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## **Integrated Baseball in Kansas during the Sport's Era of Segregation, 1865–1945**

Mark E. Eberle

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# Integrated Baseball in Kansas during the Sport's Era of Segregation, 1865–1945



Mark E. Eberle

*Integrated Baseball in Kansas during the Sport's Era of Segregation, 1865–1945.*  
Fort Hays State University, Hays, Kansas.

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*Front cover:* No photograph is known to exist of an integrated town team (first nine) or minor league club from Kansas prior to 1946. This photograph shows the 1917 Evans' All-Nations team, which was derived from the Horton Browns, the town's Black ball club, through the addition of white and Kickapoo players living in the area (see page 172). The players wore uniforms from the other teams they played for. Image courtesy of the Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence (Jules Bourquin Photo Collection, RH PH 30 D.961).





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# Preface

When I submitted my intent to retire from teaching biology at the university in the autumn of 2019, there was no hint of a pandemic. By the time I retired in the spring of 2020, I realized I would be spending a lot of time at home. To fill much of that time, I embarked on a variety of small research projects about baseball history that resulted in the publication of eight monographs from June 2020 to January 2021. It began with a story of baseball and mask mandates in California during the influenza pandemic of 1918–1919. Later projects included mental vacations through the beginnings of the sport in two of my former homes—Oregon and New Mexico. For variety, I explored three connections between baseball and unusual topics—between baseball and composer Scott Joplin, between baseball (and basketball) and the first highways to traverse Kansas and eastern Colorado, and between early baseball in Nevada and the federal mint in Carson City. There were also studies of the Chanute Black Diamonds, a Black ball club in southeastern Kansas during the early 1900s, and the first two minor league clubs in Topeka in 1886 and 1887. During the winter of 2020–2021, when I began to research the history of integrated baseball in Kansas prior to 1946, I anticipated writing a relatively short monograph similar to its predecessors. I was wrong. The wealth of information greatly exceeded my expectations. In research, however, being wrong can sometimes lead to a positive outcome.

The focus of this study is baseball history rather than social history, though the latter is an important part of the story. Publications offering fuller accounts of various topics pertaining to segregation and racism in the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are listed in the sources, and they are but a small sample of the research available for those who want more depth.

Part I of this volume consists mostly of the biographies of more than 80 Black baseballists who played for predominantly white town teams or minor league clubs prior to 1946, when Jackie Robinson broke baseball's color line. This was a period of both *de facto* and *de jure* racial segregation, which prescribed that such interactions should not occur. The fact that several Black baseballists also served as captains of their teams or as umpires—positions of authority over white players—was even more incredible. The biographies that tell their stories do not follow a single format, partly to accommodate the information available and partly for readability.

To the extent possible and appropriate for this compilation, the varied lives of these players while they were not on the baseball diamond are also summarized. The one thing they have in common is that they crossed the clearly visible color line in baseball. In some instances, they also sought to erase that line throughout society. In addition, many of these stories highlight predominantly white communities that chose to be represented by racially mixed teams during a time when segregation was pervasive and baseball was often viewed as a symbol of town pride and boosterism.

To fully appreciate the importance of integrated baseball during this period, examples of the broader scope of segregation, sometimes violently enforced, are essential. To this

end, the essays on segregation, exclusion, and other limitations across society in Part II are brief introductions for the readers who came principally in search of baseball history. Accordingly, these essays also include connections to baseball of the period—interwoven parts of the same whole. In addition, the essays on population dynamics and the broader consideration of segregation in baseball explain why, when, and where integration on the diamond occurred in Kansas—the opportunities lost and the opportunities found.

Integration in baseball did not occur only among town teams and minor league clubs. Thus, brief descriptions are included for integrated teams in high schools, colleges, and prisons, but each of these areas deserves a more detailed treatment than feasible in a volume of this length. This limit also led to separate publication of four monographs derived from this research. First was the story of the connection Andy “Lefty” Cooper, an inductee into the National Baseball Hall of Fame, had with Wichita, which included a Black ball club in an otherwise white city league in 1919. Second was a set of stories about Javan Emory of Pennsylvania and Jacob Francis of New York in the late nineteenth century and Hershel Schnebly and Howard “Smokey” Molden of Nebraska during the 1930s and 1940s and their respective experiences in integrated baseball. Third was the story of editor William Lewis Eagleson and the first African American newspapers published in Kansas, principally those in the state capital of Topeka. And fourth was the story of Alfred “Army” Cooper, who played for the 25<sup>th</sup> US Infantry, the Kansas City Monarchs, and several independent teams, including two integrated all-star teams in Wichita in the 1930s.

One of the stories included in a biography presented here is a fitting parable for all of the Black ballplayers who found opportunities to play integrated baseball prior to 1946. In the spring of 1898, the Atchison town team played a preseason exhibition game against the minor league club from Burlington, Iowa. In that game, Bert Jones, Atchison’s lone Black ballplayer, scored a run in a single plate appearance in which he swung the bat but never touched the ball. The bases were empty, and Jones had two strikes against him. The Burlington hurler’s next pitch got away from him and was headed well off the plate. Realizing this, Jones intentionally swung at the ball, which sailed untouched past the catcher. Jones sprinted “to first base on a passed ball and never stopped running.” Wild throws by the rattled Burlington fielders allowed him to circle the bases. Yet, he would not be credited with a run batted in (RBI) under these circumstances, even if the scorer had been disposed to record them. (The RBI was first proposed in 1879 but did not become an official statistic until 1920.) In this rare, if not unique, instance, a strikeout was as good as a homerun to a well-prepared ballplayer. Jones found an opportunity where none seemingly existed and made the most of that opportunity, even though the record did not fully convey his accomplishment. Such was also the case for all of the African Americans who found opportunities to play on integrated baseball teams prior to 1946.

There are still many threads to be woven into the fabric of baseball history, to which I offer this narrative of an understudied topic.

Mark E. Eberle  
Hays, Kansas  
September 2022





# Integrated Baseball in Kansas during the Sport's Era of Segregation, 1865–1945

Mark E. Eberle

On 7 July 1883, the *Atchison Daily Globe* reported a new baseball team would join the city's first nine. Atchison, Kansas is perhaps best known as the birthplace of aviation pioneer Amelia Earhart in 1897, but in the summer of 1883, baseball was all the rage. The city's first nine, the Atchison Blue Stockings, played most of their games on Sunday afternoons, a schedule not supported by everyone in the community. The local Presbyterians prayed for "judgement against the men who play base ball on Sunday, or patronize it." On a Sunday afternoon in August, the citizens who patronized the sport obligingly lost more than \$1,000 wagered on a game in which the outcome was uncertain until the final inning. The visiting Leavenworth Reds scored two runs in the ninth inning to claim a 6–5 victory. "Both the churches and the base ball match were well attended on Sunday."<sup>1</sup>

In contrast to the Blues, the new ball club announced in July apparently never dealt with opposition to Sunday baseball or high-stakes gambling. In fact, nothing more was published about the team after the announcement of its founding. Yet the description of the roster of this new ball club, to be known as the Nobby 9, was unusual. It included "three negroes, two Germans, two Swedes, one American, and one Irishman." At the time, integrated baseball teams were uncommon enough to be newsworthy, but there was an even rarer aspect of the Nobby 9. The predominantly white team was organized by the Black players.<sup>2</sup>

The Nobby 9 was not the first baseball team in Kansas to be racially integrated, nor was it the last. However, the roster reported by the *Daily Globe* reflected a portion of the nation's diversity and the broad interest in the national pastime by both native-born citizens and recent immigrants, regardless of race (or sex). Details of the team's roster were newsworthy because the club was organized during a long period in baseball history dominated by segregation, extending from the rapid expansion of the sport after the US Civil War to the signing of Jackie Robinson by the Brooklyn Dodgers after World War II. The focus in this narrative is on the integrated teams in Kansas (and touching on those in a few other states) that took the field during this period but faded from memory long ago.

The nation's first instance of an integrated, formally organized baseball club of adults documented thus far was the Florence Eagles of western Massachusetts. The club was organized in 1865, after the close of the Civil War. Its membership included white men from various social classes and one African American, Luther B. Askin. Askin was born in Pittsfield, Massachusetts in 1843 and moved to Florence when he was 6 years old. He played first base for the first nine of the Eagles in 1865 and early 1866. He continued to play for the second nine in 1866 after an unspecified illness. As befitting a good first baseman in the days before gloves were worn, his nickname was "Old Bushel Basket." In addition to his defensive skills, Askin was a "heavy hitter."<sup>3</sup>

The subsequent history of the early integrated teams is complex, but their presence in Kansas provides a unique opportunity to examine their history. During this period, major league baseball was essentially based east of the Mississippi River.\* This placed Kansas on the sport's broad western frontier, extending to the Pacific Coast and even to Hawaii and Alaska,<sup>4</sup> throughout which the uncodified agreement to bar Black ballplayers was well known but easy to ignore, except in some of the minor leagues. Also, the role of Kansas in the prelude to the Civil War placed the state on the boundary separating North from South. In addition to geography, most newspapers published in the state prior to 1923 and several published after that year have been digitized. Thus, Kansas is well suited to serve as a case study of the history of integration in baseball during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was during this period that a window of opportunity for integrated baseball in the state opened and then nearly closed.

This monograph is arranged in three sections. Part I is a roughly chronological series of biographical essays about the people and teams who participated in integrated baseball in Kansas prior to 1946 (Table A-1). The focus is on town teams and minor league clubs, but integrated teams at schools and prisons are briefly highlighted near the end of Part I. Long forgotten, it is important to recount these experiences, which ran against the pervasive segregation of this period, both on and off the diamond. Participation in integrated baseball was not widely accepted and did not have the lasting effect of Jackie Robinson signing with the Brooklyn Dodgers, but leaving their stories untold would be an injustice to them and the history of the sport. Opening with their stories also puts a human face on this subject. Of particular note, Black baseballists who umpired games involving white teams—Black men in a position of authority over white men—are presented in a set of essays that closes Part I.

Part II examines integrated baseball within the historical context of the era of Jim Crow. The events described comprise a mix of exclusion, segregation, and only occasional integration enforced by law, custom, or racial violence. Some are applicable to the entire nation, while others are specific to Kansas. Some had a direct connection with the integration and segregation of baseball teams, while others exerted a more subtle influence or simply reflected the circumstances during this period. The summaries are intentionally brief, with sources providing more detail cited in the endnotes. It is possible I have not realized the importance of some factors, and I hope other scholars will build on the research presented here to address its shortcomings or consider the topic in other states or regions, where conditions might have differed.

The third section is an appendix that includes tables of information about the players, teams, and communities included in this study (Tables A-1 through A-11). The dataset on which these tables are based is undoubtedly incomplete, but the information provides a substantial starting point for documenting this aspect of baseball history. While it is important to build on this compilation, the additions are unlikely to alter the patterns identified in this study of the events and circumstances in Kansas.

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\* St. Louis is on the western bank of the Mississippi River, and Kansas City, Missouri had major league clubs in 1884 (Union Association), 1886 (National League), 1888–1889 (American Association), 1914–1915 (Federal League), 1920–1930 (Negro National League), and 1937–1948 (Negro American League).



# Part I — Black Ballplayers Who Integrated White Teams and Black Teams That Added White Players

## In the Beginning, 1865–1879

Beginning with the organization of the first baseball clubs in Kansas, *de facto* segregation held sway. The first white ball club in the state—the Frontier Base Ball Club (BBC) of Leavenworth—was organized in late 1865, and the first intercity matches were played in 1866.<sup>5</sup> None of the early clubs was integrated. The first Black ball clubs in Kansas were the Union BBC of Lawrence and the Independent BBC of Leavenworth in 1868. The two teams split a home-and-home series that summer. Attempts by the Union BBC to arrange games with white teams in Lawrence were met with silence or bluntly refused.<sup>6</sup>

The first documented game between Black and white teams in Kansas occurred in 1870 or 1871, depending on the caveats applied. The first was in Fort Scott in March 1870 between two “juvenile clubs.” The white Crescents played an unnamed “colored club” twice that month, winning both games. The first match was not even played at the ball ground, and “ladies complain[ed] of danger in passing through the streets.”<sup>7</sup>

The next four games were reported in 1871. The first three involved pairs of teams from the same city. In Ottawa on June 15, an “exciting game of base ball” was played “between a colored nine and a picked nine of whites.” No additional information was provided, but Ottawa apparently had no organized town team that year. In Troy on July 15, a game between two named clubs was played—the second nine of the Topelians (white) and the first nine of the Thorntonians (Black). The contest was described in a detailed, if somewhat fanciful, inning-by-inning account. The Topelians held on to win, 22–21. In Leavenworth on September 4, the Red Stockings (Black) defeated the Athletics (a white “junior” team), 50–42. The first match between segregated teams from different localities was played on September 23 between the Wakarusa Valley BBC of Eudora (Black) and the Blue Mound BBC (white) from a rural part of the county. The Wakarusa Valley BBC won, 87–53.<sup>8</sup>

Later in the decade, another important first occurred in the competition between segregated teams in Kansas. \* In 1874, the “Colored Star Club,” named for a local barbershop, defeated the white Clipper BBC, 42–38, to claim the “champion ball” of the city of Fort Scott. In 1876, the Star BBC challenged the Olympic BBC, the new white town team, who chose not to reply through the local newspaper. However, the following year, on August 10, the *Fort Scott Daily Monitor* reported that the Stars defeated the Olympics, 20–10. The Olympics responded angrily in the newspaper, claiming it was a scrub team that had played the Stars, not the Olympics. Box scores were rare in Fort Scott at the time, but the Olympics had a fluid roster from game to game, and at least six of the nine players for the Olympics in the match with the Stars were reported to have played for the club in other games. There was no mention of the Olympics in 1878, but the club reorganized in 1879 and announced they would only play “any white club in the city.”<sup>9</sup>

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\* An open-access monograph on the topic is available at [https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all\\_monographs/11/](https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all_monographs/11/) (Eberle 2019f).

The Olympics had fabricated a weak argument to deny they were defeated by a Black team, and they were still defensive about the subject two years later. Other clubs would use the same argument. For example, the white Capital BBC of Topeka made a similar claim after losing to the Topeka Brown Stockings, a talented Black ball club, in 1885.<sup>10</sup>

The late 1860s and 1870s were certainly consequential in terms of Black baseball in Kansas, but one more event of importance occurred during this period. The first baseball team in Kansas composed of both white and Black players took the field in 1874. The team was the Douglas Avenue Nine of Wichita, but it was not organized as an integrated club. When the team from nearby El Dorado arrived unexpectedly for a game, some of the Douglas Avenue players were unavailable. Not wanting to decline the opportunity for an intercity contest, which was still an uncommon event at the time, the Wichita club filled two positions with players from a local Black team, the Wichita Valley BBC.

The historical road leading to this event began in 1870, when the city of Wichita was incorporated and underwent rapid growth at the northern end of the Chisholm Trail. The city's first named baseball team—the Maveric BBC—was organized in 1871. Two years later, the Arkansas Valley BBC was joined by an unnamed ball club organized by “the young ladies” of Wichita, the first female baseball club documented in the state. Otherwise, there was little mention of baseball in the young cowtown during its first four years.<sup>11</sup>

Baseball became more popular among the city's residents in 1874. In addition to the Douglas Avenue Nine, there were other nascent clubs of white players. On April 22, the *Wichita Weekly Beacon* published a challenge from the Douglas Avenue Nine to the Main Street Nine for a “friendly match.” The challenge was accepted, and a game was scheduled on the “Occidental’ grounds” (on “Market Street, between First and Second” Streets). In the newspaper column adjacent to the notice of the game was an announcement that the Occidental BBC had been organized. The club's president was a member of the Main Street Nine, and the secretary was a member of the Douglas Avenue Nine. That same month, the *Wichita City Eagle* reported that a Black baseball team—the Wichita Valley BBC—had been organized, with its grounds “just north of town.”<sup>12</sup>

In June, the team from El Dorado, about 25 miles to the northeast, challenged any nine in Wichita to a game in Wichita on July 4. Though not speaking officially for any of the baseball teams, the *Wichita City Eagle* responded, “we have a ‘colored’ nine in this city that can whitewash [shut out] the challenging nine Eldoradoites.” The boast was based on the 28–13 victory by the Wichita Valley BBC over the Douglas Avenue Nine on June 11. It was the second game played by the two clubs, with the Douglas Avenue Nine winning a six-inning contest in May. The *Wichita City Eagle* published a box score for the first game, shown on the bottom left of the next page. (The Douglas Avenue Nine also won the third game in August.) The attempt to organize the Occidental BBC with members of the Douglas Avenue and Main Street Nines in April apparently faltered. Thus, it was the Douglas Avenue Nine that accepted the challenge from El Dorado for a game on Independence Day. However, before that reply was delivered, El Dorado made other arrangements for July 4 and would no longer be able to play in Wichita. The Douglas Avenue Nine subsequently agreed to host the El Dorado BBC on Saturday, July 25.<sup>13</sup>

Instead, the El Dorado BBC arrived on Friday. This left the Douglas Avenue Nine unprepared, with some players unable to play. Why they did not choose replacements from among the numerous members of the local white clubs is unknown. Perhaps hard feelings had developed between the Douglas Avenue and Main Street Nines when they attempted to merge as the Occidental BBC. Perhaps the Douglas Avenue Nine simply recognized the talent of the Black players from their first two games with the Wichita Valley BBC.

Whatever the reason, Hoyt and Johnson, two members of the Wichita Valley BBC, filled in as the center fielder and shortstop.<sup>14</sup> Their first names were not given, but James Brunson identified James W. Hoyt of Lawrence as a member of the Wichita Valley BBC that year. Hoyt played for the Lawrence Eagles and sometimes served as the club's secretary and manager in 1870 and 1871 but not again until 1877.<sup>15</sup> The play of both Hoyt and Johnson was praised by newspapers in Wichita and El Dorado, though their efforts were not enough to prevent the Douglas Avenue Nine from losing, 24-16. The box score published in El Dorado's *Walnut Valley Times* (shown below on the right) identified the two Black players as "(col.)." The three columns of numbers in the box score recorded the numbers of runs (R.), outs (O.), and fly catches (F.C.) for each player. Fly catches were more challenging in the days before gloves were worn, making the statistic noteworthy.<sup>16</sup>

Despite the organization of Black baseball clubs in Kansas since 1868 and the success of the Star BBC of Fort Scott and the Wichita Valley BBC during the 1870s, it would be another decade before the next integrated baseball team took the field in the state.

Douglas Avenue Nine.	
Scheets, catcher,.....	6 runs, 1 outs.
Hyde, pitcher,.....	6 do 0 do
Fisher, 1st base,.....	3 do 5 do
Stewart, 2nd base,.....	6 do 2 do
Little, 3rd base,.....	5 do 2 do
Brown L. A., short stop,.....	6 do 1 do
King, right field,.....	4 do 3 do
Stephenson, left field,.....	4 do 1 do
Esterbrook, centre field,.....	4 do 3 do
Totals,.....	44 runs 18 outs.
Wichita Valley (colored).	
Hoyt, catcher,.....	2 runs, 2 outs.
Ewing, pitcher,.....	1 do 5 do
Spencer, 1st base,.....	2 do 2 do
Thornton, 2nd base,.....	3 do 2 do
Miller, 3rd base,.....	3 do 2 do
Johnson, short stop,.....	4 do 1 do
Jones, left field,.....	5 do 0 do
Barker, right field,.....	2 do 3 do
Adams, centre field,.....	3 do 1 do
Totals,.....	25 runs 18 outs.
Innings—1—2—3—3—5—6	
Douglas Ave. Nine	2 7 5 7 19 4=44 totals
Wichita Valley	1 3 5 8 3 5=25 totals
Flies Caught.	
Douglas Ave. Nine—5.....	Wichita Valley—5
Umpire—R. H. Bishop.	

DOUGLAS AVENUE.	R.	O.	F. C.
Hyde, P.....	1	4	0
Brownie, R. F.....	1	4	1
Stewart, 2d B.....	2	3	1
Hoit, (col.) C. F.....	2	3	0
Massie, L. F.....	1	4	0
Little, 3d B.....	3	2	0
McAllum, 1st B.....	2	3	4
Johnson, (col.) S. S.....	3	1	1
Sheets, C.....	1	3	0
Total.....	16	27	7
ELDORADO.	R.	O.	F. C.
Gossard, S. S.....	4	2	2
Shryer, C. F.....	1	4	2
Rix, 1st B.....	4	1	1
Frazier, P.....	2	5	0
Cooper, R. F.....	3	2	0
C. Clark Cap., L. F.....	2	4	2
McIntire, C.....	2	4	0
Myers, 3d B.....	3	3	1
G. Clark, 2d B.....	3	2	1
Total.....	24	27	9

Sources: *Wichita City Eagle*, 28 May 1874, p 3. (L)  
*Walnut Valley Times*, 31 July 1874, p 3. (R)

## A Player Unknown and Isaac Perkins

In 1885, the town of Argonia, southwest of Wichita, had a “colored catcher,” but his name is unknown. In June, the *Argonia Clipper* reported the town had no baseball club. “The fact is, all our people are industrious, and have too much to do to spend their time in this unprofitable manner.” Nevertheless, a baseball team was organized in August. In their second game, Argonia hosted the Danville Unions and lost, 16–12. The *Danville Express* mentioned Argonia’s “colored catcher,” but the *Clipper*, no fan of baseball, never reported the names of the town’s own players, making it impossible to identify the catcher.<sup>17</sup>

That same season, Isaac “Ike” Perkins took the field at least twice for Junction City. He was not in the box score for the game Junction City played in Abilene on June 30. However, on July 8, Abilene played a return game in Junction City, and Perkins was the home club’s first baseman. The *Junction City Tribune* published an unusually detailed box score for the time, which included an oddly named section titled “Summary of Incidents.” The box score showed that Perkins batted fourth but had no hits in five tries. However, he contributed on defense with 11 put outs and 2 assists (and 2 errors). Following this series, Perkins did not travel with the team on an excursion to Concordia on July 22. Junction City easily won the game against a picked nine of Republican River “valley amateurs,” including Frank McVey, a Black resident of Concordia who would become widely known as a singer and an umpire.<sup>18</sup> He is the subject of a later essay on Black umpires.

During August and September, Junction City, now playing as the Hornet BBC, traveled for games in St. Marys and Emporia, and they hosted teams from Salina and Clyde. The names of players were not published for the games with St. Marys and Clyde. A box score for the game in Emporia did not include Perkins, suggesting he did not travel with the team. The Hornets lost, 10–9. To make matters worse, the players returned to Junction City that night aboard a freight train distributing railroad ties. The 60-mile trip took 15 hours (8:00 p.m. to 11:10 a.m.). Perkins again played for Junction City on the home field against Salina, this time at second base in a 20–13 loss. Perkins scored two runs.<sup>19</sup>

In total, Perkins played for Junction City in two and possibly three games at home but did not play in three and probably four away games. These are the only known instances of Perkins playing baseball. However, other aspects of his life were reported in newspapers, census records, and city directories.

JUNCTION CITY.														
Innings.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	T	R	lb po a e		
Poland, s. s.....	-	1	0	0	0	-	-	6	1	3	3	4	0	
J. Hurley, c.....	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	5	4	3	4	4	1	
D. Hurley, p.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	5	1	1	0	7	0	
Perkins, 1st b.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	5	0	0	11	2	2	
Ziegler, 2d b.....	0	-	-	-	1	1	-	5	2	3	5	3	2	
Lusk, 3d b.....	-	0	0	0	0	1	-	5	1	0	0	3	2	
Thiele, l. f.....	-	0	0	0	0	0	-	5	0	1	2	0	1	
Stitt, c. f.....	-	0	0	0	1	-	-	4	1	1	1	1	0	
Fox, r. f.....	-	0	0	-	-	-	-	4	0	0	1	2	0	
Total.....	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	2	4	10	12	27	26	8
ABILENE.														
Sumner, s. s.....	0	-	0	0	0	-	-	5	0	2	2	3	1	
Combs, 1st b.....	0	-	0	0	1	0	0	6	1	1	9	1	3	
Morris, l. f.....	0	-	-	0	0	1	-	4	1	1	2	1	3	
McDowell, p.....	0	0	0	1	0	-	0	4	1	0	0	6	0	
Neisley, c.....	0	0	0	0	0	1	-	3	1	0	7	3	2	
Clark, 2d b.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	2	3	
Letts, 3d b.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	2	1	
Cunning, c. f.....	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	1	
Simmers, r. f.....	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	1	1	0	2	1	
Total.....	0	0	0	0	4	0	2	0	35	6	5	21	20	1
SUMMARY OF INCIDENTS.														
	J. C.	Abilene.												
Runs earned.....	4	0												
1st Base on Error.....	6	4												
1st Base on Called Balls.....	1	2												
Struck Out.....	5	7												
Left on Bases.....	9	7												
2d Base Hits.....	2	0												
3d Base hits and home runs.....	0	0												
Double Plays.....	1	0												
Passed Balls.....	1	3												
Wild Pitches.....	1	0												
Flies Caught.....	6	4												
Fouls Caught.....	2	1												
Out on Bases.....	12	9												

According to the census for 1900 and his grave marker, Isaac C. Perkins was born in Kentucky on 5 December 1864. He was not found in the 1870 census, but he moved to Junction City from Somerset, Kentucky with his extended family in 1872. Perkins was married twice. He married Irene Coutts in February 1885, but she was granted a divorce in April 1894. In June 1899, Ike married Inez Hickman of Manhattan, Kansas.<sup>20</sup> She was born in Mississippi on 4 September 1871 (1900 census) or 1 September 1873 (grave marker). No mention of children was found.

In addition to baseball, Perkins played saxophone in a “colored band” in 1885.<sup>21</sup> He was also active in politics as “a strong Abe Lincoln Republican.” The *Junction City Daily Union* once mistakenly implied he was a Democrat, and he wrote letters to local newspapers to express his frustration with the error and to publicly correct the record.<sup>22</sup> Perkins was also President of the Afro-American Advancement Club of Junction City before World War I. After the war, he was Chair of the local Equal Rights League. In line with his participation in these organizations, Perkins wrote a letter in 1911 to the *Junction City Sentinel* arguing against a previously published opinion supporting fully segregated educational institutions for Black students. “We have only one flag, and one government and all citizens have a right under this body. Inasmuch [as] our negro [sic] children have been taught at the same time and place [as white children], we want it to continue so forever.”<sup>23</sup>

According to census records and city directories, Perkins held a variety of jobs. In 1885, the year he played baseball for Junction City, his occupation was listed as farmer, the life his family had known in Kentucky. In 1889, Perkins drove a carriage for a local livery stable.<sup>24</sup> In 1900, 1910, and 1912, he worked as a porter, which might also have been his position when he took an unspecified job at the Union Pacific Depot in 1904.<sup>25</sup> In 1905, his occupation was listed simply as laborer.

Perkins also held several jobs associated with the military, facilitated by the proximity of Fort Riley to Junction City. In 1907, Ike and Inez spent almost six months at Fort Meade, South Dakota, packing furniture and other materials for the officers of the Sixth US Cavalry being sent to the Philippines. Afterwards, the Perkins returned to their home in Junction City at 527 West Third Street. In November 1914, Ike and Inez moved to Fort Sill, Oklahoma to work for Captain Fox Conner, who had been stationed at Fort Riley. Conner would eventually earn promotion to major general and, along the way, mentor a young officer named Dwight Eisenhower. Ike and Inez were employed at Fort Sill until July 1916, when they returned to their old home on Third Street.<sup>26</sup> In 1920, Ike was again packing furniture while living in Junction City. His association with the military continued in 1925 when he worked as a cook at Fort Riley. The handwriting in the 1930 census for Junction City is difficult to read, but his occupation was recorded as “Utility Main” or “Utility Man.” What that specifically meant and who he worked for are uncertain.

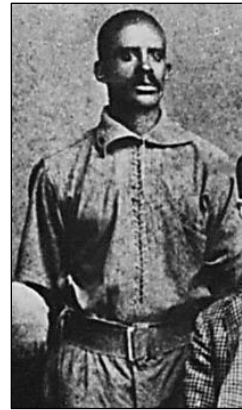
Even after subtracting his absences while working for the military, Perkins lived in Junction City for more than 60 years. Ike passed away on 16 February 1939, nine months after the death of Inez. They were buried in Junction City’s Highland Cemetery. Isaac Perkins is the first African American known to have played multiple games for a predominantly white baseball team in Kansas.

## Bud Fowler

Of all the ballplayers in this narrative, Bud Fowler is undoubtedly the most widely known. His story could fill a book, and it has. Given the focus of these essays and the availability of comprehensive biographies, this essay concentrates on Fowler's time in the West, with an emphasis on Kansas in 1886.<sup>27</sup>

John W. Jackson Jr. was born in Fort Plain, New York on 16 March 1858 to John W. and Mary (Lansing) Jackson. The family was recorded in the 1860 and 1870 censuses at Cooperstown, where his father worked as a barber, a trade adopted by his son. Why John Jr. began using the name Fowler during the 1870s is unknown, but he was referred to as John W. "Bud" Fowler while involved with baseball as an adult.<sup>28</sup> His career as a player included numerous teams across North America, beginning in 1878 (Table 1).

Fowler's time in the West began in late 1885. To open the season, he played for Keokuk, Iowa, and the club was briefly a member of the Western League. He was included in the team photo. Two weeks after the team folded on July 7, the *St. Joseph Herald* reported that Fowler and a white teammate would join a team in Hannibal, Missouri. An integrated ball club in Missouri during this period would be exceptional (see the Frank Maupin essay). The *Herald* quoted a statement about Fowler by David Corcoran, third baseman for the St. Joseph (Missouri) Reds. He had played with Fowler in Keokuk. "Corcoran says that Fowler, the colored second baseman[,] is a perfect gentleman and one of the best ball players in the country." Three days later, the *Herald* listed "Fowler (col'd)" at second base for Hannibal (mistakenly under a header for Sedalia, Missouri) prior to a game in St. Joseph. However, the Hannibal team telegraphed they could not make the trip across the state. Meanwhile, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reported that Fowler was to play in that city for the Eclipse BBC, a Black team, versus the white Compton team on July 26, but no results for the game were found. On August 5, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* reported, "John Fowler, the noted colored second baseman, lately with the Keokuks, is now in St. Louis and out of an engagement."<sup>29</sup> As of this writing, no contemporary documentation of Fowler actually playing for Hannibal or in St. Louis during July has come to light.



Then, on August 11, the *St. Joseph Herald* reported, "Fowler, the great colored player, is to play with the Reds in the future." A train ticket was sent to him, and he was expected the following day. The *Herald* gave a glowing account of his baseball skills. "Fowler, the colored player, will arrive to-day. He plays anywhere. He will play with the Reds at first, as short stop and change pitcher. ... He is what is known as a natural ball player, and there are few of them. If Fowler were not a negro [sic] he could get the best salary of any player in the country. Unfortunately, he is as black as the ace of spades, but a perfect gentleman in every way, respectful and polite to all." But Fowler did not arrive, reportedly because he went to the wrong depot. He was to arrive the next day, but again, Fowler failed to appear. The Reds' manager grew concerned and arranged for "Corcoran to go to St. Louis and look after the

man.” On August 15, the team from Hannibal arrived in St. Joseph for a pair of games, but Fowler did not appear in the box score. The *Herald* reported the Reds were out \$50 in their attempt to hire Fowler. “It is rumored that Fowler has signed with the Pueblos (Col.) nine.”<sup>30</sup>

After playing in Iowa, Fowler’s next trip to play baseball in the West was, indeed, to Colorado in August 1885. He was signed by the Pueblo Pastimes of the Colorado State League, which included only two other clubs—Denver and Leadville. Colorado newspapers frequently commented on Fowler. “He is said to be a slugger and a fine all around player.” Upon learning that Fowler was Black, the *Rocky Mountain News* in Denver predicted, “Fowler, the colored member of the Pueblo nine, will find no ignorant race prejudice on the Colorado circuit.” The newspaper also wrote that Fowler “always plays ball and is popular with his team.” While in Pueblo, he served as pitcher, catcher, shortstop, third baseman, and outfielder. “He is a player anywhere you put him.” When Fowler pitched, his catcher was usually Jack O’Connor, the team’s captain, and the duo was referred to as the “Shamrock battery.” The *Pueblo Chieftain* noted, “Fowler bats right or left handed. It all depends on whether there is a man on first or third.” A Denver newspaper commented on the presence of Fowler on the Pastimes roster. “Fowler is a very nimble player, and his alertness and knowledge of the game has won for him the distinction of being the best all round player of the Pastimes. He is as lithesome and good natured as he is black. ... He made some excellent plays yesterday, all of which were applauded.” He played with the Pastimes through the end of the season in mid-September. Later that month, Fowler traveled north to Denver to play second base for a picked team against the Denver league club, but he also pitched four innings.<sup>31</sup>

On September 3, the *Pueblo Chieftain* reported that “John W. Fowler, the well known colored member of the Pueblo Pastimes” was preparing to open a barbershop at the corner of Fourth Street and Santa Fe Avenue in Pueblo with a junior partner, Mr. Hayes. A few days later, two men attempted to rob Fowler as he walked home. Fowler was armed and fired two shots at the would-be robbers, scaring them away. A police officer heard the shots and came to help, but he and Fowler could not find the suspects. Fowler also earned money in footraces. At the Queen City skating rink in Denver, “John W. Fowler, of Pueblo,” participated in two races with roller skaters. He lost a race by about 15 feet in which he walked heel-toe for  $1\frac{1}{8}$  miles while the skater completed 2 miles. He won the second race by eight laps in which he ran 2 miles while two skaters covered 3 miles. He participated in similar races in other Colorado towns that winter.<sup>32</sup> Despite only recently opening a barbershop, Fowler left Pueblo on October 26. In November, he was reported to be in Denver, playing baseball when the weather allowed.<sup>33</sup>

In 1886, Fowler departed Colorado and joined the Topeka BBC, one of two Kansas clubs in the Western League.\* His experiences that year are described in an open-access monograph in more detail than practical in this essay. What follows here is an abridgement of the information in that publication.<sup>34</sup>

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\* Although some recent sources refer to the team as the Topeka Capitals (or Topeka Capitols), that name was not used in Topeka newspapers during 1886 for the Western League club.

**Table 1.**—Minor league baseball clubs and prominent teams on which John W. Jackson Jr. (1858–1913) played under the name Bud Fowler. He also played for teams not listed here (see Brunson 2019, pages 837–839). Teams in italics were composed of Black ballplayers. Information (other than California and Maine) was obtained from Laing (2013) and McKenna (2022a).

Year	City	League
1878	Chelsea, Massachusetts	-----
	Lynn/Worcester, Massachusetts	International Association
—		
1881	Guelph, Ontario	-----
	Petrolia, Ontario	-----
1882	<i>Pickwicks</i> , New Orleans, Louisiana	-----
	<i>Black Swans</i> , Richmond, Virginia	-----
1883	Niles, Ohio	-----
1884	Stillwater, Minnesota	Northwestern League
1885*	Keokuk, Iowa	Western League
	Pueblo, Colorado	Colorado State League
1886	Topeka, Kansas	Western League
1887	Binghamton, New York	International League
	Montpelier, Vermont	Northeastern League
	Laconia, New Hampshire	-----
1888	Crawfordsville/Terre Haute, Indiana	Central Interstate League
	Santa Fe, New Mexico	New Mexico State League
	San Bernardino, California	-----
1889	Greenville, Michigan	Michigan State League
1890	Galesburg, Illinois	Central Interstate League
	Sterling, Illinois	Illinois-Iowa League
	Galesburg, Illinois/Burlington, Iowa	Illinois-Iowa League
—		
1892	Lincoln/Kearney, Nebraska	Nebraska State League
	Findley, Ohio	-----
1893	Findley, Ohio	-----
1894	Findley, Ohio	-----
1895	<i>Page Fence Giants</i> , Adrian, Michigan	-----
	Adrian, Michigan	Michigan State League
	Lansing, Michigan	Michigan State League

\* Fowler was not found in box scores published in the *Portland (Maine) Daily Press* for their club in the Eastern New England League when he was not playing in Iowa or Colorado in 1885, although other sources report that he played for the Maine club.



The Topeka BBC joined the Western League in January, but a temporary baseball association was not organized until March 13. That left little time to establish a stock company, write a constitution and bylaws, arrange for grounds, and sign players. A league meeting was scheduled for March 27 to finalize its organization and set a schedule. Each team would play 40 games at home and 40 on the road, plus any exhibition games they chose to arrange.<sup>35</sup>

The process of signing players from across the continent to play for Topeka began in earnest and continued during the season to improve the team. One of the first players signed was Bud Fowler. He arrived in Topeka on March 9, before the baseball association was fully organized, and “offered his services to the Topeka team for the coming season.”<sup>36</sup> Thus, he sought the opportunity to play for a Western League club, rather than being sought by the club. Topeka’s slow organization meant it was the most viable opportunity for Fowler in March, and he was known to serious baseball fans in the region because of his time as a member of the Western League team in Keokuk the previous summer.

The Topeka BBC opened its preseason with a series of exhibition games at home against the new National League team from Kansas City on April 7–9. Kansas City easily won all three games. The score in the first game was 13–1, and Fowler drove in Topeka’s lone run in the fourth inning with the team’s only extra-base hit, a double. According to Topeka’s *Kansas State Journal*, “The best playing on the ground this afternoon was by Fowler.” The scores of the next two games were equally lopsided, 13–4 and 10–0. The bright spot in game three was also Fowler, as described by the *Topeka Commonwealth*. “Fowler, the colored wonder, was in the box [pitching] during the last two innings and created considerable consternation among the Kansas Citys by his terrible and wonderful delivery, and succeeded in striking out six men in succession.”<sup>37</sup>

In addition to exhibition games with Kansas City, the Topeka BBC played preseason games on April 22 and 23 with the St. Louis Maroons, also a member of the National League. Topeka lost both games to St. Louis, 13–3 and 12–4. Two days before the series began, Fowler was on his way to the ballpark for practice when he was bitten on his lower leg by a dog. There was concern the painful wound would prevent him from playing,<sup>38</sup> but as was his lot as an African American playing in almost entirely segregated baseball leagues, Fowler played through the pain whenever possible. In the first game with St. Louis, “Fowler, the invincible, ... sent a grass cutter to second, which was so warm that the baseman [Fred Dunlap] dropped it without hesitating, letting the runner to first.” Fowler also took a throw from the pitcher to pick off an inattentive runner at second base.<sup>39</sup>

Fowler quickly became a fan favorite in Topeka. His extra-base hits—mostly triples and doubles—were relatively frequent. In addition, his fielding could be stellar, though he committed his share of errors. Nevertheless, Fowler’s fielding percentage of .883 on 384 chances was relatively good for the Western League. Of the league’s second basemen with more than 100 chances, the top fielding percentages were those of Leadville’s Charlie Briggs at .896 on 240 chances and Lincoln, Nebraska’s Albert Swift at .891 on 330 chances. St. Joseph’s Oliver “Patsy” Tebeau, a future major league player, stood at .875 on 379 chances.<sup>40</sup>

Fowler was also appreciated for the cleverness he occasionally displayed within the rules of the game. In a close contest with Leadville on May 17, Fowler drove the ball to the fence in right field and made it safely to third base. Leadville immediately raised an argument with the umpire, accusing Fowler of a baserunning irregularity. What they specifically claimed he had done was not mentioned in the Topeka newspapers, but it was not unusual for runners to cut bases short. As the Leadville players argued their case, Fowler quietly came down the baseline to score while the Leadville catcher was “napping.” In the bottom of the ninth inning, Leadville led 4–1, but Topeka quickly scored two runs. With two outs and a runner on base, Fowler came to the plate to the wild cheers of the home crowd. “Twenty dollars for a home run!” Instead, Fowler grounded out to the second baseman, ending the game.<sup>41</sup>

The ability of an African American to play baseball in the major and minor leagues during the nineteenth century depended on the support of the local fans and the willingness of teammates to play with him. It also depended on his reception by fans and players of the other teams in the league, who could sometimes be openly hostile. In 1886, both Fowler and Topeka fans had these facts in the backs of their minds.

In Topeka, where he was a “favorite” of the fans, newspapers referred to Fowler as the “mascot,” but also as a “brunette,” a “dark horse,” and the “colored wonder.” The *Topeka Capital* tried to be cleverer, while describing one of Fowler’s good defensive plays. “Every man on the grounds was heartily in sympathy with the fifteenth amendment when Fowler (colored) made a brilliant running catch from second base into center field, and his colored brethren and admirers shouted until they were black in the face.” Similar terms were used on his first trips to Leavenworth and Lincoln. “Fowler, a colored chap, covered second for the visitors in fine shape.” However, the *Daily State Democrat* in Lincoln apparently could not be bothered to learn his name. “That Topeka darkey at second base is a dandy.” Four days later, the paper gave Fowler’s name as Edwards.<sup>42</sup> It was in Lincoln that Fowler received his first serious injury on May 21.

Fowler, the colored player with the Topekas, and one of the best in the Western League, had the misfortune to have his right shoulder dislocated yesterday. He made a safe three base hit and attempted to score when [Charlie] Hoover, catcher for the home team, put the ball upon him with vigor sufficient to throw him to the ground very hard. He will not be able to play for some days.<sup>43</sup>

Fowler had attempted to score after Swift, the second baseman for Lincoln, bobbled the ball when it was returned to the infield.<sup>44</sup>

A report in Topeka’s *Kansas Democrat*, although not likely based on firsthand knowledge of the “somewhat disastrous” incident, broached the subject of the catcher’s intention, given that the Lincoln newspapers referred to Fowler being “thrown” to the ground.

Fowler, Topeka’s favorite, and the best second baseman in the country, received an injury that will probably lay him up for a few days. ... The action of the Lincoln catcher in rushing upon Fowler, is severely condemned in this city, and it is believed by many, that the object was to do Fowler up at all

hazard. We hope that the nine will be able to do the Lincolns up without Fowler, but the fact still remains, that Topeka will be seriously handicapped in to-day's game.<sup>45</sup>

The *Topeka Commonwealth* expressed hope that the incident was accidental. "There is an impression among the friends of Fowler that he was purposely placed *hors du combat* on the Lincoln diamond. We trust that the impression is groundless."<sup>46</sup> Neither Fowler nor the management commented on the incident, at least not in Topeka newspapers.

The *Topeka Citizen* reported a rumor of a dire outcome of the incident. "It was reported on the street to-day that Fowler, the colored second baseman of the Topeka ball club, who was injured at Lincoln last week, had died Sunday. No word to such effect has been received by the officers of the club in this city, and the report is not credited."<sup>47</sup> Topeka newspapers followed by poking fun at the rumors. The *Kansas Democrat* offered, "Fowler, Topeka's favorite, and second baseman, will cover his old position this afternoon, and will demonstrate, that he is, at least, a very lively corpse." After recounting the various rumors, the *Topeka Capital* observed, "The present indications, however, point to the fact that Fowler is neither dead nor sleeping."<sup>48</sup>

Fowler was alive but unable to play. Upon returning to Topeka with the team on May 25, Fowler was "feeling as well and chipper as ever." He expressed an interest in playing, "but Manager Sheard thought best to give him a little longer time to rest."<sup>49</sup> Still, his total recovery time following the dislocation of the shoulder of his throwing arm was only six days.

Fowler's first game back was a slugging match with Lincoln in Topeka that lasted 10 innings. Topeka came to bat in the ninth inning down 13-10 but scored three runs to tie the game. In the top of the tenth inning, Lincoln had two base runners and no outs when the batter shot a long fly ball into the outfield that looked like a double for sure. Instead, center fielder George Haddock "made a fine running catch" and threw the ball to Fowler at second in time to double up the runner who had taken off for third base as soon as the ball was hit. Lincoln still managed to score one run before the third out was made, but it could have been much worse. In the bottom of the inning, Fowler was the first to bat, with Topeka down a run. Although his shoulder was still sore, he sent the ball over the center fielder's head and raced around the bases to tie the score. As was the custom, Fowler was rewarded by fans in the grandstand, who threw him "a number of quarters and half dollars." Topeka went on to win the game that inning.<sup>50</sup>

After he returned to the lineup, Topeka began to tinker with its roster, and Fowler occasionally filled in as catcher, a position he had played in the past, although he was primarily a second baseman after 1884. He wore a mask while catching for Topeka, but no gloves.<sup>51</sup> Pitchers had initially been limited to delivering the ball underhand, more akin to slow-pitch softball. As they were allowed to raise their release point and pitch the ball at greater speeds during the 1870s and 1880s, gloves became more common for catchers (and first basemen).<sup>52</sup>

In June, the Topeka BBC made its first trip to St. Joseph. The reaction in newspapers to Fowler playing in the Missouri city was mixed. The *St. Joseph News* thought Fowler was

“a good ball player but a little mouthy” and claimed that he offered to bet anyone \$25 that Charley “Silver” King, the star pitcher for St. Joseph, could not strike him out. “The coon is very much stuck on himself.” The *St. Joseph Herald* made similar comments.<sup>53</sup>

However, the *St. Joseph Gazette* saw Fowler as a drawing card and promoted his appearance on the local diamond. “Go out and see Fowler, the greatest second baseman in the west. He is the rival of Dunlap.” The promotion continued the following day. “Fowler, the colored second baseman, is said to be great, and the rest of the players are all exceptionally good.”<sup>54</sup> Fowler was allowed to take the field in Missouri without incident.

As Topeka continued to search for a means of improving their record, more changes came to the roster, and even the uniforms. A new manager was hired, and he moved Fowler to center field.<sup>55</sup> Fowler’s move to center field coincided with accusations he had recently played below his usual level on purpose to secure his release to play elsewhere. He denied the accusation, stating it was “entirely without foundation.” On the contrary, Fowler’s challenge in professional baseball would be to *avoid* release by a team. Topeka newspapers defended his recent troubles on the field, which they said resulted from “several very bad injuries” and his insistence that he still be allowed to play, as when he returned after six days following his shoulder injury. Fowler had recently been spiked at St. Joseph and “skinned up” at home against Leavenworth. “That he plays as well as he does is remarkable under the circumstances.”<sup>56</sup>

In a July homestand, Topeka defeated St. Joseph in the first game, with Fowler back at second base. He missed the next game because of a “sore foot,” though the cause of the problem was not mentioned. Topeka lost. “The home team played by no means an inferior game, though the strength of the nine was weakened by the absence of Fowler.” The third game ended in a tie and was later replayed. However, Fowler endeared himself to the local fans with a display of guile. A St. Joseph player stole second base, but Topeka argued he was clearly thrown out. They carefully argued their point, while keeping the runner on second. When Fowler returned to second base, he took the ball with him. The pitcher and catcher assumed their positions as if ready to begin, and when the runner stepped off second base, despite admonitions from his teammates to be wary, Fowler tagged him out. Once again, Fowler was busy picking up coins thrown from the grandstand.<sup>57</sup>

As more changes came for the Topeka roster, Fowler remained the primary second baseman, though he was sometimes used in relief as a pitcher and catcher.<sup>58</sup> Playing at home at the end of July, Topeka lost the second game of a series to Leadville, 3–1. Fowler came in to pitch in relief when the starting pitcher became too ill to continue. During the third game, Topeka defeated Leadville by a close score of 2–1. Topeka scored both of its runs in the third inning, which Fowler extended through creative batsmanship. Down in the count with two strikes, the next pitch was well off the plate, so Fowler intentionally swung and missed. The catcher also missed the ball, allowing Fowler to reach first base safely, as the runner scored from third base for Topeka’s second run.<sup>59</sup>

Fowler soon suffered another injury in a game with St. Joseph. The most dangerous place for a Black ballplayer during a game was when he batted. It was not unusual for batters to be hit by pitches, which made this an easy opportunity to hurt a player and claim it was an

accident. Whether the pitch that hit Fowler during the second inning in St. Joseph on August 6 was intentional or accidental is unknown, but it struck him in the mouth. He remained in the game but sat out the following day before returning to the lineup on August 8. St. Joseph newspapers did not mention the incident, but Topeka newspapers did, without comment. In addition to the physical ailments he was enduring, his wife, who was staying in Kansas City, was suffering from an unspecified illness. After a game in Topeka on August 12, Fowler left for Kansas City to visit her, but he returned to Topeka in time for the game with league-leading Denver the next afternoon.<sup>60</sup>

In early September, Topeka had 12 games remaining on its schedule. The first series was at home versus Leavenworth. The team then departed for Colorado to play four games each in Denver and Leadville. Topeka won two of four from Denver, who nevertheless clinched the pennant. They were not so fortunate in Leadville, where Topeka lost all four games.<sup>61</sup> Topeka newspapers reported the Topeka BBC finished in fourth place, with a record of 34–46 (.425), but it was actually one better at 35–45 (.438).<sup>62</sup>

The final home series with Leavenworth had marked the end of Bud Fowler's time with the Topeka BBC. Exactly what happened and even when it happened are unclear. On September 2, the *Kansas Democrat* reported, "Fowler broke a nerve in his eye just after he made a rank error." He committed two errors in the first game with Leavenworth on September 1. Yet, Fowler was in the lineup on September 2, an 11-inning contest won by Topeka, 11–8. Fowler had a single and two runs scored, with four put outs, four assists, and one error. The *Topeka Commonwealth* reported after the game, "Fowler is disabled and cannot play today" (September 3).<sup>63</sup> On September 7, the *Kansas State Journal* reported, "Fowler, Topeka's great second baseman, will not make the western trip, on account of his eyesight, caused by being hit in the eye with a ball at St. Joe" (instead of Leavenworth). On September 9, the *Rocky Mountain News* reported, "Fowler, the dark-skinned but active second baseman, was left behind with a bad eye, the result of a missed hot liner."<sup>64</sup>

Thus, it would seem Fowler was hit in the eye when he misplayed a sharply hit ball either in St. Joseph or at home against Leavenworth, and his sight became progressively worse. Consequently, he remained in Topeka while the team traveled to Colorado. However, subsequent events cast doubt on the full truth of this story.

In addition to the minor league team in 1886, Topeka had an "amateur" club that played intercity matches through the summer in pursuit of a mythical state championship. No formal structure to support such a claim was in place. It would also be more accurate to describe the Athletic BBC as a semipro team. They took trips through regions of the state that lasted several days, playing for guaranteed fees or percentages of the gate receipts. The Athletics were organized around a nucleus of players, with the remainder of the roster filled by other players at home and on the long road trips. Among them were members of the minor league club, as well as James Hightower, John Jones, and George William Castone, all of whom were Black (they are covered in the next three essays).<sup>65</sup> Thus, Topeka's minor league club and top independent team were both integrated in 1886.

Only two days after Fowler was left behind by the minor league club on September 7, reportedly because of the injury to his eye, Fowler and Hightower took the field for the team

from Twin Mounds, a rural area southeast of Topeka and southwest of Lawrence. Their opponent was the white Lawrence town team. On September 12, Fowler pitched for the Topeka Athletics in a 6–1 victory over the Atchison Pomeroy's, the city's white town team. Hightower also played at shortstop in that game for the Athletics. On September 14, Hightower and the Athletics defeated the Lawrence Eagles, a Black team, 10–9, in 12 innings. The Eagles' roster that day featured Fowler at second base, as well as pitcher George William Castone and catcher Frank Maupin from Kansas City (Maupin is the subject of a later essay). The following day, Fowler and Maupin formed the battery for the Eagles (Castone played right field), as they defeated the Athletics, 5–4.<sup>66</sup> All in all, Fowler was quite busy on the baseball diamond for a player who was losing the sight in one eye only a week earlier and could not travel with the minor league club to Colorado.

This raises the question as to why Fowler did not make the trip to Colorado. The actual reason is probably unknowable, but what is known suggests a possible explanation, though it is only conjecture.

Fowler's presence on the team had resulted in no apparent racial tensions with the other members of the club, so leaving him in Topeka at the end of the season after playing five months with the club for this reason seems unlikely. The managers had trouble keeping Fowler off the field following his injuries, even when his shoulder was dislocated and he was hit in the mouth by a pitch. He had essentially played the entire season with a single minor league club, one of only two times he did so in his long career. (The other was with Greenville, Michigan in 1889.) In addition to his respectable fielding record, Fowler's batting average of .309 topped all Topeka players and was eleventh overall in the league.<sup>67</sup>

Perhaps Fowler wished to stay behind, and the eye injury could be offered as a plausible reason. There were only eight more games that had no meaning for the Topeka BBC or the final standings. Instead, he could play baseball with other Black players around Topeka and Lawrence, about 25 miles to the east. Fowler was a promoter of Black teams and leagues during his career.<sup>68</sup> He had not given up on playing for minor league clubs, but opportunities for other Black ballplayers to take the field with a competitive team were important to him. At the end of September 1886, just such a proposal was reported in the *Lawrence Evening Journal* and picked up by newspapers in Topeka and Kansas City.<sup>69</sup>

Lawrence probably will have next year two professional base ball teams. The association here will organize a first class team and join the western league, and the colored men will organize a nine composed of the best colored players, and travel extensively through the States, playing exhibition games. This will be the only professional colored base ball nine in the west. It will consist of such players as Hightower and Fowler of Topeka, Maupin of Kansas City, one man from St. Louis and several professionals from different parts of the country. Only three or four Lawrence men will be played. This nine could play ball almost without error. They could compete with the league nines, and could probably make money for the managers. The colored men have proved their ability to beat the best Amateur nines in Kansas, and could organize a nine that would be "worthy of the steel" of any organization in the country.<sup>70</sup>

It is unknown how the idea for this team originated or who the driving force was behind the idea, but it sounds like Bud Fowler. However, organization of the team never progressed, and in November, Fowler signed with the minor league club in Binghamton, New York.<sup>71</sup>

Fowler returned to the West twice more to play for minor league clubs. In 1888, he closed out the season during August and September playing for Santa Fe in the New Mexico State League. Fowler primarily played second base, which was becoming his regular position, but he also pitched. He played first base at the end of August, when he had a “wounded knee,” for which the *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican* expressed concern. “Fowler can play ball anywhere, but this is no reason he should be worked to death.” He also fell ill in late September. As the season came to an end, Fowler repeated the actions he took in Pueblo three years earlier. “Second Baseman Fowler, he of the Santa Fe team whom everybody delights to see play ball, is going to settle down as a permanent resident of Santa Fe. Yesterday he and Barber [L.B.] Haskins formed a co-partnership and bought out Johnny Alire’s Capital City barber shop.” The shop was on the west side of the plaza, near the Hotel Capital. As in Pueblo, the arrangement was brief. In October, Fowler was one of the Santa Fe players, who, along with a few pickups from other clubs, arranged to tour southern California, sharing the costs and income in equal shares. The plan fell through, and a week later, Fowler reportedly received word his father had died, so he sold his share of the barbershop and headed to New York. But that is not what actually happened.<sup>72</sup>

In November, word reached Santa Fe that Fowler’s father had, in fact, not died, and “Fowler, the great colored second base man,” had joined the baseball club in San Bernardino, California. He caught and played shortstop, second base, and third base. Some of his former teammates in New Mexico also played winter ball in California. In addition, Fowler engaged in footraces for prize money. On December 28, the *San Bernardino Daily Courier* reported, “Fowler, the favorite player of the San Bernardin[o] Club, received an offer yesterday from the Milwaukee team of \$2500 for the next season’s work.” Milwaukee would play in the Western Association in 1889, but the team’s roster would not include Fowler. The following day, the *Courier* published the batting and fielding averages of the San Bernardino players to that point. Fowler had played in all 10 games and was tied for the top batting average of .333 (he was 17 for 51 and the other player was 12 for 36, erroneously reported as an average of .335). Fowler also led the club in stolen bases with 14. On the defensive side, his fielding percentage was .909. In February 1889, after the season ended for San Bernardino, Fowler played for other teams in Los Angeles, Riverside, and San Bernardino. In a unique “doubleheader” in San Bernardino, a team of “professionals” (including Fowler) played a baseball game against “home boys” followed by a football game between the nines, “something never seen in San Bernardino.” After wintering in southern California, Fowler headed east in March and played for clubs in the Midwest.<sup>73</sup>

Fowler returned to the West in 1892, when he signed with the Lincoln club in the Nebraska State League. Initially, George William Castone had attempted to enter the Lincoln Giants, a competitive Black ball club of the previous two years, into the league. When that effort was blocked, six of the Giants’ players were signed by predominantly white clubs in the league. In all, three of the six league clubs were integrated—George Taylor

with Beatrice; Frank Maupin, John Patterson, and John Reeves with Plattsmouth; and Bud Fowler and George William Castone with Lincoln. After the Lincoln club folded, several of the players were signed by a replacement team in Kearney. The schedule was to start May 1 and run through September 15, but the league folded over an extended period as teams disbanded in June and July—Fremont on June 20, Plattsmouth on June 26, Beatrice on July 5, Grand Island on July 9, and Hastings on July 14, which left only Kearney. As described in detail by Gregory Bond, racial dissension and other factors were to blame. Ulysses Rohrer of Hastings, who took over as league secretary partway through the season, was a lightning rod for complaints by some of the clubs for the way he handled his league job while still being associated with the club in Hastings. He was also a vocal racist.<sup>74</sup>

After the first exhibition game, a 2–0 loss to Beatrice, both the *Lincoln Evening News* and *Daily Nebraska State Journal* referred to Lincoln's second baseman as "Grandpa Fowler" and praised his play. (He had only been playing professionally 14 years, not the 24 years mentioned by the *Journal*.) "Grandpa Fowler, who first introduced the game in Hoboken in 1493, covered second and the quarter section adjacent thereto, ate base hits with the avidity of a poor relation at the first meal with you, and batted like the second cousin of a fiend." The exaggerated description was not accompanied by a box score or detailed summary of the game. When the Lincoln club disbanded after two weeks, it was up to Kearney to decide which players would be signed. Plattsmouth, which already had three Black players, was interested in signing Fowler, but Kearney opted to sign both Fowler and Castone. Box scores were found for 36 of 43 games for the Lincoln and Kearney clubs, beginning May 2. Fowler was credited with 47 hits in 182 at bats for an average of .258. At age 34, Fowler was still running, stealing five bases in the second game of a doubleheader on June 2 and again in a game on June 5 (stolen bases for individuals were reported infrequently). It was a short season, and after the league folded in mid-July, Castone tried to reorganize the Lincoln Giants with Fowler on the roster, but he could not secure the financial support.<sup>75</sup> The Nebraska State League was Fowler's final turn as a player in the West, but he was occasionally involved with teams in northwestern Missouri through the turn of the century.

In March 1898, it was reported that Fowler had been elected president of the Black Wonders baseball club of St. Joseph, Missouri, though he was not listed among the players. Fowler's direct involvement with the Black Wonders might have been relatively limited, because he moved around from one team or baseball project to another. In June 1899, the *St. Joseph Gazette* reported that Fowler had given up his stake in the Black Wonders. "Jeff Banks and Bud Fowler, who for several years had control of the Black Wonders of this city, yesterday disposed of their team to H.H. Walker, who will in the future control and manage the club." It was Walker's goal to organize a league of Black ball clubs in the region, but the plan was unsuccessful. Even after Fowler surrendered control of the Black Wonders, his famous name continued to be associated with the club.<sup>76</sup>

In February 1900, Fowler was again involved with the Black Wonders as he attempted to organize a league of Black baseball clubs. "All of the local fans are delighted to see Manager Fowler at the head of the 'Wonders.'" His proposed league would include three other cities in Missouri—Kansas City, Lexington, and Richmond—as well as clubs in



Lawrence, Topeka, Omaha, and Des Moines. Although nothing came of the proposed league, the *St. Joseph Sunday Herald* referred to an upcoming game in June as being an official contest in the Inter-State League of Colored Base Ball Players. The roster of the Kansas City team indicated it was the Jenkins' Sons, renamed the Kansas City Monarchs in 1908–1909. One of the team's founding members and pitchers was Thomas McCampbell, the subject of a later essay. The information about the league contest in June was probably supplied to the newspaper by Fowler or one of his associates. Though there is no other information to support the organization of a league, Fowler apparently persisted in the attempt and continued as manager of the Wonders through the end of the season.<sup>77</sup>

On September 16, a game between the Black Wonders and the Lexington Tigers, a prominent Black ball club in the Kansas City region, would reportedly feature another nationally known Black ballplayer. Lexington's roster was going to be bolstered by a ringer at second base. The *St. Joseph Gazette-Herald*, which frequently printed incorrect names of players on visiting Black teams, listed the ringer as "George Grant, formerly with the Cuban Joints" (Giants). If true, then the first name is almost certainly an error. At the time, there was an excellent second baseman named Frank Grant, who was inducted into the National Baseball Hall of Fame in 2006. Grant played on the East Coast for the Cuban Giants in 1889–1897, Cuban X-Giants in 1898–1899, and Genuine Cuban Giants in 1900–1901. Relevant to the newspaper report in St. Joseph is the fact that the Genuine Cuban Giants released Frank Grant in July 1900, which makes it plausible he could be a ringer for the Lexington Tigers in the game played at St. Joseph in September. Unfortunately, no results for the game or other details were published. The final mention of Fowler's association with the Black Wonders was in April 1902, when he was again reported to be the club's manager.<sup>78</sup>

In late 1904, Fowler was in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he spoke with a reporter about his expectation that there would someday be a league of Black baseball teams. He also stated, "This was the greatest year in baseball's history for the independent clubs. My Kansas City Stars did splendidly in a tour of Kansas and Nebraska." I was unable to find any record of a Black team with that name (or Bud Fowler) touring Kansas, which has an extensive online collection of early newspapers. There was an amateur team in Kansas City known as the Kansas City Stars (also the name of a local newspaper) in 1904, but they challenged local teams with players only 13 or 14 years old.<sup>79</sup> Fowler's statement about the Kansas City Stars is currently unsubstantiated.

After the turn of the century, the aging Fowler primarily served as the manager of barnstorming teams of Black ballplayers. In September 1908, there was a report in *Sporting Life* that he suffered from consumption (tuberculosis). The note also praised the ballplayer. Fowler corrected the rumor in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* in January 1909 and *Sporting Life* in March 1909, explaining that one of his kidneys had been damaged by a broken rib, an injury sustained while stealing a base six or seven years earlier. He finally had the broken rib surgically removed.<sup>80</sup>

In his long career, Fowler never played two years for the same minor league club. In many instances he was released because of racial tensions, but in a few cases, he was

expected to remain with a team the following season, as in Santa Fe. When he left by his own choice, perhaps it was because he had bigger dreams to pursue for leagues of Black ball clubs on a par with the major leagues and eventual integration on the ball diamond.<sup>81</sup>

John W. Jackson Jr., better known as Bud Fowler, died in Frankfort, New York at the home of his sister on 26 February 1913, just shy of his 55th birthday. The cause of death was pernicious anemia, a disease in which the body cannot produce enough red blood cells because the digestive tract is unable to absorb sufficient quantities of vitamin B-12. He was buried in Frankfort's Oak View Cemetery.<sup>82</sup> In 2022, Bud Fowler was finally inducted into the National Baseball Hall of Fame.

## James Hightower

James F. Hightower was born in Kentucky and first appeared in the federal census for Danville in 1870. His age was listed as 9 years old at the time of the census (August 22), which indicates he was probably born in 1861. Through subsequent decades, federal and Kansas census records placed the year of his birth between 1864 and 1867. The 1900 census recorded his birthdate as August 1864. Other personal information also varied.

Other than the 1880 census, the first mention of Hightower in Kansas was his singing performance in January 1886 at the "regular meeting of the South Topeka lyceum." He performed both as a soloist and as a member of "the famous colored quartette" of Hightower, Warren, Paine, and Wethers. Among the various readings, recitations, and musical numbers, the performance of the quartette was especially popular. "The applause was deafening, and lasted till the gentlemen made their appearance and sang a second time."<sup>83</sup>

Hightower's career as a baseball player was brief. His brother, George, had played for the Topeka Browns (Brown Stockings) in 1885.<sup>84</sup> James must have also played during the early 1880s, but he was not mentioned in local newspapers until he became a member of the predominantly white Topeka Athletics, the city's top semipro team in 1886. The first mention of him on the Athletics' roster was in mid-June, and he played for the team through October. When his position was mentioned, he was typically the shortstop. The team played both Black and white teams in towns throughout much of eastern Kansas. In addition to the Athletics, Hightower (reported as "Hightown") was imported to play shortstop for the team from Twin Mounds in a game against Lawrence in September. Bud Fowler pitched for Twin Mounds.<sup>85</sup>

In early July 1888, a player named Hightower was on the roster of the Capital Nine. His first name was not given, but he was listed as the shortstop, suggesting this was James rather than George. The opponent for the Capital Nine was another local team, the Topeka Blues, which also featured former members of the 1886 Athletics. Later in the month, the Athletics reorganized for games in Ottawa and Garnett, with Hightower at second base, reuniting with other members of the old club. Also on the roster was another Black ballplayer, Ed Carr, who pitched for the Athletics. His story is presented in a later essay. These are the only instances found of Hightower playing baseball in Topeka after the 1886 season.<sup>86</sup>

Hightower was also involved in boxing during this period. He agreed to fight a boxer from Denver for \$500, but prize fights were not legal in Kansas. His brother George was even arrested in December for participating in a prize fight held in Topeka. James stated

that his fight would be moved to No Man's Land (today's Oklahoma panhandle), but it is unknown if the fight took place.<sup>87</sup> Hightower was also involved in fights of another sort—politics. He was one of several registered voters who signed a request asking Hale Ritchie to run for a seat on the city council.\* At this time, Hightower was involved in Republican politics, but his political views would later change.<sup>88</sup>

In May 1890, the *Topeka Daily Capital* reported, "Jim Hightower left yesterday for Milwaukee to join a colored base ball club." Actually, he traveled to Nebraska and joined the Lincoln Giants, a Black team captained by George William Castone, who had played occasionally for the Topeka Athletics late in the 1886 season. (Castone is the subject of a later essay.) Hightower played for the Giants during May and June, mostly at first base. He usually batted first or second in the order and posted a .308 batting average about a month into the season. In late May, it was reported that Hightower had taken over as captain of the Giants, "and his discipline is beginning to show." He also switched briefly to shortstop before returning to first base. His role as captain was temporary, if it happened at all. On June 13, it was announced that Hightower had returned to Topeka, and it was later learned that he left the team because he had not been paid his full salary. He accused Castone in his complaint, but it was the team's manager, William Pope, who had absconded with the funds, leaving the Giants in a poor financial condition. The club was reorganized at the beginning of July, with essentially the same roster, minus Hightower. Castone initially served as manager and captain, with the team operating "on the cooperative plan." His workload was substantial, and Ed Carr took over as captain (he is the subject of a later essay). Nevertheless, continued financial troubles led the Giants to disband before the end of the month.<sup>89</sup>

Hightower's brief career as a baseball player had essentially ended, but he remained active in sports. In early July, he began boxing in Omaha, Nebraska. Boxing, wrestling, and physical training would be his principal occupations from this point forward. According to the *Lincoln Daily Call*, "Mr. Hightower is champion middle-weight pugilist of Texas and handles his fist like he does the bat when playing baseball."<sup>90</sup> The reference to Hightower being from Texas would not be the last time his personal history was altered, omitting his birth in Kentucky and his family's move to Topeka when he was a youth.

Hightower began his time in Omaha training and sparring with other fighters. In September, he engaged in a scheduled 25-round prize fight in St. Joseph, Missouri with African American boxer Harris Martin, the "Black Pearl," from Minneapolis, Minnesota. The advance notice for the fight falsely claimed that Jim Hightower was a Mexican from El Paso, Texas, who "had fought fifteen or twenty hard battles." The *Omaha Daily Bee* acknowledged that he was a local Black boxer, though it referred to him as Josephus Hightower. Hightower lost the fight—and the \$500 purse—in the eighth round, unable to continue after breaking his right thumb in the third round and dislocating his left thumb in the sixth. The following day, both fighters were taken before a local judge and "paid a nominal fine" for prizefighting.

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\* Hale Ritchie was the son of abolitionist John Ritchie, whose home in Topeka served as a station on the Underground Railroad (their adjacent homes now comprise a local historic site). Hale Ritchie also played on Topeka's Western BBC from the 1870s to 1881 (Eberle 2020f, page 25).

The two fighters met again in Omaha in November, and Harris knocked Hightower out in the third round.<sup>91</sup>

Hightower would remain in Omaha through the summer of 1893, eventually taking a job as the janitor at the Omaha Athletic Club and teaching young pupils in boxing, wrestling, and various forms of athletic exercise. As was a common practice at the time for physical trainers, he adopted the title of Professor Hightower.<sup>92</sup> In addition to his work at the gym, a player named Hightower and another named Patterson joined the four-team indoor baseball league in Omaha during the winter of 1890–1891. Indoor baseball was an early form of softball played inside large venues, such as the Coliseum or Exhibition Hall in Omaha. It is possible these players were James Hightower (of the Eden Musees) and John Patterson (of the West Omahas), former teammates on the Lincoln Giants, but this could not be confirmed.<sup>93</sup>

At the end of the summer in 1893, Hightower moved to Arkansas City, Kansas, about 4 miles north of the border with what was then the Oklahoma Territory. What drew him to the city is unknown, but Professor Hightower opened an athletic club, selling memberships to both men and women. In March 1896, the Merchants Athletic Club was organized and used Hightower's rooms downtown. The club also hired Hightower as its instructor. In addition to working at the gym, Hightower participated in boxing and wrestling exhibitions. Prize fighting was still illegal in most circumstances, but he occasionally boxed, because his class sizes at the gym were "not large enough to pay his living expenses."<sup>94</sup>

While living in Arkansas City, Hightower also officiated various sporting contests. It began with a baseball game in May 1894, in which the Arkansas City town team hosted the team from the Chilocco Indian Agricultural School across the border in Oklahoma Territory. In March 1895, he refereed a prize fight in Ponca City, also across the border. Four months later, Hightower returned to Oklahoma Territory to umpire another baseball game played by the Arkansas City town team, this time with the team in Newkirk. In 1896, alongside a white referee, he served as umpire in the annual football game held on Thanksgiving Day by the Arkansas City town team. The opponent that year was a team from Oklahoma City. Years later, in 1911 and 1913, Hightower refereed wrestling matches in Arkansas City.<sup>95</sup> His career as an official was certainly varied.

In addition to his work in athletics, Hightower took an interest in the outdoors. This interest was not limited to hunting trips and shooting competitions. He also propagated and sold a variety of fruits. Hightower purchased the property known as Natural Bridge on Madison Avenue east of the city, across the Walnut River. It was named for a natural rock bridge over a small stream channel featured on postcards during the early 1900s. It was here that Hightower cultivated plants, raised chickens, and permitted cattle to graze. He also developed the site as a park open to the public. It was suggested that the site be developed as a country club in 1916 and a city park in 1922, but Hightower owned the property from 1907 through at least 1922.<sup>96</sup>

It was also while he lived in Arkansas City that Hightower first became active in Socialist politics, attending meetings and delivering lectures. He even claimed to be a personal friend of Eugene V. Debs. At a speech by Republican Congressman Philip P.

Campbell of Pittsburg, Kansas, Hightower asked to speak on a point brought up by the congressman. It was alleged that Campbell “then began to abuse Mr. Hightower on the account of the said Hightower’s race relations, taking him supposedly for a negro [sic].”<sup>97</sup> During the 1930s, voter registrations listed Hightower as a Democrat.

In addition to his many other pursuits, Hightower was also an author. He primarily wrote about nature, including stories about Natural Bridge. Some of his works were published. These included *Wall of the World*, about “Indian Territory animals visiting the animals of the Rocky Mountain region.” Other stories, such as *Way Over in the Woods* and *Two American Detectives in Old Mexico*, were commissioned by individuals. Hightower even submitted his book, *A Happy Hunting Ground*, about the experiences of an American Indian trapper, to the Kansas text book commission as a possible supplemental text for students.<sup>98</sup>

In January 1898, the YMCA took over Hightower’s gymnasium rooms. Six months later, he moved to Colorado Springs to restart his career as a physical trainer. In city directories, he was typically listed as a physical director. As in Omaha and Arkansas City, Hightower worked for athletic clubs at their gyms. However, his primary source of income apparently became serving as the personal trainer for affluent clients. This work was seasonal, and he and his family moved back and forth between Colorado Springs and Arkansas City in subsequent decades. Hightower also traveled to Montana and British Columbia as part of his work.<sup>99</sup>

Outside his professional life, Hightower was married at least three times. His first wife was May Frost. According to the 1880 census for Clark County, Illinois and the 1885 census for Topeka, she was listed as the white daughter of Marcus “M.O.” Frost. She was born in 1872 in Indiana (Clark County is on the border with Indiana). Sadly, she died from a respiratory illness at age 24 in April 1897, while the couple lived in Arkansas City. They had two children—a daughter, Catherine (Katie), born in Nebraska in May 1892, and a son, Diaz, born in Arkansas City in October 1895. After May’s death, the children returned to Topeka to live with her parents. James became ill that summer with what was reported as “typhoid malarial fever,” two unrelated infections, and he was homebound for three weeks. When he recovered in July, his children returned to Arkansas City to live with him.<sup>100</sup>

In October 1897, Hightower married Harriet (Hattie) Malloy in Wichita, and the couple honeymooned in Colorado, which might have influenced his subsequent trips to Colorado Springs. In census records, Harriet was listed as a white native of Wisconsin. James and Harriet were married until she passed away in Colorado Springs in 1929. In July 1931, the *Denver Post* reported that “Professor Hightower” obtained a marriage license “to wed Mrs. Ileh Rabina, an old friend from his home near Arkansas City.”<sup>101</sup> According to the census in 1900, Ilah Rehbein was white and born in Kansas in December 1888. Ilah Hightower passed away in San Diego in 1934.

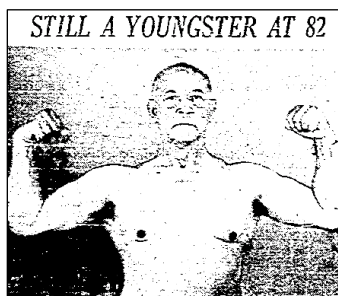
After leaving Nebraska in 1893 and pursuing work as an athletic trainer, Hightower no longer identified as African American. Other than the letter to the editor stating that the congressman took “him supposedly for a negro [sic],” Arkansas City newspapers mentioned Hightower’s heritage only once. In 1896, he talked of recruiting men to fight the Spaniards in Cuba, even though “Spanish blood flows through his veins.”<sup>102</sup> Consistent with this story,

the state censuses conducted in Arkansas City in 1895, 1905, and 1925 listed Hightower as white, with his birthplace given as Mexico. The 1895 census correctly reported that he came back to Kansas from Nebraska, while the 1905 census recorded that he came to Kansas from Mexico and the 1925 census stated that he moved to Kansas from Oklahoma.

With regard to his heritage, the records in Colorado Springs evolved and did not mention Mexico. In the one exception after leaving Nebraska, the 1900 census for Colorado Springs listed Hightower as Black and his birthplace as Kentucky, as had been recorded in the 1870 census for Danville, Kentucky and the 1880 census for Topeka. However, Hattie and the two children from his first marriage, Catherine and Diaz, were listed as white. In 1910, all four family members were listed as white, and James' birthplace was given as Indian Territory (eastern Oklahoma). In 1920, he was again recorded as being born in Indian Territory, but the "W" for white was crossed out and replaced by "Indian" for both James and Diaz (Catherine was not included). The race of James and Diaz was rarely mentioned in Colorado newspapers, but they were always identified as American Indian, and James was specifically referred to as Cherokee on occasion.<sup>103</sup>

Hightower eventually took up residence in San Diego County, California, as did Katie and Diaz. During the 1930s, San Diego newspapers reported on the aging physical culture expert. He first visited San Diego sometime between 1920 and 1924, when he stayed at a tourist camp set up for automobile travelers in Balboa Park. He also worked at a local YMCA. In the 1930s, he still went by the name Professor James Hightower, but he used the name Two Boys Stray Shadow Hightower more frequently, something that began while he was in Colorado. He claimed to be 79 in July 1931 and 80 in July 1932. This would put his year of birth as 1851 if the 1900 census was correct in reporting the month as August. In August 1937, he reported his age as 82 and in October 1938 it was 83, which would place his birth in 1855, still about 10 years earlier than most census records.<sup>104</sup>

In a 1937 interview published in the *San Diego Union*, Hightower recounted events in his early life. He claimed he was born in a teepee in Oklahoma and later barnstormed the country as a prize fighter and baseball player. The latter reportedly included a stint as second baseman for the Western League club in Omaha. Omaha had teams in the Western League and Western Association from 1887 to 1892 but no player named Hightower. The newspaper also included two photos of Hightower. One shows him shirtless, displaying his stout build, even in his 70s.<sup>105</sup>



Hightower gave a longer interview to the *Union* in 1938. This time he said he was born "somewhere between Alabama and Kentucky." He also said he was three-quarters Cherokee. He explained that his Cherokee name, Two Boys Stray Shadow, came partly from his mother, who "belonged to a family of Stray Shadows." The name Two Boys was given to him because he could throw any two boys his age out of the ring. Despite a long career as a boxer, wrestler, and trainer, Hightower had a peaceful view of life. "My simple philosophy is live as easily as possible, travel and make friends."<sup>106</sup>

Filtering the sometimes contradictory information Hightower provided about himself, the story began with his birth in Kentucky in the 1860s. His heritage may very well have been both African American and American Indian, though why he would have posed as being from Mexico while living in Arkansas City and boxing in St. Joseph is a mystery. Hightower's lifelong career in physical education at gyms and as a personal trainer to wealthy clients provided him with employment in athletics not enjoyed by most Black ballplayers of this era, and it gave him the opportunity to travel extensively. His experiences as a Black ballplayer for the integrated Topeka Athletics and Twin Mounds ball club were noteworthy though relatively minor events in his long life.

James Hightower passed away in San Diego on 21 September 1940. The notice of his death on September 22 listed his name as Two Boy Hightower. The announcement of his funeral the following day reported that James Hightower, father of D.H. [Diaz] Hightower, was buried at Mt. Hope Cemetery.<sup>107</sup>

## John Jones

In addition to James Hightower, another Black ballplayer from Topeka named Jones (no first name given) took the field with the Topeka Athletics in 1886. He was the catcher in at least one game against Lawrence in July. This was probably John Jones, who was the catcher for the Topeka Modocs in 1884 and the catcher and captain for the Topeka Brown Stockings in 1885. Both teams were composed of Black players. Also in 1885, J. Jones umpired a game between two local amateur teams—the Topeka Reds and Capital City Band. In addition, a player named Jones was on the Athletics' roster three more times in 1886—in late June at third base, in late July at an unspecified position, and in early October in center field.<sup>108</sup> However, given such a common name, it might have been someone else.

## George William Castone

The story of George William Castone is described in an open-access biography that was abridged for this essay.<sup>109</sup> He was born near the town of Salem in the heart of the Missouri Ozarks, about midway between Springfield and St. Louis. Though records vary, his death certificate listed his birthdate as 25 January 1867. "G. W. Castone" was also listed as three years old in the 1870 federal census for Dent County, Missouri. His mother, Martha Bressie, was born about 1840, as was his father, Falis H. Castone, who immigrated to the United States from South America in 1850. During the Civil War, he served with the Sixth New Hampshire Infantry before moving west. Martha and Falis were married in February 1866.<sup>110</sup>

They were divorced in 1873, and Martha retained custody of their son. She referred to him as William, and that was the name he used until 1892, when he started to use his first name. The reason he made this change is unknown. According to city directories and records for William at Kansas State University, Martha lived in Leadville (and perhaps Denver), Colorado during the 1880s. At some point, she returned to Salem, where she passed away and was buried in Cedar Grove Cemetery in 1910.<sup>111</sup>

Other than his birth and infancy in Salem, nothing is known about George William Castone prior to 1884, when he was in Leadville, Colorado. Records at Kansas State

University noted that he attended school at “Denver Col.” in 1883 (at about age 16). The 1885 city directory for Leadville included “Castone William, col’d, porter, Athletic Club.”<sup>112</sup>

During the 1880s, Leadville had several baseball teams associated with businesses or clubs, as well as informal “picked nines.” Castone might have played for one or more of these teams, but his name was not on any rosters found in local newspapers from 1884 or 1885. Leadville also had a town team named the Blues, which was first organized in 1882 and played for several years against teams from Colorado Springs, Denver, Pueblo, and elsewhere. Castone did not play for the Blues, but in 1885, the roster of one of their opponents, the Pueblo Pastimes, included Bud Fowler.<sup>113</sup> Whether or not Castone met Fowler that season is unknown, but they would soon play together in Kansas.

The first mention of Castone in Kansas was the inclusion of “William Castone, Leadville, Colorado” on the list of first-year students during the 1885–1886 academic year at the Kansas State Agricultural College in Manhattan (now Kansas State University). Why he left Colorado to attend school in Kansas is unknown. The college operated on the quarter system, with three terms and a summer break. According to university records, Castone attended classes only during the third term, which began in March 1886. The records listed his “Proposed Business” interest as telegraphy. The academic year ended in early June 1886, and by the end of the month, Castone was on the roster of the Topeka Athletics, an integrated semipro team. In newspapers, he was listed as the third baseman under the spellings Caston, Caestone, and Kastone, but he also pitched part of a game against the Emporia Blues.<sup>114</sup>

Later in July, Castone pitched a few games for an integrated team in Concordia, Kansas. Although the city’s population was only about 3,000 people, local boosters decided to support a team of professional players organized by J.A. Simon, who also managed Simon’s Comedy Company, a touring theatrical group. Castone was the losing pitcher in a pair of games against the town team from Delphos, but Concordia newspapers did not blame him. “If [Concordia] could have secured some one [sic] to have taken in all of Castone’s curves, the boys would have come out victorious.” Another newspaper noted that Concordia’s new catcher had trouble because “Castone pitches a hard ball and is very erratic in his delivery.”<sup>115</sup>

Although little detail was reported about Concordia’s games, on August 26, the Treasurer of the Concordia Base Ball Association published the club’s expenses and income, a rare glimpse at the finances of a rural baseball team. The report listed Castone’s salary as \$28.25. Only two salaries were higher (\$30.00 and \$41.15). Another item in the report was the cost to board players in Concordia. Most of these payments were made to Mrs. D.C. Wilson (\$63.05), Barons house (\$41.50), and Revere (\$21.40). Local boosters also contributed funds to Mrs. Wilson for boarding players, but that money did not pass through the treasurer. The club paid an additional boarding cost of 75¢ to local barber P.W. Nelson in the name of Castone, who presumably was not allowed to live with the white players.<sup>116</sup> A Kansas baseball team was more likely to be integrated than other enterprises in the community.

It is unknown what Castone did during August after leaving Concordia, but on September 4, a Lawrence, Kansas newspaper reported the local Black ball club—the



Eagles—had “a new pitcher, W. Castone of Topeka. He is a very swift and effective pitcher.” Castone pitched the Eagles to victory over the Novels, a Black team from Kansas City, Missouri. The Novels then disbanded, and their catcher, Frank Maupin, joined the Eagles. He would prove to be a catcher who could handle Castone, and the two would be an effective battery for several clubs in the coming years. Maupin’s story is presented in the next essay. After defeating the Novels, Castone pitched for the Southern Kansas “railroad boys,” a white team, in their first win over the Lawrence town team, also composed of white players. They were “very much elated over their victory.” On September 14 and 15, the Eagles played a pair of games against the Topeka Athletics and shortstop James Hightower. The Eagles, featuring the new battery of Castone and Maupin, lost the first game, 10–9, in 12 innings. The following day, the Eagles evened the series, winning 5–4 in 10-innings behind the battery of Bud Fowler and Frank Maupin. Castone and Maupin were again the battery for the Lawrence Eagles in three games in as many days during early October against the white town team in Lawrence. The town team won the series, two games to one. No box scores were published, but the numbers of strikeouts were reported, and Castone struck out 18, 10, and 9 batters in the three games (the Eagles won game two).<sup>117</sup>

In April 1887, Castone and Maupin were the battery for the otherwise white Lawrence town team in a series against a team from the State University (now the University of Kansas). “They played their usual fine game,” and the town team easily won the first three games. In game four, Castone and Maupin played for the university, but the town team was again victorious. Castone also umpired a game between two fraternities at the university. Baseball fever ran high, and there was talk of Lawrence joining the Kansas State League. In mid-April, a local newspaper even suggested, “It is probable that Castone and Maupin will sign with our club.” Whether Black players actually would have been allowed on league teams is unknown. Lawrence chose not to enter the league. On April 27, “the colored battery” left for Kansas City, but they were invited to return to Lawrence on July 4 to play for the town team against the Wyandotte (Kansas City, Kansas) Reds.<sup>118</sup>

What Castone and Maupin did during May and June is unknown, but at the end of June, a Black ball named the Kansas City Maroons was organized. From July through September, the Maroons played—and usually defeated—Black clubs from nearby cities. Castone and Maupin comprised the Maroons’ star battery. Having little trouble defeating the area’s Black clubs, the Maroons’ manager wrote to the *Kansas City Star* that his team “would like to play the [white] Beaton club for \$25 and gate receipts”. The following day, the manager of the Beaton BBC of Armourdale (now part of Kansas City, Kansas) provided an indirect but clear reply. He challenged “any amateur base ball club either in Kansas or Missouri,” but “no colored clubs need apply.”<sup>119</sup> At the time, segregation on the baseball field was stricter in Kansas City than in Topeka, Concordia, and Lawrence.

The spring of 1888 found Castone back in Colorado, where he pitched for predominantly white amateur teams in Denver. “Castone, a well-known colored pitcher, assisted the Pastimes. ... The trouble with the Pastimes was that they had no catcher to back up Castone.” At the end of May and continuing through June, Castone pitched for the Denver Solis baseball club. On May 31, they defeated a team from Colorado Springs.

“Castone was the gem of the visitors [from Denver], his effective work in the box from beginning to finish, and the manner in which he yielded the willow, was greatly admired by all.” Castone struck out 20 batters. In late June, the Solis defeated Idaho Springs, 22–6. “The feature of the game was the battery work of Castone and [George] Taylor of the Solis.” George Taylor was also Black. Castone struck out 18.<sup>120</sup> He had made a strong impression on Colorado baseball diamonds.

In July, Castone returned to the Kansas City Maroons and batterymate Frank Maupin.<sup>121</sup> Then, in early August, Castone moved to Salt Lake City, Utah, where he played for an otherwise white barnstorming team referred to simply as the Salt Lakes. This professional club warmed up for a tour through the Northwest with three games against a team of local amateurs named the Nationals. Castone won the first game, 12–2. The following day, he started in center field but came in to pitch with the Salt Lakes down 8–2 after three innings. “It soon became evident that [Castone] was all that had been claimed for him.” He allowed only one more run, and his teammates staged a rally, but the Salt Lakes were still down, 9–8, in the top of the ninth. With Castone and two other runners on base, the next batter hit a triple, giving them an 11–9 lead. Castone held the Nationals scoreless in the bottom of the ninth. “To-morrow fans will have the opportunity to see Castone, ‘the Kansas City terror,’ as one of the boys dubbed him yesterday.” He and the catcher for the Salt Lakes were to play for the Nationals, while the Nationals’ battery played for the Salt Lakes.<sup>122</sup> The detailed game summary contained racially tainted praise for Castone not uncommon at the time.

The last game of base ball ... came off yesterday in the presence of a fair turnout, particularly of ladies, and resulted in a victory for the Nationals. Perhaps it should be said that it resulted in a victory for Castone, for it is pretty certain that whichever side he played on would have beaten. The scheme of reversing the batteries and having the tricky coon and Straub act for the Nationals ... was an interesting one. ... The result was that the coon mowed down the Salt Lakes in the same scythe-like way that he chopped off the Kids.... Result 12 to 6 for Castone.<sup>123</sup>

The Salt Lakes started their barnstorming tour in Ogden, Utah before traveling to Helena, Montana; Portland, Oregon; and San Francisco, California. Castone pitched and played in the outfield. In Portland, the Willamettes complained about Castone’s pitching, claiming he was “jumping about in the box like a grasshopper.” This apparently unsettled Castone, who was relieved in the sixth inning of a 7–4 loss for the Salt Lakes. However, the Salt Lakes won the next three games, with Castone pitching a complete game in the finale.<sup>124</sup>

In California, the Salt Lakes met their stiffest competition. They lost three games to as many teams in San Francisco. Playing their first game against the Haverlys in a rolling fog, the Salt Lakes lost, 7–1, managing only a single hit. Castone played center field, but pitched in the next two games, which were much closer. Adjusting to the fog in the second game against Oakland, the Salt Lakes lost 9–7. “Castone, a young man with a dark, 4-11-44 complexion, good speed, curves and some headwork, put them over the plate for the Salt

Lake players.”\* Castone struck out only four batters but surrendered just two earned runs. In the third game against the Pioneers, he pitched another complete game, a 6–4 loss. He had six strikeouts and allowed only one earned run. After the games in San Francisco, most of the players—no longer a truly organized team—returned to Portland, where they again played the Willamettes, losing 10–1. Castone started at shortstop and came in later to pitch.<sup>125</sup> Castone then spent the winter in the more familiar surroundings of Denver.

At the end of February 1889, a notice appeared in Denver’s *Rocky Mountain News*. “William Castone, who filled the box so effectively for the Solis nine of this city last season, is open for engagement in the Colorado league. He is stopping in Georgetown and is in good condition.”<sup>126</sup> The Aspen club of the Colorado State League, a minor league, soon signed Castone. Five teams comprised the league—Aspen, Colorado Springs, the Denver Solis, Leadville Blues, and Pueblo Ponies. Joining Castone in Aspen was George Taylor. As they waited for warmer weather in the high elevation at Aspen, Castone, “the prince of Colorado pitchers,” and Taylor warmed up by playing for the Denver Solis in exhibition games against Pueblo and Colorado Springs. After rejoining Aspen, they played in exhibition games against the Denver team in the Western Association, an interstate minor league. Despite losing to the higher-level minor league club, the *Aspen Chronicle* praised Castone’s pitching, pointing out that Denver was “only able, by hard work, to scratch out five hits from this promising young twirler.” The exhibition games continued through early April.<sup>127</sup>

Aspen opened its league schedule on April 17. The team struggled away from home, playing better at the higher elevations in Aspen and Leadville. By June, the Colorado State League began to crumble. On June 4, it was announced that the fourth-place Denver Solis had disbanded. This left four clubs in the league. By the end of July, first-place Pueblo and last-place Leadville dropped out, leaving only Aspen and Colorado Springs in the league, and the latter was reported to be \$5,000 in debt. Aspen also had financial challenges. The squad had hosted a benefit game on July 10, in which they split into two teams and shared in the gate receipts. The amount raised was not mentioned, but it was not “as much as the boys deserve and should have had.” During the second week of August, a series of five games in Aspen between the home team and Colorado Springs was scheduled as a fundraiser. Aspen won the series, three games to two, but the proceeds from gate receipts were said to be disappointing. In official league games for which it could be determined with reasonable certainty if Castone was the pitcher of record, he had ten wins and nine losses. The league’s other Black player, George Taylor, played in most games for Aspen and was frequently praised for both his hitting and his fielding, especially after he moved from first base to left field. Following the benefit games with Colorado Springs, Castone and his teammates found spots on other teams in Colorado.<sup>128</sup> According to an 1890 city directory for Denver, Castone worked during the offseason as a waiter.

Meanwhile, in March 1889, the Beacon BBC, a Black team, was organized in Omaha, Nebraska. In May, the Beacons lost to the town team in Grand Island, Nebraska by the

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\* The number sequence 4-11-44 was considered lucky in a gambling lottery known as “policy” and later as the “numbers” game. Numbers, usually ranging from 1 to 78, were drawn, and a group of three correct numbers was known as a gig (Sweeney 2009, page 73).

embarrassing score of 32–1. It did not get much better.<sup>129</sup> Consequently, the club was reorganized with new management, a few new players, and a new name—the Lafayettes. Their full record is undocumented, but they reportedly won 8 of 12 games by mid-June.<sup>130</sup>

In 1890, William M. Pope, secretary of the Lafayettes' stock company, undertook the task of building a new professional baseball club based on the 1889 organization and retaining the name Lafayettes. From the beginning, Pope's plans extended beyond just a more competitive barnstorming team of Black players. In the spring, he visited boosters in eastern Nebraska cities to see what they "would do toward getting up a base ball team and joining the State league." There was no state league yet organized in Nebraska, but Pope was trying to get the ball rolling in Beatrice, Columbus, Fremont, Grand Island, Hastings, Kearney, Lincoln, and Seward. Pope proposed taking his revamped Lafayettes from Omaha-Council Bluffs to either Fremont or Lincoln as their representative in the league—a Black club in an otherwise white league. As an inducement to Fremont, he mentioned that he had strengthened the Lafayettes by getting rid of some players and bringing in experienced replacements, which included George William Castone, Frank Maupin, John Patterson, John Reeves, and George Taylor. All five would figure prominently in Nebraska baseball during the next three years. In response to the proposal to host a Black professional team, the *Fremont Tri-Weekly Tribune* voiced support for the Lafayettes.<sup>131</sup>

It is reported in base ball circles that the Lafayette colored club, of Omaha, will establish its headquarters in Fremont this season and organize a state league. Those colored boys are not only good ball players, but they are gentlemen as well and Fremont promises right now not to be ashamed of the representation they will give the city among the base ballists of the state. They'll fly the pennant.<sup>132</sup>

Pope's efforts to organize a state league did not bear fruit. The Lafayettes moved to Lincoln, not Fremont, and began their season in early May, hosting a white team from Omaha. Prior to the first game, Lincoln's *Nebraska State Journal* praised Castone. "William Castone, who will pitch to-day, led the pitchers of the Colorado state league last year with the Aspens. What he cannot do at bat he makes up in the [pitcher's] box." Castone surrendered only two hits in the opening game, a 15–2 victory for the Lafayettes. In game two, Castone and Maupin started in the outfield but became the battery in the third inning, with Omaha leading, 10–0. Omaha scored only one run off Castone, as the Lafayettes rallied to win 12–11 in 10 innings. The third game was postponed by rain, which gave new pitcher John Reeves of Kansas City time to arrive. With Reeves and Maupin forming the battery, Castone played in left field. After the Lafayettes defeated the Omaha club for the third time, 5–3, the *Nebraska State Journal* proclaimed, "The Lincolns are hereby christened the 'Giants,'" and the name stuck.<sup>133</sup>

It was a good start for the Lincoln club. The *Nebraska State Journal* provided thorough coverage of the Giants, including box scores for most games. In reports for 37 games played by the Giants, their record was 28 wins and 9 losses (on July 27, the *Nebraska State Journal* reported the Giants had a record of 39–6). In the 37 games documented, Castone's record

was 14–5, while Reeves was 13–3 (a pitcher named Bullock also won a game and the Giants forfeited a game). One of Castone's losses was to the Omaha minor league club in the Western Association. The Giants had more hits than Omaha (9 vs. 6), but they also had more errors (12 vs. 1). The final score was 11–5, but just how many of Omaha's runs were earned is unknown. Similarly, Reeves lost to the Denver club in the Western Association, 12–3.<sup>134</sup>

Despite their good record, the major problem for the Giants was financial support. On June 9, a group of supporters organized a team to play the Giants in a benefit game to help raise funds for the club.<sup>135</sup> How much they raised was not reported, but it was not enough. On June 28, the *Nebraska State Journal* reported that the Giants would disband.<sup>136</sup> The Giants won the game, and then “Captain Castone disbanded his team and discharged the lot.” Castone had been named captain of the Giants in late May, and a week later, he assumed the duties of the team's manager. Despite taking on these additional duties, Castone still pitched and played other positions on days Reeves pitched. Castone put a lot on his shoulders in an attempt to make the Giants a success. Although the team had disbanded, “A company [was] being formed for the purpose of seeing the Lincoln Giants through in their financial difficulties.”<sup>137</sup>

The Giants are once more on their feet. Every player in the team yesterday signed an agreement to the effect that they were no longer in the employ of Mr. Pope and agreed to form a new organization on the co-operative plan. They certify that this action was taken because their salaries were due and unpaid. Mr. Castone was elected manager and will continue to act as captain for the present.<sup>138</sup>

Ed Carr took over as captain two weeks later, which lessened Castone's responsibilities (Carr is the subject of a later essay). The Giants were again playing games, but financial troubles persisted. There was a rumor that the team had again disbanded, but the situation was resolved, at least in the short term. “Several prominent lovers of the game have rendered substantial aid and with a subscription list in circulation which has been liberally signed everything looks favorable for the club.” Castone advertised the Giants in the *Sporting News* in the hopes of arranging a tour through “Iowa, Illinois and farther east.” The tour was not made, and the club disbanded again on July 26. This time, there was no reprieve. On August 1, a benefit game was played between an amateur team (the Lincoln Domestics) and a picked team of players from the state university (University of Nebraska) that was bolstered by Castone and four other Giants. The proceeds were given to Jesse “Dad” Brown, second baseman for the Giants, to pay for his travel to Washington, DC, where his mother had fallen ill. “When the Giants were disbanded Brown was left without a cent.”<sup>139</sup>

The *Nebraska State Journal* acknowledged Castone's importance to Lincoln baseball that season. “Since the Giants have disbanded Pitcher Castone is preparing to leave the city. The wonderful record made by this club during the season is due principally to the work of Mr. Castone, as his record will show.” By the end of August, Castone was back in Denver.<sup>140</sup>

Shortly before Christmas 1890, Castone returned to Lincoln “for a few days.” During his visit, Castone proposed the same arrangement Pope had suggested a year earlier, in

which a professional Black baseball team would be included in a much talked about but yet to be organized Nebraska State League. Castone continued to promote his offer in January 1891 through local newspapers and the *Sporting News*. He advertised the Lincoln Giants as available to represent some city, preferably in a Nebraska State League, at an expense of not more than \$600 per month. Castone supported his offer by mentioning the Giants' record in 1890 (as 40–5) and listing the batting averages of the players. In Kearney, he estimated a cost of only \$500 per month.<sup>141</sup>

It was May before plans to reorganize the Lincoln Giants continued, but obtaining financial backing was again proving difficult. Talk of the state league had subsided during the spring, though it did not stop completely. Castone rekindled his efforts to reorganize the Giants as part of a Nebraska State League in June, and support for the league briefly returned to newspapers. After “a short tour of the cities which he thinks give promise of supporting such an enterprise,” Castone’s proposal to locate the Giants in Kearney received the endorsement of the *Kearney Daily Hub* and a group of local “base ball enthusiasts.” The proposed league’s potential teams included Beatrice, Blair, Fremont, Grand Island, Hastings, Kearney (the Giants), Nebraska City, and Plattsmouth. In the meantime, Castone and Maupin played for the Lincoln Musees, helping them defeat the team from Nebraska City twice. Yet, once again, the league failed to materialize.<sup>142</sup>

It was about this time that the Lincoln Giants were finally reorganized, with Carr, Castone, Maupin, Reeves, and Taylor among those returning from 1890. Their first game was against the Omaha Nonpareils during a Fourth of July celebration. This year, the *Nebraska State Journal* published no box scores for the Giants’ games, but the paper still reported line scores and other information. The Giants played 26 games, winning 18 and losing 8. Five of those losses came in the first nine games, before all of the players returning from the 1890 team had arrived. Most of the team’s games were played outside Lincoln, and the players reported that, “as a rule,” they were treated fairly.<sup>143</sup>

The last game for the Giants was August 16, when they defeated the Burlington Railroad team from Plattsmouth, 5–3. Money was still a problem for the Giants, and Plattsmouth took advantage of the opportunity to sign Maupin and Will Lincoln to play for them. Other Giants soon moved on, as well. Castone hoped to restore the team, but his efforts were unsuccessful. It was also reported that Castone wanted to sign with the white team in Hastings. The captain of the Hastings club, Ulysses S. Rohrer, reportedly telegraphed Castone, “Have no use for you.”<sup>144</sup> It would not be the end of Rohrer’s confrontational relationship with Black ball players, in general, and Castone, in particular.

