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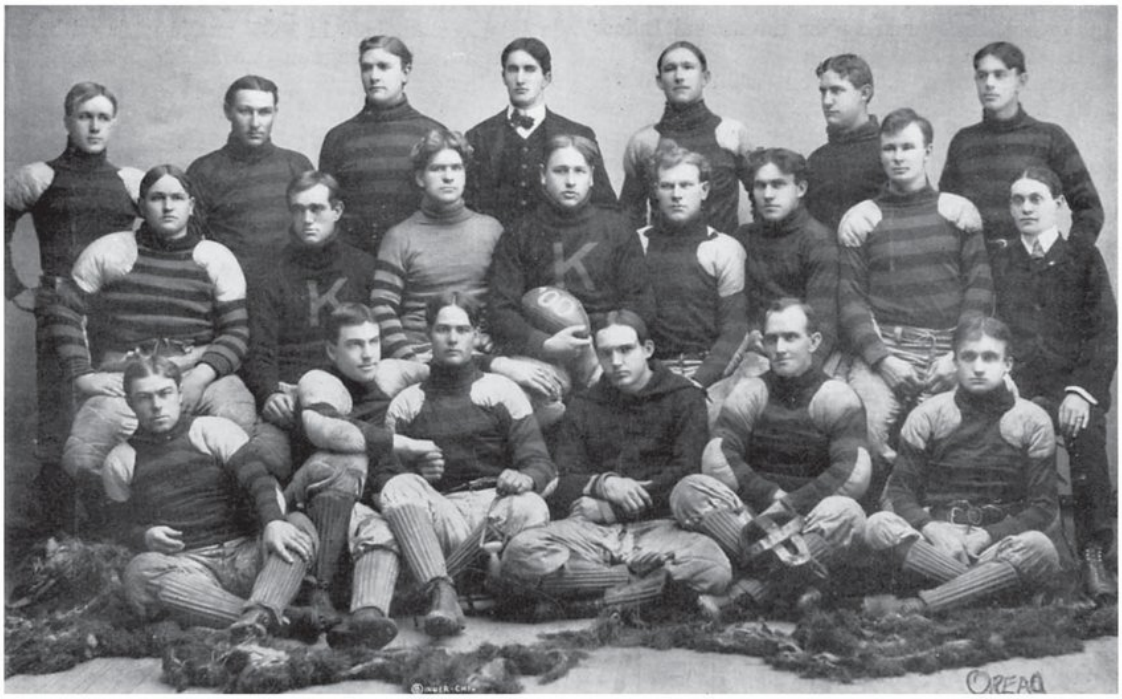


The highlight of E. C. Quigley's collegiate sports career surely came on Thanksgiving Day 1900, when the "fastest man on the Jayhawker eleven" (front row, second from left) turned in "the star play of the game" by returning a punt sixty-five yards for a touchdown against archrival, the University of Missouri. A reporter called Quigley's performance "probably as brilliant a play as will ever be seen on a Kansas City gridiron, and it undoubtedly equals anything that has ever been done here in the past." The team's photograph (above) appeared in The Jayhawker, 1901.

fall he was the star halfback on the football team and the following spring a remarkably versatile performer in track and field competing in six different events—the 100-, 200-, and 400-yard dashes as well as the hurdles, high jump, and pole vault.[8]

The highlight of Quigley's collegiate sports career surely came on Thanksgiving Day 1900, when the "fastest man on the Jayhawker eleven" turned in "the star play of the game" by returning a punt sixty-five yards for a touchdown against KU's archrival, the University of Missouri. A reporter called Quigley's performance "probably as brilliant a play as will ever be seen on a Kansas City gridiron, and it undoubtedly equals anything that has ever been done here in the past." When Quigley kicked the extra point, the final score of the 6-6 tie game, the reporter quipped: "He could almost have had the state of Kansas for the asking."[9]

8. Sandy Padwe, *Basketball's Hall of Fame* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 178; and Ronald L. Mendell, *Who's Who in Basketball* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1973), 186. Quigley is not listed as a letter winner in the *Kansas Men's Basketball 2008–09 Media Guide* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, KU Athletics, 2008), 136. See also, "KU History, 2007–08 Kansas Basketball, http://www.kuathletics.com/auto_pdf/p_hotos/s_chools/kan/sports/m-baskbl/auto_pdf/mbaskbl-0708-mg-seven; see also the KU yearbook, *The Jayhawker 1901* (Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Co. [1901]), 130. Quigley set records in the standing high jump (6′ 4 ½″) and the pole vault (7′ 7 ¾″). In the vernacular of the day, the yearbook referred to the high jump as the Spring Board High Jump and the pole vault as the High Dive. The Spring Board High Jump (a.k.a. standing high jump), in which the athlete stands still and jumps with both feet together, was an Olympic event from 1900 to 1912. Claims that he lettered as a quarterback in football and played basketball under the legendary coach Dr. James Naismith, inventor of the game, are incorrect.

9. *Kansas City Star*, November 30, 1900; *Lawrence Daily Journal*, November 30, 1900; *Kansas University Weekly*, November 24, 1900; *Kansas University Weekly*, December 8, 1900; Kansas City Star, December 15, 1944, in Athletes Clippings, vol. 1, G-R, Library and Archives Division, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka . The latter student weekly skipped a week, perhaps because of the Thanksgiving holiday. Scoring rules initially emphasized kicking (extra points and field goals) over running (touchdowns). From 1883 to 1897 touchdowns were worth

Quigley chose to relinquish gridiron stardom at KU in 1901 for a position as the head football coach at the Missouri State Normal School in Warrensburg. The following year, instead of returning to Lawrence, he accepted the position of athletics director at St. Mary's College, twenty-five miles northwest of Topeka. Only twenty-one years old, Quigley (pictured above, right, with the captain of his 1902 football team) left the rector's office with multiple assignments: athletics director; coach of all sports, including baseball, basketball, football, and track; professor of physical education; and teacher of English, history, and mathematics—all for $50 per month.

Quigley's gridiron reputation was such that in September 1901 he decided to relinquish stardom on the Jayhawk football team and accept a $150 stipend as the head football coach at the Missouri State Normal School in Warrensburg, now the University of Central Missouri, some ninety miles east of Lawrence. Under Quigley's stern discipline the Normals posted one of the finest seasons in school history as they steam-rolled opponents on the way to a 9–1 record and the Missouri-Kansas Inter-State Championship.[10] Because the absence of uniform national rules allowed individual schools to determine eligibility, Quigley was also the team's star running back. Prior to the game against the University of Missouri on October 19, both schools challenged the eligibility of several opposing players. Although Missouri State agreed that Quigley would not play, the Tigers left the field just before the kick-off, thereby forfeiting the contest. The Warrensburg press claimed player eligibility was a bogus issue, asserting that the university squad "sneaked off the grounds to avoid a drubbing by the brawny boys of State Normal."[11]

His love of sports superseded Quigley's plans to become an attorney. Instead of returning to the University of Kansas in 1902, he accepted that summer the position of athletics director at St. Mary's College, a religious school for males in St. Marys, Kansas, twenty-five miles northwest of Topeka. Only twenty-one years old, Quigley left the rector's office with multiple assignments. For $50 per month, he served not only as athletics director, but also as coach of all sports, including baseball, basketball, football, and track; professor of physical education; and teacher of English, history, and mathematics.[12] From 1902 to 1914 Quigley's St. Mary's teams reportedly were "bywords in the athletic realm of Kansas," winning numerous championships in all sports in the Central Conference. His baseball teams gained special notoriety

four points, field goals five, and extra points two. From 1898 to 1902 touchdowns and field goals were worth five points, conversions one. The current scoring system was established in 1912.

10. Although school records and publications list him as a football letterman in 1901, KU game accounts make no mention of Quigley. Since Warrensburg is close to Lawrence and there was no regularly scheduled day for playing games, it is possible, if unlikely given the travel conditions at the time, that Quigley attended class and played for the Jayhawks while also coaching and playing for Missouri State. It is more probable that he dropped out of school. The historical narrative in the Central Missouri football media guide refers to Quigley as "previously captain on the Kansas team." "Mules Football History," in *2009 Mules Football Media Guide*, by University of Central Missouri, 107–8, at http://www.ucmo.edu/athletics/football/guide/09%20Guide/2009FBGuide_86-117.pdf; Robert McCutcheon, athletics media director, University of Central Missouri, to author, email, February 18, 2008; *The Jayhawker, 1901*, 130.

11. (Warrensburg) *Journal-Democrat*, October 25, 1901; and (Warrensburg) *Standard Herald*, October 17 and 24, 1901.

12. *Sporting News*, December 21, 1960. Staff at St. Mary's and the St. Marys branch of the Pottawatomie-Wabaunsee Regional Library have been unable to provide information about Quigley's tenure at the college. During the summer of 1903 he also carried the mail between St. Marys and Topeka; his performance in this capacity during that year's flooding prompted the *Topeka State Journal* to comment: "It is needless to call attention to the physical endurance Mr. Quigley has shown in his work of the past week." His June 2 round-trip included journeying by train, railroad handcar, and boat as well as swimming three hundred yards through swift current and walking fourteen miles. *Topeka State Journa*l, June 6 and 8, 1903.

as he annually arranged games between his best players and town teams in the area. To supplement his income he began officiating college sports, football in 1904 and basketball in 1906, as well as playing professional baseball.[13]

Additional income proved handy when he and Margaret S. Darlington of Concordia married on February 21, 1906. Margaret, born September 1, 1882, in Chester County, Pennsylvania, moved as a young girl to Concordia, but later returned to Pennsylvania to attend Swarthmore College. The local newspaper hailed the marriage of the physical education instructor and the "prominent leader of the young society of the town," sweethearts since childhood, as "the culmination of one of the prettiest romances ever told." As Ernie's career developed, Margaret, cofounder of the St. Marys Literary Club, assumed primary responsibility for raising their two sons, Ernest C. "Mike," Jr., and Henry H. "Heinie," both of whom attended KU.[14] In addition to managing E. C. Quigley Motor Company, the "Squire of St. Marys" tended to registered boars, sows, and gilts on the Quigley Hampshire farm. "Don't say hogs, say Hampshires," was Quigley's stock comment to interviewers. "What's my hobby?," he asked. "I raise the best darn Hampshire hogs in the country. Hog raising is one of the greatest businesses in the world. I'm proud to be called a hog raiser." And when questioned about his favorite food, he replied: "Pork chops, and don't ask me why."[15]

Ernie Quigley was an all-sports enthusiast, but he favored baseball. Professional baseball flourished in towns large and small across the country in the first decade of the twentieth century, thanks in large part to the formation in 1901 of the National Association, which imposed classifications and regulations on minor league baseball. National Association leagues increased from fifteen in 1902 to thirty-five by 1905, affording players greater opportunity to play for pay.[16] Ernie Quigley, soon to be married, did just that, turning professional in 1905 with the Topeka White Sox of the newly formed Western Association. In announcing the team's roster, the *Topeka Daily Capital* noted that Quigley, "as Irish as his name suggests [with] good honest sorrel hair and freckles," has "a great reputation as a coach and general all around noise maker." After the first exhibition game, the newspaper remarked that he was "a fast, graceful fielder," who "stands up to the plate well and acts like a hitter." A few games later the paper gushed: "Quigley played great ball around the 'near' side of the infield" and "to all appearances, is the most finished short stop ever seen in this league. If his arm is as good as his head and footwork he will have all the others looking like amateurs."[17]

A May 9 game between Topeka and Wichita found two future major league umpires on the field: Quigley at shortstop for the visitors and Clarence "Brick" Owens, the game's lone arbiter. The challenges of officiating were demonstrated to Quigley and all in attendance when the crowd went "frantic, threatening violence against the umpire" after an "out" call went against the hometown Wichita Jobbers. After the game spectators "started for the umpire," who was "escorted to safety" by police amid "enraged fans demanding his blood."[18] Over the

13. Quigley's teams reportedly won nine championships in his first decade at St. Mary's. Quigley was head football coach for thirteen years and head basketball coach for nine years; his tenure as baseball and track coach is undetermined. His baseball squad played town teams in Salina, Great Bend, Junction City, and Kingman among others. Craig Lammers, "Spotlight on a Scout: Ernie Quigley," *Society for American Baseball Research, Scouts Committee Newsletter* ([n.p.]: [n.p.] 2008): 1; see also "Director of Athletics, Ernes C. Quigley," one-page typescript, biographical sketch, [December 1944], Quigley file, UA, Spencer Research Library; *Kansas City Times*, December 11, 1960; *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 1, 1958.

14. *Concordia* [Kansas] *Empire*, February 22 and March 1, 1906; *St. Marys* [Kansas] *Journal*, February 23, 1906; *Graduate Magazine of the University of Kansas* 4 (April 1906): 267; *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 3, 1954; *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, October 2, 1958; *St. Marys* [Kansas] *Star*, October 9, 1958. Margaret's parents were prominent community members; her father, Walter, had served as mayor, and her mother was an officer in the Ladies Library Association.

15. Quigley sold Mitchell automobiles, *Saint Marys Star*, December 15, 1960; Dean Sims, "Hampshires and Hard Work," *The Jayhawker 1945* (Lawrence, Kans.: Jayhawker Yearbook Staff, 1945): 37, 78; *Topeka State Journal*, March 30, 1935.

16. The tri-state Central Association, which fielded teams from Missouri, Oklahoma, and Kansas, including from Leavenworth, Topeka, and Wichita, began the season as Class D, but advanced to Class C on June 2. Also debuting that year was the first all-Kansas circuit, the six-team Class D Kansas State League. For annual rosters of minor leagues and teams, see Lloyd Johnson and Miles Wolff, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Minor League Baseball* (Durham, N.C.: Baseball America, Inc., 1970). An excellent survey of early baseball in the state is Harold C. Evans, "Baseball in Kansas, 1867–1940," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 9 (May 1940): 175–92; Gerald K. Barker, "You Can't Do That!" *The Sporting Scene, Shawnee County Historical Society Bulletin* 55 (December 1978): 73-78.

17. *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 9 and 13, 1905.

18. *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 9 and 10, 1905. Owens, who received his career-long nickname the previous year after a brick thrown by a spectator hit him in the head, apparently left town after the game as the teams played the next day without an official umpire.

From 1902 to 1914 Quigley's St. Mary's teams reportedly were "bywords in the athletic realm of Kansas," winning numerous championships in all sports in the Central Conference. His baseball teams gained special notoriety as he annually arranged games between his best players and town teams in the area. Pictured above is the 1903 St. Mary's baseball team. To supplement his income he began officiating college sports, football in 1904 and basketball in 1906, as well as playing professional baseball.

next five years Quigley continued to play professional baseball while managing Shawnee in the short-lived independent South Central League in 1906 and two Class D Central Kansas League teams, Salina in 1909 and Junction City in 1910. Fired in June 1910 as manager of the languishing Junction City club, he briefly tried his hand at umpiring in the league, then joined the Green Bay Bays of the Class C Wisconsin-Illinois League.[19]

Whatever Quigley's reasons for abruptly moving from Kansas to Wisconsin, a career-changing incident occurred when he broke his hand while playing first base for Green Bay. Unable to play, Quigley agreed to replace veteran umpire Lynn W. "L. W." St. John, who wanted to return to his college job. Working as an official in the single-umpire system posed significant challenges, but Quigley's brief experience in the Kansas State League in 1910 demonstrated he had the fortitude and rectitude required for the job.[20] In one of his early experiences as umpire, Quigley admonished Harry Short, Concordia's player-manager, to "Hurry Up!" when he kept sauntering to the dugout after being put out at first base. The

19. Quigley managed the 1909 Salina Trade Winners to second place in the Class D Central Kansas League. He also had a brief managerial stint in 1910 with Clay Center of the Central Kansas League. Ernest C. Quigley, career service card, NBL; Lammers, "Spotlight on a Scout: Ernie Quigley," 5–7; *Kansas City Star*, February 2, 1950. Some references say that in 1910 he played in the Wisconsin State League; the league, organized in 1905, was reorganized in 1908 as the Wisconsin-Illinois league. Lloyd Johnson and Miles Wolff, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Minor League Baseball*, 2d ed. (Durham, N.C.: Baseball America, 1997).

