CRAFTING "YOUR FATHER'S IDOL": THE SPORTING PRESS AND THE PROMOTION OF BASEBALL'S STARS, 1900-1928

by

LORI AMBER ROESSNER

(Under the Direction of Janice Hume)

ABSTRACT

Heralded as America's national pastime, baseball was one of the country's preeminent cultural activities referenced in popular fiction, vaudeville shows, black-and-white films, sheet music, radio, and the press in the early twentieth century. Sports journalists touted its cast of stars on the covers of newspapers and magazines. Historians have argued that these mythmakers of the Golden Age of Sports Writing (1920-1930) manufactured mass heroes from white ball players for mainstream media; however, they have neglected to fully examine the practice of herocrafting. This dissertation seeks to further explore the production of cultural sports heroes by investigating the journalistic conventions and working associations involved in the process through a combination of textual and archival analysis. Doing so not only reveals insights into the practices of early twentieth-century sports journalists, it also provides a unique lens into the cultural implications of hero construction. It affords a prism through which to explore the interaction between sports journalism and mainstream American culture. Press and archival sources surrounding the lives of baseball icons Ty Cobb and Christy Mathewson and well-known sports journalists Grantland Rice, F.C. Lane, and John N. Wheeler were culled and analyzed. Following the cue of cultural studies theorists Raymond Williams and James Carey, this

manuscript treats the study of communication as the examination of historic ritual. Overall, it involved analysis of 297 articles and columns from more than thirty general and specialty, mass-circulating newspapers and magazines and four memoirs, as well as archival documents from the University of Georgia's Richard B. Russell Library in Athens, Ga., the Ty Cobb Museum in Royston, Ga., the National Baseball Hall of Fame's A. Bartlett Giamatti Research Library in Cooperstown, N.Y., Vanderbilt University's Jean and Alexander Heard Library's Special Collections in Nashville, Tenn., and Columbia University's Rare Book and Manuscript Library in New York, N.Y.

INDEX WORDS: Journalism History, Public Relations History, Cultural Studies, Gender Studies, American Culture, Baseball, Heroes, F.C. Lane, Grantland Rice, John N. Wheeler, Ty Cobb, Christy Mathewson, James Carey, Raymond Williams.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate my dissertation to the women, who paved the way for this Southern gal to write about baseball, American culture, and communication, especially to my great grandmother, my grandmother, and my mother, who taught me that I could accomplish anything with a measure of tenacity and hard work.

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for his assistance during our time at the National Baseball Hall of Fame. Finally, thank you Daddy for inspiring my passion for the national pastime on those countless afternoons that we played catch in the backyard.

PREFACE

As a young girl, I spent hours playing catch with my daddy in the backyard. On those early summer evenings before lightening bugs came out to play, my goal was simple: to hit a home run over the rickety shed near the forest. Doing so would not only earn the pride of victory but the spoils: a Dairy Queen ice-cream sundae. Like any of life's goals, however, connecting with the perfect pitch was elusive. Still, each evening, as dusk settled on the foothills of Northeast Georgia, I begged for just one more pitch—one more chance to meet my destiny.

In that instant, I joined children across the nation in imagining a mythic scenario, one that sportswriters crafted generations earlier. "Amber Shaw strides to the plate with two outs in the bottom of the ninth and the bases loaded," typed my imaginary sports scribe. With my favorite cap pulled down low over my eyes, I gritted my teeth and squinted as the ball soared past. Strike one. Some days, like "mighty Casey," I merely struck out, but on those rare occasions when the stars aligned perfectly, I earned my tasty treat. It was during those less fortunate times that I remembered an old saying that my father taught me: "For when the One Great Scorer comes to mark against your name, He writes—not that you won or lost—but how you played the Game."

After being hit by three consecutive pitches in my first Little League practice, I gave up playing baseball for a more graceful, feminine pursuit—slow-pitch softball; still, my curiosity about the national pastime lingered long after I hung up my cleats for journalistic and academic pursuits. So, I return once more to an examination of my childhood passion.

PROLOGUE

In spring 1958, *Saturday Evening Post* correspondent Furman Bisher traveled to Cornelia, Ga., for a three-day interview with ailing baseball legend Ty Cobb. "I knew him pretty well," the 90-year-old sports columnist recalled, smiling as he leaned back in a swivel chair in my Athens office on a warm autumn afternoon shortly before announcing his retirement from the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* in October 2009. "So, I went up to see him. Each morning, I would knock on his door … and each morning, he would say, 'Now, what is it that you are here for?' And we would have to start over again …. We had three wonderful days." During Bisher's visit with Cobb, they drove up to Chenocetah Mountain, the site of his future home. "He was real sentimental," Bisher recalls. "And, he took me by the hand and said, 'As soon as I get finished, I am going to give you a key to this house, and anytime you want to bring your family up here, you can.'" Bisher's article, focusing on Cobb's plan for his twilight years, ran weeks later in the *Post*'s June issue. Upon receiving his $1,500 freelance payment, he sent a check to the Ty Cobb Educational Foundation, a scholarship program for Georgia youngsters. "About two weeks later, I got a letter from him, about three-and-a-half pages in green ink, and it started out 'Dear Bisher'… berating me because I didn't send him more money," Bisher chuckles, noting that he sold that very same letter for more than $2,000 in recent years. That would not be his last visit with the "Georgia Peach" nor was it his first.

He had first reported on the Detroit Tigers outfielder six years prior when the baseball idol was honored by Atlanta Crackers owner Earl Mann on "Ty Cobb" Day. But, his first real encounter came years earlier—on the pages of the *Greensboro Daily News* [North Carolina]. "You had to be off the planet if you didn't run into Ty Cobb," he said. "I never got to see him

play, though." Like millions of Americans, Bisher never had the opportunity to watch from the stands of Detroit's Navin Field as Cobb connected with a pitch for a hit and slid spikes first into third. Instead, he and other baseball enthusiasts followed Cobb from the pages of newspaper sports sections and specialty baseball magazines. "I devoured the major leagues," he said. "Each morning around 9 o'clock, I would go down to the post office, open up the sports section, and spread it out over the post office floor, and all of these men coming in to get their mail would just kind of nudge me out of the way." Sprawled out on the floor, Bisher leafed through countless feature articles about Dead Ball (1900-1919) and Golden Age Era (1920-1960) heroes like Cobb and Christy Mathewson penned by some of the eras' best known sports journalists.

It was these experiences as a media consumer, combined with his enthusiasm for participating in baseball, which drove Bisher to become a sportswriter upon his return from serving in World War II. When he began his sports journalism career with the *Charlotte Observer* in 1946, he arrived at the office of the afternoon newspaper by 7 a.m. to type up his column. After polishing it off, he served as the rewrite man, handling telephone call-ins from correspondents before overseeing the make-up of the sports page in the composing room.