At the beginning of September, Castone joined the town team in Fremont, who also signed Carr, Lincoln, Maupin, and Taylor. The Giants comprised half of Fremont’s roster. Castone arrived in town wearing his baseball uniform, ready to play that afternoon. Their opponent was Hastings. Behind the battery of Castone and Maupin, Fremont won, 15–5. Castone played third base in game two, a 9–7 victory. Rohrer lived up to his reputation as a “kicker,” complaining during the games about the umpire and even his own players. He also punched the umpire in the second game. The *Fremont Tribune* nicknamed him “Roarer.”<sup>145</sup>

After those two games, Maupin returned to Kansas City, and Castone and Taylor joined the team in Beatrice. Their first opponent was Fremont, whom Beatrice defeated in three of four games. Then, Beatrice hosted the team from Hastings in a three-game series. The opposing pitchers in the first game were Castone and Rohrer. As in Fremont, Castone pitched well, and Beatrice easily defeated Hastings, 16–1. If the words in his telegram to Castone—“Have no use for you”—were not throbbing in Rohrer’s head, they soon might be. Hastings took the second game, 3–2, with Castone in right field. He returned to the mound in game three, and Beatrice easily defeated Hastings, 19–3. On the basis of their victories over Fremont and Hastings, Beatrice claimed the mythical state championship,<sup>146</sup> though, in truth, it was the teams bolstered by players from the Giants who enjoyed success.

The season was not quite over for Beatrice, however. The team traveled to Hastings for a three-game series. Beatrice lost the first game to Hastings, 7–6, and complained of such ill treatment by Rohrer and local businessmen that they returned home. Hastings showed up at their diamond the next day in their uniforms and had themselves declared the victors by forfeit, 9–0. That would give them a 3–2 record against Beatrice during the late-season series. Accordingly, they claimed to be state champions. Beatrice disputed the claim and to settle the question, challenged Hastings to a three-game series on neutral ground in Lincoln. Initially, Beatrice offered to play for \$100–500 and all gate receipts. When no reply came from Hastings, they changed the bet to \$100 from Beatrice and \$1 from Hastings, and all gate receipts given to the winner. Instead of accepting the challenge, the Hastings team disbanded. Still looking for a game, Beatrice defeated the Omaha Nonpareils, 8–5, in 10 innings. Castone struck out 20 batters while pitching a complete game.<sup>147</sup>

During the first two months of 1892, calls were again made for a state league in Nebraska. If Lincoln was to have a team in the league, Castone was the only person known to be interested in managing that team. Once again, he took his case for a state league that included the Giants to the pages of the *Sporting News*.<sup>148</sup> Opposition to Castone’s plan was immediately voiced by Ulysses Rohrer in Hastings.

Manager Rohrer of the Hastings ball team received a letter yesterday from William Castone of Lincoln, requesting Rohrer to send a representative to the state league meeting to be held at Lincoln February 20. Rohrer, upon receipt of the letter, consulted a number of the fans as to the advisability of sending a representative. There seems to be strong opposition here [in Hastings] to entering the state league if colored players are to be permitted to play in any of the teams. Hastings stands ready to put a team in the Nebraska state league, providing it is composed entirely of white players. The people here say they witnessed too much dirty work by colored players last season.<sup>149</sup>

The closing statement was actually the view other towns held of Rohrer, but he was not alone in his opinions on exclusion. To appease him, William Houseworth of Lincoln wrote to Rohrer, stating there would be a meeting February 20 to discuss forming a league, but he emphasized that “the meeting called by him would be separate and independent of the one called by William Castone.” The meeting was later postponed to March 1.<sup>150</sup>

In the meantime, an article in the *Nebraska State Journal* reported on Houseworth's efforts to organize the league and a team in Lincoln, which might include Castone. "Steps are being taken for the organization of a local team and communication is now being maintained with a number of players of known ability. Castone recently declined to sign with the Cuban Giants, a noted colored team, in anticipation of the organization of a team here at home." In addition to Castone, lists of available players for league teams included former Giants Ed Carr, Frank Maupin, John Patterson, and George Taylor. No mention was made of the Giants joining the league intact, but Castone once again offered to take the team to Kearney, and the *Kearney Daily Hub* again endorsed the plan.<sup>151</sup>

The meeting on March 1 included representatives from Beatrice, Fremont, Grand Island, Lincoln, Norfolk, and Plattsmouth. Hastings and Kearney were still not committed to joining. Castone and Houseworth were both present as representatives from Lincoln. The discussions at the meeting included league fees, team salary limits of \$550 per month, independent umpires, and other aspects of running the league. The league would seek protection for player contracts under the National Agreement.<sup>152</sup>

In the March 12 issue of the *Sporting News*, Castone described the organizational meeting for the Nebraska State League and noted that the Lincoln Giants would not be a member. However, he hoped to join one of the teams, probably Lincoln. By this time, Beatrice had already signed Taylor, and Plattsmouth had signed Maupin and Patterson, and would soon sign John Reeves. Bud Fowler signed with Lincoln. He had expressed an interest in signing with the Plattsmouth team in February 1891, but no league was organized that year. After Fowler signed, Castone, also signed a contract with Lincoln. In response to that announcement, the *Lincoln Weekly Herald* wrote as though signing Castone was essential. "Manager Houseworth of the Lincoln ball team has signed Castone to pitch. It would seem that we are going to have some ball this season, after all." Thus, the proposed six-team league had three integrated clubs.<sup>153</sup>

In Hastings, there was still considerable opposition to joining the league because Black players would be permitted. However, they eventually relented and replaced Norfolk, which was excluded to keep the league at six teams and reduce the costs of train travel among the cities. The schedule was set to run from May 1 through September 15, but trouble for the league began almost immediately. The Lincoln club did not survive two weeks. Rain forced the postponement of games, and insufficient funds was given as the cause of Lincoln's demise. In mid-May, it was reported, "The remains of the Lincoln team start for their future home in Kearney to-night." Castone and Fowler were among the Lincoln players who signed new contracts with the Kearney club.<sup>154</sup>

Of 21 league games in which he was clearly the pitcher of record (some for Lincoln, some for Kearney), Castone had 10 wins and 11 losses. On days he did not pitch, he usually played in right field. Some of the games he lost were close, such as a 5-4 loss to league-leading Beatrice. Others were blowouts. On a stop in Lincoln while traveling to Plattsmouth for a game, Castone, Fowler, and two other players reported that Kearney was getting a new pitcher. "Hopp's arm is still shy and Castone has been overworking himself." For example, Castone won both games of a doubleheader against Plattsmouth on June 2.<sup>155</sup>



The games Castone pitched that garnered the most attention in newspapers were those between Kearney and Hastings. Castone lost the first game in Hastings, 9–0. Rohrer played shortstop. “The fact that Castone was advertised to do the twirling this afternoon brought out every fan in the city to the ball park, notwithstanding the unfavorable weather.” Two weeks later, Castone turned the tables in another 9–0 game. “Hastings experienced her first shut out of the season to-day, and Castone was the lad to do the work. He had not forgotten the reception he received the last time and he was on his nettle. Hastings made only three lonesome hits.” The following day, Castone pitched in relief part way through the ninth inning of a 9–7 loss for Kearney, but it was unclear who surrendered the winning run to Hastings. Two weeks later, Castone again led the defeat of Hastings, 6–2, giving up only four hits and no earned runs. Rohrer did not play. Newspapers typically referred to Castone as “colored,” but a summary for this game was an exception. “Kearney has a handsome pitcher named Castone, and the way this gentleman of Spanish descent mowed down Hastings’ imported ball tossers with his invincible drop was a marvel to all.”<sup>156</sup>

The Nebraska State League did not complete its schedule. As described by Gregory Bond, racial dissension and other factors caused the league to fold, but it was a slow process. Fremont was the first to go on June 20. Money was a problem, but they also complained about Rohrer’s roles as a player and manager in Hastings while serving as league secretary. “As the secretary of the league [he] has general charge and control of all league umpires[;] this condition of things is manifestly unfair.” Plattsmouth withdrew on June 26.<sup>157</sup>

The four remaining teams agreed to continue, but disagreements over changes made to restructure the league led Beatrice to withdraw on July 5. With only three teams remaining, Grand Island decided to leave the league on July 9. Hastings vowed to remain as long as there was a team to play, but by July 14, they, too, had disbanded. Kearney officially disbanded the next day, but not without taking a final shot at Hastings. “OH YES! Hastings was going to stay in the league as long as there was a team to play with. But Kearney is still waiting for Hastings to come up and play those three games scheduled for this week. Kearney ... has quit only because there is nobody to play with.”<sup>158</sup>

Some of the towns whose league teams disbanded chose to organize less costly, independent town teams, and during late July, Castone floated the idea of reorganizing the Lincoln Giants. He sought \$250–300 to equip the team and expected to arrange games with town teams in Nebraska and clubs in larger cities. He reported that several players had agreed to play for the Giants, including Fowler, Maupin, Patterson, Reeves, and Taylor. “This aggregation could put up good ball.” However, nothing came from the attempt. The last mention of Castone that season came in early August, when he was to umpire a game during the Lincoln Social Club picnic at Cushman Park.<sup>159</sup>

Castone would spend one more summer playing baseball, but not in Nebraska. The Cuban Giants of New York (and nearby cities) was a Black barnstorming team that had a successful run as an independent baseball club, beginning in 1885. The team also played in the Middle States League in 1889–1890 and the Connecticut State League in 1891. None of the players was from Cuba. The Cuban Giants were organized for the 1893 season in April with some of the prominent players of the era on the roster, such as middle infielder Frank

Grant and pitcher George Stovey. The roster was reasonably stable through the summer, but some players left the club during the long season, including Stovey.<sup>160</sup>

As early as January, the team's owner, J.M. Bright, announced that he had "secured the services of four players from last year's Nebraska League." However, no names were mentioned, and none appeared on the roster through the spring. It was late June when former Lincoln Giant John Patterson joined the Cuban Giants. After he had played a month in the Northeast, the *New York Sun* praised his baseball skills. "Patterson, the Cuban Giants' new short stop, has proven to be a strong acquisition."<sup>161</sup> Castone joined the Cuban Giants at least as early as July 7. He was hired to help the team's depleted pitching staff, and he remained with the team through at least mid-August.<sup>162</sup> Exactly when and why Castone left the Cuban Giants is unknown, but it marked the end of his baseball career.

From 1886 to 1893, Castone enjoyed opportunities to play for several integrated teams in Kansas, Colorado, Utah, and Nebraska. Three of the teams were in Kansas, and two were minor league clubs in Colorado and Nebraska (Table 2). Castone also toured large parts of the nation to play baseball, barnstorming in the Northwest with an otherwise white team and traveling through the Northeast with the Cuban Giants. In addition, Castone managed and captained the Lincoln Giants, one of the first professional Black baseball clubs in the country's heartland. These events alone make his professional life noteworthy, but he had a second passion.

**Table 2.**—Partial list of teams on which George William Castone (1867–1967) played baseball. He played for other teams on occasion to bolster their rosters for specific games.

Date	Team	League	Integrated
1886	Topeka (KS) Athletics		●
	Concordia (KS) town team		●
	Lawrence (KS) Eagles		—
1887	Lawrence (KS) town team		●
	Kansas City (MO) Maroons		—
1888	Denver (CO) Solis		●
	Kansas City (MO) Maroons		—
	Salt Lakes (UT)		●
1889	Denver (CO) Solis ( <i>exhibition games</i> )	Colorado State League	●
	Aspen (CO)	Colorado State League	●
1890	Lincoln (NE) Giants		—
1891	Lincoln (NE) Giants		—
	Fremont (NE) town team		●
	Beatrice (NE) town team		●
1892	Lincoln / Kearney (NE)	Nebraska State League	●
1893	Cuban Giants (NJ)		—

After the 1893 season, G.W. Castone moved to Chicago, where he married Mary Graff, a German immigrant, in December 1898. They would have four children: Eugene William, Ellen, Isabelle, and Anthony. Some of the records from this period list George's birthplace as Chicago, but federal censuses and other documents clearly contradict this. When Martha Bressie passed away in Salem in April 1910, her son, whom she referred to as William, came down from Chicago to attend her funeral and serve as the administrator of her will. Martha left most of "her money and personal property, after funeral expenses," to his three oldest children (Anthony had not yet been born).<sup>163</sup>

After the birth of their fourth child in 1911, the Castones moved to St. Paul, Minnesota, where city directories from 1914 into the 1930s listed George's occupation as a waiter at various establishments. In 1914, newspapers reported that he had a talent for painting. Some articles included a photograph of Castone in profile.<sup>164</sup> He entered at least one painting in a competition for Black artists at the Exposition and Celebration to Commemorate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Emancipation of the Negro held in Chicago in August and September 1915. The painting by "G. W. Castone" was awarded second place among the still-life entries.<sup>165</sup> In the 1920 census, his occupation was listed as "Artist at home," but in the 1930 census, his occupation was again given as "Waiter" in a restaurant, as it was listed in several St. Paul city directories through the years.



Castone died in Minnesota at St. Paul–Ramsey Hospital on 16 January 1967 after battling pneumonia for 10 days. On the death certificate, his birthdate was listed as 25 January 1867, indicating he passed away just nine days before his 100th birthday. George William Castone, an accomplished baseballist and painter, was laid to rest at Elmhurst Cemetery in St. Paul.<sup>166</sup>

## Frank Maupin

The story of Frank L. Maupin is a challenge to document.\* Most of the information available is about his baseball career, which began in 1886, if not sooner. He had a reputation as an excellent catcher. Maupin also operated a barbershop from at least 1893 to 1906. City directories for Kansas City, Missouri listed the addresses of the shop as 1332, 1333½, and 1422 East 18th Street, just west of The Paseo. After 1900, he operated the barbershop with Kinzy B. Atterbury (sometimes spelled Atterbery). Given that Maupin began playing baseball for prominent clubs in 1886, he was likely born in the late 1860s. At least three African Americans named Frank Maupin were born in western Missouri from 1866 to 1869. (A white Frank Maupin was born in Kansas about 1867 and lived in what is now Kansas City, Kansas.)

According to the 1880 census, the oldest of the three Frank Maupins was born about 1866 in Brunswick, Missouri, about 80 miles east-northeast of Maupin's barbershop in Kansas City. His parents were Forrest and Harriet Maupin. Frank Maupin number two in the 1880 census was born about 1869 in Moniteau County, Missouri, about 100 miles east-

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\* An open-access monograph about early Black baseball in Kansas City with information about Frank Maupin adapted here is available at [https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all\\_monographs/7/](https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all_monographs/7/) (Eberle 2019b).

southeast of Kansas City (midway between Sedalia and Jefferson City). His parents were Albert and Harriet Maupin. Frank Maupin number three was born in 1869 to Monroe and Zarilda (Sarilda, Cerelda) Maupin in Glasgow, Missouri, 92 miles east of Kansas City. Glasgow was also the birthplace of famed Black pitcher John Donaldson (1891–1970). This Maupin family was included in the 1870 and 1880 federal censuses and the 1876 state census for Glasgow. In the July 1870 census, Frank’s age was given as one year old.

Though it could not be determined with absolute certainty which, if any, of these three Frank Maupins was the baseball player and barber, the Glasgow Maupin had an older brother named Lewis (Louis). He worked as a barber in Kansas City until his death from lung disease and chronic nephritis in November 1912. Box scores listed “L. Maupin” playing alongside “F. Maupin” on the Kansas City Novels in 1886 and Kansas City Maroons in 1888. These connections seem like more than coincidences, suggesting that Frank L. Maupin, baseball player and barber, was born in Glasgow in 1869.

The first report of Maupin in newspapers was when he caught for the Kansas City Novels against the Lawrence Eagles in August 1886. “L. Maupin,” presumably Lewis Maupin, was the Novels’ third baseman. When the Novels played the return games in Lawrence in September, both teams rode to the ballpark in carriages, led by a band down Massachusetts Street through the heart of the city. On the diamond, the Eagles prevailed, and the Novels folded.<sup>167</sup>

In need of a new team, Frank Maupin joined the Lawrence Eagles for their games against the Topeka Athletics, a white team with a local Black shortstop named James Hightower. In the first game, Maupin caught for George William Castone in a 12-inning, 10–9 loss. Bud Fowler played second base for the Eagles. In the second game, Maupin caught for Fowler in a 10-inning, 5–4 victory for Lawrence. Maupin and Castone were also the battery for the Eagles in October when they lost two of three games played on three consecutive days against the white Lawrence town team. However, “Maupin’s catching was very fine.”<sup>168</sup>

In December, the *Lawrence Daily Journal* reported, “Several of the boys who played ball with the Lawrence Eagles last summer have obtained good positions in the colored National League, which has recently been organized.” According to the paper, Fowler was headed for Cincinnati and James Hightower to Baltimore. “Maupins [sic], the best catcher who ever played in Lawrence, will play with the Cincinnati.”<sup>169</sup>

Rather than playing for Cincinnati, Maupin and Castone served as the battery for the white town team in Lawrence during the spring of 1887 in three games against a team from the State University (now the University of Kansas). There was even talk of signing them to the team for the season. Instead, Maupin and Castone became the battery for the University team in their fourth loss to the town team and then headed to Kansas City. In June, the duo was reported to be returning as the battery for the Lawrence town team on July 4, when they hosted the Wyandotte Reds (Kansas City, Kansas). However, no report of a game was found in Lawrence newspapers.<sup>170</sup>

Maupin and Castone remained in Kansas City and played for the Maroons, a Black ball club organized in late June. Little information was provided about the games and players, except Castone, who was a dominant pitcher against other Black ball clubs in the region,

including Atchison, Leavenworth, and Lexington (Missouri). Maupin and Castone played for the Maroons again in 1888, along with L. Maupin at third base.<sup>171</sup>

The activities of Maupin during 1889 are unknown. Castone played in the Colorado State League, but Maupin did not.<sup>172</sup> In 1890, Maupin reconnected with Castone in Nebraska as members of the Lincoln Giants, a Black club afforded detailed newspaper coverage. While catching in Nebraska, Maupin was frequently praised for his skills, especially in holding runners on base. However, in June, he suffered from a serious bout of asthma and missed at least one game. Respiratory problems would be a recurring issue.<sup>173</sup>

The story of the Lincoln Giants, a prominent ball club in the region, is covered in the essay on Castone and in more detail in a 2019 biography of Castone and a 2004 article by Gregory Bond.<sup>174</sup> The Giants were supported by Lincoln newspapers, especially the *Nebraska State Journal*, but it was not matched by fan support, despite the quality of the team. Their record in an abbreviated 1890 season was 45–5. After the July 4 holiday, a rumor was started that the Lincoln Giants had disbanded. The *Nebraska State Journal* mourned the loss. “No such a colored ball team as this has ever before been organized in the west and probably never will be again.” A case could be made for the first part of that statement, but other good Black ball clubs would follow after the turn of the century. Despite the rumor and eulogy, the Lincoln Giants played a few more games before disbanding later in the month.<sup>175</sup> After the end finally came in mid-July, Maupin returned to Kansas City and played for the Maroons.<sup>176</sup>

In 1891, the Kansas City Maroons were absent from local newspapers, and the Lincoln Giants were slow to organize. In need of a place to play, the services of Maupin were advertised in the *Omaha Daily Bee* in April among the “Interesting Amateur Notes.” The notice included an error regarding his experience in 1890. He did not play for the Kansas City Haverlys, which were never integrated.

We would like to recommend Catcher Frank Maupin to a team needing a catcher. Maupin played last season with the Lincoln Giants and Kansas City “Haverleys.” He is a fine backstop, good hitter and a speedy base runner and was the most popular man on the Lincoln team. His terms are reasonable and he can be reached at 1422 East Eighteenth street, Kansas City.<sup>177</sup>

Finding a team was a challenge, especially for a Black player. In June, Maupin and Castone advertised their services as “an excellent battery for any club in need of such.” With no one interested in signing them, the Giants finally reorganized. In June, there was talk of the team leaving Lincoln and representing Kearney as part of a state league proposed by Castone. As those plans fell apart, Maupin and Castone played for other clubs that month, such as the Lincoln Musees. At the beginning of July, Castone, Maupin, and others from the 1890 club were joined by a few new players, and the Lincoln Giants finally took the field. However, as the club came together, Maupin was in Kansas City, recovering from an unspecified illness, perhaps a respiratory ailment. By July 21, “the reliable little catcher of last year’s Lincoln giants [had] rejoined that organization and [would] help to make them a drawing card.” By August 4, the team had a record of 8–5. Maupin had only played in six games, but he started strong, leading the team with a batting average of .461.<sup>178</sup>

Unfortunately, the late start and a lack of funds resulted in another short season for the Lincoln Giants. The *Plattsmouth Daily Herald* offered an opinion regarding the team's problem. "They have played fine ball but Lincoln is too small a town to keep up a western association team and a crack amateur team." The term "amateur" was used to distinguish a team outside the major or minor leagues. The Giants were a professional team traveling the state and playing games multiple days each week. Following a Giants' victory at home in Lincoln against the white Burlington Railroad team from Plattsmouth, the Burlingtons signed Maupin, who shared catching duties with a white player. They also signed infielder Will Lincoln, another Giant. Other Nebraska towns also took the opportunity to bolster their rosters by integrating good players from the Giants on their rosters, and the Lincoln Giants ceased to exist. Maupin played a few games with Plattsmouth and then joined some of the other former Giants on the town team in Fremont in September.<sup>179</sup>

Meanwhile, segregation continued to be the rule in Kansas City on both sides of the state line. However, Maupin broke that color line on the baseball field in 1891. The extent to which he played is not entirely clear. Though not identified by his first name or initial, a player named Maupin caught for the Kansas City (Missouri) Stars beginning in April (there was also a team named the Stars in Kansas City, Kansas). There were reports of him catching for the Stars until late July, about the time Frank Maupin left for Nebraska. Maupin did not catch for the Stars in a game on July 25. On July 12, the *Kansas City Times* had commented on Maupin's skills as a baseball player. "Maupin of the Kansas City Stars is one of the best catchers in the country." Another report of him catching for the Stars came on September 12, which was about the time Frank Maupin returned from Nebraska. Then, on September 27, the *Kansas City Times* noted, "Maupin, the well known catcher, will receive for Johnson," the Stars' pitcher. In addition to all of the reports of Maupin catching for the Stars, a catcher of that name was included in June on the roster for the recently organized Schmelzers, a white team sponsored by the Schmelzer Arms sporting goods store. However, no record of him playing for the Schmelzers was found.<sup>180</sup>

It seems unusual that a reference to Maupin being Black would not have been made in at least one of these reports if he was playing for a white team in Kansas City, Missouri. Nevertheless, there were no reports of a catcher named Maupin playing while Frank Maupin was out of town, so it seems likely this was, indeed, Frank Maupin of the Lincoln Giants. The likelihood that he caught for the Stars from April to July and again in September is strengthened by information that clearly identified him playing for the Stars in October.

After the Schmelzers returned from a barnstorming trip through Missouri, they scheduled a game with the Stars for \$25 a side and all gate receipts. "Both teams [were] composed of the crack amateur players of the city, strengthened by some Rockford, Atchison, Ottawa and Fort Leavenworth players." Some of the ringers had experience on minor league clubs. For example, Johnson, who would pitch for the Stars, had reportedly played for the Kansas City Blues that year. If true, his full name was John Louis "Lou" Johnson, who would pitch in four games for the Philadelphia Phillies in 1894. All of the players for the Stars and Schmelzers were white, except Maupin, "the celebrated colored catcher." The Schmelzers easily won the game, 18-4, but the fielding of Maupin in a losing

cause was a feature of the game according to the *Kansas City Times*. The Stars then won a rematch. Maupin, “the colored catcher,” was scheduled to play but did not. However, Maupin was also on the Stars’ roster for a game on November 1 versus the Menges Blues, but it is unknown if that game late in the year was played.<sup>181</sup> After that, the breach in Kansas City’s color line on the diamond was sealed.

In 1892, Maupin was among the former Lincoln Giants who had the rare opportunity to play minor league baseball, in this case, the Nebraska State League. Unfortunately, multiple problems, including racial dissension fomented by some of the white players and managers, caused the league to fold early. The story of the league was covered in the essay on Castone and in more detail in a 2019 biography of Castone and a 2004 article by Gregory Bond.<sup>182</sup>

In late July, Maupin was back in Kansas City, and he caught for a picked nine featuring some of the ex-Nebraska State Leaguers in a game against the Kansas City “No. 11 fire crew (colored).” The No. 11s won, 17–8. When the No. 11s reorganized in April 1893, the roster included former Lincoln Giants Frank Maupin, Jack Reeves, Ed Carr, and Will Lincoln.<sup>183</sup>

From 1893 to 1895, Maupin moved from team to team. In addition to playing for the No. 11s in 1893, Maupin and Lincoln also played for a Black team in Hutchinson, Kansas, where it took the players on the city’s top white team “about three innings to learn the fact that they could not steal second with Maupin behind the bat.”<sup>184</sup>

In July 1894, Maupin was in Kansas City, where he planned to join other barbers on the diamond. “Rival colored base ball clubs, composed of South end barbers under the management of Frank Maupin and North end barbers coached by A.W.P. Griffin, will meet in a match game shortly.”<sup>185</sup> In August and September, Maupin, Reeves, and Lincoln had another opportunity to play in Nebraska for an integrated town team in David City and appeared in the team photo. While they were able to play in several cities, they were not always welcome. After Columbus lost to the visitors from David City, 24–8, falling behind 10–0 in the second inning, the *Columbus Journal* reported, “Most of the crowd made up their minds after the third inning that David City had too much color for Columbus.”<sup>186</sup>

In early 1895, Maupin was announced as the catcher for the Page Fence Giants, a new Black barnstorming team based in Adrian, Michigan. His former teammate and opponent, Bud Fowler, organized the professional club with Grant “Home Run” Johnson. However, Maupin was again ill in the spring and never joined the team.<sup>187</sup> Later that summer, Maupin returned to the David City club, along with Will Lincoln. However, Lincoln was released with pay after two weeks for being in no condition to play. Maupin was upset by Lincoln’s dismissal and also chose to leave the team. On July 1, after Maupin received his paycheck, he departed for Lincoln to purchase another glove, promising to return. Instead, he went to Kansas City. In August, Maupin and Lincoln were playing again in Hutchinson.<sup>188</sup>

No reports were found of Maupin playing baseball in 1896. In early 1897, the Kansas City Maroons tried unsuccessfully to reorganize with Maupin on the roster. Later that season, he joined the Kansas City Times Hustlers and sometimes captained the club in 1897–1899. Maupin’s barbershop was even the site for some of the team meetings. In 1899, the team had trouble holding its roster together in the competition among the top Black ball clubs in Kansas City, and Maupin jumped to the rival Bradburys.<sup>189</sup>

David City Base Ball Club, 1894.

Champion Amateur Team of Nebraska.



7. JOS. SHANDLER, Manager.

1. WILL LINCOLN, S. S.      2. JAS. SLADE, 1st B.      3. FRANK MAUPIN, C.      4. ED. EVANS, L. F. & 2d B.  
5. JACK REEVES, P. & 3d B.      6. ED. C. REINHART, P. & C. F.      8. LOUIS REINHART, R. F.  
9. ROLL SMITH, L. F.      10. LESTER COOK, P. & C. F.      11. JOS. DOLAN, 3d P.

Photograph of the racially integrated 1894 David City, Nebraska baseball team. The three Black players from Kansas City were Will Lincoln (top row, far right), Jack Reeves (middle row, third from the left), and Frank Maupin (bottom row, right). Nebraska History image RG3064.PH0-000026. Used with permission.

Off the baseball field in 1898, Maupin was one of 200 African American men who submitted their names to the local county court in an effort to diversify the racial make-up of the pool of potential jurors. The list was published in the *Kansas City Journal* under the headline, "They Demand Equal Rights."<sup>190</sup> Other than city directories in Kansas City through 1906, which recorded his work as a barber, no additional information about Maupin's activities was found after 1900.

Frank L. Maupin died on 11 March 1907 of "consumption" (tuberculosis) in Kansas City, Missouri, according to his Missouri death record. His marital status was listed as single, and he was only 37 or 38 years old (the death record gave his age as 35). His burial was not reported, but Lewis Maupin was interred five years later in Oak Grove Cemetery in Kansas City, Kansas. No obituary was found to note Frank Maupin's passing or the events of his brief life, which included a career in baseball as one of Kansas City's best catchers at the turn of the century that allowed him to cross baseball's color line in Kansas, Nebraska, and even Kansas City, Missouri.



## Edward C. Carr

In addition to James Hightower, John Jones, and George William Castone, another Black resident of Topeka played for the Topeka Athletics but two years later than the others. Ed Carr pitched for the Athletics in games at Ottawa and Garnett.<sup>191</sup>

A “mulatto” youth, 12-year-old Edward Karr, son of Martha Karr from Kentucky, was listed in the 1880 census for Topeka. His birthplace was Kansas. This matches a record in the 1875 Kansas census for a white, 6-year-old E. Carr born in Kansas, who was the son of E. and M. Carr from Kentucky. It would not be the only time a person was listed as mulatto in one census and white in another, and the other information is remarkably similar. It also corresponds with information in later census records described below.

The Ed Carr who played baseball first appeared in Topeka newspapers in 1883. He was working as the assistant to H.J. Dennis, supervisor of the State Library. “Mr. Dennis’s right hand man is Ed Carr, a colored lad of promise, a credit to his chief’s training and to his race.” He remained employed at the library until 1886, when a connection between his work and baseball was reported. “Ed Carr, the colored youth in the state library, who broke his collar bone while playing ball some days ago, is again able to attend to his duties.”<sup>192</sup>

The 1887 and 1888 city directories for Topeka listed Carr as a “mail carrier” (messenger) in the State Capitol. His name was given as Edmund Carr in 1887, but in 1888, he was listed as Edward Carr. In 1887, Carr pitched for the State House Nine and John Jones caught—“the colored battery”—in a victory over the white Shawnee BBC of Topeka, 12–9.<sup>193</sup> Carr was released from his job at the capitol in February 1889, an apparent victim of politics. The announcement of his release was followed by a comment in Topeka’s *Kansas Democrat*. “As the *Democrat* said last fall: The negro [sic] has had his day in republican Kansas.”<sup>194</sup>

Ed Carr probably pitched for the Beacons of Omaha in 1889, although his first name was not mentioned. The team was awful and underwent a reorganization and name change to the Lafayettes, who played at a more competitive level. Carr continued to play for the club in 1890 and 1891, when the team was named the Lincoln Giants, but he switched positions from pitcher to outfielder. He also served as the team’s captain for part of the 1890 season. His teammates included James Hightower, George William Castone, and Frank Maupin. The story of the Lincoln Giants is covered in the essay on Castone and in more detail in a 2019 biography of Castone and a 2004 article by Gregory Bond. When the Giants folded in July 1891, the *Daily Nebraska State Journal* praised the abilities of some of the players. “As a fielder and a batter Mr. Carr also stands at the head of the list.” Later in 1891, he played for an integrated town team in Fremont, Nebraska.<sup>195</sup>

In 1893, Carr joined the No. 11 Fire Company BBC in Kansas City, along with Frank Maupin, and he might have tried boxing in 1894. It is possible he returned to Omaha in 1898 to play for the Colored Giants, who had a pitcher named Carr. Off the diamond, from 1893 until at least 1900, a Black barber named Edward C. Carr worked in Kansas City, Missouri.<sup>196</sup> The 1900 census reported his birthplace as Kansas and his birthdate as June 1867, similar to what was reported in the 1875 and 1880 censuses. He had been married for a year. His wife’s name was Chicora. She was born in South Carolina, but nothing else was learned about her.

Carr next appeared in the 1910 census for Phoenix, Arizona, which included a “mulatto” barber named Edward Carr born in Kansas to parents from Kentucky who was in his 40s. The writing is difficult to read for the second number, but it looks similar to the number “2” in nearby entries, making his age 42. He was listed as a widower. This information suggests he was the Ed Carr who played baseball in Topeka, Lincoln, Kansas City, and elsewhere in the region. Why he moved from Kansas City to Arizona is unknown, but perhaps Ed or Chicora, who had died between 1900 and 1910, suffered from tuberculosis, an all-too-common infection at the time. In March 1906, a baseball game between a team from the normal (teachers’) school and an American Indian school was played in Phoenix, with the victory going to the normal school, 10–8. “The contest was umpired by Ed Carr, a base ball man of considerable experience. He gave perfect satisfaction to both sides and from every standpoint the game was a good one.” Ed Carr was called on to umpire other games involving the Phoenix Indian school or normal school that year in his “usual satisfactory manner.”<sup>197</sup> There is no way to confirm his identity, but the former Kansan is a reasonable candidate. (There was also an Ed Carr in Phoenix at the time who worked as an undertaker.) The 1910 census was the last record found for Ed Carr, the Topeka baseball player.

## Edward Stewart and Ed Mack

The first mention of Edward “Guinea” Stewart (also spelled Stuart), born in Kansas about 1865, was in 1881. On the Fourth of July, “a colored youth named Ed Stewart” lost a five-mile horse race with Ernest Dietrich, in which the horses were to be changed every mile. However, the horses sometimes chose not to cooperate with their riders “and in one instance bolted into a stable.” The first mention of him playing baseball was in 1884 with the Atchison Lone Stars, a Black team. The Lone Stars traveled in a “special coach attached to a regular freight train” to Leavenworth, where they defeated the Leavenworth Leapers. The following year, baseball was apparently out of the question for Stewart. On May 28, he was employed on Colonel Brown’s farm in Atchison County, where he was wounded in a fight with another employee. The trial of the other man was postponed until it was known if Stewart would survive the two barrels of buckshot he received in his side and thigh.<sup>198</sup>

In 1886, having survived his wounds, Stewart became the regular catcher for the Atchison Pomeroy’s, the white town team. “Stuart is a phenomenal catcher, and will probably join a professional team next season.” Perhaps this optimistic prediction was founded on Bud Fowler playing for the Topeka minor league club that year. Stewart’s one weakness as a catcher was his inability to throw well to second base. In August, he practiced with Pony Freeman, a professional pitcher from St. Joseph, Missouri, who had been hired to play for Atchison in July. Stewart “says he will get his throwing down to Hoyle, or he will quit playing ball.” While working on his baseball skills, Stewart was married on August 24. He told the *Atchison Daily Patriot*, “it was the best catch he ever made.” Perhaps it was his training with Freeman, but a few days later, the *Patriot* posited, “Ed Stewart, the Atchison catcher, since his marriage, throws to second base accurately and like a thunderbolt.” In October, Freeman was unable to pitch due to a hand injury. In his place, Ed Mack, another Black player pitched for Atchison in a 3–0 loss to a strong Emporia Maroons team. “Ed Mack and

Ed Stewart constitute what is known as the ebony battery.”\* There was also a report in the *Atchison Daily Patriot* that “Ed Stewart played two games at Downs” in northcentral Kansas in August, but this could not be confirmed in newspapers from Downs.<sup>199</sup>

In 1887, Stewart caught, at least occasionally, for the Atchison town team, and Freeman was back as the team’s pitcher. After one game, it was reported that Stewart’s “catching was a fine exhibition of the art.” Stewart and Mack would also form the battery for the resurrected Lone Stars. On September 11, the Lone Stars hosted the top Black team in Kansas City, Missouri. The Kansas City Maroons featured the battery of George William Castone and Frank Maupin. The Maroons won, 6–1. The Lone Stars next played the local white team, losing again, 15–8. This time, they imported a pitcher from Frankfort named Lemuel Clay, who is the subject of the next essay. In 1888, Stewart was scheduled to fill in for an absent player on the Atchison town team, but the game was canceled because of rain.<sup>200</sup>

The next known mention of Stewart was in 1894. According to the *Kansas Blackman* in Topeka, Ed Stewart played for a Black ball club named the Topeka Locals. By 1898, he had moved to La Junta, Colorado, where he worked for a coal company and caught for the town team from 1898 to 1901. He drowned on a fishing trip at nearby Meredith Reservoir in September 1910. He was survived by his second wife and five children.<sup>201</sup>

## Lemuel Clay

Lemuel “Lem” Clay played at least 15 years on integrated teams in Kansas, primarily for the town team in Frankfort for at least 14 of those years, plus brief stints with eleven other town teams in the area. No one else in Kansas is known to have had a longer career playing for integrated baseball teams in Kansas during this era.

Lem was born in Madison County, Kentucky to Vard and Mary Clay. Lem’s obituary reported he was born on 20 November 1870.<sup>202</sup> The 1900 census listed his birthdate as December 1870. Vard Clay was born into slavery in 1827 and became a farmer after the US Civil War. The family moved to Marshall County in northeastern Kansas as part of the Exoduster movement in 1880. Lem worked as a harness maker at the time of his death. “He had a good school education and many friends among all classes.” His obituary in the *Frankfort Daily Index* also mentioned that Clay “was notorious throughout this part of Kansas at one time as a ball player.”<sup>203</sup>

Clay’s baseball career began in 1886 and 1887 (Table 3). He pitched parts of games for picked teams of Frankfort players and one sponsored by the *Frankfort Bee* against a team sponsored by the *Centralia Journal*. The Bees’ victory earned them 60% of the gate receipts—\$9.85. In contrast, a game between picked teams from Frankfort and Marysville was played for stakes of \$150, “while numerous private bets swelled the amounts risked by both sides to over \$500.” Marysville won, 4–3. However, baseball was not Clay’s only interest at this time. In December 1886, he was reported to be practicing clog dancing.<sup>204</sup>

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\* Little else was found about Ed Mack. Apparently, he was born about 1860–1862 in Missouri, based on the 1870 and 1880 censuses for Atchison. He also appeared in an 1884 city directory.

**Table 3.**—Summary of the documented baseball career of Lem Clay (1870–1907) from Frankfort, Kansas primarily with integrated town teams in Kansas and Nebraska. His was principally a pitcher.

Year	State	Team	Integrated
1886	Kansas	Frankfort	●
1887	Kansas	Frankfort	●
1888	Kansas	Frankfort	●
		Waterville	●
1889	Kansas	Frankfort	●
1890	Kansas	Frankfort	●
1891	Kansas	Frankfort	●
		Marysville	●
1892	Kansas	Frankfort	●
1893	Kansas	Troy	●
		Frankfort	●
		Washington	●
		Scottsville	●
1894	Kansas	Frankfort	●
	Nebraska	Table Rock	●
		Beatrice	●
1895	Kansas	Westmoreland	●
	Nebraska	David City	●
1896	Kansas	Westmoreland	●
		Blue Rapids	●
		Clifton	●
		Clear Fork Township	●
		Frankfort	●
		Leonardville	●
1897	Kansas	Frankfort	●
1898	Kansas	Frankfort	●
		Blue Rapids	●
1899	Kansas	Frankfort	●
		Hanover	●
	Nebraska	Lincoln Cuban Giants	—
1900	Kansas	Frankfort	●
		Clear Fork Township	●

In 1888, Clay pitched for the town team from Waterville against the western Kansas team from Stockton at the ninth anniversary celebration of the founding of the town of Downs. Stockton won, but a newspaper reported that Clay's pitches "puzzled both batter and ... catcher."<sup>205</sup> It was the first of several trips Clay would make to play for other teams in Kansas and southeastern Nebraska.

In 1888, a store selling "general merchandise, groceries, and provisions" was opened in Frankfort under the name of its owners, E.C. Healey and E.J. Gano. In 1892, the business became Healey and Foster. From 1889 to 1893, the store sponsored a baseball team to represent Frankfort and provided the players with uniforms. Officers were elected and players were selected, including Lem Clay and Samuel Reust, a white player. Although mostly a catcher with Frankfort, in 1897 and 1900–1902, Reust would pitch for minor league teams, an opportunity not afforded to his Black teammate in Frankfort. The team's grounds were "just south of the Armourdale Ice Co.'s ice house." They played few games each summer but enough for Clay to demonstrate his skills. He reportedly struck out 25 batters in one contest. In another, the opponents "fanned themselves with their bats to keep cool." However, it did not always go so well. Clay did not make it past the first inning in one outing.<sup>206</sup>

A newspaper in Marysville gave an exaggerated description of Clay's pitching motion in 1890. "He usually leans back half way to second base and his right [arm] swings behind him and taps the second baseman on the vest, then he gives a jerk, the ball leaves his hand, and all is over, especially if it hits anyone." After his death, Clay was remembered "as the swiftest pitcher without curves." The *Frankfort Sentinel* offered a casual observation of a game in which "Lem Clay pitched better than ever before" in 1891. "[I]t appeared to us as if Lem made a quick motion, the batter a blind and desperate stroke at space and [then] Sam Reust held the ball safely in his hands."<sup>207</sup>

During this period, skills were rarely enough to earn a Black ballplayer a place on a town team otherwise composed of white players. Clay was fortunate to play for the predominantly white team in Frankfort because the town did not have the option of a Black ball club at the time. That would come later. The local Emancipation Day celebration in 1891 featured a baseball game, as these celebrations often did. However, instead of one or two Black teams participating, the Frankfort celebration included a game between the local Healey and Gano club and the town team from Corning for a purse of \$25. Presumably, Clay played in the game, but no description of the contest was found, other than a report that Frankfort won, 17–2.<sup>208</sup>

In January 1891, Frankfort newspapers reprinted a story published by the *Afro-American Sentinel* in Jackson, Tennessee. A Black ball club was being organized in the city and had "secured the services of Mr. Lem Clay, Frankfort, Kans., as one of their twirlers." It could not be confirmed that Clay traveled to Tennessee, but there was no mention of him leaving Frankfort. If he played in Tennessee, he did not stay all summer. Clay was on the field with Frankfort on July 4 and during August. He and Sam Reust also played in a game for Marysville in August, though neither pitched nor caught. Although the position he played was not mentioned, Clay's defense was praised by a Marysville newspaper.<sup>209</sup>

After Clay pitched well in the game on Independence Day, the *Frankfort Sentinel* reported he had recently experienced an injury to his arm with an unusual outcome, though exactly what happened is unclear.

Lem Clay had the misfortune, about a year ago, to lose the combination of the muscles of his arm, but recently, while practicing, he fell on his arm, which caused him much pain but replaced the machinery so that he has full control of its dynamic forces.<sup>210</sup>

In July 1892, the Healey and Foster ball club traveled to Clifton for a game. Frankfort won in convincing fashion, 14–0. Clay struck out 19 batters and allowed only two hits. In the first inning, “after Lem Clay had sent a few balls through to Sam Reust in the artistic manner peculiar to himself, and the Clifton fellows were being ‘fanned out’ as fast as they came to the bat,” there was little doubt about the outcome. Frankfort offered to play another game for \$200 “with Clay out of the game,” but Clifton declined. News of the game reached Frankfort before the team’s train arrived. “[T]hey were met by the [Frankfort] band and escorted uptown in elegant style, and immediately the heavens were aglow with a beautiful display of fireworks.”<sup>211</sup> Town team baseball was a community affair, and one of the stars in the community of Frankfort was a local Black pitcher.

In October 1892, one of the first female “bloomer girls’ barnstorming teams stopped in Frankfort to play the local team. Whether Clay played or not is unknown. If any group in baseball has been discriminated against more than Black players, it is female players. The Ladies Base Ball Club of Denver, which included at least one male player, was not a talented team. Yet being among the first in the area, the novelty of the roster attracted attention in Frankfort. “A good crowd was in attendance, and hence the gate receipts were very satisfactory—which by the way, was the most important feature of the game. However, the playing, while not to any great degree scientific, was quite interesting, owing to its novel and unusual features.” No score was published.<sup>212</sup>

In 1893, Clay primarily played for the town team in Troy and bolstered the rosters of Washington, and Scottsville, often accompanied by Tom Watson, a white athlete from Frankfort. Watson was the manager of the Frankfort team, and Clay was the assistant manager. In October, after the baseball season had closed, the two young men traveled to Chicago. “Tom Watson and Lem Clay had it all arranged that they would ‘pull together’ and paint the city of Chicago a scarlet hue, but as each landed from opposite ends of the train, they got separated at the union depot, and were unable to find each other during the entire week they were in the city.”<sup>213</sup> Segregated travel presented many challenges. Clay continued to pitch for Frankfort in 1894 and played for teams in Nebraska, as did Watson. In addition, Clay played for Frankfort’s football team that winter.<sup>214</sup>

Clay had a more serious travel experience that was also racially motivated in February 1895, and it further illustrates the environment in which he lived. The story comes from the *Irving Leader*, based on an article republished from the *Beattie Eagle*.

A fool full of whiskey and a gang of toughs from Frankfort undertook to make things hilarious while waiting for the train to go to Marysville Tuesday night.

The drunken chap had a couple of revolvers and, to pass the time, pulled one of them on the darkey who was with the party and tried to make him dance, after the style he had read about in some dime story of western adventure. The darkey didn't dance, and the first gun was taken away from him by a citizen who was present. He then got the other gun and in trying that game[,] shot the darkey through the toe. The matter was quieted down and they all went off to Marysville.—Beattie Eagle. Lem Clay was the darkey shot and John Pittman the shootist.<sup>215</sup>

Fortunately, the wound was not serious enough to keep Clay off the baseball diamond that summer. On July 19, the *Atchison Daily Globe* reported Clay had signed with the Whiting-Holton team, which was a late addition to the Kansas State League. However, there is no record of him playing for the team. The league did have a Black ballplayer that season—Bert Wakefield of Troy, whose story is included in a later essay. Instead of playing minor league baseball, the *Frankfort Bee* reported on July 2 that Clay was playing for the town team in David City, Nebraska, where Frank Maupin had appeared in the team photo the year before. Clay remained in David City through the first week of August. After returning to Kansas, he and Sam Reust joined the Westmoreland team for a few games.<sup>216</sup>

In June 1896, Clay, Reust, and others from Frankfort played mostly for Westmoreland, as well as for their hometown team. They also helped Clifton defeat Washington. In addition, Clay played for Blue Rapids, Clear Creek (probably Clear Fork), and Leonardville.<sup>217</sup> In contrast to this busy year, the only mention of Clay in the baseball news for 1897 was his visit in September to Seneca, where he tried to arrange a series of games with Frankfort.<sup>218</sup> The reason for the absence of information about baseball in Frankfort that year probably reflects the absence of archived issues of the *Frankfort Bee*.

The *Bee* returned in 1898, and Clay was playing for the home team, as well as Blue Rapids. The following year, the newspaper archive for Frankfort is once again sparse, but the few reports found in other newspapers documented Clay playing for Frankfort, Hanover, the Lincoln (Nebraska) Cuban Giants (in May), and perhaps other teams.<sup>219</sup> Similarly in 1900, Clay is known to have played for Frankfort and Clear Fork.<sup>220</sup> It was his final year of baseball, after 15 seasons playing for a dozen integrated town teams in Kansas and others in Nebraska. During the last few years of his career, the limited newspaper reports indicated Clay was pitching infrequently and had moved to second base. In 1900, the *Beattie Palladium* commented on Clay's condition. "Lem Clay, the African who held down second base for Frankfort, is losing some of his former activity, but he's still a whole side show."<sup>221</sup>

In June 1907, The *Frankfort Index* reported, "Lem Clay has been very sick the past week and his case is considered dangerous." He died on July 15 "of a complication of diseases of which tuberculosis is given as the principal cause." He was only 36 years old. Lem was survived by Josie, his wife of eight years, and his mother, Mary. His father, Vard, had passed away in 1903. Notices of Lem's death were published in newspapers in other towns where he was known as a ballplayer.<sup>222</sup> Lemuel Clay was buried in the Frankfort Cemetery.

## A Player Unknown and Miller

There were two players on integrated teams not identified by name in 1887. The team in Belleville had an unnamed “colored gentleman” who played in a home game against Concordia. Unfortunately, newspapers in both cities provided few details and no box scores for their teams. As a result, no other information about the player was published, other than the fact that he could not hit curve balls.<sup>223</sup>

The other unnamed player was a member of the Oskaloosa town team who played in a game with McLouth. In this instance, a likely surname could be deduced. The *McLouth Times* published box scores for two games between Oskaloosa and McLouth. The Oskaloosa portions are shown from articles published on July 1 (top) and July 15 (bottom). In the notes for the second game, which was played in Oskaloosa, the *McLouth Times* reported that the “colored player excited attention” and struck out “a couple of times.”<sup>224</sup> The first statement suggests that Oskaloosa had no Black players who “excited attention” during the first game in McLouth. Thus, the five players who appeared in the lineup for Oskaloosa in both games were presumably white (their names are among those crossed out in the bottom lineup, which includes the Black player). A sixth player (Conant) can be eliminated (also crossed out) because he made no outs, and the Black player struck out twice. Information published in Oskaloosa newspapers about two of the remaining three players indicated that they, too, were white. Henry “Harry” Morley, who built homes, schools, and other buildings, had been an officer in the Union Army and played for the Oskaloosa team previously. Fred and Adam Sable moved to Oskaloosa to run the local creamery. Frank was a member of the A.O.U.W. (Ancient Order of United Workmen), a fraternal organization exclusive to whites, which eliminates either of them. The remaining member of the team was Miller, the left fielder, who was presumably the unnamed “colored player.” As added support for this assumption, there were several local Millers whose race was listed as Black in state and federal censuses, including young men. However, which one of these Millers played left field for Oskaloosa in July is unknown.

OSKALOOSA		R	O
J. Sands, 1b.....	3	2	
F. Brown, s s.....	1	4	
Smith, c f.....	1	4	
Robinson, p & 3b.....	1	2	
J. Brown, 2b.....	2	3	
J. Wilson, lf.....	3	1	
J. H. Brown, c.....	3	2	
Brusenback, rf.....	0	5	
R. Wilson, p & 3b.....	1	4	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	15	27	

OSKALOOSA		R	O
<del>J. Sands, 1b.....</del>	<del>3</del>	<del>2</del>	
Morley, 3b.....	2	3	
Smith, c f.....	3	2	
Miller, lf.....	2	2	
Brown, c.....	3	2	
J. Wilson, s s.....	2	2	
R. Wilson, p.....	3	1	
Sable, rf.....	0	4	
Conant, 2b.....	3	0	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	21	18	

## Western Cyclone BBC and the Nicodemus Blues

The town of Nicodemus was unique among early communities in western Kansas. The town was founded in 1877 by Black families, mostly from Kentucky, immediately prior to a wave of emigration from the South known as the Kansas Exodus. From 1886 to 1888, the



town's population of both Black and white residents grew in the expectation that a railroad would soon reach Nicodemus and establish a station. Unfortunately, the railroad was built a few miles to the south through Bogue. The population of Nicodemus declined, but the predominantly Black community survived.<sup>225</sup> (The history of the community is interpreted through Nicodemus National Historic Site, established in 1996.)

At the peak of the boom, the Western Cyclone BBC was organized in 1887 and named after the local newspaper. The club's membership was integrated, although the two rosters published consisted mostly of Black players (Table 4). Unfortunately, virtually no detail was provided about the games the team played against Webster and Hill City. The Western Cyclone BBC was not reorganized the following year, but a "picked nine" defeated the team from Webster at the annual Emancipation Day celebration.<sup>226</sup>

Baseball games were often part of the annual Emancipation Day celebrations in Nicodemus, but there was no mention of a town team until after the turn of the century. Their opponents were primarily nearby town teams, but Nicodemus sometimes hosted teams from farther away, such as the Kansas City Monarchs.<sup>227</sup>

**Table 4.**—Members of the Western Cyclone BBC of Nicodemus, Kansas in 1887.

Player	Position		Black or White
	February	August	
Herbert "Bert" Boylan	—	2B	W
Justin "Jet" Boylan	—	P/Captain	W
Sanford Craig	CF	1B	B
George Duncan	2B	LF	?
Tom Evens	—	SS	?
Samuel Garland	1B/Captain	—	B
Hilliard C. Hawkins	3B	3B	B
Harvey S. Henrie	C	—	B
J.W. Logan	P	—	?
Jesse C. Lowery	—	RF	B
Eddie McPherson	—	Back Stop	?
Edward Patterson	LF	—	B
D.P. [Porter?] Stewart	RF	C	?
Alexander G. VanDuvall	SS	CF	B
R.M. Burnside	—	—	B
William H. Cotton	—	—	W
Silas E. Hays	Secretary	Manager	W
Huie K. Lightfoot	Umpire/Manager	—	W
B.P. Moreland	—	—	B
F.G. Turner	—	—	?
David Watt	—	—	B

During much of the twentieth century, the team was known as the Nicodemus Blues. In 1908, the Blues began the season with a tour through northcentral Kansas from mid-May to mid-June. Their roster included the Kirk brothers from Osborne and Happy Sparks from McAllaster, the subjects of later essays. The Blues played at least 14 white town teams, some more than once. This was only two years after John “Topeka Jack” Johnson had taken the Topeka Giants on barnstorming trips through Kansas and other states, including a few towns toured by the Blues.\* Tours by the Kansas City Monarchs were still several years in the future. Thus, games with Black barnstorming teams at the time the Blues made their trip were not yet a common event in northcentral Kansas. Coverage in the local newspapers and the team’s reception in these communities ranged from complimentary to derogatory.<sup>228</sup> The *Esbon Times* had this to say after a game in Esbon, won by the home team, 4–2.

The Nicodemus negroes are all gentlemen in every way and play nice, clean ball, which all the fans in Esbon like to see. ... The colored boys were well satisfied with [the umpire’s] decisions and stated that if they would get as good decisions elsewhere they would win their games. They want to come back and play again and Esbon could not get any cleaner ball players in the country than the Nicodemus negroes [sic] are.<sup>229</sup>



Nicodemus Blues, 1907. “Happy” Sparks is in the middle of the second row. William “Will” Kirk, one of three brothers from Osborne to play on integrated baseball (and football) teams, is in the second row at the far right. Kansas Memory, Kansas State Historical Society item 317157. Used with permission.

\* Jan Johnson compiled a list of nearly 100 games played by the Topeka Giants in 1906. The team’s roster that year included two players featured in later essays here—Sam Strothers and James Orendorf.

After returning to Nicodemus, the Blues continued to play town teams but did not make another tour after the harvest.<sup>230</sup> Among the contests later in the season was a pair of games with the Haskell Indians from the boarding school at Lawrence, though the first game was not scheduled in advance. The games took place during the Agricultural Fair and Old Settlers Reunion in Lucas. On the opening day of the fair, Haskell was scheduled to play Damar, who failed to put in an appearance. Some of the Nicodemus Blues were in town, but not the full team. To entertain the 200–300 fans on hand to watch a baseball game, three white players joined six members of the Blues, who agreed to play an extra game with the Indians. It turned out to be a pitcher's battle, with Haskell scoring the game's only two runs in the seventh inning. The Blues and Haskell played on Wednesday, with the Blues fielding their full roster. Rain halted the game after five innings, long enough for an official game, with Nicodemus ahead 5–1. "There was a good deal of bellyaching over it and it was finally decided to finish the game Thursday morning." Nicodemus managed to hang on for a 6–5 victory.<sup>231</sup> Thus, for a single game in 1908, the Nicodemus Blues was an integrated team of Black and white players who, on this occasion, competed with a team of American Indians.

## Henry Williams

Henry Williams, who sometimes went by the nickname "Snow," was born in Shelby County, Texas, along the Louisiana border, in March 1876. His family moved to Burlington, Kansas in 1880, when they were included in the census for the city. The first report of him playing baseball was in 1889 with the Burlington Clippers, an integrated team of young players, mostly in their teens. However, they sometimes played teams of older players in nearby towns. Williams usually pitched for the Clippers. A core group of these players continued to play together—Henry Williams, Lester Watrous, Roger Gorton, and Will and Elmer Lane. In 1890, the team was sometimes referred to as the Champions, but by the end of the season and in subsequent years, they were simply known as the Burlington BBC. Williams continued to pitch for the team and played in the outfield on his off days. In a game against Waverly in June 1892, "Henry Williams, pitcher, has the phenomenal record of making twenty-four Waverlyites strike out."<sup>232</sup>

The years 1889–1892 were apparently the only four years Williams played for the Burlington town team. This was due in large part to the absence of an organized team. There was virtually no mention of baseball in Burlington newspapers in 1893. If Williams played baseball that year, no record of it was found. However, he did win a gold watch in a drawing held in Burlington in September.<sup>233</sup>

The following year, the city's "Whites and Blacks played a game" in August to a 16–16 tie, with the contest ending on a disagreement about the rules. Games seem to have been mostly among local teams, and when Burlington played another town team, there was little coverage in local newspapers. Williams might have played for the Black team, but he was only reported to have played in a few games for teams in Wichita and Emporia. In Wichita, he was imported by the Boston Store Athletics, the top Black team in the city. Williams was scheduled to pitch in one of two games on August 8 and 9 against the Wichita Stars, a white team. Newspaper reports suggested he pitched the second game, but no details about players in the games were published. Even less information was found

about Williams playing in Emporia during late August or early September, not even the name of the team on which he played. However, there was a game between two Black teams on August 30—the Emporia Clippers and the “Bostons” of Wichita.<sup>234</sup>

In mid-July 1895, the *Burlington Courier* reported continuing disappointment in local baseball. “Burlington is the only town whose papers are not filled with base ball news. There is not a base ball club of any kind.” In late June 1896, there was only talk of organizing a team composed of four or five local players plus hired players that would play in a regional league. Nothing came of the talk. However, Henry Williams played for otherwise white town teams near Burlington. In 1895, he pitched for Waverly, and the following year, he pitched for Waverly, Neosho Falls, and Hartford. He was sometimes joined by his old batterymate from Burlington, Will Lane.<sup>235</sup>

Sadly, that was the end of Williams’ brief baseball career, played almost entirely with otherwise white town teams. In April 1897, he was reported to be seriously ill. After being invalidated for five months, he died on May 7 from “consumption” (tuberculosis), aggravated by heavy smoking. Henry Williams was only 21 years old. His baseball career was described in the obituary published on the front page of the *Burlington Daily News*. “He was a base ball player and one of the best pitchers in the state. ... He never got rattled by the jeers and jibes of the opposition[,] and his best friends are among his old companions on the diamond.” The site of his burial is unknown, but his father, Burrell “Burl” Williams, was buried in Graceland Cemetery in Burlington in 1919.<sup>236</sup>

## Frank Milton and George Conner

In the 1890s, Junction City had two Black ballplayers who followed in the footsteps of Ike Perkins from the previous decade. The first was Frank H. Milton. According to the 1900 census, he was born in Kansas in January 1874. The March 1875 census in Humboldt, Kansas gave his age as five months, which would put his birth about November 1874 and suggests he might have been born in Humboldt. According to census records for 1880, 1885, and 1895, the family was living in Junction City. After this, Frank moved frequently. In the 1900 census, he and his wife, Jessie (listed as Josie), lived with her mother, Harriet Black, in Morris County. In 1910, the family was in Kansas City, Missouri. When listed, his occupation was given as laborer.

While living in Junction City, Milton primarily played shortstop and left or center field for the town team in 1891 and 1895 (he was absent from Junction City from late 1892 to July 1894). He also served as a relief pitcher in one game. The *Junction City Union* praised his skill on the infield. “Milton, as short stop, guards every point, and ‘plays ball’ in every particular with a skill that is hard to beat.” In one play, a hard-hit ball glanced off the third baseman to Milton, who still managed to throw out the runner at first base. In addition to baseball, he also sang tenor in the Abe Lincoln Colored Glee Club.<sup>237</sup>

Milton’s father, Henry, served in the US Army during the Civil War (First Battery, Colored Artillery, Company K). He moved to Junction City after the war, following a short stay in Humboldt. Henry was a barber in Junction City and at the “Soldiers’ Home” (Western Branch, National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers) after moving to Leavenworth in

1896. Frank also moved to Leavenworth but passed through Junction City in 1901 after working in the “harvest fields out west.” The *Junction City Daily Union* mistakenly identified him as Henry Milton but noted that he “was formerly Junction City’s crack ball player.”<sup>238</sup>

Frank Milton’s life soon took a turn in the wrong direction. According to newspaper reports, he was arrested in 1902 on suspicion of committing violent robberies in Leavenworth. (References made to his father at the Soldiers Home confirm it was the former ballplayer.) Frank pleaded guilty to one charge of highway robbery and was initially sentenced to the reformatory in Hutchinson. That was changed to four years imprisonment at the state penitentiary in nearby Lansing because of his age, but he was paroled in 1904. The 1905 state census recorded Frank and Jessie Milton in Newton, Kansas, with their one-year-old son, Benjamin. In 1906, Frank was arrested in Leavenworth for assaulting Jessie. She filed a similar complaint against him in 1907, and he sued her for divorce. Yet, Frank and Jessie were listed together in the 1910 census for Kansas City, Missouri. However, there was no mention of Benjamin, though Jessie was reported to have one living child of three born to her. The 1910 census also recorded that Frank and Jessie had only been married six years, but it was actually 16 years. In January 1911, Frank was again arrested, this time for stealing tools in Leavenworth, but, strangely, nothing more was mentioned of Milton or his accomplices in Leavenworth newspapers.<sup>239</sup>

The last potential mention of Frank Milton in Kansas newspapers was in July 1912. According to the newspaper article, he had followed in his father’s military footsteps and enlisted in the 24th US Infantry and served “for a number of years.” However, this is impossible to reconcile with the 1910 census and the report of Milton being arrested in Leavenworth in January 1911.\* The July 1912 article in the *Junction City Daily Union* reported that the body of Frank Milton, “one of the old-time Junction City colored boys,” had been returned following his death at Fort Beard in New Mexico.<sup>240</sup> This was almost certainly Fort Bayard, which served as the army’s tuberculosis hospital in the early 1900s. This suggests Milton died of TB. The name of the cemetery where he was buried was not mentioned, but Henry Milton was buried in Junction City’s Highland Cemetery in 1909.

In 1898, after Milton stopped playing for Junction City, the team picked up a Black catcher named George Conner. (The second baseman when Milton was with the team was a white player with a nearly identical name—George Connor.) The 1900 census reported that Conner was born in Texas in January 1879. His occupation was listed as porter. The 1905 city directory for Junction City listed his occupation as laborer. Conner had caught for the Black team in Junction City in 1897 and 1898 before joining the white town team. In addition, the *Wakefield Searchlight* reported in 1900 that the town of Milford imported “Comers, the colored catcher from Junction City” for a game with Broughton. This was probably George Conner, and his playing “was exceptionally fine.” Little other information was found for Conner, other than announcements of two marriages. He married Carrie White in November 1898 and Marie Watson in 1903. Marie was granted a divorce in 1911.<sup>241</sup>

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\* At the time this essay was written, access to military records through the National Archives and Records Administration was limited due to restrictions in place during the COVID-19 pandemic.

## James Hall

The 1900 census reported that James Hall was born in Kentucky in May 1868. His family had moved to Marion County, Kansas by 1880, where James worked on his family's farm. He married Belle Powell in 1898. Census records for 1900, 1910, 1915, and 1920 show that Hall and his family farmed near Peabody in Marion County when he was not playing baseball. Initially, he worked for another landowner, and in 1909, they rented land to farm on their own.<sup>242</sup>

In 1892 and 1893, Hall pitched for the Peabody town team and for nearby Marion. The *Peabody Graphic* reported in June 1893 that "James Hall has resigned from the Peabody base ball team and accepted a position with the Marion team where he gets a salary and a good job." The *Burns Citizen* commented on Hall's performance pitching for Marion a few days later in a game against Florence. The purse was for \$200, and both clubs imported players, with Marion bringing in players from Kansas City and Florence adding players from Emporia, Hutchinson, Newton, and Wichita. Yet, the writer for the *Citizen* focused on a single player. "Jim Hall, colored, of the Peabody team, playing with the Marions, did excellent work all through the game and made much sport for the spectators. Jim is one of the best players in the state and is worthy of much comment." Spectators from Peabody who traveled to Marion to watch the game reported to the *Peabody Gazette* that Hall's "playing equaled that of the Kansas City professionals." He earned the victory pitching for Marion, 11-7. In July, Hall returned to Peabody and pitched his hometown team to victory over Marion. Then, in August, he again pitched part of a game for Marion against Peabody, which was won by the former.<sup>243</sup>

Sometime between 1920 and 1925, James and Belle Hall moved from the farm near Peabody to Emporia. The state census in 1925 once again listed him as a farmer, but city directories and the 1930 census indicated that he worked for the railroad from 1926 until at least 1936. No occupation was listed after 1938, when he reached age 70. James Hall died on 28 October 1953. Belle passed away 9 July 1959. They were buried in Maplewood Memorial Cemetery in Emporia.

## Monroe Ingram

Monroe Ingram, the son of former slaves, was born in Georgia in September 1866 (the month is from the 1900 census). Three-year-old Monroe and his family were recorded in the July 1870 census living near Hamilton, Georgia, close to the Alabama border. The growing family of John (Jackson) and Armintha (Amanda) Ingram was in Texas in 1878 and moved to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma), about six miles south of Coffeyville, Kansas, in 1879. The following spring, they settled on farmland northwest of Coffeyville in an area known as Sandy Ridge.<sup>244</sup> Monroe Ingram was deaf. Consequently, he was given the common but inappropriate nickname "Dummy," which is not used elsewhere in this essay.\*

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\* This account is abridged and modified from open-access monographs available at [https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all\\_monographs/4/](https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all_monographs/4/) and [https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all\\_monographs/14/](https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all_monographs/14/) (Eberle 2018b; 2019g).

In the spring of 1885, baseball enthusiasts at the Kansas Deaf and Dumb Institute in Olathe (now the Kansas School for the Deaf) resurrected the name Kansas Stars for their team, which was also the name of the school newspaper. On the roster was Monroe Ingram. He started attending the school in 1880 and first appeared in the *Kansas Star* in 1883. Like the school, the baseball team was integrated. Ingram suffered a weekslong bout of pneumonia in February, but in May 1885, he played first base for the school in a 24–23 loss to the Olathe OKs. He sat out the 1885–1886 school year but returned the following year.<sup>245</sup>

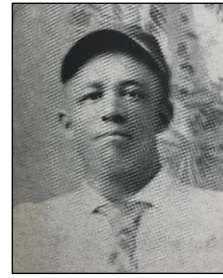
During his absence, in February 1886, two baseball teams were organized from members of the school's Olympic Athletic Club—the Clippers and the Crescents. Female students made uniforms for both teams. At a game between the two clubs, all of the students were given permission to watch, as the Clippers defeated the Crescents, 22–18.<sup>246</sup> These two teams would be the focus of baseball at the school for eight years.

When Ingram returned in September 1886, he was admitted to the Olympic Athletic Club and became a member of the Clipper baseball team. The following year, he was captain of the Clippers and vice president of the athletic club. At the school's annual Field Day in May 1888, Ingram was the winning pitcher for the Clippers in another victory over the Crescents. In the track and field events, he earned the most points and was awarded the "Superintendent's champion badge," as well as prizes for each event in which he placed.<sup>247</sup> At the time, grades (scores) for each student were published in the school newspaper, usually weekly, and they indicated Ingram was as talented in academics as in sports.

In the 1888–1889 school year, Ingram continued as captain of the Clippers, pitching the team to a 6–0 shutout of the Crescents in October. In games with outside teams, the school was represented by a team selected from members of the Clippers and Crescents. The school team defeated Olathe teams twice, as well as a team in Kansas City. The *Kansas City Times* reported, "the silent team from Olathe put up an uncommonly good game." Ingram played first base.<sup>248</sup> The big match between the Clippers and Crescents at the annual Field Day in 1889 was played on Decoration Day (Memorial Day). This time, the Crescents defeated Ingram's Clippers, 11–10. Points were assigned to players for their performances in the game and in track and field events that day. As in 1888, Ingram was the school's champion athlete, which earned him an "open face Swiss movement watch." Among his victories was first place in the 100-yard dash, though his time of 11.0 seconds was slower than his winning time of 10.2 seconds in 1888. He finished second in the baseball throw at 324 feet.<sup>249</sup>

Ingram graduated as class salutatorian in June 1889, the first Black graduate at the school. He played baseball for his hometown team in Coffeyville that summer before starting his position as a teacher at the Missouri School for the Deaf and Dumb (now the Missouri School for the Deaf), where he taught until 1902. Eligibility rules being less rigorous then, Ingram joined the school's baseball team composed of students, former students, and faculty. He was the only Black player, but an integrated team in Missouri was rare. Ingram also taught at schools for the deaf in Georgia (1902–1907?) and Oklahoma (1908–early 1920s). All of the schools were segregated, and in 1909, the Oklahoma school for African Americans moved to Taft, an all-Black town. Monroe's wife, Jennie, served as matron of the boy's dormitory in Oklahoma. Their daughter, Constance, was born in 1915, but the couple later divorced.<sup>250</sup>

Employment as a teacher offered Ingram a career and the freedom to play baseball in the summer. In sports, he was competitive but also generous. At a reunion and picnic in Kansas City for deaf citizens in 1891, Ingram won silver medals in the shotput and 440-yard race. Having won two medals, “he requested that the medal ... for putting the shot be given to the second man, which was done.”<sup>251</sup> He was later inducted into his alma mater’s hall of fame (shown in this photo from his time at the Missouri School for the Deaf).



Upon graduation, Ingram had been “offered a tempting position in a baseball club, but refuses to play Sundays.” After pitching for Coffeyville’s town team in 1889, he pitched for the town team in Independence, Kansas from 1892 to 1896. Both teams had predominantly white rosters, though Ingram also pitched for a Black ball club at least once in Coffeyville in 1894. The Ingram farm sat between Independence and Coffeyville, but a little closer to the latter. Both towns wanted him on their rosters because he was “one of the best ball pitchers in this section of the state.” In 1894, he was brought in to pitch the final three innings of a 24–14 rout of Parsons because it “would be a disappointment to our people [in Independence] to attend a ball game and not see some of the mute prodigy’s wonderful ball playing.” He did this despite having a sprained ankle that kept him from running the bases. In October 1894, the *Cleveland* (Ohio) *Gazette* picked up stories in Kansas newspapers and reported in its column “Of Race Interest” that “Monroe Ingram is acknowledged the best baseball pitcher in Kansas. His color ‘cuts no figure.’” Ingram had a good relationship that lasted beyond his playing days with Marvin Truby, the captain and manager of the Independence town team, who also caught for Ingram. In 1894, their reputation led to them being hired as the integrated battery for the town team in Nowata, Indian Territory (Oklahoma).<sup>252</sup> Truby was later instrumental in bringing night baseball to Independence with the first official minor league contest under permanent lights between the Independence Producers and the visiting Muskogee (Oklahoma) Chiefs of the Western Association on 28 April 1930.<sup>253</sup>

In late June 1896, a Kansas State League was organized with teams from Emporia, Independence, Junction City, and Parsons. Other teams were expected to join later. Instead, the two northernmost teams—Emporia and Junction City—withdrew, citing high travel costs. The original clubs then reorganized as the Northern Kansas League (Emporia, Junction City, Minneapolis, and Topeka) and the Southern Kansas League (Chanute, Coffeyville, Independence, and Parsons). Their seasons ran from mid-July to mid-August.<sup>254</sup>

According to the *Independence Daily Reporter*, Ingram “resigned” from the local team when it joined the league. More likely he was released to accommodate the views of some of the imported players, including Tom Drummy, who would oppose having a Black teammate (more on Drummy later). Marve Truby also left the team but served as a league umpire. Other players remained on the roster. Ingram was not off the diamond long, though. Emporia signed him to pitch for their league team in 1896 and again in 1897. The *Emporia Gazette* commented, “If there is any position Ingram can’t play and play well, no one has found where it is.” When an effort was made to organize a series between Emporia and Independence at



the end of the 1896 season, the *Gazette* reported that Ingram was “delighted with the idea of getting a chance at his old team, as they had circulated the report that he was not swift enough to play for them.” The games were not played, but he did achieve a measure of revenge while pitching for Coffeyville in a series of games against Independence in 1898. Ingram was the winning pitcher in three of four games. His hitting also contributed to the victories.<sup>255</sup>

In 1897, the Northern Kansas League organized as the Kansas State League in mid-June, with Atchison replacing Minneapolis. No league was reorganized in southern Kansas. Ingram rejoined Emporia, and Bert Jones (the subject of a later essay) returned to Atchison, giving the 1897 league two integrated teams.<sup>256</sup>

In May 1898, there was a report that Ingram would join Jones as a pitcher for Atchison, but the manager, Frank Beauchamp, would not meet one of his conditions. “Ingram, the baseball pitcher, arrived to-day, but when he said he would not play on Sunday, Manager Beauchamp fell dead, and there was no one to hire him.” The possible presence of two Black pitchers on the Atchison club is all the more surprising given that the team had refused to play the Bradburys, a talented Black ball club from Kansas City, in May. Ingram pitched for Topeka in June and early July before being released prior to the club entering the Kansas State League with Atchison, Salina, and Wichita—a repeat of Independence in 1896. After pitching for Topeka in an 8–5 loss to Atchison, in which Topeka committed 13 errors, the *Atchison Daily Globe* made a comment that highlighted the dual hurdles of race and deafness that Ingram had to overcome to play for integrated teams. It was a comparison of Ingram to Atchison’s Bert Jones (referred to as “Yellow Kid”). “Ingram is deaf and dumb, thus going our Yellow Kid two better.” Ingram returned to Coffeyville and played for his hometown team until he returned to teaching.<sup>257</sup>

In 1899, Ingram returned to Emporia, which had an independent professional team. However, as detailed by Gregory Bond, racist players led by Tom Drummy forced Ingram to once again “resign.” Drummy misplayed balls when Ingram pitched that were so obviously done on purpose that he was removed from a game. By July, he had recruited others to his cause. After a 13–5 loss to Atchison on July 13, the *Emporia Republican* reported, “the support the Kids gave [Ingram] was the rottenest kind.” William Allen White’s *Emporia Gazette* was equally critical. Despite their criticism, neither newspaper was opposed to the team drawing the color line, but they wanted the players to express their views to the directors of the club rather than throw games in front of paying fans. Ingram would not play under these conditions and left the club when it returned to Emporia. He was not the only Black player on Emporia’s roster in 1899, so it is possible, though speculative, that Ingram might have also been singled out because he was deaf, which would have made it doubly challenging for him to be accepted by narrowminded players. Emporia’s shortstop was Gaitha Page, who remained with the club after Ingram resigned (Page is the subject of a later essay). It is also possible that Ingram, not Page, was targeted because it was easier to make a team’s own pitcher look bad through intentional misplays than it was to target a shortstop. What is not true is the report published on July 22 in the *Gazette* that Ingram resigned because of an injured knee and “will not appear on the diamond again.” Three days later, Ingram pitched for Waverly in a 7–4 loss to Emporia and pitcher Tom Drummy. Less than two weeks later,

the Emporia club folded. The *Gazette* acknowledged that Drummy “was responsible for breaking up the Emporia ball team.” After a brief stay in Waverly, Ingram again pitched for Coffeyville, where one of his teammates was shortstop Joe Tinker, a native of Muscotah, Kansas and a future member of the National Baseball Hall of Fame.<sup>258</sup>

In February 1900, the *Chicago Tribune* reported that infielder Bert Wakefield (the subject of the next essay) and pitcher Bert Jones would play for the Chicago Unions, a prominent Black ball club. The *Tribune* also mentioned that “Ingram of Topeka, Kas., will help Jones with the pitching,” but Ingram did not join the team. In December 1898, Jones had sent a letter to the manager of the team in Emporia in an attempt to contact Ingram, who was teaching in Missouri.<sup>259</sup> Perhaps Jones was still trying to help recruit Ingram for the Unions in 1900. This would have put all three Black Kansans who played for integrated minor league teams during the 1890s—Ingram, Jones, and Wakefield—on the same team for the first time.

Ingram continued to play occasionally for integrated teams in Coffeyville and nearby towns during his summer breaks.<sup>260</sup> He taught school into the 1920s and retired to Coffeyville by 1925. Monroe Ingram passed away on 1 January 1944 and was buried in Spring Hill Cemetery, two miles north of the old family farm.<sup>261</sup>

## Bert Wakefield

Burgess “Bert” Wakefield was born in Troy, Kansas in May 1870 (his age in June 1870 was given as  $\frac{1}{12}$ ). He was listed as Burgess (or similar spelling) as a youth but went by Bert as an adult. He was a lifelong resident of Troy, other than his time playing baseball during several summers. A more detailed biography was published as an open-access monograph, which was abridged for this essay.<sup>262</sup>

Bert’s mother, Anne Wakefield, was born into slavery in Kentucky. Before the outbreak of the Civil War, she was taken to Savannah, Missouri, 17 miles northeast of Troy. A Troy newspaper noted that Dr. Matthew Wakefield “was the owner, in slavery days, of the colored Wakefields of Troy.”<sup>263</sup> It is probable that Anne, three of Bert’s older siblings, and others escaped slavery together across the Missouri River into Kansas. She and three children were listed in the 1865 census for Troy. Anne never learned to read or write, but she saw to it that her children were educated. In December 1886, Bert was one of eleven students recognized for his scholarship among the 62 students enrolled at the high school in Troy.<sup>264</sup>

Bert’s father is unknown, but he might have been Edward Langford, who left Troy and passed away in Wichita sometime before 1889. Langford and Anne Wakefield lived as husband and wife in slavery and in Troy. Anne claimed part of his estate in Wichita after he passed away, and Langford apparently acknowledged that he was the father of her second son, who was three years older than Bert.<sup>265</sup> Langford made no such claims about Bert, but perhaps he left Troy before Bert was born and did not know him.

In 1889, Bert Wakefield began his career as a tonsorial artist, and he opened his own barbershop and baths on the north side of Troy’s town square in May 1892. Barbering was his lifelong profession, and this would be one of several shops he owned. Occasionally, he tried other careers, such as operating the Bon Ton Café, serving “oysters and lunches.” In October 1892, Wakefield married Josephine Irvin in White Cloud, Kansas.<sup>266</sup>

**Table 5.**—Partial summary of the baseball career of Bert Wakefield (1870–1926) from Troy, Kansas on integrated and Black teams. He also played occasionally on other predominantly white town teams in Kansas and elsewhere. After 1908, Wakefield played for Troy and nearby towns, and he managed the Black team in Troy at least as late as 1916. The left-hander’s principal positions were first base, second base, and pitcher.

Year	State	Team	Integrated
1892–1894	Kansas, Nebraska	Troy and other town teams	●
1895	Kansas	Troy, <i>Captain</i> (Kansas State League)	●
		Emporia	●
1896	Kansas	Hiawatha	●
		Atchison	●
1897	Kansas	Abilene	●
1898	Kansas	Abilene	●
		Salina	●
1899	Nebraska	Lincoln Cuban Giants, <i>Captain</i>	—
		Sterling	●
		Tecumseh	●
1900	Illinois	Chicago Unions	—
1901	Illinois	Chicago Unions / Union Giants	—
1902	Iowa	Algona Brownies, <i>Captain</i>	—
1903	Kansas	Troy	●
1904	Minnesota	Renville All-Stars	●
1905	Kansas	Troy, <i>Captain</i>	●
1906	Kansas	Troy	●
1907	Iowa	Davis City and other town teams	●
1908–1909	Missouri	Kansas City Monarchs	—

The first report of Wakefield playing baseball appeared in July 1892, after he opened his first barbershop and before his marriage.<sup>267</sup> However, he likely played before that summer, when he was already 22 years old. It was the start of a long baseball career (Table 5).<sup>268</sup>

In June 1894, Troy’s *Kansas Chief* reported the local ball club had attempted unsuccessfully to bring in a pitcher and catcher from out of town for the “first of a series of games [with Severance] for the championship of the County.” Although Troy lost that game, the newspaper suggested the manager “could not have secured a better battery than the one in use—the Mexican pitcher and Allie Albers.” The name of the pitcher was not mentioned, but in October, the “Mexican” on second base was identified as Bert Wakefield.<sup>269</sup> Why he was referred to as the Mexican is unknown, but it is unlikely the reference was made to hide the fact that he was Black, given that he owned a barbershop of the town square in a small community. The population of Troy in 1890 was only 730, increasing to 947 in 1900.

That summer, Wakefield also played for teams in Bendena and Hiawatha, as well as Pawnee City, across the border in Nebraska. “Bert Wakefield is getting quite a reputation as a ball player.” After a trip with Troy’s team to Pawnee City, a Troy newspaper noted, “Bert Wakefield is well liked in Pawnee, and everybody, even the little boys and girls, knew him, and had a good word for him.” A newspaper explained his popularity on baseball diamonds outside his hometown. “It’s only his color that keeps him out of the League. He’s a hard hitter, and is mighty handy getting in front of batted balls, as a baseman.” How much he was paid to play for teams in other towns is unknown, but when the manager in Seneca, Kansas tried to sign him, the *Kansas Chief* reported, “so far [the manager] has not got to the right figures.”<sup>270</sup>

The fact that Wakefield sometimes played second base would now be considered unusual. It was not unusual for pitchers of the era to play in the field when they were not on the mound because rosters were minimal. However, it was unusual in this case because Wakefield was a “southpaw.”<sup>271</sup> Other than the first baseman, a position Wakefield also played many times during his career, infielders are typically right-handed, which makes it easier for them to throw quickly to first base. Yet Wakefield was routinely praised for his work at second base, and it was his regular position on several teams.<sup>272</sup>

Wakefield also did more than play for Troy’s first nine. In September 1894, the Troy Chiefs (the town’s second nine) hosted the white team from nearby Denton, and “Bert Wakefield gave satisfaction as umpire.”<sup>273</sup> A Black umpire in a game played by white teams was rare in Kansas (and elsewhere) at the time. The few instances known in Kansas are described in a set of essays at the end of Part I. Wakefield’s service as the umpire for this game was a sign of the respect he already enjoyed as a ballplayer and a person by 1894.

Although Wakefield enjoyed success on the baseball field in 1894, the year did not end well in his personal life. On November 13, “Lawrence Wakefield, aged eleven months and five days, son of Bert and Josie Wakefield[,] died Tuesday morning after an illness of three weeks.” He was buried in Mt. Olive Cemetery outside Troy. Records of the Mount Olive Cemetery Association in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society record that “Burgis Wakefield” purchased the west half of block 187 on November 14. An engraved, but worn, white stone column marks the grave. The following month, someone spread a rumor that strands of barbed wire were stretched across the bottom of one of the new bathtubs installed at Wakefield’s barbershop. Whether the rumor was racially motivated or based on personal animosity toward Wakefield is unknown, but the falsehood was “indignantly denied by that gentleman” in a local newspaper.<sup>274</sup>

The 1895 baseball season would be an historic one for Troy and for Bert Wakefield. Following the Panic of 1893, economic conditions were generally poor in Kansas, as elsewhere.<sup>275</sup> Yet the Kansas State League was organized each year from 1895 to 1898. None of these leagues in the 1890s paid dues to the National Association, which would shield them from losing players to other association members without compensation.<sup>276</sup> Nevertheless, the Kansas teams obtained the services of professional players moving among states in the region to play ball. Being on the fringe of organized baseball also meant the leagues could adhere to baseball’s color line, or they could ignore it. The Kansas State League during the 1890s chose to ignore it, and there was at least one integrated team each year.

Although 28 teams reportedly expressed interest in joining a baseball league, the Kansas State League had only four clubs when the season opened—Emporia, Leavenworth, Topeka, and Troy. The first games were played in mid-May, but a team jointly representing the small cities of Holton and Whiting was added to the league a month into the season.<sup>277</sup> However, within a week, the league dropped back to only four teams. The Leavenworth Reds were destitute, and after the Leavenworth players went on strike during a game, the league president expelled the club on June 24. On July 22, the Topeka franchise folded, taking the league with it.<sup>278</sup>

Troy was the smallest town in the 1895 league, yet they competed well.\* The team was organized in early March and played exhibition games against the St. Joseph Saints across the Missouri River, who were members of the 10-team Western Association, a minor league encompassing Nebraska, Iowa, Missouri, and Illinois. Not surprisingly, Troy lost all three games, 12–7, 20–18, and 9–1. Nevertheless, a newspaper in Troy was full of praise for the local players, including Bert Wakefield. “Wakefield’s pitching is as good as he has ever done; but his second base play made the visitors open their eyes. He pulled down several balls which he never could have reached, without springs in his heels.”<sup>279</sup> In contrast, the loss to an independent team from St. Joseph led to disappointment, especially in Wakefield.

Wakefield, the old stand-by, got himself disliked by many, and the hero of a hundred other battles, on Sunday night after the game, had to flock by himself. He says he was sick, and in no shape to play. Certain it is that he did not play with any skill or judgment; but as this was the only time he has ever failed, it should be forgiven. All the others have their off days and lots of them, and it is all right; but the fans are slow to forgive Wakefield, probably because his bad playing was so unexpected.<sup>280</sup>

However, Wakefield enjoyed the continued support of the team’s white manager, William Deveraux. The *Leavenworth Herald*, an African American newspaper, described an event in which this was evident when Troy visited Leavenworth.

A colored gentleman was a member of the Troy nine. When the nine arrived at the National hotel, he was refused admission, upon which the manager of the club, who seemed to be a fair-minded man, and who believed in giving credit where merit deserved it, stated that if the colored member of the club could not eat at the hotel with the rest, he would take the club somewhere else. We are glad to say that the colored member was accommodated with the rest. A white man of this kind should receive the admiration of every colored man, which he so richly deserves.<sup>281</sup>

A big change for the club and for Wakefield came in June. In May, Troy had picked up an infielder who was playing in Texas and made him team captain. Pearce Chiles was not an admirable character and was frequently in trouble with the law, eventually going into

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\* The population of Troy rose from 730 in 1890 to 947 in 1900. Populations were substantially larger in Emporia (7,551 and 8,223), Holton (2,727 and 3,082), Leavenworth (19,768 and 20,735), and Topeka (31,007 and 33,608).

hiding to escape arrest. "In Leavenworth, Chiles started a mutiny, and got the assistance of several of the other players," so the team released him on June 8. Apparently, "several bums ... sold out the game on two or three previous occasions."<sup>282</sup>

Troy added players recently released by Leavenworth and continued their schedule. One of these players was Jacob Buckheart, an American Indian catcher who played baseball in Lawrence at Haskell Institute (now Haskell Indian Nations University).<sup>\*</sup> An Emporia newspaper commented on the importance of Wakefield and Buckheart to the Troy team. "There was only one homerun, Wakefield, the colored second base man knocked that. He and Buckhart [sic], the Indian catcher, are the two best players in the Trojan team. The caucasians [sic] will have to look out for their honors when those two fellows are around."<sup>283</sup>

In addition to these changes to the Troy roster, "Wakefield, the colored second baseman, was chosen captain of the Troy team," replacing Chiles. This is particularly noteworthy because Wakefield joined Bud Fowler in this historic role as the Black captain of an integrated minor league team in the late nineteenth century. Fowler served as captain for eight games with a minor league club in Montpelier, Vermont in 1887 and for the minor league club in Lincoln and Kearney, Nebraska in 1892.<sup>284</sup>

Although the teams in the Kansas State League did not quite complete 40 games, Troy rightfully earned first place in its only season of minor league baseball. After the league folded, the Troy team reorganized and continued to play independently. The former league team in Emporia did the same, and they were bolstered for a series against the team from Winfield, Kansas by Wakefield and two other Troy players. Wakefield was popular in Emporia, where Monroe Ingram and Gaitha Page (the subject of a later essay) would soon play. An Emporia newspaper praised their new infielder. "Wakefield is as good a second baseman as any in the 'big leagues.' This is no lie nor is it a 'puff.' It is simply a solemn fact." Without offering details, a Troy newspaper reported, "Bert Wakefield is getting the biggest pay of any of the ball players in Kansas. He is playing with Emporia."<sup>285</sup>

Wakefield's experiences on the ballfield were not always so positive, however. Troy's town team toured Missouri and Iowa during August and September.<sup>286</sup> Wakefield had a rough first game in a series played at Cameron, Missouri.

In this game Wakefield is charged with eight errors, due no doubt to nervousness on account of the prejudice Missourians are supposed to have against a colored ball player. By the next day he had steadied down, and is said to have done some of the finest work ever done by a second baseman, having caught with one hand a very high fly ball, with which he assisted with a triple play, and Manager Devereux writes that he made a home run drive which was the longest hit he has ever seen made.<sup>287</sup>

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\* Buckheart played for Troy in two series as a replacement for Troy's regular catcher, who temporarily left the team. Buckheart then returned briefly to the team in Leavenworth. Afterwards, he caught for the league club in Topeka and an independent team in Independence, Kansas, where Monroe Ingram was pitching. A newspaper suggested, in racist terms widely used at the time, that the team "only needs the introduction of a Jap and a Chinaman to make the club an international organization."

It would not be his only memorable homerun. Offensive and defensive exploits aside, serving as a captain on an integrated minor league team and umpiring a baseball game between two white teams would be remarkable accomplishments for any Black ballplayer in the late nineteenth century. Yet Wakefield's baseball career was just getting started.

In 1896, Wakefield again played for Troy, though they were not in a league. However, he spent most of his time playing first base for Hiawatha, joining pitcher Bert Jones (the subject of the next essay). Bert and Josie Wakefield's second child, another son, was born in June, but tragedy struck in July, when the five-week-old infant, sick since birth, passed away, once again leaving the couple childless. He was buried with his brother in Mt. Olive Cemetery.<sup>288</sup>

After playing for nearby Severance in the spring of 1897, Wakefield joined the independent professional team in Abilene, which played the Kansas State League teams on their open dates. This gave him a chance to hit against pitchers Bert Jones and Monroe Ingram. Wakefield, "one of the best infielders of the state," signed with Abilene shortly after the team added an American Indian pitcher, Isaac Augusta, who played with Buckheart at Haskell Institute during the academic year. Wakefield spent time at first base and second base for Abilene, where 6-year-old Dwight Eisenhower might have seen him play. Ike would enjoy his own experiences on the baseball diamond in Abilene a few years later, including games between local white and Black teams.<sup>289</sup>

The team in Abilene almost folded in early August because it was losing money. The league team from Emporia, where Ingram, "the best man on the team," was pitching, tempted Wakefield and three other Abilene players with offers to join their roster. However, Wakefield opted to stay in Abilene when boosters kept the club going through the end of August. He then returned to Troy to care for Josie, who was seriously ill.<sup>290</sup>

The next year began with more heartache for Wakefield. In February, Josie, "a woman of more than ordinary intelligence," passed away.<sup>291</sup> Even the *Abilene Daily Chronicle* reported the sad news.

The numerous friends in Abilene of Bert Wakefield, the gentlemanly colored man who played fast ball for Abilene during the 1897 season, will regret to hear of the misfortune which has befallen him in the loss, by death, of his wife last Saturday, she being a victim of consumption [tuberculosis].<sup>292</sup>

In early May, Wakefield returned to Abilene.<sup>293</sup> Perhaps the routine of baseball away from home served as a tonic for the deep sorrow he surely felt.

A new Kansas State League was organized in 1898, with teams from Atchison, Salina, Topeka, and Wichita, but the league's official season only ran from July 21 to August 6, when the teams in Salina and Atchison folded. Bert Jones again pitched for the Atchison league team, including games against Abilene's independent team and Bert Wakefield, who mostly played second base. However, at the beginning of June, Abilene's professional team was again having financial trouble. It was announced on June 9 that the local baseball association would fold, deeply in debt after only 10 games.<sup>294</sup>

In mid-June, Wakefield was signed by Salina to play second base. However, trouble soon arose in Salina, too. Near the end of June, an Abilene newspaper reported that he was not receiving his salary, but he continued to play for the team into early July. In the game on July 10 in Atchison, Salina's only run in a 4–1 loss was scored by "Wakefield, who sent a ball over in the direction of Leavenworth and walked around the ring with composure." Wakefield played third base in his final game for Salina on July 11. Thus, he did not play in any official league contests that began later in the month. Wakefield was one of the players Salina let go when they signed players recently released by higher-level minor league teams that had disbanded. Despite being released by Salina, salary was still owed to its former players, and at least four lawsuits were filed against Salina's ball team. Wakefield's lawsuit for \$25 in back pay was filed in Atchison and settled out of court. Wakefield received \$12.50, and Salina paid all court costs. After returning to Troy, he played for area teams during what remained of the summer.<sup>295</sup>

In 1899, Wakefield played for the Lincoln (Nebraska) Cuban Giants during May and June. Several early games were against the white town teams from Sterling and Tecumseh, southeast of Lincoln. As the season progressed, both of these teams sought to bolster the home talent on their rosters. By the end of May, Wakefield and other Cuban Giants played at various times for all three teams. By mid-June, Wakefield and others had apparently jumped to the Sterling team, as the Cuban Giants struggled to field a team. A week later, Wakefield "of Sterling's team" played for Tecumseh in a pair of games against the team from Crete, Nebraska. During August and September, Wakefield was a full-time member of the Tecumseh team. After ending the season playing on integrated teams once again, Wakefield returned to Troy in early October.<sup>296</sup>

In 1900, Wakefield's baseball career took a step up, when he became the first baseman for the Chicago Unions, where he joined Bert Jones. The *Chicago Tribune* mentioned that Monroe "Ingram of Topeka, Kas., will help Jones with the pitching," but Ingram did not join the team. The *Chicago Tribune* reported that 3,000 people watched the first game of the season on April 21 between the Unions and the Marquettes, a white semipro team. This was three times the population of Troy. "Wakefield's work at first was worthy of special notice." He also hit one of four homeruns in the Unions' 19–4 rout. Bert Jones was the starting pitcher who benefitted from this offensive support.<sup>297</sup>

The Unions and Wakefield both enjoyed a successful season. In a loss on June 10 in front of 4,000 fans, "Wakefield held down first [base] in National League style."<sup>298</sup> At the end of September, the Unions arranged to play their local rivals, the Chicago Columbia Giants, "for the colored championship of the world."\* A game on the morning of October 7 ended in a scoreless tie called after nine innings by mutual agreement. After the game on Saturday, October 13, the *Chicago Tribune's* headline read, "Unions Beat Columbia Giants. Wakefield Wins the Game by a Home Run in the Tenth." Chicago newspapers did not carry a report of the third game scheduled for October 14, so it is unknown how the series concluded.<sup>299</sup>

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\* The roster of the Columbia Giants during these games included two future members of the National Baseball Hall of Fame—Sol White and Frank Grant.