20. After both major leagues adopted the two-umpire system in 1912, it became increasingly common in the minors. By 1933 three umpires were the norm; four umpires became standard in 1952. Larry R. Gerlach, "Umpires," in *Total Baseball*, eds. John Thorn and Pete Palmer (New York: Warner Books, 1989), 466–67. L. W. St. John, the umpire Quigley replaced, was coach and athletic director at Ohio Wesleyan University and later athletics director at The Ohio State University. Curiously, he umpired under an alias, Larry Jacks, not an uncommon practice. The amateur sports world frowned on professional sport association, so many players and administrators used assumed names; in this case, St. John did so to protect his reputation as a college athletics director. *Kansas City Star*, February 5, 1950; *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 1, 1958.

Quigley's rapid ascent through the umpiring ranks culminated in June 1913 when the National League's president hired him as a substitute umpire, and he broke in later that month behind home plate in New York City. Apparently his nervousness showed, for in the middle of the game John McGraw, manager of the New York Giants, left the dugout to assure Quigley that the diamond and rules at the Polo Grounds (pictured here during the 1913 World Series) were the same as in all ballparks. Quigley went on to serve as a National League umpire for twenty-six years, a career highlighted by the chance to officiate thirty-eight games in six World Series. Photograph courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

umpire successively called two strikes on the batter followed by "Strike three, side's out, who's the next hitter?" Quigley steadfastly refused to discuss the matter further with Short. After becoming a full-time umpire in the Wisconsin-Illinois League, Quigley exhibited an exuberance that would mark his officiating career. Future Hall of Famer Casey Stengel, for example, recalled the time Quigley announced the lineup to the crowd in Fond du lac, Wisconsin, from behind home plate, and then, sprinting to right field, gave "the batteries" to the spectators "sittin' on top of the railroad cars" positioned on the tracks that ran behind the ballpark.[21]

Quigley returned to the Wisconsin-Illinois League in 1911, advanced in 1912 to the Class B New York State League, and in 1913 reached the Class AA International League (later AAA), then the highest classification of minor league baseball. Like every International League umpire, Quigley had trouble with the rowdy Baltimore team. He had been in the league only thirteen days when, after ejecting all the reserve players from the Orioles dugout twice in three days, he was summoned to league headquarters in New York City. Thinking he was about to be fired, Quigley was shocked to learn that President Edward Barrow, future New York Yankee executive, had sold his contract to the National League (NL).[22] Quigley was headed to the majors.

Quigley's rapid ascent through the umpiring ranks culminated in June 1913 when NL President Thomas J. Lynch, former major league umpire, hired him as a

21. *New York Times,* October 21, 1973; Lammers, "Spotlight on a Scout: Ernie Quigley," 6–7. Quigley also proved a keen judge of talent, convincing the Brooklyn Superbas—later Dodgers—scout Larry Sutton to sign Charles Dillon "Casey" Stengel. He also launched the careers of other major league players. While managing in the minors, he recommended Josh Billings to Cleveland Indians scout George Huff and signed Charles "Babe" Adams, Claude Hendrix, and Clyde Milan to professional contracts.

22. *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 1, 1958.

substitute umpire. Quigley broke in as the home plate umpire in the first game of consecutive doubleheaders of the season on June 25 and 26.[23] Apparently his nervousness showed, for in the middle of the game John McGraw, manager of the New York Giants, left the dugout to assure Quigley that the diamond and rules at the Polo Grounds were the same as in all ballparks. The reassuring comments helped: the next day McGraw came out in the fifth inning and said, "Say, young man, you look a damned sight more at home today." Quigley continued to prove his mettle, umpiring thirty-six games through September 8; the next year he became a full-time member of the staff. At the end of the 1914 season, his first full season in the majors, he was offered the position of head baseball coach at Purdue University. Forced to decide between a career as a coach or an official, Quigley turned down Purdue and resigned from St. Mary's in order to remain a major league umpire while also pursuing an unprecedented full-time multi-sport officiating career.[24]

Quigley served as a National League umpire for twenty-six years, a career highlighted by the chance to officiate thirty-eight games in six World Series.[25] Quigley's World Series assignments included the infamous 1919 Black Sox series between Chicago and Cincinnati, in which eight White Sox players were banned for life from baseball, accused of conspiring with gamblers to lose the series to Cincinnati. As an eyewitness—he umpired home plate in games three and seven—Quigley was often asked about the controversial series, but declined to discuss it. Quigley never umpired an All-Star Game, as the mid-season classic debuted in 1933, near the end of his career. He did officiate at several annual Chicago City series between the White Sox and Cubs, however, and was behind the plate for the historic regular season game on June 1, 1923, when the New York Giants beat Philadelphia 22–8, setting a league record by scoring in all nine innings. He achieved another distinction when in 1920 he and Charles "Cy" Rigler became the first National League umpires ever to "hold out" for more money; they eventually signed improved contracts before the season began.[26]

During his lengthy umpiring career, Quigley experienced the trials and tribulations common to his profession. There were the physical dangers of standing behind home plate. In 1923 he was hospitalized for several days after being knocked unconscious by a foul tip to the left temple. In 1934 a foul tip hit him on the jaw; temporarily unable to speak, he had to communicate his condition with pencil and paper. And in August 1934 he was overcome with heat exhaustion after the first game of a doubleheader in Philadelphia.[27] Sometimes he just had a bad day. A Detroit reporter graphically described the embarrassments of "Professor Ernie Quigley, the learned historian and pig fancier of St. Mary's [*sic*] Kansas" while umpiring home plate in the 1935 World Series: "He lost his cap in the first inning, thereby exhibiting his nude and gleaming scalp"; found his pants heavily "dusted with dirt" after a play at the plate in the second inning; and in the fourth inning, while racing toward the Detroit bench looking skyward to track a foul pop-up, he "slipped in a puddle and was like to bust his neck falling into the Tigers dugout."[28] On another occasion, in an alarming turned amusing incident, Quigley collapsed unconscious in the umpire's dressing room after a 1933 game at Wrigley Field. Rushed to a hospital, he had not suffered a stroke as feared, but instead had backed into an exposed electrical wire while exiting the shower. He suffered no burns, and contrary to doctor's orders returned to the diamond the next day. It was a matter of "just one live wire meeting another," he told the doctor.[29]

As with all umpires, Quigley's decisions occasionally prompted arguments from players and managers, as well as boos and even barrages of bottles from fans. On

23. *New York Times*, June 25–27, 1913. The *Times* announcement of Quigley's appointment incorrectly referred to him as the "former director of athletics at Kansas University" instead of St. Mary's.

24. Unidentified newspaper article, February 15, 1915, Quigley File, NBL; McGraw quotation in *Kansas City Star*, February 5, 1950.

25. Quigley umpired the following World Series: 1916 between Boston and Brooklyn; the 1919 the Black Sox series; 1921, the bitter cross-town-rivals subway series between the Yankees and the Giants, Babe Ruth's first as a Yankee; 1924 when the Washington Senators beat the Giants for their first World Series title; 1927 when the Yankees, generally regarded as the greatest team in major league history, swept the Pittsburgh Pirates and Ruth swatted a record sixty home runs; and 1935 when the Detroit Tigers won their first World Championship by beating the Chicago Cubs. He was crew chief for the 1927 Series. Gene Carney, *Burying the Black Sox: How Baseball's Cover-Up of the 1919 World Series Fix Almost Succeeded* (Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, 2007); Daniel A. Nathan, *Saying It's So: A Cultural History of the Black Sox Scandal* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2005).

26. He had signed a contract by April 19, but for some reason did not umpire until May 11. *New York Times*, February 11 and April 20, 1920. No information is available about salaries. See also Carl Lundquist, "Ernie Quigley: Umpired the 'Black Sox' Series," *Referee* 19 (November 1994): 22; *Topeka Capital-Journal*, December 11, 1960; *New York Times*, June 2, 1923; October 3, 1925; and September 28, 1926.

27. *New York Times*, July 12, 1923; May 5 and 6, 1934; and August 5, 1928. On May 4, 1934, he suffered severe muscle contusions, not a broken jaw, and missed only four games, returning to the field May 9.

28. *Chicago Daily News*, October 7, 1935; see also the *New York World Telegram*, October 7, 1935.

29. *New York Times*, May 26, 1933; *Sporting News*, December 21, 1960.

balance, however, he had appreciably fewer confrontations than most arbiters owing to his professorial posture, decisive-ness in upholding decisions, and total command of the rulebook. He repeatedly demonstrated knowledge of the most intricate applications of both playing and scoring rules and adamantly refused to tolerate verbal abuse.[30] Instead of debating decisions, Quigley turned challengers away by sternly asking, "Now just what was it you said?" Repeating the uncomplimentary remark resulted in ejection from the game. Assertive in exhibiting authority, he once ended continuous carping from the Chicago Cubs and their star outfielder when, according the *New York Times*, he vigorously "shook his finger under Arnold Statz's nose" and then "stormed over to the bench and threatened to sweep it clean." The lone instance of Quigley losing control occurred early in his career on July 24, 1915, when he punched Johnny Evers in the face, claiming that the Boston second baseman had stepped on his foot during an argument that ensued when Evers, for some reason, did not promptly go to first base after receiving four balls. Umpire and player were each fined $100: Quigley "for failure to handle the resulting situation in a proper manner" and Evers for not promptly taking first base.[31]

Quigley enjoyed universal respect for his demeanor as well as his expertise. At a time when players and managers like John McGraw were openly combative and profoundly profane, some umpires retaliated in kind with vulgarities and insults. But Fred Lieb, the most prominent baseball writer of his day, who covered baseball for three New York City newspapers from 1909 to 1934, recalled that Quigley was "strictly high class" and "spoke with the diction and proficiency of a college professor." Lieb recalled when McGraw once shouted "don't put on any airs with me," Quigley replied, "one doesn't put on airs by speaking good English." To a player's uncomplimentary comment, he typically responded, "Sarcasm, sir, is the weapon of the weak-minded." And to Boston's Heinie Mueller, adept at berating umpires in German and English, Quigley sharply admonished: "Moderate those languages, young man."[32] An example of the respect accorded Quigley occurred one afternoon at the Polo Grounds when he called out Giants outfielder Ross Youngs before he had gotten half way to first after laying down a drag bunt. The New York dugout and the stands erupted with derisive and menacing comments. Quigley recalled in 1958: "The argument evaporated in an instant" when Youngs quickly admitted that he had illegally bunted when out of the batter's box. Quigley even enjoyed the respect of adversaries. He regarded Boston's Tony Boeckel, with whom he had numerous run-ins, as "the most pestiferous player in uniform," but when an illness sent Quigley to the hospital, Boeckel was the only person to send flowers.[33]

Quigley's contributions to umpiring extended beyond the professional diamond. After the 1928 season,

Quigley's career took another turn in December 1940 when Ford Frick simultaneously announced the legendary Bill Klem's appointment as umpire-in-chief and Quigley's designation as the league's first full-time director of public relations. According to Fred Lieb, a weekly columnist for the Sporting News, *with the possible exception of Klem (pictured here in 1914), "no National League umpire of his day commanded as much respect as did Quigley." Photograph courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.*

30. *New York Times*, June 15, 1924; August 12, 1920; August 17, 1927; July 13, 1931; and July 22, 1934.
31. *Sporting News*, July 29, 1915; *New York Times*, June 9, 1922; *Kansas Alumni*, 83 (June 1985): 19; *Sporting News*, December 21, 1960.
32. *Sporting News*, July 29, 1915; *New York Times*, December 5, 1929, and December 11, 1960.
33. *New York Times*, January 9, 1927; *Topeka Capital*, August 1, 1958.

he spent three months on an instructional mission to Japan with three recently retired ballplayers including Ty Cobb. Quigley, now the second most senior National League umpire, said he was "treated like royalty" by Japanese players and coaches as he umpired a number of ballgames, including the "Japanese World Series"; lectured and conducted clinics at Kobe, Waseda, Meiji, and Osaka universities; and established schools for baseball umpires and basketball referees.[34] Occasional service assignments included umpiring New York City high school championship games, serving as the umpire supervisor for three American Legion Junior World Series, and, at the behest of National League President Ford Frick, presiding as umpire-in-chief of the first National Semi-Pro Congress tournament in 1935 and again in 1937.[35]

Quigley's retirement at the end of the 1936 season coincided with his selection by President Frick to be the NL's first supervisor of umpires.[36] His duties as umpire-in-chief were to supervise the current umpire staff, review complaints of umpire decisions and performances, adjudicate fines levied for confrontations with umpires, and interpret rules for Frick and the teams. The personal esteem he enjoyed with players and managers served him well in his first year. Frick, knowing that his decision to have umpires strictly enforce the balk rule would be very unpopular, dispatched Quigley to team locker rooms to personally explain the decision and its consequences.[37]

Quigley's knowledge of the rules was legendary. The undisputed authority on baseball rules, he routinely received inquiries about interpretations from across the country and as far away as Australia and Japan. John Kieran, senior sportswriter for the *New York Times*, opened a 1940 column detailing Quigley's interpretations of several arcane rules applications: "It's too bad that there isn't space . . . to give any interested reader a fair idea of what a man may expect when he asks a question about a baseball rule . . . to Ernie Quigley, the National League Supervisor of Umpires." His mastery of the rulebook was crucial when Frick in 1939 ordered a review of the rules hoping to create a uniform code for both the major and minor leagues. Summoning the league's umpires to a three-day meeting at Cincinnati's Netherland Plaza Hotel to review "every word of every rule," Quigley employed the professorial posture he had honed at St. Mary's, turning room 702 into a schoolroom, diagramming rules on a blackboard and then posing questions to the group about the basic rules as well as unusual situations and vague applications. The arbiter who wished to answer had to raise his hand and, when called upon, stand to comment.[38]

Quigley's career took another turn in December 1940 when Ford Frick simultaneously announced the legendary William J. "Bill" Klem's appointment as umpire-in-chief and Quigley's designation as the league's first full-time director of public relations.[39] Quigley's last act as umpire supervisor, choosing between two candidates of markedly different physical appearances for an opening on the staff, illustrated his personal decisiveness and the professional respect he had garnered throughout his career. Both major leagues preferred the presumed authority personified by tall, well-built umpires and the NL umpires supported the "bulky football type." But Quigley ignored the preferences of the league and its umpires by selecting the man similar in appearance to himself—5′ 7″, 160-pound John "Jocko" Conlan, who remained on the staff for twenty-four years and in 1974 became the fourth umpire elected to baseball's Hall of Fame.[40]

34. The other players were Yankee pitcher Bob Shawkey and Giants infielder Freddy Hofmann. The "Japanese World Series" was between university teams; there were no professional baseball leagues in Japan at the time. *Sporting News*, November 15, 1928; *New York Times*, December 9, 1929; *Time* 12 (December 24, 1928): 25; and Joseph A. Reaves, *Taking in a Game: A History of Baseball in Asia* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 58–59.

35. *New York Times*, June 17, 1935, and April 13, 1937; *Topeka Journal*, April 12, 1937.