Unlike present-day sportswriters who claim a level of detachment, he never checked his love of sports heroes along with his hat and overcoat at the office door. Instead, his passion for the game and its cast of characters were always present as he pecked away at his latest column on his Royal typewriter. "Sports writing was different in those days," he said. "The reason I was in it was because there was a purity about it, and there was a fascination with the athletes. You knew the athletes. You traveled with them, wrote of them, got to know them well."

"Back in the olden days," he recalled, alluding to sports journalism of the early twentieth century, "sportswriters would travel with the team. The newspapers didn't pay their expenses.

The team did, and they would put them up in hotels and feed them. It was a matter of them coddling the journalists to get publicity through the newspapers. I wrote for the *Baseball Magazine* some, and these teams would almost buy space to get stories in those magazines." By the time Bisher entered the profession in the mid-1940s, many of these practices had been curbed, but that did not prevent a little favoritism from flowing from his fingertips. "We had our favorites," he said. "Take Ty Cobb, for instance … I had a good relationship with Ty during the latter stages of his life. I did not choose to write about the skeletons in his closet. I don't think sportswriters today have that kind of respect for an athlete. If they get something on someone, they fire away. If I liked an athlete, if anything bad came up about him, I thought, 'Damned if I'm going to write that,' …. I would say that I was an honest sportswriter, though. I wrote what I saw. I may have picked a fellow and overlooked his glitches but most [sportswriters] were that way."

The reminiscing of Furman Bisher sounds eerily similar to those of another sports journalist who covered Cobb during his heyday. "Sporting writers have their particular idols—some whom they cherished from boyhood," wrote Grantland Rice in his posthumously published autobiography *The Tumult and the Shouting: My Life in Baseball*. "Others whom they helped create in the headlines."[1] What follows is an American tale of two of the Dead Ball Era's preeminent baseball icons and their cast of mythmakers.

End Notes

1. Grantland Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting: My Life in Baseball* (Berkley: The University of California, 1954), 333.

CAST OF CHARACTERS

The Men of Myth

Tyrus Cobb (1886-1961)—Although his colorful personality often overshadowed his feats on the diamond, more than fifty years after Ty Cobb's death, the "Georgia Peach" retains the highest lifetime batting average (.367) of any major league player. In his twenty-four years in organized baseball as an outfielder for the Detroit Tigers and Philadelphia Athletics, he tallied 892 stolen bases and 4,191 hits. In 1942, nearly twenty years after he hung up his cleats, he was voted as the All-Time Greatest Baseball Player, receiving sixty out of 102 votes cast by major league managers. But, he often received as much attention for allegedly spiking infielders with his razor-sharp cleats as for his accomplishments on the diamond.

Christy Mathewson (1880-1925)—Christy Mathewson made a name for himself as the New York Giants' star twirler. In his seventeen-year career, the "Big Six" won 373 games, becoming a national idol for his superior talent and exemplary attitude. Unlike other era players, Mathewson attended college at Bucknell University in Pennsylvania before his major league debut. He came to symbolize the "Christian Gentleman," the nation's moral hero.

The Mythmakers

The Editor: F.C. Lane (1885-1984)—After attending graduate school in biology at Boston University, F.C. Lane took a position with *Baseball Magazine* in 1910. He quickly moved up the ranks to co-editor in December 1911 and sole editor in January 1912. He served in that capacity at the monthly magazine until December 1937. From this post, he came in frequent contact with baseball icons Ty Cobb and Christy Mathewson.

The Dean of Sportswriters: Grantland Rice (1880-1954)—By far the era's most prominent sports reporter, Grantland Rice, a four-sport athlete at Vanderbilt University, enjoyed brief stints at the *Nashville Daily News*, the *Atlanta Journal*, the *Cleveland News*, the *Nashville Tennessean*, and the *New York Evening Mail*, before settling into a position as a sportswriter at the *New York Tribune* in 1913. His syndicated column, "The Sportlight," appeared in hundreds of papers across the country. He also worked as a correspondent for national magazines like *Collier's* and *McClure's*, as well as a radio commentator and movie producer. In the process of crafting heroes of baseball icons like Cobb and Mathewson, as well as sports stars of the 1920s like Babe Ruth, Bobby Jones, and Knute Rockne, he became one of America's best known sports journalists.

The Ghostwriter: John N. Wheeler (1886-1973)—After graduating from Columbia University, John N. Wheeler began his career as a sportswriter for the *New York Herald* in 1907. He, however, is better known for his two news distribution services. In 1913, he formed Wheeler Syndicate to distribute sports information to newspapers across the nation. The popular syndicate grew to include general news coverage and was purchased by McClure's Newspaper Syndicate three years later. Immediately after the transaction, he created Bell Syndicate, which counted famous sportswriter Ring Lardner as one of its employees. He also ghosted a number of articles and books for Cobb and Mathewson.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

On February 18, 1912, Ina Russell of Winder, Ga., wrote a last-minute scribble on the letter addressed to her teenaged son Dick, who was away at Gordon Institute in Barnesville. "Do you see [Atlanta] *Constitution*?" read the postscript above the greeting. "I have a nice piece about Ty Cobb."[1] Throughout his tenure in boarding school, the future United States Senator, Richard B. Russell, Jr., and his family often corresponded about the national pastime. Dick and his younger brother Rob wrote about the Chicago Cubs featuring the infield trio of Joe Tinker, Johnny Evers, and Frank Chance, upcoming World Series match-ups, local scrimmages, and the "Georgia Peach."[2] In addition to reading and corresponding about baseball, like many youngsters, Russell collected memorabilia associated with the national pastime—ticket stubs, scrapbooks, newspaper clippings, and baseball cards featuring heroes of the diamond.[3] In fact, as if affirming his lifelong passion for the sport, upon the Senator's death in 1971, his family found his collection of the American Tobacco Company's T206 series of baseball cards tucked away in cigar boxes stacked in his bedroom closet.[4] Russell's collection of more than 1,000 cards produced between 1909 and 1911, featured multiple likenesses of two of the era's greatest icons—Ty Cobb and Christy Mathewson.[5]

From 1900 to 1928, Americans were inundated by mass-mediated images of Cobb and Mathewson.[6] As veteran sportswriter Furman Bisher explained, someone would have been "off the planet" not to have heard of the "Georgia Peach" or "Big Six."[7] For even if baseball enthusiasts were not among those who snagged seats in grandstands to cheer on the peerless

Detroit Tigers outfielder and the beloved New York Giants hurler, they undoubtedly encountered the pair in the media—in the headlines of the popular press, in fictional references, on the radio, on vaudeville show cards, in popular sheet music, on billboards, or on theatre marquees of black-and-white films.[8] Board games, baseball cards, and magazine covers bearing their likenesses permeated popular culture.[9]

Cobb and Mathewson claimed a significant place in early twentieth-century American culture.[10] Sportswriters mythologized the duo for fans, young and old. Sportswriter William F. Kirk once wrote of Mathewson: "Of course, you kids love 'Matty' and the deeds that he can do; He's just your big blond idol, and your father's idol, too."[11] Writers penned similar odes to Cobb.[12] Some individuals certainly would have ignored these popular culture affronts. Others, like the Russells, communicated regularly about baseball icons. They sought news of manly idols in the popular press. They collected artifacts related to them. They had mediated relationships with them. In short, they made hero-worship part of their way of life. Regardless of level of adoration, Cobb and Mathewson were household names, and the media helped make them the talk of the nation.

