eight years of ownership. Dave Henderson, the Mariners' center fielder from 1981 to 1987, noted how managerial instability contributed to the team's inconsistency, because "every manager wanted to create his own identity." In 1986 the Mariners changed managers three times, moving from Chuck Cottier to Marty Martinez to Dick Williams, who remained in the position until 1988, when Jim Snyder replaced him in midseason. There were bright spots, however. In 1984 the Mariners placed fifth, Alvin Davis was named AL Rookie of the Year, with 27 homers and 116 RBIs, and teammate Mark Langston placed second in the Rookie of the Year ballot after posting a 17–10 record and a league-leading 204 strikeouts.

Argyros disrupted all of MLB when in 1987 he attempted to buy the San Diego Padres while still owning the Mariners. This violated major-league rules against tampering with another team. Commissioner Peter Ueberroth fined Argyros \$10,000 and placed the Mariners in a trust for two months while allowing the offer to proceed. Although the proposed purchase fell through, Argyros held on to the Mariners despite efforts by local businessmen to purchase the team. In 1989 Argyros finally sold the team to Jeff Smulyan, a radio-broadcasting executive from Indianapolis. Argyros made more than \$50 million on the sale, and for all his complaints about the unfavorable market conditions in Seattle, he made a \$2 million operating profit in his final year of ownership.

THE JEFF SMULYAN ERA

During Smulyan's tenure, the Mariners enjoyed their first winning season, winning 83 and losing 79 games in 1991. Seattle had made great strides toward becoming a winning team late in the Argyros era, going 78–84 in 1987, its best

record up to then. The Mariners boasted two All-Stars that year, pitcher Mark Langston, 19–13 with an ERA of 3.84, and Harold Reynolds, who stole a then team record 60 bases. In 1989 the Mariners traded Langston, who had led the AL three times in strikeouts and was the club's best pitcher, to the Montreal Expos for three pitchers, including Randy Johnson, an unknown left-hander and the tallest pitcher in major-league history at 6 feet 10 inches. By 1991 Johnson would become the Mariners' ace, going 13–10 and striking out 228 batters. Seattle brought Ken Griffey Jr. up from the minors in 1989. Griffey, Seattle's first-round draft pick in 1987, made his major-league debut in the team's first home game that season, and launched a home run on the first pitch thrown to him. In 1990 the Mariners acquired Ken Griffey Sr. from the Atlanta Braves to become the first team in major-league history to possess a father-son duo. Griffey Jr. contributed to the Mariners' 1991 winning season by posting 22 home runs, 100 RBIs, a .327 batting average, and a .527 slugging average, winning the Silver Slugger Award.

Much of the Mariners' improvement came under Jim LeFebvre, who replaced Jim Snyder as manager at the beginning of the 1989 season. The eighth manager the team's 12-year history, LeFebvre brought a stability absent in previous years. Senior management disliked his boisterous and unrestrained personality, however—he often complained to the media about management's reluctance to increase the payroll to pay for much-needed players. Despite leading the Mariners to a winning season, Lefebvre was fired by general manager Woody Woodward. Woodward's decision to fire LeFebvre came as a surprise. The team then was secretly planning to move to Tampa by 1993, and the general manager did not want to share this information with the loose-lipped LeFebvre, especially after he "voiced his complaints about ownership and management in the media." Woodward chose to fire him rather than risk exposure of the team's secret relocation plans. However, the media learned of the plan in August 1991 when the *Seattle Times* obtained records from Smulyan's local creditor, Security Pacific Bank Washington, which revealed his intention to put the team up for sale in November and move it out of Seattle after the 1992 season.

Smulyan asked community leaders for a plan to keep the team in Seattle after his plans were discovered. By 1992 he wanted to see the team raise its revenues to 90 percent of the AL average through huge increases in ticket sales, new corporate sponsorships and advertising, and the establishment of the club's first cable-television deal. Despite this proposal, Smulyan announced he was selling the club on December 6. Smulyan had worked out a deal with Tampa business and community leaders to move the club there. Major-league owners had long been interested in establishing a team in Tampa, especially since it had already built a domed stadium. More importantly, Tampa business and community interests had promised Smulyan a ticket base of 22,000 and a cable-television package worth \$12 million. This was a striking improvement, because in 1991 the team had a major-league worst \$3 million TV contract. The only thing holding up the sale was a 120-day local buyers provision in the city's lease. But the campaign for a local buyer floundered, as major Seattle businesses such as Boeing and Weyerhaeuser showed no interest. In the meantime Smulyan

attended the annual meeting of AL owners in Miami, Florida, where he presented his plan to move the Mariners from Seattle, a city long seen by the league as a losing proposition. Smulyan received full support from his colleagues, especially from George W. Bush, small-time oilman and managing director of the Texas Rangers, who stated, "Whatever Jeff has to do, we're behind him."

Despite the uncertainty of baseball remaining in Seattle in the early 1990s, the city's economic and social demographics started moving in baseball's favor. Businessmen with the wealth, interest, and enthusiasm to keep the Mariners in place began to emerge. During the 1980s Seattle had become a haven for entrepreneurs in the emerging computer, cellular-phone, and video-game industries. In 1978 Bill Gates and Paul Allen, graduates of Seattle's esteemed Lakeside School, moved their nascent computer-software company, Microsoft, from Albuquerque, New Mexico, to the burgeoning suburb of Bellevue. In 1986, following Microsoft's initial public stock offering, which turned Gates and Allen into billionaires, the company moved to Redmond, where by 1991 it had grown in value to \$21.9 billion. In 1980 Craig McCaw, another Lakeside graduate and cable-TV entrepreneur, established Northwest Mobile Telephone in Bellevue to capture a segment of the promising cellular-phone market. Known as McCaw Cellular by the late 1980s, the company became a national force in the burgeoning cellular-phone business, with revenues of \$78 million in 1986. McCaw earned \$2.39 billion in its initial public stock offering. In 1980 the Japan-based video-game company Nintendo established its North American base in the suburb of Tukwila, and largely on the success of the video game *Donkey Kong*, the company's sales topped \$5.3 billion by 1992.

Soon after Smulyan announced the sale of the Mariners, Slade Gorton, now a U.S. senator, again stepped up to the plate to keep baseball in Seattle. Gorton decided to pursue the possibility of a Japanese buyer, a route that he had considered taking when Argyros talked about buying the Padres while still owning the Mariners in 1987 because of the strength then of the Japanese economy and Japan's great interest in baseball. After being rebuffed by the U.S. ambassador to Japan, Gorton called on President Minouru Arakawa of Nintendo of America, asking if he would be interested in buying a baseball team. Arakawa's assistant returned Gorton's call, indicating that while Arakawa was not interested in baseball, he would meet with the senator. After meeting with Gorton, Arakawa called Hiroshi Yamauchi, his father-in-law and president of Nintendo. Yamauchi, to his son-in-law's surprise, accepted Gorton's proposal, noting that "the purchase would be a good public relations gesture," and besides, "it is always good to have a senator as a friend."

Yamauchi's willingness to commit \$100 million toward the team's purchase price was more to show his gratitude to the city of Seattle and the state of Washington than because of his love of baseball. The businessmen believed he owed "something back to the community." Gorton feared a backlash from anti-Japanese sentiments, which saw Japanese investment in American business and property as a threat to the nation's economic sovereignty. He assembled a group of American partners, particularly from Seattle, who would become

known as the Baseball Club of Seattle. Although Gorton did not contact him directly, Chris Larson, a lead programmer at Microsoft, who graduated from Lakeside a couple of years behind Gates and returned to Seattle to work for Microsoft in 1981, expressed the most interest in financing the Mariners' stay in Seattle. Lawson, who grew up on baseball, attended a Pilots game at age 10, and sneaked a transistor radio into class to listen to the World Series, assembled seven other Microsoft employees interested in investing in the Mariners. Gorton also gained a commitment from his friend Wayne Perry, second-in-command at McCaw Cellular, and the Baseball Club solidified its hometown base by getting Frank Shortz, the chairman and CEO of Boeing, to invest \$10,000. As a representative of Seattle's established elite, Shortz's membership in the Baseball Club indicated support from key community leaders.

Despite the formation of domestic partners and backers, the potential purchase of the Mariners by a Japanese majority interest left many within major-league baseball uneasy. Baseball commissioner Fay Vincent proclaimed that baseball "has a strong policy against approving investors from outside the U.S and Canada," adding that approval of the deal "was unlikely." The conflict became headlines on the CBS evening news and in the *New York Times* the next day. Dave Anderson of the *New York Times* described baseball's position as "narrow as a bat handle." Media sources soon disclosed that the Japanese already owned minor-league teams in Vancouver, British Columbia; Birmingham, Alabama; and Visalia, California, and that MLB had nothing in its charter against foreign investment, only "a recommended policy" adopted informally a couple of years earlier.

Gorton exercised his own political muscle in contacting George W. Bush, the managing director of the Texas Rangers, the one AL owner who wasn't predisposed to hate him from his earlier history of baseball battles. Gorton convinced the younger Bush that his plan was not a plot to undermine the national pastime. He probably had discussions with George Bush Sr. on the matter too. Gorton said that he imagined "that President Bush would not want his son voting against Japanese ownership of a Major League team. He was an internationalist and Japan was one of our great allies. He would not want his son accused of xenophobia." The younger Bush took a leading role in getting his fellow owners to move forward on the purchase.

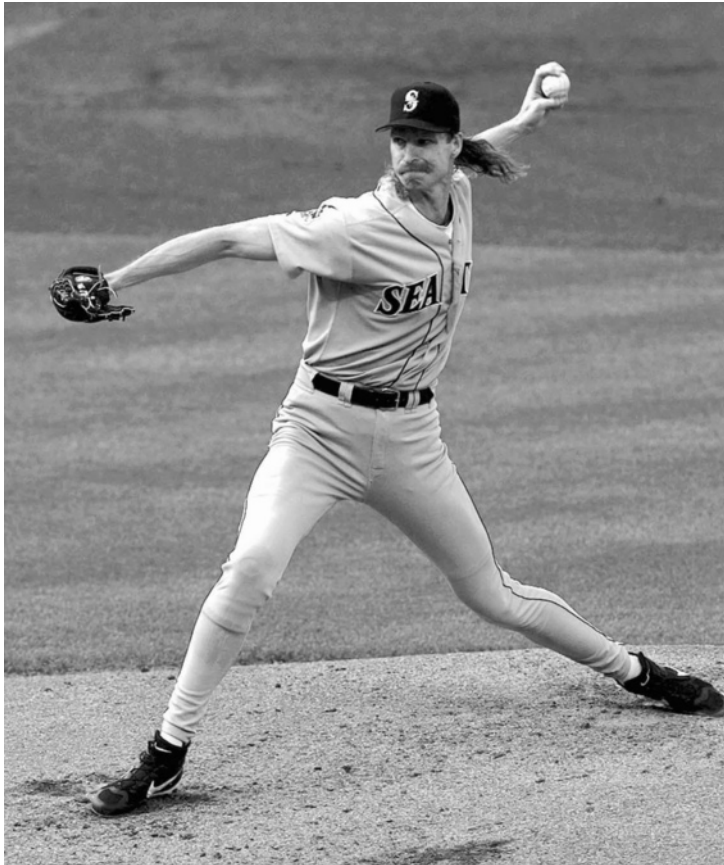
Early in June 1991, the MLB ownership committee met with members of the Baseball Club of Seattle. The committee insisted that a single individual, not a corporation, had to be the club's managing general partner. The committee was not interested in a proposal with Yamauchi in control. Yamauchi subsequently met with his partners and agreed to reduce his ownership share to 49 percent, while shifting part of his investment into the \$25 million operating capital agreed to by the purchasers. To meet MLB's requirements, the Baseball Club of Seattle formed a seven-member board of American citizens, which appointed attorney James Ellis, who had led the fight to build the Kingdome, as managing general partner. Ownership was divided into classes of A and B stock that precluded Yamauchi from having majority control, even though he had 60 percent of the total investment. After Ellis agreed to contribute \$250,000 of

his own money to the team, the MLB ownership committee voted on June 10, 1992, to approve the sale.

Before the Baseball Club of Seattle purchase of the Mariners in 1992, the team had cycled through nine managers, each staying an average of 1.6 years, with the longest tenures held by Darrell Johnson, from 1977 to 1980, and Jim LeFebvre, from 1989 to 1991. Under Bill Plummer, the last of the Smulyan-era managers, the Mariners dipped far below .500 (64–98). In 1993, the owners hired Lou Piniella to manage the Mariners. Originally drafted by the Seattle Pilots in 1969, but traded immediately to the Kansas City Royals, Piniella had played for the Royals and the New York Yankees. After retiring from the Yankees in 1984 he served in various managerial and advisory posts with the Yankees before managing the Cincinnati Reds from 1989 to 1992. In his first year the Mariners bettered .500 for the second time in club history (82–80).

Then, in 1995, Piniella led the Mariners to the AL West title, defeating the California Angels in a title-deciding playoff game. Piniella was named Manager of the Year, and Randy Johnson won the Cy Young Award (18–2), leading the league in strikeouts (294) and ERA (2.48). DH Edgar Martinez led the league in batting (.356). The following year the Mariners set a club record of 85 wins, but finished second in the AL West behind the Texas Rangers. The team had the best offense in the league (four men had over 100 RBIs), but the pitching was weak. The team hit 245 homers, led by Griffey (49) and Jay Buhner (44). Twenty-year-old shortstop Alex Rodriguez led the AL in batting (.358), runs (141), and total bases (379). The turnout reached 2.7 million, the first time the team was not in the lower half in team attendance, and since then Seattle has been no lower than fifth. In 1997 the Mariners improved the club record to 90 wins, winning the AL West title, but lost the AL Championship Series to the Orioles in four games. The Mariners led the AL in scoring, propelled by 264 home runs, the most in major-league history. Six men had 20 or more, led by Griffey with 56. He was MVP, leading the league in slugging (.646), runs (125), total bases (393), and homers. Johnson was sensational (20–4, 2.28 ERA), and fellow starters Jeff Fassaro (16–9) and Jamie Moyer (17–5) were very strong, but the rest of the staff was dreadful, attested by a team ERA of 4.79, 11th of 14 teams.

In March 1994 King County Executive Gary Locke appointed a 28-member task force to determine the need, cost, and location of a new major-league baseball stadium. As the task force deliberated the issue, the need for a new stadium became undeniably clear when on July 19 several wooden tiles fell from the ceiling of the Kingdom before the start of a game, which was then canceled. The Mariners played their remaining 15 games on the road. The repairs cost \$70 million. The stadium task force recommended public participation in financing a much-needed baseball stadium, but King County voters in September 1995 narrowly defeated a proposal to increase sales taxes to finance construction. In October the state legislature authorized a funding package that included 0.017 percent credits against state sales taxes, sales of special stadium license plates, and receipts from sports-themed lottery games. New levies were added in King County, including a 2 percent car-rental surcharge, a 0.5 percent tax on food and beverage in restaurants



Randy Johnson pitches in game 4 of the American League Division Series playoff against the Baltimore Orioles, 1997. © AP / Wide World Photos

and bars, and a ballpark admission tax of up to 5 percent. In October, the King County Council approved the funding package and established the Washington State Major League Baseball Public Facilities District (PFD) to construct, own, and operate the new ballpark at a site south of the Kingdome.

At a cost of \$517.6 million, the new field became the most expensive baseball park ever built, with King County picking up \$372 million (63 percent) of the cost. The edifice was designed by Seattle-based NBBJ and built by Hunt-Kiewit. Construction began in March 1997, and on June 4, 1998, naming rights for the stadium were sold to Safeco Corporation, a Seattle-based insurance company, for \$1.8 million for 10 years.

The park is designed in a retro style, has a retractable roof that does not close all the way yet keeps fans protected from the elements, and has real grass. Its 46,621 seats are close to the field, and fans have great sight lines. Nearly half of the spectators are drawn from beyond the immediate Puget Sound area. The amenities include a baseball museum, a team store, and picnic and children's play areas.

The team got a sweetheart 20-year lease with the stadium management in 1996. The Mariners get to run the stadium and keep all revenue from concessions, luxury suites, and parking; they have also been booking up to 180 other events

each year like parties, proms, and graduations, making as much as \$8 million. The team is supposed to share 10 percent of its operating profits with the county, but only once the team's cumulative net loss, \$108 million in 2005, is eliminated.

In 1998 the Mariners finished with a losing record and finished third. At the end of July they traded star pitcher Randy Johnson, who was going to become a free agent at the end of the season, to Houston for prospects Freddy Garcia, Carlos Guillen, and John Halama. The Mariners played their first game in Safeco Field on July 15, 1999, losing 3–2 to the San Diego Padres. The club again came in third in 1999. Piniella achieved a major-league milestone in becoming the 14th manager to earn both 1,000 wins as a manager and 1,000 hits as a player. After the season Griffey was traded to Cincinnati in a cost-cutting move. He was earning \$8.8 million, having hit 398 homers in 11 All-Star seasons. In 2000, their first full year at Safeco Field, the Mariners returned to the playoffs as a wild-card team and swept the Chicago White Sox in the AL Divisional Series, but lost the ALCS to the New York Yankees in six games. Pitcher Kazuhiro Sasaki, the first of several successful Japanese players on the Mariners' roster, earned AL Rookie of the Year honors with 37 saves. Three men had over 100 RBIs, including Martinez with 145 to lead the AL. After the season Rodriguez became a free agent and signed with the Texas Rangers for \$250 million. He was just 24, with four All-Star appearances, and had already hit 189 home runs.

In 2001 the Mariners tied the major-league record by winning 116 games, despite the absence of former superstars Johnson, Griffey, and Rodriguez. The team had the best defense and offense in the AL, stressing speed rather than power. Five pitchers won 10 or more games, led by Jamie Moyer (20–6), and were supported by Sasaki, with 45 saves. Newcomer Ichiro Suzuki was Rookie of the Year and MVP, leading the AL in batting (.350) and steals (56). Second baseman Bret Boone also had a great year, batting .331 with 37 homers and 141 RBIs. Eight men made the All-Star team. After defeating the Cleveland Indians in the ALDS in five games, the Mariners were dominated by the underdog New York Yankees and lost the ALCS in five games. Piniella was recognized as AL Manager of the Year, while general manager Pat Gillick won Executive of the Year.

In 2002, the Mariners won 93 games, second most in their history, yet came in third. Over three years they had won 300 games, the 16th club to achieve that mark. The Mariners set a franchise record for attendance of 3,540,482 in 2002, the second year in a row that the club led the AL. In 2003 Bob Melvin replaced Piniella, who resigned from Seattle after posting an 840–711 record at the team's helm to manage his hometown Tampa Bay Devil Rays. Manager Bob Melvin led the club to another 93-win season, good for second place. Boone had over 100 RBIs for the third straight year and Moyer won 21 games. The team had a meltdown the following season and won just 63, a 30-game differential from the year before. Ichiro hit .372 and had 262 hits to break the single-season hit record of 256 established by George Sisler in 1920. The Mariners replaced Melvin as manager with Mike Hargrove. The 2005 club did only marginally better, going 69–93.

Despite middling success on the field, the Mariners are financially among the most successful teams in baseball. At the start of 2005 they ranked fifth



Ichiro Suzuki singles against the Texas Rangers for his final hit of the season, 2004. © AP / Wide World Photos

among all teams with a value of \$415 million, 63 times their initial \$6.5 million cost, fifth in revenues (\$173 million), and seventh in player costs (\$84 million), less than half of total revenue. In 2004 they had an operating income of \$10.8 million, 10th in the majors. Between 2000 and 2004, Seattle was first in operating profits with an average of \$17 million, third in attendance at 3.3 million (fans paid an average of \$24 a ticket, fifth highest in the AL), fourth in total revenues (\$163 million), and fifth in media revenues (\$53 million). The Mariners signed a 10-year, \$250 million TV contract with Fox in 2000, surpassed only by the New York and Atlanta clubs. This small-market team, in the 20th-largest market in MLB, has made out rather well for its shareholders.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1997	Ken Griffey Jr.	OF
2001	Ichiro Suzuki	OF

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1995	Randy Johnson	LHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1984	Alvin Davis	1B
2000	Kazuhiro Sasaki	P
2001	Ichiro Suzuki	OF

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1992	Edgar Martinez	.343
1995	Edgar Martinez	.356
1996	Alex Rodriguez	.358
2001	Ichiro Suzuki	.350
2004	Ichiro Suzuki	.372

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1994	Ken Griffey Jr.	40
1997	Ken Griffey Jr.	56
1998	Ken Griffey Jr.	56
1999	Ken Griffey Jr.	48

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1995	Randy Johnson	2.48
2001	Freddy Garcia	3.05

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1982	Floyd Bannister	209
1984	Mark Langston	204
1986	Mark Langston	245
1987	Mark Langston	262
1992	Randy Johnson	241
1993	Randy Johnson	308

1994	Randy Johnson	204
1995	Randy Johnson	294

No-Hitters

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Randy Johnson	06/02/1990
Chris Bosio	04/22/1993

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES

AL West Division Titles

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1995	79–66	Lou Piniella
1997	90–72	Lou Piniella
2001	116–46	Lou Piniella

AL Wild Cards

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
2000	91–71	Lou Piniella

MANAGERS

2005–	Mike Hargrove
2003–2004	Bob Melvin
1993–2002	Lou Piniella
1992	Bill Plummer
1989–1991	Jim Lefebvre
1988	Dick Snyder
1986–1988	Dick Williams
1986	Marty Martinez
1984–1986	Chuck Cottier
1983–1984	Del Crandall
1981–1983	Rene Lachemann
1980–1981	Maury Wills
1977–1980	Darrell Johnson

Team Records by Individual Players

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Plate Appearances
Batting Leaders						
Batting average	Ichiro Suzuki	.372	2004	Ichiro Suzuki	.332	3,692
On-base %	Edgar Martinez	.479	1995	Edgar Martinez	.418	8,672
Slugging %	Ken Griffey Jr.	.674	1994	Ken Griffey Jr.	.569	6,688
OPS	Edgar Martinez	1.107	1995	Ken Griffey Jr.	.948	6,688
Games	Willie Horton/ Ruppert Jones	162	1979	Edgar Martinez	2,055	8,672
At bats	Ichiro Suzuki	704	2004	Edgar Martinez	7,213	8,672
Runs	Alex Rodriguez	141	1996	Edgar Martinez	1,219	8,672
Hits	Ichiro Suzuki	262	2004	Edgar Martinez	2,247	8,672
Total bases	Ken Griffey Jr.	393	1997	Edgar Martinez	3,718	8,672
Doubles	Alex. Rodriguez	54	1996	Edgar Martinez	514	8,672
Triples	Ichiro Suzuki	12	2005	Harold Reynolds	48	4,593
Home runs	Ken Griffey Jr.	56	1997	Ken Griffey Jr.	398	6,688
RBIs	Ken Griffey Jr.	147	1997	Edgar Martinez	1,261	8,672
Walks	Edgar Martinez	123	1996	Edgar Martinez	1,283	8,762
Strikeouts	Mike Cameron	176	2002	Jay Buhner	1,375	5,828
Stolen bases	Harold Reynolds	60	1987	Julio Cruz	290	3,068
Extra-base hits	Ken Griffey Jr.	93	1997	Edgar Martinez	838	8,672
Times on base	Ichiro Suzuki	315	2004	Edgar Martinez	3,619	8,672

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Career		
	Name		Year	Name		Innings Pitched
ERA	Randy Johnson	2.28	1997	Randy Johnson	3.42	1,838.3
Wins	Jamie Moyer	21	2003	Jamie Moyer	139	1,933
Won-loss %	Randy Johnson	.900	1995	Jamie Moyer	.650	1,933
Hits/9 IP	Randy Johnson	6.21	1997	Randy Johnson	6.92	1,838.3
Walks/9 IP	Jamie Moyer	1.61	1998	Jamie Moyer	2.23	1933
Strikeouts	Randy Johnson	308	1993	Randy Johnson	2,162	1,838.3
Strikeouts/9 IP	Randy Johnson	12.35	1995	Randy Johnson	10.58	1,838.3
Games	Ed Vande Berg	78	1982	Jeff Nelson	432	447.3
Saves	Kazuhiro Sasaki	45	2001	Kazuhiro Sasaki	129	223.3
Innings	Mark Langston	272	1987	Jamie Moyer	1933	1933
Starts	Mike Moore	37	1986	Jamie Moyer	298	1933
Complete games	Mike Moore	14	1985	Mike Moore	56	1457
Shutouts	Dave Fleming	4	1992	Randy Johnson	19	1836.3

Source: Drawn from data in "Seattle Mariners Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/SEA/leaders_bat.shtml; "Seattle Mariners Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/SEA/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Tampa Bay Devil Rays

Paul M. Pedersen

The Tampa Bay Devil Rays—who came into existence in 1998 as an expansion franchise—have a much longer and intriguing off-the-field history than what their on-field record might suggest. The quest to secure the area’s Major League Baseball team and build its first MLB stadium is one of the most poignant examples of urban sporting rivalry. But in preceding decades there had been multiple baseball battles between Tampa Bay’s two prominent cities. These previous competitions had laid the foundation for the intense battle that emerged between St. Petersburg and Tampa. The sporting rivalry between these two cities, separated by Tampa Bay, received its impetus shortly after the turn of the century when baseball teams began to migrate to warmer climates for spring training. Although St. Petersburg initiated the movement to lure baseball franchises to the west coast of Florida, the first to come, the Chicago Cubs in 1913, played in Tampa. Throughout the twentieth century, both cities built baseball complexes and competed for teams until the Tampa Bay metropolitan area established itself as the spring-training capital. Seven different teams have trained in Tampa (the Cubs, Boston Red Sox, Washington Senators, Detroit Tigers, Cincinnati Reds, Chicago White Sox, and New York Yankees) while St. Petersburg has had eight (the St. Louis Browns, Philadelphia Phillies, Boston Braves, New York Yankees, St. Louis Cardinals, New York Giants, New York Mets, and Devil Rays).

While spring training acted as a prelude for each upcoming baseball season, both cities ultimately hoped that their storied traditions as spring hosts would lead to a full-time baseball club. Promoters on both sides of the bay believed that the area’s historic romance with baseball reflected the interest the region

had in the sport and would be the basis of support for a permanent major-league club.

QUEST FOR A BASEBALL STADIUM

In 1976, at a time when the population of the Tampa Bay metro area consisted of over 1.1 million residents, St. Petersburg began to seriously consider the construction of a baseball stadium that would be used to obtain the first MLB franchise for Florida. Boosters and civic leaders believed that a baseball stadium and its accompanying team would be visible signs of the economic and social rejuvenation their downtown needed. For six years, the city slowly moved forward with the preliminary work of this endeavor, unimpeded and unchallenged by its rival metropolis across the bay. When Tampa entered the stadium race in 1982, it could not convince St. Petersburg to step aside. The stadium battle raged on until St. Petersburg—after a decade of planning, urban site clearing, lawsuits, political reversals, and hotly debated governmental votes—began in 1987 construction of a 43,000-seat multipurpose sports facility. By 1990, a domed stadium was completed on the western edge of downtown. During the construction process Tampa yielded St. Petersburg the rights to the region's first baseball stadium, the Florida Suncoast Dome. It was renamed the Thunderdome in 1993 after the arrival of the NHL's Tampa Bay Lightning and Tropicana Field in 1996 after Tropicana Dole Beverages signed a 30-year, \$46 million naming-rights deal.

QUEST FOR A BASEBALL TEAM

The quest to bring a permanent baseball franchise to Tampa Bay involved relocation and expansion efforts that lasted a dozen years. In 1983, the Tampa Bay Baseball Group (TBBG) made a \$24 million bid for Calvin Griffith's majority ownership of the Minnesota Twins. The investors eventually purchased 42 percent of the club for \$11.5 million. But a last-minute ticket purchase by Minneapolis and St. Paul corporations kept Griffith from activating an escape clause that would have allowed his team's relocation to Tampa. This action forced Griffith to sell his majority share to Carl Pohlad, a leader in the local business community, for \$32 million. At the behest of Commissioner Bowie Kuhn, who hinted that compliance might bring future considerations, the TBBG agreed to relinquish its minority-ownership portion for no profit to the new baseball proprietor.

Tampa Bay's second attempt to obtain a franchise came in April 1985 when the TBBG reached an agreement to buy the Oakland Athletics for \$37 million. An all-night meeting, however, between Oakland mayor Lionel Wilson and A's president Roy Eisenhardt resulted in a new stadium lease, a \$10 million loan for the team from the city of Oakland, and the second aborted purchase endeavor by the TBBG.

Three years later, Tampa shifted its sights to Texas, where a variety of factors forced the Rangers onto the baseball market. Although this team had consistently shown an operating profit, majority owner Eddie Chiles struck a deal with a new Tampa ownership group (MXM Corporation) to buy his club for \$74 million. But the Tampa investors were eliminated when Commissioner Peter Ueberroth discouraged the deal and the team's minority owner (Ed Gaylord) decided to exercise his option to purchase Chiles's share of the Rangers.

The negotiations between Tampa and the Rangers overlapped St. Petersburg's quest to obtain the Chicago White Sox. Owners Jerry Reinsdorf and Eddie Einhorn began serious relocation plans after Chicago residents defeated a final stadium bond issue in 1987. To entice the owners, the Florida legislature approved a low-interest loan of \$20 million to the White Sox, and St. Petersburg offered a rent-free lease on its as-yet uncompleted facility. But St. Petersburg lost another relocation opportunity when, in unsanctioned overtime (according to Illinois law, no legislation could be enacted after midnight at the conclusion of the legislative session) after the 1988 legislative session, the Illinois lawmakers turned off the clock, ignored the deadline, and found enough votes to grant the White Sox \$150 million to build a new baseball stadium across the street from Comiskey Park.

The NL created an expansion committee that solicited more than a dozen bids for a 1991 expansion. St. Petersburg was a front-runner early on, but its ownership groups collapsed. Tampa Bay's bid began to falter and lost out to Miami's and Denver's financial and organizational packages.

The west coast of Florida launched in 1991 its sixth quest for a team when Jeff Smulyan put his struggling Seattle Mariners up for sale. A prospective St. Petersburg ownership group quickly placed an offer for the club. Seattle began to lose all hope of retaining the team until Hiroshi Yamauchi, a Japanese video-game tycoon, offered to buy the franchise. Many Americans cried out that the national pastime should not be allowed to join the many other businesses that had fallen into Far East hands. But Washington and Seattle officials threatened everything from racial-discrimination suits to antitrust legislation to persuade baseball to validate the Yamauchi offer. In July 1992, MLB approved the sale to Yamauchi in order to keep the team in Seattle.

That same year, Commissioner Fay Vincent allowed Bob Lurie of the Giants to shop for offers after Bay Area residents rejected four initiatives to tax themselves into building a fan-friendly stadium to replace the 30-year-old Candlestick Park. For the seventh time, St. Petersburg became the front-runner. The Tampa Bay Ownership Group (TBOG), led by St. Petersburg industrialist Vincent J. Naimoli, received baseball's endorsement and offered Lurie \$115 million for his team. But MLB rejected the relocation offer when a local San Francisco ownership group, led by Safeway president Peter Magowan, stepped forward with a \$100 million proposal.

For the next two years, Tampa Bay baseball boosters brooded over the failure to secure the Giants. By 1994, however, the promoters found renewed optimism and agreed to suspend all of their lawsuits against organized baseball when rumors began to circulate that their perseverance would be rewarded with an expansion franchise. In March 1995, the MLB Expansion Committee awarded expansion teams to Arizona and Naimoli's St. Petersburg ownership group. The members of the TBOG purchased the rights to this expansion franchise for \$130 million. In an effort to show the unified sporting image of the region, the new baseball club was named, after receiving nearly 7,000 suggestions, the Tampa Bay Devil Rays. The west coast of Florida, after seven humiliating failures, found victory in its eighth quest to obtain a team. What began as a dream in 1976 became a reality in 1998 when the Devil Rays opened their inaugural season against the Detroit Tigers in Tropicana Field. Over 2.5 million fans came into the stadium to watch the expansion franchise throughout the 1998 season. But the novelty quickly wore off, and after averaging nearly 31,000 spectators per game in the inaugural year, the Devils Rays have been averaging around 15,000 in each year since, and have been last in the AL since 2001.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEVIL RAYS

MLB provided the expansion teams (the Devil Rays and Diamondbacks) of 1995 the luxury of three years to participate in three drafts, set up their organizations, and develop players. This gave the new clubs an opportunity to be successful franchises on the field soon after their April 1998 openers. This was very different from the expansion teams of 1993, which had their farm systems in place for only one year and participated in just one amateur draft before they began play. The Devil Rays took advantage of this opportunity by taking their time with the selection of a general manager, the formulation of a minor-league structure, and the drafting and signing of players.

The new general manager would shape the immediate and long-term future of professional baseball in Tampa Bay. Therefore, the Devil Rays started with a lengthy list of 27 candidates. Chuck LaMar, a 38-year-old Atlanta Braves assistant general manager, was hired in July 1995. During 10 years in professional baseball with the Reds, Pirates, and Braves, LaMar had progressed steadily as a scout, director of minor-league operations, director of scouting, and assistant general manager. He has been the only general manager in Devil Rays history.

The Devil Rays' minor-league affiliations went into operation in 1996. The first minor-league game in the organization's history occurred on June 19, when, in a rookie-ball contest, the St. Petersburg Devil Rays faced the Tampa Yankees in their Gulf Coast League season opener. The Devil Rays eventually settled on Princeton, West Virginia (the Devil Rays), for their rookie-level affiliate; Wappingers Falls, New York (the Renegades), Charleston, South Carolina

(the Riverdogs), and Bakersfield, California (the Blaze), as their Class A affiliates; Orlando, Florida (the Rays), as their Double-A affiliate; and Durham, North Carolina (the Bulls), as their Triple-A affiliate.

The Devil Rays filled their early minor-league rosters with free-agent signings and draft picks. Only six months after the expansion announcement, the Devil Rays signed their first player, Adam Sisk. But Sisk, a right-handed pitcher who had spent the previous year attending junior college in Baltimore, was cut in May 1997 without pitching a game for the Devil Rays. The next newsworthy signing occurred in April 1997 when the Devil Rays won a bidding war for the rights to Rolando Arrojo. The right-handed pitcher, a Cuban defector, received a \$7 million signing bonus and a minor-league contract that paid him \$850 a month. Arrojo made the major-league roster for two years but was eventually traded to the Colorado Rockies in December 1999. With the first draft in the organization's history, the 1996 June amateur draft, the Devil Rays selected Paul Wilder as their first pick (29th overall). The 18-year-old high-school slugger from North Carolina signed for a \$650,000 bonus but eventually left baseball without making it to the major leagues.

Expansion franchises had a unique opportunity to become competitive early on due to the opening of the free-agent market and the decision that both leagues had to contribute to the expansion-draft pool. In November 1997, with a nationwide audience watching the live broadcast from ESPN, the Devil Rays participated in the expansion draft. The Devil Rays made left-handed pitcher Tony Saunders their first pick, and then took speedy outfielder Quinton McCracken. Before the draft ended, the Devil Rays had secured either through the draft or through trades 11 players who made the original 25-man roster (Fred McGriff, Roberto Hernandez, Rich Butler, Mike Kelly, Kevin Stocker, Miguel Cairo, Bobby Smith, Esteban Yan, Mike Difelice, Bubba Trammell, and Aaron Ledesma). Throughout the team's initial years, the Devil Rays have had numerous talented and noteworthy players on their roster. This included the Opening Day lineup in 1998, which had McGriff and Wade Boggs. Since that lineup, additional newsworthy players on the rosters over the years have included Dwight Gooden, Jose Canseco, Greg Vaughn, Vinny Castilla, and Jim Morris, the teacher-turned-pitcher who made the major-league roster as a rookie relief pitcher in 1999 at the age of 35. His story was made into a book and the major motion picture *Rookie* starring Dennis Quaid.

Tampa Bay waited nearly three years after getting a team to hire a field manager. On November 7, 1997, two days after Tampa Bay officially joined the AL East, the Devil Rays hired pitching coach Larry Rothschild. He managed the Devil Rays from 1998 through the first 13 games of 2001, when Hal McRae took over. Then in 2003 the Devil Rays signed a four-year, \$13 million deal with Tampa native Lou Piniella to be their field manager. Although publicized as "It's a whole new ballgame," the Devil Rays continued



Aubrey Huff hits a home run against the Chicago White Sox, 2005. © AP / Wide World Photos

to lose more games than they won, as they finished the 2003 campaign with 63 wins and another fifth place in the AL East. In the team's six years, the Devil Rays have finished higher than last place only once, and have never won more than 70 games.

After decades of being the spring-training capital, Tampa Bay continued this tradition in 1998 when the Devil Rays made a historical decision to train in their hometown. Tampa Bay was the first team since the St. Louis Cardinals and Philadelphia Athletics in 1919 to do so, as the Devil Rays took over the Cardinals' spring-training lease in St. Petersburg and used Al Lang Stadium.

Although MLB officials provided the Devil Rays and Diamondbacks with the best possible conditions to organize winning teams, only Arizona was successful, winning the World Series in 2001. The Devil Rays have struggled on the field every year. Their high-priced free-agent signings (in 2000 the team had the 10th-highest salary structure in MLB at \$64.4 million) failed to live up to expectations, and their teams have been unable to compete on a regular basis with other AL teams. Two years later the salaries were cut in half, and Tampa Bay had the lowest payroll in the majors, a distinction it has easily maintained for most seasons. The Devil Rays have had trouble bringing fans to Tropicana Field because of the losing product on the field (they have finished an average of 35 1/2 games behind the AL East champion), the inability to make the dome



Carl Crawford dives for a line drive in a game against the Oakland Athletics, 2005.
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a fan-friendly facility (i.e., sight lines, seating distance from field of play), the low percentage of native Tampa Bay residents (meaning many residents have established affinities to other clubs), and the car drive for Tampa fans to St. Petersburg. Devil Rays officials, however, were optimistic after an increase in attendance for the 2003 season. The hiring of Piniella injected some life into the players and fans. The team won a team record 70 games in 2004, but returned to the cellar a year later. Piniella's contract was bought out at the end of the 2005 season. The team was valued then at just \$176 million, the lowest in MLB, yet its operating income was \$27.2 million, compared to the league average of \$4.4 million. The ownership spent little and put out a poor product, but made a very nice return. After the season, Stuart Sternberg, who made his fortune with an options-trading firm, and his five partners bought 48 percent of the team for \$65 million. Sternberg became managing partner and hired 29-year-old Matt Silverman as president, and they planned to bring life to the moribund club.

MANAGERS

2006–	Joe Madden
2003–2005	Lou Piniella
2001–2002	Hal McRae
1998–2001	Larry Rothschild

Team Records by Individual Players

	Single Season			Name	Career	Plate Appearances
	Name	Year				
Batting average	Aubrey Huff	.313	2002	Fred McGriff	.291	2,399
On-base %	Fred McGriff	.405	1999	Fred McGriff	.380	2,399
Slugging %	Jose Canseco	.563	1999	Fred McGriff	.484	2,399
OPS	Fred McGriff	.957	1999	Fred McGriff	.864	2,399
Games	Aubrey Huff	162	2003	Aubrey Huff	736	3,066
At bats	Carl Crawford	644	2003	Aubrey Huff	2,798	3,066
Runs	Carl Crawford	104	2004	Aubrey Huff	374	3,066
Hits	Aubrey Huff	198	2003	Aubrey Huff	805	3,066
Total bases	Aubrey Huff	353	2003	Aubrey Huff	1,338	3,066
Doubles	Aubrey Huff	47	2003	Aubrey Huff	157	3,066
Triples	Carl Crawford	19	2004	Carl Crawford	49	2,298
Home runs	Jose Conseco	34	1999	Aubrey Huff	120	3,066
RBI s	Jorge Cantu	117	2005	Aubrey Huff	421	3,066
Walks	Fred McGriff	91	2000	Fred McGriff	305	2,399
Strikeouts	Ben Grieve	159	2001	Fred McGriff	433	2,399
Stolen bases	Carl Crawford	59	2004	Carl Crawford	169	2,298
Extra-base hits	Aubrey Huff	84	2003	Aubrey Huff	285	3,066
Times on base	Aubrey Huff	259	2003	Aubrey Huff	1,049	3,066

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Name	Career	Innings Pitched
	Name	Year				
ERA	Rolando Arrojo	3.56	1998	Jim Mercir	3.03	154.1
Wins	Rolando Arrojo	14	1998	Victor Zambrano	35	481.7
Won-loss %	Mark Hendrickson	.579	2005	Victor Zambrano	.565	481.7
Hits/9 IP	Victor Zambrano	7.88	2003	Jim Mecir	6.88	154.3
Walks/9 IP	Bryan Rekar	2.02	2000	Lance Carter	2.36	179.7
Strikeouts	Scott Kazmir	1714	2005	Victor Zambrano	372	481.7
Strikeouts/9 IP	Scott Kazmir	8.42	2005	Doug Creek	9.86	160.7
Games	Roberto Hernandez	72	1999	Esteban Yan	266	418.7
Saves	Roberto Hernandez	43	1999	Roberto Hernandez	101	218
Innings	Tanyon Sturtze	224	2002	Bryan Rekar	495.3	495.3
Starts	Tanyon Sturtze	33	2002	Ryan Rupe	83	466.7
Complete games	Joe Kennedy	5	2002	Joe Kennedy	6	448
Shutouts	Rolando Arrojo	2	1998	Rolando Arrojo	2	342.7

Source: Drawn from data in "Tampa Bay Devil Rays Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/TBD/leaders_bat.shtml; "Tampa Bay Devil Rays Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/TBD/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Texas Rangers

Jarrod Schenewark

The Texas Rangers lay claim to one of the worst all-time records for any of the expansion teams that have emerged since 1960. Throughout their history, the club has generated future Hall of Fame players, produced MVPs, and hired managers with some of the most recognized names in the game. Thirty-five years after its formation, the franchise experienced its first taste of postseason play, only to slip back to the bottom of its division.

EXPANSION AND A REBIRTH

The beginning of the Texas Rangers starts not in Texas but in Washington, DC. Since 1901, the nation's capital had fielded a major-league team, but by 1960, the Washington Senators were no longer of the same caliber as the team that had won three pennants and a world championship. Washington was an undesirable place for both major-league players and the team. It was a losing club with little fan support and a ballpark located in a slum, and there were rumors that owner Calvin Griffith wanted to move.

Griffith originally sought to move the team to the St. Paul–Minneapolis area, but American League owners were worried about leaving Washington and upsetting politicians who might retaliate by revoking MLB's antitrust exemption. However, on October 26, 1960, AL owners approved the Senators' move to the Twin Cities, and they became the Minnesota Twins. The owners also approved the expansion of the AL to 10 teams, with new franchises for Los Angeles and Washington. The owners believed politicians and fans alike would not be upset with the Senators' shift to Minnesota as long as there was

a replacement. The city had not adequately supported a big-league franchise for years, but got a second chance solely because of its status as the national capital and the center of political power.

One month later the AL approved a 10-member Washington syndicate led by air-force general Elwood R. "Pete" Quesada, the first administrator of the FAA, which purchased the local expansion team for \$1.9 million. The syndicate, known as "Senators Inc.," hired Ed Doherty, former president of the Triple-A American Association, as general manager, and former Senators star Mickey Vernon, a coach for the 1960 World Series champion Pittsburgh Pirates, as manager. The Senators participated, along with the Los Angeles Angels, in the first expansion draft. Washington choose 31 men from a list of players unprotected by the AL's eight existing clubs to be the new Senators. The first pick was left-handed pitcher Bobby Shantz of the pennant-winning New York Yankees. Shantz was a crafty veteran of 12 major-league seasons, which included one outstanding year with 24 victories, but he'd had just 5 in 1960. However, he never pitched for the Senators, being traded to the Pirates before the start of the 1961 season.

ONE, TWO, THREE STRIKES, YOU'RE OUT!

President John F. Kennedy threw out the first pitch at the franchise's first game at Griffith Stadium, attended by 26,725 fans. The Senators lost 4–3 to the Chicago White Sox, the first of many losses. The Senators, in the expanded 162-game season, lost 100 games for the first of four straight seasons. Losing is what the club did on a consistent basis. The expansion team's record bolstered the popular slogan "Washington—first in war, first in peace, and last in the American League."

As a result, between 1961 and 1971 the Washington Senators had four managers. Vernon led the team to 101 losses in 1962, playing at the year-old DC Stadium (renamed RFK Stadium in 1969), which had been built for \$24 million by the DC Sports and Entertainment Commission and seated 43,500. Forty games into the 1963 season, with the Senators once again in last place, Gil Hodges replaced Vernon, and this time the Senators finished with 106 losses. Hodges led the team through the end of 1967, when the team improved to its best record to date (76–85). Two years later, Hodges led the expansion New York Mets to a World Series title.

During Hodges' tenure, the Senators obtained their first star, Frank Howard, who came in December 1964 in a multiplayer trade from the Los Angeles Dodgers. Howard stood six foot seven, weighed 255 pounds, and brought power and maturity to the club. Howard was a product of the Dodgers' farm system, 1960 NL Rookie of the Year, and helped the Dodgers win the 1963 World Series. In 1968, Howard hit 10 home runs in 20 at bats, and went on to lead the AL with 44 home runs. The manager that year was Jim Lemon, who had played for the original Senators. Lemon had hit 38 homers in Washington

and was an All-Star in 1960. His team went 65–96 in his only year as a big-league manager.

BOB SHORT AND TEDDY BALLGAME

On December 3, 1968, Robert Short, the Democratic National Committee treasurer, purchased a majority interest of the Washington Senators at the winter meetings in San Francisco. Short had made millions in the trucking industry. He had previously owned the Minneapolis Lakers, purchased back in 1957. Short was instrumental in the franchise moving to the Los Angeles area three years later. In 1965, Short sold the Lakers for a profit of \$5.2 million.

The new owner promptly dismissed Lemon, and in January hired Hall of Fame hitter Ted Williams, who had retired as a player in 1960. Williams received a four-year contract worth \$1.5 million. Short hoped to capitalize on his famous skipper, and on Opening Day distributed facsimile versions of the pen with which he signed Williams. The “Splendid Splinter” led the club to its first winning season (86–76 record) and was selected AL Manager of the Year. Williams was instrumental in improving the team’s batting. Howard batted .296 with a .574 slugging percentage, 48 home runs, 111 runs, and 111 RBIs, while outfielder Mike Epstein had a career year, hitting .278 with 30 home runs.