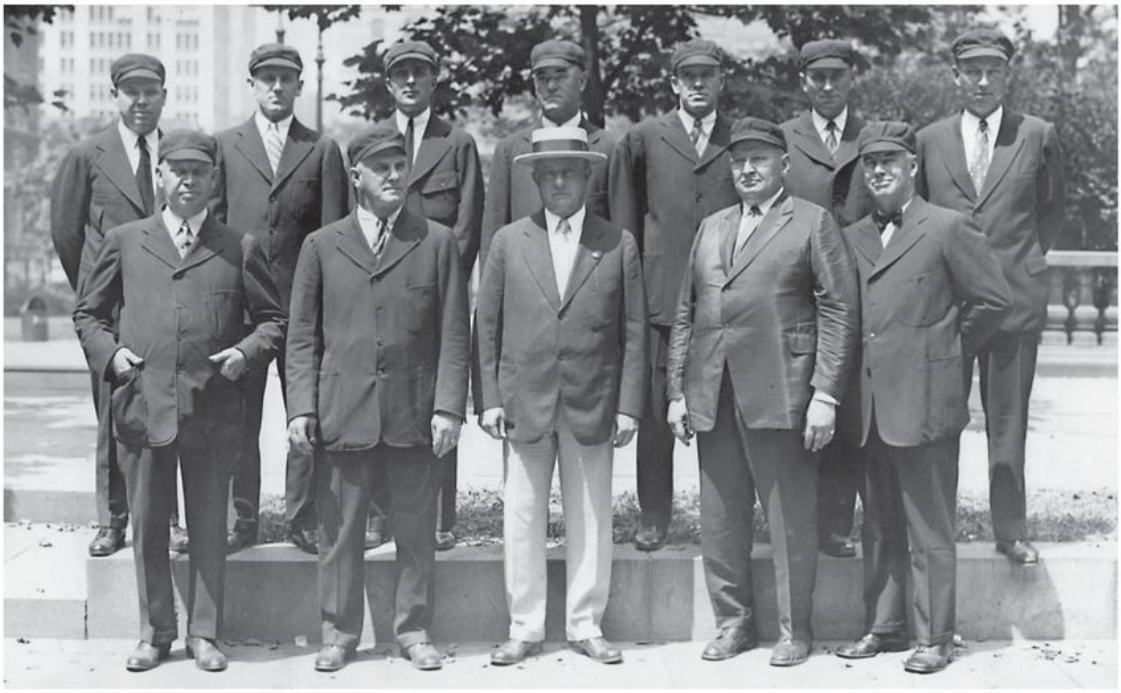
36. The administrative appointment theoretically ended Quigley's on-field duties, but he returned to the diamond as replacement umpire. From the 1937 season opener on April 19 to May 31, Quigley umpired all but one game at third base, the least demanding position, and, except for one series in Boston, he umpired only Dodgers and Giants games in New York City to accommodate his supervisor duties. In 1938 he umpired third base for two July games in St. Louis and a September series in Brooklyn. *New York Times*, April 17, and May 2, 6, and 17, 1937; July 11 and September 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19, 1938.

37. *New York Times*, May 21, 1937, and July 27, 1938; *New York Herald-Journal*, May 21, 1937.

38. *Sporting News*, December 14, 1939; *New York Times*, December 9, 1940; *San Jose Evening News*, August 16, 1940; *Chicago Tribune*, September 20, 1940.

39. *Chicago Tribune* and *New York Times*, December 11, 1940. The reassignment was both political and practical. A member of the National League since 1905, Klem, the most famous and respected major umpire, retired in November 1940. When Tommy Connolly, Klem's famous counterpart in the American League retired in 1931, he became major league baseball's first umpire supervisor, so the NL followed suit with "the King of Umpires." Because Quigley had represented the league on numerous occasions while umpire supervisor, the expansion of his public relations functions was apt. In recognition of his skill in identifying new talent, he continued to be in charge of scouting for new umpires. For biographical sketches of Klem and Connolly, see Porter, *Biographical Dictionary of American Sports: Baseball*, 109–11, 309–10.

40. Frank V. Phelps, "John Bertrand Conlan," in Porter, *Biographical Dictionary of American Sports: Baseball*, 109; Jocko Conlan and Robert Creamer, *Jocko* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1967); Mike Schatzkin, *The Ballplayers* (New York: Arbor House, 1990), 887.



Although overshadowed in the minds of fans and historians by some of his more flamboyant National League colleagues such as Bill Klem, Cy Rigler, and George Magerkurth, Quigley's on-field reputation and administrative contributions following retirement testify to a long, distinguished, and influential career as major league umpire. The highly visible, personable and outgoing Ernie Quigley (front row, right) did much to put a "human face" on umpires, thereby countering the conventional negative attitudes toward baseball's men in blue serge suits. Photograph courtesy of the author.

Quigley's gregariousness and enthusiasm made him the perfect choice as the league's director of public relations, a position he held until July 1944. Once he accepted this position he no longer worked as an umpire, though he did continue to referee basketball until 1942 and football until 1943. Sensitive to verbal abuse from fans and press coverage that called attention to controversies, umpires typically were reticent and inconspicuous off the field. Quigley, however, relished the spotlight. He eagerly made a well-publicized appearance on a WEAF radio sports interview program in New York, for instance, explaining how umpires dealt with difficult and unexpected situations. He also regularly joined civic leaders at a variety of celebratory community affairs ranging from the annual Brooklyn Dodgers Knot-Hole Club fete to a joint Sportsmanship Brotherhood-New York City Baseball Federation dinner honoring Connie Mack, the seventy-eight-year-old owner-manager of the Philadelphia Athletics. And he occasionally returned to the field as a celebrity umpire, as he did for the annual 1941 Army-Navy Day game at West Point and benefit games between two New York military bases. It was commonplace for baseball players to endorse a variety of commercial products, but Quigley was the first sports official to do so, declaring in his role as the umpire supervisor for a newspaper advertisement: "We solved the timing problems of baseball when we adopted Longines Watches for the use of all umpires."[41]

Ever the ambassador for sports, Quigley reached out to the public in numerous ways. From 1938 to 1940 he taught a three-week summer school course in the Physical Education Department at Columbia University, devoting a week each to the rules of baseball, basketball, and football. When asked by a student if it was possible for fans to see a play better than the umpire, Quigley said if that happened he would "put the ump in the stands

41. *New York Times*, July 4, 1937; unidentified newspaper advertisement, September 29, 1940, Quigley File, NBL; see also *New York Times*, July 31 and August 1, 1937; April 13 and 15, 1940; June 1 and 13, and October 4, 1941.

and feed him hot dogs and soda pop instead of paying him with his salary." To facilitate instruction on baseball rules in his "Techniques and Mechanics of Umpiring" course, he invented "Magnetic Baseball," a magnetized "blackboard" featuring the outline of a baseball diamond. By using a series of colored magnetized rings to represent players and umpires, he was able quickly and clearly to diagram positioning on various plays. The invention and the course was enthusiastically endorsed by the press; a *New York Sun* editorial praised Quigley not only for "the technical details of the instruction," but also for recognizing that "the art of umpiring" involves "certain moral and psychological values that are even more important than the mechanics."[42] In the late 1930s or early 1940s, Quigley joined with fellow National League umpire Charley Moran, a former football player and coach, to publish educational pamphlets on "All phases of Foot Ball, Basket Ball and Base Ball." Perhaps his most effective outreach activity was the thrice-weekly evening radio program he hosted for seventeen years, from the late 1920s to the mid-1940s at 9:30 p.m. on station WIBW in Topeka, in which he talked about sports in general and answered questions from listeners.[43]

Although overshadowed in the minds of fans and historians by some of his more flamboyant National League colleagues such as Bill Klem, Cy Rigler, and George Magerkurth, his on-field reputation and administrative contributions following retirement testify to a long, distinguished, and influential career as major league umpire. In 1960, looking back over a half-century of covering baseball, Fred Lieb, who wrote a weekly column for the *Sporting News*, declared: "It is doubtful if any man ever had the rules of baseball, football and basketball at his finger tips as did Quigley. Unless it was Bill Klem, no National League umpire of his day commanded as much respect as did Quigley."[44] No less significant was his public persona: the highly visible, personable and outgoing Ernie Quigley did much to put a "human face" on umpires, thereby countering the conventional negative attitudes toward baseball's men in blue serge suits.

Just as Quigley was a multisport athlete, so, too, he was a multisport official. Umpiring major league baseball was his greatest officiating achievement, but refereeing football and basketball brought even more recognition, albeit in the less well-publicized environs of college towns. Quigley did not officiate in major professional leagues in football or basketball partly because of geography, but also because college football and basketball overshadowed their professional counterparts until after World War II.[45]

Football was Quigley's earliest officiating venture. For forty years, from 1904 to 1943, he witnessed firsthand the evolution of the sport from a brutal, mass-formation running game, nearly abolished in 1905 because of crippling player injuries and even deaths, to sophisticated offenses featuring forward passing and from a regional athletic spectacle to a nationally popular sport.[46] Quigley usually officiated twenty or more college games a year, frequently two per week, mostly in the Missouri Valley, Big Six (now the Big Twelve), and Rocky Mountain conferences. He missed only three seasons during his career: in 1918 when he coached St. Louis University; in 1928 because of his baseball trip to Japan; and in 1938 due to a severe ankle injury in September that kept him on crutches until the start of the 1939 baseball season. A referee—the head official—for most of his career, he was in demand for "big games" across the country including Army-Navy, Michigan-Illinois, and five Harvard-Yale contests as well as four major postseason bowl games—three Rose Bowls in 1920, 1925, and 1927 and one Dixie Classic (now Cotton Bowl). So great was his reputation that in the 1930s Quigley commanded $500 plus expenses to referee a Harvard-

42. The *Sun* explained: "The art of umpiring is more than the art of enforcing all the rules with strict accuracy and impartiality. It is the art of making the nine men on the field, the supernumeraries in the coaching boxes, the reserves in the dugout, the fans in the stands know not only that you are the boss but also that you know your business and will stand for no nonsense. It is an art which all instructors of the youth of the land might study to their profit." The *New York Sun* quoted in "Magnetic Baseball A La Quigley," August 1941 press release, Quigley File, NBL; photocopy also in Quigley file, UA, Spencer Research Library. See also *New York Times*, July 30, August 3, and 11, 1941; *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 3, 1941.

43. The pamphlets were "written and published by MORAN-QUIGLEY ATHLETIC BUREAU, 18 West 25th St., New York"; copy of "Forward Pass" in author's possession; radio program advertisement, Quigley file, UA, Spencer Research Library.

44. *Sporting News*, December 21, 1960.

45. Until the 1960s, professional basketball and football were overwhelmingly located in the northeastern section of the country. Robert W. Peterson, *From Cages to Jump Shots: Pro Basketball's Early Years* (Lincoln, Neb.: Bison Books, 2002); Murry R. Nelson, *The National Basketball League: A History, 1935–1949* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2009); Peter King, Will McDonough, and Paul Zimmerman, *75 Seasons: The Complete Story of the National Football League, 1920–1995* (Nashville, Tenn.: Turner Publishing, 1994); Robert W. Peterson, *Pigskin: The Early Years of Pro Football* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

46. In response to nineteen gridiron fatalities in 1905, President Theodore Roosevelt threatened to abolish the game unless major rule changes were made. The changes, chief among them legalizing the forward pass, increased safety. John Sayle Watterson, *College Football: History, Spectacle, Controversy* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Ronald A. Smith, *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1900).

Yale game, while the usual rate for football officials was $50 per contest.[47]

He thought refereeing football was easier than umpiring baseball in one fundamental respect: football players, he observed in 1914, "usually vent their enthusiasm on their adversaries instead of taking it out on the officials." In 1948 a Des Moines sportswriter, noting that Quigley "never was one to do things in a lusterless way if he could reach the objective dramatically," recalled the time the referee threw a penalty flag, but instead of simply saying "backfield in motion," shouted "gentlemen! Your backfield was in motion. They were running like deer!"[48] Ever the innovator, Quigley made a device to help him keep track of each team's downs; he recalled that on several occasions he had to correct inaccurate designations on the scoreboard and chain-pole marker. His football officiating career ended in 1943 when he wound up at the bottom of a pile of players with a broken foot.[49] As with baseball, Quigley's command of football's rulebook was legendary; after retiring from the gridiron, he served as the ranking member of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Football Rules Committee from 1946 to 1954.

His lone post-St. Mary's venture as a football coach was a frustrating one-year stint at St. Louis University in 1918. Because of a manpower shortage like that at other schools during World War I, Father H. A. Hermans, the athletics director, decided to allow freshmen to play varsity football and hired Quigley "with great optimism" to fashion a strong Billiken eleven. Quigley was able to accept the position because the major league baseball season ended on September 2, a month early due to World War I exigencies. When preseason drills opened on September 30 the press reported "the most strenuous practice" ever seen at the school as Quigley "cracked the whip at every stage."[50] But within a week of the first game on October 7, a massive outbreak of Spanish influenza wracked the nation; for more than two months the greater St. Louis quarantine that closed schools, churches, and other public places also crippled the SLU football program. With spectators banned from attending, home games were cancelled and Quigley found it difficult even to arrange away contests. A makeshift schedule of small colleges, military installations, and two universities produced three wins, two loses, and a tie; a 19–0 whipping by the Washington University Pikers in the final game of the season was an apposite conclusion to a frustrating season for Quigley, who thereafter stuck to officiating.[51]

Ernie Quigley began refereeing basketball in 1906, and during his thirty-seven years calling the sport rose to the top of basketball officialdom in the United States. In addition to a full slate of regional college games every year, he was selected to work premier national contests. He officiated more national tournaments than any other referee in history: three for the NCAA, including one championship game; nineteen consecutive for the AAU, then the premier basketball organization in the country; and the inaugural 1937 tournament of the National Intercollegiate Basketball Association (NIBA), composed of small colleges and universities excluded from the NCAA and the first national tournament to invite participation by historically black colleges.[52] He also served as supervisor of tournament officials for the NCAA from 1940 to 1942 and for the NIBA from 1939 to 1942. When basketball became an Olympic sport for the first time in 1936, Quigley was chosen to referee the April 1936 basketball playoff tournament in Madison Square Garden in Boston, Massachusetts, including a semi-final and the championship game, to determine the United States' entry in the Berlin Olympics. He was also supervisor of officials for the tournament. Perhaps his proudest basketball moment came when he and his son Heinie, who followed his father into officiating, teamed up to work a University of Kansas-Washburn University game.[53]

47. *Des Moines Register*, February 10, 1975; *San Jose News*, March 15, 1939. The Missouri Valley Intercollegiate Athletic Association, created in 1907, split in 1928. The larger schools continued as the MVIAA, popularly known as the Big Six; the smaller schools formed the Missouri Valley Conference. In 1964 the MVIAA was renamed the Big Eight Conference. The Rocky Mountain Conference was based primarily in Colorado. In 1938 the larger members of the Conference left to form the Mountain States Conference (a.k.a. Skyline Conference); most of those members are now in the Mountain West Conference.

48. *Des Moines Register*, April 15, 1948; *Sporting Life*, December 12, 1914.

49. Lundquist, "Ernie Quigley," 22; Quigley interview, *Spartanburg* (South Carolina) *Herald*, December 20, 1940.

50. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 1, 1918.

51. See, for example, *ibid*., October 8, 17, and 30–31; and November 6, 7, 8, 15, 20, and 29. On the influenza pandemic see Alfred W. Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

52. The more prominent AAU teams were professional. Players, ostensibly assigned to white-collar jobs, were in reality hired to play basketball. Adolph Grundman, *The Golden Age of Amateur Basketball: The AAU Tournament, 1921–1968* (Lincoln, Neb.: Bison Books, 2004). The NAIB was reorganized in 1952 as the current National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA); James Naismith, former KU basketball coach, was a founder of NAIB tournament.

53. The date of game is unknown, but took place when Washburn and KU played annually from the 1933–1934 to the 1938–1939 seasons. *Kansas Men's Basketball Media Guide, 2007–2008*, Records, 193–94; see also *New York Times*, March 31; April 3, 5, and 6, 1936.

Upon taking over as athletic director at the University of Kansas on August 1, 1944, Quigley immediately faced a formidable financial problem—a $113,000 debt on the football stadium. The $700,000 required to build the facility in 1921 plus an additional $325,000 for 1927 remodeling, which created the north bowl, was to be paid off by bonds, donations, and gate receipts. The latter must have been good for the last game of the stadium's inaugural season (above), when Kansas defeated Missouri 15 to 9 before an estimated crowd of nearly 15,500 fans. But less than stellar performances on the gridiron in the years to follow led to diminished attendance and donations. Without the external revenues that heavily subsidize present-day athletics departments, Quigley devised an ingenious way to liquidate the debt, and his one-man fund-raising campaign worked: by June 1946 the balance was down to $48,000. When success on the gridiron that year produced football receipts that "exceeded our budget estimate by a sizable amount," the bonds were paid off, and the final interest payment was made as scheduled in 1949, not long before the stadium picture on the facing page was made.

Quigley's greatest officiating notoriety came on the basketball court, where he was far more animated and demonstrative than on the diamond or gridiron. Departing from the customary staid demeanor of sports officials, Quigley became the first flamboyant, "colorful" official, famous for exaggerated verbal and physical gestures as well an unorthodox behavior. To Quigley, the whistle was merely a device to announce a referee's presence. His trademark call became world renown. Upon detecting a violation, Quigley pointed an accusing finger at the offending player and in a stentorian voice shouted: "You can't d-o-o-o that!"—a call invariably echoed by the spectators. There usually followed a slap on the back or backside and a brief lecture on the infraction that always ended with the rhetorical query: "Young man, do you understand me?"[54] In 1950 Bob Klenck, later head basketball coach at St. Louis University, recalled telling his teammates: "I can stand the foul, but I can't stand his punishment." Reflecting on his officiating career, Quigley conceded that "it might have looked like I was overdoing it, but I didn't see it that way. Anyway, there was never any doubt in anyone's mind when I called an out or whistled a foul." His trademark call was so well known that in July 1945 he received a letter at the University of Kansas from Europe addressed only as "You Can't Do That! U.S.A."[55]

Showmanship aside, sports writers stressed that Quigley always "radiated authority and competence." A law unto himself on the court, he reacted swiftly, often unconventionally, to anyone who challenged his decisions. He was quick to call a foul should a player deign to "talk back," and should a coach dare come onto the court to argue, Quigley loudly announced that he would award a free throw for every step it took the coach to retreat to the bench. In 1975 veteran sportswriter Maury White recalled the night when "some coach stormed onto the floor" and then stopped still; as Quigley began to announce his penalty, two players

54. University of Kansas Sports News Bureau press release, August 2, 1945; James A. Naismith, *Basketball: Its Origin and Development* (1941; reprint, Lincoln, Neb.: Bison Books, 1996), 80; *Des Moines Register*, February 10, 1975.

55. University of Kansas, Sports News Bureau, news release, August 2, 1945, Quigley file, UA, Spencer Research Library; Klenck and Quigley quotations are from the *Kansas City Star*, February 5, 1950.

came out and carried their coach back to the bench. The crowd roared at the clever stunt; Quigley's reaction is unknown. He took no guff from fans, awarding multiple free throws to visiting teams as long as the home crowd continued objectionable behavior.[56] The ex-Jayhawk called at least seven successive technical fouls on the crowd at Missouri in 1915 for "hooting and yelling" at his decisions. At the end of the game several hundred students descended upon the embattled referee cursing and shouting, "Let's punch his head off." Escorted to the official's dressing room by the coaches of both teams and several faculty members, Quigley suffered "numerous bruises" but no serious injuries.[57]

Quigley did not play for the Jayhawks' legendary coach, fellow Canadian Dr. James A. Naismith, but the inventor of the game credited "the dean of basketball officials" with a major innovation in the rules. Because the baskets were initially located directly above the end lines, Quigley found it difficult when refereeing to see if players were in or out of bounds as they took shots and maneuvered under the goals. At St. Mary's he experimented successfully with extending the end line two feet; in 1917 the National Basketball Rules Committee adopted his innovative idea, creating an "end zone" two feet beyond the goal thereby extending the court to its current dimensions, ninety-four by fifty feet. Always looking to improve the game, he convinced the Missouri Valley basketball coaches in 1927 to adopt an innovative "dual system" of officiating in which the referee and the umpire had equal authority to enforce the rules from every angle on the court.[58]

By 1944, Quigley—now sixty-three years old, retired from all officiating, and confined for much of the year to a desk job far from Kansas—undoubtedly missed the excitement, drama, and challenge of firsthand participation in multiple sports. A new opportunity presented itself in July when Dean Nesmith, head athletics trainer at the University of Kansas from 1938 to 1983, called upon Quigley at his office in New York City. Nesmith was on a mission: Would Ernie Quigley return to his alma mater as the director of athletics? Chancellor Deane W. Malott, anticipating a post-World War II boom in enrollment and thus student activities, wanted a higher profile athletics program. Basketball under Forrest C. "Phog" Allen was a perennial success, but other sports, notably football and track and field, had not done well in Big Six competition for more than a decade. The internal favorite for the position was Acting Athletics

56. *Des Moines Register*, April 15, 1948; and February 10, 1975.

57. Missouri lost 28–19 to Kansas Agricultural College (now Kansas State University) on March 1, 1915. *Columbia Daily Tribune*, March 2 and 3, 1915; *Sporting Life*, March 13, 1915. The number of fouls was reported as seven, twelve, or seventeen. Seven would seem to be the likely number, but Quigley may well have called more. The next night he refereed the game between the same two teams, calling "very few fouls."

58. *New York Times*, December 2, 1927; Naismith, *Basketball*, 97–98. See also Harold C. Evans, "Some Notes on College Basketball in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 11 (May 1942): 199–215.

Director Karl Klooz, bursar and secretary of the Athletic Board, but Malott preferred Quigley. Despite his well-known indifference to organizational tidiness, lack of management skills, and volatile personality, Quigley's experience, reputation, and contacts in sports as well as his personal style, judgment, and business acumen fit the bill.[59]

In the twilight of his career, Quigley, who previously had been offered the athletics director position three times, decided to return to Mt. Oread. His explanation was both facetious and heartfelt: "Since I didn't know whether they would offer it to me again, I decided to accept." He added: "If I could close my athletic career as director of athletics at my alma mater, I ought to feel a lot of pride in being selected to do the job there."[60] As to concerns about him taking on such a demanding job at age sixty-three, he retorted that he felt like he was "only about forty one" and was "big enough and strong enough to carry the load down there."[61]

As word spread that Quigley was the leading candidate for the athletic directorship, the school's newspaper enthusiastically supported his appointment because "the venerable Kansan's long years of officiating have given him worlds of knowledge on most any sport." In announcing Quigley's appointment on July 24, 1944, Chancellor Malott gave the same rationale: "The University is taking another step in the rehabilitation of its athletic program. Mr. Quigley's long familiarity with all phases of sport assures the University of an aggressive and able leadership in the field of athletics."[62]

Quigley reported for duty August 1, 1944. Pursuant to taking the assignment, the Quigleys moved from St. Marys, their residence since 1906, to Lawrence, buying a house near campus at 1509 Stratford Road. Being athletics director at the University of Kansas was vastly different from his previous tenure at St. Mary's College in terms of the size and complexity of programs, but it required the same kind of energy, commitment, and vision. Quigley's impact on Jayhawks athletics was extraordinary; it constituted nothing less than a major revitalization that not only produced immediate results, but also created the foundation for future success.

He immediately faced a formidable financial problem—a $113,000 debt on the football stadium. The $700,000 required to build the facility in 1921 plus an additional $325,000 for remodeling in 1927 was to be paid off by bonds, donations, and gate receipts. But less than stellar performances on the gridiron led to diminished attendance and donations; the Memorial Corporation, the initial fund-raising organization, contributed virtually nothing in later years. Without the external revenues that heavily subsidize present-day athletics departments, Quigley devised an ingenious way to liquidate the debt. To supplement his personal fund-raising efforts, which brought in $35,000, he wrote to alumni and other interested individuals urging them to buy war bonds payable to the Alumni Association, explaining that they would get a tax deduction for purchasing the bonds and the university could use them to pay off its debt. Quigley's one-man fund-raising campaign worked: by June 1946 the balance was down to $48,000. When success on the gridiron that year produced football receipts that "exceeded our budget estimate by a sizable amount," the bonds were paid off in June 1947 and the final interest payment was made as scheduled in 1949. After he liquidated in less than three years the financial albatross that had compromised the department for nearly a quarter of a century, the Athletics Board formally expressed gratitude to Quigley "for his tireless efforts in eradicating the debt." Quigley modestly quipped: "Naturally I am mighty pleased to have this load off our necks."[63]

Quigley's determination to pay off the debt reflected the fiscal conservatism with which he operated the athletics department. Despite antiquated facilities and poor equipment, he fought with coaches and staff over expenditures for improved facilities, new equipment, and higher salaries for assistants. Cliff McDonald, Jayhawk running back from 1947 to 1949, recalled that

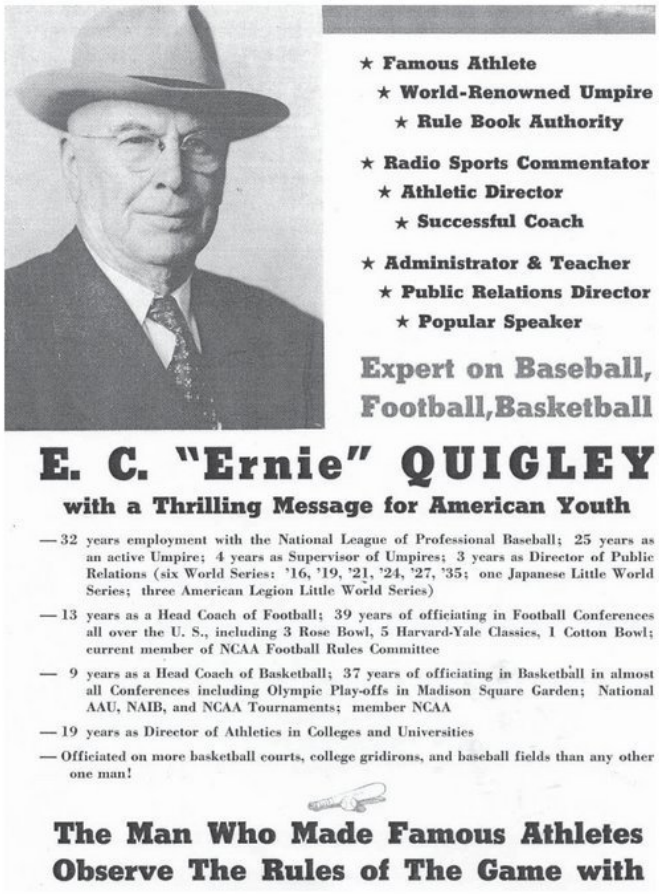
59. Nesmith recalled: "Quigley's desk was always covered with a huge pile of letters. Ernie Quigley never filed or threw away anything mailed to him. He would read a letter and then simply throw it down on the pile. As the years passed, the pile got bigger and bigger. When Quigley left, the secretary went through all the correspondence on his desk. In one of the opened envelopes she found a World Series check from the National League that Quigley had never cashed." Mike Fisher, *Deaner: Fifty Years of University of Kansas Athletics* (Kansas City, Mo.: The Lowell Press, 1986), 132–33; *The Graduate Magazine of the University of Kansas* 42 (May–June 1944): 12.

60. *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, August 1, 1944.

61. *Graduate Magazine of the University of Kansas* 42 (May–June 1944): 12.

62. *University Daily Kansan*, July 4 and 25, 1944 ; later that year the *Kansas City Star* launched a twenty-five part series on the storied career of the new director by Ernest Mehl, "'You Can't Do That.' The Personal Experiences of E. C. Quigley," *Kansas City Star*, December 10, 1944—January 21, 1945, in Athletes Clippings, vol. 1, G-R, Library and Archives Division, Kansas Historical Society.

63. Clifford S. Griffin, *The University of Kansas: A History* (Lawrence, Kans.: University of Kansas Press, 1974), 417; *University Daily Kansan*, *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, and *Kansas City Star*, March 27, 1947.



Instead of enjoying a relaxing life of leisure in "retirement," Quigley commenced a new, rigorous undertaking that consumed his time and energy. He established a lecture circuit, speaking at high school assemblies and banquets about the importance of attending college. Quigley drove to schools throughout Kansas, as well as Nebraska, Iowa, Missouri, and Oklahoma; the Topeka State Journal *reported on January 5, 1953, that since September 1952 Quigley had talked to 105 high schools, sometimes addressing three or four schools in one day. Flier courtesy of the Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries, Lawrence.*

"Mr. Quigley was very conservative with the athletic department's money," noting that the players had towels that were "made out of strands like ropes," that the whirlpool was an oil drum cut in half and set in the shower, and that practice t-shirts and socks were "cut down so that no one would take them from the locker room." At times Quigley's temper, frugality, and stubbornness confounded staff and coaches. When Dean Nesmith, chief athletics trainer and trusted administrative aid, suffered third-degree burns on his body and legs after a boiler hose burst, Quigley refused to use departmental funds to pay the hospital bill. On the other hand, Nesmith recalled the time he ordered one cigar during a business lunch; Quigley seemingly "got mad as hell," then bought him a whole box "with a big grin." "Funny," Nesmith recalled, "how Quigley could be a great guy one day and grouchy the next."[64]

Parsimony was a principle to Quigley: "I don't see why everyone associated with the department shouldn't believe in thrift."[65] He practiced what he preached, taking

64. Fisher, *Deaner*, 20, 162–63.
65. *Ibid.*, 215–16.

it upon himself to save money by performing custodial and maintenance tasks such as painting facilities, lining the football field, digging post holes, picking up scraps of paper from the grounds, and making the rounds of locker rooms to be sure the lights had been turned out. Always the innovator, however, Quigley had six floodlights installed on the football practice field believing that adding an hour to practice during the last three weeks of the season would eradicate the "bugaboo of blackout drills." The former two-sport letterman was also concerned with the welfare of athletes. He established both a scholarship and a work program for KU athletes and, at the national level, was instrumental in changing NCAA rules to allow schools to interview prospective athletes.[66]

Retiring the debt was Quigley's greatest short-run achievement, but in the long run his greatest accomplishment was launching a major resurgence in the athletics program. When Quigley became athletics director, KU sponsored only four sports: football, basketball, and indoor and outdoor track and field. He promptly expanded the program by reinstituting sports cancelled due to World War II—baseball, golf, and tennis in 1946–1947 and swimming the following year. But his greatest long-term contribution to the future of KU athletics was hiring four of the finest coaches in school history. He said his philosophy for hiring personnel was simple: "I wanted results."[67]

Football was his primary concern. The Jayhawks had not won a conference title in thirteen years, so when Henry Shenk's squad posted a third straight losing season in 1945, Quigley moved quickly to recruit George Sauer, former Nebraska All-American halfback, as head football coach. The impact was dramatic. In 1946, Sauer's first season, the Jayhawks went 7–2–1 and were conference cochampions with Oklahoma; the next year Sauer's 8–1–2 team outscored opponents 304–102, was undefeated in conference, and again shared the title with the Sooners (7–2–1), whom they tied 13–13. The 1947 team finished the season ranked twelfth in the prestigious Associated Press poll, the school's highest ranking ever; produced KU's first football All-American athlete, running back Ray Evans; and received an invitation to the 1948 Orange Bowl, the first bowl appearance in school history. The Jayhawks lost to Georgia Tech 20–14, but the game brought $50,000 to the athletics department treasury.[68] Moreover, Sauer's success stimulated an increase in football attendance, which also significantly increased revenue.