In an age before electronic media, it was the sportswriter that brought Americans news of these icons.[13] Relatively unheralded, a new breed of professional journalists was employed by national, regional, and local newspapers and magazines.[14] They traveled with professional baseball squads, formed personal relationships with players, and reported the latest scoops in customary lingo.[15] Between 1900 and 1928, veterans like Grantland Rice, F.C. Lane, and John N. Wheeler reported on the careers of Cobb and Mathewson in countless verses, biographies, interviews, columns, feature articles, player-themed issues, and memoirs.[16] In doing so, these

mainstream sports journalists crafted heroes of popular white baseball players, neglecting African-American stars of the Negro Leagues.[17]

Although historians have argued that these mythmakers of the Golden Age of Sports Writing (1920-1930) manufactured heroes, they have neglected to examine the practice of herocrafting by studying the conventions and working associations involved in the process. Tacitly acknowledging the sports hero-worship pervasive in American culture, they have only cursorily investigated the role of sports media in hero construction, focusing primarily on the best known sportswriters and sporting press of the Roaring Twenties.[18]

Heeding journalism historians Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen's call for inquiries that provide new understanding of working conditions, this dissertation explores a little researched area.[19] Scholars are only beginning to understand the importance of examining popular cultural activities such as sport.[20] As historian Arnold Lunn reminds: "The historian is apt to forget that sport in some form or other is the main object of most lives, that most men work in order to play, and that games which bulk so largely in the life of the individual cannot be neglected in studying the life of the nation."[21] Since the cultural studies movement of the 1960s, the volume of sports studies has increased dramatically, but studies of sports journalism and American culture have lagged behind.

At the heart of this study is the desire to examine the relationship between sports journalism and American culture in the early twentieth century through the prism of herocrafting.[22] Its purpose is to provide a more nuanced understanding of the construction of baseball heroes. Such an investigation requires historical inquiry into the professional mode of sports journalism which is comprised of: working conditions, rituals, codes, and customs; interpersonal relationships; and lingual conventions. Although it is improbable to gain a

complete grasp of the phenomenon, this study considers how journalistic structures exerted pressures upon forms of coverage. This dissertation contends that the practice of herocrafting was a site of struggle over journalistic and cultural norms, values, and beliefs. Within this space, "common sense" logics about detachment, morality, masculinity, success, and what it meant to be an American were negotiated.[23]

Cultural scholars such as Raymond Williams and James Carey have argued that communication and culture are inextricably intertwined; therefore, one cannot be considered in isolation of another.[24] For the purpose of this study, communication is the interactive practice of negotiating reality.[25] Involved in this societal ritual is the production, maintenance, reconstruction, and transformation of culture. Culture exists through communication.[26] This study strives to tease out the continuities and discontinuities in communication and culture by exploring the subculture of sports journalism. That said, a comprehensive study of the relationship between sports journalism and American culture merits a multivolume series in a lifelong research agenda; for an adequate study of culture, Williams once noted, requires the investigation of "relationships between elements in a whole way of life."[27] Thus, this dissertation seeks to examine but a slice of elements within the subculture of sports journalism and its relationship to mainstream American culture.

Following the cue of Williams and Carey, this dissertation uses a historical approach to investigate the practice of herocrafting.[28] Examining media and archival sources surrounding the lives of Cobb and Mathewson, as well as Rice, Lane, and Wheeler, three prominent era sports journalists, serves as a lens through which to explore broader historical inquiries regarding the relationship among sports journalism and American culture throughout the baseball careers of Cobb (1905-1928) and Mathewson (1900-1916). Overall, this dissertation involved the analysis

of approximately 300 articles and columns which appeared in more than thirty general and specialty mass-circulating newspapers and magazines, as well as archival documents from the University of Georgia's Richard B. Russell Library in Athens, Ga., the Ty Cobb Museum in Royston, Ga., the National Baseball Hall of Fame's A. Bartlett Giamatti Research Library in Cooperstown, N.Y., Vanderbilt University's Jean and Alexander Heard Library's Special Collections in Nashville, Tenn., and Columbia University's Rare Book and Manuscript Library in New York, N.Y.

This interdisciplinary study has significance for scholars in cultural studies, American history, and communications. First and foremost this study will provide new insights into the subculture of sports journalism, especially its promotional nature. It will also offer a new understanding of conventions and working associations involved in the practice of herocrafting. In addition, it will explore the coexistence of three mainstream journalistic paradigms—the activist, detached, and narrative models—within sports journalism.[29]

This study also provides a better understanding of the relationship between sports journalism and mainstream American culture. As Carey noted, communication is a symbol *of* and *for* society.[30] This statement refers to the reflexive power of communication to transform reality.[31] Newspapers become cultural forums in which journalists as societal storytellers share cultural values with readers. By taking part in this communicative ritual, readers engage in a negotiation of reality. Thus, the subculture of sports journalism determines and is determined by mainstream American culture. Borrowing from Williams, determination, in this sense, means that both cultures set limits and exert pressures on the other.[32] Considering the relationship between sports journalism and American culture in these terms provides insights into cultural beliefs, values, and mores.

Hero-worship is not a phenomenon unique to the early twentieth century. The "secular religion," historian Dixon Wecter argued, is a product of human nature.[33] In ancient oral cultures, tales of heroes with superhuman strength and courage were transmitted through mnemonic devices in poetry and song.[34] As print culture emerged, heroes changed. By the early twentieth century, according to Wecter, heroism was undergoing an identity crisis in the "premier nation of hero-worshipers."[35] The hero, who had been well known for moral attributes, became increasingly tied to celebrity, what social commentator Daniel Boorstin later referred to as someone known for being well-known, and the villainous trickster came to be portrayed in a positive light. [36]

Era sports journalism can provide new awareness of early twentieth-century constructions of national idols and the role of the press in its cultural negotiation. A number of media scholars have explored the role of the press in providing society with mythic narratives. For instance, journalism historian Janice Hume explores the media's role in defining and perpetuating the conception of the American hero in a series of studies on the press and public memory.[37] She argues that the portrayal of heroes not only reflects but also shapes societal norms and values. Similarly, in *Daily News, Eternal Stories*, communication scholar Jack Lule argues that journalists use cultural archetypes to instruct and inform society.[38] More recently, journalism historian Brian Carroll has explored the role of the press in mythologizing the twentieth-century African-American sports hero.[39] Although each of these scholars has examined the role of journalists as public storytellers with the power to help define constructions of the American hero, they have not examined how journalistic conventions and norms mutually constitute story forms. In addition to shedding light on early twentieth-century American cultural values, this study provides a richer understanding of the press practice of idol production.

Sports journalism can also enrich our grasp of the media's role in the constitution of cultural ideas about manhood.[40] As cultural historian Gail Bederman notes, the construction of manhood is a fluid "historical, ideological process," which involves the creation of a "common-sense" logic of gender as a biologically fixed essence.[41] When considering the sporting press as a cultural forum, historians can examine how conceptions of masculinity were negotiated through the production of sports heroes.

Finally, this dissertation revisits the longstanding theoretical debate over structure and agency. Cultural scholars have theorized the relationship between economic production and culture for more than a century.[42] Early theorists like Marx argued that, in the last instance, the mode of production determined cultural structures.[43] However, more recent cultural scholars have revalued the relationship through the work of neo-Marxist Antonio Gramsci, who theorized the cultural negotiation over ideology.[44] Later scholars like Williams refigured the relationship between the economic base and cultural superstructure, noting that each are fluid processes.[45] Largely through his conception of determination, Williams noted that economic and cultural relations are mutually constitutive. The economic, political, and societal structures of a community are continuously negotiated through the ideological process of communication. Through communicative practices, "common sense" cultural logics like a society's shared beliefs, values, and mores are constantly renewed, reconstituted, and revalued.[46] This historical process is visible in the transference of selective traditions.[47] This dissertation seeks to explore how dominant American constructions shaped the practice of sports journalism, and the role that sports journalism played in shaping mainstream American values like heroism and manhood. It attempts to reveal the structures of sports journalism, the agency of individual journalists and the individuals they covered, and the cultural negotiation of shared values embedded in

communication. It grapples with the ways journalistic conventions exerted limits on sports journalists, and how sports journalists and stars negotiated these structures in their working relationships and through the written word.

But, historical studies of communication and culture do more than provide an imperfect snapshot of a particular time and place. Cultural history provides a greater understanding of present and future circumstances.[48] This chapter of American history still has particular relevance for the twenty-first century. Like the first generation of sports mythmakers, today's sportswriters mass produce images of freshly-minted baseball heroes like Red Sox hurler Curt Schilling and St. Louis slugger Mark McGwire. Although media platforms have evolved in the digital age, modern sportswriters encounter similar working conditions and draw upon similar storytelling techniques as their predecessors.[49] In addition, the myth-narratives they create, according to sports media scholars like Nick Trujillo, Leah R. Vande Berg, Daniel A. Nathan, and Mary G. McDonald, have profound cultural implications for what they reveal about American values and beliefs.[50]

Research Questions

One overarching question served to guide the narrative: What do the sources surrounding the lives of Cobb, Mathewson, Rice, Lane, and Wheeler reveal about sports journalism and American culture from 1900 until 1928? In the process of exploring this overarching question, the study grapples with a few others: How did national magazines portray Cobb and Mathewson? What underlying structures and conventions did sportswriters use in their storytelling? How are working relationships and journalistic practices revealed in the archival and published material of sports journalists Rice, Lane, and Wheeler, as well as those of icons Cobb and Mathewson?

Chapter Overview

Chapter One

Chapter one lays the groundwork for the study, establishing its intellectual framework and epistemological merit. In addition to outlining the study's significance, it provides a map of the terrain to be covered in this historical journey and demonstrates the value of studying the subculture of sports journalism alongside American culture.

Chapter Two

Chapter two establishes historical connections between baseball, sports communication, and American culture. In particular, it places baseball in the sociocultural context of early twentieth-century America, tracing its roots from a nineteenth-century childhood pastime to a thriving commercial enterprise.

Chapter Three

Chapter three explores sports journalism in the sociocultural context of early twentieth-century America. Sports journalism gained cultural caché under certain historical conditions, and this chapter explores the sociocultural milieu that gave rise to the sporting press, sportswriters, and their cast of heroes.

Chapter Four

Chapter four investigates journalistic conventions, narratives, and themes by analyzing feature coverage of Cobb and Mathewson in general-interest magazines from 1900 until 1928. Magazine articles were gathered through Readers Guide Retrospective Index and American Periodical Series Online, two full-text searchable databases, using the search terms "Christy Mathewson" and "Ty Cobb."[51] Eighty-five feature articles from twenty-seven national magazines with circulations ranging from 8,000 to more than a million readers were analyzed. One

overarching question served to guide this textual analysis: How did national magazines portray Cobb and Mathewson from 1900 until 1928? Common story structures such as the heroic arc; literary conventions and devices such as anecdotes, metaphors, similes, allusions, and imagery; and themes were identified and interpreted.[52] A core set of questions contributed to the analysis: What common literary conventions and devices do these articles have in common; do they tell stories using a Joseph Campbell's monomyth[53]; what common themes are present in these articles; what character attributes, physical features, and cultural values do they emphasize?

Chapter Five

Chapter five explores working associations among sportswriters and icons, analyzing daily interactions involved in journalistic practices. In particular, it examines symbiotic alliances among sports journalists and baseball stars. It sheds light into how journalists established rapport to gain inside information for human-interest features, and how baseball stars used their relationships with prominent journalists to gain a degree of autonomy in their portrayals. The historical analysis involved the examination of cultural artifacts such as letters, autobiographies, memoirs, oral histories, and news articles culled at national archival collections. Historical cases studies like this involve the examination of a wide variety of cultural "texts" from personal documents like letters and diaries to published documents like memoirs and oral sources like interviews.[54] Case studies entail the study of an issue, in this instance the practice of herocrafting, through the investigation of one or more cases in a bounded system over time through detailed analysis of data involving multiple sources.[55]

Chapter Six

Chapters six provides a closer look at the mutually constitutive relationship between journalistic conventions and forms. In particular, it examines the influence of working

associations and journalistic structures on the material product of sports journalism. The historical case study approach featured an analysis of published sources penned by Rice, Lane, and Wheeler about Cobb and Mathewson, in addition to archival sources surrounding their lives. The analysis included more than thirty syndicated columns written by Rice; approximately 150 feature articles appearing in Lane's *Baseball Magazine*; and two memoirs ghostwritten by Wheeler. Thirty mentions of Cobb or Mathewson in Rice's "Sportlight" column, which appeared in more than 250 newspapers between 1913 and 1954, were identified through ProQuest Historical Newspapers Online, a full-text database of historical American newspapers like *The New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Atlanta Constitution*. These articles were identified from 1900 until 1928, using the following search terms: "Ty Cobb," "Georgia Peach," "Christy Mathewson," "Big Six," and "Matty." More than 850 articles mentioning Cobb and Mathewson were identified in *Baseball Magazine* from the magazine's inception in 1908 until 1920, using the above search terms in the LA84 Foundation's Digital Archive.[56] Of these, ninety-four feature articles were gathered and analyzed. Fifty-two additional feature articles about Cobb and Mathewson were selected by searching microfilm of *Baseball Magazine* from 1921 until 1928. Pinpointed through secondary literature, two memoirs—*Busting 'Em* and *Pitching in a Pinch*— ghostwritten by Wheeler for Cobb and Mathewson were analyzed, as well as approximately thirty *Sporting Life* and *Baseball Magazine* articles referencing Cobb and Mathewson in relation to ghostwriting.

Chapter Seven

The closing chapter takes a step back to explore the relationship between sports journalism and mainstream American culture. It considers how the practice of early twentieth-century sports journalism exerted pressures on its form. It explores what hero construction

reveals about American culture, including what it says about national values, mores, and beliefs. For instance, it examines the fluidity of the cultural types that journalists crafted. It examines the three paradigms of mainstream journalism embedded within sports journalism and takes into account the role of symbiotic alliances among sportswriters and celebrities in the uneven maturation of sports journalism. Finally, it sheds light on how early twentieth-century sports journalism has shaped its present mode.

End Notes

1. Ina Russell to Richard B. Russell, 18 February 1912, p. 1, Winder Papers, Series D II-1-2, Richard B. Russell Collection, Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens. Preceding this reference, his mother Ina sent a clip of the September 27, 1911 sports edition of the Atlanta Constitution, which includes a reference to Cobb, in a letter package. See, Ina Russell to Richard B. Russell, 27 September 1911, insert, Winder Papers, Series D II-2-3, Richard B. Russell Collection, Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

2. For examples of correspondence on the Chicago Cubs see, Robert Russell to Richard B. Russell, 27 September 1911, p. 2, Winder Papers, Series DII-2-3, Richard B. Russell Collection, Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens; Robert Russell to Richard B. Russell, 13 October 1912, p. 1, Winder Papers, Series D II-2-3, Richard B. Russell Collection, Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens. In addition to correspondence regarding the Chicago Cubs, Richard B. Russell lists the 1913 Chicago Cubs roster in his composition book. See, Richard B. Russell Composition Book, 1913, Winder Papers, Series D II-5-5. For examples of correspondence on the World Series see, Robert Russell to Richard B. Russell, 29 September 1911, p. 2 and insert, Winder Papers, Series D II-2-3, Richard B. Russell Collection, Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens; Robert Russell to Richard B. Russell, 27 October 1911, p. 2, Winder Papers, Series D II-2-3, Richard B. Russell Collection, Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens; Robert Russell to Richard B. Russell, 13 October 1912, p. 1, Winder Papers, Series D II-2-3, Richard B. Russell Collection, Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens; Robert Russell to Richard B. Russell, 23 September 1917, p. 2-3, Winder Papers, Series D II-1-9, Richard B. Russell Collection, Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens. For examples of correspondence on local scrimmages see, Richard B. Russell to Robert Russell, 16 April 1912, p. 1, Winder Papers, Series D II-1-2, Richard B. Russell Collection, Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens; Robert Russell to Richard B. Russell, 27 April 1913, p. 1-2, Winder Papers, Series D II-1-4, Richard B. Russell Collection, Richard B. Russell Library for Political

Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens; Richard B. Russell to Robert Russell, 17 April 1917, p. 1, Winder Papers, Series D II-1-9, Richard B. Russell Collection, Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens; Robert Russell to Richard B. Russell, 25 April 1917, p. 2, Winder Papers, Series D II-1-9, Richard B. Russell Collection, Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens; For examples of correspondence on Ty Cobb, see Robert Russell to Richard B. Russell, 27 September 1911, insert, Winder Papers, Series D II-2-3, Richard B. Russell Collection, Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

3. Memorabilia such as ticket stubs, scrapbooks, and newspaper clippings can be found within the Winder Papers, Series D, Richard B. Russell Collection, Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens. Richard B. Russell's rare T206 baseball card collection is also available for viewing online at http://baseballcards.galib.uga.edu/ or with special permission through the Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens.

4. Albert Kilchesty, Legends of the Dead-Ball Era. November 16, 2009. http://baseballcards.galib.uga.edu/ (accessed December 27, 2009).

5. Ibid.

6. Ty Cobb and Christy Mathewson were members of the first class of stars inducted into the National Baseball Hall of Fame in 1936. Cobb received 222 out of the 226 press votes as the first inductee. John D. McCallum, *Ty Cobb* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), xi. A number of sports historians have isolated Cobb and Mathewson as two of the Dead-Ball Era's (1900-1919), the period known for its quality pitching and relatively low batting averages, most recognizable heroes. For examples see Harold Seymour, *Baseball: The Golden Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 107-11, 115-16; David Voigt, *American Baseball: From the Commissioners to Continental Expansion* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 52-7; 59. In addition to recognition as two of the era's most prominent heroes in two of the oldest academic treatments of the national pastime, Cobb and Mathewson have been identified as era icons in the following secondary sources on Mathewson such as, Frank Deford, *The Old Ball Game: How John McGraw, Christy Mathewson, and the New York Giants Created Modern Baseball* (New York : Atlantic Monthly Press, 2005), 1-241; Michael Hartley, *Christy Mathewson: A Biography* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2004), 1-197; Ray Robinson, *Matty: An American Hero, Christy Mathewson of the New York Giants* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993),1-272; Philip Seib, *The Player: Christy Mathewson, Baseball, and the American Century* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2004), 1-224, and on Cobb such as, Charles C. Alexander, *Ty Cobb*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1984), 1-272; Richard Bak, *Ty Cobb: His Tumultuous Life and Times* (Dallas, Texas: Taylor Publishing Co., 1994), 1-194; Dan Holmes, *Ty Cobb: A Biography* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2004), 1-150; John D. McCallum, *Ty Cobb* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), 1-225; Don Rhodes, *Ty Cobb: Safe at Home* (Globe Pequot, 2008), 1-224; Tom Stanton, *Ty and the Babe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2007), 1-290; Al Stump, *Cobb* (Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books, 1994), 1-436.

7. To view the quotation in its entirety see abridged interview transcripts in Appendix A.

8. A quick search of H.W. Wilson's Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature reveals more than fifty articles about Cobb and Mathewson in early twentieth-century national magazines. Many of the headlines include heroic accolades like "king," "greatest of them all," "champion," etc. In addition to their pervasive presence in the headlines of the popular press, Cobb and

Mathewson were referenced in popular literature from poetry to short stories. For examples of Cobb references in popular literature see, "Depth of Ignorance," *Life*, 3 July 1913, 35 (American Periodical Series); Helen Van Campen, "The Woes of Two Workers," *McClure's Magazine*, September 1913, 198 (American Periodical Series); Clifford Hollander, "The Millionaire Kid," *McClure's Magazine*, May 1919, 18 (American Periodical Series). For examples of Mathewson references in popular literature see, Billy Sunday, "Letters of a Japanese School Boy," *Life*, 18 February 1915, 276 (American Periodical Series). For examples of references in popular sheet music see, Anna Caldwell, James O'Dea, Mabel Hite, & Mike Donlin, *Stars of National Game* (New York: Jerome H. Remick Co, 1908); Doc White, R.N. Lardner, & Chas Miller, *Gee! It's a Wonderful Game* (New York: Jerome H. Remick Co, 1911). In addition to these references in print media, Cobb and Mathewson were featured in vaudeville shows and Broadway plays like *The College Widow* (Cobb, 1911-12) and *The Girl & the Pennant* (Mathewson, 1913), black-and-white films like *Somewhere in Georgia* (Cobb, 1917), *Breaking into the Big Leagues* (Mathewson, 1912), *The Umpire* (Mathewson, 1914), *Love and Baseball* (Mathewson, 1914), and in radio interviews like "Coca-Cola Top-Notchers" program in 1930 (Cobb). For example of radio interviews, see: Grantland Rice, "Coca-Cola Top-Notchers," 1930, Michigan State University. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jzkEphQAi7U (accessed January 11, 2010). In addition, both Cobb and Mathewson advertised a host of national goods from baseball bats (Cobb, Louisville Slugger) to pipes (Mathewson, Tuxedo Pipe Company) to soft drinks (Cobb and Mathewson, Coca-Cola). See, Deford, *The Old Ball Game*, 2005, 130; Rhodes, *Ty Cobb*, 2008, 55.

9. The images of Cobb and Mathewson appeared on baseball cards such as the rare T206 series from the American Tobacco Company, as well as specialty sports magazine covers such as *Baseball Magazine*, *Sporting Life*, and *Sporting News*. In addition, the duo lent their names to board games like "Play Ball, Mather's Parlor Baseball Game" (Mathewson, 1908). Mathewson later developed his own board game, "Big Six: Christy Mathewson Indoor Baseball Game," modeled after "Play Ball." Ty Cobb lent his name to endorse the board game, saying "I have played 'Big Six' and find it so intensely interesting that I expect every fan will welcome it." For examples see, *The Youth's Companion*, 30 January 1908, 58 (American Periodical Series); *Baseball Magazine*, October 1923, 530.

10. Although sports historian Frank DeFord argues that Cobb may have been "too ill-tempered" to be a national hero, Ted Hathaway argues that he was portrayed as such in periodicals geared to American youth. Deford, *The Old Ball Game*, 2005, 209; Ted Hathaway, "Cobb as a Role Model," *Nine* 11 (Fall 2003): 64-72.

11. William F. Kirk, "When 'Matty' Was a Boy," *Sporting Life*, 14 December 1912, 2.

12. Cobb was often lauded in poetry by Grantland Rice. To gain insight into his treatment in children's magazines see, Hathaway, "Cobb as a Role Model," 2003: 64-72.

13. This study focuses on the practice of herocrafting in mainstream, mass-circulating newspapers and magazines, which had reached national audiences since the late nineteenth century. Radio sports broadcasts were beginning to gain popularity in the 1920s; however, this study does not explore herocrafting in baseball broadcasts because, as media historian Marc Fisher argues, radio did not become a mass medium until 1927 when the first truly affordable radio sets came on the market. Later that year, sports media historian Bruce Evensen argues that the Jack Dempsey-Gene Tunney heavyweight bout of September 1927 became a national mass-mediated phenomenon. Still, due to the fears of professional baseball club and newspaper owners, national radio coverage of baseball did not become pervasive until the 1930s. Bruce

Evensen, *When Dempsey fought Tunney* (Knoxville, The University of Tennessee Press, 1996), x-xi; Marc Fisher, *Something in the Air: Radio, Rock, and the Revolution that Changed America* (New York: Random House, 2007), xiv; Tony Silva, *Baseball Over the Air: The National Pastime on the Radio and in the Imagination* (New York: McFarland, 2007), 1-222. 14. John Rickards Betts, "Sporting Journalism in Nineteenth-century America," *American Quarterly* 5 (Spring 1953), 54; Howard P. Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor: Creating an American Subculture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 187-90; William A. Harper, *How You Played the Game: The Life of Grantland Rice* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 6-9; George B. Kirsch, *The Creation of American Team Sports: Baseball and Cricket, 1838-72* (Urbana : University of Illinois Press, 1989), 203; Richard Orodenker, *The Writers' Game: Baseball Writing in America* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996), 26-34; Steven A. Riess, *Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 15-25; Harold Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), 345-58; Voigt, *American Baseball*: *From Commissioner to Continental Expansion*, 1970, ix-xi.

15. Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor*, 1999, 190; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 33-34; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 15-25; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 345-58.

16. Lori Amber Roessner, "Hero-Crafting in *Sporting Life*, An Early Baseball Journal," *American Journalism* (Spring 2009) 26: 39-65. Roessner explores journalistic mechanisms of herocrafting embedded in numerical, narrative, and pictorial form.

17. Ibid.; Tristram Potter Coffin and Hennig Cohen, eds., *The Parade of Heroes: Legendary Figures in American Lore* (Garden City, N.Y. : Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1978), xxi; Tristram Coffin, *The Old Ball Game: Baseball in Folklore and Fiction* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971), 1-197; Evensen, *When Dempsey Fought Tunney*, 1996, x-xi; Mark Inabinett, *Grantland Rice and his Heroes: The Sportswriter as a Mythmaker in the 1920s* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 1-12; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 23-4; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 5; Seymour, *Baseball: The Golden Age*, 1971, 93. This study examines the practice of herocrafting in mainstream newspapers and magazines, which focused coverage on white baseball stars like Cobb and Mathewson. They provided little, if any, coverage of African-American stars of the Negro Leagues. Michael Lomax, "'If He Were White': Portrayals of Black and Cuban Players in Organized Baseball, 1880-1920," *Journal of African-American Men* (December 1998) 3(3), 31-44.

18. For example see, Evensen, *When Dempsey Fought Tunney*, 1996, 1-214; Inabinett, *Grantland Rice and his Heroes*, 1994, 1-130; Orodenker, *The Writers'Game*, 1996, 1-248.

19. Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen, eds. *Newsworkers: Toward a History of the Rank and File*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1995), 7.

20. Early scholars of popular culture had to spend great time and effort to justify its study. For example see, Robert H. Boyle, *Sport: Mirror of American Life* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1963) 1-293; Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 1-320; Warren Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 1-321.

21. Cited in Boyle, *Sport: Mirror of American Life*, 1963, X.

22. Herocrafting refers to the practice of constructing an allegoric type through artful prose. It was applied to avoid misleading connotations associated with the term mythmaking, which other historians have used to refer to the promotional practices of sports journalists in the early

twentieth century. For example see, Inabinett, *Grantland Rice and his Heroes*, 1994, 1-130. Herocrafting was chosen because of the etymological roots of the word "craft," which denote not only the act of constructing prose but also the idea of a trade or profession. Noah Webster, *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* 3rd ed. (G&C Merriam Co., 1916), 64-6; "craft." *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*. 2010. Merriam-Webster Online. http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/craft (Accessed March 8, 2010). Although the term "mythmaking" is used infrequently in this study, when encountering the term, one should remember the Barthesian construction of "myth," as a prism to see cultural truths. Warning of the cultural tendency to consider myths as fallacies, Roland Barthes wrote: "Myth does not deny things, on the contrary its function is to talk about them; simply, it purifies them, makes them innocent, it gives them a natural and eternal justification, it gives them a clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of a statement of fact." Barthes is quoted in, David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 4; Jack Lule, *Daily News, Eternal Stories: The Mythological Role of Journalism* (New York: Guilford Press, 2001), 83, 85.

23. My thinking here stems from Antonio Gramsci's concept of ideological hegemony elaborated upon in his prison notebooks. Critiquing the iron economic determinism of Marx, he explores cultural agency involved in class struggle over "common sense" logics of society. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), 5-23, 229-247. Other historians from Warren Susman to Tom Pendergast have drawn on Gramsci's notion of ideological hegemony, noting how Americans have negotiated cultural norms, values, and mores through cultural heroes of the mass media. For examples see Susman, *Culture as History*, 1984, 123-149; Donald Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, c1983), 161-284; Tom Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture, 1900-1950* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press), 1-29.

24. See, James Carey, *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (Boston: Uwin Hymann, 1989), 1-230; Raymond Williams, "Communications, Technologies, and Social Institutions," In *What I Came to Say*, (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1989), 172-192; Raymond Williams, "Radical and/or Respectable," In Richard Boston (ed.) *The Press We Deserve* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), 14-26; Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (New York: Chatto & Windus, 1961), 3-119.

25. Carey, *Communication as Culture*, 1989, 13-36; Williams, "Culture," 1976, 87; Williams, *The Long Revolution*, 1961, 1-119.

26. Ibid.

27. Williams, *The Long Revolution*, 1961, 63.

28. Carey, *Communication as Culture*, 1989, 13-36; Williams, *The Long Revolution*, 1961, 3-119.

29. By 1900, according to journalism historian W. Joseph Campbell, three primary paradigms dominated American journalism—the activist model, the narrative model, and the detached model. W. Joseph Campbell, *The Year that Defined American Journalism: 1897 and the Clash of Paradigms* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 5-9.

30. Carey, *Communication as Culture*, 1989, 13-36.

31. Ibid.

32. Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory," 1980, 31–49.

33. Dixon Wecter, *The Hero in America: A Chronicle of Hero-Worship* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941), 8.

34. Lance Strate, "Heroes: A Communication Perspective," In *American Heroes in a Media Age*, Susan Drucker & Robert S. Cathcart, eds., (Creskill, N.J.: Hampton Press, 1994), 15-23. Print culture, according to Strate, infused heroes with realism. They became men to be admired.

35. Wecter, *The Hero in America*, 1941, 446-491.

36. Susan Drucker and Robert Cathcart, eds., *American heroes in a Media Age* (New York: Hampton Press, 1994), 41-3; Orin Klapp, *Heroes, Villains, and Fools: Reflections of the American Character* (San Diego, Calif.: Aegis Pub. Co., 1972), 1-158; Jeanne C. Reesman, ed. *Trickster Lives: Culture and Myth in American Fiction* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 1-222. Swiss psychologist Carl Jung defined the trickster as one of the oldest mythical "expressions of mankind," a transformational archetype that defies societal conventions often through deceit. Carl Jung cited in Reesman, ed. *Trickster Lives*, 2001, xii. As early as the mid-nineteenth century, tricksters like Mark Twain's Huckleberry Finn and Joel Chandler Harris' Br'er Fox were celebrated in America literary circles. By twentieth century's turn, outlaws and rebels such as Jesse James and Billy the Kid were presented as idols for America's youth in the Beadle dime novels.

37. Janice Hume, "Press, Published History, Regional Lore: Shaping the Public Memory of a Revolutionary War Heroine," *Journalism History* 30:4 (2005), 200-209; Janice Hume, "Changing Characteristics of Heroic Women in Mid-Century Mainstream Media," *Journal of Popular Culture* 34:1 (2000), 9-29; Hume, "Defining the Historic American Heroine: Changing Characteristics of Heroic Women in Nineteenth-Century Media," *Journal of Popular Culture*, 31:1 (1997), 1-21. Hume has defined public memory as the manner in which a group of individuals share stories about the past.

38. Lule, *Daily News, Eternal Stories*, 2001, 1-244.

39. Brian Carroll, "Early twentieth century heroes," *American Journalism* 32:1 (2006), 34-42.

40. Gender historians have only cursorily examined the role of the sports media in the perceived "crisis of masculinity" at the turn of the twentieth century. For examples see, Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 1-307; Harry Brod (ed.), *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 1-346; Peter Filene, *Him/Her/Self: Sex Roles in Modern America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 1-256; Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: The Free Press, 1997), 1-329; J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940 (*New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 1-278; Elizabeth and Joseph Pleck (eds.), *The American Man* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1980), 1-432; E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 1-396; Peter N. Stearns, *Be a Man! Males in Modern Society* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1979), 1-300. Some historians, like E. Anthony Rotundo, referred to the study of sport as absurd. See, Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001), 7.

41. Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 1995, 6.

42. Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 1971, 5-23, 229-247; Karl Marx, *Das Kapital: A Critique of Political Economy* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 2000), 1-349; Williams,"Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory,"1980, 31–49.

43. As early as the 1890s, German philosopher Friedrich Engles noted that for Marx the mode of production, the economic base, determines a society's superstructure. Marx and his followers like Louis Althusser have long been critiqued for their iron economic determinism. For examples see, Terry Eagleton, *Marxism and Literary Criticism* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 1-79; Michael Evans, *Karl Marx* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 79.

44. For example see, Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory,"1980, 31–49.

45. Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory,"1980, 31–49.

46. Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 1971, 5-23, 229-247; Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory,"1980, 31–49; Williams, *The Long Revolution*, 1961, 1-119.

47. Williams, *The Long Revolution*, 1961, 1-119.

48. My understanding of the role of history in shaping present and future circumstances stems from Raymond Williams. In *Keywords*, Williams traces the concept from its roots as a general term referring to narrative accounts of knowledge to a continuous process, which is "active in the present and which will shape the future in knowable ways." One can gain more insight into this process when considering cultural structure and agency through Williams' notion of determinism. In "The Base and Superstructure," Williams revalued determination as "the setting of limits and the exertion of pressure." Raymond Williams, "History," In *Keywords; A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 146; Williams, "Base and Superstructure, 1980, 31–49. Hardt and Brennen also provide an insightful discussion of the role of history and theory in Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen, "Introduction: Communication and the Question of History." *Communication Theory* 3, no. 2 (May 1993): 130–136.

49. Susan Drucker, "The Mediated Sports Hero," In *American Heroes in a Media Age*, Susan Drucker & Robert S. Cathcart, eds., (Creskill, N.J.: Hampton Press, 1994), 82-93.

50. Nick Trujillo and Leah R. Vande Berg, "From Western Prodigy to Ageless Wonder: The Mediated Evolution of Nolan Ryan," In *American Heroes in a Media Age*, Susan Drucker & Robert S. Cathcart, eds., (Creskill, N.J.: Hampton Press, 1994), 221-240; Daniel A. Nathan and Mary G. McDonald, "Yearning for Yesteryear: Cal Ripkin Jr., The Streak, and the Politics of Nostalgia," *American Studies* 42:1 (Spring 2001), 99-123.

51. Readers' Guide Retrospective Index contains articles from more than 375 American magazines published between 1890 and 1982. American Periodical Series Online contains articles from more than 1,100 American periodicals published between 1741 and 1900. These dates are rather misleading, however, since the database actually houses all articles from publications that were established before 1900.

52. Orodenker identified five myths that sports reporters often draw upon in their prose—the myth of America, the myth of timelessness, the myth of the hero, the myth of memory, and the myth of the best game. Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 17-24.

53. Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949), 1-171.

54. John Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 2007), 73.

55. Ibid.
56. The LA84 Foundation is a non-profit organization dedicated to digitizing sports records.

CHAPTER 2

THE NATIONAL PASTIME IN AMERICAN CULTURE, 1800-1928

Young Dick Russell, baseball enthusiast and future U.S. Senator, was not an anomaly in the early twentieth century. He shared a passion with countless other Americans. For these fans, the national pastime was a cultural craze. They played with chums in sandlots. They handed over their hard-earned quarters to cheer on their favorite teams. They foraged newspapers and magazines for the latest scoop about their favorite players. They debated statistics and records. They collected memorabilia. In short, they were in awe of the national pastime and its cast of stars.

By the early twentieth century, baseball had captured the American imagination. The national pastime and its cast of stars were celebrated in everything from popular sheet music and vaudeville shows to major literary works and pulp fiction.[1] The national passion for baseball did not emerge overnight nor did it develop in isolation of other phenomenon in American culture. To understand why the "American game," as it was branded by 1857, fascinated the country's citizens requires tracing its development alongside cultural trends.[2]

Amateur Baseball in America's Antebellum Era (1800-1860)

"Base ball" originated as a simple children's game. Early references to the pastime note the joy associated with "playing ball" after long days at school.[3] Despite numerous mentions of the game in chapbooks from the 1820s until the 1840s, most children had a relatively small amount of time to devote to such activities.[4] Instead, in a primarily pastoral society, daylight hours often were committed to household chores like hauling water, carrying firewood,

gardening, spinning, and cooking.[5] When children were not helping out around the family farm or small business, they were learning basic lessons in character, reading, writing and arithmetic from their mothers or in common schools.[6] In the remaining time, they were free to play ball.

By the 1830s, adult men joined children in the pursuit. As Puritanical restraints against sport eroded, men participated in town ball, a version of baseball that more closely resembled the modern form.[7] Farmers occasionally participated in the sport at infrequent town festivals. Elite upper-class men with ample leisure time and financial resources also took up the sport.[8] In 1857, fourteen New York clubs formed the National Association of Base Ball Players (NABBP).[9] That same year, the game's growing popularity prompted *Spirit of the Times* editor William Trotter to note, "This noble American game, which all the seductions of the scientific game of cricket have not been able to undermine, is growing more and more in favor every day."[10] Although participation in baseball was still primarily an upper-class phenomenon, the coming of the Civil War did much to popularize the sport with all social classes.[11]

The Civil War, Reconstruction, and the "American game" (1861-1877)

The spread of baseball's popular appeal did not come until after the first shots of the Civil War. Twentieth-century sporting goods magnate Albert G. Spalding attributed the birth of the "American" pastime to Union General Abner Doubleday.[12] While this myth has long been proven false, Spalding did have one thing right when he wrote in 1911 that baseball "received its baptism in the bloody days of our Nation's direst danger. It had its evolution when soldiers, North and South, were striving to forget their foes by cultivating, through this grand game, fraternal friendships with comrades in arms."[13] Baseball historian Michael Aubrecht notes that officers on either side of the battle lines encouraged participation as a means to promote physical conditioning and boost morale.[14] For instance, on Christmas Day in 1862, more than 40,000

Union soldiers witnessed a match-up between the 165th New York Volunteer Regiment and a squad comprised of enlisted men from various Union regiments at Hilton Head, S.C.[15]

In the years after the war, returning soldiers brought their enthusiasm for baseball to organized clubs.[16] By 1867, there were approximately 2,000 organized clubs across the nation, and the NABBP had grown to more than 400 teams.[17] Though it was founded on principles of amateurism, by 1869, the NABBP began permitting professional players to grace its rosters.[18] That year, Harry Wright of the Cincinnati Red Stockings organized the first professional club.[19] Other capitalist-minded baseball enthusiasts in Chicago and Boston saw the money-making potential of the sport.[20] After all, sponsors and spectators of amateur squads had long funded travel and equipment costs through ticket sales and donations.[21] So when the NABBP collapsed in 1871, a handful of entrepreneurs established the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players (NAPBBP).[22] Though short-lived, the NAPBBP reflected America's growing fascination with the sport.[23] By 1876, a new group of businessmen sought to stabilize operations by arming club owners with the power to curtail roster jumping, the player practice of moving to clubs willing to pay higher salaries during the course of the season, through the establishment of a National League of Professional Baseball Clubs.[24]

Professional Baseball in America's Progressive Era (1880-1928)

By 1889, baseball fever had swept the country, prompting Mark Twain to call the sport "the very symbol … of the raging, tearing booming nineteenth century."[25] Twain may have likened the national pastime to unseen forces of the nineteenth century, but it was the sociocultural by-products of the Second Industrial Revolution that led to its success as a commercial enterprise. Three primary sociocultural trends linked to industrialization contributed to professional baseball's rise to the national pastime: developments in transportation,

communication, and manufacturing; urbanization and the endorsement of sport as a social cure-all; and the promotional tactics of the sporting press.[26] These three overarching trends helped shape professional baseball, its market, and its business model.

Professional Baseball's Economic Foundation

National economic trends associated with the Second Industrial Revolution laid the groundwork for professional baseball's success as a commercial enterprise.[27] The construction of new railroad lines, street cars, trolleys, and subways made the transportation of baseball players, owners, and fans possible.[28] Communication systems like the telegraph facilitated the exchange of sports information to the popular press.[29] Improvements to the rotary press and the emergence of mass-circulating newspapers and magazines created the opportunity for sports coverage to be delivered to fan bases.[30] And, new manufacturing techniques opened the door for the mass production of sporting goods and souvenirs.[31]

With the economic foundation in place, sports-minded entrepreneurs with an interest in commercializing baseball were not in short supply.[32] According to baseball historian Steven Riess, in cities like Cincinnati, influential individuals like mayor Julius Fleischmann invested in baseball clubs.[33] The National League, composed of eight clubs, enjoyed a monopoly in professional baseball until 1881.[34] During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, however, rival leagues such as the American Association (1881), the Union Association (1884), and the Player's League (1890) threatened its stronghold.[35] These competing leagues offered cheaper admission prices and more lucrative player contracts. The most successful of these leagues, the American Association, which introduced 25-cent admission, