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Creating a Female Athlete: The Power of Societal Reimaging and Advertising in the All American Girls Professional Baseball League

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**CREATING A FEMALE ATHLETE:
THE POWER OF SOCIETAL REIMAGING AND ADVERTISING IN THE ALL
AMERICAN GIRLS PROFESSIONAL BASEBALL LEAGUE**

A thesis submitted to
the Graduate College of
Marshall University
In partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

In
History
by

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APPROVAL OF THESIS

We, the faculty supervising the work of Kaitlyn M. Haines, affirm that the thesis, *CREATING A FEMALE ATHLETE: THE POWER OF SOCIETAL REIMAGING AND ADVERTISING IN THE ALL AMERICAN GIRLS PROFESSIONAL BASEBALL LEAGUE*, meets the high academic standards for original scholarship and creative work established by the Department of History and the College of Liberal Arts. This work also conforms to the editorial standards of our discipline and the Graduate College of Marshall University. With our signatures, we approve the manuscript for publication.



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DEDICATION

To my baseball family, who taught me to believe in my future.

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ABSTRACT

The All American Girls Professional Baseball League introduced an acceptable form of female sport to the United States during World War II. The All American Girls Professional Baseball League's feminine image and high standards of the league provided a new quality team sport that the ever popular softball diamonds of industrial recreation had failed to reach. One of the reasons for their success was the attention to detail in the visual representation of the baseball league. Appearing in a time of heightened advertising and branding, a visual representation of the League was created to fit within the societal norms of the day by the original owner of the All American Girls Professional Baseball League, Philip K. Wrigley, and his trusty advertising executive, Arthur E. Meyerhoff. Using a concept I term "societal reimaging," the thesis examines newspapers and organizational documents to view the changes and continuities of the All American Girls Professional Baseball League's administrations and the ability of executives to present female athletes as feminine women.

INTRODUCTION

As the crowd took their seats on Sunday, May 30, 1943 in South Bend, Indiana, no one was quite sure what to expect. Softball was a popular game of the time among working-class individuals, but it was obvious the men and women in the stands, who seemingly came from every walk of life, were not your average softball fans. It was even more obvious that the women on the field were not your average softballers, either. Rather than uniforms that looked like those worn in men's baseball, these women appeared in skirted tunics and pristine make-up. In fact, this double-header kicked off Philip K. Wrigley's inaugural season of the All-American Girls Softball League that later became the All American Girls Professional Baseball League (AAGPBL). After twenty-two innings, two Rockford losses, and a display of feminine women playing a version of the nation's pastime, an era began. The newspaper announcements, the local publicity of the league, and the game itself got people into the stands, curious about this odd venture, but it was the women's skills and play that brought customers back to the ballpark.¹

When the All American Girls Professional Baseball League took the diamond, "societal reimagining" had taken place to make the professional female athlete temporarily acceptable through new, positive connotations. Societal reimagining, a concept that was employed in various facets of life throughout World War II, drew from prevailing middle-class ideals and reimagined otherwise controversial ideas into temporarily acceptable models. Prior to 1943, negative stereotypes and visual representations of women participating in team sports, like softball, had

¹ "Females Open Diamond Play," *Daily Capital Journal* (Salem, OR), 31 May 1943; "Girls Major League Opens Play Sunday," *Anniston (AL) Star*, 31 May 1943; "Girls Pro Softball," *Alton (IL) Evening News*, 31 May 1943; "Girls Softball Pros in Debut on Sunday," *Ironwood (MI) Daily Globe*, 31 May 1943; "Powderpuff Brand of Pro Baseball is Treat for Fans," *Daily Herald* (Provo, UT), 31 May 1943; "South Bend Wins Double Bill as Girls Open Softball Play," *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, 31 May 1943.

led to the need for societal reimagining for the AAGPBL to be successful. Through the expertise of advertisers and successful businessmen, this societal reimagining, created through campaigns that were present until the end of the League, changed from one owner to another. The AAGPBL required societal reimagining and advertising to successfully operate, most notably through the perpetuation of a brand of women's baseball as a patriotic, feminine venture, and, although some continuities were present throughout, changing administrations heralded the rise and fall of the League.

The Columbia Picture's blockbuster, *A League of Their Own*, and the 1988 National Baseball Hall of Fame induction of the AAGPBL popularized the women's baseball league as the All American Girls Professional Baseball League.² However, the professional women's league went through many names as it changed and evolved its rules and game. Introduced as the All American Girls Softball League (AAGSBL) in 1943, the women's league folded in 1954 as the American Girls Baseball League (AGBL).³ Regardless of its name, the league provided an acceptable avenue for participation in women's team sports while Americans navigated World War II, the post-war era, and the Cold War.

Philip K. Wrigley, owner of the Chicago Cubs, began to think of a replacement league after baseball took a hit following the attack on Pearl Harbor. When the 1942 season opened, the survival of America's pastime was questioned throughout the country.⁴ With so many young players going to war, minor league baseball suspended play that fall, and the military draft drained the major leagues of talent.⁵ Major league baseball made concessions to suspend play in

² Elliot Abbott and Robert Greenhut, *A League of Their Own*, directed by Penny Marshall (Culver City, CA: Columbia Pictures, 1992), DVD; Merrie Fiddler, *The Origins and History of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2006).

³ Fiddler, *Origins and History*.

⁴ Paul M. Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley: A Memoir of a Modest Man* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1975), 103.

⁵ Emily Yellin, *Our Mother's War: American Women at Home and at the Front During World War II* (New York: Free Press, 2005), 300.

support of the war effort for the 1943 season, but President Franklin D. Roosevelt believed play should continue, even if restricted.⁶ Understanding the war was going to last longer than most expected, Wrigley began to consider providing play by women. Near the end of the 1942 season, Wrigley admitted he would lose all his young players eventually, knowing the toll the war was going to have on men's baseball.⁷

Philip K. Wrigley was an unorthodox man who was known outside of his famous chewing gum company and his ownership of the Chicago Cubs for his eccentric, yet often successful, ideas.⁸ Although some of his innovations were baffling, many of his ideas were considered ahead of their time. Wrigley's eye for innovation led to new developments, from training airplane mechanics in World War I to creating the first organized professional girls' softball league in World War II.⁹ Philip Wrigley approached the AAGPBL in the same manner as all his other ventures. His biographer, Paul M. Angle, described Wrigley's demeanor as "careful, cautious, and considerate of the feelings of others."¹⁰ Having developed what Angle calls "a direct, if somewhat informal, approach to problem solving," Wrigley addressed a rising crisis in the future of baseball by developing an idea to create a professional girls' softball league to supplement men's baseball throughout the duration of United States military involvement in World War II.¹¹ In an effort to show his support of the war, Wrigley attached his name to the softball venture, as it generated a promised quality, and believed most would support a league based on the day's highest social standards.¹²

⁶ Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*, 104.

⁷ Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*, 104.

⁸ Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*; William B. Furlong, "P.K. Wrigley: Baseball Magnate," *Saturday Evening Post*, Summer 1972.

⁹ Furlong, "P.K. Wrigley," 118.

¹⁰ Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*, 140.

¹¹ Furlong, "P.K. Wrigley," 110.

¹² Fiddler, *Origins and History*, 34; Furlong, "P.K. Wrigley," 110.

Throughout U.S. involvement in World War II, Philip K. Wrigley worked on several projects to support the war effort. In all his moves, he worked with the belief that patriotism and usefulness should coincide.¹³ He converted some of his factories into ration-packing plants to keep people at work on the home front and help the soldiers abroad. When his chewing gum was not capable of being heavily produced, Wrigley continued advertising his company by switching to the promotion of selling war bonds.¹⁴ The All American Girls Professional Baseball League was another project Wrigley took on to support the war effort.¹⁵ In an effort to support the war at all costs, he believed providing a women's softball league allowed for the continued entertainment of those at home while it freed more men for service.

One of the reasons Wrigley's league was successful was due to an important lesson his father had taught him: a belief in the value of advertising.¹⁶ He had implemented these tactics in professional men's baseball prior to creating the AAGPBL. Wrigley turned to advertising to draw larger crowds to see the Chicago Cubs. After he rejected night baseball in 1934 due to his belief in keeping baseball in its traditional form, he took out ads in the major Chicago newspapers to increase attendance at games.¹⁷ Some warned against such tactics because the public demanded a winning team, not just the promise of a recreational family activity. Wrigley began selling baseball as an activity, and emphasized the game and fun, getting people "to see ball games, win or lose."¹⁸ In the chewing gum business, advertising enhanced sales. This same

¹³ Philip K. Wrigley in Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*, 72.

¹⁴ Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*, 21. Throughout World War I, William Wrigley, Jr. slowed production of his gum, although he did not ease off on his advertising. Philip K. Wrigley also stunted gum production during World War II due to the inability to procure all needed ingredients in the gum making industry. This led to his eventual discontinuation of standard name brands of Wrigley gum in 1945 that was supplemented by Wrigley's Orbit brand until quality of gum could be reestablished after the war.

¹⁵ Fiddler, *Origins and History*, 52.

¹⁶ Fiddler, *Origins and History*, 50.

¹⁷ Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*, 62-63.

¹⁸ Philip K. Wrigley in Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*, 63.

philosophy, when applied to baseball, was adopted not only with the Chicago Cubs, but with the AAGPBL when Wrigley ran the venture.¹⁹ When Wrigley Field began drawing larger crowds in the late 1930s in response to his advertising campaigns, Phil Wrigley believed the crowds supported his theories and that he had made his baseball stadium a comfortable, pleasant afternoon destination.²⁰ Believing that winning teams were not as important as patrons seeing the spirit and hustle of baseball, Wrigley was one of the first owners to advertise the game over the team, and continued to do so when he was publicizing women playing, instead of men.²¹ The time period Wrigley operated in may have had influence on his ability to go forth with this venture.

As the United States recovered from the Great Depression and entered World War II, advertisers throughout the country, from corporations to professional baseball teams, began campaigns that created what Americans now know as “Brand America,” or product recognition through well-known advertising campaigns. Advertisers were successful in their efforts to persuade consumers in the United States and abroad, which is why Dawn Spring termed this time period the “Age of Persuasion.” Spanning from 1941 to 1961, American advertisers created and pushed persuasive campaigns that developed the brand management system and brand names that are still present today.²²

Brands built during the “Age of Persuasion” created images for consumer products that promoted versions of the American image that continue to flourish.²³ In this era, new images created in the United States, like Chevrolet, baseball, and apple pie became quintessential

¹⁹ Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*, 31.

²⁰ Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*, 114-115.

²¹ Philip K. Wrigley in Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*, 68.

²² Dawn Spring. *Advertising in the Age of Persuasion: Building Brand America, 1941-1961* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

²³ Spring, *Advertising in the Age of Persuasion*.

American standards. This time period also saw the rise of persuasive, temporary images like “Rosie the Riveter” and what Patricia Vignola called the “Patriotic Pinch Hitter,” that allowed women to participate in otherwise transgressive roles for a short time during the war to offset the loss of manpower to the war effort, which is another example of societal reimagining.²⁴

Organizations such as the War Advertising Council and the Brand Names Foundation perpetuated these images, giving credence to the perceived changes of societal norms to fit what was needed from the population at a given time. This increase in advertising campaigns and brand-name products provided a false construction of a unified America.

As of its founding, the All American Girls Professional Baseball League created a feminine image of female athletes and emphasized that playing in the league was a patriotic duty for the young women involved. Providing representations of “Domestic Dugout[s]” and touting that there was “No Galpower Shortage,” the AAGPBL slowly found acceptance from a skeptical public through societal reimagining.²⁵ Visual representations of women in power, like Rosie the Riveter and the female professional baseball player, provided temporary opportunities to enter parts of the work force that had previously been denied to women. Due to such visual

²⁴ Patricia Vignola, “The Patriotic Pinch Hitter: The AAGPBL and How the American Woman Earned a Permanent Spot on the Roster,” *Nine* 12, no. 2 (Spring 2004), 102-113.

²⁵ “Bench-Warming Dugout Damsels,” *Kingsport (TN) Times*, 7 June 1943; “Damsels of the Dugout,” *News Journal* (Wilmington, DE), 5 June 1943; “Dugout Damsels,” *Beatrice (NB) Daily Sun*, 22 June 1943; “Dugout Damsels,” *Bismarck (ND) Tribune*, 17 June 1943; “Dugout Damsels,” *Coshocton (OH) Tribune*, 11 June 1943; “Dugout Damsels,” *Daily Herald* (Provo, UT), 9 June 1943; “Dugout Damsels,” *Fitchburg (MA) Sentinel*, 8 June 1943; “Dugout Damsels,” *Longview (TX) News-Journal*, 10 June 1943; “Dugout Damsels,” *Mount Carmel (PA) Item*, 7 June 1943; “Dugout Damsels Await Turn at Bat,” *News-Palladium* (Benton Harbor, MI), 12 July 1943; “Dugout Damsels Display Ability,” *Ogden (UT) Standard-Examiner*, 8 June 1943; “These Dugout Damsels Root for Team,” *Muscatine (IA) Journal and News-Tribune*, 7 June 1943; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Albany (OR) Democrat-Herald*, 2 June 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Battle Creek (MI) Enquirer*, 21 May 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Coshocton (OH) Tribune*, 21 May 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Daily Times* (New Philadelphia, OH), 3 June 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Edwardsville (IL) Intelligencer*, 23 May 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Escanaba (MI) Daily Press*, 20 May 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Lubbock (TX) Avalanche-Journal*, 21 May 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Ogden (UT) Standard-Examiner*, 24 May 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Reno (NV) Gazette-Journal*, 9 June 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Statesville (NC) Daily Record*, 23 May 1944.

representations, a brand of softball, and later baseball, created an acceptable form of sport in the All American Girls Professional Baseball League.

Charles Brower, an advertising executive of the time, summarized the importance of advertising when he stated: “Advertising has the professional capacity to build great images, to modify public attitudes, to win loyalty, to close sales, to educate men and women about goods and services.”²⁶ Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter, in *Voices of a Nation: A History of Mass Media in the United States*, assert that campaigns were designed to provide a belief in consensus, but media and advertising does not create public opinion on their own, as they build on societal norms and traditions.²⁷ With ad campaigns being carefully orchestrated to present a unified image, branding was used to introduce new concepts without challenging established societal norms.²⁸ Visual representation was heightened throughout the age of persuasion as corporations and advertisers perfected their campaigns within the mass media, which had grown to include radio, film, and, later, television. These staples of advertising, from established print campaigns to a variety of media mediums usage, were clearly seen in the publicity, promotions, and advertising of the All American Girls Professional Baseball League.

Ray Eldon Hiebert’s *Impact of Mass Media: Current Issues* furthered these ideas by discussing the importance of labeling.²⁹ Marking media professionals as propagandists, Hiebert argued that all images are created to provide a predetermined positive or negative label for a subject.³⁰ The establishment of predetermined labels on products was done so that audiences

²⁶ Arthur E. Meyerhoff, *The Strategy of Persuasion: The Use of Advertising Skills in Fighting the Cold War* (New York: Coward, McCann, Inc., 1965), 161.

²⁷ Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter, *Voices of a Nation: A History of Mass Media in the United States* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1998), 272.

²⁸ Lucas Conley, *Obsessive Branding Disorder: The Illusion of Business and the Business of Illusion* (New York: Public Affairs, 2008), 10.

²⁹ Hiebert, Ray Eldon, ed., *Impact of Mass Media: Current Issues* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, Inc., 1999)

³⁰ Hiebert, *Impact of Mass Media*, 122.

could reach the same conclusions on a predefined subject without having to consider the particulars of a product.³¹ Labeling was also essential to changing preconceived notions of already-established understandings. If a negative label had been attached to a certain image, rebranding a new representation of the same idea and creating a campaign to call it something slightly different led to a positive label.

Arthur E. Meyerhoff, the second owner of the AAGPBL, was an advertising executive for the Wrigley family trained in the art of persuasion this time period became known for. Working for the Wrigley family since the 1930s, Meyerhoff rose through the William Wrigley, Jr. Company by the 1940s to be Philip K. Wrigley's advertising executive. His ideas marked changes in advertising for the gum company, the Chicago Cubs, and, later, the AAGPBL. Meyerhoff's understanding and training in the art of persuasion made him an important force in the societal reimagining of the female athlete that made the AAGPBL successful.

Following World War II, cultural changes marked a retreat into an extremely conservative era of United States history. Plagued with the fear of communism, American culture retreated to stricter notions of race, class, and gender. While World War II had opened pathways for societal reimagining with Rosie the Riveter and the professional female baseball player, the 1950s emphasized norms and traditions that made it difficult to question Victorian understandings of gender without causing controversy. This cultural climate hindered the reorganized AAGPBL and the team directors that ran it. Pressures from cultural changes and an inability to maintain societal reimagining crippled the ability of the AAGPBL to survive.

General baseball histories fall short when it comes to the All American Girls Professional Baseball League because they often do not address the fact that women participated as players at

³¹ Hiebert, *Impact of Mass Media*, 122.

all. Histories studying baseball often stick to one gender or another, rarely acknowledging the other in their works. Harold Seymour, the first academic to write on baseball as a scholarly subject, only addressed women as spectators in the game.³² His trilogy, *Baseball*, went into detail about the development of baseball throughout history, but did not speak about women on the diamond, even though his first book, *Baseball: The Early Years*, was published just six years after the AAGPBL folded.³³ Benjamin Rader's 1992 work *Baseball* did address the League, dedicating four paragraphs of the book to women playing the game.³⁴ While the brevity of this foray is explainable considering the long history of baseball, Rader dismissed the AAGPBL by discounting the skill of the women players, before returning exclusively to men's baseball.³⁵ For example, he provided Sophie Kury's astounding stolen base record as an anomaly, not based on her skill, but on the other women's lack of skills in throwing the ball across the diamond. Some recent histories that focus on baseball in the World War II time period overlook the All American Girls Professional Baseball League entirely. John Klima, for example, attempts to argue the integral part baseball played in the winning of World War II. *The Game Must Go On* addressed how baseball boosted the morale of troops and its endurance throughout the war. Klima is interested in telling the story of Major League Baseball's part in the war effort, thus, women playing professional baseball is completely ignored.³⁶ This scholarship also falls short when addressing the importance of advertising in keeping baseball alive during this time,

³² Harold Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years; Baseball: The Golden Years; Baseball: The People's Game* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960). Seymour's doctoral dissertation was the first regarding baseball as an appropriate topic to be accepted when he was doing his research at Yale University.

³³ Harold Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years; Baseball: The Golden Years; Baseball: The People's Game* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960).

³⁴ Benjamin Rader, *Baseball: A History of America's Game* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

³⁵ Rader, *Baseball*. Rader's first three paragraphs regarding the League also overlook the contribution of women to the game, as he focused most of his discussion about women playing professional baseball on the league's first owner, Philip K. Wrigley.

³⁶ John Klima, *The Game Must Go On: Hank Greenberg, Pete Gray, and the Great Days of Baseball on the Homefront in WWII* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2015).

although Klima's work did provide an overview of how the armed forces used baseball as a way to create positive public relations opportunities.

Works addressing women in baseball, especially those on the All American Girls Professional Baseball League, tend to be player-centric and focus on the skills of the players, not the talents of the men who created and operated the League. Barbara Gregorich's *Women at Play* provides a synthesis of women's baseball, including profiles of players from women's baseball history and arguing that the male establishment, not women's lack of skill, was what kept women out of professional baseball. She cited that the 1952 minor league ban of women, for example, spoke to the proven ability of women players and the hesitation for women to compete with men.³⁷ Gai Berlage incorporated socio-cultural perspectives in her work discussing the participation of women in baseball. Noting that ideal Victorian womanhood was a deterring factor for many, *Women in Baseball* discusses those that went against the grain and participated anyway.³⁸ Like many others who have written on the subject, Lois Browne focused on a small facet of the All American Girls Professional Baseball League to discuss its unique place in history. *Girls of Summer* addresses the language of the time, making sure to mention that no matter what age, women were referred to as "girls" and that did not change when it came to the League.³⁹ Browne also noted the diversity of the women who played and the minimal control they had over professional baseball careers that were decided for them by men. In 2006, Merrie Fiddler provided the first synthesis of the AAGPBL, *The Origins and History of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League*, which documents the women's baseball

³⁷ Barbara Gregorich, *Women at Play: The Story of Women in Baseball* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1993).

³⁸ Gai Ingham Berlage, *Women in Baseball: The Forgotten History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1994).

³⁹ Lois Browne, *Girls of Summer: The Real Story of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League* (Toronto: Harper Collins, 1993).

accomplishments.⁴⁰ While Fiddler discusses at length promotion and publicity throughout the League's operation, she concluded that this approach may have been significant, but was not responsible for the success of the League.⁴¹ Fiddler plays into the established narrative of women in baseball and postulates a monocausal reason for the longevity of the League: the women that played in it. While this narrative is important and part of the history, dismissing other aspects that played into the success of the League cannot be ignored. This thesis argues that the publicity and promotion constantly reiterating the feminine image Wrigley created, was a crucial factor in making the AAGPBL a viable venture in the United States. While the players' skills were important to keeping the League alive by bringing fans back to the ballparks, the publicity and promotion of women's baseball was essential to getting new crowds to the diamonds through societal reimagining.

Concepts created to further analyze women and sport, such as Kat D. Williams's "sport identity" were used to examine the All American Girls Professional Baseball League in a new light. In Williams's 2012 article "Sport: "A Useful Category of Historical Analysis": Isabel "Lefty" Alvarez: The Rascal of El Cerro," sport is used as an integral identity characterization that historians have used to understand people of differing races, classes, and genders.⁴² When considering "sport identity" as a way to further understand how women understand themselves in the world at large, a connection to societal reimagining becomes clearer. While sport identity speaks to the women involved, societal reimagining addresses the consumers of such representation.

⁴⁰ Fiddler, *Origins and History*.

⁴¹ Fiddler, *Origins and History*.

⁴² Kat D. Williams, "Sport: "A Useful Category of Historical Analysis": Isabel "Lefty" Alvarez: The Rascal of El Cerro," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 5 (London: Routledge, 2012): 766-785.

While several scholars have explored the League, few have analyzed the importance of visual representation and societal reimagining in the continued operation of the AAGPBL. Running through such an influential period in advertising and communication history, can the promotion and publicity of women's baseball be ignored? Considering that a successful advertiser was behind the All American Girls Professional Baseball League's visual representation for so long, this persuasive age cannot be overlooked.

The men running the administration of the All American Girls Professional Baseball League and the skills and talents they brought to their given administrations cannot be overlooked by scholars. While the woman ballplayers' proficiency in the sport were imperative to get consumers back into the ballpark, the administration had to get new customers to experience women's baseball in the first place. League owners, like Philip K. Wrigley and Arthur E. Meyerhoff, used their knowledge of business to create campaigns that convinced Americans to try out this new form of sport. Without a strong perpetuation of visual representation and advertising campaigns to persuade consumers to come out to the ballpark, the AAGPBL venture failed and faded into history. The ability to create the AAGPBL's image for the American public was essential to the League's success, keeping the idea of women's baseball at the forefront of fans' minds and marketing a viable product for consumption.

Chapter One of this work analyzes the period of Philip Wrigley's ownership of the All American Girls Professional Baseball League, then still known as the All American Girls Softball League (AAGSBL), and how brand-names were persuasive in the United States during World War II. With the respectability and success that Wrigley had, was his ability to market the idea of women athletes what provided the AAGPBL an accepted place in society? Although Wrigley only ran the League for two seasons, he created a viable product for the American

public that continued to be consumed until 1954. The idea of product consumption even appears in letters from League officials to patrons of the game. John Billings of the Kenosha Comets reached out to patrons in 1943, stating that the League wanted them “to sample our product” because it “has to be seen to be appreciated.”⁴³ Did understanding the importance of creating this product image and offering sampling opportunities play into Wrigley’s ability to provide a legitimacy for women’s sports?

Arthur Meyerhoff ran the League from 1945 to 1950, and is responsible for the All American Girls Professional Baseball League’s most successful years. Chapter Two, which refers to the League as the All American Girls Baseball League (AAGBBL), explores his continued ability to provide an acceptable image for women’s baseball. Was his advertising expertise the reason for this? What did Meyerhoff do differently from the other administrations to make the League so successful?

Having centralized the League, Meyerhoff used a network of local directors to run his organization. In 1951, feeling that they could run the organization without him, these operators voted Meyerhoff out of the women’s baseball enterprise. Just four seasons later, the League, referred to as the American Girls Baseball League (AGBL), folded. Chapter Three examines these years of the league. Why did Arthur Meyerhoff’s departure from the League lead to such a swift collapse? Were the operators incapable of maintaining the image of the female professional baseball player? Was the League already declining? By decentralizing the League and changing how it operated, did the operators doom the venture?

This thesis argues that publicity and promotion of the All American Girls Professional Baseball League is quintessential in understanding the success of the League. From the

⁴³ John Billings to Patron, 1943, Personal Collection of Debbie Pierson.

appearance of campaigns in newspapers to the language used in the organization's correspondence, the image of women's baseball cannot be ignored.⁴⁴ Understanding the ability to create images and brands as the League's operations changed hands leads to a fuller comprehension of how and why the All American Girls Professional Baseball League folded after 1954.

⁴⁴ The use of newspaper coverage, the bulk of primary sources throughout the thesis, lends itself to a large number of sources not being directly referenced. Primary sources tended to reveal trends within advertising, and the selection of sources discussed in detail reflect the overall coverage, leaving a large number of sources not directly referenced, even though the arguments can be applied to these unused sources as well.

CHAPTER 1

THE WRIGLEY YEARS, 1943-1944

Skirted tunic uniforms, charm school coupled with spring training, and strict rules of conduct were introduced by Philip K. Wrigley at the inauguration of the All American Girls Soft Ball League (AAGSBL) in 1943 as a response to the controversial representation of amateur softball players throughout the United States.¹ Wrigley wanted to introduce an alternative to men's baseball while the U.S. was involved with World War II, but softball was generally seen as a masculine sport that proper women did not play. To combat this negative association with softball, Wrigley set out to create his own representation of women's softball that was clearly distinct from the generalizations set forth by societal norms. Using societal reimagining, or the introduction of an otherwise controversial image as a temporarily acceptable representation, rebranding softball was undertaken by the AAGSBL to create an acceptable form of a team sport already popular throughout the United States with higher standards for play and players that adhered to middle-class ideals. Philip K. Wrigley, in his effort to provide wartime entertainment through professional women's softball, addressed an historically controversial understanding of athletic women and rebranded a visual representation of an acceptable female athlete through societal reimagining, which was a process that involved feminization in the case of the AAGSBL.

One of the largest challenges Wrigley faced in building a successful professional women's softball league was the problem with a lack of a feminine image most women encountered in sport. Before sport became a popular activity for women in the 1930s, women's

¹ The original name of the All American Girls Professional Baseball League was the All American Girls Soft Ball League, or the AAGSBL, which, for continuity purposes, will be how the league is referred to throughout this chapter, although the name does go through several changes throughout the league's operation, including a change in the off-season between 1943 and 1944.

strength had only been encouraged when the economy called for it, which made displays of perceived masculinity controversial.² Strength perceived as masculinity sparked a controversy about sport masculinizing women, and then “from the [1930s] through the [1950s] the familiar notion of the mannish athlete took on an added meaning, becoming a coded message about lesbianism.”³ As homosexuality became more visible in this time period, new stereotypes were attached with corresponding connotations about the actions of men and women who acted outside of societal norms.⁴ For women, team sports were a masculine venture outside of established norms and traditions, and lingering notions of “inversion” associated with homosexuality dictated that homosexual women were more likely to participate in masculine ventures. As scientific understanding evolved into the twentieth century, sexual inversion shaped the understanding of homosexuality, holding that homosexuals wanted to be the opposite gender and participated in activities against their established gender norms. While a distinction between sexual inverts and homosexuals was established by the 1930s, societal understanding of homosexual women held that these women participated in masculine activities, like sport.⁵

Women’s ability to participate in sport was further stifled by prevailing societal norms that dictated ideal womanhood. Collette Dowling discussed in *The Frailty Myth: Redefining the Physical Potential of Women and Girls* how women were repressed through an established belief system that held women as inherently weak.⁶ Doctors, psychologists, and educators perpetuated

² Collette Dowling, *The Frailty Myth: Redefining the Physical Potential of Women and Girls* (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2001), 6.

³ Susan K. Cahn, “Crushes, Competition, and Closets: The Emergence of Homophobia in Women’s Physical Education” in Susan Birell and Cheryl Cole’s *Women, Sport, and Culture* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1994), 328.

⁴ George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).

⁵ George Chauncey, “From Sexual Inversion to Homosexuality: Medicine and the Changing Conception of Female Deviance,” *Salmagundi* 58-59 (fall 1982-winter 1983): 114-146.

⁶ Dowling, *The Frailty Myth*.

these norms as part of a strategy to further the control of Victorian women.⁷ In Susan Cahn's *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth Century Women's Sports* and Pat Griffin's *Strong Women, Deep Closets: Lesbians and Homophobia in Sport*, the concept of the "femininity principle," or the belief that held women can be athletes if they present themselves as the ideal female, was introduced, challenging Dowling's frailty myth.⁸ Traditions like these were still socialized in the public as Philip K. Wrigley considered his options for continuing baseball.

A woman's ability to participate was also questioned by healthcare professionals in regards to how physical activity affected a woman's body. For example, at the turn of the century, Arabella Knealy argued in "Woman as Athlete" that physical activity was detrimental to a woman's health and her ability to reproduce.⁹ This view was still present as the United States entered World War II. Yet, advocating for moderation, or the belief that women should participate in moderate amounts of activity to remain healthy, was prevalent as well. Dudley A. Sargent addressed the concept of moderation in "Are Athletics Making Girls More Masculine?"¹⁰ This article stated that a woman could participate in moderate exercise at a time when female athletes were connected to masculine stereotypes.

One of the critical issues Philip Wrigley had to face with the introduction of professional women's softball was the negative label already attached to the game throughout the country. Wrigley hoped to distinguish his league from the industrial and recreational leagues that were so popular in the United States. The public was skeptical though. In one of the first major publications mentioning the AAGSBL, *Time Magazine* addressed the concerns with this radical

⁷ Dowling, *The Frailty Myth*, 3.

⁸ Susan K. Cahn, *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Women's Sport* (New York: The Free Press, 1994); Pat Griffin, *Strong Women, Deep Closets: Lesbians and Homophobia in Sport* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1998).

⁹ Arabella Knealy, "Woman as an Athlete," *Nineteenth Century* 45 (April 1899).

¹⁰ Dudley A. Sargent, "Are Athletics Making Girls More Masculine?" *Ladies Home Journal* 29, no. 11 (March 1912): 71-73.

idea from Wrigley.¹¹ The article appeared just weeks after the inaugural game and addressed the negative label that was associated with softball before Wrigley's league, stating that the types of institutions that often sponsored women's softball and the tomboys that performed "like a reasonable facsimile of the male" encouraged the "unladylike" connotation toward softball.¹² The article went on to discuss Wrigley's attitude toward this type of softball and the problems within amateur women's softball that bothered him, while outlining how his approach was different.¹³ Highlighting these unique distinctions, the *Time* article introduced the All American Girls' Soft Ball League to a broader readership than any of the newspapers could do on their own.

Women's baseball, when juxtaposed against industrial softball, became a prime example of societal reimagining. Women's team sports were deemed a masculine venture through their inherent competition, required skill set, and perceived breeding grounds for homosexuality, all characteristics at odds with ideal womanhood. Still, industrial softball leagues fielded teams throughout the country in an extremely popular woman's sport. Working-class women that played for these teams were not capable of meeting the standards of ideal womanhood that were associated with the societal norms of the middle-class and were, therefore, capable of participating in such activities. The ability to participate did not remove the negative stereotype though, and women who were on industrial softball league teams were seen as masculine. William Randolph Hearst, a sponsor of amateur softball and newspaper conglomerate, attempted to combat this image of masculinity when softball was associated with his name, and stopped

¹¹ "Ladies of the Little Diamond," *Time*, 14 June 1943.

¹² "Ladies of the Little Diamond," 75.

¹³ "Ladies of the Little Diamond," 75.

sponsoring teams and tournaments he considered did not meet his standards.¹⁴ The AAGSBL furthered the break from the masculine image of industrial softball through societal reimagining, fueled by advertising campaigns, and introduced professional women's baseball as an acceptable alternative to amateur women's softball, if only for a short time in history.

Aside from the femininity problem, Wrigley also had concerns about his softball league being seen as an attempt to replace or threaten the establishment of men's baseball. Expanding the league to six cities in 1944, Wrigley put professional softball into areas that already had men's baseball.¹⁵ Professional women's softball ventures in Milwaukee and Minneapolis failed, as people did not attend games. Believing that his audience was associating his version of women's softball with masculinity in areas where men's baseball was still played, Wrigley attempted bizarre tactics to fill stands in his ballparks, including bringing the Milwaukee Symphony to the diamond.¹⁶ Attempts to draw people to the parks to watch the women play failed, and, after the 1944 season, Milwaukee and Minneapolis folded from the League.¹⁷ A change in the League's name, dropping "soft" from the AAGSBL, blurred the line that

¹⁴ Jess Krueger to Arthur Meyerhoff, 9 January 1943, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum (South Bend, Indiana).

¹⁵ "All-American Girls to Have Six Teams," *Freeport (IL) Journal-Standard*, 14 April 1944; "Circuit of Six Clubs for Girls," *Lincoln (NB) Star*, 14 April 1944; "Girls Baseball Loop to Operate with 6 Teams," *Alton (IL) Evening Telegraph*, 14 April 1944; "Girls' Pro League to be Six Team Circuit," *Lincoln (NB) Evening Journal*, 14 April 1944; "Girls Pro Baseball Circuit to Operate," *Carroll (IA) Daily Times Herald*, 14 April 1944; "Minneapolis Joins Girls' Pro League," *St. Cloud (MN) Times*, 14 April 1944; "Two New Cities will Have Teams in Girls Pro Softball League," *Dixon (IL) Evening Telegraph*, 14 April 1944.

¹⁶ Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*, 110; "Milwaukee Girls' Win Set to Music," *Rhineland (WI) Daily News*, 20 July 1944.

¹⁷ "Change Loop Name," *Greenville (SC) News*, 21 October 1943; "Girls' Ball Loop Changes Its Title," *Des Moines Register*, 21 October 1943; "Girls' Game No Longer 'Soft,'" *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 21 October 1943; "Girls' League Changes Name," *Rhineland (WI) Daily News*, 21 October 1943; "Girl Players Pick New League Name," *Ironwood (MI) Daily Globe*, 21 October 1943; "Girls' Pro League Drops Softball Tag," *Mount Carmel (PA) Item*, 21 October 1943; "Girls' Pro League Get Name Change," *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, 21 October 1943; "Girls' Softball Loop Changes Its Name," *Coshocton (OH) Tribune*, 21 October 1943; "Girl Softballers Earned as Much as \$85 a Week," *St. Louis Star and Times*, 21 October 1943; "League Has New Name," *Evening Independent (Massillon, OH)*, 21 October 1943; "Name Change," *Mason City (IA) Globe-Gazette*, 25 October 1943; "Name Changed of Girls' Ball League," *Belvidere (IL) Daily Republican*, 21 October 1943; "Name of Girls' League Changed," *Shamokin (PA) News-Dispatch*, 21 October 1943.

distinguished the women's league from men's baseball and may have hindered the teams' success in larger cities.

Philip Wrigley approached the conundrum of selling professional women's softball through tactics that had made him a good businessman for the William Wrigley Jr., Company and the Chicago Cubs. Clearly, establishing the feminine aspect of his league was key. Money and public relations were central to the societal reimagining that had to take place for the AAGSBL to be successful. With Wrigley's money and an understanding of the needed feminine visual representation, the AAGSBL enlisted Arthur E. Meyerhoff, an advertising executive, to oversee the societal reimagining of the woman softball player. Like his employer, Arthur Meyerhoff had an understanding and faith in the importance of advertising and recognized how essential national exposure was, which led to the extensive coverage of the operation in the newspapers, nationally popular periodicals, and local publications promoting recreational activities.¹⁸

Jess Krueger, who wrote to Arthur Meyerhoff in early January 1943, highlighted the importance of sponsors, noting the need for promotional strength, which Wrigley had, and the ability to run the game, as William Randolph Hearst did with amateur softball.¹⁹ Hearst, head of a newspaper conglomerate of the time, had rocked the softball world when he addressed the image of amateur softball and his money stopped sponsoring teams and tournaments he considered below his standards.²⁰ Philip Wrigley tackled similar issues as he developed his League, as can be seen through the societal reimagining that is continuously perpetuated throughout the venture. He went further in the first news release connecting the Wrigley name

¹⁸ Fiddler, *Origins and History*, 51.

¹⁹ Jess Krueger to Arthur Meyerhoff, 9 January 1943, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum (South Bend, Indiana).

²⁰ Krueger to Meyerhoff, 9 January 1943, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum (South Bend, Indiana).

with the professional softball league by stating that the League was furnished for the American public without hindering the war effort and that his softball league was never going to replace baseball.²¹ The monies set aside for promotion and publicity came into play as the League opened its inaugural season and made changes to the league, such as the press release that announced to sports editors that play was to now be referred to as girls' baseball, and not softball.²²

Every part of the image of Wrigley's league was tailored to distinguish it from softball nationwide, including letters to patrons that used advertising jargon to sell the women's game. Wanting as many people as possible to sample the product, tickets were provided to patrons of the league so the feminine players could prove their worth.²³ Without being able to draw crowds, the league would fail, and, therefore, advertising in every medium was necessary. These beliefs were made more concrete when looking at what the franchise fee included for teams, which covered a league city's advertising for a complete season and coverage of the league throughout the country.²⁴ Intensive publicity campaigns paralleled with prevailing social attitudes, highlighting the femininity and skill of the players.²⁵ The reiteration of these visual representations were required to maintain the societal reimagining that was needed for the League to remain successful. In fact, these campaigns were so prominent that during Wrigley's tenure with the league, the longest period without mention in national newspapers seems to be fifty days, just over six weeks.²⁶ Information about the players attending charm school at spring

²¹ Press Release, 17 February 1943, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum (South Bend, Indiana).

²² News Release, 15 July 1943, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum (South Bend, Indiana).

²³ John Billings to Patron, 1943, Personal Collection of Debbie Pierson.

²⁴ Fiddler, *Origins and History*, 44.

²⁵ Fiddler, *Origins and History*, 67.

²⁶ As can be ascertained, the league was not covered in any publication between 26 September 1944 and 16 November 1944, which was just after the closing of the 1944 season and before it was released that Wrigley was

training, the development of a dress-like uniform, and rules of conduct that emphasized modest behavior graced the words of newspaper articles often. All publications regarding the League highlighted the importance of skill, femininity, and the legitimizing factor of the big-league greats that had joined the AAGSBL's ranks.

The official news of the League was not released with Wrigley's name attached to it. By February of 1943 the league was associated with Wrigley. A tentative news release appeared December 31, 1942, after several meetings and correspondence regarding the project had occurred earlier that month.²⁷ In a letter between Arthur Meyerhoff and Philip Wrigley, Meyerhoff made clear that the project was to remain a secret while information was quickly gathered, as to not show the Cubs' owner's hand before it was time.²⁸ In this correspondence from early-December, Meyerhoff updated Wrigley on the progress of the operation, while providing a general overview of softball and money in the project.²⁹ Prior to the December 31 news release, a meeting of project coordinators took place to emphasize the pillars the League was to stand on.³⁰ Wrigley was careful to stress the importance of keeping the venture a non-profit organization that did not interfere with big-league baseball.³¹ The meeting on the softball project came just four days after the major league owners had been addressed about the

pulling out of the trustee administration on 15 December 1944. "Gals Get Offers," *Winnipeg (Manitoba) Tribune*, 26 September 1944; "Iowa Entry Seen in Girls' League," *Council Bluffs (IA) Nonpareil*, 16 November 1944.

²⁷ Arthur Meyerhoff to Philip Wrigley, 5 December 1942, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum (South Bend, Indiana); "A New Manpower Crisis, Ladies," 19 May 1944, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum (South Bend, Indiana); News Release, 31 December 1942, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum (South Bend, Indiana).

²⁸ Meyerhoff to Wrigley, 5 December 1942, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum (South Bend, Indiana).

²⁹ Meyerhoff to Wrigley, 5 December 1942, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum (South Bend, Indiana).

³⁰ Softball Project Meeting Notes, 22 December 1942, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum (South Bend, Indiana).

³¹ Softball Project Meeting Notes, 22 December 1942, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum (South Bend, Indiana).

manpower shortage baseball was facing and the willingness of the American public to do whatever was necessary to help the war effort.³²

As the news of a professional women's softball league attached to the Wrigley name spread throughout the country, some by-lines provided skeptical outlooks, although they all reported the same information. While the *Decatur Herald* in Illinois proclaimed "Wrigley Backs Girls Softball," the same information was printed in Wilmington, Delaware's *The Morning News* under the by-line "18 Leagues Fold Since '42 Season" twelve days after the original press release, which gave different impressions about Wrigley's development of a game during war time.³³ To appeal to the fans Wrigley hoped to draw to the ballparks, the All American Girls Soft Ball League changed the rules of the game, providing a hybrid of softball and baseball.³⁴ Wrigley's softball league provided the same good entertainment that the game did throughout the country, but Philip Wrigley and his fellow organizers wanted to make it better, adjusting the rules, regulations, and visual representation associated with softball to create a new game in many ways.³⁵ Distinguishing professional softball from the negative, masculine image of softball

³² Ken Beirn to Philip Wrigley, 18 December 1942, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum (South Bend, Indiana).

³³ "Wrigley Backs Girls Softball," *Decatur (IL) Herald*, 19 February 1943; "18 Leagues Fold Since '42 Season," *Morning News* (Wilmington, DE), 3 March 1943.

³⁴ Brief League History, Personal Collection of Debbie Pierson; "Changes in Girls' Softball Announced," *Hutchinson (KS) News*, 24 April 1943; *Dixon (IL) Evening Telegraph*, 23 April 1943; *Dothan (AL) Eagle*, 23 April 1943; "Fan Appeal is Object of Rule Changes for Girls' Softball," *Vernon (TX) Daily Record*, 23 April 1943; "Fan Appeal Object of Softball Rules," *Pampa (TX) Daily News*, 23 April 1943; "Girls' League Rules Changed," *Poughkeepsie (NY) Journal*, 24 April 1943; "Girls Softball Rules are Changed," *Ironwood (MI) Daily Globe*, 23 April 1943; "Girls Softball Rules Changed," *Post-Register* (Idaho Falls, ID), 23 April 1943; "Girls Softball Rules Changed," *Reno (NV) Gazette-Journal*, 23 April 1943; "Girls Softballers Revise Rules," *Courier-News* (Bridgewater, NJ), 23 April 1943; *Iola (KS) Register*, 23 April 1943; "New Girls' Rules," *Daily Telegram* (Adrian, MI), 23 April 1943; "New Softball Code for Girls will Have Plenty of Fan Appeal," *Times Herald* (Port Huron, MI), 23 April 1943; *Ludington (MI) Daily News*, 23 April 1943; *Odessa (TX) American*, 23 April 1943; *Panama City (FL) News-Herald*, 23 April 1943; "Rules Change in Girls Softball," *Town Talk* (Alexandria, LA), 23 April 1943; "Softball Change," *Lansing (MI) State Journal*, 10 May 1943; "Softball Now Seeking Additional Fan Appeal," *Philadelphia Enquirer*, 24 April 1943; "Softball Rule Changes Seek New Fan Appeal," *News Journal* (Wilmington, DE), 24 April 1943; "Softball Rules Appeal to Fans," *Akron (OH) Beacon Journal*, 23 April 1943; "Softball Rules for Girls will be Liberalized," *Carroll (IA) Daily Times Herald*, 23 April 1943; "Softball Teams to Use Nine Players," *Ogden (UT) Standard-Examiner*, 23 April 1943.

³⁵ Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*, 106.

popular throughout the United States, Wrigley looked for skilled players who looked feminine on and off the field and contracted a charm school instructor for spring training to teach players the intricacies of being a lady and representing the League gracefully.³⁶

While there are no definitive numbers regarding monies set aside specifically for publicity and promotion in the 1943 season, the South Bend Blue Sox spent \$521.15 on their inaugural season. If each of the teams spent similar money on their own promotion along with the monies set aside by the League that was guaranteed when they purchased their franchises, then we can presume that several thousand dollars fueled the launch of the All American Girls Soft Ball League.³⁷ Monies such as these were quintessential for the successful introduction of the League and the many changes it went through in its inaugural year, as it formed its own identity away from women's softball and men's baseball through societal reimagining.

The 1944 budget for publicity and promotion began to provide concrete numbers for maintaining the positive label of the feminine baseball player that Philip Wrigley created. The League itself dedicated \$5,067 to publicity and promotion that year, the largest budget the League recorded other than the 1948 season that pulled over a million fans. Still, this budget came with a price for the individual teams as well.³⁸ Now a six-team league, the promotion budget was split among them and the AAGSBL as a whole, leaving some outlying publicity to be covered by the individual teams. According to records of the South Bend Blue Sox, although the League provided over five thousand dollars in promotional monies, the team itself took on

³⁶ Emily Yellin, *Our Mothers' War: American Women at Home and at the Front During World War II* (New York: Free Press, 2005), 300.

³⁷ Fiddler, *Origins and History*, 137; South Bend Blue Sox Expense-Estimate Report, 1943-1944, MSSP0014-1-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Department of Special Collections, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

³⁸ Fiddler, *Origins and History*, 137; 1944 League Expense-Estimate Report, MSSP0014-1-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Department of Special Collections, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

almost two thousand more.³⁹ With this in mind, it seems that the individual teams provided large numbers of funds to promoting their ventures, despite the promises of coverage by paying franchise fees. The numbers could be misleading. It is not clear all this money came straight from team budgets. The 1944 Statement of Operations seems to indicate that it did though.⁴⁰ With the League estimating only \$833 per team for the similarly estimated promotion budget for the 1945 season, the 1944 South Bend Blue Sox indication of \$1,962.37 on their team's promotion and publicity seems out of place.⁴¹

Wrigley, a prominent man in the business world, and Meyerhoff, a well-known man in the advertising industry, had connections in the newspaper enterprise. Their newsworthy venture into professional women's softball piqued the interest of newspaper moguls, and a continued relationship among the media and the league's executives was essential to keeping the word about the league alive. While the visual campaigns that fostered the societal reimagining for the All American Girls Soft Ball League was mostly managed by the Newspaper Enterprise Association (NEA), other major news agencies were kept in the loop to distribute information throughout the United States. A healthy relationship with the Associated Press (AP), the United Press (UP), the International News Service (INS), and the NEA not only kept the league in the newspapers, but provided optimal distribution of information throughout the country. One way coverage was disseminated was through syndicated columns. While all newspapers were not capable of running substantial staffs, newsmen filled empty space with information from the AP,

³⁹ South Bend Blue Sox 1944 Statement of Operations, MSSP0014-1-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Department of Special Collections, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁴⁰ South Bend Blue Sox 1944 Statement of Operations, MSSP0014-1-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Department of Special Collections, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁴¹ 1944 League Expense-Estimate Report, MSSP0014-1-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Department of Special Collections, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame; South Bend Blue Sox 1944 Statement of Operations, MSSP0014-1-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Department of Special Collections, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

UP, INS, and NEA, which allowed for the AAGSBL to be viewed by a larger national audience instead of just a local one. Like the “Dear Abby” columns that still appear in papers today, syndicated sports columnists were present in the major news agencies.⁴²

With mention of the league appearing coast-to-coast and border-to-border, Philip K. Wrigley’s professional softball league made it to the newspapers of small towns and big cities. Information, big-league name recognition, and syndicate journalists spread the news of the league to the public. Promising that the league was the epitome of female athleticism, Wrigley began visual campaigns in early May 1943 to perpetuate the societal reimagining of female ballplayers for the purposes of his venture.⁴³ Understanding the importance of labeling from his

⁴² Harry Grayson, “Grayson’s Scoreboard,” *Statesville (NC) Daily Record*, 13 January 1944; Harry Grayson, “Grayson’s Scoreboard,” *Odessa (TX) American*, 30 January 1944; Harry Grayson, “Grayson’s Scoreboard,” *Statesville (NC) Daily Record*, 3 April 1944; Harry Grayson, “Grayson’s Scoreboard,” *Del Rio (TX) News Herald*, 19 May 1944; Harry Grayson, “Grayson’s Scoreboard,” *Courier-News* (Bridgewater, NJ), 9 June 1944; Harry Grayson, “Grayson’s Scoreboard,” *Statesville (NC) Daily Record*, 26 June 1944; Harry Grayson, “Grayson’s Scoreboard,” *News-Herald* (Franklin, PA), 21 August 1944; Harry Grayson, “Grayson’s Scoreboard,” *Odessa (TX) American*, 25 August 1944; Hugh Fullerton, Jr., “Sports Roundup,” *Abilene (TX) Reporter-News*, 11 May 1944; Hugh Fullerton, Jr., “Sports Roundup,” *Big Spring (TX) Daily Herald*, 11 May 1944; Hugh Fullerton, Jr., “Sports Roundup,” *Dixon (IL) Evening Telegraph*, 11 May 1944; Hugh Fullerton, Jr., “Sports Roundup,” *Evening Independent* (Massillon, OH), 11 May 1944; Hugh Fullerton, Jr., “Sports Roundup,” *Ironwood (MI) Daily Globe*, 11 May 1944; Hugh Fullerton, Jr., “Sports Roundup,” *Miami (OK) Daily News-Record*, 11 May 1944; Hugh Fullerton, Jr., “Sports Roundup,” *Muscatine (IA) Journal and News-Tribune*, 11 May 1944; Hugh Fullerton, Jr., “Gal Athletes Now Get Charms Class,” *Ogden (UT) Standard-Examiner*, 11 May 1944; Hugh Fullerton, Jr., “Sports Roundup,” *Pampa (TX) Daily News*, 11 May 1944; Hugh Fullerton, Jr., “Sports Roundup,” *Post-Register* (Idaho Falls, ID), 10 May 1944; Hugh Fullerton, Jr., “Sports Roundup,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 11 May 1944; Hugh Fullerton, Jr., “Sports Roundup,” *Times Herald* (Port Huron, MI), 31 May 1944; Hugh Fullerton, Jr., “Sports Roundup,” *Town Talk* (Alexandria, LA), 11 May 1944.

⁴³ “Detroit Managers Don’t Like This Uniform,” *Detroit Free Press*, 4 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Abilene (TX) Reporter-News*, 9 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Anniston (AL) Star*, 17 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Bakersfield Californian*, 26 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Bismarck (ND) Tribune*, 10 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Clovis (NM) News-Journal*, 19 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Daily Chronicle* (Centralia, WA), 13 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Danville (PA) Morning News*, 11 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Decatur (IL) Daily Review*, 12 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Edwardsville (IL) Intelligencer*, 11 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Escanaba (MI) Daily Press*, 15 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Evening News* (Harrisburg, PA), 11 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Fitchburg (MA) Sentinel*, 7 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Gallup (NM) Independent*, 10 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Havre (MT) Daily News*, 17 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Lansing (MI) State Journal*, 6 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Lead (SD) Daily Call*, 12 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *News Journal* (Wilmington, DE), 8 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Odessa (TX) American*, 13 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Panama City (FL) News-Herald*, 20 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Post-Register* (Idaho Falls, ID), 12 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Reno (NV) Gazette-Journal*, 13 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Sunday Herald* (Provo, UT), 9 May 1943; “La Femme Softballer Slugs One,” *Des Moines Register*, 26 May 1943; “Latest in Softball Dress,” *Decatur (IL) Daily Review*, 12 May 1943.

experience in advertising from the chewing gum industry, these campaigns provided visual distinctions from the rough softballers Wrigley wanted nothing to do with. His league and its players were to be the epitome of feminine ideals, and his visual campaigns portrayed this. In the thirty days leading up to the first game, positive imagery appeared in the newspapers on at least fifteen and these visual representations spanned the country, often making it to several newspapers each day.⁴⁴ One such visual campaign, “Girls Major in Softball,” depicted two women in their AAGSBL uniforms, one catching as the other batted on Wrigley field, as their painted faces smiled and their dresses met the standards of modesty for the day.⁴⁵ The photograph appeared at least twenty-two times in four weeks with a caption that provided general information about the League and the sizeable amount of money Wrigley had given the venture.⁴⁶ The coverage nationwide, the visual representation, and the Wrigley name emphasized

⁴⁴ “Detroit Managers Don’t Like This Uniform,” *Detroit Free Press*, 4 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Abilene (TX) Reporter-News*, 9 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Anniston (AL) Star*, 17 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Bakersfield Californian*, 26 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Bismarck (ND) Tribune*, 10 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Clovis (NM) News-Journal*, 19 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Daily Chronicle (Centralia, WA)*, 13 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Danville (PA) Morning News*, 11 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Decatur (IL) Daily Review*, 12 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Edwardsville (IL) Intelligencer*, 11 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Escanaba (MI) Daily Press*, 15 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Evening News (Harrisburg, PA)*, 11 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Fitchburg (MA) Sentinel*, 7 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Gallup (NM) Independent*, 10 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Havre (MT) Daily News*, 17 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Lansing (MI) State Journal*, 6 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Lead (SD) Daily Call*, 12 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *News Journal (Wilmington, DE)*, 8 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Odessa (TX) American*, 13 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Panama City (FL) News-Herald*, 20 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Post-Register (Idaho Falls, ID)*, 12 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Reno (NV) Gazette-Journal*, 13 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Sunday Herald (Provo, UT)*, 9 May 1943; “La Femme Softballer Slugs One,” *Des Moines Register*, 26 May 1943; “Latest in Softball Dress,” *Decatur (IL) Daily Review*, 12 May 1943.

⁴⁵ See Appendix B.

⁴⁶ “Girls Major in Softball,” *Abilene (TX) Reporter-News*, 9 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Anniston (AL) Star*, 17 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Bakersfield Californian*, 26 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Bismarck (ND) Tribune*, 10 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Clovis (NM) News-Journal*, 19 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Daily Chronicle (Centralia, WA)*, 13 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Danville (PA) Morning News*, 11 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Decatur (IL) Daily Review*, 12 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Edwardsville (IL) Intelligencer*, 11 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Escanaba (MI) Daily Press*, 15 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Evening News (Harrisburg, PA)*, 11 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Fitchburg (MA) Sentinel*, 7 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Gallup (NM) Independent*, 10 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Havre (MT) Daily News*, 17 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Lansing (MI) State Journal*, 6 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Lead (SD) Daily Call*, 12 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *News Journal (Wilmington, DE)*, 8 May 1943; “Girls Major in Softball,” *Odessa (TX) American*, 13 May 1943; “Girls Major in

the legitimacy and acceptability of the enterprise, which were all key to the societal reimagining that was required for the success of the League.

The most important aspect of Wrigley's promotion of professional women's softball lay with the visual campaigns that appeared throughout his tenure with the league, and continued during all of the league's administrations, which were essential to bringing about societal reimagining. These visual representations created Wrigley's "brand" of softball (and, later, baseball), while combatting the negative labeling of softball nationwide with positive labeling of his feminine game. These campaigns emphasized the difference between Wrigley's version of the game and conventional images of softball throughout the country.⁴⁷ Under the guidance of Arthur Meyerhoff and his advertising expertise, these campaigns accentuated positive labeling while providing feminine imagery, supporting the war effort, and initiating persuasive messages. Many of the visual campaigns were distributed through images from the NEA, which provided photographs and captions to deliver persuasive ideas about the league and its players.

Understanding the importance of repetition in these campaigns, Meyerhoff tailored the words of these releases carefully, and most newspapers that picked up the campaigns edited them very slightly. These campaigns were most prominent in the month leading up to opening day of the season, and, in 1944, a resurgence was seen in newspapers at the end of the season, providing positive visual representation as the league began work toward the playoffs.

Images under titles such as "Girls Major in Softball" or "Dugout Damsels" appeared not only on the sports page, but in general news and women's news pages as well.⁴⁸ These pictures,

Softball," *Panama City (FL) News-Herald*, 20 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Post-Register* (Idaho Falls, ID), 12 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Reno (NV) Gazette-Journal*, 13 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Sunday Herald* (Provo, UT), 9 May 1943.

⁴⁷ See Appendix B and Appendix C for a visual comparison of the two images.

⁴⁸ "Girls Major in Softball," *Abilene (TX) Reporter-News*, 9 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Anniston (AL) Star*, 17 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Bakersfield Californian*, 26 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Bismarck (ND) Tribune*, 10 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Clovis (NM) News-Journal*, 19 May 1943; "Girls

unlike articles, were more likely to grab the eye, and therefore held greater influence over the public perception. While these campaigns revealed information about the women's abilities, they also highlighted their femininity, showing them in their long, tunic-like, dress uniforms and make-up while still capable of playing professional ball. "Dugout Damsels," for example, showed five women in the dugout at Wrigley Field, again in the AAGSBL uniforms, with pristine makeup and pinned back long hair under their hats, as they cheered on their teammates from the bench.⁴⁹

Such visual representations continued to be prominent in the 1944 season as well, highlighting that men's baseball may have been losing manpower, but the All American Girls Soft Ball League had "No Galpower Shortage," or that "Lefty's Right" in the beauty to attract crowds and the skill to throw perfect games.⁵⁰ The continued perpetuation of these photographs

Major in Softball," *Daily Chronicle* (Centralia, WA), 13 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Danville* (PA) *Morning News*, 11 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Decatur* (IL) *Daily Review*, 12 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Edwardsville* (IL) *Intelligencer*, 11 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Escanaba* (MI) *Daily Press*, 15 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Evening News* (Harrisburg, PA), 11 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Fitchburg* (MA) *Sentinel*, 7 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Gallup* (NM) *Independent*, 10 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Havre* (MT) *Daily News*, 17 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Lansing* (MI) *State Journal*, 6 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Lead* (SD) *Daily Call*, 12 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *News Journal* (Wilmington, DE), 8 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Odessa* (TX) *American*, 13 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Panama City* (FL) *News-Herald*, 20 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Post-Register* (Idaho Falls, ID), 12 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Reno* (NV) *Gazette-Journal*, 13 May 1943; "Girls Major in Softball," *Sunday Herald* (Provo, UT), 9 May 1943; "Bench-Warming Dugout Damsels," *Kingsport* (TN) *Times*, 7 June 1943; "Damsels of the Dugout," *News Journal* (Wilmington, DE), 5 June 1943; "Dugout Damsels," *Beatrice* (NB) *Daily Sun*, 22 June 1943; "Dugout Damsels," *Bismarck* (ND) *Tribune*, 17 June 1943; "Dugout Damsels," *Coshocton* (OH) *Tribune*, 11 June 1943; "Dugout Damsels," *Daily Herald* (Provo, UT), 9 June 1943; "Dugout Damsels," *Fitchburg* (MA) *Sentinel*, 8 June 1943; "Dugout Damsels," *Longview* (TX) *News-Journal*, 10 June 1943; "Dugout Damsels," *Mount Carmel* (PA) *Item*, 7 June 1943; "Dugout Damsels Await Turn at Bat," *News-Palladium* (Benton Harbor, MI), 12 July 1943; "Dugout Damsels Display Ability," *Ogden* (UT) *Standard-Examiner*, 8 June 1943; "These Dugout Damsels Root for Team," *Muscatine* (IA) *Journal and News-Tribune*, 7 June 1943.

⁴⁹ "Bench-Warming Dugout Damsels," *Kingsport* (TN) *Times*, 7 June 1943; "Damsels of the Dugout," *News Journal* (Wilmington, DE), 5 June 1943; "Dugout Damsels," *Beatrice* (NB) *Daily Sun*, 22 June 1943; "Dugout Damsels," *Bismarck* (ND) *Tribune*, 17 June 1943; "Dugout Damsels," *Coshocton* (OH) *Tribune*, 11 June 1943; "Dugout Damsels," *Daily Herald* (Provo, UT), 9 June 1943; "Dugout Damsels," *Fitchburg* (MA) *Sentinel*, 8 June 1943; "Dugout Damsels," *Longview* (TX) *News-Journal*, 10 June 1943; "Dugout Damsels," *Mount Carmel* (PA) *Item*, 7 June 1943; "Dugout Damsels Await Turn at Bat," *News-Palladium* (Benton Harbor, MI), 12 July 1943; "Dugout Damsels Display Ability," *Ogden* (UT) *Standard-Examiner*, 8 June 1943; "These Dugout Damsels Root for Team," *Muscatine* (IA) *Journal and News-Tribune*, 7 June 1943.

⁵⁰ "No Galpower Shortage," *Albany* (OR) *Democrat-Herald*, 2 June 1944; "No Galpower Shortage," *Battle Creek* (MI) *Enquirer*, 21 May 1944; "No Galpower Shortage," *Coshocton* (OH) *Tribune*, 21 May 1944; "No Galpower

chipped away at the negative label attached to other softball leagues and players, and the societal reimagining of the woman professional baseball player took hold. A barrage of feminine images attached to Wrigley's league created a positive label for these players and their game. Without this visual representation, the positive label faltered and the acceptability of the All American Girls Soft Ball League no longer existed.

A political cartoon that appeared in May 1944 garnered negative attention for Wrigley's softball league.⁵¹ With numerous discussions addressing a manpower crisis, especially where baseball was concerned after the 1942 season, this cartoon introduced "A New Manpower Crisis," deeming women a threat.⁵² This political cartoon depicted four women on a softball diamond with a grandstand in the background. The pitcher was on the mound consulting her catcher as she pointed out a Chicago scout in the stands.⁵³ This depiction went against Wrigley's vision that his softball league was to never compete with baseball, and provided a negative image that had to be combatted.⁵⁴ The cartoon was printed on May 19 just one day before the visual campaign proclaiming "No Galpower Shortage" hit newspapers nationwide, which showed a crowd of women dressed in skirts and blouses in line to sign their contracts with the AAGSBL to

Shortage," *Daily Times* (New Philadelphia, OH), 3 June 1944; "No Galpower Shortage," *Edwardsville (IL) Intelligencer*, 23 May 1944; "No Galpower Shortage," *Escanaba (MI) Daily Press*, 20 May 1944; "No Galpower Shortage," *Lubbock (TX) Avalanche-Journal*, 21 May 1944; "No Galpower Shortage," *Ogden (UT) Standard-Examiner*, 24 May 1944; "No Galpower Shortage," *Reno (NV) Gazette-Journal*, 9 June 1944; "No Galpower Shortage," *Statesville (NC) Daily Record*, 23 May 1944; *Havre (MT) Daily News*, 17 August 1944; "Fine Pitching," *Winnipeg (Manitoba) Tribune*, 8 August 1944; "Lefty's Right," *Alton (IL) Evening Telegraph*, 24 August 1944; "Lefty's Right," *Brownsville (TX) Herald*, 15 August 1944; "Lefty's Right," *Daily Times* (New Philadelphia, OH), 8 August 1944; "Lefty's Right," *Franklin (IN) Evening Star*, 9 August 1944; "Lefty's Right," *Iola (KS) Register*, 11 August 1944; "Lefty's Right," *Ironwood (MI) Daily Globe*, 11 August 1944; "Lefty's Right," *News-Herald* (Franklin, PA), 5 August 1944; "Lefty's Right," *News-Press* (Fort Myers, FL), 21 August 1944; "Lefty's Right," *Odessa (TX) American*, 15 August 1944; "Lefty's Right," *Pantagraph* (Bloomington, IN), 10 August 1944; "Lefty's Right," *Piqua (TX) Daily Call*, 11 August 1944; "Lefty's Right," *Rhineland (WI) Daily News*, 11 August 1944.

⁵¹ See Appendix E.

⁵² "A New Manpower Crisis, Ladies," 19 May 1944, 2003.31, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum at South Bend, Indiana.

⁵³ "A New Manpower Crisis, Ladies," 19 May 1944, 2003.31, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum at South Bend, Indiana.

⁵⁴ See Appendix D and Appendix E for a comparison of the images.

play their part in the war effort.⁵⁵ The cartoon and photograph were in direct contrast with one another, and show the battle Wrigley faced when addressing societal reimagining to make his softball league an acceptable alternative for sport. Instead of wanting his ballplayers to seem like a threat, as depicted in the cartoon, he wanted his players to be an acceptable alternative, as he showed in “No Galpower Shortage.”⁵⁶

Due to the connections Arthur Meyerhoff had with other advertisers of the time, the league appeared in local periodicals promoting activities in the area. For example, *The Hotel Greeter’s Guide of Wisconsin* featured the Milwaukee team in 1944.⁵⁷ A new team for the 1944 season, Milwaukee needed promoted in the larger area that it was in. By appearing in the *Hotel Greeter’s Guide*, people visiting the city could learn of this new form of entertainment.

Promoting a “feminine version of [baseball] which is even more interesting to watch,” the article briefly provided an overview of the league and the women’s team that was now playing at Brewer’s Park.⁵⁸ Appearing in local advertising publications such as this, the visual representation of the League was reinforced and interest in play continued to be generated.

⁵⁵ “A New Manpower Crisis, Ladies,” 19 May 1944, 2003.31, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum at South Bend, Indiana; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Albany (OR) Democrat-Herald*, 2 June 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Battle Creek (MI) Enquirer*, 21 May 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Coshocton (OH) Tribune*, 21 May 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Daily Times* (New Philadelphia, OH), 3 June 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Edwardsville (IL) Intelligencer*, 23 May 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Escanaba (MI) Daily Press*, 20 May 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Lubbock (TX) Avalanche-Journal*, 21 May 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Ogden (UT) Standard-Examiner*, 24 May 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Reno (NV) Gazette-Journal*, 9 June 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Statesville (NC) Daily Record*, 23 May 1944.

⁵⁶ “No Galpower Shortage,” *Albany (OR) Democrat-Herald*, 2 June 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Battle Creek (MI) Enquirer*, 21 May 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Coshocton (OH) Tribune*, 21 May 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Daily Times* (New Philadelphia, OH), 3 June 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Edwardsville (IL) Intelligencer*, 23 May 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Escanaba (MI) Daily Press*, 20 May 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Lubbock (TX) Avalanche-Journal*, 21 May 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Ogden (UT) Standard-Examiner*, 24 May 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Reno (NV) Gazette-Journal*, 9 June 1944; “No Galpower Shortage,” *Statesville (NC) Daily Record*, 23 May 1944.

⁵⁷ “All American Girls...Professional Ball at Brewer’s Park,” *The Hotel Greeter’s Guide of Wisconsin*, 1944, 19.

⁵⁸ “All American Girls,” 19.

Publications like *The Hotel Greeter's Guide* reached a commuter audience that local newspapers missed, giving more opportunities for a larger population to be persuaded to attend a game.⁵⁹

The Wrigley name had its own pull, but hiring former major and minor league ballplayers provided the All American Girls Soft Ball League with a legitimacy that amateur and semi-pro softball did not have. Unlikely to go see a women's softball game or players one had never heard of, Wrigley began a tradition of hiring managers that might draw crowds to the grandstands. These big leaguers also attracted the interest of newspapers. In the 1943 season, Wrigley hired three men from baseball and a former professional hockey player to manage the four inaugural teams. Ed Stumpf and Bert Niehoff had been managers in the minor leagues and made names for themselves in the area that play was to be held. Hank DeBerry had played catcher for the Brooklyn Dodgers, and Johnny Gottselig was a former Chicago Blackhawk.⁶⁰ All these men drew in broader audiences, and Gottselig came home with the first pennant in the league. The signing of recognizable names to league positions did not stop after the inaugural season though. Ken Sells, coming from the Chicago Cubs front office, served as the league's first president.⁶¹ Former football players, coaches, and umpires signed up to call women's games.⁶² To supplement the two new teams in 1944, Wrigley signed two more big names to management

⁵⁹ "All American Girls."

⁶⁰ "DeBerry Manages Girl Softballers," *News-Journal* (Mansfield, OH), 20 April 1943; "DeBerry Signs to Handle Girl's Club," *Daily Times* (New Philadelphia, OH), 20 April 1943; "DeBerry Signs to Manage Girls," *Akron (OH) Beacon Journal*, 20 April 1943; "DeBerry to Manage Girls Softball Team," *Brooklyn (NY) Daily Eagle*, 20 April 1943; "Ed Stumpf Signed by All-American Girls' Softball Loop," *Nebraska State Journal*, 4 April 1943; "Former Big-League Catcher Manages Girls Ball Club," *Clarion-Ledger* (Jackson, MS), 21 April 1943; "Girls' Team Manager," *Lansing (MI) State Journal*, 20 April 1943; "Gottselig to Manage Girls' Softball Team," *St. Louis Star and Times*, 15 April 1943; *Greeley (CO) Daily Tribune*, 16 April 1943; "Hank DeBerry Signs as Softballer Chief," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 April 1943; "Hockey Star Gottselig Goes For Gal Softball," *Sedalia (MO) Democrat*, 16 April 1943; "Hockey Star Gottselig Goes For Gal Softball," *Town Talk* (Alexandria, LA), 16 April 1943; Hugh Fullerton, Jr., "Sports Roundup," *Hope (AK) Star*, 16 April 1943; *News-Palladium* (Benton Harbor, MI), 16 April 1943; "Niehoff Coach of Girls' Team," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 21 April 1943; *Record-Argus* (Greenville, PA), 16 April 1943; *Times Herald* (Port Huron, MI), 23 April 1943.

⁶¹ "Elect Officers for New Girls' Pro-Softball," *Lincoln (NB) Star*, 28 February 1943; "Elect Officers for New Girls' Pro-Softball," *Nebraska State Journal*, 28 February 1943.

⁶² Howard V. Millard, "Bait for Bugs," *Decatur (IL) Daily Review*, 25 May 1944; *Lincoln (NB) Star*, 16 May 1943.

positions: Max Carey, who would go on to become president of the league, and Marty McManus. Known throughout the country for their feats on the field, Carey and McManus appealed to fans who were not sold on women's softball. These two rounded out the six managers who would pilot the second season of the league, bringing with them fans, legitimacy, and recognition.⁶³

Wrigley introduced the idea of women's professional softball as a way to supplement the lost manpower, much like the manufacturing industry did with women in war production jobs. Touted by Herb Graffis as "one of the slam-bangiest games ever played," the popularity of softball provided the same entertainment as men's baseball, while filling the emptying ballparks minor league teams were leaving.⁶⁴ Wrigley's decision to organize a league supported the war effort and freed more men for military service. His ability to create this organization with an acceptable version of women playing sport was what led to the League's longevity in the professional league.

Herb Graffis addressed the league at the end of the 1943 and the 1944 seasons, which provided general overviews of where professional women's softball stood in the minds of the American population.⁶⁵ With only the revelation of a name change and a single syndicate article

⁶³ "Carey New Manager in Girls' Softball," *Council Bluffs (IA) Nonpareil*, 14 May 1944; "Carey Pilots Girls' Softball Club," *Brownsville (TX) Herald*, 14 May 1944; "Carey Pilots Girls' Softball Club," *Sandusky (OH) Register*, 12 May 1944; "Carey Pilots Girls' Softball Combine," *Daily Times* (New Philadelphia, OH), 10 May 1944; "Carey to Manage Girls," *Times Herald* (Port Huron, MI), 5 May 1944; "Carey to Manage Girls' Ball Club," *Ironwood (MI) Daily Globe*, 5 May 1944; "Carey to Manage Girls' Ball Team," *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, 5 May 1944; "Carey to Manage Girls Pro Team," *Alton (IL) Evening Telegraph*, 5 May 1944; "Girls' Pro Ball Loop Managers Selected," *St. Cloud (MN) Times*, 5 May 1944; "Max Carey to Manage Girls' Softball Team," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 5 May 1944; "Max Carey to Manage Team in Girls' Loop," *Decatur (IL) Daily Review*, 5 May 1944; "Max Carey to Pilot Girls' Softball Team," *Courier-News* (Bridgewater, NJ), 5 May 1944; "Max Carey will Manage Girls' Softball Team," *St. Louis Star and Times*, 5 May 1944; "To Manage Girls' Team," *Post-Register* (Idaho Falls, ID), 5 May 1944; "To Manage Girls' Team," *Town Talk* (Alexandria, LA), 5 May 1944; "To Pilot Girls," *Mason City (IA) Globe-Gazette*, 6 May 1944; "Marty McManus to Pilot Girls Baseball Club," *Brooklyn (NY) Daily Eagle*, 23 April 1944; "McManus Bosses Girls," *Asbury Park (NJ) Press*, 23 April 1944; "McManus to Pilot Girls Pro Softballers," *Tennessean*, 23 April 1944; "McManus Pilots Girls Team," *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, NY), 23 April 1944.

⁶⁴ Herb Graffis, "Queens of Swat: Women's Softball is an Exciting Game and One of the Fastest-Growing Sports in the Country," *Click* (September 1944), 48.

⁶⁵ Herb Graffis, "Belles of the Ball Game," *Liberty*, 16 October 1943; Graffis, "Queens of Swat."

appearing on the league after Graffis's article in *Liberty*, he concluded the 1943 season by providing an overview of the league's most prominent campaigns of their inaugural season.⁶⁶ Referring to the names borrowed from the big leagues that acted as managers, providing information to further understand the league, and discussing how the image of this softball player was different, Graffis highlighted all the high points Wrigley was sure to include in his representation of professional women's baseball. Specifically, Graffis stated that "the major-league girls' softball problem, primarily, was that of converting a somewhat uncouth Amazonian spectacle into something nearer to the [Vassar] standard of competition," yet he felt that this task was accomplished successfully by Philip Wrigley.⁶⁷ In his review at the end of the 1944 season, he broadened his focus to an overall review of women's softball, not just that of Wrigley's league. Recognizing Wrigley's league as a catalyst for the informal semi-pro and amateur softball league, Graffis gave a good deal of credit to the All American Girls Soft Ball League for cleaning up the image of women's softball.⁶⁸

Delivering everything from promotional information to updates within the league, columns that drew from press releases kept the general public filled in about Wrigley's professional women's softball league. Local papers covered homegrown players, advertising informed new cities when the league might visit them, and everything tied back to the war. The

⁶⁶ "Change Loop Name," *Greenville (SC) News*, 21 October 1943; "Girls' Ball Loop Changes Its Title," *Des Moines Register*, 21 October 1943; "Girls' Game No Longer 'Soft,'" *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 21 October 1943; "Girls' League Changes Name," *Rhineland (WI) Daily News*, 21 October 1943; "Girl Players Pick New League Name," *Ironwood (MI) Daily Globe*, 21 October 1943; "Girls' Pro League Drops Softball Tag," *Mount Carmel (PA) Item*, 21 October 1943; "Girls' Pro League Get Name Change," *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, 21 October 1943; "Girls' Softball Loop Changes Its Name," *Coshocton (OH) Tribune*, 21 October 1943; "Girl Softballers Earned as Much as \$85 a Week," *St. Louis Star and Times*, 21 October 1943; "League Has New Name," *Evening Independent* (Massillon, OH), 21 October 1943; "Name Change," *Mason City (IA) Globe-Gazette*, 25 October 1943; "Name Changed of Girls' Ball League," *Belvidere (IL) Daily Republican*, 21 October 1943; "Name of Girls' League Changed," *Shamokin (PA) News-Dispatch*, 21 October 1943; Arch Ward, "In the Wake of the News," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 1 November 1943.

⁶⁷ Graffis, "Belles of the Ball Game," 26. Herb Graffis references several historic women's colleges in this comment, including Wellesley and Smith alongside Vassar.

⁶⁸ Graffis, "Queens of Swat," 48.

Courier-Journal updated its readers when the first girls from Louisville signed with the league in May 1944, as many other papers touted when hometown girls made it to the big time.⁶⁹ That August, the *Green Bay Press-Gazette* covered the league extensively before an exhibition game was played there. Covering the sports page for an entire week prior to the league's arrival to stir interest in the locals, this advertising campaign mimics those that were implemented in the league cities throughout their tenure as homes of professional ball for girls.⁷⁰ Newspapers even carried small snippets about players they believed their readership would find interesting, especially when it tied them to the war effort, like Emily Stevenson's six brothers who served in the military.⁷¹ Instances like these continued to reinforce the newly-established positive label of the League. Coverage provided interest and interest sold tickets. The close connection to the war effort sold the League as patriotic, establishing the positive image still further.

While many of these stories specifically about players generated interest, regular press releases kept the United States up to date with the professional women's league playing in the Chicago area. One of the first nationwide releases following the announcement of the league was about the change of rules that distinguished it from conventional softball making it appealing to more fans.⁷² For promotional purposes, another press release went out in June 1943 regarding

⁶⁹ "Louisville Girls in Pro Softball," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 30 May 1944.

⁷⁰ *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, 7 August 1944; *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, 10 August 1944; *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, 12 August 1944; *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, 14 August 1944; *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, 15 August 1944; *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, 16 August 1944.

⁷¹ *Times* (Shreveport, LA), 24 June 1944.

⁷² "Changes in Girls' Softball Announced," *Hutchinson (KS) News*, 24 April 1943; *Dixon (IL) Evening Telegraph*, 23 April 1943; *Dothan (AL) Eagle*, 23 April 1943; "Fan Appeal is Object of Rule Changes for Girls' Softball," *Vernon (TX) Daily Record*, 23 April 1943; "Fan Appeal Object of Softball Rules," *Pampa (TX) Daily News*, 23 April 1943; "Girls' League Rules Changed," *Poughkeepsie (NY) Journal*, 24 April 1943; "Girls Softball Rules are Changed," *Ironwood (MI) Daily Globe*, 23 April 1943; "Girls Softball Rules Changed," *Post-Register* (Idaho Falls, ID), 23 April 1943; "Girls Softball Rules Changed," *Reno (NV) Gazette-Journal*, 23 April 1943; "Girls Softballers Revise Rules," *Courier-News* (Bridgewater, NJ), 23 April 1943; *Iola (KS) Register*, 23 April 1943; "New Girls' Rules," *Daily Telegram* (Adrian, MI), 23 April 1943; "New Softball Code for Girls will Have Plenty of Fan Appeal," *Times Herald* (Port Huron, MI), 23 April 1943; *Ludington (MI) Daily News*, 23 April 1943; *Odessa (TX) American*, 23 April 1943; *Panama City (FL) News-Herald*, 23 April 1943; "Rules Change in Girls Softball," *Town Talk* (Alexandria, LA), 23 April 1943; "Softball Change," *Lansing (MI) State Journal*, 10 May 1943; "Softball Now

Wrigley's sponsorship of an all-star game to benefit the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAACS), which demonstrated even further his dedication to the war effort, and brought the first night game to Wrigley Field.⁷³ Validating the skill of the players, another release in August 1943 addressed the pitching of the league's second no-hitter.⁷⁴ Information in the off-season included announcing a name change to better fit the hybrid play in October 1943 and the expansion of the league to six teams in April 1944.⁷⁵

Seeking Additional Fan Appeal," *Philadelphia Enquirer*, 24 April 1943; "Softball Rule Changes Seek New Fan Appeal," *News Journal* (Wilmington, DE), 24 April 1943; "Softball Rules Appeal to Fans," *Akron (OH) Beacon Journal*, 23 April 1943; "Softball Rules for Girls will be Liberalized," *Carrol (IA) Daily Times Herald*, 23 April 1943; "Softball Teams to Use Nine Players," *Ogden (UT) Standard-Examiner*, 23 April 1943

⁷³ *Daily Clintonian* (Clinton, IN), 23 June 1943; "First Night Game," *Battle Creek (MI) Enquirer*, 25 June 1943; "Gal Clubs Take Over Cubs' Park," *Lincoln (NB) Star*, 30 June 1943; "Girl Softball Players to Stage All-Star Game," *Indianapolis Star*, 27 June 1943; "Girl Teams Will Use Wrigley Field," *Muscatine (IA) Journal and News-Tribune*, 30 June 1943; "Girls Play Softball," *Asbury Park (NJ) Press*, 30 June 1943; "Girls' Softball at Wrigley Field," *Carrol (IA) Daily Times Herald*, 30 June 1943; "Girls' Softball Invades Chicago," *Ludington (MI) Daily News*, 30 June 1943; "Girls' Softball Invades Cub Field," *Akron (OH) Beacon Journal*, 30 June 1943; "Softball in Cubs' Park," *News Journal* (Wilmington, DE), 30 June 1943; "Softball to Cub Park," *Lincoln (NB) Evening Journal*, 30 June 1943; *Times Herald* (Port Huron, MI), 30 June 1943; "WAACS Held to Sports Program in Chicago," *Courier-Gazette* (McKinney, TX), 26 June 1943; "WAAC's Play Ball," *Beatrice (NB) Daily Sun*, 30 June 1943; "W.A.A.C.S. to Play Softball," *Kingston (NY) Daily Freeman*, 24 June 1943; "Wrigley Field Presents Night Ball Sessions," *Courier-News* (Bridgewater, NJ), 24 June 1943

⁷⁴ "Girl Hurls No-Hitter," *Alton (IL) Evening Telegraph*, 16 August 1943; "Girl Hurls No-Hitter," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 17 August 1943; "Girl Hurler Gets Second No-Hitter," *Wilkes-Barre (PA) Evening News*, 16 August 1943; "Girl Softball Hurler Pitches 2nd No-Hit Tilt," *Dixon (IL) Evening Telegraph*, 16 August 1943; "Her Second No-Hit Game," *Kingston (NY) Daily Freeman*, 16 August 1943; "No-Hit Pitching," *Pottstown (PA) Mercury*, 17 August 1943; "Olive Little in No-Hit Affair," *Ogden (UT) Standard-Examiner*, 16 August 1943; "Pitches No-Hitter," *Ironwood (MI) Daily Globe*, 16 August 1943; "School Teacher Hurls No Hit, No Run Game," *Daily Chronicle* (DeKalb, IL), 16 August 1943; "Second No-Hitter," *Decatur (IL) Daily Review*, 16 August 1943.

⁷⁵ "Change Loop Name," *Greenville (SC) News*, 21 October 1943; "Girls' Ball Loop Changes Its Title," *Des Moines Register*, 21 October 1943; "Girls' Game No Longer 'Soft,'" *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 21 October 1943; "Girls' League Changes Name," *Rhineland (WI) Daily News*, 21 October 1943; "Girl Players Pick New League Name," *Ironwood (MI) Daily Globe*, 21 October 1943; "Girls' Pro League Drops Softball Tag," *Mount Carmel (PA) Item*, 21 October 1943; "Girls' Pro League Get Name Change," *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, 21 October 1943; "Girls' Softball Loop Changes Its Name," *Coshocton (OH) Tribune*, 21 October 1943; "Girl Softballers Earned as Much as \$85 a Week," *St. Louis Star and Times*, 21 October 1943; "League Has New Name," *Evening Independent* (Massillon, OH), 21 October 1943; "Name Change," *Mason City (IA) Globe-Gazette*, 25 October 1943; "Name Changed of Girls' Ball League," *Belvidere (IL) Daily Republican*, 21 October 1943; "Name of Girls' League Changed," *Shamokin (PA) News-Dispatch*, 21 October 1943; "All-American Girls to Have Six Teams," *Freeport (IL) Journal-Standard*, 14 April 1944; "Circuit of Six Clubs for Girls," *Lincoln (NB) Star*, 14 April 1944; "Girls Baseball Loop to Operate with 6 Teams," *Alton (IL) Evening Telegraph*, 14 April 1944; "Girls' Pro Ball to be Six Team Circuit," *Lincoln (NB) Evening Journal*, 14 April 1944; "Girls Pro Baseball Circuit to Operate," *Carrol (IA) Daily Times Herald*, 14 April 1944; "Minneapolis Joins Girls' Pro League," *St. Cloud (MN) Times*, 14 April 1944; "Two New Cities will Have Teams in Girls Pro Softball League," *Dixon (IL) Evening Telegraph*, 14 April 1944.

The two seasons that Philip K. Wrigley was involved with the professional ball league set a precedent that was followed in many ways throughout the duration of the organization. Understanding the importance of advertising from his successful gum company, Wrigley approached his professional softball league in the same way. Softball at the time was a rough game, but it was popular. He wanted to rebrand the game in a feminine way to promote baseball and the war effort. Hiring an advertising man, Philip Wrigley entrusted the visual representation of women's professional softball to Arthur E. Meyerhoff. The connections both Meyerhoff and Wrigley had allowed them to utilize the major newspaper agencies of the time, allocating information about the League to be disseminated nationwide. Relying on advertising and campaigns to forward a positive, feminine image of the controversial female athlete, Wrigley provided a service to his customers and opportunities to his players that had never been seen before. When Meyerhoff purchased the league at the end of the 1944 season, he planned to approach the league in many of the same ways, adding his own personal flair to the operation.⁷⁶ While Meyerhoff expanded the league and made seeing play more available throughout the country, the campaigns that had been prominent during Wrigley's reign, including recognition of male baseball players and visual campaigns, remained in the fray.

Wrigley announced his departure from professional women's softball in December 1944.⁷⁷ Wrigley's interest in professional women's softball diminished as the Cubs rejuvenated and he became convinced that professional baseball was going to survive, as the war's end

⁷⁶ Fiddler, *Origins and History*.

⁷⁷ "Girl Baseballers on Own Next Year," *Lincoln (NB) Evening Journal*, 15 December 1944; "Girl Baseballers on Own Next Year," *Nebraska State Journal*, 15 December 1944; "Girls' Softball Loop Will Operate on Own," *Decatur (IL) Herald*, 15 December 1944; "Loop 'Angel' Quits," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 15 December 1944; "Two Teams Admitted to Girls' Diamond Loop," *Indianapolis Star*, 16 December 1944; "Wrigley Gives Up Loop Sponsorship," *Ironwood (MI) Daily Globe*, 15 December 1944; "Wrigley Gives Up League Sponsorship," *Rhineland (WI) Daily News*, 15 December 1944; "Wrigley Quits Girls League," *Arizona Republic*, 15 December 1944.

seemed near, which were the main reasons he had begun the venture in the first place.⁷⁸ Still, his participation in the creation of the AAGSBL was crucial to the societal reimagining of women's softball and the strides he achieved before he left allowed for the League to continue. Money discrepancies in League records between the 1944 and 1945 seasons may speak to this change in ownership, coupled with Philip Wrigley's lack of interest in continuing his association with professional women's softball. Arthur Meyerhoff and new plans for changing the administration of the All American Girls Soft Ball League were introduced in one of the final meetings of 1944.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*, 109-110.

⁷⁹ Meeting Minutes, 14 November 1944, MSSP0014-1-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Department of Special Collections, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

CHAPTER 2

ARTHUR MEYERHOFF, 1945-1950

In mid-April 1947, newspapers throughout the country announced a trip to Havana, Cuba for the All American Girls Baseball League (AAGBBL). It was a spring training opportunity that coincided with the Brooklyn Dodger's introduction of Jackie Robinson to Major League Baseball in the same country.¹ Following their two weeks' stay, the AAGBBL returned to the United States and toured throughout the southern part of the country as they made their way back to the Chicago area to begin their fifth season.² Travelling for spring training and touring throughout the country to bring awareness to the baseball league were new additions to the League's operations in its second administration, which ran from 1945 to 1950. Arthur Meyerhoff built on the foundation of Wrigley's All American Girls Softball League and expanded its reach in new ways that resulted in increased marketability of the All American Girls Baseball League.

When Philip K. Wrigley made the decision to cut ties with the All American Girls Baseball League at the end of the 1944 season, he sold the rights of the league to a trusted advisor who had been attached to the baseball league from its inception: Arthur E. Meyerhoff. Meyerhoff had joined the Wrigley Company under Philip Wrigley's father in 1932 and continued to be associated with the chewing gum for the next sixty years.³ Arthur Meyerhoff was an advertising executive with the Wrigley Company and had been responsible for the publicity

¹ "Girls Visit Havana," *Akron (OH) Beacon Journal*, 18 April 1947; "Set for Cuba," *Clarion-Ledger* (Jackson, MS), 16 April 1947; "Batter Up, Girls," *Detroit Free Press*, 20 April 1947; "Clippers Fly 161 Girls to Havana on Baseball Tour," *Escanaba (MI) Daily Press*, 20 April 1947; "All-American Girls Loop Open Drills," *Lansing (MI) State Journal*, 20 April 1947; "Girl Baseball Teams to Train in Havana," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 17 April 1947.

² For continuity purposes, this chapter will refer to the baseball circuit as the All American Girls Baseball League, or AAGBBL, regardless of the name changes the organization may have gone through from 1945 to 1950.

³ Fiddler, *Origins and History*, 70.

and promotion of Wrigley's softball venture since the idea germinated in 1942. Sharing similar views on the baseball league's standards, Wrigley released the rights of the League to Arthur Meyerhoff, who saw potential in the future of the AAGBBL.⁴ Taking control late in 1944, Arthur Meyerhoff ran the League into its most successful years, but was bought out by the League Directors following the 1950 season. Meyerhoff brought several changes to the structure of the League, including the change to a profit-based venture.⁵

Meyerhoff had a much less visible role in the League than had Wrigley. While he owned the rights from the 1945 season to the end of 1950, and his company, AEM Co., led League publicity dating back to 1942, there were only a handful of references to him in correspondence and meeting minutes, except for his attendance, throughout his tenure. Most newspaper articles referencing Arthur Meyerhoff or his advertising firm alluded to his wife or others connected to his business. The only article that linked Meyerhoff to the League appeared in October 1947. When Fred Leo became publicity director for the AAGBBL, it was revealed that he worked for Meyerhoff's advertising firm.⁶ By 1949, Meyerhoff was mentioned in the newspapers almost exclusively in regards to the Chicago Cubs, including references to his advertising company. However, a lack of direct connections to the AAGBBL in the media does not take away from the place Arthur Meyerhoff held in the Management Corporation. References in minutes from Board of Directors meetings indicated his wide range of power but, without a corporate name like Philip Wrigley, Meyerhoff's visibility as League owner in the press was not crucial, as it was not as marketable.

⁴ Fiddler, *Origins and History*.

⁵ Paul M. Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley: A Memoir of a Modest Man* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1975), 111.

⁶ "Fred Leo Will Take Post in Girls League," *Daily Chronicle* (DeKalb, IL), 3 October 1947.

One of the most important skills Arthur Meyerhoff brought to the AAGBBL was his knack for advertising. A self-made man, Meyerhoff rose to Philip Wrigley's preferred advertising executive by the 1940s and had achieved notoriety in the business. In the mid-1960s, Meyerhoff published *The Strategy of Persuasion*, a critique on the American propaganda machine in the Cold War.⁷ Noting that American propagandists were often news men, Meyerhoff argued the art of persuasion that advertising men were keen to was needed to develop influential propaganda for the United States. In this book, Arthur Meyerhoff detailed his approach to advertising, which can clearly be seen in how he developed the AAGBBL publicity throughout his tenure as owner.⁸

Meyerhoff postulated that the United States led in its ability to create desire because advertising men had developed techniques to provide definite, measurable results. This creation of desirability did not end with product, but extended to ideas as well. Advertisers were capable of creating such desire because they were trained in the art of persuasion. Knowing that advertising must be confident, Meyerhoff and other advertisers knew the proper way to combine the command for attention, desire, and interest in repeated communication to catch the eye of their intended audience.⁹ Understanding that all campaigns have a built-in fatigue factor, advertisers also knew that changing the message to reassert an idea or image was necessary to keep a population's attention.¹⁰

These ideas underpinning Meyerhoff's success in advertising were clearly seen in his promotion of the AAGBBL, as well. A letter to George Smalley in 1948, for example,

⁷ Arthur E. Meyerhoff, *The Strategy of Persuasion: The Use of Advertising Skills in Fighting the Cold War* (New York: Coward, McCann Inc., 1965).

⁸ Meyerhoff, *Strategy of Persuasion*.

⁹ Meyerhoff, *Strategy of Persuasion*, 127.

¹⁰ Meyerhoff, *Strategy of Persuasion*.

emphasized the fatigue factor.¹¹ While the author of the letter is unknown, the writer clearly demonstrated knowledge of marketability and understanding of the fatigue factor. In the letter, Smalley was informed of one of the reasons professional men's baseball was ever-changing: fans became bored with sameness, and women's baseball was no different. The letter emphasized the importance of the AAGBBL's continuous evolution, as adapting advertising approaches allowed for the maintenance of societal reimagining.

Early in Meyerhoff's 1965 work, he outlined what he called "the advertising approach." He knew that mass persuasion was achieved through the continuity and repetition of straightforward messages. He also asserted that purchased space was dedicated to the proper concoction of words, media, time, and repetition for increased effectiveness.¹² These advertising essentials, for instance, were seen in his baseball league with only slight alterations, such as that most of the space that covered Meyerhoff's League was not purchased, and, therefore, not as polished as most advertising programs were. Discrepancies from the advertising approach were because the AAGBBL was not just an idea or a product, but both, and needed a different approach than what Meyerhoff often dealt with in his firm. Women's baseball, through the eyes of the AAGBBL administrators, was a combination of competitive sport and a stage show that depended on the spirit of competition.¹³ The point of advertising campaigns was to get people to the ballpark just once to see the women play, assuming they would come back continuously on their own accord after this first experience. Societal reimagining of the female ballplayers was

¹¹ Harold Dailey to George Smalley, 26 August 1948, MSSP0014-53, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

¹² Meyerhoff, *Strategy of Persuasion*.

¹³ Harold Dailey Papers, MSSP0014-1-B, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

essential to show audiences that these women differed from the negatively-labeled softball players of the industrial leagues.

While the bulk of the publicity and promotion of the League focused in the Chicago area, Meyerhoff's expertise in advertising recognized the importance of national exposure. With his thoughts on further expansion, he capitalized the best he could throughout the country.¹⁴ Throughout his book, Meyerhoff made several references to his advertising techniques that can clearly be shown in the promotion of the AAGBBL, including, but not limited to: a clear, well-defined objective; an emphasis on the benefits of a product through its mass media presentation; and relatable information for the audience.¹⁵ His clear, well-defined objective in the AAGBBL was, as expected, to encourage consumers to attend women's baseball games. In the League's mass media presentation, Meyerhoff emphasized the benefit of women's baseball to its consumers. With an activity such as baseball, the population easily related to the nation's pastime. Finally, many of Meyerhoff's advertising approaches were through visual campaigns and informational articles that did not present themselves as outright, blatant advertising attempts to persuade people to attend games.

Meyerhoff's connections to Philip Wrigley's All American Girls Soft Ball League administration ensured continuity in the League's publicity and promotion, which was critical to maintaining the image and positive labeling the League had branded itself under. In fact, he further developed these and expanded his reach, establishing junior leagues and implementing farm systems. Meyerhoff even invested all profits made from the league back into the publicity and promotion of the league. His beliefs regarding the League's promotion rested in selling

¹⁴ Fiddler, *Origins and History*, 51.

¹⁵ Meyerhoff, *Strategy of Persuasion*, 117, 142, 159, 168.

women's baseball. He wanted skilled players that could be taught the art of femininity and held chaperones to the same high standard as set forth by the rules of conduct for the players.¹⁶

From the implementation of AEM Co. increasing publicity activity in 1945 to Fred Leo's emphasis on the importance of selling baseball and femininity in 1950, Arthur Meyerhoff and the Management Corporation approached the advertising of the League from all sides.¹⁷ Racine, Wisconsin introduced play-by-play broadcasting in 1946, the same year Chet Grant approached Harold Dailey about an extensive advertising program in South Bend.¹⁸ The entire South Bend Blue Sox document from 1946 addressed the attendance problem with the ball club. It provided suggestions to enhance Blue Sox promotion, and, in turn, fill the stands. While all these ideas are not taken up, for example the South Bend club did not change their name, other notes in the *Harold Dailey Papers* indicated some were considered.¹⁹ The "South Bend Plan," a document addressing ways to expand the Blue Sox's revenue, appeared in 1947 to provide extensive publicity through several proposed advertising programs.²⁰ Individual team plans, like that of South Bend, complimented that of the League as a whole. While the individual teams gained more autonomy for publicity during Meyerhoff's tenure, the AAGBBL was publicized nationally. Popularity of the League created interest for major publications like *McCall's* to write

¹⁶ Fiddler, *Origins and History*, 195.

¹⁷ Preparation [and] Release of General Publicity, MSSP0014-9-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame; Immediate Release, 11 May 1950, MSSP0014-3-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

¹⁸ Publicity Release, 2003.31, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum at South Bend, Indiana; South Bend Blue Sox 1946, 7 February 1946, MSSP0014-74, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

¹⁹ South Bend Blue Sox 1946, 7 February 1946, MSSP0014-74, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

²⁰ South Bend Plan, 1947, MSSP0014-2-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

articles, Paramount to film *Diamond Gals*, and for administrators to discuss a Wheaties advertising program.²¹

Another staple for the League was the use of big-league names to legitimize the sport. Philip Wrigley began this practice at the inception of the League, hiring four well-known male athletes to run his league. Meyerhoff continued this trend. Managers, umpires, and scouts were pulled from all sports. In 1946, Max Carey appeared in a small visual campaign in a series of pictures that emphasized the femininity of the players and the legitimacy he brought to the game with his baseball past.²² These photographs all placed Carey in a guidance role, teaching women to play baseball from his legitimized stance as a baseball star. In each picture, Carey stands with two women ballplayers who gave him their full attention. From Arizona up to Wisconsin and across to Pennsylvania, Max Carey showed the United States his stance on women's baseball.²³ Some of these assignments only reached local coverage, like Ralph Boyle or the return of Johnny Gottselig, but some made national news, like Lou Rymkus.²⁴ Rymkus's information appeared at

²¹ Agha to Harold Dailey, telegram, 4 April 1950, MSSP0014-69, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame; Immediate Release, 16 July 1947, 2003.31, All American Girls Professional Baseball League, The History Museum at South Bend, Indiana; Meeting Minutes, 10 November 1947, MSSP0014-9-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

²² *Arizona Republic*, 27 January 1946; *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, 8 January 1946; "Some Like It Hot—Some Cold," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 10 January 1946.

²³ *Arizona Republic*, 27 January 1946; *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, 8 January 1946; "Some Like It Hot—Some Cold," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 10 January 1946.

²⁴ "Buzz Boyle to Manage Muskegon Girls' Team," *Lansing (MI) State Journal*, 19 April 1946; "Dodger will Manage Muskegon Girls' Nine," *News-Palladium* (Benton Harbor, MI), 15 April 1946; "Named Muskegon Pilot," *Battle Creek (MI) Enquirer*, 14 April 1946; "Gottselig to Scout," *Janesville (WI) Daily Gazette*, 25 May 1946; "Hockey Manager Signed to Scout Girls' Loop; Packers Sign Wildung," *Waukesha (WI) Daily Freeman*, 24 May 1946; *Abilene (TX) Reporter-News*, 5 November 1948; *Alton (IL) Evening Telegraph*, 3 September 1948; *Altoona (PA) Tribune*, 8 September 1948; *Anniston (AL) Star*, 19 October 1948; *Asbury Park (NJ) Press*, 24 September 1948; *Asheville (NC) Citizen-Times*, 3 September 1948; *Council Bluffs (IA) Nonpareil*, 27 August 1948; *Council Bluffs (IA) Nonpareil*, 28 August 1948; *Courier-News* (Bridgewater, NJ), 30 August 1948; *Cumberland (MD) Sunday Times*, 29 August 1948; *Gettysburg (PA) Times*, 27 September 1948; *Indiana (PA) Gazette*, 27 August 1948; *Longview (TX) News Journal*, 7 November 1948; *News-Journal* (Mansfield, OH), 21 November 1948; *Progress* (Clearfield, PA), 22 September 1948; *Sandusky (OH) Register*, 20 September 1948; *Sedalia (MO) Democrat*, 30 August 1948; *Valley Morning Star* (Harlingen, TX), 14 September 1948; *Wilkes-Barre (PA) Evening News*, 27 August 1948.

least twenty times throughout August and September 1948. He had umpired for the League in the 1948 season before returning to the National Football League to play tackle for the Cleveland Browns.²⁵ By attaching well-known names to the League, Meyerhoff understood a unique aspect of getting consumers to the ballpark. On one hand, big-names, like Max Carey, drew people that had no interest in women's baseball, but wanted an opportunity to see a star. On the other, attaching names like Bill Allington and Chet Grant to the AAGBBL provided a legitimacy to the game, as former stars would not attach themselves to a venture they did not support. Big-league names added to the positive labeling associated with the League and enhanced the societal reimagining needed to tout an acceptable women's sport.

The League was always careful to juxtapose itself against the faltering image of amateur women's softball.²⁶ While the media often portrayed softball negatively, as it did with the caricatures of "Sal's Softball Belles" in 1948, visual campaigns for the AAGBBL reinforced the high standards set by the League.²⁷ The "Sal's" cartoon did not feminize the women or legitimize the players. Right fielder, Jean "Fritzie" Freide, for example, took "a beauty nap in the field," as her masculine uniform needed all the feminization it could muster and she ignored the game being played around her.²⁸ In contrast, campaigns for the League focused on the femininity of the players, the skill they possessed, and the opportunities professional baseball allotted them,

²⁵ *Abilene (TX) Reporter-News*, 5 November 1948; *Alton (IL) Evening Telegraph*, 3 September 1948; *Altoona (PA) Tribune*, 8 September 1948; *Anniston (AL) Star*, 19 October 1948; *Asbury Park (NJ) Press*, 24 September 1948; *Asheville (NC) Citizen-Times*, 3 September 1948; *Council Bluffs (IA) Nonpareil*, 27 August 1948; *Council Bluffs (IA) Nonpareil*, 28 August 1948; *Courier-News* (Bridgewater, NJ), 30 August 1948; *Cumberland (MD) Sunday Times*, 29 August 1948; *Gettysburg (PA) Times*, 27 September 1948; *Indiana (PA) Gazette*, 27 August 1948; *Longview (TX) News-Journal*, 7 November 1948; *News-Journal* (Mansfield, OH), 21 November 1948; *Progress* (Clearfield, PA), 22 September 1948; *Sandusky (OH) Register*, 20 September 1948; *Sedalia (MO) Democrat*, 30 August 1948; *Valley Morning Star* (Harlingen, TX), 14 September 1948; *Wilkes-Barre (PA) Evening News*, 27 August 1948.

²⁶ See Appendix G.

²⁷ "Sal's Softball Belles," 1948, Personal Collection of Debbie Pierson.

²⁸ "Sal's Softball Belles," 1948, Personal Collection of Debbie Pierson.

which can be seen in “Doc’ Wagner.”²⁹ Feminine, talented, educated Audrey Wagner used earnings from the League to become a doctor. These differences, and the media’s focus, account for the positive label of the AAGBBL and the negative label of softball, which was achieved by the league’s societal reimagining of the female athlete.

Many examples of this societal reimagining appeared throughout Meyerhoff’s tenure with the League to reinforce the visual representation of the AAGBBL. The July 1946 campaign “Gay Gardener” placed Charlene Pryer’s smiling face and outstretched body in front of readers with a short quip about the player.³⁰ Gardener, ballplayer, and singer, Pryer was the epitome of feminine and represented women’s baseball.³¹ The 1948 and 1949 campaigns “Doc’ Wagner”

²⁹ “Doc’ Wagner,” *Abilene (TX) Reporter-News*, 30 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Alton (IL) Evening Telegraph*, 28 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Arizona Republic*, 30 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Bakersfield Californian*, 3 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Bismarck (ND) Tribune*, 30 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Clovis (NM) News-Journal*, 3 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Daily News* (Huntingdon, PA), 3 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Daily Times-News* (Burlington, NC), 29 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Deadwood (SD) Pioneer-Times*, 10 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Eagle* (Bryan, TX), 6 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Edwardsville (IL) Intelligencer*, 4 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Franklin (IN) Evening Star*, 2 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Indiana (PA) Gazette*, 28 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Kingston (TN) News*, 31 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Mexico (MO) Ledger*, 30 September 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Middlesboro (KY) Daily News*, 3 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Mt. Vernon (IL) Register-News*, 26 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *News-Herald* (Franklin, PA), 28 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *News-Review* (Roseburg, OR), 3 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Pampa (TX) Daily News*, 30 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Rhineland (WI) Daily News*, 28 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Sandusky (OH) Register*, 9 September 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Warren (PA) Times Mirror*, 6 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Wilkes-Barre (PA) Evening News*, 8 September 1948; *Monroe (LA) News-Star*, 16 December 1948.

³⁰ *Tribune* (Seymour, IN), 22 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Albany (OR) Democrat-Herald*, 10 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Bend (OR) Bulletin*, 24 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Carroll (IA) Daily Times Herald*, 17 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Franklin (IN) Evening Star*, 19 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Hope (AR) Star*, 11 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Ironwood (MI) Daily Globe*, 11 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Mount Carmel (PA) Item*, 6 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *News-Herald* (Franklin, PA), 8 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *News Journal* (Wilmington, DE), 19 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *News-Palladium* (Benton Harbor, MI), 22 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Progress* (Clearfield, PA), 16 August 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Republic* (Columbus, IN), 31 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Warren (PA) Times Mirror*, 9 July 1946.

³¹ *Tribune* (Seymour, IN), 22 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Albany (OR) Democrat-Herald*, 10 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Bend (OR) Bulletin*, 24 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Carroll (IA) Daily Times Herald*, 17 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Franklin (IN) Evening Star*, 19 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Hope (AR) Star*, 11 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Ironwood (MI) Daily Globe*, 11 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Mount Carmel (PA) Item*, 6 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *News-Herald* (Franklin, PA), 8 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *News Journal* (Wilmington, DE), 19 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *News-Palladium* (Benton Harbor, MI), 22 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Progress* (Clearfield, PA), 16 August 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Republic* (Columbus, IN), 31 July 1946; “Gay Gardener,” *Warren (PA) Times Mirror*, 9 July 1946.

and “Best Girl” emphasized the good the League could accomplish with its players.³² The first showed that, due to the high pay of professional women’s baseball, Audrey Wagner was capable of going to school to achieve her aspirations in becoming a medical doctor.³³ Positive, feminine terms were also used to describe the League, whether Ruth Lessing was characterized as “beauteous” or *Life* magazine used three paragraphs to emphasize their four-page spread on the feminine league and the ever-present image of the professional ballplayer.³⁴ Again, such

³² “Doc’ Wagner,” *Abilene (TX) Reporter-News*, 30 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Alton (IL) Evening Telegraph*, 28 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Arizona Republic*, 30 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Bakersfield Californian*, 3 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Bismarck (ND) Tribune*, 30 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Clovis (NM) News-Journal*, 3 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Daily News* (Huntingdon, PA), 3 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Daily Times-News* (Burlington, NC), 29 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Deadwood (SD) Pioneer-Times*, 10 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Eagle* (Bryan, TX), 6 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Edwardsville (IL) Intelligencer*, 4 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Franklin (IN) Evening Star*, 2 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Indiana (PA) Gazette*, 28 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Kingston (TN) News*, 31 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Mexico (MO) Ledger*, 30 September 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Middlesboro (KY) Daily News*, 3 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Mt. Vernon (IL) Register-News*, 26 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *News-Herald* (Franklin, PA), 28 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *News-Review* (Roseburg, OR), 3 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Pampa (TX) Daily News*, 30 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Rhineland (WI) Daily News*, 28 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Sandusky (OH) Register*, 9 September 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Warren (PA) Times Mirror*, 6 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Wilkes-Barre (PA) Evening News*, 8 September 1948; *Monroe (LA) News-Star*, 16 December 1948; “Best Girl,” *Arizona Republic*, 4 January 1949; “Best Girl,” *Bakersfield Californian*, 27 November 1948; “Best Girl,” *Daily Times* (New Philadelphia, OH), 22 December 1948; “Best Girl,” *Evening News* (Harrisburg, PA), 24 November 1948; “Best Girl,” *Independent Record* (Helena, MT), 20 December 1948; “Best Girl,” *Miami (OK) Daily News-Record*, 5 December 1948; “Best Girl,” *News-Herald* (Franklin, PA), 26 November 1948; “Best Girl,” *Rhineland (WI) Daily News*, 27 November 1948; “Best Girl,” *Sedalia (MO) Democrat*, 1 December 1948.

³³ “Doc’ Wagner,” *Abilene (TX) Reporter-News*, 30 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Alton (IL) Evening Telegraph*, 28 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Arizona Republic*, 30 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Bakersfield Californian*, 3 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Bismarck (ND) Tribune*, 30 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Clovis (NM) News-Journal*, 3 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Daily News* (Huntingdon, PA), 3 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Daily Times-News* (Burlington, NC), 29 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Deadwood (SD) Pioneer-Times*, 10 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Eagle* (Bryan, TX), 6 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Edwardsville (IL) Intelligencer*, 4 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Franklin (IN) Evening Star*, 2 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Indiana (PA) Gazette*, 28 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Kingston (TN) News*, 31 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Mexico (MO) Ledger*, 30 September 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Middlesboro (KY) Daily News*, 3 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Mt. Vernon (IL) Register-News*, 26 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *News-Herald* (Franklin, PA), 28 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *News-Review* (Roseburg, OR), 3 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Pampa (TX) Daily News*, 30 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Rhineland (WI) Daily News*, 28 July 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Sandusky (OH) Register*, 9 September 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Warren (PA) Times Mirror*, 6 August 1948; “Doc’ Wagner,” *Wilkes-Barre (PA) Evening News*, 8 September 1948; *Monroe (LA) News-Star*, 16 December 1948; “Best Girl,” *Arizona Republic*, 4 January 1949; “Best Girl,” *Bakersfield Californian*, 27 November 1948; “Best Girl,” *Daily Times* (New Philadelphia, OH), 22 December 1948; “Best Girl,” *Evening News* (Harrisburg, PA), 24 November 1948; “Best Girl,” *Independent Record* (Helena, MT), 20 December 1948; “Best Girl,” *Miami (OK) Daily News-Record*, 5 December 1948; “Best Girl,” *News-Herald* (Franklin, PA), 26 November 1948; “Best Girl,” *Rhineland (WI) Daily News*, 27 November 1948; “Best Girl,” *Sedalia (MO) Democrat*, 1 December 1948.

³⁴ *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 13 April 1948; *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, NY), 11 April 1948; “Girls’ Baseball,” *Life* (4 June 1945), 63-66.

publications speaks to the League's ability to positively label their image, a concept amateur women's softball was never capable of achieving.

One of the most extensive visual campaigns in the entirety of the league began appearing in May 1945. Six women graced the presence of a powder room in a photograph that appeared in the pages of at least eighteen newspapers in the span of three weeks. "Domestic Dugout" titled the picture captioned with words that promoted the AAGBBL. These six women were the epitome of femininity, according to the photograph. The picture depicted one woman writing a letter, possibly responding to a fan, while the rest socialized. Five of the six women wore dresses associated with ladies of the day, while the woman in the middle sported her skirted AAGBBL uniform.³⁵ This was the first visual campaign under the direct leadership of Arthur Meyerhoff and established the same standard Philip Wrigley had set in 1943. The societal reimagining was clear, reinforcing the positive label the 1943 and 1944 seasons had established. Continued societal reimagining attested to Wrigley's departure having no effect on the image of the League.

Jack Stenbuck's "Glamour Girls" from 1946 continuously legitimized the AAGBBL through a series of assertions of lady-like representation and tough-as-nails skills.³⁶ Spending the first part of the article on image, Stenbuck began the article by establishing positive connections to the League before he divulged into the details of the league and the tremendous skills it

³⁵ "Domestic Dugout," *Abilene (TX) Reporter-News*, 21 May 1945; "Domestic Dugout," *Ames (IA) Daily Tribune*, 30 May 1945; "Domestic Dugout," *Bend (OR) Bulletin*, 1 June 1945; "Domestic Dugout," *Carroll (IA) Daily Times Herald*, 1 June 1945; "Domestic Dugout," *Coshocton (OH) Tribune*, 20 May 1945; "Domestic Dugout," *Daily Times (New Philadelphia, OH)*, 25 May 1945; "Domestic Dugout," *Del Rio (TX) News Herald*, 1 June 1945; "Domestic Dugout," *Delta Democrat-Times (Greenville, MS)*, 22 May 1945; "Domestic Dugout," *Havre (MT) Daily News*, 8 June 1945; "Domestic Dugout," *Mexia (TX) Weekly Herald*, 8 June 1945; "Domestic Dugout," *Miami (OK) Daily News-Record*, 27 May 1945; "Domestic Dugout," *Mount Carmel (PA) Item*, 20 June 1945; "Domestic Dugout," *News-Herald (Franklin, PA)*, 19 May 1945; "Domestic Dugout," *Odessa (TX) American*, 25 May 1945; "Domestic Dugout," *Rhineland (WI) Daily News*, 24 May 1945; "Domestic Dugout," *Statesville (NC) Daily Record*, 25 May 1945; "Domestic Dugout," *Times Recorder (Zanesville, OH)*, 25 July 1945; "Domestic Dugout," *Wilkes-Barre (PA) Evening News*, 21 May 1945.

³⁶ Jack Stenbuck, "Glamour Girls of Big-League Ball," *Magazine Digest* (July 1946), 68-71.

demonstrated. “Cheerful Rhubarb,” in 1947, playfully talked about the difficulty of umpiring women’s baseball while it forwarded the positively-labeled visual representation of the League.³⁷ The campaign also called attention to the big-league names still associated with the organization.³⁸ The campaign called attention to Lou Rymkus, the Cleveland Brown tackle turned umpire, and pictured him in an argument with Shoo-Shoo Wirth of the South Bend Blue Sox. Rymkus held his hand in the air cautiously as he attempted to diffuse the situation and Wirth pitched forward on the balls of her feet with her hands placed on her hips as she yelled at him. The caption categorized the dispute as “an argument, wrapped in feminine charm,” as it dismissed any notions of aggression that may have been taken from such a situation.³⁹

Arthur Meyerhoff’s Management Corporation explored possibilities of expansion, not just within the League, but into other areas. Arthur Meyerhoff brought many ideas to the table, including: traveling for Spring Training, planning exhibition tours, supporting traveling barnstorming teams, developing Winter League opportunities, and establishing organizations throughout the country based on the AAGBBL model. While not all of these plans developed, either through lack of financial capabilities or support of the League, some were quite successful,

³⁷ See Appendix F.

³⁸ “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Carrol (IA) Daily Times Herald*, 15 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Daily Times* (New Philadelphia, OH), 16 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Dixon (IL) Telegraph*, 9 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Estherville (IA) Daily News*, 16 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Evening News* (Harrisburg, PA), 15 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Jacksonville (IL) Daily Journal*, 13 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Miami (OK) Daily News-Record*, 18 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Monroe (LA) Morning World*, 10 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Pampa (TX) Daily News*, 12 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Plain Speaker* (Hazelton, PA), 9 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Rhineland (WI) Daily News*, 15 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Taylor (TX) Daily Press*, 19 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Times Herald* (Port Huron, MI), 12 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Warren (PA) Times Mirror*, 13 August 1947.

³⁹ “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Carrol (IA) Daily Times Herald*, 15 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Daily Times* (New Philadelphia, OH), 16 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Dixon (IL) Telegraph*, 9 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Estherville (IA) Daily News*, 16 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Evening News* (Harrisburg, PA), 15 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Jacksonville (IL) Daily Journal*, 13 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Miami (OK) Daily News-Record*, 18 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Monroe (LA) Morning World*, 10 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Pampa (TX) Daily News*, 12 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Plain Speaker* (Hazelton, PA), 9 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Rhineland (WI) Daily News*, 15 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Taylor (TX) Daily Press*, 19 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Times Herald* (Port Huron, MI), 12 August 1947; “Cheerful Rhubarb,” *Warren (PA) Times Mirror*, 13 August 1947.

defining key elements of Meyerhoff's tenure as owner. These inquiries into expansion were a way to increase the visibility of the League, perpetuating the positive label of the AAGBBL on a grander scale.

Meyerhoff's administration focused heavily on tours, which brought the League to new places. In May 1945, the first exhibition tour was announced, which hit thirty-two states and five Canadian provinces. The five day tour split six teams into three groups and was essential recruiting grounds for League players and fans.⁴⁰ Another exhibition tour in 1946 followed spring training.⁴¹ Following 1947 spring training in Havana, a tour through the United States occurred upon their return.⁴² The AAGBBL returned to Cuba for a small tour in 1948.⁴³ The success of these tours encouraged the barnstorming methods of Springfield and Chicago in the later years of this administration when they could no longer support the teams in their cities.⁴⁴ Reports on touring teams revealed that publicity was a main concern that was constantly changing place to place.⁴⁵ In July 1950, Howe, a tour organizer, wrote to Meyerhoff to update

⁴⁰ "Girls Ball League in Service Tour," *Des Moines Register*, 13 May 1945; "Girls League Ready for Midwest Tour," *Lubbock (TX) Avalanche-Journal*, 13 May 1945; "Girl Softballers to Tour Camps," *Akron (OH) Beacon Journal*, 12 May 1945; "Girls Teams Prepare for Touring at Camps," *Daily Chronicle* (DeKalb, IL), 12 May 1945.

⁴¹ "200 Girls will Start Baseball Drills April 25," *Miami (OK) Daily News-Record*, 24 March 1946; "All-American Girls Loop Set for Spring Training," *Coshocton (OH) News*, 4 March 1946; "Girls' Baseball Loop to Open Spring Drills," *Monroe (LA) Morning World*, 24 March 1946; "Girls' Baseball Loop will Train in South," *Lansing (MI) State Journal*, 24 March 1946; "Girls' Baseball Team to Start Training April 25," *Times* (Shreveport, LA), 31 March 1946; "Girls' League will Train in Mississippi," *Town Talk* (Alexandria, LA), 22 March 1946; "Style Experts at Camp," *Oakland (CA) Tribune*, 24 March 1946.

⁴² "South Bend Girls to Open Exhibition Tour Today," *Chicago Tribune*, 4 May 1947; "Central Assn. Opens Play Sunday," *Dixon (IL) Telegraph*, 2 May 1947.

⁴³ "200 Vets," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 4 April 1948; "Girls' Baseball," *News-Press* (Ft. Myers, FL), 17 April 1948; "Girls' Baseball League Opens Training Monday," *Decatur (IL) Daily Review*, 4 April 1948; "Girls' Baseball League Prepares for Season," *Terre Haute (IN) Tribune*, 7 April 1948; "Girls Launch Practice," *Terre Haute (IN) Tribune*, 7 April 1948; "Girls Loop Spring Training," *Jacksonville (IL) Daily Journal*, 4 April 1948; "Slick Chicks Begin Spring Training," *Lethbridge* (Alberta, Canada) *Herald*, 23 April 1948.

⁴⁴ "Drop Springfield from All-American Girls B.B. League," *Decatur (IL) Herald*, 17 June 1948; "Girls' Circuit Loses Member," *Lansing (MI) State Journal*, 17 June 1948; "Springfield Girls Baseball Team will Become Traveling Club," *Logansport (IN) Pharos-Tribune*, 17 June 1948; Meeting Minutes, 13 April 1949, MSSP0014-9-B, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁴⁵ Howe to Meyerhoff, 16 July 1950, 2003.31, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum at South Bend, Indiana.

him on the progress of the travelling venture. Hopeful to turn a profit when the tour ended seven weeks later, Howe noted the weak spot in the venture was publicity, an issue that had plagued the 1949 touring season as well. Howe mentioned that it was not lack of funds or organizational support that led to this problem but “the problem of promoting [the] tour in a town like Lodi was different from the problem in Spartanburg” due to the differing interests and demographics of the communities, which emphasized a need for advertising research and development for the travelling teams.⁴⁶

The exhibitions were not the only way Meyerhoff exposed the AAGBBL to new audiences. Spring training in 1943 and 1944 had been localized. Throughout Meyerhoff’s tenure, training took place outside of the League’s immediate area. Travelling to Mississippi in 1946 and Florida in 1948, the highlight of spring training destinations was Cuba in 1947.⁴⁷ These “baseball finishing schools” provided instruction for 200 players who were divided into the League’s teams.⁴⁸

An essential goal of advertising in the League was to garner new audiences. One important way to do this when the AAGBBL was traveling to new places was a series of

⁴⁶ Howe to Meyerhoff, 16 July 1950, 2003.31, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum at South Bend, Indiana.

⁴⁷ “Girl Ball Teams to Train Down South,” *Dixon (IL) Evening Telegraph*, 15 January 1946; “Girl Players to Take Spring Trip,” *Belvidere (IL) Daily Republican*, 15 January 1946; “Girls’ Softball Going ‘Big League,’” *Kokomo (IN) Tribune*, 15 January 1946; “Spring Training for Diamond Gals,” *Winnipeg (Manitoba, Canada) Tribune*, 15 January 1946; “200 Vets,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 4 April 1948; “Girls’ Baseball,” *News-Press (Ft. Myers, FL)*, 17 April 1948; “Girls’ Baseball League Opens Training Monday,” *Decatur (IL) Daily Review*, 4 April 1948; “Girls’ Baseball League Prepares for Season,” *Terre Haute (IN) Tribune*, 7 April 1948; “Girls Launch Practice,” *Terre Haute (IN) Tribune*, 7 April 1948; “Girls Loop Spring Training,” *Jacksonville (IL) Daily Journal*, 4 April 1948; “Slick Chicks Begin Spring Training,” *Lethbridge (Alberta, Canada) Herald*, 23 April 1948; “Girl Softballers Train in Cuba,” *Arizona Republic*, 28 November 1946; “Girl League will Train at Havana, Cuba,” *Daily Chronicle (DeKalb, IL)*, 27 November 1946; “Girls to Train in Cuba,” *Palm Beach (FL) Post*, 27 November 1946; “All-American Girls Loop Open Drills,” *Lansing (MI) State Journal*, 20 April 1947; “Batter Up, Girls,” *Detroit Free Press*, 20 April 1947; “Clippers Fly 161 Girls to Havana on Baseball Tour,” *Escanaba (MI) Daily Press*, 20 April 1947; “Girl Baseball Teams to Train in Havana,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 17 April 1947; “Girls Visit Havana,” *Akron (OH) Beacon Journal*, 18 April 1947; “Set for Cuba,” *Clarion-Ledger (Jackson, MS)*, 16 April 1947.

⁴⁸ Immediate Release, 6 April 1950, MSSP0014-3-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

informational articles to get people into the stands. In the days leading up to the League's arrival, there was often extensive publicity of the women ballplayers. This media coverage promoted the upcoming exhibitions and the League itself. The most extensive coverage in this manner happened in 1949.⁴⁹ There are clear examples in every year after Meyerhoff implemented exhibition tours though.⁵⁰ As the League returned to their cities after each spring training, and as

⁴⁹ "Petite and Pretty," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 3 May 1949; "Svelte Slugger," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 10 May 1949; "All-American Girls' Baseball," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 14 May 1949; Bill Kelley, "Chicks and Lassies Attract 6,000 in Two-Game Visit," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 17 May 1949; "Iron Woman Diamond Ace," *Terre Haute (IN) Tribune*, 4 May 1949; "All-Star Tickets," *Terre Haute (IN) Tribune*, 5 May 1949; "Star Backstop of Lassies," *Terre Haute (IN) Tribune*, 12 May 1949; "Pretty Prospect," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 13 May 1949; *Terre Haute (IN) Tribune*, 15 May 1949; *Kokomo (IN) Tribune*, 10 May 1949; *Kokomo (IN) Tribune*, 12 May 1949; "Highland Diamond in Perfect Shape for Girls' Battle," *Kokomo (IN) Tribune*, 16 May 1949; Jim Mitchell, "Friendship Ceases as Comets and Belles Resume Series," *Kokomo (IN) Tribune*, 17 May 1949; Jim Mitchell, "Comets, Belles Play Deadlock," *Kokomo (IN) Tribune*, 18 May 1949; "Girls' Baseball Team to Play Benefit Here," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 9 June 1949; "Girls' Teams Coming Here Will Play Real Baseball, Not Softball," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*; 11 June 1949; "Enjoy America's Newest Sports Thrill," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 13 June 1949; "The Chicago Colleens," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 14 June 1949; Barney Ghio, "Barney's Corner," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 15 June 1949; "Tickets for Girls' Baseball Game Go on Sale Tomorrow," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 19 June 1949; "Girl Baseball Ticket Sale Opens Today," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 20 June 1949; *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 21 June 1949; "Springfield Sallies," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 22 June 1949; *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 23 June 1949; "Colleens Use Two Big Innings to Defeat Springfield, 12 to 3," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 24 June 1949; "Girls Will Play Again Tonight," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 24 June 1949; "Barbara Payne," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 26 June 1949; *Anniston (AL) Star*, 21 July 1949; *Anniston (AL) Star*, 24 July 1949; "Famous Girls Clubs to Play for Band Benefit Here," *Anniston (AL) Star*, 25 July 1949; "Girls Teams to Bring Colorful Baseball Here," *Anniston (AL) Star*, 26 July 1949; "Pretty Colleen," *Anniston (AL) Star*, 27 July 1949; "Ready for War Path," *Anniston (AL) Star*, 28 July 1949; *Anniston (AL) Star*, 29 July 1949; *Courier-News (Bridgewater, NJ)*, 15 August 1949; "Colleens Win," *Courier-News (Bridgewater, NJ)*, 18 August 1949; "To Pitch Here," *Courier-News (Bridgewater, NJ)*, 19 August 1949; "Girls' Baseball Loop Stars will Play Here Tonight," *Courier-News (Bridgewater, NJ)*, 20 August 1949; "Fans Await Appearance Here of Baseball Girls," *New Castle (PA) News*, 23 August 1949; *New Castle (PA) News*, 24 August 1949; *New Castle (PA) News*, 25 August 1949; "Charming Colleen," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 25 August 1949; "Darlings of Diamond Clash Tonight in Twin Bill at Memorial Stadium," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 29 August 1949; "Girls' Opening Clash on Sunday Afternoon," *Terre Haute (IN) Tribune*, 23 August 1949; *Terre Haute (IN) Tribune*, 26 August 1949.

⁵⁰ "One Hundred All-American Girls Baseball League Players are Training in Mississippi," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 2 May 1946; "Girls to Prove Baseball Not Entirely Men's Game," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 7 May 1946; *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 8 May 1946; *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 10 May 1946; "All-American Girl Players Display Speed and Stamina," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 11 May 1946; *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 12 May 1946; "All-American Girls Baseball League Teams Here Tomorrow," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 13 May 1946; *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 14 May 1946; "Diamond Unfit, Girls Game Off; Scouts Fund will Get \$868.48," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 16 May 1946; *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 17 May 1946; "Tickets Now Available for Exhibition Series," *Battle Creek (MI) Enquirer*, 1 May 1947; "Baseball and Softball Teams Must File Entries by May 12," *Battle Creek (MI) Enquirer*, 4 May 1947; "Alice Haylett Set for Games Here," *Battle Creek (MI) Enquirer*, 7 May 1947; "Appearance of All-American Girls' Team Cut to One Tilt," *Battle Creek (MI) Enquirer*, 14 May 1947; "Two of the Best Girls' Teams Set for Post Park Exhibitions," *Battle Creek (MI) Enquirer*, 14 May 1947; "Chicks, Daisies to Appear Here," *Battle Creek (MI) Enquirer*, 18 May 1947; "Chicks and Daisies to Climax Exhibition Tour Here Today," *Battle Creek (MI) Enquirer*, 19 May 1947; "Baseball, Girls' Style, Draws 1,000 Fans for Fast Game Here," *Battle Creek (MI) Enquirer*, 20 May 1947; "Big Advance Sale for Girl Baseball," *Palm Beach (FL) Post*, 3 May 1947; *Palm Beach (FL) Post*, 4 May 1947; *Palm Beach (FL) Post*, 5 May 1947; Bob Husky, "Muskegon Gals Win Opener from Racine," *Palm Beach*

the Springfield Sallies and Chicago Colleens took up traveling teams, runs of articles in newspapers began appearing to address the coming of the AAGBBL. These advertising campaigns often included full page spreads a week prior to the arrival with several follow-up articles about the upcoming exhibition games. Several places, like Shreveport, Louisiana, show indications of the League being successful because tours returned for a second time a few years later.⁵¹ A more extensive appearance of similar campaigns appeared in 1949 following both the successes and failures of the 1948 season. Clearly marked lines of advertising appeared in seven cities from Indiana to Alabama to New Hampshire, as the League traveled after the 1948 season and the faltering stability of women's baseball began to show.⁵² The appearance of such

(FL) *Post*, 6 May 1947; "Girls' Baseball Teams Meet Here Friday, Saturday," *Asheville (NC) Citizen-Times*, 7 May 1947; "Grand Rapids, Rockford Girls Play Here Tonight," *Asheville (NC) Citizen-Times*, 9 May 1947; "Chicks Shut Out Peaches, 8 to 0 in Girls' Game," *Asheville (NC) Citizen-Times*, 11 May 1947; "Diamond's Glamour Girls to Play at Post Park Tonight," *Battle Creek (MI) Enquirer*, 4 September 1947; "East All-Stars Gain 6-2 Win Over West in Girls' Baseball," *Battle Creek (MI) Enquirer*, 5 September 1947; "Girls Play Here Twice This Week," *Palm Beach (FL) Post*, 10 April 1948; "Girl Baseball Teams Play First Exhibition Tonight," *Palm Beach (FL) Post*, 13 April 1948; "Springfield, Kenosha Play Here Tonight," *Palm Beach (FL) Post*, 14 April 1948; "Girls' Game is Real Baseball Under Men's Rules," *Nashua (NH) Telegraph*, 3 August 1950; "Diamond Star," *Nashua (NH) Telegraph*, 14 August 1950; "Out at Second!" *Nashua (NH) Telegraph*, 16 August 1950; *Nashua (NH) Telegraph*, 17 August 1950; "Springfield Shades Chicago 2-0 in Girls' Baseball Tilt," *Nashua (NH) Telegraph*, 18 August 1950; *Blizzard (Oil City, PA)*, 25 August 1950; "Girls' Baseball," *Blizzard (Oil City, PA)*, 25 August 1950; *Oil City (PA) Derrick*, 26 August 1950; "Girls' Baseball," *Oil City (PA) Derrick*, 26 August 1950; "Girls' Teams Play Here Today," *Oil City (PA) Derrick*, 28 August 1950.

⁵¹ "One Hundred All-American Girls Baseball League Players are Training in Mississippi," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 2 May 1946; "Girls to Prove Baseball Not Entirely Men's Game," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 7 May 1946; *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 8 May 1946; *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 10 May 1946; "All-American Girl Players Display Speed and Stamina," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 11 May 1946; *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 12 May 1946; "All-American Girls Baseball League Teams Here Tomorrow," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 13 May 1946; *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 14 May 1946; "Diamond Unfit, Girls Game Off; Scouts Fund will Get \$868.48," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 16 May 1946; *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 17 May 1946; "Girls' Baseball Teams to Play Benefit Here," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 9 June 1949; "Girls' Teams Coming Here Will Play Real Baseball, Not Softball," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*; 11 June 1949; "Enjoy America's Newest Sports Thrill," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 13 June 1949; "The Chicago Colleens," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 14 June 1949; Barney Ghio, "Barney's Corner," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 15 June 1949; "Tickets for Girls' Baseball Games Go on Sale Tomorrow," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 19 June 1949; "Girl Baseball Ticket Sale Opens Today," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 20 June 1949; *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 21 June 1949; "Springfield Sallies," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 22 June 1949; *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 23 June 1949; "Colleens Use Two Big Innings to Defeat Springfield, 12 to 3," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 24 June 1949; "Girls Will Play Again Tonight," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 24 June 1949; "Barbara Payne," *Times (Shreveport, LA)*, 26 June 1949.

⁵² "Petite and Pretty," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 3 May 1949; "Svelte Slugger," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 10 May 1949; "All-American Girls' Baseball," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 14 May 1949; Bill Kelley, "Chicks and Lassies Attract 6,000 in Two-Game Visit," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 17 May 1949; "Iron Woman Diamond Ace," *Terre Haute (IN) Tribune*, 4 May 1949; "All-Star Tickets," *Terre Haute (IN) Tribune*, 5 May 1949; "Star Backstop of Lassies," *Terre Haute (IN) Tribune*, 12 May 1949; "Pretty Prospect," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 13 May 1949; *Terre Haute (IN)*

campaigns from 1947 on indicate an attempted formula in dealing with advertising of games outside of the League's main area of influence while suggesting a demand for such games may have been present, as several locales appear more than once throughout the four year span.

With exposure created by these exhibition tours and spring training outside of the Midwest, the AAGBBL gained even more popularity, allowing for expansion. At the end of the 1944 season, there were six teams associated with the League. This number did not change in 1945, but the failure of the Milwaukee and Minneapolis clubs introduced two new League cities.⁵³ At the end of 1945, another expansion was announced, introducing two new teams.⁵⁴

The 10-team operation in 1948 raised concerns though.⁵⁵ While the 10-team league followed the

Tribune, 15 May 1949; *Kokomo (IN) Tribune*, 10 May 1949; *Kokomo (IN) Tribune*, 12 May 1949; "Highland Diamond in Perfect Shape for Girls' Battle," *Kokomo (IN) Tribune*, 16 May 1949; Jim Mitchell, "Friendship Ceases as Comets and Belles Resume Series," *Kokomo (IN) Tribune*, 17 May 1949; Jim Mitchell, "Comets, Belles Play Deadlock," *Kokomo (IN) Tribune*, 18 May 1949; "Girls' Baseball Team to Play Benefit Here," *Times* (Shreveport, LA), 9 June 1949; "Girls' Teams Coming Here Will Play Real Baseball, Not Softball," *Times* (Shreveport, LA), 11 June 1949; "Enjoy America's Newest Sports Thrill," *Times* (Shreveport, LA), 13 June 1949; "The Chicago Colleens," *Times* (Shreveport, LA), 14 June 1949; Barney Ghio, "Barney's Corner," *Times* (Shreveport, LA), 15 June 1949; "Tickets for Girls' Baseball Games Go on Sale Tomorrow," *Times* (Shreveport, LA), 19 June 1949; "Girl Baseball Ticket Sale Opens Today," *Times* (Shreveport, LA), 20 June 1949; *Times* (Shreveport, LA), 21 June 1949; "Springfield Sallies," *Times* (Shreveport, LA), 22 June 1949; *Times* (Shreveport, LA), 23 June 1949; "Colleens Use Two Big Innings to Defeat Springfield, 12 to 3," *Times* (Shreveport, LA), 24 June 1949; "Girls Will Play Again Tonight," *Times* (Shreveport, LA), 24 June 1949; "Barbara Payne," *Times* (Shreveport, LA), 26 June 1949; *Anniston (AL) Star*, 21 July 1949; *Anniston (AL) Star*, 24 July 1949; "Famous Girls Clubs to Play for Band Benefit Here," *Anniston (AL) Star*, 25 July 1949; "Girls Teams to Bring Colorful Baseball Here," *Anniston (AL) Star*, 26 July 1949; "Pretty Colleen," *Anniston (AL) Star*, 27 July 1949; "Ready for War Path," *Anniston (AL) Star*, 28 July 1949; *Anniston (AL) Star*, 29 July 1949; *Courier-News* (Bridgewater, NJ), 15 August 1949; "Colleens Win," *Courier-News* (Bridgewater, NJ), 18 August 1949; "To Pitch Here," *Courier-News* (Bridgewater, NJ), 19 August 1949; "Girls' Baseball Loop Stars will Play Here Tonight," *Courier-News* (Bridgewater, NJ), 20 August 1949; "Fans Await Appearance Here of Baseball Girls," *New Castle (PA) News*, 23 August 1949; *New Castle (PA) News*, 24 August 1949; *New Castle (PA) News*, 25 August 1949; "Charming Colleen," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 25 August 1949; "Darlings of Diamond Clash Tonight in Twin Bill at Memorial Stadium," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 29 August 1949; "Girls' Opening Clash on Sunday Afternoon," *Terre Haute (IN) Tribune*, 23 August 1949; *Terre Haute (IN) Tribune*, 26 August 1949.

⁵³ "Two Clubs Added to Girls' League," *Council Bluffs (IA) Nonpareil*, 11 March 1945; "Two New Clubs Added to Girls Pro League," *Mount Carmel (PA) Item*, 9 March 1945.

⁵⁴ "All-American Girls Open Florida Branch," *Escanaba (MI) Daily Press*, 29 September 1945; "Muskegon and Peoria Enter Girls' League," *Lansing (MI) State Journal*, 29 September 1945; "Peoria Given Franchise in Girls' Baseball Loop," *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, 22 November 1945; "Sports Briefs," *Ironwood (MI) Daily Globe*, 22 November 1945; "To Expand Girls Softball League," *Kokomo (IN) Tribune*, 29 September 1945.

⁵⁵ Arthur Meyerhoff Correspondence with Harold Dailey, 18 November 1947, *Harold Dailey Papers*, MSSP0014-2-B, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

growth of the League, recruitment schools had to be implemented to find enough girls to play, and such recruitment was difficult as there were fewer women that knew how to play the League's version of the game, due to rule changes that made the game much closer to men's baseball, not women's softball.⁵⁶

Increased discrepancies between softball and the AAGBBL led to a difficulty in maintaining the competitiveness of the League, which opened the baseball league to possible negative labeling. While it was extremely rare for any negative publicity to appear about the League, some negative labeling can be found. In February 1947, two players were described as "amazons" when some newspapers discussed their athleticism.⁵⁷ At the time, this term was derogatory for women, taking from their feminine qualities.⁵⁸ More often than not, the administration was capable of rebranding negatively labeled material into a positive spin, which was critical to maintaining the societal reimagining the AAGBBL benefited from. When a player punched an umpire in 1947, the incident was used to tout the strictness of the League and its rules.⁵⁹ The incident and the articles that resulted from it reinforced the legitimacy and acceptability of women's baseball. The positive labeling of the AAGBBL image relied on its connection to femininity. Building on the femininity principle, the masculinity of baseball was downplayed by the League, which adhered to strict rules and regulations.⁶⁰ Removing focus from

⁵⁶ Immediate Release, 27 February 1948, MSSP0014-79, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁵⁷ "Celtics Fight for Second Place Tonight at Armory; Girl Stars in Preliminary," *Troy (NY) Record*, 26 February 1947; "Girl Athlete Busy," *Courier-News* (Bridgewater, NJ), 28 February 1947.

⁵⁸ Cahn, *Coming on Strong*; Griffin, *Strong Women, Deep Closets*.

⁵⁹ "Gal Slugs Umpire, Draws \$100 Fine," *Tennessean*, 17 September 1947; "Girl Catcher Fined," *Arizona Republic*, 17 September 1947; "Girl Catcher Fined \$100 for Slugging Ump," *Albuquerque (NM) Journal*, 17 September 1947; "Girl Catcher Hits Umpire, Fined \$100," *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, NY), 17 September 1947; "Girl Catcher Slugs Ump, Fans Take Care of Fine," *Pittsburgh Press*, 18 September 1947; "Girl Catcher Slugs Ump; Fined \$100," *Indianapolis Star*, 17 September 1947; "Girl Gets Fresh with Umpire; Draws \$100 Fine for Slugging," *Decatur (IL) Daily Review*, 17 September 1947; "Girl Player Fined \$100 for Slugging Ump," *Des Moines Register*, 17 September 1947; "Girl's Punch Costs \$100," *Detroit Free Press*, 17 September 1947.

⁶⁰ Cahn, *Coming on Strong*; Griffin, *Strong Women, Deep Closets*.

masculinity reaffirmed the femininity of the players and the accountability of the administration, and, upon reestablishing femininity, reinforced that women's baseball was, in fact, a legitimate and acceptable activity for women. A similar incident between player and umpire was handled the same way in 1949.⁶¹

Another chance for negative publicity began appearing in early March 1945, when a quip made by a men's baseball manager stated Dorothy Schroeder, a well-known All American player, would be worth \$50,000 in the men's game. The original publication of this comment only provided a single sentence, with no photograph attached to it.⁶² This reference was repeated throughout Meyerhoff's association with the League. Playing at Schroeder's nickname, "Little Miss Pigtales," *Seventeen Magazine* reiterated the comment in a small article entitled "Baseball Men Envy Her."⁶³ In 1948 the *Ashlar* echoed the quip, as does the "Diamond Daisies" article in 1949.⁶⁴ These comments place Schroeder's talent in the realms of men, which could have been detrimental to the feminine image the League was trying to maintain. Yet, the appearance of a mock-up advertisement in the Meyerhoff Files indicated the quip was intended to be used positively.⁶⁵ The wording of the comment may be how the AAGBBL used it to its advantage. In none of the comment's appearances does it suggest that Schroeder should play men's baseball,

⁶¹ "Irvington Girl Fined \$50 for Umpire Feud," *Asbury Park (NJ) Press*, 4 June 1949; "Max Carey Slaps Gal Ballplayer—with Heavy Fine," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 4 June 1949; "My Goodness!" *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 3 June 1949; "Petras Handed Fine," *Daily Mail* (Hagerstown, MD), 6 June 1949; "This Woman Didn't Get Last Word," *Detroit Free Press*, 4 June 1949.

⁶² "\$50,000 Beauty," *Akron (OH) Beacon Journal*, 4 March 1945; "\$50,000 Beauty," *Arizona Daily Star*, 13 March 1945; "\$50,000 Beauty," *Herald and News* (Klamath Falls, OR), 10 March 1945; "\$50,000 Beauty," *Wilkes-Barre (PA) Evening News*, 16 March 1945.

⁶³ "Baseball Men Envy Her," *Seventeen Magazine*, September 1945, 68.

⁶⁴ "Belles of Baseball," *Ashlar* (April 1948): 4-8, 2003.31, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum at South Bend, Indiana.

⁶⁵ Meyerhoff Files, 2003.31, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum at South Bend, Indiana.

but instead indicated she was an extremely talented player. Phrasing and the League's control of the quip's appearance allowed the \$50,000 comment to be used for positive labeling.

When the image of the League was threatened, administrators reinforced the femininity, exclusivity, and legitimacy of the All American Girls Baseball League. Prior to the 1952 minor league ban on women playing in men's baseball, Dorothy "Dottie" Kamenshek was courted by a Triple A men's team from Fort Lauderdale. In May 1950, prior to the media picking up the storyline, Fred Leo made a decision among the board that Kamenshek was not to have her contract sold to a men's team.⁶⁶ The media picked up this information in August. Just a single page write-up and sketch in *American Magazine* highlighted Kamenshek's ability to play in the big-time.⁶⁷ Recording her stats and her history with the League, the writer divulged a comment about Dotty by Wally Pop, who stated that she played at the same caliber as the men.⁶⁸ The writer further indicated that Kamenshek only had an interest in competing with women, with no indication of Leo's refusal to sell her contract.⁶⁹ The newspaper announcements that followed outlined the Fort Lauderdale team's interest and a visual campaign captioned with a statement indicating the team's lost bid in the feminine player.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Meeting Minutes, 31 May 1950, MSSP0014-9-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁶⁷ "Dotty is a Slugger," *The American Magazine*, August 1950, 57.

⁶⁸ "Dotty is a Slugger," *The American Magazine*, August 1950, 57.

⁶⁹ "Dotty is a Slugger," *The American Magazine*, August 1950, 57.

⁷⁰ "Baseball," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, KY), 4 August 1950; "Baseball Remains Domain for Men," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 4 August 1950; Brislin, Tom R. "Up to Bat Your Local Female Ball Disciples!!" *Daily Courier* (Connellsville, PA), 5 August 1950; "Fancy Fielding Gal Can't Break into Big Time Baseball," *Times Herald* (Port Huron, MI), 3 August 1950; "Florida Ball Team Wants to Sign Girl," *Odessa (TX) American*, 4 August 1950; "Florida Team Fails in Effort to Obtain Girl First Baseman," *Dothan (AL) Eagle*, 3 August 1950; "Ft. Lauderdale Deal Off for Woman Player," *Akron (OH) Beacon Journal*, 3 August 1950; "Girl Rejected for Organized Baseball," *Kane (PA) Republican*, 3 August 1950; "Girls' League Balks at Offer to Sell Player to Men's Baseball Loop," *Lansing (MI) State Journal*, 3 August 1950; "Girls' Loop Turns Down Offer for Star from Class B Club," *News Journal* (Wilmington, DE), 3 August 1950; "OK for Women to Play Ball!" *Long Beach (CA) Independent*, 4 August 1950; "Organized Baseball Loses Bid to Sign Woman First Sacker," *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, NY), 4 August 1950; "Who's on First? Club Seeks Girl for Job," *Statesville (NC) Daily Record*, 3 August 1950; "Real Pro," *Lansing (MI) State Journal*, 8 August 1950; "Real Pro," *News-Herald* (Franklin, PA), 7 August 1950; "Real Pro," *News-Press* (Ft. Myers, FL), 10 September 1950; "Real Pro," *Palm Beach (FL) Post*, 13 August 1950; "Real Pro,"

Successes and failures of Meyerhoff's administration are indicated throughout the financial records of the AAGBBL. Financial records of the League and the individual teams show the attention that was spent on publicizing the women's sport. While records are far from complete, inferences can be drawn. Wrigley spent over \$5,000 in publicity and promotion his final season involved with the AAGBBL.⁷¹ Similar promotion budgets appeared in the Management Corporation from 1945 to 1947.⁷² The largest budget for the League, unsurprisingly, was in 1948, when the league drew almost one million spectators and ran a 10-team league.⁷³ As the lack of wealth amongst individual directors was realized and discontent began to grow, the budgets of the League took a hit, beginning most sharply with the promotion budgets. Individual teams demanded more autonomy as more financial burdens fell to them. As this internal war waged among directors, the 1949 and 1950 promotion budgets faltered.⁷⁴ In Meyerhoff's final year as owner, the directors stripped the advertising man's promotion budget to less than \$500.⁷⁵ The lack of a promotion budget stifled the League's ability to maintain its national presence and present a viable visual campaign to maintain its societal reimagining of the female athlete.

Rhinelanders (WI) *Daily News*, 19 August 1950; "Real Pro," *Shamokin* (PA) *News-Dispatch*, 8 August 1950; "Real Pro," *Statesville* (NC) *Daily Record*, 9 August 1950.

⁷¹ Fiddler, *Origins and History*, 137.

⁷² Fiddler, *Origins and History*, 137; League Expenses for 1945 Season, MSSP0014-1-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame; All-American Girls Baseball League Disbursements Report, 1946, MSSP0014-1-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame; Total Expenses League for the Year 1947, MSSP0014-2-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁷³ League Expenses, 31 December 1948, MSSP0014-2-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁷⁴ League Expenses of December & Total Expense for Year 1949, MSSP0014-2-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame; League Expenses to 31 December 1950, MSSP0014-3-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁷⁵ League Expenses to 31 December 1950, MSSP0014-3-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

The issues with the National Girls Baseball League (NGBL) and the autonomy of the individual teams did not ease the financial burdens of the AAGBBL. By 1948, proposed budgets indicated individual teams needed to contribute approximately \$700 apiece for the League's promotion.⁷⁶ With less financial security than the whole organization, individual teams faced enough burdens without being responsible for major contributions to the League's budgets. A lawsuit filed in 1949 among the AAGBBL and the NGBL is just one example of these burdens.⁷⁷ A \$25,000 suit was filed against the NGBL in September for supposed raiding of AAGBBL players. Players had broken contracts to play for the NGBL for higher salaries and the AAGBBL wanted compensation for damages. An inability to provide higher wages than the emerging professional softball league coupled with the high value of the damages being claimed and the hit to the high moral standards of players showed fractures in the AAGBBL beginning at the end of the 1949 season.⁷⁸

While the management structure that Meyerhoff introduced at the end of 1944 may have been ideal for the League at the time of purchase, growing discontent among team directors and changing social attitudes in the postwar era led to its dissolution in 1950. Without the wealth that Philip Wrigley brought to the League and with the loss of audience, the league and the management suffered heavy financial burdens. Rising frustrations among the League's leaders brought the League-Management contract under question and discussion of dissolving the agreement began as early as 1949. When the team directors succeeded in buying out Meyerhoff

⁷⁶ Proposed Budget, 1948, MSSP0014-2-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁷⁷ Meeting Minutes, 2 September 1949, MSSP0014-2-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame; "All-American Sues Rival Girls' League," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 3 September 1949; "Baseball Raid? Girls Insist," *Akron (OH) Beacon Journal*, 8 September 1949; "Girls' League Sues Its Rival," *Decatur (IL) Herald*, 3 September 1949.

⁷⁸ "All-American Sues Rival Girls' League," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 3 September 1949; "Baseball Raid? Girls Insist," *Akron (OH) Beacon Journal*, 8 September 1949; "Girls' League Sues Its Rival," *Decatur (IL) Herald*, 3 September 1949.

in 1950, the survival of the League was already questionable.⁷⁹ Arthur Meyerhoff lamented in a letter to Chet Grant in 1972 that he felt the league's great future had been condemned by a move away from its original principles.⁸⁰ It is unclear if he felt his administration had diverted from these principles or if he blamed the league directors who eventually ousted him from the League. Still, the letter is a clear indication that Meyerhoff felt the League faltered in its approach. Clearly, the inability to maintain the right image was a real issue, as the League folded soon after he had been removed. While Meyerhoff did not go into detail about what he meant in his letter, if the League is looked at from the advertising capacity he approached it with, strong indications of the League's struggle appear. Reinforcement of the positive label associated with the League lost ground as the image of the feminine ballplayer began to disappear and extensive advertising also faded. Moves away from these advertising approaches may have affected the League's future, as continuous societal reimagining was required to hold the acceptability of the temporary visual representation.

It is hard to say that discontent was rampant in the Management administration, as available sources derive mostly from one person: Dr. Harold Dailey of the South Bend Blue Sox. His animosity toward Arthur Meyerhoff was well documented. Throughout Meyerhoff's tenure with the AAGBBL, Dailey was shown to write not only disapprovingly of Meyerhoff and his Management system, but discussed openly with other directors and executives in the League his concerns over many of Meyerhoff's decisions.

Correspondence revealed further ideas that Meyerhoff had for the League, including a plan to return to Havana for 1948 Spring Training. Throughout 1948 and 1949, letters divulged

⁷⁹ Fiddler, *Origins and History*.

⁸⁰ Arthur Meyerhoff to Chet Grant, 27 July 1972, MSSP0014-71, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

the growing discontent toward Meyerhoff as the financial instability of the League became more apparent. Throughout 1948, a series of letters between Harold Dailey and Arthur Meyerhoff addressed many of the issues the directors held with the owner. While often addressed as “Art” in letters, Dailey began this string of correspondence in May 1948 by addressing Meyerhoff as “Arthur.” In his words you can see his skepticism regarding business decisions and seems to be throwing jabs at how Meyerhoff ran his League. He signs off the letter with “as commissioner I hope you will do something,” ascertaining no confidence in his ship’s captain.⁸¹ In Meyerhoff’s response, he revealed Dailey’s letter was regarding the “Chicago Fiasco,” which was questioned by several team presidents.⁸² In correspondence that is not contained in the *Harold Dailey Papers*, further escalation of this situation continued, leading to an August 1948 letter informing “MR. Meyerhoff” that state attorneys had been involved to deal with issues of League control.⁸³ Appearances of such correspondence indicated the growing instability of the organization. As the League became more unstable and internal struggles materialized, focus was taken from the visual representation of the League.

In 1949, Dailey wrote to Max Carey, then president of the League, detailing his grievances of a proposed split schedule for the League. He provided an itemized list detailing how this proposed schedule was going to negatively affect the Blue Sox, stating missed publicity opportunities in them, and was sure to make Carey know he blamed management for such an oversight in the proposition.⁸⁴ Dailey went further in August 1949 with a letter to Fred Leo by

⁸¹ Harold Dailey to Arthur Meyerhoff, 25 May 1948, MSSP0014-39, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁸² Arthur Meyerhoff to Harold Dailey, 29 July 1948, MSSP0014-39, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁸³ Harold Dailey to Arthur Meyerhoff, 11 August 1948, MSSP0014-39, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁸⁴ Harold Dailey to Max Carey, 8 July 1949, MSSP0014-22, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

stating that the problems the League was facing were an inability for certain people to adapt, and that this was not being properly addressed.⁸⁵

Another instance in 1950, Dailey made notes on a letter sent to all league presidents by Fred Leo. The letter itself called for “Another Life Saving Meeting,” as financial burdens by this point were beginning to pressure the directors. Dailey noted on the page that every other meeting had been life-saving, and blamed those in charge of the League. Revealing the turmoil surrounding the end of the 1950 season, Dailey noted the League must “get a man strong enough to run [it] and it will save itself.”⁸⁶ When the issue of providing Arthur Meyerhoff a League Pass in 1952 came to the Board of Directors, Dailey noted “Why? Meyerhoff did nothing but break the teams for years.”⁸⁷ While there are some indications from Dailey that other directors felt the same, these instances imply a dissatisfaction with Meyerhoff that could affect the sources. Dailey’s supposed disdain for Meyerhoff should not cloud the contributions Meyerhoff made to the League. If anything, Meyerhoff’s success in maintaining the positive image of the AAGBBL in spite of displeasure from some within his organization that were resisting his efforts speaks volumes about his ability to create, introduce, and maintain an otherwise controversial image.

In mid-July 1949, the first signs of dissolving the League-Management contract were marked in the minutes of the Board of Directors.⁸⁸ This instance only moved for a meeting to discuss the contract though, and none of the remaining 1949 minutes in the collection addressed the League-Management Contract. Dissolving the contract became a director issue again in

⁸⁵ Harold Dailey to Fred Leo, 26 August 1949, MSSP0014-33, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁸⁶ Fred Leo to League Presidents, 9 September 1950, MSSP0014-3-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁸⁷ Meeting Minutes, 23 April 1952, MSSP0014-9-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁸⁸ Meeting Minutes, 11 July 1949, MSSP0014-9-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

November 1950, when Fred Leo called for a December 18 meeting.⁸⁹ The letter stated the December meeting was to address unfinished business, and the first item appearing on the list of business was the “final draft of the League-Management dissolution agreement.” After calling the meeting to order on December 18, meeting minutes revealed the League-Management dissolution was the first item of business. Notes appeared on Meyerhoff’s statements regarding the dissolution and the discussion of the directors’ plans to buy him out. Before moving onto the next business item, the dissolution of the League-Management contract was accepted unanimously, calling for a reorganization of the AAGBBL and a new administration.⁹⁰

Meyerhoff’s expansion of the League and continued perpetuation of Wrigley’s softball image were all in an effort to maintain the societal reimagining that had been created for the female athlete. Tours exposed the AAGBBL to a wider audience and proved the players’ femininity to all who watched them play. Continued visual campaigns reinforced this feminization and legitimization. Meyerhoff took calculated advertising risks to maintain this societal reimagining and his success is indicated through the League’s accomplishments throughout his ownership.

⁸⁹ Fred Leo to League Presidents, 20 November 1950, MSSP0014-33, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁹⁰ Meeting Minutes, 18 December 1950, MSSP0014-9-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department.

CHAPTER 3

LEAGUE DIRECTORS, 1951-1954

Coverage of the American Girls Baseball League (AGBL) became increasingly localized with minimal opportunities for coverage around the United States.¹ Decentralization followed the move away from Meyerhoff's administration and publicity, promotion, branding, and visual representation of the AGBL reflected the change that had taken place. A shift in cultural influences in the post-war era caused some of these changes. Maintaining societal reimagining was more difficult when conservative social norms and traditions were reinforced by the population as the Cold War heated up. An organization once legitimized through extensive visual campaigns throughout the country's newspapers, the AGBL's coverage outside of team communities foreshadowed the fall of the once popular baseball league when it all but disappeared. Information and representations that did make it to the nation's news began showing further signs of decay, as negative labeling and issues within the organization appeared, the administration's showed its inability to grasp societal reimagining and branding concepts.

With the official dissolution of the League-Management contract in 1950, the AGBL had to reorganize. The meeting dissolving the contract adjourned the day before announcements began releasing about new strides the League was making. On December 19, newspapers began reporting on Fred Leo's new position within the AAGBBL.² The publicity man at the beginning

¹ While the League was popularly known as the All American Girls Baseball League through its final years, the official name after the reorganization in 1950 was the American Girls Baseball League, or AGBL, which will be used to refer to the circuit throughout this chapter.

² "Fred Leo Elected," *Baltimore Sun*, 19 December 1950; "Fred Leo Named Commissioner for Girls Baseball Loop," *Decatur (IL) Herald*, 19 December 1950; "Fred Leo Named Girls' Loop Boss," *Lansing (MI) State Journal*, 19 December 1950; "Girl Baseball Loop Elects Leo Head," *Courier-Post* (Camden, NJ), 19 December 1950; "Judge Elected Prexy of Girls' Baseball Loop," *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, 19 December 1950; "Kalamazoo Man Named Girls Ball Loop Official," *Battle Creek (MI) Enquirer*, 22 December 1950; "Leo is Commissioner of Girls' Baseball

of Meyerhoff's tenure, Leo had risen to the position of president when Max Carey decided to leave the League. Under the new organization of the League after Meyerhoff had been bought out, Fred Leo became League Commissioner as the directors began their trek to the 1951 season.³

Fred Leo was incapable of maintaining the same standards as the advertising man that had trained him. Meyerhoff's contributions to the AGBL, from the societal reimagining of the feminine ballplayer in 1943 to the extensive advertising campaigns throughout his ownership, were incapable of being matched by anyone else associated with the League. He brought the League to national attention and carried it through its most successful years. Unrest caused by a pressing want for teams to be independently owned led directors and team presidents to oust Meyerhoff without understanding the expertise he brought to the table. Unable to recover such expertise, the League's financial slump became more prominent in its final years, as it was incapable of maintaining the societal reimagining that Philip Wrigley and Arthur Meyerhoff had been able to create.

When Fred Leo resigned as League Commissioner following the 1951 season, he was replaced with a businessman who had no training in advertising.⁴ Earle E. McCammon was league director until the AGBL folded. The decision to hire him stemmed from his continuous support of the Kalamazoo Lassies, his home team, and the cost effective perks of putting him in

Loop," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 19 December 1950; "New Commissioner of Girls Baseball," *Jacksonville (IL) Daily Journal*, 19 December 1950.

³ "Fred Leo Elected," *Baltimore Sun*, 19 December 1950; "Fred Leo Named Commissioner for Girls Baseball Loop," *Decatur (IL) Herald*, 19 December 1950; "Fred Leo Named Girls' Loop Boss," *Lansing (MI) State Journal*, 19 December 1950; "Girl Baseball Loop Elects Leo Head," *Courier-Post* (Camden, NJ), 19 December 1950; "Judge Elected Prexy of Girls' Baseball Loop," *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, 19 December 1950; "Kalamazoo Man Named Girls Ball Loop Official," *Battle Creek (MI) Enquirer*, 22 December 1950; "Leo is Commissioner of Girls' Baseball Loop," *Terre Haute (IN) Star*, 19 December 1950; "New Commissioner of Girls Baseball," *Jacksonville (IL) Daily Journal*, 19 December 1950.

⁴ "Fred Leo Resigns as Chief of Girls' League," *Terre Haute (IN) Tribune*, 1 September 1951; "Retires," *Vidette-Messenger* (Valparaiso, IN), 1 September 1951.

the position.⁵ He lacked even a simple grasp of societal reimagining and advertising, as far as can be determined by documentation. While Fred Leo had minimal training through AEM, Co., McCammon was trained in running businesses, not promoting them. Even though the AGBL Commissioner needed to be able to handle business, he was also crucial to maintaining the league's promotional clout.

A discussion of money was continuous in the league's board of directors' meeting minutes and in bulletins released to the teams to keep them updated on information for upcoming promotional opportunities that could be capitalized on. In a bulletin from early April 1951, information appeared under the heading "Column Material" that addressed pieces of news that were being released to the media.⁶ While some of these materials addressed information to keep the public notified of changes in the league, other news focused on "Newsreel Day" and the details both the media and league operators needed to know to make this spring training event successful. Stating that "Newsreel Day" was May 1 and was to feature Peoria and Rockford, the bulletin went on to state that "movie men will be on hand." As was seen throughout other board meetings, newsreels provided important promotional material for the League.⁷ Updates had always been an essential part of news releases. The announcement of the Belles move from Racine, Wisconsin to Battle Creek, Michigan spoke of communities' changing interests. Battle Creek was a community that had covered the League extensively since its inception and received exhibition games enthusiastically, which indicated a good place to move a team when community and financial support in Racine waned. The rivalry between the AGBL and the

⁵ Merrie Fiddler, *The Origins and History of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2006).

⁶ Column Material, April 1951, MSSP0014-5-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁷ Column Material, April 1951, MSSP0014-5-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

National Girls Baseball League (NGBL) was also briefly addressed. Without someone trained to properly spin this information, a rivalry with a professional softball league took away from the League's positive label.

The importance of events like "Newsreel Day" and the appearance of the league in major publications is highlighted in another bulletin to presidents and managers from May 1952.⁸ As the publication of an article in *Holiday* approached, a bulletin was sent to all team officials to properly inform them of the importance of such an appearance.⁹ This bulletin carried a "Publicity Special" at the top of the page, updating the teams on the possible promotional opportunities that came with the publication.¹⁰ Suggestions on how to best use the prospects set out by the article for promotional purposes were laid out, including the recommendation to sell the particular magazine carrying the article at the ballpark and to promote it within their cities. The *Holiday* article was the focus of the bulletin, but it also addressed an upcoming newsreel that was to be released and inquired about an updated list for news agencies.¹¹ The bulletin closed with the statement that the league "cannot afford to overlook any angle to get the fans interest," as capitalizing on this article properly held the possibility of being "worth thousands of dollars" of publicity, far exceeding the monies set aside for promotion in the AGBL's overall budget.¹² As the League Directors attempted to deal with the responsibilities of running the League with no centralized administration, publicity opportunities began to disappear, which required capitalizing on each available prospect. A focus on local communities diluted the national visual

⁸ Bulletin to All Presidents and Business Managers, 16 May 1952, MSSP0014-8-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁹ C.L. Beimiller, "Women's Prettiest Ballplayers," *Holiday*, June 1952.

¹⁰ Bulletin to All Presidents and Business Managers, 16 May 1952, MSSP0014-8-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

¹¹ Beimiller, "Women's Prettiest Ballplayers."

¹² Bulletin to All Presidents and Business Managers, 16 May 1952, MSSP0014-8-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

representations of the League which made negative labeling a problem. Chances like the *Holiday* article and the newsreels were needed to continue the perpetuation of acceptable representation.

Correspondence throughout the League administration indicated the importance of *Holiday* and other major publications carrying articles about their women's baseball league when its continuance was being questioned by potential consumers. The images included with C. L. Beimiller's article, "Women's Prettiest Ballplayers," emphasized the tailored representation of the players that Philip K. Wrigley and Arthur Meyerhoff had labored so long to create.¹³ When these pictures were coupled with the advertisements and other images in the article spread, a sense of normal was established, reinforcing the positive labeling the American Girls Baseball League enjoyed throughout its tenure. The article, like many publications of the time, was careful to address the skill of the players and the importance of the League while not letting these statements overshadow the femininity of the players and their high standards.¹⁴ If this balance were to falter, the acceptable representation of the female baseball player and its positive labeling would be in jeopardy. A decline in national media coverage combined with little representation coverage combined with little representation in major publications in their final years blurred the lines between positive and negative associations.

Visual campaigns and references to Big League names drastically declined in the final years of the American Girls Baseball League. With league directors being in charge of their individual teams, national coverage of women's baseball increasingly disappeared. While local coverage was still prominent and national coverage did not completely evaporate, references to the AGBL outside of league cities fell heavily on syndication writers throughout the United States.

¹³ Beimiller, "Women's Prettiest Ballplayers."

¹⁴ Beimiller, "Women's Prettiest Ballplayers."

One way publicity and promotion materials in local media, and to a lesser extent national press, appeared was through information gathered in questionnaires filled out when girls expressed interest in the League. This information was used for administrative purposes, of course, but it was also released to writers covering the AGBL. While much of the questionnaire provided information about the player, their part in the game, and their knowledge of baseball, the middle of the “1951 Questionnaire” focused on other information to be used for publicity.¹⁵ Position, hometown, and general information was important in determining a woman’s worth to the League, as was her knowledge of the game she wanted to play professionally. Further questions in the document regarding a woman’s ability to sing or dance were not required information for administrators. The final space provided in this particular section went so far as to state “anything else that would help in a Publicity way,” indicating that once these questionnaires had been filled out and used by the League, information could then be shared with the media to provide profiles of players or information that might catch a reader’s eye.¹⁶

Newspapers from league cities attempted to keep locals interested in the League by providing profiles and information about the players and their comings and goings. The *Kalamazoo Gazette* featured articles like “Sportraits of the Ladies” to inform their fans about new players.¹⁷ Keeping locals informed on players provided interest in the game. Fans may have waited to attend games until their favorite player joined the team, and skeptical readers could have been convinced to try out women’s baseball if the right profile caught their eyes. The return of Fern Shollenberger (1946-1954) back to her team’s city in 1953 was indicative of a

¹⁵ Publicity Questionnaire, 1951, MSSP0014-5-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

¹⁶ Publicity Questionnaire, 1951, MSSP0014-5-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

¹⁷ Beth Selmer, “Sportraits of the Ladies,” *Kalamazoo (MI) Gazette*, 8 June 1952, MSSP0014-7-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

promotional set-up the AGBL had become known for.¹⁸ Providing profiles of players was a way to assert the femininity and skill of the women while pushing the societal reimagining the League had worked to create. While these profiles were not a prominent form of national coverage, they still seemed to hold a place in local coverage late in the League.¹⁹ Not only did profiles like this enhance the positive labeling of the League's representation, but, in AGBL cities, they helped the communities feel connected to the players.

As has been repeatedly stated, focusing on the feminine aspects of the players was always important for the continuance of acceptable play and the perpetuation of the positive label of the female baseball player. Although national visual campaigns all but disappeared when team directors seized control, photographs like the one of Anna O'Dowd and Beverly Hateell touching-up their make-up in the dug-out were important to continue the image of the feminine ballplayer in the cities that had established teams.²⁰ These visual representations, throughout the duration of the League, often carried eye-catching headlines like O'Dowd and Hateell's picture that declared "Time Out for Prettying Up."²¹ Common stock photographs also emphasized the femininity of players, like "Hurler" in May 1951, which shows Mildred Deegan kneeling in her Fort Wayne uniform, showing the tunic made famous by the league and the feminine ballplayer that wore it.²²

Yet, like the *Holiday* article, major publications held the largest pull in this era of the League. With national coverage disappearing, national magazine publications reached the

¹⁸ "We Thought You'd Like to Know..." *News-Sentinel* (Fort Wayne, IN), 3 August 1953, Personal Collection of Debbie Pierson.

¹⁹ "We Thought You'd Like to Know..." *News-Sentinel* (Fort Wayne, IN), 3 August 1953, Personal Collection of Debbie Pierson; Beth Selmer, "Sportraits," MSSP0014-7-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

²⁰ "Time Out for Prettying Up," Personal Collection of Debbie Pierson.

²¹ "Time Out for Prettying Up," Personal Collection of Debbie Pierson.

²² "Hurler," *High Point* (NC) *Enterprise*, 11 May 1951.

biggest audience to continue the societal reimagining of the American Girls Baseball League. *People and Places* in August 1951, for example, published “Feminine Sluggers,” which highlighted the achievements of the League, addressed the skill and femininity of the players, and provided photographs to support their information.²³ The article addressed the downfall of women playing baseball, which again reinforced the positive label the League had created. After several pages talking up the League and its players, providing statistics on the success of the League, and addressing the controversy between the National Girls Baseball League and the AGBL, the article concluded that “all of [the players] are typical American girls” and that “League rules further promote the feminine influence.”²⁴ Disregarding the NGBL controversy, this article acted like many others, perpetuating the feminine, positive image of the League, but the controversy cannot be ignored. While the previous administrations were careful to tailor all information released to the public on the AGBL, this administration was not prepared to do this. References to a controversy with a softball league tainted the All American representation and questioned the positive labeling of the league. While the controversy appeared in Meyerhoff’s administration, it was never as potent as it was with the directors.

Just a month later, in September 1951, “Leave it to the Girls” appeared in *Sport Life Magazine*.²⁵ Pictures were included in this article to emphasize the League and its focus on both femininity and skill. Like most of the other major publications throughout the tenure of the League, “Leave it to the Girls” was mostly informational and encouraged people to check out this odd form of baseball if they were in the area. From the introduction of Wrigley’s name to the

²³ “Feminine Sluggers,” *People and Places* 8, no. 12, August 1951, MSSP0014-7-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

²⁴ “Feminine Sluggers,” *People and Places* 8, no. 12, August 1951, MSSP0014-7-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

²⁵ “Leave it to the Girls,” *Sport Life Magazine*, September 1951, MSSP0014-179.6, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

number of teams and the League's budget, the article focused on league operations instead of the players. It went on to state how the AGBL differed from other possible recreational activities, stating it included "some odd twists" in the rules "concerning players' sex appeal" and the "necessity for makeup at all times."²⁶ This article attempted to hold up the positive label of the AGBL, but some wording missteps can be noted. In previous articles, the differences between softball and League play were addressed more fluidly than "some odd twists," which left room for ambiguous interpretation.²⁷ The article also seemed to address femininity rather abrasively, as it did when it described the delay of taking the field when the home team's "rightfielder [had not] finished applying lipstick," causing a possible negative rather than positive labeling of the League.²⁸

Articles were not the only way the League made it to mass audiences in the final years of operation, though success of such approaches seemed limited. A news bulletin in October 1951 released information about a Twentieth-Century Fox film, *Kalamazoo Klouters*. Stating that it should soon be available, the bulletin emphasized the film that featured the Kalamazoo Lassies to be used for publicity purposes throughout all League cities. Having already had a showing in Kalamazoo, the news bulletin further suggested a private showing should be set up to provide media the information it needed to properly publicize the film and the League to boost interest and attendance in women's baseball.²⁹ No further information about the film appeared in meeting minutes, nor are there any indications of the film's effect on the League's advertising and publicity.

²⁶ "Leave it to the Girls," *Sport Life Magazine*, September 1951, MSSP0014-179.6, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

²⁷ "Leave it to the Girls," *Sport Life Magazine*, September 1951, MSSP0014-179.6, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

²⁸ See Appendix H.

²⁹ News Bulletin, 15 October 1952, MSSP0014-9-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

The July 7 meeting also addressed a newsreel that had been created by Fox-Movietone.³⁰ Understanding the importance of the fast-growing motion picture, Commissioner MacMammon emphasized the reach of the company to be approximately sixty million people. Stating that such an audience was to be reached through “the best medium the League has ever had,” copies of the newsreel were to be made available to teams “for promotional material.”³¹ In August, the meeting minutes noted the film was to be available the next week.³² This meeting also addressed another important film opportunity for the League. Two days after the August meeting, Bonnie Baker, a well-known player of the time, appeared on CBS’s *What’s My Line?* a popular game show of the era.³³ A national network, CBS broadcasted to the largest audience the League ever had the opportunity to reach. The premise of the show was for celebrity guests to ask questions of a contestant to determine their line of work, with the contestant receiving \$5 every time they answered “no” to a question, with 10 chances for the panel to guess the occupation. Bonnie Baker went on to stump the celebrities for some time, but ultimately her occupation was guessed, and the “American Girls Baseball League” along with her team, the Kalamazoo Lassies, were mentioned on the network.³⁴ The appearance of Baker and the exchange she had with celebrities provided positive labeling for the League on a national level. As the AGBL had largely disappeared from the media outside of extensive local coverage, this popular game show provided a representation to the country of women’s baseball. Well-spoken, feminine, former

³⁰ Meeting Minutes, 7 July 1952, MSSP0014-9-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

³¹ Meeting Minutes, 7 July 1952, MSSP0014-9-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

³² Meeting Minutes, 15 August 1952, MSSP0014-9-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

³³ Meeting Minutes, 15 August 1952, MSSP0014-9-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

³⁴ “What’s My Line?—Perle Mesta (August 17, 1952),” YouTube video, 26:04, from a show televised on CBS on 17 August 1952, posted by What’s My Line?, 5 May 2014, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w=U1z-8HRNI>.

model Bonnie Baker was the perfect candidate to appear for a national network when they mentioned the League, which reinforced its positive label.

While coverage fluctuated throughout the run of the League, as play came to an end, larger gaps of information became obvious. The 1951 season saw very few changes in the coverage of the AGBL, but as league directors took control of all publicity and advertising, national coverage faltered, making it difficult to continue the societal reimagining of the professional female baseball player. The years of the league directors saw interesting opportunities to reach large audiences. Coverage outside of League cities was unbalanced, but television opportunities provided unique promotional prospects. Coverage to larger audiences had its drawbacks. While appearances on shows like *What's My Line?* or in newsreels at the theater reached large audiences, the more constant appearance of the AGBL prior to the League Director's Administration allowed for more people to be addressed more frequently, an important aspect of persuasive advertising. Television and major publications provided large audiences but had no follow-up to keep those people interested in the subject, therefore the representation was not emphasized as positive over and over, as it needed to be. Television could have been used to the League's benefit if an extensive advertising campaign had been developed for commercial use, but there are no recorded indications to suggest that was ever considered, much less implemented.

Not all national coverage in newspapers mentioning the American Girls Baseball League were direct references to the baseball league's operations. From mid-July to early-August 1952, Bill Veeck was in the news for the way he dealt with his team, the Browns, when they were winning versus when they were losing.³⁵ Pat Harmon, an NEA Sports Correspondent, wrote the

³⁵ Pat Harmon, "Veeck's Bows When Winning Irked Former Brownie Pilot," *Abilene (TX) Reporter-News*, 19 July 1952; "Veeck Took Bow When Browns Won, but Threw the Losers Back to Hornsby," *Daily Register* (Harrisburg,

article that addressed Veeck's behavior without the intention of promoting the League.³⁶ While Veeck had been associated with the League briefly during Wrigley's tenure, he had moved back to men's baseball rather quickly. The reference to the League actually came in the article through Veeck's connection to Jimmie Foxx, then manager of the Fort Wayne Daisies.³⁷ After this brief mention, in fact, the article digressed into a joke about a woman's ability to play the game with skill, dismissing the prowess the American Girls Baseball League had carved for itself in the ten seasons it had been around.³⁸ Comments like these provided more weaknesses for the positive label the League was attempting to maintain. While the big-name recognition of both Veeck and Foxx should have provided further positive labeling for the AGBL, the dismissal of its legitimacy as a real, competitive sport worked in the opposite direction, discrediting the image the League once stood for.

As the future of the league came into question in the final years, area newspapers covered the possibilities and rumors of the American Girls Baseball League in their pages. As early as September 1953, league city newspapers began printing articles on the possible folding of the league.³⁹ From Fort Wayne publishing rumors that industrial sponsors were buying into the

IL), 22 July 1952; "Bill Took Bow When Browns Won, but Threw Losers Back to Hornsby," *Jacksonville (IL) Daily Journal*, 5 August 1952.

³⁶ Pat Harmon, "Veeck's Bows When Winning Irked Former Brownie Pilot," *Abilene (TX) Reporter-News*, 19 July 1952; "Veeck Took Bow When Browns Won, but Threw the Losers Back to Hornsby," *Daily Register* (Harrisburg, IL), 22 July 1952; "Bill Took Bow When Browns Won, but Threw Losers Back to Hornsby," *Jacksonville (IL) Daily Journal*, 5 August 1952.

³⁷ Pat Harmon, "Veeck's Bows When Winning Irked Former Brownie Pilot," *Abilene (TX) Reporter-News*, 19 July 1952; "Veeck Took Bow When Browns Won, but Threw the Losers Back to Hornsby," *Daily Register* (Harrisburg, IL), 22 July 1952; "Bill Took Bow When Browns Won, but Threw Losers Back to Hornsby," *Jacksonville (IL) Daily Journal*, 5 August 1952.

³⁸ Pat Harmon, "Veeck's Bows When Winning Irked Former Brownie Pilot," *Abilene (TX) Reporter-News*, 19 July 1952; "Veeck Took Bow When Browns Won, but Threw the Losers Back to Hornsby," *Daily Register* (Harrisburg, IL), 22 July 1952; "Bill Took Bow When Browns Won, but Threw Losers Back to Hornsby," *Jacksonville (IL) Daily Journal*, 5 August 1952.

³⁹ Bob Renner, "Sports Onceover," *News-Sentinel* (Fort Wayne, IN), 16 September 1953, MSSP0014-8-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

league to South Bend assuring its readers that the Blue Sox would play in the 1954 season, the uncertainty of the baseball league after the 1953 season became apparent.⁴⁰ The *Chicago Sunday Tribune* went so far as to publish that the Rockford Peaches had given up hope of playing the 1954 season in November 1953, but this claim did not come to fruition.⁴¹ In the early months of 1954, rumors still rose in the newspapers regarding the league's continuance. In mid-February, Joe Doyle, a writer for the *South Bend Tribune*, postulated the league was unlikely to play in 1954.⁴² While the league voted to suspend play on January 25, another board meeting on February 22 addressed the public's response to the loss of women's baseball and the need to consider new developments.⁴³ The articles that seemed skeptical of the league's continuance may have generated enough concern to continue the league in its final year, as league directors overturned their vote of suspension and played the 1954 season. This plethora of evidence is not just about the financial instability of the League. The League's unstable finances was attributed to its inability to properly maintain the societal reimagining of the female baseball player. The concerns of continuing the League did not extend past the communities directly connected to the teams, and, therefore, had lost its foothold as a legitimate, acceptable avenue of womanhood in the nation. While a call to national appeal was unlikely to save the League at this point, the lack

⁴⁰ Bob Renner, "Sports Onceover," *News-Sentinel* (Fort Wayne, IN), 16 September 1953, MSSP0014-8-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁴¹ "Rockford Gives Up on Baseball League for Girls," *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, 22 November 1953, MSSP0014-8-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame

⁴² Joe Doyle, "According to Doyle..." *South Bend Tribune*, 12 February 1954, MSSP0014-8-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁴³ "Girls League Votes to Suspend Play," *South Bend Tribune*, 25 January 1954; Earle MacCammon to Directors, 22 February 1954, MSSP0014-9-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

of trying suggested the positive labeling and continuance of the acceptable representation nationally had already been lost.

The uncertainty of the league's success fell into the words of some team newsletters. Fan clubs for American Girls Baseball League teams were common in their cities. These fan clubs often provided newsletters to members to keep fans informed. In April 1954, *Daisy Fan News*, the newsletter for the Fort Wayne Daisies Fan Club, addressed the problems facing the Daisies and their fellow All Americans.⁴⁴ Aware of the league's near suspension for the 1954 season, the newsletter appealed to the fans and their potential to save the league. *Daisy Fan News* emphasized the "pressure and desire of the many fans" were responsible for the 1954 season and that these loyal fans were to show their appreciation by helping the league even more.⁴⁵ One of the reasons the board of directors had considered suspending play in 1954 was due to the loss of over \$80,000 the year prior, so the 1954 season wanted to reduce spending and increase attendance.⁴⁶ To show appreciation for the game and the league's decision to continue playing, the fan club suggested its members purchase tickets, solicit attendance, and emphasize that the game was baseball, not softball.⁴⁷ While the newsletter indicated a gallant effort by Fort Wayne fans, the outcome is clearly seen through the discontinuation of play in the 1955 season. Efforts by fans, communities, and teams were not enough to make up for the financial losses the League sustained, or the lost marketability through an inability to maintain societal reimagining.

Positive labeling began to falter and negative media about the League appeared more frequently during the final years of the baseball league. Negative coverage of League affairs had never been off-limits and was occasionally addressed, but the increasing rivalry between the

⁴⁴ *Daisy Fan News*, 30 April 1954, Personal Collection of Debbie Pierson.

⁴⁵ *Daisy Fan News*, 30 April 1954, Personal Collection of Debbie Pierson.

⁴⁶ *Daisy Fan News*, 30 April 1954, Personal Collection of Debbie Pierson.

⁴⁷ *Daisy Fan News*, 30 April 1954, Personal Collection of Debbie Pierson.

American Girls Baseball League and the National Girls Baseball League (NGBL) seemed to provide controversy at a time when the women's baseball league couldn't stand it. The Associated Press released several articles in mid-April 1951 about the NGBL suing the All Americans over players that were breaking contracts, the same claims from the 1949 lawsuit in reverse. Connie Wisniewski, who had signed to play in the Chicago-based National Girls Baseball League in 1951 left to play for the AGBL. In response, the NGBL filed suit against both the player and the League.⁴⁸ Tensions between the competing leagues had appeared in documents among league officials before, but this issue made news throughout the country. Negative press was not something that reinforced the positive label of the female ballplayer, and, therefore, was harmful to the societal reimagining that needed to be maintained by the league. The impact of this was negative for the AGBL. Having distanced themselves from the negative label of softball, a lawsuit between the organization and the NGBL linked the two sports. The connection of women's baseball with a professional softball league further chipped the positive label of the AGBL while calling into question the accountability of the administration, and, therefore, the legitimacy and acceptability of the League as a whole.

The 1954 season saw the league's final transition into hardball, and definitively mimicked the men's game except for the base path lengths. This announcement made it in several newspapers throughout the country, still trying to garner interest in the American Girls Baseball League.⁴⁹ The articles addressed the failings and achievements of the league as it came to its close. While no one knew these were the final months of the American Girls Baseball

⁴⁸ "Girls' Team Owner Threatens \$1.98 Suit," *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, NY), 12 April 1951; "Softball Pitcher to be Sued for Sum of \$1.98," *Arizona Republic*, 13 April 1951.

⁴⁹ "Girls Softballers Finish Transition," *Daily Capital Journal* (Salem, OR), 31 July 1954; "Girl Softball Stars Finish Transition to Pro's Status," *Asbury Park (NJ) Press*, 1 August 1954; "Complete Gradual Transition," *Eagle* (Bryan, TX), 8 August 1954.

League, the inevitability of the failing administration seemed to be clearly outlined. This transition, for example, took from a standard that had been well-established early in the League: the AGBL was not to compete with men's baseball. Just as the League was careful to be distinct from women's softball, it was also meticulous to highlight its difference from the men's game. A full transition to the rules of hardball provided opportunities for the League to be labeled masculine, and, therefore, unsuitable for women, taking from the positive label it had become accustomed to. The possibility of being labeled masculine took on added meaning in the post-war era, as a backlash led to the perpetuation of more conservative culture in the 1950s with little room for deviations from established social norms and traditions.

The administration's inability to compensate for the changing times which highlighted their lack of experience in the art of persuasion can be seen in some of the approaches Earle McCammon attempted throughout his tenure as League Commissioner. Early-July and mid-August board meetings from 1952 revealed important opportunities for publicity and promotion.⁵⁰ Tours throughout the years of the league had become commonplace, especially after 1947 spring training took place in Cuba. Exhibition tours, touring teams, and post-season all-star tours were important recruiting grounds for the American Girls Baseball League. Playing throughout the country and in other areas of the world allowed women's baseball to reach more people, both potential players and possible fans. In 1952, Earle McCammon introduced the idea of a new type of tour to the League, which would take the players through the United Service Organizations (USO) system to military installations throughout the world. Interest from the board allowed McCammon to look further into this possible military tour while he continued

⁵⁰ Meeting Minutes, 7 July 1952, MSSP0014-9-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame; Meeting Minutes, 15 August 1952, MSSP0014-9-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

plans for other tours associated with the League. While the USO Tour was addressed again in a meeting held on August 15, a tour was not possible until 1953 and does not seem to have come to fruition.⁵¹ This idea seemed to come from a place where the board was looking to increase profits by falling back on ideas that had been introduced in earlier administrations. Arthur Meyerhoff had utilized the advantages of touring to perpetuate the longevity of the League. Philip Wrigley had appealed to the nation's patriotism. MacCammon seemed to be trying to incorporate both approaches, which, if it had worked out, would have enhanced the positive label of the AGBL. His lack of knowledge surrounding the importance of such a venture highlighted the decline of the American Girls Baseball League.

The American Girls Baseball League faced its end at the close of the 1954 season. Incapable of making up for its losses after the 1953 season and only playing in 1954 due to a call from fans, the board of directors knew the women's baseball league had run its course. Still, plans and contingencies were set out to provide a league in 1955 if enough interest was generated. The board of directors laid out their plan for the 1955 season and the information they had taken from teams in the September 1954 meeting, but these plans were never used.⁵² While this meeting indicated interest from Grand Rapids and South Bend, an article from early 1955 introduced two different teams that were ready to play that season, Fort Wayne and Kalamazoo.⁵³ Yet, the *Kalamazoo Gazette* and other newspapers eventually carried the final news of the league at the end of that January.⁵⁴ The 1955 season was not played and the era of

⁵¹ Meeting Minutes, 15 August 1952, MSSP0014-9-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁵² Meeting Minutes, 17 September 1954, MSSP0014-9-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁵³ *Kalamazoo (MI) Gazette*, 1 January 1955, MSSP0014-8-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Special Collections Department, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

⁵⁴ "American Girls Baseball League Votes One-Year Suspension," *Kalamazoo (MI) Gazette*, 31 January 1955, 16, All American Girls Professional Baseball League Collection, The History Museum (South Bend, Indiana).

women's professional baseball closed. Fan and media appeal did not save the season as it had the year before, and although players went on to tour several years after, the League remained true to their decision of suspension and closed the book on the American Girls Baseball League.

Without the financial backing of a money man like Philip Wrigley or the brains of an advertising man like Arthur Meyerhoff, the American Girls Baseball League was not capable of maintaining the societal reimagining and positive labeling that had been created at its 1943 inception. As this acceptable representation of a female professional baseball player became less common and interest in the league waned, league directors were not capable of bringing the American Girls Baseball League back into the spotlight, and, within four seasons, it failed and folded.

CONCLUSION

Coming from a time period where the modern concepts of Brand America were developed, publicity and promotion of a possibly controversial image cannot be ignored. Throughout the Age of Persuasion, images solidified their connection to the perpetuation of American identity.¹ These visual representations and the perfection of advertising campaigns to manage public opinion opened the way for the All American Girls Professional Baseball League (AAGPBL), as it is addressed when discussing the organization's history as a whole, to become a positively labeled image foiled against the negative associations of amateur and semi-professional women's softball in a process termed societal reimagining.²

Creating visual representations to change perceptions was utilized throughout World War II (WWII) and the Cold War to manage public opinion while crafting, reimagining, and destroying established ideas in American society through societal reimagining.³ Rosie the Riveter, now an image associated with feminist thought, was introduced in this time to encourage American women to take jobs vacated by men going off to war. This image changed as the men came back though, as the riveter had served her purpose. Ideas and images like this led to what Patricia Vignola termed the Patriotic Pinch Hitter.⁴ Women were expected to take up the mantle while the men were gone, but, upon their return, were supposed to return to their submissive place in society. Visual representations that perpetuated such changing notions used societal reimagining until the campaigns had served their purpose.

¹ Dawn Spring. *Advertising in the Age of Persuasion: Building Brand America, 1941-1961* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

² Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter, *Voices of a Nation: A History of Mass Media in the United States* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1998); Hiebert, Ray Eldon, ed., *Impact of Mass Media: Current Issues* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, Inc., 1999).

³ Folkerts and Teeter, *Voices of a Nation*.

⁴ Patricia Vignola, "The Patriotic Pinch Hitter: The AAGPBL and How the American Woman Earned a Permanent Spot on the Roster," *Nine* 12, no. 2 (Spring 2004).

The ability to change perceptions through images introduced the importance of positive and negative labeling.⁵ Another way to manage public opinion, positive and negative labeling allowed for quick assumptions to be made about certain ideas or images.⁶ Rebranding of a new image, through societal reimagining, like that of Philip Wrigley's AAGPBL, created a new label for softball, and later women's baseball, to be accepted through a maintained positive label. Wrigley, and later Arthur Meyerhoff and the League directors, had to address the imaging issues of women's team sports while presenting their venture through the lens of the femininity principle, distancing the AAGPBL from presumed masculine connotations of female athletes.⁷ Philip Wrigley carefully tailored this representation, with the help of his advertising man Arthur Meyerhoff, to address these issues, making a distinct image for the League and those who participated in it. This distinction was not just between women's softball and the All American Girls Professional Baseball League, but also asserted the AAGPBL was a different game than men's baseball.⁸ A quintessential part of establishing these distinctions was through advertising campaigns to provide proper associations to the All American image.

In terms of the expanding Age of Persuasion the AAGPBL must be considered under, maintaining a positively labeled image was critical to the survival of the League.⁹ Without extensive publicity and promotion, a viable product did not exist for consumption. Positive labeling and societal reimagining provided the AAGPBL with a way to bring in new audiences,

⁵ Hiebert, *Impact of Mass Media*.

⁶ Hiebert, *Impact of Mass Media*.

⁷ Susan K. Cahn, *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth Century Women's Sport* (New York: The Free Press, 1994); Pat Griffin, *Strong Women, Deep Closets: Lesbians and Homophobia in Sport* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1998).

⁸ Merrie Fiddler, *The Origins and History of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2006).

⁹ Spring, *Advertising in the Age of Persuasion*; Hiebert, *Impact of Mass Media*.

expand to new territories, and maintain their established fans. When positive labeling and societal reimagining faltered, so did the ability to sell the League to the public.

Branding, through creation, maintenance, and labeling provided by the societal reimagining of the female professional baseball player gave a small space for the emergence of acceptable female athletes. This brand linked femininity to the AAGPBL, while maintaining the activity to be wholesome, patriotic recreation. In a time that negative labeling surrounded most female team sports, like women's softball, the All American Girls Professional Baseball League carved a niche for a legitimate, feminine team sport that focused on high standards, strict rules, and competitive play.

While the skill and competitiveness of the teams did play a part in the success of the AAGPBL, the ability to market women's baseball in the feminine image Wrigley created was crucial to its viability as a product. An important aspect of any product is the ability to sell it and draw in new audiences. Encouraging new people to attend games throughout this venture was essential to keeping the organization afloat. When mass coverage nationwide floundered, such a pull no longer existed and new consumers were not drawn to the game or the parks. Advertising campaigns in the teams' local communities still appealed to a limited audience, but returning fans and the skills of the players were not enough once the League's societal reimagining stopped being maintained. The goal of extensive advertising campaigns was to get people to the ballpark, and that, once they had seen the spectacle of women's baseball, people would come back.¹⁰ Therefore, the skill and competitiveness of the players was important, but the public had to be coerced to the field to experience it.

¹⁰ Making the Show Greater, 1943, MSSP0014-1-B, Harold Dailey Papers, All-American Girls Baseball League Collection, Department of Special Collections, Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

The idea behind the patriotic female baseball player that Wrigley created through societal reimagining at the inception of the All American Girls Professional Baseball League furthered his belief that baseball helped the war effort, and told consumers that women's baseball was an American activity. At a time when the sense of patriotism and American identity was being emphasized, marketing a new image as patriotic or American was essential to making the product viable. The focus on the patriotic faded as the League continued after WWII ended, but connection to the female ballplayers being quintessentially American never faltered.

While the patriotic image was not as prominent after the end of WWII, the American image of the AAGPBL may have been an important labeling strategy for the continuance of the League into the Cold War era.¹¹ At a time when the United States pushed the positive label of the American identity and way of life, its citizens were some of the propaganda machine's largest consumers.¹² By attaching the American identity to the AAGPBL, Meyerhoff played into the propaganda machine of the Cold War that managed consumers within the American population, and encouraged them to consume baseball as well.

Understanding that brand names had the upper hand in the United States throughout the 1940s, Philip Wrigley marketed the AAGPBL as an extension of his illustrious name, and brand.¹³ Wrigley's ability to properly market the idea of women athletes provided the League's original, unique space as an acceptable, feminine venture. By creating the product image and understanding the importance of offering sample opportunities for possible consumers, Wrigley provided a legitimate space for women's sports through the narrow focus of the All American Girls Professional Baseball League through societal reimagining.

¹¹ Arthur E. Meyerhoff, *The Strategy of Persuasion: The Use of Advertising Skills in Fighting the Cold War* (New York: Coward, McCann, Inc., 1965).

¹² Meyerhoff, *Strategy of Persuasion*.

¹³ Paul M. Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley: A Memoir of a Modest Man* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1975).

Not only was Wrigley's image of the female baseball player important for the success of his venture, but his focus on the war effort and providing an alternative to baseball played into the image's creation.¹⁴ Features to this image focused on the League's distinction from industrial and recreational softball, and was fostered through Wrigley's relationships with news agencies. Positive labeling, feminine imagery, support of the war effort, and persuasive messaging set Wrigley's league apart from other female athletic ventures.¹⁵ These factors set a precedent and standard for the League while fostering the belief that coverage increased interest and increased interest sold tickets.

Arthur Meyerhoff's league continued maintaining the image of the female professional baseball player Wrigley established throughout his tenure.¹⁶ While his advertising expertise was not the sole reason for Meyerhoff's capability to maintain the image of the AAGPBL, this experience paired with his understanding of business was crucial to his success. His long tenure as owner and his association with the All American Girls Professional Baseball League from its inception created a unique place for Meyerhoff to understand the League like no one else.¹⁷ While it is unclear whether Wrigley would have been able to provide similar success if he had remained with the League, the loss of Meyerhoff; the decentralization of the administration; and the fall of the organization showed that Meyerhoff's approach to the AAGPBL provided new opportunities and maintained societal reimagining of the League due to his expertise in business and advertising.

¹⁴ Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*.

¹⁵ Fiddler, *Origins and History*; Hiebert, *Impact of Mass Media*; Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*; Meyerhoff, *Strategy of Persuasion*.

¹⁶ Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*; Fiddler, *Origins and History*.

¹⁷ Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*.

Key factors introduced in Meyerhoff's tenure were expansion and visibility, exhibition tours, traveling teams, and farm systems.¹⁸ Arthur Meyerhoff changed several things about the administration of the All American Girls Professional Baseball League, most notably his shift to a profit based organization and his expansion of power within the venture.¹⁹ Due to his connection to the Wrigley administration, Meyerhoff maintained a continuity of the image and label of the AAGPBL.²⁰ His experience in advertising allowed for the proper phrasing, wording, and control of women's baseball societal reimagining that marked the difference between positive and negative labeling.²¹ Positive labeling faltered as administrations changed in 1950, as instability and internal struggle took focus from the League's societal reimagining. Without a proper budget for publicity, which was stripped after the 1948 season, the ability to create, introduce, and maintain the AAGPBL's otherwise controversial image was destroyed.²²

With Arthur Meyerhoff's departure from the League, the organization, already beginning to suffer from financial instability, was incapable of providing the branding that Meyerhoff had established. With clear signs of the possible decline of the organization, the League directors' inability to maintain a positive image of the All American Girls Professional Baseball League quickened the downfall. The decentralization of the League administration may have provided the final blow to the organization's stability, which was already faltering.

While the final administration had interesting positive labeling opportunities, decentralization and a focus on individual teams revealed new burdens and an inability to maintain national representation was detrimental.²³ If the League directors could have continued

¹⁸ Fiddler, *Origins and History*.

¹⁹ Fiddler, *Origins and History*.

²⁰ Angle, *Philip K. Wrigley*.

²¹ Meyerhoff, *Strategy of Persuasion*.

²² Fiddler, *Origins and History*.

²³ Fiddler, *Origins and History*.

to capitalize on opportunities like the appearance of Bonnie Baker on CBS's *What's My Line?*, they may have had a more viable product, but they did not and were incapable of managing the negative labeling that began appearing in the final years.²⁴ A final blow to the League came in 1954, after the loss of national representation by 1953, when the All American Girls Professional Baseball League made the full transition to baseball, which made it comparable to the men's game and, therefore, masculine and negative for proper women to participate in.

For all of these reasons, the League must be understood with consideration to its societal reimagining and its place in the organization's success. Publicity and promotion is overlooked in the historical narrative of the AAGPBL. Women's baseball representation cannot be ignored, nor can the opportunities it provided its players by giving them an acceptable avenue for sport. When considering this time period, marked as the Age of Persuasion, publicity and promotion, positive labeling, and societal reimagining are important to consider.²⁵ The positive label provided by the societal reimagining of the AAGPBL kept fans interested and provided a consumable product, making the ability to create such representation essential to the success of the All American Girls Professional Baseball League.

²⁴ "What's My Line?—Perle Mesta (August 17, 1952)," YouTube video, 26:04, from a show televised on CBS on 17 August 1952, posted by What's My Line?, 5 May 2014, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w=U1z-8HRNI>.

²⁵ Spring, *Advertising in the Age of Persuasion*; Hiebert, *Impact of Mass Media*.

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APPENDIX A: OFFICE OF RESEARCH INTEGRITY APPROVAL LETTER



Office of Research Integrity

April 19, 2017

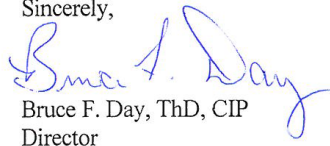
Kaitlyn Haines
2155 Gordon Street
Culloden, WV 25510

Dear Ms. Haines:

This letter is in response to the submitted thesis abstract entitled "*Creating a Female Athlete: The Power of Societal Reimagining and Advertising in the All American Girls Professional Baseball League.*" After assessing the abstract it has been deemed not to be human subject research and therefore exempt from oversight of the Marshall University Institutional Review Board (IRB). The Code of Federal Regulations (45CFR46) has set forth the criteria utilized in making this determination. Since the information in this study does not involve human subjects as defined in the above referenced instruction it is not considered human subject research. If there are any changes to the abstract you provided then you would need to resubmit that information to the Office of Research Integrity for review and a determination.

I appreciate your willingness to submit the abstract for determination. Please feel free to contact the Office of Research Integrity if you have any questions regarding future protocols that may require IRB review.

Sincerely,



Bruce F. Day, ThD, CIP
Director

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APPENDIX B: "GIRLS MAJOR IN SOFTBALL"

Girls Major In Softball



Irene Ruhnke of Chicago catching, Shirley Jameson of Maywood, Ill., batting, as girls try out at Wrigley Field, Chicago, for positions on four All-American Girls' Softball League teams. Philip K. Wrigley, owner of Cubs, is backing circuit with \$100,000. Cities to be awarded franchises have not been announced.

Anniston (AL) Star, 17 May 1943.

APPENDIX C: SOFTBALLERS OF THE 1930s



Ryan Reft, "Sporting Golden Age: Women and Athletics in 20th Century California,"

KCET, 20 March 2014. Pictured above is an American Legion Softball Team, circa 1939.

APPENDIX D: "NO GALPOWER SHORTAGE"



Escanaba (MI) Daily Press, 20 May 1944.

APPENDIX E: "A NEW MANPOWER CRISIS, LADIES"



Courtesy of the History Museum at South Bend Indiana. May 1944.

APPENDIX F: "CHEERFUL RHUBARB"



Daily Times (New Philadelphia, OH), 16 August 1947.

APPENDIX G: "SAL'S SOFTBALL BELLES"

Sal's

SOFTBALL BELLES

MANAGED BY AL ZIRKEL, THEY WON THE TITLE IN 1947 AND TOOK SEVEN OUT OF THEIR FIRST 11 STARTS THIS SEASON IN THE WEST ALLIS CLASSIC GIRLS' LOOP.

SKETCHED AT JEFFERSON FIELD BY DICK WEINERT FOR SPORTS REVIEW

All Stars West Allis Girls

When West Allis Classic league managers got around to naming an All-Star lineup to oppose the A-1 Queens in exhibition contests, Aug. 2 and 3, the voting was evenly divided. So, instead of matching the same outfit against the National Women's champions each night, the committee selected two teams.

Monday, Aug. 2
1b—Perez Lynch, Hub Auto Sales, and Joan Suttinger, Van's; 2b—Tony Jakubiak, Brill's; ss—Bella Zolka, Van's Foods, and Eileen Burmeister, Majdecki; 3b—Vivian Sheriff, Majdecki, and Elaine LaFond, Van's; lf—Jo Noel, Sal's, and Ellen Tronier, Van's; cf—Mary Colla, Van's; rf—Grace Wendel, Sal's.

Tuesday, Aug. 3
1b—Billie Nolte, Sal's, and Jean Redberg, Majdecki; 2b—Eileen Kunde, Sal's, and Susan Clayton, Van's, and Marge Lechner, Brill's; ss—Gladys Lecher, Hub's; 3b—Grace Piskule, Sal's; lf—Ruth Guntter, Hub's; cf—Audrey Mash, Hub's; rf—Bernice Higgins, Brill's.

The batteries for each night:
For Monday's game, Marge Peters and Betty Moczyzinski, Majdecki, Shirley Martin and Katie Hamilton, Brill's, and Virginia Krause and Adeline Kerrar, Hub's, were chosen to the All-Star squad. Tuesday's squad All-Stars were from the two leading Classic Girls' teams, Jinx Frank and Lefty Knapp doing the pitching and catching for the defending champion Sal's and Lois Krueger and Ruth Michalowski handling similar chores for Van's Foods.

Sal's, Defending Champions, Are Classy Outfit in Girls' League

With the regular season practically at end, the Sal's, defending champions in the West Allis Classic Girls' league, are again figuring prominently in the feminine sport. Including games played Sunday, Aug. 1, their record is 9-4 for-top honors in the loop. In 1947, Sal's finished with a 10-2 showing in league play.

Manager Al Zirkel, who had directed top girls' teams the past six years, has developed a strong aggregation, including such stand-out performers as Pitcher Jinx Frank, Catcher Lefty Knapp, Grace Piskule at third, Billie Nolte at first, Eileen Kunde at second, Jo Noel in left and Grace Wendel in center. The above-mentioned girls were selected to the suburb's All-Star lineup which faced the A-1 Queens, Aug. 2 and 3.

Miss Frank, a speed-ball twirler, has won nine against four losses through Aug. 1 in league competition, and she has twirled the Sal's to five straight exhibition victories this year. In addition to her back-stop chores, Miss Knapp has been hitting 400.

Miss Nolte is one of the best first-batters in the league, and Grace Piskule is among the high 300 hitters. Eileen Kunde's bit of

APPENDIX H: "LEAVE IT TO THE GIRLS"

OUT to the BALLPARK



THE SAME ole pep talk that baseball men know too well is rendered to team by Carey, former fielder. Dottie is at lower right.



IT'S NOT the powderroom really. It's just another clubhouse and the conversation here is about catching knucklers, curves; not men. The players are Ev Wawryshyn of Tyndall, Dottie and Kay Vonderau (r.).

DURING infield drills before game-time, Dottie wings a fast throw to first base. Note that while the glove is regulation, the shoes are specially built, similar to those worn by the diamond umpires.
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