In late May 1901, Wakefield returned to Chicago to play for the Unions, primarily at first base. Bert Jones also rejoined the Unions but left the team in mid-June. In July, during an extended barnstorming trip through the Midwest, the club underwent changes, including owner Frank Leland renaming the Unions as the Chicago Union Giants. On July 21, after the club played a pair of games with the Maroons of Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, "Wakefield, the colored fielder, formerly with the Chicago Unions," played centerfield for the Maroons. A few days later, he was expected to play for the team in Newbery, Michigan in a game against Sault Ste. Marie. Then, on August 4, he was back with the Union Giants.<sup>300</sup> As during the previous year, the Union Giants scheduled two games on September 29 and October 13 against the Chicago Columbia Giants. This time, the Columbia Giants defeated the Union Giants in both games, giving them "the undisputed right to claim the colored championship of the world," or at least the Midwest. The Union Giants continued to play until the end of October, when Wakefield again returned to Troy for the winter.<sup>301</sup>

Instead of returning to Chicago for a third season in 1902, Wakefield left Troy for Algona, Iowa on April 26. The Algona Brownies was an African American team organized to promote the town of 2,900 residents in northcentral Iowa. The Brownies played throughout Iowa, Minnesota, and South Dakota. Most of the players had played previously with the Unions and Columbia Giants. As in Chicago, Wakefield was joined by Bert Jones in Algona. In addition to town teams, the Brownies played preseason games against clubs from the Iowa-South Dakota League.<sup>302</sup>

Wakefield played first base for Algona and served as the team's captain. The Brownies played well to begin the season and compiled a record of 28 wins, 9 losses, and 1 tie by July 9. However, Wakefield became "sick" and was unable to play most of that month. A newspaper in Algona reported that "Wakefield's sore knee is improving," but it was apparently more than a knee injury that sidelined him. After he returned home at the end of September, a Troy newspaper reported on his baseball experiences during the season. Wakefield apparently mentioned that he contracted small pox at the beginning of July and was quarantined most of the month. During his absence, the team floundered.<sup>303</sup>

The season turned around at the beginning of August. "Wakefield returned to the game after an absence of three weeks, and much of his team mates' ginger was due to the remarkable manner in which he fielded his position. ... It is worth going to the games just to see Wakefield haul in the wild throws with one hand and reach out half way across the diamond to get thrown balls. Many a runner goes out because Wake is a good reacher." Catching balls with one hand was not as routine as today, given the much smaller gloves at the time. Bert Jones, playing in the outfield, gave Wakefield one of his chances to be "a good reacher" when Jones "threw a runner out at first on a ground hit to deep right field." August was a good month for the Brownies. "Their record for the past few weeks [19-3] has been by far the best of the season. This is accounted for to a certain extent by Captain Wakefield and [George] Richardson getting back into the game again."<sup>304</sup>

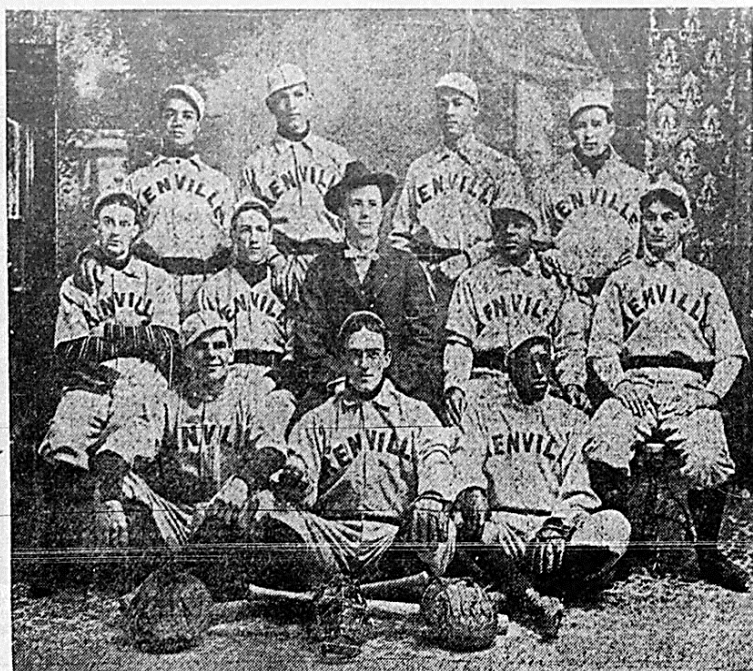
On September 3, more than 3,000 spectators watched Algona defeat Webster City, 4-3, in Des Moines to claim the state championship. Later in the month, "The Algona



1902 Algona Brownies from a newspaper advertisement for a game. The ad stated that “Bert Wakefield, perhaps the best first [baseman] in America[,] is playing with them” (*Iowa State Bystander*, 29 August 1902, p 1). Bert Jones and Bert Wakefield are in the back row, second and third from the left.

management ... awarded each member of the team with a solid gold medal as champions of Iowa.” With the minor leagues ending their seasons, the Brownies were able to schedule games against two of these white clubs. The Des Moines Midgets of the Western League defeated Algona, 8–5. However, the Brownies split a pair of games with the St. Paul Saints of the American Association, losing the first game, 6–1, and winning the second game, 8–2. The Algona Brownies disbanded after compiling a record of 71 wins, 30 losses, and 2 ties.<sup>305</sup>

In early 1903, Bert Wakefield was serving as a janitor in the Kansas House of Representatives at the State Capitol in Topeka. By May, he had returned to Troy and purchased another barbershop. After four seasons out of state, he planned to stay in Troy for the summer to run his business and play with the “home boys.”<sup>306</sup> As might be expected, after playing in Chicago and Algona, Wakefield dominated as a pitcher and hitter against teams around Troy. “He saw early in the game that he had the Highland boys rattled, and he threw with a confident, easy air and a grin on his face that was discomfiting to Highland.” In his first 95 innings, he reportedly struck out 120 batters and surrendered only 19 runs. On at least one occasion, he pitched Troy to victories on back-to-back days. By the time the Troy team disbanded for the season in September, “Wakefield, the colored pitcher, the terror of all teams in this part of the state, has pitched twelve full nine-inning games and lost only one.” The team’s record was 16–9, which indicates how important he was as their pitcher.



Standing beginning at left—Wool, right field; Jones, center field; Wakefield, first base; Davis, left field. Sitting middle row, beginning at left—Cruikshank, shortstop; White, sub-fielder; Stabeck, manager; Richardson, second base; Sturgeon, catcher. Bottom row, at left—Hess, extra catcher; Finnegan, third base; Holland, pitcher.

1904 Renville All-Stars, with Bert Jones and Bert Wakefield in the center of the back row (*Minneapolis Tribune*, 29 May 1904, Sporting Section, p 3).

His batting average was .330. Off the field, the year spent in his hometown also ended well, when Bert Wakefield married Ada “Addie” Brooks on December 27 in Horton, Kansas.<sup>307</sup>

In 1904, Manager Henry Stabeck sought to bolster the Renville (Minnesota) Athletic Association team of white players, the Renville All-Stars. He did this by hiring Black ballplayers, including Bert Wakefield and Bert Jones. Stabeck also touted the fact that they both had experience in the Kansas State League. In addition, Eddie Noyes, a white catcher from Troy who played on Kansas and Nebraska teams with Wakefield as his battery mate, joined Renville in late May, too late for a team photograph published by the *Minneapolis Tribune*. Noyes followed his successful year in Renville with a 15-year career in the minor leagues from 1905 through 1920 (except 1915), an opportunity enjoyed by few players and one that was no longer available to Wakefield, Jones, and other Black ballplayers.<sup>308</sup>

Minnesota newspapers periodically praised Wakefield’s performance at first base. “Wakefield, the colored first baseman is in a class by himself.” Perhaps the most spectacular play reported that summer occurred in a game against the Javas in Minneapolis. Billy “Holland fielded a well placed bunt on the third base line and threw to first without turning in order to catch the runner. Wake had to stretch his long frame to the limit to get it with

one hand ... and the crowd went wild.”<sup>309</sup> In July, Wakefield was seriously injured in a game and sent back to Renville for five days to recover. “Wakefield, the Renville first baseman, went into the game a sick man and did not play his usual game. He was hit in the neck by a pitched ball while at the bat and after the game the services of a physician were required for him.” After he recovered from his injury in August, he even took a turn at pitching, allowing only three hits to the team from Echo, Minnesota, who lost, 6–0.<sup>310</sup>

Renville’s two strongest opponents were Webster, South Dakota and Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin. Renville and Webster split their series at eight victories apiece. The series between Renville and Chippewa Falls also started even at five wins for each team. On August 14, the clubs played in St. Paul, Minnesota for the championship of the two states. Chippewa Falls, behind the pitching of African American George Wilson, easily defeated African American Billy Holland, the star pitcher for Renville, 10–2. “Wakefield, who played first for the Renvilles, covered the bag in a spectacular fashion, grabbing them out of the air and on the ground on several occasions.” Although the game was billed as deciding the championship of the two states, the teams played five more games. However, Renville only managed one victory, giving Chippewa Falls a record of 10–6 in the series. Renville closed the season at the end of August with a record of 55 wins, 26 losses, and 1 tie. “The season as a whole has been a successful one. [Only] one team that has been met has had the best of [Renville] and that is Chippewa Falls.”<sup>311</sup>

Because cold weather ended the 1904 season early in Minnesota, Wakefield and Noyes played for Troy, Highland, and Humboldt (Nebraska) in September and October. In 1905, Noyes headed to the minor leagues, while Wakefield operated his barbershop and played for Troy and nearby town teams in 1905 and 1906. Troy had a Black team, but Wakefield continued to play on the integrated town team. He also served as its captain in 1905, his fourth time in this role on an integrated or Black ball club.<sup>312</sup>

Wakefield decided to head out of state in 1907. In April, a Troy newspaper reported that he once again sold his barbershop and would “probably play ball this season.” Wakefield spent most of the season in Davis City, a small town in southcentral Iowa, where Troy had played on a barnstorming tour in 1895. In addition to Davis City, Wakefield played for other small towns nearby when the Davis City team was idle. He was apparently the only Black player on these teams. Mostly he played first base, but he also pitched and played in the outfield in at least one game, an atypical position for him.<sup>313</sup>

In an historical crossroad, Wakefield pitched for Davis City in a 1–0 loss against a white barnstorming team sponsored by Hopkins Brothers, a sporting goods store in Des Moines. The winning pitcher was Iowa native J.L. Wilkinson. Thus, Bert Wakefield, who played on and served as captain of integrated baseball teams, lost a pitching duel to J.L. Wilkinson, who would establish the integrated All Nations barnstorming team in 1912 and the Kansas City Monarchs of the Negro National League in 1920. In 1900, Wilkinson had broken his wrist during a game, so he mostly played other positions on the field, but he still pitched on occasion.<sup>314</sup> At the end of the summer, Wakefield returned to Troy, opened a new barbershop on the west side of the town square, and played in occasional ballgames that autumn.<sup>315</sup>

From 1900 to 1907, the J.W. Jenkins' Sons Music Company sponsored a Black baseball team in Kansas City, Missouri that played both Black and white teams in the region. They also played teams such as the Chicago Unions and the minor league Kansas City Blues in preseason and postseason games. However, the music company withdrew its support because the club played games on Sundays. As a result, the team changed its name and became the "original" Kansas City Monarchs\* in 1908 and 1909.<sup>316</sup>

Bert Wakefield joined the Kansas City Monarchs as their first baseman in April 1908. In the team's first game, Wakefield was singled out in the *Kansas City Journal* for his hitting performance—a single, double, and triple in four at bats. He played for the Monarchs during the early part of the season, but by July, the 38-year-old Wakefield was playing in Highland, about 10 miles northwest of Troy.<sup>317</sup> While he was in Kansas City, a team photograph was taken (page 137). It is the clearest picture known of Wakefield.

After the 1908 season, Wakefield, who turned 39 in May 1909, was less active in baseball. On 20 June 1909, he made a trip to play first base for the Kansas City Monarchs against the KCK Giants. According to the box score, Wakefield had one of the six hits for the Monarchs in their 1–0 loss at Riverside Park (the Giants were easily winning their other games at the time).<sup>318</sup> It was possibly his last time to take the field for the Monarchs or any other team outside the area around Troy.

Wakefield played occasionally around Troy for several more years. He also served as a manager and mentor on local teams, including Troy's Black team. They had represented Troy through most of the early 1900s, playing other Black teams and white teams from small towns nearby.<sup>319</sup> In July 1915, Wakefield was praised for his management of the team.

Doniphan defeated the crack Troy colored team last Sunday by the score of 3 to 2. It was the best, cleanest game of the season. Bert Wakefield had charge of the Troy squad and he handled them like the experienced ball player that he is. Bert knows the game and plays it in a gentlemanly and sportsmanlike manner.<sup>320</sup>

In addition to baseball, live music was an important part of life in rural Kansas during the late 1800s and early 1900s, not just for the community, but also for Bert Wakefield. Many towns had a band that featured brass and woodwind instruments, as well as drums. Some towns also had an orchestra, whose members played string instruments, perhaps mixed with other instruments. These groups often consisted of only a few musicians, corresponding to the small populations of the towns. For example, from 1915 through 1917, Frank Martin, a musician who was also a farmer near Troy, advertised an orchestra for hire consisting of "4 or 5 pieces for any kind of entertainment at reasonable prices."<sup>321</sup>

Martin's Orchestra performed for years, and Bert Wakefield was a member. In December 1898, "the colored social club" in Troy hosted a "grand ball and great cake walk. ... Music by Prof. Frank Martin's orchestra.—Frank Martin, president; Bert Wakefield,

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\* The name Kansas City Monarchs was resurrected in 1920, reportedly at the suggestion of Black pitching sensation John Donaldson, for J.L. Wilkinson's more famous Negro Leagues and barnstorming team. The two Monarchs teams were not otherwise connected.

treasurer and secretary; Doll Mack, general manager.” In addition, the musicians simply performed in public on occasion. “Three colored artists on string instruments serenaded last night and the music was [rhythmic], sweet and soothing as dreams of fairyland. They were Prof. Martin on violin, Wakefield on mandolin and Wilkinson on guitar.” Troy’s *Kansas Chief* reported in June 1906 that “Bert Wakefield and Charley Harvey were out Monday night with their string instruments and serenaded several of our citizens. The boys played several selections at The Chief residence which were fine and greatly appreciated.” One afternoon in 1904, Martin’s Orchestra even “serenaded the county jail ... and Marcell and Sid Lucas, who are at present boarding at Sheriff Ramsey’s residence, thought it was fine and a whole lot better than they would have to face when they got up against County Attorney Brewster in the April term of the court.”<sup>322</sup>

In 1911, Bert and Addie Wakefield built a house on his mother’s lot on the west side of the 200 block of North Main Street. Bert continued barbering into the 1920s, but he supplemented his income with money from the orchestra and various other jobs. Financially, the Wakefields were struggling. They lost their home in foreclosure proceedings in 1923 on a debt of \$509.25, and they owed more than \$50 in delinquent taxes on the property.<sup>323</sup>

Illnesses might have played a part in this misfortune. Bert started 1912 with pneumonia and by mid-February had only recovered enough to show up at his barbershop but not to work. “There came near being a vacancy in the tonsorial list of Troy.” He suffered pneumonia again in 1915, “and the doctors are very anxious about him.” After this, while visiting in St. Joseph, Missouri, “he ran to catch a [street] car and fell, fracturing a bone in his head.” Addie was also “sick for a couple of months” in 1916, and in late 1917 she spent three weeks in a St. Joseph hospital, recovering from an unspecified operation.<sup>324</sup>

The 1925 Kansas census noted that Bert was living alone in a rented house in Troy. He and Addie had divorced, and their daughter, Dorothy, born in 1908, lived in St. Joseph, but she passed away at Addie’s home in Atchison in 1929. Addie married again in 1940 and passed away in Atchison in 1953, where she and Dorothy were both buried.<sup>325</sup>

Bert Wakefield passed away on 18 July 1926 at age 56. The cause of death was listed as atherosclerosis. Bert was buried in a now unmarked grave in Mt. Olive Cemetery. Local oral history recalls that a grass fire destroyed the early wooden markers commonly used in the African American section of the cemetery. The plot Bert purchased in 1894 (west half of block 187) was full or nearly so with graves of his family members (there is now only the worn stone marker from 1894 for his son, Lawrence). Thus, Bert was buried in a nearby plot identified from funeral home records as the west half of block 213.<sup>326</sup>

In addition to his obituary, Troy’s *Kansas Chief* offered the following tribute to his baseball legacy, especially his reputation as an outstanding first baseman.

Bert Wakefield[,] who died the first of this week, was known throughout the middle west as one of the greatest colored base ball players in the history of the game. Wakefield’s [style] of play was nearly flawless, and baseball fans flocked to the ball parks to see him in action. Bert played first base mostly and it didn’t make any difference how wild the infielders might throw the ball just so “they got it in the general direction,” as Wakefield used to say.<sup>327</sup>

In 1935, the *Atchison Daily Globe* published a retrospective column on baseball four decades earlier based on a scorebook covering games in Atchison from 1888 to 1895. One story was about an 1894 game won by Troy, 38–0. Henry Bryant, who owned the scorebook and pitched for Atchison that day, speculated that “a ball hit by a big Negro named Bert Wakefield is probably still rolling some place up in those Doniphan county apple orchards.”<sup>328</sup> A vivid, respectful memory more than 40 years later.

## Bert Jones

According to his 1918 draft registration card, George Elbertus “Bert” Jones was born on 18 February 1878 (the 1900 census listed January 1878).<sup>\*</sup> His birthplace was listed as Kansas, but the only two George Jones in the 1880 census in the area around Hiawatha, where the future baseball player grew up, were both listed as three-year-olds living in St. Joseph, Missouri, about 40 miles east. There were no children of that age in 1880 named Bert, Elbertus, or Elbert near Hiawatha. In all confirmed records of the ball player, he used the name Bert, but in Kansas newspapers, Jones was often referred to as “Yellow” or “Yellow Kid,” the latter being a newspaper cartoon character at the time. The nicknames used in Hiawatha for this lanky pitcher, standing just over six feet, one inch tall and weighing 180 pounds in 1918, were “Walking Windmill,” “Colonel Jones,” or a combination of the two.<sup>329</sup>

A former teacher in Hiawatha continued her career in Algona, Iowa, where Jones would later play baseball. She related a story about young Jones to the *Algona Republican*. As a young student, Jones would lie to his teacher, telling her his mother was sick and he had to miss school to be with her. In truth, he was skipping school to watch baseball games. Becoming concerned about the boy’s ailing mother, who must surely be on her deathbed, the teacher stopped by the house, only to find Bert’s mother hoeing the garden. Punishment soon followed, but so did baseball.<sup>330</sup>

Jones began his baseball career pitching and occasionally playing in the outfield for the integrated Hiawatha town team in 1895 and 1896 (Table 6). After Jones struck out 16 batters in an early game, Hiawatha’s *Brown County World* assessed the young pitcher’s outing. “Surround Pitcher Jones with the best players in town, give them frequent practice and no club can take a game from Hiawatha without doing good work.” Comments were also made about how calm Jones was while pitching, regardless of how the game was going. While playing for Hiawatha, Jones competed with or against Bert Wakefield and John Miller (the subject of the next essay), who also played on integrated town teams nearby. At the beginning of August 1896, the Hiawatha baseball team folded. Afterwards, Jones played for the predominantly white team in Atchison, as did Bert Wakefield. Both also bolstered the roster of the Sabetha town team in a game with Seneca.<sup>331</sup>

In April 1897, Jones rejoined the professional team in Atchison, but the club released pitcher Luther Taylor from Oskaloosa, Kansas. Taylor would begin his major league pitching career with the New York Giants in 1900. To begin the season, the Atchison club

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<sup>\*</sup> Information about Bert Jones in an open-access monograph was abridged and updated for this essay. It is available at [https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all\\_monographs/4/](https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all_monographs/4/) (Eberle 2018b).

Table 6.—Partial summary of the baseball career of Bert Jones (1878–1943) from Hiawatha, Kansas with integrated and Black teams. He also played occasionally on other Black and predominantly white teams in Kansas, South Dakota, and Minnesota into the 1930s. The lefthander’s principal positions were pitcher and outfielder.

Year	State	Team	Integrated
1895	Kansas	Hiawatha	●
1896	Kansas	Hiawatha	●
		Atchison	●
1897	Kansas	Atchison	●
1898	Kansas	Atchison	●
	Illinois	Chicago Unions	—
1899	Nebraska	Chicago Unions	—
1900	Illinois	Chicago Unions	—
1901	Illinois	Chicago Unions / Union Giants	—
	Iowa	Algona Brownies	●
1902	Iowa	Algona Brownies, <i>Captain</i> *	—
1903	Iowa	Algona Brownies	—
1904	Minnesota	Renville All-Stars	●
1905	Minnesota	Renville All-Stars	●
1906	South Dakota	Brookings Reds	●
1907	North Dakota	Bottineau, <i>Captain</i>	●
1908	South Dakota	Bryant	●
1909	South Dakota	Groton, <i>Captain</i>	●
		Ipswich, <i>Captain</i>	●
1910	South Dakota	Watertown	●
		Groton	●
1911	Minnesota	Twin City Gophers	—

\* Jones filled in as captain while Bert Wakefield was ill.

played independently against a variety of opponents, including minor league clubs in Kansas City, St. Joseph, and Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Jones was one of the club’s pitchers, and he played right field on at least some of his rest days. On May 1, the *Atchison Daily Globe* discounted talk of possible problems among the team’s players. “Some of the Atchison baseball enthusiasts claim that players will not support Jones, the Yellow Kid pitcher, owing to race prejudice. There is nothing in it.”<sup>332</sup>



Meetings were held at the beginning of June to discuss the organization of a Kansas State League, but negotiations lasted until the end of the month. The cities represented were Atchison, Emporia, Junction City, and Topeka. The teams also filled open dates with other teams, such as Abilene, where Bert Wakefield was playing. Jones continued to be one of the regular pitchers and part-time outfielders for Atchison. He even filled in at third base in one game, despite being lefthanded.<sup>333</sup> With Bert Jones in Atchison and Monroe Ingram in Emporia, the league had two integrated clubs.

The Kansas State League of 1897 played through mid-August, when the Emporia and Topeka clubs disbanded due to insufficient fan support and funds. The clubs in Atchison and Junction City played until the beginning of September, including games against Abilene's independent professional team. The league was loosely operated, and no standings or records for the teams were published. However, Atchison was generally acknowledged to be the top club of the four. The *Abilene Weekly Chronicle* gave a summary of the season and the records of the league teams compared to their own. However, they included all of the games played, such as the contests between Atchison and the minor league clubs from larger cities. The *Chronicle* reported that Atchison had a record of 37–17 that summer, a .685 winning percentage compared to .610 for Abilene (36–23).<sup>334</sup>

A new Kansas State League was organized in 1898 by Atchison, Salina, Topeka, and Wichita. As in 1897, the teams had played each other since early summer, but the league's official season only ran from July 21 to August 6, when the teams in Salina and Atchison folded. Jones again pitched and occasionally played in the outfield or at first base for Atchison from early spring through the end of the league schedule. He was still a fan favorite, as attested by a three-column ad for a June game in the *Atchison Daily Globe*. The pitcher for the Schmelzers of Kansas City, Tom Drummy, was the one who led the effort to force Monroe Ingram off the team in Emporia in 1899. However, Drummy did not play in the Atchison

**BASE BALL TO-MORROW.**  


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**ATCHISON** vs **SCHMELZERS**  
Of Kansas City.  


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**At Forest Park, at 3 p. m.**  


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*Drummy, late of the St. Joe League, will be in the box*  
*for the Schmelzers.*  


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*Jones will pitch for Atchison.*

game won by Jones and his teammates. Atchison began the season in April, and their games included minor league clubs from Missouri and Iowa. In a victory over the club from Burlington, Iowa, Jones scored on a play in which his bat never touched the ball. "The Yellow Kid went to first base on a passed ball and never stopped running until he reached the home plate. Wild throws on the part of Burlington enabled him to do it." However, Jones justly earned the support of Atchison fans through his pitching. For example, on June 19, he pitched seven innings of relief and gave up three runs in 9–6 loss at Salina (where Bert Wakefield was playing). He then followed this by pitching Atchison to shutout victories over Salina on June 21 (6–0) and June 23 (9–0). Salina had only two hits in each game. "The Yellow Kid must be mad at Salina." In addition to competing against Wakefield, Jones also played against Ingram, who pitched for Topeka prior to the team's entry into the league. Likewise, Wakefield was released by Salina immediately prior to the start of league play.<sup>335</sup>

Although the *Atchison Daily Globe* had discounted talk of trouble from players who would object to playing with Jones in 1897, that trouble came into the open in 1898. In July, the Wichita club wanted “the Yellow Kid barred” if they were to play Atchison in league games. The *Globe* responded, “Atchison has had a ball team for three years without any assistance from Wichita and will play three more before it will accede to Wichita’s ridiculous demands.” However, some of the imported players on the Atchison club also did not like having a Black teammate, even if he was a good pitcher. As reported in the *Globe*, Frank “Bones” Parvin, “the new pitcher, who is being given a trial by Atchison, says he will not play a game in which the Yellow Kid plays. Parvin is from Missouri and will have nothing to do with a Cuban.” In mid-July, Jones received an offer to play in Chicago, but he remained with Atchison until the Salina club folded on August 6, ending the short-lived league. Free to leave Atchison without surrendering to the racial animosity expressed by some of his teammates and opponents, Jones departed a few days later to join the Chicago Unions, a prominent Black club (the club also had a left fielder named Willis Jones). Bert Jones was one of the last African Americans to play openly in the minor leagues, pitching for Atchison on August 5 and possibly playing in right field during the club’s final league game on August 6.<sup>336</sup>

No Kansas State League was organized in 1899, but it mattered little to Jones, who rejoined the Chicago Unions in April.<sup>337</sup> Yet, if the manager of the minor league club in Kansas City had gotten his way in the spring of 1898, Jones would have circumvented the color barrier and played there in 1899. However, the plan became impossible when the press learned of it. Although Jones’ skin color was light enough that he was later listed as white on the federal censuses in 1910 and 1920, he was too well known in the region for the plan to succeed.

Manning[,] of the Kansas City Blues, has a scheme to send the Yellow Kid, Atchison’s pitcher, to an Indian reservation, and then run him in next season as an Indian. The Yellow Kid is a bright mulatto, and unquestionably one of the best pitchers in the base ball field. But his negro [sic] blood bars him from the leagues.<sup>338</sup>

As the calendar flipped to 1900, Bert Jones returned to the Chicago Unions and was joined by Bert Wakefield. The *Chicago Tribune* mentioned that Monroe “Ingram of Topeka, Kas., will help Jones with the pitching,” but Ingram did not join the team. In December 1898, Jones had sent a letter to the manager of the team in Emporia in an attempt to contact Ingram, who was teaching in Missouri. Perhaps, Jones was still trying to help recruit Ingram for the Unions in 1900, which would have put all three Kansas minor leaguers on the same team for the first time.<sup>339</sup> After being delayed by snowy weather, the Unions opened their season on April 22, with Jones on the mound and Wakefield on first base. As in the past, Jones occasionally played in the field when not pitching.<sup>340</sup>

Jones and Wakefield returned for one more season with the Unions in 1901, but they did not arrive until mid-May, shortly after the season had begun. As the team embarked on a long barnstorming tour in June, Jones left the team, while Wakefield remained after playing briefly for teams in the upper peninsula of Michigan. Why Jones left the team is unknown.

Perhaps he preferred a team that made only brief trips for games rather than a team living on the road for several weeks. In mid-June, “a new pitcher, Jones,” was expected to arrive from Chicago to play for the already integrated team in Algona, Iowa. His first name was not given in Algona newspapers, but in August, he was referred to as “our crack colored pitcher.” Also on the team was a white player named Bert Tree, who will appear periodically in this story. Jones pitched his first game for Algona on June 19. On July 2, the southpaw was Algona’s shortstop and “proved conclusively he was out of his position.” Thereafter, Jones was a pitcher. On July 8, the *South Bend Tribune* reported, “Bert Jones, formerly the star twirler for the Chicago Unions, is doing some wonderful stunts as a pitcher for the Mansion [sic], Ia., semi-professional team.” The story was incorrect. He did not play for Manson, which is 40 miles southwest of Algona. However, the two clubs played each other several times during the season, developing an intense rivalry. Jones remained with Algona through the end of their season at the end of August.<sup>341</sup>

After fielding an integrated team, Algona hired Black ballplayers, mostly former members of the Chicago Union Giants and Columbia Giants, in 1902 to fill the roster of the Algona Brownies as a way to promote the town. As noted by a newspaper in a nearby town, “Some people are born notorious, others acquire notoriety, and still others have it thrust upon them. Algona gains hers by hiring a colored club.” (A newspaper photo of the team is on page 68.) Once again, Wakefield joined Jones on the roster, although, this time, Wakefield would also take on the role of the team’s on-field captain. When Wakefield was unable to play for several games, Jones became acting captain. The Brownies played in Iowa, Minnesota, and South Dakota. In addition to town teams, the Brownies played preseason and postseason games against minor league clubs.<sup>342</sup>

Following their successful season, Jones and other players signed again with the Brownies in 1903, but Wakefield was not among them. Success of these independent, professional teams was measured in terms of their record and their finances. When playing games meant income, rain could present a problem. However, when the diamond at Iowa City was flooded in July, the teams still found a way “to play on an improvised diamond on the golf grounds.” Algona, with Jones on the mound, won a “listless” contest, 5–3. In terms of their overall record, the Brownies dominated their opponents, which included minor league clubs and the Chicago Union Giants, as acknowledged by a newspaper in Mason City. “They might not be able to vote in South Carolina, but none denies their ability to play ball in Iowa.” By the first week of September, the Brownies were reported to have played 83 games and compiled a record of 71 wins, 11 losses, and 1 tie, even better than in 1902. They also reportedly did well financially, which contrasted with minor league clubs, according to an article in the *Sioux Falls Argus-Leader* on October 2. “While members of the leagues in the west and northwest [Midwest] were losing money[,] it is claimed that at least two of the independent teams made good money. ... It is claimed that the management of the Algona Brownies are something over \$3,000 to the good[,] while Waterloo is over \$1,000 to the good.” The season officially closed at the end of September for the Brownies, who “returned to Chicago” and apparently continued to play on their own into October.<sup>343</sup>

Among their minor league opponents in 1903, the Brownies played two games with the Le Mars Blackbirds of the Iowa-South Dakota League on September 4–5. The Le Mars roster included a 21-year-old rookie catcher named Branch Rickey. The first game was a 2–2 tie called after 11 innings, but Algona won the second game, 5–3. The Iowa-South Dakota League had folded early, but Le Mars and Sioux City opted to continue playing and added games with Algona. Newspapers in Le Mars and Algona provided no box scores and did not list the batteries, so details of the participation by Rickey and Jones are unknown.<sup>344</sup> Rickey left Iowa to continue his baseball career with a minor league club in Texas in 1904 before moving on to the major leagues, both on and off the field. As general manager for the Brooklyn Dodgers (now the Los Angeles Dodgers), Rickey would reintegrate minor league baseball in 1946 and major league baseball in 1947 with the signing of Jackie Robinson.<sup>345</sup>

After two-plus seasons in Algona, Jones moved farther north in 1904. Renville, Minnesota sought to bolster the roster of the local white team, the Renville All-Stars, by hiring former players from the Brownies, including Jones and Wakefield. Manager Stabeck pointed out to the newspapers that both players had experience in the Kansas State League. The roster also included two other Black players—George Richardson (another Kansan) and Billy Holland. (A newspaper photo of the 1904 team is on page 69.) In addition to playing for Renville, the *Bismarck Daily Tribune* reported that the team from Dickinson, North Dakota “imported Brick Jones from Renville, Minn. ... a colored south paw,” to pitch on July 4. Bismarck won, 5–1. Overall, Renville closed the season in late August with a respectable record of 55 wins, 26 losses, and 1 tie. “The season as a whole has been a successful one.” Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin was their main nemesis. Jones contributed on the mound and at the plate as Renville’s top hitter, batting .310.<sup>346</sup>

Jones returned to Renville in 1905, but Wakefield did not. However, another familiar face joined Jones—Bert Tree. In early July, Renville strengthened their pitching staff by picking up George Wilson, a Black pitcher with rival Chippewa Falls. As Renville toured North and South Dakota, they defeated the team at Brookings, South Dakota three times in as many days. On the fourth day in Brookings, Jones was also invited to fill in for the local team’s centerfielder in a game with Faulkton. Renville was the top independent club in the region, winning most of their games with rivals Chippewa Falls and Hawarden.<sup>347</sup>

At the time Renville was barnstorming through Minnesota and adjacent states, Amanda Clement from Hudson, South Dakota was making a name for herself as an umpire. She started in 1904 by umpiring “muffin” games, such as those between fats and leans or married and single men, which drew little attention.<sup>348</sup> That changed on 1 September 1905. A day earlier, the Knights of Pythias, a fraternal order, opened a two-day carnival in Hawarden, Iowa, about 10 miles south of Hudson. On the first day of the carnival, the baseball team from Hawarden hosted the team from Renville, and Jones pitched Renville to a 2–0 victory. The umpire was Clyde Carpenter of Hudson. The following morning, the Hudson and Hawarden lodges of the Knights of Pythias played a muffin match. “The game was called about ten o’clock in the morning by Umpire Amanda Clement of Hudson and lasted until nearly 12:30.”<sup>349</sup> This was followed by a second game described in the *Hawarden Independent*.



Team photo of the 1905 Renville All-Stars, with Bert Jones standing on the far left, Bert Tree standing second from the left, and George “Rat” Johnson sitting in the second row on the far right (*Minneapolis Times*, 18 June 1905, p 17).

Hawarden was again pitted against Renville. The visitors started right with four runs and Hawarden went right back at them for three. From that time on it was a pitcher’s battle, McCormick getting the best of Brenna and permitting Hawarden to win by the score of 7 to 6. Miss Clement umpired this game and gave the best satisfaction of any umpire on the local diamond this season. We think the ball players were all too gallant to question any of her decisions.<sup>350</sup>

Thus, a professional white team played a professional integrated team officiated by a professional female umpire—in 1905. Not only was she performing the toughest job in a baseball game, Clement was only 17 years old. Not surprisingly, newspapers across the country picked up stories through the rest of the year about Clement, the “girl” who umpired games between professional ball clubs.<sup>351</sup> Not all such stories were supportive, however.<sup>352</sup> Clement continued to umpire baseball games several more summers. The money she earned allowed her to pursue her education at Yankton College and the University of Nebraska in Lincoln.<sup>353</sup> In addition, she played first base for the Huron town team against the team from nearby Fairview, South Dakota in a baseball game in 1908. She

had one single and stole second and third bases.<sup>354</sup> After leaving the University of Nebraska, Clement was a teacher and coach in several states. In 1929, she returned to Hudson to care for her mother and held a variety of jobs. Later, she moved to Sioux Falls and was employed as a social worker until her retirement in 1966. Amanda Clement passed away in 1971.<sup>355</sup>

In 1906, Jones moved again, playing first base and occasionally pitching for the Brookings Reds, the team on which he had filled in as a centerfielder the previous year. Like Algona and Renville, it was an independent professional club that played teams in South Dakota, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. The roster included some of his former teammates, such as Bert Tree. "Jones, the colored wonder," was praised by the *Minneapolis Tribune* in a summary of the team published in August. "Bert Jones at first base is the greatest one-handed ball player doing business, and although Jones uses both mitts occasionally, he does it just because it is customary and not through any necessity." Lefthander Emil Burwell and righthander Ed Erickson did most of the pitching for the Reds despite rumors that Burwell left to play for the Western League club in Sioux City and the Philadelphia Phillies. The Reds were so talented that they had trouble finding opponents. Consequently, about half of their games were against the club from Hawarden and the Lund Land club from Minneapolis-St. Paul. Brookings and Hawarden even began barnstorming together through small towns in the region. The manager of the Lund Land team was obsessed with defeating Brookings and periodically rebuilt his roster with players from other independent teams that had disbanded and with players in the Twin Cities who had minor league experience, all to no avail. A summary of the last game played between the Reds and Lunds in a mid-August series was not published in Minneapolis newspapers, but a later column described the skills of the game's umpire, Amanda Clement.<sup>356</sup>

A feature article about the Reds published in the *Sioux City Journal* on August 26, shortly after the club had disbanded, reported their record as 59–10, but this is incorrect. An incomplete set of results for 67 official games was documented from April 30 through mid-August. Brookings had 52 wins, 11 losses, and 4 ties in games ended by rain (1), the need to catch a train (2), or to allow other programs to be held (1). One additional game was ended by rain after four innings. In these 67 official games, Brookings had a winning percentage of .776, and 15 of their wins (29%) were shutouts. After the club disbanded, some of the players moved around, bolstering rosters of teams from Minnesota to Montana. At the beginning of September, the Reds reorganized briefly, though not with the same lineup or success.<sup>357</sup>

After 1906, Jones bounced from team to team, mostly in the Dakotas and Minnesota. Todd Peterson listed his teams prior to 1917 as Bottineau, North Dakota (1907); Bryant, South Dakota and Renville, Minnesota (1908); Groton, South Dakota and Renville, Minnesota (1909); Watertown, South Dakota (1910); Twin City (Minnesota) Gophers and French Lick (Indiana) Plutos (1911); New Ulm, Minnesota (1914); and St. Paul (Minnesota) Gophers (1916).<sup>358</sup> The rosters of the Gophers and Plutos included only Black ballplayers.



Two photos of the Brookings (South Dakota) Reds in 1906. In the top photo, Bert Jones is in the back row, second from the left (*Minneapolis Journal*, 11 June 1906, p 8). In the bottom photo, he is sitting in the second row, second from the left (*Minneapolis Tribune*, 12 August 1906, p 35).

In 1907, the baseball team in Bottineau—about 12 miles south of the Canadian border in northcentral North Dakota—was a mix of local and outside players. Among the hired players were some from Renville, including a pitcher named Jones. No first name was given in the local newspaper, but it was likely Bert Jones. In addition to pitching, he also played at first base and in the outfield. During the course of the season, the team forfeited one game in July to the team from Rugby, North Dakota, and Jones was at the center of the triggering event. As described by the *Bottineau Courant*, Rugby was leading the afternoon contest, 3–1, in the top of the seventh inning. Two runners were on base for Bottineau, with the six-foot, one-inch Jones at bat. A resident of Rugby was umpiring for the home team, and “with seeming deliberation, called two balls as strikes that were from five inches to a foot over Jones’ head.” Jones asked the umpire to call time and then walked to the center of the diamond, at which point, some of the Rugby players and several fans “rushed onto the diamond.” As a result, the umpire declared the game forfeited by Bottineau. In spite of this, an evening game was played with a different umpire and Jones at first base. Bottineau won, 3–1. In the same edition of the *Courant*, the First National Bank of Bottineau ran an ad comparing the bank to a baseball team with an informative opening, “You will admit that Mr. Jones, pitcher, first baseman, fielder, captain and crack all-around base ball player, can be depended on in an emergency. He has been playing ball for 15 or more years and knows what to do every time in the twinkle of an eye.” The ads were the only mention of Jones being the captain of the team. The team disbanded on August 2 with a record of 30 wins, 9 losses, 1 tie, and 1 game forfeited. Jones played in 37 of the 41 games and finished with a batting average of .280. Some of the players reportedly joined minor league clubs, but that was not an option for Jones, who returned to Renville.<sup>359</sup>

Jones and a former teammate, American Indian Toots Thompson, were in the Twin Cities in early April 1908, waiting to sign with a team. The two friends enjoyed playing together, but in May, Jones left by himself to join the team in Bryant, South Dakota, which was a mix of local and hired players. Among his teammates in Bryant was Bert Tree, who had previously played with Jones in Algona, Renville, and Brookings, where Tree lived. Jones pitched for the team in Bryant and visited Brookings to play in their game against a barnstorming bloomer girls’ team. Few details of the game were published, but Brookings easily won. Disbanding in late July after playing two months, the team in Bryant finished with a record of 22–8. Jones returned to Renville after spending a few days in Brookings with Tree.<sup>360</sup>

In 1909, the *Aberdeen Daily American* offered to maintain an amateur baseball directory for South Dakota. In May, the captain of the team in Groton was listed in the directory as Bert Jones. A box score listed Jones as the third baseman, despite being lefthanded. Near the end of May, he also pitched for the nearby town of Verdon. Jones continued to be listed as the Groton captain through June, and the team disbanded after a game against Ipswich on July 6. Jones pitched at least two of the final games for Groton and then joined the team from Ipswich. In late July, he was apparently captain of the Ipswich team, whose manager was Ed D.D. Jones. As described by the *Ipswich Times* (and reprinted in the *Aberdeen Daily American*), threats from fans in Aberdeen reportedly unnerved the umpire, who later made calls that cost Ipswich a victory. The arguments on the diamond involved Jones.<sup>361</sup>



Much feeling was engendered by Aberdeen rooters when our Mr. Jones insisted upon certain players' rules being adhered to[,] and language towards this gentleman by certain Aberdeen fans must not be used on our home grounds unless the users, who are sailing under the false colors of gentlemen, desire to be very seriously embarrassed. Ipswich people know Bert Jones as a gentleman, educated, agreeable and unassuming and not responsible for the acts of nature, but fully capable of looking after his interests on the diamond, in argument or in a physical encounter[,] and we can imagine the cowards who will use such language beating their wives and taking to alleys to get away from the sound drubbing they so richly deserve and may yet receive.<sup>362</sup>

Arguments during baseball games could involve a wide range of vile language, but it seems likely that racist terms regarding "acts of nature" were part of the vocabulary used by some of the belligerents. A week later, Jones reportedly accepted a position as a bartender in Groton.<sup>363</sup> It was also listed as his occupation in St. Paul, Minnesota the following year.

In 1910, Jones started the season playing in the outfield for the team in Watertown, South Dakota. According to the *Aberdeen Daily American*, Jones was released on June 2. "Manager Towne said that his decision was reached partly because he could not afford to pay the money Jones asked for. Further than that, there has been some feeling among members of the team not exactly harmonious and he thought that the move would be wise for the good of the team." There is little question that the problem was white players objecting to having a Black teammate. In March, the *Watertown Herald* (reprinted in the *Brookings Register*) had expressed pleasure that Jones had contacted the manager about playing for Watertown. The *Herald* mentioned that Jones was "familiarly known to the fans in this county as 'N\_\_\_\_' Jones." The team disbanded in August, reportedly due to a persistent lack of support from hometown fans.<sup>364</sup> Meanwhile, Jones returned to the roster in Groton, but how long he stayed with the team could not be determined from available sources.<sup>365</sup>

The following April, Bobby Marshall, the new manager of the Twin City Gophers, a Black ball club, signed Jones to play in the outfield, but he occasionally pitched and played first or second base as the team toured the Midwest. Marshall was an athletic legend around Minneapolis, who not only played baseball, but also competed in football, hockey, and tennis, as well as boxing, wrestling, track, and bicycling.<sup>366</sup>

Little was found regarding Jones' activities in 1912, and nothing was confirmed, but he might have played part of the season for the team in Morris, Minnesota. A move to organize a baseball team in Morris began in early June, and the team only played until the end of July. At the end of July, Morris played three games in Alexandria and hosted Appleton for two games in which Jones might have participated. "Bert Jones, the elongated center fielder of the locals who affords much vaudeville to his team-mater, seems to be there in wielding the big stick." He was also praised for his defense. "In the sixth inning with a man on third and one out, Jones made a running catch of a fly and made a perfect peg to home plate, cutting off a run." Morris won the game, 2-0. There was no other information about the player, and it was the only time he appeared in the *Morris Tribune's* stories about the team.<sup>367</sup> If it was the former Kansan, where he might have played before or after this was not found.

In 1913, two instances were found in which Jones and other players from Renville bolstered the rosters of teams in nearby towns in western Minnesota. On August 3, the team in Bird Island played the team from New Ulm, who had easily won an earlier game, 21-6. Bird Island "Loaded up with several players from the crack Renville, Minn. team, among them Jones, the famous colored player." With their outside help, Bird Island won the game, 14-1. On the last two days of the month, "Bert Jones and Frank Williams of Renville ... played for Lucan" in two games with Marshall. Lucan won the first game, 7-6, but lost the second, 13-4. Jones pitched in the loss, surrendering 18 hits.<sup>368</sup> Where else Jones played that summer was not found.

Similarly meager information about Jones on the baseball diamond is available for 1914. In May, Jones and three others from Renville bolstered the team from Sacred Heart in a 2-1 victory over Wilmar, both in Minnesota. Jones played first base. He also might have played for the team in New Ulm in August, when a first baseman named Jones was mentioned in a local newspaper. From May through July, the team had a first baseman named Burk, who was replaced by three other players in as many games to begin August. The following week, Jones took over at first base for games on August 9 and 10. Afterwards, a parade of other players filled that position through mid-September.<sup>369</sup> Perhaps Jones filled in at New Ulm as he had done in other towns in 1912 and 1913. Where else he might have played in 1914 is unknown, as are his on-field activities in 1915. However, the aging ballplayer, who was in his mid-30s, was apparently spending more of his summers on baseball fields with teams around Renville and the Twin Cities.

Jones rejoined the St. Paul Gophers in July 1916, although the initial announcement incorrectly stated that "Vern Jones, formerly with Renville" joined the Gophers. His name was correctly reported a few days later.<sup>370</sup> However, little detail was published about the club's games and his performance.

Jones became a resident of the Twin Cities sometime around 1910, and he remained a resident the rest of his life, though he made trips back to Kansas. In June 1916, "Yellow Jones" was featured as the first baseman for the Kansas City (Kansas) Giants, a Black club that defeated the Atchison Blues, a Black club representing the town where he once played minor league ball.<sup>371</sup> In the Twin Cities, he played for teams such as the Askin & Marine Red Sox, a Black semipro team. When he returned to Kansas for his mother's funeral in April 1940, Jones mentioned he was managing a team in the Minneapolis city league, but he had stopped playing four years earlier, at age 58.<sup>372</sup>

Off the diamond, a little information about Jones was found in census records, city directories, and other documents. In the census conducted in June 1900, Jones was listed as a "ball player" living in Chicago with his wife of two years, Anne. She was born in Tennessee in 1880, but nothing else was learned about her. The marriage did not last, although the reason was not discovered. The 1910 census for St. Paul reported that Bert was single and working as a bartender. On his 1918 draft registration card, as well as the 1920 and 1940 censuses and city directories in 1919 and 1936, he was listed as a resident of Minneapolis, working as a machinist and living with his second wife, Selma (Carlson) Jones. She was born in Sweden and immigrated to the United States in the early 1890s. A

newspaper notice listing their marriage license was published on 30 December 1913.<sup>373</sup> Bert and Selma had one daughter, Roselyn. For an undetermined reason, Selma was listed as a widow in the 1930 census. She lived with her daughter, who was married (her name was given as Roselyn Jeub). However, Roselyn's husband was not listed at the residence in the census.

Bert Jones died on 16 December 1943,<sup>374</sup> followed three years later by Roselyn Jeub. Selma L. Jones died on 8 December 1951. All three were buried in Crystal Lake Cemetery in Minneapolis (Section B-15, Lot 847). Bert's small gravestone simply reads, "Husband Bert Jones. Peaceful Rest, Dear Dad." Selma and Roselyn's gravestones were similar and refer to them as "Wife" and "Daughter."

## John Miller

In addition to Bert Wakefield and Bert Jones, John James Miller played baseball for an integrated town team in far northeastern Kansas. In Miller's case, it was the team in White Cloud in 1895–1896. Miller was born in nearby Highland on 20 March 1871. In at least one instance in 1895, Miller was White Cloud's shortstop in a game against Hiawatha and pitcher Bert Jones. Hiawatha won the contest between two integrated town teams, and a Hiawatha newspaper assessed the top performances during the game. White Cloud's "best player is Miller, the negro [sic] short stop. Oliphant [at first base] and Jones did the best work for the Hiawatha team." The *White Cloud Globe* also praised Miller's defensive abilities. Sadly, John Miller died of an unreported cause in November 1899 after complaining "for some time." He was survived by Cora (Reece) Miller, his wife of three years, and two children. The *White Cloud Globe* lamented, "By the death of Mr. Miller we lost a [good] citizen and a noble young man."<sup>375</sup>

## Moses O'Banion, Tom Davy, Dan Ferguson, and Ike Jones

The first mention of Moses "Mose" O'Banion in Clay Center newspapers was in 1894. He was a member of the local ball club, though his position was not given.<sup>376</sup> According to the federal census of 1900, he was born in March 1878 (the entry looks like 1868, but his age was given as 22 years old, and 1878 conforms with the other census records). He does not appear in the 1880 census, but the 1900 census gives his birthplace as Mississippi, where his parents were born. However, the 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940 censuses listed the state as Illinois. His 1942 draft registration card and the Social Security Application and Claims Index for 1951 reported his birth as 10 March 1879 in Galesburg, Illinois. In both cases, he signed his last name without the apostrophe (Obanion), but the traditional spelling is used here.

O'Banion began showing up more frequently in Kansas newspaper reports about baseball in the spring of 1895, when he played for the town team known as the Browns. In June, he was switched to second base, a move praised by the *Clay Center Dispatch*. "Mose fields lots of territory and nothing passes him."<sup>377</sup> The Browns had another Black ballplayer that spring named Dan Ferguson, a local barber. It was apparently his only year with the mostly white town team, but he played in subsequent years with the Clay Center Black Diamonds. The 1880 census gave Ferguson's age as 10 years old and his birthplace as Mississippi.<sup>378</sup>

As the 1895 season progressed, the Browns did not have as much success as hoped, and the decision was made to reorganize the team on July 16. The team was renamed the Clippers a month later, after new uniforms arrived. None of the Black ballplayers was listed among the members of the new team, but the Black Diamonds also reorganized in July. Two weeks later, the *Clay Center Dispatch* reported that the new manager of the Browns (Clippers), John Mettler, was behind the decision to play only white players.<sup>379</sup>

Saturday morning Henry Campbell, acting captain of the Black Diamonds, in behalf of his team, challenged the Browns for a game at the Garfield school grounds that afternoon, the stakes to be a barrel of lemonade. The newly elected manager of the Browns is opposed to playing against or with “[n\_\_\_\_\_]” though our boys have played with the colored boys all their lives, and he kicked on playing [the Black Diamonds]. Some of them wanted to play and told Henry to get his nine out which he did, but the Browns failed to show up, and Umpire Vanatta gave the game to the Black Diamonds 9 to 0. The colored boys would have given the Browns a hard tussle and just the kind of practice they need and they should have played.<sup>380</sup>

In August and September 1896, O'Banion was back with the town team, renamed the Reds. He also continued to play with the Black Diamonds. The *Clay Center Dispatch* again praised his baseball skills. “O'Banion is without doubt the best all around ball player in this part of the state. He is good anywhere you put him. This season he is developing into a rattling fine pitcher.” In addition to playing for two teams in his hometown, “O'Banion, Clay Center's crack colored player, did the shortstop act for Wakefield” in a game against Riley. He led off the game with a homerun.<sup>381</sup>

O'Banion was joined on the rosters of the Reds and the Black Diamonds by Tom Davy.<sup>382</sup> In addition, a third member of the Black Diamonds, Ike Jones, was the losing pitcher for Minneapolis in one contest of a three-game set against Clay Center in August. Little else was mentioned about Jones, other than a couple of instances when he was in trouble for fighting and hopping on railroad cars.<sup>383</sup>

In 1897, O'Banion pitched and played on the infield for the Reds. Tom Davy also rejoined the team. “The presence of Tom Davy at his old place on first bag does a whole lot toward strengthening the Reds. They have lots of confidence in Tom, and then he is mighty handy with the stick.” Davy also played in the outfield. At the Clay County Fair in September, Clay Center hosted Concordia in another contest between two integrated town teams. O'Banion and Davy played for Clay Center, while Charles “Tab” Tolbert played for Concordia. (Tolbert is covered in the next essay.) At the Emancipation Day celebration in Clay Center on September 22, a picked team from Clay Center defeated the Black team from Junction City. O'Banion pitched for Clay Center, and Fred Holton of Salina pitched for Junction City. (Holton is covered in a later essay.)<sup>384</sup>

Perhaps the most challenging game for O'Banion in 1897 (or perhaps in his career) was played against the team in Industry on June 20. The Reds lost, but they only had eight players that day. Thus, O'Banion was given the unenviable task of covering both second base and shortstop. The Reds were down 15-5 in the ninth inning, but Davy singled and stole a base

before scoring on “O’Banion’s home-run drive into the creek back of deep center.” This ended the scoring. Little wonder the Reds chose to field an integrated team.<sup>385</sup>

In addition to playing for Clay Center, it is possible O’Banion and Davy played for the team in Green, which is about 7½ miles to the northeast. The newspaper report in the *Washington Republican* for a game played in September in Washington provided little information about Green’s players. “They have a good team, two colored men who are exceptionally good, but they could not play with our boys.” Given the proximity of Green to Clay Center, it is possible, perhaps likely, that O’Banion and Davy were the players referred to in the report.<sup>386</sup>

The 1897 season was the last in which O’Banion or Davy played for the town team in Clay Center. Davy moved to Junction City and tried his hand at boxing. However, he had no success and did not limit his fights to the ring. In subsequent years, he was periodically in trouble with the law for fighting and other crimes. Davy died of heart failure in January 1916. No one named Thomas or Tom Davy was found in federal or state census records for Clay Center or Junction City, but he was reported to be about 38 years old at the time of his death.<sup>387</sup>

In 1898, the Clay Center Black Diamonds were active again, with O’Banion and Ferguson on the roster. Ferguson left Clay Center in 1902 for Wichita,<sup>388</sup> and city directories from 1904 to 1907 listed Daniel F. Ferguson as a barber in the city. Where he was after that is uncertain, but the 1930 census listed a Daniel Ferguson born in Mississippi about 1874 as a patient at the state hospital in Norman, Oklahoma.

In 1899, it was reported that O’Banion went to Lincoln, Nebraska to play baseball, but he ended up in Stromsburg, Nebraska, where the census for 1900 listed his occupation as clerk in a barbershop. He played baseball and football for Stromsburg through the winter of 1902–1903. Beginning in the summer of 1903, O’Banion played for the baseball team in Greeley and for other town teams in Nebraska, including Aurora, Scotia, Ulysses, York, and probably elsewhere (most Nebraska newspapers were not available in a digital format at the time this was written). Exactly when O’Banion moved to Greeley is uncertain, but he was listed as a resident in the 1910 census. His occupation was listed as manager of a pool hall. In March 1916, O’Banion was nearly killed in an explosion in the basement of a pool hall in Greeley. It was caused by ignition of acetylene gas escaping from a pipe O’Banion had removed, which was assumed to be disconnected at the street. He was burned and blown 15 feet from the building. However, his recovery was relatively quick, and two months later, O’Banion was married to Elnora (Nora) Boydston, a sweetheart from Clay Center. They moved to Lincoln, Nebraska, where he got a job as a porter for the Burlington railroad on a train that ran west from Lincoln. On a visit to Greeley to see old friends, he compared his job to playing baseball. “There is no where [*sic*] near as much amusement in it as there was at the national game of base ball.” According to the 1920 census in Lincoln, O’Banion also worked as a janitor for a gas company. Elnora filed for divorce from Moses D. O’Banion in January 1925.<sup>389</sup>

The next report found for O’Banion was in the *Omaha Evening World-Herald* in December 1945. “Mose O’Banion, 66, houseman at the Hotel Capital, Lincoln, has been there since the

place opened 19 years ago” (in 1926). This was the position listed for him in the 1930 and 1940 censuses. In January 1958, there was a brief notice of his death in the *Lincoln Star*. “Mose O’Banion, 77, of 838 G, died Wednesday [January 8]. A native of Clay Center, Kan., Mr. O’Banion worked as a porter for the Capital Hotel for several years. Survivors include his cousin, Mrs. Floyd Luckett of Houston, Tex.”<sup>390</sup> Actually, he was probably only two months short of his 80th birthday. Where he was buried was not mentioned. O’Banion’s baseball career so many years earlier, which included playing for several integrated town teams in Kansas and Nebraska, was sadly omitted.

## **Tolbert Brothers, Timothy Samuel Strothers, and Harvey Wright**

Baseball in Concordia in 1891 began in the usual fashion. In May, there was talk of a club in local newspapers, but a nine did not take the field until June 4, when a pick-up team defeated Clyde. The box score in the *Concordia Times* included a third baseman for Concordia named Tolbert, who scored more runs than any of his teammates. No other information about the player was provided, but it was probably James Tolbert (occasionally spelled Talbert and less frequently as Talbot). According to the 1900 census, he was an African American born in Kentucky in November 1868. It was later reported that “Chas. Shafor and James Talbert” traveled to Clyde to watch a baseball game on July 31 between Clyde and Belleville. However, this is the only known report of Tolbert playing for Concordia in five games (four wins and a tie) in 1891. Other than the single box score, Concordia newspapers provided virtually no information about any of the players involved in these games.<sup>391</sup>

James Tolbert was not the only member of his family to play baseball in Concordia. He had two younger brothers. John was born in Kentucky in January 1876. According to census records, he mostly worked as a porter in a barbershop. The youngest brother, Charles, was born in Kansas in June 1878 and mostly worked as a laborer for the railroad. Charley often went by the nickname Tab, and it is from his signature on his 1918 draft registration card (Charley Tolbert) that the spelling of the last name is used in this essay. The family lived in Quindaro (Kansas City), Kansas in 1870 and Atchison in 1880. They moved to Concordia sometime during the 1880s.<sup>392</sup> John and Charles Tolbert apparently never married, but in November 1890, James married Lulu Strothers from Clay Center (about 30 miles southeast of Concordia). Her younger brother, Timothy Samuel Strothers, moved with her to Concordia. He was born in Clay Center in March 1879.<sup>393</sup> All three of these younger siblings would soon contribute to the history of baseball in Concordia, sometimes playing together for the otherwise white town team.

The first baseball game in Concordia in 1895 was played on Decoration Day (Memorial Day). Rain ended the contest between Glasco and Concordia after three innings, with Glasco leading, 15–2. The following afternoon, the two clubs played again, after Concordia “strengthened her team some.” A box score for the second game published in the *Glasco Sun* listed J. Tolbert and C. Tolbert on Concordia’s roster. They were almost certainly John and Charles Tolbert. Concordia committed 27 errors in the loss to Glasco, but none was attributed to either of the Tolberts. In addition, the brothers contributed 5 of Concordia’s 13 hits and 5 of the 18 runs.<sup>394</sup>

Concordia's roster also included a player named Weaver, who was likely Art "Buck" Weaver. He was born in Wichita but spent part of his youth in Concordia. He continued to make Concordia his home through the turn of the century. Like Tab, he was still a young teenager in 1895, and the following year, Weaver would serve as captain of the Concordia Junior BBC. Although Weaver was a light hitter, his defensive skills as a catcher provided him with the opportunity to play 13 seasons in the minor leagues (1901–1910, 1912–1914) and parts of four seasons with major league clubs (1902, 1903, 1905, and 1908).<sup>395</sup>

On June 6, following the loss to Glasco, Concordia again lost badly to Clyde, 37–10. After these embarrassing defeats, a Concordia BBC was organized on July 5. Weaver was listed among its members, but none of the Tolberts was included. It mattered little because there was sparse mention of the club the remainder of the season. The news that summer also took a sad turn when Frank Varvel died of typhoid fever in August on his 23rd birthday. He had been a catcher for Concordia baseball teams the last few years and was catching for the State Normal School in Emporia, where he was a student at the time of his death.<sup>396</sup>

In 1896, baseball got an earlier start, with the Concordia Clippers organized on March 31. April and early May were spent preparing a new ball ground on the north side of the Republican River, "in the pasture north of the mill." It was sometimes referred to as a "junior" or "boy's" team, but it functioned as the city's first nine. Once again, the team was integrated, with Tab Tolbert listed as a substitute. He would soon become a regular player. Also on the roster was catcher Art Weaver, who served as captain. The new center fielder that year was Ernest Quigley.<sup>397</sup> Quigley was born in Canada but raised in Concordia. He later played in the minor leagues and became a prominent referee in collegiate and amateur basketball and football, as well as a baseball umpire, whose career in the National League ran from 1913 to 1938.<sup>398</sup>

Despite efforts to prepare a new ball ground, home games were played at the fairground. The Clippers' first game was June 2, and the club continued to play through August against teams from Clay Center, Clyde, Minneapolis, and Rice. The Clippers record in these games was 7–1. In the loss at Clay Center, Art Weaver was disabled with a broken finger.<sup>399</sup>

The Clippers reorganized in 1897 and played intercity matches from late June to early September. Tab Tolbert was one of the club's pitchers to begin the season. According to the *Concordia Daylight*, "Tab can pitch." Details published in newspapers continued to be meager, but Tab won a game against Clay Center, 14–5. Weaver spent much of July and August in Michigan, visiting his mother and playing baseball. Also in July, Quigley suffered a "temporary paralysis" that rendered him unable to speak and kept him off the diamond for a time. The cause was diagnosed as "nerve pressure" in the ear. In reports for games that summer, the Clippers' record was 9–5 against teams from Belleville, Clay Center, Clifton, Leonardville, Republic, Scottsville, and Superior, Nebraska.<sup>400</sup>

The Clippers provided Concordia with two years of competitive baseball. The limited number of games reflected the fact that the roster was filled with local talent who did not play on Sundays. Then, in 1898 and 1899, as had been the case in earlier decades, there was

little mention of the first nine in Concordia. Some of the players, including Tab Tolbert and Ernie Quigley, played for other teams in Kansas and Nebraska.<sup>401</sup>

Concordia's first nine returned in 1900. That year, the baseball club in Abilene boasted a roster on which each member was also a musician. In June, they offered to come to Concordia to play a pair of games and perform at a concert or dance in the evening. This stirred Concordia to prepare its team and ball grounds. The reorganized club would feature Tab Tolbert and Ernie Quigley rotating as pitcher and shortstop. Among the club's other players that summer were John Tolbert and Sam Strothers. The latter was referred to in newspaper accounts as both Tim Strothers and Sam Strothers. Growing up, he went by Sammy, which distinguished him from another Timothy Strothers in Clay Center. This other Tim lost his left leg when he fell while attempting to hitch a ride on a train in 1898. Sam had been Tab and John Tolbert's brother-in-law until 1895, when their brother Jim divorced Sam's sister, Lulu.<sup>402</sup> However, according to the 1900 census, Strothers was still living with the Tolberts.

Unlike the previous few years, the *Concordia Blade* published box scores for home games in June and July. They showed that Concordia had a Black battery of Tab Tolbert and Sam Strothers in a 9-4 victory over Courtland, as confirmed in the game notes. "That dark brunett[e] battery is not to be sneezed at. It is all right." In other games, Tab played shortstop, while Strothers was at third base.<sup>403</sup>

In June, the *Concordia Blade* also mentioned that the "colored fellows in the Concordia team, Jim [Tim Strothers], Tab and Harvey, did most of the playing for their team." The identity of Harvey is uncertain, but it was probably Harvey Wright. According to the census of 1900, he was born in the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) in April 1881 and was living with his grandparents, David and Eda Henry, in Concordia. He graduated from Concordia High School in May 1900, as did Ernie Quigley. In June, it was reported that the Concordia baseball team had organized, with Quigley as president and Wright as secretary. In June 1902, Wright broke his clavicle while playing baseball with the local barbers. He left Concordia sometime during the next few years. In 1908, it was reported that Wright was living in St. Paul, Minnesota.<sup>404</sup>

With two Tolbert brothers, Strothers, and Wright on Concordia's roster in 1900, all four took the field together at least once in a game against Cawker City in June. It was a rare instance of an integrated town team in Kansas during this period fielding a team with four Black ballplayers. Collectively, they had five of Concordia's seven hits and scored three of the five runs in the 7-5 loss.<sup>405</sup>

CONCORDIA.						
	AB	R	IB	PO	A	E
Marcotte 1 b.....	4	0	0	9	2	0
Quigley p.....	4	0	0	7	7	1
H. Short 2 b.....	4	1	1	7	3	1
C. Talbert s s.....	4	1	2	1	3	0
T. Strothers 3 b.....	4	2	1	0	0	1
D. Short 1 f.....	4	1	0	0	1	0
J. Talbert c f.....	4	0	1	1	0	2
Shafer r f.....	4	0	1	0	2	0
Wright c.....	3	0	1	2	2	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	35	5	7	27	17	6

In July 1900, catcher Art Weaver, returned to Concordia and the baseball team, which apparently displaced Wright. In addition, lefthanded pitcher Jim Bouldin from Oak Hill, about 30 miles southeast of Concordia, joined Concordia's team. He played for Topeka's minor league club in 1898 and for other minor league clubs in 1901-1906 and 1908-1909.<sup>406</sup>



Also in July, a Black player from Salina took the field with Concordia at third base. Virgil Smith joined Strothers and Tab Tolbert in two games against Minneapolis.<sup>407</sup> Smith is the subject of a later essay.

In the continued ebb and flow of baseball activity, newspapers in Concordia and elsewhere provided few details about the ball club in 1901, though it was active in the spring. In a game played at Belleville on May 31, the *Belleville Freeman* reported that Concordia once again “played four negroes,” including Tab Tolbert and the “big catcher,” probably Sam Strothers or Harvey Wright. The fourth player was probably John Tolbert. After June, nothing was said of Concordia’s first nine. In early July, some of the town’s players left for Nelson, Nebraska to play for a few weeks. In August, Strothers reportedly played for Clifton against a strong team from Kansas City, the J.J. Foster’s, who traveled around the region playing games.<sup>408</sup>

In 1902, the roster of the Concordia Maroons, named for their new uniforms, was substantially different than that of 1900. Strothers and Quigley were still playing, until Quigley was offered a job as an umpire in the Missouri Valley League in mid-June. Though box scores were still rare, line scores indicated that Strothers was now the regular catcher.<sup>409</sup> Why Tab Tolbert was not playing is unknown, but in late August he was reported to be “quite sick with typhoid fever.” As in previous years, the team played competitively with their peers in the region, but the team faded in July, missing scheduled games in other towns. Poor support from the community was a complaint aired by local newspapers, which tried to encourage attendance.<sup>410</sup>

Despite the challenge of obtaining financial support for teams composed of local players, baseball boosters organized the Concordia Athletic Association and hired several professional players in 1903, the first such team since 1886, when George William Castone briefly played for Concordia. The 1903 roster did not include Tab Tolbert or Sam Strothers. Tolbert departed in June with the Alabama Minstrels touring troupe of entertainers, who also played baseball. Tolbert had been a member of a local “quartette of colored singers that [was] hard to beat.” What Strothers did most of the summer is uncertain, but in late August he joined the Nine Bees, a Black baseball team in Topeka. It was just as well. The Concordia Athletic Association did not fare well. It was a wet year, with extensive flooding in the region. A meeting of the association was called for June 15 to reorganize and elect new officers. However, on July 17, the *Concordia Blade* wondered, “What has become of the Concordia Athletic association and its ball team?”<sup>411</sup>

The amateur Concordia town team played several games in 1904, but newspapers provided little information about which players took the field in each game. However, Tab Tolbert and Sam Strothers were mentioned as playing in a few games.<sup>412</sup> It would be the final year either one played for Concordia.

Tab and John Tolbert remained in Concordia. They lived together through 1930, but John was living alone according to local censuses from 1937 to 1945, with no listing for Tab. Older brother James had remarried and moved to Blue Rapids by 1920. All three of the Tolbert brothers were difficult to follow after 1930.

Strothers left Concordia to box and play ball. In 1906, he was the catcher for the Topeka Giants, a Black ball club reorganized that year by John “Topeka Jack” Johnson. In 1907, Strothers joined Johnson on the Chicago Union Giants and remained in Illinois to play with the Chicago Leland Giants and Chicago Giants through 1916, returning to the Union Giants in 1917 (the photo courtesy of NoirTech Research is from a 1909 team photo of the Leland Giants). He was primarily a catcher and first baseman in Chicago.<sup>413</sup>

According to the 1930 census for Chicago, Strothers had married a Kansas native named Rachel in 1905, when his residence shifted from Concordia to Topeka. However, no reports of their marriage were found. Sam Strothers passed away on 26 August 1942 and was buried at Mount Glenwood Memory Gardens South in Glenwood, Illinois.



## Albert “Pomp” Reagor

Albert “Pomp” Reagor was born in Waxahachie, Texas on 14 July 1872, according to his obituary.<sup>414</sup> This matches his ages recorded in the 1885, 1895, 1905, 1910, and 1915 censuses. The 1900 census recorded the date as June 1876, but this seems late when his participation in baseball is considered. His mother was Rachel (Burgess) Reagor, and his father was Pleasant Reagor. Apparently, Rachel was already pregnant when she married Robert Sweatt in November 1871 in Waxahachie. Pleasant Reagor had possibly passed away shortly before, but no record of his death or a divorce was found. Under the circumstances, census records and newspapers initially gave Albert’s last name as some version of Sweatt but increasingly used various spellings of Reagor after 1900.\*

Why he went by the nickname Pomp (short for Pompey) is unknown, but it was probably passed down from an older relative. Two individuals named Pompey Reagor (born in Mississippi about 1845) and Pompey Sweatt (born in Texas about 1857) were among the Black residents of Ellis County, Texas according to the 1870 and 1880 censuses, respectively (Waxahachie is the Ellis County seat). Pompey Sweatt was the son of Albert’s stepfather, Robert Sweatt, and his first wife, Mary. Pompey Sweatt died in Humboldt, Kansas in 1884.<sup>415</sup> Albert Reagor became so well known as a baseball player after 1895 that he was frequently referred to simply as Pomp, which is continued in this essay. Some of the censuses also listed his first name as Pomp rather than Albert.

Pomp moved with his family to Humboldt in 1883. Humboldt would later be the boyhood home of National Baseball Hall of Fame pitcher Walter Johnson, who was born on a nearby farm in 1887.<sup>416</sup> Pomp’s first known participation in a baseball game was in May 1888 as one of five “pick ups” for Humboldt in a game against the team from Iola, about 10 miles north. Pomp, not quite 16 years old, was the replacement catcher.<sup>417</sup> Two months later, Pomp pitched for a local Black team against Humboldt’s second nine

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\* Information presented here was abridged from *Kansas Baseball: 1858–1945* (Eberle 2017a, pages 88–92), an open-access publication about the Chanute Black Diamonds (Eberle 2020d), and an article to be published in the journal *Black Ball: New Research in African American Baseball History* (Eberle 2022c).

composed of white players. “Pomp,’ the colored pitcher[,] proved to be somewhat on the phenomenal order, ... striking out 15 men,” but the second nine still won, 8–7.<sup>418</sup>

In late May 1894, Pomp was involved in a fight, and Constable Cunningham attempted to arrest him for disturbing the peace. Pomp resisted and escaped to Chanutte, about 10 miles south, where he was arrested. He was convicted, resulting in a sentence of 90 days in jail, which kept him off the baseball diamond from June through August.<sup>419</sup> Pomp was also arrested in February 1895 for his involvement in a game of craps (dice). He was one of the state’s first victims of three new antigambling laws, but this time he was not convicted.<sup>420</sup>

For the next decade after these two events, mention of Pomp in newspapers was mostly about his time on the baseball field. In 1895, he became the “boss pitcher” for the Humboldt Maroons, the city’s first nine, composed mostly of white players. Also on the roster was William “Shotts” Turner, another local Black ballplayer (the subject of the next essay).<sup>421</sup> At this time, young Walter Johnson was learning to play baseball with other boys in Humboldt, prior to his family’s departure for southern California in 1902.<sup>422</sup> Johnson is not known to have mentioned the Black pitcher on Humboldt’s town team, but it seems likely he would have heard about Pomp and possibly seen him pitch.

While playing for Humboldt, Pomp’s talent became well known, and he was recruited by at least 16 other predominantly white town teams (Table 7). As the *Humboldt Union* observed, “Our colored ‘Maroons’ are in demand, and they play good ball, too.”<sup>423</sup> A newspaper in Iola, about 8 miles to the north, explained Pomp’s incentive. “Our boys have got coin up here and coin is what talks.”<sup>424</sup> However, playing baseball was not year-round employment, and Pomp held other jobs in several towns, which included clerking at hotels and working at a cement plant.<sup>425</sup>

Pomp’s full record as a pitcher is unknown, but enough information was available to determine his record in 122 of 127 games in which he pitched—70 wins and 42 losses (a .625 winning percentage), plus 10 games in which he was not the pitcher of record. In addition, Pomp played in the outfield and every position on the infield, but he had a reputation as “about the best first baseman in ‘these parts.’”<sup>426</sup> As this suggests, he was also an excellent fielder as a pitcher. In one game, Pomp was credited with 12 of the team’s 18 assists.<sup>427</sup>

As a pitcher, Pomp had good and bad days, but his record was also influenced by the uneven quality of players on rural town teams. In addition to high numbers of errors by the fielders, catchers sometimes lacked the skills to handle Pomp’s curve ball. For example, a newspaper noted, “Pomp was in the box for the home team and was poorly supported at several important stages. In the early part of the game the catcher couldn’t hold him.”<sup>428</sup>

In 1897, Pomp pitched one of the best games of his career for Yates Center against Eureka, two otherwise white town teams. Yates Center was the stronger team and easily won the first game of the three-game series, 13–3. After the loss, the managers of the Eureka ball club approached the Yates Center manager. They proposed that Yates Center allow Eureka to win the second game in the expectation that this would increase attendance and the corresponding revenue for the third and deciding game. Yates Center’s manager agreed on the condition that Eureka would play two games in Yates Center. Eureka won game two, 11–4, but Eureka backed out of the agreement to play in Yates Center. To make a

Table 7.—The 17 predominantly white town teams in Kansas on which Albert “Pomp” Reagor played from 1888 to 1906 based on information in Table A-1.

Town	Year
Altoona	1899, 1901
Buffalo	1901
Burlington	1899–1900
Chanute	1899, 1902
Coffeyville	1901
Erie	1895
Fredonia	1900–1901, 1903
Howard	1901
Humboldt	1888, 1895–1897, 1899–1903, 1905–1906
Iola	1896
Moran	1902
Neosho Falls	1897
Rest	1899
Sedan	1901, 1904
Toronto	1900, 1904
Vernon	1897
Yates Center	1897, 1904

statement to their hosts for renegeing on their deal, Yates Center won the third game decisively, 13–0, with Pomp pitching a no-hitter. Only one Eureka batter reached first base on a passed ball on a third strike in the first inning.<sup>429</sup>

With his reputation as a pitcher established in several towns during the late 1890s, Pomp spent 1900 and 1901 with the town team in Fredonia. In June 1900, the team talked “of getting ‘Pomp’ Rager [sic], the celebrated Humboldt pitcher” for the rest of the season. “‘Pomp’ is a crackerjack, and it would be worth the price of admission any time to see him in the box.”<sup>430</sup> How much he was paid is unknown, but he joined the team in Fredonia on July 4.

Pomp’s catcher was Charles C. “Chalk” Garner, a local Black resident and “probably the best all ‘round base ball player in Fredonia, so the boys say.” (His story is the subject of a later essay.) Chalk’s father, Charles M. Garner, a local barber, managed the team, and John “Jack” Wolever, a white player, was the team’s captain.<sup>431</sup> Predominantly white clubs in Kansas with Black captains were rare (Table A-6), but Fredonia’s first nine composed of seven white players and a Black battery was the only one with a Black business manager.

Fredonia played white town teams in the region and won most of their games. Pomp and Chalk had a good reputation, and they were sought by other white teams. On one occasion, they joined the Toronto town team for a three-game series in Eureka. When they arrived, Eureka objected to the use of the Black battery but eventually agreed to let them

play. Perhaps some of the people in Eureka remembered Pomp's no-hitter three years earlier. Pomp and Chalk played in two of the games—one win and one loss.<sup>432</sup>

Pomp returned to pitch for the Fredonia Reds in 1901, but Chalk and his father were no longer associated with the team. The new catcher was usually a white Fredonia resident named Henry Blass. Once again, Fredonia's battery was "hard to beat," and they sometimes played for other town teams. When the team from Augusta arrived in Fredonia for a game, they initially objected to playing if Pomp pitched but eventually agreed to take the field. After defeating Augusta, 3–0, Pomp's teammates became concerned that Augusta might try to entice him to leave Fredonia and pitch for them.<sup>433</sup>

To close the season, Fredonia hosted the barnstorming version of the Kansas City (Missouri) Blues minor league club for a pair of games in October. The Blues had won the pennant in the Western League (Class A) in September. The barnstorming team featured eight members of the Blues' regular roster that season. Fredonia bolstered its roster with players from nearby small towns. The Blues won the first game, 7–2, in which Pomp was the right fielder. The following day, Pomp took the mound. The score was tied 1–1 after six innings and 2–2 after eleven innings. In the top of the twelfth, Fredonia scored again and held on to win, 3–2. Pomp pitched a complete game to earn the victory. "The defeat of the Blues by the Reds was unexpected and will give the Reds and steady Pomp Reagor a great reputation as manipulators of the horsehide."<sup>434</sup>

Pomp played primarily for the Humboldt Maroons in 1902. After they won an exhibition game against the Iola Grays, a member of the Missouri Valley League (Class D), the *Iola Daily Record* commented on the minor league club's loss to the Humboldt town team. "'Pomp' Reager [sic], who has always been a terror to Iola[,] and incidentally to others of the same class[,] was in the box for [Humboldt]."<sup>435</sup>

The following spring, Fredonia again hired Pomp at a salary of \$40 per month. On May 8, a Fredonia newspaper published a succinct announcement. "Pomp's here. Play ball." However, Fredonia's attempt to field a team with a few professional players could not be sustained financially, and the team disbanded in July.<sup>436</sup>

Opportunities for African American ballplayers around Humboldt, Iola, and Chanute began to change in 1904, as the number of integrated teams in the state declined. However, more Black ball clubs were organized, one of which was the Chanute Black Diamonds. They were first organized in 1900 and played occasionally through 1903. The 1904 club featured the best players from the towns of Chanute, Humboldt, and Iola.<sup>437</sup>

The feature game for the Black Diamonds in 1904 was played on August 28. Chanute's white town team—the Chanute Blues—had scheduled a game with the team from Lansing in northeastern Kansas, but they did not show and sent no notice to inform Chanute of their absence. The largest crowd of the season had already filled the grandstand, and gate receipts would have to be refunded if there was no game. To secure their income, the Blues' manager "declared the color line dissolved for the time being and sent for the Black Diamonds, the local colored ball team." The game was a pitcher's battle, with "Pomp's curves puzzling [the Blues] to a highly leather-saving degree." After eight innings, the Blues led the Black Diamonds, 2–1, "as the game was growing intensely interesting." The contest ended after the

Black Diamonds failed to score in the top of the ninth, but not without controversy, as reported by the local, white-owned newspapers. “It was in this inning that there was the most complaint of the umpire discriminating against the blacks in his decisions.” The *Chanute Daily Tribune* reported, “It is generally conceded that the Diamonds were given a shade the worst of it by the umpire in his decisions during the last inning.” The *Chanute Sun* led with the headline, “The Umpire Helped Them. Game Between White Club and Black Club Yesterday Afternoon Was Obviously Unfair.” Other than the umpire’s bias, all three Chanute newspapers agreed it was the best game of the season between two evenly matched clubs.<sup>438</sup>

In 1905, the Black Diamonds reorganized in April and sought games with “any team in the state regardless of color.” In early May, the Chanute Blues scheduled a game with Humboldt, but what happened on that day was a return to the integrated teams of the recent past. Despite scheduling a game, neither the Chanute nor Humboldt clubs had fully organized, so both teams filled their rosters by adding local Black players. Pomp Reagor and Shotts Turner played for Humboldt, their hometown club. Chanute added three of the Black Diamonds—Lewis “Ax” Grubbs from Iola and Chanute’s Walter Peterson and Arthur Dawson (Grubbs, Dawson, and Peterson are the subjects of later essays). Chanute scored four runs in the eighth inning to break an 8–8 tie and win the game.<sup>439</sup>

Two weeks later, the Black Diamonds played their first game with the Jenkins’ Sons Music Company, a Black club from Kansas City that was renamed the Kansas City Monarchs in 1908–1909. The Blues had “consented to turn the grounds over to ... the local negro team,” postponing a game with the team from Independence, Kansas. Rain ended the match after six innings, with the Black Diamonds ahead, 3–1. “The attendance was larger than at any game this season, showing that Chanute fans are not prejudiced against colored players.”<sup>440</sup> In June and July, the Black Diamonds traveled to Kansas City to play two return games with the Jenkins’ Sons, winning the first and losing the second. Pomp pitched and played first base during these games, though few details were provided.<sup>441</sup>

The Black Diamonds arranged a game with the Chanute Blues for July 30, postponed by rain until August 13. Both teams practiced regularly, probably remembering the disputed contest in 1904. “Captain Dawson [of the Black Diamonds] is working his men out twice daily.” Once more, Pomp pitched for the Black Diamonds, and once more, the umpire tried to aid the Blues, “but he had started too late.” There was no scoring after the fourth inning, and the Black Diamonds won the game, 8–5. The *Chanute Sun* declared, “The Black Diamonds are entitled to the championship of the town.”<sup>442</sup> By segregating their baseball teams, Chanute was not fielding its strongest club.

In 1906, the first game for the Black Diamonds was a 4–3 exhibition loss to the Chanute Browns of the Kansas State League (a Class D minor league). Pomp Reagor and Ax Grubbs split time pitching and playing first base.<sup>443</sup> In June, the Black Diamonds lost a slugfest to another Black club, the Coffeyville Maroons, 18–17. Ax started on the mound, but he was relieved by Pomp in the first inning. The pitcher for the Maroons was listed as “Wickwar,” probably 18-year-old Frank Wickware.<sup>444</sup> Wickware was born in Girard, Kansas, but his family had moved to Coffeyville by 1906. He would develop into one of the best pitchers of the early twentieth century after he was signed by Rube Foster in Chicago in 1910.<sup>445</sup>

The Black Diamonds had trouble organizing a team the next few years. After three seasons of pooling talent from Chanute, Humboldt, and Iola, a rival team was organized in Iola. A Black ball club in Iola first played in 1907, and the Iola Go-Devils were organized in 1908. Pomp Reagor and Shotts Turner left the Black Diamonds and joined Iola's Ax Grubbs, Arthur "Rat" Grubbs, and others on the Go-Devils. The Go-Devils fielded a competitive team until the First World War.<sup>446</sup>

As the Black Diamonds had done in 1905, the Go-Devils defeated the Iola Boosters, the white town team, in 1909. In addition to bringing back Pomp and the others, the Go-Devils added teenager George Sweatt, Pomp's nephew, to their roster (Sweatt is the subject of a later essay).<sup>447</sup> In July, the Kansas City (Kansas) Giants, the region's most talented Black ball club, toured through Iola during a 54-game winning streak. As part of that streak, the Go-Devils were shutout, 16–0. Regular Go-Devils pitcher Roscoe Johnson was relieved by the young George Sweatt and the aging Pomp Reagor, who turned 37 that month.<sup>448</sup> Pomp's baseball career was ending.

In December 1908, Pomp was charged with stealing five dollars from a white man participating in a game of craps in Chanute. None of the three Black men involved in the game had five dollars in their possession when arrested, and the victim's "desire to prosecute abated somewhat." Yet, the local police insisted. The victim "will be forced to issue a complaint, however, as the officers have been greatly annoyed all summer by the three negroes under arrest and are anxious to get them away from town and avoid further petty crimes." Pomp and another man were convicted and sentenced to six months in the county jail.<sup>449</sup> After his release from jail Pomp played for the Go-Devils in the summer of 1909, and he umpired a game between two white town teams in Humboldt. He had previously done so in 1906, with barely a mention in local newspapers. These events are covered in the essays about Black umpires at the end of Part I.

No longer on the baseball diamond, Pomp was rarely mentioned in newspapers in subsequent years. In 1915, he returned to pitch an inning for the Iola Go-Devils in a rout of the town team from Neosho Falls.<sup>450</sup> In August 1927, Pomp Reagor, Shotts Turner, and other "old time members" of the Humboldt town team lost a game to a team of local merchants.<sup>451</sup> It was likely the final time Pomp took his place on the ball diamond. Fittingly, it was with his old integrated team, resurrected after a quarter century. The only known photo of Pomp, which was taken in front of a local business (date unknown), is courtesy of the Humboldt Historical Society.

Albert "Pomp" Reagor died at his home on 29 July 1928, about two weeks after his 56th birthday. His death resulted from complications associated with "a growth of considerable size" in his neck. Pomp had watched a baseball game that afternoon between two white town teams he had played for in bygone days—Humboldt and Moran. His death was frontpage news in the *Humboldt Union* under the headline, "Death 'Strikes Out' Old 'Pomp'"<sup>452</sup> Pomp was buried in Humboldt's Mount Hope Cemetery.



## William “Shotts” Turner

William Turner of Humboldt often played alongside his uncle, Albert “Pomp” Reagor. According to his obituary, Turner was born in Waxahachie, Texas,<sup>453</sup> and the 1900 census gave his birthdate as January 1877. His ages in the censuses for 1885, 1895, 1900, 1905, and 1910 all placed his birth in the mid-1870s, but he would afterwards use 1885. In newspapers, he was usually referred to as Will or “Shotts,” a nickname of unknown origin.

The first mention of Turner in a newspaper was in an 1894 report of a tedious game between Humboldt and Iola. The final score in 10 innings was 36–35 in Humboldt’s favor. “At one time during the game the visitors [from Iola] had a lead of 15 or 20 tallies, and then Turner the colored cyclone was put in the box and the Iola boys couldn’t ‘find him’ at all.” This allowed Humboldt to mount a comeback. His usual position with Humboldt and other town teams was second base. Turner did not play in as many communities as Pomp Reagor, but as the *Humboldt Union* noted in 1895, when Reagor pitched for Erie and Turner played for Thayer, “Our colored ‘Maroons’ are in demand, and they play good ball, too.”<sup>454</sup>

Turner played for Humboldt most years from 1894 to 1906.<sup>455</sup> Other than his hometown, Turner played for at least eight town teams in 1895–1897 and 1900–1901 (Table A-1).<sup>456</sup> Beginning in 1905, he primarily played for the local Black ball clubs—the Chanute Black Diamonds and the Iola Go-Devils.<sup>457</sup> Given the limited information usually provided for games between teams from small towns and the fact that Turner was a fielder rather than a pitcher or catcher, he might have played for additional teams, and little detail about his performance is available.

Off the diamond, Turner was rarely mentioned in newspapers beyond numerous ads for work as a plasterer and house cleaner in Humboldt through 1911. In the 1905 Kansas census, he was living with Minnie (Bearden) Turner. They had been married in Neosho Falls in the spring of 1903.<sup>458</sup> In the 1910 census, William was reported to be married, but Minnie was not listed with him.

The 1925 state census for Humboldt listed William Turner living with his new wife, Georgia, and 5-year-old daughter, Eva, who was born in Oklahoma about 1922. His age was given as 40 years old, which is about a decade later than the previous censuses. His occupation was still listed as plasterer. Turner was also a resident of Humboldt according to a 1929 city directory for Iola. In 1930, Georgia and Eva lived with her mother in Lebanon, Missouri, but there was no mention of Will. According to the 1940 census, William, Georgia, and Eva lived together in Missouri in 1935 and Wichita in 1940. His age was still about 10 years too young in 1940 (56 years old). His birthplace was also mistakenly given as Kansas. Will Turner died on 4 September 1960 in Wichita, where he was buried in Highland Cemetery. His obituary and grave marker gave his birthdate as 27 June 1885, which is incorrect, given his inclusion in the 1885 census for Humboldt at a reported age of 10 years old and the ages given in subsequent censuses through 1910. That would put his age at the time of his death closer to 85 than 75. Georgia died in September 1979 at age 82.<sup>459</sup> The difference in their ages might explain why Will subtracted 10 years from his age.



## Charles “Chalk” Garner

Albert “Pomp” Reagor’s batterymate at Fredonia in 1900 was Charles “Chalk” Garner. The origin of Garner’s nickname is unknown. The 1900 census listed him as the son of Charles [M.] and Celia Garner. Charles and Celia were born in Kentucky and North Carolina, respectively, but the younger Charles was born in Kansas in February 1876. The 1875, 1880, and 1885 censuses place the elder Charles and his family on a farm in Geary County (formerly Davis County), near Junction City, which is likely Chalk’s birthplace. The elder Charles was a farmer after arriving in Kansas but became a barber in Fredonia at the turn of the century.

The first mentions of Chalk Garner in Fredonia were his brushes with the law. In July 1893, he and August “Peck” Holmberg were fined \$10 each for assaulting two other boys. Garner’s fine was paid. Holmberg’s mother refused to pay his fine and asked that he be sent to “Reform School.” In October 1895, “Chalky” Garner and Oscar “Os” Bartlett were arrested for breaking into a barn and stealing hunting and fishing equipment. They were confined to jail, but Garner was released on bail at the end of November. Garner had immediately confessed, but the charges were dismissed in May 1896, and all he had to pay were costs. Bartlett had been found not guilty by a jury in February 1896.<sup>460</sup>

Not surprisingly, given the objects stolen in 1895, other reports of Garner’s activities were tales of hunting and fishing. While fishing in the Fall River in May 1898, he caught a catfish that weighed 52 pounds. In June 1899, he exceeded that with a 54-pound catfish taken from the river. After a local butcher processed the latter fish, it weighed 33 pounds. While hunting in March 1900, Garner bagged a wild goose that weighed 15 pounds.<sup>461</sup>

Little is known about Garner’s employment, but in April 1900 he worked as a porter at the Hotel Morrill in Chanute. In June 1901, “after due deliberation,” he quit his job as a “general roust-about” at Fredonia’s Gold Dust Hotel and went to Chanute “to see his girl.”<sup>462</sup>

During the summer of 1896, Chalk Garner was on the roster of a newly organized ball club named the Shamrocks, as was Os Bartlett. They played other Fredonia teams, including the first nine, as well as teams in smaller towns nearby. Garner might have been the only Black player on the team.<sup>463</sup> In 1899, there was a report of “Chas. Garner’s nine” in the *Fredonia Alliance Herald*, but no other information about the team was found.<sup>464</sup>

Garner’s brief baseball career peaked in 1900, when he caught for Fredonia’s first nine. He was “probably the best all ’round base ball player in Fredonia, so the boys say.” His father had managed the high school baseball team and assumed those duties with the town team when it was organized on May 25. John “Jack” Wolever, a white player, was the team’s on-field captain. (A Fredonia native, Wolever had played for Austin and Fort Worth in the Texas League in 1896–1897.) Initially, Chalk was the only Black player on the team, but in June, Fredonia talked “of getting ‘Pomp’ Rager, the celebrated Humboldt pitcher” for the rest of the season. “‘Pomp’ is a crackerjack, and it would be worth the price of admission any time to see him in the box.” On July 4, he became Chalk’s batterymate.<sup>465</sup>

Fredonia played white town teams in the region and won most of the 18 games for which scores were found. Box scores for games were rarely published, so the performances of Pomp and Chalk are impossible to summarize. Nevertheless, the battery had a good

reputation and was sought by the white team in Toronto, who was looking to bolster their roster for a series of games in Eureka. Eureka objected to the use of the Black battery but eventually relented. Garner injured one of his fingers while catching in Eureka, but he continued to play that summer. In a 6–3 victory by Fredonia over Altoona the following week, “Chalk’ Garner played a good game in spite of his disabled hand.”<sup>466</sup>

As the baseball season was ending, Fredonia organized a football team for intercity competition. A Black player named Garner played halfback in two games, but his first name was not given. However, it seems likely it was Chalk Garner. A person named Garner also played left tackle for Fredonia in a game in 1901.<sup>467</sup>

Little else was published about “Chalk” Garner until his death on 27 January 1904 at his parent’s home. He had been “in failing health for some two or three months.” His age was given as 27 years, 11 months, and 5 days. Chalk was buried in the Fredonia City Cemetery.<sup>468</sup> No marker is present, but there is a stone marker for his father, who died in 1936.

### **Arthur and John Dawson, Walter Peterson, and Frank Fields**

Four Black players from Chanute had the opportunity to play for the Chanute town team, but Arthur Dawson was the only one of the four to do so more than once. He was born in Chanute in December 1880, according to the 1900 census. However, his grave marker in Chanute’s Elmwood Cemetery lists 21 December 1881. Before reports of his activities on the baseball field, Dawson was praised in local newspapers. In December 1895, he crawled through the basement window of a Chanute barbershop shortly before midnight and extinguished a fire started by a water heater. He did so with buckets of water passed down to him. Dawson graduated from Chanute High School in 1899, and the *Chanute Times* commented on his performance at the graduation ceremony. “One of the most enjoyable productions of the evening was ‘Paul Dunbar,’ by Arthur Dawson. Arthur did that to perfection and brought down the house as did no other performer during the evening.” Just what the performance entailed was not specified, but it might have included readings of one or more works by African American poet and author Paul Laurence Dunbar.<sup>469</sup>

After graduation, Dawson attended the normal school in adjacent Crawford County in June and July, which would have allowed him to teach in that county. However, there was an abundance of teachers, and no record of him teaching was found. Instead, he returned to Chanute High School in the fall of 1899 for additional education.<sup>470</sup> Federal censuses listed Dawson’s jobs as day laborer, barbershop porter, and janitor.

The first mention of Dawson playing baseball was in August 1899. The team from Arkansas City, Kansas arrived on short notice, and some of the regular players for the Chanute town team were unavailable. Dawson filled in at third base, joining Chanute’s regular pitcher, Albert “Pomp” Reagor, as the only two Black players on the team. Arkansas City also had a Black player, Gaitha Page, whose story is recounted in a later essay. During the game, Chanute’s white substitute in right field, Fletcher Markle, was “called away in the sixth inning.” He was replaced by John W. Dawson, Arthur’s older brother. In July, John was also listed on the roster of the reorganized Chanute town team as the center fielder, but no other reports of him playing for the team were found.<sup>471</sup>

In 1900, Arthur and John Dawson played for the Chanute Black Diamonds, the local Black team. One of the Dawsons and one of the Fields brothers also played for the Chanute town team in August.<sup>472</sup> They were probably Arthur Dawson and Frank Fields. Arthur was more active in baseball and was praised several times for his skills, while John, who was recently married, was not. Frank Fields was 18 years old, two years older than his brother, Charlie, who would play baseball in subsequent years.

In 1902, John Dawson worked on a farm in Oklahoma, where his parents had moved, and later moved to Garnett and Parsons to work as a railroad porter. Arthur Dawson also moved away from Chanute briefly to Kansas City. There was also a report that he went to Iola to play against Garnett in July, but this could not be confirmed. Similarly, in 1904, Frank Fields found employment away from Chanute as a porter for the Santa Fe trains running from Kansas City to Independence, Kansas. Although he spent less time in Chanute and would not be buried in the family plot, Frank still played occasionally for the Black Diamonds.<sup>473</sup>

Beginning in 1903, Arthur Dawson was on the roster for the Chanute Black Diamonds, and he became the team's captain in 1905.\* In May 1905, the Chanute and Humboldt town teams arranged to play a game, but neither team had fully organized. Thus, each filled its roster with Black players. For Chanute, this included Arthur Dawson (shortstop), Walter Peterson (catcher), and Lewis "Ax" Grubbs (pitcher). Grubbs is a subject of the next essay. Dawson played for the Chanute town team again in June, this time at third base.<sup>474</sup> It was the last time he is known to have played for an integrated team.

The May 1905 game was the only time Peterson apparently played for an integrated team. Mostly he caught for the Chanute Black Diamonds and occasionally for other Black teams. He also boxed, wrestled, played football, and sang, usually as a member of a quartette or sextette that also included Arthur Dawson.<sup>475</sup> Walter Lewis Peterson was born in Larned, Kansas on 25 July 1884, and the family moved to Chanute sometime after 1889. Walter married Tessie Morris in Chanute on Christmas Day in 1902, and they had six children. He held various jobs, including stints as a "special officer" in Chanute's "colored district". In May 1912, the *Chanute Daily Tribune* noted, "For the first time in its history Chanute has a colored man as a regular member of its police force. ... The plan of having a colored policeman is an experiment, Mayor Lapman says. If it proves satisfactory after having been given a fair test, it may be made permanent." However, in August, "ex-colored policeman" Peterson was fined for public intoxication and disturbing the peace. He pleaded guilty to the same crimes in June 1913 at his mother-in-law's house.<sup>476</sup> In 1920 and 1930, Peterson was living in Wichita with his second wife, Emma, but he was listed as a widower in 1940. He was still living in Wichita in 1942, when he completed his draft card. Peterson died in 1946 and was buried in Chanute's Elmwood Cemetery.

In addition to playing baseball and singing with Peterson, Arthur Dawson performed with Fred "Dicker" Goodseal as Dicker and Dawson, whose act included singing, dancing, stunts, and monologues. Dawson performed in minstrel programs through 1922.<sup>477</sup>

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\* An open-access monograph with additional information about the Chanute Black Diamonds is available at [https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all\\_monographs/21/](https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all_monographs/21/) (Eberle 2020d).

In May 1910, Dawson was quarantined with smallpox and became so delirious at one point that he ran from his house through downtown Chanute. Two police officers chased him while keeping a safe distance as they guided him back home. The chase passed the train station at the noon rush. The sight of two policemen chasing a Black man through town drew a crowd of followers—until they learned why he was being chased.<sup>478</sup>

A series of tragedies punctuated Dawson's life, beginning in 1911, when one of his two sisters, Ella Shaw, committed suicide by taking strychnine. She reportedly had been suffering from ill health. Dawson married Leola Evans in 1912, and the following year, one of their three-week-old twin daughters passed away. In August 1915, Leola died from tuberculosis, which she apparently contracted while caring for her twin sister and mother earlier in the year. In December 1916, Arthur married Bessie Epps, whose parents farmed the property next to Arthur's father in Oklahoma. Arthur was at his brother's side in January 1919, when John died after a weeklong illness.<sup>479</sup> The spring of 1921 brought Arthur and Bessie a scare lasting several days, when they were unable to contact her sister, who was living in Tulsa during the Tulsa Race Massacre. To their relief, they learned that Bessie's sister was alive but living in a tent on the lot where her home once stood.<sup>480</sup>

Dawson was essentially a lifelong resident of Chanute, and he and his family resided at 415 North Washington Avenue from 1910 until his death. Arthur Dawson passed away on 25 April 1957 at age 76 or 77. He was buried in Chanute's Elmwood Cemetery.

## Harry, Arthur, and Lewis Grubbs

Three Black ballplayers from Iola spent time on integrated teams. They were Harry, Arthur, and Lewis Grubbs, two sons and a grandson, respectively, of Moses and Nancy Grubbs. The Grubbs were among the earliest settlers in Iola, moving there during the Civil War to escape slavery under the Cherokee in the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). Moses died in 1885, but Nancy lived 91 years, passing away in February 1931. When she died, the *Iola Daily Register* ran the story on the front page under a headline containing a word to which her family objected: "Old Iola Negress Dies in Ninety-first Year." A few days later, the *Register* published an apology.<sup>481</sup>

Nancy Grubbs could not read or write, but in 1930, while she was living with a brother in Vinita, Oklahoma, A.W. Beck of the Iola Historical Society asked her to dictate some of her early memories of Iola, which were published in the *Iola Daily Register* only a few months before her death. Nancy was born on 15 June 1840 in the Indian Territory and moved to Iola in August 1862. She and others soon moved to the west side of the Neosho River, across from Iola, to Charlestown, an African American settlement. She recalled that this was where her son Harry was born on 24 April 1874.<sup>482</sup>

Other than notes about him as a student in primary school, the first mention of Harry Grubbs in local newspapers was in April 1896, when he and two others rushed into a blazing barn in town to rescue the horses, as burning hay from the loft fell into the manger. The barn was a total loss, but the adjacent roofs were watered with buckets to prevent the fire from spreading. That same summer, Grubbs played third base for the Iola town team. He was usually the only Black player on the team but was occasionally joined by Albert

“Pomp” Reagor. A player named Grubbs had previously played for Iola in 1895. No first name was given, but it seems likely this was also Harry Grubbs, the only member of the family known to have played baseball during the 1890s.<sup>483</sup>

For Grubbs, the summer of 1897 was devoted to horse racing. He worked with horse trainer W.M. Haney, who departed “for points in Pennsylvania with five of the best race horses Allen County possesses.” They returned in October, and Grubbs obtained a marriage license with Emma Foreman in December.<sup>484</sup>

Grubbs rejoined the Iola town team in 1899. Initially, he was back at third base, but he later moved to shortstop.<sup>485</sup> It was the last time he played for the integrated Iola town team, but he was mentioned in 1901 as a member of the Iola Colored Sluggers, managed by Brooks Lane, whose story appears at the end of Part I with those of other umpires. In 1904, the Chanute Black Diamonds hosted the Black team from Coffeyville, and the umpires were listed as Grubbs and Fields. This might have been Harry Grubbs and Frank Fields.<sup>486</sup>

Grubbs worked a variety of jobs, but beginning in the late 1890s, his work mostly involved horses. In addition to his trip east with the race horses, he worked at local livery barns, including the Davis barn in 1900 and the Drake Livery Barn in 1910. While working at the Davis barn, he dealt with a white man named Jack Dalton, who had a reputation for aggressive behavior, some of which was directed at his ill wife and the women nursing her at home.<sup>487</sup> His wife went to the hospital for care and asked the doctor to have her horse taken to a livery stable. Hearing this, Dalton went to the Davis barn and demanded the horse.

Harry Grubbs, who is working there, refused to let him have it. [Dalton] became abusive and began calling Harry vile names. [Grubbs] stood it for a few minutes when he rebelled. He started for Dalton with a neck yoke but Dalton asked him to give him a fair shake. Harry at once dropped the neck yoke and Dalton squared himself. He had no sooner got himself in a position to fight until Harry knocked him down. Dalton didn't get up until the gong had sounded and then he didn't want any more. Dalton soon left the barn and has not been back.<sup>488</sup>

Grubbs had been told by the doctor not to release the horse because Dalton's wife had mortgaged it to him in return for her medical care. Dalton later returned to the barn when Grubbs was not working and fled with the horse, but he was arrested and taken to Iola. The horse was returned to the doctor, and Dalton paid his fine and costs. A false story was later told in Fort Scott, where he had been arrested, that Jack was a brother of members of the Dalton Gang, who had met their fate in 1892 during a failed attempt to rob two banks in Coffeyville, about 60 miles south of Iola.<sup>489</sup>

After working several years at livery stables, Harry Grubbs became a long-serving employee of the city of Iola as a garbage collector in 1916, retiring in 1942.<sup>490</sup> Away from work, he was involved in various community activities. In 1924, the subject of the Autumn Forum at the A.M.E. Church was “How can we best interest the young element of our race in the things that are conducive to their best future?” The discussion was to be “opened by Mr. Harry Grubbs, a prominent citizen of this town.”<sup>491</sup>

In February 1926, a petition was presented to the school board in Iola by 95 Black residents asking for the establishment of separate schools for Black and white students. They thought Black students would do better if taught and disciplined by Black teachers. Opposition to the petition was presented by the local Anti-Segregation League with a petition signed by 158 Black residents. "Harry Grubbs appeared as the leader of the 'Antis.'" They contended that "it would be impossible to give colored pupils in Iola the same advantages and equipment in separate schools as now prevails." There were 101 Black students in the school system at the time—14 in high school, 17 in junior high, and 70 in the elementary schools. The division of opinion among the Black residents was given as a reason for rejecting the proposal for separate schools, along with "the difficulties of finance and faculty, location and legality."<sup>492</sup>

Emma Grubbs died in October 1931, only eight months after Harry's mother, Nancy, had passed away. Harry remarried, and his second wife, Elizabeth (Lizzie), died in October 1939. In July 1943, he married Misca Newman. Harry W. Grubbs passed away only six months later in January 1944 and was buried in Iola's Highland Cemetery.<sup>493</sup>

One of Harry's nephews was Lewis "Ax" Grubbs, who was born in March 1883 (grave marker) or 1884 (1900 census). During the late 1890s, he began to appear in Iola newspapers when he was in trouble with the law for fighting or jumping on freight trains.<sup>494</sup> He would continue to have occasional trouble with the law and a long baseball career.

In 1899, Ax Grubbs led a team of young players. His first known appearance with an adult team was pitching for the Chanute town team in the game with Humboldt in May 1905, when both teams added Black players to their rosters because they were not yet fully organized, as described in the previous essay. Otherwise that season, Grubbs played for the Chanute Black Diamonds. In June, he was arrested on a charge of vagrancy in Iola and given a substantial fine of \$55.50. His arrest and trial caused him to miss a trip with the Black Diamonds to Kansas City. He offered to pay part of the fine and arrange to pay the rest, but that was rejected by the judge because he had been implicated but not charged as an accomplice in a "cutting affair." When the Black Diamonds returned from Kansas City, they considered playing a benefit game to help raise money for their pitcher's release from jail. Apparently through other means, they collected enough money to pay part of the fine. Because the principal culprit in the knife fight could not be apprehended, Grubbs was released after agreeing to pay the remainder of his fine within a month. In October, he was arrested twice, once for arguing with a police officer in Chanute who was arresting one of his friends for vagrancy and later in Iola for being at a house used by prostitutes.<sup>495</sup>

Ax Grubbs continued to play for the Chanute Black Diamonds in 1906 and 1907 and got into more fights. In 1908, he joined the newly organized Iola Go-Devils, but his baseball career was interrupted when he was convicted of being an accomplice for a pickpocket, which resulted in him being taken to the state penitentiary. The jurors took longer than expected to reach a verdict because some thought the woman who incriminated Grubbs might have committed perjury in doing so. She claimed she gave the money she stole to Grubbs, but it was not on him when he was arrested. He was paroled after two years, and upon his return, the Go-Devils organized for the 1910 season in late July.<sup>496</sup>

In the autumn of 1911, the Iola Go-Devils played a five-game series with their white counterparts, the Iola White Sox, for the championship of the city. A partition was added to the grandstand to provide segregated seating. Ax Grubbs was not listed in the box scores for the first doubleheader, in which each team won a game. The teams also split the second doubleheader. In the latter contests, “L. Grubbs” played third base for the Go-Devils, replacing George Sweatt, who then pitched and played in the outfield. (Sweatt’s story is recounted in a later essay.) The White Sox won the fifth game, 1–0. The single run scored after two errors were committed on what should have been a routine ground ball to the first baseman. Ax Grubbs again played at third base, and Sweatt was the tough-luck pitcher.<sup>497</sup>

Ax Grubbs played again for the Go-Devils from 1912 to 1915, and his troubles with the law again threatened to interrupt his baseball career. In August 1913, he was jailed after being “inveigled into a little unlawful liaison” with a woman from Coffeyville. As in 1905, the baseball team arranged to pay his fine. In September, the Go-Devils won the best-of-five series with the White Sox for the championship of Iola in the most efficient manner—they won the first three games. In 1914, the White Sox were replaced by the Iola Boosters, who continued what had become a semiregular series with the Go-Devils. In 1914, the Boosters prevailed in the series, three games to two, winning the fifth game, 7–6.<sup>498</sup>

It was during this period that Arthur “Rat” Grubbs, Harry’s brother, apparently played for two integrated teams. According to the 1900 census and his grave marker, Arthur was born in February 1881, making him only two or three years older than his nephew, Ax Grubbs. Like several other players in the area, he got his start in baseball with the Chanute Black Diamonds and Iola Go-Devils.<sup>499</sup>

In 1912, Altoona imported the “colored battery [of] Sweatt and Grubbs” from Iola for a game against Fredonia played in Benedict. Though no first names or initials were given, this was almost certainly George Sweatt and Rat Grubbs. At the time, Rat Grubbs was the manager and catcher for the Iola Go-Devils. Despite having a “professional battery,” Altoona fell short in the score, losing 4–3.<sup>500</sup>

In October 1915, the Iola Boosters hosted a barnstorming version of the Kansas City Packers of the Federal League, a major league in 1914 and 1915. The Boosters strengthened their roster for the game, which included a player named Grubbs in the outfield. No first name or initial was given, so it is uncertain whether this was Ax or Rat Grubbs, but Rat Grubbs seems more likely. He was regarded as a heavy hitter, whose name figured much more prominently in stories of the Go-Devils’ games. His reputation as a batter fits with Grubbs batting fourth in the Boosters’ lineup against the Packers. He had one single and reached on an error in four tries, scoring one of the Boosters’ three runs. The Packers scored nine.<sup>501</sup> Those were the only two times Rat Grubbs apparently played on integrated teams.

There was no mention of Ax Grubbs playing for the Go-Devils in 1916. However, he was arrested again, this time for bootlegging (selling liquor from his home). He was also arrested for violations of “the prohibitory law” in 1925, 1938, 1940, and 1949.<sup>502</sup> During this time, he held a variety of jobs, including laborer at a cement plant, packer at the Modern Bag Company, and laborer on a WPA bridge construction project, as reported in the censuses for 1920, 1930, and 1940, respectively.

Ax Grubbs also continued to participate in baseball after his playing days ended. From 1929 to 1934, he was involved with Iola's Twilight League as an umpire, manager, and occasional player. He initially served as an umpire in the league in 1928–1929 and 1931–1933. In 1930, he was also one of the umpires for a game between the Iola Ramblers (who had replaced the Go-Devils after World War I) and the Iola town team. The game was part of the celebration on George Sweatt Day. Sweatt pitched and played first base for the Ramblers. Rat Grubbs was the official scorer, and Harry Grubbs planned to enjoy the game as a spectator. Sadly, Arthur “Rat” Grubbs passed away only two years later at age 51.<sup>503</sup>

From 1931 to 1935, the Ramblers participated in the Iola Twilight League. The league was integrated, but the teams usually were not. In 1931, a dispute arose when Ax Grubbs ejected a Ramblers player who had caused a disturbance. On complaint by the Ramblers, the league relieved Grubbs of his duties as umpire the remainder of the season, but he returned as a league umpire in 1932. The following year, Grubbs managed the Ramblers until “deposed” halfway through the season, but he was later reappointed as a league umpire. He managed the Ramblers again in 1934 but became so frustrated with his young players that he put himself in right field for a game. “He still [had] a batting eye” at age 50. However, Grubbs was again replaced as manager at the end of June, but he umpired the league's all-star games.<sup>504</sup>

Lewis A. “Ax” Grubbs died in 1958 and was buried in Iola's Highland Cemetery. Surviving him were his wife (Ethel), daughter (Geraldine Turner), four grandchildren, and seven great-grandchildren.<sup>505</sup> In addition, he left behind a long baseball legacy as a member of one of the largest groups of Black players to participate in integrated town team baseball in Kansas during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Humboldt, Chanute, and Iola.

## Thomas and August Goodall

According to information in the censuses of 1910–1940 and on his grave marker in Valley View Cemetery in St. Marys, Thomas J. Goodall was born in Tennessee in 1877. He spent most of his adult life as the cook at St. Mary's College,\* a Catholic boarding school for white male students founded in 1848 as a Potawatomi mission.<sup>506</sup> The first mention of Goodall in local newspapers was in 1892, when he was one of three youths arrested and convicted of stealing three jugs of whiskey and a box of coffee mills. They were sentenced to 90 days in the county jail and fined \$20 plus court costs.<sup>507</sup>

The next newspaper stories were about Tom Goodall, a pitcher for the St. Marys town team in 1895. “He pitches like a cannon ball and is getting on the curves in good style.” Goodall continued to pitch for St. Marys in intercity competition the following spring, but in July, he went to Topeka to have his eyes treated, though no other details were provided. Whatever the problem, there were no more reports of Goodall playing baseball until 1898 and 1899, when he again pitched for St. Marys. “Tom is whirlwind when he lets that wing loose.”<sup>508</sup>

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\* The spelling of the town's name (St. Marys) does not include an apostrophe, but the name of the school (St. Mary's College) does.



The pinnacle of Goodall's baseball career in St. Marys came in May 1900, when he was elected captain of the St. Marys town team, in addition to being one of the two pitchers. He played for St. Marys again in 1901 but apparently took some time off from baseball. Goodall had been employed as the cook at St. Mary's College for "several years" (since about 1892), and his "summer vacation" from the college made it easier for him to play baseball late in the season. However, a change in his lifestyle occurred in August 1901, when he married Lena Allen, and they took up residence at the home they owned on the corner of Third and Mission Streets. Their first son, August, was born a year later.<sup>509</sup> They would have three more children who survived—two sons and a daughter.

Goodall played sporadically for St. Marys through 1907.<sup>510</sup> During the spring of 1906, he suffered a serious bout of pneumonia that lasted about two weeks. A few weeks later, he was back in Topeka "having his eyes treated." And he was getting beyond the age of most players on town teams, turning 30 in 1907. In addition, his family likely required more of his time. He enlarged his house in 1904 and had other improvements made in subsequent years. For example, the house was connected to the city water system in 1910. In 1924, the Goodalls moved into a new house built on the site of their former home.<sup>511</sup>

After his playing days were over, news of Tom Goodall and his family was mostly about visitors to their home and visits they made out of town. Then, during the winter of 1922–1923, St. Mary's College embarked on a fundraising campaign involving alumni across the country. Goodall, the longtime cook at the school, became a focal point of the campaign. The fondest memory of the alumni across the generations was Goodall's famous St. Mary's Cornbread served for breakfast at the boarding school. He was even induced to attend alumni banquets in Kansas City and St. Louis. "The incomparable cornbread had to be served." In advance of the affair in St. Louis, "unique letterheads were printed bearing characteristic poses of Brother George, a popular and aged Jesuit of school day memories, and of Tom Goodall, the college chef."<sup>512</sup>

In 1924, Goodall was once again in box scores for the St. Marys town team. This time, it was Tom and Lena's oldest son, August, "star local slugger," who played in left field.<sup>513</sup> Tom and August Goodall are the only known father-son pair of Black ballplayers who spent time on the rosters of integrated town teams (Table A-7). Thomas J. Goodall died in 1951, a year after the death of Lena. They were buried at Valley View Cemetery in St. Marys.

## "Yock" Green

During Thomas Goodall's early baseball career in St. Marys, the nearby town of Wamego featured a Black catcher. "Yock" Green played for Wamego from 1896 to 1898 and Westmoreland in 1899. His first name is uncertain. Although newspapers typically used the last names of ballplayers, Green was often referred to solely by his nickname—Yock. Only the *Topeka Plaindealer* used the combined name "Yock Green" in 1899. Earlier that year, the *Plaindealer* also mentioned "Albert Green, of Wamego," who was a student at the State Agricultural College (now Kansas State University). He left in September to attend school in Missouri, which coincidentally followed the final season Yock played baseball in Pottawatomie County.<sup>514</sup> The 1900 census for Topeka, about 35 miles southeast

of Wamego, listed a Black student named Albert Green, who was born in Mississippi in September 1879, but there is insufficient information to connect him to the baseball player. Nothing else was learned about Yock Green, and there was no evidence that he competed against Thomas Goodall.

## English and Todd

During the mid-1890s, Oskaloosa (northeast of Topeka) had two Black players on its town team, perhaps for only one game each. In 1896, English was “Oskaloosa’s colored pitcher.” His first name is uncertain, but the player might have been Walter English, a native Kansan. The 1900 census listed his birthdate as November 1879, so he would have been only 16 if he pitched for Oskaloosa in 1896. He was the oldest of the three brothers. Unfortunately, he pitched against the team from Winchester and pitcher Luther Taylor, who would soon be pitching for the New York Giants of the National League (1900–1908). Winchester easily won the game, 13–0, which fortunately lasted only 90 minutes on a day when the temperature reached 104°F.<sup>515</sup>

The following year, the two clubs met again with a similar result. However, neither English nor Taylor played. On this occasion, the Black player was Todd, perhaps Lewis Todd. The 1900 census included Louis Todd, a local farm laborer, who was born in Kansas in July 1878. The 1910 census listed Lewis Todd, farmer, born in Kansas about 1877. There was another possible candidate. The 1900 census included George Todd, a servant, who was born in Kansas in March 1875. Whether it was Lewis or George, he was kept busy. Oskaloosa imported a white pitcher from St. Joseph, Missouri, but he was ineffective. Winchester had 19 hits. “Mr. Todd, Oskaloosa’s brunette left fielder, climbed wire fences and chased balls until his tongue hung out; he came in for a brief rest while three of his comrades batted; then he went out to run balls for another inning.”<sup>516</sup>

## Virgil Smith and Fred Holton

The first mention of Fred Holton in Salina was his conviction for disturbing the peace in 1892. The following year he and another youth named Vernon Smith, were convicted of jumping on the cars of freight trains. Unable to pay their fines, they were put to work on the local rock pile.<sup>517</sup> That was the only mention of Vernon Smith in Salina, and it is possible his name was actually Virgil Smith.

In 1897, the newly organized Salina Maroons had a roster composed of white players, but it sometimes featured a Black battery of Virgil Smith and Fred D. Holton. Holton also pitched that summer for the white team from Brookville after their pitcher was injured during a game, and he pitched for Minneapolis in a game with Clay Center on Emancipation Day. Clay Center’s pitcher that day was Moses O’Banion.<sup>518</sup>

According to the 1900 census, Smith was born in Kentucky in September 1877. According to federal and state censuses and Salina city directories, Smith worked as a barber from at least 1900 to 1937 or maybe a year or two longer. There were a few exceptions, such as his time as the proprietor of a pool hall in 1907. He also worked as a laborer with the Union Pacific Railroad and as a watchman during the early 1920s. Smith did not serve in the military during the Spanish-American War, but Holton did.

According to the 1900 census, Holton was born in West Virginia in August 1874. His occupation was listed as “common labor.” That was the only federal or Kansas census in which he was found. In 1898, Holton enlisted in the Twenty-third Kansas Volunteer Infantry Regiment composed entirely of Black soldiers, including all of the officers, a rarity at the time. The regiment was deployed to San Luis, Cuba, north of Santiago, in the aftermath of the war, from September 1898 through February 1899. Listed in some records as Fred Halton of Holton, Kansas, he initially served as an artificer in Company B but was reduced in rank to private. Baseball was one way to break the tedium of garrison duty, and games were played against teams representing nearby regiments in Cuba, including the Eighth Illinois Infantry, also composed entirely of Black soldiers, and the white Fifth US Infantry.<sup>519</sup> Games were probably played within the regiment as well. How much, if at all, Holton participated in these games is unknown.

While serving in Cuba in 1898, Holton cast an absentee ballot for the election of the county supervisor, which was decided by only five votes. His ballot for the losing candidate was not counted because the adjutant general’s office in Topeka had recorded him as Fred Halton of Holton. Apparently, this error was considered unquestionable, even though it was contradicted by several facts known to local residents. Holton was living in Salina in 1897, and his father, Jesse Holton, passed away at Fred’s home in Salina that summer. At the time, Fred worked in the local Union Pacific railyards. In addition, Holton departed from Salina for Topeka with 10 other Black residents of the city to join the Twenty-third Kansas, and his two-year-old son was living in Salina while Holton was deployed. His son died in Salina in February 1899 from burns received when he played with matches. Other votes for the losing candidate cast by soldiers in the Twenty-third Kansas were not counted because they had not registered to vote, a charge not leveled at Fred Holton.<sup>520</sup> Politics in Kansas during the 1890s were rather contentious among Republicans, Democrats, and Progressives.

While Holton was deployed to Cuba, Smith remained in Salina, but he was credited with an act of bravery off the diamond. The newspaper identified him by the occupation for which he was best known in the community.

Virgil Smith, the colored base-ball player, performed quite a heroic act Wednesday afternoon. And has been receiving many compliments on his wonderful “nerve” and strength. A large and powerful team of horses, hitched to a farm wagon, became frightened while standing near Shellabarger’s mill, and came tearing down Santa Fe avenue pell-mell[,] threatening to demolish the wagon and everything in the way. There were many people on the streets at the time and cries of “See to your horses!” “Clear the track!” etc., were heard. At the corner of Iron and Santa Fe avenues Smith ran in front of the frightened animals, somewhat checking their progress, then hurried to the back of the wagon, jumped in, ran to the dashboard[,] leaned over and caught the lines, (Which were dangling at the horses [sic] heels) and gently, but firmly, brought the horses to a stand-still. The by-standers applauded the young hero loudly.<sup>521</sup>

There was little mention of Smith in 1899. Salina newspapers reported that he had signed to play for Iola in southeastern Kansas, but there is no evidence that he departed,

and he was in Salina in late July. Salina newspapers also reported that Smith made brief trips during the summer to play for white town teams in Gypsum, Herington, and Ellsworth. However, newspapers in these smaller communities typically provided little detail about their teams. The games scheduled in Gypsum and Herington were played, but it could not be confirmed that Smith actually played. Given that Smith left Salina for the express purpose of participating in games that were played in Gypsum and Herington, the assumption is made for the purpose of this study that he played in those contests. However, he did not play in Ellsworth, because the team from Great Bend failed to arrive for the match.<sup>522</sup> In September, Smith was in Salina serving as one of 36 special police officers appointed during the week of the Salina Street Fair.<sup>523</sup>

In 1900, Smith played for a new professional team organized in Salina composed mostly of white players. It was initially known as the Athertons after a local merchant and photographer who sponsored the team, but the team underwent two reorganizations during the season. Smith's participation was not entirely clear from accounts published by the *Salina Daily Union*, which referred to Verde Smith as a well-known "Salina boy and a base ball player of no mean ability." If this was a nickname for Virgil Smith, it was the only year and newspaper in which it was used. Two other Salina newspapers, the *Daily Republican-Journal* and the *Herald*, referred to this player as Virgil Smith. In mid-July, the first reorganization of the team occurred. The *Union* reported that a professional Black sprinter named P.W. Crouthers was in Salina and "ready to meet all comers." The newspaper also reported that Crouthers might be hiring a manager. "If base ball does not take a sudden boom in Salina, Verde Smith will probably travel with Crouthers as business manager. Smith has an offer from the fleet-footed Indiana boy and will accept, unless base ball matters are placed on a firm basis in a few days." That reorganization took place, and Smith remained with the Athertons as captain, a rare position for a Black player to hold on an otherwise white team. His selection by the baseball association to lead the team on the field was also announced in the *Salina Daily Republican-Journal*. "Virgil Smith will captain the team." During his tenure, Smith released three players—one for unstated reasons and two for drunkenness—and he continued to search for better players as the baseball association cleared its debt. In addition to carrying out his responsibilities as captain, Smith played at least three positions for the team—first base, second base, and catcher.<sup>524</sup>

This arrangement lasted until early August, almost four weeks. During the team's second reorganization, white catcher Wade Moore was elected to serve as captain. Smith remained with the team but hurt his ankle and missed games. No reason was given for the change in captains. At the end of the month, the *Salina Herald* reported, "Virgil Smith, the young colored man, who has been holding down second base for the Athertons, has resigned." The notice also stated that "Smith was an excellent player."<sup>525</sup>

While he was playing for the Athertons and after he resigned, Smith played for other white town teams. In July, he and another Atherton player took the field with Concordia, while one of their teammates played for Minneapolis in a pair of games. Smith joined two Black ballplayers who were regulars on the Concordia roster—Sam Strothers and Charles "Tab" Tolbert. Smith played third base in both games and "made the star play of the day by

stopping a hot line drive across third base with his right hand, ... throwing the man out at first—an almost impossible play.” In September, after leaving the Athertons, Smith and a white pitcher from the Athertons were the battery for the team in Sylvan Grove in a game against Ellsworth. In addition to catching, Smith hit a homerun in Sylvan’s 4–3 victory.<sup>526</sup>

In July 1901, there was another unconfirmed report that Smith had been engaged to play elsewhere, this time in Council Grove on July 4. However, there was no evidence he left Salina or participated in the game. Later that month came word that Smith’s name was drawn for a homestead near Lawton, Oklahoma Territory. In August, he traveled south to file his claim on a parcel of land seven miles southeast of Lawton, and he returned to build a house on the property in February 1902. Once that task was completed, he came back to Salina and reported that he had signed to play for Fort Scott, Kansas, which would be a member of the Missouri Valley League, a Class D minor league. However, the league had “made a ruling not to admit a colored man into the league, [so] he is waiting now for a special permit.”<sup>527</sup> After playing for local integrated teams around Salina, Smith had run into the color line of organized baseball, now firmly entrenched in the National League, American League, and associated minor leagues. There would be no waiver for Smith.

There was little mention of Smith the next few years. In 1905, local grocer Wesley W. Shobe organized a Black ball club. Virgil Smith and Fred Holton served as a battery for the new team. It was the last season either apparently played baseball.<sup>528</sup> Holton might have left Salina. In 1901, he had been jailed for seven months in Topeka after his conviction for selling liquor without a license in Lawrence. The sentence was increased from 30 days because the liquor was sold to American Indians. Then, in 1902, Holton had been sent to the state penitentiary for two years following his guilty plea in the theft of a hog, but he was pardoned in 1903. After playing ball in Salina in 1905, Holton was arrested in December 1906 on the charge of stealing \$35 from a companion. He could not pay the \$1,000 bond, so he was held in jail until the trial. In March, he was acquitted of the charge after serving four months imprisonment.<sup>529</sup> It was the last time Holton was mentioned in Salina newspapers.

Smith remained in Salina and operated a barbershop and restaurant in a building owned by Shobe on North Santa Fe Avenue. In 1909, his horse was stolen from his barn. By an incredible stroke of luck, his wife, Rosa (Rosie), was visiting in Wichita a year later and saw the horse hitched to a bakery wagon. It was identified by its markings and a brand.<sup>530</sup> After this good fortune, Smith’s luck took a turn for the worse.

A month after finding the horse, Rosa sued Virgil for divorce. (Based on census records, he had at least four wives: Rosa in 1910, Bertie or Birdie in 1920, Cora in 1930, and Pearl in 1940.) Then, at the end of the year, he was arrested for bootlegging—selling whiskey out of his barbershop. His conviction in the local police court was upheld on appeal in the district court in April 1911. After the conviction was upheld by the Kansas Supreme Court, Smith began a 30-day jail sentence in December 1911, a year after his arrest. He was also fined \$100 plus \$55.55 court costs. After his imprisonment was completed, his lawyer filed a petition for parole because Smith had not paid the fine and court costs, which blocked his release from jail. Smith promised to not violate the conditions of the parole but contended that he needed to be released to support his mother and sister. However, parole

was denied, and Smith paid his fine. He would have other troubles with the law, such as illegal gambling, but little else was reported in newspapers. Then, in 1919, the *Salina Daily Union* published a challenge for a baseball game from the local Colored Giants “through their manager, Virgil Smith.” His playing days were behind him, but Smith apparently found his way through his troubles back to baseball, however briefly.<sup>531</sup>

The 1940 and 1950 censuses and subsequent city directories in Salina did not list an occupation for Smith, except as a laborer one year. He moved to Omaha, Nebraska in the autumn of 1958, about the time of his 80th birthday. Virgil Smith passed away four months later on 21 January 1959 and was buried with his fourth wife, Pearl, in Forest Lawn Memorial Park in Omaha.<sup>532</sup>

## Benny Hill

While Virgil Smith and Fred Holton were first playing for integrated baseball teams around Salina, a local Black youth was beginning his athletic career. In 1898, 1899, and 1901, Benjamin “Benny” Hill won prizes in several bicycle races in Salina. In 1899, the *Salina Union* found it newsworthy that “Benny Hill made a run to Abilene yesterday on his wheel.” The round trip would have been almost 50 miles.<sup>533</sup>

The first newspaper report of Hill playing baseball was a game in April 1902 between Kansas Wesleyan College and the Salina Wonders, composed of Black youths. Although he attended school in Salina, Hill announced in November that he was moving to Topeka to attend the Colored Industrial Institute, established in 1896, where he would learn to be a tailor. However, by March 1903, Hill was again attending the public school in Salina.<sup>534</sup>

In April 1903, a new integrated baseball team composed mostly of older teenagers was organized. They chose the name Invincibles, and Hill was their catcher. In June, the team had a record of 8–2, including victories over adult town teams. The team sat for a photo at Atherton’s studio. Though the young team had no big power hitters, Hill was known for his speed and ability to steal bases, as noted after the Invincibles had earned victory number nine over the Gypsum town team. “The colored lad played 20 feet from the bag but kept telling the pitcher, ‘put that ball on the ground and I’ll beat it home.’”<sup>535</sup> At the beginning of July, the Invincibles played a professional team in Minneapolis. To no one’s surprise, the pros won easily, 11–2. Yet, the Invincibles took solace in the fact that they scored two runs, one by Hill and one by pitcher Frank Ludes.<sup>536</sup>

In December, the Invincibles decided to play again in 1904, and Hill wrote from Topeka to say he would return in time to play. True to his word, he was back in Salina at the beginning of April, ready to play. He also took a job at Tinkler’s barbershop. In addition to playing for their own team, some of the Invincibles, including Hill and Ludes, played for other town teams. In June, Hill, Ludes, and Will Horrell of the Invincibles played for Bennington against the town team from Delphos. They filled three key positions—catcher, pitcher, and first baseman, respectively. Bennington won, 10–3, with the Invincibles either scoring or driving in all 10 runs. This was in addition to their important contributions in holding Delphos to only three runs. In August, the Invincibles traveled to Brookville and defeated the town team. As a bonus, “a fellow at Brookville declared he was the best foot



Salina Invincibles baseball team, with Benny Hill seated on the floor on the far right (*Salina Evening Journal*, 22 June 1903, p 3).

racer in this part of the country,” and he challenged anyone to a race of 75 yards. Hill accepted the challenge and won “by over a foot.” However, Hill’s season was coming to a close, and he returned to Topeka later that month.<sup>537</sup>

In 1905, Hill did not play for the Invincibles, who continued to represent Salina as an amateur team because the city lacked an enclosed ballpark that would allow them to charge admission. However, Hill made plans to return and play with some of his old teammates in the opening game of the 1907 season. Five of the former Invincibles—Benny Hill, Frank Ludes, Bernard Ludes, Will Horrell, and Bert Lamb—were to be joined by four other players from Salina to play in Brookville. Everyone made it, except Benny Hill.<sup>538</sup>

Little else was learned about Benny Hill. The 1900 federal census listed his birthdate as January 1883 in Kansas, and the year was corroborated by the 1905 state census for Topeka, which listed his age as 22. However, the 1915 state census reported his age as 29, which would place his birth in 1886. In 1899, he was a member of a union of shoe shiners in Salina, whose members agreed to charge 5¢ for a standard black shine, but 10¢ for patent leathers and tans.<sup>539</sup> City directories in Topeka from 1902 to 1916 listed his employment initially as a porter and later as a waiter.

## Wichita Rattlers

In June 1896, the *Wichita Daily Beacon* ran a headline about a new baseball team in the city named the Rattlers. “The Colored Nine. New Baseball Club Organized Here, Said to Be a Good One.” In August, after the Rattlers had established their ability to defeat the city’s white teams, the *Beacon* offered an assessment of the Black nine. “Wichita has a good ball club now, the Rattlers, and they have caused interest to be renewed here in the game.”<sup>540</sup>

The story of the Wichita Rattlers begins in 1894 with a Black team playing under the name of its sponsor, the Boston Store Athletics. Its roster included four brothers—Burl, Charles, Luke, and Sylvester “Syl” Anderson. The top white team was sponsored by the owner of another department store in Wichita—Cash Henderson of the New York Store. His team was referred to as Cash Henderson’s Pet Nine, often shortened to Henderson’s Pets. The Bostons began the season by playing another local Black team, the Carey Hotel, but they were “aching to meet the Henderson Pets.”<sup>541</sup>

The Boston Store Athletics issued a challenge in late June to “the Cash Henderson Pets or any other team in the state.” Henderson accepted the challenge, and the two clubs split a pair of games on July 10 and 11. The rubber game was played July 23, with the Pets winning, 11–9, after scoring five runs in the final two innings. Pitcher Syl Anderson recorded nine strikeouts, but tired in the later innings. He hit “one or two batters accidentally and [let] several others who couldn’t hit the ball jump in front of it and get hit, so they could get to first. The umpire should have called at least two out for this offense.” The Pets also imported players from other towns to improve their chances of winning, which elicited a comment from Wichita’s *Kansas Star*. “The fact that these imported players were to help the ‘pets’ threw the sympathy of the crowd with the colored nine. The American public likes fairness above everything else, and the dusky sluggers were enthusiastically applauded when there was occasion for cheers.” The *Wichita Daily Eagle* concurred. “It seems to be the general impression that the colored boys are too strong for the Pets, barring out-of-town material.”<sup>542</sup>

The Bostons also split a pair of games with a new white team, the Wichita Stars, and they played teams in neighboring towns. The games with the Black team in Hutchinson were contentious. The games with white teams were not. The Henderson Pets also played white teams from nearby towns with mixed success. In addition, they won two of three games with a team of American Indians from Ponca City in the Oklahoma Territory.<sup>543</sup>

In 1895, little mention of the Boston Store Athletics was found in newspapers. Henderson’s Pets did not reorganize, but some of the players joined a new team named the Wichita Blues, which included a mix of local and imported players. They played teams from other towns but apparently not the Bostons.<sup>544</sup>

Players from the Boston Store Athletics organized without a sponsor in late June 1896, playing instead under the name Wichita Rattlers. The Wichita Blues also reorganized but not with the professional aspirations of the previous year. They were also not as active, with few games reported. However, this version of the Blues was willing to play the Rattlers. The Rattlers easily defeated the Blues on August 2.<sup>545</sup>

The Rattlers found little in the way of competition among Wichita teams, but the club represented the city against white teams from nearby communities. For example, the town of Sedgwick arranged for the Wichita Rattlers, “the crack team of that city,” to visit for a game with the local town team. “The game will be a very interesting one and as so many of our people have never seen a colored nine play ball the attendance promises to be very large.” In Mulvane, an effort was made to raise money to pay the expenses of the Rattlers for a trip to their city. Games with the Rattlers were so popular in some towns that their hosts arranged for the Wichita club to play a second game. And John Dickey of Newton



rode his bicycle 15 miles across the rural countryside to Sedgwick to watch a game with the Rattlers. The *Wichita Silver Cause* generously opined, “The colored base ball club of Wichita bids fair to reach the professional standard.”<sup>546</sup> The Rattlers had become the first nine in Wichita, a city of about 20,000 people at the time.<sup>547</sup>

The fact that several Anderson brothers played for the Rattlers led to a controversy during a game with the Colwich Blues. The Blues led, 8–5, but the Rattlers had two runners on base and two outs. The scorer from Colwich then called the wrong Anderson to the plate. The two runners scored on his base hit, after which the error was discovered. Under the circumstances, the umpire disallowed the two runs but did not call Anderson out to end the inning. He opted to replay the at bat with the proper Anderson batting. Colwich demanded the out be recorded and the inning ended. The Rattlers argued that the error was made by an official from Colwich, so the umpire’s decision to replay the at bat was proper. The Blues refused to take the field, so the umpire awarded the game to the Rattlers.<sup>548</sup>

When the Sedgwick town team played a pair of games with the Rattlers in Wichita, they strengthened their roster with a pitcher from northeastern Kansas who was visiting relatives nearby. From 1900 through 1908, Luther Taylor would pitch in the major leagues, almost exclusively for the New York Giants. In September 1896, he pitched Sedgwick to a 3–2 victory over the Rattlers in game one of the two-game series. The losing pitcher for Wichita was Holton. James Brunson identified him as Fred Holton of Salina, which is supported by a report of an earlier game, in which a reference was made to the Rattlers’ imported “Salina pitcher.” In anticipation of several games late in the season, the Rattlers also added another pitcher, who took the mound in game two. Charley Strawn was a white player from nearby Douglass, which made the Rattlers a racially integrated team. He pitched for white teams in Wichita periodically from 1894 to 1900. In September 1896, he pitched for the Rattlers to an 11–10 win in game two against Sedgwick. Taylor pitched the last four innings for Sedgwick, and neither team scored after the fifth inning. Strawn pitched in other games for the Rattlers to close the season as the only white player on the team. He left Kansas a few years later and reportedly committed suicide in California in 1905.<sup>549</sup>

Despite being the city’s top club, the hundreds of fans who attended their home games chose not to support them financially. The Rattlers played at Riverside Park, which was not enclosed. In August, the *Wichita Daily Beacon* admonished fans to support the team financially, which was necessary “to get all the good clubs from surrounding towns to come here and play.” At first, the Rattlers arranged “to place a number of golding chairs” (wooden folding chairs) at the park and charge 10¢ for their use. Others were admitted free. That did not generate the needed funds, so a month later, the Rattlers stretched a rope across the road into the park and asked everyone to pay 10¢. The *Beacon* reported that more than 500 fans watched a game with Winfield, but only 65 paid. The rest simply walked around the rope. “This is not treating the home boys right.... They are putting up a good game and should be better patronized by the people of the city.” The *Wichita Daily Eagle* concurred. Yet, in July, the *Beacon* had echoed complaints from a few citizens about the city employing 17 men, 6 horses, and 2 scrappers for a day to smooth the area inside the track at Riverside Park to make it suitable for the Rattlers to use as a ballpark.<sup>550</sup>

There was barely any mention of the Rattlers in 1897 and 1898, but the reorganized Wichita Blues defeated them in July 1897 by a single run. Lack of financial support for the Rattlers might have contributed to the team's quick demise. It was also said that the "baseball fever died down, [and] the club quit the diamond, while its credit was good."<sup>551</sup>

It is likewise possible that the core players, such as the Anderson brothers, had less time to commit to baseball. Baseball in Wichita certainly was not a paying proposition at the time. Luke Anderson was a janitor who died in 1899 of "stomach trouble," leaving behind a wife and child. Burl Anderson worked for the local streetcar company before moving to Kansas City, where he died in 1925. In 1902, prior to his departure, "Burrell Anderson" was scheduled to play for the Black Diamonds, representing the Carey Hotel in Wichita. This was probably the former Rattler. Burrell was the spelling of the first name used by the Anderson's father. Charles Anderson worked as a janitor in the courthouse and possibly as a railroad porter. His name was shared by other men around Wichita, making him difficult to follow, but he apparently left Wichita and was the only one of the four brothers not buried with family members in Wichita's Maple Grove Cemetery.<sup>552</sup>

Sylvester "Syl" Anderson was the easiest of the brothers to follow. He was born on 6 April 1875 according to his 1918 draft card. The 1900 census listed his birth as April 1874 in Missouri. His 1942 draft card listed his birth as 4 April 1880 in Dresden, Missouri, about six miles northwest of Sedalia. The 1880 census for Dresden gave his age as 6 years old, corroborating a birthdate in 1874. His 1942 draft card also listed his full name as James Sylvester Anderson, and the 1925 Kansas census, 1930 federal census, and several Wichita city directories included his first initial. He began married life on Thanksgiving Day 1895, when he went to the home of the probate judge asking to be married to Charlotte (Lottie) Robinson as soon as possible, a request the judge granted that morning.<sup>553</sup>

Syl Anderson was listed as a "coachman" in an 1888 Wichita city directory. In 1894, he became Sergeant Syl Anderson in a newly organized Black militia company in Wichita.<sup>554</sup> In July 1898, Syl was appointed as a police officer for the city of Wichita. He held the position until 1901, then returned to the beat in 1904, and was dismissed again in 1907. Politics played a role in the lack of job security. Syl also managed to occasionally take his place on the baseball diamond. In 1900, he played for a team composed of police officers against a team of Eagles. The Rattlers also reorganized that summer, with Syl as captain. They played at the Emancipation Day celebration in Winfield. In 1901, he coached a Black team in Wichita named the Searchlights, presumably named for the *Wichita Searchlight*, an African American newspaper published from 1900 to 1912. In 1902, during a gap in his service as a police officer, Syl was one of the investors who revived the *Colored Citizen* in Wichita, and he sat on the Board of Directors of the newspaper, which was published through 1904. Syl became a city firefighter in 1909 or 1910, a position he held until his retirement in 1944, after reaching the rank of captain. His photo as a firefighter appeared in the *Wichita Beacon* in 1914.



Syl Anderson passed away in 1952, ten years before Charlotte. He left a legacy of service as a police officer, firefighter, and prominent member of the Wichita Rattlers, a Black baseball team that became Wichita's top team and a predominantly Black integrated team in 1896.<sup>555</sup>

## John Sanders and Walker

In 1898, John Sanders (occasionally spelled as Saunders) played for his hometown club in Carbondale and in two games in July for nearby Scranton. His time with Scranton was out of the ordinary. After Sanders "filled in perfectly" at third base for Scranton's injured captain in a game against Washburn College of Topeka, the *Scranton Gazette* commented about the team having a Black player. "Scranton has a warm spot for at least one of the colored race now. The person in question is John Sanders of Carbondale, who played a fine game of ball for Scranton Monday afternoon." What became of Sanders after 1898 is unknown. Comments made by the newspaper after a game in September illustrate just how unusual it was for Sanders to play for Scranton, let alone receive praise. The comments concerned a Black pitcher from Kansas City named Walker, who was imported by Burlingame but did not fare well against the Scranton lineup. "Scranton signified her dislike for 'coons' once more. They pounded the colored pitcher until his arm was disabled."<sup>556</sup> Burlington's imported pitcher might have been George Walker, who played for several Black ball clubs in Kansas during the 1890s, but this is speculation.<sup>557</sup>

## James Orendorf

In addition to John Sanders in Carbondale, Osage County had another Black resident who periodically played for white town teams. James Thomas Orendorf was born in Tennessee on March 7. His draft registration card in 1918, his grave marker, and the censuses of 1910, 1915, 1920, and 1930 variously placed his birth in 1876, 1877, or 1878.

The first mention of Orendorf playing baseball was in 1895 for the Osage City Browns, a Black team that played against both Black and white teams in the area. In 1899, the Black team was named the Blues, but the roster did not include Orendorf, though details about their games were sparse. His only appearance in local newspapers the remainder of the decade was a report of his arrest in 1897 for adultery based on a complaint filed by the woman's husband. At the time, he was working as a porter at the Everest Hotel.<sup>558</sup>

In 1901, Orendorf played for the town team in Osage City. He pitched and played second base and shortstop. In June, a game was played with Quenemo at the neutral site of Lyndon for a purse of \$100, plus a side bet of \$100. It took eleven innings to decide the contest. In the bottom of the eleventh, with the score tied at nine apiece and two runners on for Osage City, Orendorf hit a home run, although only the winning run was counted in the final score. In August, the Santa Fe Reds of Topeka played two games in Osage City and lost both. After the first game, the *Topeka State Journal* gave Orendorf, who played second base, first honors for a "fine all around game." After the second game, the *Journal* offered additional praise. "As usual the best work for Osage was done by Orendorf, who pitched a very steady game."<sup>559</sup>

In 1902 and 1903, Orendorf continued to play for Osage City. He also played for Lyndon in 1903.<sup>560</sup> There was no mention of him in 1904, but he again played for Osage City in 1905, at least when he was allowed to take the field.

In May, Orendorf played for Osage City against Burlingame and Lyndon. In June, six towns began playing in the Osage County League, which was first suggested by the *Osage City Free Press* on May 11. The season was to run from June 1 to August 31, with each team playing two league games per week (a total of 20), leaving open dates for other games. Orendorf played occasionally for the Osage City Blues in league contests and other games. The one challenge to his playing noted by county newspapers occurred on June 14. Scranton's team traveled to Osage City to play the Blues. During the game, Osage City wanted to substitute Orendorf for another player, but Scranton "refused to play against the 'black man,'" even though he had played against them in 1901. The end of the league's season found Carbondale in first place.<sup>561</sup>

Orendorf also played professionally. In 1906, he joined the Topeka Giants, a Black team that traveled frequently. The Giants were first led by Gaitha Page (the subject of a later essay) in 1905. The following year, John "Topeka Jack" Johnson took charge of the club. Orendorf would have a chance to play alongside some talented ballplayers, including Topeka Jack Johnson, Dudley "Tullie" McAdoo, and Sam Strothers. Among the opponents of the Giants were the town teams in Osage City, Scranton, and Burlingame. Orendorf played third base for the Giants and was mentioned in the reports for four games. Osage City won its game with the Giants, 3–2. Scranton also defeated the Giants in the first game between the clubs, 7–4 in eleven innings. In the final inning, "Orendorf threw the ball into the bleachers, letting in three runs." The Giants won the second contest, 4–2, with catches by Johnson and Orendorf among the features of the game. Burlingame put up the worst showing, losing to the Giants, 11–0. However, the Burlingame newspaper was full of praise for the Giants and pointed out that two of the players had lived in Osage County—Orendorf in Osage City and Johnson in Carbondale.<sup>562</sup>

In 1907, Orendorf again played professionally, this time for a Black team in Chicago—the Chicago Union Giants. In June, he joined Topeka Jack Johnson on the team, but Orendorf played only briefly, appearing in one box score at third base. In 1908, there was no mention of him playing baseball, but perhaps his attention was focused elsewhere. In September, he and his wife, Mamie, celebrated the birth of a son.<sup>563</sup> They would ultimately have four surviving children.

Orendorf was back with the Osage City town team in 1909, catching and playing elsewhere on the infield. The following year, Orendorf was only mentioned once with regard to playing for Osage City. This was in advance of a game to be played with Scranton, who had refused to allow him to play in 1905. In the reports of the game, there was no mention of Orendorf, so it is unknown if he actually played.<sup>564</sup>

In 1911, there were no newspaper reports of Orendorf, but he returned in 1912, when he caught for Osage City in a game against a team from Topeka on July 4. However, he was not a regular member of the club. In June, Osage County organized another league of town teams, but Osage City left the league in August. During that month, Osage City had a six-

team city league consisting of four church teams, the Teamsters, and the Colored Giants. The Bricklayers later replaced the Methodists. The city league marked a turning point in Orendorf's baseball career. He was listed as one of the eligible players for the Giants and served as the team's captain. However, he was mentioned most frequently as the city league's umpire.<sup>565</sup> He would go on to umpire in Osage City for several more years, as described in the essays on Black umpires at the end of Part I.

In the 1910 census, Orendorf's occupation was listed as a porter in a barbershop, where he worked for several years. He also earned money through various other jobs, mostly labor on roads (and baseball), but he was listed as a teamster in 1915 and a coal miner in 1920 and 1930.<sup>566</sup> James Orendorf died in March 1938, two days after his birthday. He was buried in the Osage City Cemetery.

### **George, Walter, and William Kirk**

Obituaries published in Osborne newspapers following the death of George W. Kirk in October 1905 summarized his life, presumably based on information provided by his wife and children. His surname was shortened from Kirkpatrick, which was the name used in the 1870 census. According to census records, he could neither read nor write. He was born into slavery in Cumberland, Kentucky in March 1831 (the 1900 census listed his birthdate as March 1828). His owner, Granville Biggerstaff, moved to Plattsburg, Missouri about 1845, where Kirk later married his first wife. Plattsburg is about 35 miles east of Atchison, Kansas. About 1862, following the death of his wife, Kirk fled to the Missouri River and crossed into Kansas. "He did not leave his master on account of ill treatment but because of a desire for freedom." Kirk married again in Atchison County in 1872, and the couple had seven children. The first mention of him or his family members in Osborne was in 1888, when the oldest children were in grade school.<sup>567</sup> Among the seven children were three sons—George, William, and Walter—who played baseball and football for the local high school and town teams in Osborne and nearby communities, as well as the Black baseball team in Nicodemus.

The first of the brothers to appear in newspapers as a student and an athlete was George T. Kirk. The year of his birth moved progressively forward in time. The censuses of 1895, 1905, and 1910 gave his ages as 14, 23, and 26, which place the year of his birth around 1880 to 1883. His draft registration card in 1917 recorded his birth in Atchison, Kansas on 17 September 1888. It is reasonable to assume that the place, month, and day are correct, but he either lied about his age, or the year was incorrectly recorded. This would place his birth after his younger brothers. It would also mean he became the first Black male student to graduate from Osborne High School in May 1900 at age 11. (Neither of his brothers graduated from high school.) George's birthday advanced two more years on his draft registration card in 1942 to 17 September 1890. He worked briefly in the print shop of an Osborne newspaper and as a hotel porter, but his professional interest was automobiles. He was employed as a mechanic and moved to Kansas City, Missouri in 1913 to work as a chauffeur. During World War I, George reportedly served as a mechanic, although this could not be confirmed.<sup>568</sup> In January 1921, he married Lizzie Muse.

After George moved to Kansas City, less information was available about him. There were several George Kirks living in the city, one of whom was listed as a driver (teamster). According to the 1930 census and a few city directories for Kansas City, George T. Kirk continued to work as a chauffeur, though he was listed as a mechanic some years. The 1930 census gave his age as 30 years old, which would be yet another birth year (1899). He was still listed as a chauffeur in 1940, but his employer on his 1942 draft card was the Bendix-Westinghouse Sales Company. Of the three brothers, George was the only one not buried in the family plot in the Osborne Cemetery with his parents.

The census for 1900 recorded that William T. Kirk was born in December 1883, but his draft card listed the date as 3 May 1884. He was usually referred to as Will rather than Bill and occasionally as Willie. From 1914 through at least the 1940s, Will worked as a hotel porter, initially in Osborne and Beloit, but primarily in Downs. He also held that position in Clay Center a few years during the 1920s. He died in 1955.<sup>569</sup>

According to his 1918 draft card, Walter E. Kirk was born on 16 August 1886, though his grave marker records the year as 1887, and the 1900 census listed the date as May 1886. He spent much of his professional life as a laborer, mostly working on streets, bridges, and sidewalks. He was frequently listed for payments from the city and county for this work, but he also worked as a private contractor. Unlike his brothers, Walter remained a resident of Osborne nearly his entire life. Sadly, he died when he fell from the roof of his home while making repairs in 1936, leaving behind his wife, Carrie, and two children.<sup>570</sup>

As the oldest of the brothers, George Kirk was the first to play baseball in 1897–1899 for the high school team, town team, and, occasionally, a combination of the two. Among their regional opponents were the teams in Alton, the nearest town to the west, and Downs, the nearest town to the east. George was usually the second baseman. Will Kirk first played for the town team late in 1899 and became Osborne's regular catcher in 1900.<sup>571</sup> Walter began playing for Osborne's second nine in 1901 and 1902.<sup>572</sup>

In addition to baseball, the three Kirk brothers regularly played for the Osborne football team from 1898 to 1904. American football had its beginnings at universities, but town teams briefly took the field before college and high school teams dominated in Kansas communities. George and Will played for Osborne beginning in 1898 and 1899, and they were joined by Walter in November 1900. However, Walter was usually listed as a substitute and played less frequently than his older brothers. Nevertheless, all three were included in a studio portrait of the team published in the *Osborne County Farmer* in May 1902. The autumn 1901 team was 6–0 and outscored their opponents, 90–0.<sup>573</sup>

In addition to playing football for Osborne, George served as a timekeeper, linesman, and referee at games for the high school and the town's second team. He also coached the high school team in 1905.<sup>574</sup> In the autumn of 1904, George and a white Osborne player were offered "tuition, board, rooms and all expenses" to play football for the College of Emporia. The other player opted not to accept, but George followed through on the offer. When some of the white players on the college team saw him at practice, they threatened to quit, but the president and coach stood by their decision, and George remained with the team.<sup>575</sup>



Osborne High School football team. Individual players were not identified, but George, William, and Walter Kirk were included in the photo (*Osborne County Farmer*, 15 May 1902, p 10).

Back on the baseball diamond, during the early part of the 1902 season, Osborne was a member of the Northwest Kansas League with Kensington, Kirwin, Plainville, and Smith Center. Talk of the league began in January, and the towns promoted as possible members varied. The league was organized at a meeting in Osborne on March 13, with play to begin two months later. The season would only run through mid-June, when some of the rural players needed to work during harvest. Teams would pay their own transportation, and the host club would cover other expenses while retaining all gate receipts. Those expenses were limited to caring for no more than 13 men and 6 horses. George and Will Kirk held down their regular positions at second base and catcher. At the end of the short season, Osborne finished in first place with a record of 11–5. The team continued to play independently through September.<sup>576</sup>

Osborne fielded a baseball team in 1903 and 1904 with George and Will Kirk in the lineup, though Will was no longer catching.<sup>577</sup> However, other opportunities arose for the Kirks later in the 1904 season. In August, George played for the second nine in Hill City (the Crescents), and then he and two white players from Osborne played for Hill City's first nine in a four-team tournament in Hoxie. No details of the games other than scores were published, and Hill City lost all of its games. The big draw of the tournament was a game between female teams from Colby and Norton won by the former, 24–10.<sup>578</sup>

In 1905, George and Will again played for Osborne. In August, George also played for Smith Center in a tournament at Downs, and George and Will played for Lucas in a game

against Luray.<sup>579</sup> After playing for the predominantly white team in their hometown, the Kirks were getting the opportunity to play on a few other white town teams.

In 1906, George and Will were joined by Walter on the Osborne town team. In addition, Will and Walter played for the Black team from Nicodemus in May, and all three brothers played for the Nicodemus Blues in July, though the game was rained out in the fourth inning. Walter also played for the white team from Hummer in two games against Downs.<sup>580</sup>

The following year, the three Kirk brothers again played for Osborne and Nicodemus. Walter was developing a reputation as a strong hitter, and the Topeka Giants, a Black team that traveled around the region playing games, offered him a spot on their roster. However, he was often busy doing concrete work and opted to stay close to home and play when he could.<sup>581</sup> Yet those opportunities would soon diminish. After three years of playing for white town teams, the Kirk brothers were about to run into the color line on the baseball field.

In August 1907, Osborne defeated Woodston in the morning game of a doubleheader in Alton. In the afternoon, the team from Portis did not show up for their game with Downs because some of their players were sick. In their absence, a team composed of five Osborne players and four others agreed to play Downs. The newspapers in Downs described the game as a farce with a picked nine and presented evidence to support their claim. In contrast, the *Osborne County News* reported that Downs took it seriously and did not want to face the normal Osborne lineup. “The players [from Downs] also saw where it would injure their dignity as ball players if they played against a nine having any colored players in it so in that way they succeeded in weakening the Osborne team by getting the Kirk boys ruled out.” The team dominated by white Osborne players won, 8–7, coming back from a 7–1 deficit after the Downs players started clowning.<sup>582</sup>

The big event for the Kirk brothers in 1908 was the brief barnstorming tour taken by the Nicodemus Blues described in an earlier essay. Each of the Kirks played for the Blues during the tour, though not always at the same time. At one point, they were called home when their mother became seriously ill. Also playing for Nicodemus was “Happy” Sparks (the subject of a later essay). In addition to the tour, the Kirk brothers played for Nicodemus in other games that summer, though Walter took time off to get married.<sup>583</sup>

At this point, the Kirk brothers were ending their time on the ball diamond. Will moved to other towns to work as a hotel porter. Before leaving for Kansas City in 1913, George played at least one more time with Osborne in 1911, and Walter played for Osborne in 1911 and 1912. Walter was still considered a strong hitter, but sometimes, he just got lucky. In 1911, during a game between Osborne and Downs, Walter bunted the ball to the pitcher, whose throw to first hit Walter in the back and caromed into right field. Walter ran to second, where the throw sailed beyond everyone’s reach, allowing Walter to score. Later in the game, he batted with the bases loaded and brought all the runners home on a double.<sup>584</sup> These games in 1911 and 1912 are the last known reports of the Kirk brothers playing baseball.



## Gaitha Page

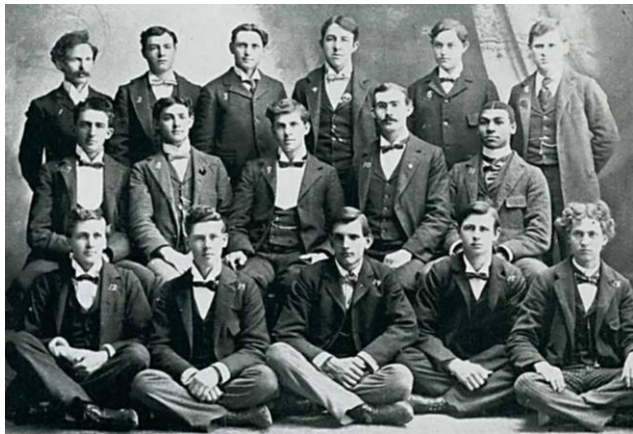
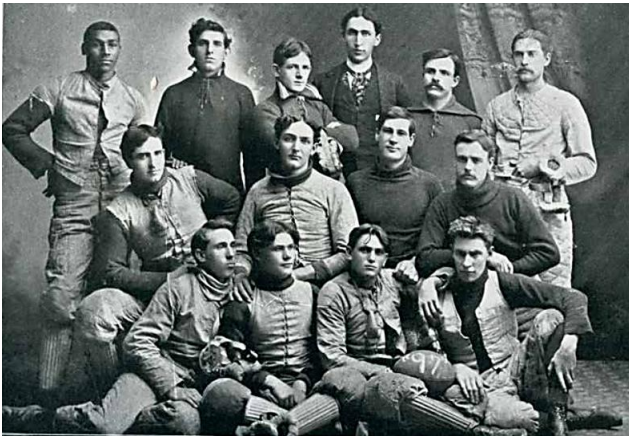
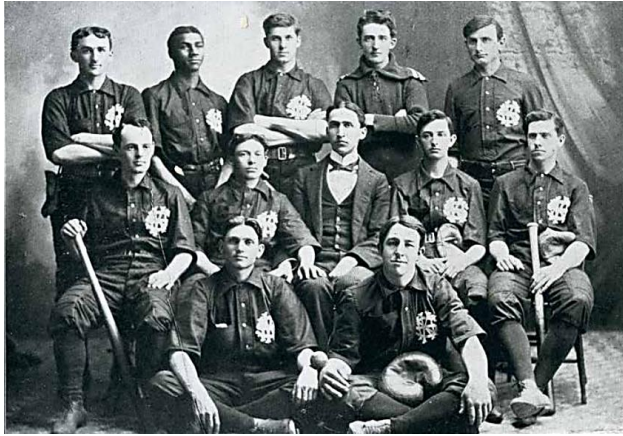
Gaitha Adolphus Page was born on 13 November 1879 in Port Royal, Tennessee to John and Ellen Page. The date is the one reported on his 1918 and 1942 draft registration cards and his Social Security application. His father was a shoemaker, a skill he was taught as a slave in Kentucky. When the 1880 census was conducted, the family was living in Fairmount, an unincorporated town in Leavenworth County, Kansas. By 1885, they had moved to Topeka. In the spring of 1897, Gaitha Page and Gertrude Solomon were the only two African Americans to graduate from Topeka High School that year. A reception to recognize their achievement was held at the Shiloh Baptist Church and “largely attended by the colored people of Topeka.” The program featured music and speeches, which “were all along the line of education and the uplifting of the colored people.”<sup>585</sup>

Page took the message to heart and enrolled at the Kansas State Normal School in Emporia. In addition to his studies, he played baseball for the school in interscholastic contests. His usual position was shortstop, but he also pitched. In February 1899, Page was chosen to be the secretary-treasurer for the baseball team, but he resigned the position in April. No reason was given.<sup>586</sup> Page was also the right end for the school football team and a member of the Lyceum Society. Decades later, he described an instance in which he was confronted by the color line when he went out for baseball in the spring of 1898.

My play at shortstop was good enough to give me that position without opposition. ... Soon after the first team was formed and our first game scheduled[,] an unusual thing happened. Professor Chrisman, in whose History of Education class I was then enrolled, called me into his office and told me he was not in favor of a colored man on the team to represent the school. I was stunned. I asked him if he thought I was qualified. He said there was no doubt about that, but he just didn't think it good to have a Negro on the team. When I informed the team managers, Harry Rhodes and Ross Matkins, they got busy with teammates [*sic*], student body and faculty and found they all wanted me to be on the team. I was pictured as being better than I even thought I was. Professor Ellsworth said, “The boys just as well have no team if they leave Page off.” ... Professor Chrisman called me in later and apologized saying he was wrong. ... I still have a picture of that team.<sup>587</sup>

Page also described an event off campus in which racism was confronted at a banquet given for the baseball team at a local restaurant. “As we were going to be seated a person asked [O.M. “Mit”] Wilhite if he was going to feed that colored man with the other guests. His reply was very emphatic, but the first words must here be omitted. The last were historic and went like this. ‘I guess if Page is good enough to teach my daughters up at the Normal, he’s good enough to eat with anybody in this crowd.’”<sup>588</sup>

In addition to playing for the state normal school, Page played for other predominantly white teams in Emporia engaged in intercity competition. He was not the first. Bert Wakefield played for Emporia briefly in 1895, followed by Monroe Ingram, who played for the city’s minor league team in 1896 and 1897 and returned to play for the independent professional team in 1899.<sup>589</sup> However, trouble soon arose for the 1899 Emporia Yellow Kids.



Photos of Gaitha Page as a member of the baseball team, football team, and Lyceum Society at the Kansas State Normal School (now Emporia State University). Page attended the school from 1897 to 1899. Image source—Student Publications: Sunflower (ESU003.004.004.002), Emporia State University Special Collections and Archives, Emporia, Kansas. Used with permission.

Before the professional club was ready to take the field, a team playing under the old name of Emporia Maroons was reorganized for a game with the Haskell Indians during a carnival the first week of May. Their shortstop was Gaitha Page, who also played for pickup teams in the spring.<sup>590</sup>

The Emporia Yellow Kids were named after their uniforms—“brilliant yellow, with black striped caps and black stockings.” They opened the 1899 season with three games versus the Leavenworth Reds on Decoration Day (Memorial Day) weekend. The team’s initial roster included pitcher Monroe Ingram and shortstop Gaitha Page. However, an article in the *Emporia Daily Republican* reported that the team had “secured the colored player, Page, temporarily” and was considering other players at that position. Emporia had white players who had played on other integrated teams in Kansas—Art Weaver in Concordia and Sam Reust in Frankfort—but the team also had a racist white player named Tom Drummy, as detailed in an article by Gregory Bond.<sup>591</sup>

As described in the essay for Monroe Ingram, he was forced to leave the Emporia club in mid-July, but no move was made to force Page off the team, and he remained on the roster until the team folded on August 2. Emporia’s newspapers provided little in the way of detail about the games or player statistics, and few box scores were published. Thus, it is not possible to fairly assess Page’s performance, though he seems to have done well and remained the regular shortstop throughout the season.

The season started poorly for Emporia with regard to competition. With little luck finding teams of equivalent caliber in June, the Yellow Kids split their roster and added local players for a benefit game. Both rosters were white except for the shortstops—Page and Ingram. Competition picked up in July with games against teams from Atchison, Iola, and Leavenworth in which Emporia competed well. On July 26, the Yellow Kids had reportedly earned a record of 25–9. They played their last game on August 2, a 15–5 victory over Atchison in Emporia. A box score published in the *Emporia Daily Republican* reported, “Page out twice for cutting bases.” The reason the team folded is not entirely clear, but Tom Drummy, who had organized the effort to force Monroe Ingram from the team, resigned, and the team’s only catcher followed. The *Emporia Gazette*, published by William Allen White, referred to Drummy as “a great baby” and blamed him for the team’s breakup. Two other players who performed poorly had been released, so the team was shorthanded, and no quality replacements were available.<sup>592</sup>

On August 4, Page and two other Emporia players (pitcher Sam Reust and an outfielder named Randolph\*) arrived in Arkansas City, Kansas to play for the Grays. Their first series with the new club was against the visiting team from Parsons, who won two of three games. However, the play of the three new recruits for the Grays was praised in the local newspaper and throughout the season. Arkansas City then had a couple of open days, so Parsons took Page with them to play in a home-and-home series with Coffeyville. “Page

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\* Randolph’s first name was not clearly mentioned in Emporia or Arkansas City newspapers. He was referred to as “L.F. Randolph” once in the *Emporia Daily Republican* (22 May 1899, p 4). The *Arkansas City Daily Traveler* (29 September 1899, p 5) reported, “Will Randolph went to Emporia last night where he will attend the state normal [school] this winter.”

is wanted by several western teams and the Grays are very lucky to have secured him.” Neither the Coffeyville nor Parsons newspapers published details of the games, but Page continued to earn praise as the Grays’ shortstop. “Page plays harder than any of them and the way he throws to 1st base wakes up that player.” He also filled in at first base, at third base, and as the catcher. In a late August game at Chanute, Page played for the Grays, while Albert “Pomp” Reagor and Arthur Dawson played for Chanute. However, Page was unable to stay with the Grays until the club finished its season in late September. He had to leave for Topeka after a game on Saturday, September 2 to take up his first teaching position.<sup>593</sup>

After Page joined John Smith as the first two Black graduates of the State Normal School in 1899, he was hired to teach that autumn at the “Buchanan street colored school” in Topeka’s “Tennessee Town” neighborhood. He was also active in organizations such as the local YMCA. Page began to make weekend trips to Kansas City that increased in frequency in late 1903. Rumors began to spread in November, and on December 22, he married Olivia McCampbell at her parents’ home in Kansas City, Missouri. The couple lived in Topeka through 1907.

After returning to Topeka, Page continued to be involved in baseball. Initially, there were only occasional reports. In April 1900, he umpired a game in Lawrence between Topeka’s Washburn College and Haskell Institute. “Page’s decisions pleased both teams.” A week later, the team from the State Normal School traveled to Topeka to play Washburn. “The first exciting point in the afternoon’s performance was when the Emporia team attempted to play Page at short.” Washburn objected, and Page was removed from the lineup. Page had filled in with the Normal School team in a Saturday game in Emporia against the Haskell Indians on April 21. In April 1901, the *Emporia Gazette* wondered, “Will it be possible for the Normal [School] to have a ball team without either Gaitha Page or Caldwell?”<sup>594</sup>

In 1902 and 1903, the Topeka’s talented Black ballplayers were divided among the Nine Bees (Nine B’s), Topeka Unions, and, in 1903, the Topeka Reds. Gaitha Page and Thomas McCampbell occasionally played for the Nine Bees, and George Hicks usually caught for the Unions (McCampbell and Hicks are the subjects of the next two essays). Other local ballplayers from this period who would later go on to play for the top teams elsewhere in the Midwest included Dudley “Tullie” McAdoo, George Richardson, and Robert “Guinea” Robinson. In addition to playing for the Nine Bees, Page served as umpire at least twice when the Bradburys came to Topeka to play the Unions in 1903. The Bradburys from Kansas City were the best Black club in the region at the time. Although the Nine Bees and Unions played both years, all three teams were more active in 1903, despite serious flooding in the Kansas River basin that summer. They competed with each other for bragging rights as the top Black ball club in Topeka, in addition to playing against teams from other cities. In one such contest in August 1903, when the Unions defeated the Nine Bees, the winner took all gate receipts and the loser had to pay all expenses. “[T]he conditions of the game teach us that a baseball team will go to a great deal of trouble for an opportunity to win \$15, ...the average receipts of a ball game at Washburn [College] field,” where the Black teams played. On some occasions, players from two or all three of the teams would play together against each other or the Bradburys.<sup>595</sup>

In addition to the segregated teams in 1902 and 1903, the Topeka Business College (T.B.C.) sponsored a team active in intercity competition. According to the *Topeka Daily Capital* in June 1902, “The T.B.C. is the most creditable amateur organization that has represented the town for a number of years.” The roster was composed mostly of white players, as well as Gaitha Page, Thomas McCampbell, and occasionally George Hicks. Page was “the invincible short stop,” McCampbell was the principal pitcher, and Hicks filled in as the team’s catcher or outfielder.<sup>596</sup>

Despite the fact that Page and McCampbell were regulars on the T.B.C. roster, the *Topeka Daily Capital* did not acknowledge in August 1903 that the team was integrated. The T.B.C. was to play the Nine Bees, who planned to bolster their roster with players from the Unions and Reds. The day before the game, the *Daily Capital* commented on the status of the T.B.C. ball club. “The race question will have been settled on Washburn field tomorrow afternoon when the T.B.C. and Nine Bees have finished their game of ball. The standing of the T.B.C. team among the white baseball players is not to be disputed. They are on top.” Page and McCampbell again played for the T.B.C., with Page filling in as McCampbell’s catcher because the club did not field its regular lineup. This caused a shift in positions to accommodate the skills of white substitute players. Hicks caught for the bolstered Nine Bees, who defeated the T.B.C. by a score of 3–2. The numbers of hits for each team matched their numbers of runs. On the basis of the feeble offense offered by two makeshift rosters, the *Daily Capital* chose to declare in a headline, “Question of White or Colored Supremacy Is Still Unsettled,” still not acknowledging that the T.B.C. was an integrated team, as it had been since the previous year.<sup>597</sup>

There was little mention of Page and baseball during 1904. The *Kansas City Rising Son* and *Kansas City Star* announced that the Jenkins’ Sons would host the Topeka Nine Bees on May 1 and again on Decoration Day (Memorial Day), though no results were found.<sup>598</sup> There was no mention of the Topeka Unions.

In 1905, one Black baseball team in Topeka clearly stood as the first nine. It was not the Topeka Unions, who were only mentioned once for a game in which they would host the Bradburys on the morning of May 30. However, another team was scheduled to use the minor league club’s ballpark in the afternoon, and they objected to game being held on the groomed field earlier in the day.<sup>599</sup>

Topeka’s other top Black team of recent years, the Nine Bees, was reorganized but changed its name to the Topeka Giants. John “Topeka Jack” Johnson was initially reported to be the team’s captain, but he departed for Chicago to play ball, so Gaitha Page led the team, sometimes referred to in newspapers as the Page Giants. Other good ballplayers from Topeka were reported to be on the Giants’ roster, at least at the beginning of the season, including George Hicks, Tullie McAdoo, George Richardson, Guinea Robinson, and Carroll Ray “Dink” Mothell. Other than Page, only Hicks and Robinson were mentioned as playing for the Giants later in the summer. Few reports of games were found, but the opponents for the Giants included the Jenkins’ Sons and Bradburys of Kansas City.<sup>600</sup>

In addition to playing baseball, Page continued to umpire in 1905 and 1906 in games involving Washburn College. He umpired contests between Washburn and the State

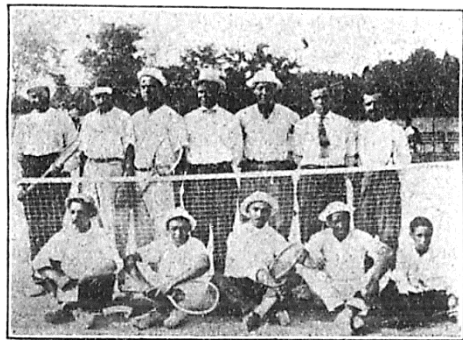
Agricultural College (now Kansas State University) and the minor league Topeka White Sox of the Western Association, which is described in the essay on Black umpires at the end of Part I. However, the University of Kansas baseball team, which had been integrated in the past, refused to play Washburn if Page served as umpire. Instead, a white man who had once written about baseball for a newspaper was chosen as his questionable replacement.<sup>601</sup>

In 1906 and 1907, Page played, at least occasionally, for the Jenkins' Sons of Kansas City. His teammates included his brothers-in-law, Thomas and Ernest McCampbell, who were among the founders of the club in 1899.<sup>602</sup> In 1908 and 1909, the team played under the name Kansas City Monarchs, but no record was found of Page playing for the club during those years. However, published rosters and box scores for the Monarchs were rare.

In 1907, Gaitha and Olivia moved to Kansas City, Missouri, where he continued his career in education at Attucks School, named for Crispus Attucks, an African American killed at the Boston Massacre in 1770.<sup>603</sup> Page remained at Attucks School until 1916, when the city directory for Kansas City, Missouri listed his dual occupations as the principal of Attucks School and a shoe dealer, with a shop at 1507 East 18th Street. Page left teaching and worked mostly as a shoe dealer through 1931 or 1932, though his shop moved from the 1500 and 1600 blocks of East 18th Street to 1835 on The Paseo. In another business venture in 1918, he and W.O. Berryman were co-owners of the Booker T. Washington Auto Training School for Colored People. They placed a half-page ad in the *Topeka Plaindealer* with a detailed description of the business and its benefits. The training course for mechanics cost \$75, and the driving course was \$15. In 1916, Page was elected Second Vice President of the Negro Business League in a meeting at The Paseo YMCA.<sup>604</sup>

After moving to Kansas City in 1907, Page's participation in baseball seems to have shifted somewhat. Rather than playing for teams involved in intercity competition, such as the Topeka Business College and Topeka Giants, Page was active with teams sponsored by local organizations. In July 1909, a note in the *Indianapolis Freeman* reported that "McCampbell, Page, Houston, and others" played for the "Colored Y.M.C.A. of Kansas City, Mo." On 9 July 1914, the Kansas City Colts, a prominent Black ball club in the region, met "Professor Page's Y.M.C.A. Giants in a big benefit game." There was no mention of who was to benefit from the contest's proceeds.<sup>605</sup>

However, baseball was not Page's only sport. He was also a member of the Kansas City (Missouri) Lawn Tennis Club, which was active in intercity tournaments with Black clubs from Kansas City (Kansas), Lawrence, St. Joseph, St. Louis, and Topeka from 1913 to 1917. St. Louis was their primary rival. The photo of the Kansas City club shown here was published in the *Kansas City Sun* in 1914, 1915, and 1917. In addition to playing tennis, Page and the manager of his shoe store, H.G. Jones, could provide appropriate footwear for the players. "Capt. Carrion of the City Tennis Club pronounced our line of Tennis



Shoes the best and biggest variety he had ever seen. We advise the players to get in early.” When playing in Kansas City, they used the Parade tennis courts at 17th and Woodland. Page competed in singles and doubles matches, with partner Dr. Ernest McCampbell.<sup>606</sup>

Off the diamond and tennis court, Page was active in politics after the First World War. In 1920, he ran unsuccessfully for county committeeman and several times made speeches alongside Republican candidates for governor, senator, house of representatives, and attorney general, who were hoping to get the support of Black voters. Open-air rallies around Kansas City sometime featured food, including “barbecued meats and come-back sauce.”<sup>607</sup>

During this same period, the record in the federal census for the Pages becomes a little confusing. The 1930 census conducted in Kansas City, Missouri on April 12 listed Gaitha as a shoe merchant and Olivia as a beautician. The 1930 census conducted on April 3 in Detroit, Michigan recorded Olivia Page living with her sister and brother-in-law, William and Fannie (McCampbell) Peck, and their 20-year-old nephew. The following year, a city directory in Kansas City, Missouri listed Gaitha and Olivia living together, and he was still a shoe merchant. The exact circumstances under which Olivia was living in Detroit were not found.

Then the economic collapse of the Great Depression threw Page a curve for which he was unprepared. In December 1928, he was paid \$20,000 for the sale of property he owned on the northeast corner of 19th Street and The Paseo. The property was transferred to the Paseo Investment Company, which proposed to construct “a large apartment building for Negroes.” There would be shops on the ground floor and apartments on the five floors above. The project was estimated to be worth \$175,000. Construction never began, and the venture fell victim to the onset of the Great Depression. In 1932, the project was in deep financial trouble, and bankruptcy was the only option. It was Page who ran the venture, so investors sought to obtain an accounting of the funds he had received, but no detailed records were available. Page reported there was insufficient money to hire anyone to keep the account books. “We devoted all our finances to the big idea.” With the economic downturn, a second mortgage was taken out, and subsequent loans were obtained just to cover the interest. Compounding the problems, members in the association defaulted on their payments. Loan agencies took over and sued for payments.<sup>608</sup>

Details of the final resolution of the failed enterprise were not found. Gaitha and Olivia were living in her parents’ home in Kansas City, Missouri in 1932 and 1933. In the 1933 city directory, Gaitha’s occupation was listed as laborer. He no longer owned a shoe store. In the 1934 and 1936 city directories for Kansas City, Kansas, “Mrs. Olivia Page” was listed with no mention of Gaitha living at 3605 North 27th Street, now the site of the Quindaro Ruins Archeological Park. However, the 1940 census recorded that Gaitha lived with Olivia in 1935. The reason for the inconsistency was not found.

In October 1935, postal service records show that Olivia was appointed as the postmaster in Quindaro. She assumed her duties on 1 November 1935 and held the position until it was discontinued in March 1954. It almost certainly provided them with some personal financial stability through the latter part of the Great Depression and beyond. In a 1938 city directory for Kansas City, Kansas, “Gather” and Olivia were living at the North 27th Street address with her widowed mother. In the 1940 census, Gaitha’s occupation

was given as wholesale coffee salesman, and Olivia was listed as “postmistress” and “head of the household.” They continued to live at 3605 North 27th Street through the 1940s and elsewhere on North 27th Street through 1958. They moved to 2812 Farrow Avenue and remained there through at least 1963, the last year for which information was available. In 1955, after Olivia’s position as postmaster was discontinued, Gaitha’s occupation was listed as “real estate,” but subsequent city directories through 1963 listed him as a general building contractor.

In February 1964, the *Kansas City Times* published a photograph of 84-year-old Gaitha Page at a ceremony marking the 50th anniversary of The Paseo YMCA in Kansas City, Missouri. In addition to coaching baseball teams during the branch’s early years, Page was present in 1914 at the laying of the cornerstone for the building where Rube Foster, J.L. Wilkinson, and others organized the Negro National League in 1920. Gaitha Adolphus Page died six years later at age 90 in Kansas City, Kansas on 22 February 1970. He was buried in Highland Cemetery in Kansas City, Missouri.<sup>609</sup> Olivia moved to Detroit and died at age 94 in Highland Park, Michigan on 29 May 1980.

## John Thomas McCampbell

John Thomas McCampbell, who usually went by his middle name, was born to Thomas G. and Lee Anna McCampbell on 25 January 1881 in Huntsville, Missouri, according to the 1900 census and his 1918 draft registration card. The family was still living in Huntsville in 1887 but had moved to Kansas City, Missouri by 1896, when Thomas G. McCampbell was active in local Republican politics. In 1898, J. Thomas McCampbell was one of twelve graduates from Lincoln High School on May 27. He was second in his class, and the *Kansas City Journal* included sketches of the top three students.<sup>610</sup> A city directory in 1899 listed the recent graduate as a porter, but he also began his baseball career that summer.



In June 1899, a Black ball club named the Lincoln High Schools was organized in Kansas City, Missouri. It did not represent the high school, but its four principal founders were current or former students—brothers Tom and Ernest McCampbell and half-brothers Arthur “Chick” Pullam and William Houston. “Tommy McCampbell’s masterly pitching” contributed to the success enjoyed by the young team.<sup>611</sup>

The Lincoln High School team was renamed the J.W. Jenkins’ Sons in 1900, when the music store of that name became their sponsor. The roster for the Jenkins’ Sons included familiar names from the Lincoln High Schools of 1899—Tom McCampbell, Ernest McCampbell, Chick Pullam, William Houston, and Arthur “Monk” Combs. The team also added high-quality players Tom Stirman and Wesley “West” Wilkins (also known as “Rabbit”), who would play for the team for several years in the coming decade. Tom McCampbell was again the star pitcher.<sup>612</sup> However, he would not play for the Jenkins’ Sons in 1902 or 1903.

While not abandoning baseball, McCampbell continued his education and earned his first professional degree at the University of Kansas School of Pharmacy. This allowed him





1902 University of Kansas baseball team published in *The Jayhawker* MCMII, *University of Kansas* (from Ancestry.com). Thomas McCampbell is in the top row, second from the left.

to play baseball for the school during the spring, mostly alternating between pitcher and second baseman.<sup>613</sup> He appeared in the team photo in the university's 1902 yearbook. After graduating, McCampbell worked as a pharmacist at drug stores in Topeka.<sup>614</sup>

While working in Topeka, McCampbell played for the Topeka Business College (T.B.C.) team during the summers of 1902 and 1903, along with Gaitha Page and George Hicks (the subject of the next essay). Initially, McCampbell played second base, but he became the team's regular pitcher at the end of June 1902. In fact, he was their ironman. In August 1902, he pitched both games of a doubleheader against the team from Manhattan and won both contests. He also pitched on back-to-back days. In May 1903, McCampbell pitched the T.B.C. to victory over Washburn College, which had an integrated team. Washburn's pitcher that day was John "Topeka Jack" Johnson.<sup>615</sup> Johnson would also play for and captain excellent Black ball clubs such as the Chicago Union Giants, Minneapolis Keystones, Kansas City (Kansas) Giants, Kansas City (Missouri) Royal Giants, and Topeka Giants into the 1920s.<sup>616</sup>

During the summer of 1903, deadly floods inundated the Kansas River basin, including Topeka and Kansas City. The T.B.C. hosted a benefit game against a picked team from the State Normal School at Emporia, with the gate receipts donated to flood relief. The Santa Fe Railway offered to transport the Emporia team at no charge. McCampbell was scheduled to

pitch for the T.B.C., but he injured the middle finger on his pitching hand during the pregame practice. He switched places with the right fielder, who pitched the first two innings until a messenger could bring Winton Anderson, a pitcher for the Nine Bees, a local Black ball club.\* In the view of the *Topeka Daily Capital*, Anderson “hasn’t steam enough to start the kettle boiling, but he held Emporia safe” after taking over. For his part, McCampbell and his injured finger got three hits as the T.B.C. won, 17–8.<sup>617</sup> That same summer, McCampbell also played on occasion for the Nine Bees and other Black teams in Topeka.<sup>618</sup>

With a successful career as a pharmacist underway, McCampbell married Katherine (Katie) Denora Link on 7 May 1903 in Topeka. The *Topeka Plaindealer* ran a frontpage article about the wedding at the St. John A.M.E. parsonage in Topeka. The ceremony was not announced, “not even [to] the near relatives.” The couple “attended a ball given in Lawrence by the young ladies the same evening. All danced and spent an enjoyable evening, none knowing of the two hearts that beat as one until it was time to go home, then Mac could stand it no longer, [and] he announced in a loud tone of voice, ‘She is mine! We are one, her name is Mrs. McCampbell!’” The article went on to note, “He is a professional base ball player as well as a pharmacist.” Baseball first. Katie was born on 11 December 1883 in Topeka and raised by her grandmother after her parents died.<sup>619</sup> The couple would have no children.

In August 1903, McCampbell returned to Kansas City and opened his own drug store with former classmate and teammate William Houston. McCampbell & Houston’s Prescription Drug Store was initially at 2304 Vine Street but moved to 2300 Vine Street in 1905. In April 1907, the new store was remodeled, with the installation of electric lights, fans, and “a new model dispensing counter.”<sup>620</sup> Yet, McCampbell still found time to play baseball.

The Jenkins’ Sons organized in April 1904 and played Black and white teams in Kansas City, Topeka, and St. Joseph (Missouri), but none of the players was mentioned. However, prior to their first game in 1905, it was reported that the “Jenkins’ Sons were never defeated last season.” The Jenkins’ Sons continued the streak to start the 1905 season by defeating the Bradburys, the other top Black ball club in Kansas City at the time, 6–5. The features of this first contest were the “batting of both teams and the wonderful fielding of Sturman [Tom Stirman] of the Jenkins’ Sons.”<sup>621</sup> The Jenkins’ Sons followed this victory with a game in Topeka against the “Topeka Giants, formerly the [Nine] Bees.” The captain of the Giants that year was Gaitha Page, and the club was sometimes referred to as the Page Giants. Again, no players participating in the game were mentioned.<sup>622</sup>

The unverified winning streak of the Jenkins’ Sons ended in their first game against a new competitor, the Ninth US Cavalry, who won, 10–9. The Ninth Cavalry was a Black regiment stationed at Fort Leavenworth. The two teams were evenly matched, with the Jenkins’ Sons taking the season series with 3 wins, 2 losses, and 1 tie, which ended in a “squabble.” Through early September, the Jenkins’ Sons continued to play Black and white teams and competed well, although they suffered at least three losses—two to the Ninth Cavalry and one to the Lexington (Missouri) Tigers. In a 7–2 victory over the St. Joseph

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\* Nothing more was learned about Anderson, and he pitched for the Topeka Business College team only as a substitute in a benefit game against a picked team from the State Normal School rather than a regular intercity match. Therefore, he was not included among the other players in this study.

Black Wonders on June 4, “McC Campbell’s pitching and the timely hitting of the Jenkins’ Sons were the features,” confirmation that Tom McC Campbell was playing for the team he helped organize in 1899. On Sunday, September 17, the Jenkins’ Sons were scheduled to host the Chicago Union Giants “for the negro championship of the United States,” but no game results were found in Kansas City or Chicago newspapers.<sup>623</sup>

Following the 1904 and 1905 seasons, in which the Jenkins’ Sons could reasonably claim bragging rights as the top Black baseball team in Kansas City, they stood as the only prominent Black team in the city for the next two years. Perhaps this explains, at least in part, why games with teams from other cities were essentially the only ones mentioned in the newspapers. Some of the teams they played were composed of white players, as in April 1906, when the Jenkins’ Sons defeated the minor league Chanute Browns of the Kansas State League (Class D), 9–8.<sup>624</sup>

As the season progressed, the Jenkins’ Sons played familiar Black teams, such as the Lexington Tigers and Ninth Cavalry. In the three games in which scores were reported, the Jenkins’ Sons defeated the Ninth Cavalry twice and the Tigers once. Arthur Combs was the pitcher for the Jenkins’ Sons against Lexington.<sup>625</sup> They also played the Topeka Giants, who were now captained by John Thomas “Topeka Jack” Johnson. Born in or near Topeka, Johnson played for some of the best Black teams in Chicago and elsewhere. In their first game of 1906 on May 6, the Jenkins’ Sons defeated the Topeka Giants, 7–6. After that loss, the Giants “won all but one game on a long road tour,” one of several successful barnstorming trips they made to towns across the Great Plains and Midwest, including Chicago. No score was reported for a June 3 game between the Jenkins’ Sons and Giants in Kansas City by any of the several Topeka newspapers that had promoted the game. The Santa Fe Railroad even ran a special excursion train from Topeka to Kansas City that Sunday. It seems unlikely that the Giants would have missed the opportunity to brag about a victory over the Jenkins’ Sons.<sup>626</sup> As in the previous years, no mention was made of specific Jenkins’ Sons players in games, except for the single report of Combs.

The Jenkins’ Sons closed their 1906 season with games against two teams from larger cities and the local minor league club. In a pair of games likely played over the Labor Day weekend, the Jenkins’ Sons defeated the St. Louis Unions, and “at no time were the St. Louis players in the game.” The roster for the Jenkins’ Sons included Tom McC Campbell (at second base in the first game), Gaitha Page, and long-time members Tom Stirman and West Wilkins. Combs pitched in the first game. The *Kansas City Rising Son*, a weekly African American newspaper, reported that Ernest McC Campbell and Gaitha Page were the battery in game two. Absent during the second game was founding member and regular catcher Chick Pullam, who had a broken finger.<sup>627</sup>

Later in the month, the Jenkins’ Sons came out on the short end of “a series of one-side games” with the Chicago Union Giants. Only the *Rising Son*, mentioned the games, and only two scores were given for games lost by the Jenkins’ Sons: 7–0 and 22–5. Tom McC Campbell had broken his arm and was unable to play, but he “was able to appear on the ball grounds ... to view his team going down to defeat” in the final game.<sup>628</sup>

While the Union Giants were in town, the Jenkins' Sons also scheduled a game on September 22 against the minor league Kansas City Blues (American Association, Class A, the top level at the time). "The Blue Legs expect to have to play hard baseball to beat the negro [sic] team, as it is said that the Jenkins's will import some Chicago players for the game." Thus, it is uncertain who was on the field for the Jenkins' Sons that day, although the pitcher and catcher were listed as Davis and Washington, respectively. They had comprised the battery for the Chicago Union Giants when they defeated the Topeka Giants, 3–2, in Chicago on August 26. Only a line score and short game summary were provided for the game between the Blues and the bolstered Jenkins' Sons. Two walks and four singles produced four runs in the fifth inning for the Blues, who won, 6–0.<sup>629</sup>

The Jenkins' Sons began their 1907 schedule on March 24 as they ended the previous season in September with another exhibition game against the minor league Kansas City Blues. This time, players from the Chicago Union Giants would not be available to bolster the Jenkins' Sons roster. However, it was an event not to be missed by the Jenkins' Sons players, so Ernest McCampbell traveled from Topeka to play in the game and then returned to his studies at the medical school. The Blues easily defeated the Jenkins' Sons, 16–2, but the *Rising Son* saw a silver lining. "The Jenkins Sons played a very Creditable game of ball against the K. C. Blues notwithstanding that they were not in their best form, but their playing showed conclusively that they will be ready for all ball teams in their class this season."<sup>630</sup>

As the season progressed through May, the Jenkins' Sons first played their familiar rivals, the Lexington Tigers and Topeka Giants. Topeka Jack Johnson was back in Chicago, but the Giants remained a strong club that continued to barnstorm much of the season. These tours limited the number of games they would play with teams in Kansas City. The Jenkins' Sons split their first two games with the Tigers and lost to the Giants. The Jenkins' Sons later split another pair of games with the Lexington Tigers and a pair of games with the Muskogee Reds from the Indian Territory (Oklahoma became a state in November 1907). In both instances, a third game was scheduled, but the result of neither tiebreaker was found. As in earlier years, few details were published about specific players, but Tom McCampbell pitched in at least two games. Fred Lee also pitched for the Jenkins' sons at least twice.<sup>631</sup>

The documented games in May through July had been against Black teams, but in August and September, the Jenkins' Sons played two games against one of the best amateur white teams in Kansas City—the Brinkleys. There were other good amateur and semipro white teams in Kansas City—R.S. Stevens, J.J. Fosters, KC Athletic Club, Union Club, and the "Kid" Nichols club, organized by former major league pitcher and future member of the National Baseball Hall of Fame, Charles "Kid" Nichols. Nichols let younger men pitch for his team, while he played first base.\* Among these clubs, the Brinkleys and R.S. Stevens even had their own ballparks. Not on this list in 1907 was the Schmelzers, whose roster was not as strong as it had been in previous years, when the rosters included players such as John Kling and Joe Tinker, future members of the Chicago Cubs (Tinker is also a member of the

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\* Nichols was born in Wisconsin, but his family moved to Kansas City about 1881. Retiring after a 15-year major league career, he purchased a bowling alley in Kansas City.

National Baseball Hall of Fame). The other white clubs played each other several times from August to October, with no team apparently dominating. Games were competitive enough that Zack Wheat, another future member of the National Baseball Hall of Fame, returned to his former team, the Union Club, after playing in the minor leagues that summer.<sup>632</sup>

The Jenkins' Sons were not part of the general competition among these teams during the late summer, but they did play the Brinkleys twice. In their first game on August 11, the Brinkleys won, 11–3. The results appeared in a full box score in the *Kansas City Star*. The Jenkins' Sons lineup included Roy Dorsey, Frank Evans, Fred Lee, Ernest McCampbell, Tom McCampbell, Gaitha Page, Chick Pullam, Tom Stirman, and West Wilkins. The second game between the Jenkins' Sons and Brinkleys was played on September 8.<sup>633</sup> This time, the loss was not afforded the same detailed summary, not even a final score. However, an editor at the *Rising Son* took the Jenkins' Sons to task.

**The Great Jenkins Ball Team Went Down to Defeat.** The Brinkley baseball team, a white organization, demonstrated their superiority over the Jenkins ball team in a one-sided game Sept. 8. All the Jenkins' pitchers were knocked out of the box, Roy Dorsey, Monk Combs, Hardy Watts and Tom McCampbell coming in way late, and shutting the Brinkleys out and keeping the score from being 20 to a very small number. The team needs reorganizing in order to play better. Everybody played bad ball Sunday. Brace up and drink water and eat corn bread. J. T. Harris, Sporting Editor.<sup>634</sup>

Following the two losses to the Brinkleys, the Jenkins' Sons lost to the KCK Lone Elms and their star pitcher, Andrew Skinner. He struck out 16 Jenkins, but the game was close. The final score was 6–4. “Though the game was a good one, the Jenkins did not show in their playing the same grit and spirit with which they have always played.”<sup>635</sup>

Tom McCampbell returned to Topeka in the autumn of 1907 to attend the medical school at Washburn College.\* This allowed him to play on the college team with his brother in the spring of 1908, Ernest's final year of medical school. Tom usually played third base, while Ernest was in left field.<sup>636</sup> Washburn's 1909 season was canceled due to a violation of eligibility rules. A player had only attended school 10 weeks before playing for the baseball team, but the college rule required 18 weeks (one semester) before participating in athletic competition, which was meant to be a deterrent to professional ringers. The baseball team's manager and captain were barred from holding those positions in the future.<sup>637</sup> Baseball returned to Washburn in 1910 and 1911, with McCampbell back at third base, at least for part of his final season. An ineligible medical student named Nichols played for Washburn under McCampbell's name in games with the State Agricultural College (Kansas State University), Bethany College, and Kansas Wesleyan College. Once again, the team's captain and manager were suspended, and the remainder of the season was cancelled.<sup>638</sup> McCampbell graduated later that spring, adding a medical degree to his degree in pharmacy.<sup>639</sup>

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\* The Kansas Medical College at Washburn College was in operation from August 1902 to June 1913. It was then merged with the School of Medicine at the University of Kansas, which had opened in September 1905.

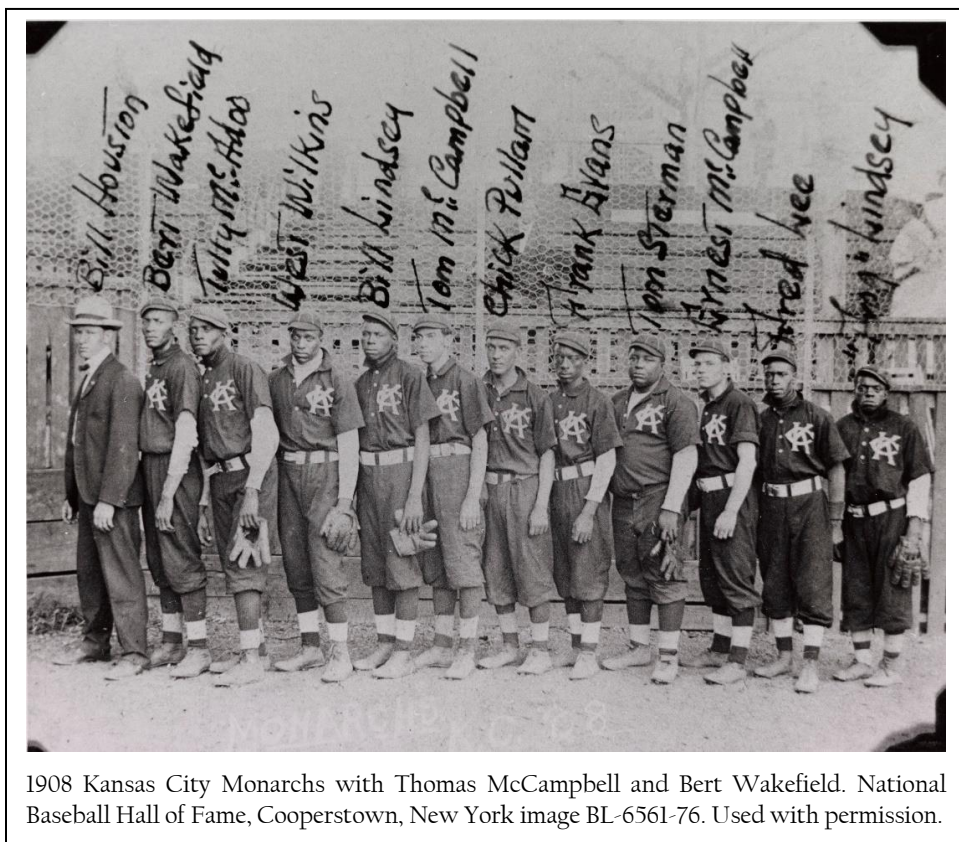
In the early days of Black baseball clubs in Kansas City, none played an entire decade except the Lincoln High School team, which was organized in 1899 and played under the name of their sponsor—J.W. Jenkins' Sons Music Company—from 1900 to 1907. That sponsorship ended, and the club played as the Kansas City Monarchs in 1908 and 1909.<sup>640</sup>

That was not the only name change among the top Kansas City baseball teams in 1908. Most of the players with the 1907 Brinkleys reorganized as the Schmelzer Arms Company. Their first game was against the newly christened Monarchs in April. This time, the Monarchs prevailed, 3–1. “The features of the game were the battery work of Lindsay and Pullam and the playing of [Bert] Wakefield at first base.” Rosters of the teams were published the day of the game. Both Tom and Ernest McCampbell were attending medical school in Topeka, but one of them, probably Tom, played third base, the position he was playing at Washburn College that spring. The principal challenger among the Black teams in Kansas City was a professional club named the KCK (Kansas City, Kansas) Giants. The outcomes of their contests were close. For example, on May 31, the Giants won, 1–0, with each team having only three hits. On July 19, the Giants won, 5–4, in 13 innings.<sup>641</sup>

In their final season, the Monarchs played Black and white clubs. In May, they even scheduled a trip to play the Buxton Wonders, a predominantly Black ball club in Iowa, although the results of their games were not found. Buxton was a coal-mining town in the early 1900s in which a large portion of the population was Black. The Wonders received some of their support from the mining company. Back in Kansas City, the Monarchs were still capable of playing competitive games against the KCK Giants. In June and July, the Monarchs came up on the short end of the scores in respectably close games, losing 1–0 in June and 4–0 in July. Details about individuals playing for the Monarchs were absent.<sup>642</sup>

Although the Monarchs did not reorganize for a twelfth season in 1910, some of their players, including Chick Pullam, Tom Stirman, and West Wilkins, continued to play for other teams.<sup>643</sup> During their two seasons as the Monarchs, the core of former high school students, who never sought to be professional ballplayers, were drifting out of baseball. Tom McCampbell had been running his pharmacy in Kansas City with William Houston since 1903, and in September 1907, McCampbell started medical school at Washburn College. His brother, Earnest, also attended medical school, graduating in 1908 and establishing his medical practice in Kansas City. Chick Pullam was employed by the US Postal Service.<sup>644</sup> Arranging for regular practices was likely becoming a challenge for the Monarchs' core players. Remaining competitive also became more challenging because of the rise of professional clubs. The Monarchs were amateurs (semipro), who primarily played for side bets, gate receipts, or expenses on Sundays and holidays to accommodate their fulltime employment off the diamond. The need to play on Sundays reportedly cost them the sponsorship of the J.W. Jenkins' Sons Music Company. The KCK Giants, on the other hand, was a professional team that played substantially more games each year, and they became a dominant club in 1909 under the leadership of Topeka Jack Johnson, as did the rival Kansas City (Missouri) Royal Giants in 1910.<sup>645</sup>

With the Monarchs' final season coming in 1909 and Tom McCampbell completing his medical degree in 1911, he focused on his business interests. By 1914, he and William



1908 Kansas City Monarchs with Thomas McCampbell and Bert Wakefield. National Baseball Hall of Fame, Cooperstown, New York image BL-6561-76. Used with permission.

Houston, “Kansas City’s Own Sons,” had opened a second store at 2432 Vine Street. McCampbell ran the new store, and Houston had charge of the store at 2300 Vine Street. In 1914, Dr. Ernest J. McCampbell’s office was next door at 2302 Vine Street.<sup>646</sup>

After being robbed four times at his drugstore during the winter of 1932–1933, Tom McCampbell purchased a revolver and “told friends ... that the next holdup man would find him fighting.” On 15 March 1933, a bandit shot McCampbell in the torso when he reached for his revolver. Despite his wounds, McCampbell returned fire, but he died about 30 minutes later at the hospital where he had once worked as a physician. Witnesses helped police track down the alleged assailant, 27-year-old William Wright, alias John Gauss. He was convicted of first-degree murder on May 5 and sentenced to death by hanging. On appeal, a new trial was ordered because Wright claimed the robbery was staged so McCampbell could file an insurance claim to recoup some of the lost money from the earlier robberies. Wright did not dispute that he shot McCampbell but claimed it was in self-defense.<sup>647</sup>

The conviction on the count of first-degree murder was reversed and remanded by the Missouri Supreme Court in July 1935 on the grounds that the jury should have been given the opportunity to consider the defendant’s account of the events, which would have

constituted second-degree murder. At the new trial in October 1935, Wright was again convicted of first-degree murder. The second conviction was upheld in the Missouri Supreme Court in December 1937. However, the court delayed Wright's execution scheduled for January 1938, ruling that the means of execution be switched from hanging to the new gas chamber at the state penitentiary. After the court in Kansas City resentenced Wright, he became one of the first two men executed in the gas chamber in March 1938 (the chamber had two seats). Both Wright and John Brown, convicted of killing a police officer during a robbery, were Black. A white prisoner was executed the following day.<sup>648</sup>

John Thomas McCampbell, M.D., was buried in Highland Cemetery, Kansas City, Missouri. Katie McCampbell died on 16 March 1966 at age 82 in Kansas City, Missouri and was buried next to her husband.\*

## George Hicks

In addition to Gaitha Page and Thomas McCampbell, a player named Hicks first played for the Topeka Business College (T.B.C.) team in the second game of a doubleheader with the town team from Manhattan at the end of August 1902. He was a substitute in right field as other players were shuffled to new positions when the starting catcher was injured. In his first three at bats, Hicks had three hits on three pitches. Identified in the *Topeka Plaindealer* as George Hicks, he normally caught for the Topeka Unions, a Black team in Topeka, who vied for the local championship with the Nine Bees. In the next game for the T.B.C., Hicks filled in as the catcher. The following spring, on May 9, Hicks played in left field for the T.B.C. in a game against Washburn College. The Washburn team was also integrated, with John "Topeka Jack" Johnson as one of the pitchers. These were the only games in which Hicks apparently played for the T.B.C. In August 1903, Gaitha Page joined Hicks on a combined Topeka Unions/Nine Bees team for a game against the Bradburys, one of the top Black ball clubs in Kansas City. In 1905, Hicks teamed up again with Page in at least one game as the catcher for the Topeka Giants.<sup>649</sup>

There were multiple people in Topeka named George Hicks, which makes it difficult to follow the ballplayer in newspapers, but the ballplayer was a born in Nashville, Tennessee on 16 December 1874 to Joe and Barba Hicks, according to the 1900 census in Topeka and his obituary. On his 1918 draft registration card, his birthdate was listed as 16 December 1872. The family had moved to Topeka prior to the 1880 census, when he was listed as Georgie. His father worked as a stone mason, and in the four censuses from 1910 to 1940, his 1918 draft card, and the 1925 state census, George was listed as a contractor specializing in brick and stone masonry. He was married sometime before 1910. His wife's first name was Myrtle, but she went by her middle name, Luel. She petitioned for a divorce in 1920, but the couple

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\* Tragically, at least three of the other longtime Jenkins' Sons and Kansas City Monarchs also died at young ages. Arthur Combs died of tuberculosis in 1912, when he was in his late 20s. Ernest McCampbell died of pneumonia and influenza during the flu pandemic in 1918 at age 30. Tom Stirman died of unstated natural causes in Baltimore, Maryland, where he was playing cornet in a theatre orchestra in 1924 at age 42. In contrast, Arthur "Chick" Pullam was nearly 87 when he passed away in 1968. One of his sons, Richard, served as a fighter pilot with the 332nd Fighter Group (the Red Tails) during World War II and retired with the rank of major.



appeared together in the 1925, 1930, and 1940 censuses, and she did not remarry after his death. George Hicks died in September 1946 at age 71.<sup>650</sup> He was buried in Mount Auburn Cemetery in Topeka. Luel died in 1971 and was buried next to George.

### *A Player Unknown*

In September 1902, the *Havensville Review* reported a game between the home nine and a team from Centralia played at a picnic on Coal Creek, a stream northwest of Havensville. Havensville won the game and the \$10 purse. However, Centralia led, 5–4, in the seventh inning. “Centralia’s colored pitcher was a mystery to the [Havensville] boys but he weakened in the seventh inning and allowed our boys to win.” Havensville scored eight runs and held on to win, 12–9.<sup>651</sup> Centralia is about 15 miles east of Frankfort. Thus, it is possible the pitcher was Lem Clay, who was last known to have played baseball in 1900. Nevertheless, the absence of any specific evidence that Clay was still active in baseball in 1902 means this player remains unknown.

### *Charles Irvin and Players Unknown*

In 1905, a player named Irvin, “Coffeyville’s negro [sic] pitcher,” played in a 12–7 loss to nearby Independence. He changed places with the third baseman for part of the sixth inning, but his replacement “was even less effective” on the mound, so Irvin returned in the seventh to pitch the final two innings.<sup>652</sup>

The only person found in local records who this might have been was Charles Irvin, a farmer reported to be 31 years old in the 1910 census for Montgomery County. According to the 1880 and 1900 censuses for Carthage, Missouri, he was born in Carthage in March 1879. In 1900, he had been married to Elizabeth (Lizzie) for two years. In the 1920 census, the couple lived in Kansas City, Kansas, where he worked as a laborer for a freight company. They were still living there in 1930, when Charles was listed as a dock foreman for the railroad.

In 1906, an unnamed “negro [sic] catcher” played for Hoxie in northwestern Kansas when the Hoxie Blues defeated Grainfield, 9–4. Outside the community of Nicodemus, Black baseball players were rare in that part of the state, as noted by the *Grainfield Advocate* in demeaning language. “De fus’ time dey was eber up agin a ting like dat.” Hoxie and Grainfield played other games that summer, but this was the only mention of a Black ballplayer. Newspapers in Hoxie and the neighboring towns published little about the games other than scores, which leaves the identity of the player an unsolved mystery.<sup>653</sup> It is likely the player was a resident of Hill City (about 30 miles east of Hoxie), Nicodemus (about 45 miles east), or Osborne (100 miles east), possibly one of the Kirk brothers.

Similarly, in 1907, an unnamed “colored battery from Emporia” played for the rural community of Hill Top in the Flint Hills of Greenwood County. Hill Top also imported white players from nearby Madison for the game with Gridley, but still lost, 10–0. As noted elsewhere in this narrative, Emporia had integrated baseball teams, including minor league clubs and Black teams. Thus, which players took the field for Hill Top could not be determined.<sup>654</sup>

## John Sparks

The westernmost communities in Kansas with known integrated teams were in Logan County, less than 50 miles east of the Colorado border. A Black resident from McAllaster played for the teams in Winona and Page in 1907 and in Winona in 1909. His first name was not mentioned. He was always referred to by his nickname—“Happy” Sparks. In 1909, Charles and John Sparks of McAllaster traveled to Nicodemus to spend Emancipation Day with friends on August 1. A player named Sparks (presumably “Happy”) pitched two games for the Black team at Nicodemus during their Emancipation Day celebration. Nicodemus is about 100 miles east-northeast of McAllaster. This suggests that “Happy” Sparks was either Charles or John Sparks. Later that month, Charles was the only one reported in the local gossip column to have returned to McAllaster. In 1904, Charles Sparks was listed as a “householder” on a petition submitted to the superintendent of schools in Logan County.<sup>655</sup>

In addition to playing for integrated teams near home and for Nicodemus in 1909, “Happy” Sparks played for Nicodemus on Emancipation Day in 1907 (see the team photo on page 52). He also played for the Nicodemus Blues during the summer of 1908, including the team’s monthlong tour through northcentral Kansas. In 1910, Sparks played for the Kansas City Royal Giants, another segregated team that traveled even more extensively than the Blues. Seven years later, in June 1917, he was listed on the roster of the Clayton Specials, a Black team in Salina, Kansas, but he apparently played in no games. Throughout his documented career, Sparks usually pitched or played on the infield.<sup>656</sup>

Several people with the names Charles and John Sparks lived in northwestern Kansas during the early 1900s, but nearly all were white. One exception was in the 1920 census for Weskan in Wallace County, about 34 miles west-southwest of McAllaster on the railroad (there was also a white Charles Sparks). Charlie Sparks was 42 years old and lived with his wife, Mary, and two boarders, one of whom was John Sparks, age 36. Charles Sparks and Mary Moore of Lawrence were married in July 1919.<sup>657</sup> Both Charles and John were born in Kansas to parents from Kentucky, and both worked as laborers for the Union Pacific Railroad. The only document that makes it possible to discern which of the brothers went by the nickname Happy is the 1915 state census for Kansas. As in the 1920 census, Weskan was the home of the two Sparks brothers, recorded in 1915 as Charles and Happy, which clearly identifies John as “Happy” Sparks.

## Frankfort’s Brothers: Coffee, McAlister, and Potter

Lem Clay of Frankfort, who led all Black ballplayers in Kansas with 15 years playing for integrated baseball teams, died in 1907 and did not have the opportunity to watch a new generation from rural Marshall County follow in his footsteps. In the years preceding the First World War, a team named the Black Diamonds represented Frankfort or Lillis with a roster filled mostly by brothers from three African American families, as illustrated in a 1911 game roster and a 1916 box score—Charles, Henry, Howard, Robert, and Whitley

Onaga	Pos.	Frankfort
Keating	ss	G. McAllister
Crum	2b	E. McAllister
G. Freel	1b	Beard
Floberg	3b	R. Coffee
Richardson	lf	H. Coffee
J. Freel	p	E. Potter
Conlin	c	R. Potter
Ingalsbe	cf	C. Coffee
Knight	rf	A. McAllister

Coffee; Ashley, Earl, George, Roscoe, and Waldean (Dean) McAlister; and Edwin and Rollie Potter. According to the 1900 census for the Clear Fork Township in Marshall County, all were born in Kansas between 1887 and 1896 to parents from Kentucky and “raised between two corn

BLACK DIAMONDS					FRANKFORT						
	A	b	R	H	E		A	b	R	H	E
Coffee, 3b	4	2	3	1		Cook, ss	4	2	0	1	
Potter R, c	4	J	1	0		Platt, cf	2	2	2	1	
McAlister D, ss	3	0	0	1		Heleker, 2b	2	1	1	0	
Coffee W, 1b	3	0	2	2		Tyler, 1b	4	1	2	1	
Coffee Hy, rf	3	0	0	0		Foster, p	4	0	0	0	
McAlister R, lf	3	0	1	0		Jillson, c	3	0	0	0	
Coffee Hd, cf	3	0	0	1		Kelly, rf	2	1	1	0	
McAlister E, 2b	3	0	0	0		Reust, rf	3	0	0	0	
Potter E, p	3	2	1	0		Eckwall, 3b	3	1	1	0	

rows” on farms near Frankfort.<sup>658</sup> In addition to playing for the Black Diamonds, the two Potter brothers, four Coffee brothers, and Dean McAlister played on integrated town teams.

The first baseball game in which professional Japanese players took part was played in Frankfort in April 1906. A barnstorming team organized in Nebraska by Guy Green began their tour with a game against the Frankfort High School team. The starting nine for the visitors was composed mostly of Japanese players, but as the weakness of some players became evident, additional American players were substituted and rallied the team. High schools in Kansas were not segregated, except in Kansas City, but if any of the three sets of brothers who would soon play for the Black Diamonds attended Frankfort High School, they were not on the baseball team’s roster in April 1906.<sup>659</sup> However, they might have attended the game. Perhaps Lem Clay did, as well.

The first report found of any of the brothers playing baseball was in June 1911. The *Frankfort Daily Index* reported that Ed and Rollie Potter had departed for Seneca to play with the town team in a series of games against a team from Topeka. However, no reports of any games were published in Seneca or Topeka newspapers. The first confirmed report of any of the brothers actually playing for a white town team was in July 1911, when a Potter pitched for Frankfort against Marysville. This was probably Ed Potter. The catcher for Frankfort was McNamara, not Rollie Potter. However, in August, the team from Blaine imported the battery of Ed and Rollie Potter for a game against Westmoreland. In addition, the Frankfort Black Diamonds were active during August and September.<sup>660</sup>

The Black Diamonds took the field again in 1912, but Ed Potter also pitched another game for the Frankfort town team against Marysville. He had lost the game in 1911, but won the 1912 contest, allowing only three hits and striking out 10. In addition, Ed and Rollie Potter formed the battery for Frankfort in a game against Blue Rapids. One of the Potters and two of the Coffee brothers also served as the batteries in three games for Fostoria during a tournament at Olsburg, but no first names or initials were reported, nor was the position played by Potter.<sup>661</sup> The following year, Lillis defeated the Frankfort town team. “Lillis was strengthened by several of the Black Diamond team.” Lillis also imported a white pitcher (Robert Hartman) from Centralia. However, no names of the Black Diamond players were mentioned in the brief game summary of the home team’s loss.<sup>662</sup>

From 1914 through 1916, there was only one report of any of the Potters or Coffees playing for an integrated team, and little detail was provided. The report stated that the town team from Soldier “had a colored battery from Frankfort” for a game played in 1914. It was probably Ed and Rollie Potter. In addition, the Black Diamonds remained active and apparently represented Lillis (also referred to as Barrett), at least part of the 1914 and 1916 seasons.

(There were no reports of the team in 1915.) Game reports offered few details and no rosters, but the only players mentioned in 1914 for Lillis had the last names of Potter, Coffee, and McAlister. In 1916, game reports referred specifically to the Lillis Black Diamonds.<sup>663</sup>

In 1917, the Black Diamonds were still playing, but there were two reports of players on their roster assisting the town team from Wheaton. In June, Ed and Rollie Potter were Wheaton's battery against Onaga. The following month, Rollie Potter and two of the Coffees played for Wheaton against St. George. Rollie caught, but no first names or initials were given for the Coffees. The pitcher might have been Henry Coffee, who pitched for the Black Diamonds in a game against the Frankfort town team in 1916 and would pitch in subsequent years, even getting a tryout in the Negro National League. The other Coffee was a pinch hitter in the ninth inning.<sup>664</sup>

It was during this period that the lives of some of the Black Diamond players were interrupted. In November 1914, Ed Potter stole a harness for workhorses from a farm near his home. Potter was convicted in February 1915 and sentenced to 1–5 years at the state penitentiary in Lansing. However, as mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, he was playing baseball again in 1916 and 1917. In 1919, Ed Potter assisted authorities in the arrest of a thief who stole several items from a department store.<sup>665</sup>

The other disruption came in 1917–1919, when many baseball players served in the military during World War I. Some served stateside, while others, including Whit Coffee and Rollie Potter, served in France. After they were selected in the draft, the two men went to Camp Funston at nearby Fort Riley. As groups of draftees were called, Marysville, the Marshall County seat, gave them a special sendoff. The same was true for Whit Coffee when he was called at the end of October 1917. Whitley Coffee was born south of Frankfort in March 1891,<sup>666</sup> which meant he was 26 years old when he entered the US Army.

Marysville has established the custom of escorting Marshall county soldiers from the court house to the train as each contingent is called. Last Wednesday morning was the day fixed for the colored troops to entrain for the mobilization camps. The first draft from this county took only one colored man. His name is Whitley Coffee, whose home is in Wells township. He is a well educated and industrious young man and is physically as sound as a dollar. He didn't file any exemption claim. He was ready to go and wanted to fight for his country. He reported to the local draft board Tuesday and was permitted to return home and come back Wednesday. Wednesday morning he was back early. At 10:00 o'clock a.m. the G.A.R. [Grand Army of the Republic] and other veterans and the Home Guards assembled in front of the court house, ready for escort duty. The soldier appeared in front of the court house door and before being given his place in the procession was addressed by ladies representing the Red Cross and W.R.C. [Women's Relief Corps] and presented with a comfort kit and a fine little silk flag. ... The soldier was then assigned the place of honor in the procession and escorted to the 10:18 a.m. train for Camp Funston at Fort Riley. He was only one soldier, but he received the same honor that has been given to the other contingents that preceded him. He will make a good soldier and will be an honor to the service and to his country and to Marshall county.<sup>667</sup>

What the *Marshall County News* in Marysville reported in great detail was newsworthy because it was a rare expression of support by a predominantly white community for a single Black man reporting for military service, who received the very same treatment offered previously to groups of white recruits from the county. Recognition of the event was reported in a much-abbreviated form by other newspapers in the area. The report published by the *Jewell County Monitor* in Mankato recognized the significance of the event.

In Marshall county the people have been in the habit of giving each contingent a farewell reception, so when the county sent its quota of colored troupes [sic], a single negro [sic] responded, but the ceremony was carried out to the letter and Whitley Coffey was shown the same respect that his white associates had been shown.<sup>668</sup>

Rollie Potter was drafted soon after Whit Coffee. According to the 1900 census, Potter was also born in March 1891, but his obituary reported his birthday as 25 February 1891 in Vliets, Kansas (about 5 miles east of Frankfort). Both Coffee and Potter served in the 92nd Division in units organized at Camp Funston. Coffee rose to the rank of sergeant in Company D of the 351st Machine Gun Battalion, and Potter was likewise promoted to sergeant in Company B of the 349th Machine Gun Battalion. The enlisted men and noncommissioned officers of combat units in the 92nd Division were African American, as were many of the junior officers (lieutenants and captains). In France, the 92nd Division was first posted in the St. Die sector, Vosges Mountains (23 August–20 September 1918). They were then assigned to participate in the Meuse-Argonne offensive and serve in the Marbache sector (26 September–11 November 1918).<sup>669</sup> Two letters written by Potter to his mother were published in the *Frankfort Daily Index*, and they offer a glimpse of his experience. The first letter was written on 1 November 1917, shortly after his arrival at Camp Funston. In it, he tried to reassure his mother. It was signed, “Private Rolla Potter.”

We drilled all day today. We have some very good colored officers. I am at the colored Y. M. C. A. now with Whit Coffey and Sam Cowan. ... Our barracks are awfully cold as they have not gotten the heat connected up yet. I didn't sleep much last night as it was so cold. ... Tell me all the news when you write. Now don't you worry about me as I am alright. Plenty to eat here.<sup>670</sup>

The date of his second letter was not printed in the newspaper, but it was sometime before the war ended on 11 November 1918. It was signed, “From your son, Sgt. Rollie Potter.” This time, it included passages that might not have soothed the worries of a mother whose son was serving in a war zone.

I am well as usual. I have not seen Whit for a long time, as they are stationed quite a ways apart. Our company is in reserve at present, but we expect to go back into the line very soon. At present I am assistant instructor in a divisional machine gun school composed of sergeants and officers. Have also been promoted to sergeant since you last heard from me. I noticed you signed my last letter corporal. ... Have had lots of experiences since coming over and also

seen lots of country. We are occupying a small village at present, just in the rear of the lines which have been so horribly shelled by the Huns. They also quite frequently send over a few on us. I mean it sure makes a person feel funny to hear shells come whistling through the air and explode around you, and you can hardly tell where they are coming from. ... Well, mother[,] we are all hoping for an early end of the war and longing to be back home again. All of the beautiful scenes in the world don't appeal to a fellow like home or rather a person has more of an appreciation for home after seeing all of these things. After all, there is no place like home anyway. ... Hope to see you all some time soon. Tell all inquiring friends that I am feeling fine and that I can handle a machine gun as well as I used to handle a catcher's mitt.<sup>671</sup>

The two veterans were welcomed home in Frankfort on 30 March 1919 and were soon back on the diamond.<sup>672</sup> In June 1920, Frankfort lost to the integrated team from Vermillion, with Potter as the catcher and an unknown Coffee, whose position was not mentioned. The catcher was undoubtedly Rollie Potter, picking up where he left off before the war. He was mentioned by his full name while playing for Vermillion later that summer. The 1920 census recorded Howard and Whit Coffee living with their parents on the farm, and Charles living in Frankfort with his wife and one-year-old daughter. Perhaps the two World War I veterans teamed up with Vermillion, but it could have been any of the Coffees.<sup>673</sup>

The spring of 1921 brought a chance for Rollie Potter and Henry Coffee to join the Negro National League in its second season. In mid-April, Potter was one of four catchers signed by the Kansas City Monarchs, and Coffee was one of seven pitchers. Unfortunately, Potter and Coffee were apparently released before the end of the month.<sup>674</sup>

Potter returned to Marshall County and found opportunities to play on local diamonds. In July, Rollie Potter and one of the McAlisters, probably Dean, played in at least one game for Brice's All-Stars. The All-Stars had been organized in late 1920 with "the best players in western Marshall County." Potter also filled in as the catcher for Blue Rapids when they played in Frankfort. "Fox, catcher for Blue Rapids, was struck in the eye in batting practice and Rollie Potter caught the game for the enemy." Late in the summer, Rollie Potter again played for Vermillion, as did one of the Coffees at second base. In September, the Black Diamonds were back on the field, with Charlie Coffee, H. Coffee (Henry or Howard), Whit Coffee, Dean McAlister, Earl McAlister, and Rollie Potter. Some of the brothers had moved away, so the Black Diamonds were short three players for a game against Beattie. White players from Frankfort filled in, which made this a rare instance in which a Black team added white players to become an integrated team. The game did not go well, with the Black Diamonds losing, 26-1. It was then announced that the town team from Vermillion and the Black Diamonds had disbanded, but a new team was organized by players from both clubs for a game against Blue Rapids. However, no game was apparently played.<sup>675</sup>

Rollie Potter's zenith in integrated baseball came in 1922, when he became the regular catcher for the Onaga town team in May and played for the team through early September. In his debut against Emmett, he hit two homeruns, a triple, and a double in five at bats. Meanwhile, one of the Coffee brothers played second base and caught for Vermillion during August.<sup>676</sup>

In 1923, box scores for several games played by the town team from Blue Rapids in June and August listed four of the Black Diamonds in the lineup—Charlie, Henry, and Howard Coffee, along with Dean McAlister. This indicates they were regular members of the team, which also included white players. Yet, when John Donaldson and the All Nations barnstorming team came to Blue Rapids during the fair in early October, the local all-star team that faced them in two games included none of the Black ballplayers.<sup>677</sup>

No reports were found of any of the brothers playing baseball in 1924. Instead, newspapers carried sad news. After the war, Rollie Potter had returned to farming, but in 1923, he moved to Topeka to work in the shops for the Santa Fe Railroad. Shortly thereafter, in February 1924, he died of tuberculosis in Albuquerque, New Mexico, where he had traveled about two months earlier on the advice of doctors in the hope of improving his health. His body was returned to Frankfort. His grave is marked with a military headstone.<sup>678</sup>

In April 1925, the *Frankfort Daily Index* reported that Dean McAlister had departed to join the Kansas City Monarchs. In a later reminiscence, he recalled that he “was never in the regular lineup,” and no games in which he played have yet been documented. In early June 1926, Dean McAlister and Charlie and Henry Coffee were given a tryout by the Kansas Harvesters, a Black team from Kansas City planning an extended tour through the region.<sup>679</sup> Apparently, none of them joined the team.

As was typical with early baseball reports, lack of detail can present challenges in interpretation. Such was the case in 1928, when “W. Coffey” played in the outfield for Blue Rapids and “C. Coffey” played second base for Frankfort (and once for the Kickapoo Indians). Both teams were members of the independent, five-team Northeast Kansas League.<sup>680</sup> Based on the information available, it is likely these men were Whit and Charlie Coffee. Both were listed in the 1920 and 1930 censuses as residents of Marshall County. There were also residents in the county named Coffey who were white, but none was known to have played baseball during this period, and the only two with the initials C and W listed in the 1920 and 1930 censuses were more than 50 years old in 1928. On this assumption, 1928 was the final year in which integrated town teams are known to have played in Marshall County during the era of segregation, though some of the brothers still participated in ball games.

In August 1930, a team named the Manhattan Black Diamonds played the Frankfort town team. The Black Diamond roster was “composed of negroes [sic] from Manhattan and Frankfort.” The battery for the Black Diamonds that day included “H. Coffey.”<sup>681</sup> This was likely Henry Coffee. That same month, Henry and Charlie Coffee traveled to Nicodemus, a Black community in northwestern Kansas. They planned to participate in the baseball game played as part of the annual Emancipation Day celebration. Three years later, Henry Coffee pitched part of a game for “Coffey’s Aces” against the Frankfort Athletic Club in a 12–9 loss.<sup>682</sup>

In 1982, the last living member of the Black Diamonds, Dean McAlister, came back to visit Marshall County from his home in South Dakota, where he and his brothers had moved to become cattle ranchers. Marshall County historian Oretha Ruetti interviewed McAlister about the Black Diamonds and other baseball stories from that era. She wrote about

McAlister's reminiscences in the *Marysville Advocate*. He spoke of his old teammates and a few of the white players they competed with, including some who made it to the major leagues. He even had a vague memory of Lem Clay.<sup>683</sup> It was the final firsthand account of the incredible contributions to baseball in Marshall County by the Coffee, McAlister, and Potter brothers, who were building on the legacy of Lem Clay, a collective record spanning more than four decades of integrated town team baseball from 1886 to 1928.

Dates of birth and death and burial sites for Coffee, McAlister, and Potter brothers born in rural Marshall County, Kansas who played for racially integrated baseball teams in the state. No information about the death of Edwin Potter was found.

Name	Birth	Death	Burial
Charles Coffee	8 March 1893	1 June 1976	Frankfort Cemetery, Frankfort, KS
Henry Coffee	14 March 1895	10 December 1977	Frankfort Cemetery, Frankfort, KS
Howard Coffee	15 July 1889	3 September 1974	Frankfort Cemetery, Frankfort, KS
Whitley Coffee	30 March 1891	1 January 1957	Barrett Cemetery, Marshall Co., KS
Waldean McAlister	3 April 1897	12 July 1983	Black Hills National Cemetery, SD
Edwin Potter	27 February 1887		
Rollie Potter	25 February 1891	29 February 1924	Frankfort Cemetery, Frankfort, KS

### George Sweatt

George Alexander Sweatt was born on 7 December 1893, although the 1900 census gave the year as 1894 written over the unreadable initial entry. His mother, Mary Sweatt (sister of Albert “Pomp” Reagor), was only about 15 at the time of George’s birth. She never married.<sup>684</sup> However, the 1910 census listed “George Hamilton” as Rachel Sweatt’s 16-year-old grandson, which suggests his father’s possible surname.

Other than lists of grade school students at the beginning of the twentieth century, the first mention of George Sweatt in Humboldt newspapers was in November 1907. At the celebration of Humboldt’s 50th anniversary, he won \$2.50 for second prize in a “Boys’ Foot Race.” In addition to track and field events, Sweatt played football and baseball for the integrated high school teams, and he participated in debate. In March 1912, at a performance by the high school literary society, Sweatt read “an original story[,] the title of which was ‘Jack’s Hit,’ so naturally it was a novelette on baseball.” He often pitched for the school baseball team, which played town teams as well as other high schools. While in high school, he had already earned the nickname Sharkey Sweatt, though its derivation is unknown.\* Sweatt graduated from Humboldt High School in May 1912.<sup>685</sup>

After graduation, Sweatt entered the normal school in Iola, which trained students to become teachers at schools in the county. County normal schools often fielded a baseball team, and the Allen County school was anxious to build a team around Sweatt. Instead,

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\* Initially, local newspapers spelled the nickname Sharky and Sharkie, but Sharkey became the typical spelling after 1912.



he played for the Humboldt Grays, the predominantly white town team, and the Iola Go-Devils, a prominent Black ball club in southeastern Kansas. The *Humboldt Herald* praised his baseball skills at a young age. “‘Sharkie’ Sweatt will be on the mound for the Greys tomorrow. Keep your eyes on the ball both when he hits it and when he throws it.”<sup>686</sup> Sweatt did not disappoint in Humboldt’s 4–0 victory over Savonburg.

“Sharkie” was certainly right and held the hard hitting visitors safe throughout the entire game. Four hits were collected of[f] his delivery.... Ten of the opposing batsmen were unable to connect with the slants of Mr. Sweatt and were forced to lay down the stick. ... [I]n addition to his clever pitching, “Sharkie[”] broke up the game in the fourth [inning] with a terrific drive to the “sticks” in left field and he was allowed to circle the bases for the simple reason that there weren’t enough players to help relay the ball into the diamond. Another one of his spectacular stunts was the running catch of a high foul ball that went into the crowd. ... “Sharkie” received a young fortune for his homer in the fourth, also a new bat.<sup>687</sup>

After playing for the Humboldt Grays during the early summer, Sweatt closed the season with the Iola Go-Devils after having pitched for them in May against the Black team from Parsons. Among the Go-Devils opponents was the city’s white town team, the Iola White Sox. The Go-Devils won both games of a doubleheader, with Sweatt pitching in game one. He also pitched a no-hitter for the Go-Devils in a victory over the town team from Moran. In the first game of another doubleheader with the White Sox, Sweatt hit a homerun into the cornfield that bordered right field at Iola’s Electric Park to give the Go-Devils a one-run lead in the eighth inning. In the ninth inning, Sweatt came on to pitch in relief, with runners on second and third and only one out. He struck out the first batter and induced a groundball out to save the game. This time, however, the White Sox came back to win the second contest. After their first 10 games through August, the Go-Devils had earned \$200, which was an improvement over the \$160 earned during the entire previous season.<sup>688</sup>

In addition to playing baseball, Sweatt kept up with his studies that summer, and he was one of more than 40 students at the local normal school to pass the exam, allowing him to teach in Allen County. Unfortunately, that meant there were about a dozen more teachers than positions in the schools.<sup>689</sup>

With limited prospects as a teacher, Sweatt headed to the State Normal School at Emporia on a football scholarship. As a freshman, his opportunities to play were restricted by conference rules for small colleges, which dictated that freshmen could not play until they had completed nine weeks of classes. Thus, Sweatt did not participate in games until November. He played right halfback in a win versus Washburn College of Topeka and an embarrassing loss to the College of Emporia, though he was one of two players singled out for their performances. The next game was at Warrensburg, Missouri, where integrated teams were not allowed, so Sweatt remained in Emporia. This was the extent of Sweatt’s football career at the State Normal School, and he did not return the following year.<sup>690</sup>

For the next few years, Sweatt held various jobs and played baseball. In 1915, he worked for area cement plants. In 1917, his draft registration card listed his employment as “automobile repair man” in Iola.<sup>691</sup>

However, most news about Sweatt in the years leading up to the entry of the United States into World War I were about baseball. He usually played third base and occasionally pitched for the Iola Go-Devils each year through 1917. Some of the games were umpired “to the satisfaction of both teams and the grandstand” by Iola’s popular umpire, Brooks Lane, whose story appears at the end of Part I. The Go-Devils competed well against both Black and white ball clubs. Sweatt regularly displayed his hitting skills and periodically launched homeruns into the cornfield bordering Iola’s Electric Park. In a 9–8 victory over the Kansas City (Kansas) Giants in 1913, so many balls were lost in the cornfield, where the ball was still in play, that the Giants right fielder took a baseball with him into the field. His scheme was discovered, and “Umpire Brooks Lane made him deliver up the ball to the delight of the spectators.”<sup>692</sup>

It was during this period that Sweatt also got his second chance—actually two chances—to play on integrated baseball teams. Both opportunities came in 1914. The first was in June, when Sweatt played shortstop for the Humboldt town team in a game against Iola. His next opportunity came on October 1 with a team known as the Black-and-Tans. It was a mix of players from the Iola Go-Devils and Iola Boosters, the white town team. The composite team apparently played only one game, defeating the Toronto town team in Yates Center. Not only did Sweatt play for the Black-and-Tans, he also served as the team’s captain. The *Woodson County Advocate* of Yates Center referred to the team simply as “Iola,” making no mention of it being an integrated club. That winter, Sweatt also sang in towns around Iola as a member of the Black and Tan Quartette.<sup>693</sup>

As for many people, baseball was interrupted for Sweatt during World War I. He registered for the draft in June 1917 while living in Iola. In June 1918, Sweatt was living in Peoria, Illinois when he was notified to report to Camp Funston, near Junction City, Kansas. He returned to Iola, where he boarded a train at nearby Piqua (birthplace of actor Buster Keaton) on July 15. Sweatt served with the 816th Pioneer Infantry Regiment until November 1919. The regiment arrived in France two weeks before the armistice on 11 November 1918. During his 16 months in the army, Sweatt rose from the rank of private to sergeant major in the Headquarters Company of the 816th.<sup>694</sup>

In January 1920, Sweatt enrolled at the State Manual Training Normal School at Pittsburg, Kansas (now Pittsburg State University), where he received a certificate to teach in May 1922.<sup>695</sup> In the spring of 1921, Sweatt married Evelyn Groomer from Iola, who also became a teacher.<sup>696</sup> In addition to his classes, George participated in football in the autumn, basketball in the winter, and track and field in the spring, lettering in all three sports.<sup>697</sup> Participating in track and field left no room for baseball with the school team, but he had time to play during the summers.

In the summer of 1920, Sweatt got his final opportunity to play for an integrated town team in his hometown of Humboldt as the Grays’ regular third baseman. Humboldt played 22 games through September, and Sweatt played in most of them, leading the team with a

batting average of .358 and tying for first in runs scored at 25. In the final game of the season, Humboldt hosted Chanute, who won, 11–9, when the Grays fell apart and surrendered eight runs in the ninth inning. During that inning, a fight almost broke out over a play involving Sweatt, who was filling in as Humboldt’s catcher. It was instigated by a Chanute player named Fay “Derb” Jenner, as described in the *Humboldt Union*.<sup>698</sup>

In the ninth inning the sorehead [Jenner] struck out with the bases full and he undoubtedly got peeved at himself. Sweatt, who was catching for Humboldt[,] dropped the third strike and of course tagged him. Jenner in turn “cussed” Sweatt and drew back his bat with the intention of hitting him.<sup>699</sup>

“Two or three” Humboldt players confronted Jenner, and he backed down, while Sweatt “played the part of a gentleman.”<sup>700</sup> Though nothing was written to indicate racism played a part in the confrontation, what was specifically meant by the term “cussed” is unknown.

In addition to playing for the Humboldt Grays, Sweatt played for the Chanute Black Diamonds in 1920. In a game against the Independence Bearcats, Sweatt was referred to as “field captain for the Diamonds.” Most of his time with the Black Diamonds, however, came in 1921. In April 1921, the Kansas City Monarchs signed George Sweatt, as well as Frankfort’s Henry Coffee and Rollie Potter.\* However, none of them played in league games for the Monarchs that season. Instead, Sweatt played for the Black Diamonds, mostly at his usual position, third base, from May through September.<sup>701</sup>

One of Sweatt’s teammates on the Black Diamonds in 1920 and 1921 was Carroll Ray “Dink” Mothell of Topeka. Mothell played for the Black Diamonds in August–September 1920 after playing briefly for the Kansas City Monarchs and Chicago American Giants in his first taste of the big leagues. In May–June 1921, Dink was joined on the Black Diamonds by his brother, Ernest Mothell. After leaving Chanute later in the summer, they played for their hometown Topeka Cubs, and Dink played for the Cubs again in 1922, when he was joined by William and Charley Hayden (the subjects of the next entry). In 1923, Dink Mothell played in preseason games for the Kansas City Monarchs before joining John Donaldson’s All Nations team. He returned to the Monarchs in 1924–1934 and played briefly for the Cleveland Stars in 1932.<sup>702</sup>

Sweatt finally joined the Kansas City Monarchs in 1922 and played with the club through 1925. In 1926, he was traded to the Chicago American Giants, where he played for two years. Sweatt saw substantially more playing time in league games with Chicago. During his career, he mostly played second and third base his first year and usually played second base his second year. After that, he was primarily an outfielder. Over his six-year career, Sweatt’s documented batting average in league games was above .260 and his on-base percentage was about .340. He and pitcher Rube Currie were the only two players to participate in the first four Negro Leagues World Series. Sweatt did so with Kansas City in 1924 and 1925 and Chicago in 1926 and 1927. All but the 1925 Monarchs won their series.<sup>703</sup>

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\* In addition to Coffee and Potter, “B. McAllister” was signed by the Monarchs. The identity of this player is uncertain, but he might be Dean McAlister, also from Frankfort.

Sweatt had a notable experience during a three-game stretch in the 1924 Negro Leagues World Series between the Kansas City Monarchs of the Negro National League and the Hilldale Giants of the Eastern Colored League (the photo of Sweatt was part of a larger photo of the two teams in the collection of the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2002719389/>). In the ninth inning of game five, a series of errors allowed Hilldale to tie Kansas City, 2–2. With the outfield pulled in for a possible play at the plate, a drive sailed over Sweatt in center field for an inside-the-park homerun that gave Hilldale a 4–2 win, and the eventual 5–2 victory. Hilldale now led the best-of-nine series, three games to one (game three was a 6–6 tie called on account of darkness after 13 innings). Sweatt helped the Monarchs rebound. In game six, he drove in two runs, including the game-winning run on a triple in the eighth inning of the 6–5 victory. In game seven, Sweatt again tripled, this time with no one on and two outs in the twelfth inning. He hurt his leg on the play at third base, but pinch runner William Bell scored the winning run when Wilber “Bullet” Rogan was safe on a throw from the shortstop that pulled the first baseman off the bag. The Monarchs won, 4–3. These two victories tied the clubs at three wins apiece, and Kansas City went on to win the series five games to four.<sup>704</sup>



Sweatt also received accolades at home. In August 1922, the Monarchs played an exhibition game in Iola against the local town team, now known as the Oilers. In a return to the old spelling of his nickname, it was announced in the *Humboldt Union*, “George ‘Sharkie’ Sweatt, a Humboldt boy, played second base for the Monarchs.” His local friends wanted to recognize Sweatt’s place on the Monarch’s roster. When he came to bat for the first time, the manager of the Oilers halted the game, and Sweatt was presented with a gold watch and chain. “He acknowledged the compliment by doffing his cap and then proceeded to strike out.” In four trips to the plate, he struck out twice and hit two singles, one driving in a run. He also scored one of the six runs for the Monarchs by stealing home as part of a double steal, with teammate Lemuel Hawkins drawing the throw to second base.<sup>705</sup> It would not be the last time he was celebrated by the people of Iola and Humboldt.

As Sweatt began his career in the Negro leagues, he and Evelyn took teaching positions at the segregated Cleveland School in Coffeyville from 1922 to 1924. The segregated school buildings included students through ninth grade; the high school was not allowed to be segregated under state law. George was in charge of athletics at Cleveland School, and he coached a football team that played schools in nearby towns, including high school and vocational school teams. Against the team at the vocational school in Pittsburg, Sweatt was given permission to play with his students to make the game more competitive. In January 1924, Sweatt was a leading member of a group of coaches and principals at Black schools in southeastern Kansas who organized the Southeastern Kansas Interscholastic Athletic Association to facilitate competition among 10 schools, beginning with basketball.<sup>706</sup>

It was also in 1924 that George Sweatt was called to testify in the case of *Thurman-Watts v. Board of Education of the City of Coffeyville* regarding the school district's segregation of students based on race. At the time, Kansas law allowed segregation in grade schools in cities of the first class but not in high schools (except in Kansas City), as explained in Part II. In Coffeyville, with ninth grade students attending classes in the city's segregated junior high school buildings, the case was filed on behalf of a Black student who wanted to enroll in the ninth grade at the white junior high school closer to her home. The Kansas Supreme Court ruled that ninth grade was a component of high school, regardless of the building where classes were taught, and these classes could not be segregated by race. Following his testimony, Sweatt did not remain in his job at the Cleveland School.<sup>707</sup>

After leaving Coffeyville, the Sweatts returned to Pittsburg. In the 1925 state census, the occupations of both George and Evelyn were listed as "teaching," though George continued to play in the Negro National League during the summers when school was not in session. This led to another nickname—The Teacher. Although he left the Chicago American Giants following the 1927 season, the couple moved to Chicago in 1928 and later moved to Evanston, contiguous with Chicago on its northern boundary.<sup>708</sup>

While living in Illinois, Sweatt was a US Postal Service employee, but he continued to participate in baseball. A Post Office Baseball League had been active in the city since at least 1920. Little information about the players was published, but it is possible he played in the league, at least on occasion, as reported by the *Iola Daily Register* in 1930. He played for semipro teams in Chicago, including the Chicago Giants in 1928. The following year, he and others left the team and joined the newly organized Colored All-Stars. During some years, the All-Stars were members of semipro leagues with teams around Chicago and nearby Wisconsin. Sweatt played for the All-Stars through 1933. Off the field, he served as President of the Old Time Ball Players Club of Chicago, founded in 1949 "to pay tribute to the old timers and record their achievements." In addition, Sweatt coached youth baseball, served as a Boy Scout leader, and participated in various civic and church activities.<sup>709</sup>

Sweatt's success in baseball was not forgotten in Kansas after he moved to Illinois. In 1930, Iola celebrated George Sweatt Day on September 21 with a game between the Iola Ramblers, who replaced the Iola Go-Devils after World War I, and the Iola Hustlers, the white town team. Thanks to his playing time with semipro teams, he had "kept in trim," and he agreed to suit up with the Ramblers. His return to the local diamond was well received, as noted in a local newspaper headline. "Former Allen County Player Draws Big Gate. Colored Boys Win, Aided by George (Go-Devil) Sweatt." Sweatt started the game at shortstop, but the Hustlers piled on the hits and scored five runs in the first inning, so he took over on the mound. He allowed only two more runs, while the Ramblers mounted a comeback, scoring 10 runs for the win. As part of the celebration, Lewis "Ax" Grubbs of the old Go-Devils joined a white umpire to officiate the game. Evelyn had returned to Iola to visit her parents three weeks before George arrived, and after another week in town, they returned to Chicago with a stop in Kansas City.<sup>710</sup>

Sweatt retired from the post office in 1957. He and Evelyn visited relatives in Kansas in July on their way to California and Mexico for a vacation. George's mother, Mary Sweatt,

passed away that October in Humboldt.<sup>711</sup> After their trip, George and Evelyn moved to Los Angeles, as had their only son, William. The Sweatts enjoyed a retirement filled with a variety of community activities.<sup>712</sup> In 1974, George was honored in Kansas once more, this time in his hometown of Humboldt. On June 6, after rain delayed the ceremony a few days, the city named its new ball diamond George Sweatt Field.<sup>713</sup> George Sweatt died in California on 19 July 1983 at age 89. Evelyn passed away on 22 February 1995 at age 97. They were buried at Angelus Rosedale Cemetery in Los Angeles.

## William and Charley Hayden

In August 1917, the Valley Falls town team was short a player for a game against Horton. “Hayden, the colored player” served as a “substitute” in right field. He batted leadoff and had one of only two hits for Valley Falls, who lost 4–2. Valley Falls would have been shutout had it not been for Hayden’s hit, “a home run in to the pond in right field, with a runner on ahead of him. Some hit!”<sup>714</sup> Yet, it was not enough to earn him a regular spot on the roster.

Hayden’s first name is uncertain, but there are two possible candidates—brothers William and Charley Hayden. According to the 1900 census for Meriden, about 12 miles southwest of Valley Falls, William and Charley were born in Kansas to George and Fannie Belle Hayden. Valley Falls was listed as William’s birthplace on his 1917 and 1942 draft cards. No place of birth was included on Charley’s 1918 draft card.

The year of William’s birth moved progressively back in time. According to the 1900 census, he was 4 years old and born in February 1896, which was the same year reported in the 1905 state census. This seems likely to be accurate and would make him 21 years old at the time of the game in 1917. However, his draft registration card completed in 1917 listed his birthdate as 4 February 1894, which conforms to the 1920 and 1925 censuses. His draft card in 1942 gave his birthdate as 3 February 1892, which was the year given on the 1940 census, the Social Security Death Index, and his grave marker in 1980.

Charley’s birthdate also varied, but not to the same degree. The 1900 census reported he was born in October 1898. That year was consistent with his ages in the 1905 and 1910 censuses. On his 1918 draft card, his birthdate was reported as 16 October 1897, and that year was consistent with his ages given in the 1915 census and his 1924 obituary. Thus, Charley was 18 or 19 years old at the time of the game in 1917. This suggests either William or Charley could have played for Valley Falls’ white town team that day in right field, the position often given to substitutes of unknown skills (and pitchers on their off days).

In April 1917, Charley enlisted with a Black unit in the Kansas National Guard and did not serve in Europe.<sup>715</sup> Given his age, he did not have to register for the draft that year. William, on the other hand, registered on 5 June 1917 but was not immediately called. On 4 July 1918, as World War I continued to deplete the rosters of baseball teams across the United States, a player named Hayden was part of the battery for Valley Falls in a game against Larkin, the second time a player named Hayden had integrated the team. Whether he was the pitcher or catcher is unknown.<sup>716</sup>

Two weeks later, Will Hayden was among a few Black residents of Valley Falls on his way to nearby Camp Funston. He served as a bugler in Company L of the 805th Pioneer Infantry in France, where he also played baseball. However, he was not selected as a

member of the regiment's Bearcat baseball team, which won all 10 of its games against outside teams. After 10 months of service in France, Hayden returned to Valley Falls in July 1919. The following month, the white Valley Falls catcher was injured when a foul tip struck his throat, forcing him to leave the game. "Will Hayden, who played ball in the army teams in France, took Wiley's place behind the bat." A similar situation arose in August 1921, when Will Hayden replaced the injured Valley Falls catcher in a loss to Meriden.<sup>717</sup> Thus, while it is uncertain which Hayden played for Valley Falls in 1917 and 1918, William was identified as the player to do so in 1919 and 1921 as a catcher. In all four instances, the white town team in Valley Falls only fielded a Black player as an occasional substitute, not as a regular member of the team.

Both Haydens played baseball a few more years after the war for segregated ball clubs. In 1921, one of them pitched for the Black team in Oskaloosa, about 12 miles southeast of Valley Falls. Given that the limited information indicated Will was usually a catcher, Charley might have been the one to pitch for Oskaloosa. In 1921 and 1923, the Black team in Valley Falls had a battery of Hayden and Hayden, presumably Will behind the plate and Charley on the mound. The duo also played for the Topeka Cubs in 1922, and Will played for the Topeka Giants in 1924. Both Topeka teams were composed of Black players.<sup>718</sup>

Off the diamond, little was found about either Hayden. In October 1908, young Willie and Charley were found delinquent by the county court, but the judge gave them parole. Charley violated parole, and in December, he was ordered to be sent to the Kansas Industrial Boys School at Topeka. Opened in 1881, it was a vocational educational facility for boys under 16 years of age who were convicted of a crime. According to the 1910 census, 11-year-old "Charlie" Hayden was still at the facility, but he was back in Meriden in December 1910. He was in trouble again the following summer, when he and another boy tried to derail a work train by placing spikes and stones on the track. He was returned to the school. In 1915, Charley was working at a grocery store in Meriden.<sup>719</sup> His 1918 draft card listed his occupation as farm laborer, with his home still listed as Meriden. In 1924, a notice in the *Valley Falls Vindicator* reported the death of Charley Thomas Hayden from pneumonia on April 16. He was living in Atchison but died at William's home in Valley Falls. He was reportedly returned to Atchison for burial.<sup>720</sup>

William was in Atchison in 1917, working for the Missouri Pacific Railway (according to a city directory) and at a grain elevator (according to his draft card). He was living with his parents and Charley. By November 1919, William had married Faye Fulton and was living with her family in Valley Falls.<sup>721</sup> They were reported in Valley Falls in the 1920 and 1925 censuses, and he was working as a laborer. After that, virtually no information regarding William was found in newspapers, censuses, or other digital records, other than his residence in Atchison in 1935 reported in the 1940 census.

William's move to Atchison sometime between 1925 and 1935 probably followed his divorce from Faye noted in the 1940 census. He was still living in Atchison at least through the 1950s. During that time, the 1950 census and city directories indicated he worked primarily for car dealers as a porter or car washer. No obituary was found, but William John Hayden died on 31 May 1980 and was buried at Leavenworth National Cemetery.

## Gulick, Nelson, and Gibson

In July 1920, the town team from Moline in southeastern Kansas opened the baseball season by defeating the team from Solvay. Gulick, the pitcher for Solvay, was Black. Two weeks later, Moline defeated Elk Falls for its third victory. Smith, the catcher for Moline, sprained his ankle and was replaced by “Nelson, the colored catcher for the Solvay.” Thus, Solvay had a Black battery. In addition, “Gulick, the colored pitcher” took over on the mound against Elk Falls, meaning that Solvay’s Black battery closed the game for Moline. Gulick had started the game playing third base for Moline. In subsequent games during August and September, Gulick continued to pitch and play third base for Moline, while Nelson stayed on as catcher until Smith returned from his injury on August 22. Nelson again replaced Smith on August 29. “The negro [sic] battery from Moline” also played for Grenola on September 5.<sup>722</sup> Nothing more was learned about Gulick and Nelson.

Also in 1920, a Black pitcher played for a team in northeastern Kansas. From the 1890s through the 1920s, American Indians in Kansas played baseball, sometimes as teams consisting only of American Indians and sometimes including Black and white players. Some of these teams represented the Haskell and Kickapoo Indian schools, and others represented the Indian Nations with reservations in northeastern Kansas. Among the latter was the Kickapoo Tribe in Kansas, whose land was near the town of Horton. In 1920, the Kickapoo team played the Goff town team. The Kickapoos bolstered their roster for the game through the addition of a player named Gibson, “the colored pitcher ... from Horton.” However, Gibson was relieved after four innings, as Goff scored a 9–6 victory.<sup>723</sup> Nothing more was learned about Gibson, but there was a William Gibson working at the railroad shops in Horton according to the 1920 census. He was a 24-year-old native of Arkansas.

## Carr, Preston, and a *Player Unknown*

When George Sweatt played his final two seasons with the Chanute Black Diamonds in 1920 and 1921, the team’s roster included players named Carr (1920) and Preston (1920–1921). Their first names are unknown. Carr played second base, third base, and left field, while Preston became the team’s regular second baseman. A player named Preston also covered first base for the Independence (Kansas) Bear Cats in 1920 before the person with that name played for the Black Diamonds. On 29 August 1920, the Humboldt Grays, the otherwise white town team on which George Sweatt played, hosted the town team from Thayer. In this game, “Three players from the Black Diamond team toiled with the visitors” from Thayer, making this a contest between two integrated town teams. Only Carr and Preston were mentioned by name in the *Humboldt Union*, and no box score was published. There was no mention of the game in the *Thayer News*. The identity of the third Black Diamond player on the Thayer roster is unknown.<sup>724</sup>

## Lewis Chester

In 1921, Lewis Chester, “a colored boy from the Elliott neighborhood,” pitched Montezuma to victory over Meade in southwestern Kansas. He struck out 19 batters and gave up only four hits in the 12–6 decision. Chester pitched in other games that season,



including the return match with Meade. In the second game, Chester was ineffective and pitched only five innings, as Montezuma lost, 18–4. The reference to Chester being from the “Elliott neighborhood” seems a little odd for a rural area. Another story about him stated that Chester was from Crooked Creek, which is a township (and stream) between Montezuma and Meade. A family named Elliott owned a farm along the creek, which explains the reference to the “neighborhood.”<sup>725</sup> The few games in which Chester pitched for Montezuma are the only records known for him on the baseball diamond, and nothing else was learned about him. He was not found in any census records for Kansas.

## Randolph Prim

Randolph “Lefty” Prim (occasionally spelled Primm) was the oldest of four sons born to Joseph and Ida Prim in Prescott in southwestern Arkansas. Randolph was born on 7 November 1896, according to his obituary and his 1917 and 1942 draft registration cards. However, the 1900 census gave his birthdate as November 1895. The census taker in Prescott also recorded his name as Roldurf and listed his younger brother, Rudolph, as Randolf (born in March 1898). Their names were listed correctly in subsequent census records in Kansas. The family moved to Kansas City, Kansas prior to the census of 1910, and from there, they moved west to Wamego and then to Salina about 1914.<sup>726</sup>

The first mention of any of the Prim brothers playing baseball was in 1915–1917. One of the Prims pitched well for a Black team in Salina named the Clayton Specials. In a 1916 game against a team of Black soldiers from Fort Riley, “Primm’s hop ball and Purgatory plunge drop were nicely mixed with his fast one.” He also played first base.<sup>727</sup> The player’s first name was never mentioned, but it was either Randolph or Rudolph rather than their younger brothers. Randolph was about 18–20 years old during this period, and Rudolph was 17–19 years old. Based on age and later events, it seems likely that the Prim pitching in Salina was Randolph. Pitcher and first baseman were the only infield positions suited to a lefthanded thrower, and they were apparently the two positions Randolph regularly played in subsequent years.

The next mention of Randolph was in June 1917, when he registered for the military draft in Junction City, where he was employed as a cook.<sup>728</sup> His number was called, and according to a passenger list for the Army Transport Service, he sailed to France from New Jersey on 30 March 1918 as a member of Company C, 308th Labor Battalion, Quartermaster Corps. He departed France as a member of the 850th Transportation Corps on 30 June 1919. While he served in France, his mother, Ida, died from tuberculosis in July 1918 at age 55. Although Randolph was overseas, his older sister (Carry Payton) and three brothers (Rudolph, Joseph, and Herman) were living in Salina at the time.<sup>729</sup>

In June 1919, an unnamed Prim played third base for the Clayton Specials in a game with the Manhattan (Kansas) Giants. One of the Prims also played that summer for the Salina Giants, who replaced the Clayton Specials. In September, the pitcher for the Giants was identified as “Son” Prim, but that is the only known instance when that nickname was used, so it is unknown which of the brothers was given that moniker. It is likely the Prim playing for the Salina Giants in 1919 was Rudolph or 18-year-old Joseph. Randolph did not return from France until July, and the first report of him being back in Salina was in

December, though it was likely earlier. The youngest Prim brother, Herman, was 16 years old. Whichever Prim brother it was, he probably also played in a baseball game hosted by the Salina Giants in August, which was part of the festivities staged by Salina's African American community to welcome soldiers returning home from service in Europe, a group that included Private Randolph Prim.<sup>730</sup>

In June 1920, an unidentified Prim pitched for the Salina Colored Giants in a loss to the white town team from Niles. Later that summer, Rudolph pitched for a team representing the Salina post office against the local Quinton-Duffens Optical Company employees. It did not go well for Rudolph, who switched places with the shortstop after the seventh inning, as the postal employees fell behind, 10-3. However, the post office rallied to win the game, 14-10. Apparently, a talent for pitching among the Prim brothers rested with Randolph. Shortly after that game, "the Bigsby Athletic club, a colored association," was organized, and R.D. Prim (Rudolph Doyle Prim) was to be the "coach and manager." However, only a few days later, Rudolph was arrested and convicted of robbing the drug store where he worked as a janitor. In November, following a 30-day jail sentence, Rudolph and his brother, Herman, were listed as substitutes for the Bigsby Athletic Club's football team.<sup>731</sup>

In 1921, the small town of Gypsum, about 13 miles southeast of Salina, entered intercity competition with a Black pitcher named Prim. No first name was given. Prim pitched for Gypsum at least twice, losing to Lindsborg in April and defeating Niles in July. He struck out 12 and 15 batters, respectively.<sup>732</sup> Subsequent reports suggest this was Randolph Prim, though this is not conclusive.

That same summer, the Salina Colored Giants featured two of the Prim brothers on the roster. They were listed only as R. Prim and J. Prim. The latter was Joseph Prim. While Joseph played various positions around the infield and outfield, R. Prim only pitched and played first base. Ads for a game in Minneapolis, Kansas mentioned that Prim, the first baseman, had a standing offer to play for the Chicago Giants. Thus, it seems likely this was Randolph Prim. The Salina Giants played both Black and white teams in central Kansas through early October. That same month, Minneapolis hosted a four-team tournament in which each team played one game against the other three. The Bennington town team lost all three of its games, despite importing "Prim, the star twirler for the Salina Giants" for their final game.<sup>733</sup> Thus, Prim pitched for at least two otherwise white town teams in 1921. The Salina Giants, with R. and J. Prim, took the field again in 1922 and 1923.<sup>734</sup> That was the end of the Giants' run. In 1924, some of the same players, including the two Prims, organized under the name Dunbar Athletic Club.<sup>735</sup>

In 1925, the *Glasco Sun* reported that the hometown Redliners, the white town team named for an early east-west highway, had defeated the Wichita Indians on June 28. The box score listed two Prims in Wichita's lineup, with R. Prim at first base.<sup>736</sup> Nothing else was learned about this team. That same edition of the newspaper also reported that "Lefty Prim of the Salina Dunbars" would pitch for the Redliners against Minneapolis on July 5, because their regular lefthanded pitcher would be unavailable after pitching on the Fourth of July.<sup>737</sup> Thus, Randolph was almost certainly the R. Prim who was consistently paired with J. Prim from 1921 to 1925. That would mean pitcher Randolph "Lefty" Prim played for

his third town team predominantly composed of white players, adding Glasco to Gypsum and Bennington. In addition, some or all of the reports from 1915–1917 can be attributed to Randolph, but there is less certainty, given that Rudolph also played at that time.

In 1926, Randolph Prim got his chance to pitch in the Negro National League with the Kansas City Monarchs. His documented record as a pitcher includes only three league games (22.1 innings)—one win and no losses, with an earned run average (ERA) of 3.18.<sup>738</sup>

When this research was conducted, the availability of digital newspapers decreased substantially after 1922. However, Randolph Prim was still involved in baseball through at least 1939. In 1930, he played for an integrated Union Pacific Railroad team in the Salina City League. On a day that was both windy and hot (101°F), the UP team played a game outside the league with the Ellsworth town team. “R. Prim” played first base and pitched; “J. Prim” was the shortstop.<sup>739</sup> The 1930 census reported that Randolph Prim was employed by the Union Pacific Railroad. Joseph Prim was listed as a waiter at the country club.

In 1938 and 1939, Lefty Prim, “formerly of the Kansas City Monarchs,” managed a Missouri Pacific Railroad nine in Hoisington.<sup>740</sup> Based on city directories and census records, Prim mostly worked for railroads after returning from France, but he was listed as a hotel porter in Hoisington in the 1940 census and on his 1942 draft card. He then moved to Kansas City, Kansas, where he worked in construction through at least 1961. Perhaps he occasionally watched the Kansas City Monarchs play during their final years.

Nothing was learned about Randolph Prim’s life after 1961. He died in 1986, at age 90, back home in Salina, where he was buried in the Gypsum Hill Cemetery with other members of his family. Although he was the first born of the four brothers, he was the last to pass away.\* His obituary noted he was a bricklayer, a veteran of World War I, a member of the Methodist Church, and a 50-year member of the Masons. It closed with one final accomplishment of his long life. “He also played professional baseball with the Kansas City Monarchs.”<sup>741</sup>

## Gene Allen and Sam Harrison

Black players found occasional opportunities to play on white town teams after World War I. This was especially the case for pitchers and catchers imported to play for teams representing small, rural communities, many of which had no Black residents. This was the case in June 1925, when Gene Allen and Sam Harrison of Emporia served as the battery for Hartford. Harrison had pitched against Hartford a few days earlier, helping the Emporia Black Sox win, 7–3. The Black battery “gave good satisfaction” in Hartford, who defeated the team from Allen, 6–5.<sup>742</sup>

The duo usually played for Black teams in Emporia, including the Browns (1917, 1923, 1926), Giants (1919), Colored Elks (1920), Wildcats (1921–1922), and Black Sox (1924–1925). Allen began playing at that level a few years before Harrison (1917 and 1921, respectively). The *Emporia Gazette* also reported that Allen had once been “the idol and mainstay of the Century and Union grade school teams.”<sup>743</sup>

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\* Rudolph D. Prim died in 1965 in Los Angeles, California. Herman W. Prim died in 1967 in Kansas City, Kansas. Joseph Prim died in 1973 in Salina and was buried in Gypsum Hill Cemetery.

After Allen retired from baseball, Harrison continued to play for the Emporia Monarchs in 1931–1933 and the A.M.E. team of Emporia in 1934. There was also a report that he played for Paola in 1932, but it is unknown if this was a segregated or integrated team. After that, he played in a local softball league on teams named the Go-Devils, Monarchs, and Streamliners. His primary position throughout his career was catcher.<sup>744</sup>

Eugene Allen was born to Thornton and Sarah Love Allen in Emporia on 5 May 1898, according to the census of 1900 and his obituary. In May 1918, he married Pearl Wilma Harrison, Sam Harrison's sister, and they had three children. In 1920, his occupation was listed as hotel porter, and five years later, he was a "dragman" for the city of Emporia. From the 1920s to the 1930s, Allen was usually listed as a laborer and occasionally as a truck driver for a transfer company. From the late 1930s until his retirement in 1963, he worked for the city, primarily with the City Sanitation Department. Eugene Joseph Allen died 6 December 1977. Pearl had preceded him in death by six months. They were buried in Maplewood Memorial Lawn Cemetery in Emporia.<sup>745</sup>

Sam Harrison's 1940 draft registration card gave his birthdate as 25 February 1905, but his obituary gave the year as 1904. His ages listed in the 1910, 1920, and 1930 censuses suggest the year was 1905. He was born in Emporia to Leslie and Ella Clay Harrison. Though he always went by Sam, his name was actually Joseph Samuel Harrison. In 1930, his occupation was listed as laborer, and in 1932, 1934, and 1940, he was a porter at a barbershop and then the Newton Brothers Garage. In addition to playing baseball and softball, Harrison participated in boxing and wrestling exhibitions. J. Samuel Harrison died on 16 August 1965 and was buried in Emporia's Maplewood Memorial Lawn Cemetery.<sup>746</sup>

## Floyd "Jack" Wright

In September 1932, Jack Wright got his only chance to pitch for the Iola Merchants, the city's first nine. At the time, he was a star pitcher for the only Black team in the local Twilight League. However, Wright was on the losing end of the game between the Merchants and the visiting Red Sox of the Kansas State Penitentiary in Lansing, which was also an integrated team. The Merchants lost the game, 9–3. Wright had previously pitched against the Red Sox in August, when they played the Texaco team of the Twilight League, and he pitched against them with the team from nearby Chanute.<sup>747</sup>

Jack Wright worked as a waiter in Iola in 1929 and 1930. The 1930 and 1940 censuses indicated he was born in Kansas about 1911. According to the 1940 census, Jack Wright was still living in Iola in 1935, but in 1940, he lived with his sister, Pauline, and her husband, Albert Bell, in Omaha, Nebraska. All three worked at a hotel—Jack was a houseman, Albert was a porter, and Pauline was a parlor maid. Nothing else was found about Jack Wright, but following Pauline added to his story.

The 1920 census for Iola listed Pauline Wright, who had a 9-year-old brother named Floyd born in Kansas. The 1915 Kansas census listed Floyd Wright as Pauline's 5-year-old brother. In both cases, it was the same town, same year of birth, and same state of birth, but a different first name than Jack Wright, the baseball player. The 1940 draft registration card for Floyd David Wright filed in Omaha made the connection between the two. Floyd

gave Pauline Bell as his contact, his place of birth as Iola, and his birthdate as 1 October 1910. In addition, city directories in Omaha listed Floyd Wright as a houseman in 1940 and 1942. Thus, Floyd David Wright played baseball under the name Jack Wright in 1932, though the reason he occasionally used the name Jack is unknown.

In 1933, the *Iola Daily Register* reported on a Black ball club in the Iola baseball league named the Theater Stars. Lewis “Ax” Grubbs was the team’s manager. The pitcher for the team was referred to as both Floyd Wright and Jack Wright in the article. Although he lived in Iola in 1933 and 1935, during the winter of 1934–1935, Floyd Wright worked at a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp at Fort Riley, near Junction City, Kansas.<sup>748</sup>

The last apparent record found for Wright was a 1949 city directory in Omaha, which included an entry for Floyd D. and Edith O. Wright. He died on 8 December 1971, and his grave marker in Omaha’s Forest Lawn Memorial Park included his service as a private in the 3905 Quartermaster Trucking Company during World War II (enlisted on 23 May 1942 and discharged on 21 August 1945).

### Thomas Jefferson Young

Thomas Jefferson “T.J.” Young was born on 6 September 1902 in Wetumpka, Alabama, according to his 1942 draft card. Because he grew up in Oklahoma, it is sometimes mistakenly given as his birthplace. In the 1910 census for Graham Township in Carter County, Oklahoma, he was listed as T.J. Young. In the 1920 census in Okmulgee, Oklahoma, he was listed as T. Jefferson Young. As an adult in Wichita, when the 1940 census was conducted, he went by Thomas J. Young. In addition to T.J. and Tom, he sometimes went by the nickname “T. Baby.” In 1929, the *Wichita Eagle* explained the moniker. The 26-year-old Young was offered a chance to play for the Cuban House of David barnstorming team. A clause in the contract stipulated players must report with a beard at least six inches long. “That lets me out of it,” Young declared. “I don’t even have to shave now.”<sup>749</sup>

Young presumably learned to play baseball growing up in Oklahoma, the details of which are unknown. The first information documented in newspapers regarding his participation in organized baseball is from Wichita in 1922 (Table 8). Why Young came to Wichita from Oklahoma is unknown. However, in 1921, a Wichita team known as the A.B.C.’s began to practice early in the spring in Young’s hometown of Okmulgee. The A.B.C.’s played clubs in Wichita and barnstormed through the region, including a return to Okmulgee. In addition to the A.B.C.’s, Wichita had two other competitive Black ball clubs that summer—the Wichita Allies, who had played under the name A.B.C.’s the previous year, and the Black Wonders, a newly organized team. The Black Wonders were even mentioned as a possible member of the Wichita City League, though they were not admitted. No record of T.J. Young playing for any of these teams was found, but newspaper reports of games provided little detail.<sup>750</sup> Nevertheless, his knowledge of the A.B.C.’s might have led him to view a trip to Wichita as an opportunity to advance his baseball career.

In 1922, T.J. Young joined the Black Wonders as a catcher (and he pitched a game) during a pivotal year for the club.<sup>751</sup> Most African American teams did not have their own ballparks,

**Table 8.**—Baseball teams on which Thomas Jefferson “T.J.” Young (1902–1964) is known to have played. During the 1930s, some Negro Leagues clubs played independently.

Year	Team
1922	Wichita Monrovians (Colored Western League)
1923	Wichita Monrovians
1924	Swift Giants, St. Joseph, Missouri
1925	Gilkerson’s Union Giants
1926	Kansas City Monarchs (Negro Leagues) <sup>1</sup>
1927	Kansas City Monarchs (Negro Leagues) <sup>1</sup>
1928	Kansas City Monarchs (Negro Leagues) <sup>1</sup>
1929	Kansas City Monarchs (Negro Leagues) <sup>1</sup>
1929–1930	Philadelphia Royal Giants (California Winter League) <sup>4</sup>
1930	Kansas City Monarchs (Negro Leagues) <sup>1</sup> Santa Clara (Cuban Winter League) <sup>3</sup>
1931	Kansas City Monarchs / St. Louis Stars (Negro Leagues) <sup>1</sup>
1932	Detroit Wolves / Homestead Grays / Kansas City Monarchs (Negro Leagues) <sup>1</sup>
1933	Mulvane, Kansas (integrated town team) Kansas City Monarchs (Negro Leagues) <sup>1</sup>
1933–1934	Philadelphia Royal Giants (Pacific tour—Japan, China, the Philippines, Hawaii) <sup>5</sup>
1934	Kansas City Monarchs (Negro Leagues) <sup>1</sup>
1935	Kansas City Monarchs (Negro Leagues) <sup>1</sup>
1936	Chicago American Giants / New York Cubans (Negro Leagues) <sup>1</sup>
1937	Pittsburgh Crawfords (Negro Leagues) <sup>1</sup>
1938	Alijadores de Tampico (Mexican League) <sup>2</sup>
1939	Alijadores de Tampico (Mexican League) <sup>2</sup>
1940	<i>unknown</i>
1941	Newark Eagles / Philadelphia Stars / Kansas City Monarchs (Negro Leagues) <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.seamheads.com/NegroLgs/player.php?playerID=young0ltom>

<sup>2</sup> Cisneros (2002, page 281).      <sup>4</sup> McNeil (2002, page 140).

<sup>3</sup> Figueredo (2003, page 192).      <sup>5</sup> Sayama and Staples (2019, page 335).

which required them to arrange their schedules around those of the local white teams. In the spring of 1922, a park association in Wichita constructed a ball diamond at the Monrovia Amusement Park at 12th and Mosley Streets, between Mosley and Mead. The manager of the Black Wonders was also secretary of the group building the ballpark. Thus, the Black Wonders could use it as their home field at their convenience. The team was then sold to the Monrovia Amusement Park Corporation and adopted the name Monrovians.<sup>752</sup>

As these events were taking place, a new league of African American clubs was organized. Its official name was the Western League of Professional Baseball Teams, but newspapers referred to it as the Colored Western League and occasionally as the Western

Colored League, the Western League of Colored Baseball Clubs, or the Southwestern Colored League. These names added the word “Colored” to familiar names of white minor leagues in the region—the Western League and the Southwestern League.\*

The Colored Western League had a troubled existence and was reorganized at a meeting on June 2. Teams were replaced, and the Monroviaans were among the new clubs. From June through the end of the season in September, there were seven clubs in the league, five in Kansas and two in Oklahoma—Chanute Black Diamonds, Coffeyville Hot Shots, Independence Red Sox, Oklahoma City Black Indians, Topeka Giants, Tulsa Black Oilers, and Wichita Monroviaans. Newspaper coverage was meager, and some teams included their nonleague contests in their reports to newspapers, so the final league records are unknown. However, a Wichita newspaper reported Oklahoma City had a one game lead over the Monroviaans going into the final series of four games at Monrovia Park, and Wichita swept the series to claim the championship in the league’s only season.<sup>753</sup>

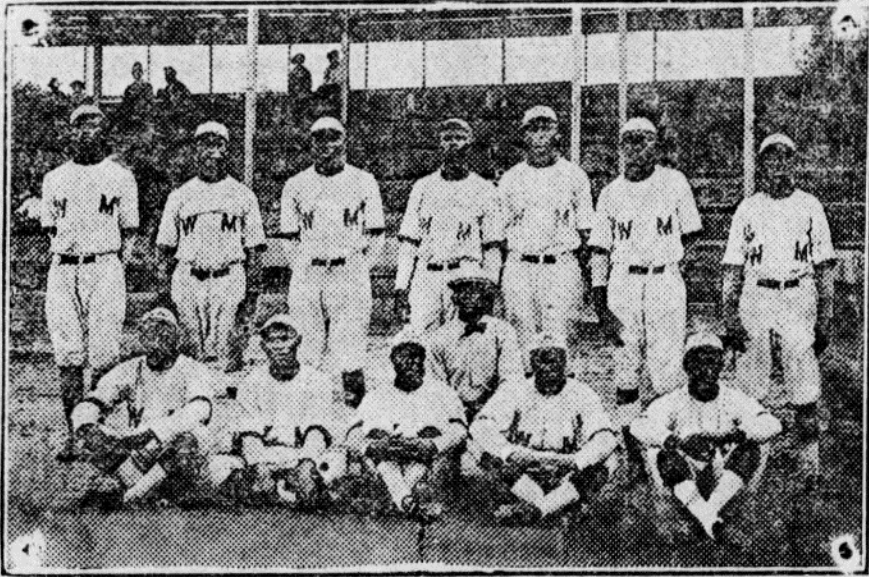
Young returned to catch for the Monroviaans in 1923. A team photo was published in the *Negro Star*, but none of the players was identified. The team played against Black and white teams in Wichita and around the region. Young displayed his skills as a catcher in a game against the Anthony town team. “During the game, one Anthony runner was nipped off third and two off second when they led too far off base.” The Monroviaans continued to play in subsequent years, and in June 1925, they scored a 10–8 victory over a team representing the local Ku Klux Klan. However, T.J. Young was no longer with the team.<sup>754</sup>

After two years with the Monroviaans, Young began to play for teams outside Wichita. In May 1924, he joined players from Oklahoma and local talent on the Swift Giants of St. Joseph, Missouri (north of Kansas City). Young was recruited as the catcher, but he mostly played first base. Not being part of the battery, he was only occasionally mentioned in newspaper stories, typically when he excelled as a hitter. Young is a reasonably common name, and the ballplayer was usually referred to by only his last name. However, at the beginning of the season, he was identified specifically as “T.J. Young, who was with the Wichita club last season.” In addition to playing first base, Young occasionally pitched for the Giants, including the second game of a doubleheader on July 4, in which he gave up only two (or three) hits and no runs. Because the Giants’ victory in the first game had taken 12 innings, the second game was called in the fifth inning, with the score tied, 0–0. Their opponent in both games was the white Border Pharmacy team, which held first place in the local Muni (Municipal) League. Later in July, Young won a 9–7 decision over the town team in Hopkins, Missouri.<sup>755</sup> The roster of the Giants was fluid, yet they apparently won most of their games against amateur and semipro teams in the region. However, for some undetermined reason, reports of the Swift Giants ended on July 30. What T.J. Young did the remainder of the summer is unknown.

In 1925, the Kansas state census for Wichita listed Young’s occupation as a porter for an unnamed business. That summer, however, he was the catcher for Robert Gilkerson’s

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\* A fuller account of the Wichita Monroviaans and the Colored Western League is available in the book *Kansas Baseball, 1858–1941* (Eberle 2017, pages 76–83).



Wichita Monrovia team photograph used to advertise games in newspapers and on flyers (*Wichita Negro Star*, 20 July 1923, p 1). No one was identified, and the quality of the newsprint is such that it is unknown if T.J. Young is in the photo. Neither was the ballpark identified, but it might have been the team's home field at the Monrovia Amusement Park, 12th and Mosley Streets, between Mosely and Mead.

Union Giants as they barnstormed through Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin from May through early October. (At the time, there was another team playing as the Chicago Union Giants.) For some reason, Young did not catch for the Union Giants several days from late June until July 4. Box scores were not available in digital sources for these games, but it is possible he was injured, playing first base, or on leave from the team. Nevertheless, he played in a substantial number of games with a team that was more likely to bring attention to his baseball skills. The Union Giants' record was reported to be 91–30–4. Only a few box scores were available in digital sources at the time of this research, so a meaningful assessment of Young's performance with the Union Giants was not possible.<sup>756</sup> However, it must have been strong enough to earn him a call to the Negro Leagues.

Young was once again mentioned in Wichita newspapers in late March 1926, when he married Flora E. Jackson. Interestingly, Flora had spent the summer of 1924 in St. Joseph while T.J. was playing there. A month after their wedding, T.J. and Flora Young, Chet Brewer, Nelson Dean, and Hurley McNair of the Kansas City Monarchs were dinner guests of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Cox in Salina.<sup>757</sup> Whether Brewer, Dean, McNair, or any other Monarchs attended the wedding is unknown, but Young was clearly socializing already with his teammates for the coming season.



Young began his career as a catcher in the Negro Leagues with the Kansas City Monarchs, playing for the club all or parts of each season from 1926 to 1935. He also played for eight other Negro Leagues clubs through 1937 and in 1941 (Table 8). Among his experiences was catching the first night baseball game played under portable lights when the Kansas City Monarchs began traveling with them in 1930 to help generate not just light but also income during the Great Depression.<sup>758</sup>

Over his 13 years with nine Negro League clubs, Young played in at least 394 games against major league competition, but he played in many more games against amateur and semipro teams on barnstorming tours that are not included in his Negro Leagues statistics. His Negro Leagues batting average was .297, though he batted above .300 in five of his first seven seasons. He was also considered a reliable catcher, with a strong, accurate arm. He became the regular catcher for pitcher Chet Brewer, and the two became good friends. Young was selected to participate in the inaugural East-West All-Star Game in 1933 but did not play. In 1939, he served as an umpire in the all-star game.<sup>759</sup>

As Young's reputation as a ballplayer grew in Wichita, it was announced in 1926, 1929, and 1931 that he would participate in postseason games on the rosters of otherwise white teams of professional players residing in Wichita. However, he never played for any of them. A player named Young served as the first baseman for the all-star teams, but this was a local white player named Richard "Dick" Young. In 1926, after T.J. Young was announced as the catcher for the local all-star team, he instead played against the all-stars as the catcher for the visiting Chicago Royal Giants, a Black ball club. Despite his reputation as a member of the famed Kansas City Monarchs, taking the field on a team of white players in his hometown did not happen.<sup>760</sup>

In 1933, Young played for two area teams before joining the Kansas City Monarchs. On May 9, he caught for the Arkansas City (Kansas) Beavers, a Black ball club that featured other former Negro Leagues players. The pitcher for the Beavers that day was Alfred "Army" Cooper, who pitched for the Monarchs from 1928 to 1931, after serving with the 25th US Infantry Regiment. His story is told in the next essay. On May 21, Young was scheduled to catch for the otherwise white semipro team in Mulvane, Kansas in their first game of the season as a member of the Oil Belt League. The notice appeared in the *Mulvane News* and was picked up by Wichita newspapers, but no reports of the game or Mulvane's opponent were found. While taking the field for a white team was significant, it is now known that it was not the first instance of integrated baseball in Wichita and surrounding communities. As described in a previous essay, the Wichita Rattlers were integrated in 1896, and it was recently discovered that Andy "Lefty" Cooper pitched for a Black ball club in the otherwise white Wichita City League in 1919. After Young played in the two contests in May 1933, he rejoined the Kansas City Monarchs at the end of the month and played for the club through the remainder of the summer.<sup>761</sup>

The unfulfilled opportunities for T.J. Young in 1926, 1929, and 1931 to play on integrated all-star teams in his hometown of Wichita was briefly available to Alfred "Army" Cooper in 1933 and 1934, who was joined by Hurley McNair and James Starks in 1933. All three had careers in the Negro Leagues, including with the Kansas City Monarchs. Their

opportunity to play on integrated teams was different than Young's because it involved semipro players rather than professional major league and minor league players home for the offseason. The games in 1933 and 1934 were not part of intercity competition, so they are not included in the data compiled for this study. Instead, the games were associated with the state semipro tournament held in Wichita, which allowed segregated teams to participate but not integrated teams. Following the tournament, all-star teams played exhibition games—against the Kansas City Monarchs in 1933 and the tournament champion team in 1934. Yet, the fact that Cooper, McNair, and Starks played on an integrated team in 1933 and Cooper did so again in 1934 makes the games historically significant.\*



Young continued to play for the Monarchs, as shown in these photos from 1934 (courtesy of NoirTech Research). In addition to Negro Leagues clubs, he found other opportunities to play baseball that sometimes took him to other countries (Table 8). Young spent the winter of 1929–1930 with the Philadelphia Royal Giants, a Black ball club in the California Winter League.<sup>762</sup> In October 1930, he traveled to Cuba but played in only two games for Santa Clara before the season ended after five days in a dispute over money between players and owners.<sup>763</sup> In 1933–1934, Young returned to the Philadelphia Royal Giants in California. He also joined the team on its final tour of the of the Far East, with stops in Japan, China, the Philippines, and Hawaii. He wrote about his impressions of the places they visited for Wichita's *Negro Star* after he returned in April.<sup>764</sup>



Thus, Young was already a well-traveled ballplayer when he left the Negro Leagues after 12 seasons and played for the Alijadores de Tampico in the Mexican League in 1938 and 1939, as did Chet Brewer and James “Cool Papa” Bell. According to a January 1940 newspaper interview, he also played in South America, but details confirming this were not found.<sup>765</sup>

Where Young played in 1940 is unknown, though the April 1940 census recorded his occupation as “professional baseball, league team,” and the *Negro Star* reported in September that the “great ball player” was back in Wichita visiting his wife and relatives. The *New York Age* published a report in February that Young had been signed by the Lagunas of the Mexican League. The other players mentioned were Chet Brewer, Hilton Smith, Cool Papa Bell, and a first baseman named Williams. Smith, Bell, and Chester Williams (as shortstop and manager) played for Unión Laguna de Torreón (and other

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\* A biography of Alfred “Army” Cooper detailing his baseball career with the 25<sup>th</sup> US Infantry, Negro Leagues clubs, and independent teams, including his experiences on the tournament teams, is available in an open-access publication at [https://www.fhsu.edu/all\\_monographs/32/](https://www.fhsu.edu/all_monographs/32/) (Eberle 2022b).

clubs) in the Mexican League that year, but there is no record of Young or Brewer\* playing in Mexico in 1940.<sup>766</sup> In 1941, Young caught for the Newark Eagles and Philadelphia Stars of the Negro National League and the Kansas City Monarchs of the Negro American League. It was his final season in professional baseball.<sup>767</sup>

In February 1942, Thomas J. Young was employed by the Boeing Airplane Company in Wichita, according to his draft registration card. Later that year, he moved to Seattle, Washington, where his employers included the Group Health Hospital and a “state university.” Young was also a member of the Building Service Employees’ Union. He and his wife were divorced at some point in the 1940s. In the 1950 census for Seattle, Young’s wife was listed as Cornelia. Meanwhile, Flora E. Young reappeared in Wichita’s federal census, city directories, and city censuses beginning in 1950. She mostly lived alone on the same block of North Piatt Avenue where she and Tom had lived during the 1930s and early 1940s. Flora died in February 1967 and was buried in Wichita’s Highland Cemetery. Tom preceded her in death, passing away in Seattle on 27 December 1964. He was buried at Sunset Hills Memorial Park in Bellevue, Washington.<sup>768</sup>

### Cleo Morrison, Van Parks, and the Oswego Ramblers

The Oswego Ramblers was a Black team active in the southeastern Kansas town from 1928 to 1940. Cleo Morrison and Van Parks had been with the team as players and managers since at least 1932. The Ramblers played in a local Sundown (Twilight) League in 1934. The following year, they lost the “city championship” game to the white Oswego Merchants team, 8–4. In July 1936 and 1938, the Ramblers participated in the state semipro tournament held in Wichita, which included both white and Black clubs. Although the Ramblers had played white teams for several years, in August and September 1938, the team was integrated. As the Ban Johnson and Twilight Leagues in nearby Parsons were winding down their seasons, some of their players joined the Ramblers. For over a month, the Oswego Ramblers was a “diamond aggregation boasting outstanding white players from the [Parsons Ban Johnson] and Twilight clubs and some of the outstanding Negro baseball talent” from Oswego. The “mixed team” played several games against various opponents before cold weather brought an end to the season. Van Parks was the team’s player-manager, and Cleo Morrison pitched in some of the games. He had also been pitching for the otherwise white town team in Humboldt. The Ramblers played again in 1940 as an all-Black team.<sup>769</sup>

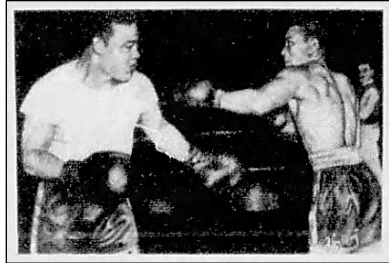
Cleo Hiram Morrison was born in Oswego on 5 August 1913, according to his 1940 draft registration card and census records. He had left Oswego to work as a chauffeur for an attorney in Parsons. In 1941, he was hired as a chauffeur for officers at the Kansas Ordnance Plant, also in Parsons. Morrison, “known popularly in Oswego as ‘Big Hands,’” was inducted into the army in March 1943. That summer, he was assigned to a tank destroyer unit, and he was promoted to corporal. He married Maple Ann Smith of Coffeyville sometime after November 1941, and they had a son, James. Cleo visited them in Chicago on one of his leaves

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\* Apparently incorrect reports mentioned that Chet Brewer pitched for the Memphis Red Sox in New York in August. There were also reports that he pitched for the Bakersfield (California) Colored Cubs in September, and he spent most winters between 1926 and 1945 playing baseball in California.

in 1943. He was discharged from the army in November 1945. After he moved to Chicago, he was difficult to follow. His obituary noted that he had been a dental technician for 41 years. He also managed youth baseball teams in a Pony League in 1958–1963. Cleo Morrison died on 31 January 1991 and was buried in Chicago’s Oak Wood Cemetery.<sup>770</sup>

Van Parks was born in Oswego, Kansas to Sam and Julia (Brown) Parks in 1915. He was one month old in the 1 March 1915 state census. The Social Security Death Index listed his birthdate as 11 February 1915. The month and day remained the same on subsequent documents, but the year was erroneously listed as 1917 on his 1940 draft registration card and 1918 in his enlistment file. His army enlistment record shows he was inducted as a private on 8 March 1941 in Springfield, Missouri. He was assigned to the Ninth US Cavalry and was in charge of recreation while they were stationed in southern Texas in 1942. “He says they’ve had a good baseball season.” Parks had always participated in various sports and was a Golden Gloves boxer as a light heavyweight and heavyweight in Kansas and Missouri. Parks served as a military policeman (MP) with the Ninth Cavalry in Africa and Italy in 1944 and 1945. While in Rome, he fought an exhibition match with former heavyweight champion Joe Louis (left in the photo; Parks on the right). Returning to the United States in the summer of 1945, he managed and played for an Oswego baseball team while on leave, waiting for his discharge in October 1945, with the rank of master sergeant. Parks lived in Los Angeles after the war, working a variety of jobs “before taking a position with the maintenance department at Dodger Stadium because of his love of baseball.” When his health declined, he returned to Oswego in the early 1980s. He died on 8 March 1993 and was buried in Tibbets Cemetery, south of Oswego.<sup>771</sup>



## Other Integrated Baseball Teams

Several Black ballplayers in Kansas also played for integrated teams in other states, mostly in Nebraska. As noted in essays for players from northern Kansas, including Bert Wakefield, Lem Clay, and Tab Tolbert, opportunities to play for town teams in southern Nebraska meant a trip for a single game or perhaps an entire season. Moses O’Banion moved to Nebraska and continued to play for integrated town teams. Bert Jones moved to Minnesota and played for several predominantly white teams in Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota. In addition to states north of Kansas, some players joined integrated teams in western states. For example, George William Castone played for an integrated minor league club in Aspen, Colorado and an integrated barnstorming team organized in Salt Lake City, Utah. Similarly, Bud Fowler played for minor league clubs in Pueblo, Colorado and Santa Fe, New Mexico, as well as an independent team in San Bernardino, California. The same opportunities were almost nonexistent in the South. Frank Maupin was a rare exception when he caught for an otherwise white semipro team in Kansas City, Missouri. Frank Palmer from Maryville, Missouri, less than 35 miles from Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, was the only Black player I could document playing for white town teams in Missouri—Maitland, Maryville, and Mound City—from 1895 to 1901.<sup>772</sup>

In addition to town teams and minor league clubs, other integrated teams were organized in Kansas. For example, in 1896, there was an integrated team in Coffeyville named the Checkerboard BBC created to play the city's first nine. "The ... team will be selected from the best players outside of the regular team, and will consist of both white and colored men, thus their name." The team's roster included each player's name, as well as his position, but none was identified as Black or white. The teams played each other at least four times in the spring. The roster of the Checkerboard BBC changed and not everyone was identified by their full name, but the team remained integrated based on a check of census records in Coffeyville for 1900.<sup>773</sup>

City and church leagues sometimes were integrated, although the teams usually were not. For example, in 1913, Dwight Eisenhower served as the umpire in Abilene's Sunday School Baseball League of segregated teams, one of which represented a pair of Black congregations. Ike was on summer leave after two years at the US Military Academy in West Point, New York. Similarly, Osage City had a Black ball club, the Colored Giants, in its City League in 1912. In 1919, the Wichita City League also included a team named the Colored Giants, featuring pitcher Andy "Lefty" Cooper, a future inductee of the National Baseball Hall of Fame. Conversely, the Topeka Giants were denied entry into the City League in 1915, with the other managers "deciding to draw the color line." Several years from 1927 to 1935, the Twilight League in Iola included a Black club, the Iola Ramblers, and on one occasion when they were not in the league, their pitcher and catcher played for one of the white teams in a league game. In addition, Lewis "Ax" Grubbs served as an umpire in the league.<sup>774</sup>

Some Kansas high schools had integrated baseball teams, as noted in the essays for George Sweatt and the three Kirk brothers. Others included in the biographies also might have played for integrated high school teams, as did Black students not included in this summary. Racial segregation of students in high school was only allowed in Kansas City, Kansas, but the situation regarding the rosters of baseball teams and other athletic squads at the schools varied from one city to the next, as described in Part II.

Some colleges in Kansas were integrated, at least to a small degree. As noted in the essays and summarized in Table A-9, Black ballplayers attended some of the colleges in the state. Among them, Thomas McCampbell played on integrated baseball teams for the State University (University of Kansas) and Washburn College (Washburn University), and Gaitha Page did the same at the State Normal School in Emporia (Emporia State University), as well as playing for the integrated football team. George Sweatt, on the other hand, played for the integrated football team at the State Normal School and the integrated teams in football, basketball, and track and field but not baseball at the State Manual Training Normal School in Pittsburg (Pittsburg State University). Similarly, George Kirk received a football scholarship to the College of Emporia. George William Castone, who attended the State Agricultural College (Kansas State University), was the only one who did not participate in college sports. Monroe Ingram also played on the predominantly white baseball team at the Kansas School for the Deaf, which was not a college, but his degree allowed him to obtain employment as a teacher, the career path also followed by Page and Sweatt. Of those completing their degrees, McCampbell was the exception with regard to

careers, earning degrees in pharmacy at the State University and medicine at Washburn College. While some colleges were willing to field integrated baseball teams, they were not always open to having Black umpires at their games. In 1906, the State University refused to play Washburn College in Topeka if Gaitha Page served as umpire. However, they did not object to Washburn having a Black player in its lineup (Ernest McCampbell, younger brother of Thomas McCampbell). The topic of Black umpires in games with white or predominantly white teams is the subject of the next essay.

In addition to integrated baseball teams at educational institutions, integrated teams competed in the prison system within the state. The Kansas State Industrial Reformatory in Hutchinson was established in 1885 and opened in 1895 for male offenders aged 16–30 with no prison record. The Reformatory began fielding segregated baseball teams in 1910, which competed with each other and later against outside teams. In 1916, an integrated team of the best players from the Reformatory joined the Sunday School League in Hutchinson, otherwise composed of five teams affiliated with local churches. The Reformatory team was named the Cappers, for Kansas Governor Arthur Capper. Local newspapers sometimes referred to them as the Herrings, after Reformatory Superintendent J.N. Herr. Their roster included at least four Black players (some were paroled before the season ended). Three were present for the team photo published in the *Reformatory Herald* in October (next page)—an occasional third baseman named Eckles (second from the left), pitcher Frank Jamison (sixth from the left, next to the trophy), and catcher Vernon Thistle, who played in every game and refused to wear a chest protector (ninth from the left). Jimmie Houston, second baseman at the beginning of the season, is not in the photo. The team also included one Mexican American player, shortstop Jose Flores (eighth from the left, next to the trophy). According to the team photo, the team finished the season with a record of 32–8, easily winning the championship of the Sunday School League, as well as winning most of their games against teams from other towns, to which they were allowed to travel. However, the league was not a financial success, reportedly for three reasons—hot weather, the dominance of the Reformatory team, and automobiles, even though Henry Ford had opened his first moving assembly line less than three years earlier. “Officials say people are too much interested in evening motor rides to attend ball games.” The Reformatory continued to field baseball teams that played outside opponents in subsequent years, but fewer details of the team were published.<sup>775</sup>

Vernon Thistle, the team’s catcher, had been sentenced to the Reformatory in January 1916 after pleading guilty to breaking into a house in Caldwell, Kansas and stealing a suit of clothes. He was released at the end of November 1916, but his freedom from incarceration was brief. In March 1917, he was taken to the Kansas State Penitentiary in Lansing for violating his parole in Kansas City. In the spring of 1917, he started the baseball season catching for an intramural prison team named the Miners, who were easily beaten by the Black Sox, the prison’s top team, which was integrated. Late in May, Thistle joined the Black Sox, primarily as the center fielder, but he also filled in as catcher and at second and third bases. Thistle typically batted first in the lineup. That summer, the Black Sox played teams from Fort Leavenworth; the cities of Lansing, Leavenworth, and Kansas City;



*The CAPPERS---Champions of the Hutchinson S S. League. Reading from left Cox, Eckler, Mariso, Bernowsky, Henderson, Jamison, Sam'l. Clark, Mgr., Flores, Thistle, Goul, Murdock, Beltz, Seiber. The percentage for the season was .800*

and the US Penitentiary in Leavenworth. In 14 games, the Black Sox compiled a record of 9–5. The following year, Thistle was the regular catcher for the Black Sox, but he returned to center field in 1919, his final year.<sup>776</sup>

The Black Sox had begun playing outside opponents in 1914. In 1912, a weekly newspaper was first published at the penitentiary—the *Penitentiary Bulletin*. A letter from an unidentified inmate in March suggested that a baseball team composed of inmates be allowed to travel outside the prison to play town teams around the state. At the time, the prisoners played only intramural contests within the prison walls. The writer predicted it would be a paying proposition through the 60–40 split of gate receipts for the winner and loser, respectively. “I believe that such a team would be a drawing card at the game, but this would largely be determined by the careful selection of ‘gentlemen’ who would not notice such trivial occurrences as the yelling of ‘convict’ from some wag in the grandstand.” For the experiment to succeed, the players—white and Black—would have to be disciplined enough to not react to the taunts of spectators who chose to display their prejudices. The editor of the *Bulletin*, the chaplain, did not consider the suggestion “practicable.” He explained, “baseball playing is not among the vocations for which men are being trained here.”<sup>777</sup> His views against playing teams outside the prison was soon overruled.

The first contest outside the State Penitentiary took place during the Decoration Day (Memorial Day) holiday in May 1914. The Black Sox, the prison band, a few officers, the chaplain, and the warden rode in a special street car to nearby Leavenworth, where they hiked the last two miles to the US Penitentiary. Their opponent that morning was the top team at the federal prison, the Booker T. Washingtons. Teams at the US Penitentiary were still segregated, and the roster of the Booker Ts was filled with Black inmates. In a close

contest, the Booker Ts led after six innings, 2–1, but the Black Sox scored twice in the seventh and added an insurance run in the eighth to win the contest, 4–2. The game lasted only one hour and twenty minutes. Perhaps not surprisingly, the *Penitentiary Bulletin* devoted much of its four pages on June 5 to the trip, the band, and the game.<sup>778</sup> Integrated teams, later playing under the name Red Sox, continued to represent the State Penitentiary against outside teams and even made barnstorming trips, as noted in the essay for Floyd “Jack” Wright, who pitched against the Red Sox in 1932 in southeastern Kansas.

The captain of the Black Sox was William “Buck” Weaver, who played first base. He had played in the major leagues for the Louisville Colonels and Pittsburgh Pirates from 1888 to 1894, mostly as an outfielder. He also played in the minor leagues (1886–1888, 1895–1905, 1909–1910). In 1912, Weaver pleaded guilty to statutory rape and was sentenced to 5–21 years at the State Penitentiary. After playing intramural baseball at the prison in 1912–1913 and with the Black Sox in 1914, he was paroled at the end of the year by the governor, who had been a teammate of Weaver’s in the 1880s.<sup>779</sup>

Another prominent player for the Black Sox in 1914 was Thomas Martin Carl, an African American born in Parsons, Kansas in March 1887. He was the team’s regular catcher. The 1910 census for Fort Worth, Texas, listed his occupation as “base ball player.” The Fort Worth (McGar’s) Wonders had a catcher named Carl that summer, who replaced future inductee to the National Baseball Hall of Fame Louis Santop of the 1909 Wonders.<sup>780</sup>

Carl’s life took a tragic turn after he returned to Kansas. In November 1910, he shot May Foster because she refused to marry him. Carl then shot himself in the chest, but the bullet narrowly missed his heart, and he survived. He admitted his guilt, and after recovering from his wound, he was sentenced to life in prison in March 1911.<sup>781</sup>

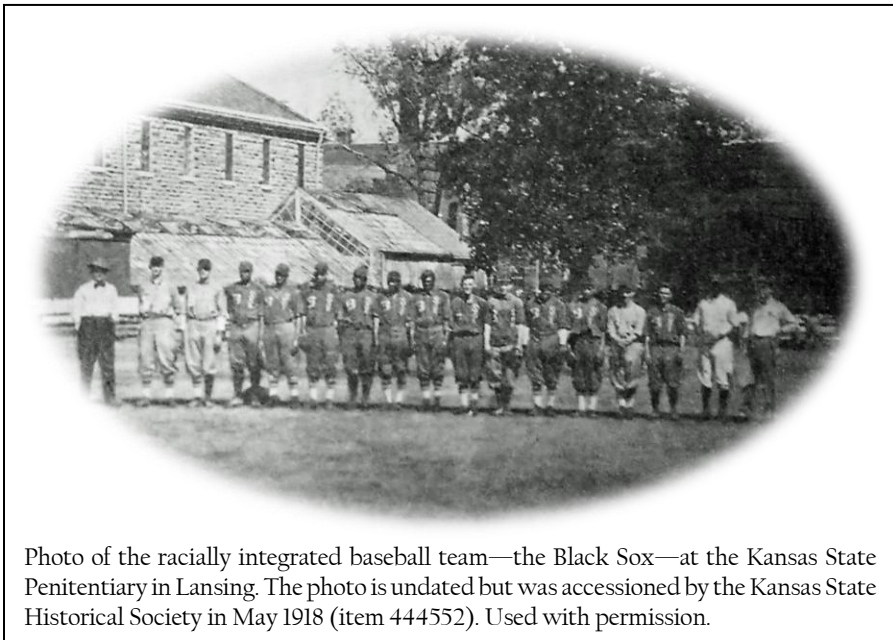


Photo of the racially integrated baseball team—the Black Sox—at the Kansas State Penitentiary in Lansing. The photo is undated but was accessioned by the Kansas State Historical Society in May 1918 (item 444552). Used with permission.



Given his recent experience catching for the Wonders in Texas, it is not surprising that Carl began playing baseball at the State Penitentiary, initially catching for an intramural team. In 1913, the deputy warden selected him to be one of the six members of the Baseball Committee that would oversee the sport at the prison, along with the chaplain. Carl was the manager for the Democrats, an intramural team that played during the Miner's Period on Saturdays, one of three leagues based on when the prisoners had their recreational period. In 1914, Carl, Weaver, a third prisoner, and the chaplain served as the Baseball Committee. Carl and Weaver both played for the Black Sox that season, Carl as catcher and Weaver as first baseman or outfielder, against various outside teams, with the US Penitentiary Booker Ts being the first. The *Penitentiary Bulletin* published the record of the Black Sox as the fictional "Inter-Prison League." (The wins and losses of the opponents indicate the Black Sox record was 11-4 rather than 12-4.) Following the release of Weaver after the 1914 season, Carl took over as manager of the Black Sox.<sup>782</sup>

INTER-PRISON LEAGUE				
TEAM	P.	W.	L.	Per
K.S.P. B. Sox	16	12	4	750
Moose	3	2	1	667
Cavalry	3	2	1	667
U. S. Prison	1	0	1	000
L. Athletics	1	0	1	000
Red Sox	2	0	2	000
M. A.	2	0	2	000
Presbyterians	2	0	2	000
Peet Bros.	1	0	1	000

Off the diamond, in March 1917, Carl "assumed charge of Post 5 at night," which explains why his occupation was listed as "Prison Guard" at the State Penitentiary on his 1917 draft registration card. Also in March, the *Penitentiary Bulletin* reported that Carl was one of four prisoners whose sentences had been reduced from life to 25 years. "These men for some weeks past have been performing the duties that were formerly in the hands of paid officials. They have done so to the entire satisfaction of all concerned. They have proven their competency and trustworthiness. They, and others occupying similar positions, have demonstrated that the honor system is a success." Carl also continued to play for the Black Sox, along with newcomer Vernon Thistle.<sup>783</sup>

Shortly thereafter, Carl was released from prison, and Vernon Thistle took over as the regular catcher for the Black Sox in 1918. Carl moved to Des Moines, Iowa, where he lived the rest of his life, based on census records, his World War II draft registration card, and his obituary. It was here that he married Gertrude Parker in January 1921. Tom Carl, whose professional baseball career ended almost as soon as it began in 1910, died in Des Moines in February 1983, just 16 days before his 96th birthday.

At the US Penitentiary in Leavenworth, regular competition among baseball teams was first organized in 1912. The ballpark in the prison provided seating for 1,500 spectators. Among the outside opponents played by the White Sox, the prison's white team, was the Kansas City Packers, a Federal League club. The game in September 1915 was the first played by a major league club against a team composed of prison inmates. Similarly, the Booker Ts, the prison's Black team, hosted the Kansas City Monarchs in 1922 and 1924. The major league clubs easily defeated the prison teams, which were otherwise successful against outside teams. Both of the US Penitentiary teams also continued to play teams from the State

Penitentiary after the initial contest in May 1914. Overall, the Booker Ts was the top team at the US Penitentiary, and after 1919, some of the players on the roster either had previously played or would play for Negro Leagues clubs. The White Sox also had former and future league players. The US Penitentiary teams remained segregated until 1926, when a team named the Federals was organized, and integrated teams occasionally played outside opponents through 1929. Reduced budgets for recreation during the Great Depression led to the merger of the White Sox and Booker Ts in 1933 under the name White Sox. Their schedule against outside opponents continued through 1941, but games were almost entirely intramural during the four years the United States fought in World War II.<sup>784</sup>

Perhaps the most unique integrated baseball team in Kansas prior to 1946 was organized in Horton. The Evans' All-Nations team "composed of Indians, Mexicans, negroes [sic] and white players" was organized on the eve of the United States entering the First World War. The Black manager of the team was Jesse Evans, who worked as a barber in the city.\* The team probably borrowed the name from the well-known barnstorming All Nations team managed by J.L. Wilkinson, who would organize the Kansas City Monarchs of the Negro National League in 1920. Wilkinson's All Nations team played in Horton in May 1916.<sup>785</sup> The first use of the name All-Nations for the Horton team was a few months later. The team began as the Horton Browns, the city's "Colored ball team" (Horton is in Brown County). The Browns defeated a local white team twice in October "for the city championship," with the help of a white ringer—pitcher Virgil "Zeke" Barnes from nearby Circleville. After the war, Barnes pitched in the major leagues, primarily from 1922 to 1928 for the New York Giants and Boston Braves.<sup>786</sup> In 1917, the Evans' All-Nations team played under that name after adding other white and Kickapoo players, as shown in the team photo on the cover (no Mexican players from the local railroad shops were mentioned in newspapers). Barnes pitched at least three games for the team, as well as playing for Wilkinson's All Nations team that summer. Most of the opponents of Evans' All-Nations were white teams, including the Horton town team, named the Federals. They also played a Black team (Topeka Giants) and the Mayetta Indians, from the nearby Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation. As players left for military service, the schedule of baseball games was reduced and Evans' All-Nations became Evans' Allies in 1918 and 1919, to end the multiracial team's brief run.<sup>787</sup>

## **Black Umpires, White Teams**

In addition to playing baseball on racially integrated teams, a few Black baseballists in Kansas served as umpires in games involving at least one white or predominantly white team during the period of segregation. Black umpires were unquestionably the most significant aspect of integration on the baseball diamond. As with Black players who served as captains (player-managers) of integrated teams (Table A-6), Black umpires held positions of authority over white players. Remarkably, at least eight Black baseballists in

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\* An open-access monograph with more information about Jesse Evans and Evans' All-Nations is available at [https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all\\_monographs/9/](https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all_monographs/9/) (Eberle 2019d).

Kansas umpired these games (Table A-6).<sup>\*</sup> What makes this even more remarkable is that umpires, including white umpires, were frequently vilified, especially by losing teams and the newspapers that supported them. This disdain would be even easier to direct at a Black umpire officiating a contest between white teams.

A Nebraska newspaper article places the accomplishments of these Black umpires in perspective. On 21 July 1890, the *Lincoln Daily Call* reported that George William Castone of the Lincoln Giants umpired a game with the white town team in Kearney, Nebraska. It was part of an opinion piece about the rowdy behavior at baseball games in Lincoln and the role played by bad umpires, while equating umpiring skills with skin color.

It is hardly ever the case you can find an umpire who has respect enough for himself or the game ... to do the square thing for both sides. It is pretty tough to say, but it goes for what it is worth, and the comparison is no credit to the white men who usually umpire base ball games. When the Giants would go to Kearney[,] the umpire was a source of great trouble. One day Castone umpired a game. There was not a kick from a player or a person in the grand stand or on the bleachers. It was a common understanding in Kearney that, when Castone was acting as the tenth man, he was acceptable as an umpire. One day a white man was getting rank in his decisions and the cry went up from the grand stand: "Where is the coon? Let that [n\_\_\_\_] umpire. He is the only white man that has been on these grounds." This is a pretty tough comparison, but it is true all the same; and if all base ball players were as white in their characteristics as Castone[,] the great national game would be a paying business in Lincoln.<sup>788</sup>

Perhaps not surprisingly, six of these Black umpires in Kansas officiated only a game or two involving a white team in their hometown, where they were well known on and off the ball field. This was also true for most active Black baseballists umpiring games between white teams anywhere in the country during the nineteenth century.<sup>789</sup> Thus, the fact that one Black umpire in Kansas officiated games in multiple towns over the course of a decade was the most incredible circumstance of all. However, there was one accomplishment denied Black umpires in Kansas. In 1885, Jacob Francis of Syracuse, New York became the first of only two known Black umpires in games between white minor league teams during the period of segregation, something not done by anyone in Kansas.<sup>790</sup>

**Bert Wakefield, Troy, Kansas.** The first Black umpire for a game between two all-white teams in Kansas was Bert Wakefield, who officiated a game between the second nine from Troy and the Denton town team in 1894. "Bert Wakefield gave satisfaction as umpire" on the Troy ball ground, where Denton easily defeated Troy, 16–5. He was also the

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<sup>\*</sup> Black umpires, including some not covered here, also officiated games between teams in city leagues, Sunday school leagues, and other settings during this period. The focus in this narrative is on Black umpires in games involving white or predominantly white teams that participated in intercity contests, the highest level of competition available to them at the time in Kansas. No Black umpires officiated games involving two minor league clubs playing in the state.

first Black ballplayer to serve as captain of an integrated team—the minor league Troy BBC in the Kansas State League in 1895. Ten years later, he captained the Troy town team. Wakefield was the only player in Kansas to fill the roles of both umpire and captain, which speaks to the respect in which he was held by the local baseball community. In addition to Wakefield's baseball experiences, Troy was also the site of one of the first documented games in Kansas between local white and Black teams of adult players in 1871.<sup>791</sup>

**James Hightower, Arkansas City, Kansas.** After he stopped playing baseball and moved to Arkansas City, James Hightower returned to the diamond as an umpire in 1894. The white Arkansas City town team hosted the team from Chilocco Indian Agricultural School about five miles southwest in Oklahoma Territory. The following summer, “Prof. Hightower” umpired a baseball game between Arkansas City and Newkirk, Oklahoma Territory. The game was played in Newkirk, about 12 miles south of Arkansas City.<sup>792</sup> He also officiated other sporting events between white opponents. In 1895, he refereed a pair of boxing matches in Arkansas City. The following year, Hightower was the umpire in the annual Thanksgiving Day football game between the host Arkansas City Tigers and an Oklahoma City team. The referee was white.<sup>793</sup> As Hightower and his family spent more time in Colorado Springs, his next duties as an official were in 1911 and 1913, when he refereed wrestling matches in Arkansas City. The opinion of “Prof. Hightower” regarding the 1911 match was appended to the story published in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*. Harry Faust, “The Rough House German” from St. Louis, lived up to his nickname and often strayed from the rules of engagement, making Hightower's job as referee more challenging.<sup>794</sup>

**Gaitha Page, Topeka, Kansas.** Gaitha Page umpired an exhibition game in 1905 between the Topeka minor league club—the Topeka White Sox (Western Association)—and Washburn College, a local school that had an integrated team. The team's Black player was Ernest McCampbell, from Kansas City, Missouri. He was the younger brother of Thomas McCampbell, who had played in Topeka with Gaitha Page in 1902–1903. Ernest McCampbell was studying for his medical degree at Washburn, which made him eligible to play for the school's baseball team. Nothing was mentioned about Page's umpiring, but it was an exhibition game dominated by the minor league club. For Washburn, “The most brilliant showing was made by McCampbell, a freshman Medic who played right field.” Most of the spectators from the college were also medical students. A few days later, the two teams played another exhibition match, but this time Page took the field as Washburn's shortstop and had two of the team's four hits.<sup>795</sup>

In 1906, the University of Kansas refused to play Washburn in Topeka if Page umpired. Ernest McCampbell played for Washburn in that contest, suggesting the presence of a Black player on the opposing team was acceptable but not a Black umpire. Thomas McCampbell had played baseball for the University of Kansas while he earned his degree in pharmacy, graduating in June 1901, as had other Black student athletes, before the university drew the color line.<sup>796</sup>

**Albert “Pomp” Reagor, Humboldt, Kansas.** Pomp Reagor had at least two opportunities to umpire games between two white town teams late in his career, both played in his hometown of Humboldt. In 1906, he umpired a game between Humboldt and Yates Center, two teams on which he had played. Humboldt won easily, 9–0. The newspaper account said nothing about the unusual circumstance, simply stating, “Pomp Rager [*sic*] acted as umpire.” The second game was in 1909 between Humboldt and Elsmore. It “was a splendid game,” with Humboldt the victors, 4–0. “One new and novel feature of the game was a colored man as umpire. Pomp Reager [*sic*], the old time colored pitcher, was chosen as umpire and gave splendid satisfaction. He surely ought to know the game.”<sup>797</sup>

**Brooks Lane, Iola, Kansas.** Unlike the aforementioned umpires, Brooks Lane is not known to have played for an integrated team involved in intercity competition. In fact, his experience as a player was limited to a few games among local players purely for recreation. Thus, he is not the subject of an earlier essay, and a little more information about his life is warranted.

Lane was born in Jefferson City, Missouri in 1875, but he was in Kansas at least as early as 1897, working in El Dorado, and he is listed in the census for 1900 in Iola. Other than his skin color, three features were often associated with him in local newspapers—he was overweight, he stuttered, and he was happy and quick with a joke. For most of his life, Lane was employed as a porter at hotels. His job often entailed meeting trains at the depot to encourage arriving passengers to stay with his employer and then assist them with their baggage. With his upbeat personality, he was a natural. However, this employment once led to a minor run-in with the law. Lane and two other porters were caught shooting dice while they waited for the next train. The three men were simply passing time, as they collectively had only 67¢, which “had changed hands many times.” The regular police judge was absent, and his replacement fined each man \$7. Lane protested because they had less than a dollar in the pot. The judge replied, “I heard you say you could seven and I supposed you had that amount of cash.” As noted by the *Iola Daily Record*, “The court is not very familiar with crap shooter terms.” Thus, the fine remained \$7 apiece. Lane also worked a few years as a baggageman at the Santa Fe depot and occasionally at other jobs.<sup>798</sup>

In addition to attending baseball games, Lane was engaged in other aspects of the community. For example, he was an avid theater goer, watching and critiquing various live performances by traveling troupes. In 1899, Lane organized a grand and successful cake walk in Iola, described in detail by the *Iola Daily Register*. Never one to let his stutter hold him back, Lane stepped in to serve as the master of ceremonies when the person hired for that role failed to show up and no one else would accept the position. With his sense of humor and upbeat personality, he “was the hit of the evening.” He also earned over \$50 after expenses.<sup>799</sup>

Lane was a member of several clubs and societies, including the Knights of Pythias and the Rose Hill Social Club. He was also known for his “deep base voice,” and he occasionally sang at church and various events, such as a ragtime solo he performed at a program of recitations and songs hosted by the Knights of Pythias. In 1914, Lane brought a similar program to the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church, where he organized and led

a literary society called the Forum. The programs were a mix of music, readings, and discussions of various topics. For a Forum in January 1915, which had relocated to the Second Baptist Church, President Lane arranged a special Emancipation Program. It included a reading of President Lincoln's proclamation and presentations by people with firsthand knowledge on subjects such as the Negro as a Citizen, Negro as a Preacher, Negro as a Doctor, Negro in Music, Negro as a Farmer, Negro as a School Teacher, and Our Negro Women. Unfortunately, the Forum programs apparently ended in March 1915.<sup>800</sup>

Lane was also active in the Democratic party, although the Republican party was supported by most African American voters at the time. In December 1912, the *Iola Daily Register* reported that the Democrats in control of the Kansas legislature would propose a law to force additional segregation in the state. According to the *Register*, "The adoption of such a radical law as a 'Jim Crow' law in Kansas, the state in the Union which above all others would be considered free from such legislation, probably would give rise to a reawakening of race sentiment throughout the country." Of course, there had always been segregation in Kansas. For example, Lane was a member of the "colored" Knights of Pythias, and in 1905, he was convicted of miscegenation. However, this new law was meant to extend legally mandated segregation into additional aspects of society within the state. In the *Register*, the story ran under the headline, "A Kansas Jim Crow Law? Break the News Gently to Brooks Lane." Nevertheless, Lane remained loyal to the party.<sup>801</sup>

To baseball enthusiasts in Iola, Lane was best known as an umpire. Iola had a talented Black team known as the Go-Devils organized in 1908. Lane umpired several of their games played against other Black teams, as well as some with white teams from small communities nearby. In 1913, on the Fourth of July, Lane umpired a doubleheader between the Go-Devils and the Iola White Sox, the city's white town team. Each team won a game. In addition to his knowledge of the rules, Lane's popularity came from his ability to control the behavior of the players. At a game between the Go-Devils and a team from Bartlesville, Oklahoma, "he won applause when he informed the visiting second baseman that another cuss word would send him to the bench."<sup>802</sup>

In 1912, Brooks Lane umpired his first game between two white town teams—the Iola White Sox and the visiting team from Moran. Iola lost, 7–4, but no complaints were raised against the umpire. Instead, the loss was blamed on errors, "most of them rotten and inexcusable." He followed this with two more games in 1913. In July, Lane worked with a white umpire in a game between the White Sox and Humboldt Grays. Lane was behind the plate. Humboldt won the sloppy game, 16–9, which featured 29 hits and 17 errors, about evenly split between the clubs. In addition, Iola's pitchers issued three walks and hit four batters. "The game lasted for almost three hours and everybody seemed glad when the agony was over." The second game in August was between the White Sox and the team from Ottawa. This contest was a pitchers' duel through the first six innings, with Iola finally winning, 5–1. "Hon. Brooks Lane officiated as 'umps' with his usual success." This time, he was the only umpire mentioned. Apparently, Lane did no more umpiring, as suggested by a note about a Go-Devils game in 1914. "Only one thing was missing from the diamond Sunday, and that was Brooks Lane, the favorite colored umpire."<sup>803</sup>

Sadly, Brooks Lane passed away soon after. He had been ill in 1916 and died in February 1917 of a stroke at only 42 years of age. The long obituary in the *Iola Daily Register* was full of praise for a life well lived. "For this man's friendships were not circumscribed by any color line. His own people loved him and were proud of him, but the white men who knew him liked him well and did not hesitate to call themselves his friends." The obituary went on to describe Lane's numerous activities in the community, but not baseball. However, that aspect of his life was included in the shorter obituary published by the *Allen County Journal*. "He was an enthusiastic base ball fan, and was a familiar figure on the diamond, having acted as umpire times without number." Lane was buried at Highland Cemetery in Iola.<sup>804</sup>

**James Orendorf, Osage City, Kansas.** Although James Orendorf began his playing career with a Black baseball team in Osage City in 1895, he also played for several years with the otherwise white town team. Following his years of experience as a player, Orendorf's career as an umpire apparently began in 1912 with the Osage City League. He umpired in the City League for a few years, and in the early 1920s, he umpired in a Sunday School league and a league of teams representing the four wards of the city. Orendorf was respected as an umpire, no small accomplishment in itself. In 1923, he even suffered two broken ribs while umpiring a game, which prompted the league to purchase a "real" chest protector. Ten years earlier, at a City League game, Orendorf had been presented with a gray sweater, which had "Umpire" across the back in blue letters.<sup>805</sup>

At the ball game Tuesday evening, a fine wool coat sweater was presented to Jas. Orendorf by the president of the city league, as a worthy token of the appreciation the league boys feel toward Jim, for his faithfulness in umpiring the ball games and his uniform fairness in all the games. It was nice for the boys to do and Jim appreciated the remembrance.<sup>806</sup>

The following year, the league postponed a game five days instead of finding a substitute umpire following the death of Orendorf's six-year-old son, McKenneth. The cause of death was reported as "congestion of the brain."<sup>807</sup>

Orendorf umpired his first intercity game between two white teams in July 1913, the same month he received his sweater. The Royal Tailors of Topeka traveled to Osage City for a game with the local town team. The game was tied at 4-4 after nine innings, and neither side scored in the tenth. In the top of the eleventh inning, with the bases loaded, the Topeka batter tried to stretch his long drive to center field into a homerun. "Umpire Orendorf called him out because the runner had failed to touch first base." Despite holding the lead, the "Topeka players got sore and forfeited the game to Osage City."<sup>808</sup>

Another 10 years passed before Orendorf umpired another intercity game. In June 1923, Osage City hosted the team from Fostoria. This time, the game was played to its conclusion, and Osage City won, 12-11. In this instance, each team provided an umpire, and Osage City chose Orendorf.<sup>809</sup> The availability of newspapers online after 1922 is sparse, so it is possible Orendorf umpired additional games under similar circumstances.

**Frank McVey, Concordia, Kansas.** Like Brooks Lane, Frank McVey apparently did not play for local town teams, but he did umpire games between white teams. McVey was born in Hope, Alabama in January 1862, and his family emigrated to Junction City, Kansas in 1867. Frank then moved to Concordia in 1877, where he lived most of his life. McVey was briefly an apprentice printer with the *Concordia Empire* but left to return to school, where he would also serve as the janitor, a position he held for more than 20 years. In 1889, he was released by the school board, who offered the questionable explanation that “he had held the position long enough.” However, McVey was extraordinarily popular with the teachers, who strongly protested his release, forcing the school board to rehire him. Initially, McVey and his family lived in an apartment in the school’s basement, and it was reported that students who became ill in class were taken to the apartment to be cared for and fed. He later purchased a home near the school, as well as other properties. McVey also worked as the janitor at the Presbyterian Church for 40 years.<sup>810</sup>

In addition to his positions with the school and church, McVey earned money by singing. A tenor who was praised for his ability to sing multiple genres of music, he was in great demand in Kansas and became widely known while traveling from Iowa to California, mostly singing at revival meetings and concerts. He also performed at political rallies, temperance meetings, and a women’s suffrage meeting in 1894, where he sang “Suffrage songs.” No tally of his performances was attempted, because limited access to newspapers in states other than Kansas would have resulted in a substantial undercount. However, the number almost certainly ran well into the hundreds. Most of his performances were in Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa, and he was often gone for weeks at a time, while his wife tended to the custodial chores. His talent was such that some newspapers referred to him as Professor McVey. The *Concordia Daily Blade* published a photograph of the “sweet voiced singer” in March 1905, which was also an important year in his career as an umpire.<sup>811</sup>



McVey was married twice. His first wife, Mary (Brown) McVey (also known as Mollie), worked with him as a janitor at the school. Two of their sons survived, and two children died in infancy. Mary died in June 1906 from a combination of heart failure and Bright’s disease (an old name for nephritis, a group of kidney diseases). In 1909, Frank married Mary Whitfield. Two years later, they purchased the Hotel Abyssinia in Denver and operated it until 1913. Initially, Frank returned to Concordia to work at the school when classes were in session, but he eventually made Colorado his primary residence until he and Mary moved back to Concordia in 1914.<sup>812</sup>

McVey only played baseball occasionally during the 1880s but not for the Concordia town team. In 1885, the *Junction City Tribune* reported details of a promotional excursion from Junction City to Concordia. Among the activities was a baseball game between teams



representing the two cities. “Frank McVey, ‘formerly of J.C.’[,] took part in the base ball game on the Concordia side.” He was one of the “picked up nine of valley amateurs” who played against the Junction City town team. Not surprisingly, Junction City won, 31–8. McVey also played in recreational contests among local players in 1886 (for the local printers) and 1888 (for the “Fats”).<sup>813</sup>

Despite his limited playing time, McVey umpired more games played by white teams than any other Black baseballist in Kansas. In fact, he umpired more of these games than all the other Black umpires combined. The first documented game McVey officiated was between Beloit and Scottsville in 1893. The team representing Scottsville included players from Concordia, as well as a Black pitcher from Frankfort—Lem Clay. An unspecified dispute between the two managers delayed the start of the match, but after it was settled, “the game commenced with Frank McVey of Concordia, umpire.”<sup>814</sup> Such disputes prior to games often concerned the selection of an umpire, but the newspaper report was silent on the issue in this case. No complaints against McVey’s umpiring were reported.

McVey’s next two games as umpire were in 1896. The first was a contest hosted by Concordia with Clay Center. It was a high-scoring but close game, with Concordia winning, 16–15. There were no complaints mentioned against the umpire. Later that summer, McVey umpired during a three-game series between Concordia and Minneapolis. How many games he umpired was not reported, but Concordia easily won all three. As described in an earlier essay, the Concordia Clippers that year was an integrated team, with Charles “Tab” Tolbert on the roster. The following year, Concordia, with Tolbert again playing, defeated Scottsville, 8–4, and “Frank McVey umpired the game to the satisfaction of all.”<sup>815</sup>

The next report found of McVey as umpire was in 1903, when Concordia defeated Chapman, 5–0. The Chapman manager offered a complimentary but racist appraisal of McVey as umpire. “That’s the whitest black man I ever saw.” In response, the *Concordia Daily Blade* noted but did not question the appropriateness of the comment. “As an umpire Frank McVey is so fair and decent that even the visitors complimented him.”<sup>816</sup>

McVey’s busiest season as an umpire was 1905. It began in May, when the team from Clyde complained about the white umpire during the fifth inning of a close contest with Concordia, “and McVey was substituted.” In the bottom of the eighth inning, Concordia scored two runs to take a 5–3 lead, but Clyde tied the game in the ninth. Concordia scored the winning run in the bottom of the inning. No complaints against McVey were reported, despite the competitive nature of the contest and the earlier willingness to remove the white umpire.<sup>817</sup>

In July, McVey did something the other Black umpires in Kansas did not. He umpired games away from home that did not involve his hometown team. Even the Scottsville team that played in Beloit in 1893 included Concordia players. In 1905, two games that did not involve Concordia players were played in Courtland, about 20 miles northwest of Concordia. The visiting team was from Smith Center. As though nothing unusual had happened, the *Courtland Comet* reported, “Our old friend McVey came up from Concordia to umpire the ball games.” Courtland won both contests, 2–1 and 6–4. According to the

*Courtland Register*, “McVey, of Concordia, umpired the games in a satisfactory manner.” The games were played on a Friday and Saturday, and “Friday evening [McVey] sang for the people who gathered at the bank to eat ice cream.”<sup>818</sup>

Yet this was not the only time McVey umpired under these circumstances. Soon after the games in Courtland, McVey was asked to umpire a game during the baseball tournament in Downs, which involved the town teams from Burr Oak, Downs, Scottsville, and Smith Center. Downs is about 47 miles west of Concordia, and 1905 was the first year for what became the town’s popular tournament, which ran until the 1930s. Each team played one game against each of the other teams. Downs won the inaugural tournament with three wins and no losses. “As was to be expected the losing teams were inclined to find fault with the umpire, and attempt to charge their defeat to his account.” Thus, A.B. Dillon, the white umpire who had been officiating the games, “asked to be relieved in the Downs-Scottsville game, and the management substituted McVey, the big colored umpire from Concordia.” Downs won its third game in a one-sided affair, 11–4.<sup>819</sup>

A newspaper in Burr Oak complained about the umpiring in Downs, but a newspaper in neutral Osborne, home of the Kirk brothers, rose to the defense of the arbiters. It pointed out that Downs won its first game against Smith Center, 11–1. “No umpire on earth could have made it that bad.” Downs defeated Burr Oak in its second game, 3–1, and the Osborne newspaper pointed out that Burr Oak managed only three hits. Both of these games were officiated by Dillon. “Frank McVey, a colored man, umpired the last day [when Downs defeated Scottsville] and no more impartial man ever stepped onto the diamond.”<sup>820</sup>

And McVey was not done. In mid-August, he traveled to Jewell, about 27 miles from Concordia, to umpire a doubleheader—Concordia versus Jewell in the first game and Belleville versus Lebanon in the second. The games were part of Jewell’s Old Settlers’ Day celebration. Jewell and Belleville won their respective contests. To top off the day, the festivities “closed with a concert by Frank McVey, soloist, and the Smith Center band.”<sup>821</sup>

The comments about McVey’s experiences in Courtland and Jewell, in which he sang after the games, probably explain, in part, how he came to serve as an umpire in games between white town teams away from Concordia. First and foremost, despite not playing much baseball, he apparently understood the game well enough that he was respected for his knowledge of the rules and his skills as an umpire. Yet, so were Wakefield, Page, Reagor, Lane, and Orendorf, who never umpired away from their hometowns.

The difference was that McVey was widely known and respected off the diamond as a singer. The hundreds of performances he had already given over three decades speak to his talent as a performer but also to his ability to interact and connect with the people in these rural communities. This is corroborated by the action teachers took in Concordia when they demanded the school board rehire McVey as the school janitor. Thus, McVey was not only popular in his adopted hometown, he was also well known across a large portion of Kansas. This opened the opportunities he had to cross baseball’s color line in multiple towns and assume the ultimate role of authority over white ballplayers “to the satisfaction of all.” In addition, his experience as a singer probably meant that he knew how to project his voice while calling a game, something both players and fans appreciated.

Frank McVey died of heart failure in February 1920 at age 58 after suffering from cardiovascular problems for two years. Notice of his death was published in newspapers throughout the region, and the flag at Washington School in Concordia was flown at half-staff. McVey was buried with his first wife in Concordia's Pleasant Hill Cemetery.<sup>822</sup>

**Lewis "Ax" Grubbs, Iola, Kansas.** Ax Grubbs played for the Chanute Black Diamonds and Iola Go-Devils, as well as one game with the Chanute town team in 1905. He continued to be involved in baseball after his playing days ended. In 1927, he earned a good reputation as an umpire for games among Iola teams. His performance was "greatly appreciated by the players." That same year, Grubbs was scheduled to umpire a game between the host Iola Ramblers, who had replaced the Go-Devils, and the visiting white town team from Colony. In 1930, he was one of the umpires for a game between the Ramblers and the Iola town team on George Sweatt Day held to honor the former Negro National League player from nearby Humboldt. Sweatt pitched and played first base for the Ramblers. In 1932, Grubbs was one of three umpires in a game between the integrated Red Sox, composed of prisoners at the Kansas State Penitentiary, and the Iola Merchants. The Merchants added a Black pitcher, Floyd "Jack" Wright, to their roster for the game.<sup>823</sup> This made Grubbs the last known Black umpire in a game involving at least one predominantly white team prior to 1946.



## Part II — Integrated Baseball and Historical Context

### Documenting the Rise and Fall of Integrated Baseball in Kansas

Information in Part I about the players, teams, and umpires participating in integrated baseball was obtained primarily from digital newspapers. Not all newspapers have survived, but the arrangement by the Kansas State Historical Society to have its large collection of newspaper microfilm for the state through the early 1920s digitized by Newspapers.com provides a substantial collection. The number of digital newspapers declines substantially after this period, which reflects adherence to copyright laws, but the number of integrated baseball teams had already declined substantially.

Other limitations to data access are related to the ability to obtain information from digital newspapers. The quality of the newsprint and images of that newsprint varies considerably, which limits the effectiveness of the search functions. Even when the quality of the newsprint was reasonably sharp, there were limits to the effectiveness of the search for data because reports of the race of ballplayers were inconsistent. In some instances, the race of Black ballplayers was not mentioned because people in smaller communities already knew who they were.

Search terms used in this study relied on pairs of words, such as “colored player” or “Negro pitcher,” that were likely to identify Black baseball players. Sometimes the proximity of the terms in the news story were not close enough to each other (within two words). For example, a search for “colored player” would be picked up in the phrase “colored ball player” but not “colored base ball player.” Thus, searches were conducted by using additional combinations of words that personal experience indicated were used most often in newspapers of the time. Once a player was identified, additional searches were conducted with the player’s name and related terms.

With consideration of these caveats, the assumption made here is that the reasonably large sample of data obtained (Appendix Table A-1) was sufficient to provide an accurate portrait of integrated baseball in Kansas between 1865 and 1945.

Most of what follows in Part II is a set of short essays that provide historical context about exclusion and segregation based on race in Kansas to offer perspective for the integrated baseball teams that took the field in the state prior to 1946. The importance of integrated baseball cannot be fully appreciated without understanding the broader nature of exclusion and segregation. However, the focus of this manuscript is an important aspect of baseball history. With that audience in mind, the contextual essays are brief and include connections to baseball. Additional information about these topics (minus the baseball) is available through sources in the endnotes for those who seek more detail.

These essays are preceded by an essay on population dynamics and followed by an essay on the broader history of segregated and integrated baseball in Kansas and elsewhere. (Mills and Seymour described similar events nationally.<sup>824</sup>) Together, these opening and closing essays provide possible answers as to where, when, and why integration on the baseball diamond occurred in Kansas during the era of segregation.

# Historical Context for Integrated Baseball in Kansas Prior to 1946

## Population Dynamics

Population dynamics influenced the prevalence of integrated baseball teams in Kansas in both place and time. During the 1850s and 1860s, the population of Kansas expanded rapidly as white and Black settlers moved in, and American Indians, who had occupied the region for thousands of years, were relocated to the Oklahoma and Indian Territories (present-day Oklahoma) or were driven out through brutal warfare.<sup>825</sup> The initial increase in the African American population of Kansas occurred before and during the Civil War as slaves fled to the state, mostly from Missouri (Figure 1).<sup>826</sup> The next substantial increase began during the late 1870s (Figure 1). Reconstruction and the presence of federal troops in the South ended after 1876, and Black residents, referred to as Exodusters, left increasingly oppressive conditions for Kansas over the next few years.<sup>827</sup> However, adults moving to Kansas during the Civil War and the Kansas Exodus focused on earning a living and establishing themselves in their new home rather than playing baseball.

Many of the early Black baseball players in Kansas were children of these immigrants. Among them was Bert Wakefield, a native of Troy, Kansas, whose mother crossed the Missouri River into the state during the Civil War. In addition, children who arrived during the Kansas Exodus played baseball as adults. Among them was Lem Clay, who was born in Kentucky and moved with his parents to Frankfort, Kansas. Other ballplayers were born in Kansas to Exoduster parents from Kentucky, Tennessee, or elsewhere in the South. Such was the case with the Coffee, McAlister, and Potter brothers, who were born in rural Marshall County near Frankfort and played after Lem Clay's career had ended. Thus, many early Black ballplayers in Kansas through the turn of the century were the children of immigrant parents escaping slavery or oppression in the South.

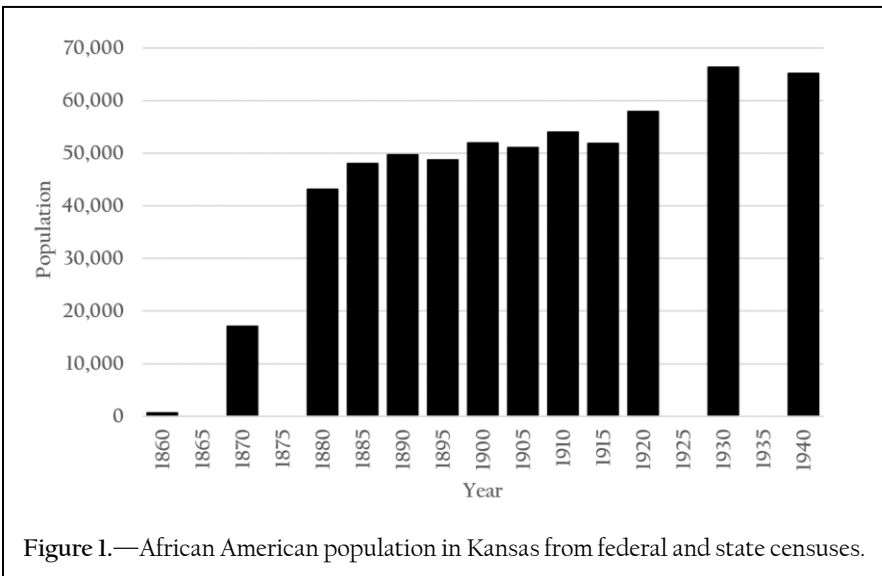
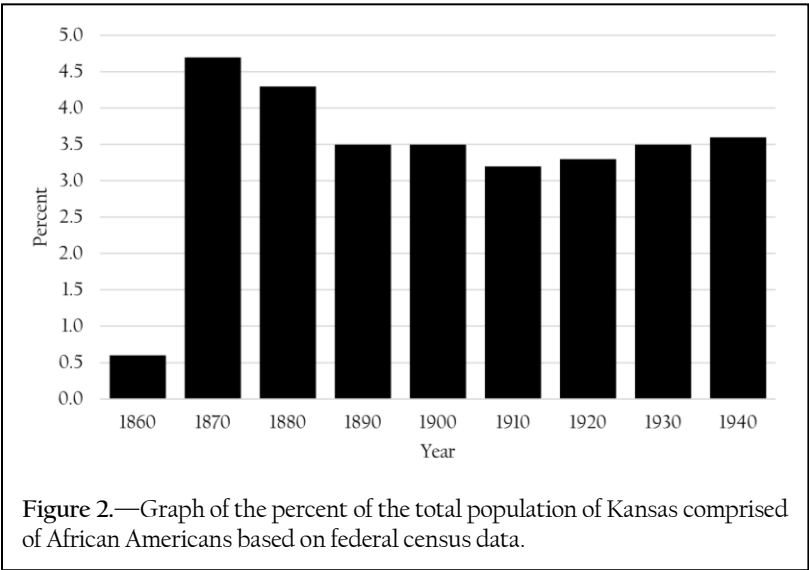


Figure 1.—African American population in Kansas from federal and state censuses.

A third wave of African American immigrants began to arrive in Kansas around the time of the First World War (Figure 1). In the early years of this Great Migration, the destinations of most immigrants were larger cities in the Midwest and Northeast. The shift in population was primarily a response to racial violence and the decline of employment opportunities in the South due to the increased mechanization of farming. At the same time, jobs became available in the industrial North during World War I as men entered the military and immigration from Europe declined.<sup>828</sup> Although the African American population of Kansas increased during this period, the relative proportion of African Americans in the state's population remained relatively stable from 1890 to 1940 (Figure 2). However, this third population increase occurred at a time when integrated baseball was much less common, so the Great Migration contributed little to the rosters of integrated teams in Kansas.

Prior to 1946, integrated teams in Kansas were much more likely to represent small towns than large cities, such as Wichita, Topeka, or even Atchison. Using federal census data from 1880 to 1940 and the state census of 1875, population values were assigned to the cities for each year in which they had an integrated team (Table 9).\* Populations were assigned to cities based on teams that played during 10-year periods beginning four years before a census and ending five years after the census. For example, Topeka had integrated teams in 1886 and 1888, which were both in the 1890 census period of 1886 to 1895. Topeka also had integrated teams in 1898, 1902, and 1903, which were in the 1900 census period of 1896 to 1905. Populations of the cities ranged from 163 to 33,608. An additional 20 communities had no federal population data comparable to those used for the cities (Table 9). These locations consisted of small, unincorporated towns and rural townships.



\* Wichita underwent rapid population growth between 1870 and 1880 (from 689 to 4,911 residents), so the 1875 state census population (2,580) was assigned to the city's 1874 integrated baseball team.

**Table 9.**—Populations of cities in Kansas at the time they had racially integrated town teams or minor league baseball clubs prior to 1946. Comparable populations were not reported for unincorporated communities in the federal censuses, but they would have been small.

Population Range	Number of Communities	Years with a Team
≥ 30,000	1 city (Topeka)	5
20,000–29,999	1 city (Wichita)	1
10,000–19,999	1 city (Atchison)	6
5,000–9,999	6 cities	16
1,000–4,999	40 cities	143
≤ 999	37 cities	62
Unincorporated	20 communities	22

Only nine cities had an integrated team when their populations were greater than 5,000. The inclusion of the three largest cities—Topeka, Wichita, and Atchison—skewed the average population of the cities substantially higher, from 1,900 to 2,790, indicating that the mean population is uninformative. In comparison, the median population was only 1,346, which indicates just how small the towns with integrated baseball teams were. In addition, only one of the nine cities with a population greater than 5,000 had integrated teams after 1905—Iola in 1915 and 1932. In contrast, 35 communities with populations less than 5,000 had integrated teams after 1905.

Overall, however, there was a decline in the number of integrated teams after the turn of the century. This coincided with a shift in the Black population from rural to urban communities (Table 10), which matched the general population trend.<sup>829</sup> In 1870, following the influx of immigrants during the Civil War, the rural population of African Americans was greater than the urban population. In 1880, both populations were substantially larger and essentially equal as a result of the Kansas Exodus. Thereafter, the rural population declined about 40% through the early twentieth century, while the urban population more than doubled. The correspondence between the decline in the rural population of African Americans and the decline in integrated baseball teams, which were mostly in small communities, suggests that the population decline was a contributing factor.

**Table 10.**—Numbers of African Americans in Kansas living in urban and rural communities. The census defined urban as incorporated cities of at least 2,500 people.

Year	Urban	Rural
1860	281	346
1870	7,313	9,795
1880	21,775	21,332
1890	28,170	21,540
1900	31,763	20,240
1910	36,196	17,834
1920	42,096	15,829
1930	51,281	15,063
1940	52,200	12,938



In addition, opportunities to play on Black ball clubs increased after 1900 in some of the smaller cities in Kansas, such as Chanute and Iola (Table 11). In part, these “opportunities” may have been driven by increases in the white populations. These increases would provide a larger number of potential white baseball players living in the community and an expanded economic base to support the cost of importing talented white players.

**Table 11.—Total populations from federal censuses for Chanute and Iola, Kansas.**

	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Chanute	2,826	4,208	9,272	10,286	10,277	10,142
Iola	1,706	5,791	9,032	8,513	7,160	7,244

As shown in Table 12, there were also increases in the African American populations of Neosho County (Chanute) and adjacent Allen County (Iola) after 1900 that could better support Black teams, such as the Chanute Black Diamonds and Iola Go-Devils. The Black Diamonds were first organized in 1900 and included players from Chanute, Iola, and Humboldt, at a time when the African American population in the two counties was relatively small. During a period of rapid population growth in Iola between 1900 and 1910, the Go-Devils were organized in 1908 by players from Iola and Humboldt, and they became rivals of the Black Diamonds.<sup>830</sup>

Elsewhere, the African American population in Doniphan County was relatively stable after 1900 (Table 12), which allowed Bert Wakefield and others to regularly organize a Black ball club in Troy. This is in contrast to the Black Diamonds in Marshall County, who had trouble filling all nine positions in 1920, when the population of African Americans began to decline substantially (Table 12), and the Coffee, McAlister, and Potter brothers began to move away. Other small cities that fielded integrated teams, such as Concordia, with Tab Tolbert, Sam Strothers, and others, always had a small African American population that made it impossible to sustain a local Black ball club (Table 12).

**Table 12.—African American populations from federal censuses for selected counties in Kansas that had integrated baseball teams.**

County (City)	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	2020
Allen (Humboldt, Iola)	152	350	394	386	1,047	684	527	513	186
Cloud (Concordia)	7	41	34	61	58	62	39	28	123
Doniphan (Troy)	833	914	767	813	683	597	633	587	268
Marshall (Frankfort)	8	231	286	266	244	161	92	50	42
Neosho (Chanute)	45	374	330	281	376	532	569	448	148

As the number of integrated baseball teams declined through the twentieth century, the continued association of these teams with smaller communities rather than larger cities is illustrated by the experiences of T.J. Young, who was talented enough to catch for the Kansas City Monarchs and other prominent clubs. He was a Wichita resident but was denied opportunities in 1926, 1929, and 1931 to play for integrated teams in Wichita (1930 population of 111,110). Yet, in 1933, before rejoining the Monarchs, Young agreed to catch a game for the otherwise white town team in nearby Mulvane (1930 population of 1,042).

Another population dynamic not based on numerical data also influenced the presence or absence of integrated teams. The choice of being represented by an integrated team was a decision made by individual communities, not a broader authority, as in organized baseball. Thus, communities with comparable population metrics could choose to make different decisions. In just the same way, local choice influenced another passionately debated baseball topic of the era—whether to ban or allow Sunday baseball—a decision the Kansas Supreme Court left to individual cities rather than the state.<sup>831</sup> As a result, with respect to the composition of team rosters, local choice resulted in punctuated segregation on Kansas baseball diamonds, in which segregation was widespread but broken at various times and places by integrated teams.

In addition, the association of integrated teams with small communities probably reflects the likelihood that residents knew and had at least occasional contact with a broad cross-section of the community, regardless of race. In small communities, local players, both Black and white, would have known each other and their supporters. Consider that a substantial number of the residents of Troy, a city of 700–900 people, likely knew barber Bert Wakefield away from the baseball field, where he served as captain of the minor league club in 1895. In contrast, the proportion of about 24,000 Wichita residents who had any contact with Sylvester Anderson of the Wichita Rattlers would have been much smaller, despite the fact that he played for the top team representing the city in 1896. This situation in 1896 also differed from the circumstances in Wichita in 1874, when the population was only about 2,500, and Hoyt and Johnson, whose Black team had played a local white team, were invited to fill roster vacancies of the white Douglas Avenue Nine in a game against the visiting white team from El Dorado. Community familiarity in small towns probably increased the likelihood of an integrated baseball team, though the decision was still subject to local choice.

With regard to changes across time, Figure 3 shows the rise and fall in the numbers of integrated teams in Kansas from 1874 to 1925. Figure 4 shows a similar pattern for the numbers of Black players on integrated teams, several of whom played for multiple teams in some years. The pattern in Figure 3 is similar to that in Figure 5, which shows the smaller numbers of integrated minor league and major league clubs in the United States and Canada during the same time frame. However, the peak in organized baseball, which was curtailed by the National Association of Base Ball Players and its successors, occurred a decade earlier than the peak in Kansas, where decisions were made locally. The reasons for the difference are explored in the later essay on integrated baseball, following the presentation of additional historical information.

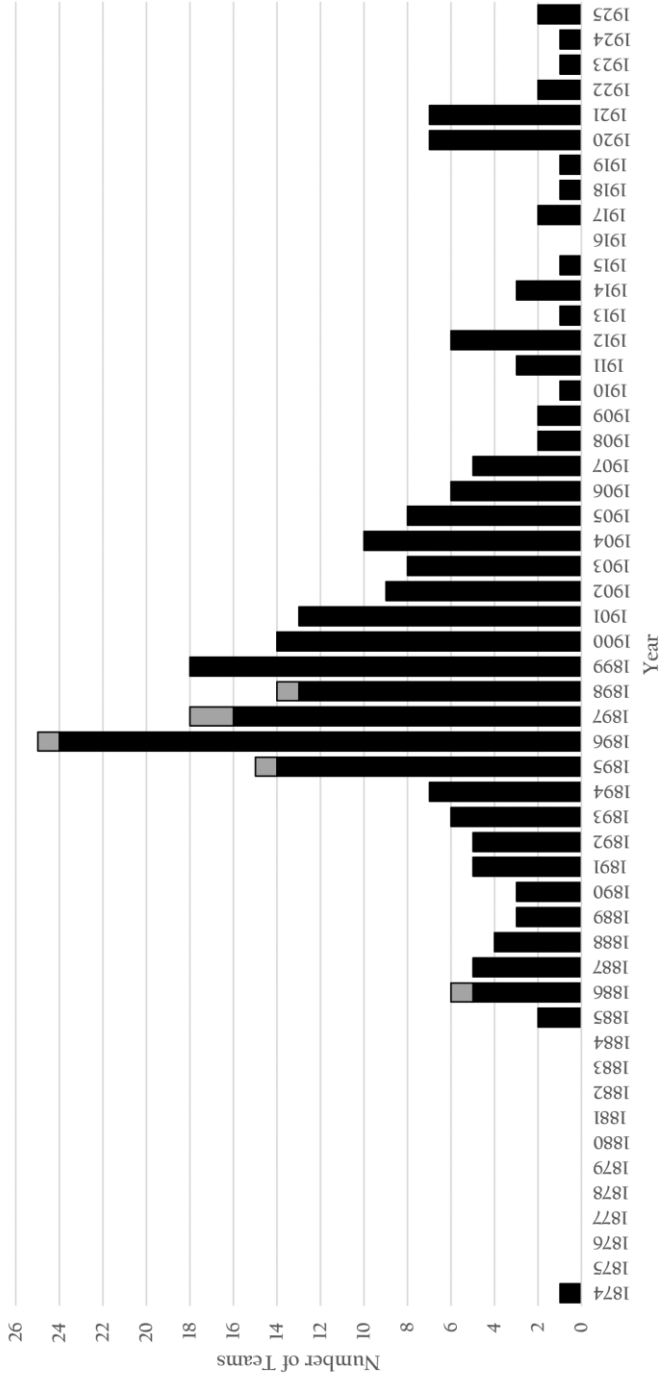
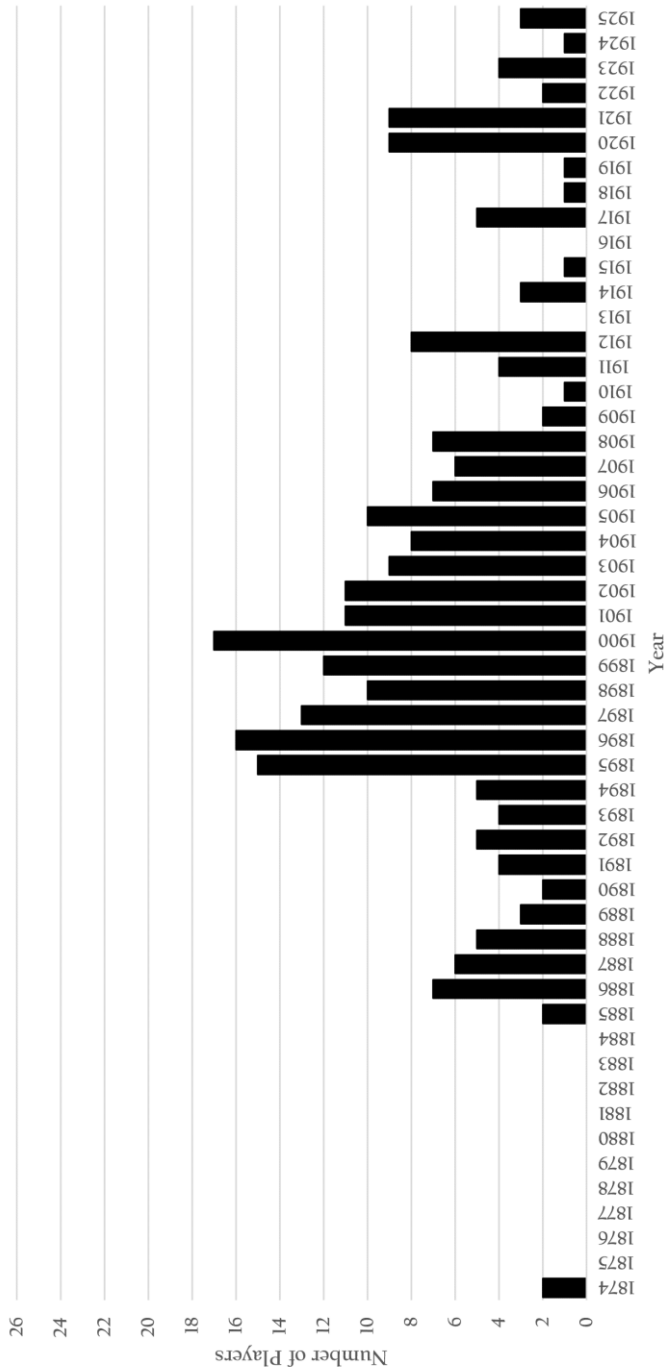
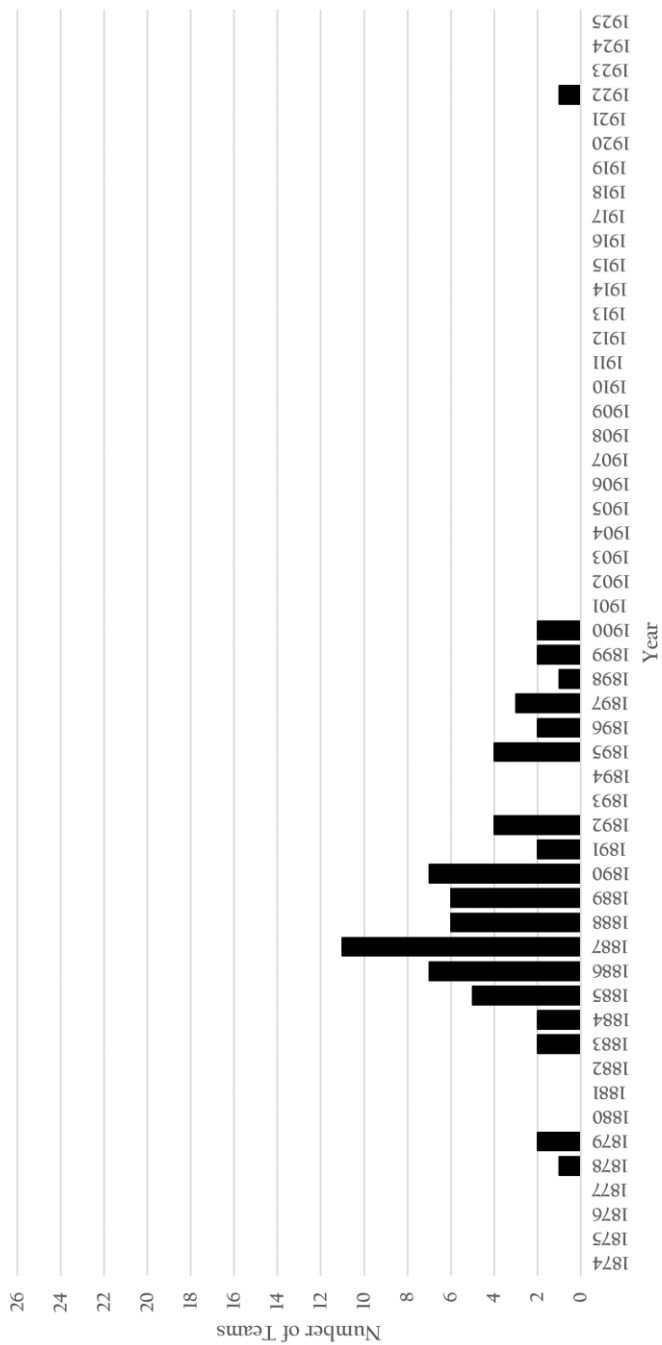


Figure 3.—Numbers of racially integrated baseball teams in Kansas each year prior to 1946 from Table A-1. Town teams (black) and minor league clubs (gray) are included, but not school teams, prison teams, or teams in local leagues. Also not shown are the integrated town teams in 1928, 1932, 1933, and 1938. All other years not shown had no documented teams, though they might have existed. Compare with the pattern in Figure 5, which shows the numbers of integrated minor league and major league clubs in the United States and Canada during the same period.



**Figure 4.**—Numbers of players competing on racially integrated baseball teams in Kansas each year prior to 1946 from Table A-1. Town teams and minor league clubs are included, but not school teams, prison teams, or teams in local leagues. Also not shown are the years with integrated town teams in 1928, 1932, 1933, and 1938. All other years not shown had no documented teams, though they might have existed. An unknown number of players from the Frankfort Black Diamonds played for the Lillis town team in 1913, so no number is included in the graph. Also not included are the numbers of players on the 1887 Western Cyclone BBC of Nicodemus and the 1896 Wichita Rattlers, which were predominantly Black ball clubs.



**Figure 5.**—Numbers of racially integrated minor league and major league baseball clubs each year in the United States and Canada based on the careers of 35 Black players (Table A-11). The peak was a decade earlier than the peak for integrated town teams and minor league clubs in Kansas (Figure 3). Scales of the vertical and horizontal axes match Figure 3.

In 2018, the Kansas Secretary of State reported 626 incorporated cities in the state, and the Kansas State Historical Society estimated there were almost 10 times that many ghost towns.<sup>832</sup> Thus, the 103 communities known to have had integrated baseball teams prior to 1946 (Table A-3) represent only about 1.5% of the combined total. Even when focusing on the 626 incorporated cities, only 88 (14%) are known to have had integrated teams. Narrowing the scope even further, 185 communities in Kansas are known to have fielded a Black baseball club or an integrated team, but only 38 had both. Of the 103 communities with integrated teams, 63% never had a Black ball club. Of the 120 communities known to have had Black baseball clubs prior to 1946 (Table A-4), only 32% also had an integrated team, again reflecting the importance of local choice.

In short, the vast majority of Kansas communities never fielded a baseball team with one or more Black players prior to 1946. There were exceptions, but in general, cities with an African American population large enough to support a Black ball club fielded segregated teams. In contrast, smaller communities, some with few or no Black residents, were more likely to field an integrated team on occasion based on local choices. Integrated baseball teams declined during the early twentieth century as the rural demographics shifted, along with other contributing factors, as will be explored later in the essay on integrated baseball.

Punctuated segregation in baseball occurred in Kansas even though public support for segregation or the outright exclusion of nonwhite residents in various public interactions had prevailed since the establishment of the Kansas Territory in 1854. Yet, virtually none of this segregation or exclusion was required by law, just as there was no written rule excluding Black players from organized baseball. Thus, segregation, in general, was instituted through actions taken at the level of individual communities,<sup>833</sup> which included the decision of whether or not to field an integrated baseball team. To better appreciate the significance of the integrated baseball teams that represented more than 100 communities in Kansas during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, brief descriptions of the state's *de facto* segregation (segregation by custom) and *de jure* segregation (segregation by law) are presented in the following essays.

### *Law and Politics*

The issue of whether slavery would be allowed or banned in Kansas led to violence during the 1850s, a period known as Bleeding Kansas.<sup>834</sup> To gain statehood, a constitution had to be approved in the territory and by Congress. To that end, four constitutions were written in the Kansas Territory, and each differed on the legal standing of African Americans, as well as American Indians and women. The first was the Topeka Constitution written in 1855, which prohibited slavery but permitted only white males and American Indian males who had “adopted the habits of the white man” to vote. Congress rejected it.<sup>835</sup>

The Lecompton Constitution was written in 1857, and the question of slavery was to be placed before voters. However, a vote for the version without slavery would not free slaves already in the state. As a result, most of those opposed to both versions of this constitution refused to vote, so the version allowing slavery was submitted to Congress. The US Senate approved it, but the House of Representatives voted for resubmission. When resubmitted for a vote in the territory in August 1858, the voters overwhelmingly rejected it.<sup>836</sup>

In the meantime, a new territorial legislature dominated by those opposed to slavery had convened and called a third constitutional convention. The Leavenworth Constitution omitted any mention of race and would not bar the immigration of free African Americans. It was completed in April 1858 but received no serious consideration after the defeat of the Lecompton Constitution.<sup>837</sup>

The Wyandotte Constitution was written in July 1859 and approved by voters in October. It differed from the earlier constitutions with regard to the boundaries of the proposed state. The northern, eastern, and southern borders were the same as they are now, but the western boundary was moved from the continental divide to its present location. This constitution barred slavery, but it limited the vote to white males, excluding African Americans, American Indians, and all women. However, women were allowed to vote in school district elections. This constitution moved slowly through Congress and was only approved after members from the South began to abandon their seats as their states seceded. Kansas finally became a state on 29 January 1861, on the eve of the Civil War.<sup>838</sup>

The choice to bar slavery and the role the territory had played in the prelude to the Civil War, where John Brown first earned his fame, gave Kansas a widespread reputation unmatched by other states and territories as sympathetic, even supportive, of African Americans, a view of the state held by African Americans and white Republicans in the state.<sup>839</sup> To maintain this view, Republicans, who usually dominated the state's politics and were supported by Black voters, generally avoided passing laws restricting or protecting the rights of African Americans and allowed *de facto* segregation to become the established norm. Nevertheless, there were several important court cases regarding discrimination and segregation in the nation and in Kansas during the period under consideration here.

In 1883, the US Supreme Court issued a ruling in the *Civil Rights Cases*, which was a consolidation of five cases from as many states brought under the federal Civil Rights Act of 1875. The law entitled all citizens equal access to “accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges” of inns, public transportation, theaters, and other entertainment venues. The majority opinion issued by Justice Joseph Bradley declared the law to be unconstitutional.<sup>840</sup>

One of the five cases was *United States v. Stanley*, in which one of the owners of the City Hotel in Hiawatha, Kansas, Murray Stanley, ejected Bird Gee, a local Black man, from the hotel in October 1875. It was the first action brought in the state under the Civil Rights Act of 1875. Troy's *Weekly Kansas Chief* published a report of the initial hearing the following April and offered an opinion supportive of the plaintiff. “The testimony on both sides went to show that Bird Gee, a man of color—and, by the way, a gentleman—was, in October last, refused the privileges extended to other guests of the house, simply because his skin did not happen to be quite as white as that of the other guests of the house.”\* The case was approved for a hearing in the US Supreme Court in June 1876 but was not presented for another six years.<sup>841</sup>

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\* In the 1880s, Bird Gee homesteaded in western Kansas (Ness County). Among the neighbors with whom he interacted was George Washington Carver (*Ness County News*, 16 April 1887, p 5. • *Walnut Valley Sentinel*, 17 September 1887, p 8; 25 February 1888, p 8).

The decision by the US Supreme Court in the *Civil Rights Cases* left accommodation laws to the individual states. Kansas had already passed such a law in 1874—*Chapter 49: Civil Rights Conferred*. Its enacting clause was “An Act to provide for the protection of citizens in their civil and public rights.” It prohibited discrimination based on “race, color or previous condition of servitude” in public schools (including colleges); inns, hotels, and boarding houses; places of “entertainment or amusement” if a municipal license was required; and in public transportation of people or freight within the state. The offense was classified as a misdemeanor carrying a fine of \$10 to \$1,000, which would be paid “to the public school fund of the county in which the offense was committed.”<sup>842</sup>

A civil action brought under the state law in 1892 had important ramifications. J.L. Leonard, a Black minister from Holton, Kansas, filed the lawsuit against W.A. DeMoss (former owner) and J.T. Hawkins (clerk) of the St. Nicholas Hotel in Topeka. Hawkins denied Leonard’s request to be served breakfast in the dining room and told Leonard he could only be served at the lunch counter. “[T]he dining room was for white people only.” DeMoss contended that “if he allowed a colored man to eat in his dining room his white patrons would desert him altogether,” a view held by other hotel and restaurant owners.<sup>843</sup>

Judge Guthrie of the district court ruled that the law was unconstitutional on a technicality and dismissed the case. The enacting clause of the law referred to “the protection of citizens,” while the body of the law referred to “persons.” Thus, the law could only apply to citizens of Kansas and not to people in the state who were not citizens. It could not be applied to all “persons” as with the Fourteenth Amendment to the US Constitution. With that ruling, the Kansas civil rights law was no longer a factor in the debates over discrimination and segregation in the state, and its wording was not corrected by subsequent legislatures, typically controlled by Republicans. Judge Guthrie was also a Republican. This led the *Kansas City Star* to quip, “the negroes [sic] are not expected to eat as they vote.” The *Topeka Daily Capital* noted that the trial “created a great deal of interest, both among white and colored people.”<sup>844</sup>

Predictably, the decision touched off strong emotions within the Black community.<sup>845</sup> As if to throw salt in the wound, the decision came on September 20, just two days before numerous Emancipation Day celebrations were to be held across the state. The *Topeka State Journal* interviewed some of the city’s Black leaders, including George W. Smith, grand master of the colored Masons in Kansas, who spoke with tears in his eyes.

It is hard for the colored people of Kansas to stand up for themselves in the face of a decision which so interprets the law that they have no rights in common with white people. It was very unfortunate that the decision should be made now, not only on account of the celebration today, but for political reasons.<sup>846</sup>

There was talk of mass indignation meetings, but little was done in the way of public protest. In truth, the Kansas civil rights law likely would have offered little benefit had it not been ruled unconstitutional. Courts in several states, including Kansas, used similarly strict interpretations of the wording in laws to declare them invalid, but where that was not the case, the laws could be rendered meaningless by the assessment of pitifully small fines.<sup>847</sup> In



Kansas law, as in organized baseball, segregation was essentially an uncodified practice, and *de facto* segregation was both widespread and entrenched. (Kansas law regarding segregation in public schools was an exception, as will be described in the next essay.)

With federal and state civil rights laws either ruled unconstitutional or ineffective, a US Supreme Court decision in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 provided legal legitimacy to the segregation occurring in the country. Beginning on May 18, newspapers across the country carried a report of the court's decision. In nearly every instance, it was a single paragraph, often published on an interior page. In most Kansas newspapers, the paragraph simply referred to the "Jim Crow' cars case," never mentioning the name *Plessy v. Ferguson*.<sup>848</sup> Though it dealt specifically with a law requiring

**"Jim Crow" Cars Perfectly Legal.**  
WASHINGTON, May 18. —The Supreme court of the United States decided to-day in what is known as the "Jim Crow" car case that the statutes of the State of Louisiana requiring railroad companies to supply separate coaches for white and colored persons was constitutional. Justice Brown delivered the opinion. Justice Harlan dissented.

segregated rail cars within a state's borders (Louisiana, in this case), the broader significance of the court's decision was in giving state's a signal that segregation by law was acceptable under the premise of "equal, but separate," although the US Supreme Court did not concern itself with whether the accommodations were, in fact, equal until the late 1930s. (The law emphasized "equal" in the phrase, while Justice Harlan's dissent and subsequent usage emphasized "separate.")<sup>849</sup> The decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* was a major issue in the South, in particular, where Jim Crow laws proliferated, but in Kansas, segregation by custom continued, except in some schools. However, *Plessy v. Ferguson* generally reflected society and, thus, may have eased the consciences of those who were not ardent racists but were comfortable with the notion that segregation was acceptable.

What also occurred in Kansas in the closing years of the nineteenth century was a shift in the voting power of African Americans, which generally left them with little political influence. (They had gained the right to vote after the Civil War.) The greater rate of immigration by whites into Kansas, including immigrants from Europe, led the Republicans to no longer rely on Black voters after 1886, as the proportion of African Americans in the state declined (Figure 2). For example, in the years immediately following the influx of African Americans during the Kansas Exodus, Edward McCabe was elected state auditor as a Republican in 1882 and reelected in 1884, the first African American to be elected to state office. However, he was not even renominated in 1886. Several other Black candidates for state and local offices were similarly unsupported by white Republicans. Coincidentally, this indifference and even open hostility by white Republicans toward the African American community in the state led some Black voters toward the People's Party, which was organized in 1890.<sup>850</sup>

Some members of the People's Party—or Populists—advocated racial and gender equality, although the party had no success passing legislation in Kansas for women's suffrage or issues supported by the Black community. The party did well during elections in 1890 for state and federal offices in Kansas, winning control of the state house of representatives and five of the state's seven seats in the US Congress. At the time, state

legislatures still chose senators, and Populist William Peffer was elected in 1891 to replace a Republican who had served for 18 years. In 1893–1895, Populists held the governor’s office and control the state senate. However, Populists and Republicans both claimed control of the house, and each organized the chamber in what became known as the Legislative War of 1893. For more than a month, the two parties shared use of the house chamber—Republicans in the mornings and Populists in the afternoons. When the Populists later refused to leave, Republicans broke down the heavy wooden doors and reclaimed the chamber. Finally, the Kansas Supreme Court, dominated by Republicans, ruled in favor of the Republicans, who took control of the house. After a Republican was elected governor in 1894, Populist John Leedy served as governor in 1897–1899. Although he was a member of the People’s Party, he was elected as a fusion candidate supported by both Populists and Democrats. However, internal dissension led to the rapid decline of the People’s Party at the turn of the century.<sup>851</sup>

Most African Americans in Kansas remained Republicans, partly out of loyalty to the party associated with Abraham Lincoln and partly out of discomfort with a Democratic Party associated with white supremacist politics in the South, which had led many African Americans to emigrate to Kansas. However, a “substantial minority” of Black voters was successfully courted by the People’s Party. Early in this courtship, in 1890, the Populists in Kansas nominated Benjamin F. Foster, a Black candidate, for state auditor, although he was not elected. While Foster and other Black candidates were unsuccessful in their bids for elected office in the state, African Americans were occasionally appointed to positions by Populists (and even a few Democrats) who won elections during the 1890s. Yet, despite the benefits of supporting the People’s Party, many African Americans did not agree with aspects of the party’s ideology, which varied by regions across the country. One example in Kansas was the support of the Populists for labor unions, to which African Americans were generally excluded. The interests of African Americans during this period were focused on racial equality, while those of the white Populists were focused on economics, and these differences made for a tenuous bond. That bond was effectively broken in 1894, shortly after Populist-Democrat fusion began.<sup>852</sup>

### *School Segregation*

In February 1871, Kansas newspapers reprinted a story originally published in the *Olathe Mirror* on January 26 (the *Mirror* for that date is unavailable). Although only a surname was mentioned, the 1870 federal census and 1875 state census for Kansas suggest the story was about Samuel Armstrong, a Black man born about 1820 in Kentucky, who moved with his growing family to Shawnee, Kansas from Missouri about 1864. His wife, Julia, was also born in Kentucky. They had four children born in Missouri and three in Kansas. Neither Samuel or Julia could read or write, but the older children attended school, which led to the events related in the article.<sup>853</sup>

From the *Olathe Mirror* we learn of an outrage which was committed recently near Shawnee. Some ten days ago there was some trouble at school between the white and colored children, there being an objection to the latter’s

attendance. An old colored man by the name of Armstrong went to Olathe [the county seat], and had a warrant issued for the arrest of a young man said to have been implicated in these troubles. On the next morning (Friday) a mob went to the residence of the colored man, tore down his house, committed other depredations, and then closed their entertainment by killing Armstrong, for no other reason than simply because he had dared to call upon the law to protect his children in their rights. Armstrong died on Friday afternoon, at the residence of Mr. Vestal. A coroner's inquest was held, but owing to the excitement, the jury was afraid to sign the verdict. A warrant has been issued for the arrest of three persons, identified as being present at the time of the shooting.<sup>854</sup>

A few days later, three men were arrested (W.C. Steen, George Blanton, and George Tinsley). More arrests were expected, but nothing else was learned of what followed. Perhaps no other actions were taken. Julia Armstrong and her children were recorded in the 1875 state census as residents of Osawatomie, about 40 miles to the southwest, where the oldest children were attending school. The youngest, Martha, was four years old, indicating that she was born shortly before or after her father's murder.<sup>855</sup>

Public education was the best-known example of segregation sanctioned in Kansas law, and sustained legal efforts sought to end the practice. State law permitted segregation of Black and white students until 1876, when a statute was passed that required admission of all students to public schools. However, an amendment was passed in 1879 that dealt with school bonds and other issues but also allowed schools in cities of the first class (with a population of 15,000 or more) to segregate elementary and junior high schools but not high schools. Of the 25 cities of the first class in 2018, eleven attained that status prior to 1946, the period covered here (Table 13). The amendment allowing segregation of first through eighth grades was passed at the outset of the Exoduster movement, which led to a rapid increase in the African American population in the state (Figure 1). The Kansas Supreme Court ruled in 1881 in the case of *Elijah Tinnon v. The Board of Education of Ottawa* that cities outside those of the first class could not segregate students because it was not specifically authorized by state statute. However, subsequent court challenges document that some cities of the second class defied the ruling and openly operated segregated elementary and junior high schools.\* In 1903, the state supreme court held in the case of *Reynolds v. The Board of Education of Topeka* that separate but equal schools, where permitted by state law, were in line with the US Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896, at the discretion of the local school boards.<sup>856</sup> Nevertheless, as noted in the essays in Part I, baseball players such as Ike Perkins in Junction City and Harry Grubbs in Iola were among the many who spoke in opposition to segregated schools in Kansas during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>857</sup>

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\* In addition to the case of *Elijah Tinnon v. The Board of Education of Ottawa* (1881), these legal challenges included *Knox v. The Board of Education of Independence* (1891), *Cartwright v. The Board of Education of Coffeyville* (1906), and *Woolridge v. The Board of Education of Galena* (1916).

**Table 13.**—Cities of the first class in Kansas designated as such prior to 1946 (Lawrence was designated in 1946). A city can petition to become a city of the first class when its population reaches 15,000 and must become a city of the first class when its population reaches 25,000.

City	Year
Leavenworth	1862
Atchison	1881
Topeka	1881
Kansas City	1886
Wichita	1886
Fort Scott	1888
Pittsburg	1905
Coffeyville	1906
Parsons	1906
Hutchinson	1911
Salina	1920

Two additional changes to laws governing segregated education in Kansas were approved prior to the decision of the US Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, in which the US Supreme Court ended state sanctioned racial segregation in public schools, chipping away at the “separate but equal” standard established in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. In 1905, Kansas statutes were amended to expand segregation to high schools in Kansas City but in no other cities. Four years later, a statute was amended to remove a ban on Wichita, which was a city of the first class, from operating segregated schools under existing state laws. It had been specifically prohibited from doing so by state law since 1889.<sup>858</sup>

While the court cases dealt with segregated schools, an issue arose in Emporia in which students would be assigned seating based on race in integrated classrooms. The local school board sought a legal opinion from Judge Charles Graves in 1905, who later that year was appointed to a seat on the Kansas Supreme Court. He wrote that segregated seating in classrooms at integrated schools was inherently unequal and illegal in a city of the second class. “Separating the two races in the same school room, solely on account of color, differs from placing them in different buildings only in degree.” The *Emporia Gazette* published the closing paragraphs of the judge’s opinion, which included the following passage as part of his description of the effect such an arrangement would have on the Black students.

Such imputation of inferiority, implied though it may be, must of necessity produce in their minds a feeling of oppression, humiliation and degradation, calculated to excite resentment and to overcome any ambition which they might otherwise possess to make the most of their educational advantages.<sup>859</sup>

People develop deep-seated bias at home and from their peers as they grow up,<sup>860</sup> so it is not surprising that several instances of integrated baseball in Kansas involved young boys, as shown in the photo below. For example, the first known instances of a Black team playing a white team in Kansas were between “juvenile” teams at Fort Scott in 1870.<sup>861</sup> Integrated baseball among youths was most likely to occur in smaller, rural communities, where schools were not segregated and the youths knew each other. For instance, the town of Kinsley in southcentral Kansas had a population of only 457 people in 1880, a time when groups of young boys could be found playing baseball on a downtown street. Games sometimes involved segregated teams, but the *Kinsley Graphic* also noted, “Base ball every day in front of our office. No distinction of color shown.” In addition, the *Graphic* reported there was an integrated boys’ team captained by the sole Black player, Charles Washington. However, Kinsley is not known to have fielded an integrated town team, and adult teams of Black players were not mentioned until 1916, when “the local Bear Cats (colored) defeated the [Kinsley] Travelers (uncolored) by the score of 8 to 4.”<sup>862</sup>

Given that high schools outside Kansas City were integrated, some fielded integrated baseball teams, though their reasons for doing so varied. For example, George Sweatt was a regular member of the high school team in the small city of Humboldt (1920 population about 2,500), where integrated teams had periodically represented the city, as noted in the



Valley Falls junior baseball team about 1915, when the players were in grade school or junior high school (*Valley Falls Farmers' Vindicator*, 17 September 1915, p 8). Back row: Theodore Owens, Cecil Lewis, Roy “Sap” Fulton, and Bill Grigsby. Front row: Virgil Murray, Don Allen, Pete Fulton, and Bill Corber. Courtesy of the Valley Falls Historical Society. Used with permission.

essays for Albert Reagor, William Turner, and George Sweatt. In 1919, the high schools in Hoyt and Holton played a pair of games, both won by Hoyt, whose pitcher “is of Indian descent,” despite the best efforts of Holton’s “colored prodigy” on the mound.<sup>863</sup>

The situation was different in Atchison (1920 population about 12,600). In late April 1916, the Atchison High School baseball team composed entirely of white players was decimated by injuries and considered having “two or three good colored ball players in the high school” fill in. However, their upcoming opponent, Leavenworth High School, was likely to object. In fact, Leavenworth (1920 population about 16,900) did object but reconsidered because inclement weather had led to the cancellation of all their games to that point. “It is likely that Leavenworth will permit the colored boys to play in order to get a game with no further delay. The local players are far from satisfied with the record of almost two months of practice and not a single game played.” Yet the decision mattered not, because the ball ground was too wet for the game.<sup>864</sup>

Two weeks later, however, the decision to let Black students play for Atchison High School’s baseball team resurfaced when they finally hosted Leavenworth, but the dissension was internal. Stories of what happened varied somewhat among local newspapers because the reporters were not in attendance. Apparently, trouble began in the eighth inning, with Leavenworth ahead, 12–8. Atchison had used only white players to that point, but the right fielder, “who had been showing up pretty poor as a batter all afternoon,” was replaced by pinch hitter Clarence Kerford, a Black player. Whether or not he reached base was not mentioned, but Atchison apparently scored no runs. Kerford then walked out to right field. As he did, “Buster Ham, star shortstop for Atchison,” refused to play with a Black student on his team and left the field. The coach put his last substitute in right field and moved Kerford to shortstop, an indication that he was a talented player. Atchison first baseman Ralph Lane then walked off, and the umpire declared the game forfeited to Leavenworth, 9–0.<sup>865</sup>

The principal of Atchison High School, H.P. Shepherd, had visited with the players earlier and explained that discrimination against students based on race was illegal in Kansas high schools, so Black students able to make the team would be allowed to play. The white players later claimed that they thought Black students would only be allowed to wear uniforms and sit on the bench, not actually play. This statement is suspect, because the objection to Kerford began when he went to right field, not when he stepped into the batter’s box. Regardless of the specific circumstances, Shepherd suggested the remainder of the season might be canceled if the trouble continued. The white players on the team agreed to play with Kerford in future games and said the incident in the recent game “was only a misunderstanding on the part of one of their number.”<sup>866</sup>

In January 1916, Kerford had also auditioned for the Atchison High School debate team, as reported in the monthly high school newspaper, *The Optimist*. “Clarence was kind enough to present his arguments for the benefit of the others although he knew it was impossible for him to enter the debate. He undoubtedly would have made one of the teams, if the other two towns had not objected to colored debaters.” The other schools were in Leavenworth and Kansas City, Kansas. Kerford graduated that year and enrolled at the

University of Nebraska in the autumn.<sup>867</sup> He also attended the University of Michigan and lived in Chicago before becoming a longtime resident of Kansas City, Missouri.\*

Though only the high schools in Kansas City, Kansas could legally be segregated, extracurricular activities sometimes were segregated at other high schools, as in Topeka. Topeka High School was not alone in this regard, but it is written about most often because of the association of the city's public schools with the landmark case of *Brown v. Board of Education*. Though the high school was integrated, some sports teams and other extracurricular activities were not. Perhaps the best-known instance was the Topeka Ramblers basketball team, which represented the school independently from the white Topeka High School Trojans. (Other sports teams, such as golf, swimming, tennis, and wrestling, were also segregated, as were the cheerleaders and pep clubs.) The system of segregated basketball teams ended in 1950–1951. Dean Smith of the Trojans† and Jack Alexander of the Ramblers discussed integrating the teams with school administrators in 1949, and the *Brown v. Board* lawsuit was tried in a Kansas court in 1951.<sup>868</sup>

During the 1930s and 1940s, the Black basketball teams of high school players from the northeastern Kansas cities of Atchison, Kansas City, Lawrence, Leavenworth, and Topeka, along with St. Joseph and Kansas City on the Missouri border, were members of the segregated Kansas-Missouri Athletic Association. Similarly, the Kansas cities of Chanute, Coffeyville, Fort Scott, Independence, Parsons, and Pittsburg, plus Joplin, Missouri, were among the basketball teams comprising the Southeast Kansas Negro League. Teams from both regions also played each other and participated in a state tournament for Black teams.<sup>869</sup>

In contrast to basketball, some high school football teams were integrated from the sport's earliest days. For example, the Lawrence High School football team in 1896 had three Black players. However, segregated high school football teams were also organized in the state. In an early instance, the team of Black high school players from Fort Scott in 1901 played only one game, a loss against a Black college team from Sedalia, Missouri. Later, an independent Black football team was organized in the city. Independent football town teams were common around the turn of the century, though not as common as their baseball counterparts. In addition to white football town teams, Black teams were organized in

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\* Based on censuses and other records, Clarence A. Kerford was born in Atchison on 22 July 1897. His father, George Kerford, operated Kerford's Rock Quarry. In a 1917 city directory for Lincoln, Nebraska, Clarence was listed as a student at the University of Nebraska. In the 1921 *Michiganensian*, he was listed as a student at the University of Michigan during the 1917–1918 academic year. Afterwards, he held a variety of jobs. His 1918 draft card was filed in Chicago, where he had married Blanche Mae Williams in February 1918. During the 1920s, the family lived in Atchison before moving to Kansas City, Missouri. In 1940, Clarence was divorced and living in Kansas City with his second wife, Marjorie, although the Missouri marriage license listed a date of May 1941. In 1957 and 1960 city directories, Clarence was living in Kansas City with his third wife, Lucille. He died on 8 January 1962 and was buried at Blue Ridge Lawn Memorial Gardens (*Kansas City Times*, 10 January 1962, p 6).

† Dean Smith would later become head basketball coach at the University of North Carolina and was elected to the National Basketball Hall of Fame. His father integrated the Emporia High School basketball team in 1934, although the only Black player, Paul Terry, was not allowed to participate in the state tournament won by Emporia.

Kansas during the early 1900s in Abilene, Fort Scott, Lawrence, Ottawa, Salina, Topeka, Wichita, and perhaps other cities. However, communities soon shifted their focus to high school teams. In Topeka, the high school fielded a Black football team at least as early as 1917, as reported in the school's newspaper in November. "Probably very few people know that there is a colored boys' football team connected with the Topeka High School, but nevertheless such an organization exists." They played Black teams from Kansas City and St. Joseph, Missouri that year. Segregated football teams also represented junior high schools, such as the Cleveland School in Coffeyville coached by George Sweatt in the early 1920s.<sup>870</sup>

As with baseball and basketball, integrated football teams representing schools, colleges, or towns were not universally accepted in Kansas, as noted in the essay for George Kirk when he received a scholarship to play for the College of Emporia. The *Topeka Daily Capital* published an opinion in September 1921 regarding the hostile reception Black football players received while playing on predominantly white college teams. It defended their right to be treated the same as the white players, although it did so with phrases that reflected segregation, an example of the state's conflicted views on race and a mistaken belief that there was an acceptable middle ground between segregation and integration.

There are playing on Kansas teams several colored boys. Opponents who single them out for verbal or physical abuse should not be allowed the privilege of engaging in intercollegiate sport. This column believes the epithet ["N\_\_\_\_"] applied to a colored opponent is sufficient reason to expel the offender from the game. We do not enter into the phase of the racial question that concerns a refusal of one team to meet another because the latter has a colored boy on it. That is a matter for each college to decide. If, however, a colored boy is allowed to play he is entitled to the same sportsmanship of which his white opponents are so proud. The colored football player is usually far better than the white boy whom he beat out for the position. If he wasn't he wouldn't be there. So when he's in the game he should be treated white. That means no reference should be made to the pigmentation of his skin and no vicious assault made in his direction on account of it.<sup>871</sup>

The notion that white students, including those in colleges, could refuse to have Black teammates or compete against opponents with a Black player was widely accepted across Kansas, even though segregation was not permitted by state law in the vast majority of schools. These student athletes were following the actions of amateur, semipro, and professional teams. For instance, Monroe Ingram was forced from the independent, professional baseball team in Emporia in 1899 by white teammates. Similar to the position taken in the *Topeka Daily Capital* regarding football teams, the *Emporia Daily Gazette* and *Emporia Daily Republican* criticized the manner in which the white players forced Ingram to resign by misplaying balls when he was pitching instead of discussing their wishes with the team's directors. Yet, the newspapers maintained it was perfectly acceptable for white players to force the removal of a teammate because of his skin color. In short, sustaining prejudice was acceptable off the playing field, even in integrated public schools, but it was not appropriate during competition.



### *Segregation and Exclusion in Public Facilities and Housing*

The perceived acceptability of segregation in public schools also applied to other public facilities. In Kansas, as in many places around the country, African Americans wanting to enjoy entertainments or other leisure activities were subjected to separate seating or similar arrangements, though this segregation was not mandated by law. At events attended by African Americans, segregation was accomplished in two principal ways.

When an event was available for an extended period, such as use of a swimming pool during the summer, certain days of the week were set aside for white and Black patrons. For example, in Junction City in 1918, a playground swimming pool was open to all white patrons on Sundays and Fridays. On Wednesdays and Saturdays, the pool was open only to white males, while Thursdays were designated for use by white females. Monday was the only day when the pool was open to African Americans. The pool was cleaned on Tuesdays. When feasible, mostly in larger cities, separate facilities were provided. For instance, in Wichita during the 1930s, one of the public parks, McKinley Park, was “reserved for colored use.”<sup>872</sup>

Similarly, entertainments given on multiple days were sometimes segregated by days or times. In October 1910, at the Peoples Theater in Leavenworth, a film documenting the preparations and the much-publicized boxing match on July 4 between African American John Arthur “Jack” Johnson (1878–1946), the reigning heavyweight champion, and James “Jim” Jeffries (1875–1953), the retired white champion, was shown four times over two days. The first three showings on Sunday afternoon, Sunday evening, and Monday afternoon were for whites only. The Monday evening showing was open to Black patrons.<sup>873</sup>

Jeffries had retired five years earlier as the undefeated champion, although he refused to fight Black boxers. He came out of retirement to fight Johnson and was dubbed “the great white hope.” Johnson dominated the fight, winning by knockout in the fifteenth round. His victory over Jeffries set off racial violence in some parts of the country. The showing of the film in Leavenworth stands in contrast to the numerous states and cities that banned the film. Other than Nevada, where the fight was held in Reno, all states and territories banned prizefighting at the time, as noted in the essay for James Hightower. Racism merged with the existing opposition to prizefighting, leading to a ban of the film in some Kansas cities, including Topeka and Wichita.<sup>874</sup>

Segregation was even the rule at Christmas. In Kansas City, Kansas, several evenings of carols were scheduled in 1916 at the site of the community Christmas tree to be erected at Huron Square (which had been the site of one of the first baseball grounds in the state in 1867). “On Christmas eve the churches will lead the program. School children will have charge on Christmas night and club women on Tuesday. One night will be reserved for colored people and one for foreigners.”<sup>875</sup> It is ironic that a special night was set aside for “foreigners” at an event held on a site named for the Wyandot (Huron) Nation relocated to the area from the Great Lakes region. The park is adjacent to the Wyandot National Burying Ground (Huron Indian Cemetery) established in the 1840s.

The principal method used to separate Black and white patrons at entertainment venues was assigned seating, usually with African Americans in the balcony, if available, while white patrons were allowed to sit on the main floor. There were exceptions, but they

were rare. One such occasion occurred in June 1900, when “Joseph Cawker, a native African” studying in Ohio, was scheduled to give a lecture in Lecompton at the Lane College chapel. “Everybody invited. Front seats reserved for colored people.”<sup>876</sup>

Announcements of reserved seats for Black patrons at theaters, airdomes, and other venues were most frequently published in newspapers when the entertainment featured Black performers, usually minstrel shows but also concerts and sporting events. As explained for the opening of a new summer theater in Lawrence in 1910, “A color line will exist in the theater, too, so that all classes and kinds of humanity wont [*sic*] be forced to rub elbows. The last six rows in the back of the house are reserved for the colored patrons of the theater.” Two years later, at the new Bowersock Theater in Lawrence, a change was made to limit African Americans to section C in the gallery, with white patrons allowed to sit in the parquet (main floor), balcony, and sections A and B of the gallery. “In the old Bowersock[,] colored people were sold tickets to any part of the balcony. At Tuesday night’s show there was a sprinkling of colored people all through the second floor. So many protests were filed with the management that today an order was made to keep the colored theatre-goers confined to a certain section of the house.” In Wellington, seating segregated by skin color was seen as no different than isolating smokers when the airdome set aside two sections for smokers and one for African Americans.<sup>877</sup>

Even when renowned Black musician and composer John William “Blind” Boone (1864–1927) performed at local churches on his many tours, it was always announced if a section of the available seating was to be “reserved for colored people.” Before a concert in Independence, Kansas in 1917, a notice implied that the event was open only to white patrons. It was later changed. “By request[,] a part of the gallery of the church will be reserved for the colored people who wish to hear the concert.”<sup>878</sup>

Paul Robeson (1898–1976) was a famous Black baritone, actor, football player, and lawyer. In January 1927, his performance in Wichita at the high school auditorium was sponsored by the “committee on interracial good will” of the Wichita Council of Churches. “Sections of the auditorium will be reserved for colored people who attend, it was stated. The white and colored people will not be seated together.” Interracial good will only went so far.<sup>879</sup>

This was also the case when local Black performers were involved, such as Brooks Lane, who umpired games involving white teams in Iola. “A crowded gallery, which had been reserved for the colored people, and a well filled lower floor faced the ‘Genuine Negro Minstrels’ of Iola and Chanute at the Grand Theatre last night and gave them an enthusiastic reception.” All of the acts were praised in the *Iola Daily Register*, “And Brooks Lane made an announcement or two that brought down the house. Indeed, practically every number on the program was encored, and the young men and women who gave the performance have every reason to be pleased with their success.” The 1914 production, in which African Americans were restricted to the balcony, was a benefit to raise funds for the construction of the new African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church.<sup>880</sup>

Seating arrangements were controlled either by business owners or promoters, who typically reserved seats for African Americans when it was likely to increase their revenue.

However, as noted above for a 1917 concert in Independence, there were instances in which African Americans had to request access to seating. In 1914, for example, “a delegation of highly indignant colored women” asked the Hutchinson city commissioners to require the men who leased the local hall for the San Carlo Opera Company to allow African Americans to be admitted to the performance. “The commissioners agreed they have no jurisdiction over the hall when it was leased ... but promised to intercede for the colored music lovers.” After the meeting, it was announced that a section would be designated for African Americans.<sup>881</sup>

On other occasions, the reported “request” might not have actually been made. In 1921, the “musical event of the season” in Wellington was to be a performance by the Dixie Jubilee Concert Company, whose performers were African Americans. The promoters included a note in their advertisement that might have been truthful, though that seems unlikely. “By Special Request—The entire west section of the lower floor has been reserved for the colored people.”<sup>882</sup> The fact that performances by such groups routinely had seating reserved for Black patrons suggests it was a marketing gimmick, implying a magnanimous gesture on the part of the white promoters.

Given that seating was not always reserved for Black patrons, there were instances when a venue was praised for allowing African Americans to attend events. When the Peoples Theater in Paola opened in June 1920, it joined the Empress Theater but with a notable difference. “There will be a section reserved for colored people, which is commendable and deserving the patronage of Paola’s colored population, who heretofore have been deprived of the educational features and pleasures of a moving picture show.”<sup>883</sup>

In 1917, the *Brown County World*, a newspaper in Hiawatha, hometown of Bert Jones, published a long column about access for African Americans at various entertainments. It ran under the headline, “It Seems That Colored People Have Some Rights,” and it says much about the circumstances at the time.

Recently The World had an item which suggested that the colored folks should have the privilege of going to the picture shows, lecture course attractions, chautauqua and other public entertainments in Hiawatha. The item was written by the reporter who is writing this and who is glad to accept responsibility for the same. The item was written because it seemed to the reporter that the colored folks are not always treated as they should be. The colored folks fight for us. In the Spanish war some of the most effective fighters were in the colored regiments. Many of the colored folks in Hiawatha are taxpayers—own their own homes and some live on paved streets. Of course, we all know how anxious candidates are to receive votes from the colored folks. It happens that this reporter is not a candidate for office so that all he says comes from a sense of justice for colored folks. ... In cities, even in Missouri, there are seats reserved for colored folks at moving picture shows. The writer of this holds no brief for the colored folks. However, he thinks that if the colored folks have citizenship and are expected to fulfill citizenship obligations in Hiawatha by paying taxes, being for paving [streets], fighting for their country, voting on public questions and performing other duties of

citizenship, they should not be denied the ordinary pleasures of life. If picture shows, lectures and entertainments benefit white people they will also do good for colored folks. Some folks will have a mighty uncomfortable time in the hereafter, where race distinction is not made. Another thing. Those who expect to take the other side by contributions to The World, must sign their names and play in the open, just as this reporter has done.<sup>884</sup>

As the reporter noted, racist sentiments were often promoted anonymously. While the reporter might have been in the minority at the time by arguing that reserved seating should be available to Black citizens, there were African Americans who protested segregated seating as morally indefensible. In October 1905, a Black couple filed a complaint against A.H. Hagen, manager of the Novelty Theatre in Topeka for discrimination in the use of reserved seating for Black patrons. Simon Jordan, employed as a porter at a drugstore, and his wife sat in seats reserved for whites, and Hagen had them move. For this, Hagen was arrested, but he remained defiant. "This theater belongs to me. I have spent considerable money in fitting it up and I am not catering to negro [sic] patronage and will not permit them to dictate a policy to me." Not surprisingly, the case was dismissed, "it being held that the city court of Topeka had no jurisdiction in the case." Declaring a lack of jurisdiction was a common tactic used to ignore civil rights cases.<sup>885</sup>

In 1922, one of the most egregious applications of the use of segregated seating occurred when the owner of the Royal Theater in Salina raised the price of the seats set aside for "Negroes and Mexicans ... on the ground that they are reserved." The city manager claimed he had no jurisdiction, suggesting the plaintiffs should contact state authorities, which would have been a hopeless exercise in a search for justice.<sup>886</sup>

Though legal options were unlikely to be successful, efforts to eliminate segregated seating continued. In 1944, Aritha Dorsey Clayton filed a complaint against Ted Davis, owner of the West Theater in Parsons for discrimination. Initially, she took her three grandchildren to the theater, and they were told they could not keep their seats because they were not in the section reserved for African Americans. They left the theater, but she returned six days later with another Black woman. They sat among white patrons and were asked to move. They refused, stating that "other theaters here let Negroes sit where they pleased." The manager told them that was not the case in the West Theater, which was no different than the policy of "theaters all over Kansas," and he called the police. The police officer asked the two women to move, and they chose to leave the theater. Clayton filed a lawsuit for discrimination. Predictably, under a doctrine of separate but equal accommodations established under *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the judge ruled that the plaintiff and her attorney, who was assisted to a limited degree by the county attorney, had "failed to delineate any discrimination," and the case was dismissed.<sup>887</sup>

Nevertheless, actions challenging the *de facto* segregation entrenched in Kansas persisted. Some sought change through means outside the judicial system. One of the more consequential was a sit-in at the lunch counter in Dockum's Rexall Drug Store in Wichita in 1958, a decade after baseball was integrated. African Americans were allowed to purchase food but could not eat at the lunch counter. An organized group of young African Americans

began to sit at the lunch counter every day it was open. They were ignored by the staff, but other patrons could not be served. The protest ran from July till August, when the store manager ended the policy because of lost revenue. In recalling the sit-in, Robert Newby noted the general absence of signs in Kansas defining segregation, which was not codified in state law other than in schools. "In the South, everything was marked 'White' or 'Black.' Just over in Kansas City [Missouri], there were signs everywhere. But in Wichita there were no signs. Everyone just knew the rules and that you didn't break them."<sup>888</sup>

With the outbreak of World War I, the flow of immigrants from eastern Europe was interrupted, and laborers from Mexico began to move north to fill the job vacancies and escape the violent political turmoil of the Mexican Revolution. As a result, segregated seating or exclusion of "colored" patrons was broadened to include African Americans and Mexican immigrants (and American Indians, as noted in the ad below, "Respectfully"). In 1919, the manager of the Elk Theater in Parsons even began printing placards in Spanish and posting them "every place in Parsons where Mexicans of the better element congregate."<sup>889</sup> In 1940, the schedule at Emporia's public wading pool in Peter Pan Park was children 7 years old and younger admitted at 1:00–2:00, girls from 8 to 12 years old at 2:00–3:00, boys 8 to 12 years old at 3:00–4:00, and "Mexican and colored children" at 4:00–5:00, with no distinction as to age or sex.<sup>890</sup>

In contrast to all of these circumstances of segregated seating at entertainment venues and other businesses, notices in newspapers that seating at baseball games was to be segregated were rare in Kansas. Just as it was unnecessary to mention the location of the local baseball park, a policy of segregated seating was likely already known by everyone who attended games. There were exceptions. In 1911, segregated seating arrangements

**—The New Delmonico—**

I have purchased the Ruggles Cafe on west Front Street, reorganized it, and will now conduct it under the name of the "Delmonico Cafe." I am here to cater to the wants of the public and will endeavor to please you in first-class restaurant service. Your patronage is solicited.

**NOTE—Negroes, Mexicans, and Indians not served in this Cafe. Respectfully,**

**J. S. FOSTER**

Advertisement in the *Horton Commercial* (4 August 1910, p 3).

were mentioned in the *Iola Daily Register* for a doubleheader between the Iola Go-Devils (Black) and Iola White Sox (white). They were the first games in a planned five-game series for the local championship. A partition was erected “several feet north of the angle in the grand stand.” The smaller section north of the partition was reserved for Black fans and the larger section for white spectators.<sup>891</sup>

Another instance in which segregated seating was mentioned occurred in Wichita in April 1935, when two titans of the Negro Leagues, the Kansas City Monarchs and Chicago American Giants, played at Lawrence Stadium (later Lawrence-Dumont Stadium). Playing with the Monarchs was T.J. Young of Wichita. For the two games between these clubs in Wichita, 2,500 seats were reserved for African Americans in the east wing (right field side). The seating capacity of the stadium that year was about 7,000 people.<sup>892</sup> The reason for the announcement probably was not to let everyone know the seating was segregated but rather to let the African American community know how many seats would be available.

Travel also presented challenges. In 1914, Dr. A.J. May wrote a series of articles for the *La Cygne Weekly Record* recounting his observations during a trip to Florida. In the second installment on February 12, he observed, “One thing more seemed peculiar at first, but we became somewhat familiar with it as we met it everywhere. Here in Kansas, and in the North generally, we have two waiting rooms in our railroad depots, one for men, the other for women. The depots of the South likewise have two waiting rooms—one marked ‘White,’ the other ‘Colored.’”<sup>893</sup>

In addition to separate waiting rooms in southern railroad depots, trains typically included segregated passenger cars, known as Jim Crow cars, the focus of *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Trains with fewer passengers sometimes split seating within a car to separate Black and white passengers. The Pullman Company manufactured Jim Crow cars specifically for use by railroads whose routes ran through the South.<sup>894</sup>

Kansas had no law allowing Jim Crow cars, but they were added to trains at the last station prior to the train entering Oklahoma, where segregated seating was mandated by law. Jim Crow cars could be removed from trains arriving from Oklahoma at the first station in Kansas. However, that station might be 50 miles north of the border, and complaints were filed about the use of Jim Crow cars once the train entered Kansas. The complaints began in 1908, the year Oklahoma became a state and could legally require segregated seating.<sup>895</sup>

Until automobiles and busses became available, trains often served as the mode of transportation for baseball teams, including Black and integrated teams. In one instance, in 1909, a youth baseball team from Anthony, southwest of Wichita, about 10 miles north of Oklahoma, learned that the Jim Crow law requiring segregated seating for train passengers applied even to them. The Anthony roster included a Black player named William White. On a trip to Wakita, Oklahoma for a game, as the train crossed into Oklahoma, the conductor made White move to the Jim Crow car. His white teammates soon chose to join him. “When the conductor found them in there he chased them out and they have not yet been able to realize the beauty of the parental oversight of the great state of Oklahoma in protecting them from contamination from riding in the same car with the clever little colored boy they play ball with every day at home.”<sup>896</sup>

Lodging and meals presented even more of a challenge for ball clubs and other Black travelers. An incident involving musician Blind Boone was especially telling—with a twist of poetic justice. Communities have long expressed a certain amount of pride in their connections with famous people, sometimes justified and sometimes overstated. The latter was the case in Paola, Kansas, which was home to one of Blind Boone's aunts, Tabitha Miller. In August 1903, the *Miami Republican* reported that Blind Boone "is well known here, his early boyhood having been spent in Paola." However, there is no record in a census or other sources of Boone living in Paola. He actually spent his youth in Warrensburg, Missouri and elsewhere in the state, including time at the Missouri Institute for the Education of the Blind (now the Missouri School for the Blind) in St. Louis from 1872 to 1875.<sup>897</sup>

On 18 November 1903, Blind Boone performed in Paola at the opera house "to a large and well pleased audience." Despite his popularity and his local connection to the community, Boone was not welcome everywhere in town. The *Miami Republican* closed its report of the concert with a brief mention of the trouble. "Boon's [sic] agent made a contract for the entertainment of his company at the LaClede hotel and when they arrived they were refused admission to the hotel. It is reported that he will bring suit against the proprietor of the hotel for damages." In the meantime, Boone and his troupe needed a place to stay, and they were invited to lodge with his aunt at her home in the southern part of town. In the course of events, Boone learned that her mortgage payment was due, and she could not meet the obligation. Boone arranged not only to make her mortgage payment but to retire her entire mortgage (about \$350). In addition, he provided "a goodly store of provisions to the Miller home." The story was picked up by newspapers across Kansas and elsewhere in the region. In most cases, the note was simply reprinted, but sometimes it was paired with mention of an unrelated episode of discrimination, and sometimes a commentary was added, as in the *Coffeyville Daily Journal*. "Although Kansas is peopled largely by those who, in the days of the border war[,] were called 'Yankees,' probably in no state is the negro more dispised [sic]. In many towns he is not permitted to live and in many he will not be given lodging or refreshments. The other day Blind Boone was denied admission to the hotels in Paola."<sup>898</sup>

These refusals to accommodate African Americans also affected baseball teams. In 1895, Bert Wakefield was initially refused service when Troy's integrated minor league club arrived at a hotel in Leavenworth. The incident was only reported in the Black-owned *Leavenworth Herald*.

The Troy Baseball club defeated our city club last Sunday by a score of 8 to 6. A colored gentleman was a member of the Troy nine. When the nine arrived at the National hotel, he was refused admission, upon which the manager of the club, who seemed to be a fair-minded man, and who believed in giving credit where merit deserved it, stated that if the colored member of the club could not eat at the hotel with the rest, he would take the club somewhere else. We are glad to say that the colored member was accommodated with the rest. A white man of this kind should receive the admiration of every colored man, which he so richly deserves.<sup>899</sup>

Most integrated town teams in Kansas did not barnstorm or travel overnight, and when they did, it might have been possible to obtain segregated room and board for one or two Black ballplayers, perhaps with local Black residents. This was also the case when hired players moved to town for the season. For example, George William Castone lodged with a barber in Concordia instead of the rooming houses where his white teammates lived when he played for the city's professional integrated team in 1886.<sup>900</sup>

Between 1906 and 1911, Arthur Hardy barnstormed with the Topeka Giants and KCK (Kansas City, Kansas) Giants. In an interview much later, he recalled aspects of travel by Black ball clubs in Kansas and Nebraska. Although the players often traveled on trains, they, like the white teams, sometimes relied on "farm wagons" to reach towns with well-supported teams but no passenger rail service.<sup>901</sup> Only a few barnstorming teams, such as the Page Fence Giants and J.L. Wilkinson's integrated All Nations team had their own private railcars.<sup>902</sup>

As told by Hardy, the Topeka Giants and KCK Giants usually overcame challenges in finding room and board while barnstorming across Kansas and Nebraska. "We had no trouble whatever up in that territory about getting meals and board. Not a bit. Now you take some towns in Kansas like Smith Center, Clay Center, Phillipsburg, we'd always book a series of games in those towns. Well, the local team would put us up in the hotel. We had no trouble."<sup>903</sup> As noted in the essays in Part I, this region of northcentral Kansas fielded integrated teams around the turn of the century that featured local players such as Tab Tolbert, Sam Strothers, and Moses O'Banion. Baseball fans in the area had also watched Frank McVey umpire games between white town teams. Yet, the region also had sundown towns, where African Americans were not welcome after dark. The same mixture of attitudes was true of rural Nebraska.

Hardy also recalled that the players spent some nights without lodging. "I've ridden in a wagon fifteen or twenty miles and then slept all night in a railroad station to catch a train to get to the next place. We used to carry our clothes in a roll, and whenever we got caught out, like in a railroad station or someplace, we'd unroll that for a pallet to sleep on, you see."<sup>904</sup>

Hardy credited the success of their trips to the leadership and experience of the Giants' manager. "I guess it was good management on the part of Topeka Jack Johnson, our manager. He knew his territory. I suppose there were trouble spots that he just avoided."<sup>905</sup> John "Topeka Jack" Johnson learned about the trouble spots through experience. For example, in May 1906, the Topeka Giants arranged a game with the town team in Solomon in northcentral Kansas. When they found out that the Giants' roster was composed of African Americans, Solomon canceled the game and gave three reasons. "In the first place, the Solomon boys do not care to cross bats with a colored team; second, it is not believed that such a game would be well patronized; and, third, it is doubtful if the Giants could have secured hotel accommodations in this city."<sup>906</sup>

These challenges persisted through the coming decades. In 1924, an opinion piece about the absence of lodging for Black visitors was published in the *Emporia Gazette*.



Emporia has excellent Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. buildings which will accommodate white travelers who come to the town for a night or longer and who do not care to go to a hotel. But Emporia lacks a place where colored people who are strangers in town, may stay overnight. They are not allowed in the hotels nor at the “Y” buildings. In the cities[,] quarters are prepared and[,] in many hotels, sections are reserved for colored people. But Emporia has no place for the colored folks; they must lodge in private homes.<sup>907</sup>

The Great Depression exacerbated the financial challenges of limited funds and limited options for accommodations faced by teams when they traveled, as illustrated by the Wichita Monrovians, a Black barnstorming team, in Emporia in 1937.

The Monrovia colored baseball club of Wichita, which will play the Emporia Town team this evening, used the grand stand at Summers park for a private hotel Wednesday night. The club arrived in Emporia Wednesday and has been staying at the ball park. Baseball suits, spare clothing, automobile seats and other things were used to make up bunks on the bleacher seats upon which the Monrovia players slept.<sup>908</sup>

By this time, automobiles and busses had replaced trains, but lodging, diners, and other facilities often remained segregated or excluded African Americans.

In addition to the segregation and exclusion in public facilities, a more complete form of segregation was widespread in the state. Persistent segregation existed in residential areas of many cities following the Kansas Exodus. As noted in Topeka’s *American Citizen* in 1889, “To people living outside of Kansas this might seem strange, but it is nevertheless true. There are houses[,] lots and additions in and near this city where no Negro can rent or buy at any price, let him be ever so talented, cultured or refined, and there are others where if he rents or buys[,] his life and property are in danger.” Discrimination in housing persisted throughout the period considered here and beyond. There were also numerous “sundown towns,” in which African Americans were not permitted to live, usually enforced through violence or threats of violence against individuals or families.<sup>909</sup>

### *Employment*

For most baseball players of the time, the summer pastime did not provide enough money to carry them through the entire year, although a few played winter ball in California or elsewhere. Thus, they found various types of employment during the offseason, though the options were limited for Black ballplayers.

A story in an unnamed Garnett, Kansas newspaper in 1905 was reprinted by the *Chanute Daily Tribune* because it praised the work ethic of a former resident and occasional baseball player. John Dawson, an African American who had played for the predominantly white Chanute town team five years earlier, was now “a peach of a porter” on the daytime Santa Fe passenger trains running through Garnett. As the article noted, Dawson’s opportunities for advancement with the company (or any business) were limited because of his skin color.

If this black boy were white and kept up his lick, he would be president of the [rail]road some day. Being black, he will probably have to clip the wings of his ambition, but he will be a worthy citizen, a successful man and a credit to his race, provided always, that he keeps up his lick.<sup>910</sup>

This sort of praise was based on an assumption underlying *de facto* segregation that whites, particularly those with ancestors from northwestern Europe, were predominantly hardworking, unlike those who did not share that heritage. Thus, “hardworking” African Americans were considered to be an exception, although they were still severely limited in their opportunities to advance based on merit or to pursue numerous professions.

Among the ballplayers described in Part I, their employment other than baseball included professions in both rural and urban settings. Some of them, such as Pomp Reagor and Bert Jones, held a variety of jobs during their playing days rather than a single profession. In contrast, Bert Wakefield usually worked as a barber in his hometown of Troy during the offseason. Bud Fowler, Frank Maupin, and others also worked as tonsorial artists, an occupation sometimes associated with early Black ballplayers. Other positions held by several ballplayers included porters for hotels and other businesses, farmers and ranchers, construction workers, and various jobs with railroads.

Given that the period under consideration spanned several decades of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Harry Grubbs could work as a horseman at a livery stable and George Kirk could later find employment as a mechanic and chauffeur. Several players held civil service positions, such as police officer, firefighter, postal worker, and sanitation worker. Ed Carr served as the assistant to the State Librarian in Topeka (and later became a barber).

Monroe Ingram, Gaitha Page, and George Sweatt were employed as teachers and administrators in segregated schools after completing their educations. Schools also provided careers to Thomas Goodall, who was a popular cook at St. Mary’s College, and Frank McVey, who was an equally popular janitor at a public school in Concordia. Page later owned a shoe store, and McVey briefly owned a hotel. Both were also involved in real estate.

A few ballplayers had careers in health professions, mostly after their playing days had ended. Cleo Morrison was a dental technician, while Thomas McCampbell was both a pharmacist and a doctor. James Hightower worked in gyms and as a personal trainer.

A couple of ballplayers even enjoyed careers in baseball. T.J. Young played 13 seasons in the Negro Leagues, in addition to several years with independent professional teams. He also played winter ball in California and elsewhere. Van Parks held several jobs after serving in the military during World War II before finally getting a position with the maintenance department at Dodger Stadium in Los Angeles.

All of these jobs were meaningful, especially during economic downturns, as occurred during the 1890s and 1930s. However, few were the type of employment that paid decent salaries or offered opportunities for advancement. In 1963, Gaitha Page wrote a reminiscence for the *Alumni News* about his two years at the State Normal School in Emporia in 1897–1899 (now Emporia State University). He closed with a description of two worlds—the big world and the little world. It was a reference to the employment opportunities available to white and Black Americans and his hope for the future.

When I finished my schooling at Emporia it seemed to me, as a Negro, that this country was two Americas—one white and the other black. One world peopled by white people whose intelligence, sacrifice, suffering and industry had put them in complete control of every phase of human activity. All forms of business was [sic] theirs, railroad, telegraph, telephone, government—state, county, city, politics, education, religion and culture. All the houses and land, together with the cattle on a thousand hills was [sic] theirs. The other world was peopled by black people. A little world in the big world. This world was a sort of servant to the big world and performed most of the menial tasks necessary to keep the big world going. They were the cooks, janitors, laundresses, ditch diggers, bootblacks, barbers, hustlers and butlers.

Members of the big world could move freely in the little world. Members of the little world were very much restricted in their movements in the big world. The big world paid the little world a little something for its services. They both seemed satisfied. There was no pronounced hatred between the two worlds. There was some feeling of superiority and inferiority existing between the two worlds, not hostile, but divisive in a quiet way. When my white classmate finished school[,] all avenues were open to him, from president of the country down to an humble clerk in a store. When I finished, my paths led to kitchens, barns, basements, and backyards. I became a teacher, and the experience gained at K.S.N. helped me to feel that the two worlds could and would eventually work as one, either by the natural process of evolution or the planned movements worked out by the best men and women of both worlds.<sup>911</sup>

### *Military Service*

Several ballplayers served in the military, but not as a career. As with nearly all early baseball teams prior to the late 1940s, military units were segregated, although most officers were white, with one exception.

Military service by Black troops in Kansas began during the US Civil War, when the First Kansas Colored Volunteer Infantry became the first regiment of Black soldiers organized in a northern state. Recruitment began in August 1862, contrary to directives from Washington, DC. The aptly named First Kansas was also the first Black regiment to engage in combat, fighting Confederate guerilla forces in October 1862 at the Battle of Island Mound in western Missouri. In January 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect, and the First Kansas became the fourth Black unit transferred to federal service. Sadly, the regiment's two Black officers, Captain William Matthews and Lieutenant Patrick Minor, were not allowed to retain their commissions. Matthews objected to this decision and was authorized to serve as an officer in the regiment, but the arrangement was not fulfilled. If it had been, Matthews would have been the first Black officer in the United States Army. As would be true for integrated baseball, what was accepted at a local level met strong opposition at the national level. Although the stated aim of having Black military units in the Union army was to use them in garrison duty, the First Kansas continued to see significant service in combat. The regiment was renamed the 79th United States Colored Troops (New) in December 1864 and mustered out of service in October

1865.<sup>912</sup> Although the rise of baseball is often associated with troops serving during the Civil War, no evidence of baseball being played by soldiers of the First Kansas was found, and none of the soldiers has yet been identified as a ballplayer in Kansas after the war.\*

Despite the service record of the First Kansas, the opportunity for Black men to serve in state militia or National Guard units after the war was effectively denied. The Kansas constitution limited service to “able-bodied white male citizens.” In 1885, as the first integrated baseball rosters began to appear in Kansas, the state’s Adjutant General Alexander Campbell recommended the word “white” be removed. He contended that it was “virtually stricken out by force of the constitution of the United States, yet it is a source of annoyance to many of our colored citizens.” In addition, it was a “relic of the days of slavery which ought to be blotted out of our constitution.” The change was made by the state legislature in 1887 and approved by 91% of the voters in November 1888. Yet, as with organized baseball’s unwritten rule banning Black players, the state could still exclude Black units from formal recognition as members of the National Guard and routinely did so until after World War II.<sup>913</sup>

An exception to this unwritten policy of excluding African Americans from military service in Kansas units occurred during the Spanish-American War at the close of the nineteenth century. At the outset of the war, Kansas was called on to contribute three volunteer regiments, which it did—the 20th, 21st, and 22nd Kansas Volunteer Infantry regiments, all of which were entirely white. Yet Kansas politics were more complicated at this time. The Republican and Democratic parties were joined by the Populists, and in 1898, it was Populist John Leedy who served as governor. After a second call for volunteers was announced in May 1898, Leedy acceded to demands to allow Black soldiers to serve, and the 23rd Kansas Volunteer Infantry was organized. Fred Holton was one of the recruits (Table A-10). Governor Leedy hoped this would lead Black voters to switch from the Republican Party to the Populists (it did not). Unlike the First Kansas during the US Civil War, the 23rd Kansas was composed entirely of Black soldiers and officers, including the regimental commander, Lieutenant Colonel James Beck.<sup>†</sup> Only Black officers were commissioned in the regiment despite the fact that several white candidates actively sought commissions.<sup>914</sup> Once again, as with integrated baseball, local choices sometimes ran counter to national policies, though they remained the exception to the rule.

During the period of service for the four Kansas regiments, the 20th Kansas fought in the Philippines, but the other two white regiments remained in the United States. The 23rd Kansas was deployed to San Luis, Cuba, north of Santiago, from September 1898 through February 1899, in the aftermath of the war. Serving alongside the Kansas regiment was the 8th Illinois, which was also composed entirely of African Americans, the only other such unit to serve overseas. Both regiments, in addition to white regiments, played

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\* Rosters of Kansas baseball teams in 1868–1876 provided by Brunson (2019, pages 280–294) were compared with the roster of soldiers in the First Kansas provided by Spurgeon (2014, pages 280–371).

† Normally, a regiment was commanded by a colonel, but the 23rd Kansas Volunteer Infantry had only two battalions instead of the normal three, which was why Beck served as a lieutenant colonel.

baseball while in Cuba to alleviate the routine of garrison duty. The 23rd Kansas was mustered out of federal service on 10 April 1899.<sup>915</sup>

Black Kansas ballplayers also served in the military during World War I (Table A-10), but they were assigned to segregated regiments whose officers above the rank of captain were white (captains and lieutenants were a mix of Black and white officers). As described in more detail in Part I, Whit Coffee and Rollie Potter of Marshall County served in Machine Gun Battalions with the 92nd Division. Both rose through the ranks to become sergeants. Other Black ballplayers who served did so in support units. Private Randolph Prim was initially assigned to the 308th Labor Battalion of the Quartermaster Corps but was transferred to the 850th Transportation Corps during his time in France. William Hayden served as the bugler with the 805th Pioneer Infantry, and George Sweatt rose to the rank of sergeant major in the 816th Pioneer Infantry. George Kirk reportedly served as a mechanic, but no other details were found about his service. Among these soldiers, Whit Coffee was accorded an unusual but appropriate honor when he departed for duty.

In Marshall county the people have been in the habit of giving each contingent a farewell reception, so when the county sent its quota of colored troupes [sic], a single negro responded, but the ceremony was carried out to the letter and Whitley Coffey was shown the same respect that his white associates had been shown.<sup>916</sup>

Two ballplayers who spent time on integrated teams in Kansas are known to have served overseas in the military in World War II under circumstances similar to those of the soldiers serving in World War I. Floyd Wright was a private in a Quartermaster Trucking Company in Europe, while Van Parks served with the 9th US Cavalry as a military police officer, rising to the rank of master sergeant. As with the others mentioned here, they did not make the military their career, but they all served in times of need.

### *Racist Violence*

Racially motivated lynchings have been the focus of numerous studies, and the term usually conjures an image of a hanging. A hangman's noose is still used as a symbol of racial hatred. However, lynching refers to any form of extralegal execution of particular individuals for a variety of reasons. Genevieve Yost published the first list of lynchings in Kansas in 1933, following a lynching in 1932. She reported 206 victims of 130 lynchings. With better access to records, Harriet Frazier updated the information in 2015, resulting in a list of 238 victims of 161 lynchings from about 1854 to 1932. Information provided by Frazier and by Brent Campney (in another 2015 publication) for the numbers of white and Black victims is summarized in Table 14.<sup>917</sup> As shown in the two columns on the right, Black males comprised a disproportionately high percentage of the lynching victims from 1860 to 1899. Overall, they comprised about 24% of the lynching victims but never exceeded 4.2% of the male population.

However, lynchings tell only part of the story of racial violence. Campney also documented less-studied acts of violence in Kansas, such as threats of lynchings, homicides, killings by police, mobbings, and race riots. All of these forms of violence

**Table 14.**—Numbers of lynching victims in Kansas relative to the populations of Black and white males by decades following the federal censuses at the beginning of each decade. Numbers of lynchings were summarized from information reported by Frazier (2015) and, in parentheses, Campney (2015). The 23 white males lynched from about 1854 to 1859 and the small numbers of American Indian (2), Mexican (1), and unknown (1) males lynched according to Frazier are not included. The Kansas antilynching law took effect in June 1903.

Decade	White		Black			
	Lynching Victims	Male Population	Lynching Victims	Male Population	% of Male Population	% of Victims
1860–1869	65	58,806	23 (27)	286	0.5	26.1 (29.3)
1870–1879	63	193,200	7 (8)	8,566	4.2	10.0 (11.3)
1880–1889	21	514,084	9 (8)	22,152	4.1	30.0 (27.6)
1890–1899	9	726,312	7 (5)	25,248	3.4	43.8 (35.7)
1900–1909	2	740,922	2 (3)	26,542	3.5	50.0 (60.0)
1910–1919	1	856,437	0 (1)	27,964	3.2	0.0 (50.0)
1920–1929	0	878,150	1 (1)	29,739	3.3	100 (100)
1930–1939	1	914,626	0 (0)	33,980	3.6	0.0 (0.0)
Total	162		49 (53)			23.2 (24.7)

occurred in towns of every size and were not limited to those with a resident African American community. For example, there were numerous cities in Kansas (and elsewhere) referred to as sundown towns, where African Americans (or other persons of color) were not allowed to stay overnight, a policy enforced through violence or threat of violence and sometimes through city ordinance. In contrast to the violence or threats of violence, police, as well as other members of the community or the state militia, provided jailhouse defenses or other forms of protection for Black prisoners or other targets of violence. In addition, Black residents sometimes provided the defense for prisoners or their communities. In his book, Campney described the underlying causes and effects of these actions, as well as the geographical and temporal patterns of their occurrence in the state.<sup>918</sup>

In addition to the killings and threats of killings, African Americans were frequently subjected to nonlethal forms of violence, such as acts that demeaned individuals, assault and battery, and property damage.<sup>919</sup> As noted in an essay in Part I, Lem Clay was the victim of this sort of “routine violence” when a white man shot at his feet to force him to dance, as portrayed in dime novels about the old West. Clay refused to dance, and he was shot in the toe. The most heinous of these crimes was the rape of Black women by white males. The attackers were rarely punished to any meaningful extent, and certainly not lynched, as happened to Black men who raped white women.<sup>920</sup>

More racist violence occurred during the Civil War and Reconstruction than in the period following the Exoduster movement between 1875 and 1881, as was also true of lynchings in general. Initially, lynching and race riots received less press coverage beyond

local newspapers, but afterwards, newspaper accounts became more detailed and widespread. Lynchings increasingly became spectacles, with large numbers of spectators during the event and afterwards to view the remains of the victim left at the site. Some people even collected souvenirs, such as the victim's body parts, clothing, the rope, or parts of the structure used for the execution.<sup>921</sup>

During the height of the Kansas Exodus, Beloit passed a city ordinance in 1879 intended to exclude African Americans from the city. The ordinance used the designation "pauper," but the discussion by the city council referred specifically to the "colored man" and "refugees from the South." It was copied from an ordinance passed in Atchison that same year, and Leavenworth and Kansas City enforced similar ordinances. Atchison, Leavenworth, and Kansas City were destinations of steamboats passing up the Missouri River that sometimes carried Exodusters from the South. Beloit was in northcentral Kansas, far from any riverboats, but it was on a railroad that might carry Black immigrants west to Nicodemus.<sup>922</sup>

Other towns continued to employ violence, though Campney found only one reported lynching of a Black man from 1875 to 1881. On 23 March 1879, a 12-year-old white girl named Clara Pond was left at her home five or six miles outside Fort Scott by her parents with instructions to watch her younger siblings. That evening, she was raped. The attacker was identified as William "Bill" Howard, who had been working for the Ponds (his name was also reported to be George Tevebaugh). Parties of white men went in search of him, and he was found in a small coal cave consisting of two passages about 30 feet long on the adjacent farm, less than a half mile away. Howard was taken to the jail in Fort Scott, where a crowd of an estimated 1,000 people surrounded the jail, about 30 of them masked. (The hyperbolic *Fort Scott Herald* reported the crowd to be 2,000–3,000, growing to 5,000.) After dark, the mob broke down the door of the jail and seized the sheriff, deputy, and jailer. After putting up a fight, Howard was brought outside and dragged five blocks by a rope around his neck. The mob stopped at a lamppost on the northeastern corner of the public square, from which Howard was hanged. His body was then taken onto Market Square and burned. The remains of Bill Howard were placed in a wooden box and stored in the engine house on the square overnight, but when the coroner went to examine them the following morning, the box and its contents were gone. Who had taken them was unknown.<sup>923</sup>

Afterwards, the *Fort Scott Daily Monitor* opined, "Had this been done quietly, although justification of the act could scarcely have been granted, no one would have been found to censure it, but the unnecessary savagery of burning could well have been omitted." A subscription paper was circulated to reimburse the expenses of the search parties, and it was filled in a single day. Before Howard's capture, the sheriff had offered a reward of \$100, which was paid to the three men working at the Pond farm who had captured Howard. "Before his capture[,] about \$300 was promised by several enthusiastic citizens, in the shape of private subscriptions, but ... when the collection was to be taken up," no one recalled making such a promise. "[C]onsequently, the reward was limited to the amount advertised."<sup>924</sup>

In the aftermath of the lynching and burning, at least one resident of Fort Scott immediately moved away. A young student named George Washington Carver saw the lynch mob pass by his home, dragging Howard to his execution, as he recalled years later.

“As young as I was, the horror haunted me and does even now.” Similarly affected were about five railcars of Black immigrants from Mississippi, who had planned to travel to Fort Scott from Kansas City. They changed their minds after hearing about the lynching. In response to that report, the *Fort Scott Herald* suggested a circular describing the lynching should be distributed everywhere. “Just at present[,] Kansas has an ample supply of darkies, and when she is need of any more[,] she can readily send for them.” In a sense, the *Herald* got its wish. The lynching and burning were reported in newspapers across the country, but in April, the popular *National Police Gazette* published a longer story copied from the *Fort Scott Daily Monitor*, embellished with a drawing.<sup>925</sup>

Another such lynching was avoided in Atchison in September 1880. Ike Sneed was arrested and accused of sexually assaulting a four-year-old white girl. Sneed had occasionally been employed at her home. Knowing what would happen as word of the assault and arrest spread, the sheriff transferred Sneed to the home of the former sheriff, who held him until he was transferred to a jail in Leavenworth the following day. In the meantime, a group of Black men gathered at the jail to prevent a lynching in the first documented instance of Black citizens organizing a jailhouse defense in Kansas. When 200–300 white men arrived at the jail, the sheriff allowed four of them to search the building. Failing to find Sneed, they departed but engaged in a “loud discussion” with the group of Black men. “The police came up before any blows were exchanged.” In November, Sneed was convicted and taken to the state penitentiary, where he died in an accident in the prison coal mine in September 1883.<sup>926</sup>

Lynchings increased after 1881, but resistance to them also increased.<sup>927</sup> A particularly heinous lynching occurred in Leavenworth in January 1901 that influenced subsequent events. The story was covered in detail by the *Leavenworth Evening Standard* and *Leavenworth Times*,<sup>928</sup> and it was widely reported in abridged form by newspapers across the country. The victim was Fred Alexander, a 22-year-old Black man born in Leavenworth in May 1878 according to the 1880 and 1900 censuses. He enlisted in the US Army at Fort Leavenworth on 24 May 1898, during the Spanish-American War, and served with Company F of the Ninth US Cavalry. Alexander was discharged on 31 January 1899 at Fort Huachuca in the Arizona Territory. The remarks in the Register of Enlistments for the US Army noted that the behavior of the 5-foot, 4¼-inch private was “good.” A sketch of Alexander was published in several newspapers after his lynching (this sketch is from the *Topeka State Journal*, 16 January 1901, p 1). The killing of Fred Alexander and associated events in 1901 have been the subject of more study than virtually any other lynching in Kansas. Christopher Lovett (in 2010) and Shawn Leigh Alexander (in 2007) published detailed journal articles about the lynching and the events that followed.



Alexander’s death was preceded by an event in eastern Colorado. On 17 November 1900, the *Leavenworth Times* published a story on the front page about the lynching of 16-year-old Preston (John) Porter, formerly a resident of Lawrence, Kansas. Porter was burned to death while tied to an iron rail at Lake Station on the plains of eastern Colorado, the site of the rape



and murder of 11-year-old Louise Frost. Her father lit the fire that eventually killed Porter, but the method of his killing was poorly executed. Portable telegraph keys were used to broadcast the events in horrific detail from the remote location. The evidence and a confession left little doubt that Porter would have been convicted, but rather than letting the law take its course, the sheriff returned him from Denver to eastern Colorado by train, knowing that Porter would be lynched. The governor refused to intercede.<sup>929</sup>

In Leavenworth, there had been attacks or attempted attacks on white women since mid-October 1900. In some instances, the unidentified attacker was said to be Black, but other victims stated the attacker was white. One of the attacks resulted in the murder of Pearl Forbes on election night, November 6. Her murderer was never caught, but the assumption was made in the white community that he must be Black and was probably responsible for all of the attacks that winter, despite victim statements to the contrary. The police did not question convicted sex offenders living nearby who were white. The assumption that the attacker was Black probably explains the frontpage coverage in the *Leavenworth Times* on November 17 about the lynching of Preston Porter in Colorado.<sup>930</sup>

Walking home from work on the evening of January 12, Eva Roth was attacked by a man identified as Fred Alexander. Her scream brought help, and the police quickly arrested Alexander and took him to the city jail. The police, white-owned newspapers, and rumors soon asserted that Alexander was the long-sought-for murderer of Pearl Forbes, and a white mob quickly grew to over a thousand people. To protect their prisoner, the police first moved him to the county jail, but the mob continued their threat, so Alexander was transferred to the state penitentiary in nearby Lansing. Under intense questioning, Alexander confessed to the assault on Eva Roth, but consistently denied any involvement in the murder of Pearl Forbes. To get Alexander transferred back to the county jail, the mob threatened the sheriff and his family, as well as the warden. The governor was notified, and he activated National Guard units in Lawrence and Topeka. Alexander was held at the prison from January 13 to January 15, when Leavenworth County Sheriff Peter Everhardy guaranteed Alexander's safety if he was returned to his custody. The National Guard units never left their armories. In their place, a mob numbering in the thousands awaited Alexander. There were also about 120 armed Black men intent on stopping the lynching, but they were disarmed by the police. Although the sheriff moved Alexander through a tunnel from the jail to the courthouse in an attempt to hide him from the mob, they overwhelmed what little resistance was offered. Reportedly, Pearl Forbes' father requested that Alexander be burned to death at the site of his daughter's murder, as was done in Colorado. Continuing with that script, Forbes lit the match that set Alexander on fire. He was buried in a pauper's grave.<sup>931</sup>

In the aftermath of the lynching, threats and violence directed at Black lawyer and advocate William Bolden Townsend of Leavenworth forced him to move to Topeka and later to Colorado. While in Topeka, Townsend was the keynote speaker at a meeting a few days after the lynching that resulted in the establishment of the Kansas chapter of the Afro-American Council. At the time, it was the only national civil rights organization, founded in September 1898.<sup>932</sup>

In addition to threats of violence, such as those that led to Townsend's exile, the use of the lynching as a means of both extralegal justice and intimidation of African Americans was clearly evident in a comment published by the *Leavenworth Chronicle* (reprinted in the *Topeka Plaindealer*). It was written following the submission of affidavits in July to Kansas Attorney General Aretas Allen Godard by a committee appointed by the Afro-American Council and the Ministerial Union. They were submitted as evidence for proceedings to remove Sheriff Everhardy for allowing Fred Alexander to be taken by the mob. The *Chronicle's* response: "The people of Leavenworth settled the Alexander matter to their own satisfaction and any Negroes not satisfied can have another lesson if they wish."<sup>933</sup> Everhardy retained his position as sheriff.

Though certainly not universal, condemnation of the lynching came from many newspapers, some in cities with their own histories of lynching. Condemnation also came from numerous churches. In addition, a resolution in the state legislature condemned the lynching, but an antimob (antilynching) bill introduced in February 1901 failed to pass.<sup>934</sup>

The condemnations from white-owned newspapers and the legislature were based on the view that the lynching was an affront to law and order, not an acknowledgement that it was a racist act. Similarly, the concern among community leaders was that mob violence damaged their town's reputation and financial prospects. Nevertheless, the spectacles of the 1901 lynching of Fred Alexander and the 1902 lynching of Montgomery Godley in Pittsburg, a Black man hung on Christmas Day for reportedly killing a police officer,\* contributed significantly to passage of the antilynching law in Kansas in 1903, which took effect in June.<sup>935</sup> The antilynching law did not end the racial violence and threats, but it signified a shift away from the tolerance of mob violence. Yet after it took effect, Campney documented three lynchings of Black victims and 45 threatened lynchings among 90 instances of racist violence after June 1903 through 1927 and 34 instances of a jailhouse defense or police resistance through 1916 (additional defenses occurred after 1916).<sup>936</sup>

One such act of armed resistance occurred in Coffeyville in 1927. It was not the first for the city. In March 1892, William Lowe was arrested for allegedly striking an "old lady, past 50 years of age," who "does not see well." She was not seriously hurt, but Coffeyville's *Afro-American Advocate* reported there was talk of lynching Lowe. The newspaper also reported that members of the local Black community "got tired of that talk" and armed themselves to prevent a lynching. Subsequently, two other Black men from the Indian Territory were arrested on suspicion of being the attackers. In response to this news, the white-owned *Coffeyville Weekly Journal* stated, "The impression prevails that [Lowe] will easily prove his innocence, and it is to be hoped he will as he has always borne [*sic*] a good character." Nothing more of these events was mentioned in local newspapers.<sup>937</sup>

Another defense against possible lynching of Black suspects was organized in Coffeyville in April 1905, after a white woman was raped by an intruder while in her bed late at night. Nine of the armed Black defenders were arrested, but no one from the white

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\* Four days after the Pittsburg lynching, it was reported that Mont Godley was not the one who murdered the police officer. It was reportedly his brother, Joe Godley, who escaped capture.

mob was taken into custody. A notice of a \$500 reward for information leading to the conviction of the assailant was published by the *Coffeyville Daily Journal* through August 1. Although several Black men were detained, no one was ever charged.<sup>938</sup>

In December 1920 at the nearby county seat of Independence, armed Black men provided a jailhouse defense for Noble Green, who was subsequently accused of murdering a grocer during a robbery. A confrontation with the white lynch mob resulted in violence in which two men were killed, one white and one Black. National Guard units were brought in to maintain order. After a trial lasting four days, in which Green was defended by a Black lawyer from Wichita, he was convicted and sentenced to life in prison at the state penitentiary.<sup>939</sup>

In the spring of 1927, a white female student completing her last semester of high school in Coffeyville lived in her home after the rest of her family had moved to Oklahoma. On March 17, she invited two other female students to stay with her overnight, but only one accepted the offer. During the course of the evening, they were reportedly raped by three Black men. Bloodhounds tracked a scent from the house where the rape occurred 10 blocks to the east and then across the railroad tracks into the Black section of town to a house where three men were detained for questioning. A long, double line of cars filled with white men had followed the search and the return to the jail in the city hall. The crowd outside the jail swelled to 1,500 or more. Two of the three Black men were released and escorted by police through the white mob, which was becoming increasingly agitated. The mayor and police chief contacted officials in Topeka for assistance. The white mob began attacking any Black man they encountered, injuring two men. They also began breaking the windows of city hall. A group of about 100 men tried to storm the building but were repelled by the police, who used teargas as the mob tried to ascend the stairs to the jail on the second floor. Unable to storm the jail, the mob directed its attention to the Black section of the city, but they were stopped by gunfire from 20 or more Black residents. As gunfire between the two sides continued, four white men broke into a hardware store and stole rifles and ammunition but were quickly arrested by police. A local troop of the National Guard was mustered and ended the fighting. They were joined later that night by National Guard troops from two nearby cities. A thunderstorm sent any remaining members of the mob home. The National Guard maintained martial law and a curfew for four days. The last of the three Black men detained for questing was released.<sup>940</sup>

In the meantime, the search for the alleged rapists continued, and the NAACP arranged for Black attorney Elisha Scott of Topeka to assist with the investigation. Among his many civil rights cases, Scott had successfully argued the case of *Thurman-Watts v. Board of Education of the City of Coffeyville* before the Kansas Supreme Court in 1924 described in the essay about George Sweatt. In addition, he had participated in the organization of baseball's Negro National League in Kansas City in 1920. From the beginning of the investigation, there were doubts about the story told by the two victims. Rumors suggested the attackers were white, but no one was ever convicted.<sup>941</sup>

Violence or threats of violence also occurred between Black and white participants at baseball games. For example, white pitchers almost certainly attempted to intentionally hit Bud Fowler as he batted to intimidate him or force him out of the game, as described

in the essay in Part I. However, a fatal encounter occurred at a baseball game in Garnett at the Emancipation Day celebration on 1 August 1895 hosted by the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church in Garnett. The accounts in white-owned newspapers differed in the details because the reporters obtained their information secondhand. Garnett had four newspapers at the time, which published four versions of the story. The following description was compiled from original articles in the newspapers in Garnett, a newspaper in nearby Westphalia, two newspapers in Osawatomie, and one in Paola. The visiting Black baseball team was composed of players from the latter two cities, which are about six miles apart. All of the newspapers had white publishers. Long and short versions of the story (mostly the latter) were published in newspapers across the state but were not consulted while preparing this description.

The O.K. baseball club, “composed of nine champion colored ball players of Paola,” was organized in May 1895, but Garnett newspapers usually associated the team with Osawatomie. In late June, Black and white teams were organized in Garnett. The latter was named the Studebaker club, probably for a local shop on the town square, Studebaker & Company. Among the team’s members were Charlie Sargent and Ira Vess. On July 12, the Studebakers hosted the Black team “from Osawatomie,” with the visitors winning, 14–10.<sup>942</sup>

Less than three weeks later, plans for the Emancipation Day celebration in Garnett on August 1 included a baseball game between the O.K. BBC and the Black team from Garnett, followed by a rematch between the O.K. BBC and the Studebakers. Whether the games were played in the morning and afternoon, or both were played in the afternoon is not clear, but the game between the O.K. BBC and the Studebakers was the second match of the day. No score was reported for the first contest, but apparently everything passed harmoniously. Details of that game were understandably superseded by events of the second game, reported under headlines such as “The Killing of John Jones.”<sup>943</sup>

John Jones was born in Kentucky about 1845 but was living in Osawatomie with his family by 1885. John and Sarah had two sons, Mack (Max) and Major, who were about 23 and 18 years old in 1895. Some stories reported that Mack and Major played in the August game, but neither was listed on the team’s roster earlier in the season. It was also reported that John was the manager of the O.K. BBC, but most accounts simply referred to him as a spectator. At some point during the game, a dispute arose over a call by the umpire that gave the Studebakers the lead. “Of course the disputing became very earnest and general between the players on both sides as all such disputes do.” As the dispute was ending, Jones was on the field and engaged in an argument with Ira Vess, “in which some bad language and threats of shooting passed.” As Jones pulled a revolver from his pocket, Charlie Sargent hit him in the head with a baseball bat. Jones staggered and fell to the ground. Mack Jones picked up the revolver dropped by his father and shot at Sargent, but the gun failed to fire. Sargent fled and later surrendered to the sheriff. John Jones was taken to a doctor’s office but never regained consciousness. He died less than an hour later.<sup>944</sup>

The funeral for Jones was held at the Osawatomie A.M.E. Church the following day. As reported in the *Osawatomie Globe*, “A large concourse of colored people and numerous whites attended the funeral.” The *Globe* went on to describe Jones and his use of the revolver.<sup>945</sup>

Jones was a man of about fifty years of age and had many friends. He was a warm hearted man, law abiding, well respected, but he had a habit of getting terribly excited on any occasion he thought the colored race was imposed upon, and upon such occasions invariably drew his gun. Whether he really ever intended to shoot is a question. Many say that he only bluffed on such occasions, but all agree that his death was only the sequel bound to come sooner or later to him because of his habit of drawing his gun.<sup>946</sup>

The reporter for Garnett's *Kansas Agitator* interviewed Black residents about the events. The weekly paper published the first account of the incident the following day. A week later, the *Agitator* reported that some of Sargent's friends disputed the initial account of the events, claiming that Jones attempted to fire at Sargent "two or three times" before Sargent struck him with the bat. However, multiple accounts reported that only Mack Jones fired the revolver after his father collapsed. The *Agitator* "investigated the matter, only to find that the colored friends of the man [Jones] stick to their version of the affair, while Sargent's friends insist they are right." In their initial report, the *Agitator* also described the feeling in the local Black community. "As a matter of course, the colored people were excited and indignant, and a few of the hot-headed ones favored a lynching bee. The cooler heads, however, prevented any trouble. Some of the colored men say Jones was quarrelsome, but whether he was or not, that was no excuse for the killing." The *Agitator* concluded with, "The courts will decide who is correct—maybe."<sup>947</sup>

A coroner's inquest was held the night of the killing, and Sargent was charged with malicious assault, which suggests that Jones had not fired his pistol. On August 7, the county attorney dismissed the charge and prosecuted Sargent for murder. The *Westphalia Times* observed, "The colored people are afraid Sargent will be acquitted and Sargent shows uneasiness in the opposite direction." The *Garnett Republican-Plainealer* did not share Sargent's reported concern, "it being generally conceded that he did not intend to kill Jones but struck to prevent Jones shooting a companion." The *Osawatomie Globe* concurred that Sargent "will probably go free because of the fact that Jones had his revolver out and was liable not only to kill Sargent's friend, but he, too, was in imminent danger." It was no surprise when the fears of the Black community and the predictions of the newspapers were proven correct. Following a two-day trial in October, the jury acquitted Sargent after deliberating only 10–30 minutes (reports of the time varied among newspapers).<sup>948</sup>

Twenty-five years later, a confrontation involving a baseball bat, a white batter, and a Black catcher was averted. In their final game of the 1920 season, Humboldt hosted Chanute. The visitors won, 11–9, after Humboldt surrendered eight runs in the ninth inning. George Sweatt, the only Black player on the field, was filling in as Humboldt's catcher. The *Chanute Daily Tribune* quoted a Chanute player as saying, "The trouble started at the end of the game over a personal argument between Jenner and Sweatt." Sweatt and Fay "Derb" Jenner had played against each other in July, but Sweatt was at third base for Humboldt that day. According to the *Humboldt Union*, the trouble was instigated by Jenner.<sup>949</sup>

This dub of a ball player has caused all the argument and hatred in every ball game between the two teams as far as records show. In the ninth inning the sorehead [Jenner] struck out with the bases full and he undoubtedly got peeved at himself. Sweatt, who was catching for Humboldt[,] dropped the third strike and of course tagged him. Jenner in turn “cussed” Sweatt and drew back his bat with the intention of hitting him. ... Two or three [Humboldt] players went to him and called him like a man.... Sweatt is a colored boy and one of the cleanest and most popular ball players in this part of the country. He played the part of a gentleman by not breaking [Jenner’s] neck though he could have done it.<sup>950</sup>

The statement went on to say that other players on the Chanute ball team “are all good fellows,” but they should leave Jenner “off their team” (Jenner had played for Chanute since 1913).<sup>951</sup> Though nothing was specifically stated to indicate race played a part in the confrontation, the *Humboldt Union*’s use of quotation marks in the statement that Jenner “cussed” Sweatt in what the *Chanute Tribune* reported was a “personal argument” suggests that it did. Fortunately, the baseball bat was not violently employed in this instance.

### *African American Churches, Voluntary Associations, and Newspapers*

The churches, voluntary associations, and newspapers serving the African American community were created to fill the needs of their constituents not being met by most of their white counterparts, largely through exclusion. They were also deeply intertwined.

In the decades before the US Civil War, some religious denominations split, mostly along a geographical line separating North and South, as opposition to slavery within the churches grew. Nevertheless, some churches in the North that opposed slavery did not welcome African Americans, or they enforced segregation at services. In 1787, Reverend Absalom Jones, Reverend Richard Allen, and others were participating in services at St. George Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia when they were forced to move to a section separate from white parishioners, even while they kneeled in prayer with the congregation. They left the service and organized their own churches, which eventually resulted in the founding of the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church in 1816. Other Black churches were also established in the United States during the late 1700s and early 1800s.<sup>952</sup>

After the Civil War and the end of slavery, African American participation in churches grew substantially, especially among Baptist and A.M.E. churches, whose worship services were relatively simple and adaptable. In particular, membership expanded among Baptist congregations, which had a greater level of autonomy.<sup>953</sup> In addition to conducting worship services and religious education, the ministers were leaders in their communities, and they encouraged church members to support Black politicians. Occasionally, members of the churches organized baseball teams as members of Sunday school leagues, as in Abilene in 1913, where Dwight Eisenhower served as an umpire while on summer leave from West Point. Churches also organized mutual aid societies.<sup>954</sup>

Other organizations arose independently of the churches, though their activities were sometimes conducted in churches. The term voluntary associations encompasses a wide variety of clubs, leagues, and fraternal organizations, which were numerous in the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The particular aim of each group might be social, charitable, cultural (e.g., art, music), intellectual (e.g., literary, educational), political (e.g., party promotion, civil rights), or some combination of these. In addition, individuals often belonged to multiple organizations. Some of the groups were parallel organizations to their white counterparts, such as the Masons or Odd Fellows, which excluded Black members. Others were established by African Americans to meet a particular need or desire, most often some service to the members of the community. These organizations might be open only to men or women, but some were open to anyone or had female auxiliary units that tended to be much stronger than those of similar white organizations. From 1900 through the 1920s, several women's clubs in various cities were members of the Kansas Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. Although their individual interests might be literature, art, or other topics, the common goal of the Federation clubs was in charitable support and contributions to social services in the Black community.<sup>955</sup> This long experience with establishing voluntary associations served the community well when groups such as Junction City's Afro-American Advancement Club and the local Equal Rights League were organized, both led by Ike Perkins, the first regular Black member of an integrated town team in Kansas in 1885.

Joining churches and voluntary associations in providing support and communication within the community were the African American newspapers. In some instances, the leaders of the newspapers, churches, and organizations were the same people. For example, Reverend Thomas W. Henderson was a member of the clergy in the A.M.E Church, a Deputy Grand Master of the Masons, and one of the first two Black newspaper editors in Kansas.<sup>956</sup> However, newspapers differed from the other members of this triumvirate in that they brought topics important to the African American community into the broader community. While subscribers were predominantly Black, they were not the only ones who read them. Articles and editorials often elicited notice and comment from white-owned newspapers.

Information about newspapers in Kansas published by African Americans, most of which were weekly papers, is as good or better than in other states, yet the archives of those newspapers are still somewhat fragmentary. The first African American newspapers in the state were published in 1876 (the *Colored Radical*) and 1877–1880 (the *Colored Citizen*).<sup>957</sup>

From the end of July to mid-November 1876, the *Colored Radical* represented Leavenworth and Lawrence, respective homes of editor Reverend Thomas W. Henderson of the A.M.E. Church and business manager A. Williams. Although Henderson and Williams were Black, the white-owned shop in Lawrence that published the *Daily Tribune* did the printing. The *Colored Radical* was a campaign paper. Subscriptions of 50¢ were offered only from August to December 1, and exchanges with other newspapers were requested to run “to the end of the campaign.” Thus, the newspaper folded shortly after the national election.<sup>958</sup>

In September 1877, the *Colored Citizen* was established in Fort Scott. It was a small, weekly newspaper of only twelve columns published by the Equal Rights Club, with William Lewis Eagleson serving as editor and business manager. As in Lawrence, the *Colored Citizen* was printed by the shop of a white-owned newspaper, the *Fort Scott Pioneer*. In February 1878, William and James Eagleson purchased printing equipment from the *Chetopa Herald* and began publishing the *Colored Citizen* on March 1 as a 28-column paper. Thus, the *Colored*

*Citizen* became the first newspaper in Kansas to be written, edited, and printed as a Black-owned business. In July, the Eaglesons moved their printshop to Topeka, the state capital, which had a larger African American population. In Topeka, William Eagleson retained his position as editor and was joined by Reverend Thomas Henderson, former editor of the *Colored Radical*. They published the *Colored Citizen* until January 1880.<sup>959</sup>

The number of African American newspapers increased in subsequent years. Those in smaller cities, such as Atchison, Coffeyville, Fort Scott, and Parsons, were published from the 1880s through the First World War. After the war, the longer-running newspapers were principally based in three large cities—Kansas City, Topeka, and Wichita. The longest running newspaper, which spanned these two periods, was the *Plaindealer*, published in Topeka from 1899 to 1932 and then in Kansas City until 1958 (Table 15).

In addition to reporting news and social items, including information about churches and voluntary associations, the newspapers advocated for the Black community and offered political support. The newspapers, along with civil rights organizations (local and national) and persistent court challenges, represented important aspects of institutional resistance to threats to the rights of the Black community.<sup>960</sup> The salutation in the inaugural issue of the *Colored Radical* in 1876 listed the reasons why the newspaper was being published, given that a large number of newspapers were already available. Most of the statement would apply to other African American newspapers of the period.

First, there is not a single political journal either owned, edited or published by colored men in all this section of country.

Second, no people need information as to what is going on, what is being done, and what ought to be done, more than the colored people. ...

Third, the colored people of the country need a paper through which they can express their sentiments. In the past we have had to depend entirely upon white men's papers, and but few of our own people reading them. What we have said has been very little known among them.

Fourth, *The Colored Radical* is to be emphatically the organ of the colored people. We shall defend their rights at all times and under all circumstances. We shall demand for them equal and exact justice from the people at large, and shall tell the world just what we ask, need and must have. We shall gladly publish all communications that shall be sent us that are of general interest.

We shall support with whatever ability we can command, the Republican tickets—State and National—and shall oppose our people voting the Democratic ticket.<sup>961</sup>

Most early African American newspapers and most of the Black voters in Kansas were pro-Republican, a sentimental loyalty to the party of Abraham Lincoln. However, dissatisfaction with the Republican Party during the 1880s and 1890s, when it failed to nominate or support Black candidates or to pass laws prohibiting segregation, led some to support other parties. However, the Democratic Party at the time was strongly associated with slavery and the oppression of African Americans, while other political parties, such as the People's Party (Populists), were short-lived.<sup>962</sup>



**Table 15.**—Daily and weekly African American newspapers published in Kansas between 1865 and 1945 for at least one year. As suggested by this list, most cities with African American newspapers were in the eastern quarter of Kansas. Sources: Kansas State Historical Society archives, Connelley (1916), and Danky and Hady (1998).

City	Newspaper	Years Published
Atchison	<i>Blade</i>	1892–1894
		1897–1898
Coffeyville	<i>Afro-American Advocate</i>	1891–1893
	<i>Kansas Blackman</i>	1894–1896
	<i>Vindicator</i>	1904–1906
Fort Scott	<i>Fair Play</i>	1898–1899
	<i>Colored Citizen</i> (moved to Topeka)	1877–1878
Hutchinson	<i>Blade</i>	1914–1922
Independence	<i>People's Elevator</i> (moved to Kansas City)	1928–1930
Kansas City	<i>Advocate (Independent)</i>	1914–1926
	<i>American Citizen</i>	1889–1907
	<i>People's Elevator</i>	1937–1940
	<i>Plaindealer</i>	1932–1958
	<i>Wyandotte Echo</i>	1930–1937
Lawrence	<i>Western Recorder</i>	1883–1884
Leavenworth	<i>Advocate</i>	1888–1891
	<i>Herald</i>	1894–1898
Nicodemus	<i>Nicodemus Cyclone</i> <sup>a</sup>	1886–1888
Parsons	<i>Weekly Blade</i>	1892–1901
Peru–Sedan	<i>Lance</i> <sup>b</sup>	1891–1909
Topeka	<i>American Citizen</i> (moved to Kansas City)	1888–1889
	<i>Colored Citizen</i>	1878–1880
		1897–1900
	<i>Kansas Blackman</i> (moved to Coffeyville)	1894
	<i>Kansas Whip (Kansas Eagle, Kansas American)</i>	1934–1955
	<i>Kansas State Ledger</i>	1892–1906
	<i>Plaindealer</i> (moved to Kansas City)	1899–1932
	<i>Times-Observer</i>	1891–1892
	<i>Weekly Call</i>	1891–1898
	Wichita	<i>Colored Citizen</i>
<i>National Reflector</i>		1895–1897
<i>Negro Star</i>		1908–1953
<i>People's Elevator</i> (moved to Independence)		1924–1927
<i>Searchlight</i>		1900–1912

<sup>a</sup> The *Nicodemus Enterprise* and *Western Cyclone* merged in 1887.

<sup>b</sup> Published as the *Freeman's Lance* from February 1891 to August 1892.

African American newspapers played other important roles in the community.<sup>963</sup> For example, editors Henderson and Eagleson were among those deeply involved in supporting the immigrants during the Exoduster period, when thousands of African Americans moved to Kansas from the South.<sup>964</sup> Among the broader roles of African American newspapers, Aleen Ratzlaff detailed the important connections newspapers in northeastern, southeastern, and southcentral Kansas provided to the Black communities in different parts of the state and beyond. They did so by publishing reports from correspondents in multiple cities and by distributing their newspapers among subscribers in different regions. “Collectively, the Kansas newspapers served as a communication medium that helped shape opinions regarding issues that concerned blacks in Kansas, such as separate schools, political influence, and lynching. The newspapers, even when short-lived, contributed to the social fabric of those communities by linking blacks who lived in different towns and cities throughout the state.”<sup>965</sup>

However, African American newspapers of the late nineteenth century in Kansas carried little information about baseball. Among the first game accounts were reports in 1884 by the *Western Recorder* in Atchison, published by John L. Waller. During the 1890s, Frederick L. Jeltz, editor of the *Kansas State Ledger*, not only reported on the Black baseball clubs in Topeka, he also helped to organize a team in 1895 “of bright and intelligent young men, who know how to play ball[,] and their manner and decorum will be excelent [sic].” In addition, the *State Ledger* reported that Gaitha Page of Topeka played in Emporia in 1899, and the *Topeka Plaindealer* reported that Page played for Arkansas City later that season. In neither case did the paper mention that Page was playing for predominantly white teams.<sup>966</sup> In 1902, Sylvester Anderson, formerly of the Wichita Rattlers, an integrated team in 1896, was one of the investors in Wichita’s *Colored Citizen*, and he sat on the newspaper’s board of directors. However, this did not lead to baseball coverage by the paper.

During the twentieth century, African American newspapers of Kansas sometimes provided coverage of baseball and other sports. For example, the *Negro Star* in Wichita occasionally reported on the Wichita Monroviens in 1922 and 1923, while T.J. Young caught for the club, and the paper published a team photo on the front page in July 1923.<sup>967</sup> A decade later, the *Negro Star* had a regular feature titled “Amusements and Sports” edited by Bennie Williams. In addition to news about sports and other events in Wichita and elsewhere, Williams sometimes included columns written by Negro Leagues players Andy “Lefty” Cooper, T.J. Young, and Chet Brewer. Most appeared as “Stove League” columns during the offseason in 1934–1935, and most were written by Cooper. However, after April 1935, Bennie Williams no longer edited a sports section for the *Negro Star*.<sup>968</sup>

### *Segregation and Integration in Baseball*

With dozens of biographies of Black ballplayers who played for integrated baseball teams in Kansas prior to 1946 and essays on concurrent instances of integration, segregation, and exclusion in other aspects of society in hand, there is a final historical context to consider—baseball itself.

Kansas became a state in 1861. Its proximity to slaveholding Missouri and the Indian Territory (eastern Oklahoma), as well as its reputation as the “free state” after the Civil War, led to a rapid growth in the African American population from 1860 to the early 1880s, as described in the essay on population dynamics. Nevertheless, segregation in baseball was prevalent in the state from the beginning, which resulted in the organization of the first Black ball clubs in 1868. The first integrated team in the state to have a Black player as a regular member of the roster did not do so until 1885.

For a regional perspective, additional research is needed on the beginnings of Black and integrated baseball teams in the territories adjacent to Kansas that became states after the Civil War—Nebraska in 1867 and Colorado in 1876.<sup>969</sup> However, based on the limited information available, there are similarities and differences in the baseball histories of the three contiguous states outside the South during this postwar period. For example, baseball clubs of white players were organized in all three during the 1860s.<sup>970</sup> However, the first Black clubs confirmed thus far in contemporary newspapers did not take the field in Nebraska until 1881 and in Colorado until 1878. This is not surprising, given the relative sizes of their African American populations from 1860 to 1890, shown here.

Territory / State	1860	1870	1880	1890
Colorado	46	456	2,435	6,215
Kansas	627	17,108	43,107	49,710
Nebraska	82	789	2,385	8,913

The only early Black ball club currently known to have persisted multiple years was the Lincoln Lees of Nebraska, though newspaper coverage of Black teams was extremely limited. The basis for the name was not discovered. The Lees played both Black and white teams at least as early as 1881, when they arranged to host an unnamed Black team from Omaha “at the ground south of the capitol.” In 1883, there was a Black team in Omaha named the Black Stockings, but it might not have had a connection with the 1881 team that played the Lees. In addition, there was a Black team in Plattsmouth at least as early as 1882. After the Lees won a game against a white team in Crete, Nebraska in 1882, the local newspaper informed its readers, “Nothing could be said against the behaviour of the colored boys while in Crete[.] they acted like gentlemen.” Similar statements were published in other towns across much of the country. Such standards were always higher for Black baseball teams, which is evident in a comment made after two white teams played in Hastings in 1881. The visiting team from Omaha reported that they were well treated. “As one of the young gentlemen puts it, they are all ‘white’ boys out at Hastings.” The Crete newspaper provided a box score for the 1882 contest with the Lees, which was rare for a game with a Black team during this period. However, with only last names given, nothing more was ascertained about any of the players. The Lees continued to play through at least 1884 as other Black teams were organized.<sup>971</sup> The one thing missing from Nebraska is any record yet discovered of an integrated town team during the 1880s, although there might have been one or more. There were several the following decade, as noted in essays in Part I.

In Colorado, short-lived Black baseball teams have been documented in Pueblo (James Rice BBC in 1878 and Garfield BBC in 1881) and Colorado Springs (Rough and Ready BBC in 1879). The roster of the Garfield BBC included William Watts, who was born in Missouri in 1857 or 1858. Watts played for several teams in Pueblo during the 1880s, including at least three integrated teams—the 1884 Pastimes, the 1887 Nine of Diamonds, and the 1888 Pastimes. He was best known as a catcher, but he also played second base and third base. In 1884, he last played for the Pastimes against the Denver Athletics on June 14. The following week, negotiations began for the organization of a Colorado State League consisting of only three clubs—the Denver Athletics, Leadville Blues, and Pueblo Pastimes. The “season” for the league would consist of best-of-seven series between each of the clubs. Pueblo claimed the pennant by winning both of their series, 4–2 against Denver and 4–0 against Leadville. Why Watts was released was not reported, but it was probably not because he was Black. It was likely just one of several changes made to strengthen the Pastimes’ roster, which was initially composed of local talent and then bolstered by players imported from other towns in the region. Two points support this conclusion. First, he later played with former teammates on the 1887 Nine of Diamonds and 1888 Pastimes. Second, the Pastimes picked up Bud Fowler in 1885 for their Colorado State League club, which again claimed the pennant. Both league clubs in 1884 and 1885 had the same captain, John T. O’Connor, who was born in South Carolina to Irish immigrants. O’Connor also played with Watts on the 1887 Nine of Diamonds and 1888 Pastimes. George William Castone and Denver resident George Taylor also played on integrated state league clubs in Aspen and Denver in the late 1880s. Thus, Colorado began fielding integrated teams at essentially the same time as Kansas, perhaps beginning with Pueblo’s “well known colored base ball catcher,” William Watts.<sup>972</sup>

The situation at the national level differed from what was happening in Kansas in the aftermath of the Civil War. Baseball associations quickly shaped a national game that would appeal to white Southerners (and the prejudices of many Northerners), which meant the exclusion of African Americans. In October 1867, a few months before the first Black ball clubs were organized in Kansas, the Pythian BBC of Philadelphia was denied membership in the Pennsylvania Association of Amateur Base Ball Players. Two months later, at the annual meeting of the National Association of Base Ball Players, the committee charged with nominating clubs as new members would “unanimously report against the admission of any club which may be composed of one or more colored persons.” This preemptively blocked the admission of the Pythians or any other Black or integrated clubs. Though none had sought admission that year, the recent attempt by the Pythians to become members of the Pennsylvania association would have been fresh in the minds of committee members. The National Association’s constitution was not amended to include this rule, but the committee’s report declaring a color line was approved by the association to “Great applause by the delegates and hisses in the galleries,” according to the *New-York Tribune*.<sup>973</sup> Only two Kansas clubs—the Frontier BBC of Leavenworth in 1865 and the Lincoln BBC of Fort Scott in 1866—became members of the NABBP for a single year, so the ban had no direct effect on Kansas teams.<sup>974</sup>

Because no formal rule was adopted by the NABBP or its successors, integrated teams played in a few minor leagues (Table A-11), and Black ball clubs became members of minor leagues composed mostly of white clubs. Javan Emory epitomized the opportunities, such as they were, for Black ballplayers. He played on both integrated and segregated teams in the minor leagues during the late 1880s, as well as the resurrected Philadelphia Pythians of the short-lived National Colored League in 1887.<sup>975</sup> Black ballplayers were also signed by the International Association (International League) from 1886 to 1889.<sup>976</sup>

In addition, a Black umpire officiated an International League game in 1886. Jacob Francis filled in as the umpire on September 13, when Syracuse lost to Utica in “the last championship game of the season” played in Utica that year. The previous year, Francis had become the first Black umpire in organized baseball when he was “elected” as one of three “official umpires” from Syracuse, which was a member of the New York State League.<sup>977</sup>

The promise of 1887, with greater numbers of Black ballplayers in the minor leagues, including Bud Fowler, Frank Grant, George Stovey, Moses Fleetwood Walker, and others, along with the organization of the National Colored League, went unfulfilled. The Colored League folded after only a few days, although some teams continued to play independently. Then, as reported in *Sporting Life* in July 1887, the International League officially drew the color line by barring the signing of any additional Black ballplayers, although those already signed could continue to play. The number of Black players in the league rose from one in 1886 to seven in 1887 before falling to three in 1888 and one in 1889.<sup>978</sup>

In addition to minor league players in the nineteenth century, there were three Black ballplayers documented on major league clubs prior to 1947 (Table A-11). The first was William Edward White, who was a substitute at first base in a single game for the Providence (Rhode Island) Grays of the National League on 21 June 1879. Recognition of White as the first Black ballplayer in the major leagues did not come until 2004 because White, a Georgia native whose father was white, passed for white himself nearly his entire adult life in the Northeast and Midwest. This led to debate about whether he should be recognized as the first Black major league player. In 2014, Peter Morris and Stefan Fatsis closed their story about White with this view. “This much is indisputable: On June 21, 1879, a man born a slave in Georgia played in a major-league baseball game. A black man named White played for the Grays. Factually and figuratively, that seems right. And it seems worth celebrating.”<sup>979</sup>

Five years after White played for Providence, Moses Fleetwood Walker was the first Black athlete to openly play in the major leagues and suffer racial backlash. He was the catcher for the Toledo Blue Stockings of the Northwestern League (a minor league) in 1883 and remained with the club when it joined the American Association (a major league) in 1884. Catching was especially dangerous at the time, and Walker played in only 42 of Toledo’s 104 games in 1884. His younger brother, Weldy (Welday) Walker, also played four or five games with Toledo that year, but the two siblings never played together in a major league game. Fleet Walker returned to minor league clubs from 1885 to 1889 and was the last Black player in the International League in 1889.<sup>980</sup>

Figure 5 shows that the integration of minor and major league clubs peaked between 1885 and 1890 but persisted through 1900, including minor league clubs in Kansas. Organized baseball at the time was, in large part, a means of preventing other members from raiding a team's roster without mutual agreement and compensation. Kansas was on the broad, western fringe of organized baseball, where the need to protect rosters was not so keenly felt. Not being formal members of organized baseball meant the clubs were free to ignore the unwritten rule against hiring Black players. The closing of this window of opportunity for Black ballplayers coincided with the establishment of the American League and the reorganization of the minor leagues as the National Association of Professional Baseball Leagues in 1901. The ensuing contentious relationship between the National and American Leagues threatened minor league clubs of the association, but the issues were resolved with the signing of the National Agreement of 1903.<sup>981</sup>

As with most other arrangements in baseball, the National Agreement of 1903 did not specifically bar Black ballplayers, but their exclusion was understood and openly reported in the press. It was not uncommon for newspapers to comment about the inability of skilled Black athletes to play in the National, American, or minor leagues. "If only he were white" or words to that effect were hollow praise, an expression of blind acceptance of segregation devoid of any moral challenge to the policy. One such example was an article in the *Topeka Daily Capital* in 1903 under the headline, "Kansas' Place in Baseball. Six Players in the Big Leagues." In addition to the white players, two Black ballplayers from northeastern Kansas were mentioned. They had played in the Kansas State League during the 1890s but never in the major leagues.

[Bert] "Yellow" Jones, the sensational pitcher, who was barred from the big leagues by his color, learned to play ball at Hiawatha and did his first pitching for the Hiawatha club. Another colored player who might have achieved baseball eminence had his skin been white, was Bert Wakefield of Troy. They never made faster infielders than Wakefield at his best.<sup>982</sup>

In addition to the national ban, actions taken by independent leagues to formally bar Black ballplayers continued through subsequent decades. Such was the case in Nebraska in 1946, the year Jackie Robinson played minor league baseball in Montreal, Quebec prior to joining the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947. A league of Nebraska semipro teams, the Pioneer Nite League, voted in March 1946 to ban all Black players, a move that was likely directed at Howard "Smokey" Molden. Molden had recently been discharged from the US Army, where he rose to the rank of master sergeant. Before the war, he had been a dominant pitcher for the otherwise white team from David City in the league. Unsuccessful efforts to exclude Molden and Herschel Schnebly, a Black catcher and power hitter for the semipro club in Lexington, Nebraska, had been attempted prior to the war.<sup>983</sup>

Though usually unwritten, the color line in organized baseball was an overt action, and after 1887, leagues increasingly fell in line through the end of the century, as shown in Figure 5. The same rise and decline in the numbers of integrated town teams in Kansas is evident in Figure 3, but the peak occurred a decade later than in organized baseball. The

small, rural communities that fielded the vast majority of the integrated teams were certainly under no obligation or pressure from organized baseball to adhere to the color line, but they increasingly did so in the first decade of the twentieth century. It was not a collective decision. It simply reflected multiple changes occurring during a period in which there was increased acceptance and implementation of *de facto* segregation.

African Americans were not the only group confronted by discrimination and exclusion in baseball or other aspects of society in Kansas and elsewhere. Women faced the greatest challenge, and their interest in playing baseball was (is) rarely supported by men of any race. Nevertheless, there were exceptions in Kansas, as well as barnstorming teams composed of women and men who toured widely during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, Mae Arbaugh, a native of Independence, Kansas played professionally for several barnstorming teams from 1899 to 1929, including J.L. Wilkinson's All Nations team, often under the pseudonym Carrie Nation.<sup>984</sup>

Mexican Americans in Kansas also faced discrimination on and off the baseball diamond during the twentieth century, especially after 1910. Initially, men moved north from Mexico to work seasonal jobs with railroads and in agriculture. Their numbers and the numbers of families increased during a period of political and economic instability at home associated with the Mexican Revolution and a reduction in immigrant labor from Europe into the United States during World War I. Segregated baseball teams were organized in Kansas at least as early as 1916. Baseball and, later, fastpitch softball became one aspect of social interaction that contributed to community unity. Despite discrimination in the towns where they lived, players of Mexican heritage and other Latinos with light skin were not excluded from the major leagues.<sup>985</sup>

The same was true for American Indians. Jeffrey Powers-Beck described the American Indian experience of racial and cultural prejudice in the major leagues from 1897 to 1945. This included the nearly universal nickname "Chief," a racist term in this context that identified them as nonwhite and conveyed a sense of inferiority, demanding more than was expected from a white player.<sup>986</sup> In his "Cleveland Chatter" column in *Sporting Life* on 8 May 1897, Elmer E. Bates wrote about what Cleveland Spiders outfielder Louis Sockalexis, a Penobscot from Maine, experienced on the field during his rookie season as the first player of American Indian heritage to openly play in the major leagues. "War hoops, yells of derision, a chorus of meaningless 'familiarities' greet Sockalexis on every diamond on which he appears. In many cases these demonstrations border on extreme rudeness."<sup>987</sup> The following week, Bates commented further.

All eyes are on the Indian in every game. He is expected not only to play right field like a veteran, but to do a little more batting than anyone else. Columns of silly poetry are written about him[:] hideous looking cartoons adorn the sporting pages of nearly every paper. He is hooted and howled at by the thimble-brained brigade on the bleachers. Despite all this handicap the red man has played good, steady ball, and has been a factor in nearly every victory thus far won by Tebeau's team.<sup>988</sup>

Attitudes in Kansas were similar. Although it was once part of the Indian Territory, the nations relocated from the Midwest and other resident nations were forced to move to what is now Oklahoma. However, four bands remained in northeastern Kansas, where a 1917 newspaper advertisement for a café in Horton (shown on page 207) informed its readers that “Negroes, Mexicans, and Indians” would not be served. It was about this time that a baseball team named the Mayetta Indians was first organized by members of the Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation. They played area teams and barnstormed during the 1910s and 1920s. Previously, students from the Haskell Institute, a boarding school in Lawrence (now Haskell Indian Nations University), also barnstormed in the summer during the 1890s and 1900s. Players from the reservations and the boarding schools in the state also played for town teams and minor league clubs.<sup>989</sup>

In June 1895, after the minor league team from Troy, Kansas played a game in Emporia, the *Emporia Daily Gazette* commented on Troy’s two nonwhite players. Bert Wakefield and Jacob “Buckhart [sic], the Indian catcher, are the two best players in the Trojan team. The caucasians [sic] will have to look out for their honors when those two fellows are around.” The following month, Buckheart joined the town team in Independence in southeastern Kansas, where Monroe Ingram was pitching. The roster drew a comment from the *Coffeyville Daily Journal*. “The catcher for the Independence team is a full blood Osage Indian named Buckheart. It only needs the introduction of a Jap and a Chinaman to make the club an international organization.”<sup>990</sup> (Buckheart was actually Shawnee.)

Louis Sockalexis with the Cleveland Spiders in 1897–1899 and Vincent “Sandy” Nava, a catcher of Mexican heritage with the Providence Grays in 1882–1884 and the Baltimore Orioles in 1885–1886, were neither Black nor white in baseball’s color scheme. Thus, both were signed by National League clubs, not just for their baseball skills, but also as “exotic” drawing cards. In Nava’s case, the Grays typically referred to him as a Spaniard to avoid prejudice against Mexicans and possible Black heritage. Incredibly, Sockalexis and other Native Americans were also viewed by many as foreigners. Into the early twentieth century, other American Indian and light-skinned Latino players followed Sockalexis and Nava into organized baseball, and they also experienced racism in doing so.<sup>991</sup>

Although the color line that barred African Americans was firmly in place in the major and minor leagues at the opening of the twentieth century, the acceptance of American Indian and Latino players led to surreptitious attempts to bring Black ballplayers into the leagues. The exclusion of African Americans was based primarily on appearance and presumed heritage. One frequently reported example of a scheme to bypass the color line involved John McGraw, manager of Baltimore’s major league club in 1901. He attempted to pass second baseman Charlie Grant as a Cherokee. However, Grant had played for Black ball clubs, and news of the scheme was published in newspapers, bringing it to a halt.<sup>992</sup>

A similar attempt involved John Donaldson, a stellar pitcher from Glasgow, Missouri, who began pitching professionally in 1911. He explained in 1932 why he rejected the scheme to bypass the color line and bring him into the major leagues.<sup>993</sup>



I am not ashamed of my color. There is no woman whom I love more than my mother. I am light enough so that baseball men told me before I became known that I could be passed off as a Cuban. One prominent baseball man in fact offered me a nice sum if I would go to Cuba, change my name and let him take me into this country as a Cuban. It would have meant renouncing my family. One of the agreements was that I was never again to visit my mother or to have anything to do with colored people. I refused. I am clean morally and physically. I go to my church and contribute my share. I keep my body and mind clean. And yet when I go out there to play baseball it is not unusual to hear some fan cry out, "Hit the dirty [n\_\_\_\_\_]." That hurts. For I have no recourse. I am getting paid, I suppose, to take that. But why should fans become personal? If I act the part of a gentleman, am I not entitled to a little respect?<sup>994</sup>

The same sorts of schemes also played out in minor league baseball. Before Bert Jones began his final year with Atchison in the Kansas State League in 1898, an attempt was made to add him to the roster of the Kansas City Blues in the Western League, where the color line was now strictly enforced. However, the scheme was doomed to fail because Jones was too well known in the region, and it was reported in an Atchison newspaper.

[Manager James] Manning of the Kansas City Blues, has a scheme to send the Yellow Kid, Atchison's pitcher, to an Indian reservation, and then run him in next season as an Indian. The Yellow Kid is a bright mulatto, and unquestionably one of the best pitchers in the base ball field. But his negro [sic] blood bars him from the leagues.<sup>995</sup>

As described in the essay for James Hightower, racial and ethnic identity was sometimes complicated. Hightower claimed Black, Mexican, and Cherokee heritage at various points in his life. As a young man, he played for Black and integrated baseball teams in Topeka and Nebraska. After his playing days were over, Hightower moved to Arkansas City, Kansas, where he passed as a Mexican American. His son was born at that time and given the name Diaz Hightower. Afterwards, he moved to Colorado, where he claimed Cherokee heritage and continued to do so until his death. Hightower was born in Kentucky in the 1860s and may have been of Black and Cherokee heritage, but why he claimed Mexican heritage is unknown.

In an unusual circumstance of perceptions of racial and ethnic identity, Bert Wakefield of Troy, Kansas was twice referred to as "the Mexican" by his hometown newspaper in 1894 when he played for the otherwise white town team.<sup>996</sup> The reason why is not known. His family was widely known to have escaped slavery in Missouri during the Civil War, so the reference to him as "the Mexican" was not an attempt to circumvent the color line.

Perhaps it was used in the same way as the term Cuban, which had already become a "code word" for Black ballplayers.<sup>997</sup> For example, in 1898, the *Atchison Daily Globe* reported that recently hired pitcher Frank "Bones" Parvin objected to playing with Bert Jones on the city's ball club in the Kansas State League. "Parvin is from Missouri, and will have nothing to do with a Cuban."<sup>998</sup> Similarly, the widespread use of the name Giants often signified Black ball clubs, as explained by John "Buck" O'Neil.

The reason there were so many Giants was that many newspapers across the country refused to print pictures of black people. But there were a lot of excellent black teams around, and they were a big attraction, even in predominantly white towns. So Giants became a code word. If you saw a placard in a store window or an advertisement in the newspaper announcing that the River City Giants were coming to town to play the local semipro team, you knew right away that the visiting team was a black one. I think everybody in the Negro leagues was a Giant at least once. I was a Giant three times!<sup>999</sup>

The careers of most of the talented Black ballplayers barred from the National and American Leagues who spent time on integrated teams in Kansas came prior to the organization of the Negro National League in 1920. However, several played for highly regarded professional teams. The first such team in the nation, the Cuban Giants, was initially organized in the Northeast in 1885.<sup>1000</sup> Closer to Kansas, Bert Jones, Bert Wakefield, and Sam Strothers played for the Chicago Unions or various Chicago Giants clubs during the early 1900s. Jones and Wakefield also played for the Algona (Iowa) Brownies.

Efforts to organize Negro Leagues that included Kansas teams were largely unsuccessful. In the final attempt, the Wichita Monroviens claimed the pennant of the 1922 Colored Western League (Western League of Professional Baseball Teams) after it was reorganized partway through the season.<sup>1001</sup> However, the resumés of Randolph Prim, George Sweatt, and T.J. Young included time with the Kansas City Monarchs and other Negro Leagues clubs, in addition to their experiences with integrated teams in Kansas.

The vast majority of communities in Kansas never had a Black or an integrated town team. Nor did most towns play an integrated team, though some made an exception for barnstorming teams touring from 1897 into the early twentieth century, such as the ethnically diverse All Nations team, Guy Green's Nebraska Indians, and Green's Japanese BBC. (Despite their names, Green's two clubs also had white players.)<sup>1002</sup> As noted previously in this manuscript, many white town teams, such as those in Lawrence (1869–1870), St. Marys (1886), and Solomon (1906), simply refused to play Black or integrated teams, at least during a portion of their histories prior to 1946. After the *Concordia Empire* reported the local team's 14–6 victory over the team from nearby Clyde in 1901, the *Belleville Telescope* commented on Concordia's integrated roster and the team's prospects, while feigning innocence of any prejudice on their part. "While we have nothing to say against the four colored players in the Concordia team, we think Concordia will have trouble in getting many good teams to play with them until they draw the color line."<sup>1003</sup>

As mentioned earlier, there were two levels of integration in baseball leagues—integrated teams and integrated leagues of segregated teams. City leagues, twilight leagues, Sunday school leagues, and similar organizations in Kansas were a feature of the early twentieth century, after the number of integrated teams had declined. However, there were earlier examples, such as the city leagues in Atchison in 1897 and Lawrence in 1899.<sup>1004</sup>

In 1919, future National Baseball Hall of Fame pitcher Andy Cooper played for the Colored Giants of the otherwise white Wichita City League.<sup>1005</sup> More frequently, however, teams of nonwhite players were excluded from such leagues in the city. For example, the

Cudahy Puritans (white) and Cudahy Rex (Black) were sponsored by the packing company in Wichita, and they played competitive games against each other during the 1920s. Competition between segregated teams became increasingly acceptable in Kansas after 1870, but an integrated team of company employees was still not considered an option. In addition, the Puritans were allowed to join a city league, but the Rex were excluded, only a few years after the Colored Giants had done so. The first known team to break the reinstated color line in Wichita's local leagues in 1932 was the Aztecs, composed of Mexican American players.<sup>1006</sup> Similarly, in the 1899 city league in Lawrence, the team of American Indians representing Haskell Institute was excluded, although there had been speculation they would be admitted. Instead, an all-star team of city league players scheduled games with Haskell, won by the latter. However, Haskell players filled in occasionally on city league clubs.<sup>1007</sup> In accordance with baseball's fuzzy color line, these clubs were still predominantly white and included no Black players.

The underlying reason usually given for the exclusion of Black baseball teams from local leagues, while segregated teams could play each other independently, goes like this. If a white team lost a single game to a Black team, it could be excused as an off day for the white players. Or a white town team might be expected to lose to a barnstorming Black team, because the roster of the Black team was filled with professional players, while the town team was composed of amateurs (actually semipro in many instances). On the other hand, if a Black team won a league championship, they would have demonstrated their superiority in a series of games, and excuses would be more challenging to formulate. However, this rationale was not universally applied. For example, the top white and Black teams in Iola played each other in a series of games for the city championship each season in the years immediately prior to the entry of the United States in World War I, and both took their turns as champions. As with the teams, the seating at the ballpark was segregated. After the war, a Black team competed in Iola's city league and won the championship one year.<sup>1008</sup>

Despite widespread acceptance of segregation, numerous white town teams did play against Black teams, especially in the twentieth century, when professional barnstorming teams such as the Topeka Giants, KCK (Kansas City, Kansas) Giants, and Kansas City Monarchs began touring.<sup>1009</sup> Although stories of visits by the Monarchs or Satchel Paige are still recounted decades later by local residents, the most frequently reported story of a game between a white team and a Black team in Kansas involves the Ku Klux Klan.

The KKK was reborn in Georgia in 1915 and expanded its message of bigotry based on race, religion, and nativity through other states. It attracted substantial numbers of members in Kansas during the 1920s but was successfully opposed by Republican Governor Henry Allen, Emporia newspaper editor William Allen White, and others. In the end, the KKK was barred from Kansas through denial of a state charter. More broadly, the Klan also suffered from internal dissent and disagreements over allocations of funds.<sup>1010</sup>

However, during its fight to remain in Kansas, the KKK in Wichita sought to improve its image by sponsoring a baseball team in 1925. An independent team named Ku Klux Klan Number 6, after the local klavern, played other white teams in Wichita and nearby towns. In addition, a Klan team named Old Glory lost a 4–2 decision to the white House

of David barnstorming team in September. Yet, the baseball event of the summer for Klan Number 6, at least in historical hindsight, took place on June 21 at Island Park, the minor league ballpark. Their opponent that day was the Wichita Monroviens, the top Black ball club in the city since 1922. Prior to the game, the *Wichita Beacon* announced, “Strangle holds, razors, horsewhips and other violent implements of argument will be barred.” Two white Catholics were suggested as umpires, presumably because they would not be biased toward either team. The well-attended game was tied 1–1 after five innings, but the Monroviens eventually won, 10–8. The contest received little press coverage.<sup>1011</sup>

More persistent than the objections to playing in integrated leagues or against independent teams with Black players were the objections to being represented by an integrated team. These objections were voiced by local residents and imported players. An example of the former occurred in 1895 in Clay Center, where Moses O’Banion had been playing for the town team. In July, after a poor start, the team was reorganized with a new name, new uniforms, and a new roster that excluded the Black players, as reported in the *Clay Center Dispatch*. “The newly elected manager of the Browns is opposed to playing against or with ‘[n \_\_\_\_\_]’ though our boys have played with the colored boys all their lives.”<sup>1012</sup> In 1896, O’Banion rejoined the town team, which was under new management.<sup>1013</sup>

In other instances, hired players brought existing racism into the open, a subject first studied in Kansas by Gregory Bond. As described in the essays in Part I, Black Kansans were sometimes released by town teams when the clubs entered the minor leagues during the 1890s—Monroe Ingram in Independence and Topeka, Pomp Reagor in Chanute, and Bert Wakefield in Salina. Nevertheless, Ingram, Wakefield, and Bert Jones played for minor league clubs in Kansas during the 1890s, and Wakefield became the captain of his hometown minor league club in Troy in 1895. However, some of the white players in Atchison objected to Jones being on the minor league club, even though he was an excellent pitcher. In 1897, strong support from the captain, team boosters, and local newspapers apparently ended misplays in the field alleged to be intentional when Jones pitched. However, partway through the following season, Frank “Bones” Parvin, a new pitcher from Missouri and a vocal racist, reignited the objections to playing with Jones, who nevertheless remained with the team until the league folded. Ingram encountered similar trouble in Emporia in 1899. In 1896, after he was released by Independence when it joined a minor league, he played for the minor league club in Emporia for two seasons. In 1898, Ingram was released by Topeka when the club entered a minor league. The following year, he returned to an independent, professional team in Emporia. As in Atchison, a vocal racist, Tom Drummy, joined the team partway through the season and engineered a rebellion that included intentional misplays behind Ingram when he pitched. Drummy and his accomplices among the players were assisted by local umpire Claude Aney in successfully forcing Ingram off the team.<sup>1014</sup>

Of course, none of the rules excluding Black ballplayers, written or not, were binding on baseball enthusiasts in the communities of rural Kansas, and observance of the color line in baseball was not uniform across the state. It might have been essentially absolute in the major and minor leagues after 1900, but in Kansas, baseball’s color line shifted through time across the state, within communities, and even for individuals.

As illustrated in Figures 3 and 4, the shift across the state went from complete segregation to integration in more than 80 towns from 1885 to 1906 (Table A-3) and then back to nearly complete segregation. The increase in the numbers of integrated teams during the late nineteenth century was facilitated by the increase in the Black population in smaller communities following the Kansas Exodus of 1879–1881. Coinciding with the 1896 peak in integrated baseball teams in Kansas, the US Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that year led to a broader application of Jim Crow, in which Kansas further embraced *de facto* segregation, and the number of integrated teams declined. This was especially true in larger cities, where integrated teams were rare in the nineteenth century and virtually nonexistent after 1903. A few exceptions occurred in smaller communities, such as Frankfort and Humboldt, which had long histories of integrated teams, extending well into the twentieth century (Table A-3).

The color line also shifted within individual towns. For example, Iola followed the general pattern for town teams across the state, starting with a white town team, then occasionally fielding integrated town teams, followed by segregated town teams (with rare exceptions) after the founding of a Black ball club, the Go-Devils, in 1908. Then, in the 1920s and 1930s, Iola had an integrated Twilight League, with segregated teams.<sup>1015</sup>

Similarly, the color line at some colleges shifted. Integration was never complete at the state's largest university—now named the University of Kansas—but Black students lettered in sports in the late nineteenth century and at the turn of the century. For example, Ed Harvey lettered in baseball and football before graduating in 1894, and Thomas McCampbell lettered in baseball while he completed his pharmacy degree in 1903. As Jim Crow became more entrenched, Black athletes at the university were excluded from participating in intercollegiate competition during the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>1016</sup>

The mix of attitudes present in many towns regarding racial integration can be illustrated by the community of St. Marys (west of Topeka). In 1848, the Jesuits established a mission for the Potawatomi forcibly removed from Indiana and Michigan to the Indian Territory, which initially extended from what is now Oklahoma north through eastern Kansas and Nebraska. With the California gold rush in 1849, the Jesuit mission became an important stopping point for travelers on the Oregon Trail route that originated in Independence, Missouri. In 1857, Pottawatomie County was organized, and in 1866, the city of St. Marys was established adjacent to the mission. The original St. Mary's College had its roots in the mission school (the current school has no direct connection with its predecessors other than the property and name). The college was established in 1869, after the Potawatomi were again forced to relinquish common lands.<sup>1017</sup>

Baseball teams would eventually be organized in St. Marys and at St. Mary's College. The college maintained a strict prohibition against playing against sports teams with any Black players. For example, in October 1897, St. Mary's College refused to play a football game with the visitors from Washburn College of Topeka rather than allow them to use a Black athlete.<sup>1018</sup> The St. Marys town team was less consistent. In 1886, St. Marys refused to let the Topeka Athletics use one of their Black ballplayers, probably James Hightower.<sup>1019</sup> Yet, between 1895 and 1907, Thomas Goodall periodically played for the St.

Marys town team and even served as the team captain in 1900. Ironically, Goodall was employed for many years as the popular head cook at the college.

Individuals also changed their views on integration. In December 1902, Ernest Quigley was home in Concordia for the holiday and played with the Concordia Athletics football club on Christmas Day. During the game, the visiting team from Osborne “wished to put in two or three colored players [(the Kirk brothers), as substitutes,] and Quigley would not stand for it,” which brought an early end to the game. The *Concordia Daily Blade* noted that Concordia’s refusal to play against any Black athletes was “a matter of their own choosing, though they have in the past played with them in both the home base ball and foot ball teams.” In fact, Quigley had played on Concordia’s baseball team with Tab Tolbert and Sam Strothers. In 1900, Quigley and Tolbert began the season alternating as the pitcher and shortstop, with Quigley serving as the team’s captain, responsible for on-field decisions. Quigley and Tolbert had even traveled to other cities to play together for the town teams. Why Quigley’s views about playing with Black athletes changed is unknown, but he adopted the policy adhered to at St. Mary’s College, where he had been hired in the autumn of 1902 as the athletic director, and where he would remain until 1914, followed by a long career as a National League umpire.<sup>1020</sup>

With all of this complexity, there is no single answer to the question as to why integrated baseball teams took the field amidst the widespread, sometimes violent segregation and exclusion in the state. The decision to field an integrated team was a local decision, and there were multiple reasons underlying these decisions that sometimes overlapped. The emphasis on “local” in the decisions was especially evident in the case of Ike Perkins, the first regular Black member of an integrated town team in Kansas, who apparently played only in home games for Junction City in 1885.

In some instances, such as in Wichita in 1874 or in a game between Chanute and Humboldt in 1905, a white team simply needed to fill vacant positions on short notice. In other, rare instances, white players joined a Black team, such as the Wichita Rattlers in 1896. These two circumstances overlapped when three white players joined six members of the Nicodemus Blues to play the Haskell Indians in 1908.

More often, town teams were integrated by one or more local Black players, who were widely known in their small communities. One example is Thomas Goodall, who even served as captain of the otherwise white town team in St. Marys one year. There were also numerous instances of Black ballplayers being imported from a nearby town for a game or series because they were among the best available players to bolster a team’s roster. Several ballplayers filled both roles as popular local and imported players, including Bert Wakefield of Troy, Pomp Reagor of Humboldt, and Lem Clay of Frankfort. A few were so talented and popular that they were imported for most or all of a season. Rollie Potter in Onaga is one example. Others were even hired for two or more seasons, such as Bert Wakefield in Abilene, Bert Jones in Atchison, Monroe Ingram in Emporia, and Pomp Reagor in Fredonia.

Prominent Black ballplayers were also considered a draw for spectators, which increased interest in the team and potential gate receipts. In St. Joseph, Missouri, where segregation

was more rigid and codified in law, Bud Fowler was featured in newspaper ads when the Topeka BBC came to town. When Pomp Reagor joined the town team in Fredonia, a local newspaper simply reported, “Pomp’s here. Play ball.” This role was explicitly stated in 1946 in Nebraska, where David City unsuccessfully fought the exclusion of Black ballplayers from the Pioneer Nite League. They objected to the color line because Howard “Smokey” Molden was an outstanding pitcher who was “needed to attract crowds,” as he had done for the team prior to World War II. Denied the use of Molden in league games, he pitched for David City in nonleague contests and was featured in newspaper ads for these games.<sup>1021</sup>

Kansas and other states in the north and west were not bastions of racial equality, and integrated baseball teams were definitely the exception, not the rule. Yet, decisions made at the local level to field an integrated baseball team could find occasional acceptance in Kansas that was essentially impossible in southern states. Data from the South are not available, but the hundreds of games played by integrated town teams or minor league clubs in Kansas almost certainly exceeded the number of those games in any southern state during the period covered here. How Kansas compares with states in the Northeast and Midwest is unknown.

Nevertheless, integration on the baseball diamond in mostly rural communities in Kansas did not have a profound effect on the pervasive segregation and exclusion on the baseball diamond or elsewhere in communities. George William Castone still had to live with a barber in Concordia instead of the rooming houses where his white teammates lived. Bert Wakefield was initially barred from eating with his white teammates in a hotel restaurant in Leavenworth. The number of integrated teams even declined as Jim Crow became entrenched in the state during the early twentieth century. Yet, integrated teams did not disappear completely, and they provided a glimpse of what was possible.

## Opportunities Lost, Opportunities Found

In June 1875, a year after Wichita’s Douglas Avenue Nine added two Black players to its roster for a game against the visitors from El Dorado, a note was published in the *Junction City Weekly Union*. “Two [n \_\_\_\_] joined a base ball club at Independence, and the civil rights bill couldn’t hold the club together.” It was later picked up by the *Topeka Daily Blade*, *Daily Atchison Patriot*, and *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, all of which changed the first two words to “The negroes.” The note was a reference to a “picked nine” in Independence, Kansas, who lost a pair of games in late May to the Independence Athletics, the town team otherwise engaged in intercity competition. The picked nine had a catcher named William Wright, who was identified as “col.” in the box score for the second game but not the first game. This seems to have been an error. All of the William Wrights found in the county around that time were white. The names under his in the second box score were Rentfro (first base) and Davis (second base), the only players without a first name or initial. These might have been Jefferson Renfro (about 30 years old) or Jacob Renfro (19) and Paul Davis (24), who were Black residents of rural Montgomery County (there were also white residents with those surnames). They were not included in this study because they apparently played only for a picked nine. However, the language used in the note published in Junction City speaks to the challenges faced by Black ballplayers who joined predominantly white teams during this period.<sup>1022</sup>

Although many towns in Kansas that fielded an integrated baseball team did so in only a single game or series, this still highlights an important point. These teams included Black ballplayers because they were skilled athletes who were anticipated to improve the team's chances of success. Thus, the general exclusion of Black ballplayers from town teams and minor league clubs diminished the quality of baseball offered to the communities blessed with talented Black ballplayers. These towns were simply not fielding the strongest nines available to compete with their rivals. This was essentially acknowledged by white-owned newspapers when they suggested it was only the color of a particular player's skin that kept him out of the major or minor leagues.<sup>1023</sup> How many lost the opportunity to enjoy a career in organized baseball available to their white peers?

While there was little recognition at the time of the achievements of the Black ballplayers who found the opportunity to participate as members of integrated town teams and minor league clubs, frequently at the risk of verbal or physical abuse, it is important to acknowledge these players, as well as the communities that sent them onto the diamond. Though the lists in the Appendix are undoubtedly incomplete and the names of some Black ballplayers were never recorded, this summary represents a step in that process of recognition.

All of the stories presented here of the African Americans who crossed the color line on the baseball field have historical importance, but the careers of three players stand out in terms of both the number of seasons they played on integrated teams and the number of teams for which they played in Kansas—Lem Clay (15 seasons and 12 teams), Bert Wakefield (13 seasons and 10 teams), and Pomp Reagor (12 seasons and 17 teams). Clay and Wakefield also played for integrated teams in Nebraska, Iowa, and Minnesota, which are not included in their totals. Collectively, their participation on integrated teams between 1886 and 1908 made a substantial contribution to the peak of this activity shown in Figure 3.

Perhaps even more important historically are the opportunities Black baseballists found to serve as captains of their integrated teams or as umpires in games with at least one white or predominantly white team involved in intercity competition. Playing on an integrated team acknowledged the players as equals, despite opinions to the contrary held by racist players or managers. More significantly, however, a Black captain or umpire held a position of authority over the players, all or most of whom were white in the instances listed in Table A-6. All of those participants who accepted this arrangement during the Jim Crow years, regardless of color, deserve to be acknowledged. Again, Bert Wakefield stands out in this select group as the only person to serve as both captain and umpire under these circumstances during his long career. In addition, the fact that Frank McVey, a popular singer rather than a ballplayer, umpired far more games between white teams than any other African American in Kansas is nothing short of incredible.

In addition to the six Black ballplayers in this summary who had the opportunity to play for integrated minor league clubs during the nineteenth century—George William Castone, Bud Fowler, Monroe Ingram, Bert Jones, Frank Maupin, and Bert Wakefield—three players had the opportunity to join the Negro Leagues after 1920 (Table A-8).



Randolph Prim's career with the Kansas City Monarchs in 1926 was brief (three documented league games), but many others never got that chance. The other two players had longer careers that also began with the Monarchs. George Sweatt played for the Monarchs in 1922–1925 and the Chicago American Giants in 1926–1927, which allowed him to participate in the first four Negro Leagues World Series in 1924–1927. T.J. Young played in the Negro Leagues for 13 years, spending all or parts of 11 seasons with the Monarchs, as well as time with eight other clubs, from 1926 to 1937 and in 1941. How many of the earlier players, whose baseball careers ended before 1920, might have been capable of playing in the Negro Leagues is an open question. However, some of them played for the top Black teams of their day in Kansas City, Chicago, and elsewhere.

All of the successes achieved by Black ballplayers came against a backdrop of widespread segregation, exclusion, and violence that occurred throughout communities, even on baseball diamonds. Yet, their accomplishments were much more than athletic feats. As with other actions taken in the broader community, the Black ballplayers on integrated town teams and minor league clubs were part of a long history of an unwillingness to accept the society typified by Jim Crow. Jackie Robinson was not the first nor the last story in the integration of baseball. He was the critical, heroic inflection point in a long, historical arc composed of hundreds of stories lived by Black ballplayers and their supporters.

On 11 May 1934, Bennie Williams, editor of the “Amusements and Sports” section in Wichita's *Negro Star*, published a column under the headline “A Deeper Color Needed in Big League.” It opened with, “baseball history shows that almost every color in the rainbow has been injected into the big leagues in an effort to [spur] a lagging interest, except black, and probably black is just the color that is needed.” After mentioning National League, American League, and Pacific Coast League players of American Indian, Latino, Japanese, Chinese, and other heritages, Williams closed with a question that went unanswered for a dozen years.<sup>1024</sup>

Several major league moguls are just about “sold” on Negro ball players. They are beginning to realize that such sepia stars as T. Baby Young, [Chet] Brewer, Willie Foster, Satchell [sic] Paige, Webster McDonald, [Joe?] Strong, Dick Lundy, Oscar Charleston, “Mules” Suttles, Jud Wilson, Knute [Newt] Allen and several others, would give their lighter-skinned aces a merry race for berths. Colored ball players in the big leagues are inevitable. But what major loop club owner will have the courage and wisdom to see the handwriting on the wall and be the first to sign the only player who can make the game truly colorful?<sup>1025</sup>

In October 1934, T.J. Young commented on the same subject. He returned to Wichita to rest before a game between the Kansas City Monarchs and Dizzy Dean's barnstorming team and was interviewed by Bennie Williams. “Young expressed the opinion that it won't be long before the colored player will crash the big leagues.”<sup>1026</sup> In January 1940, Young was interviewed about baseball for the Topeka edition of the *Plaindealer*. “He said he most disliked bad umpiring and jimcrowism.”<sup>1027</sup> He had played in Canada, China, Cuba, Japan,

Mexico, the Philippines, South America, and the United States. These travels exposed him to the contrast of how Black ballplayers were treated in the United States and some of the other countries.<sup>1028</sup>

The world is incredibly complex. Thus, we have an innate tendency to simplify this complexity by categorizing people, places, organisms, objects, and events. From this process, segregation can arise. Some segregation is useful. For example, storing food separately from hazardous chemicals is a good idea. Even temporarily segregating people under certain circumstances has value, such as isolating those with serious, contagious diseases, as was necessary when Arthur Dawson contracted smallpox in 1910. However, segregation is unacceptable when based solely on differences wrongly perceived to be relevant, such as someone's race, gender, ethnicity, religion, disability, or other attributes that pose no threat to the community. Baseball players are understandably segregated into several levels of minor and major leagues based on skills, but excluding players from organized baseball because of their skin color, sex, or other irrelevant attributes has no justification. Never has, despite its long history.

*De facto* segregation in Kansas was widespread but not universal. The ballplayers on integrated teams demonstrated that baseball's color line had cracks, appallingly few, but cracks, nonetheless. And these cracks, these deviations from broadly accepted behavior, were more visible to the public on the baseball diamond than virtually anywhere else in the community. As increasingly foreseen during the 1930s by Bennie Williams, T.J. Young, and others, the cracks in the color line and the success of Negro Leagues clubs, including their competitive contests with barnstorming teams of white major league players, facilitated the reintegration of organized baseball that began with Jackie Robinson and Branch Rickey in 1946 and 1947, answering Bennie Williams' question in 1934 about who would be first. This narrative commemorates these people in Kansas. People such as ...

William Deveraux, the white manager of the minor league Troy BBC, who insisted that Bert Wakefield, later chosen to serve as the team's captain, be allowed to dine in a hotel with his white teammates.

Monroe Ingram, who sometimes faced dual ostracization for being Black and deaf, yet played almost exclusively on integrated town teams and minor league clubs for more than a decade, persevering even after being forced out by racist teammates.

And Frank McVey, the "sweet voiced singer," who skillfully navigated the delicate dynamics of authority when asked to umpire several games between white teams, including tournament games, "to the satisfaction of all," a challenging task for anyone.

Every essay in Part I celebrates what they achieved. Not just Bud Fowler, a deserving member of the National Baseball Hall of Fame, but more than 80 baseballists in Kansas who crossed baseball's color line as players, captains, and umpires prior to 1946, as well as those white teammates and communities who supported them. They did so despite pervasive segregation and exclusion. They did so despite the verbal and physical hostility frequently directed at the Black players. And in doing so, they demonstrated that change was possible. Opportunities lost. Opportunities found. A history worthy of remembrance and commemoration.

## Acknowledgements

Newspapers were accessed online through Newspapers.com, GenealogyBank.com, NewspaperArchive.com, LA84 Foundation Digital Library Collections, Paper of Record, Google News Archive, Gallaudet University (<https://www.gallaudet.edu/archives-and-deaf-collections/collections/>), ColoradoHistoricNewspapers.org, Illinois University Digital Collections, Margaret Nelson Patton Newspaper Archive at the Algona (Iowa) Public Library (<https://algona.advantage-preservation.com/>), Sioux County Iowa Digital Archives (<https://siouxcounty.advantage-preservation.com/>), and the Minnesota Digital Newspaper Hub. Newspapers were also viewed on microfilm at the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka and the Central Library of the Kansas City (Missouri) Public Library. Census records and other documents were accessed through Ancestry.com. Some older books and records were viewed online through Internet Archive (archive.org), HathiTrust, and Google Books. Links included in the text, sources, and endnotes were verified as functional in 2022.

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# Appendix

Table A-1: Chronology of racially integrated town teams and minor league baseball clubs in Kansas prior to 1946.

Table A-2: Black baseball players on racially integrated town teams, minor league clubs, or both in Kansas prior to 1946.

Table A-3: Kansas communities known to have fielded racially integrated town teams, minor league clubs, or both prior to 1946.

Table A-4: The 120 towns and townships in Kansas known to have fielded a Black baseball team prior to 1946.

Table A-5: The 26 Black baseball players known to have played three or more years for racially integrated town teams, minor league clubs, or both in Kansas prior to 1946, and the numbers of towns in the state for which they are known to have played.

Table A-6: African Americans in Kansas who served in positions of authority as captains (player-managers) of racially integrated teams or as umpires in games involving at least one white or predominantly white team participating in intercity competition prior to 1946.

Table A-7: Black baseball players and their relatives who competed on racially integrated town teams in Kansas prior to 1946.

Table A-8: Black baseball players who competed on racially integrated town teams in Kansas prior to 1946 who also played on integrated minor league clubs or Negro Leagues clubs.

Table A-9: Black baseball players who competed on racially integrated town teams, minor league clubs, or both in Kansas prior to 1946 who also attended college in Kansas.

Table A-10: Black baseball players who competed on racially integrated town teams in Kansas prior to 1946 who also served overseas in the military.

Table A-11: The 35 Black baseball players who competed for racially integrated minor league and major league clubs prior to 1946 whose careers were used to create the graph in Figure 5.



**Table A-1.**—Chronology of racially integrated town teams and minor league baseball clubs (BBC) in Kansas prior to 1946. Names of Black ballplayers are listed in parentheses following the names of the cities. Additional historical events are listed in italics for context. The numbers of towns and players each year are summarized in bar charts in Figures 3 and 4. Lists of players, towns, and accomplishments are provided in Tables A-2 through A-10. Six of the players in this list and two others who did not play for integrated teams umpired one or more games involving at least one white team. All eight umpires are listed in Table A-6.

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1865	<i>First organized baseball club in Kansas</i> — Frontiers of Leavenworth
1866	<i>First intercity baseball game in Kansas</i> — Frontiers of Leavenworth vs. Wyandotts of Wyandotte (Kansas City)
1867	<i>National Association of Base Ball Players denied admission to the Pythian BBC of Philadelphia and other clubs with Black players.</i>
1868	<i>First Black baseball clubs and intercity games in Kansas</i> — Unions of Lawrence vs. Independents of Leavenworth
1871	<i>First games between segregated Black and white adult baseball teams in Kansas</i> — Ottawa, Troy, and Eudora
1874	<i>First Black baseball club to defeat the white town team in Kansas</i> — Colored Star Club vs. Clipper BBC of Fort Scott
1885	<i>First integrated baseball team in Kansas</i> — Douglas Avenue Nine of Wichita vs. El Dorado (Black ballplayers Hoyt and Johnson of the Wichita Valley BBC filled in for white players on the Douglas Avenue Nine.)
1885	Argonia (unnamed “colored catcher”) Junction City (Isaac “Ike” Perkins)
1886	<i>First minor league clubs in Kansas</i> — Leavenworth BBC and Topeka BBC, Western League <i>First integrated minor league club in Kansas</i> — Topeka BBC, Western League (Bud Fowler) Atchison (Edward Mack ♦ Edward “Guinea” Stewart) Concordia (George William Castone) Frankfort (Lemuel “Lem” Clay) Topeka Athletics (George William Castone ♦ Bud Fowler ♦ James Hightower ♦ John Jones) Twin Mounds (Bud Fowler ♦ James Hightower)

- 1887 Atchison (Edward "Guinea" Stewart)  
 Belleville (unnamed "colored gentleman")  
 Frankfort (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 Lawrence (George William Castone ◊ Frank Maupin)  
 Oskaloosa (unnamed "colored player," probably Miller, first name unknown)
- 1888 Atchison (Edward "Guinea" Stewart)  
 Humboldt (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)  
 Topeka (Ed Carr ◊ James Hightower)  
 Waterville (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)
- 1889 Burlington (Henry "Snow" Williams)  
 Coffeyville (Monroe Ingram)  
 Frankfort (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)
- 1890 Burlington (Henry "Snow" Williams)  
 Frankfort (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 Marysville (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)
- 1891 Burlington (Henry "Snow" Williams)  
 Concordia (James Tolbert)  
 Frankfort (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 Junction City (Frank Milton)  
 Marysville (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)
- 1892 Burlington (Henry "Snow" Williams)  
 Frankfort (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 Independence (Monroe Ingram)  
 Peabody (James Hall)  
 Troy (Burgess "Bert" Wakefield)
- 1893 *First Black umpire in a game between two predominantly white town teams in Kansas* — Frank McVey, Beloit vs. Scottsville  
 Frankfort (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 Independence (Monroe Ingram)

- Marion (James Hall)  
 Scottsville (Lemuel "Lem" Clay — pitched in the game umpired by Frank McVey)  
 Troy (Lemuel "Lem" Clay ◊ Burgess "Bert" Wakefield)  
 Washington (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)
- 1894
- Bendena (Burgess "Bert" Wakefield)  
 Clay Center (Moses "Mose" O'Banion)  
 Frankfort (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 Hiawatha (Burgess "Bert" Wakefield)  
 Humboldt (William "Shotts" Turner)  
 Independence (Monroe Ingram)  
 Troy (Burgess "Bert" Wakefield)
- 1895
- Troy BBC, Kansas State League (Burgess "Bert" Wakefield, captain)**  
 Clay Center (Dan Ferguson ◊ Moses "Mose" O'Banion)  
 Concordia (Charles "Tab" Tolbert ◊ John Tolbert)  
 Emporia (Burgess "Bert" Wakefield)  
 Erie (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)  
 Hiawatha (George Elbertus "Bert" Jones)  
 Humboldt (Albert "Pomp" Reagor ◊ William "Shotts" Turner)  
 Independence (Monroe Ingram)  
 Iola (Harry Grubbs)  
 Junction City (Frank Milton)  
 St. Marys (Thomas Goodall)  
 Thayer (William "Shotts" Turner)  
 Waverly (Henry "Snow" Williams)  
 Westmoreland (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 White Cloud (John Miller)
- 1896
- Emporia BBC, Northern Kansas State League (Monroe Ingram)**  
 Atchison (George Elbertus "Bert" Jones ◊ Burgess "Bert" Wakefield)  
 Blue Rapids (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)

Clay Center (Tom Davy ◊ Moses "Mose" O'Banion)  
 Clear Fork (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 Clifton (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 Concordia (Charles "Tab" Tolbert)  
 Frankfort (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 Hartford (Henry "Snow" Williams)  
 Hiawatha (George Elbertus "Bert" Jones ◊ Burgess "Bert" Wakefield)  
 Humboldt (Albert "Pomp" Reagor ◊ William "Shotts" Turner)  
 Independence (Monroe Ingram)  
 Iola (Harry Grubbs ◊ Albert "Pomp" Reagor ◊ William "Shotts" Turner)  
 Leonardville (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 Minneapolis (Ike Jones)  
 Neosho Falls (Henry "Snow" Williams)  
 Oskaloosa (Walter? English)  
 Sabatha (George Elbertus "Bert" Jones ◊ Burgess "Bert" Wakefield)  
 St. Marys (Thomas Goodall)  
 Wakefield (Moses "Mose" O'Banion)  
 Wamego (Albert? "Yock" Green)  
 Waverly (Henry "Snow" Williams)  
 Westmoreland (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 White Cloud (John Miller)  
 Wichita (Wichita Rattlers imported white pitcher Charley Strawn for a few games)

1897

Atchison BBC, Kansas State League (George Elbertus "Bert" Jones)  
 Emporia BBC, Kansas State League (Monroe Ingram)  
 Abilene (Burgess "Bert" Wakefield)  
 Brookville (Fred Holton)  
 Cherryvale (William "Shotts" Turner)  
 Clay Center (Tom Davy ◊ Moses "Mose" O'Banion)  
 Concordia (Charles "Tab" Tolbert)



- Frankfort (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 Green ("They have a good team, two colored men who are exceptionally good." Tom Davy? ◊ Moses "Mose" O'Banion?)  
 Humboldt (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)  
 Minneapolis (Fred Holton)  
 Neosho Falls (Albert "Pomp" Reagor ◊ William "Shotts" Turner)  
 Oskaloosa (Lewis? Todd)  
 Salina (Fred Holton ◊ Virgil Smith)  
 Severance (George Elbertus "Bert" Jones ◊ Burgess "Bert" Wakefield)  
 Vernon (Albert "Pomp" Reagor ◊ William "Shotts" Turner)  
 Wamego (Albert? "Yock" Green)  
 Yates Center (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)
- 1898 **Atchison BBC, Kansas State League (George Elbertus "Bert" Jones)**  
 Abilene (Burgess "Bert" Wakefield)  
 Blue Rapids (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 Burlingame ("Walker of Kansas City")  
 Burr Oak (Charles "Tab" Tolbert)  
 Carbondale (John Sanders)  
 Coffeyville (Monroe Ingram)  
 Frankfort (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 Junction City (George Conner)  
 St. Marys (Thomas Goodall)  
 Salina (Burgess "Bert" Wakefield)  
 Scranton (John Sanders)  
 Topeka (Monroe Ingram)  
 Wamego (Albert? "Yock" Green)
- 1899  
 Altoona (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)  
 Arkansas City (Gaitha Page)  
 Burlington (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)  
 Chanute (Arthur Dawson ◊ Albert "Pomp" Reagor)

Coffeyville (Monroe Ingram)  
 Emporia (Monroe Ingram ◊ Gaitha Page)  
 Frankfort (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 Gypsum (Virgil Smith)  
 Hanover (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 Herington (Virgil Smith)  
 Humboldt (Albert "Pomp" Reagor ◊ William "Shotts" Turner)  
 Iola (Harry Grubbs)  
 Osborne (George Kirk ◊ William "Will" Kirk)  
 Parsons (Gaitha Page)  
 Rest (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)  
 St. Marys (Thomas Goodall)  
 Waverly (Monroe Ingram)  
 Westmoreland (Albert? "Yock" Green)

1900

Burlington (Albert "Pomp" Reagor ◊ William "Shotts" Turner)  
 Chanute (Arthur Dawson ◊ John W. Dawson ◊ Frank Fields)  
 Clear Fork (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 Coffeyville (Monroe Ingram)  
 Concordia (Timothy Samuel Strothers ◊ Charles "Tab" Tolbert ◊ John Tolbert ◊ Harvey Wright ◊ Virgil Smith)  
 Frankfort (Lemuel "Lem" Clay)  
 Fredonia (Charles "Chalk" Garner ◊ Albert "Pomp" Reagor)  
 Humboldt (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)  
 Milford ("Comers, the colored catcher from Junction City," probably George Conner)  
 Osborne (George Kirk ◊ William "Will" Kirk)  
 St. Marys (Thomas Goodall, captain)  
 Salina (Virgil Smith, captain)  
 Sylvan Grove (Virgil Smith)  
 Toronto (Charles "Chalk" Garner ◊ Albert "Pomp" Reagor)

- 1901 Altoona (Albert "Pomp" Reagor ◊ William "Shotts" Turner)  
 Buffalo (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)  
 Clifton (Timothy Samuel Strothers)  
 Coffeyville (Monroe Ingram ◊ Albert "Pomp" Reagor)  
 Concordia (Timothy Samuel Strothers ◊ Charles "Tab" Tolbert ◊ John Tolbert? ◊ Harvey Wright?)  
 Edna (Monroe Ingram)  
 Fredonia (Albert "Pomp" Reagor ◊ William "Shotts" Turner)  
 Howard (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)  
 Humboldt (Albert "Pomp" Reagor ◊ William "Shotts" Turner)  
 Osage City (James Orendorf)  
 Osborne (George Kirk ◊ William "Will" Kirk)  
 St. Marys (Thomas Goodall)  
 Sedan (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)
- 1902 *Minor League Baseball reorganized into classes under the National and American Leagues after 1901.*  
 Centralia (unnamed "colored pitcher")  
 Chanute (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)  
 Concordia (Timothy Samuel Strothers)  
 Humboldt (Albert "Pomp" Reagor ◊ William "Shotts" Turner)  
 Moran (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)  
 Osage City (James Orendorf)  
 Osborne (George Kirk ◊ William "Will" Kirk)  
 Topeka Business College (George Hicks ◊ Thomas McCampbell ◊ Gaitha Page)  
 Troy (Burgess "Bert" Wakefield)
- 1903 Fredonia (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)  
 Humboldt (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)  
 Lyndon (James Orendorf)  
 Osage City (James Orendorf)  
 Osborne (George Kirk ◊ William "Will" Kirk)  
 Salina (Benjamin "Benny" Hill)

- 1904 Topeka Business College (George Hicks ◊ Thomas McCampbell ◊ Gaitha Page)  
 Troy (Burgess "Bert" Wakefield)  
 Bennington (Benjamin "Benny" Hill)  
 Concordia (Timothy Samuel Strothers ◊ Charles "Tab" Tolbert)  
 Hill City (George Kirk)  
 Osborne (George Kirk ◊ William "Will" Kirk)  
 St. Marys (Thomas Goodall)  
 Salina (Benjamin "Benny" Hill)  
 Sedan (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)  
 Toronto (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)  
 Troy (Burgess "Bert" Wakefield)  
 Yates Center (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)
- 1905 Chanute (Arthur Dawson ◊ Lewis "Ax" Grubbs ◊ William Peterson)  
 Coffeyville (Charles? Irvin)  
 Howard (Albert "Pomp" Reagor)  
 Humboldt (Albert "Pomp" Reagor ◊ William "Shotts" Turner)  
 Lucas (George Kirk ◊ William "Will" Kirk)  
 Osage City (James Orendorf)  
 Smith Center (George Kirk)  
 Troy (Burgess "Bert" Wakefield, captain)
- 1906 Hoxie (unnamed "negro catcher," possibly one of the Kirk brothers from Osborne or someone from Nicodemus)  
 Humboldt (Albert "Pomp" Reagor ◊ William "Shotts" Turner)  
 Hummer (Walter Kirk)  
 Osborne (George Kirk ◊ Walter Kirk ◊ William "Will" Kirk)  
 St. Marys (Thomas Goodall)  
 Troy (Burgess "Bert" Wakefield)
- 1907 Hill Top (unnamed "colored battery from Emporia")  
 Osborne (George Kirk? ◊ Walter Kirk? ◊ William "Will" Kirk)  
 Page (John "Happy" Sparks)

- St. Marys (Thomas Goodall)  
 Winona (John "Happy" Sparks)
- 1908 Nicodemus (six Black players on Nicodemus Blues joined by three white players for a game with Haskell Indians)  
 Robinson (Burgess "Bert" Wakefield)
- 1909 Osage City (James Orendorf)  
 Winona (John "Happy" Sparks)
- 1910 Osage City (James Orendorf)
- 1911 Blaine (Edwin Potter ◊ Rollie Potter)  
 Frankfort (Edwin Potter)  
 Osborne (George Kirk ◊ Walter Kirk)
- 1912 Altoona (Arthur "Rat" Grubbs ◊ George "Sharkey" Sweatt)  
 Fostoria (unidentified Potter ◊ unidentified Coffee ◊ unidentified Coffee)  
 Frankfort (Edwin Potter ◊ Rollie Potter)  
 Humboldt (George "Sharkey" Sweatt)  
 Osage City (James Orendorf)  
 Osborne (Walter Kirk)
- 1913 Lillis (unidentified players from Frankfort Black Diamonds, probably a mix of Coffee, McAlister, and Potter brothers)
- 1914 Humboldt (George "Sharkey" Sweatt)  
 Iola (George "Sharkey" Sweatt captained Black-and-Tans composed of players from Iola Go-Devils and Iola Boosters)  
 Soldier ("colored battery from Frankfort," probably Edwin Potter ◊ Rollie Potter)
- 1915 Iola (Arthur "Rat" Grubbs)
- 
- 1917 *United States entered First World War.*  
 Valley Falls (William? Hayden)  
 Wheaton (Edwin Potter ◊ Rollie Potter ◊ Henry? Coffee ◊ unidentified Coffee)
- 1918 Valley Falls (William? Hayden)
- 1919 Valley Falls (William Hayden)

- 1920 Grenola (Gulick ◊ Nelson)  
 Humboldt (George "Sharkey" Sweatt)  
 Kickapoo Indians (Gibson, "the colored pitcher up from Horton")  
 Moline (Gulick ◊ Nelson)  
 Solvay (Gulick ◊ Nelson)  
 Thayer ("three players from the [Chanute] Black Diamonds" — Carr ◊ Preston ◊ unidentified third player)  
 Vermillion (Rollie Potter ◊ unidentified Coffee)
- 1921 Bennington (Randolph "Lefty" Prim)  
 Blue Rapids (Rollie Potter)  
 Frankfort Black Diamonds (three white players from Frankfort were added to the roster for a game with Beattie)  
 Gypsum (Randolph "Lefty" Prim)  
 Montezuma (Lewis Chester)  
 Valley Falls (William? Hayden)  
 Vermillion (Rollie Potter ◊ unidentified Coffee)
- 1922 Onaga (Rollie Potter)  
 Vermillion (unidentified Coffee)
- 1923 Blue Rapids (Charles Coffee ◊ Henry Coffee ◊ Howard Coffee ◊ Waldean "Dear" McAlister)
- 1924 St. Marys (August Goodall)
- 1925 Hartford (Gene Allen ◊ Sam Harrison)  
 Glasco (Randolph "Lefty" Prim)
- 
- 1928 Blue Rapids (Whitley "Whit" Coffee)  
 Frankfort (Charles Coffee)
- 
- 1932 Iola (Floyd "Jack" Wright)
- 1933 Mulvane (Thomas Jefferson "T.J." Young)  
 Wichita (*state semipro tournament all-star team* — Alfred "Army" Cooper ◊ Hurley McNair ◊ James Starks)  
 Wichita (*state semipro tournament all-star team* — Alfred "Army" Cooper)
-

1938 Humboldt (Cleo Morrison)  
Oswego Ramblers (Cleo Morrison ◊ Van Parks, captain ◊ other unidentified players)

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Table A-2.—Black baseball players on racially integrated town teams, minor league clubs (\*), or both in Kansas prior to 1946 listed in Table A-1. Only the 81 players whose names could be determined with reasonable certainty are included. At least 43 of them played more than one year. Full names of a few players could not be documented.

Player	Years with Integrated Teams
Gene Allen	1925
Ed Carr	1888
Carr	1920
George William Castone	1886–1887
Lewis Chester	1921
Lemuel “Lem” Clay	1886–1900
Charles Coffee	1923, 1928
Henry Coffee	1917 (?), 1923
Howard Coffee	1923
Whitley “Whit” Coffee	1928
unidentified Coffee(s)	1912, 1917, 1920–1922
George Conner	1898, 1900
Tom Davy	1896–1897
Arthur Dawson	1899–1900, 1905
John W. Dawson	1899
(Walter?) English	1896
Dan Ferguson	1895
Frank Fields	1900
Bud Fowler *	1886
Charles “Chalk” Garner	1900
Gibson	1920
August Goodall	1924
Thomas Goodall	1895–1896, 1898–1901, 1904, 1906–1907
(Albert?) “Yock” Green	1896–1899
Arthur “Rat” Grubbs	1912, 1915
Harry Grubbs	1895–1896, 1899
Lewis “Ax” Grubbs	1905
Gulick	1920
James Hall	1892–1893
Sam Harrison	1925
Harvey Wright	1900–1901 (?)
William Hayden	1917–1919, 1921
George Hicks	1902–1903
James Hightower	1886, 1888
Benjamin “Benny” Hill	1903–1904
Fred Holton	1897
(James W.?) Hoyt	1874
Monroe Ingram *	1889, 1892–1901
(Charles?) Irvin	1905

*Continued on next page.*



Table A-2.—continued.

Player	Years with Integrated Teams
Johnson	1874
George Elbertus “Bert” Jones *	1895–1898
Ike Jones	1896
John Jones	1886
George Kirk	1899–1907, 1911
Walter Kirk	1906–1907, 1911–1912
William “Will” Kirk	1899–1906
Edward Mack	1886
Frank Maupin	1887
Waldean “Dean” McAlister	1923
Thomas McCampbell	1902–1903
John Miller	1895–1896
Miller	1887
Frank Milton	1891, 1895
Cleo Morrison	1938
Nelson	1920
Moses “Mose” O’Banion	1894–1897
James Orendorf	1901–1903, 1905, 1909–1910, 1912
Gaitha Page	1899, 1902–1903
Van Parks	1938
Isaac “Ike” Perkins	1885
William Peterson	1905
Edwin Potter	1911–1912, 1914, 1917
Rollie Potter	1911–1912, 1914, 1917, 1920–1922
Preston	1920
Randolph “Lefty” Prim	1921, 1925
Albert “Pomp” Reagor	1888, 1895–1897, 1899–1906
John Sanders	1898
Virgil Smith	1897, 1899–1900
John “Happy” Sparks	1907, 1909
Timothy Samuel Strothers	1900–1902, 1904
Edward “Guinea” Stewart	1886–1888
George “Sharkey” Sweatt	1912, 1914, 1920
Charles “Tab” Tolbert	1895–1898, 1900–1901, 1904
James Tolbert	1891
John Tolbert	1895, 1900–1901 (?)
L. (Lewis?) Todd	1897
William “Shotts” Turner	1894–1897, 1899–1902, 1905–1906
Burgess “Bert” Wakefield *	1892–1898, 1902–1906, 1908
Walker	1898
Henry “Snow” Williams	1889–1892, 1895–1896
Floyd “Jack” Wright	1932
Thomas Jefferson “T.J.” Young	1933

**Table A-3.**—Kansas communities known to have fielded racially integrated town teams, minor league clubs (\*), or both prior to 1946. Information taken from Table A-1. Of the 103 towns and townships, some of which were not incorporated, only 44 are known to have had an integrated baseball team in two or more years. The 38 towns in bold italics also had Black baseball teams (Table A-4). The other 65 towns (63%) with integrated teams did not field Black baseball clubs.

Town	Years with Integrated Teams
<i>Abilene</i>	1897–1898
Altoona	1899, 1901, 1912
Argonia	1885
<i>Arkansas City</i>	1899
<i>Archison</i> *	1886–1888, 1896–1898
Belleville	1887
Bendena	1894
Bennington	1904, 1921
Blaine	1911
Blue Rapids	1896, 1898, 1921, 1923, 1928
Brookville	1897
Buffalo	1901
<i>Burlingame</i>	1898
<i>Burlington</i>	1889–1892, 1899–1900
Burr Oak	1898
Carbondale	1897
<i>Centralia</i>	1902
<i>Chanute</i>	1899–1900, 1902, 1905
<i>Cherryvale</i>	1897
<i>Clay Center</i>	1894–1897
Clear Fork	1896, 1900
Clifton	1896, 1901
<i>Coffeyville</i>	1889, 1898–1901, 1905
Concordia	1886, 1891, 1895–1897, 1900–1902, 1904
<i>Edna</i>	1901
<i>Emporia</i> *	1895–1897, 1899
Erie	1895
Fostoria	1912
<i>Frankfort</i>	1886–1887, 1889–1894, 1896–1900, 1911–1912, 1928
Fredonia	1900–1901, 1903
Glasco	1925
Green	1897
Grenola	1920
Gypsum	1899, 1921
Hanover	1899
<i>Hartford</i>	1896, 1925
Herington	1899

Continued on next page.

Table A-3.—continued.

Town	Years with Integrated Teams
<i>Hiawatha</i>	1894–1896
<i>Hill City</i>	1904
Hill Top	1907
Howard	1901
Hoxie	1906
<i>Humboldt</i>	1888, 1894–1897, 1899–1903, 1905–1906, 1912, 1914, 1920, 1938
Hummer	1906
<i>Independence</i>	1892–1896
<i>Iola</i>	1895–1896, 1899, 1915, 1932
<i>Junction City</i>	1885, 1891, 1895, 1898
“Kickapoo Indians”	1920
<i>Lawrence</i>	1887
Leonardville	1896
<i>Lillis</i>	1913
Lucas	1905
Lyndon	1903
Marion	1893
Marysville	1890–1891
Milford	1900
<i>Minneapolis</i>	1896–1897
Moline	1920
Montezuma	1921
Moran	1902
Mulvane	1933
<i>Neosho Falls</i>	1896–1897
<i>Nicodemus</i>	1908
Onaga	1922
<i>Osage City</i>	1901–1903, 1905, 1909–1910
Osborne	1899–1904, 1906–1907, 1911–1912
Oskaloosa	1887, 1896–1897
<i>Oswego</i>	1938
Page	1907
<i>Parsons</i>	1899
Peabody	1892
Rest	1899
<i>Robinson</i>	1908
Sabetha	1896
<i>St. Marys</i>	1895–1896, 1898–1901, 1904, 1906–1907, 1924
<i>Salina</i>	1897–1898, 1900, 1903–1904
Scottsville	1893
<i>Scranton</i>	1898
<i>Sedan</i>	1901, 1904

Continued on next page.

Table A-3.—continued.

Town	Years with Integrated Teams
Severance	1897
Smith Center	1905
Soldier	1914
Solvay	1920
Sylvan Grove	1900
Thayer	1895, 1920
<i>Topeka</i> *	1886, 1888, 1898, 1902–1903
Toronto	1900, 1904
<i>Troy</i> *	1892–1895, 1902–1906
Twin Mounds	1886
<i>Valley Falls</i>	1917–1919, 1921
Vermillion	1920–1922
Vernon	1897
Wakefield	1896
Wamego	1896–1898
Washington	1893
Waterville	1888
Waverly	1895–1896, 1899
Westmoreland	1895–1896, 1899
Wheaton	1917
<i>White Cloud</i>	1895–1896
<i>Wichita</i>	1874, 1896
Winona	1907, 1909
Yates Center	1897, 1904

**Table A-4.**—The 120 towns and townships in Kansas known to have fielded a Black baseball team prior to 1946. Of these, only the 38 (32%) denoted in bold italics also had an integrated town team (Table A-3).

<i>Abilene</i>	Elwood	La Cygne	Perry
Alma	<i>Emporia</i>	Larned	Pittsburg
Alta Vista	Eskridge	<i>Lawrence</i>	Pleasanton
Anthony	Eudora	Leavenworth	Port Williams <sup>4</sup>
<i>Arkansas City</i>	Fleming	<i>Lillis</i> <sup>3</sup>	Pratt
<i>Atchison</i>	Fort Scott	Litchfield	Quenemo
Baldwin	<i>Frankfort</i>	Manhattan	<i>Robinson</i>
Baxter Springs	Fulton	Maple Hill	Rossville
Beagle	Galena	Mapleton	Sabetha
Bonner Springs	Garden City	McAllaster	St. George
Buck Creek	Garnett	McPherson	<i>St. Marys</i>
<i>Burlingame</i>	Girard	Mineral	St. Paul
<i>Burlington</i>	Great Bend	<i>Minneapolis</i>	<i>Salina</i>
<i>Centralia</i>	<i>Hartford</i>	Monrovia	Scott City
<i>Chanute</i>	<i>Hiawatha</i>	Mound City	<i>Scranton</i>
Cherokee	Highland	Mount Vernon	<i>Sedan</i>
<i>Cherryvale</i>	<i>Hill City</i>	<i>Neosho Falls</i>	Seneca
Chetopa	Holton	Newton	Spring Hill
<i>Clay Center</i>	Horton	<i>Nicodemus</i>	Sterling
<i>Coffeyville</i>	<i>Humboldt</i>	Oak Mills	Tonganoxie
Columbus	Hutchinson	Olathe	<i>Topeka</i>
Council Grove	<i>Independence</i>	<i>Osage City</i>	<i>Troy</i>
Croweburg	<i>Iola</i>	Osawatomie	<i>Valley Falls</i>
Dodge City	Jetmore	<i>Oswego</i>	Wathena
Dunlap	Jumbo <sup>1</sup>	Ottawa	Weir
<i>Edna</i>	<i>Junction City</i>	Ozawkie	Wellington
Edwardsville	Kansas City	Paola	<i>White Cloud</i>
El Dorado	Kickapoo <sup>2</sup>	Pardee	<i>Wichita</i>
Ellis	Kingman	<i>Parsons</i>	Winfield
Ellsworth	Kinsley	Paxico	Yale

<sup>1</sup> The team represented the rural area along the border of Gray and Meade counties.

<sup>2</sup> Kickapoo was an unincorporated town in Leavenworth County not associated with the Kickapoo Reservation to the northwest in Brown County.

<sup>3</sup> The team representing Lillis was also referred to as Barrett, both of which are in rural Marshall County. In addition, the Black Diamonds sometimes represented Frankfort.

<sup>4</sup> Port Williams was an unincorporated town in Walnut Township in Atchison County. The team was also identified by the township name.

**Table A-5.**—The 26 Black baseball players known to have played three or more years for racially integrated town teams, minor league clubs (\*), or both in Kansas prior to 1946, and the numbers of towns in the state for which they are known to have played. In addition, some players competed on integrated town teams in other states that are not included in the totals presented here. Information taken from Table A-1.

Player	Years	Towns	Hometown
Lemuel “Lem” Clay	15	12	Frankfort
Burgess “Bert” Wakefield *	13	10	Troy
Albert “Pomp” Reager	12	17	Humboldt
Monroe Ingram *	11	6	rural Montgomery County
William “Shotts” Turner	10	9	Humboldt
George Kirk	10	4	Osborne
Thomas Goodall	9	1	St. Marys
William “Will” Kirk	8	2	Osborne
Rollie Potter	7	7	rural Marshall County
James Orendorf	7	2	Osage City
Charles “Tab” Tolbert	7	2	Concordia
Henry “Snow” Williams	6	4	Burlington
George Elbertus “Bert” Jones *	4	4	Hiawatha
Edwin Potter	4	4	rural Marshall County
(Albert?) “Yock” Green	4	2	Wamego
Walter Kirk	4	2	Osborne
Moses “Mose” O’Banion	4	2	Clay Center
Timothy Samuel Strothers	4	2	Concordia
William Hayden	4	1	Valley Falls
Virgil Smith	3	5	Salina
Gaitha Page	3	4	Topeka
Arthur Dawson	3	1	Chanute
Harry Grubbs	3	1	Iola
Edward “Guinea” Stewart	3	1	Atchison
George “Sharkey” Sweatt	3	1	Humboldt
John Tolbert	3	1	Concordia

**Table A-6.**—African Americans in Kansas who served in positions of authority as captains (player-managers) of racially integrated teams or as umpires in games involving at least one white or predominantly white team participating in intercity competition prior to 1946. In addition, Charles M. Garner was the (business) manager of the Fredonia town team in 1900, which featured his son Charles C. “Chalk Garner as the catcher and Albert “Pomp” Reagor as the pitcher.

Player	Year		Teams
	Captain	Umpire	
Thomas Goodall	1900		St. Marys (town team)
Lewis “Ax” Grubbs		1927	Iola Ramblers (Black team) vs. Colony
		1932	Iola Merchants vs. Kansas State Penitentiary Red Sox
James Hightower		1894	Arkansas City vs. Chilocco Indian Agricultural School, Oklahoma Territory
		1895	Arkansas City vs. Newkirk, Oklahoma Territory
Brooks Lane		1912	Iola White Sox vs. Moran
		1913	Iola White Sox vs. Humboldt Grays
			Iola White Sox vs. Ottawa
Frank McVey		1893	Beloit vs. Scottsville
		1896	Concordia vs. Clay Center
			Concordia vs. Minneapolis
		1897	Concordia vs. Scottsville
		1903	Concordia vs. Chapman
		1905	Concordia vs. Clyde
			Courtland vs. Smith Center (2 games)
			Downs vs. Scottsville
James Orendorf			Concordia vs. Jewell ( <i>doubleheader game 1</i> )
			Belleville vs. Lebanon ( <i>doubleheader game 2</i> )
James Orendorf		1913	Osage City vs. Royal Tailors of Topeka
		1923	Osage City vs. Fostoria
Gaitha Page <sup>1</sup>		1905	Topeka White Sox vs. Washburn College
Albert “Pomp” Reagor		1906	Humboldt vs. Yates Center
		1909	Humboldt vs. Elsmore
Virgil Smith	1900		Athertons of Salina (town team)
George “Sharkey” Sweatt	1914		Iola Black-and-Tans (town team) <sup>2</sup>
Burgess “Bert” Wakefield		1894	Troy vs. Denton
		1895	Troy (minor league team)
		1905	Troy (town team)

<sup>1</sup> Page umpired an exhibition game between the Topeka minor league club and a local college, which had an integrated team. He played for Washburn in a subsequent game against the White Sox.

<sup>2</sup> The Black-and-Tans included players from the Iola Go-Devils (a Black ball club), and the Iola Boosters (the white town team).

**Table A-7.**—Baseball is sometimes a family affair, as with these Black ballplayers who competed on predominantly white town teams in Kansas prior to 1946 (Table A-1).

Players	Relationship	Hometown
Charles Coffee Henry Coffee Howard Coffee Whitley “Whit” Coffee Waldean “Dean” McAlister	Brothers    Cousin	rural Marshall County
Arthur Dawson John W. Dawson	Brothers	Chanute
Thomas Goodall August Goodall	Father Son	St. Marys
Harry Grubbs Arthur “Rat” Grubbs Lewis “Ax” Grubbs	Brothers  Nephew	Iola
George Kirk Walter Kirk William “Will” Kirk	Brothers	Osborne
Thomas McCampbell * Gaitha Page	Brothers-in-law	Topeka
Edwin Potter Rollie Potter	Brothers	rural Marshall County
Albert “Pomp” Reagor William “Shotts” Turner George “Sharkey” Sweatt	Uncle Nephew Nephew	Humboldt
Charles “Tab” Tolbert James Tolbert John Tolbert Timothy Samuel Strothers	Brothers   Brother-in-law	Concordia

\* Thomas McCampbell’s younger brother, Ernest McCampbell, played for the integrated baseball team at Washburn College in Topeka, but he did not play for any integrated town teams. In 1899, they were also two of the four founding members of the Black ball club that became the original Kansas City Monarchs.



**Table A-8.**—Black baseball players who competed on racially integrated town teams in Kansas prior to 1946 (listed in Table A-1) who also played on integrated minor league clubs or Negro Leagues clubs (beginning in 1920).

Minor League Player	Year(s)	Minor League
George William Castone	1889	Colorado State League
	1892	Nebraska State League
Bud Fowler	1878	International Association
	1879	Eastern Massachusetts League
	1884	Northwestern League
	1885	Western League
		Colorado State League
	1886	Western League (Topeka BBC)
	1887–1888	International Association
	1888	New Mexico State League
	1889	Michigan State League
	1890	Central Interstate League
		Illinois-Iowa League
	1892	Nebraska State League
	1895	Michigan State League
Monroe Ingram	1896–1897	Kansas State League <sup>1</sup>
George Elbertus “Bert” Jones	1897–1898	Kansas State League
Frank Maupin	1892	Nebraska State League
Burgess “Bert” Wakefield	1895	Kansas State League

Negro League Player	Year(s)	Negro League
Randolph “Lefty” Prim	1926	Negro National League (I)
George “Sharkey” Sweatt	1922–1927	Negro National League (I)
Thomas Jefferson “T.J.” Young <sup>2</sup>	1926–1931	Negro National League (I)
	1931–1936	Independent
	1936–1937, 1941	Negro National League (II)
	1941	Negro American League

<sup>1</sup> In 1896, the Kansas State League split into the Northern Kansas League and Southern Kansas League a few days into the season. Monroe Ingram played in the Northern Kansas League.

<sup>2</sup> In 1922, T.J. Young also played for the Wichita Monroviens of the Colored Western League (Western League of Professional Baseball Teams) in the league’s only season.

**Table A-9.**—Black baseball players who competed on racially integrated town teams, minor league clubs, or both in Kansas prior to 1946 (listed in Table A-1) who also attended college in Kansas.

Player	College	Degree / Career
George William Castone <sup>1</sup>	State Agricultural College, Manhattan (Kansas State University)	<i>none</i>
Monroe Ingram <sup>2</sup>	Kansas Deaf and Dumb Institute, Olathe (Kansas School for the Deaf)	Teaching
George Kirk <sup>3</sup>	College of Emporia	<i>none</i>
Thomas McCampbell	University of Kansas, Lawrence Washburn College, Topeka (Washburn University)	Pharmacy Medicine
Gaitha Page	State Normal School, Emporia (Emporia State University)	Teaching
George Sweatt <sup>4</sup>	State Normal School, Emporia (Emporia State University) State Manual Training School, Pittsburg (Pittsburg State University)	Teaching Teaching

<sup>1</sup> George William Castone attended the college for a single term.

<sup>2</sup> While not a college, the Kansas School for the Deaf provided Monroe Ingram with an education that allowed him to teach at schools for the deaf in Missouri, Georgia, and Oklahoma. The Kansas school was integrated, while those in Missouri, Georgia, and Oklahoma were not.

<sup>3</sup> George Kirk attended the college one semester on a football scholarship.

<sup>4</sup> George Sweatt attended the State Normal School in Emporia one year on a football scholarship in 1912 and completed his education at the State Manual Training School in Pittsburg following his service in World War I.

**Table A-10.**—Black baseball players who competed on racially integrated town teams in Kansas prior to 1946 (listed in Table A-1) who also served overseas in the military.

Player	Military Unit	War
Whitley Coffee	92nd Division 351st Machine Gun Battalion Company D <i>Discharge rank:</i> Sergeant	World War I (France)
William Hayden	805th Pioneer Infantry Regiment Third Battalion Company L <i>Discharge rank:</i> Bugler	World War I (France)
Fred Holton	23rd Kansas Volunteer Infantry Regiment Company B <i>Discharge rank:</i> Private	Spanish-American War (Cuba)
George Kirk	<i>unknown</i>	World War I (France)
Van Parks	9th Cavalry <i>Discharge rank:</i> Master Sergeant	World War II (Africa and Italy)
Rollie Potter	92nd Division 349th Machine Gun Battalion Company B <i>Discharge rank:</i> Sergeant	World War I (France)
Randolph Prim	Quartermaster Corps 308th Labor Battalion Company C <i>Transferred to</i> 850th Transportation Corps <i>Discharge rank:</i> Private	World War I (France)
George Sweatt	816th Pioneer Infantry Regiment <i>Discharge rank:</i> Sergeant Major	World War I (France)
Floyd Wright	3905 Quartermaster Trucking Company <i>Discharge rank:</i> Private	World War II (Europe)

Table A-II.—The 35 Black baseball players who competed for racially integrated minor league and major league (\*) clubs prior to 1946 whose careers were used to create the graph in Figure 5. The list does not include players on segregated clubs in integrated leagues.

Year	League	Team	Player
1878	International Association	Lynn (MA) Live Oaks	Bud Fowler
1879	National League *	Providence (RI) Grays	William Edward White
	Eastern Massachusetts League	Malden (MA)	Bud Fowler
1883	Northwestern League	Toledo (OH)	Moses Fleetwood Walker
	Pennsylvania Interstate Association	Reading (PA)	Jack Frye
1884	American Association *	Toledo (OH)	Moses Fleetwood Walker
	American Association *	Toledo (OH)	Weldy Walker
	Northwestern League	Stillwater (MIN)	Bud Fowler
1885	California State League	Oakland (CA)	Horace Wilds
	Colorado State League	Pueblo (CO)	Bud Fowler
	Southern New England League / Connecticut State League	Waterbury (CT)	Moses Fleetwood Walker
	Western League	Cleveland (OH)	Moses Fleetwood Walker
	Western League	Cleveland (OH)	Weldy Walker
	Western League	Keokuk (IA)	Bud Fowler
1886	Eastern League	Meridian (CT)	Frank Grant
	Eastern League	Waterbury (CT)	Moses Fleetwood Walker
	International League	Buffalo (NY) Bisons	Frank Grant
	Jersey League	Jersey City (NJ)	George Stovey
	Pennsylvania State Association	Danville (PA)	Josh Herbert
	Pennsylvania State Association	Lewiston (PA)	Jack Frye
	Western League	Topeka (KS)	Bud Fowler

Year	League	Team	Player	
1887	Central Pennsylvania League	Danville (PA)	Javan Emory	
	Central Pennsylvania League	Mahanoy (PA)	Javan Emory	
	Central Pennsylvania League	Minersville (PA)	Javan Emory	
	International Association	Binghamton (NY)	Bud Fowler	
	International Association	Binghamton (NY)	Pointer	
	International Association	Binghamton (NY)	William Renfro	
	International Association	Buffalo (NY) Bisons	Frank Grant	
	International Association	Newark (NJ) Little Giants	George Stovey	
	International Association	Newark (NJ) Little Giants	Moses Fleetwood Walker	
	International Association	Syracuse (NY) Stars	Robert Higgins	
	Ohio State League	Akron (OH)	Weldy Walker	
	Ohio State League	Columbus (OH)	J. Higgins (N. Higgins)	
	Ohio State League	Lima (OH)	Richard Johnson	
	Ohio State League	Wheeling (WV)	Sol White	
	Ohio State League	Zanesville (OH)	Richard Johnson	
	1888	Central Interstate League	Crawfordsville/Terre Haute (IN)	Bud Fowler
		International Association	Buffalo (NY) Bisons	Frank Grant
International Association		Syracuse (NY) Stars	Moses Fleetwood Walker	
International Association		Syracuse (NY) Stars	Robert Higgins	
New England League		Worcester (MA)	George Stovey	
New Mexico State League		Santa Fe (NM)	Bud Fowler	
Tri-State League		Zanesville (OH)	Richard Johnson	

Year	League	Team	Player
1889	Central Interstate League	Springfield (IL)	Richard Johnson
	Colorado State League	Aspen (CO)	George William Castone
	Colorado State League	Aspen (CO)	George Taylor
	Illinois-Indiana League	Danville (IL)	Richard Kelly
	International League	Syracuse (NY) Stars	Moses Fleetwood Walker
	Michigan State League	Greenville (MI)	Bud Fowler
	Michigan State League	Greenville (MI)	Alex Ross
	Middle States League	Shenandoah (PA)	William Malone
	California League	Stockton (CA)	Horace Wilds
	Central Interstate League	Galesburg (IL)	Bud Fowler
	Central Interstate League	Peoria (IL)	Richard Johnson
	Eastern Interstate League / Atlantic Association	Harrisburg (PA)	Frank Grant
1890	Eastern Interstate League	Harrisburg (PA)	Clarence Williams
	Illinois-Iowa League	Sterling (IL)	Bud Fowler
	New York-Pennsylvania League	Jamestown (NY)	Richard Kelly
	New York State League	Troy (NY)	George Stovey
	New York-Pennsylvania League	Jamestown (NY)	Richard Kelly
	Wisconsin State League	Oconto (WI)	Moses Fleetwood Walker
	Central California League	Oakland (CA)	Horace Wilds
	Nebraska State League	Beatrice (NE)	George Taylor
	Nebraska State League	Lincoln/Kearney (NE)	George William Castone
	Nebraska State League	Lincoln/Kearney (NE)	Bud Fowler
	Nebraska State League	Plattsmouth (NE)	Frank Maupin
	Nebraska State League	Plattsmouth (NE)	John Patterson
Nebraska State League	Plattsmouth (NE)	John Reeves	

Year	League	Team	Player
1895	Kansas State League Michigan State League Michigan State League Michigan State League Michigan State League Michigan State League Michigan State League Michigan State League Michigan State League Western Interstate League	Troy (KS)	Bert Wakefield
		Adrian (MI)	William Binga
		Adrian (MI)	Pete Burns
		Adrian (MI)	Bud Fowler
		Adrian (MI)	Vasco Graham
		Adrian (MI)	Joe Miller
		Adrian (MI)	George Wilson
		Adrian (MI)	Bud Fowler
		Lansing (MI)	Sol White
		Fort Wayne (IN)	
1896	California League Northern Kansas State League	San Francisco (CA)	Horace Wilds
		Emporia (KS)	Monroe Ingram
1897	Central Pennsylvania League Kansas State League Kansas State League Kansas State League	Williamsport (PA)	George Stovey
		Atchison (KS)	Bert Jones
		Emporia (KS)	Monroe Ingram
		Atchison (KS)	Bert Jones
1898	Kansas State League Canadian League	Atchison (KS)	Bert Jones
		Woodstock (ON)	Bill Galloway
1899	Provincial League Provincial League Southern California League	Mascottes de Montréal (QC)	S. Smith
		St. Jean-Hyacinthe (QC)	S. Smith
		Azusa (CA)	Horace Wilds
1900			
1922	Eastern Canada League	Montreal (QC)	Charlie Culver





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## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> *Atchison Daily Champion*, 7 August 1883, p 3, 4. • *Atchison Daily Globe*, 7 July 1883, p 4; 8 August 1883, p 4. • *Leavenworth Evening Standard*, 6 August 1883, p 1. • *Leavenworth Times*, 7 August 1883, p 4.
- <sup>2</sup> *Atchison Daily Globe*, 7 July 1883, p 4.
- <sup>3</sup> Turner and Bowman (2013).
- <sup>4</sup> Protoball.org, *PrePro Baseball*, [https://protoball.org/PrePro Baseball](https://protoball.org/PrePro_Baseball) (accessed 4 July 2022).
- <sup>5</sup> Eberle (2018a; 2020c)
- <sup>6</sup> *Lawrence Kansas Daily Tribune*, 23 June 1868, p 3; 10 July 1868, p 3; 3 September 1869, p 3; 25 May 1870, p 3. • *Lawrence Republican Daily Journal*, 28 May 1870, p 3. • *Leavenworth Daily Commercial*, 9 July 1868, p 4.
- <sup>7</sup> *Fort Scott Daily Monitor*, 6 March 1870, p 3; 12 March 1870, p 3; 20 March 1870, p 3. • Eberle (2019f).
- <sup>8</sup> *Doniphan County Republican*, 22 July 1871, p 2. • *Lawrence Kansas Daily Tribune*, 26 September 1871, p 3. • *Leavenworth Daily Times*, 5 September 1871, p 4. • *Ottawa Journal*, 22 June 1871, p 3.
- <sup>9</sup> *Fort Scott Daily Monitor*, 4 April 1874, p 4; 6 June 1876, p 4; 11 August 1877, p 4; 14 August 1877, p 4; 15 August 1877, p 4; 27 June 1879, p 4. • Brunson (2019, page 87). • Eberle (2019f).
- <sup>10</sup> Eberle (2020f, page 4).
- <sup>11</sup> *Wichita City Eagle*, 12 April 1872, p 2; 13 February 1873, p 3; 13 March 1873, p 3; 20 March 1873, p 3. • *Wichita Tribune*, 25 May 1871, p 3. • *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, 12 February 1873, p 5.
- <sup>12</sup> *Wichita City Eagle*, 9 April 1874, p 3; 23 April 1874, p 3. • *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, 22 April 1874, p 5; 29 April 1874, p 5; 6 May 1874, p 5.
- <sup>13</sup> *Walnut Valley Times*, 28 May 1874, p 3; 12 June 1874, p 3; 18 June 1874, p 3; 26 June 1874, p 2; 3 July 1874, p 3; 10 July 1874, p 3. • *Wichita City Eagle*, 18 June 1874, p 3; 2 July 1874, p 3; 23 July 1874, p 3. • *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, 24 June 1874, p 5; 2 September 1874, p 5.
- <sup>14</sup> *Walnut Valley Times*, 31 July 1874, p 3. • *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, 29 July 1874, p 5.
- <sup>15</sup> *Lawrence Kansas Daily Tribune*, 4 August 1870, p 3; 6 August 1870, p 3; 19 August 1870, p 3; 20 August 1870, p 3; 15 October 1870, p 3; 17 June 1871, p 3; 22 August 1871, p 3; 17 May 1873, p 4; 24 July 1873, p 4; 18 June 1874, p 4; 13 July 1876, p 4. • *Lawrence Republican Daily Journal*, 13 July 1876, p 4; 15 May 1877, p 4; 20 August 1878, p 4. • Brunson (2019, pages 290 and 818).
- <sup>16</sup> *Walnut Valley Times*, 31 July 1874, p 3. • *Wichita Weekly Beacon*, 29 July 1874, p 5.
- <sup>17</sup> *Argonia Clipper*, 13 June 1885, p 1; 1 August 1885, p 5; 15 August 1885, p 5; 29 August 1885, p 5. • *Danville Express*, 28 August 1885, p 5.
- <sup>18</sup> *Junction City Tribune*, 9 July 1885, p 3; 23 July 1885, p 3. • *Junction City Weekly Union*, 4 July 1885, p 3.
- <sup>19</sup> *Junction City Tribune*, 3 September 1885, p 3; 10 September 1885, p 3. • *Junction City Weekly Union*, 5 September 1885, p 3.
- <sup>20</sup> *Junction City Daily Union*, 18 April 1922, p 2. • *Junction City Republican*, 6 March 1885, p 3. • *Junction City Tribune*, 26 April 1894, p 7; 7 July 1899, p 3.
- <sup>21</sup> *Junction City Republican*, 18 December 1885, p 3. • *Junction City Tribune*, 31 December 1885, p 3.
- <sup>22</sup> *Junction City Daily Union*, 24 December 1898, p 4; 5 September 1902, p 1; 22 October 1902, p 3; 1 November 1902, p 1; 18 February 1904, p 1; 2 September 1904, p 1; 31 August 1906, p 3; 5 November 1910, p 1; 7 November 1910, p 1, 2. • *Junction City Republican*, 30 December 1898, p 2. • *Junction City Sentinel*, 23 March 1889, p 2; 10 November 1910, p 4.
- <sup>23</sup> *Junction City Daily Union*, 30 April 1912, p 2; 7 February 1913, p 5; 12 September 1922, p 6. • *Junction City Sentinel*, 21 December 1911, p 7.
- <sup>24</sup> *Junction City Republican*, 22 March 1889, p 1; 14 June 1889, p 5.
- <sup>25</sup> *Junction City Daily Union*, 10 March 1904, p 3.

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- <sup>26</sup> *Junction City Daily Union*, 7 February 1913, p 5; 13 November 1914, p 5; 14 December 1914, p 5; 27 March 1919, p 5. • *Junction City Republican*, 26 November 1914, p 7; 24 February 1916, p 5; 27 July 1916, p 1; 2 January 1919, p 2. • *Junction City Sentinel*, 22 March 1907, p 5; 6 September 1907, p 5; 21 December 1911, p 7. • Perret (1999, pages 82–95).
- <sup>27</sup> Laing (2013). • MacDougall (2013). • McKenna (2022a).
- <sup>28</sup> Laing (2013, pages 64–65). • McKenna (2022a).
- <sup>29</sup> *St. Joseph Gazette*, 24 July 1885, p 4. • *St. Joseph Herald*, 21 July 1885, p 4; 23 July 1885, p 4; 24 July 1885, p 4; 25 July 1885, p 4. • *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, 8 July 1885, p 8; 5 August 1885, p 9. • *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 25 July 1885, p 11.
- <sup>30</sup> *St. Joseph Evening News*, 13 August 1885, p 1. • *St. Joseph Gazette*, 12 August 1885, p 4; 13 August 1885, p 4; 14 August 1885, p 4; 15 August 1885, p 4; 16 August 1885, p 4. • *St. Joseph Herald*, 11 August 1885, p 4; 12 August 1885, p 5; 15 August 1885, p 4; 16 August 1885, p 4; 18 August 1885, p 4.
- <sup>31</sup> *Carbonate Chronicle*, 22 August 1885, p 1; 29 August 1885, p 5; 5 September 1885, p 5. • *Pueblo Chieftain*, 13 August 1885, p 4; 16 August 1885, p 4, 8; 18 August 1885, p 2; 19 August 1885, p 4; 20 August 1885, p 8; 25 August 1885, p 1; 1 September 1885, p 5; 11 September 1885, p 8; 12 September 1885, p 4; 13 September 1885, p 4; 15 September 1885, p 4; 15 October 1885, p 7. • *Rocky Mountain News*, 13 August 1885, p 1; 16 August 1885, p 6; 17 August 1885, p 3; 23 August 1885, p 8; 24 August 1885, p 2; 25 August 1885, p 8; 31 August 1885, p 2; 19 September 1885, p 3; 21 September 1885, p 2.
- <sup>32</sup> *Idaho Springs News*, 8 January 1886, p 4. • *Pueblo Chieftain*, 3 September 1885, p 5; 8 September 1885, p 5, 8; 25 September 1885, p 8. • *Rocky Mountain News*, 13 January 1886, p 6.
- <sup>33</sup> *Pueblo Chieftain*, 27 October 1885, p 8. • *Rocky Mountain News*, 21 November 1885, p 3; 23 November 1885, p 2; 25 November 1885, p 4; 27 November 1885, p 8.
- <sup>34</sup> Eberle (2020f, pages 5–20), [https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all\\_monographs/25/](https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all_monographs/25/).
- <sup>35</sup> *Kansas Daily State Journal*, 9 January 1886, p 1; 11 January 1886, p 1; 12 January 1886, p 1; 15 March 1886, p 4. • *Leavenworth Times*, 28 March 1886, p 5. • *Sporting News*, 29 March 1886, p 1. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 7 January 1886, p 5; 10 January 1886, p 8; 13 January 1886, p 8; 4 March 1886, p 8; 16 March 1886, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 9 January 1886, p 4; 12 January 1886, p 5; 25 February 1886, p 5; 14 March 1886, p 4; 25 March 1886, p 4; 31 March 1886, p 5; 1 April 1886, p 5.
- <sup>36</sup> *Kansas Daily State Journal*, 9 March 1886, p 4.
- <sup>37</sup> *Kansas Daily State Journal*, 7 April 1886, p 1; 8 April 1886, p 1. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 8 April 1886, p 4; 9 April p 4. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 10 April 1886, p 5.
- <sup>38</sup> *Topeka Daily Capital*, 21 April 1886, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Citizen*, 21 April 1886, p 4.
- <sup>39</sup> *Topeka Daily Capital*, 23 April 1886, p 4; 24 April 1886, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 23 April 1886, p 5; 24 April 1886, p 5.
- <sup>40</sup> *Leavenworth Standard*, 17 August 1886, p 4. • *Sporting News*, 25 October 1886, p 3. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 3 June 1886, p 4.
- <sup>41</sup> *Kansas Daily State Journal*, 18 May 1886, p 1. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 18 May 1886, p 5. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 18 May 1886, p 8.
- <sup>42</sup> *Daily State Democrat*, 20 May 1886, p 4; 24 May 1886, p 4. • *Kansas Democrat*, 8 May 1886, p 4. • *Leavenworth Standard*, 10 May 1886, p 4. • *Leavenworth Times*, 6 May 1886, p 8. • *Lincoln Daily News*, 20 May 1886, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 8 April 1886, p 8; 18 April 1886, p 9. • *Topeka Daily Citizen*, 21 April 1886, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 6 April 1886, p 5.
- <sup>43</sup> *Daily Nebraska State Journal*, 22 May 1886, p 8.
- <sup>44</sup> *Lincoln Daily News*, 22 May 1886, p 6.
- <sup>45</sup> *Kansas Democrat*, 22 May 1886, p 4.
- <sup>46</sup> *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 23 May 1886, p 2.

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- <sup>47</sup> *Leavenworth Standard*, 24 May 1886, p 1. • *Topeka Daily Citizen*, 24 May 1886, p 4.
- <sup>48</sup> *Kansas Democrat*, 27 May 1886, p 1. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 27 May 1886, p 5.
- <sup>49</sup> *Kansas Daily State Journal*, 26 May 1886, p 1. • *Kansas Democrat*, 26 May 1886, p 4.
- <sup>50</sup> *Kansas Daily State Journal*, 28 May 1886, p 1. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 28 May 1886, p 5.
- <sup>51</sup> *Kansas Democrat*, 5 June 1886, p 4; 27 July 1886, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 5 June 1886, p 4; 27 July 1886, p 8. • McKenna (2022a).
- <sup>52</sup> Morris (2010, pages 288–293).
- <sup>53</sup> *St. Joseph Daily News*, 10 June 1886, p 1; 11 June 1886, p 1.
- <sup>54</sup> *St. Joseph Daily Gazette*, 8 June 1886, p 6; 9 June 1886, p 7; 10 June 1886, p 7.
- <sup>55</sup> *Daily Nebraska State Journal*, 24 June 1886, p 1. • *Topeka Daily Citizen*, 21 June 1886, p 4; 29 June 1886, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 20 June 1886, p 4; 22 June 1886, p 5; 26 June 1886, p 4.
- <sup>56</sup> *Topeka Daily Capital*, 19 June 1886, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 19 June 1886, p 4.
- <sup>57</sup> *Kansas Democrat*, 24 July 1886, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 23 July 1886, p 4; 24 July 1886, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 22 July 1886, p 8; 24 July 1886, p 4.
- <sup>58</sup> *Kansas Daily State Journal*, 11 August 1886, p 4; 21 August 1886, p 1. • *Kansas Democrat*, 3 August 1886, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 30 July 1886, p 4; 19 August 1886, p 5. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 29 July 1886, p 4; 30 July 1886, p 4; 1 August 1886, p 4; 1 August 1886, p 4; 2 August 1886, p 4; 12 August 1886, p 4; 13 August 1886, p 4; 14 August 1886, p 4; 15 August 1886, p 4; 21 August 1886, p 4; 22 August 1886, p 4.
- <sup>59</sup> *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 1 August 1886, p 4.
- <sup>60</sup> *Kansas Democrat*, 7 August 1886, p 4. • *St. Joseph Daily Gazette*, 7 August 1886, p 6; 8 August 1886, p 6; 10 August 1886, p 6. • *St. Joseph Daily News*, 7 August 1886, p 1. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 1 August 1886, p 4; 7 August 1886, p 1; 13 August 1886, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 7 August 1886, p 5.
- <sup>61</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 10 September 1886, p 6; 11 September 1886, p 11; 12 September 1886, p 3; 11 September 1886, p 1; 16 September 1886, p 1; 17 September 1886, p 1; 18 September 1886, p 1; 19 September 1886, p 3; 20 September 1886, p 2; 23 September 1886, p 1; 26 September 1886, p 3; 27 September 1886, p 2. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 2 September 1886, p 4; 3 September 1886, p 4; 4 September 1886, p 4; 5 September 1886, p 4; 28 September 1886, p 4.
- <sup>62</sup> *Kansas Daily State Journal*, 21 September 1886, p 1. • *Sporting Life*, 29 September 1886, p 4. • *Sporting News*, 27 September 1886, p 3. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 22 September 1886, p 4.
- <sup>63</sup> *Kansas Democrat*, 2 September 1886, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 3 September 1886, p 4; 4 September 1886, p 4; 5 September 1886, p 4.
- <sup>64</sup> *Kansas Daily State Journal*, 7 September 1886, p 1. • *Rocky Mountain News*, 9 September 1886, p 1. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 8 September 1886, p 8.
- <sup>65</sup> *Kansas Daily State Journal*, 15 April 1886, p 4; 28 July 1886, p 4; 30 September 1886, p 4. • *Kansas Democrat*, 14 May 1886, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 17 April 1886, p 4, 8; 18 April 1886, p 4; 2 May 1886, p 5.
- <sup>66</sup> *Atchison Daily Patriot*, 13 September 1886, p 4. • *Lawrence Daily Journal*, 10 September 1886, p 3; 15 September 1886, p 3; 16 September 1886, p 3.
- <sup>67</sup> *Sporting News*, 25 October 1886, p 3. • Laing (2013). • McKenna (2022a).
- <sup>68</sup> Laing (2013). • McKenna (2022a).
- <sup>69</sup> *Kansas City Times*, 30 September 1886, p 3. • *Kansas Daily State Journal*, 29 September 1886, p 8. • *Lawrence Evening Tribune*, 28 September 1886, p 3.
- <sup>70</sup> *Lawrence Evening Tribune*, 28 September 1886, p 3.
- <sup>71</sup> Laing (2013). • McKenna (2022a).
- <sup>72</sup> *Albuquerque Morning Democrat*, 12 August 1888, p 4; 9 September 1888, p 4; 19 September 1888, p 4; 18 September 1888, p 4. • *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 20 August 1888, p 4; 24 August 1888, p 4; 25 August 1888, p 4; 30 August 1888, p 4; 31 August 1888, p 4; 4 September 1888, p 4; 7 September 1888,

- p 4; 8 September 1888, p 1; 10 September 1888, p 4; 21 September 1888, p 4; 22 September 1888, p 4; 24 September 1888, p 4; 25 September 1888, p 4; 28 September 1888, p 4; 1 October 1888, p 4; 4 October 1888, p 3; 9 October 1888, p 4; 18 October 1888, p 4. • Laing (2013, pages 101–116).
- <sup>73</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 25 October 1888, p 8. • *Riverside Daily Press*, 1 February 1889, p 3; 8 February 1889, p 3. • *San Bernardino Daily Courier*, 27 October 1888, p 10; 4 November 1888, p 3; 13 November 1888, p 3; 25 November 1888, p 8; 27 November 1888, p 7; 2 December 1888, p 1; 11 December 1888, p 3; 22 December 1888, p 1; 28 December 1888, p 3; 29 December 1888, p 7; 30 December 1888, p 7; 13 January 1889, p 1; 15 January 1889, p 3; 8 February 1889, p 3; 10 February 1889, p 3; 12 February 1889, p 3; 20 February 1889, p 1; 23 February 1889, p 1; 24 February 1889, p 3; 27 February 1889, p 3. • *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 24 November 1888, p 1; 10 December 1888, p 4. • Laing (2013, pages 116–126). • McKenna (2022a).
- <sup>74</sup> Bond (2004). • Eberle (2019a, pages 17–20).
- <sup>75</sup> *Daily Nebraska State Journal*, 24 April 1892, p 5, 12; 16 May 1892, p 6; 6 June 1892, p 2. • *Kearney Daily Hub*, 3 June 1892, p 3. • *Lincoln Evening News*, 25 April 1892, p 1. • *Plattsburgh Daily Journal*, 16 May 1892, p 4; 17 May 1892, p 4.
- <sup>76</sup> *Kansas City Journal*, 9 May 1899, p 5; 13 May 1899, p 5; 25 June 1899, p 5; 14 August 1899, p 5. • *Kansas City Star*, 9 May 1899, p 3; 12 May 1899, p 6. • *St. Joseph Gazette*, 6 March 1898, p 6; 31 August 1898, p 5; 28 June 1899, p 3. • Eberle (2019c, pages 4–5). • Laing (2013, pages 135–146). • McKenna (2022a).
- <sup>77</sup> *St. Joseph Gazette-Herald*, 12 August 1900, p 3; 13 August 1900, p 3. • *St. Joseph Sunday Herald*, 25 February 1900, p 4; 24 June 1900, p 3. • Eberle (2019c, pages 4–5).
- <sup>78</sup> *St. Joseph Gazette*, 9 April 1902, p 3. • *St. Joseph Gazette-Herald*, 16 September 1900, p 5. • McKenna (2022b).
- <sup>79</sup> *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 10 November 1904, p 5. • *Kansas City Star*, 3 May 1904, p 3; 10 June 1904, p 3. • Laing (2013, page 179). • McKenna (2022a).
- <sup>80</sup> *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 25 January 1909, p 8. • *Sporting Life*, 19 September 1908, p 2; 27 March 1909, p 3.
- <sup>81</sup> Eberle (2020f, pages 19–20). • Laing (2013, pages 188–197). • McKenna (2022a).
- <sup>82</sup> Laing (2013, page 193). • McKenna (2022a).
- <sup>83</sup> *Topeka Daily Citizen*, 16 January 1886, p 8.
- <sup>84</sup> *Topeka Tribune and Western Recorder*, 18 July 1885, p 4. • *Topeka Weekly Commonwealth*, 9 July 1885, p 5.
- <sup>85</sup> *Emporia Daily News*, 12 August 1886, p 1. • *Lawrence Daily Journal*, 10 September 1886, p 3. • *Lawrence Evening Tribune*, 15 September 1886, p 3. • *St. Marys Star*, 19 August 1886, p 3. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 7 October 1886, p 12; 9 October 1886, p 8. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 27 June 1886, p 5; 8 October 1886, p 5. • *Topeka Kansas Daily State Journal*, 19 June 1886, p 1; 2 July 1886, p 1; 28 July 1886, p 4; 14 September 1886, p 1; 30 September 1886, p 4. • *Wellington Daily Postal Card*, 21 August 1886, p 1.
- <sup>86</sup> *Garnett Weekly Journal*, 3 August 1888, p 2. • *Ottawa Daily Local-News*, 18 July 1888, p 3. • *Ottawa Daily Republican*, 18 July 1888, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 1 July 1888, p 4. • *Topeka Kansas Daily State Journal*, 16 July 1888, p 5.
- <sup>87</sup> *Kansas Democrat*, 11 June 1888, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 11 December 1888, p 4.
- <sup>88</sup> *Topeka Daily Capital*, 14 March 1888, p 5. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 13 March 1888, p 8; 29 July 1888, p 4.
- <sup>89</sup> *Daily Nebraska State Journal*, 4 May 1890, p 3; 8 May 1890, p 3; 9 May 1890, p 3; 11 May 1890, p 3; 17 May 1890, p 2; 22 May 1890, p 2; 23 May 1890, p 2; 24 May 1890, p 2; 31 May 1890, p 2; 2 June 1890, p 2; 5 June 1890, p 2; 6 June 1890, p 3; 12 June 1890, p 3; 13 June 1890, p 3; 2 July 1890, p 2; 14 July 1890, p 2; 27 July 1890, p 2. • *Kearney Daily Hub*, 16 May 1890, p 4; 23 May 1890, p 4; 24 May 1890, p 4; 26 May 1890, p 4. • *Lincoln Evening News*, 28 June 1890, p 4; 2 July 1890, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 6 May 1890, p 4. • Eberle (2019a, pages 11–15).
- <sup>90</sup> *Daily Nebraska State Journal*, 6 August 1890, p 1. • *Lincoln Daily Call*, 10 July 1890, p 1; 6 August 1890, p 8.

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- <sup>91</sup> *Kansas City Times*, 11 September 1890, p 2. • *Omaha Daily Bee*, 19 November 1890, p 2. • *St. Joseph Herald*, 7 September 1890, p 3; 10 September 1890, p 3. • *Sporting News*, 13 September 1890, p 4.
- <sup>92</sup> *Daily Nebraska State Journal*, 22 October 1890, p 2; 19 December 1890, p 4. • *Nebraska City News*, 26 June 1891, p 3. • *Omaha Daily Bee*, 19 November 1890, p 2; 19 October 1891, p 2; 7 August 1892, p 13; 6 March 1893, p 2; 8 March 1893, p 2.
- <sup>93</sup> *Nebraska City News*, 26 December 1890, p 8. • *Omaha Daily Bee*, 14 December 1890, p 13; 1 January 1891, p 8.
- <sup>94</sup> *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, 22 August 1893, p 5; 20 March 1894, p 5; 18 October 1894, p 5; 20 December 1895, p 5; 7 March 1896, p 8; 16 March 1896, p 5; 22 September 1896, p 8; 16 January 1897, p 5; 21 January 1897, p 5, 8; 20 February 1897, p 5; 23 April 1897, p 5; 10 May 1897, p 5; 12 May 1897, p 5. • *Arkansas City Evening Dispatch*, 10 August 1893, p 3; 23 August 1893, p 2; 13 September 1893, p 3; 4 October 1893, p 3. • *Udall News*, 14 March 1903, p 8. • *Wichita Daily Beacon*, 5 February 1903, p 5.
- <sup>95</sup> *Arkansas City Daily Reporter*, 14 July 1895, p 3. • *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, 18 March 1895, p 9; 27 November 1896, p 5; 18 November 1911, p 7; 21 February 1913, p 5. • *Arkansas City Weekly Republican Traveler*, 17 May 1894, p 5; 18 July 1895, p 6.
- <sup>96</sup> *Arkansas City Daily News*, 21 April 1911, p 3; 28 October 1911, p 6; 16 February 1912, p 3; 16 April 1912, p 5; 18 May 1912, p 1; 31 July 1912, p 6; 13 August 1912, p 3; 18 February 1913, p 5; 6 March 1916, p 5; 4 September 1922, p 4; 23 December 1922, p 6. • *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, 18 April 1905, p 2; 10 June 1905, p 2; 10 June 1907, p 3; 6 May 1908, p 8; 10 June 1909, p 1; 4 June 1910, p 6; 28 October 1911, p 1; 30 January 1912, p 1; 8 June 1912, p 8; 31 July 1912, p 1; 15 August 1912, p 6; 11 April 1916, p 2; 5 September 1922, p 4; 30 December 1922, p 1. • *Arkansas City Daily X-Rays*, 10 October 1903, p 5; 29 February 1904, p 5.
- <sup>97</sup> *Arkansas City Daily News*, 20 April 1912, p 6; 12 August 1912, p 2; 25 October 1912, p 3. • *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, 20 August 1908, p 8; 11 September 1908, p 5; 14 September 1908, p 1; 4 September 1911, p 2; 12 August 1912, p 3.
- <sup>98</sup> *Arkansas City Daily News*, 20 April 1912, p 6. • *Colorado Springs Gazette*, 3 July 1910, p 7, 11. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 15 April 1913, p 4.
- <sup>99</sup> *Arkansas City Daily News*, 21 April 1911, p 1, 3; 28 October 1911, p 6; 23 February 1916, p 8; 24 April 1919, p 3; 20 August 1919, p 8; 4 September 1922, p 4; 12 October 1922, p 3; 23 December 1922, p 6. • *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, 22 September 1899, p 5; 27 October 1902, p 8; 8 July 1903, p 8; 5 October 1904, p 4; 10 March 1906, p 8; 24 April 1907, p 8; 29 April 1908, p 8; 5 October 1908, p 8; 24 September 1909, p 5; 20 December 1910, p 4; 11 June 1913, p 1; 29 December 1913, p 4; 9 February 1916, p 3; 24 April 1919, p 4; 21 July 1919, p 7; 5 September 1922, p 4. • *Arkansas City Daily X-Rays*, 8 July 1903, p 5; 6 August 1903, p 5; 18 July 1904, p 4; 5 October 1904, p 4; 21 December 1908, p 5. • *Canal City Dispatch*, 6 January 1898, p 8. • *Colorado Springs Gazette*, 2 July 1898, p 2; 16 November 1898, p 2; 17 September 1899, p 5; 23 September 1899, p 5; 4 October 1899, p 5; 15 October 1899, p 6; 17 October 1899, p 3; 13 June 1913, p 6; 15 June 1913, p 15; 20 June 1913, p 11; 3 August 1913, p 11; 19 November 1918, p 4; 9 July 1922, p 28.
- <sup>100</sup> *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, 3 April 1897, p 8; 5 April 1897, p 5; 8 April 1897, p 5; 5 July 1897, p 8; 8 July 1897, p 5. • *Arkansas Valley Democrat*, 18 June 1897, p 1.
- <sup>101</sup> *Arkansas City Weekly Republican Traveler*, 28 October 1897, p 5.
- <sup>102</sup> *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, 14 December 1896, p 5.
- <sup>103</sup> *Colorado Springs Gazette*, 20 June 1913, p 7; 4 October 1913, p 7; 16 December 1913, p 9.
- <sup>104</sup> *Denver Post*, 29 July 1931, p 1. • *San Diego Evening Tribune*, 6 July 1932, p 6B. • *San Diego Union*, 6 July 1932, Section 2, p 4; 22 January 1934, p 5; 29 August 1937, Section 5, p 3.
- <sup>105</sup> *San Diego Union*, 29 August 1937, Section 5, p 3.
- <sup>106</sup> *San Diego Union*, 9 October 1938, p 11A.
- <sup>107</sup> *San Diego Union*, 22 September 1940, p 12F; 23 September 1940, p 7B.

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- <sup>108</sup> *Lawrence Tribune*, 9 July 1886, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 6 June 1884, p 8; 26 July 1885, p 5; 2 August 1885, p 8; 8 August 1885, p 5; 9 October 1886, p 8. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 6 June 1884, p 4; 10 July 1885, p 5; 27 June 1886, p 5. • *Topeka Kansas Daily State Journal*, 28 July 1886, p 4. • *Topeka Tribune and Western Recorder*, 18 July 1885, p 4. • Brunson (2019, pages 876–877).
- <sup>109</sup> Eberle (2019a), [https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all\\_monographs/6/](https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all_monographs/6/).
- <sup>110</sup> Fiebelman (1994).
- <sup>111</sup> *Salem Monitor*, 27 September 1873, p 3; 19 June 1875, p 1; 15 June 1876, p 2; 21 April 1910, p 5; 9 May 1912, p 8.
- <sup>112</sup> *Leadville Carbonate Chronicle*, 15 March 1884, p 1. • *Leadville Daily Herald*, 30 March 1884, p 4.
- <sup>113</sup> *Leadville Carbonate Chronicle*, 31 May 1884, p 2; 3 July 1884, p 4; 6 June 1885, p 5; 13 June 1885, p 1; 29 August 1885, p 5; 26 September 1885, p 3.
- <sup>114</sup> *Emporia Daily News*, 30 June 1886, p 1; 1 July 1886, p 1. • *Lawrence Evening Tribune*, 3 July 1886, p 3. • *Topeka Daily Commonwealth*, 4 July 1886, p 5. • *Topeka State Journal*, 2 July 1886, p 1.
- <sup>115</sup> *Cloud County Critic*, 28 July 1886, p 1; 4 August 1886, p 1. • *Concordia Daylight*, 20 July 1886, p 2, 3; 27 July 1886, p 2; 3 August 1886, p 3. • *Concordia Times*, 30 July 1886, p 3; 6 August 1886, p 3.
- <sup>116</sup> *Concordia Republican-Empire*, 26 August 1886, p 3.
- <sup>117</sup> *Kansas City Times*, 16 September 1886, p 6; 17 September 1886, p 12. • *Lawrence Daily Journal*, 4 September 1886, p 3; 8 October 1886, p 3. • *Lawrence Evening Tribune*, 15 September 1886, p 3; 7 October 1886, p 3; 8 October 1886, p 3; 9 October 1886, p 3.
- <sup>118</sup> *Lawrence Daily Journal*, 8 April 1887, p 3; 10 April 1887, p 3; 24 April 1887, p 1. • *Lawrence Evening Tribune*, 8 April 1887, p 3; 11 April 1887, p 3; 15 April 1887, p 3; 18 April 1887, p 3; 25 April 1887, p 3; 27 April 1887, p 3; 23 June 1887, p 3. • *Weekly University Courier*, 15 April 1887, p 1.
- <sup>119</sup> *Atchison Daily Champion*, 11 September 1887, p 4. • *Atchison Daily Globe*, 12 September 1887, p 4. • *Kansas City Star*, 29 June 1887, p 1; 3 August 1887, p 2; 8 September 1887, p 1. • *Kansas City Times*, 26 July 1887, p 2; 8 August 1887, p 2; 9 August 1887, p 2; 19 August 1887, p 2. • *Leavenworth Standard*, 25 July 1887, p 1. • *Leavenworth Times*, 2 August 1887, p 1.
- <sup>120</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 2 May 1888, p 6; 1 June 1888, p 6; 24 June 1888, p 5; 25 June 1888, p 6.
- <sup>121</sup> *Kansas City Times*, 15 July 1888, p 3; 16 July 1888, p 2; 19 July 1888, p 2; 20 July 1888, p 3; 24 July 1888, p 2. • *Springfield Daily Leader*, 4 July 1888, p 4; 5 July 1888, p 4.
- <sup>122</sup> *Salt Lake Daily Herald*, 7 August 1888, p 5; 8 August 1888, p 1.
- <sup>123</sup> *Salt Lake Daily Herald*, 10 August 1888, p 8.
- <sup>124</sup> *Butte Daily Inter Mountain*, 17 August 1888, p 4. • *Butte Daily Miner*, 17 August 1888, p 4. • *Helena Weekly Herald*, 23 August 1888, p 7. • *Ogden Standard*, 11 August 1888, p 8; 14 August 1888, p 1. • *Portland Oregonian*, 9 September 1888, p 5; 10 September 1888, p 8; 17 September 1888, p 8; 24 September 1888, p 8. • *Salt Lake Daily Herald*, 10 August 1888, p 8.
- <sup>125</sup> *Portland Oregonian*, 15 October 1888, p 8; 22 October 1888, p 8; 31 October 1888, p 8. • *Salt Lake Herald*, 11 October 1888, p 5. • *San Francisco Chronicle*, 4 October 1888, p 6; 5 October 1888, p 8. • *San Francisco Examiner*, 2 October 1888, p 8; 4 October 1888, p 8; 5 October 1888, p 8; 6 October 1888, p 8.
- <sup>126</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 28 February 1889, p 3.
- <sup>127</sup> *Aspen Chronicle*, 9 March 1889, p 4; 10 March 1889, p 4; 13 March 1889, p 4; 14 March 1889, p 4; 17 March 1889, p 1; 26 March 1889, p 4; 31 March 1889, p 1; 5 April 1889, p 4; 9 April 1889, p 4; 14 April 1889, p 4; 16 April 1889, p 4; 17 April 1889, p 4; 21 April 1889, p 4. • *Colorado Springs Weekly Gazette*, 30 March 1889, p 6, 7. • *Pueblo Daily Chieftain*, 26 March 1889, p 4. • *Rocky Mountain News*, 24 March 1889, p 3; 31 March 1889, p 7.
- <sup>128</sup> *Aspen Chronicle*, 18 April 1889, p 1; 23 April 1889, p 1; 24 April 1889, p 4; 25 April 1889, p 4; 26 April 1889, p 4; 27 April 1889, p 1, 4; 28 April 1889, p 1; 1 May 1889, p 4; 3 May 1889, p 4; 4 May 1889, p 1; 5

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- <sup>129</sup> *Omaha Bee*, 24 March 1889, p 9; 31 March 1889, p 9; 13 May 1889, p 2; 13 May 1889, p 2.
- <sup>130</sup> *Fremont Daily Tribune*, 19 June 1889, p 3. • *Omaha Bee*, 3 June 1889, p 2.
- <sup>131</sup> *Detroit Plaindealer*, 3 January 1890, p 4. • *Fremont Tri-Weekly Tribune*, 13 March 1890, p 2, 4. • *Kearney Daily Hub*, 4 March 1890, p 4. • *Lincoln Evening News*, 17 June 1890, p 4. • *Nebraska State Journal*, 18 March 1890, p 6; 4 May 1890, p 3; 9 May 1890, p 3; 11 May 1890, p 3. • Eberle (2019a) and Morgan (2015) provided detailed accounts of the founding and brief history of the Lincoln Giants.
- <sup>132</sup> *Fremont Tri-Weekly Tribune*, 13 March 1890, p 4.
- <sup>133</sup> *Lincoln Daily Call*, 6 May 1890, p 1. • *Nebraska State Journal*, 6 May 1890, p 4; 7 May 1890, p 1; 8 May 1890, p 3; 9 May 1890, p 3; 10 May 1890, p 1; 11 May 1890, p 3; 20 May 1890, p 2; 31 May 1890, p 2; 1 June 1890, p 5.
- <sup>134</sup> *Nebraska State Journal*, 8 May 1890, p 3; 9 May 1890, p 3; 11 May 1890, p 3; 14 May 1890, p 2; 15 May 1890, p 1; 16 May 1890, p 2; 17 May 1890, p 2; 18 May 1890, p 1; 21 May 1890, p 2; 23 May 1890, p 2; 24 May 1890, p 2; 25 May 1890, p 3; 26 May 1890, p 1; 31 May 1890, p 1; 5 June 1890, p 2; 6 June 1890, p 2; 8 June 1890, p 3; 11 June 1890, p 3; 12 June 1890, p 3; 14 June 1890, p 3; 15 June 1890, p 3; 18 June 1890, p 2; 19 June 1890, p 3; 20 June 1890, p 3; 21 June 1890, p 3; 22 June 1890, p 5; 23 June 1890, p 2; 24 June 1890, p 2; 27 June 1890, p 3; 28 June 1890, p 3; 29 June 1890, p 3; 5 July 1890, p 2; 6 July 1890, p 6; 14 July 1890, p 2; 18 July 1890, p 1; 19 July 1890, p 3; 21 July 1890, p 2; 23 July 1890, p 5; 26 July 1890, p 3.
- <sup>135</sup> *Nebraska State Journal*, 10 June 1890, p 2.
- <sup>136</sup> *Nebraska State Journal*, 28 June 1890, p 3.
- <sup>137</sup> *Nebraska State Journal*, 31 May 1890, p 1; 1 June 1890, p 5; 3 June 1890, p 2; 29 June 1890, p 3; 1 July 1890, p 2.
- <sup>138</sup> *Nebraska State Journal*, 2 July 1890, p 2.
- <sup>139</sup> *Lincoln Daily Call*, 31 July 1890, p 5. • *Nebraska State Journal*, 5 July 1890, p 2; 6 July 1890, p 6; 8 July 1890, p 2; 9 July 1890, p 3; 10 July 1890, p 2; 12 July 1890, p 5; 14 July 1890, p 2; 15 July 1890, p 2; 18 July 1890, p 1; 19 July 1890, p 3; 21 July 1890, p 2; 23 July 1890, p 5; 26 July 1890, p 3; 27 July 1890, p 2; 1 August 1890, p 2. • *Sporting News*, 12 July 1890, p 5. • Brunson (2019, p 546).
- <sup>140</sup> *Nebraska State Journal*, 27 July 1890, p 2; 30 July 1890, p 2; 30 August 1890, p 2. • *Omaha Bee*, 3 August 1890, p 9.
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