Although Quigley was perturbed when Sauer left in 1948 for the U.S. Naval Academy, a departure due in part to the coach's failure to "unravel Quigley's well-secured purse strings" for upgrading facilities and staff compensation, the football program was now on "solid footing." Quigley promptly hired Jules Verne "J. V." Sikes, who before leaving in 1953 increased excitement by bringing the passing game to Kansas football.[69]

Quigley's second major hire, Bill Easton in 1947, brought glory days to cross country and indoor and outdoor track and field programs that had not won a conference title in a decade. The most successful and honored coach in Jayhawk history, Easton's cross country teams won sixteen conference and one national championship; the track squad won NCAA titles in 1959 and 1960, finishing in the top four times. In all, from 1947 to 1965 his teams won thirty-nine conference championships, eight consecutive from 1952 to 1959, with titles in all three sports. Easton coached thirty-two All-Americans and eight Olympians, including Al Oerter, four-time Gold Medalist in the discus. Following retirement, Easton was inducted into seven halls of fame.[70]

Quigley also took steps to ensure the continued success of Phog Allen's basketball program. In 1949 he hired former Kansas cager Dick Harp as an assistant and eventual successor to the sixty-four-year-old Allen; from 1957 to 1964 Harp led the Jayhawks to two conference titles and two NCAA tournaments, including the historic three-overtime loss in the championship game in 1957. In addition, Quigley launched a fund-raising effort to build a state-of-the-art basketball arena. In 1947 he went to Topeka to lobby personally for legislative funding. The effort, which failed, elicited a strong rebuke from

66. KU News Release, July 1, 1950, Quigley file, UA, Spencer Research Library; *Kansas Alumni Magazine* 59 (December 1960): 38; *University Daily Kansan*, December 12, 1960.

67. Fisher, *Deaner*, 216; Erin Penning, University of Kansas Media Relations, email to author, April 12, 2010. Information about teams provided by Candace Dunback, Booth Family Hall of Athletics, University of Kansas.

68. For Sauer's tenure and the Orange Bowl, see Fisher, *Deaner*, 150–75; *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, January 2, 1948. See also Marc S. Maltby, "George Henry Sauer, Sr.," in *Biographical Dictionary of American Sports, 1989–1992 Supplement*, ed. David L. Porter (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1992), 474–75.

69. Fisher, *Deaner*, 162–63; for Sikes' record, which included one losing season in six years, see *2009 Jayhawk Football Media Guide* (Lawrence, Kans.: University of Kansas Athletics Department, 2009), 194, 196. For a brief biographical sketch, see "Jules Verne (J.V.) Sikes," http://www.kusports.com/football/unforgettable_hawks/.

70. Adam R. Hornbuckle, "Millard Elsworth 'Bill' Easton," in *Biographical Dictionary of American Sports, 1992–1995 Supplement*, 660–61.

one legislator: "What do you consider of the greatest importance—dormitories, classrooms or a field house? You can't have them all."[71] Rebuffed but not defeated, Quigley continued the quest into retirement, taking great pleasure in the 1955 opening of Allen Field House, named in honor the legendary Jayhawks basketball coach.

Quigley refused to sign a contract upon taking the athletic director's job, asserting: "I will stay there as long as they want me."[72] They wanted him. Four times the Kansas Board of Regents ignored the state law requiring university department heads to retire at age sixty-five, thereby allowing Quigley to continue until he left the position at age seventy. Quigley formally retired in July 1950, but agreed to stay until September 2 to assist his replacement, ex-KU athlete, Arthur C. "Dutch" Lonborg. The KU news department bulletin announcing Quigley's retirement emphasized the general public's sense of his principal achievement, noting that the "hustling, fiery athletics director" had received just accolades for "directing a rebirth of athletic successes at K.U.," as his six-year tenure had produced one of the school's "brightest athletics periods." But Quigley considered his major success to be paying "the stadium debt off in 1949." Assessing his tenure with modesty and honesty, Quigley mused: "When I first came to handle the department there was only one way to go because we couldn't have been any worse off."[73]

Retirement posed a challenge for Quigley. He and Margaret attended sporting events, but Ernie admitted it was "hard to see them from a spectator's standpoint for almost the first time in my life."[74] He continued to participate in the weekly sports talk radio programs on KLWN in Lawrence that he began after becoming the KU athletic director. And there was now more time to attend to his hobbies. He was an avid collector of antique glassware, an interest that began in childhood when he admired a set of Venetian bottles in a silver filigree container given to his mother as a wedding gift. And he continued tending to his beloved Hampshires on a 128-acre farm eight miles northwest of Lawrence.[75]

A set of six matched pipes from the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce was an apt retirement gift as Quigley was a habitual pipe smoker, but instead of enjoying a relaxing life of leisure he began at this late stage of his life a new, rigorous undertaking that consumed his time and energy. Concerned that less than half of Kansas high school graduates went to college, Quigley, who left KU after his freshman year, established a lecture circuit, speaking at high school assemblies and banquets about the importance of attending college. Booked through the lecture bureau of the KU extension department, he drove to schools throughout Kansas as well as Nebraska, Iowa, Missouri, and Oklahoma. The *Topeka State Journal* on January 5, 1953, reported that since September 1952 Quigley had talked to 105 high schools, sometimes addressing three or four schools in one day.[76]

Quigley suffered severe emotional and physical setbacks in autumn 1958. He underwent extensive cancer surgery in September, and on October 1, lost his beloved wife of fifty-two years. He was devastated by her death. It was Margaret who had primarily raised their sons and accorded Quigley unwavering support for his all-consuming officiating career practiced largely away from home. When baseball commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis wondered how his wife liked her husband being gone 325 nights a year, Quigley quipped: "Mrs. Quigley likes it fine. We're constantly getting reacquainted." The quick quip surely masked a deeper emotion. His health declining, he lived his final years in a Lawrence rest home. He was hospitalized in early December 1960 and died a few days later on December 10 at age eighty-one. Following a funeral mass at St. John's Catholic Church in Lawrence, Ernest C. Quigley was interred in the city's Mt. Calvary Cemetery.[77]

Quigley's passing evoked effusive praise about the man and his works. The Kansas alumni magazine aptly hailed him as "an all time great among the colorful

71. *University Daily Kansan*, March 25, 1947; for Harp's record, see *Kansas Men's Basketball 2008–09 Media Guide*, 133, 154; "Richard Harp," *Oread Online*, University of Kansas, http://www.oread.ku.edu/Oread00/OreadMar31/deaths.html; "Former Jayhawk coach Dick Harp dies at 81," *Topeka Capital-Journal*, March 19, 2000; Abram Goudsouzian, "'Can Basketball Survive Chamberlain?': The Kansas Years of Wilt the Stilt," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 28 (Autumn 2005): 150–73. Wilt Chamberlain, named the tournament's Most Valuable Player, led number two ranked Kansas, 24–2, against number one ranked North Carolina, 31–0, in the 1957 title game; the Tarheels won 54–53 in three overtimes. The game is generally called the greatest championship game in NCAA history.

72. *Erie* (Pennsylvania) *Dispatch Herald*, July 25, 1944.

73. Fisher, *Deaner*, 215–16; KU News Release, July 1, 1950, Quigley file, UA, Spencer Research Library; *New York Times*, January 29, 1950; *Kansas City Star*, February 5, 1950; *Lawrence Journal-World*, July 1, 1950.

74. *Kansas City Star*, February 2, 1950.

75. *Topeka State Journal*, January 5, 1953; radio program advertisement, Quigley file, UA, Spencer Research Library; *Lawrence Outlook*, March 15, 1956; *Kansas City Star*, February 5, 1950; *Kansas City Star*, July 21, 1938; *Topeka State Journal*, March 30, 1935.

76. *Topeka State Journal*, January 5, 1953; *Lawrence Journal-World*, September 14, 1960; KU News Bureau press release, April 1956, Quigley file, UA, Spencer Research Library.

77. *St. Marys Star*, October 9, 1958; and December 15, 1960; *Sporting News*, December 21, 1960; *Topeka State Journal*, December 8, 1960.

Despite a frenetic coaching and officiating schedule, the "Squire of St. Marys" tended to registered boars, sows, and gilts on the Quigley Hampshire farm. "What's my hobby?," Quigley once asked rhetorically: "I raise the best darn Hampshire hogs in the country. Hog raising is one of the greatest businesses in the world. I'm proud to be called a hog raiser." In later years, Ernie and Margaret Quigley managed a 128-acre farm eight miles northwest of Lawrence. Photograph courtesy of the Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries, Lawrence.

sports figures of the United States," who "brought dignity, integrity and showmanship to the sports scene to a degree unequalled by any other person."[78] Quigley best summarized his life in sports in a set of advertising flyers for his speaking engagements. In one flyer, and entirely in character, he described himself as "Famous Athlete, World-Renowned Umpire, Rule Book Authority, Radio Sports Commentator, Athletic Director, Successful Coach, Administrator & Teacher, Public Relations Director, Popular Speaker." In another he noted: "There is no man now living who knows more about the Games, the science of playing, the art of officiating, the players and coaches than Ernie Quigley." There is no arguing with his self-descriptions, but perhaps the best epitaph came from his alma mater's student newspaper: "The most famous man in the field of sports."[79]

Befitting his long and distinguished contributions as a player, coach, official, administrator, promoter and broadcaster, Quigley received numerous illustrious honors. In 1953 he received the highest award given by the National Baseball Congress, and in 1956 the Helms Foundation presented him at the annual NCAA meeting with "the highest honor that can come to men who work in sports and is awarded on the basis of a man's contribution to athletics."[80] In recognition of his contribution to KU athletics as well as his career as major league um-pire, the school's first baseball field, built in 1958 just south of Allen Field House, was christened Quigley Field. It remained so for twenty-seven years when the name was changed to Hoglund Ballpark in recognition of a major financial donation for improvements to the facility. In 1961 he received dual posthumous honors: Quigley became the second referee enshrined in the Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame in Springfield, Massachusetts, and he was selected a Charter Inductee to the Kansas Sports Hall of Fame, now located in Wichita.[81]

78. *Kansas Alumni Magazine* 59 (December 1960): 38. For extensive obituaries, see the *Kansas City Times*, *Topeka Capital-Journal*, and *New York Times*, December 11, 1960; the *Lawrence Journal-World*, and *University Daily Kansan*, December 12, 1960; and *Sporting News*, December 21, 1960.

79. *University Daily Kansan*, December 12, 1960; undated Quigley speaking engagement flyers, Quigley file, UA, Spencer Research Library.

80. *Lawrence Outlook*, March 15, 1956; *Kansas City Star*, April 1, 1953.

81. The $115,000 donation came from Forrest Hoglund, former Jayhawk baseball player and retired chairman and CEO of Enron Oil and Gas Company. Official Athletics Website of the University of Kansas, Facilities, http://kuathletics.cstv.com/facilities/kanhoglund-ballpark.html; *Kansas Alumni Magazine* 83 (June 1985): 10. Quigley Field is one of two baseball fields ever named in honor of an umpire; the other honored a minor league umpire, John Ducey Park in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. It was torn down in 1995 and rebuilt as Telus Park; see http://www.digitalballparks.com/Pacific/Telus.html.

Ernie Quigley's career personified the coming age of sport in America during the first half of the twentieth century. For fully fifty years he was an eyewitness, indeed an active participant, as college sports grew from a regional enthusiasm to a national obsession. Football gained greater acceptance as it evolved from "flying wedge" to "split-t" formations as evidenced by the increase from a single postseason bowl game in 1916 to eleven in 1950. Basketball grew more popular, evident in the founding of three national tournaments from 1937 to 1939, as scoring increased after the demise of two-handed, underhand shooting.[82] Even interest in the "national pastime" rose dramatically when the "scientific" or "inside" baseball of the "dead ball era" prior to World War I succumbed to the age of the home run launched by Babe Ruth in the 1920s.

The so-called "Golden Age of Sport" Quigley experienced was vastly different from the world of sport when he died in 1960. In his time major intercollegiate and professional sports were racially segregated and varsity programs for women were virtually unknown. His was an era dominated by a handful of commanding personalities who, taking advantage of inchoate and loosely applied regulations, maximized individual initiative and authority. Thus he was able to develop a highly personalized style of officiating that would later be considered unacceptable. Prior to the expansion of intercollegiate athletics after World War II, college sports administration was limited in terms of specialization and bureaucratic structure. Consequently, at St. Mary's in 1902 Quigley served as athletics director, coached four major sports, and taught multiple academic classes in addition to playing professional baseball and officiating college football and basketball games. Forty-some years later, as athletics director at KU he not only managed a budgetary self-supporting department, but also performed fund-raising, publicity, maintenance, and custodial duties while hiring solely at his discretion four coaches in major sports.

Ernie Quigley was a proverbial one-of-a-kind, a conspicuous contributor, pioneer, and innovator in varied sports endeavors. After twenty-six years as a prominent major league umpire, he became the league's first umpire supervisor and then the first director of public relations. He was the first umpire, indeed official of any sport, to become extensively involved in community activities designed to promote athletics, whether with the unique course offerings at Columbia University or the thrice-weekly radio program in Kansas. He was the first, and still the only, person to officiate the three major American sports in the same year, and he did so for twenty-seven years. Breaking with convention, he was the first official to warrant the sobriquet "showman" for his extraverted demeanor and unconventional enforcement of rules. He was an extraordinarily successful college athletics administrator. During fourteen years at St. Mary's as athletics director and coach of four major sports, he single-handedly created the school's highly successful intercollegiate athletics program, and during six years at KU he resolved the department's financial woes, added five sports, and hired coaches who elevated the program to new heights. In addition to incalculable contributions in officiating college sports for forty years, including refereeing twenty-four national basketball tournaments, he was an influential voice in formulating NCAA rules. Perhaps his most enduring innovation was extending the end line of the basketball court thereby greatly facilitating play under and around the basket.

It is no exaggeration to claim, as it often was, that Ernie Quigley was truly "a legend in sports officiating." Yet he has become almost lost in historical memory.[83] His profession is partly to blame as it is tradition for sports officials to appear as restrained, nondescript enforcers of rules, highly visible yet invisible participants in contests. Quigley was one of the few exceptions to the norm, but the anonymity characteristic of the officiating profession eventually caught up with him as well. Except for some dedicated aficionados at baseball's Hall of Fame, few visitors to sports halls of fame have ever heard of the officials enshrined therein.

The historical obscurity of sports officials is regrettable given their indispensible role in enabling games to be played efficiently and according to the rules, but in Quigley's case it is the more disconcerting. His numerous, varied, and important contributions to the history of sports officiating and intercollegiate athletics administration are more than sufficient to warrant a notable place in the annals of history. As veteran sportswriter Maury White of the *Des Moines Register* aptly noted: "The Quigleys of the world should never be forgotten, particularly in the territories they once roamed and ruled."[84] KH

82. The NAIB in 1937, the NIT (National Invitational Tournament) in 1938, and the NCAA in 1939.

83. KU News Bureau press release, April 1956, Quigley file, UA, Spencer Research Library.

84. *Des Moines Register*, February 10, 1975.

Island Park, Wichita, Kansas, 1925. Courtesy of Photograph Collection, Wichita Public Library.

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"Praising my people": Newspaper Sports Coverage and the Integration of Baseball in Wichita, Kansas

by Brian Carroll

Soon after his marriage, young newspaper publisher Hollie T. Sims found himself no longer welcome in Greenwood, Mississippi, where he had planned to settle down and raise a family. The town's sheriff and a group of white residents forced Hollie and his wife Virginia out in 1919 in reaction to a tribute the newspaperman had written to the black soldiers who helped defeat Germany in World War I. "You can't run that kind of stuff in Mississippi," the sheriff told the family. "Cotton can grow at the North Pole easier than the news you're putting out could go in Mississippi." So the family fled to Wichita. "We couldn't continue to publish our newspaper and live," Virginia wrote, shortly before her death in 1989. Separately, in a letter to a fellow member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Hollie Sims, editor and publisher of Wichita's *Negro Star* newspaper, remembered it this way: "The white man of the South attempted to stop me from praising my people."[1]

Brian Carroll *is associate professor in the Department of Communication at Berry College in Mount Berry, Georgia. His previous publications include* When to Stop the Cheering? The Black Press, the Black Community and the Integration of Professional Baseball *(2007), which received the Robert Peterson Book Award, presented by the Negro Leagues Committee of the Society for American Baseball Research.*

The author would like to thank Tony Yoseloff and the Yoseloff Foundation for the Yoseloff/SABR Baseball Research Grant that made the research for this article possible.

1. Virginia Sims, untitled autobiographical notes, Sims Private Papers, Kansas African American Museum, Wichita, Kansas; Hollie Sims quoted in Gretchen Cassel Eick's *Dissent in Wichita: The Civil Rights Movement in the Midwest, 1954–1972* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 34; U.S. Census, 1920, Wichita, Sedgwick County, Kansas; Kansas State Census, 1925, Wichita, Sedgwick County, Kansas; *Negro Star* (Wichita), May 7, 1920. H. T. Sims is identified as the editor and publisher of what appears to be the first extant copy of the Wichita version of the *Negro Star*, May 7, 1920, although it is volume 12, number 51. Sims founded the Wichita chapter of the NAACP in 1919, six years after the first Kansas branch was established, and by 1920 the chapter counted ninety-three members. Virginia Sims, who helped publish the paper for thirty-four years, died at age 108. "Black leader Virginia Sims dies," *Wichita Eagle-Beacon*, August 6, 1989.

Merchants Who Advertise in a Race Paper, Desire Your Patronage—Give Them a Trial.

THE NEGRO STAR.
FOR THE GOOD OF THE PEOPLE

VOL. 13 NO. 34 WICHITA, KANSAS, FRIDAY, DEC. 17, 1920 PRICE, FIVE CENTS

BORN A SLAVE, DIED WITH HONORS.

By The Negro Associated Press
KANE, PENNA., Dec. 17.—Scipio Young, Negro, age 101, years, born in slavery in Virginia prior to the Civil War, died here after a brief illness. When the Civil War broke out Young joined the Union forces at Fredericksburg. He was made a servant to Lieutenant Wilkinson and later served General Thomas L. Kane in a similar capacity. General Kane brought Young to this section when hostilities closed. Young's estate, valued at $50,000.00 goes to his six children.

Supreme Court of Arkansas Revers-

Lawlessness in Georgia Brings Action From The Courts.

(By The Negro Associated Press.)
ALBANY, GA., Dec., 17.—Judge John R. Wilson of the Dougherty County Superior Court ordered the Grand Jury to investigate the recent reign of lawlessness in the eastern part of the county, where many Negro families have been driven from their homes and some individuals have been whipped.

Besides convening the Grand Jury to make a thorough investigation, Judge Wilson instructed Sheriff Tar-

Political Justice To All.

By The Negro Associated Press
WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 17—The resolution introduced in the House of Representatives on the opening day of the short session of Congress by Representative George Holden Tinkham of Massachusetts proposing to cut down the representation in the southern states in order to "do political justice to all the states in the Union, is of much interest to the Colored people thruout the United States since such a resolution is a vithl thrust at the flagrant violations of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

In a statement with invective against the way, he declares, the Constitution has been defiled, Representative Tinkham threatens that if the House attempts to make a reapportionment under the 1920 census "Which is plainly unconstitutional by avoiding enforcement of the fourteenth amendment" he intends to appeal to the Supreme Court to decide the constitutionality of the election of the next House. He declares his determination to make it his first and principal duty in Congress to work for the "restoration of political equality and justice in the United States." Representative Tinkham explains that "under the Constitution representatives in Congress are apportioned every ten years

N. A. A. C. P. ANNOUNCES VICTORY IN ARKANSAS RIOT CASES

e Dicision of Lower Court In Case of Six Men Condemned to Die.

The National Association for the Advancementt of Colored People, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, today announced an important victory in the case of the colored men condemned to death in connection with the Arkansas riots of 1919. The Supreme Court of the State of Arkansas has reversed the decision of the lower courts condemning the men to death. This is the second reversal by the State Supreme Court of Arkansas in these cases and announcement was amde by James Weldon Johnson, Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that the fight will be continued in the courts until justice is had.

The Supreme Court of Arkansas in

reversing the decision court held:

1. That discriminati colored men, because barred from the grand ries trying them was the Fourteenth Amen United States Constit the Civil Rights act o

2. That the lower co in refusing to hear motion to set aside the of the jury.

Word comes from the other six men who tences the Supreme to review, will probabl cuted pending determi cases recently reverse

NOW, ISN'T THIS AWFUL

(By The Negro Associatcd Press.)
BUFFALO, N. Y., Dec. 17—The citizens of Buffalo, have been shaken by the mucovering of a crime here, which has been hidden for 18 years

"some" white man, g child in the Buffalo P as soon as she was s back to the home of h ter," and here she sta

Morehouse Holds its Own.

ATLANTA, GA., Dec. 17,—Among the strong "grid" teams of the 1920 foot-ball colleges, Morehouse College has figured conspicuously. Fighting from beginning to end of every one of its six scheduled games, the plucky little Atlanta college outdi-

A USEFUL MAN PASSES AWAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 17,—John C. Dancy, former Recorder of the district, passed away at his home, 2139 L Street, Sunday, December 5.

Hollie T. Sims, editor and publisher the Negro Star, *moved his family and his newspaper from Greenwood, Mississippi, to Wichita, Kansas, in 1919 when, as Sims told it, "the white man of the South attempted to stop me from praising my people." Soon after moving to Wichita, Sims (right) founded the city's NAACP chapter and continued the struggle for racial equality in the pages of the* Star *and elsewhere for the next three decades.*

Stories like the Sims' help explain the period of uplift experienced by black communities in the Midwest and North during the 1920s, during a movement of self-help led by Booker T. Washington that set up dramatic progress toward integration in the 1930s.[2] A key component of this ad hoc movement was the rise in popularity among blacks and whites together of black sports teams. Supported and publicized by bootstrapping black newspapermen such as Hollie Sims, the athletic achievements of black teams served to chip away at mainstream society's ignorance of and apathy toward segregation and a divided society. This article examines newspaper coverage in Wichita during the first half of the 1930s to show how commentators responded—and sometimes did not respond—to increasingly interracial play in baseball as the decade progressed. These responses reveal some of the changes underpinning and animating integration in the American heartland during the Depression Era, more than a decade before Jackie Robinson and the Brooklyn Dodgers broke major league baseball's color barrier in 1947 and two decades before *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, held that segregation in the nation's public schools was unconstitutional.

2. For much more on this period of uplift and self-help in black communities, specifically as this bootstrapping related to the building of black baseball, see Brian Carroll, *When to Stop the Cheering? The Black Press, the Black Community and the Integration of Professional Baseball* (New York: Routledge, 2007). For broader accounts of the contributions of the black press during both the period of uplift and in the 1930s, see Henry Lewis Suggs, editor, *The Black Press in the Middle West, 1865–1985* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986); and Juliet E. K. Walker, "The Promised Land: The Chicago Defender and the Black Press," in *The Black Press in the Middle West*, 24.

Specifically, this article looks at sports coverage from 1930 until 1935 in the two big dailies in Wichita, the *Wichita Eagle* and the *Wichita Beacon*, as well as several weeklies, including the city's two African American newspapers at the time—the *Negro Star* and the *People's Elevator*—the *Kansas Kourier*, and the *Catholic Advance*. This work is particularly important in that the sports coverage in the *Negro Star* has not yet been fully researched.[3]

As historian Pat Washburn pointed out, because white newspapers refused to cover blacks except as "athletic stars, entertainers, or criminals," black Wichitans had only the *Negro Star* and *People's Elevator* from which to learn about everyday life in their largely segregated community. In popular accounts of history, African Americans, and in particular southern blacks, are often seen as history's victims, not its makers, underlining the importance of depictions of group life and ideas of racial identity within the black community found in newspapers such as the *Negro Star*. Like accounts of everyday life presented in white publications, such depictions in the black press are often those of a people making their own history, however in the case of blacks such activity happened in a "city within a city," to borrow Horace Cayton and St. Clair Drake's description. Though they were not covered in white newspapers, blacks too were building up businesses and founding civic and church organizations. They were also engaged in a pursuit that would, perhaps inadvertently, help to introduce black concerns into white mainstream papers, establishing a brand of baseball comparable to white baseball.[4]

Additionally, this research fills a void in the sports narratives of Wichita, the state of Kansas, and the nation by adding the important contributions of the black press and black baseball players to integration of the sport. Harold Evans's "Baseball in Kansas, 1867–1940," for example, does not mention players of color in any context, while Bob Rives's *Baseball in Wichita* only briefly mentions the all-black Wichita Monrovians in its only reference to African Americans in the sport. By focusing on newspaper coverage, this article also seeks to build on scholarship outlining Wichita's integration in sport produced by Jason Pendleton in "Jim Crow Strikes Out: Interracial Baseball In Wichita, Kansas, 1920–1935," and to continue a more exhaustive study by the present author that began by looking at segregation in Wichita in the 1920s. Pendleton's article examines integration in the 1920s and early 1930s, mentioning a June 1925 baseball game between the Monrovians and a team fielded by the local Ku Klux Klan chapter; this author subsequently placed that game into historical, social, and cultural context in order to better understand racial conditions of the period.[5]

Baseball provides a convenient lens through which to examine integration's contexts because the sport flourished alongside banking, insurance, gambling, and journalism as one of the most successful African American business enterprises during the "bleak decades of racial exclusion."[6] Culturally, baseball provided one of the important summertime rhythms for black communities throughout the country, from the roaring 1920s through the war-riven 1940s. The sport survived both the Depression and constant bickering and in fighting among black baseball's owners. Demonstrating the importance of baseball to the local black community, the hugely successful Kansas City Monarchs were described as "the life of Kansas City in the Negro vicinity."[7] This article suggests that the Monarchs—led by one of baseball's and sport's most accomplished players, Leroy "Satchel" Paige—and coverage of the team wherever it barnstormed, contributed as much to the integration of the sport in Wichita and, therefore, in Kansas as any other single factor.

The coverage shows Wichita sports opening up to participation and spectating by blacks, sharply contrasting Wichita's race relations with those of the South, where Jim Crow laws and policies were entrenched. The coverage is a tribute to the black press during the period,

3. The paper was included in a 1972 cataloging of black publications in the state and utilized by Jason Pendleton for his 1997 study of interracial baseball in Wichita. William M. Tuttle, Jr., and Surenda Bhana, "Black Newspapers in Kansas," *American Studies 13* (Fall 1972): 119–24; Jason Pendleton, "Jim Crow Strikes Out: Interracial Baseball In Wichita, Kansas, 1920–1935," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 20 (Summer 1997): 86–101.

4. Pat Washburn, *The African American Newspaper Research Journal* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2008), 5; St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945), 379.

5. Pendleton, "Jim Crow Strikes Out," 86–101; Brian Carroll, "Beating the Klan: Baseball Coverage in Wichita Before Integration, 1920–1930," *Baseball Research Journal* 37 (Winter 2008): 51–61; Harold C. Evans, "Baseball in Kansas, 1867–1940," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 9 (May 1940): 175–92; Bob Rives, *Baseball in Wichita* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia, 2004). Rives incorrectly refers to the team as the Monrovarians and places the Monrovians-Klan game at "Monrovarian Park."

6. Jerry Malloy, ed., *Sol White's History of Colored Base Ball* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 74. Malloy's edition includes a reprinting of the 1907 volume, *Sol White's Official Base Ball Guide*, by Sol White, a black ballplayer, successful manager, and, later, newspaperman.

7. From the *Kansas City Call* newspaper, quoted in Janet Bruce, *The Kansas City Monarch: Champions of Black Baseball* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1985), 3.

which relied on families like the Sims to overcome financial and logistical obstacles each and every week in order to publish their papers. The *Negro Star*, *Wichita Protest*, and *Wichita Searchlight* provide some of the only records of daily life for the city's black community during the early twentieth century.[8] They also were more than mere chroniclers of the black experience; as records of the activities of business people and social and church leaders in the community, these papers helped to shape that experience, as well.

Building up Wichita's black community was probably not on the Sims' minds when, after being warned off by the local sheriff, they and two other families who helped publish the *Negro Star* in Mississippi loaded up their printing press and boarded a northbound train to Kansas. Immediately after relocating to Wichita in June 1919, Hollie and Virginia began publishing the paper from a barn behind their home at 1241 Wabash.[9] Newspapering and involvement in the church defined the Sims family. Hollie T. Sims's father, R. T. Sims, published a black church newspaper in Canton, Mississippi, the *Mississippi Baptist*. Hollie T. Sims also became a prototypical black newspaperman, serving as an important voice in and for Wichita's black community and involving himself deeply in the community's efforts to lift itself up out of poverty. "The Negro reporter is a fighting reporter," wrote long-time *Pittsburgh Courier* reporter and editor P. L. Prattis. In his newspaper, the self-proclaimed "mouth-piece of 28,000 in Kansas," Sims wrote that "a newspaperman's duty is to serve the public by giving the truth of all matters touching the interests of the public regardless of his own individual opinions or creed."[10]

Soon after moving to Wichita, Sims founded the city's chapter of the NAACP, and he served as treasurer of the Water Street YMCA, a cultural nexus for Wichita's black community in the 1920s and 1930s. He also served as secretary of the Baptist Young People's Union, an organization that had important political influence in speaking for black Baptists, particularly young blacks. In these roles, Sims fulfilled Booker T. Washington's philosophy of bootstrapping, first by employing six people to publish the *Star*, but also in attempting to expand business and enterprise in Wichita's black community. In early 1922, for example, he joined with his long-time business manager and advertising representative, B. H. Neely, to organize the Kansas Coal and Mercantile Company. The business partners sold shares in the new company, announcing, "We need your and every Race man and woman's $s and cooperation to make this Company a success." Judging by advertisements in the *Star*, which ran throughout a period of six years, the company was a success, but it is not known on what scale. Neely was a "Race man" himself, organizing with national backing Wichita's Local Porters Union in 1924, while also working at the *Star* and running the mercantile company. So also was Sims's brother, Hugh N. Sims, who moved with the Sims family to Wichita from Mississippi, and was one of Wichita's two black dentists in 1925.[11]

Sports coverage in the *Negro Star* was almost entirely reflexive, or passive, until the middle of the 1934 baseball season, when the paper contracted its first and only sports editor, Bennie Williams. The weekly newspaper solicited and sometimes received reports from teams and clubs in the city's black community, including the Monrovians, the ABCs, the Gray Sox, and many of the city's South Central Athletic Association basketball teams. The paper appears to have published the reports it received in a reactive approach that yielded no comprehensive or systematic coverage of any sport, much less of any one team or organization. The *Star* did briefly experiment with sports coverage in 1922, but the section was entirely dependent on wire service copy and disappeared after only one issue.[12]

Wichita baseball began integrating in 1932 without fanfare, with nothing to mark the occasion or note the

8. The *People's Elevator*, the *Wichita Searchlight*, *Wichita Protest*, *Klan Kourier*, and *Catholic Advance* did not cover sports. These newspapers were read and researched for context; extant copies on the *Searchlight* and *Protest* cover only the 1910s and 1920s.

9. The barn and the house are gone, leaving only a neglected, overgrown vacant lot in a poor, black section of Wichita. Their absences were noted in a January 2008 visit to Wichita. In the 1920s and 1930s, Wichita's black community concentrated along Wichita's Cleveland Avenue, from 3rd to 21st streets. See *Negro Star*, May 7, 1920; *Wichita City Directory*, 1920, 1922, 1951.

10. *Negro Star*, January 27, 1922; the Prattis quotation is in Washburn, *The African American Newspaper Research Journal*, 1. R. T. Sims remained in Mississippi, pastoring the First Baptist Church of Moss Point. He resigned that position in February 1922. He moved to the Spring Hill Missionary Baptist Church in Tupelo, Mississippi, in 1924. See "Expression of Regret," *Negro Star*, April 7, 1922.

11. Quotation regarding company's success in "Attention!," *Negro Star*, March 17, 1922; see also "B.Y.P.U. Endorses War Policy," *New York Times*, July 17, 1898; Eick, *Dissent in Wichita*, 30; "Local Porter's Union a Reality," *Negro Star*, March 7, 1924; Hugh Sims became Wichita's first black school board member after winning election in his second try in 1949. He later served on the city's advisory council on minority problems in 1957.

12. See *Negro Star*, July 28, 1922; and *Polk's Wichita City Directory*. Bennie Williams was a Wichita city fireman before, during, and after his short stint as *Star* sports editor.

Demonstrating the importance of baseball to the local black community, the hugely successful Kansas City Monarchs were described as "the life of Kansas City in the Negro vicinity." The Monarchs, led by one of sport's most accomplished players, Leroy "Satchel" Paige, and press coverage of the team wherever it barnstormed, contributed as much to the integration of baseball in Kansas as any other single factor. As if following a Hollywood script, the 1934 Monarchs, pictured here, lost the final game of the Denver Post Tournament to the House of David, a Benton Harbor, Michigan, barnstorming team that had hired Satchel Paige as a ringer just for the semi-pro tournament. Paige pitched the "Bearded Beauties" to a 2 to 1 win over his old team to take the $6,500 prize.

change. This silence says a great deal about race relations in the city at the time, when society remained largely indifferent towards race, and when integration on its playing fields simultaneously occurred in at least two ways. First, two Mexican teams were allowed to play in Wichita's amateur leagues for the first time—the Midgets, also called the Mexicans, in the Junior League, and the Aztecs in the very competitive Commercial League. It is unknown why the Mexican teams were allowed or whether anyone noticed or cared about the teams' racial composition. Few game results for either team appeared in the *Eagle* or the *Beacon*, and no mention is made of the teams' race or of the social momentousness of the first non-white teams' entry into the city's leagues.[13] Unlike Wichita's African American community, the city's Mexican community did not have its own newspaper.

Likewise, little mention of race appeared in coverage of the 1932 Kansas state championship baseball tournament, held annually in Wichita since 1930, the second area in which advances toward integration was occurring. The city's newspapers ignored that for the first time in the history of the tournament an all-black team, Wichita's Colored Blue Devils, entered the thirty-two-team field. In the story announcing the team's entry, a story in which the Devils were referred to as "eccentric colored," "crack," and "fast," it was noted that the team had three "Kings"—Raymond, Wilbur, and Herbert King—all outfielders, two of whom had played for Wichita University.[14] The story did not mention, however, the historical significance of the inclusion of the Colored Devils, as they were more commonly known, or that a color ban previously had forbidden black teams. A

13. In one of the few game reports, the *Beacon* commended the Mexicans, losers to North End 7 to 6, for showing "fine form for their first appearance in the league." See "North End Wins Over Mexicans," *Wichita Beacon*, June 12, 1932.

14. "Fast Colored Team Entered in Baseball Tourney," *Wichita Beacon*, July 30, 1932. The team was called a "crack negro club" in "Record Entry List For Baseball Tourney Here," *Wichita Beacon*, July 31, 1932. See also Evans, "Baseball in Kansas," 188, for more on the history of the state semi-pro tournament. Now called the NBC World Series, the tournament actually missed one year (1934) in the wake of the Island Park fire.

wrap-up story in the *Beacon* on the tournament describing its "many oddities" did not mention race in any context, settling instead for a mundane list of numbers of balls used, bases stolen, and balks issued.[15]

The *Beacon*'s and *Eagle*'s seeming ignorance of the historical or societal significance of a black team playing in a previously all-white regional baseball tournament should not be surprising. Glen Bleske and Chris Lamb analyzed variances between white and black press coverage of Jackie Robinson's debut in the major leagues in 1947 and found wide gulfs. The authors found the black press to have been much more cognizant of the historical and social importance of Robinson's membership in major league baseball. Lamb also found that the Associated Press filed several articles about Robinson's signing by the Dodgers, but that none of them included an interview with Robinson or "anything substantive on the social or historical significance of the story." After the signing, the story basically disappeared from the mainstream press, while the black press "played up the story on their front pages and sports sections for weeks," according to Lamb.[16]

The Devils' entry came at an opportune time for garnering attention. The Wichita tournament was ascendant. When the Topeka Jayhawks semi-pro team chose to play in Wichita in 1932 rather than in the more established Denver Post Tournament, an annual event called by one historian "America's premier baseball event outside the major leagues," the *Beacon* dedicated a story to the announcement. "The Topekans were at first contemplating entering the Denver Post tournament but believed that the state meet this year would be on par with the Colorado meet," the *Beacon* wrote in anticipation of the event.[17] Over its ten-day span, Wichita's tournament drew a total of thirty thousand fans and scouts from six major league teams. The winner, the Southern Kansas Stage Lines, pocketed $7,500, which was $1,000 more than the purse offered by the Denver Post Tournament.

Wichita's two major dailies, the Eagle *and the* Beacon, *covered baseball extensively in the 1930s but seldom made overt reference to race or the ongoing integration of the sport. But "Two Reasons Why Bismarck Leads," published in the* Wichita Eagle, *August 23, 1935, carried the following caption: "Heavy dark storm clouds are hanging over 10 remaining contenders for the national semi-pro baseball title. The black menaces to the tournament teams are Satchel Paige and Chet Brewer, pictured above. Both have pitched masterful ball in the tourney. Brewer looking better than Paige last night when he allowed but two hits and fanned eight."*

The Denver tournament integrated two years later, when in 1934 the Kansas City Monarchs and the ironically named, all-black Denver White Elephants joined the field. As if following a Hollywood script, the Monarchs lost in the 1934 Denver Post Tournament final to the House of David, a Benton Harbor, Michigan, barnstorming team culled from a religious colony that had hired former (and future) Monarch Satchel Paige as a ringer just for the semi-pro tournament. Paige pitched

15. "Fast Colored Team Entered in Baseball Tourney," *Wichita Beacon*, July 30, 1932; and "State Baseball Tournament Furnished Many Oddities," *Wichita Beacon*, August 21, 1932 (one balk, five hundred baseballs, and 143 stolen bases).

16. Chris Lamb, *Blackout: The Untold Story of Jackie Robinson's First Spring Training* (Lincoln, Neb.: Bison Books, 2006), 46–47; Chris Lamb and Glen Bleske, "Covering the integration of baseball—A look back," *Editor & Publisher* 130 (January 27, 1996): 48–50.

17. "Topeka Enters State Baseball Tournament Here," *Wichita Beacon*, June 9, 1932; "Many Entries for Baseball Tourney Here," *Wichita Beacon*, June 19, 1932; "premier event" from Jay Sanford, *The Denver Post Tournament* (Cleveland, Ohio: Society for American Baseball Research, 2003), 2.

the "Bearded Beauties" to a 2 to 1 win over Paige's old team to take the $6,500 prize.[18]

In the 1932 tournament in Wichita, the Colored Devils won only the first round, beating the "colorful" State Reformatory baseball club. Because no game results or recaps were provided of Colored Devils games, the coverage and standings have to be divined to determine that after winning its first game the black team lost in the second round to the Southern Kansas Stage Lines team, then to the Wichita Broadview Hotelmen, the team the Stage Lines club ultimately beat to take the title.[19] The Devils were not being discriminated against in coverage; few teams received more than mere mentions in Wichita's dailies throughout the tournament.

While largely silent on matters of race during summer 1932, the *Beacon* almost daily trumpeted one white Wichitan's efforts to organize an "Old Timers" club, an "army of fans" rallied to support the white Wichita Izzies minor league baseball team. In lending its full support to the recruitment effort and remaining silent on segregation and race questions, the *Beacon* demonstrated its allegiances and priorities: "Fans interested in joining the club can get in touch with Mr. [Howard] Darling or the sports department of The Beacon and they will be enrolled in what promises to be one of the biggest booster organizations in recent years."[20] Further evidence of the *Beacon*'s indifference toward race is the fact that columnist Jack Copeland, who wrote a daily column on local and national sports, did not mention race in any context during the period studied.

Segregation was firmly entrenched at a societal level in Kansas in the 1930s, perhaps providing a reason for the pervasive indifference toward racial issues in local newspapers. State law did not effect this segregation, as it did throughout the Deep South, however. A story in a 1924 issue of the *Star*, for example, offered to "Any Group of Colored Boys" a baseball field at Ninth and Mosley, a field owned by the city but run by the black Water Street YMCA, two afternoons and two evenings each week.[21] This allowed blacks and whites to use the park on alternate days.

Through 1933, the state baseball tournament was held at Wichita's premier sporting venue, Island Park on Ackerman Island in the middle of the Arkansas River, open to black and white recreationists. The Island was also home to a thirty-four-acre leisure complex that included the Wonderland Amusement Park, which, with its Giant Thriller roller coaster, was built in 1905. Also on the property were a swimming pool, vaudeville theater, dance pavilion and bandstand, roller rink, and a collection of larger-than-life statues acquired from the 1904 World's Fair. After burning down in 1933, the baseball field was replaced for the next season by Lawrence Stadium, which, as Lawrence-Dumont Stadium, still serves as the city's minor league baseball stadium today.[22]

Though the *Eagle* and the *Beacon* followed white baseball with wire-to-wire coverage in 1933, black baseball was almost completely ignored. T. J. Young, who had played for the Monrovians in 1926 and later for the Kansas City Monarchs, among other teams, became the first black in any of the city's leagues when he joined the otherwise white Mulvane team in the city's Oil Belt League in 1933.[23] Thomas Jefferson Young, Wichita's Jackie Robinson, simply was not news for the *Eagle* and the *Beacon*, though occasionally these papers

18. Sanford, *The Denver Post Tournament*, 49. Integration is a problematic term. The Cheyenne Indians, a team of Native Americans, played in no fewer than seven Denver Post tournaments in the 1920s, winning it in 1923 (27). And the first black player in the Denver tournament, Congo Collins, of the Sioux City, Iowa, team, played in 1931, three years before the Monarchs' and White Elephants' entry (77). The White Elephants were one of the top semi-professional teams of any color in the Rocky Mountain West. Army Cooper, who managed in the Wichita tournament in 1934, played in the 1920s for the White Elephants. The second-place Monarchs took home $5,000 (54). House of David team members did not shave their beards or cut their hair. Monarchs owner J. L. Wilkinson's partner, Tom Baird, served as a booking agent for the House of Davids (50).

19. "Seven Feature Games Scheduled for Day-Night Program in Kansas Baseball Tourney," *Wichita Beacon*, August 7, 1932. In the 1920s, the Hotel Broadview, which still is one of the city's nicer hotels, annually fielded one of the semi-pro tournament's stronger teams, and was one of the few team owners or sponsors that paid its players.

20. "Old Timers to Organize Club to Aid Baseball," *Wichita Beacon*, June 11, 1932. The next day's *Beacon* celebrated Darling's "enthusiasm" and projected "1,000 rabid supporters" to answer Darling's call; "Expect Many Old Timers To See Izzie Tilt," *Wichita Beacon*, June 12, 1932.

21. After 1879 Kansas law allowed elementary school segregation in cities of the first class. This law, which enabled Wichita officials to opt for segregation in 1906, is evidence of the exception rather than the rule. Eick, *Dissent in Wichita*, 17–25; "Base Ball Field Open To Our Boys," *Negro Star*, July 18, 1924.

22. Jim Cross, "Mid-river Museum Offered; Proposal Calls for Island in Ark," *Wichita Eagle*, April 20, 1995. Ackerman Island is gone; Exploration Place, a $62 million science center and children's museum, now occupies the land that once was an island at the confluence of the Little Arkansas and the Arkansas Rivers. "Local History Spotlight," *Wichita Eagle*, June 1, 2006. Raymond "Hap" Dumont, a former sports editor for the *Hutchinson* (Kansas) *News*, founded the National Baseball Congress, which annually organized the Kansas State Baseball Tournament. "Baseball legend Dumont put Wichita on the map; Tourney idea spurred stadium," *Wichita Eagle*, June 10, 1993. See also Craig Miner, *Wichita: The Magic City* (Wichita: Wichita-Sedgwick County Historical Museum Association, 1988), 107, 181–82.

23. "Young to Catch," *Wichita Beacon*, May 21, 1933. Thomas Jefferson Young played catcher for parts of a dozen seasons with the Monarchs. See James A. Riley, *The Biographical Encyclopedia of the Negro Baseball Leagues* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1994), 891.

Thomas Jefferson "T Baby" Young (second from the left), who had played for Wichita's Monrovians in 1926 and later for the Kansas City Monarchs, among other teams, can be considered Wichita's Jackie Robinson. In 1933, as a member of the Mulvane team of the Oil Belt League, Young became the first African American to play in any of the city's leagues. Here, Young was pictured in his civvies with five of his Monarch teammates, who had traveled to Denver for the 1934 Denver Post Tournament. Photograph courtesy of Larry Lester, NoirTech Research, Kansas City, Missouri.

would run a brief item on him. Judging by how these items were written, it is likely they were submitted to the newspapers by Young's team. For the *Star*, however, in which Jefferson was known as "T Baby" Young, Tom Young was, along with pitcher Andy "Army" Cooper, a local hero. By the *Star*'s account, Young was "one of the greatest catchers that ever lived. Wichitans should be proud of him."[24]

The entrants into the state tournament held each year in Wichita serve as convenient yardsticks for measuring integration of the sport in the state and region. Two black teams in 1933—the Ninth Cavalry of Fort Riley and the Arkansas City Beavers—doubled the black presence from the year before. Behind the pitching of Andy Cooper, who was two years removed from his four-year stint with the Kansas City Monarchs, the Ninth Cavalry team reached the finals. Because of the successes of the Monarchs, the *Beacon* heralded black teams in the tournament. The same month, the *Beacon* trumpeted for five consecutive days an upcoming game in Wichita between the Monarchs and the House of David team, which the Kansas City club took 6 to 2.[25]

Sports coverage in the *Negro Star* during the early 1930s was sporadic, sometimes disappearing for weeks and even months at a time, then reappearing without notice. In August 1934, however, a separate and distinct sports page appeared in the *Star* for the first time, coinciding with the paper's taking on its first sports editor, and it ran through January 1935. The newspaper, therefore, covered the 1934 state tournament, which had no fewer than six black teams in its field: the Arkansas City Beavers, the Kansas City Colts, the Wichita Wolverines, the Topeka Darkies (a.k.a. the Cuban All Stars), Colored Stars, and Wichita Elks. This time Cooper, "a Wichita

24. "Eastern Baseball Clubs Just Won't Let These Western Stars Alone," *Negro Star*, January 25, 1935.

25. Cooper was a six-foot-three left-hander who went 13–4 in 1929, when the Monarchs won the Negro National League championship. Riley, *The Biographical Encyclopedia of the Negro Baseball Leagues*, 190; "Outstanding Colored Team To Enter Baseball Tourney," *Wichita Sunday Beacon*, July 9, 1933. "House Of Davids May Battle Monarchs," *Wichita Beacon*, August 15, 1933; "'Bullet Joe' Rogan Slated to Pitch Game Against House of Davids Here Today," *Wichita Sunday Beacon*, August 20, 1933.

THE NEGRO STAR—FOR THE GOOD OF THE PEOPLE

AMUSEMENTS AND SPORTS

BY BENNIE WILLIAMS

K. C. MONARCH TO PLAY AN ALL STAR LEAGUE CAST IN WICHITA

THE FAMOUS DIZZY DEAN WILL BE WIT WITH THE LEAGUE

The famous K. C. Monarchs will play an all star major League team in Wichita, some time in the early part of October. The ardent Base ball fans are fairly alive with rabid speculation and fervent anticipation over this coming event. Dizzy Dean, the Waver boys and several other major league stars will be on the club. Dizzy Dean is the speed ball king who makes warm chills run over the batters when his name is mentioned. When Dizzy is in the pitchers' box, batters stand at the plate and shak, like men with the delirium tremens. Dean is a member of the St. Louis Cardinals. He has been a stumbling brick for the New York Giants all of this season.

He is the leading pitcher in the National League. However, the Monarchs are not disconsolate, they assert that they are going to teach the major boys some new base ball curriculums when they play them in Wichita.

The Monarch Club has added Leroy Taylor and "steel arm" Davis to its outfield and at this time the club is impregnable in every department. Dean is very effective, and claims that he will shut out the Monarchs in Wichita. The Monarchs contend they have a great hitting club and no pitcher can defeat them now. The Monarchs demonstrated their class in the East where they won all their game but one, the Homestead Grays defeated them 5 to 4 in Buffalo, N. Y. The Monarchs played the House of David in Wichita Thursday night.

—S—

es in a series of downs, thus the pass will become valuable weapon to any team especially Unions. We leave the rest to the many who turn out a team each year that finishes near the top.

There were no reserves in 1930 and Union lost only one game. A wealth of reserves enabled Union to repeat this in 1932 and to lose only one more in 1933. It can be done again.

THE SCHEDULE:

VUU vs. Lincoln University at Lincoln, Oct. 5th

VUU vs. Morgan College, at Baltimore, Oct. 13th

VUU vs. St Augustine, at Richmond, Oct. 20th

VUU vs. St. Paul N. & I. I., at Richmond, Oct. 27th

VUU vs. Virginia State College, at Richmond Nov. 3rd

VUU vs. A. & T. College, at Norfolk, Nov. 12th

VUU vs. Bluefield, at Bluefield Nov. 17th

VUU vs. Hampton Institute, at Hampton, Nov. 29th (Thanksgiving)

—S—

MONARCHS LIVE UP TO ALL EXPECTATIONS IN THE EAST

In the East the Monarchs displayed dazzling brilliance. Out of twenty games played they lost one game. Their pitching staff was an eulogma to the eastern batters. The Monarch pitchers went well and the supporting cast, combining genius, mastery, courage and superior playing cohjugated the big bad bugs of the East.

The Monarchs returned via Chicago, and defeated the famous Mills team, (white) a double header, Brewer won the first game 2 to 1 and Andy Cooper the second 5 to 3.

—S—

MONARCHS PLAY CRAWFORD

the crowd back, the whites continued to yell:

"We'll get you on the outside."

However, the police escorted the boys to safety.

Dancers Who Will Make Their Mark

CHICAGO, (By Jack Anderson for ANP.)—Norton and Margot—adagio dancers. Will you not permit to predict that if opportunity but gives them a reasonably fair pathway to trod or rather to dance here is a combination which some day is going to make all of us proud of them. These two handsome youngsters, creamy light brown, with the veritable grace of gamelles. Dancing now for the 23rd week at the Grand Terrace cafe in Chicago, they have literally added a touch of class which lifts the admitedly good floor show out of the distinctly cabaret class.

While they are performing in a cabaret now it is merely because openings for colored artists are so few. Norton, whose real name is Harold Norton and who is the son of the oldey dancing team of Lopez and Lopez, made up of Juanita Norton and her husband, is simply following his parent's footsteps. He began dancing while a youth in England where his parents appeared for a number of years and where he studied from the time he was six until he was eight. He is a graduate of White Plains University and studied dancing seriously under Kobelieff, the Russian Ballet Master in London for five years. Later he was trained by Monsieur Dennam.

Margot, in private life, is Margot Love. A graduate of Hunter University, New York, she majored in

The management is giving its best effort to complete the schedule, it is hoped that the first home game will be advertised in the columns of this paper in the near future.

—S—

ON THE AIR AND OTHERWISE

CHICAGO, Sept. 25, By Charles I. Bowen (For ANP.)—Rudolph Durbay the clarinet virtuoso and orchestra leader who is winning success in London, England, was recently heard over the Gramonte-British network there. Rudy's eleven piece "All British Coloured" swing band consists of three brass three saxes, four piece rhythm section and a special vocalist. He uses his own arrangements and the suggestions of performances over the ether have won wide approval.

• • •

Alberta Hunter was heard over the British Broadcasting Network from London, recently. Miss Hunter, who is making her headquarters in Denmark these days sang three times over the air in England and was successful. She plans appearances in entertainment places in Edinburgh, and Liverpool before returning to Copenhagan.

• • •

Al Jolson was explaining the other day how he happened to become a blackface comedian. Back in 1906 he was a member of the Jolson-Palmer and Jolson trio working in white face. He became a member of the burnt cork performer at the suggestion of his colored dresser. A year later he joined Dockstader's minstrels continuing to black up and so established his reputation for mimicking Negroes more effectively than they have been able to portray

banned and is making the critics sit up and take notice

• • •

Sallie Gooding, who does the blues with fervor is likewise on the brilliant street of Broadway in the new revue "Keep Moving."

• • •

Clarence Muse tells an amusing story of an incident at Tanforan, where Frank Capra made Columbia's "Broadway Bill." The scene required Clarence to get the worst of a fist fight, emerging with a black eye.

Now Clarence is naturally as dark as the ace of spades. The make-up man desperately tried every paint he had in his kit on the smiling Muse, but failed to achieve anything resembling a discolored optic. Finally he quit in disgust and the scene was rewritten to read "a general beating."

—S—

THE SPORTS ROUNDUP

BY DAN BURLEY
(For ANP)

CHICAGO, Sept. 25 (ANP)—University of Michigan has decided to take low in face of demands of a Dixie school..... Officials of the Ann Arbor institution alarmed at the rumpus stirred up by Geor-

Miss Minnie Ruth Solomon of 2327 E. 89th Street, Cleveland, "the only girl I, ever looked at twice," as the 21-year- old dash star punctuated... Jesse talked things "over" with Larry Snyder, Ohio track coach, before the trek to the preacher. He has been keeping company with his new bride for seven years and had gone to school with her.... "I'm going to stay home, work and help Jesse save his money so that he will have something when he finishes college, the pretty wife announced.....Duke Slater has accepted a position as head coach at Douglass high school at Tulsa, Okla., Duke is the former Cardinal pro football star and former University of Iowa lineman.

Fitzhugh Lyons, the former star at Indiana university, has taken on his duties as director of Athletics at Wheatley Social center, Fort Wayne, Ind. ..... Out at Bridgeport, Ind., Roosevelt Williams, pitcher for the El Amigos baseball team, Winners of the Social league trophy won a non run, no hit game from the Bridgeport Blues, white, 2 to 0 recently ..Central High School at Fort Wayne, Lee Johnson, outstanding sports hed of the Indianapolis Recorder tells us, has sixteen Negroes in the football team this year. Six are varsity men, seven are on the second team and three on the third. Nationally known in his field Rice Porter of Lexington, Ky., on the identification of Horses in h...

Sports coverage in the Negro Star *during the early 1930s was sporadic, sometimes disappearing for weeks and even months at a time, then reappearing without notice. In August 1934, however, a separate and distinct sports page appeared in the* Star *for the first time, coinciding with the paper's taking on its first sports editor, Bennie Williams. Pictured above is a portion of the page for September 28, 1934; the* Star *continued this feature section through January 1935.*

boy," managed the Darkies, and the Elks, who actually were all from Oklahoma City, not Wichita, pocketed $800 for placing third, according to a short story in the *Negro Star*.[26] The *Star* made no note of the significance of six black teams competing, but previously the newspaper did not—perhaps could not—cover the tournament at all.

To fill its new sports page, the *Star* and its sports editor, Bennie Williams, who also was a full-time firefighter in Wichita, relied on the Associated Negro Press (ANP) wire service out of Chicago. In August 1934 the ANP distributed a story, the first of its kind if the newspapers under consideration here are taken as definitive, charting progress toward integrating professional baseball. In the article, ANP writer Byron "Speed" Reilly, who also was a sports promoter in California, wrote extensively of the Monarchs' fortunes in the Denver Post Tournament.[27]

In addition to reporting on baseball, Williams, a one-man operation, covered football, basketball, boxing, and tennis. In September 1934, he announced that the King brothers, who previously played baseball for Wichita's Colored Devils, were organizing the city's first "all colored football team," the Wichita Warriors. During

26. The page was titled "Amusements and Sports, by Bennie Williams," *Negro Star*, August 24, 1934. One story, subtitled "Andy Cooper Says He Will Shut Out The Davids," noted that Cooper, who played for the Monarchs and Detroit Stars, began his baseball career on an "old ball diamond at Wabash and 11th Street." Another item heralded "Army Cooper" as the "Hero of State Tournement."

27. "Negro Ball Players Near Big Leagues," *Negro Star*, August 31, 1934; for more on the ANP, see Lawrence D. Hogan, *A Black National News Service: The Associated Negro Press and Claude Barnett, 1919–1945* (Rutherford, Va.: Fairleigh-Dickinson University Press, 1984). See also Adam Green, *The Selling of the Race* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 2007), ch. 3, "The Ends of Clientage." Claude Barnett launched the ANP, which peaked in 1945, with 112 newspapers served, in March 1919.

baseball's off season, Williams and the *Star* actually expanded baseball coverage, running ANP wire copy and a weekly "Stove League" column written by local black baseball stars Young and Cooper.[28] ANP coverage of dealings and happenings in the professional Negro leagues in the north abruptly appeared in August and ran throughout the winter, without context or background, as if black Wichitans had been keeping up with Negro league play for the past fifteen years.

Over time, however, the weekly "Stove League" column did provide readers with a fairly robust history of the Negro leagues and, therefore, a context for such enterprises as the Monrovians, Elks, and Monarchs. T. J. Young used the first "Stove League" column on November 2, 1934, to pay tribute to the father of Negro league baseball, Chicago's Andrew "Rube" Foster, who cofounded the first black league of substance in 1920. Young's second column similarly praised another business captain of the Negro leagues, Cum Posey, owner of the powerhouse Homestead Grays in Pittsburgh.[29]

Andy Cooper, who wrote the third through sixth weekly installments, gave readers a sort of clinic on how the sport should be played, providing a history of black baseball along the way. There would have been no other source for this sort of context except perhaps a subscription to the *Pittsburgh Courier* or *Chicago Defender*. This important history should not be undervalued, engendering as it did self-respect and pride among blacks. By placing developments in black baseball at a local level into the context of a national narrative, as part of the success story of black baseball in the United States, the column provided an important source of African American self-definition and identity.[30] In turn, as a unique source of this kind of history and race consciousness, the *Star* was proving itself important as a paper of record for the black community.

The historical context provided by the *Star* would soon prove useful. In February 1935, alongside reports from Negro league spring training camps, a *Star* article trumpeted "the first time in history that two major Negro clubs have ever played in Wichita." The Chicago American Giants and the Kansas City Monarchs were to play in Wichita in April. The Giants' visit would be the first by the "famous boys from the windy city." Unfortunately, Bennie Williams's sports coverage disappeared from the *Star* in April and with it went meaningful analysis of black participation in Wichita sports. The May 3 *Star* had some sports coverage, but nothing on baseball, nothing on the Monarchs playing the American Giants, and nothing on the Monarchs playing a Chinese team in Hong Kong that month. By May 17, all sports coverage had disappeared.[31]

While Williams was on the watch, however, he had help fueling the extensive off-season baseball coverage. A series of exhibition games in October 1934 featured major league baseball stars squaring off against Satchel Paige and his Kansas City Monarchs in Wichita. St. Louis Cardinals great Dizzy Dean and his "All-Stars," including brother Paul Dean, also a pitcher with the Cardinals, beat Paige and the Monarchs in the first game 8 to 3. As was common in black press coverage of these interracial clashes, Dizzy Dean is lauded as a hero, without any mention of major league baseball's color bar and critical of no one. Though the game presented the *Star* with an ideal opportunity to challenge baseball's segregation, the weekly focused instead on attendance. The 8,500 on hand at Lawrence Stadium proved "the largest crowd ever to attend a baseball game in Wichita." At Kansas City later in the week, Andy Cooper pitched the Monarchs past Dean's All-Stars in a second game 9 to 6.[32]

The Monarchs were the one black team that routinely got more than brief mentions in the *Star*, *Eagle*, and *Beacon*. As Wichita native and baseball historian Tim Rives pointed out, no Negro league team "won more

28. "Wichita Colored Football Club to be Known as the Wichita Warriors," *Negro Star*, September 28, 1934; "Wichita Warriors Tie Trojans in Bitter Conflict," *Negro Star*, October 26, 1934. The latter covered the Warriors's first game, which was played at Lawrence Stadium. "Hot Stove League" and "Stove League" are terms that refer to baseball's off-season, when, at least metaphorically, baseball fans gather around the stove during winter to discuss the sport, player trades, past performances, and predictions. The terms do not, therefore, refer to real stoves or even real leagues.

29. "Stove League," *Negro Star*, November 2 and 9, 1934. Foster founded the American Giants and died in December 1930. The team changed ownership several times in the 1930s.

30. Andy Cooper, "Stove League By Andy Cooper," *Negro Star*, November 16, 1934; the column also appeared in the January 11, 18, and 25, and February 1, 1935 editions. For more on the roles of the *Courier* and *Defender* in writing this history, see Carroll, *When to Stop the Cheering?*. The idea of African American self-definition and identity is a theme of *When to Stop the Cheering?*, which documents the contributions of the Negro leagues to the push toward integration nationally in the 1920s through 1940s.

31. "Chicago to Play K.C. Monarchs at Wichita, April 25–26," *Negro Star*, April 12, 1935; see also *Negro Star*, May 3 and 17, 1935.

32. "All-Stars Defeat Monarchs 8–3," *Negro Star*, October 19, 1934; also suiting up for the Monarchs were T. J. Young and fellow former Wichita Monrovian Newt Joseph. The *Star*'s October 12 issue quoted Young, who had arrived in Wichita a week before the big game, with regard to the upcoming showdown; among other things, he reportedly said "that Dizz and Paul Dean are fine boys and color makes no difference to them." See "Base Ball News," *Negro Star*, October 12, 1934.