The team’s success was short-lived, mainly because Short dealt away players against Williams’s advice. The manager and fans were most infuriated by a four-player deal that sent three Senators to Detroit for Denny McLain, who had won 31 games in 1968 and 24 the following year, but fell off to 3–5 in 1970. The trade gutted the Senators infield and gave away one of the team’s best pitchers, Joe Coleman, who went 20–9 the next season. McLain in one season with Washington was a dismal 10–22, and he was sent to Oakland the following year. The next three seasons were not much fun for Williams, who felt that Short traded away the ball club.

Meddling with player personnel was not Short’s only fault in the eyes of Washington fans, who should have seen his agenda for the Lakers as an omen for the future of the Senators. When Short bought the club, he had refused any clause in the contract that would obligate him to keep the team in Washington, and would not improve DC Stadium. Short seemed to follow Kansas City A’s owner Charley O. Finley’s example of how to engender antipathy for the hometown team. Soon after taking control, Short raised the prices of all seats and converted much of the regular grandstand into reserved seats. Despite the price increase, attendance for the exciting 1969 season, a 400,000 increase over the year before, was the second highest in the 71-year history of major-league baseball in Washington. The next year he raised prices again, producing an average increase of between 50 and 100 percent on tickets over two years, and gave Washington the distinction of having the most expensive seats in baseball. Unreserved grandstand seats ran \$2.25 in Washington, compared to 55 cents for the nearby Baltimore Orioles.

Short earned a miserly public image by alienating senior citizens on fixed incomes who could not afford the higher prices. He also discontinued the custom of complementary tickets for wounded and sick veterans from nearby Walter Reed Army Hospital, eliminated discount tickets for children, and refused to televise the presidential opener all three years in Washington, even though those games were sellouts. Short compounded his problems by publicly stating that Washington was a “bad baseball town.” His failure to pay his stadium rent and other bills caused a series of actions that threatened the team’s presence at DC Stadium. Short’s response was that the team was not wanted in Washington and should be moved.

The local media criticized Short for his threats to move, his failure to pay his rent and other bills, and his trade for Denny McLain. Nonetheless, concessions were in the works to keep the team in Washington. Commissioner Bowie Kuhn and AL president Joe Cronin worked together to save the franchise for Washington. Even President Richard Nixon spoke out against the team leaving. Stadium management offered Short free rent for the first 1 million admissions, the right to name the concessionaire, operation of the concession stands during baseball and football seasons, and revenue from billboard and other stadium advertising during the baseball season. Short turned them down, labeling the deal, offered in mid-August, as too late.

TOM VANDERGRIF AND THE TEXAS OPTION

Beginning in 1958, Mayor Tom Vandergriff of Arlington, Texas, a suburb of the Dallas–Fort Worth area, sought a major-league franchise for the region. Vandergriff failed to get an expansion club twice from the American League and once from the National League, and was unsuccessful in convincing the Kansas City and Seattle owners to relocate. Then, in 1971, Cleveland Indians president Gabe Paul and Angels owner Gene Autry informed Vandergriff of Short’s financial difficulties and the possibilities of his moving his club. Vandergriff decided to pursue the Senators and set out to visit every AL spring-training camp, lobbying club owners for support of his goal of bringing the Senators to Texas. Vandergriff proposed a financial package backed by 10 area banks that would provide Short with \$7.5 million in low-interest loans. Short would also receive \$7.5 million over 10 years for the sale of the team’s broadcast rights to the city of Arlington. Short seriously considered Vandergriff’s proposal, and by the summer of 1971 had agreed to move the team to Texas. Vandergriff then stepped up his lobbying efforts, and with the cooperation of the local media, kept his endeavors confidential until the deal was done.

On September 20, the AL owners met in Boston to consider the proposed transfer. Vandergriff felt he had the nine necessary votes, but supporter Gene Autry of the Angeles took ill and had to be hospitalized. On the first vote and each vote thereafter, only eight clubs voted to approve the move, with Baltimore and Chicago in opposition. Oakland owner Charlie Finley tried to trade his

vote in exchange for the Senators' best young player, Jeff Burroughs, but Short refused. With the vote deadlocked at 8–2–2 (with Finley and Autry abstaining), AL president Joe Cronin took action. He visited Autry in his Boston hospital room and got Autry's proxy, allowing Cronin to register his vote in favor of the move. Finley then followed suit, resulting in a final vote of 10–2 in favor of relocation.

Washington fans were outraged and saddened. At the final home game on September 30, many fans brought signs depicting how they felt about Bob Short and about the team. Frank Howard thrilled the crowd with a sixth-inning home run that helped the Senators to a 7–5 lead over the Yankees. But in the ninth inning, fans swarmed the field looking for souvenirs. They pulled up the grass, took the bases, and pulled lights and lettering off the scoreboards. The umpires declared the field unsafe and unplayable and forfeited the game to the Yankees. The Senators' final season in Washington was a dismal 63–96.

THE MOVE TO ARLINGTON

The franchise changed its name from the Washington Senators to the Texas Rangers. Opening Day was supposed to be April 6, 1972, but the start of the season was delayed when the Players Association voted, for the first time, to strike over the size of the owners' contribution to the players' pension fund. The team ended up starting on the road (1–3), and opened at home on Friday, April 21, before a crowd of 20,105. Before the game, the players dressed in white cowboy hats, and Ted Williams was presented cowboy boots with spikes. Frank Howard hit his 361st home run in the bottom of the first inning to help the Rangers to a 7–6 victory over the Angels. But he only hit eight more before being sold to the Detroit Tigers in August.

Following the victorious home opener, attendance problems plagued the club. Only 5,517 came the next day to witness Pete Broberg pitch the first shutout for the team. Short believed the team needed a million fans to build a championship club, with 800,000 the break-even point. But home attendance totaled only 662,974, an average of 8,840 a game.

Part of the attendance problem was the Rangers' ballpark. Originally called Turnpike Stadium, Arlington Stadium had originally been a minor-league facility built in 1965 in a natural bowl at a cost of \$1.5 million, 40 feet below street level and away from residential property. A comparable ballpark at a different site would have cost \$15 million. The original capacity was 10,000, expanded to 20,000 in 1970. Then, when MLB arrived, it was further increased to 35,694 (18,000 of these seats were aluminum bleachers). The new home was no oasis for either the team or the fans. A consistent wind blew from right and right center toward home plate, contributing to the Rangers' major-league low of 56 home runs. During midsummer, day-game temperatures climbed toward 120 degrees, while night games attracted swarms of insects.

The low attendance was also a product of the team's sixth-place finish (54–100). Williams resigned and was replaced by rookie manager Dorrel Norman Elvert "Whitey" Herzog. Herzog emphasized building a team, but Short was more concerned with poor attendance, which averaged about 9,000. They looked toward the June 5, 1973, baseball amateur draft as an answer to both problems. The Rangers had the first pick based on their last-place finish in 1972. Short sought to use the pick to build the team and reverse the flailing attendance. His hope rested on an 18-year-old right-hander named David Clyde, who had won all 18 starts for Houston's Westchester High School, with an ERA of 0.18. Herzog felt Clyde was a good pick, but did not know Short's plan to immediately bring the teenager to the big leagues.

Against Herzog's wishes, Clyde was given a \$65,000 bonus and three weeks of publicity before he made his major-league debut. Short gambled with the young man's arm and psyche in order to produce bigger audiences and more revenue. Clyde debuted on June 27, and for the first time, the stadium was filled. The game started 15 minutes late in order to give fans caught in the unprecedented traffic jam time to arrive at the stadium. Clyde won his first game, and took a regular spot in the starting rotation. When Clyde pitched, home attendance averaged 18,187, compared to 7,546 on other days. Clyde finished the season with a 4–8 record and a 5.01 ERA. He pitched three seasons with the Rangers, but only went 7–18. They floundered in sixth place, but Herzog had a two-year contract and felt he had time to develop the team. However, four days after Short publicly praised Herzog, he fired him, bringing in Billy Martin.

BILLY BALL COMES TO TEXAS

Billy Martin was a highly successful major-league manager with two first-place finishes in four years, but the highly volatile skipper was fired by the Detroit Tigers late in the 1973 season. Short immediately scooped him up and gave him a \$65,000 a year contract for three years, a new house, the use of a new car each year, and, most importantly, the last say over players (except for Clyde). Short and Martin had developed a friendship in 1969 when Martin managed the Minnesota Twins. Martin even campaigned for Short when he ran for Minnesota governor. Martin managed the Rangers for the final 33 games of 1973. The Rangers finished in sixth place with 105 losses, 20 games behind the fifth-place team. They scored the fewest runs, gave up the most runs, and made the most errors in the league. During the off-season, Martin acquired pitcher Ferguson Jenkins, the future Hall of Famer, from the Chicago Cubs for rookie phenom third baseman Bill Madlock and outfielder Vic Harris. The 31-year-old Jenkins had six straight 20-win seasons, but had fallen off to 14–16 in 1973. Martin still felt he was the kind of pitcher around which a team could be built. Martin also brought in new players from the Rangers' farm system and promised a pennant. Martin made Jim Sundberg,

promoted from Class A, the starting catcher, and he earned a berth on the 1974 All-Star team. He also brought up Mike Hargrove, who hit .323 in 1974 and was named AL Rookie of the Year. Outfielder Jeff Burroughs led the AL with 118 RBIs and was selected MVP.

“Billy Ball” came to town as Martin worked on sacrifice bunts and speed to produce runs. Five players stole at least 13 bases. The Rangers finished second in runs, despite coming in 10th in homers. Jenkins went 25–12, earning the Comeback Player of the Year Award. The Rangers contended for the division title, finishing five games behind the Oakland A’s, who went on to capture their third consecutive World Series title. Martin was voted AL Manager of the Year as the team improved from 57–105 to 84–76. Billy attributed the team’s success to the lack of interference from the owner, general manager, and farm director. The team went into the 1975 season favored to win the pennant.

NEW OWNERSHIP DASHES HOPES

Two days before Opening Day, Bob Short sold the Rangers to a group of investors led by Bradford G. Corbett, president and CEO of Robintech, a chemical and plastic-pipe business. Corbett enjoyed being in the spotlight and actively traded and signed players. He got into a big fight with Martin over control of the team. Corbett and Martin quarreled over Clyde, who Martin wanted demoted to make room for a better pitcher. An even sharper dispute arose over the acquisition of 35-year-old outfielder Willie Davis, a favorite of Corbett’s but unwanted by Martin. Davis played just 42 games before he was traded. Martin lost the authority that Short had promised him and was fired on July 21. He was promptly picked up by the Yankees. Corbett replaced Martin with Rangers coach Frank Lucchesi, and the team finished in third (79–83) and then fourth (76–86).

Before the 1977 season, Corbett hired Eddie Robinson, a former major-league first baseman, as executive vice president. The pair signed two free agents, shortstop Bert Campaneris and starting pitcher Doyle Alexander, and traded the popular Jeff Burroughs to the Atlanta Braves for five marginal players. From the farm system came the highly regarded Bump Wills, son of Maury Wills, who became the new second baseman. Veteran Lenny Randle felt he was not given a chance to compete, and bitterly complained, privately and publicly. During spring training, tension mounted between Randle and the manager. Randle brutally attacked Lucchesi, who spent seven days in the hospital with a broken cheekbone, which required plastic surgery, and bruises to his back and kidney. Randle was suspended, fined, charged with battery, and traded to the New York Mets. Lucchesi returned to the club in time for Opening Day, where the Rangers defeated the Orioles and Bump Wills made the game-winning hit.

Midway through the season, with a record of 31–31 and lagging attendance, Lucchesi was fired. He was replaced by Eddie Stanky, who had last managed

the 1968 Detroit Tigers. He managed one game and resigned, to stay near his home in Alabama. Robinson tried to recruit Harmon Killebrew, who declined the job, as did interim manager and Rangers coach Connie Ryan. Finally, a week after firing Lucchesi, the Rangers hired Orioles third-base coach Billy Hunter. Even with the commotion of the preseason and the managerial changes, the team, built on speed, defense, and pitching, performed very well, and won 94 games, a franchise record until 1999. However, the Kansas City Royals finished the season with 102 wins and Texas had to settle for second, eight games behind.

Hunter led the Rangers to another winning season in 1978, making him the first manager to produce back-to-back .500-plus seasons. Despite being the manager with the most wins in Rangers history, problems between Hunter and the players led to his dismissal before the final game of the season. The off-season brought more changes, beginning with new skipper Pat Corrales, the first Mexican American major-league manager. Corbett negotiated one of the biggest trades in baseball history, a 10-player deal with the New York Yankees. The Rangers acquired renowned closer Sparky Lyle, who would record 21 saves for the club, but gave up their top pitching prospect, Dave Righetti, who amassed 224 saves with the Bronx Bombers in eight years.

In the late 1970s, Corbett's chemical and plastic-pipe business fell on hard times, which compelled him to trade or sell 10 players from the 1978 team to bring in much-needed cash. He sold John Lowenstein to Baltimore and traded fan favorite Mike Hargrove to San Diego and Reggie Cleveland to Milwaukee. Toby Harrah, a two-time All-Star and the last of the original Rangers who had come from Washington, was traded to the Cleveland Indians in return for Buddy Bell. Corrales's squad had a winning record (83–79), good for third, led by Bell, who had 200 hits and 101 RBIs.

Corbett sold the club in 1980 to Fort Worth oilman Eddie Chiles. The team took a step backward in 1980, going 76–85. One important new addition was veteran knuckleball pitcher Charlie Hough, purchased from the Los Angeles Dodgers. Hough recorded 139 wins and 1,452 strikeouts from 1980 through 1990 to become the Rangers' all-time leader. Chiles, like previous owners, brought in his own manager, replacing Corrales with Don Zimmer in 1981, and he nearly got the club into the playoffs. A strike began on June 12, just after the Rangers had lost a game to Milwaukee, 6–3, leaving them with a record of 32–22 and costing them first place. After the season resumed, they went 24–26 in the second half of the split season, and were out of the playoffs. Midway through a disastrous 1982 season (64–98), Chiles replaced Zimmer with Darrell Johnson, former managers of the Red Sox and the Mariners. Johnson was supplanted by Doug Rader, whose team continued to flounder, falling into the cellar in 1984 (69–92). After going 9–23 at the start of the 1985 season, Rader was replaced by Bobby Valentine. The Rangers were Valentine's first managerial opportunity. The team again finished last (62–99). They made a big turnaround in Valentine's first complete season, winning 87 games, led by Charlie Hough (17–10), and coming in

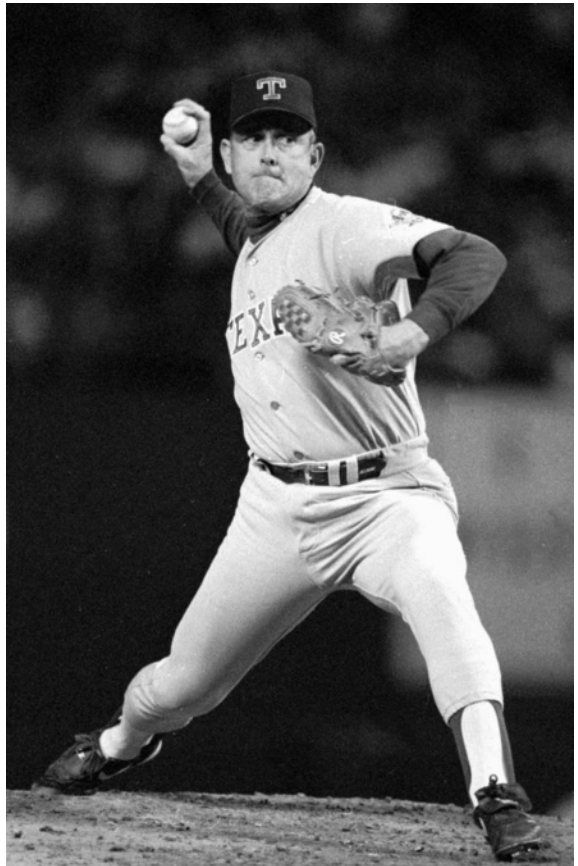
second in the Western Division, but then fell off to sixth the next two years (75–87, 70–91). The club ended the decade with identical 83–79 marks in 1989 and 1990. After the 1988 season, when the Rangers had the second-lowest payroll in baseball (\$6,008,000), the team added three key players, trading for future All-Stars Julio Franco and Rafael Palmeiro and signing free agent Nolan Ryan.

THE RYAN EXPRESS

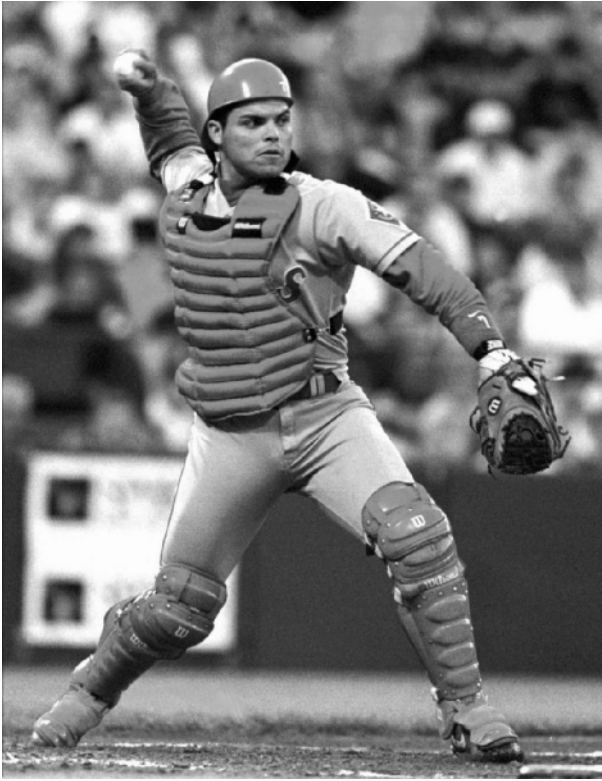
The signing of 41-year-old Nolan Ryan, baseball's all-time strikeout king, in December 1988 was one of the team's most important acquisitions in its history. The future Hall of Fame player was upset with the Houston Astros for trying to cut his salary. Ryan wanted to continue playing near his home of Alvin, Texas, and turned down a higher offer from Angels owner Gene Autry. The expectation was that Ryan would play a year and then retire; however, he played the next five years for the Rangers, with a record of 51–39.

Ryan was impressive from the start. In 1989 he pitched two one-hitters and carried five no-hitters into the eighth inning or later. Ryan contributed to the Rangers enjoying the earliest sellout in their history on August 22, 1989. The stadium had sold out five days earlier because of anticipation of Ryan passing the 5,000-strikeout mark for his career. Six shy of the mark at the start of the game, the moment came in the fifth inning against Rickey Henderson, who on a full count swung and missed a 96-mph fastball to become Ryan's 5,000th strikeout. Ryan was the team's best pitcher, with a 16–10 record and a league-leading 301 strikeouts. He helped the team draw over 2 million fans for the first time.

Ryan began 1990 with a 4–0 record, but then went on the disabled list, suffering from muscle spasms in his lower back. In June, Ryan, the only man to throw five no-hitters, threw his sixth in a 5–0 win over the Oakland A's. Later in the season Ryan became the 20th player to win 300 games. Ryan went 13–9 and again led the league in strikeouts (232).



Nolan Ryan, baseball's all-time strike-out leader, pitches in his final season against the California Angels, 1993 © AP / Wide World Photos



Ivan Rodriguez throws to first base to complete a double play against the San Francisco Giants, 1997. © AP / Wide World Photos

May 1, 1991, was Arlington Appreciation Night at the Rangers' home field, and that night Ryan pitched his seventh career no-hitter in a 3–0 victory over Toronto. He was the oldest pitcher to throw a no-hitter. The Rangers honored Ryan on September 15, 1996, when they retired his number, 34. When Ryan went into the Hall of Fame, he was the first player to honor the Rangers by choosing to wear their hat on his plaque. The team in 1991 went 85–77, good for third place, with the league's most productive offense, including two outstanding young Latino starters, catcher Ivan “Pudge” Rodriguez and outfielder Juan Gonzalez. Julio Franco led the AL in batting at .341. But the team was hindered by the worst pitching in the league, with an ERA of 5.02. But the next year, with the team at 45–41, Valentine was fired and replaced by Toby Harrah, the former Rangers star.

The club ended up at 77–85, in fourth place. Kevin Kennedy then took over, and led the team back up to second place in 1993 (86–76). Gonzalez had a huge year, leading the AL in homers (46) and slugging (.632), second in total bases (339), and fourth in RBIs (118).

GEORGE W. BUSH AND THE BALLPARK IN ARLINGTON

In April 1990, a syndicate that included George W. Bush purchased a controlling interest in the Texas Rangers for \$89 million. Bush had learned that family friend Eddie Chiles was looking to sell the ball club back in October 1988 while he was helping to manage his father's presidential campaign. Bush borrowed \$500,000 to buy a small stake in the team and convinced the group to make him a managing general partner. He subsequently added another \$106,302 to his investment. Bush became the public face of the team, for a salary of \$200,000, while fellow general partner Edward Rose assumed control of the financial side.

Bush led the team's efforts to secure a new \$191 million stadium in Arlington, with funding from public and private funds. The syndicate threatened to move elsewhere unless the new park was built. In January 1991, Arlington voters

approved by a two-to-one margin a half-cent sales tax in order to help service the debt acquired through the issuance of \$135 million in bonds. In April the state legislature approved a bill to create the Arlington Sports Facilities Development Authority (ASFDA), a quasi-governmental entity that used the power of eminent domain to secure 13 acres of private property for the new field.

The Ballpark in Arlington opened in 1994 with a capacity of 49,178, including 122 suites. Seating by the dugouts is very close to the playing field, placed 22 feet below street level to avoid summer winds. The new stadium reflects the movement in stadium building to promote the history and nostalgia of the game, including a granite and brick facade. The stadium includes a manual scoreboard similar to the one located in historic Fenway Park, nooks and crannies like Ebbets Field, and a covered pavilion porch with pillars like at Tiger Stadium. There is a 17,000-square-foot museum with baseball artifacts from the nineteenth century to the present. Statues of Tom Vandergriff and Nolan Ryan reflect the local history of the Rangers. Arlington Stadium was torn down and converted into parking spaces. Along with a new ballpark came new uniforms, which featured red as the primary color instead of blue.

In 1994, when MLB went to a three-division format, the realignment seemed to favor the Rangers, who were placed in the weak four-team Western Division. Throughout the season Texas and the rest of the West struggled to go .500. The main highlight was the perfect game pitched by Kenny Rogers at the Ballpark. The season ended early on August 12 when the players responded to the threat of a salary cap by going on strike. When Commissioner Bud Selig canceled the season on September 14, the Rangers were standing on top of the Western Division with a dismal record of 52–62, one game better than Oakland. Despite the losing record and a shortened season, fans flocked to the new ballpark. Attendance reached an all-time high of 2,503,198, and before the strike seemed to be on track for the club to break 3 million.

Major changes were made during the off-season. Bush, having been elected governor of Texas, stepped down as general partner. Tom Grieve, the general manager for the past decade, was replaced by Baltimore assistant general manager Doug Melvin. One of his first acts was the dismissal of manager Kevin Kennedy, who had finished his two-year stint at .500 (138–138), replacing him with former major-league catcher and Baltimore Orioles manager Johnny Oates. In 1995, MLB held the All-Star Game at the Ballpark. Attendance dropped as the Rangers, like other major-league teams, continue to suffer from the fans' adverse reaction to the labor stoppage. The team averaged only 27,582 fans compared to 40,374 the year before. Oates did a fine job in 1995, producing a winning record with a modestly talented team.

The following year, Oates led the team to first place in the West and was chosen as AL Manager of the Year. Juan Gonzalez was MVP, batting .318 with 47 homers, 144 RBIs, and a slugging percentage of .643. Left fielder Rusty Greer hit .332, and he and third baseman Dean Palmer both drove in 100 or more runs.

The Rangers took the first game of the AL Divisional Series against the Yankees, but then lost the next three games, and were eliminated. Attendance rose by about one-third, the team's box office revenues increased to \$25.5 million, and the value of the team was estimated at \$174 million. In 1997 the team continued to hit well, with four men over .300, but the result was a disappointing third place and a losing record (77–85). Nonetheless, the team set its all-time record for attendance, 2,945,228, and increased in value by one-third to \$254 million.

In June 1998 the Rangers were sold to Tom Hicks for \$250 million, then the second most ever paid for a major-league franchise. Bush then held a 1.8 percent equity interest, but was also owed a 10 percent bonus if the team was sold for a profit. Consequently, Bush received \$14.9 million for his \$600,000 investment. That season the Rangers captured first place in the West (88–74), leading the league in hitting and second in runs, but near the bottom in pitching, though Rick Helling won 20 games and Aaron Sele won 19. Gonzalez, who was making \$7.8 million, won his second MVP, batting .318, slugging .630, slamming 45 homers, and leading in RBIs (157) and doubles (50). However, in the ALDS, the Yankees swept them in three straight, and the Rangers lineup managed just one run.

In 1999, Hicks settled a long-term dispute with the ASFDA that went back to the Bush era, when the club had failed to reimburse the authority for \$7.5 million owed over a court case regarding the seizure of private land for the ballpark. The Rangers agreed to a total settlement of \$22.2 million to cover costs the ASFDA had incurred.

The Rangers improved to 95 wins that year and repeated their victory in the division. They had a superb offense, leading the AL in batting at .293, second overall in runs scored, and third in homers (230), but again had very weak pitching, with a team ERA of 5.07. John Wetteland did yeoman-like work as the closer with 43 saves, second in the AL. Pudge Rodriguez was MVP, batting .332 with 35 homers. His 113 RBIs was only third on the team, after Rafael Palmeiro (148) and Gonzalez (128). But all went for naught in the postseason, when the Yankees swept in three, and the Rangers again only scored one run.

The Rangers won 24 fewer games in 2000 than the year before, and ended in last place. After the season, the Rangers attempted to upgrade by overpaying to sign free-agent shortstop Alex Rodriguez, who had no other bidders. He got a record 10-year, \$252 million contract. Alex hit .318 in 2001 with 135 RBIs, leading a stellar offense, but the pitching was the worst in the AL, with an ERA of 5.71. The team had the fifth-highest payroll with little to show for it on the field, and the fifth-largest deficit among all major-league teams (\$24,433,000), even with \$25.3 million in local media revenue, seventh among all teams. Despite these disturbing numbers, the team achieved its highest value ever at \$356 million. Oates was replaced early in the season by Jerry Narron, but the team remained mired in last place (73–89), and ended up with virtually an identical mark in 2002 with the third-highest payroll in MLB (\$105,726,122).

After the season catcher Pudge Rodriguez, a 10-time All-Star who had been making \$9.6 million, left the team as a free agent, joining the Florida Marlins. In 2003, Alex Rodriguez led the AL in homers (47) as well as slugging (.600) and runs (124), and became the third Rangers MVP, but could not prevent the team, with the AL's worst pitching staff, from finishing with just 71 wins, 25 games behind the division winner. Nonetheless, he was traded to the New York Yankees before the start of the 2004 season for Alfonso Soriano. By 2004 the payroll had been cut in half to \$55,050,417, while the value of the team dropped to \$306 million, 11th highest in MLB. Despite the lower total wages, second-year skipper Buck Showalter led the club to what was thought to be another turnaround season in 2004, finishing in third place (89–73), only three games back. However, Rangers history repeated itself in 2005, and high expectations gave way to another letdown for Ranger fans. The team went 79–83, with poor pitching and outstanding hitting. Michael Young led the AL at .331, while Mark Teixeira had 43 homers and 144 RBIs, and the team had 260 homers.

For the past four decades the organization has been a model of conflict between the interests of the owners and the men on the playing field. While both are interested in winning, the return on investment is the overriding concern of the owners. The professional baseball man, whether player, coach, or manager, is a pawn in the owners' hands to do with as they please. This attitude, highlighted by the actions of the various owners of the Rangers, is what has and will continue to prevent the organization from achieving long-term excellence on the field.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1974	Jeff Burroughs	OF
1996	Juan Gonzalez	OF
1998	Juan Gonzalez	OF
1999	Ivan Rodriguez	C
2003	Alex Rodriguez	SS

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1974	Mike Hargrove	1B

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1991	Julio Franco	.341

2004	Michael Young	.331
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Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1968	Frank Howard	44
1970	Frank Howard	44
1992	Juan Gonzalez	43
1993	Juan Gonzalez	46
2001	Alex Rodriguez	52
2002	Alex Rodriguez	57
2003	Alex Rodriguez	47

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1961	Dick Donovan	2.40
1969	Dick Bosman	2.19
1983	Rick Honeycutt	2.42

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1989	Nolan Ryan	301
1990	Nolan Ryan	232

No-Hitters (Italics = Perfect Game)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Jim Bibby	07/30/1973
Bert Blyleven	09/22/1977
Nolan Ryan	06/11/1990
Nolan Ryan	05/01/1991
<i>Kenny Rogers</i>	07/28/1994

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES**AL West Division Titles**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1994	52–62	Kevin Kennedy
1996	90–72	Johnny Oates

1998	88–74	Johnny Oates
1999	95–67	Johnny Oates

MANAGERS

2003–	Buck Showalter
2001–2002	Jerry Narron
1995–2001	Johnny Oates
1993–1994	Kevin Kennedy
1992	Toby Harrah
1985–1992	Bobby Valentine
1983–1985	Doug Rader
1982	Darrell Johnson
1981–1982	Don Zimmer
1978–1980	Pat Corrales
1977–1978	Billy Hunter
1977	Connie Ryan
1977	Eddie Stanky
1975–1977	Frank Lucchesi
1973–1975	Billy Martin
1973	Del Wilber
1973	Whitey Herzog
1969–1972	Ted Williams
1968	Jim Lemon
1963–1967	Gil Hodges
1963	Eddie Yost
1961–1963	Mickey Vernon

Team Records by Individual Players

Batting Leaders

	Single Season			Name	Career	Plate Appearances
	Name	Year				
Batting average	Julio Franco	.341	1991	Al Oliver	.319	2,263
On-base %	Toby Harrah	.432	1985	Mike Hargrove	.399	3,004
Slugging %	Juan Gonzalez	.643	1996	Alex Rodriguez	.615	2,172
OPS	Rafael Palmeiro	1.050	1999	Alex Rodriguez	1.011	2,172
Games	Al Oliver	163	1980	Rafael Palmeiro	1,573	6,767
At bats	Michael Young	690	2004	Rafael Palmeiro	5,830	6,767
Runs	Alex Rodriguez	133	2001	Rafael Palmeiro	958	6,767
Hits	Michael Young	221	2005	Ivan Rodriguez	1,723	6,062

(Continued)

Batting Leaders (Continued)

	Single Season			Name	Career	Plate Appearances
	Name	Year				
Total bases	Alex Rodriguez	393	2001	Juan Gonzalez	3,073	5,925
Doubles	Juan Gonzalez	50	1998	Ivan Rodriguez	344	6,062
Triples	Ruben Sierra	14	1989	Sierra	44	4,975
Home runs	Alex Rodriguez	57	2002	Juan Gonzalez	372	5,925
RBIs	Juan Gonzalez	157	1998	Juan Gonzalez	1,180	5,925
Walks	Frank Howard	132	1970	Rafael Palmeiro	805	6,767
Strikeouts	Pete Incaviglia	185	1986	Juan Gonzalez	1,076	5,925
Stolen bases	Bump Wills	52	1978	Bump Wills	161	2,962
Extra-base hits	Juan Gonzalez	97	1998	Juan Gonzalez	713	5,925
Times on base	Frank Howard	294	1970	Rafael Palmeiro	2,551	6,767

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Name	Career	Innings Pitched
	Name	Year				
ERA	Dick Bosman	2.19	1969	Gaylord Perry	3.26	827.3
Wins	Ferfie Jenkins	25	1974	Charlie Hough	139	2,308
Won-loss %	Danny Darwin	.765	1980	Kenny Rogers	.581	1,909
Hits/9 IP	Nolan Ryan	5.31	1991	Nolan Ryan	6.35	840
Walks/9 IP	Fergie Jenkins	1.23	1974	Fergie Jenkins	2.01	1,410.3
Strikeouts	Nolan Ryan	301	1989	Charlie Hough	1,452	2,308
Strikeouts/9 IP	Nolan Ryan	11.32	1989	Nolan Ryan	10.06	840
Games	Mitch Williams	85	1987	Kenny Rogers	528	1,909
Saves	Francisco Cordero	49	2004	John Wetteland	150	253
Innings	Fergie Jenkins	328.3	1974	Charlie Hough	2,308	2,308
Starts	Jim Bibby/Fergie Jenkins	41	1974	Charlie Hough	313	2,308
Complete games	Fergie Jenkins	29	1974	Charlie Hough	98	2,308
Shutouts	Bert Blyleven	6	1976	Fergie Jenkins	17	1,410.3

Source: Drawn from data in "Texas Rangers Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/TEX/leaders_bat.shtml; "Texas Rangers Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/TEX/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Toronto Blue Jays

Russell Field

In February 1886, star pitcher and sporting-goods magnate Albert Spalding visited Toronto and announced that the city was ready for a major-league baseball franchise. While prescient, he was 90 years early. In the intervening nine decades, Toronto's path to becoming first host to a major-league baseball team and subsequently home to back-to-back World Series champions was intimately tied to the city's emergence as English Canada's dominant financial and media center. Equally important was the vision, and deep pockets, of local and regional politicians and the business community who held dear the notion of Toronto as a world-class city.

NINETY YEARS OF BIG-LEAGUE ASPIRATIONS

A variety of bat-and-ball games were popular summer pastimes in nineteenth-century Canada. In the decades preceding Canadian confederation in 1867, cricket was the most popular organized summer sport. In the 1860s and 1870s, nationalist sentiment tended to favor the "indigenous" game of lacrosse. But by the 1880s, baseball had supplanted both as the dominant and increasingly most commercial summer game.

In 1886, a Toronto franchise entered the International League, and except for 1891–95, remained a member until the Maple Leafs folded in 1967. During the franchise's 77-year history, it won 12 pennants and two Little World Series, and listed on its roster such future Hall of Famers as Wee Willie Keeler, Carl Hubbell, and Ralph Kiner.

Toronto's major-league aspirations were first fanned by the construction of the 20,000-seat Maple Leaf Stadium in 1926. Civic interest in a major-league team quieted during the depression of the 1930s and Canada's involvement in World War II. The Maple Leafs prospered in the late 1940s and early 1950s. In the era before television and the migration of urban populations to new suburbs, the team regularly outdrew some of the major leagues' less successful clubs.

The owner of the Maple Leafs then was local businessman Jack Kent Cooke, who later gained notoriety as owner of the Los Angeles Lakers and the Washington Redskins. In the 1950s, Toronto was frequently mentioned as a possible destination for relocating major-league teams, and Cooke was involved in the plan to start a third major league, the Continental League. One of the stumbling blocks for Cooke was Toronto's lack of a major-league ballpark. By the mid-1950s, the age of Maple Leaf Stadium encouraged Cooke to seek out civic funding for a ballpark on the city's Canadian National Exhibition (CNE) grounds. However, that site was used for a football-specific facility for the Canadian Football League (CFL) Argonauts, whose owner had much stronger ties to local politicians. The importance of access to public funds and political power for sports promoters would become even more evident as Toronto's dreams of a major-league franchise were realized in the 1970s.

BIRTH OF THE BLUE JAYS

In the early 1970s, Alderman Paul Godfrey decided to pursue his dream of major-league baseball in Toronto. On the advice of baseball commissioner Bowie Kuhn, he made building a suitable stadium his first order of business (Maple Leaf Stadium had been demolished in 1968). When his 1971 plan for a publicly financed domed stadium was quashed by the opposition of taxpayer and amateur sport groups, he turned to Exhibition Stadium on the CNE grounds. Godfrey exerted considerable influence on the local sports press to support his planned renovation. In 1974, he successfully negotiated for \$15 million in public funding for the project, half from the municipality and half from an interest-free provincial government loan. The result was a converted football stadium, with cool lakeside temperatures, poor sight lines, few creature comforts, and outfield bleachers that followed the football sidelines and stretched off into center field rather than wrapping around the outfield fence.

A number of different groups were interested in owning the team that would someday play in this ballpark, including one bankrolled by the owner of the city's National Hockey League franchise. The Blue Jays' eventual owners were a financially strong partnership that included Labatt, one of three breweries that dominated the Canadian marketplace, with annual sales of \$500 million; R. Howard Webster, a wealthy entrepreneur whose holdings included the *Globe and Mail*; and the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (CIBC), Canada's second-largest bank, with assets of \$33 billion. Labatt and Webster each held

a 45 percent stake and the CIBC held 10 percent, the maximum allowed by the federal Bank Act. Configurations of this partnership would control the Blue Jays until the mid-1990s, though Labatt's would be the dominant financial interest and the public face of the team. Since 1974, Labatt Breweries had decided that sports-team ownership—specifically baseball, since its main competitors were already involved in hockey and football—would help the company establish a presence in the Toronto market.

The primary strategy was to buy an existing major-league team. In January 1976, Godfrey—now chairman of Metropolitan Toronto—held a press conference to announce that the San Francisco Giants had been purchased, were to be renamed the Toronto Giants, and would begin play in the National League in time for the 1976 season. Before February was out, however, the mayor of San Francisco had obtained an injunction blocking the Giants' move, found new local owners, and convinced NL owners to oppose the move and support the city's desire to keep the club in San Francisco. It seemed, for a time, as though the Labatt-Webster-CIBC effort, along with Godfrey's desire to put a team in a ballpark renovated with public funds, had all come to naught. However, later that month, the American League owners decided to add a second expansion team along with Seattle.

The Labatt-Webster-CIBC group switched strategies. Instead of pursuing an existing franchise, they worked to become the Toronto group chosen to become the AL's 14th team. On March 29, 1976, for an expansion fee of \$7 million, the league's owners offered them just such an opportunity. As spring turned to summer in 1976, fans in Toronto readied themselves for major-league baseball beginning in 1977.

TAKING FLIGHT (1977–81)

April 7, 1977. Images from that day are iconographic in the history of Toronto sport: grounds-crew members frantically sweeping snow off the artificial turf, naively battling Mother Nature; singer Anne Murray, hidden beneath a mammoth parka, rushing through "O Canada"; and the umpiring crew and team managers huddled together, as much for warmth as to exchange lineup cards. And the fans: 44,649 of them—far fewer than the number who would later claim they were there—cheering their new sports heroes and tossing in the occasional "We want beer" chant for good measure.

Work began soon after the franchise was awarded in 1976. The Metro Toronto Council approved an additional \$2.8 million to complete the Exhibition Stadium renovations. Meanwhile, the team's first employee, Paul Beeston, was hired to oversee the franchise's finances. He eventually rose to the team presidency before his departure in 1997. In June 1976, Peter Bavasi was hired as the team's first president and general manager. The son of longtime Dodgers and Padres general manager Buzzie Bavasi, he assembled a front-office staff that would remain in place long after he had parted company with the Blue

Jays. Bavasi's key appointments included vice president of player personnel Pat Gillick and veteran scouts Bobby Mattick and Al LaMacchia. In September, Roy Hartsfield was named the team's first manager.

Concurrently, the club ran a contest inviting fans to suggest potential team names. The eventual choice, the Blue Jays, was on 154 of the more than 30,000 entries that proposed more than 4,000 different names. There was suggestion in the media that the team's name and Labatt's flagship beer brand (Labatt's Blue) bore a striking resemblance, and therefore offered numerous promotional opportunities. The irony was that Toronto's bylaw prohibiting the public consumption of alcohol meant that Exhibition Stadium was major-league baseball's only dry stadium.

Bavasi began stocking Hartsfield's Blue Jays at the AL expansion draft in November 1976. The first selection, Bob Baylor, hit .310 as a rookie in 1977. The remaining selections were largely anonymous to the average fan (veteran pitcher and inaugural Opening Day starter Bill Singer was perhaps the best known). Yet Toronto baseball fans found their favorites among this motley bunch, including first baseman Doug Ault (an instant hero with two home runs in the Blue Jays' 9–5 win over Chicago in the franchise's first-ever game) and infielder Dave McKay (the first Canadian-born Blue Jay). But the most enduring legacy of the expansion draft was a trio of players—pitcher Jim Clancy, catcher Ernie Whitt, and infielder Garth Iorg—who were still with the team when the franchise won its first division championship in 1985.

After averaging 55 wins in its first three seasons, the club fired Hartsfield and replaced him with scout Bobby Mattick. While there was little improvement on the field—the club finished in last place both seasons he managed the club—Mattick's skills as a teacher helped develop the young talent collecting in the farm system. This included pitcher Dave Stieb, outfielder Lloyd Moseby, and flashy shortstop Alfredo Griffin, who was named cowinner of the 1979 AL Rookie of the Year Award. By the end of 1981, the team's fifth season, the prospects were finally starting to show promise. They finished the second half of the strike-cleaved season with a mediocre yet respectable 21–27 record.

When the Blue Jays were first established, only 16 games were broadcast on television. However, they eventually captured a national media audience, and by 1981, they were benefiting from a lucrative local television contract. A regional following was built from the team's inception on radio as Telemedia Broadcast Systems carried Blue Jays games on a 28-station network. The Blue Jays attracted 1.7 million fans to Exhibition Park in their first year, then the largest attendance ever recorded by an expansion team. The club lost 108 games, yet had the AL's fourth-best attendance. The team, thanks both to novelty and a marketing plan that sold Toronto sports fans the experience of seeing major-league baseball played by visiting teams, was a financial success in its inaugural season. Attendance began to fall in subsequent years, however, as the novelty wore off and the team failed to win. From an average of 21,263 fans per game in 1977, the Blue Jays averaged only 14,247 in 1981, 11th highest in a 14-team

league. As Beeston later told sportswriter Stephen Brunt, “You know the year of the strike in ’81, we wouldn’t have drawn a million people. We had one crowd over twenty thousand people. We won. That is why we have drawn here. We won. In ’82, we started winning.”

THE FARM BEARS FRUIT (1982–89)

As teams assessed the impact of 1981’s two-month-long players’ strike, in Toronto at least it appeared that Beeston was prophetic. If there were disgruntled customers among the Blue Jays’ fan base, what brought them to the ballpark was winning baseball, which the team began to do for the first time in the 1980s.

The new era began with a changing of the guard in the front office. Gone was Bavasi, the club’s first president, whose hands-on management style had worn thin after five years, replaced by Labatt’s executive Peter Hardy, who divided the baseball (Gillick) and business (Beeston) operations between the two men who would lead the franchise for more than a decade. The stability of the club’s ownership was also remarkable. The partnership of Labatt’s (45%), R. Howard Webster (45%), and the CIBC (10%) remained intact from the franchise’s inauguration in 1977 until Webster’s death in 1990.

One of the final battles in the power struggle between Bavasi and Gillick was naming Mattick’s replacement. Gillick’s choice, and the man who eventually became the Blue Jays’ third manager, was former Atlanta Braves skipper Bobby Cox. He inherited a roster in transition, as raw talents from a well-stocked farm system replaced expansion-draft castoffs. In 1983, Cox’s second season, the Blue Jays finished over .500 for the first time, and treated Toronto fans to their initial, and brief, taste of a pennant race, leading the division at the All-Star break. The franchise would not finish another season under .500 until 1994, as the Blue Jays became a perennial contender in the AL’s Eastern Division and one of the wealthiest clubs in baseball.

In 1985, Toronto fans found their club in a bona fide pennant race as the Jays battled the Yankees into a final weekend series between the two clubs at Exhibition Stadium. On Saturday, before a national television audience, Doyle Alexander pitched the franchise into its first postseason. The squad won 99 games with a strong offense and sparkling pitching, including a league-leading 3.31 ERA. Cox was selected AL Manager of the Year. The club came agonizingly close to the World Series, blowing a 3–1 lead in the AL Championship Series to the George Brett–led Kansas City Royals. After the season Cox resigned and was replaced by third-base coach Jimmy Williams. His tenure was often stormy, as the talented club underachieved. The most disappointing season was 1987, when the Blue Jays led Detroit by three and a half games entering the season’s final week. But they lost their last seven games to finish in second place with a record of 96–66. George Bell won the MVP with 134 RBIs.

The stability of the Blue Jays’ lineup was a testament to the franchise’s farm system. It was also a valuable marketing tool, as the faces of the

Blue Jays' success were prominent in the Toronto media and broadcast across Canadian television. The infield featured first baseman Willie Upshaw, second baseman Damaso Garcia, and Gold Glove shortstop Tony Fernandez. In the outfield was the talented young trio labeled "the best outfield in baseball": Moseby flanked by Bell in left field and 1986 AL home-run leader Jesse Barfield in right. On the mound, the rotation was anchored by Stieb, Clancy, Alexander, and young left-hander Jimmy Key.

The team's primary weakness at this time was in the bullpen. A variety of unsuccessful closers preceded the Blue Jays' first major foray into free agency. In 1984 Gillick signed Dennis Lamp, formerly of the White Sox. This was followed by the equally unsuccessful trade for Oakland's Bill Caudill. The club did not find a stopper until minor leaguer Tom Henke was called up in mid-1985.

As the Blue Jays spent little on free agents, Cox was lauded for making the most out of the talent given to him. He employed a system of platoons, most notably at catcher (Whitt and Buck Martinez) and third base (Iorg and Rance Mulliniks). In addition, led by scout Epy Guerrero, the Blue Jays were one of the first clubs to recruit Latin American players. With many hailing from the small Dominican town of San Pedro de Macoris, the Blue Jays' Latin talent included Griffin, Fernandez, Garcia, and Bell. Finally, Gillick was a pioneer in using the Rule 5 draft of nonroster players to acquire contributors such as Upshaw, Bell, Kelly Gruber, and Manny Lee.

Attendance increased as the Blue Jays improved. From the AL's 10th-highest attendance in 1982 (15,750 per game), the team climbed to 2nd in its division-winning season of 1985 and 1st in 1987 (averaging more than 34,300). The introduction of beer sales at Exhibition Stadium in 1982 did not hurt. Success on the field also translated into profits off it. By mid-1983 the team's national telecasts were regularly drawing a million viewers. The ownership benefits for Labatt's were considerably enhanced in 1984 when it became a partner in Canada's first all-sports cable network, The Sports Network (TSN). TSN carried Blue Jays games to a national audience in English Canada, and by 1986, the team's games were being carried on 54 stations by Telemedia's radio network.

SKYDOME AND SUCCESS (1989–93)

As the Blue Jays became more successful and popular, civic leaders worried over Exhibition Stadium's suitability as a major-league ballpark. Its inadequacies were never more evident than on a chilly October 1985 night when only 32,000 fans showed up for the seventh game of the ALCS. That same year, William Davis, the premier of Ontario, announced the creation of the Stadium Corporation of Ontario (Stadco), whose purpose was to build and manage a new, publicly owned, modern domed stadium. Toronto's sporting landscape was being altered by the value civic leaders placed on commercial entertainment facilities as part of a world-class city, plus the precedent set by the publicly funded renovations of Exhibition Stadium in the mid-1970s.

The original cost for SkyDome was projected at \$150 million: \$60 million from the province and the municipality, \$20 million in debt, and \$70 million from private interests. To generate the latter, Trevor Eyton—chief executive of Brascan, a holding company whose assets included Blue Jays co-owners Labatt's—created Dome Stadium Inc., which raised \$5 million from each of 14 corporations, who received a variety of skybox, advertising, and supplier privileges. Located downtown—after much public debate about the best location for a stadium—SkyDome was a world apart from Exhibition Stadium. With a spectator capacity in excess of 50,000, the new stadium was best known for its retractable roof and Jumbotron scoreboard, and included a hotel with rooms overlooking the field, bars and restaurants, and a private fitness club. The cost of such modernity, however, far exceeded any original projections. By the time SkyDome opened on June 4, 1989, the cost had risen to \$562.8 million (and eventually exceeded \$580 million). As a result, Eyton's SkyDome investors increased their share from \$70 million to \$150 million. But, most troubling, SkyDome's debt reached \$310 million, borne by Ontario's taxpayers. The new park was a great hit with the fans, and attendance reached 3.38 million, most in the AL.

Change was the order of the day as the Blue Jays entered a new era in their new ballpark with Beeston installed as president in 1989. In the dugout, a poor start to the 1989 season (12 wins, 24 losses) spelled the end for Williams, who became the first manager in team history to be fired midseason. His interim replacement was hitting instructor Cito Gaston, who reluctantly became the full-time manager. Gaston turned around the underachieving team (behind rookie Junior Felix, veteran Mookie Wilson, and slugger Fred McGriff, who led the AL with 36 homers), and the Blue Jays won their second AL East division title on the season's final weekend. The ALCS was anticlimactic (except for Jose Canseco becoming the first player to homer into SkyDome's upper deck) as the Jays lost in five games to Oakland.

The 1990 team failed to live up to the expectations of the large SkyDome crowds. Nevertheless, on September 2, pitcher Dave Stieb threw the first no-hitter in franchise history, after coming within an out of no-hitters in two consecutive starts in 1988 and coming within a strike of a perfect game against the Yankees on a humid night inside SkyDome in 1989. It would be the last great moment for the most talented pitcher ever produced by the Blue Jays' farm system, as Stieb suffered through two injury-plagued seasons and was out of baseball for four years before a brief comeback in 1998.

The failure of the team to realize success prompted a major rethinking of the roster in 1990. Gillick abandoned the plan to build primarily through the farm system. He began with two trades at the 1990 winter meetings. The first yielded Devon White, the best defensive outfielder in team history. The second was a blockbuster involving four All-Stars as the Jays sacrificed Fernandez and McGriff to acquire outfielder Joe Carter and second baseman Roberto Alomar. The three new players became the centerpieces of a revamped lineup that in 1991 won the team's third division championship, only to lose the ALCS to

Minnesota, four games to one. Carter was the highest-paid player in the AL at \$3,791,166. However, the strength of the team was its pitching staff, which led the AL with a sizzling 3.50 ERA and 60 saves. That same season, the Blue Jays hosted the All-Star Game and became the first franchise to attract 4 million fans in a season.

The enhanced revenue afforded by SkyDome's appeal and capacity coupled with the club's postseason failures fueled subsequent moves. Gillick pursued impact free agents. In 1992, those players were pitcher Jack Morris (who became the first Blue Jay to earn \$5 million in a season) and DH Dave Winfield. A year later, Winfield was replaced by Paul Molitor and Morris was joined in the rotation by Dave Stewart. Gillick also tinkered with the roster in midseason. He forfeited young prospects for the rewards of players in their prime. For the 1992 stretch drive he acquired pitcher David Cone from the Mets, and in 1993 stolen-base king Rickey Henderson arrived from Oakland (though the reacquisition of veteran shortstop Tony Fernandez had greater impact). Few stars were produced by the farm system, though setup man Mike Timlin and hard-throwing starter Juan Guzman (obtained in a minor-league trade) were two exceptions.

The team reaped the benefits of these moves in 1992 with the second-most-productive offense in the AL, which along with Jack Morris's league-leading 21 wins resulted in a fourth division title. After beating Oakland in the ALCS four games to two—the most memorable moment being a ninth-inning game-four Alomar home run off closer Dennis Eckersley—the Blue Jays moved on to face the Atlanta Braves. Toronto won its first championship in six games. The 1992 World Series was memorable for its odd moments—the minor international incident that ensued when the U.S. Marine Corps honor guard flew the Canadian flag upside down prior to game two, and the umpires, during game three, missing the third out of what would have been the second triple play in World Series history. There were highlights, however: pinch hitter Ed Sprague winning game two with a 9th-inning home run off career saves leader Jeff Reardon; White making a remarkable over-the-shoulder catch in game three; Winfield driving in the go-ahead runs in the 11th inning of game six; and Timlin fielding Otis Nixon's bunt for the series-clinching out a half inning later.

A year later, with a vastly revamped lineup, the Blue Jays were back in the World Series after dispatching the White Sox in the ALCS four games to two. Gone were Henke, Winfield, Gruber, Stieb, Key, and Cone. Duane Ward moved into the closer's spot and first baseman John Olerud blossomed. He led the AL in hitting (.363), on-base percentage, and doubles, and he, Molitor, and Alomar became the first teammates to finish one-two-three in a batting race. The 1993 team was led by its offense (which the local media nicknamed WAMCO, for White, Alomar, Molitor, Carter, and Olerud), which led the AL in batting (.279), and the defense was led by closer Duane Ward with 45 saves. The strong offense was most evident in game four of the World Series, which the Blue Jays trailed 14–9 heading into the eighth inning, only to score six

runs off Philadelphia's bullpen. But the most dramatic moment of the series, the most significant highlight in franchise history, occurred in game six, when, trailing 6–5 with two runners on base and one out in the bottom of the ninth inning, Joe Carter faced erratic reliever Mitch Williams. His homer was only the second bottom-of-the-ninth home run to clinch a World Series championship (Pittsburgh's Bill Mazeroski in 1960 being the other), and it set off a national celebration.

The team's success was due in no small part to its place in baseball's economic hierarchy. The move to SkyDome, with its increased attendance and debt load paid for by others, had been a boon to team profits, which reached \$17.5 million in 1989 and \$14 million a year later. The Blue Jays were suddenly among the wealthiest teams in baseball. A lot of the profits were invested in the free-agent market. The Blue Jays' salary budget went from \$31 million in 1991 to \$45 million at the start of 1992. The Blue Jays ended 1993 with the highest payroll in baseball (\$51,575,034), becoming the first team to exceed \$50 million in salaries. The club still managed to break even, thanks to postseason revenues and continuing record attendance. In 1993, the Blue Jays led the AL in attendance for the fifth straight year, exceeded 4 million in paid attendance for the third straight year, and set an MLB record with an attendance of 4,057,947, or an average of 50,098 per game.



Joe Carter celebrates his game winning three-run homerun in the ninth inning of game 6 of the World Series, 1993. © AP / Wide World Photos

But attendance was not the only story. On August 19, 1990, original owner R. Howard Webster died. In accordance with the partnership agreement, his estate offered his 45 percent interest in the team to the remaining partners. Since the CIBC was limited by the Bank Act to a 10 percent share, Labatt's was the only viable internal option. In 1977, Webster's share was worth \$3.15 million, but when Labatt's purchased his stock in 1991, the value had appreciated to \$67.5 million. While the team benefited from what Stephen Brunt called a "lucrative local television contract," Labatt offshoots such as TSN and TV Labatt also made substantial profits.

In 1993, *Financial World* magazine ranked the Blue Jays as the third-most-valuable franchise in North American professional sport, tied with the Los Angeles Lakers and trailing only the Dallas Cowboys and New York Yankees. With an estimated franchise value of \$155 million (for a team worth \$7 million only 16 years earlier) and despite little presence in the U.S. media or merchandise markets, the Blue Jays were among the most successful businesses in all of professional sports.

THE POSTSTRIKE MALAISE (1994–2000)

SkyDome, when filled by fans watching a successful team, had provided the revenue for Gillick's forays into free agency. But when the Blue Jays faltered, SkyDome increasingly became a financial albatross. While not owned directly by the ball club, the stadium realized operating surpluses of \$34 million and \$35 million in the World Series-winning years of 1992 and 1993. Despite record attendance, thanks to interest, taxes, and depreciation, Stadco had net losses of \$21.7 million and \$14.2 million in those same years.

In 1991, with Ontario's economy in recession and SkyDome's debts mounting, the Stadco board recommended that the provincial government privatize the stadium. In November, an agreement was reached to sell SkyDome to Stadium Acquisitions Inc. It took until March 1994 to finalize the deal—for only \$151 million—as part of which taxpayers absorbed \$263 million of SkyDome's debt. Then, in November 1998, Stadium Acquisitions filed for bankruptcy protection. In the same month, the Blue Jays signed a new 10-year lease to play in the stadium. Shortly thereafter, an American firm, Sportsco International, bought SkyDome out of bankruptcy for \$85 million.

Putting together a competitive team became increasingly challenging after the 1994–95 strike. While Toronto fans may not have punished the Blue Jays organization for the labor stoppage, they were less interested in paying to watch a losing team. The Blue Jays began 1994 with optimism, as the nucleus of the 1993 World Series-winning team remained intact. But injuries, especially to Ward, resulted in the team's first losing record since 1982. It was the first of four consecutive losing seasons, which, in 1997, cost Gaston, the winningest manager in team history, his job.

Off the field, Gillick—an original member of the organization—stepped down in 1994 to be replaced as general manager by assistant Gord Ash. Then Beeston left in 1997 to become MLB's president and chief operating officer. Most significantly, in 1995, Labatt's was taken over by Interbrew SA. The Belgian brewery showed little interest in Labatt's sporting assets. TSN and the CFL Argonauts were sold off, while the Blue Jays' front office anticipated the team's seemingly imminent sale.

In an attempt to remain competitive in the Toronto market—where new entertainment districts were being built, the hockey team was successful and entering a new arena, and a new basketball franchise had entered the marketplace—Ash made big splashes in putting together the team's roster. David Cone returned to the Blue Jays after the strike was settled in 1995, and Roger Clemens spent two Cy Young Award-winning seasons in Toronto (1997–98). Even the low-risk signing of Jose Canseco in 1998 paid dividends when he slugged 46 home runs. But there were also unsuccessful free-agent signings (Erik Hanson in 1996, Randy Myers in 1998), and the club found its veteran talent base disintegrating as key players, including White, Alomar, Molitor, and Al Leiter, chose not to re-sign after becoming free agents. For the first time, the Blue Jays found themselves sellers at the midseason trade deadline. Cone was dealt in 1995, only months after his return, and Guzman was traded at the deadline in 1998. High-priced veterans, notably Clemens and Pat Hentgen, were also moved in the off-season. The Blue Jays returned to their roots in the post-World Series championship years, building the roster around young prospects: first baseman Carlos Delgado, shortstop Alex Gonzalez, and outfielders Shawn Green and Shannon Stewart.

The prospects and free-agent signees, however, were unable to compete with the stronger clubs of the AL East, never finishing higher than third place. Increasing mediocrity on the field was reflected at SkyDome's turnstiles. In the post-World Series, prestrike 1994 season, the Blue Jays led the AL in attendance, averaging over 49,000 fans per game. Five years (and two fifth-, one fourth-, and two third-place finishes) later, attendance had dwindled to 26,700, 8th best in a 14-team league. With crowds dwindling, gate receipts dried up. The World Series teams had better than broken even, but losses in the millions of dollars in 1994 grew to \$15 million in 1995.

ROGERS AND MONEYBALL (2000–2005)

Into this situation stepped one of Canada's largest and most visible communications companies. In 2000, Rogers Communications Inc. (RCI) purchased an 80 percent stake in the Blue Jays from Interbrew SA for \$112 million, and in 2004 they acquired the remaining 20 percent. RCI operates a network of cable, satellite, and digital television pipelines, as well as Canada's largest wireless network and Internet and digital-media operations. Led by Ted Rogers, the 13th-wealthiest individual in Canada, RCI

articulated a vision of sports-team ownership that emphasized branding and cross-promotional opportunities. In 2005, through direct ownership, radio- or television-broadcasting rights, or sponsorship using its local cable stations, RCI was involved with nearly every commercial sports franchise in Toronto. RCI not only owns the Blue Jays, it also operates a national all-sports television channel that broadcasts the team's games as well as the club's flagship radio station.

RCI's choice as Blue Jays' president was Paul Godfrey, the man who had lobbied for the franchise's creation in the mid-1970s. After firing Ash in 2002, Godfrey selected Oakland assistant general manager J.P. Ricciardi to head baseball operations. Charged with decreasing payroll to pre-1994 levels, Ricciardi preached the principles of what became popularly known as "moneyball"—winning with high-value, low-salary players. In less than a decade the Blue Jays went from having the AL's highest payroll to a struggling small-market club. Behind a rotating door of managers (five in seven years), the team finished in third place behind the Yankees and Red Sox for six straight years (1998–2003) before dropping into last place in 2004. The team did improve in 2005, nearly breaking even (80–82) and coming in third, rebuilding with several players from the farm system.

At the start of Ricciardi's tenure, 2002, the Blue Jays had the 11th-highest Opening Day payroll of the 30 MLB clubs, the 15th-best record, and the 6th-lowest attendance. In subsequent years, the club's attendance remained well below 25,000 per game (SkyDome's capacity is 50,516). In such an environment, the Blue Jays consistently lost money. In 2002, the team reported a loss of \$69.8 million for the first nine months of the fiscal year. This came a year after the Blue Jays' operating loss of \$83.3 million led MLB and was blamed on the impact the weak Canadian dollar (relative to the U.S. dollar) had on payroll costs, which have to be paid in American currency. In response, RCI advanced the baseball team \$55 million in 2002 from its other operations.

The Blue Jays' shifting fortunes and RCI's convergence aspirations were also reflected in media coverage of the club. In 2002, for example, Blue Jays games were televised nationally by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and regionally by both TSN and RCI's own sports station, Sportsnet. Beginning in 2003, however, CBC ceased national telecasts, and Sportsnet provided regional coverage.

In the face of dwindling attendance and a payroll budget frozen at \$50–55 million, Ricciardi chose to rebuild with youth. Success came in the form of 2003 Cy Young Award winner Roy Halladay, 2002 AL Rookie of the Year Eric Hinske, and talented outfielder Vernon Wells. While future talents were being groomed in the farm system, Delgado chose not to wait for the team's fortunes to improve. After the 2004 season, the franchise's career leader in home runs and RBIs (and second in hits and games played) signed as a free agent with Florida.



Vernon Wells makes a leaping catch on a line drive by Oakland Athletics' Eric Byrnes. © AP / Wide World Photos

In February 2005, the Blue Jays' owners added SkyDome to their holdings. The stadium that had cost \$580 million (with taxpayers paying over half) was purchased for only \$25 million. The newly renamed Rogers Centre was fitted with new Field Turf to replace the outdated AstroTurf. At the same time, RCI armed Ricciardi with \$210 million to invest in salaries over three seasons. Despite these changes, over a decade removed from the back-to-back championships that helped justify the *World* in World Series, the Toronto Blue Jays are the poster child for what troubles MLB. Since baseball's 1994 work stoppage, the Blue Jays have changed owners twice and played mediocre baseball with a roller-coaster payroll in front of average-sized major-league crowds in a cavernous, outdated (yet only 16-year-old) stadium. This was all in a city that in 1991 became the first to send 4 million fans out to the ballpark, and that is too large and cosmopolitan to be "small-market."

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

Most Valuable Players

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1987	George Bell	OF

Cy Young Winners

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1996	Pat Hentgen	RHP
1997	Roger Clemens	RHP
1998	Roger Clemens	RHP
2003	Roy Halladay	RHP

Rookies of the Year

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>
1979	Alfredo Griffin	SS
2002	Eric Hinske	3B

Batting Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1993	John Olerud	.363

Home-Run Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1986	Jesse Barfield	40
1989	Fred McGriff	36

ERA Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1985	Dave Stieb	2.48
1987	Jimmy Key	2.76
1996	Juan Guzman	2.93
1997	Roger Clemens	2.05
1998	Roger Clemens	2.65

Strikeout Champions

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>#</i>
1997	Roger Clemens	292
1998	Roger Clemens	271

No-Hitters

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>
Dave Stieb	09/02/1990

POSTSEASON APPEARANCES**AL East Division Titles**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1985	99–62	Bobby Cox
1989	89–73	Jimmy Williams Cito Gaston
1991	91–71	Cito Gaston
1992	96–66	Cito Gaston
1993	95–67	Cito Gaston

AL Pennants

<i>Year</i>	<i>Record</i>	<i>Manager</i>
1992	96–66	Cito Gaston
1993	95–67	Cito Gaston

World Championships

<i>Year</i>	<i>Opponent</i>	<i>MVP</i>
1992	Atlanta	Pat Borders
1993	Philadelphia	Paul Molitor

TORONTO MANAGERS

2004–	John Gibbons
2002–2004	Carlos Tosca
2001–2002	Buck Martinez
1999–2000	Jim Fregosi
1998	Tim Johnson
1997	Mel Queen
1992–1997	Cito Gaston
1991	Gene Tenace
1989–1991	Cito Gaston
1986–1989	Jimmy Williams
1982–1985	Bobby Cox
1980–1981	Bobby Mattick
1977–1979	Roy Hartsfield

Team Records by Individual Players

	Single Season			Name	Career	Plate Appearances
	Name		Year			
Batting average	John Olerud	.363	1993	Roberto Alomar	.307	3,105
On-base %	John Olerud	.473	1993	John Olerud	.395	3,689
Slugging %	Carlos Delgado	.664	2000	Carlos Delgado	.556	6,018
OPS	Carlos Delgado	1.134	2000	Carlos Delgado	.949	6,018
Games	Tony Fernandez	163	1986	Tony Fernandez	1,450	5,900
At bats	Tony Fernandez	687	1986	Tony Fernandez	5,335	5,900
Runs	Shawn Green	134	1999	Carlos Delgado	889	6,018
Hits	Vernon Wells	215	2003	Tony Fernandez	1,583	5,900
Total bases	Carlos Delgado	378	2000	Carlos Delgado	2,786	6,018
Doubles	Carlos Delgado	57	2000	Carlos Delgado	243	6,018
Triples	Tony Fernandez	17	1990	Tony Fernandez	72	5,900
Home runs	George Bell	47	1987	Carlos Delgado	336	6,018
RBIs	Carlos Delgado	145	2003	Carlos Delgado	1,058	6,018
Walks	Carlos Delgado	123	2000	Carlos Delgado	827	6,018
Strikeouts	Jose Canseco	159	1998	Carlos Delgado	1,242	6,018
Stolen bases	Dave Collins	60	1984	Lloyd Moseby	255	5,799
Extra-base hits	Carlos Delgado	99	2000	Carlos Delgado	690	6,018
Times on base	Carlos Delgado	334	2000	Carlos Delgado	2,362	6,018

Pitching Leaders

	Single Season			Name	Career	Innings Pitched
	Name		Year			
ERA	Roger Clemens	2.05	1997	Tom Henke	2.48	5,630
Wins	Roy Halladay	22	2003	Dave Stieb	175	2,873
Won-loss %	Juan Guzman	.824	1993	Roy Halladay	.648	1,116.3
Hits/9 IP	Roger Clemens	6.48	1998	Tom Henke	6.57	5,630
Walks/9 IP	Roy Halladay	1.08	2003	Doyle Alexander	2.06	750
Strikeouts	Roger Clemens	292	1997	Dave Stieb	1,658	2,873
Strikeouts/9 IP	Roger Clemens	10.39	1998	Tom Henke	10.29	5,630
Games	Mark Eichhorn	89	1997	Duane Ward	452	650.7
Saves	Duane Ward	45	1993	Tom Heinke	217	5,630
Innings	Dave Stieb	288.3	1982	Dave Stieb	2,873	2,873
Starts	Jim Clancy	40	1982	Dave Stieb	408	2,873
Complete games	Dave Stieb	19	1982	Dave Stieb	103	2,873
Shutouts	Dave Stieb	5	1982	Dave Stieb	30	2,873

Source: Drawn from data in "Toronto Blue Jays Batting Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/TOR/leaders_bat.shtml; "Toronto Blue Jays Pitching Leaders (seasonal and career)." http://baseball-reference.com/teams/TOR/leaders_pitch.shtml.

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Appendix A

NATIONAL LEAGUE SEASON STANDINGS, 1876–2005

1876			
Team	W	L	%
Chicago	52	14	.788
St. Louis	45	19	.703
Hartford	47	21	.691
Boston	39	31	.557
Louisville	30	36	.455
New York	21	35	.375
Philadelphia	14	45	.237
Cincinnati	9	56	.138

1877			
Team	W	L	%
Boston	42	18	.700
Louisville	35	25	.583
Hartford	31	27	.534
St. Louis	28	32	.467
Chicago	26	33	.441
Cincinnati	15	42	.263

1878			
Team	W	L	%
Boston	41	19	.683
Cincinnati	37	23	.617
Providence	33	27	.550
Chicago	30	30	.500
Indianapolis	24	36	.400
Milwaukee	15	45	.250
Syracuse	22	48	.314
Troy	19	56	.253

1879			
Team	W	L	%
Providence	59	25	.702
Boston	54	30	.643
Buffalo	46	32	.590
Chicago	46	33	.582
Cincinnati	43	37	.538
Cleveland	27	55	.329

1880			
Team	W	L	%
Chicago	67	17	.798
Providence	52	32	.619
Cleveland	47	37	.560
Troy	41	42	.494
Worcester	40	43	.482
Boston	40	44	.476
Buffalo	24	58	.293
Cincinnati	21	59	.262

1882			
Team	W	L	%
Chicago	55	29	.655
Providence	52	32	.619
Boston	45	39	.536
Buffalo	45	39	.536
Cleveland	42	40	.512
Detroit	42	41	.506
Troy	35	48	.422
Worcester	18	66	.214

1884			
Team	W	L	%
Providence	84	28	.750
Boston	73	38	.658
Buffalo	64	47	.577
Chicago	62	50	.554
New York	62	50	.554
Philadelphia	39	73	.348
Cleveland	35	77	.312
Detroit	28	84	.250

*United States Championship (3-0):
Providence Grays over New York Met-
ropolitans*

1881			
Team	W	L	%
Chicago	56	28	.667
Providence	47	37	.560
Buffalo	45	38	.542
Detroit	41	43	.488
Troy	39	45	.464
Boston	38	45	.458
Cleveland	36	48	.429
Worcester	32	50	.390

1883			
Team	W	L	%
Boston	63	35	.643
Chicago	59	39	.602
Providence	58	40	.592
Cleveland	55	42	.567
Buffalo	52	45	.536
New York	46	50	.479
Detroit	40	58	.408
Philadelphia	17	81	.173

1885			
Team	W	L	%
Chicago	87	25	.777
New York	85	27	.759
Philadelphia	56	54	.509
Providence	53	57	.482
Boston	46	66	.411
Detroit	41	67	.380
Buffalo	38	74	.339
St. Louis	36	72	.333

*Championship of America (3-3-1):
Chicago White Stockings tied St.
Louis Browns*

1886

Team	W	L	%
Chicago	90	34	.726
Detroit	87	36	.707
New York	75	44	.630
Philadelphia	71	43	.623
Boston	56	61	.479
St. Louis	43	79	.352
Kansas City	30	91	.248
Washington	28	92	.233

World Series (4-2): St. Louis Browns over Chicago White Stockings

1887

Team	W	L	%
Detroit	79	45	.637
Philadelphia	75	48	.610
Chicago	71	50	.587
New York	68	55	.553
Boston	61	60	.504
Pittsburgh	55	69	.444
Washington	46	76	.377
Indianapolis	37	89	.294

World Series (10-5): Detroit Wolverines over St. Louis Browns

1888

Team	W	L	%
New York	84	47	.641
Chicago	77	58	.570
Philadelphia	69	61	.531
Boston	70	64	.522
Detroit	68	63	.519
Pittsburgh	66	68	.493
Indianapolis	50	85	.370
Washington	48	86	.358

World Series (6-4): New York Giants over Brooklyn Bridegrooms

1889

Team	W	L	%
New York	83	43	.659
Boston	83	45	.648
Chicago	67	65	.508
Philadelphia	63	64	.496
Pittsburgh	61	71	.462
Cleveland	61	72	.459
Indianapolis	59	75	.440
Washington	41	83	.331

World Series (6-3): New York Giants over St. Louis Browns

1890

Team	W	L	%
Brooklyn	86	43	.667
Chicago	84	53	.613
Philadelphia	78	54	.591
Cincinnati	77	55	.583
Boston	76	57	.571
New York	63	68	.481
Cleveland	44	88	.333
Pittsburgh	23	113	.169

World Series (3-3-1): Brooklyn Bridegrooms ties Louisville Colonels

1891

Team	W	L	%
Boston	87	51	.630
Chicago	82	53	.607
New York	71	61	.538
Philadelphia	68	69	.496
Cleveland	65	74	.468
Brooklyn	61	76	.445
Cincinnati	56	81	.409
Pittsburgh	55	80	.407

1892			
Team	W	L	%
Boston	102	48	.680
Cleveland	93	56	.624
Brooklyn	95	59	.617
Philadelphia	87	66	.569
Cincinnati	82	68	.547
Pittsburgh	80	73	.523
Chicago	70	76	.479
New York	71	80	.470
Louisville	63	89	.414
Washington	58	93	.384
St. Louis	56	94	.373
Baltimore	46	101	.313

World Series (5-0-1): Boston Beaneaters over Cleveland Spiders

1893			
Team	W	L	%
Boston	86	43	.667
Pittsburgh	81	48	.628
Cleveland	73	55	.570
Philadelphia	72	57	.558
New York	68	64	.515
Brooklyn	65	63	.508
Cincinnati	65	63	.508
Baltimore	60	70	.462
Chicago	56	71	.441
St. Louis	57	75	.432
Louisville	50	75	.400
Washington	40	89	.310

1894			
Team	W	L	%
Baltimore	89	39	.695
New York	88	44	.667
Boston	83	49	.629
Philadelphia	71	57	.555
Brooklyn	70	61	.534
Cleveland	68	61	.527
Pittsburgh	65	65	.500
Chicago	57	75	.432
St. Louis	56	76	.424
Cincinnati	55	75	.423
Washington	45	87	.341
Louisville	36	94	.277

1895			
Team	W	L	%
Baltimore	87	43	.669
Cleveland	84	46	.646
Philadelphia	78	53	.595
Chicago	72	58	.554
Brooklyn	71	60	.542
Boston	71	60	.542
Pittsburgh	71	61	.538
Cincinnati	66	64	.508
New York	66	65	.504
Washington	43	85	.336
St. Louis	39	92	.298
Louisville	35	96	.267

1896			
Team	W	L	%
Baltimore	90	39	.698
Cleveland	80	48	.625
Cincinnati	77	50	.606
Boston	74	57	.565

1897			
Team	W	L	%
Boston	93	39	.705
Baltimore	90	40	.692
New York	83	48	.634
Cincinnati	76	56	.576

1896

Team	W	L	%
Chicago	71	57	.555
Pittsburgh	66	63	.512
New York	64	67	.489
Philadelphia	62	68	.477
Brooklyn	58	73	.443
Washington	58	73	.443
St. Louis	40	90	.308
Louisville	38	93	.290

1897

Team	W	L	%
Cleveland	69	62	.527
Brooklyn	61	71	.462
Washington	61	71	.462
Pittsburgh	60	71	.458
Chicago	59	73	.447
Philadelphia	55	77	.417
Louisville	52	78	.400
St. Louis	29	102	.221

1898

Team	W	L	%
Boston	102	47	.685
Baltimore	96	53	.644
Cincinnati	92	60	.605
Chicago	85	65	.567
Cleveland	81	68	.544
Philadelphia	78	71	.523
New York	77	73	.513
Pittsburgh	72	76	.486
Louisville	70	81	.464
Brooklyn	54	91	.372
Washington	51	101	.336
St. Louis	39	111	.260

1899

Team	W	L	%
Brooklyn	101	47	.682
Boston	95	57	.625
Philadelphia	94	58	.618
Baltimore	86	62	.581
St. Louis	84	67	.556
Cincinnati	83	67	.553
Pittsburgh	76	73	.510
Chicago	75	73	.507
Louisville	75	77	.493
New York	60	90	.400
Washington	54	98	.355
Cleveland	20	134	.130

1900

Team	W	L	%
Brooklyn	82	54	.603
Pittsburgh	79	60	.568
Philadelphia	75	63	.543
Boston	66	72	.478
Chicago	65	75	.464
St. Louis	65	75	.464
Cincinnati	62	77	.446
New York	60	78	.435

1901

Team	W	L	%
Pittsburgh	90	49	.647
Philadelphia	83	57	.593
Brooklyn	79	57	.581
St. Louis	76	64	.543
Boston	69	69	.500
Chicago	53	86	.381
New York	52	85	.380
Cincinnati	52	87	.374

1902			
Team	W	L	%
Pittsburgh	03	36	.741
Brooklyn	75	63	.543
Boston	73	64	.533
Cincinnati	70	70	.500
Chicago	68	69	.496
St. Louis	56	78	.418
Philadelphia	56	81	.409
New York	48	88	.353

1903			
Team	W	L	%
Pittsburgh	91	49	.650
New York	84	55	.604
Chicago	82	56	.594
Cincinnati	74	65	.532
Brooklyn	70	66	.515
Boston	58	80	.420
Philadelphia	49	86	.363
St. Louis	43	94	.314

World Series (5-3): Boston Pilgrims over Pittsburgh Pirates

1904			
Team	W	L	%
New York	106	47	.693
Chicago	93	60	.608
Cincinnati	88	65	.575
Pittsburgh	87	66	.569
St. Louis	75	79	.487
Brooklyn	56	97	.366
Boston	55	98	.359
Philadelphia	52	100	.342

1905			
Team	W	L	%
New York	105	48	.686
Pittsburgh	96	57	.627
Chicago	92	61	.601
Philadelphia	83	69	.546
Cincinnati	79	74	.516
St. Louis	58	96	.377
Boston	51	103	.331
Brooklyn	48	104	.316

World Series (4-1): NY Giants over Philadelphia Athletics

1906			
Team	W	L	%
Chicago	116	36	.763
New York	96	56	.632
Pittsburgh	93	60	.608
Philadelphia	71	82	.464
Brooklyn	66	86	.434
Cincinnati	64	87	.424
St. Louis	52	98	.347
Boston	49	102	.325

1907			
Team	W	L	%
Chicago	107	45	.704
Pittsburgh	91	63	.591
Philadelphia	83	64	.565
New York	82	71	.536
Brooklyn	65	83	.439
Cincinnati	66	87	.431
Boston	58	90	.392
St. Louis	52	101	.340

World Series (4-2): Chicago White Sox over Chicago Cubs

World Series (4-0-1): Chicago Cubs over Detroit Tigers

1908

Team	W	L	%
Chicago	99	55	.643
New York	98	56	.636
Pittsburgh	98	56	.636
Philadelphia	83	71	.539
Cincinnati	73	81	.474
Boston	63	91	.409
Brooklyn	53	101	.344
St. Louis	49	105	.318

World Series (4-1): Chicago Cubs over Detroit Tigers

1909

Team	W	L	%
Pittsburgh	110	42	.724
Chicago	104	49	.680
New York	92	61	.601
Cincinnati	77	76	.503
Philadelphia	74	79	.484
Brooklyn	55	98	.359
St. Louis	54	98	.355
Boston	45	108	.294

World Series (4-3): Pittsburgh Pirates over Detroit Tigers

1910

Team	W	L	%
Chicago	104	50	.675
New York	91	63	.591
Pittsburgh	86	67	.562
Philadelphia	78	75	.510
Cincinnati	75	79	.487
Brooklyn	64	90	.416
St. Louis	63	90	.412
Boston	53	100	.346

World Series (4-1): Philadelphia Athletics over Chicago Cubs

1911

Team	W	L	%
New York	99	54	.647
Chicago	92	62	.597
Pittsburgh	85	69	.552
Philadelphia	79	73	.520
St. Louis	75	74	.503
Cincinnati	70	83	.458
Brooklyn	64	86	.427
Boston	44	107	.291

World Series (4-2): Philadelphia Athletics over New York Giants

1912

Team	W	L	%
New York	103	48	.682
Pittsburgh	93	58	.616
Chicago	91	59	.607
Cincinnati	75	78	.490
Philadelphia	73	79	.480
St. Louis	63	90	.412
Brooklyn	58	95	.379
Boston	52	101	.340

World Series (4-3-1): Boston Red Sox over New York Giants

1913

Team	W	L	%
New York	101	51	.664
Philadelphia	88	63	.583
Chicago	88	65	.575
Pittsburgh	78	71	.523
Boston	69	82	.457
Brooklyn	65	84	.436
Cincinnati	64	89	.418
St. Louis	51	99	.340

World Series (4-1): Philadelphia Athletics over New York Giants

1914			
Team	W	L	%
Boston	94	59	.614
New York	84	70	.545
St. Louis	81	72	.529
Chicago	78	76	.506
Brooklyn	75	79	.487
Philadelphia	74	80	.481
Pittsburgh	69	85	.448
Cincinnati	60	94	.390

World Series (4-0): Boston Braves over Philadelphia Athletics

1916			
Team	W	L	%
Brooklyn	94	60	.610
Philadelphia	91	62	.595
Boston	89	63	.586
New York	86	66	.566
Chicago	67	86	.438
Pittsburgh	65	89	.422
Cincinnati	60	93	.392
St. Louis	60	93	.392

World Series (4-1): Boston Red Sox over Brooklyn Robins

1918			
Team	W	L	%
Chicago	84	45	.651
New York	71	53	.573
Cincinnati	68	60	.531
Pittsburgh	65	60	.520
Brooklyn	57	69	.452
Philadelphia	55	68	.447
Boston	53	71	.427
St. Louis	51	78	.395

World Series (4-2): Boston Red Sox over Chicago Cubs

1915			
Team	W	L	%
Philadelphia	90	62	.592
Boston	83	69	.546
Brooklyn	80	72	.526
Chicago	73	80	.477
Pittsburgh	73	81	.474
St. Louis	72	81	.471
Cincinnati	71	83	.461
New York	69	83	.454

World Series (4-1): Boston Red Sox over Philadelphia Phillies

1917			
Team	W	L	%
New York	98	56	.636
Philadelphia	87	65	.572
St. Louis	82	70	.539
Cincinnati	78	76	.506
Chicago	74	80	.481
Boston	72	81	.471
Brooklyn	70	81	.464
Pittsburgh	51	103	.331

World Series (4-2): Chicago White Sox over New York Giants

1919			
Team	W	L	%
Cincinnati	96	44	.686
New York	87	53	.621
Chicago	75	65	.536
Pittsburgh	71	68	.511
Brooklyn	69	71	.493
Boston	57	82	.410
St. Louis	54	83	.394
Philadelphia	47	90	.343

World Series (5-3): Cincinnati Reds over Chicago White Sox

1920

Team	W	L	%
Brooklyn	93	61	.604
New York	86	68	.558
Cincinnati	82	71	.536
Pittsburgh	79	75	.513
Chicago	75	79	.487
St. Louis	75	79	.487
Boston	62	90	.408
Philadelphia	62	91	.405

World Series (5-2): Cleveland Indians over Brooklyn Robins

1921

Team	W	L	%
New York	94	59	.614
Pittsburgh	90	63	.588
St. Louis	87	66	.569
Boston	79	74	.516
Brooklyn	77	75	.507
Cincinnati	70	83	.458
Chicago	64	89	.418
Philadelphia	51	103	.331

World Series (5-3): New York Giants over New York Yankees

1922

Team	W	L	%
New York	93	61	.604
Cincinnati	86	68	.558
Pittsburgh	85	69	.552
St. Louis	85	69	.552
Chicago	80	74	.519
Brooklyn	76	78	.494
Philadelphia	57	96	.373
Boston	53	100	.346

World Series (4-0-1): New York Yankees over New York Giants

1923

Team	W	L	%
New York	95	58	.621
Cincinnati	91	63	.591
Pittsburgh	87	67	.565
Chicago	83	71	.539
St. Louis	79	74	.516
Brooklyn	76	78	.494
Boston	54	100	.351
Philadelphia	50	104	.325

World Series (4-2): New York Yankees over New York Giants

1924

Team	W	L	%
New York	93	60	.608
Brooklyn	92	62	.597
Pittsburgh	90	63	.588
Cincinnati	83	70	.542
Chicago	81	72	.529
St. Louis	65	89	.422
Philadelphia	55	96	.364
Boston	53	100	.346

World Series (4-3): Washington Senators over New York Giants

1925

Team	W	L	%
Pittsburgh	95	58	.621
New York	86	66	.566
Cincinnati	80	73	.523
St. Louis	77	76	.503
Boston	70	83	.458
Brooklyn	68	85	.444
Philadelphia	68	85	.444
Chicago	68	86	.442

World Series (4-3): Pittsburgh Pirates over Washington Senators

1926			
Team	W	L	%
St. Louis	89	65	.578
Cincinnati	87	67	.565
Pittsburgh	84	69	.549
Chicago	82	72	.532
New York	74	77	.490
Brooklyn	71	82	.464
Boston	66	86	.434
Philadelphia	58	93	.384

World Series (4-3): St. Louis Cardinals over New York Yankees

1927			
Team	W	L	%
Pittsburgh	94	60	.610
St. Louis	92	61	.601
New York	92	62	.597
Chicago	85	68	.556
Cincinnati	75	78	.490
Brooklyn	65	88	.425
Boston	60	94	.390
Philadelphia	51	103	.331

World Series (4-0): New York Yankees over Pittsburgh Pirates

1928			
Team	W	L	%
St. Louis	95	59	.617
New York	93	61	.604
Chicago	91	63	.591
Pittsburgh	85	67	.559
Cincinnati	78	74	.513
Brooklyn	77	76	.503
Boston	50	103	.327
Philadelphia	43	109	.283

World Series (4-0): New York Yankees over St. Louis Cardinals

1929			
Team	W	L	%
Chicago	98	54	.645
Pittsburgh	88	65	.575
New York	84	67	.556
St. Louis	78	74	.513
Philadelphia	71	82	.464
Brooklyn	70	83	.458
Cincinnati	66	88	.429
Boston	56	98	.364

World Series (4-1): Philadelphia Athletics over Chicago Cubs

1930			
Team	W	L	%
St. Louis	92	62	.597
Chicago	90	64	.584
New York	87	67	.565
Brooklyn	86	68	.558
Pittsburgh	80	74	.519
Boston	70	84	.455
Cincinnati	59	95	.383
Philadelphia	52	102	.338

World Series (4-2): Philadelphia Athletics over St. Louis Cardinals

1931			
Team	W	L	%
St. Louis	101	53	.656
New York	87	65	.572
Chicago	84	70	.545
Brooklyn	79	73	.520
Pittsburgh	75	79	.487
Philadelphia	66	88	.429
Boston	64	90	.416
Cincinnati	58	96	.377

World Series (4-3): St. Louis Cardinals over Philadelphia Athletics

1932

Team	W	L	%
Chicago	90	64	.584
Pittsburgh	86	68	.558
Brooklyn	81	73	.526
Philadelphia	78	76	.506
Boston	77	77	.500
New York	72	82	.468
St. Louis	72	82	.468
Cincinnati	60	94	.390

World Series (4-0): New York Yankees over Chicago Cubs

1933

Team	W	L	%
New York	91	61	.599
Pittsburgh	87	67	.565
Chicago	86	68	.558
Boston	83	71	.539
St. Louis	82	71	.536
Brooklyn	65	88	.425
Philadelphia	60	92	.395
Cincinnati	58	94	.382

World Series (4-1): New York Giants over Washington Senators

1934

Team	W	L	%
St. Louis	95	58	.621
New York	93	60	.608
Chicago	86	65	.570
Boston	78	73	.517
Pittsburgh	74	76	.493
Brooklyn	71	81	.467
Philadelphia	56	93	.376
Cincinnati	52	99	.344

World Series (4-3): St. Louis Cardinals over Detroit Tigers

1935

Team	W	L	%
Chicago	100	54	.649
St. Louis	96	58	.623
New York	91	62	.595
Pittsburgh	86	67	.562
Brooklyn	70	83	.458
Cincinnati	68	85	.444
Philadelphia	64	89	.418
Boston	38	115	.248

World Series (4-2): Detroit Tigers over Chicago Cubs

1936

Team	W	L	%
New York	92	62	.597
Chicago	87	67	.565
St. Louis	87	67	.565
Pittsburgh	84	70	.545
Cincinnati	74	80	.481
Boston	71	83	.461
Brooklyn	67	87	.435
Philadelphia	54	100	.351

World Series (4-2): New York Yankees over New York Giants

1937

Team	W	L	%
New York	95	57	.625
Chicago	93	61	.604
Pittsburgh	86	68	.558
St. Louis	81	73	.526
Boston	79	73	.520
Brooklyn	62	91	.405
Philadelphia	61	92	.399
Cincinnati	56	98	.364

World Series (4-1): New York Yankees over New York Giants

1938			
Team	W	L	%
Chicago	89	63	.586
Pittsburgh	86	64	.573
New York	83	67	.553
Cincinnati	82	68	.547
Boston	77	75	.507
St. Louis	71	80	.470
Brooklyn	69	80	.463
Philadelphia	45	105	.300

World Series (4-0): New York Yankees over Chicago Cubs

1940			
Team	W	L	%
Cincinnati	100	53	.654
Brooklyn	88	65	.575
St. Louis	84	69	.549
Pittsburgh	78	76	.506
Chicago	75	79	.487
New York	72	80	.474
Boston	65	87	.428
Philadelphia	50	103	.327

World Series (4-3): Cincinnati Reds over Detroit Tigers

1942			
Team	W	L	%
St. Louis	106	48	.688
Brooklyn	104	50	.675
New York	85	67	.559
Cincinnati	76	76	.500
Pittsburgh	66	81	.449
Chicago	68	86	.442
Boston	59	89	.399
Philadelphia	42	109	.278

World Series (4-1): St. Louis Cardinals over New York Yankees

1939			
Team	W	L	%
Cincinnati	97	57	.630
St. Louis	92	61	.601
Brooklyn	84	69	.549
Chicago	84	70	.545
New York	77	74	.510
Pittsburgh	68	85	.444
Boston	63	88	.417
Philadelphia	45	106	.298

World Series (4-0): New York Yankees over Cincinnati Reds

1941			
Team	W	L	%
Brooklyn	100	54	.649
St. Louis	97	56	.634
Cincinnati	88	66	.571
Pittsburgh	81	73	.526
New York	74	79	.484
Chicago	70	84	.455
Boston	62	92	.403
Philadelphia	43	111	.279

World Series (4-1): New York Yankees over Brooklyn Dodgers

1943			
Team	W	L	%
St. Louis	105	49	.682
Cincinnati	87	67	.565
Brooklyn	81	72	.529
Pittsburgh	80	74	.519
Chicago	74	79	.484
Boston	68	85	.444
Philadelphia	64	90	.416
New York	55	98	.359

World Series (4-1): New York Yankees over St. Louis Cardinals

1944

Team	W	L	%
St. Louis	105	49	.682
Pittsburgh	90	63	.588
Cincinnati	89	65	.578
Chicago	75	79	.487
New York	67	87	.435
Boston	65	89	.422
Brooklyn	63	91	.409
Philadelphia	61	92	.399

World Series (4-2): St. Louis Cardinals over St. Louis Browns

1946

Team	W	L	%
St. Louis	98	58	.628
Brooklyn	96	60	.615
Chicago	82	71	.536
Boston	81	72	.529
Philadelphia	69	85	.448
Cincinnati	67	87	.435
Pittsburgh	63	91	.409
New York	61	93	.396

World Series (4-3): St. Louis Cardinals over Boston Red Sox

1948

Team	W	L	%
Boston	91	62	.595
St. Louis	85	69	.552
Brooklyn	84	70	.545
Pittsburgh	83	71	.539
New York	78	76	.506
Philadelphia	66	88	.429
Cincinnati	64	89	.418
Chicago	64	90	.416

World Series (4-2): Cleveland Indians over Boston Braves

1945

Team	W	L	%
Chicago	98	56	.636
St. Louis	95	59	.617
Brooklyn	87	67	.565
Pittsburgh	82	72	.532
New York	78	74	.513
Boston	67	85	.441
Cincinnati	61	93	.396
Philadelphia	46	108	.299

World Series (4-3): Detroit Tigers over Chicago Cubs

1947

Team	W	L	%
Brooklyn	94	60	.610
St. Louis	89	65	.578
Boston	86	68	.558
New York	81	73	.526
Cincinnati	73	81	.474
Chicago	69	85	.448
Philadelphia	62	92	.403
Pittsburgh	62	92	.403

World Series (4-3): New York Yankees over Brooklyn Dodgers

1949

Team	W	L	%
Brooklyn	97	57	.630
St. Louis	96	58	.623
Philadelphia	81	73	.526
Boston	75	79	.487
New York	73	81	.474
Pittsburgh	71	83	.461
Cincinnati	62	92	.403
Chicago	61	93	.396

World Series (4-1): New York Yankees over Brooklyn Dodgers

1950			
Team	W	L	%
Philadelphia	91	63	.591
Brooklyn	89	65	.578
New York	86	68	.558
Boston	83	71	.539
St. Louis	78	75	.510
Cincinnati	66	87	.431
Chicago	64	89	.418
Pittsburgh	57	96	.373

World Series (4-0): New York Yankees over Philadelphia Phillies

1952			
Team	W	L	%
Brooklyn	96	57	.627
New York	92	62	.597
St. Louis	88	66	.571
Philadelphia	87	67	.565
Chicago	77	77	.500
Cincinnati	69	85	.448
Boston	64	89	.418
Pittsburgh	42	112	.273

World Series (4-3): New York Yankees over Brooklyn Dodgers

1954			
Team	W	L	%
New York	97	57	.630
Brooklyn	92	62	.597
Milwaukee	89	65	.578
Philadelphia	75	79	.487
Cincinnati	74	80	.481
St. Louis	72	82	.468
Chicago	64	90	.416
Pittsburgh	53	101	.344

World Series (4-0): New York Giants over Cleveland Indians

1951			
Team	W	L	%
New York	98	59	.624
Brooklyn	97	60	.618
St. Louis	81	73	.526
Boston	76	78	.494
Philadelphia	73	81	.474
Cincinnati	68	86	.442
Pittsburgh	64	90	.416
Chicago	62	92	.403

World Series (4-2): New York Yankees over New York Giants

1953			
Team	W	L	%
Brooklyn	105	49	.682
Milwaukee	92	62	.597
Philadelphia	83	71	.539
St. Louis	83	71	.539
New York	70	84	.455
Cincinnati	68	86	.442
Chicago	65	89	.422
Pittsburgh	50	104	.325

World Series (4-2): New York Yankees over Brooklyn Dodgers

1955			
Team	W	L	%
Brooklyn	98	55	.641
Milwaukee	85	69	.552
New York	80	74	.519
Philadelphia	77	77	.500
Cincinnati	75	79	.487
Chicago	72	81	.471
St. Louis	68	86	.442
Pittsburgh	60	94	.390

World Series (4-3): Brooklyn Dodgers over New York Yankees

1956

Team	W	L	%
Brooklyn	93	61	.604
Milwaukee	92	62	.597
Cincinnati	91	63	.591
St. Louis	76	78	.494
Philadelphia	71	83	.461
New York	67	87	.435
Pittsburgh	66	88	.429
Chicago	60	94	.390

World Series (4-3): New York Yankees over Brooklyn Dodgers

1957

Team	W	L	%
Milwaukee	95	59	.617
St. Louis	87	67	.565
Brooklyn	84	70	.545
Cincinnati	80	74	.519
Philadelphia	77	77	.500
New York	69	85	.448
Chicago	62	92	.403
Pittsburgh	62	92	.403

World Series (4-3): Milwaukee Braves over New York Yankees

1958

Team	W	L	%
Milwaukee	92	62	.597
Pittsburgh	84	70	.545
San Francisco	80	74	.519
Cincinnati	76	78	.494
Chicago	72	82	.468
St. Louis	72	82	.468
Los Angeles	71	83	.461
Philadelphia	69	85	.448

World Series (4-3): New York Yankees over Milwaukee Braves

1959

Team	W	L	%
Los Angeles	88	68	.564
Milwaukee	86	70	.551
San Francisco	83	71	.539
Pittsburgh	78	76	.506
Chicago	74	80	.481
Cincinnati	74	80	.481
St. Louis	71	83	.461
Philadelphia	64	90	.416

World Series (4-2): Los Angeles Dodgers over Chicago White Sox

1960

Team	W	L	%
Pittsburgh	95	59	.617
Milwaukee	88	66	.571
St. Louis	86	68	.558
Los Angeles	82	72	.532
San Francisco	79	75	.513
Cincinnati	67	87	.435
Chicago	60	94	.390
Philadelphia	59	95	.383

World Series (4-3): Pittsburgh Pirates over New York Yankees

1961

Team	W	L	%
Cincinnati	93	61	.604
Los Angeles	89	65	.578
San Francisco	85	69	.552
Milwaukee	83	71	.539
St. Louis	80	74	.519
Pittsburgh	75	79	.487
Chicago	64	90	.416
Philadelphia	47	107	.305

World Series (4-1): New York Yankees over Cincinnati Reds

1962			
Team	W	L	%
San Francisco	103	62	.624
Los Angeles	102	63	.618
Cincinnati	98	64	.605
Pittsburgh	93	68	.578
Milwaukee	86	76	.531
St. Louis	84	78	.519
Philadelphia	81	80	.503
Houston	64	96	.400
Chicago	59	103	.364
New York	40	120	.250

World Series (4-3): New York Yankees over San Francisco Giants

1964			
Team	W	L	%
St. Louis	93	69	.574
Cincinnati	92	70	.568
Philadelphia	92	70	.568
San Francisco	90	72	.556
Milwaukee	88	74	.543
Los Angeles	80	82	.494
Pittsburgh	80	82	.494
Chicago	76	86	.469
Houston	66	96	.407
New York	53	109	.327

World Series (4-3): St. Louis Cardinals over New York Yankees

1963			
Team	W	L	%
Los Angeles	99	63	.611
St. Louis	93	69	.574
San Francisco	88	74	.543
Philadelphia	87	75	.537
Cincinnati	86	76	.531
Milwaukee	84	78	.519
Chicago	82	80	.506
Pittsburgh	74	88	.457
Houston	66	96	.407
New York	51	111	.315

World Series (4-0): Los Angeles Dodgers over New York Yankees

1965			
Team	W	L	%
Los Angeles	97	65	.599
San Francisco	95	67	.586
Pittsburgh	90	72	.556
Cincinnati	89	73	.549
Milwaukee	86	76	.531
Philadelphia	85	76	.528
St. Louis	80	81	.497
Chicago	72	90	.444
Houston	65	97	.401
New York	50	112	.309

World Series (4-3): Los Angeles Dodgers over Minnesota Twins

1966			
Team	W	L	%
Los Angeles	95	67	.586
San Francisco	93	68	.578
Pittsburgh	92	70	.568
Philadelphia	87	75	.537
Atlanta	85	77	.525
St. Louis	83	79	.512
Cincinnati	76	84	.475
Houston	72	90	.444
New York	66	95	.410
Chicago	59	103	.364

World Series (4-0): Baltimore Orioles over Los Angeles Dodgers

1967			
Team	W	L	%
St. Louis	101	60	.627
San Francisco	91	71	.562
Chicago	87	74	.540
Cincinnati	87	75	.537
Philadelphia	82	80	.506
Pittsburgh	81	81	.500
Atlanta	77	85	.475
Los Angeles	73	89	.451
Houston	69	93	.426
New York	61	101	.377

World Series (4-3): St. Louis Cardinals over Boston Red Sox

1968			
Team	W	L	%
St. Louis	97	65	.599
San Francisco	88	74	.543
Chicago	84	78	.519
Cincinnati	83	79	.512
Atlanta	81	81	.500
Pittsburgh	80	82	.494
Los Angeles	76	86	.469
Philadelphia	76	86	.469
New York	73	89	.451
Houston	72	90	.444

World Series (4-3): Detroit Tigers over St. Louis Cardinals

1969

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
New York	100	62	.617
Chicago	92	70	.568
Pittsburgh	88	74	.543
St. Louis	87	75	.537
Philadelphia	63	99	.389
Montreal	52	110	.321

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Atlanta	93	69	.574
San Francisco	90	72	.556
Cincinnati	89	73	.549
Los Angeles	85	77	.525
Houston	81	81	.500
San Diego	52	110	.321

World Series (4-1): New York Mets over Baltimore Orioles

NL Championship Series (3-0): New York Mets over Atlanta Braves

1970

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
Pittsburgh	89	73	.549
Chicago	84	78	.519
New York	83	79	.512
St. Louis	76	86	.469
Philadelphia	73	88	.453
Montreal	73	89	.451

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Cincinnati	102	60	.630
Los Angeles	87	74	.540
San Francisco	86	76	.531
Houston	79	83	.488
Atlanta	76	86	.469
San Diego	63	99	.389

World Series (4-1): Baltimore Orioles over Cincinnati Reds

NL Championship Series (3-0): Cincinnati Reds over Pittsburgh Pirates

1971

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
Pittsburgh	97	65	.599
St. Louis	90	72	.556
Chicago	83	79	.512
New York	83	79	.512
Montreal	71	90	.441
Philadelphia	67	95	.414

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
San Francisco	90	72	.556
Los Angeles	89	73	.549
Atlanta	82	80	.506
Cincinnati	79	83	.488
Houston	79	83	.488
San Diego	61	100	.379

World Series (4-3): Pittsburgh Pirates over Baltimore Orioles

NL Championship Series (3-1): Pittsburgh Pirates over San Francisco Giants

1972

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
Pittsburgh	96	59	.619
Chicago	85	70	.548
New York	83	73	.532
St. Louis	75	81	.481
Montreal	70	86	.449
Philadelphia	59	97	.378

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Cincinnati	95	59	.617
Houston	84	69	.549
Los Angeles	85	70	.548
Atlanta	70	84	.455
San Francisco	69	86	.445
San Diego	58	95	.379

World Series (4-3): Oakland Athletics over Cincinnati Reds

NL Championship Series (3-2): Cincinnati Reds over Pittsburgh Pirates

1973

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
New York	82	79	.509
St. Louis	81	81	.500
Pittsburgh	80	82	.494
Montreal	79	83	.488
Chicago	77	84	.478
Philadelphia	71	91	.438

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Cincinnati	99	63	.611
Los Angeles	95	66	.590
San Francisco	88	74	.543
Houston	82	80	.506
Atlanta	76	85	.472
San Diego	60	102	.370

World Series (4-3): Oakland Athletics over New York Mets

NL Championship Series (3-2): New York Mets over Cincinnati Reds

1974

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
Pittsburgh	88	74	.543
St. Louis	86	75	.534
Philadelphia	80	82	.494
Montreal	79	82	.491
New York	71	91	.438
Chicago	66	96	.407

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Los Angeles	102	60	.630
Cincinnati	98	64	.605
Atlanta	88	74	.543
Houston	81	81	.500
San Francisco	72	90	.444
San Diego	60	102	.370

World Series (4-1): Oakland Athletics over Los Angeles Dodgers

NL Championship Series (3-1): Los Angeles Dodgers over Pittsburgh Pirates

1975

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Pittsburgh	92	69	.571	Cincinnati	108	54	.667
Philadelphia	86	76	.531	Los Angeles	88	74	.543
New York	82	80	.506	San Francisco	80	81	.497
St. Louis	82	80	.506	San Diego	71	91	.438
Chicago	75	87	.463	Atlanta	67	94	.416
Montreal	75	87	.463	Houston	64	97	.398

World Series (4-3): Cincinnati Reds over Boston Red Sox

NL Championship Series (3-0): Cincinnati Reds over Pittsburgh Pirates

1976

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Philadelphia	101	61	.623	Cincinnati	102	60	.630
Pittsburgh	92	70	.568	Los Angeles	92	70	.568
New York	86	76	.531	Houston	80	82	.494
Chicago	75	87	.463	San Francisco	74	88	.457
St. Louis	72	90	.444	San Diego	73	89	.451
Montreal	55	107	.340	Atlanta	70	92	.432

World Series (4-0): Cincinnati Reds over New York Yankees

NL Championship Series (3-0): Cincinnati Reds over Philadelphia Phillies

1977

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Philadelphia	101	61	.623	Los Angeles	98	64	.605
Pittsburgh	96	66	.593	Cincinnati	88	74	.543
St. Louis	83	79	.512	Houston	81	81	.500
Chicago	81	81	.500	San Francisco	75	87	.463
Montreal	75	87	.463	San Diego	69	93	.426
New York	64	98	.395	Atlanta	61	101	.377

World Series (4-2): New York Yankees over Los Angeles Dodgers

NL Championship Series (3-1): Los Angeles Dodgers over Philadelphia Phillies

1978

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
Philadelphia	90	72	.556
Pittsburgh	88	73	.547
Chicago	79	83	.488
Montreal	76	86	.469
St. Louis	69	93	.426
New York	66	96	.407

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Los Angeles	95	67	.586
Cincinnati	92	69	.571
San Francisco	89	73	.549
San Diego	84	78	.519
Houston	74	88	.457
Atlanta	69	93	.426

World Series (4-2): New York Yankees over Los Angeles Dodgers

NL Championship Series (3-1): Los Angeles Dodgers over Philadelphia Phillies

1979

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
Pittsburgh	98	64	.605
Montreal	95	65	.594
St. Louis	86	76	.531
Philadelphia	84	78	.519
Chicago	80	82	.494
New York	63	99	.389

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Cincinnati	90	71	.559
Houston	89	73	.549
Los Angeles	79	83	.488
San Francisco	71	91	.438
San Diego	68	93	.422
Atlanta	66	94	.412

World Series (4-3): Pittsburgh Pirates over Baltimore Orioles

NL Championship Series (3-0): Pittsburgh Pirates over Cincinnati Reds

1980

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
Philadelphia	91	71	.562
Montreal	90	72	.556
Pittsburgh	83	79	.512
St. Louis	74	88	.457
New York	67	95	.414
Chicago	64	98	.395

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Houston	93	70	.571
Los Angeles	92	71	.564
Cincinnati	89	73	.549
Atlanta	81	80	.503
San Francisco	75	86	.466
San Diego	73	89	.451

World Series (4-2): Philadelphia Phillies over Kansas City Royals

NL Championship Series (3-2): Philadelphia Phillies over Houston Astros

1981

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
St. Louis	59	43	.578	Cincinnati	66	42	.611
Montreal	60	48	.556	Los Angeles	63	47	.573
Philadelphia	59	48	.551	Houston	61	49	.555
Pittsburgh	46	56	.451	San Francisco	56	55	.505
New York	41	62	.398	Atlanta	50	56	.472
Chicago	38	65	.369	San Diego	41	69	.373

World Series (4-2): Los Angeles Dodgers over New York Yankees

NL Championship Series (3-2): Los Angeles Dodgers over Montreal Expos

NL Division Series (3-2): Montreal Expos over Philadelphia Phillies

NL Division Series (3-2): Los Angeles Dodgers over Houston Astros

1982

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
St. Louis	92	70	.568	Atlanta	89	73	.549
Philadelphia	89	73	.549	Los Angeles	88	74	.543
Montreal	86	76	.531	San Francisco	87	75	.537
Pittsburgh	84	78	.519	San Diego	81	81	.500
Chicago	73	89	.451	Houston	77	85	.475
New York	65	97	.401	Cincinnati	61	101	.377

World Series (4-3): St. Louis Cardinals over Milwaukee Brewers

NL Championship Series (3-0): St. Louis Cardinals over Atlanta Braves

1983

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Philadelphia	90	72	.556	Los Angeles	91	71	.562
Pittsburgh	84	78	.519	Atlanta	88	74	.543
Montreal	82	80	.506	Houston	85	77	.525
St. Louis	79	83	.488	San Diego	81	81	.500
Chicago	71	91	.438	San Francisco	79	83	.488
New York	68	94	.420	Cincinnati	74	88	.457

World Series (4-1): Baltimore Orioles over Philadelphia Phillies

NL Championship Series (3-1): Philadelphia Phillies over Los Angeles Dodgers

1984

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
Chicago	96	65	.596
New York	90	72	.556
St. Louis	84	78	.519
Philadelphia	81	81	.500
Montreal	78	83	.484
Pittsburgh	75	87	.463

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
San Diego	92	70	.568
Atlanta	80	82	.494
Houston	80	82	.494
Los Angeles	79	83	.488
Cincinnati	70	92	.432
San Francisco	66	96	.407

World Series (4-1): Detroit Tigers over San Diego Padres

NL Championship Series (3-2): San Diego Padres over Chicago Cubs

1985

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
St. Louis	101	61	.623
New York	98	64	.605
Montreal	84	77	.522
Chicago	77	84	.478
Philadelphia	75	87	.463
Pittsburgh	57	104	.354

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Los Angeles	95	67	.586
Cincinnati	89	72	.553
Houston	83	79	.512
San Diego	83	79	.512
Atlanta	66	96	.407
San Francisco	62	100	.383

World Series (4-3): Kansas City Royals over St. Louis Cardinals

NL Championship Series (4-2): St. Louis Cardinals over Los Angeles Dodgers

1986

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
New York	108	54	.667
Philadelphia	86	75	.534
St. Louis	79	82	.491
Montreal	78	83	.484
Chicago	70	90	.438
Pittsburgh	64	98	.395

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Houston	96	66	.593
Cincinnati	86	76	.531
San Francisco	83	79	.512
San Diego	74	88	.457
Los Angeles	73	89	.451
Atlanta	72	89	.447

World Series (4-3): New York Mets over Boston Red Sox

NL Championship Series (4-2): New York Mets over Houston Astros

1987

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
St. Louis	95	67	.586	San Francisco	90	72	.556
New York	92	70	.568	Cincinnati	84	78	.519
Montreal	91	71	.562	Houston	76	86	.469
Philadelphia	80	82	.494	Los Angeles	73	89	.451
Pittsburgh	80	82	.494	Atlanta	69	92	.429
Chicago	76	85	.472	San Diego	65	97	.401

World Series (4-3): Minnesota Twins over St. Louis Cardinals

NL Championship Series (4-3): St. Louis Cardinals over San Francisco Giants

1988

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
New York	100	60	.625	Los Angeles	94	67	.584
Pittsburgh	85	75	.531	Cincinnati	87	74	.540
Montreal	81	81	.500	San Diego	83	78	.516
Chicago	77	85	.475	San Francisco	83	79	.512
St. Louis	76	86	.469	Houston	82	80	.506
Philadelphia	65	96	.404	Atlanta	54	106	.338

World Series (4-1): Los Angeles Dodgers over Oakland Athletics

NL Championship Series (4-3): Los Angeles Dodgers over New York Mets

1989

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Chicago	93	69	.574	San Francisco	92	70	.568
New York	87	75	.537	San Diego	89	73	.549
St. Louis	86	76	.531	Houston	86	76	.531
Montreal	81	81	.500	Los Angeles	77	83	.481
Pittsburgh	74	88	.457	Cincinnati	75	87	.463
Philadelphia	67	95	.414	Atlanta	63	97	.394

World Series (4-0): Oakland Athletics over San Francisco Giants

NL Championship Series (4-1): San Francisco Giants over Chicago Cubs

1990

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
Pittsburgh	95	67	.586
New York	91	71	.562
Montreal	85	77	.525
Chicago	77	85	.475
Philadelphia	77	85	.475
St. Louis	70	92	.432

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Cincinnati	91	71	.562
Los Angeles	86	76	.531
San Francisco	85	77	.525
Houston	75	87	.463
San Diego	75	87	.463
Atlanta	65	97	.401

World Series (4-0): Cincinnati Reds over Oakland Athletics

NL Championship Series (4-2): Cincinnati Reds over Pittsburgh Pirates

1991

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
Pittsburgh	98	64	.605
St. Louis	84	78	.519
Chicago	77	83	.481
Philadelphia	78	84	.481
New York	77	84	.478
Montreal	71	90	.441

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Atlanta	94	68	.580
Los Angeles	93	69	.574
San Diego	84	78	.519
San Francisco	75	87	.463
Cincinnati	74	88	.457
Houston	65	97	.401

World Series (4-3): Minnesota Twins over Atlanta Braves

NL Championship Series (4-3): Atlanta Braves over Pittsburgh Pirates

1992

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
Pittsburgh	96	66	.593
Montreal	87	75	.537
St. Louis	83	79	.512
Chicago	78	84	.481
New York	72	90	.444
Philadelphia	70	92	.432

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Atlanta	98	64	.605
Cincinnati	90	72	.556
San Diego	82	80	.506
Houston	81	81	.500
San Francisco	72	90	.444
Los Angeles	63	99	.389

World Series (4-2): Toronto Blue Jays over Atlanta Braves

NL Championship Series (4-3): Atlanta Braves over Pittsburgh Pirates

1993

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Philadelphia	97	65	.599	Atlanta	104	58	.642
Montreal	94	68	.580	San Francisco	103	59	.636
St. Louis	87	75	.537	Houston	85	77	.525
Chicago	84	78	.519	Los Angeles	81	81	.500
Pittsburgh	75	87	.463	Cincinnati	73	89	.451
Florida	64	98	.395	Colorado	67	95	.414
New York	59	103	.364	San Diego	61	101	.377

World Series (4-2): Toronto Blue Jays over Philadelphia Phillies

NL Championship Series (4-2): Philadelphia Phillies over Atlanta Braves

1994

East Division				Central				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Montreal	74	40	.649	Cincinnati	66	48	.579	Los Angeles	58	56	.509
Atlanta	68	46	.596	Houston	66	49	.574	San Francisco	55	60	.478
New York	55	58	.487	Pittsburgh	53	61	.465	Colorado	53	64	.453
Philadelphia	54	61	.470	St. Louis	53	61	.465	San Diego	47	70	.402
Florida	51	64	.443	Chicago	49	64	.434				

1995

East Division				Central				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Atlanta	90	54	.625	Cincinnati	85	59	.590	Los Angeles	78	66	.542
New York	69	75	.479	Houston	76	68	.528	Colorado	77	67	.535
Philadelphia	69	75	.479	Chicago	73	71	.507	San Diego	70	74	.486
Florida	67	76	.469	St. Louis	62	81	.434	San Francisco	67	77	.465
Montreal	66	78	.458	Pittsburgh	58	86	.403				

World Series (4-2): Atlanta Braves over Cleveland Indians

NL Championship Series (4-0): Atlanta Braves over Cincinnati Reds

NL Division Series (3-1): Atlanta Braves over Colorado Rockies

NL Division Series (3-0): Cincinnati Reds over Los Angeles Dodgers

East Division				1996 Central				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Atlanta	96	66	.593	St. Louis	88	74	.543	San Diego	91	71	.562
Montreal	88	74	.543	Houston	82	80	.506	Los Angeles	90	72	.556
Florida	80	82	.494	Cincinnati	81	81	.500	Colorado	83	79	.512
New York	71	91	.438	Chicago	76	86	.469	San Francisco	68	94	.420
Philadelphia	67	95	.414	Pittsburgh	73	89	.451				

World Series (4-2): New York Yankees over Atlanta Braves

NL Championship Series (4-3): Atlanta Braves over St. Louis Cardinals

NL Division Series (3-0): Atlanta Braves over Los Angeles Dodgers

NL Division Series (3-0): St. Louis Cardinals over San Diego Padres

East Division				1997 Central				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Atlanta	101	61	.623	Houston	84	78	.519	San Francisco	90	72	.556
Florida	92	70	.568	Pittsburgh	79	83	.488	Los Angeles	88	74	.543
New York	88	74	.543	Cincinnati	76	86	.469	Colorado	83	79	.512
Montreal	78	84	.481	St. Louis	73	89	.451	San Diego	76	86	.469
Philadelphia	68	94	.420	Chicago	68	94	.420				

World Series (4-3): Florida Marlins over Cleveland Indians

NL Championship Series (4-2): Florida Marlins over Atlanta Braves

NL Division Series (3-0): Florida Marlins over San Francisco Giants

NL Division Series (3-0): Atlanta Braves over Houston Astros

East Division				1998 Central				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Atlanta	106	56	.654	Houston	102	60	.630	San Diego	98	64	.605
New York	88	74	.543	Chicago	90	73	.552	San Francisco	89	74	.546
Philadelphia	75	87	.463	St. Louis	83	79	.512	Los Angeles	83	79	.512
Montreal	65	97	.401	Cincinnati	77	85	.475	Colorado	77	85	.475
Florida	54	108	.333	Milwaukee	74	88	.457	Arizona	65	97	.401
				Pittsburgh	69	93	.426				

World Series (4-0): New York Yankees over San Diego Padres

NL Championship Series (4-2): San Diego Padres over Atlanta Braves

NL Division Series (3-0): Atlanta Braves over Chicago Cubs

NL Division Series (3-1): San Diego Padres over Houston Astros

East Division				1999 Central				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Atlanta	103	59	.636	Houston	97	65	.599	Arizona	100	62	.617
New York	97	66	.595	Cincinnati	96	67	.589	San Francisco	86	76	.531
Philadelphia	77	85	.475	Pittsburgh	78	83	.484	Los Angeles	77	85	.475
Montreal	68	94	.420	St. Louis	75	86	.466	San Diego	74	88	.457
Florida	64	98	.395	Milwaukee	74	87	.460	Colorado	72	90	.444
				Chicago	67	95	.414				

World Series (4-0): New York Yankees over Atlanta Braves

NL Championship Series (4-2): Atlanta Braves over New York Mets

NL Division Series (3-1): Atlanta Braves over Houston Astros

NL Division Series (3-1): New York Mets over Arizona Diamondbacks

East Division				2000 Central				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Atlanta	95	67	.586	St. Louis	95	67	.586	San Francisco	97	65	.599
New York	94	68	.580	Cincinnati	85	77	.525	Los Angeles	86	76	.531
Florida	79	82	.491	Milwaukee	73	89	.451	Arizona	85	77	.525
Montreal	67	95	.414	Houston	72	90	.444	Colorado	82	80	.506
Philadelphia	65	97	.401	Pittsburgh	69	93	.426	San Diego	76	86	.469
				Chicago	65	97	.401				

NL Championship Series (4-1): New York Mets over St. Louis Cardinals

NL Division Series (3-0): St. Louis Cardinals over Atlanta Braves

NL Division Series (3-1): New York Mets over San Francisco Giants

East Division				2001 Central				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Atlanta	88	74	.543	Houston	93	69	.574	Arizona	92	70	.568
Philadelphia	86	76	.531	St. Louis	93	69	.574	San Francisco	90	72	.556
New York	82	80	.506	Chicago	88	74	.543	Los Angeles	86	76	.531
Florida	76	86	.469	Milwaukee	68	94	.420	San Diego	79	83	.488
Montreal	68	94	.420	Cincinnati	66	96	.407	Colorado	73	89	.451
				Pittsburgh	62	100	.383				

World Series (4-3): Arizona Diamondbacks over New York Yankees

NL Championship Series (4-1): Arizona Diamondbacks over Atlanta Braves

NL Division Series (3-0): Atlanta Braves over Houston Astros

NL Division Series (3-2): Arizona Diamondbacks over St. Louis Cardinals

2002

East Division				Central				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Atlanta	101	59	.631	St. Louis	97	65	.599	Arizona	98	64	.605
Montreal	83	79	.512	Houston	84	78	.519	San Francisco	95	66	.590
Philadelphia	80	81	.497	Cincinnati	78	84	.481	Los Angeles	92	70	.568
Florida	79	83	.488	Pittsburgh	72	89	.447	Colorado	73	89	.451
New York	75	86	.466	Chicago	67	95	.414	San Diego	66	96	.407
				Milwaukee	56	106	.346				

World Series (4-3): Anaheim Angels over San Francisco Giants

NL Championship Series (4-1): San Fran Giants over St. Louis Cardinals

NL Division Series (3-2): San Francisco Giants over Atlanta Braves

NL Division Series (3-0): St. Louis Cardinals over Arizona Diamondbacks

2003

East Division				Central				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Atlanta	101	61	.623	Chicago	88	74	.543	San Francisco	100	61	.621
Florida	91	71	.562	Houston	87	75	.537	Los Angeles	85	77	.525
Philadelphia	86	76	.531	St. Louis	85	77	.525	Arizona	84	78	.519
Montreal	83	79	.512	Pittsburgh	75	87	.463	Colorado	74	88	.457
New York	66	95	.410	Cincinnati	69	93	.426	San Diego	64	98	.395
				Milwaukee	68	94	.420				

World Series (4-2): Florida Marlins over New York Yankees

NL Championship Series (4-3): Florida Marlins over Chicago Cubs

NL Division Series (3-1): Florida Marlins over San Francisco Giants

NL Division Series (3-2): Chicago Cubs over Atlanta Braves

2004

East Division				Central				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Atlanta	96	66	.593	St. Louis	105	57	.648	Los Angeles	93	69	.574
Philadelphia	86	76	.531	Houston	92	70	.568	San Francisco	91	71	.562
Florida	83	79	.512	Chicago	89	73	.549	San Diego	87	75	.537
New York	71	91	.438	Cincinnati	76	86	.469	Colorado	68	94	.420
Montreal	67	95	.414	Pittsburgh	72	89	.447	Arizona	51	111	.315
				Milwaukee	67	94	.416				

World Series (4-0): Boston Red Sox over St. Louis Cardinals

NL Championship Series (4-3): St. Louis Cardinals over Houston Astros

NL Division Series (3-1): St. Louis Cardinals over Los Angeles Dodgers

NL Division Series (3-2): Houston Astros over Atlanta Braves

2005											
East Division				Central				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Atlanta	90	72	.566	St. Louis	100	62	.617	San Diego	82	80	.506
Philadelphia	88	74	.543	Houston	89	73	.549	Arizona	77	85	.475
Florida	83	79	.512	Milwaukee	81	81	.549	San Francisco	75	87	.463
New York	83	79	.512	Chicago	79	83	.488	Los Angeles	71	91	.438
Washington	81	81	.500	Cincinnati	73	89	.451	Colorado	67	95	.414
				Pittsburgh	67	95	.414				

World Series (4-0): Chicago White Sox over Houston Astros

NL Championship Series (4-2): Houston Astros over St. Louis Cardinals

NL Division Series (3-0): St. Louis Cardinals over San Diego Padres

NL Division Series (3-1): Houston Astros over Atlanta Braves



Appendix B

AMERICAN LEAGUE SEASON STANDINGS, 1901–2005

1901			
Team	W	L	%
Chicago	83	53	.610
Boston	79	57	.581
Detroit	74	61	.548
Philadelphia	74	62	.544
Baltimore	68	65	.511
Washington	61	72	.459
Cleveland	54	82	.397
Milwaukee	48	89	.350

1902			
Team	W	L	%
Philadelphia	83	53	.610
St. Louis	78	58	.574
Boston	77	60	.562
Chicago	74	60	.552
Cleveland	69	67	.507
Washington	61	75	.449
Detroit	52	83	.385
Baltimore	50	88	.362

1903			
Team	W	L	%
Philadelphia	83	53	.610
St. Louis	78	58	.574
Boston	77	60	.562
Chicago	74	60	.552
Cleveland	69	67	.507
Washington	61	75	.449
Detroit	52	83	.385
Baltimore	50	88	.362

1904			
Team	W	L	%
Boston	95	59	.617
New York	92	59	.609
Chicago	89	65	.578
Cleveland	86	65	.570
Philadelphia	81	70	.536
St. Louis	65	87	.428
Detroit	62	90	.408
Washington	38	113	.252

*World Series (5-3): Boston Pilgrims
over Pittsburgh Pirates*

1905			
Team	W	L	%
Philadelphia	92	56	.622
Chicago	92	60	.605
Detroit	79	74	.516
Boston	78	74	.513
Cleveland	76	78	.494
New York	71	78	.477
Washington	64	87	.424
St. Louis	54	99	.353

World Series (4-1): New York Giants over Philadelphia Athletics

1907			
Team	W	L	%
Detroit	92	58	.613
Philadelphia	88	57	.607
Chicago	87	64	.576
Cleveland	85	67	.559
New York	70	78	.473
St. Louis	69	83	.454
Boston	59	90	.396
Washington	49	102	.325

World Series (4-0-1): Chicago Cubs over Detroit Tigers

1909			
Team	W	L	%
Detroit	98	54	.645
Philadelphia	95	58	.621
Boston	88	63	.583
Chicago	78	74	.513
New York	74	77	.490
Cleveland	71	82	.464
St. Louis	61	89	.407
Washington	42	110	.276

World Series (4-3): Pittsburgh Pirates over Detroit Tigers

1906			
Team	W	L	%
Chicago	93	58	.616
New York	90	61	.596
Cleveland	89	64	.582
Philadelphia	78	67	.538
St. Louis	76	73	.510
Detroit	71	78	.477
Washington	55	95	.367
Boston	49	105	.318

World Series (4-2): Chicago White Sox over Chicago Cubs

1908			
Team	W	L	%
Detroit	90	63	.588
Cleveland	90	64	.584
Chicago	88	64	.579
St. Louis	83	69	.546
Boston	75	79	.487
Philadelphia	68	85	.444
Washington	67	85	.441
New York	51	103	.331

World Series (4-1): Chicago Cubs over Detroit Tigers

1910			
Team	W	L	%
Philadelphia	102	48	.680
New York	88	63	.583
Detroit	86	68	.558
Boston	81	72	.529
Cleveland	71	81	.467
Chicago	68	85	.444
Washington	66	85	.437
St. Louis	47	107	.305

World Series (4-1): Philadelphia Athletics over Chicago Cubs

1911

Team	W	L	%
Philadelphia	101	50	.669
Detroit	89	65	.578
Cleveland	80	73	.523
Boston	78	75	.510
Chicago	77	74	.510
New York	76	76	.500
Washington	64	90	.416
St. Louis	45	107	.296

World Series (4-2): Philadelphia Athletics over New York Giants

1912

Team	W	L	%
Boston	105	47	.691
Washington	91	61	.599
Philadelphia	90	62	.592
Chicago	78	76	.506
Cleveland	75	78	.490
Detroit	69	84	.451
St. Louis	53	101	.344
New York	50	102	.329

World Series (4-3-1): Boston Red Sox over New York Giants

1913

Team	W	L	%
Philadelphia	96	57	.627
Washington	90	64	.584
Cleveland	86	66	.566
Boston	79	71	.527
Chicago	78	74	.513
Detroit	66	87	.431
New York	57	94	.377
St. Louis	57	96	.373

World Series (4-1): Philadelphia Athletics over New York Giants

1914

Team	W	L	%
Philadelphia	99	53	.651
Boston	91	62	.595
Washington	81	73	.526
Detroit	80	73	.523
St. Louis	71	82	.464
Chicago	70	84	.455
New York	70	84	.455
Cleveland	51	102	.333

World Series (4-0): Boston Braves over Philadelphia Athletics

1915

Team	W	L	%
Boston	101	50	.669
Detroit	100	54	.649
Chicago	93	61	.604
Washington	85	68	.556
New York	69	83	.454
St. Louis	63	91	.409
Cleveland	57	95	.375
Philadelphia	43	109	.283

World Series (4-1): Boston Red Sox over Philadelphia Phillies

1916

Team	W	L	%
Boston	91	63	.591
Chicago	89	65	.578
Detroit	87	67	.565
New York	80	74	.519
St. Louis	79	75	.513
Cleveland	77	77	.500
Washington	76	77	.497
Philadelphia	36	117	.235

World Series (4-1): Boston Red Sox over Brooklyn Robins

1917			
Team	W	L	%
Chicago	100	54	.649
Boston	90	62	.592
Cleveland	88	66	.571
Detroit	78	75	.510
Washington	74	79	.484
New York	71	82	.464
St. Louis	57	97	.370
Philadelphia	55	98	.359

World Series (4-2): Chicago White Sox over New York Giants

1919			
Team	W	L	%
Chicago	88	52	.629
Cleveland	84	55	.604
New York	80	59	.576
Detroit	80	60	.571
Boston	66	71	.482
St. Louis	67	72	.482
Washington	56	84	.400
Philadelphia	36	104	.257

World Series (5-3): Cincinnati Reds over Chicago White Sox

1921			
Team	W	L	%
New York	98	55	.641
Cleveland	94	60	.610
St. Louis	81	73	.526
Washington	80	73	.523
Boston	75	79	.487
Detroit	71	82	.464
Chicago	62	92	.403
Philadelphia	53	100	.346

World Series (5-3): New York Giants over New York Yankees

1918			
Team	W	L	%
Boston	75	51	.595
Cleveland	73	54	.575
Washington	72	56	.562
New York	60	63	.488
St. Louis	58	64	.475
Chicago	57	67	.460
Detroit	55	71	.437
Philadelphia	52	76	.406

World Series (4-2): Boston Red Sox over Chicago Cubs

1920			
Team	W	L	%
Cleveland	98	56	.636
Chicago	96	58	.623
New York	95	59	.617
St. Louis	76	77	.497
Boston	72	81	.471
Washington	68	84	.447
Detroit	61	93	.396
Philadelphia	48	106	.312

World Series (5-2): Cleveland Indians over Brooklyn Robins

1922			
Team	W	L	%
New York	94	60	.610
St. Louis	93	61	.604
Detroit	79	75	.513
Cleveland	78	76	.506
Chicago	77	77	.500
Washington	69	85	.448
Philadelphia	65	89	.422
Boston	61	93	.396

World Series (4-0-1): New York Giants over New York Yankees

1923

Team	W	L	%
New York	98	54	.645
Detroit	83	71	.539
Cleveland	82	71	.536
Washington	75	78	.490
St. Louis	74	78	.487
Philadelphia	69	83	.454
Chicago	69	85	.448
Boston	61	91	.401

World Series (4-2): New York Yankees over New York Giants

1924

Team	W	L	%
Washington	92	62	.597
New York	89	63	.586
Detroit	86	68	.558
St. Louis	74	78	.487
Philadelphia	71	81	.467
Cleveland	67	86	.438
Boston	67	87	.435
Chicago	66	87	.431

World Series (4-3): Washington Senators over New York Giants

1925

Team	W	L	%
Washington	96	55	.636
Philadelphia	88	64	.579
St. Louis	82	71	.536
Detroit	81	73	.526
Chicago	79	75	.513
Cleveland	70	84	.455
New York	69	85	.448
Boston	47	105	.309

World Series (4-3): Pittsburgh Pirates over Washington Senators

1926

Team	W	L	%
New York	91	63	.591
Cleveland	88	66	.571
Philadelphia	83	67	.553
Washington	81	69	.540
Chicago	81	72	.529
Detroit	79	75	.513
St. Louis	62	92	.403
Boston	46	107	.301

World Series (4-3): St. Louis Cardinals over New York Yankee

1927

Team	W	L	%
New York	110	44	.714
Philadelphia	91	63	.591
Washington	85	69	.552
Detroit	82	71	.536
Chicago	70	83	.458
Cleveland	66	87	.431
St. Louis	59	94	.386
Boston	51	103	.331

World Series (4-0): New York Yankees over Pittsburgh Pirates

1928

Team	W	L	%
New York	101	53	.656
Philadelphia	98	55	.641
St. Louis	82	72	.532
Washington	75	79	.487
Chicago	72	82	.468
Detroit	68	86	.442
Cleveland	62	92	.403
Boston	57	96	.373

World Series (4-0): New York Yankees over St. Louis Cardinals

1929			
Team	W	L	%
Philadelphia	104	46	.693
New York	88	66	.571
Cleveland	81	71	.533
St. Louis	79	73	.520
Washington	71	81	.467
Detroit	70	84	.455
Chicago	59	93	.388
Boston	58	96	.377

World Series (4-1): Philadelphia Athletics over Chicago Cubs

1931			
Team	W	L	%
Philadelphia	107	45	.704
New York	94	59	.614
Washington	92	62	.597
Cleveland	78	76	.506
St. Louis	63	91	.409
Boston	62	90	.408
Detroit	61	93	.396
Chicago	56	97	.366

World Series (4-3): St. Louis Cardinals over Philadelphia Athletics

1933			
Team	W	L	%
Washington	99	53	.651
New York	91	59	.607
Philadelphia	79	72	.523
Cleveland	75	76	.497
Detroit	75	79	.487
Chicago	67	83	.447
Boston	63	86	.423
St. Louis	55	96	.364

World Series (4-1): New York Giants over Washington Senators

1930			
Team	W	L	%
Philadelphia	102	52	.662
Washington	94	60	.610
New York	86	68	.558
Cleveland	81	73	.526
Detroit	75	79	.487
St. Louis	64	90	.416
Chicago	62	92	.403
Boston	52	102	.338

World Series (4-2): Philadelphia Athletics over St. Louis Cardinals

1932			
Team	W	L	%
New York	107	47	.695
Philadelphia	94	60	.610
Washington	93	61	.604
Cleveland	87	65	.572
Detroit	76	75	.503
St. Louis	63	91	.409
Chicago	49	102	.325
Boston	43	111	.279

World Series (4-0): New York Yankees over Chicago Cubs

1934			
Team	W	L	%
Detroit	101	53	.656
New York	94	60	.610
Cleveland	85	69	.552
Boston	76	76	.500
Philadelphia	68	82	.453
St. Louis	67	85	.441
Washington	66	86	.434
Chicago	53	99	.349

World Series (4-3): St. Louis Cardinals over Detroit Tigers

1935

Team	W	L	%
Detroit	93	58	.616
New York	89	60	.597
Cleveland	82	71	.536
Boston	78	75	.510
Chicago	74	78	.487
Washington	67	86	.438
St. Louis	65	87	.428
Philadelphia	58	91	.389

World Series (4-2): Detroit Tigers over Chicago Cubs

1936

Team	W	L	%
New York	102	51	.667
Detroit	83	71	.539
Chicago	81	70	.536
Washington	82	71	.536
Cleveland	80	74	.519
Boston	74	80	.481
St. Louis	57	95	.375
Philadelphia	53	100	.346

World Series (4-2): New York Yankees over New York Giants

1937

Team	W	L	%
New York	102	52	.662
Detroit	89	65	.578
Chicago	86	68	.558
Cleveland	83	71	.539
Boston	80	72	.526
Washington	73	80	.477
Philadelphia	54	97	.358
St. Louis	46	108	.299

World Series (4-1): New York Yankees over New York Giants

1938

Team	W	L	%
New York	99	53	.651
Boston	88	61	.591
Cleveland	86	66	.566
Detroit	84	70	.545
Washington	75	76	.497
Chicago	65	83	.439
St. Louis	55	97	.362
Philadelphia	53	99	.349

World Series (4-0): New York Yankees over Chicago Cubs

1939

Team	W	L	%
New York	106	45	.702
Boston	89	62	.589
Cleveland	87	67	.565
Chicago	85	69	.552
Detroit	81	73	.526
Washington	65	87	.428
Philadelphia	55	97	.362
St. Louis	43	111	.279

World Series (4-0): New York Yankees over Cincinnati Reds

1940

Team	W	L	%
Detroit	90	64	.584
Cleveland	89	65	.578
New York	88	66	.571
Boston	82	72	.532
Chicago	82	72	.532
St. Louis	67	87	.435
Washington	64	90	.416
Philadelphia	54	100	.351

World Series (4-3): Cincinnati Reds over Detroit Tigers

1941			
Team	W	L	%
New York	101	53	.656
Boston	84	70	.545
Chicago	77	77	.500
Cleveland	75	79	.487
Detroit	75	79	.487
St. Louis	70	84	.455
Washington	70	84	.455
Philadelphia	64	90	.416

World Series (4-1): New York Yankees over Brooklyn Dodgers

1943			
Team	W	L	%
New York	98	56	.636
Washington	84	69	.549
Cleveland	82	71	.536
Chicago	82	72	.532
Detroit	78	76	.506
St. Louis	72	80	.474
Boston	68	84	.447
Philadelphia	49	105	.318

World Series (4-1): New York Yankees over St. Louis Cardinals

1945			
Team	W	L	%
Detroit	88	65	.575
Washington	87	67	.565
St. Louis	81	70	.536
New York	81	71	.533
Cleveland	73	72	.503
Chicago	71	78	.477
Boston	71	83	.461
Philadelphia	52	98	.347

World Series (4-3): Detroit Tigers over Chicago Cubs

1942			
Team	W	L	%
New York	103	51	.669
Boston	93	59	.612
St. Louis	82	69	.543
Cleveland	75	79	.487
Detroit	73	81	.474
Chicago	66	82	.446
Washington	62	89	.411
Philadelphia	55	99	.357

World Series (4-1): St. Louis Cardinals over New York Yankees

1944			
Team	W	L	%
St. Louis	89	65	.578
Detroit	88	66	.571
New York	83	71	.539
Boston	77	77	.500
Cleveland	72	82	.468
Philadelphia	72	82	.468
Chicago	71	83	.461
Washington	64	90	.416

World Series (4-2): St. Louis Cardinals over St. Louis Browns

1946			
Team	W	L	%
Boston	104	50	.675
Detroit	92	62	.597
New York	87	67	.565
Washington	76	78	.494
Chicago	74	80	.481
Cleveland	68	86	.442
St. Louis	66	88	.429
Philadelphia	49	105	.318

World Series (4-3): St. Louis Cardinals over Boston Red Sox

1947

Team	W	L	%
Team	W	L	%
New York	97	57	.630
Detroit	85	69	.552
Boston	83	71	.539
Cleveland	80	74	.519
Philadelphia	78	76	.506
Chicago	70	84	.455
Washington	64	90	.416
St. Louis	59	95	.383

World Series (4-3): New York Yankees over Brooklyn Dodgers

1948

Team	W	L	%
Team	W	L	%
Cleveland	97	58	.626
Boston	96	59	.619
New York	94	60	.610
Philadelphia	84	70	.545
Detroit	78	76	.506
St. Louis	59	94	.386
Washington	56	97	.366
Chicago	51	101	.336

World Series (4-2): Cleveland Indians over Boston Braves

1949

Team	W	L	%
Team	W	L	%
New York	97	57	.630
Boston	96	58	.623
Cleveland	89	65	.578
Detroit	87	67	.565
Philadelphia	81	73	.526
Chicago	63	91	.409
St. Louis	53	101	.344
Washington	50	104	.325

World Series (4-1): New York Yankees over Brooklyn Dodgers

1950

Team	W	L	%
Team	W	L	%
New York	98	56	.636
Detroit	95	59	.617
Boston	94	60	.610
Cleveland	92	62	.597
Washington	67	87	.435
Chicago	60	94	.390
St. Louis	58	96	.377
Philadelphia	52	102	.338

World Series (4-0): New York Yankees over Philadelphia Phillies

1951

Team	W	L	%
Team	W	L	%
New York	98	56	.636
Cleveland	93	61	.604
Boston	87	67	.565
Chicago	81	73	.526
Detroit	73	81	.474
Philadelphia	70	84	.455
Washington	62	92	.403
St. Louis	52	102	.338

World Series (4-2): New York Yankees over New York Giants

1952

Team	W	L	%
Team	W	L	%
New York	95	59	.617
Cleveland	93	61	.60
Chicago	81	73	.526
Philadelphia	79	75	.513
Washington	78	76	.506
Boston	76	78	.494
St. Louis	64	90	.416
Detroit	50	104	.325

World Series (4-3): New York Yankees over Brooklyn Dodgers

1953			
Team	W	L	%
New York	99	52	.656
Cleveland	92	62	.597
Chicago	89	65	.578
Boston	84	69	.549
Washington	76	76	.500
Detroit	60	94	.390
Philadelphia	59	95	.383
St. Louis	54	100	.351

World Series (4-2): New York Yankees over Brooklyn Dodgers

1955			
Team	W	L	%
New York	96	58	.623
Cleveland	93	61	.604
Chicago	91	63	.591
Boston	84	70	.545
Detroit	79	75	.513
Kansas City	63	91	.409
Baltimore	57	97	.370
Washington	53	101	.344

World Series (4-3): Brooklyn Dodgers over New York Yankees

1957			
Team	W	L	%
New York	98	56	.636
Chicago	90	64	.584
Boston	82	72	.532
Detroit	78	76	.506
Baltimore	76	76	.500
Cleveland	76	77	.497
Kansas City	59	94	.386
Washington	55	99	.357

World Series (4-3): Milwaukee Braves over New York Yankees

1954			
Team	W	L	%
Cleveland	111	43	.721
New York	103	51	.669
Chicago	94	60	.610
Boston	69	85	.448
Detroit	68	86	.442
Washington	66	88	.429
Baltimore	54	100	.351
Philadelphia	51	103	.331

World Series (4-0): New York Giants over Cleveland Indians

1956			
Team	W	L	%
New York	97	57	.630
Cleveland	88	66	.571
Chicago	85	69	.552
Boston	84	70	.545
Detroit	82	72	.532
Baltimore	69	85	.448
Washington	59	95	.383
Kansas City	52	102	.338

World Series (4-3): New York Yankees over Brooklyn Dodgers

1958			
Team	W	L	%
New York	92	62	.597
Chicago	82	72	.532
Boston	79	75	.513
Cleveland	77	76	.503
Detroit	77	77	.500
Baltimore	74	79	.484
Kansas City	73	81	.474
Washington	61	93	.396

World Series (4-3): New York Yankees over Milwaukee Braves

1959

Team	W	L	%
Chicago	94	60	.610
Cleveland	89	65	.578
New York	79	75	.513
Detroit	76	78	.494
Boston	75	79	.487
Baltimore	74	80	.481
Kansas City	66	88	.429
Washington	63	91	.409

World Series (4-2): Los Angeles Dodgers over Chicago White Sox

1961

Team	W	L	%
New York	109	53	.673
Detroit	101	61	.623
Baltimore	95	67	.586
Chicago	86	76	.531
Cleveland	78	83	.484
Boston	76	86	.469
Minnesota	70	90	.438
Los Angeles	70	91	.435
Kansas City	61	100	.379
Washington	61	100	.379

World Series (4-1): New York Yankees over Cincinnati Reds

1963

Team	W	L	%
New York	104	57	.646
Chicago	94	68	.580
Minnesota	91	70	.565
Baltimore	86	76	.531
Cleveland	79	83	.488
Detroit	79	83	.488
Boston	76	85	.472
Kansas City	73	89	.451
Los Angeles	70	91	.435
Washington	56	106	.346

World Series (4-0): Los Angeles Dodgers over New York Yankees

1960

Team	W	L	%
New York	97	57	.630
Baltimore	89	65	.578
Chicago	87	67	.565
Cleveland	76	78	.494
Washington	73	81	.474
Detroit	71	83	.461
Boston	65	89	.422
Kansas City	58	96	.377

World Series (4-3): Pittsburgh Pirates over New York Yankees

1962

Team	W	L	%
New York	96	66	.593
Minnesota	91	71	.562
Los Angeles	86	76	.531
Detroit	85	76	.528
Chicago	85	77	.525
Cleveland	80	82	.494
Baltimore	77	85	.475
Boston	76	84	.475
Kansas City	72	90	.444
Washington	60	101	.373

World Series (4-3): New York Yankees over San Francisco Giants

1964

Team	W	L	%
New York	99	63	.611
Chicago	98	64	.605
Baltimore	97	65	.599
Detroit	85	77	.525
Los Angeles	82	80	.506
Cleveland	79	83	.488
Minnesota	79	83	.488
Boston	72	90	.444
Washington	62	100	.383
Kansas City	57	105	.352

World Series (4-3): St. Louis Cardinals over New York Yankees

1965			
Team	W	L	%
Minnesota	102	60	.630
Chicago	95	67	.586
Baltimore	94	68	.580
Detroit	89	73	.549
Cleveland	87	75	.537
New York	77	85	.475
California	75	87	.463
Washington	70	92	.432
Boston	62	100	.383
Kansas City	59	103	.364

World Series (4-3): Los Angeles Dodgers over Minnesota Twins

1966			
Team	W	L	%
Baltimore	97	63	.606
Minnesota	89	73	.549
Detroit	88	74	.543
Chicago	83	79	.512
Cleveland	81	81	.500
California	80	82	.494
Kansas City	74	86	.462
Washington	71	88	.447
Boston	72	90	.444
New York	70	89	.440

World Series (4-0): Baltimore Orioles over Los Angeles Dodgers

1967			
Team	W	L	%
Boston	92	70	.568
Detroit	91	71	.562
Minnesota	91	71	.562
Chicago	89	73	.549
California	84	77	.522
Baltimore	76	85	.472
Washington	76	85	.472
Cleveland	75	87	.463
New York	72	90	.444
Kansas City	62	99	.385

World Series (4-3): St. Louis Cardinals over Boston Red Sox

1968			
Team	W	L	%
Detroit	103	59	.636
Baltimore	91	71	.562
Cleveland	86	75	.534
Boston	86	76	.531
New York	83	79	.512
Oakland	82	80	.506
Minnesota	79	83	.488
California	67	95	.414
Chicago	67	95	.414
Washington	65	96	.404

World Series (4-3): Detroit Tigers over St. Louis Cardinals

1969

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
Baltimore	109	53	.673
Detroit	90	72	.556
Boston	87	75	.537
Washington	86	76	.531
New York	80	81	.497
Cleveland	62	99	.385

World Series (4-1): New York Mets over Baltimore Orioles

AL Championship Series (3-0): Baltimore Orioles over Minnesota Twins

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Minnesota	97	65	.599
Oakland	88	74	.543
California	71	91	.438
Kansas City	69	93	.426
Chicago	68	94	.420
Seattle	64	98	.395

1970

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
Baltimore	108	54	.667
New York	93	69	.574
Boston	87	75	.537
Detroit	79	83	.488
Cleveland	76	86	.469
Washington	70	92	.432

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Minnesota	98	64	.605
Oakland	89	73	.549
California	86	76	.531
Kansas City	65	97	.401
Milwaukee	65	97	.401
Chicago	56	106	.346

World Series (4-1): Baltimore Orioles over Cincinnati Reds

AL Championship Series (3-0): Baltimore Orioles over Minnesota Twins

1971

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
Baltimore	101	57	.639
Detroit	91	71	.562
Boston	85	77	.525
New York	82	80	.506
Washington	63	96	.396
Cleveland	60	102	.370

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Oakland	101	60	.627
Kansas City	85	76	.528
Chicago	79	83	.488
California	76	86	.469
Minnesota	74	86	.462
Milwaukee	69	92	.429

World Series (4-3): Pittsburgh Pirates over Baltimore Orioles

AL Championship Series (3-0): Baltimore Orioles over Oakland Athletics

1972

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
Detroit	86	70	.551
Boston	85	70	.548
Baltimore	80	74	.519
New York	79	76	.510
Cleveland	72	84	.462
Milwaukee	65	91	.417

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Oakland	93	62	.600
Chicago	87	67	.565
Minnesota	77	77	.500
Kansas City	76	78	.494
California	75	80	.484
Texas	54	100	.351

World Series (4-3): Oakland Athletics over Cincinnati Reds

AL Championship Series (3-2): Oakland Athletics over Detroit Tigers

1973

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Baltimore	97	65	.599	Oakland	94	68	.580
Boston	89	73	.549	Kansas City	88	74	.543
Detroit	85	77	.525	Minnesota	81	81	.500
New York	80	82	.494	California	79	83	.488
Milwaukee	74	88	.457	Chicago	77	85	.475
Cleveland	71	91	.438	Texas	57	105	.352

World Series (4-3): Oakland Athletics over New York Mets

AL Championship Series (3-2): Oakland Athletics over Detroit Tigers

1974

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Baltimore	91	71	.562	Oakland	90	72	.556
New York	89	73	.549	Texas	84	76	.525
Boston	84	78	.519	Minnesota	82	80	.506
Cleveland	77	85	.475	Chicago	80	80	.500
Milwaukee	76	86	.469	Kansas City	77	85	.475
Detroit	72	90	.444	California	68	94	.420

World Series (4-1): Oakland Athletics over Los Angeles Dodgers

AL Championship Series (3-1): Oakland Athletics over Baltimore Orioles

1975

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Boston	95	65	.594	Oakland	98	64	.605
Baltimore	90	69	.566	Kansas City	91	71	.562
New York	83	77	.519	Texas	79	83	.488
Cleveland	79	80	.497	Minnesota	76	83	.478
Milwaukee	68	94	.420	Chicago	75	86	.466
Detroit	57	102	.358	California	72	89	.447

World Series (4-3): Cincinnati Reds over Boston Red Sox

AL Championship Series (3-0): Boston Red Sox over Oakland Athletics

1976

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
New York	97	62	.610
Baltimore	88	74	.543
Boston	83	79	.512
Cleveland	81	78	.509
Detroit	74	87	.460
Milwaukee	66	95	.410

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Kansas City	90	72	.556
Oakland	87	74	.540
Minnesota	85	77	.525
California	76	86	.469
Texas	76	86	.469
Chicago	64	97	.398

World Series (4-0): Cincinnati Reds over New York Yankees

AL Championship Series (3-2): New York Yankees over Kansas City Royals

1977

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
New York	100	62	.617
Baltimore	97	64	.602
Boston	97	64	.602
Detroit	74	88	.457
Cleveland	71	90	.441
Milwaukee	67	95	.414
Toronto	54	107	.335

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Kansas City	102	60	.630
Texas	94	68	.580
Chicago	90	72	.556
Minnesota	84	77	.522
California	74	88	.457
Seattle	64	98	.395
Oakland	63	98	.391

World Series (4-2): New York Yankees over Los Angeles Dodgers

AL Championship Series (3-2): New York Yankees over Kansas City Royals

1978

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
New York	100	63	.613
Boston	99	64	.607
Milwaukee	93	69	.574
Baltimore	90	71	.559
Detroit	86	76	.531
Cleveland	69	90	.434
Toronto	59	102	.366

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Kansas City	92	70	.568
California	87	75	.537
Texas	87	75	.537
Minnesota	73	89	.451
Chicago	71	90	.441
Oakland	69	93	.426
Seattle	56	104	.350

World Series (4-2): New York Yankees over Los Angeles Dodgers

AL Championship Series (3-1): New York Yankees over Kansas City Royals

1979

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Baltimore	102	57	.642	California	88	74	.543
Milwaukee	95	66	.590	Kansas City	85	77	.525
Boston	91	69	.569	Texas	83	79	.512
New York	89	71	.556	Minnesota	82	80	.506
Detroit	85	76	.528	Chicago	73	87	.456
Cleveland	81	80	.503	Seattle	67	95	.414
Toronto	53	109	.327	Oakland	54	108	.333

World Series (4-3): Pittsburgh Pirates over Baltimore Orioles

AL Championship Series (3-1): Baltimore Orioles over California Angels

1980

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
New York	103	59	.636	Kansas City	97	65	.599
Baltimore	100	62	.617	Oakland	83	79	.512
Milwaukee	86	76	.531	Minnesota	77	84	.478
Boston	83	77	.519	Texas	76	85	.472
Detroit	84	78	.519	Chicago	70	90	.438
Cleveland	79	81	.494	California	65	95	.406
Toronto	67	95	.414	Seattle	59	103	.364

World Series (4-2): Philadelphia Phillies over Kansas City Royals

AL Championship Series (3-0): Kansas City Royals over New York Yankees

1981

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Milwaukee	62	47	.569	Oakland	64	45	.587
Baltimore	59	46	.562	Texas	57	48	.543
New York	59	48	.551	Chicago	54	52	.509
Detroit	60	49	.550	Kansas City	50	53	.485
Boston	59	49	.546	California	51	59	.464
Cleveland	52	51	.505	Seattle	44	65	.404
Toronto	37	69	.349	Minnesota	41	68	.376

World Series (4-2): Los Angeles Dodgers over New York Yankees

AL Championship Series (3-0): New York Yankees over Oakland Athletics

AL Division Series (3-2): New York Yankees over Milwaukee Brewers

AL Division Series (3-0): Oakland Athletics over Kansas City Royals

1982

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Milwaukee	95	67	.586	California	93	69	.574
Baltimore	94	68	.580	Kansas City	90	72	.556
Boston	89	73	.549	Chicago	87	75	.537
Detroit	83	79	.512	Seattle	76	86	.469
New York	79	83	.488	Oakland	68	94	.420
Cleveland	78	84	.481	Texas	64	98	.395
Toronto	78	84	.481	Minnesota	60	102	.370

World Series (4-3): St. Louis Cardinals over Milwaukee Brewers

AL Championship Series (3-2): Milwaukee Brewers over California Angels

1983

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Baltimore	98	64	.605	Chicago	99	63	.611
Detroit	92	70	.568	Kansas City	79	83	.488
New York	91	71	.562	Texas	77	85	.475
Toronto	89	73	.549	Oakland	74	88	.457
Milwaukee	87	75	.537	California	70	92	.432
Boston	78	84	.481	Minnesota	70	92	.432
Cleveland	70	92	.432	Seattle	60	102	.370

World Series (4-1): Baltimore Orioles over Philadelphia Phillies

AL Championship Series (3-1): Baltimore Orioles over Chicago White Sox

1984

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Detroit	104	58	.642	Kansas City	84	78	.519
Toronto	89	73	.549	California	81	81	.500
New York	87	75	.537	Minnesota	81	81	.500
Boston	86	76	.531	Oakland	77	85	.475
Baltimore	85	77	.525	Chicago	74	88	.457
Cleveland	75	87	.463	Seattle	74	88	.457
Milwaukee	67	94	.416	Texas	69	92	.429

World Series (4-1): Detroit Tigers over San Diego Padres

AL Championship Series (3-0): Detroit Tigers over Kansas City Royals

1985

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Toronto	99	62	.615	Kansas City	91	71	.562
New York	97	64	.602	California	90	72	.556
Detroit	84	77	.522	Chicago	85	77	.525
Baltimore	83	78	.516	Minnesota	77	85	.475
Boston	81	81	.500	Oakland	77	85	.475
Milwaukee	71	90	.441	Seattle	74	88	.457
Cleveland	60	102	.370	Texas	62	99	.385

World Series (4-3): Kansas City Royals over St. Louis Cardinals

AL Championship Series (4-3): Kansas City Royals over Toronto Blue Jays

1986

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Boston	95	66	.590	California	92	70	.568
New York	90	72	.556	Texas	87	75	.537
Detroit	87	75	.537	Kansas City	76	86	.469
Toronto	86	76	.531	Oakland	76	86	.469
Cleveland	84	78	.519	Chicago	72	90	.444
Milwaukee	77	84	.478	Minnesota	71	91	.438
Baltimore	73	89	.451	Seattle	67	95	.414

World Series (4-3): New York Mets over Boston Red Sox

AL Championship Series (4-3): Boston Red Sox over California Angels

1987

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Detroit	98	64	.605	Minnesota	85	77	.52
Toronto	96	66	.593	Kansas City	83	79	.51
Milwaukee	91	71	.562	Oakland	81	81	.500
New York	89	73	.549	Seattle	78	84	.481
Boston	78	84	.481	Chicago	77	85	.475
Baltimore	67	95	.414	California	75	87	.463
Cleveland	61	101	.377	Texas	75	87	.463

World Series (4-3): Minnesota Twins over St. Louis Cardinals

AL Championship Series (4-1): Minnesota Twins over Detroit Tigers

1988

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Boston	89	73	.549	Oakland	104	58	.642
Detroit	88	74	.543	Minnesota	91	71	.562
Milwaukee	87	75	.537	Kansas City	84	77	.522
Toronto	87	75	.537	California	75	87	.463
New York	85	76	.528	Chicago	71	90	.441
Cleveland	78	84	.481	Texas	70	91	.435
Baltimore	54	107	.335	Seattle	68	93	.422

World Series (4-1): Los Angeles Dodgers over Oakland Athletics

AL Championship Series (4-0): Oakland Athletics over Boston Red Sox

1989

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Toronto	89	73	.549	Oakland	99	63	.611
Baltimore	87	75	.537	Kansas City	92	70	.568
Boston	83	79	.512	California	91	71	.562
Milwaukee	81	81	.500	Texas	83	79	.512
New York	74	87	.460	Minnesota	80	82	.494
Cleveland	73	89	.451	Seattle	73	89	.451
Detroit	59	103	.364	Chicago	69	92	.429

World Series (4-0): Oakland Athletics over San Francisco Giants

AL Championship Series (4-1): Oakland Athletics over Toronto Blue Jays

1990

East Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Boston	88	74	.543	Oakland	103	59	.636
Toronto	86	76	.531	Chicago	94	68	.580
Detroit	79	83	.488	Texas	83	79	.512
Cleveland	77	85	.475	California	80	82	.494
Baltimore	76	85	.472	Seattle	77	85	.475
Milwaukee	74	88	.457	Kansas City	75	86	.466
New York	67	95	.414	Minnesota	74	88	.457

World Series (4-0): Cincinnati Reds over Oakland Athletics

AL Championship Series (4-0): Oakland Athletics over Boston Red Sox

1991

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
Toronto	91	71	.562
Boston	84	78	.519
Detroit	84	78	.519
Milwaukee	83	79	.512
New York	71	91	.438
Baltimore	67	95	.414
Cleveland	5	105	.352

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Minnesota	95	67	.586
Chicago	87	75	.537
Texas	85	77	.525
Oakland	84	78	.519
Seattle	83	79	.512
Kansas City	82	80	.506
California	81	81	.500

World Series (4-3): Minnesota Twins over Atlanta Braves

AL Championship Series (4-1): Minnesota Twins over Toronto Blue Jays

1992

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
Toronto	96	66	.593
Milwaukee	92	70	.568
Baltimore	89	73	.549
Cleveland	76	86	.469
New York	76	86	.469
Detroit	75	87	.463
Boston	73	89	.451

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Oakland	96	66	.593
Minnesota	90	72	.556
Chicago	86	76	.531
Texas	77	85	.475
California	72	90	.444
Kansas City	72	90	.444
Seattle	64	98	.395

World Series (4-2): Toronto Blue Jays over Atlanta Braves

AL Championship Series (4-2): Toronto Blue Jays over Oakland Athletics

1993

East Division			
Team	W	L	%
Toronto	95	67	.586
New York	88	74	.543
Baltimore	85	77	.525
Detroit	85	77	.525
Boston	80	82	.494
Cleveland	76	86	.469
Milwaukee	69	93	.426

West Division			
Team	W	L	%
Chicago	94	68	.580
Texas	86	76	.531
Kansas City	84	78	.519
Seattle	82	80	.506
California	71	91	.438
Minnesota	71	91	.438
Oakland	68	94	.420

World Series (4-2): Toronto Blue Jays over Philadelphia Phillies

AL Championship Series (4-2): Toronto Blue Jays over Chicago White Sox

1994

East Division				Central Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
New York	70	43	.619	Chicago	67	46	.593	Texas	52	62	.456
Baltimore	63	49	.562	Cleveland	66	47	.584	Oakland	51	63	.447
Toronto	55	60	.478	Kansas City	64	51	.557	Seattle	49	63	.438
Boston	54	61	.470	Minnesota	53	60	.469	California	47	68	.409
Detroit	53	62	.461	Milwaukee	53	62	.461				

1995

East Division				Central Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Boston	86	58	.597	Cleveland	100	44	.694	Seattle	79	66	.545
New York	79	65	.549	Kansas City	70	74	.486	California	78	67	.538
Baltimore	71	73	.493	Chicago	68	76	.472	Texas	74	70	.514
Detroit	60	84	.417	Milwaukee	65	79	.451	Oakland	67	77	.465
Toronto	56	88	.389	Minnesota	56	88	.389				

World Series (4-2): Atlanta Braves over Cleveland Indians

AL Championship Series (4-2): Cleveland Indians over Seattle Mariners

AL Division Series (3-0): Cleveland Indians over Boston Red Sox

AL Division Series (3-2): Seattle Mariners over New York Yankees

1996

East Division				Central Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
New York	92	70	.568	Cleveland	99	62	.615	Texas	90	72	.556
Baltimore	88	74	.543	Chicago	85	77	.525	Seattle	85	76	.528
Boston	85	77	.525	Milwaukee	80	82	.494	Oakland	78	84	.481
Toronto	74	88	.457	Minnesota	78	84	.481	California	70	91	.435
Detroit	53	109	.327	Kansas City	75	86	.466				

World Series (4-2): New York Yankees over Atlanta Braves

AL Championship Series (4-1): New York Yankees over Baltimore Orioles

AL Division Series (3-1): Baltimore Orioles over Cleveland Indians

AL Division Series (3-1): New York Yankees over Texas Rangers

1997

East Division				Central Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
Baltimore	98	64	.605	Cleveland	86	75	.534	Seattle	90	72	.556
New York	96	66	.593	Chicago	80	81	.497	Anaheim	84	78	.519
Detroit	79	83	.488	Milwaukee	78	83	.484	Texas	77	85	.475
Boston	78	84	.481	Minnesota	68	94	.420	Oakland	65	97	.401
Toronto	76	86	.469	Kansas City	67	94	.416				

World Series (4-3): Florida Marlins over Cleveland Indians

AL Championship Series (4-2): Cleveland Indians over Baltimore Orioles

AL Division Series (3-2): Cleveland Indians over New York Yankees

AL Division Series (3-1): Baltimore Orioles over Seattle Mariners

1998

East Division				Central Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
New York	114	48	.704	Cleveland	89	73	.549	Texas	88	74	.543
Boston	92	70	.568	Chicago	80	82	.494	Anaheim	85	77	.525
Toronto	88	74	.543	Kansas City	72	89	.447	Seattle	76	85	.472
Baltimore	79	83	.488	Minnesota	70	92	.432	Oakland	74	88	.457
Tampa Bay	63	99	.389	Detroit	65	97	.401				

World Series (4-0): New York Yankees over San Diego Padres

AL Championship Series (4-2): New York Yankees over Cleveland Indians

AL Division Series (3-1): Cleveland Indians over Boston Red Sox

AL Division Series (3-0): New York Yankees over Texas Rangers

1999

East Division				Central Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
New York	98	64	.605	Cleveland	97	65	.599	Texas	95	67	.586
Boston	94	68	.580	Chicago	75	86	.466	Oakland	87	75	.537
Toronto	84	78	.519	Detroit	69	92	.429	Seattle	79	83	.488
Baltimore	78	84	.481	Kansas City	64	97	.398	Anaheim	70	92	.432
Tampa Bay	69	93	.426	Minnesota	63	97	.394				

World Series (4-0): New York Yankees over Atlanta Braves

AL Championship Series (4-1): New York Yankees over Boston Red Sox

AL Division Series (3-2): Boston Red Sox over Cleveland Indians

AL Division Series (3-0): New York Yankees over Texas Rangers

2000

East Division				Central Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
New York	87	74	.540	Chicago	95	67	.586	Oakland	91	70	.565
Boston	85	77	.525	Cleveland	90	72	.556	Seattle	91	71	.562
Toronto	83	79	.512	Detroit	79	83	.488	Anaheim	82	80	.506
Baltimore	74	88	.457	Kansas City	77	85	.475	Texas	71	91	.438
Tampa Bay	69	92	.429	Minnesota	69	93	.426				

World Series (4-1): New York Yankees over New York Mets

AL Championship Series (4-2): New York Yankees over Seattle Mariners

AL Division Series (3-2): New York Yankees over Oakland Athletics

AL Division Series (3-0): Seattle Mariners over Chicago White Sox

2001

East Division				Central Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
New York	95	65	.594	Cleveland	91	71	.562	Seattle	116	46	.716
Boston	82	79	.509	Minnesota	85	77	.525	Oakland	102	60	.630
Toronto	80	82	.494	Chicago	83	79	.512	Anaheim	75	87	.463
Baltimore	63	98	.391	Detroit	66	96	.407	Texas	73	89	.451
Tampa Bay	62	100	.383	Kansas City	65	97	.401				

World Series (4-3): Arizona Diamondbacks over New York Yankees

AL Championship Series (4-1): New York Yankees over Seattle Mariners

AL Division Series (3-2): Seattle Mariners over Cleveland Indians

AL Division Series (3-2): New York Yankees over Oakland Athletics

2002

East Division				Central Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
New York	103	58	.640	Minnesota	94	67	.584	Oakland	103	59	.636
Boston	93	69	.574	Chicago	81	81	.500	Anaheim	99	63	.611
Toronto	78	84	.481	Cleveland	74	88	.457	Seattle	93	69	.574
Baltimore	67	95	.414	Kansas City	62	100	.383	Texas	72	90	.444
Tampa Bay	55	106	.342	Detroit	55	106	.342				

World Series (4-3): Anaheim Angels over San Francisco Giants

AL Championship Series (4-1): Anaheim Angels over Minnesota Twins

AL Division Series (3-1): Anaheim Angels over New York Yankees

AL Division Series (3-2): Minnesota Twins over Oakland Athletics

2003

East Division				Central Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
New York	101	61	.623	Minnesota	90	72	.556	Oakland	96	66	.593
Boston	95	67	.586	Chicago	86	76	.531	Seattle	93	69	.574
Toronto	86	76	.531	Kansas City	83	79	.512	Anaheim	77	85	.475
Baltimore	71	91	.438	Cleveland	68	94	.420	Texas	71	91	.438
Tampa Bay	63	99	.389	Detroit	43	265	119				

World Series (4-2): Florida Marlins over New York Yankees

AL Championship Series (4-3): New York Yankees over Boston Red Sox

AL Division Series (3-1): New York Yankees over Minnesota Twins

AL Division Series (3-2): Boston Red Sox over Oakland Athletics

2004

East Division				Central Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
New York	101	61	.623	Minnesota	92	70	.568	Anaheim	92	70	.568
Boston	98	64	.605	Chicago	83	79	.512	Oakland	91	71	.562
Baltimore	78	84	.481	Cleveland	80	82	.494	Texas	89	73	.549
Tampa Bay	70	91	.435	Detroit	72	90	.444	Seattle	63	99	.389
Toronto	67	94	.416	Kansas City	58	104	.358				

World Series (4-0): Boston Red Sox over St. Louis Cardinals

AL Championship Series (4-3): Boston Red Sox over New York Yankees

AL Division Series (3-0): Boston Red Sox over Anaheim Angels

AL Division Series (3-1): New York Yankees over Minnesota Twins

2005

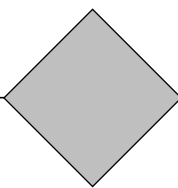
East Division				Central Division				West Division			
Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%	Team	W	L	%
New York	95	87	.586	Chicago	99	63	.611	Anaheim	95	87	.586
Boston	95	87	.586	Cleveland	93	69	.574	Oakland	88	74	.543
Toronto	80	82	.494	Minnesota	83	79	.512	Texas	79	83	.488
Baltimore	74	88	.457	Detroit	71	91	.438	Seattle	69	93	.426
Tampa Bay	67	95	.414	Kansas City	56	106	.346				

World Series (4-0): Chicago White Sox over Houston Astros

AL Championship Series (4-1): Chicago White Sox over Los Angeles Angels of Anaheim

AL Division Series (3-0): Chicago White Sox over Boston Red Sox

AL Division Series (3-2): Los Angeles Angels of Anaheim over New York Yankees



Appendix C

**NATIONAL LEAGUE TEAM TOTAL ATTENDANCE, 2005–
1890**

Year	Arizona	Atlanta	Chicago	Cincinnati	Colorado	Florida	Houston	Los Angeles
2005	2,059,331	2,521,534	3,100,262	1,943,157	1,915,586	1,823,388	2,762,472	3,404,686
2004	2,519,560	2,327,565	3,170,154	2,287,250	2,338,069	1,723,105	3,087,872	3,488,283
2003	2,805,542	2,401,084	2,962,630	2,355,259	2,334,085	1,303,215	2,454,241	3,138,626
2002	3,198,977	2,603,484	2,693,096	1,855,787	2,737,918	813,111	2,517,357	3,131,255
2001	2,736,451	2,823,530	2,779,465	1,879,757	3,168,579	1,261,226	2,904,277	3,017,143
2000	2,942,251	3,234,304	2,789,511	2,577,371	3,149,117	1,173,389	3,056,139	2,880,242
1999	3,019,654	3,284,897	2,813,854	2,061,222	3,235,833	1,369,421	2,706,017	3,095,346
1998	3,610,290	3,360,860	2,623,194	1,793,649	3,792,683	1,750,395	2,458,451	3,089,222
1997		3,464,488	2,190,308	1,785,788	3,888,453	2,364,387	2,046,781	3,319,504
1996		2,901,242	2,219,110	1,861,428	3,891,014	1,746,767	1,975,888	3,188,454
1995		2,561,831	1,918,265	1,837,649	3,290,037	1,700,466	1,363,801	2,766,251
1994		2,539,240	1,845,208	1,897,681	4,483,350	1,937,467	1,561,136	2,279,355
1993		3,884,720	2,653,763	2,453,232	3,281,511	3,064,847	2,084,618	3,170,393
1992		3,077,400	2,126,720	2,315,946			1,211,412	2,473,266
1991		2,140,217	2,314,250	2,372,377			1,196,152	3,348,170
1990		980,129	2,243,791	2,400,892			1,310,927	3,002,396
1989		984,930	2,491,942	1,979,320			1,834,908	2,944,653
1988		848,089	2,089,034	2,072,528			1,933,505	2,980,262
1987		1,217,402	2,035,130	2,185,205			1,909,902	2,797,409
1986		1,387,181	1,859,102	1,692,432			1,734,276	3,023,208
1985		1,350,137	2,161,534	1,834,619			1,184,314	3,264,593
1984		1,724,892	2,107,655	1,275,887			1,229,862	3,134,824
1983		2,119,935	1,479,717	1,190,419			1,351,962	3,510,313
1982		1,801,985	1,249,278	1,326,528			1,558,555	3,608,881
1981		535,418	565,637	1,093,730			1,321,282	2,381,292
1980		1,048,411	1,206,776	2,022,450			2,278,217	3,249,287
1979		769,465	1,648,587	2,356,933			1,900,312	2,860,954
1978		904,494	1,525,311	2,532,497			1,126,145	3,347,845
1977		872,464	1,439,834	2,519,670			1,109,560	2,955,087
1976		818,179	1,026,217	2,629,708			886,146	2,386,301
1975		534,672	1,034,819	2,315,603			858,002	2,539,349
1974		981,085	1,015,378	2,164,307			1,090,728	2,632,474
1973		800,655	1,351,705	2,017,601			1,394,004	2,136,192
1972		752,973	1,299,163	1,611,459			1,469,247	1,860,858
1971		1,006,320	1,653,007	1,501,122			1,261,589	2,064,594
1970		1,078,848	1,642,705	1,803,568			1,253,444	1,697,142
1969		1,458,320	1,674,993	987,991			1,442,995	1,784,527
1968		1,126,540	1,043,409	733,354			1,312,887	1,581,093
1967		1,389,222	977,226	958,300			1,348,303	1,664,362
1966		1,539,801	635,891	742,958			1,872,108	2,617,029
1965		555,584	641,361	1,047,824			2,151,470	2,553,577
1964		910,911	751,647	862,466			725,773	2,228,751
1963		773,018	979,551	858,805			719,502	2,538,602
1962		766,921	609,802	982,095			924,456	2,755,184
1961		1,101,441	673,057	1,117,603				1,804,250
1960		1,497,799	809,770	663,486				2,253,887
1959		1,749,112	858,255	801,298				2,071,045

Milwaukee	New York	Philadelphia	Pittsburgh	San Diego	San Francisco	St. Louis	Washington/ Montreal
2,211,023	2,782,212	2,665,301	1,794,237	2,832,039	3,140,781	3,491,837	2,692,123
2,062,382	2,318,951	3,250,092	1,580,031	3,016,752	3,256,854	3,048,427	749,550
1,700,354	2,140,599	2,259,948	1,636,751	2,030,084	3,264,898	2,910,386	1,025,639
1,969,153	2,804,838	1,618,467	1,784,988	2,220,601	3,253,203	3,011,756	812,045
2,811,041	2,658,330	1,782,054	2,464,870	2,378,128	3,311,958	3,109,578	642,745
1,573,621	2,820,530	1,612,769	1,748,908	2,352,443	3,318,800	3,336,493	926,272
1,701,796	2,725,668	1,825,337	1,638,023	2,523,538	2,078,399	3,225,334	773,277
1,811,593	2,287,948	1,715,722	1,560,950	2,555,874	1,925,364	3,195,691	914,909
	1,766,174	1,490,638	1,657,022	2,089,333	1,690,869	2,634,014	1,497,609
	1,588,323	1,801,677	1,332,150	2,187,886	1,413,922	2,654,718	1,616,709
	1,273,183	2,043,598	905,517	1,041,805	1,241,500	1,756,727	1,309,618
	1,151,471	2,290,971	1,222,520	953,857	1,704,608	1,866,544	1,276,250
	1,873,183	3,137,674	1,650,593	1,375,432	2,606,354	2,844,977	1,641,437
	1,779,534	1,927,448	1,829,395	1,721,406	1,560,998	2,418,483	1,669,127
	2,284,484	2,050,012	2,065,302	1,804,289	1,737,478	2,448,699	934,742
	2,732,745	1,992,484	2,049,908	1,856,396	1,975,528	2,573,225	1,373,087
	2,918,710	1,861,985	1,374,141	2,009,031	2,059,701	3,080,980	1,783,533
	3,055,445	1,990,041	1,866,713	1,506,896	1,785,297	2,892,799	1,478,659
	3,034,129	2,100,110	1,161,193	1,454,061	1,917,168	3,072,122	1,850,324
	2,767,601	1,933,335	1,000,917	1,805,716	1,528,748	2,471,974	1,128,981
	2,761,601	1,830,350	735,900	2,210,352	818,697	2,637,563	1,502,494
	1,842,695	2,062,693	773,500	1,983,904	1,001,545	2,037,448	1,606,531
	1,112,774	2,128,339	1,225,916	1,539,815	1,251,530	2,317,914	2,320,651
	1,323,036	2,376,394	1,024,106	1,607,516	1,200,948	2,111,906	2,318,292
	704,244	1,638,752	541,789	519,161	632,274	1,010,247	1,534,564
	1,192,073	2,651,650	1,646,757	1,139,026	1,096,115	1,385,147	2,208,175
	788,905	2,775,011	1,435,454	1,456,967	1,456,402	1,627,256	2,102,173
	1,007,328	2,583,389	964,106	1,670,107	1,740,477	1,278,215	1,427,007
	1,066,825	2,700,070	1,237,349	1,376,269	700,056	1,659,287	1,433,757
	1,468,754	2,480,150	1,025,945	1,458,478	626,868	1,207,079	646,704
	1,730,566	1,909,233	1,270,018	1,281,747	522,919	1,695,270	908,292
	1,722,209	1,808,648	1,110,552	1,075,399	519,987	1,838,413	1,019,134
	1,912,390	1,475,934	1,319,913	611,826	834,193	1,574,046	1,246,863
	2,134,185	1,343,329	1,427,460	644,273	647,744	1,196,894	1,142,145
	2,266,680	1,511,223	1,501,132	557,513	1,106,043	1,604,671	1,290,963
	2,697,479	708,247	1,341,947	643,679	740,720	1,629,736	1,424,683
	2,175,373	519,414	769,369	512,970	873,603	1,682,783	1,212,608
	1,781,657	664,546	693,485		837,220	2,011,167	
	1,565,492	828,888	907,012		1,242,480	2,090,145	
	1,932,693	1,108,201	1,196,618		1,657,192	1,712,980	
	1,768,389	1,166,376	909,279		1,546,075	1,241,201	
	1,732,597	1,425,891	759,496		1,504,364	1,143,294	
	1,080,108	907,141	783,648		1,571,306	1,170,546	
	922,530	762,034	1,090,648		1,592,594	953,895	
		590,039	1,199,128		1,390,679	855,305	
		862,205	1,705,828		1,795,356	1,096,632	
		802,815	1,359,917		1,422,130	929,953	

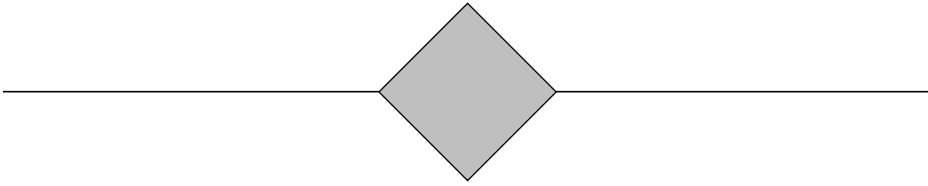
Year	Arizona	Atlanta	Chicago	Cincinnati	Colorado	Florida	Houston	Los Angeles
1958		1,971,101	979,904	788,582				1,845,556
1957		2,215,404	670,629	1,070,850				1,028,258
1956		2,046,331	720,118	1,125,928				1,213,562
1955		2,005,836	875,800	693,662				1,033,589
1954		2,131,388	748,183	704,167				1,020,531
1953		1,826,397	763,658	548,086				1,163,419
1952		281,278	1,024,826	604,197				1,088,704
1951		487,475	894,415	588,268				1,282,628
1950		944,391	1,165,944	538,794				1,185,896
1949		1,081,795	1,143,139	707,782				1,633,747
1948		1,455,439	1,237,792	823,386				1,398,967
1947		1,277,361	1,364,039	899,975				1,807,526
1946		969,673	1,342,970	715,751				1,796,824
1945		374,178	1,036,386	290,070				1,059,220
1944		208,691	640,110	409,567				605,905
1943		271,289	508,247	379,122				661,739
1942		285,332	590,972	427,031				1,037,765
1941		263,680	545,159	643,513				1,214,910
1940		241,616	534,878	850,180				975,978
1939		285,994	726,663	981,443				955,668
1938		341,149	951,640	706,756				663,087
1937		385,339	895,020	411,221				482,481
1936		340,585	699,370	466,345				489,618
1935		232,754	692,604	448,247				470,517
1934		303,205	707,525	206,773				434,188
1933		517,803	594,112	218,281				526,815
1932		507,606	974,688	356,950				681,827
1931		515,005	1,086,422	263,316				753,133
1930		464,835	1,463,624	386,727				1,097,329
1929		372,351	1,485,166	295,040				731,886
1928		227,001	1,143,740	490,490				664,863
1927		288,685	1,159,168	442,164				637,230
1926		303,598	885,063	672,987				650,819
1925		313,528	622,610	464,920				659,435
1924		177,478	716,922	473,707				818,883
1923		227,802	703,705	575,063				564,666
1922		167,965	542,283	493,754				498,865
1921		318,627	410,107	311,227				613,245
1920		162,483	480,783	568,107				808,722
1919		167,401	424,430	532,501				360,721
1918		84,938	337,256	163,009				83,831
1917		174,253	360,218	269,056				221,619
1916		313,495	453,685	255,846				447,747
1915		376,283	217,058	218,878				297,766
1914		382,913	202,516	100,791				122,671
1913		208,000	419,000	258,000				347,000

Milwaukee	New York	Philadelphia	Pittsburgh	San Diego	San Francisco	St. Louis	Washington/ Montreal
		931,110	1,311,988		1,272,625	1,063,730	
		1,146,230	850,732		653,923	1,183,575	
		934,798	949,878		629,179	1,029,773	
		922,886	469,397		824,112	849,130	
		738,991	475,494		1,155,067	1,039,698	
		853,644	572,757		811,518	880,242	
		755,417	686,673		984,940	913,113	
		937,658	980,590		1,059,539	1,013,429	
		1,217,035	1,166,267		1,008,878	1,093,411	
		819,698	1,449,435		1,218,446	1,430,676	
		767,429	1,517,021		1,459,269	1,111,440	
		907,332	1,283,531		1,600,793	1,247,913	
		1,045,247	749,962		1,219,873	1,061,807	
		285,057	604,694		1,016,468	594,630	
		369,586	604,278		674,483	461,968	
		466,975	498,740		466,095	517,135	
		230,183	448,897		779,621	553,552	
		231,401	482,241		763,098	633,645	
		207,177	507,934		747,852	324,078	
		277,973	376,734		702,457	400,245	
		166,111	641,033		799,633	291,418	
		212,790	459,679		926,887	430,811	
		249,219	372,524		837,952	448,078	
		205,470	352,885		748,748	506,084	
		169,885	322,622		730,851	325,056	
		156,421	288,747		604,471	256,171	
		268,914	287,262		484,868	279,219	
		284,849	260,392		812,163	608,535	
		299,007	357,795		868,714	508,501	
		281,200	491,377		868,806	399,887	
		182,168	495,070		916,191	761,574	
		305,420	869,720		858,190	749,340	
		240,600	798,542		700,362	668,428	
		304,905	804,354		778,993	404,959	
		299,818	736,883		844,068	272,885	
		228,168	611,082		820,780	338,551	
		232,471	523,675		945,809	536,998	
		273,961	701,567		973,477	384,773	
		330,998	429,037		929,609	326,836	
		240,424	276,810		708,857	167,059	
		122,266	213,610		256,618	110,599	
		354,428	192,807		500,264	288,491	
		515,365	289,132		552,056	224,308	
		449,898	225,743		391,850	252,666	
		138,474	139,620		364,313	256,099	
		470,000	296,000		630,000	203,531	

Year	Arizona	Atlanta	Chicago	Cincinnati	Colorado	Florida	Houston	Los Angeles
1912		121,000	514,000	344,000				243,000
1911		116,000	576,000	300,000				269,000
1910		149,027	526,152	380,622				279,321
1909		195,188	633,480	424,643				321,300
1908		253,750	665,325	399,200				275,600
1907		203,221	422,550	317,500				312,500
1906		143,280	654,300	330,056				277,400
1905		150,003	509,900	313,927				227,924
1904		140,694	439,100	391,915				214,600
1903		143,155	386,205	351,680				224,670
1902		116,960	263,700	217,300				199,868
1901		146,502	205,071	205,728				198,200
1900		202,000	248,577	170,000				183,000
1899		200,384	352,130	259,536				269,641
1898		229,275	424,352	336,378				122,514
1897		334,800	327,160	336,800				220,831
1896		240,000	317,500	373,000				201,000
1895		242,000	382,300	281,000				230,000
1894		152,800	239,000	158,000				214,000
1893		193,300	223,500	194,250				235,000
1892		146,421	109,067	196,473				183,727
1891		184,472	181,431	97,500				181,477
1890		147,539	102,536	131,980				121,412

Source: Data drawn from Baseball-Reference.com, <http://www.baseball-reference.com/team>.

Milwaukee	New York	Philadelphia	Pittsburgh	San Diego	San Francisco	St. Louis	Washington/ Montreal
		250,000	384,000		638,000	241,759	
		416,000	432,000		675,000	447,768	
		296,597	436,586		511,785	355,668	
		303,177	534,950		783,700	299,982	
		420,660	382,444		910,000	205,129	
		341,216	319,506		538,350	185,377	
		294,680	394,877		402,850	283,770	
		317,932	369,124		552,700	292,800	
		140,771	340,615		609,826	386,750	
		151,729	326,855		579,530	226,538	
		112,066	243,826		302,875	226,417	
		234,937	251,955		297,650	379,988	
		301,913	264,000		190,000	270,000	
		388,933	251,834		121,384	373,909	
		265,414	150,900		265,414	151,700	
		290,027	165,950		390,340	136,400	
		357,025	197,000		274,000	184,000	
		474,971	188,000		240,000	170,000	
		352,773	159,000		387,000	155,000	
		293,019	184,000		290,000	195,000	
		193,731	177,205		130,566	192,442	
		217,282	128,000		210,568	60,667	
		148,366	16,064				



Appendix D

**NATIONAL LEAGUE TEAM DAILY AVERAGE ATTENDANCE,
2005-1890**

Year	Arizona	Atlanta	Chicago	Cincinnati	Colorado	Florida	Houston	Los Angeles
2005	25,423	31,519	38,753	23,989	23,944	22,792	34,530	44,489
2004	31,106	28,735	38,660	28,238	28,865	21,539	38,122	43,065
2003	34,636	29,643	36,576	29,077	28,816	16,089	30,299	38,748
2002	39,494	32,142	33,248	22,911	33,800	10,038	31,078	38,657
2001	33,783	34,858	34,314	23,207	39,097	15,765	35,855	37,249
2000	36,324	39,930	34,438	31,431	40,681	15,041	37,730	35,559
1999	37,280	40,554	34,739	25,137	42,976	17,118	33,000	38,214
1998	44,571	41,492	31,990	22,144	46,823	21,363	30,351	38,139
1997		42,771	27,041	22,047	48,006	29,190	25,269	40,982
1996		35,818	27,396	22,981	48,037	21,565	24,394	39,364
1995		35,581	26,643	25,523	47,084	23,950	18,942	38,420
1994		46,168	31,275	31,628	57,570	32,838	26,460	41,443
1993		47,960	32,363	30,287	55,350	37,838	25,736	39,141
1992		37,993	26,256	28,592			14,956	30,534
1991		26,422	27,883	29,289			14,767	41,335
1990		12,100	27,701	29,641			16,184	37,067
1989		12,467	30,765	24,436			22,377	36,354
1988		10,735	25,476	25,907			23,870	36,793
1987		15,030	25,439	26,978			23,579	34,536
1986		17,126	23,239	20,894			21,411	37,324
1985		16,668	26,686	22,650			14,621	40,304
1984		21,295	26,346	15,752			15,183	38,702
1983		26,499	18,268	14,697			16,487	43,879
1982		22,247	15,423	16,377			19,241	44,554
1981		10,708	9,752	20,254			25,907	42,523
1980		13,105	14,898	24,664			28,126	39,625
1979		9,740	20,353	29,462			23,461	35,320
1978		11,167	18,601	31,656			13,903	41,331
1977		10,771	17,776	31,107			13,698	36,483
1976		10,101	12,669	32,466			10,807	29,461
1975		6,683	12,776	28,588			10,593	31,350
1974		12,112	12,536	26,394			13,466	32,500
1973		9,885	16,896	24,909			17,210	26,373
1972		9,654	16,872	21,203			19,081	24,811
1971		12,272	20,407	18,532			15,575	25,489
1970		13,319	20,534	22,266			15,475	20,952
1969		18,004	20,427	12,197			17,815	22,031
1968		13,908	12,724	8,943			16,208	19,520
1967		17,151	11,634	11,831			16,646	20,548
1966		18,778	7,851	9,405			23,112	32,309
1965		6,859	7,727	12,936			26,561	31,526
1964		11,246	9,280	10,518			8,960	27,515
1963		9,427	12,093	10,603			8,883	31,341
1962		9,468	7,528	12,125			11,274	33,195
1961		14,304	8,629	14,514				23,432
1960		19,452	10,250	8,617				29,271
1959		22,141	11,146	10,406				26,552

Milwaukee	New York	Philadelphia	Pittsburgh	San Diego	San Francisco	St. Louis	Washington
27,296	35,217	33,316	23,003	35,400	39,259	43,647	33,651
25,462	25,462	40,125	19,750	37,244	39,718	37,635	9,369
20,992	20,992	27,901	20,207	25,063	40,307	35,931	12,662
24,311	24,311	20,231	22,312	27,415	40,163	37,182	10,025
34,704	34,704	22,001	30,430	29,360	40,888	37,922	7,935
19,427	19,427	19,911	21,591	29,043	40,973	41,191	11,435
21,272	21,272	22,535	20,223	31,155	25,659	40,317	9,547
22,365	22,365	21,182	19,271	31,554	23,770	38,972	11,295
	18,050	18,403	20,457	25,794	20,875	32,519	18,489
	16,385	22,243	16,652	27,011	17,243	32,774	19,959
	15,105	28,383	12,577	14,470	17,243	24,399	18,189
	22,650	38,183	20,041	16,734	28,410	33,331	24,543
	20,840	38,737	20,378	16,981	32,177	35,123	20,265
	22,930	23,796	22,585	21,252	19,272	29,858	20,607
	18,484	24,699	24,587	22,275	21,450	29,151	13,746
	21,641	24,599	25,308	22,918	24,389	31,768	16,952
	24,330	22,987	16,965	24,803	25,428	37,120	22,019
	23,744	24,568	23,046	18,604	22,041	35,714	18,255
	23,571	25,927	14,336	17,951	23,669	37,927	22,844
	15,813	24,167	12,357	22,293	18,873	30,518	14,112
	17,003	22,597	9,199	27,288	10,107	32,563	18,549
	19,858	25,465	9,549	24,493	12,365	25,154	19,834
	29,594	25,955	15,135	18,778	15,451	28,616	28,650
	24,133	29,338	12,643	19,846	14,827	26,073	28,621
	17,843	29,795	10,623	9,439	11,930	19,061	27,403
	22,651	32,736	20,330	14,062	13,532	17,101	27,602
	23,683	34,259	17,722	17,987	17,980	19,845	25,953
	19,770	31,505	11,903	20,619	21,487	15,780	17,838
	13,765	33,334	15,276	16,991	8,643	19,991	17,701
	12,496	30,619	12,666	18,231	7,739	14,902	8,084
	14,980	23,571	15,875	15,824	6,456	20,674	11,213
	11,799	22,329	13,711	13,277	6,420	22,696	12,739
	13,483	18,221	16,295	7,553	10,299	19,433	15,393
	7,601	17,004	18,301	8,053	8,412	15,544	14,643
	8,921	18,657	18,764	6,883	13,655	19,569	16,137
	11,527	8,853	16,365	7,947	9,145	20,120	17,809
	8,268	6,413	9,498	6,333	10,785	21,035	14,970
	21,728	8,204	8,562		10,336	24,829	
	20,070	10,361	11,198		15,152	25,804	
	23,860	13,681	14,773		20,459	21,148	
	21,566	14,580	11,089		19,087	15,323	
	21,129	17,604	9,376		18,572	14,115	
	13,335	11,199	9,675		19,399	14,451	
	11,532	9,525	13,465		19,422	11,776	
		7,565	15,573		18,061	10,965	
		11,197	21,870		23,316	14,242	
		10,292	17,661		18,469	12,077	

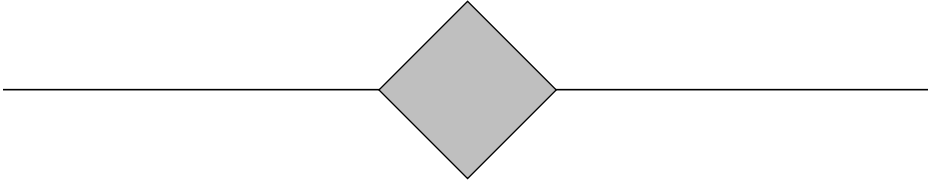
Year	Arizona	Atlanta	Chicago	Cincinnati	Colorado	Florida	Houston	Los Angeles
1958		25,599	12,726	10,241				23,968
1957		28,403	8,598	13,907				13,354
1956		26,576	9,001	14,622				15,761
1955		26,050	11,374	9,009				13,423
1954		27,680	9,717	9,145				13,254
1953		23,119	9,918	7,027				14,916
1952		3,653	13,309	7,847				13,609
1951		6,250	11,616	7,640				16,444
1950		11,954	14,948	7,089				15,204
1949		14,049	14,846	9,074				20,945
1948		19,151	15,869	10,693				17,935
1947		16,589	17,266	11,688				23,173
1946		12,593	17,441	9,295				22,745
1945		4,989	13,637	3,767				13,580
1944		2,676	8,207	5,251				7,869
1943		3,523	6,777	4,861				8,594
1942		4,019	7,577	5,546				13,136
1941		3,469	7,080	8,146				15,379
1940		3,222	6,946	11,041				12,049
1939		3,918	9,083	12,117				12,252
1938		4,549	12,359	9,179				8,961
1937		5,070	11,475	5,140				6,348
1936		4,311	9,083	6,136				6,198
1935		3,103	8,995	5,898				6,111
1934		4,043	9,189	2,651				5,639
1933		6,725	7,520	2,763				6,585
1932		6,592	12,658	4,636				8,741
1931		6,603	14,109	3,420				9,910
1930		6,037	18,527	5,022				14,251
1929		4,836	19,041	3,783				9,505
1928		2,987	14,854	6,288				8,635
1927		3,901	14,861	5,527				8,611
1926		3,943	11,347	8,740				8,563
1925		4,125	8,086	6,117				8,564
1924		2,335	9,191	6,233				10,635
1923		2,958	9,139	7,373				7,239
1922		2,210	7,135	6,250				6,396
1921		4,306	5,396	4,095				7,862
1920		2,196	6,244	7,378				10,368
1919		2,462	5,978	7,607				5,153
1918		1,633	4,558	2,296				1,552
1917		2,263	4,678	3,363				2,841
1916		4,019	5,743	3,366				5,740
1915		4,824	2,819	2,771				3,818
1914		4,847	2,665	1,309				1,553
1913		2,701	5,513	3,308				4,506

Milwaukee	New York	Philadelphia	Pittsburgh	San Diego	San Francisco	St. Louis	Washington
		12,092	17,039		16,528	13,815	
		14,695	11,048		8,493	15,371	
		12,140	12,178		8,171	13,202	
		11,986	6,259		10,432	11,028	
		9,474	6,175		15,198	13,503	
		10,944	7,438		10,539	11,285	
		9,940	8,918		12,791	11,859	
		12,177	12,572		13,584	12,828	
		15,603	15,146		13,275	14,387	
		10,645	18,824		15,423	18,110	
		10,098	18,963		18,952	14,434	
		11,784	16,247		21,063	16,207	
		13,401	9,615		15,843	13,613	
		3,702	7,654		13,032	7,623	
		4,678	7,460		8,993	6,000	
		5,987	6,394		6,053	6,384	
		3,111	5,830		9,869	7,097	
		3,045	6,183		9,783	8,021	
		2,622	6,772		9,840	4,209	
		3,756	4,893		9,493	5,066	
		2,215	8,218		10,954	3,598	
		2,876	5,893		12,358	5,385	
		3,195	4,902		10,743	5,819	
		2,601	4,583		9,478	6,573	
		2,393	4,136		9,745	4,222	
		2,173	3,750		7,850	3,327	
		3,492	3,780		6,297	3,534	
		3,748	3,338		10,412	7,802	
		3,883	4,647		11,282	6,604	
		3,700	6,465		11,283	5,193	
		2,429	6,429		11,899	9,891	
		3,916	11,009		11,597	9,367	
		3,166	10,108		9,215	8,461	
		3,960	10,446		10,250	5,328	
		3,945	9,570		10,962	3,544	
		3,042	7,936		10,659	4,340	
		3,019	6,714		11,972	6,974	
		3,605	9,231		12,322	4,933	
		4,299	5,500		11,620	4,300	
		3,386	3,954		10,273	2,421	
		2,145	3,009		4,582	1,515	
		4,664	2,441		6,253	3,699	
		6,524	3,707		7,078	2,951	
		5,920	2,858		5,156	3,119	
		1,775	1,813		4,554	3,242	
		6,026	3,747		7,778	2,750	

Year	Arizona	Atlanta	Chicago	Cincinnati	Colorado	Florida	Houston	Los Angeles
1912		1,532	6,590	4,468				3,197
1911		1,547	6,857	3,659				3,635
1910		1,911	6,833	4,943				3,492
1909		2,568	8,227	5,308				4,067
1908		3,253	8,530	5,184				3,579
1907		2,746	5,560	3,920				4,058
1906		1,885	8,282	4,231				3,650
1905		1,974	6,295	3,974				2,960
1904		1,781	5,629	4,961				2,824
1903		2,105	5,290	4,627				3,078
1902		1,624	3,767	3,104				2,897
1901		2,093	2,930	2,857				2,915
1900		2,845	3,405	2,361				2,577
1899		2,619	4,633	3,327				3,595
1898		3,017	5,584	4,285				1,644
1897		4,960	4,741	5,027				3,248
1896		3,636	4,811	5,828				3,023
1895		3,667	5,749	4,258				3,459
1894		2,298	3,541	2,394				3,194
1893		2,951	3,492	2,966				3,615
1892		1,927	1,484	2,535				2,326
1891		2,635	2,649	1,413				2,649
1890		2,202	1,475	1,970				1,882

Source: Data drawn from Baseball-Reference.com, <http://www.baseball-reference.com/teams/attend.shtml>.

Milwaukee	New York	Philadelphia	Pittsburgh	San Diego	San Francisco	St. Louis	Washington
		3,333	5,120		8,395	3,140	
		5,474	5,538		9,000	5,668	
		3,803	5,745		6,478	4,680	
		3,937	6,858		10,178	3,947	
		5,393	4,967		11,375	2,664	
		4,550	4,149		6,992	2,347	
		3,827	5,128		5,371	3,685	
		4,183	4,732		7,272	3,803	
		1,928	4,367		7,260	5,089	
		2,487	4,669		8,279	3,283	
		1,624	3,434		4,266	3,235	
		3,405	3,652		4,192	5,278	
		4,282	3,771		2,695	3,803	
		5,051	3,271		1,597	4,825	
		3,539	1,986		3,381	1,970	
		4,329	2,459		5,698	2,067	
		5,493	3,008		4,120	2,809	
		7,142	2,806		3,636	2,519	
		5,469	2,409		5,650	2,331	
		4,406	2,809		4,265	2,889	
		2,500	2,287		1,707	2,483	
		3,149	1,869		3,097		
		2,231	233		899		



Appendix E

**NATIONAL LEAGUE TEAM ATTENDANCE RANKINGS,
2005-1890**

Year	Arizona	Atlanta	Chicago	Cincinnati	Colorado	Florida	Houston	Los Angeles
2005	12	10	4	13	14	15	7	1
2004	8	10	4	12	9	14	5	1
2003	5	7	3	8	9	15	6	2
2002	2	8	7	12	6	15	9	3
2001	9	6	8	13	2	15	5	4
2000	6	4	9	10	3	15	5	7
1999	5	2	6	11	1	15	8	4
1998	2	3	6	1	1	13	8	5
1997		2	6	9	1	5	8	3
1996		3	5	8	1	10	7	2
1995		3	5	6	1	8	9	2
1994		2	8	7	1	6	10	3
1993		2	7	9	1	5	10	3
1992		1	5	4			12	2
1991		6	4	2			11	1
1990		12	5	4			11	1
1989		12	4	7			9	2
1988		12	5	4			7	2
1987		11	6	4			8	3
1986		10	5	8			7	1
1985		9	5	6			10	1
1984		7	2	9			10	1
1983		4	7	11			8	1
1982		5	10	82			7	1
1981		9	11	5			4	1
1980		12	8	5			3	1
1979		11	6	3			5	1
1978		12	6	2			9	1
1977		11	5	3			9	1
1976		10	7	1			9	3
1975		11	8	2			10	1
1974		11	10	2			7	1
1973		11	7	2			6	1
1972		10	7	3			4	2
1971		11	3	7			9	2
1970		9	4	2			8	3
1969		5	4	8			6	2
1968		5	6	8			4	3
1967		4	8	7			5	2
1966		6	10	9			3	1
1965		10	9	7			2	1
1964		6	9	7			10	1
1963		9	5	7			10	1
1962		9	10	4			7	1
1961		5	7	4				1
1960		4	7	8				1
1959		2	6	7				1

Milwaukee	New York	Philadelphia	Pittsburgh	San Diego	San Francisco	St. Louis	Washington
11	6	9	16	5	3	2	8
13	11	2	15	7	3	6	16
13	11	10	14	12	1	4	16
11	5	14	13	10	1	4	16
7	10	14	11	12	1	3	16
14	8	13	12	11	2	1	16
13	7	12	14	9	10	3	16
11	9	14	15	7	10	4	16
	10	14	12	7	11	4	13
	12	9	14	6	13	4	11
	11	4	14	13	12	7	10
	12	4	13	14	9	5	11
	11	4	12	14	8	6	13
	8	6	7	9	11	3	10
	5	7	8	9	10	3	12
	2	7	6	9	8	3	10
	3	8	11	6	5	1	10
	1	6	8	10	9	3	11
	2	5	12	10	7	1	9
	2	4	12	6	9	3	11
	2	7	12	4	11	3	8
	6	3	12	5	11	4	8
	12	5	10	6	9	3	2
	9	2	12	6	11	4	3
	7	2	10	12	8	6	3
	9	2	6	10	11	7	4
	12	2	10	8	9	7	4
	10	3	11	5	4	8	7
	10	2	8	7	12	4	6
	5	2	8	4	12	6	11
	4	3	6	7	12	5	9
	5	4	6	8	12	3	9
	3	5	8	12	10	4	9
	1	6	5	12	11	8	9
	1	6	5	12	10	4	8
	1	11	7	12	10	5	6
	1	11	10	12	9	3	7
	2	10	9		7	1	
	3	10	9		6	1	
	2	8	7		5	4	
	3	6	8		4	5	
	2	4	8		3	5	
	4	6	8		2	3	
	6	8	3		2	5	
		8	3		2	6	
		6	3		2	5	
		8	4		3	5	

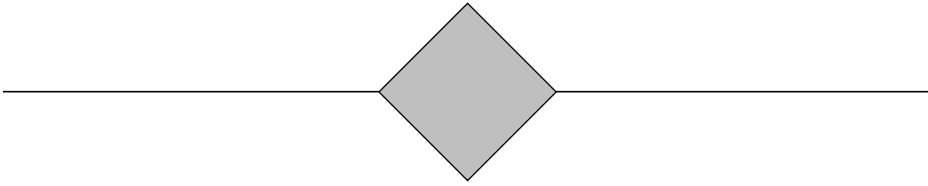
Year	Arizona	Atlanta	Chicago	Cincinnati	Colorado	Florida	Houston	Los Angeles
1958		1	6	8				2
1957		1	7	4				5
1956		1	7	3				2
1955		1	4	7				2
1954		1	5	7				4
1953		1	6	8				2
1952		8	2	7				1
1951		8	6	7				1
1950		7	4	8				2
1949		6	5	8				1
1948		1	5	7				4
1947		4	3	8				1
1946		6	2	8				1
1945		6	1	7				2
1944		8	2	6				3
1943		8	2	7				1
1942		7	3	6				1
1941		7	5	3				1
1940		7	4	2				1
1939		7	4	2				1
1938		6	1	3				4
1937		7	2	6				3
1936		7	2	4				3
1935		7	2	5				4
1934		6	2	7				3
1933		3	2	7				4
1932		3	1	5				2
1931		5	1	7				3
1930		5	1	6				2
1929		6	1	7				3
1928		7	1	6				4
1927		8	1	6				5
1926		7	1	4				5
1925		7	4	5				3
1924		8	4	5				2
1923		8	2	4				5
1922		8	2	6				5
1921		6	4	7				3
1920		8	4	3				2
1919		7	3	2				4
1918		6	2	4				7
1917		8	2	5				6
1916		5	3	7				4
1915		3	7	8				4
1914		1	4	8				7
1913		8	3	6				4

Milwaukee	New York	Philadelphia	Pittsburgh	San Diego	San Francisco	St. Louis	Washington
		7	3		4	5	
		3	6		8	2	
		6	5		8	4	
		3	8		6	5	
		6	8		2	3	
		4	7		5	3	
		5	6		3	4	
		5	4		2	3	
		1	3		6	5	
		7	2		4	3	
		8	2		3	6	
		7	5		2	6	
		5	7		3	4	
		8	4		3	5	
		7	4		1	5	
		6	3		5	4	
		8	5		2	4	
		8	6		2	4	
		8	5		3	6	
		8	6		3	5	
		8	5		2	7	
		8	4		1	5	
		8	6		1	5	
		8	6		1	3	
		8	5		1	4	
		8	5		1	6	
		8	6		4	7	
		6	8		2	4	
		8	7		3	4	
		8	4		2	5	
		8	5		2	3	
		7	3		2	4	
		8	2		3	6	
		8	1		2	6	
		6	3		1	7	
		7	3		1	6	
		7	4		1	3	
		8	2		1	5	
		7	5		1	6	
		6	5		1	8	
		5	3		1	8	
		3	7		1	4	
		2	6		1	8	
		1	6		2	5	
		6	5		2	3	
		2	5		1	7	

Year	Arizona	Atlanta	Chicago	Cincinnati	Colorado	Florida	Houston	Los Angeles
1912		8	2	4				6
1911		8	2	6				7
1910		8	1	4				7
1909		8	2	4				5
1908		7	2	4				6
1907		7	2	6				5
1906		8	1	4				7
1905		8	2	5				7
1904		8	2	4				6
1903		8	2	4				6
1902		7	2	5				6
1901		8	5	7				6
1900		5	4	8				7
1899		7	3	5				4
1898		5	1	2				9
1897		3	4	2				7
1896		6	3	1				8
1895		5	2	4				7
1894		9	4	7				5
1893		6	4	5				3
1892		6	1	1				4
1891		5	4	8				3
1890		2	5	3				4

Source: Data drawn from Baseball-Reference.com, <http://www.baseball-reference.com/teams/attend.shtml>.

Milwaukee	New York	Philadelphia	Pittsburgh	San Diego	San Francisco	St. Louis	Washington
		5	3		1	7	
		5	4		1	3	
		6	3		2	5	
		7	3		1	6	
		3	5		1	8	
		3	4		1	8	
		5	3		2	6	
		4	3		1	6	
		7	5		1	3	
		7	3		1	5	
		8	3		1	4	
		4	3		2	1	
		1	3		6	2	
		1	6		9	2	
		3	6		4	7	
		5	8		1	11	
		2	9		4	10	
		1	8		6	9	
		2	6		1	8	
		1	8		2	7	
		2	5		8	3	
		1	7		2		
		1	8		6		



Appendix F

**AMERICAN LEAGUE TEAM TOTAL ATTENDANCE, 2005–
1901**

Year	Baltimore	Boston	Chicago	Claveland	Detroit	Kansas City	Los Angeles
2005	2,624,804	2,813,354	2,342,834	1,973,185	2,024,505	1,371,181	3,404,686
2004	2,744,018	2,837,294	1,930,537	1,814,401	1,917,004	1,661,478	3,375,677
2003	2,454,523	2,724,165	1,939,524	1,730,002	1,368,245	1,779,895	3,061,094
2002	2,682,439	2,650,862	1,676,911	2,616,940	1,503,623	1,323,036	2,305,547
2001	3,094,841	2,625,333	1,766,172	3,175,523	1,921,305	1,536,371	2,000,919
2000	3,297,031	2,585,895	1,947,799	3,456,278	2,438,617	1,564,847	2,066,982
1999	3,433,150	2,446,162	1,338,851	3,468,456	2,026,441	1,506,068	2,253,123
1998	3,684,650	2,314,704	1,391,146	3,467,299	1,409,391	1,494,875	2,519,280
1997	3,711,132	2,226,136	1,864,782	3,404,750	1,365,157	1,517,638	1,767,330
1996	3,646,950	2,315,231	1,676,403	3,318,174	1,168,610	1,435,997	1,820,521
1995	3,098,475	2,164,410	1,609,773	2,842,745	1,180,979	1,233,530	1,748,680
1994	2,535,359	1,775,818	1,697,398	1,995,174	1,184,783	1,400,494	1,512,622
1993	3,644,965	2,422,021	2,581,091	2,177,908	1,971,421	1,934,578	2,057,460
1992	3,567,819	2,468,574	2,681,156	1,224,094	1,423,963	1,867,689	2,065,444
1991	2,552,753	2,562,435	2,934,154	1,051,863	1,641,661	2,161,537	2,416,236
1990	2,415,189	2,528,986	2,002,357	1,225,240	1,495,785	2,244,956	2,555,688
1989	2,535,208	2,510,012	1,045,651	1,285,542	1,543,656	2,477,700	2,647,291
1988	1,660,738	2,464,851	1,115,749	1,411,610	2,081,162	2,350,181	2,340,925
1987	1,835,692	2,231,551	1,208,060	1,077,898	2,061,830	2,392,471	2,696,299
1986	1,973,176	2,147,641	1,424,313	1,471,805	1,899,437	2,320,794	2,655,872
1985	2,132,387	1,786,633	1,669,888	655,181	2,286,609	2,162,717	2,567,427
1984	2,045,784	1,661,618	2,136,988	734,079	2,704,794	1,810,018	2,402,997
1983	2,042,071	1,782,285	2,132,821	768,941	1,829,636	1,963,875	2,555,016
1982	1,613,031	1,950,124	1,567,787	1,044,021	1,636,058	2,284,464	2,807,360
1981	1,024,247	1,060,379	946,651	661,395	1,149,144	1,279,403	1,441,545
1980	1,797,438	1,956,092	1,200,365	1,033,827	1,785,293	2,288,714	2,297,327
1979	1,681,009	2,353,114	1,280,702	1,011,644	1,630,929	2,261,845	2,523,575
1978	1,051,724	2,320,643	1,491,100	800,584	1,714,893	2,255,493	1,755,386
1977	1,195,769	2,074,549	1,657,135	900,365	1,359,856	1,852,603	1,432,633
1976	1,058,609	1,895,846	914,945	948,776	1,467,020	1,680,265	1,006,774
1975	1,002,157	1,748,587	750,802	977,039	1,058,836	1,151,836	1,058,163
1974	962,572	1,556,411	1,149,596	1,114,262	1,243,080	1,173,292	917,269
1973	958,667	1,481,002	1,302,527	615,107	1,724,146	1,345,341	1,058,206
1972	899,950	1,441,718	1,177,318	626,354	1,892,386	707,656	744,190
1971	1,023,037	1,678,732	833,891	591,361	1,591,073	910,784	926,373
1970	1,057,069	1,595,278	495,355	729,752	1,501,293	693,047	1,077,741
1969	1,062,069	1,833,246	589,546	619,970	1,577,481	902,414	758,388
1968	943,977	1,940,788	803,775	857,994	2,031,847		1,025,956
1967	955,053	1,727,832	985,634	662,980	1,447,143		1,317,713
1966	1,203,366	811,172	990,016	903,359	1,124,293		1,400,321
1965	781,649	652,201	1,130,519	934,786	1,029,645		566,727
1964	1,116,215	883,276	1,250,053	653,293	816,139		760,439
1963	774,343	942,642	1,158,848	562,507	821,952		821,015
1962	790,254	733,080	1,131,562	716,076	1,207,881		1,144,063
1961	951,089	850,589	1,146,019	725,547	1,600,710		603,510
1960	1,187,849	1,129,866	1,644,460	950,985	1,167,669		
1959	891,926	984,102	1,423,144	1,497,976	1,221,221		
1958	829,991	1,077,047	797,451	663,805	1,098,924		

Milwaukee	Minnesota	New York	Oakland	Seattle	Tampa Bay	Texas	Toronto
	2,013,453	4,090,440	2,109,298	2,689,529	1,124,189	2,486,925	1,977,949
	1,911,490	3,775,292	2,201,516	2,940,731	1,274,911	2,513,685	1,900,041
	1,946,011	3,465,600	2,216,596	3,268,509	1,058,695	2,513,685	1,799,458
	1,924,473	3,465,807	2,169,811	3,542,938	1,065,742	2,094,394	1,637,900
	1,782,929	3,264,907	2,133,277	3,507,326	1,298,365	2,831,021	1,915,438
	1,000,760	3,055,435	1,603,744	2,914,624	1,449,673	2,588,401	1,705,712
	1,202,829	3,292,736	1,434,610	2,916,346	1,562,827	2,771,469	2,163,464
	1,165,976	2,955,193	1,232,343	2,651,511	2,506,293	2,927,399	2,454,303
	1,411,064	2,580,325	1,264,218	3,192,237		2,945,228	2,589,297
	1,437,352	2,250,877	1,148,380	2,723,850		2,889,020	2,094,394
	1,057,667	1,705,263	1,174,310	1,643,203		1,985,910	2,352,397
	1,398,565	1,675,556	1,242,692	1,104,206		2,503,198	2,907,933
	2,048,673	2,416,942	2,035,025	2,052,638		2,244,616	4,057,947
	2,482,428	1,748,737	2,494,160	1,651,367		2,198,231	4,028,318
	2,293,842	1,863,733	2,713,493	2,147,905		2,297,720	4,001,527
	1,751,584	2,006,436	2,900,217	1,509,727		2,057,911	3,885,284
1,970,735	2,277,438	2,170,485	2,667,225	1,298,443		2,043,993	3,375,883
1,923,238	3,030,672	2,633,701	2,287,335	1,022,398		1,581,901	2,595,175
1,909,244	2,081,976	2,427,672	1,678,921	1,134,255		1,763,053	2,778,429
1,265,041	1,255,453	2,268,030	1,314,646	1,029,045		1,692,002	2,455,477
1,360,265	1,651,814	2,214,587	1,334,599	1,128,696		1,112,497	2,468,925
1,608,509	1,598,692	1,821,815	1,353,281	870,372		1,102,471	2,110,009
2,397,131	858,939	2,257,976	1,294,941	813,537		1,363,469	1,930,415
1,978,896	921,186	2,041,219	1,735,489	1,070,404		1,154,432	1,275,978
874,292	469,090	1,614,353	1,304,052	636,276		850,076	755,083
1,857,408	769,206	2,627,417	842,259	836,204		1,198,175	1,400,327
1,918,343	1,070,521	2,537,765	306,763	844,447		1,519,671	1,431,651
1,601,406	787,878	2,335,871	526,999	877,440		1,447,963	1,562,585
1,114,938	1,162,727	2,103,092	495,599	1,338,511		1,250,722	1,701,052
1,012,164	715,394	2,012,434	780,593			1,164,982	
1,213,357	737,156	1,288,048	1,075,518			1,127,924	
955,741	662,401	1,273,075	845,693			1,193,902	
1,092,158	907,499	1,262,103	1,000,763			686,085	
600,440	797,901	966,328	921,323			662,974	
731,531	940,858	1,070,771	914,993			655,156	
933,690	1,261,887	1,136,879	778,355			824,789	
677,944	1,349,328	1,067,996	778,232			918,106	
	1,143,257	1,185,666	837,466			546,661	
	1,483,547	1,259,514	726,639			770,868	
	1,259,374	1,124,648	773,929			576,260	
	1,463,258	1,213,552	528,344			560,083	
	1,207,514	1,305,638	642,478			600,106	
	1,406,652	1,308,920	762,364			535,604	
	1,433,116	1,493,574	635,675			729,775	
	1,256,723	1,747,725	683,817			597,287	
	743,404	1,627,349	774,944				
	615,372	1,552,030	963,683				
	475,288	1,428,438	925,090				

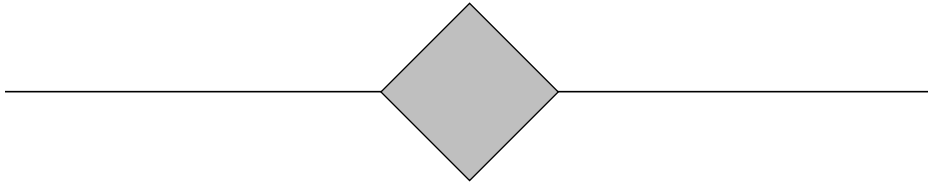
Year	Baltimore	Boston	Chicago	Claveland	Detroit	Kansas City	Los Angeles
1957	1,029,581	1,181,087	1,135,668	722,256	1,272,346		
1956	901,201	1,137,158	1,000,090	865,467	1,051,182		
1955	852,039	1,203,200	1,175,684	1,221,780	1,181,838		
1954	1,060,910	931,127	1,231,629	1,335,472	1,079,847		
1953	297,238	1,026,133	1,191,353	1,069,176	884,658		
1952	518,796	1,115,750	1,231,675	1,444,607	1,026,846		
1951	293,790	1,312,282	1,328,234	1,704,984	1,132,641		
1950	247,131	1,344,080	781,330	1,727,464	1,951,474		
1949	270,936	1,596,650	937,151	2,233,771	1,821,204		
1948	335,564	1,558,798	777,844	2,620,627	1,743,035		
1947	320,474	1,427,315	876,948	1,521,978	1,398,093		
1946	526,435	1,416,944	983,403	1,057,289	1,722,590		
1945	482,986	603,794	657,981	558,182	1,280,341		
1944	508,644	506,975	563,539	475,272	923,176		
1943	214,392	358,275	508,962	438,894	606,287		
1942	255,617	730,340	425,734	459,447	580,087		
1941	176,240	718,497	677,077	745,948	684,915		
1940	239,591	716,234	660,336	902,576	1,112,693		
1939	109,159	573,070	594,104	563,926	836,279		
1938	130,417	646,459	338,278	652,006	799,557		
1937	123,121	559,659	589,245	564,849	1,072,276		
1936	93,267	626,895	440,810	500,391	875,948		
1935	80,922	558,568	470,281	397,615	1,034,929		
1934	115,305	610,640	236,559	391,338	919,161		
1933	88,113	268,715	397,789	387,936	320,972		
1932	112,558	182,150	233,198	468,953	397,157		
1931	179,126	350,975	403,550	483,027	434,056		
1930	152,088	444,045	406,123	528,657	649,450		
1929	280,697	394,620	426,795	536,210	869,318		
1928	339,497	396,920	494,152	375,907	474,323		
1927	247,879	305,275	614,423	373,138	773,716		
1926	283,986	285,155	710,339	627,426	711,914		
1925	462,898	267,782	832,231	419,005	820,766		
1924	533,349	448,556	606,658	481,905	1,015,136		
1923	430,296	229,688	573,778	558,856	911,377		
1922	712,918	259,184	602,860	528,145	861,206		
1921	355,978	279,273	543,650	748,705	661,527		
1920	419,311	402,445	833,492	912,832	579,650		
1919	349,350	417,291	627,186	538,135	643,805		
1918	122,076	249,513	195,081	295,515	203,719		
1917	210,486	387,856	684,521	477,298	457,289		
1916	335,740	496,397	679,923	492,106	616,772		
1915	150,358	539,885	539,461	159,285	476,105		
1914	244,714	481,359	469,290	185,997	416,225		
1913	250,330	437,194	644,501	541,000	398,502		
1912	214,070	597,096	602,241	336,844	402,870		

Milwaukee	Minnesota	New York	Oakland	Seattle	Tampa Bay	Texas	Toronto
	457,079	1,497,134	901,067				
	431,647	1,491,784	1,015,154				
	425,238	1,490,138	1,393,054				
	503,542	1,475,171	304,666				
	595,594	1,537,811	362,113				
	699,457	1,629,665	627,100				
	695,167	1,950,107	465,469				
	699,697	2,081,380	309,805				
	770,745	2,283,676	816,514				
	795,254	2,373,901	945,076				
	850,758	2,178,937	911,566				
	1,027,216	2,265,512	621,793				
	652,660	881,845	462,631				
	525,235	789,995	505,322				
	574,694	618,330	376,735				
	403,493	922,011	423,487				
	415,663	964,722	528,894				
	381,241	988,975	432,145				
	339,257	859,785	395,022				
	522,694	970,916	385,357				
	397,799	998,148	430,738				
	379,525	976,913	285,173				
	255,011	657,508	233,173				
	330,074	854,682	305,847				
	437,533	728,014	297,138				
	371,396	962,320	405,500				
	492,657	912,437	627,464				
	614,474	1,169,230	721,663				
	355,506	960,148	839,176				
	378,501	1,072,132	689,756				
	528,976	1,164,015	605,529				
	551,580	1,027,675	714,508				
	817,199	697,267	869,703				
	584,310	1,053,533	531,992				
	357,406	1,007,066	534,122				
	458,552	1,026,134	425,356				
	456,069	1,230,696	344,430				
	359,260	1,289,422	287,888				
	234,096	619,164	225,209				
	182,122	282,047	177,926				
	89,682	330,294	221,432				
	177,265	469,211	184,471				
	167,332	256,035	146,223				
	243,888	359,477	346,641				
	325,831	357,551	571,896				
	350,663	242,194	517,653				

Year	Baltimore	Boston	Chicago	Claveland	Detroit	Kansas City	Los Angeles
1911	207,984	503,961	583,208	406,296	484,988		
1910	249,889	584,619	552,084	293,456	391,288		
1909	366,274	668,965	478,400	354,627	490,490		
1908	618,947	473,048	636,096	422,262	436,199		
1907	419,025	436,777	666,307	382,046	297,079		
1906	389,157	410,209	585,202	325,733	174,043		
1905	339,112	468,828	687,419	316,306	193,384		
1904	318,108	623,295	557,123	264,749	177,796		
1903	380,405	379,338	286,183	311,280	224,523		
1902	272,283	348,567	337,898	275,395	189,469		
1901	139,034	289,448	354,350	131,380	259,430		

Source: Data drawn from Baseball-Reference.com, <http://www.baseball-reference.com/teams/attend.shtml>.

Milwaukee	Minnesota	New York	Oakland	Seattle	Tampa Bay	Texas	Toronto
	244,884	302,444	605,749				
	254,591	355,857	588,905				
	205,199	501,000	674,915				
	264,252	305,500	455,062				
	221,929	350,020	625,581				
	129,903	434,700	489,129				
	252,027	309,100	554,576				
	131,744	438,919	512,294				
	128,878	211,808	422,473				
	188,158	174,606	420,078				
	161,661	141,952	206,329				



Appendix G

**AMERICAN LEAGUE TEAM AVERAGE DAILY
ATTENDANCE, 2005-1901**

Year	Baltimore	Boston	Chicago	Cleveland	Detroit	Kansas City	Los Angeles
2005	32,404	35,166	28,923	24,664	25,306	17,356	42,033
2004	33,877	35,028	23,834	22,400	23,667	20,768	41,675
2003	30,303	33,632	23,945	21,358	16,892	22,249	37,330
2002	33,117	32,727	20,703	32,308	18,795	16,334	28,464
2001	38,686	32,412	21,805	39,694	23,720	18,968	24,703
2000	40,704	31,925	24,047	42,670	30,106	19,319	25,518
1999	42,385	30,200	16,529	42,820	25,018	18,826	27,816
1998	45,490	28,577	16,965	42,806	17,400	18,686	31,102
1997	45,816	27,483	23,022	42,034	16,854	18,970	21,553
1996	44,475	28,583	20,696	41,477	14,427	17,950	22,476
1995	43,034	30,061	22,358	39,483	16,402	17,132	24,287
1994	46,097	27,747	32,026	39,121	20,427	23,737	24,010
1993	45,000	29,901	31,865	26,888	24,339	23,884	25,401
1992	44,047	30,476	32,697	15,112	17,800	23,058	25,499
1991	31,515	31,635	36,224	12,828	20,267	26,686	29,830
1990	30,190	31,222	25,029	15,126	18,466	27,716	31,552
1989	31,299	30,988	13,071	15,871	19,057	30,589	32,683
1988	20,759	30,430	13,775	17,427	25,693	29,377	28,900
1987	22,386	27,894	14,914	13,307	25,455	29,537	33,288
1986	24,977	26,514	17,584	18,170	23,450	28,652	32,389
1985	26,326	22,057	20,616	8,089	28,230	26,375	32,499
1984	25,257	20,514	26,383	9,063	32,985	22,346	29,667
1983	25,211	22,004	26,331	9,493	22,588	23,950	31,543
1982	19,671	24,076	19,597	12,889	20,198	28,203	34,659
1981	18,623	20,007	19,319	12,248	20,894	27,221	26,695
1980	22,191	24,149	14,819	13,086	21,772	28,256	28,362
1979	21,279	29,414	16,211	12,489	20,387	27,924	31,155
1978	12,984	28,301	18,639	10,264	21,172	27,846	21,671
1977	14,763	25,932	20,458	11,116	16,788	22,872	17,687
1976	13,069	23,406	11,437	12,010	18,338	20,744	12,429
1975	13,015	21,587	9,269	12,213	13,235	14,220	13,064
1974	11,884	19,215	14,019	13,756	15,347	14,485	11,324
1973	11,835	18,284	16,081	7,594	21,286	16,609	13,064
1972	11,688	18,484	15,094	8,134	24,261	9,190	9,302
1971	13,286	20,984	10,295	7,301	19,643	11,244	11,437
1970	13,050	19,695	5,897	9,009	18,534	8,773	13,305
1969	13,112	22,633	7,278	7,654	19,475	11,005	9,363
1968	11,800	23,960	9,923	10,593	25,085		12,666
1967	12,403	21,331	12,020	8,185	17,648		15,876
1966	15,232	10,014	12,222	11,153	13,880		17,288
1965	9,894	8,052	13,957	11,400	12,712		7,084
1964	13,612	10,905	15,433	7,967	9,953		9,388
1963	9,560	11,783	14,132	6,945	10,148		10,136
1962	9,637	9,279	13,970	8,840	14,730		14,124
1961	11,599	10,373	14,148	8,957	19,521		7,360
1960	15,427	14,674	21,357	12,350	15,165		
1959	11,435	12,781	18,245	19,454	15,860		
1958	10,641	13,988	10,357	8,734	14,272		

Milwaukee	Minnesota	New York	Oakland	Seattle	Tampa Bay	Texas	Toronto
	25,168	50,499	26,040	33,619	14,052	31,480	24,724
	23,599	46,609	27,179	35,863	15,936	25,857	23,457
	24,025	42,263	27,365	40,352	13,070	29,042	22,216
	23,759	43,323	26,788	43,740	13,157	34,525	20,221
	22,011	40,811	26,337	43,300	16,029	31,956	23,359
	12,355	38,193	19,799	35,983	18,121	34,216	21,058
	14,850	40,651	17,711	36,004	19,294	36,141	26,709
	14,395	36,484	15,214	32,735	30,942	36,361	30,300
16,385	17,421	32,254	15,608	39,410		35,667	31,967
15,105	17,529	28,136	14,178	33,628		27,582	31,600
22,650	14,690	23,360	16,310	22,510		39,733	39,257
20,840	23,704	29,396	22,191	25,096		27,711	49,287
22,930	25,292	29,839	25,124	25,341		27,139	50,098
18,484	30,647	21,589	30,792	20,387		28,367	49,732
21,641	28,319	23,009	33,500	26,517		25,096	49,402
24,330	21,624	24,771	35,805	18,639		25,234	47,966
23,744	28,117	26,796	32,929	16,030		19,530	41,678
23,571	37,416	32,921	28,239	12,622		21,766	32,039
15,813	25,703	29,971	20,727	14,003		20,889	34,302
17,003	15,499	28,350	15,839	12,549		13,906	30,315
19,858	19,664	27,682	16,894	13,599		13,781	30,862
29,594	19,737	22,492	16,707	10,745		16,833	26,049
24,133	10,604	27,876	15,987	16,833		14,252	23,832
17,843	11,373	25,200	21,426	14,252		15,180	15,753
22,651	7,690	31,654	23,287	15,180		14,977	14,247
23,683	9,615	32,437	10,398	14,977		18,761	17,288
19,770	13,216	31,330	3,787	18,761		17,658	17,675
13,765	9,727	28,838	6,587	17,658		15,441	19,291
12,496	14,534	25,964	6,119	15,441		14,382	21,263
14,980	8,832	25,155	9,637	14,382		14,099	
11,799	8,990	16,513	13,278	14,099		14,924	
13,483	8,078	15,717	10,441	14,924		8,470	
7,601	11,204	15,582	12,355	8,470		8,610	
8,921	10,782	12,550	11,965	8,610		8,088	
11,527	11,910	13,219	11,296	8,088		10,183	
8,268	15,579	14,036	9,609	10,183		11,335	
	16,658	13,350	9,608	11,335		6,749	
	14,114	14,459	10,090	6,749		9,636	
	18,315	15,360	8,971	9,636		7,388	
	15,548	13,715	9,555	7,388		6,915	
	18,065	14,621	6,523	6,915		7,409	
	14,726	16,119	7,932	7,409		6,695	
	17,366	16,362	9,412	6,695		9,122	
	17,477	18,670	7,848	9,122		7,561	
	15,515	21,577	8,548	7,561			
	9,655	21,134	9,935				
	7,992	20,156	12,515				
	6,093	18,313	11,860				

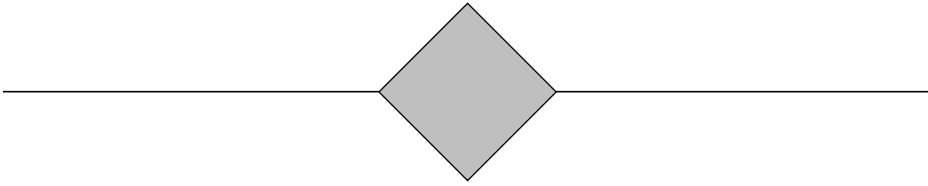
Year	Baltimore	Boston	Chicago	Cleveland	Detroit	Kansas City	Los Angeles
1957	13,371	15,339	14,749	9,380	16,524		
1956	11,704	14,579	12,988	11,240	13,477		
1955	10,785	15,426	15,269	15,867	15,349		
1954	13,778	11,786	15,790	17,344	14,024		
1953	3,860	13,502	15,274	13,707	11,198		
1952	6,651	14,490	15,591	18,761	13,336		
1951	3,815	17,497	17,029	22,143	14,710		
1950	3,340	17,456	9,890	22,435	24,092		
1949	3,519	20,736	12,171	29,010	23,349		
1948	4,415	19,985	10,235	33,172	22,637		
1947	4,162	17,621	11,693	19,513	17,476		
1946	6,837	18,166	12,448	13,731	21,805		
1945	6,355	7,741	8,892	7,249	16,847		
1944	6,606	6,500	7,319	6,093	11,836		
1943	2,784	4,653	6,697	5,700	7,773		
1942	3,320	9,485	6,082	5,743	7,534		
1941	2,231	9,331	8,571	9,688	8,895		
1940	3,112	9,066	8,466	11,007	14,085		
1939	1,399	7,641	7,716	7,324	10,722		
1938	1,694	8,619	4,634	8,579	10,121		
1937	1,578	7,563	7,653	7,242	13,926		
1936	1,211	8,141	5,877	6,178	11,376		
1935	1,065	7,070	6,108	5,164	13,100		
1934	1,517	7,930	3,154	5,017	11,490		
1933	1,144	3,732	5,166	5,038	4,115		
1932	1,501	2,366	3,029	6,090	5,092		
1931	2,326	4,387	5,241	6,356	5,637		
1930	1,950	5,843	5,207	6,866	8,326		
1929	3,645	5,059	5,616	7,055	11,290		
1928	4,409	5,364	6,335	4,882	6,160		
1927	3,178	3,914	8,192	4,846	9,919		
1926	3,595	3,703	8,992	7,843	8,789		
1925	5,935	3,570	10,808	5,442	10,659		
1924	6,838	5,825	7,879	6,425	13,015		
1923	5,517	2,945	7,650	7,165	11,836		
1922	9,259	3,550	7,829	6,602	11,184		
1921	4,623	3,627	7,060	9,723	8,591		
1920	5,376	5,295	10,825	11,703	7,431		
1919	4,991	6,323	8,960	7,799	9,197		
1918	2,303	3,564	3,484	4,766	3,512		
1917	2,699	4,848	8,665	6,119	6,017		
1916	4,250	6,364	8,830	6,309	8,010		
1915	1,978	7,104	6,829	2,069	6,183		
1914	3,021	6,093	5,794	2,354	5,336		
1913	3,251	5,829	8,370	6,762	5,243		
1912	2,710	7,655	7,721	4,375	5,301		

Milwaukee	Minnesota	New York	Oakland	Seattle	Tampa Bay	Texas	Toronto
	5,936	19,443	11,702				
	5,606	19,374	13,184				
	5,523	19,352	18,330				
	6,456	18,912	3,957				
	7,941	19,972	4,642				
	8,967	21,164	8,040				
	9,147	25,001	5,892				
	8,970	27,031	4,023				
	10,010	29,278	10,604				
	10,196	30,830	12,274				
	11,049	28,298	11,687				
	13,516	29,422	7,972				
	8,367	11,603	6,008				
	6,821	10,128	6,649				
	7,562	8,030	4,769				
	5,240	11,974	5,572				
	5,329	12,368	6,869				
	4,951	13,013	6,087				
	4,406	11,166	5,198				
	6,701	12,290	5,070				
	4,972	12,635	5,452				
	4,929	12,687	3,704				
	3,312	8,885	3,239				
	4,343	11,100	4,024				
	5,757	9,707	3,910				
	4,823	12,498	5,266				
	6,236	11,850	8,366				
	7,980	15,385	9,496				
	4,558	12,469	11,340				
	4,731	13,924	8,958				
	6,696	15,117	7,864				
	7,454	13,702	10,063				
	10,753	8,826	11,295				
	7,396	13,507	7,093				
	4,524	13,251	7,122				
	5,804	13,326	5,453				
	6,001	15,778	4,473				
	4,727	16,746	3,739				
	3,251	8,482	3,217				
	2,461	4,210	2,617				
	1,121	4,404	2,914				
	2,188	5,939	2,427				
	2,092	3,122	1,976				
	3,167	4,609	4,444				
	4,177	4,767	7,525				
	4,496	3,187	6,723				

Year	Baltimore	Boston	Chicago	Cleveland	Detroit	Kansas City	Los Angeles
1911	2,666	6,631	7,477	5,277	6,381		
1910	3,163	7,308	6,988	3,668	5,017		
1909	4,636	8,920	5,906	4,606	6,288		
1908	7,935	6,143	8,155	5,414	5,592		
1907	5,513	5,600	8,434	4,659	3,760		
1906	5,120	5,327	7,408	4,123	2,231		
1905	4,293	6,089	8,383	4,108	2,545		
1904	4,078	7,695	7,143	3,394	2,251		
1903	5,434	5,419	4,088	4,206	3,454		
1902	3,730	4,909	4,693	4,237	2,828		
1901	1,986	4,195	4,991	1,904	3,706		

Source: Data drawn from Baseball-Reference.com, <http://www.baseball-reference.com/teams/attend.shtml>.

Milwaukee	Minnesota	New York	Oakland	Seattle	Tampa Bay	Texas	Toronto
	3,180	3,928	8,077				
	3,306	4,622	7,550				
	2,665	6,506	8,880				
	3,388	3,968	5,834				
	2,959	4,667	8,570				
	1,732	5,720	6,700				
	3,273	4,121	7,494				
	1,689	5,852	6,485				
	1,815	3,161	6,306				
	2,767	2,728	5,754				
	2,377	2,151	3,126				



Appendix H

**AMERICAN LEAGUE TEAM ATTENDANCE RANKINGS,
2005-1901**

Year	Baltimore	Boston	Chicago	Cleveland	Detroit	Kansas City	Los Angeles
2005	5	3	7	12	9	13	2
2004	5	4	8	12	9	13	2
2003	5	4	9	12	13	10	3
2002	3	4	10	5	12	13	7
2001	4	6	12	3	9	13	8
2000	2	6	9	1	7	12	8
1999	2	6	13	1	9	11	7
1998	1	9	12	2	11	10	6
1997	1	7	8	2	13	10	9
1996	1	6	9	2	13	10	8
1995	1	4	9	2	11	10	6
1994	2	7	5	4	14	10	9
1993	2	4	3	7	12	13	8
1992	2	6	3	14	13	9	8
1991	5	4	2	14	12	9	6
1990	5	4	8	14	13	6	3
1989	4	5	14	13	11	6	3
1988	10	4	13	12	8	5	6
1987	9	5	12	14	7	4	2
1986	6	5	10	9	7	3	1
1985	6	7	8	14	3	5	1
1984	5	8	3	14	1	7	2
1983	5	9	4	14	8	6	1
1982	8	5	9	13	7	2	1
1981	8	6	7	12	5	2	3
1980	6	4	10	11	7	3	2
1979	6	3	10	12	7	4	2
1978	10	2	8	12	5	3	4
1977	10	2	5	13	7	3	6
1976	6	2	10	9	4	3	8
1975	9	1	11	10	7	4	8
1974	8	1	6	7	3	5	10
1973	9	2	4	12	1	3	7
1972	6	2	3	11	1	9	8
1971	3	1	9	12	2	8	6
1970	6	1	12	10	2	11	5
1969	5	1	12	11	2	7	9
1968	6	2	9	7	1		5
1967	6	1	7	10	3		4
1966	3	8	6	7	4		1
1965	6	7	3	5	4		8
1964	4	5	2	8	6		7
1963	7	4	3	9	5		6
1962	6	7	5	9	3		4
1961	5	6	4	7	2		10
1960	3	5	1	6	4		
1959	7	5	3	2	4		
1958	5	3	6	7	2		

Milwaukee	Minnesota	New York	Oakland	Seattle	Tampa Bay	Texas	Toronto
	10	1	8	4	14	6	11
	10	1	7	3	14	6	11
	8	1	6	2	14	7	11
	9	2	8	1	14	6	11
	11	2	7	1	14	5	10
	14	3	11	4	13	5	10
	14	3	12	4	10	5	8
	14	3	13	5	7	4	8
11	12	5	14	3		4	6
12	11	7	14	4		3	5
13	14	7	12	8		5	3
12	11	6	13	8		3	1
14	10	5	11	9		6	1
10	5	11	4	12		7	1
13	8	11	3	10		7	1
10	11	9	2	12		7	1
10	7	8	2	12		9	1
9	1	2	7	14		11	3
8	6	3	11	13		10	1
12	13	4	11	14		8	2
10	9	4	11	13		12	2
9	10	6	11	13		12	4
2	12	3	11	13		10	7
4	14	3	6	12		11	10
9	14	1	4	13		10	11
5	14	1	12	13		9	8
5	11	1	14	13		8	9
6	13	1	14	11		9	7
12	11	1	14	8		9	4
7	12	1	11			5	
3	12	2	6			5	
9	12	2	11			4	
6	10	5	8			11	
12	7	4	7			10	
10	5	4	5			11	
7	3	4	9			8	
10	3	4	8			6	
	4	3	8			10	
	2	5	9			8	
	2	5	9			10	
	1	2	10			9	
	3	1	9			10	
	1	2	8			10	
	2	1	10			8	
	3	1	8			9	
	8	2	7				
	8	1	6				
	8	1	4				

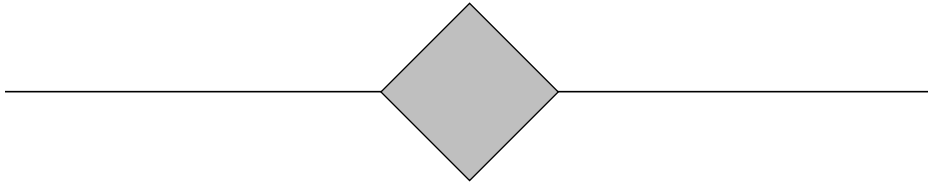
Year	Baltimore	Boston	Chicago	Cleveland	Detroit	Kansas City	Los Angeles
1957	5	3	4	7	2		
1956	6	2	5	7	3		
1955	7	4	6	3	5		
1954	5	6	3	2	4		
1953	8	4	2	3	5		
1952	8	4	3	2	5		
1951	8	3	4	2	5		
1950	8	4	5	3	2		
1949	8	4	5	2	3		
1948	8	4	6	1	3		
1947	8	3	5	2	4		
1946	8	3	6	4	2		
1945	6	5	3	6	1		
1944	6	7	3	8	1		
1943	8	7	4	5	2		
1942	8	2	4	5	3		
1941	8	3	5	2	4		
1940	8	4	5	3	1		
1939	8	4	3	5	2		
1938	8	3	7	4	2		
1937	8	4	3	5	1		
1936	8	3	5	4	2		
1935	8	3	4	5	1		
1934	8	3	7	4	1		
1933	8	7	3	4	5		
1932	8	7	6	2	4		
1931	8	7	6	3	5		
1930	8	6	7	5	3		
1929	8	6	5	4	3		
1928	8	5	3	6	4		
1927	8	7	3	6	2		
1926	8	7	3	5	4		
1925	6	8	2	7	4		
1924	6	8	3	7	2		
1923	6	8	3	4	2		
1922	3	8	4	5	2		
1921	6	8	4	2	3		
1920	5	6	3	2	4		
1919	6	5	2	4	1		
1918	8	3	5	1	4		
1917	7	4	1	2	3		
1916	6	3	1	4	2		
1915	7	1	2	6	3		
1914	7	1	2	8	3		
1913	8	4	1	3	5		
1912	8	2	1	6	4		

Milwaukee	Minnesota	New York	Oakland	Seattle	Tampa Bay	Texas	Toronto
	8	1	6				
	8	1	4				
	8	1	2				
	7	1	8				
	6	1	7				
	6	1	7				
	6	1	7				
	6	1	7				
	7	1	6				
	7	2	5				
	7	1	6				
	5	1	7				
	4	2	8				
	4	2	5				
	3	1	6				
	7	1	6				
	7	1	6				
	7	2	6				
	7	1	6				
	5	1	6				
	7	2	6				
	6	1	7				
	6	2	7				
	5	2	6				
	2	1	6				
	5	1	3				
	4	1	2				
	4	1	2				
	7	1	2				
	7	1	2				
	5	1	4				
	6	1	2				
	3	5	1				
	4	1	5				
	7	1	5				
	6	1	7				
	5	1	7				
	7	1	8				
	7	3	8				
	7	2	6				
	8	5	6				
	8	5	7				
	5	4	8				
	6	4	5				
	7	6	2				
	5	7	3				

Year	Baltimore	Boston	Chicago	Cleveland	Detroit	Kansas City	Los Angeles
1911	8	3	2	5	4		
1910	8	2	3	6	4		
1909	6	1	5	7	4		
1908	2	3	1	6	5		
1907	4	3	2	6	7		
1906	5	4	1	6	7		
1905	4	3	1	6	8		
1904	5	1	2	6	7		
1903	2	3	5	4	6		
1902	5	2	3	4	6		
1901	7	2	1	8	3		

Source: Data drawn from Baseball-Reference.com, <http://www.baseball-reference.com/teams/attend.shtml>.

Milwaukee	Minnesota	New York	Oakland	Seattle	Tampa Bay	Texas	Toronto
	7	6	1				
	7	5	1				
	8	3	2				
	8	7	4				
	8	5	1				
	8	3	2				
	7	5	2				
	8	4	3				
	8	7	1				
	7	8	1				
	5	6	4				



Appendix I

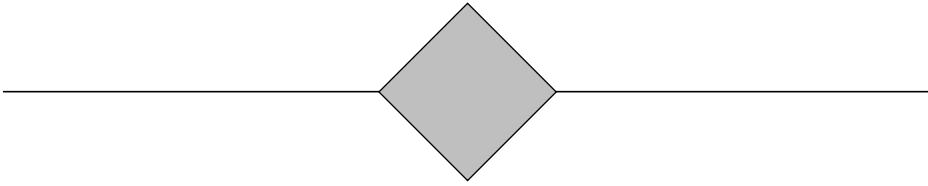
**NATIONAL LEAGUE TEAM CONSOLIDATED PROFIT AND
LOSS, 1920-56 (DOLLARS)**

Year	Boston	Brooklyn	Chicago	Cincinnati	New York	Philadelphia	Pittsburgh	St. Louis
1920	(\$593)	\$189,785	\$87,969	\$121,056	\$296,803	\$84,295	\$156,052	\$37,388
1921	90,393	151,604	4,959	75,450	262,950	20,977	248,807	200,151
1922	79,399	146,372	181,337	76,278	(13,540)	(7,420)	173,933	136,770
1923	(88,844)	93,092	43,970	104,176	185,754	18,424)	143,084	(13,919)
1924	(34,111)	264,070	69,924	47,029	256,786	35,852	254,203	(48,680)
1925	62,440	4,166	(20,049)	(1,000)	169,657	7,648	341,365	79,372
1926	(38,966)	135,668	134,425	136,560	218,219	15,470	286,246	359,223
1927	(60,756)	148,296	227,186	(7,806)	183,038	1118	467,046	235,455
1928	(24,042)	61,985	304,949	(23,299)	111,681	(32,358)	90,030	444,737
1929	19,587	124,060	426,874	(203,091)	160,583	24,611	147,382	50,584
1930	22,401	426,976	523,651	(17,027)	151,063	23,563	95,443	230,918
1931	(16,247)	(5,308)	179,455	(161,331)	(19,630)	38,482)	89,401	345,263
1932	14,094	(160,170)	56,799	(116,133)	(214,812)	100,176	(86,960)	(73,895)
1933	(120,597)	(48,682)	(247,667)	(56,473)	59,416	3,184	(96,275)	(80,198)
1934	(10,974)	(137,868)	(169,994)	(62,625)	101,920	13,670	(56,972)	109,229
1935	(48,625)	(148,692)	135,736	47,293	199,258	1,468	45,165	61,718
1936	(20,222)	(42,453)	60,953	105,545	301,870	21,256	37,087	68,025
1937	(13,608)	(129,140)	99,627	29,781	331,186	(16,932)	58,838	53,074
1938	(14,828)	(3,751)	32,540	157,324	28,526	(44,411)	167,100	(14,823)
1939	22,400	143,637	(21,528)	335,210	94,914	(69,250)	(40,316)	89,466
1940	7,309	125,221	(182,019)	270,240	(69,437)	(40,325)	(14,954)	68,190
1941	(61,075)	146,794	(157,846)	123,025	45,969	(60,797)	19,615	154,557
1942	(57,941)	155,451	(7,188)	4,916	54,151	(56,251)	(33,735)	63,553
1943	(41,166)	(62,719)	33,009	16,503	(248,973)	6,076	56,160	105,791
1944	(133,022)	3,923	69,660	30,611	53,489	(136,669)	111,112	146,417
1945	(137,142)	252,721	45,554	(33,224)	339,079	(202,923)	43,942	94,826
1946	39,565	412,314	510,053	192,499	(211,546)	124,563	71,799	699,093
1947	229,153	519,143	278,918	207,685	529,827	64,163	39,497	630,978
1948	238,104	543,201	141,128	163,632	(114,286)	(197,886)	66,071	608,663
1949	147,934	642,614	211,523	73,162	(88,103)	46,757	194,899	857,553
1950	(316,510)	(8,587)	(133,124)	(64,873)	(264,114)	309,579	138,220	263,202
1952	(459,099)	446,102	154,793	(68,368)	(222,344)	(118,029)	(667,263)	(89,152)
1953	637,798	290,006	(418,363)	15,518	(63,307)	(10,688)	(421,422)	(702,193)
1954	457,110	209,979	(72,014)	(24,198)	395,725	(256,306)	(198,920)	(589,382)
1955	807,395	427,195	68,684	58,145	151,113	(270,671)	(601,846)	(43,142)
1956	414,398	487,462	(159,712)	301,216	81,415	(78,063)	(47,852)	329,495

Note: Brooklyn Dodgers and Pittsburgh Pirates profits include associated real estate companies. Boston moved to Milwaukee in 1953.

Parentheses indicate net loss.

Source: House. Committee on the Judiciary. Study of Monopoly Power: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Study of Monopoly Power, serial no. 1, pt. 6, Organized Baseball, 82nd Cong., 1st sess. July 3–October 24, 1951, 1600. United States, House. Committee on the Judiciary. Organized Professional Team Sports. Hearings Before the Antitrust Subcommittee. 85th Cong., 1st sess., pt. 1, serial 8, June 17–August 8, 1957, 353.



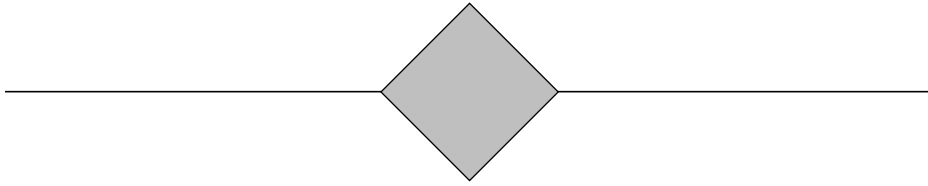
Appendix J

**NATIONAL LEAGUE TEAM DIVIDENDS, 1920-56
(DOLLARS)**

Year	Boston	Brooklyn	Chicago	Cincinnati	New York	Philadelphia	Pittsburg	St. Louis	Total
1920	n.a.	n.a.	0	n.a.	0	0	\$17,000	0	\$17,000
1921	n.a.	n.a.	\$69,965	n.a.	25,000	\$30,000	17,000	0	141,965
1922	0	n.a.	23,988	n.a.	\$25,000	30,000	27,200	0	106,188
1923	0	\$40,000	47,976	n.a.	0	0	52,000	\$28,317.5	168,294
1924	0	80,000	0	n.a.	125,000	0	30,000	0	245,000
1925	0	50,000	0	n.a.	125,000	20,000	167,000	0	362,000
1926	0	100,000	100,000	n.a.	625,000	20,000	112,000	0	957,000
1927	0	225,000	100,000	n.a.	125,000	0	171,000	28,317.5	549,318
1928	0	125,000	0	0	100,000	0	95,500	50,800	429,000
1929	0	184,000	100,000	0	125,000	0	20,000	0	471,300
1930	0	175,000	100,000	0	312,500	0	20,000	50,800	718,300
1931	0	75,000	160,000	0	0	0	20,000	101,600	366,600
1932	0	50,000	170,000	\$1,122.5	100,000	0	20,000	0	341,123
1933	0	0	170,000	830	0	0	20,000	0	130,830
1934	0	0	110,000	0	100,000	0	20,000	101,520	221,520
1935	0	0	0	0	124,500	0	20,000	101,520	276,020
1936	0	0	30,000	0	305,693	0	27,550	121,824	495,067
1937	0	0	40,000	0	258,522	0	46,425	81,216	446,163
1938	0	0	60,000	0	82,257	0	114,375	0	196,632
1939	0	0	0	108,620	23,502	0	27,550	101,520	261,192
1940	0	0	0	84,770	0	0	20,000	71,064	175,834
1941	0	0	0	42,770	11,751	0	20,000	101,520	176,041
1942	0	0	0	18,770	47,004	0	20,000	20,304	106,078
1943	0	21,000	0	24,770	0	0	20,000	30,456	96,226
1944	0	0	0	30,770	0	0	52,850	30,456	114,076
1945	0	0	0	12,770	94,008	0	42,650	0	149,428
1946	0	0	0	39,770	23,502	0	10,000	71,064	194,336
1947	0	0	50,000	42,770	23,502	0	0	670,032	816,304
1948	0	49,000	80,000	36,770	70,506	0	0	0	236,276
1949	0	24,500	0	21,770	23,502	0	0	0	69,772
1950	0	99,750	0	14,270	23,502	0	16,000	0	153,522
1952	0	0	0	14,270	0	0	0	0	14,270
1953	0	0	0	14,270	0	0	0	0	14,270
1954	0	0	0	14,270	70,506	0	0	0	14,776
1955	0	0	0	30,770	47,004	0	0	0	77,774
1956	0	0	0	60,770	0	0	0	0	60,770
Total	0	0	0	625,453	3,016,761	100,000	1,246,100	1,762,331	9,188,464

n.a. = not available.

Source: *United States. Congress. House. Committee on the Judiciary. Study of Monopoly Power: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Study of Monopoly Power, serial no. 1, pt. 6. Organized Baseball 82nd. Cong., 1st sess. July 30–October 24, 1951, 1601; United States. Congress, House Committee on the Judiciary. Organized Team Sports. Hearings Before the Antitrust Subcommittee. 85th Cong., 1st sess., pt. 1, serial 8, June 17–August 8, 1957, 352.*



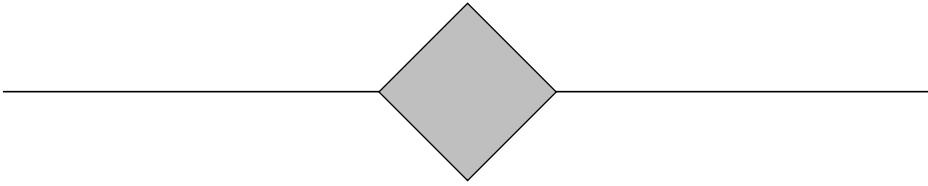
Appendix K

**AMERICAN LEAGUE TEAM CONSOLIDATED PROFIT AND
LOSS, 1920-56 (DOLLARS)**

Year	Boston	Chicago	Cleveland	Detroit	New York	Philadelphia	St. Louis	Washington
1920	—	\$155,671	\$314,836	\$111,762	\$372,862	\$63,291	\$125,541	\$153,608
1921	—	93,642	289,080	120,529	226,237	42,512	63,687	133,410
1922	—	111,829	65,712	239,854	294,387	64,327	260,498	75,134
1923	(\$37,258)	90,465	126,006	214,106	451,116	46,169	79,818	33,167
1924	(15,867)	102,216	66,188	297,369	288,616	18,994	162,850	231,037
1925	2,573	200,057	68,564	204,529	69,332	313,036	192,515	408,746
1926	(56,327)	139,613	88,091	193,703	472,123	138,646	49,954	95,573
1927	(41,321)	20,351	(73,302)	151,237	531,586	(7,710)	(709)	90,222
1928	(59,096)	100,898	(126,726)	(85,150)	293,927	88,842	(126,606)	33,106
1929	(35,053)	10,750	(22,556)	123,184	271,028	276,483	5,251	(43,935)
1930	7,674	15,473	27,952	75,348	244,734	162,542	(87,152)	56,808
1931	(71,717)	(135)	(38,482)	(42,228)	25,457	109,123	(103,084)	(28,343)
1932	(83,754)	(244,319)	(120,754)	(61553)	(31,527)	10,023	(109,872)	(76,634)
1933	(537,004)	(156,288)	(132,427)	(84,566)	(98,126)	(21,047)	(33,559)	(501)
1934	(113,819)	(208,163)	33,978	378,562	36,810	(139,174)	(54,937)	20,382
1935	(204,877)	8,802	35,708	521,202	(103,610)	(4,059)	572	18,247
1936	(229,708)	(5323)	71,465	204,709	328,322	(41,694)	(159,202)	30,019
1937	(251,894)	8,707	104,996	181,595	285,246	(1,922)	(107,998)	(85,513)
1938	(165,249)	(88,967)	147,522	115,361	365,232	(50,595)	(119,712)	94,803
1939	(106,858)	16,739	95,910	57,101	382,501	(42,940)	(124,792)	1,759
1940	(84,297)	40,790	169,292	194,320	136,548	(55,862)	27,963	56,189
1941	57,342	63,866	60,639	(6,568)	237,621	4,898	(141,842)	(11,358)
1942	28,343	(55,251)	35,775	1,966	136,567	(44,198)	80,855	42,526
1943	(31,241)	24,423	27,873	132,046	(88,521)	(28,255)	45,375	46,631
1944	(43,131)	61,295	86,803	207,043	151,043	(6,133)	285,034	90,429
1945	(30,287)	102,237	108,737	191,755	200,959	(17,026)	30,452	222,473
1946	405,133	291,262	375,679	467,283	808,866	82,709	260,225	357,414
1947	(95,109)	209,264	318,801	196,750	846,737	129,809	303,170	457,195
1948	(202,875)	69,106	499,819	255,146	516,476	233,258	156,783	261,020
1949	21,257	102,554	506,218	33,229	346,806	90,306	83,482	(18323)
1950	(100,992)	65,363	458,694	112,638	497,000	(315,921)	5,117	5117
1952	(342,014)	65,052	204,088	(26,265)	223,943	(51,437)	(329,637)	\$58,471
1953	(421,276)	204,720	157,288	43,639	622,185	(102,461)	(706,998)	26,607
1954	3,086	202,897	583,283	86,465	174,876	(217,936)	643,407	48,800
1955	242,901	201,631	89,756	257,191	121,852	28,214	(86,715)	4,222
1956	122,032	141,089	(167,110)	81,591	301,483	1,657	69,307	23,218

Note: St. Louis Browns profits include associated real estate companies.
 Parentheses indicates net loss.

Source: United States. Congress. House. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee on Study of Monopoly Power. Study of Monopoly Power: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Study of Monopoly Power of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 82nd Cong., 1st sess., pt. 6. Organized Baseball, 1601; United States. Congress. House. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee on Study of Monopoly Power. Organized Professional Team Sports. Hearings Before the Antitrust Subcommittee. 85th Cong., 1st sess., pt. 1, serial 8, June 17–August 8, 1957, 353.



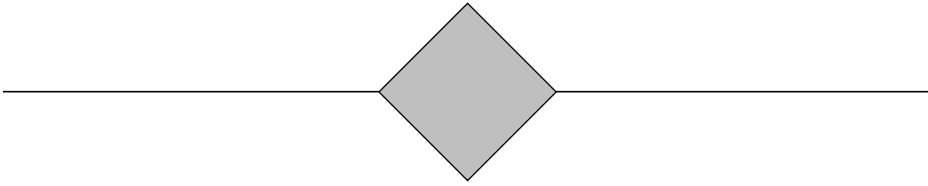
Appendix L

**AMERICAN LEAGUE TEAM DIVIDENDS, 1920-56
(DOLLARS)**

Year	Boston	Chicago	Cleveland	Detroit	New York	Philadelphia	St. Louis	Washington	Total
1920	n.a.	0	186,350	100,000	0	0	0	20,000	306,350
1921	n.a.	0	124,225	50,000	0	0	0	10,000	184,225
1922	0	0	0	50,000	0	100,000	240,000	20,000	410,000
1923	0	0	99,400	50,000	0	50,000	40,000	0	239,400
1924	0	0	59,640	50,000	0	50,000	40,000	80,000	279,640
1925	0	0	49,700	100,000	0	0	42,000	317,600	509,300
1926	0	0	99,400	100,000	0	50,000	0	39,500	288,900
1927	0	0	0	100,000	0	0	0	79,000	179,000
1928	0	0	0	0	0	50,000	0	19,650	69,650
1929	0	0	0	150,000	0	50,000	0	0	200,000
1930	0	0	0	50,000	0	0	0	39,300	89,300
1931	0	0	1,250	0	0	250,050	0	0	251,300
1932	0	0	250	0	0	0	0	0	250
1933	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	000	0
1934	0	0	2,500	0	0	0	0	0	2,500
1935	0	0	2,750	200,000	100,000	0	0	0	302,750
1936	0	0	18,144	200,000	420,000	0	0	19,650	657,794
1937	0	0	84,000	0	0	0	0	0	84,000
1938	0	0	60,500	0	0	0	0	38,900	99,400
1939	0	0	2,450	0	0	0	0	0	2,450
1940	0	0	20,250	0	0	0	0	19,450	39,700
1941	0	37,500	20,250	0	130,000	0	0	0	187,750
1942	0	0	4,050	0	0	0	0	0	4,050
1943	0	0	20,250	0	0	0	0	19,400	39,650
1944	0	0	24,300	0	0	0	0	19,400	43,700
1945	0	0	40,500	0	0	0	0	38,800	79,300
1946	0	74,500	202,500	0	0	0	137,500	77,600	492,100
1947	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	77,600	77,600
1948	0	0	16,875	0	0	0	0	77,600	94,475
1949	0	74,500	112,500	0	0	0	0	0	225,800
1950	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	38,800	38,800
1952	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	58,200	58,200
1953	0	74,500	3,000	0	0	0	0	38,200	38,200
1954	0	0	15,000	0	0	0	0	18,925	33,925
1955	0	0	12,780	100,000	0	0	0	18,925	131,705
1956	0	7,450	0	50,000	0	0	0	0	57,450
Total	0	268,450	1,282,814	1,350,000	650,000	600,050	499,500	1,224,040	5,798,361

n.a = not available.

Source: United States. Congress. House. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee on Study of Monopoly Power. Study of Monopoly Power: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Study of Monopoly Power of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 82nd Cong., 1st sess., pt. 6. Organized Baseball, 1601; United States. Congress. House. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee on Study of Monopoly Power. Organized Professional Team Sports. Hearings Before the Antitrust Subcommittee. 85th Cong., 1st sess., pt. 1, serial 8, June 17–August 8, 1957, 353.



Appendix M

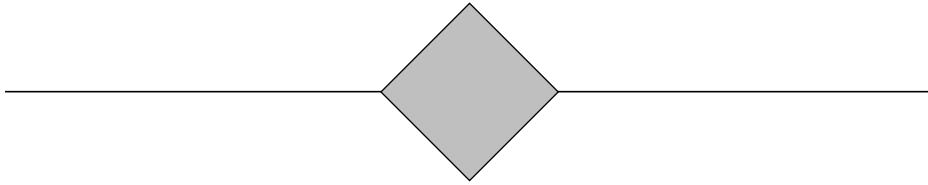
**MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL TEAM SALARIES, SELECTED
YEARS**

Teams	1929	1933	1939	1943	1946
Boston AL	\$171,260	\$145,806	\$227,237	\$212,982	\$511,025
Chicago	*200,000	*150,000	243,041	213,129	386,377
Cleveland	215,523	178,598	272,359	204,864	378,773
Detroit	185,771	138,758	297,154	172,733	504,794
New York	365,741	294,982	361,471	301,229	442,854
Philadelphia	255,231	166,533	165,258	135,405	271,925
St. Louis	200,312	140,789	159,925	186,441	221,789
Washington	231,618	187,059	165,849	192,190	356,631
Boston NL	*238,260	*218,776	171,159	138,000	322,000
Brooklyn	245,309	179,702	204,047	271,424	313,369
Chicago	310,299	266,431	292,178	251,026	348,546
Cincinnati	224,655	160,788	231,389	196,329	316,137
New York	291,368	210,645	291,448	201,661	344,635
Philadelphia	*250,000	197,503	234,141	185,624	312,312
Pittsburgh	140,422	171,322	144,255	158,008	302,471
St. Louis	219,815	197,267	192,085	195,597	313,530

Source: *House Committee on the Judiciary, Organized Baseball, 82nd Cong., 1st Sess. (1951), 1610; Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Organized Professional Team Sports, 85th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1958), 795-798.*

Salary information only collected for 1929, 1933, 1939, 1943, 1946 and 1950. All salaries include coaches and managers. St. Louis Browns, Brooklyn Dodgers and Pittsburgh Pirates profits include associated real estate companies. Asterisks indicate subcommittee estimates.

1950	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
\$561,482	\$378,270	\$425,000	\$372,750	\$398,000	\$421,000
339,163	264,210	333,500	408,000	430,630	438,090
524,229	442,930	451,000	487,050	567,000	444,520
548,913	380,230	335,160	278,660	291,730	361,770
651,605	421,000	438,250	510,000	411,500	492,000
365,901	269,310	272,500	215,730	251,440	253,039
234,125	262,470	292,630	272,400	270,750	302,000
304,959	274,250	251,000	300,500	287,500	215,250
490,000	425,000	372,750	398,000	421,000	378,270
430,249	333,500	408,000	430,630	438,090	264,210
389,374	451,000	487,050	567,000	444,520	442,930
316,699	335,160	278,660	291,730	361,770	380,230
444,320	438,250	510,000	411,500	492,000	421,000
460,802	272,500	215,730	251,440	253,039	269,310
363,508	292,630	272,400	270,750	302,000	262,470
495,683	251,000	300,500	287,500	215,250	274,250



Appendix N

**ESTIMATED MLB REVENUES/INCOME, FRANCHISE
VALUES (IN MILLIONS), AND SALARIES, 1990–2004**

Teams in 1990	Primary Revenue Sources			Revenue Total	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
	Gate	Media	Stadium							
Anaheim Angels	17.0	24.0	5.4	48.6	39.9	8.7	21,870,000	3	102	13
Atlanta Braves	8.0	20.0	3.2	35.4	27.6	7.8	13,328,334	23	74	24
Baltimore Orioles	18.1	22.5	5.1	47.9	38.3	9.6	10,037,084	26	200	2
Boston Red Sox	25.3	34.1	6.9	68.7	56.2	12.3	20,983,333	6	180	5
Chicago Cubs	19.7	24.2	4.2	50.3	41.1	9.2	14,496,000	21	125	9
Chicago White Sox	19.7	24.2	4.2	49.0	40.2	8.8	9,496,238	26	125	9
Cincinnati Reds	15.6	21.8	5.0	48.7	37.7	11.0	14,769,500	20	102	13
Cleveland Indians	9.9	20.0	2.6	34.8	41.6	-6.8	15,656,000	17	75	22
Detroit Tigers	12.4	22.3	1.1	38.0	32.9	5.1	18,092,238	14	84	18
Houston Astros	10.8	24.2	2.8	40.0	42.0	-2.0	18,830,000	11	92	17
Kansas City Royals	19.7	24.2	4.2	53.2	63	-9.8	23,873,745	1	122	11
Los Angeles Dodgers	22.5	29.7	10.0	64.4	56.8	7.6	21,618,704	4	200	2
Milwaukee Brewers	15.5	19.0	1.7	38.4	34.5	3.9	20,019,167	9	81	20
Minnesota Twins	13.0	19.6	3.2	38.6	38.0	0.6	15,106,000	18	81	20
Montreal Expos	10.6	20.0	2.5	35.3	28.9	6.4	16,656,388	15	74	24
New York Mets	25.2	38.3	15.4	81.1	65.3	15.8	22,418,834	2	200	2
New York Yankees	19.8	69.4	6.6	98.0	73.5	24.5	20,991,318	5	225	1
Oakland Athletics	24.6	32.3	9.9	57.9	45.5	12.4	19,987,501	10	116	12
Philadelphia Phillies	16.0	35.0	8.7	61.0	63.6	13.9	13,953,667	22	130	7
Pittsburgh Pirates	14.6	20.0	4.3	41.1	41.8	-0.7	15,656,000	16	82	19

Teams in 1990	Primary Revenue Sources			Revenue Total	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
	Gate	Media	Stadium							
San Diego Padres	13.5	25.1	6.4	47.2	38.7	8.5	18,588,334	12	99	16
San Francisco Giants	19.0	23.3	5.5	50.0	41.0	9.0	20,942,333	7	105	13
St. Louis Cardinals	20.8	27.4	5.4	55.8	45.3	11.5	20,923,334	8	128	8
Seattle Mariners	11.6	17.0	3.2	34	37.1	-3.1	12,841,667	24	71	26
Texas Rangers	14.7	24.6	6.6	50.3	41.2	9.1	15,104,372	19	101	15
Toronto Blue Jays	39.1	28.0	8.2	77.5	63.6	13.9	18,486,834	13	178	6
Average	17.3	26.3	6.0	51.8	42.5	7.4	19,700,279		121.3	

Source: Adapted from Baldo, Anthony, with Alexander Biesada, Holt Hackney, and Michael K. Ozanian. "Secrets of the Front Office: What America's Pro Teams Are Worth." *Financial World* 160 (July 9, 1991): 42-43; <http://asp.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/salaries/totalpayroll.aspx?year=1990>.

Teams in 1991	Primary Revenue Sources			Revenue Total	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
	Gate	Media	Stadium							
Los Angeles Angels	19.0	27.9	5.0	54.1	61.7	-7.6	31,782,501	5	103	14
Atlanta Braves	15.4	18.9	3.8	40.3	40.8	-0.5	20,423,500	20	83	21
Baltimore Orioles	19.0	24.4	5.0	50.6	39.5	11.1	14,627,334	25	140	6
Boston Red Sox	24.5	40.5	14.3	81.5	70.8	10.7	32,767,500	3	160	4
Chicago Cubs	22.8	27.5	12.1	64.5	58.0	6.5	26,923,120	9	132	8
Chicago White Sox	27.5	25.7	19.3	78.0	60.0	18.0	16,830,437	23	140	6
Cincinnati Reds	17.1	24.4	5.3	49.0	48.8	0.2	25,369,166	10	98	16
Cleveland Indians	9.5	23.7	6.6	42.0	46.8	-4.8	18,270,000	22	77	25
Detroit Tigers	15.6	28.8	5.0	51.6	54.4	-2.8	23,736,334	13	87	19
Houston Astros	10.6	25.2	8.0	46.0	31.5	14.5	11,546,000	26	95	18

Teams in 1991	Primary Revenue Sources			Revenue Total	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
	Gate	Media	Stadium							
Kansas City Royals	16.9	20.5	14.0	53.6	60.8	-7.2	28,722,662	7	117	11
Los Angeles Dodgers	26.6	32.5	18.0	79.3	72.0	7.3	33,216,664	2	180	2
Milwaukee Brewers	14.2	19.4	3.0	38.8	50.2	-11.4	24,398,000	11	77	24
Minnesota Twins	18.2	20.5	3.2	44.1	48.2	-4.1	22,431,000	16	83	21
Montreal Expos	10.7	23.5	3.0	39.4	43.6	-4.2	20,813,500	19	75	26
New York Mets	22.9	50.0	16.0	91.1	70.4	20.7	32,590,002	4	170	3
New York Yankees	19.4	61.0	7.4	90.0	59.6	30.4	27,815,835	8	200	1
Oakland Athletics	25.7	27.0	10.0	64.9	66.6	-1.7	33,632,500	1	115	12
Philadelphia Phillies	15.2	23.2	7.6	48.2	43.4	4.8	20,298,332	21	115	12
Pittsburgh Pirates	16.2	21.9	5.5	45.8	49.8	-4.0	23,064,667	14	87	19
San Diego Padres	15.6	23.1	7.5	48.4	48.8	-0.4	22,585,001	15	96	17
San Francisco Giants	15.5	26.2	5.0	48.9	53.3	-4.4	30,839,333	6	99	15
St. Louis Cardinals	19.9	25.0	12.0	59.1	46.4	12.7	20,813,500	18	132	8
Seattle Mariners	15.5	22.0	5.0	44.7	41.8	1.9	16,126,834	2	79	23
Texas Rangers	19.0	25.5	14.0	61.5	47.6	13.9	22,224,500	17	123	10
Toronto Blue Jays	44.5	30.0	12.0	88.7	62.4	26.3	27,538,751	8	160	4
Average	19.1	27.6	8.8	56.1	53.0	4.9	24,207,114		116.2	

Source: Adapted from Ozanian, Michael K., and Stephan Taub. "Big Leagues, Bad Business." *Financial World* 161 (July 7, 1992): 50-51; <http://asp.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/salaries/totalpayroll.aspx?year=1991>.

Teams in 1992	Primary Revenue Sources			Revenue Total	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
	<i>Gate</i>	<i>Media</i>	<i>Stadium</i>							
Anaheim Angels	16.8	28.2	6.9	55.8	56.1	-0.3	33,529,854	9	106	11
Atlanta Braves	24.5	17.3	3.4	50.7	59.7	-9.0	32,975,333	11	88	21
Baltimore Orioles	30.6	25.0	21.5	83.5	49.3	34.2	20,997,667	23	130	6
Boston Red Sox	26.7	40.1	18.9	90.6	78.9	11.7	42,203,584	4	136	4
Chicago Cubs	23.1	28.0	9.4	64.0	59.8	5.1	29,740,667	15	101	15
Chicago White Sox	28.3	26.2	18.0	77.9	61.2	16.7	28,413,500	17	123	8
Cincinnati Reds	15.9	24.4	4.9	49.6	61.4	-11.8	35,203,999	7	103	12
Cleveland Indians	11.6	23.0	1.4	39.9	57.6	3.4	8,236,166	26	81	26
Detroit Tigers	14.4	28.8	3.4	50.5	53.7	-3.2	28,773,834	16	97	17
Houston Astros	10.0	24.1	5.3	43.3	31.9	11.4	13,352,000	25	87	22
Kansas City Royals	17.5	21.0	9.1	52.0	57.1	-5.1	33,643,834	8	111	9
Los Angeles Dodgers	21.8	33.0	23.0	84.2	69.5	14.7	43,788,166	2	135	5
Milwaukee Brewers	15.3	19.8	6.3	45.3	58.1	-12.8	30,253,668	13	86	25
Minnesota Twins	21.5	20.0	6.9	52.8	52.5	0.2	27,432,834	19	95	19
Montreal Expos	14.0	24.0	4.9	46.7	35.0	11.8	15,869,667	24	81	23
New York Mets	19.0	50.0	13.0	86.9	81.3	5.6	44,352,002	1	145	3
New York Yankees	21.2	61.0	6.0	94.6	69.6	25.0	35,966,834	6	160	1
Oakland Athletics	24.0	25.0	9.0	64.4	77.2	-12.8	39,957,834	5	124	7
Philadelphia Phillies	15.2	23.7	6.7	50.0	50.3	-0.3	23,804,834	21	96	18
Pittsburgh Pirates	16.5	23.3	5.9	50.1	60.0	-9.9	32,589,167	12	95	19

Teams in 1992	Primary Revenue Sources			Revenue Total	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
	Gate	Media	Stadium							
San Diego Padres	16.8	28.2	6.9	53.6	53.9	-0.3	27,584,167	18	103	12
San Francisco Giants	13.8	24.5	4.8	47.0	58.1	-11.1	33,126,168	10	103	12
St. Louis Cardinals	21.0	25.5	0.0	50.9	47.6	3.3	26,889,836	20	98	16
Seattle Mariners	14.3	22.0	5.2	45.4	47.8	-2.4	22,483,834	22	81	24
Texas Rangers	19.7	26.8	15.3	66.2	51.4	14.8	29,740,667	14	106	10
Toronto Blue Jays	44.4	28.0	9.9	87.7	89.0	-1.3	43,663,666	3	155	2
Average	19.8	27.6	8.8	60.9	57.6	3.4	31,319,787		108.8	

Source: Adapted from Ozanian, Michael K. "Foul Ball." *Financial World* 162 (May 25, 1993): 28; <http://asp.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/salaries/totalpayroll.aspx?year=1992>.

Teams in 1993	Primary Revenue Sources			Revenue Total	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
	Gate	Media	Stadium							
Anaheim Angels	17.1	26.7	7.3	53.8	51.2	2.6	27,230,334	18	93	18
Atlanta Braves	35.5	35.0	5.8	79.0	80.4	-1.4	38,131,000	7	96	14
Baltimore Orioles	35.4	27.4	15.8	81.3	52.4	28.9	26,914,000	19	129	8
Boston Red Sox	26.8	38.0	9.9	77.5	70.1	7.4	37,108,583	9	141	4
Chicago Cubs	30.3	36.0	13.6	82.8	75.4	7.4	38,303,166	6	120	9
Chicago White Sox	28.1	26.2	21.8	78.8	68.1	10.7	34,598,166	13	133	6
Cincinnati Reds	18.8	25.0	6.4	52.9	57.9	-5.0	42,851,167	2	86	21
Cleveland Indians	18.8	23.7	3.1	48.8	35.5	13.3	15,717,667	26	100	13
Colorado Rockies	33.3	5.0	11.0	52.2	34.5	12.7	8,829,000	28	110	11
Detroit Tigers	18.9	30.3	4.0	55.6	61.0	-5.4	36,548,166	10	89	20
Florida Marlins	28.7	5.0	7.5	44.9	32.4	12.5	18,196,545	25	81	25

Teams in 1993	Primary Revenue Sources			Revenue Total	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
	Gate	Media	Stadium							
Houston Astros	19.7	26.2	11.8	60.5	53.8	6.7	28,854,500	16	85	22
Kansas City Royals	18.3	21.0	9.7	51.7	58.0	-6.3	40,102,666	4	94	17
Los Angeles Dodgers	29.9	34.0	13.1	79.7	68.6	11.1	37,833,000	8	138	5
Milwaukee Brewers	17.0	21.5	5.1	46.3	48.5	-2.2	22,948,834	23	96	14
Minnesota Twins	18.8	22.3	5.0	48.9	47.9	1.0	27,284,933	17	83	24
Montreal Expos	14.2	24.0	4.3	46.2	33.8	12.4	14,881,334	27	75	26
New York Mets	20.3	46.1	11.5	80.8	75.9	4.9	38,350,167	5	150	3
New York Yankees	30.1	63.0	11.7	107.6	89.4	18.2	41,305,000	3	166	1
Oakland Athletics	20.9	27.4	9.1	60.1	60.5	-0.4	35,565,834	12	114	10
Philadelphia Phillies	24.6	28.0	5.8	61.1	60.6	0.5	24,557,333	20	96	14
Pittsburgh Pirates	14.4	23.5	2.3	43.0	38.9	4.1	23,565,667	23	79	25
San Diego Padres	14.1	25.0	5.9	47.7	30.2	17.5	24,557,333	21	85	22
San Francisco Giants	23.6	27.5	15.0	69.1	69.8	-0.7	34,567,500	14	93	18
St. Louis Cardinals	25.0	27.0	10.1	64.8	44.8	20.0	22,615,334	24	105	12
Seattle Mariners	17.0	21.0	10.0	50.7	54.7	-4.0	31,616,333	15	80	24
Texas Rangers	20.0	27.5	10.1	60.3	59.2	1.1	35,641,959	11	132	7
Toronto Blue Jays	47.8	31.6	6.3	88.4	87.1	1.3	45,747,666	1	150	2
Average	23.8	27.7	9.0	63.4	57.2	6.0	30,515,119		107	

Source: Adapted from Ozanian, Michael K. "This \$11 Billion Pastime." *Financial World* 163 (May 10, 1994): 52; <http://asp.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/salaries/totalpayroll.aspx?year=1993>.

Teams in 1994	Primary Revenue Sources			Revenue Total	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
	Gate	Media	Stadium							
Anaheim Angels	13.0	8.7	5.7	30.0	38.7	-8.7	20,691,500	23	102	20
Atlanta Braves	29.6	16.6	7.0	55.8	61.1	-5.3	40,502,167	3	120	10
Baltimore Orioles	25.6	11.4	13.4	53.1	47.6	5.5	37,669,769	9	164	2
Boston Red Sox	22.3	18.0	7.0	49.9	49.6	0.2	36,334,084	11	143	6
Chicago Cubs	23.7	17.0	9.7	53.8	50.1	3.7	35,717,333	12	135	8
Chicago White Sox	21.1	7.2	14.6	45.5	51.3	-5.8	38,413,836	8	152	4
Cincinnati Reds	14.4	8.4	5.3	30.6	47.5	-16.8	39,826,333	7	84	21
Cleveland Indians	22.9	5.4	10.1	41.0	45.5	-4.5	28,490,167	19	103	13
Colorado Rockies	24.3	6.2	10.2	43.5	38.9	4.6	22,979,000	22	117	11
Detroit Tigers	14.3	12.5	3.7	33.0	48.7	-15.7	40,042,501	6	83	22
Florida Marlins	19.4	12.7	5.6	40.9	31.9	9.0	20,275,500	21	92	18
Houston Astros	14.5	8.0	9.1	34.3	42.6	-8.4	32,041,500	15	92	18
Kansas City Royals	14.9	5.4	9.1	31.9	49.3	-17.4	40,481,334	4	96	16
Los Angeles Dodgers	21.3	15.3	10.4	49.5	53.6	-4.1	37,194,001	10	143	6
Milwaukee Brewers	13.2	6.3	3.6	26.0	37.9	-12.0	23,375,513	22	75	26
Minnesota Twins	14.6	5.4	3.6	26.2	35.7	-9.6	27,641,500	21	80	23
Montreal Expos	10.8	7.8	4.0	25.8	29.6	-3.8	18,640,000	27	76	24
New York Mets	12.5	22.2	7.6	45.0	47.2	-2.2	29,890,324	17	134	9
New York Yankees	22.5	36.4	10.0	71.5	62.8	8.7	44,785,334	1	185	1
Oakland Athletics	14.3	13.2	6.7	36.7	47.3	-10.6	33,169,500	13	101	15

Teams in 1994	Primary Revenue Sources			Revenue Total	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
	Gate	Media	Stadium							
Philadelphia Phillies	21.8	10.3	6.5	41.1	44.8	-3.7	31,422,000	16	96	16
Pittsburgh Pirates	11.8	8.6	2.5	25.6	31.7	-6.1	20,265,500	26	70	28
San Diego Padres	9.0	9.0	4.4	25.0	26.6	-1.6	13,529,333	28	74	27
San Francisco Giants	17.6	10.7	12.0	43.1	53.4	-10.3	40,054,300	5	102	14
St. Louis Cardinals	18.5	10.7	7.6	39.3	43.3	-4.0	28,956,001	18	110	12
Seattle Mariners	14.6	5.4	3.6	27.4	39.5	-12.1	27,872,167	20	76	24
Texas Rangers	27.0	10.0	10.3	50.1	44.9	5.2	32,423,097	14	157	3
Toronto Blue Jays	35.4	12.9	5.6	56.4	55.0	1.4	41,937,668	2	146	5
Average	18.7	11.5	7.5	40.4	44.9	-4.4	31,593,617		110.5	

Source: Adapted from Ozanian, Michael K., with Tushen Atre, Ronald Fink, Jennifer Reingold, John Kimmelman, Andrew Osterlund, and Jeff Sklar. "Suite Deals: Why New Stadiums Are Shaking up the Pecking Order of Sports Franchises." *Financial World* 164 (May 9, 1995): 46; <http://asp.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/salaries/totalpayroll.aspx?year=1994>.

Teams in 1995	Primary Revenue Sources			Revenue Total	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
	Gate	Media	Stadium							
Anaheim Angels	15.1	12.8	9.1	39.0	42.0	-3.0	28,974,167	18	90	22
Atlanta Braves	30.9	22.1	5.6	60.7	63.6	-2.9	45,199,000	3	163	3
Baltimore Orioles	35.4	18.9	18.8	75.1	69.1	6.0	40,835,519	4	168	2
Boston Red Sox	27.1	24.2	14.7	67.9	52.5	15.4	28,672,250	19	143	7
Chicago Cubs	25.3	21.1	14.5	62.9	58.1	4.8	32,460,834	12	140	8
Chicago White Sox	20.0	16.4	17.3	55.7	63.7	-8.0	39,632,834	5	144	6
Cincinnati Reds	14.4	8.4	5.3	40.4	52.2	-11.8	37,240,667	6	99	17
Cleveland Indians	31.5	15.7	11.0	60.2	58.8	1.4	35,185,500	9	125	12

(Continued)

Teams in 1995	Primary Revenue Sources			Revenue Total	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
	Gate	Media	Stadium							
Colorado Rockies	35.5	15.0	17.6	70.3	58.8	11.5	31,146,135	15	133	10
Detroit Tigers	13.9	18.1	5.2	39.1	44.4	-5.3	35,862,501	8	106	15
Florida Marlins	16.4	19.0	9.5	47.8	41.0	6.8	23,670,000	25	98	18
Houston Astros	12.3	15.3	13.8	44.4	48.9	-4.5	31,624,000	14	97	19
Kansas City Royals	13.5	10.9	9.5	35.8	42.7	-6.9	27,608,834	21	80	23
Los Angeles Dodgers	26.6	24.4	18.0	70.9	58.1	12.8	30,459,001	17	147	5
Milwaukee Brewers	11.9	12.1	3.4	29.5	28.5	1.0	16,189,600	27	71	25
Minnesota Twins	11.4	14.3	2.5	30.2	27.7	2.5	24,527,500	23	74	24
Montreal Expos	11.9	12.1	3.4	29.3	22.2	7.1	12,031,000	28	68	26
New York Mets	14.1	33.6	11.2	61.5	40.7	20.8	24,301,440	24	131	11
New York Yankees	24.7	54.3	12.9	93.9	69.9	24.0	46,657,016	2	209	1
Oakland Athletics	13.6	17.0	8.7	41.2	46.1	-4.9	35,961,500	7	97	19
Philadelphia Phillies	19.8	15.9	7.7	45.3	41.9	3.4	28,580,000	20	103	16
Pittsburgh Pirates	9.2	12.2	1.5	24.9	26.6	-1.7	17,043,000	26	62	28
San Diego Padres	9.8	11.1	5.4	28.2	33.3	-5.1	25,923,334	22	67	27
San Francisco Giants	14.0	19.8	10.4	46.4	48.3	-1.9	34,931,849	10	122	13
St. Louis Cardinals	17.2	19.8	9.9	48.8	47.9	0.9	30,956,000	16	112	14
Seattle Mariners	17.2	11.6	6.0	36.7	46.5	-9.8	34,241,533	11	92	21
Texas Rangers	22.2	16.9	20.7	61.9	54.3	7.6	32,367,226	13	138	9

Teams in 1995	Primary Revenue Sources			Revenue Total	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
	Gate	Media	Stadium							
Toronto Blue Jays	33.1	20.7	6.7	62.5	64.1	-1.6	49,791,500	1	152	4
Average	19.6	18.4	10.2	50.4	48.3	2.1	31,502,634		115.4	

Source: Adapted from Ozanian, Michael K. "Sports: The High Stakes Game of Team Ownership." *Financial World* 165 (May 20, 1996): 56; <http://asp.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/salaries/totalpayroll.aspx?year=1995>.

Teams in 1996	Primary Revenue Sources			Revenue Total	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
	Gate	Media	Stadium							
Anaheim Angels	15.0	18.3	7.1	39.0	42.0	-3.0	28,974,167	18	90	22
Atlanta Braves	40.1	30.3	6.3	60.7	63.6	-2.9	45,199,000	3	163	3
Baltimore Orioles	51.0	30.6	21.4	75.1	69.1	6.0	40,835,519	4	168	2
Boston Red Sox	39.0	30.9	16.4	67.9	52.5	15.4	28,672,250	19	143	7
Chicago Cubs	28.3	29.3	16.9	62.9	58.1	4.8	32,460,834	12	140	8
Chicago White Sox	22.2	24.3	20.9	55.7	63.7	-8.0	39,632,834	5	144	6
Cincinnati Reds	14.9	21.5	7.0	40.4	52.2	-11.8	37,240,667	6	99	17
Cleveland Indians	48.0	21.6	22.9	60.2	58.8	1.4	35,185,500	9	125	12
Colorado Rockies	46.0	22.8	23.9	70.3	58.8	11.5	31,146,135	15	133	10
Detroit Tigers	12.4	24.7	5.4	39.1	44.4	-5.3	35,862,501	8	106	15
Florida Marlins	21.5	23.9	7.3	47.8	41.0	6.8	23,670,000	25	98	18
Houston Astros	21.8	22.3	14.4	44.4	48.9	-4.5	31,624,000	14	97	19
Kansas City Royals	14.5	16.5	10.2	35.8	42.7	-6.9	27,608,834	21	80	23
Los Angeles Dodgers	31.9	31.8	22.0	70.9	58.1	12.8	30,459,001	17	147	5
Milwaukee Brewers	14.9	15.1	9.7	29.5	28.5	1.0	16,189,600	27	71	25

(Continued)

Teams in 1996	Primary Revenue Sources			Revenue Total	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
	Gate	Media	Stadium							
Minnesota Twins	23.8	20.4	5.0	30.2	27.7	2.5	24,527,500	23	74	24
Montreal Expos	14.8	19.4	4.8	29.3	22.2	7.1	12,031,000	28	68	26
New York Mets	18.2	30.9	16.8	61.5	40.7	20.8	24,301,440	24	131	11
New York Yankees	42.6	69.8	17.5	93.9	69.9	24.0	46,657,016	2	209	1
Oakland Athletics	12.5	25.2	9.8	41.2	46.1	-4.9	35,961,500	7	97	19
Philadelphia Phillies	18.7	21.4	8.0	45.3	41.9	3.4	28,580,000	20	103	16
Pittsburgh Pirates	23.4	17.7	7.7	24.9	26.6	-1.7	17,043,000	26	62	28
San Diego Padres	21.7	16.5	12.1	28.2	33.3	-5.1	25,923,334	22	67	27
San Francisco Giants	14.3	25.5	9.6	46.4	48.3	-1.9	34,931,849	10	122	13
St. Louis Cardinals	27.3	25.7	14.9	48.8	47.9	0.9	30,956,000	16	112	14
Seattle Mariners	31.0	17.2	7.5	36.7	46.5	-9.8	34,241,533	11	92	21
Texas Rangers	35.5	24.3	25.5	61.9	54.3	7.6	32,367,226	13	138	9
Toronto Blue Jays	36.3	28.4	3.1	62.5	64.1	-1.6	49,791,500	1	152	4
Average	25.7	25.2	12.6	50.4	48.3	2.1	31,502,634		115.4	

Source: Adapted from Tushen, Atre, and Kristine Auns, Kurt Badenhausen, Karen McAuliffe, Christopher Nikolov, and Michael K. Oznanian. "Scoreboard Evaluation." *Financial World* 166 (June 17, 1997): 47; <http://asp.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/salaries/totalpayroll.aspx?year=1996>.

Teams in 1997	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
Anaheim Angels	62.6	72.2	-9.6	29,452,672	22	157	18
Atlanta Braves	119.6	101.4	18.2	50,488,500	5	299	5
Baltimore Orioles	134.5	115.8	18.7	54,871,399	2	362	2

Teams in 1997	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
Boston Red Sox	97.6	88.5	9.1	43,232,000	12	236	9
Chicago Cubs	81.5	73.4	8.1	39,829,333	14	204	11
Chicago White Sox	82.3	86.5	-4.2	54,377,500	3	214	10
Cincinnati Reds	50.2	70.1	-19.9	46,267,000	8	136	21
Cleveland Indians	134.0	118.6	15.4	54,130,232	4	322	3
Colorado Rockies	116.6	78.3	38.3	42,870,501	13	303	4
Detroit Tigers	50.6	51.0	-0.4	16,304,500	27	137	20
Florida Marlins	88.2	93.7	-5.5	47,753,000	7	159	17
Houston Astros	68.0	65.7	2.3	32,935,000	20	190	13
Kansas City Royals	51.2	63	-11.8	31,225,000	21	108	26
Los Angeles Dodgers	94.3	93.4	0.9	43,400,000	11	236	8
Milwaukee Brewers	46.9	51.7	-4.8	21,020,332	25	127	24
Minnesota Twins	46.8	63.3	-16.5	25,747,500	23	94	27
Montreal Expos	43.6	47.3	-3.7	18,335,500	26	87	28
New York Mets	80.5	72.4	8.1	38,474,567	16	193	12
New York Yankees	144.7	123.3	21.4	59,148,877	1	362	1
Oakland Athletics	56.4	48.9	7.5	21,911,000	24	118	25
Philadelphia Phillies	57.1	54.6	2.5	35,463,500	17	131	23
Pittsburgh Pirates	49.3	41.8	7.5	9,071,666	28	38	22
San Diego Padres	57.6	64.3	-6.7	34,698,672	18	161	16
San Francisco Giants	69.8	70.0	0.2	33,469,213	19	188	14
St. Louis Cardinals	82.9	80.5	2.4	44,179,167	10	174	15
Seattle Mariners	89.8	78.4	11.4	39,667,628	15	251	7
Texas Rangers	97.6	88.5	9.1	50,112,268	6	254	6

(Continued)

Teams in 1997	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
Toronto Blue Jays	67.1	87.6	-20.5	45,894,833	9	141	19
Average	79.1	76.6	2.5	48,954,882		194	

Adapted from Badenhouse, Kurt, and Christopher Nikolov, Michael Alken, and Michael K. Ozanian. "Sports Values: More than a Game." Forbes 162 (December 14, 1998): 126. Forbes magazine data © 2006, reprinted by permission; <http://asp.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/salaries/totalpayroll.aspx?year=1997>.

Teams in 1998	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
Anaheim Angels	88.5	88.7	-0.2	38,537,000	17	195	18
Arizona Diamondbacks	116.3	93.8	22.5	28,936,500	23	291	6
Atlanta Braves	142.7	126.3	16.4	63,159,898	3	357	3
Baltimore Orioles	140.5	132.0	8.5	70,408,134	1	351	4
Boston Red Sox	106.9	114.5	-7.6	51,647,000	8	256	9
Chicago Cubs	93.1	101.0	-7.9	49,383,000	10	224	14
Chicago White Sox	74.1	74.3	0.2	36,840,000	18	178	19
Cincinnati Reds	54.4	55.0	0.6	21,995,000	27	163	20
Cleveland Indians	149.7	127.2	22.5	59,033,499	4	359	2
Colorado Rockies	124.6	105.1	19.5	47,433,333	13	311	5
Detroit Tigers	54.2	58.7	-4.5	22,625,000	26	152	24
Florida Marlins	69.5	78.1	-8.6	33,434,000	20	153	23
Houston Astros	82.5	86.2	-3.7	40,629,000	15	239	11
Kansas City Royals	53.5	64.4	-10.9	32,912,500	21	98	28
Los Angeles Dodgers	107.9	119.6	-11.7	47,970,000	12	270	8
Milwaukee Brewers	55.5	64.3	-8.8	32,252,583	22	155	22
Minnesota Twins	46.8	53.9	-7.1	26,182,500	24	89	29
Montreal Expos	46.5	40.9	5.6	9,202,000	30	84	30
New York Mets	99.7	14.9	-5.2	49,559,665	9	249	10

Teams in 1998	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
New York Yankees	175.5	152.5	23.0	63,159,898	2	491	1
Oakland Athletics	56.7	53.4	3.3	20,063,000	28	125	27
Philadelphia Phillies	66.0	61.5	4.5	36,085,000	19	145	25
Pittsburgh Pirates	51.7	49.1	2.6	13,752,000	29	145	25
San Diego Padres	78.9	86.9	-8.0	45,368,000	14	213	16
San Francisco Giants	73.3	79.7	-6.4	40,320,835	16	213	15
St. Louis Cardinals	97.8	96.2	1.6	52,572,500	6	205	16
Seattle Mariners	81.3	89.9	-8.6	52,032,291	7	236	12
Tampa Bay Devil Rays	93.7	73.1	20.6	25,317,500	25	225	13
Texas Rangers	108.1	107.6	0.5	54,704,595	5	281	7
Toronto Blue Jays	73.4	82.9	-9.5	48,415,000	11	162	21
Average	88.8	86.9	1.9	40,465,041		220	

Adapted from Badenhausen, Kurt, and William Sicheri. "Baseball Games." Forbes 163 (May 31, 1999): 114; Forbes magazine data © 2006, reprinted by permission; <http://asp.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/salaries/totalpayroll.aspx?year=1998>.

Teams in 1999	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
Anaheim Angels	90.7	93.2	-2.5	49,893,166	13	195	18
Arizona Diamondbacks	111.5	98.6	12.9	70,370,999	9	268	12
Atlanta Braves	155.2	137.1	18.3	75,065,000	3	388	2
Baltimore Orioles	151.7	135.2	16.5	70,818,363	8	364	4
Boston Red Sox	123.3	120.9	2.4	71,720,000	5	284	10
Chicago Cubs	105.4	107.0	-1.6	55,368,500	10	242	13
Chicago White Sox	73.8	62.1	11.7	24,550,000	24	166	21
Cincinnati Reds	49.4	54.5	-5.1	42,927,395	20	175	19

(Continued)

Teams in 1999	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
Cleveland Indians	151.7	135.2	16.5	73,857,962	4	364	3
Colorado Rockies	122.2	114.3	7.9	54,392,504	12	305	7
Detroit Tigers	71.5	70.4	1.1	34,959,666	22	200	16
Florida Marlins	59.3	56.9	2.4	15,150,000	30	125	27
Houston Astros	93.3	98.8	-5.5	55,289,000	11	280	11
Kansas City Royals	62.5	56.7	5.8	16,527,000	27	122	28
Los Angeles Dodgers	120.3	141.4	-21.1	70,935,786	7	325	5
Milwaukee Brewers	60.8	75.2	-14.4	42,927,395	19	167	20
Minnesota Twins	47.7	45.2	2.2	16,355,000	29	91	29
Montreal Expos	47.1	45.2	1.9	16,363,000	28	89	30
New York Mets	125.6	126.8	-1.2	71,331,425	6	314	6
New York Yankees	195.6	178.1	17.5	88,130,709	1	548	1
Oakland Athletics	60.9	57.0	3.9	24,150,333	26	134	26
Philadelphia Phillies	68.1	65.1	3.0	30,516,500	23	150	25
Pittsburgh Pirates	57.6	57.4	0.2	24,217,666	25	161	24
San Diego Padres	78.9	87.7	-8.8	45,932,179	17	197	17
San Francisco Giants	71.9	80.9	-9.0	46,059,557	16	237	14
St. Louis Cardinals	104.5	99.1	5.4	46,248,195	15	219	15
Seattle Mariners	111.6	106.1	5.5	44,371,336	18	290	9
Tampa Bay Devil Rays	77.5	84.0	-6.5	37,812,500	21	163	22
Texas Rangers	117.5	127.0	-9.5	81,301,598	2	294	8
Toronto Blue Jays	73.7	76.5	-2.8	48,165,333	14	162	23
Average	94.3	93.3	1.0	48,190,369		233.4	

Adapted from Ozanian, Michael K. "Too Much to Lose." *Forbes* 165 (12 June 2000): 100; *Forbes* magazine data © 2006, reprinted by permission; <http://asp.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/salaries/totalpayroll.aspx?year=1999>.

Teams in 2000	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
Anaheim Angels	94.4	103.3	-8.9	51,266,667	19	198	21
Arizona Diamondbacks	109.1	117	-7.9	79,230,333	7	245	15
Atlanta Braves	145.5	137.8	7.7	82,732,500	4	407	3
Baltimore Orioles	124.0	121.9	2.1	83,141,198	3	335	8
Boston Red Sox	125.7	118.3	7.4	81,210,333	5	342	7
Chicago Cubs	112.4	103.3	9.1	62,129,333	12	247	14
Chicago White Sox	92.6	74.8	17.8	31,159,000	26	213	17
Cincinnati Reds	77.8	70.9	6.9	44,217,500	22	187	22
Cleveland Indians	142.9	138.7	4.2	76,508,334	8	372	5
Colorado Rockies	119.1	112.7	6.4	61,314,190	14	334	9
Detroit Tigers	120.8	108.7	12.1	61,740,167	13	290	13
Florida Marlins	67.3	60.8	6.5	19,870,000	29	128	28
Houston Astros	122.2	99.9	22.3	52,081,667	18	318	12
Kansas City Royals	72.6	68.3	4.3	23,132,500	28	138	27
Los Angeles Dodgers	131.3	148.7	-17.4	90,375,953	2	381	4
Milwaukee Brewers	69.6	71.2	-1.6	35,782,833	23	211	19
Minnesota Twins	58.0	52.2	5.8	15,654,500	30	99	29
Montreal Expos	53.9	62.0	-8.1	33,527,666	24	92	30
New York Mets	162.0	140.7	21.3	79,759,762	6	454	2
New York Yankees	192.2	170.3	21.9	92,938,260	1	645	1
Oakland Athletics	74.7	69.5	5.2	32,121,833	25	149	26
Philadelphia Phillies	79.2	80.3	-1.1	46,947,667	20	158	24
Pittsburgh Pirates	70.4	68.1	2.3	26,561,667	27	211	18
San Diego Padres	84.0	92.0	-8.0	54,971,000	16	176	23

(Continued)

Teams in 2000	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
San Francisco Giants	138.8	111.4	27.4	53,541,000	17	333	10
St. Louis Cardinals	110.5	113.5	-3.0	63,093,023	11	243	16
Seattle Mariners	138.3	120.5	17.8	59,215,000	15	332	11
Tampa Bay Devil Rays	81.3	92.6	-11.3	64,407,910	10	150	25
Texas Rangers	126.5	119.1	7.4	70,785,000	9	342	6
Toronto Blue Jays	80.3	86.2	-5.9	46,363,332	21	161	23
Average	105.9	101.6	4.3	55,859,338		262.9	

Adapted from Ozanian, Michael K., and Kurt Badenhausen. "Cable Guy." Forbes 167 (April 16, 2001): 148; Forbes magazine data © 2006, reprinted by permission; <http://asp.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/salaries/totalpayroll.aspx?year=2000>.

Teams in 2001	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
Anahim Angels	103.0	97.3	5.7	47,735,168	22	195	23
Arizona Diamondbacks	127.0	130.9	-3.9	85,247,999	8	280	14
Atlanta Braves	160.0	150.5	9.5	91,936,166	6	424	5
Baltimore Orioles	133.0	129.8	3.2	74,279,540	12	319	12
Boston Red Sox	152.0	163.4	-11.4	109,675,833	2	426	4
Chicago Cubs	131.0	123.1	7.9	64,515,833	15	287	13
Chicago White Sox	101.0	104.8	-3.8	65,628,667	14	233	20
Cincinnati Reds	87.0	82.7	4.3	48,784,000	21	204	22
Cleveland Indians	150.0	153.6	-3.6	92,660,001	5	360	7
Colorado Rockies	142.0	125.2	16.8	71,541,334	13	347	10
Detroit Tigers	114.0	101.7	12.3	49,356,167	20	262	16
Florida Marlins	81.0	79.6	1.4	35,562,500	26	137	28
Houston Astros	125.0	120.9	4.1	60,387,667	17	337	11
Kansas City Royals	85.0	82.8	2.2	35,422,500	27	152	26
Los Angeles Dodgers	143.0	172.6	-29.6	109,105,953	3	435	3

Teams in 2001	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
Milwaukee Brewers	108.0	89.2	18.8	45,099,333	23	238	18
Minnesota Twins	75	71.4	3.6	24,130,000	30	127	29
Montreal Expos	63	66.4	-3.4	34,849,500	28	108	30
New York Mets	169.0	154.7	14.3	93,674,428	4	482	2
New York Yankees	215.0	196.3	18.7	112,287,143	1	730	1
Oakland Athletics	90.0	83.2	6.8	33,810,750	29	157	25
Philadelphia Phillies	94.0	91.4	2.6	41,663,833	24	231	19
Pittsburgh Pirates	108.0	98.5	9.5	57,760,833	18	242	17
San Diego Padres	92.0	86.3	5.7	38,882,833	25	207	21
San Francisco Giants	142.0	125.2	16.8	63,280,167	16	355	9
St. Louis Cardinals	123.0	128.1	-5.1	78,333,333	9	271	15
Seattle Mariners	166.0	151.9	14.1	74,720,834	11	373	6
Tampa Bay Devil Rays	92.0	98.1	-6.1	56,980,000	19	142	28
Texas Rangers	134.0	140.5	-6.5	88,633,500	7	356	8
Toronto Blue Jays	91.0	111.6	-20.6	76,895,999	10	182	24
Average	119.0	116.5	2.5	63,277,533		286.0	

Adapted from *Badenhausen, Kurt, and Cecily Fluke, Leslie Kump, and Michael K. Ozaniana.* "Double Play." *Forbes* 169 (April 15, 2002): 96; *Forbes* magazine data © 2006, reprinted by permission; <http://asp.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/salaries/totalpayroll.aspx?year=2001>.

Teams in 2002	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
Anaheim Angels	n.a.	n.a.	-3.7	61,721,667	15	225	21
Arizona Diamondbacks	n.a.	n.a.	-22.2	102,819,999	4	269	14
Atlanta Braves	n.a.	n.a.	-25.0	93,470,367	7	449	5
Baltimore Orioles	n.a.	n.a.	12.4	60,493,487	16	310	11

(Continued)

Teams in 2002	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
Boston Red Sox	n.a.	n.a.	-2.1	108,366,060	2	488	3
Chicago Cubs	n.a.	n.a.	11.9	75,690,833	12	335	8
Chicago White Sox	n.a.	n.a.	1.2	57,052,833	18	233	17
Cincinnati Reds	n.a.	n.a.	4.9	45,050,390	23	223	22
Cleveland Indians	n.a.	n.a.	-1.0	78,909,449	9	331	9
Colorado Rockies	n.a.	n.a.	7.1	56,851,043	19	304	13
Detroit Tigers	n.a.	n.a.	-5.3	55,048,000	20	237	16
Florida Marlins	n.a.	n.a.	-14	41,979,917	25	136	29
Houston Astros	n.a.	n.a.	-0.8	63,448,417	14	327	10
Kansas City Royals	n.a.	n.a.	-11.2	47,257,000	22	153	26
Los Angeles Dodgers	n.a.	n.a.	-25.0	94,850,953	5	449	4
Milwaukee Brewers	n.a.	n.a.	-6.1	50,287,833	21	206	23
Minnesota Twins	n.a.	n.a.	0.4	40,225,000	27	148	27
Montreal Expos	n.a.	n.a.	-9.1	38,670,500	29	113	30
New York Mets	n.a.	n.a.	11.6	94,633,593	6	498	2
New York Yankees	n.a.	n.a.	16.1	125,928,583	1	849	1
Oakland Athletics	n.a.	n.a.	6.6	40,004,167	28	172	24
Philadelphia Phillies	n.a.	n.a.	-11.9	57,954,999	17	239	15
Pittsburgh Pirates	n.a.	n.a.	-1.6	42,323,599	24	224	16
San Diego Padres	n.a.	n.a.	4.6	41,425,000	26	226	19
San Francisco Giants	n.a.	n.a.	13.9	78,299,835	10	382	7
St. Louis Cardinals	n.a.	n.a.	-2.0	74,660,875	13	308	12
Seattle Mariners	n.a.	n.a.	23.3	80,282,668	8	385	8

Teams in 2002	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
Tampa Bay Devil Rays	n.a.	n.a.	1.4	34,380,000	30	145	28
Texas Rangers	n.a.	n.a.	-24.5	105,726,122	3	332	9
Toronto Blue Jays	n.a.	n.a.	-23.9	76,864,333	11	166	25
Average			-1.3	67,489,258		295	

n.a. = Not available.

Adapted from Ozanian, Michael K., and Cecily J. Fluke, "Inside Pitch." *Forbes* 171 (April 28, 2003): 66; *Forbes* magazine data © 2006, reprinted by permission; <http://asp.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/salaries/totalpayroll.aspx?year=2002>.

Teams in 2003	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
Anaheim Angels	127	132.5	-5.5	79,031,667	12	241	20
Arizona Diamondbacks	126	141.2	-15.2	80,657,000	10	276	16
Atlanta Braves	156	156.3	-0.3	106,243,667	3	374	6
Baltimore Orioles	129	119.9	9.1	73,877,500	13	296	12
Boston Red Sox	190	201.4	-11.4	99,946,500	6	533	2
Chicago Cubs	156	147.7	8.3	79,868,333	11	358	8
Chicago White Sox	124	111.2	12.8	51,010,000	22	248	18
Cincinnati Reds	123	111.3	11.7	59,355,667	17	245	19
Cleveland Indians	127	116.6	10.4	48,584,834	26	292	13
Colorado Rockies	124	130.3	-6.3	67,179,667	16	285	14
Detroit Tigers	117	116.7	0.3	49,168,000	24	235	21
Florida Marlins	101	112.6	-11.6	48,750,000	25	172	25
Houston Astros	128	129.9	-1.9	71,040,000	14	320	9
Kansas City Royals	98	91.4	6.6	40,518,000	29	171	26
Los Angeles Dodgers	154	173.1	-19.1	105,872,620	4	399	4
Milwaukee Brewers	102	96.9	5.1	40,627,000	28	174	24

(Continued)

Teams in 2003	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
Minnesota Twins	81	89.3	-8.3	55,505,000	18	168	28
Montreal Expos	81	89.3	-8.3	51,948,500	20	145	30
New York Mets	158	177.3	-19.3	117,176,429	2	442	3
New York Yankees	238	264.3	-26.3	152,749,814	1	832	1
Oakland Athletics	110	98.8	11.2	50,260,834	23	186	23
Philadelphia Phillies	115	127.5	-12.5	70,780,000	15	281	15
Pittsburgh Pirates	109	109.3	-0.3	54,812,429	19	217	22
San Diego Padres	106	101.1	4.9	45,210,000	27	276	17
San Francisco Giants	153	152.3	0.7	82,852,167	9	368	7
St.Louis Cardinals	131	142.1	-11.1	83,786,666	8	314	10
Seattle Mariners	169	152	17	86,959,167	7	396	5
Tampa Bay Devil Rays	101	93.5	7.5	19,630,000	30	152	29
Texas Rangers	127	155.5	-28.5	103,491,667	5	306	11
Toronto Blue Jays	99	99	0	51,269,000	21	169	27
Average	129	130.9	-1.9	70,938,738		295	

Adapted from Vardi, Than. "Hardball." *Forbes* 173 (April 26, 2004): 70; *Forbes* magazine data © 2006, reprinted by permission; <http://asp.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/salaries/totalpayroll.aspx?year=2003>.

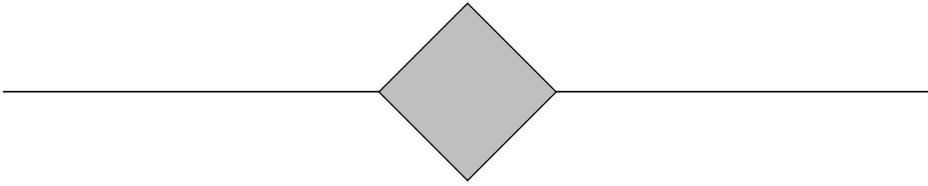
Teams in 2004	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
Anaheim Angels	147	177.0	-30.0	100,534,667	3	294	16
Arizona Diamondbacks	136	154.7	-18.7	69,780,750	13	286	18
Atlanta Braves	162	146.6	15.4	90,182,500	8	382	8
Baltimore Orioles	148	114.0	34.0	51,623,333	20	341	12

Teams in 2004	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
Boston Red Sox	201	238.1	-37.1	127,298,500	2	563	2
Chicago Cubs	170	158.6	11.4	90,560,000	7	398	6
Chicago White Sox	131	122.9	8.1	65,212,500	15	262	19
Cincinnati Reds	127	124.4	22.6	46,615,250	4	255	20
Cleveland Indians	139	111.8	27.2	34,319,300	27	319	15
Colorado Rockies	132	139.8	-7.8	65,445,167	14	290	17
Detroit Tigers	126	118.1	7.9	46,832,000	23	239	22
Florida Marlins	103	100.0	3.0	42,143,042	25	206	26
Houston Astros	155	146.4	9.6	75,397,000	12	357	11
Kansas City Royals	104	101.0	3.0	47,609,000	22	187	27
Los Angeles Dodgers	166	173.4	-7.4	92,902,001	6	424	4
Milwaukee Brewers	112	87.8	24.2	27,528,500	30	208	25
Minnesota Twins	102	102.5	-0.5	53,585,000	19	178	29
Montreal Expos	80	83.0	-3.0	41,197,500	26	310	16
New York Mets	180	191.1	-11.1	96,660,970	4	505	3
New York Yankees	264	301.1	-37.1	184,193,950	1	950	1
Oakland Athletics	116	100.1	5.9	59,425,667	16	185	28
Philadelphia Phillies	167	160.9	6.1	93,219,167	5	392	7
Pittsburgh Pirates	109	96.8	12.2	32,227,929	28	218	22
San Diego Padres	150	132.9	17.1	55,384,833	17	329	13
San Francisco Giants	259	252.1	6.9	82,019,166	10	381	9
St. Louis Cardinals	151	154.9	-3.9	83,228,333	9	370	10

(Continued)

Teams in 2004	Revenue	Operating Expenses	Operating Income	Salaries	Salaries Rank	Value	Value Rank
Seattle Mariners	173	162.2	10.8	81,515,834	11	415	5
Tampa Bay	110	82.8	27.2	29,556,667	29	178	29
Texas Rangers	142	139.1	2.9	55,050,417	18	326	14
Toronto Blue Jays	107	99.2	7.8	50,017,000	21	214	24
Average	142	137.6	4.4	69,042,199		332	

Adapted from Badenhausen, Kurt, and Jack Gage, Lesley Kump, Michael K. Ozanian, Maya Roney. "Baseball Team Valuations." Forbes 175 (April 25, 2005): 95; Forbes magazine data © 2006, reprinted by permission; <http://asp.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/salaries/totalpayroll.aspx?year=2004>.



Appendix O

MAJOR LEAGUE TEAM PAYROLLS, 1987–1989, 2005–2006

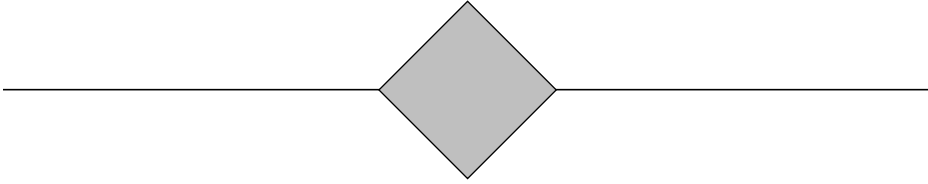
Team	1987 Salaries	1988 Rank	1988 Salaries	1988 Rank
Anaheim Angels/Los Angeles Angels	11,559,593	10	10,932,388	15
Arizona Diamondbacks				
Atlanta Braves	14,771,382	2	9,967,167	18
Baltimore Orioles	12,371,429	4	9,995,404	17
Boston Red Sox	11,080,695	11	15,544,592	3
Chicago Cubs	13,478,225	3	12,339,833	9
Chicago White Sox	9,849,689	19	5,906,952	26
Cincinnati Reds	9,258,848	21	8,368,833	21
Cleveland Indians	6,623,133	25	7,819,500	22
Colorado Rockies				
Detroit Tigers	10,850,643	13.2	15,597,071	2
Florida Marlins				
Houston Astros	10,153,335	17	13,454,667	7
Kansas City Royals	11,754,512	9	11,558,873	13
Los Angeles Dodgers	11,970,412	6	15,462,515	5
Milwaukee Brewers	12,216,965	5	10,932,388	16
Minnesota Twins	7,238,667	23	12,154,800	11
New York Mets	11,013,714	12	15,502,714	4
New York Yankees	15,398,047	1	18,909,152	1
Oakland Athletics	10,008,823	18	11,380,183	14
Philadelphia Phillies	11,785,445	5	12,935,500	8
Pittsburgh Pirates	10,223,945	15	7,627,500	23
San Diego Padres	9,801,052	20	9,878,168	19
San Francisco Giants	7,777,945	24	12,188,000	10
St. Louis Cardinals	10,441,639	14	14,000,000	6
Seattle Mariners	5,549,870	26	6,545,950	24
Tampa Bay				
Texas Rangers	8,101,222	22	6,008,000	25
Toronto Blue Jays	11,800,281	7	11,673,725	12

1989 Salaries	1989 Rank	2005 Salaries	2005 Rank	2006 Salaries	2006 Rank
14,713,833	11	97,725,322	4	103,625,333	3
		62,329,166	17	59,221,226	23
9,551,334	22	86,457,302	10	92,461,852	9
8,176,666	25	73,914,333	14	72,585,713	15
18,553,385	4	123,505,125	2	120,100,524	2
10,165,500	20	87,032,933	9	94,841,167	7
7,595,561	26	75,178,000	13	102,875,667	4
11,087,000	17	61,892,583	18	59,4889,015	22
8,928,500	24	41,502,500	26	56,795,867	24
		48,155,000	24	41,133,000	28
15,099,596	10	69,092,000	15	82,302,069	14
		60,408,834	19	14,998,500	30
16,011,000	5	76,779,000	12	92,551,503	8
15,427,162	9	36,881,000	29	47,294,000	26
21,584,161	1	83,039,000	11	99,176,950	6
10,373,000	19	39,934,833	27	56,790,000	25
15,540,500	8	56,186,000	20	63,810,048	19
20,013,212	3	101,305,821	3	100,901,085	5
20,562,985	2	208,306,817	1	198,662,180	1
14,602,999	12	55,425,762	22	62,322,054	21
9,640,000	21	95,522,000	5	88,273,333	13
11,993,500	16	39,934,833	28	46,867,750	27
13,094,000	14	63,290,833	16	69,725,179	17
14,094,000	13	90,199,500	7	90,862,063	10
15,555,333	7	92,106,833	6	88,441,218	11
9,547,500	23	87,754,334	8	88,324,500	12
		29,679,067	30	35,417,967	29
10,689,500	18	55,849,000	21	65,468,130	18
16,011,000	6	45,719,500	25	71,915,000	16

Team	1987 Salaries	1988 Rank	1988 Salaries	1988 Rank
Montreal Expos/Washington Nationals	10,195,246	16	8,852,333	20
Average	10,587,491		11,366,777	

Source: USA Today, November 5, 1987; <http://asp.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/salaries/totalpayroll.aspx?year=1988>; <http://asp.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/salaries/totalpayroll.aspx?year=1989>; <http://asp.usatoday.com/sports/baseball/salaries/totalpayroll.aspx?year=2005>; Chicago Tribune, April 6, 2006, IV:8. The payrolls were obtained by Associated Press from management and player sources. They include salaries and pro-rated shares of signing bonuses.

1989 Salaries	1989 Rank	2005 Salaries	2005 Rank	2006 Salaries	2006 Rank
12,305,389	15	48,581,500	23	63,267,500	20
13,496,793		73,122,958		74,262,169	



Appendix P

MAJOR LEAGUE BALLPARKS, 2006

National League

Team	Ballparks	First Game	Capacity	Dimensions (feet)		
				<i>LF</i>	<i>CF</i>	<i>RF</i>
Arizona Diamondbacks	Chase Field	03/31/1998	48,500	328'	402'	335'
Atlanta Braves	Turner Field	04/12/1997	50,062	335'	401'	330'
Chicago Cubs	Wrigley Field	04/23/1914	38,902	355'	400'	353'
Cincinnati Reds	Great American Ballpark	03/31/2003	42,059	328'	404'	325'
Colorado Rockies	Coors Field	04/26/1995	50,381	347'	415'	350'
Florida Marlins	Dolphins Stadium	04/05/1993	42,531	335'	410'	345'
Houston Astros	Minute Maid Park	04/07/2000	42,000	315'	435'	326'
Los Angeles Dodgers	Dodger Stadium	04/10/1962	56,000	330'	395'	330'
Milwaukee Brewers	Miller Park	04/06/2001	43,000	342'	400'	345'
New York Mets	Shea Stadium	04/17/1964	55,777	338'	410'	338'
Philadelphia Phillies	Citizens Bank Park	04/12/2004	43,500	329'	401'	330'
Pittsburgh Pirates	PNC Park	04/09/2001	38,127	325'	399'	320'
San Diego Padres	PETCO Park	04/08/2004	42,445	367'	396'	382'
San Francisco	AT&T Park	04/11/2000	40,800	335'	404'	307'
St. Louis	Busch Stadium	05/16/2006	49,625	336'	402'	335'
Washington	RFK Stadium	04/09/1962	56,500	335'	410'	335'

American League

Team	Ballparks	First Game	Capacity	Dimensions (feet)		
				<i>LF</i>	<i>CF</i>	<i>RF</i>
Baltimore Orioles	Oriole Park at Camden Yards	04/06/1992	48,876	333'	400'	318'
Boston Red Sox	Fenway Park	04/20/1912	36,298	310'	420'	302'
Chicago White Sox	U.S. Cellular Field	04/18/1991	44,321	347'	400'	347'
Cleveland Indians	Jacobs Field	04/04/1994	43,368	325'	405'	325'
Detroit Tigers	Comerica Park	04/11/2000	40,000	346'	422'	330'
Kansas City Royals	Kauffman Stadium	04/10/1973	40,625	330'	400'	330'
Los Angeles Angels	Angel Stadium	04/19/1966	45,050	333'	400'	333'
Minnesota Twins	Metrodome	04/06/1982	48,678	343'	408'	327'
New York Yankees	Yankee Stadium	04/18/1923	57,545	318'	408'	314'
Oakland Athletics	McAfee Coliseum	04/17/1968	43,662	330'	400'	330'
Seattle Mariners	Safeco Field	07/15/1999	47,000	331'	405'	327'
Tampa Bay Devil Rays	Tropicana Field	04/06/1998	45,200	315'	410'	322'
Texas Rangers	Amerquest Field in Arlington	04/11/1994	49,166	332'	400'	325'
Toronto Blue Jays	Rogers Centre	06/05/1989	50,516	328'	400'	328'



Appendix Q

MAJOR LEAGUE BALLPARKS USED BY CURRENT TEAMS, WITH NAME CHANGES

ARIZONA DIAMONDBACKS

Bank One Ballpark	1998–2004
renamed Chase Field	2005–

ATLANTA BRAVES

South End Grounds I (Boston)	1876–1882
South End Grounds II (The Grand Pavilion)	1883–1894
Congress Street Park	1894
South End Grounds III	1894–1914
Fenway Park	1914–1915, 1946
Braves Field	1915–1952
Milwaukee County Stadium	1953–1965
Atlanta–Fulton County Stadium	1966–1996
Turner Field	1997–

BALTIMORE ORIOLES

Sportsman's Park (St. Louis)	1902–1953
Memorial Stadium (Baltimore)	1954–1991
Oriole Park at Camden Yards	1992–

BOSTON RED SOX

Huntington Avenue Baseball Grounds	1901–1911
Fenway Park	1912–
Braves Field (Sundays)	1929–1932

CHICAGO CUBS

Twenty-third Street Grounds	1876–1877
Lakefront Park	1878–1884

Congress Street Park	1885–1891
South Side Park	1891–1893
West Side Park	1893–1915
Wrigley Field	1916–

CHICAGO WHITE SOX

South Side Park	1901–1910
Comiskey Park	1910–1990
County Stadium (Milwaukee)	1968–1969
New Comiskey Park	1991–2002
renamed Cellular Field	2003–

CINCINNATI REDS

Avenue Grounds	1876–1877
Bank Street Grounds	1880
Bank Street Grounds (AA)	1883–1883
Cincinnati Baseball Grounds (AA)	1884–1889
renamed League Park	1890–1902
Palace of the Fans	1902–1911
Redland Field	1912–1933
renamed Crosley Field	1934–1969
Riverfront Stadium	1970–2002
Great American Ballpark	2003–

CLEVELAND INDIANS

League Park	1901–1932, 1934–1946
Municipal Stadium	1932–1933, 1934–1946 (Sundays), 1947–1993
Jacobs Field	1994–

COLORADO ROCKIES

Mile High Stadium	1993–94
Coors Field	1995–

DETROIT TIGERS

Bennett Park	1901–1911
Burns Park	1901–1909 (Sundays)
Navin Field	1912–1937
Briggs Stadium	1938–1960
Tiger Stadium	1961–1999
Comerica Park	2000–

FLORIDA MARLINS

Joe Robbie Stadium	1993–1995
renamed Pro Player Stadium	1996–2004
renamed Dolphins Stadium	2005–

HOUSTON ASTROS

Colt Stadium	1962–1964
Astrodome	1965–1999
Enron Field	2000–2002
renamed Astro Field	2002
renamed Minute Maid Park	2002–

KANSAS CITY ROYALS

Municipal Stadium	1969–1972
Royals Stadium	1973–1992
renamed Kauffman Stadium	1993–

LOS ANGELES ANGELS OF ANAHEIM

Wrigley Field	1961
Dodger Stadium	1962–1965
Anaheim Stadium	1966–1996
renamed Edison International Field	1997–2003
renamed Angel Stadium	2004–

LOS ANGELES DODGERS

Washington Park I (Brooklyn) (AA)	1884–1889
Ridgewood Park (AA)	1886–1889
Union Grounds (AA)	1889
Washington Park I	1890
Eastern Park	1891–1897
Washington Park II	1898–1912
Ebbets Field	1913–1957
Roosevelt Stadium (Jersey City)	1956–1957
Los Angeles Coliseum	1958–1961
Dodger Stadium	1962–

MILWAUKEE

County Stadium	1970–2000
Miller Park	2001–

MINNESOTA TWINS

American League Park (Washington)	1901–1910
Griffith Stadium	1911–1960
Metropolitan Stadium	1961–1981
Hubert H. Humphrey Metrodome	1982–

NEW YORK METS

Polo Grounds III	1962–1963
Shea Stadium	1964–

NEW YORK YANKEES

Hilltop Park	1903–1912
Polo Grounds III	1913–1922
Yankee Stadium	1923–1973
Shea Stadium	1974–1975
Yankee Stadium II	1976–

OAKLAND ATHLETICS

Columbia Park (Philadelphia)	1901–1908
Shibe Park	1909–1954
Municipal Stadium (Kansas City)	1955–1967
Oakland–Alameda County Coliseum	1968–1997
renamed Network Associates Coliseum	1998–2003
renamed McAfee Coliseum	2004–

PHILADELPHIA PHILLIES

Recreation Park	1883–1886
Huntington Grounds	1887–1894
University of Pennsylvania Athletic Field	1894
Baker Bowl	1895–1938
Columbia Park	1903
Shibe Park	1927, 1938–1952
renamed Connie Mack Stadium	1953–1970
Veterans Stadium	1971–2003
Citizens' Ball Park	2004–

PITTSBURGH PIRATES

Recreation Park	1887–1890
Exposition Park	1891–1909
Forbes Field	1909–1970
Three Rivers Stadium	1970–2000
PNC Park	2001–

SAN DIEGO PADRES

San Diego Stadium	1969–1979
renamed Jack Murphy Stadium	1980–1996
renamed Qualcomm Stadium	1997–2003
PETCO Park	2004–

SAN FRANCISCO GIANTS

Polo Grounds (NY)	1883–1888
St. George Grounds (Staten Island)	1889
Oakland Park (Jersey City)	1889
Polo Grounds II (Manhattan Field) (NY)	1889–1890
Polo Grounds III	1891–1910
Hilltop Park	1911
Polo Grounds IV (New York)	1911–1957
Seals Stadium (S.F.)	1958–1959
Candlestick Park	1960–1999
Pacific Bell Park	2000–2003
renamed SBC	2004–2005
renamed AT&T Park	2006–

ST. LOUIS CARDINALS

Sportsman's Park (AA)	1882–1891
Sportsman's Park	1892
New Sportsman's Park	1893–1898
renamed League Park	1899–1911
renamed Robison Field	1911–1920
Sportsman's Park	1921–1952
renamed Busch Stadium I	1953–1965
Busch Stadium II	1966–2005
Busch Stadium III	2006–

SEATTLE MARINERS

Kingdome	1977–1998
SAFECO Stadium	1999–

TAMPA BAY

Tropicana Field	1998–
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TEXAS RANGERS

Griffith Stadium	1961
Robert F. Kennedy Stadium	1962–1971
Arlington Stadium	1972–1993
The Ballpark in Arlington	1994–2003
renamed Ameriquest Field in Arlington	2004–

TORONTO BLUE JAYS

Exhibition Stadium	1977–1989
Skydome	1989–2004
renamed Rogers Centre	2005–

WASHINGTON NATIONALS

Jarry Park (Montreal)	1969–1976
Olympic Stadium	1977–2004
Robert F. Kennedy Stadium (Washington)	2005–

Source: *Michael Gershman*, *Diamonds: The Evolution of the Ballpark* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993); *Philip J. Lowry*, *Lost Cathedrals: The Ultimate Celebration of all 271 Major League and Negro League Ballparks, Past and Present* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1992); *Michael Benson*, *Ballparks of North America: A Comprehensive Historical Reference to Baseball Grounds, Yards, and Stadiums, 1845 to Present* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1989); *Munsey & Suppes*, "Ballparks." <http://www.ballparks.com/baseball/index.htm>.

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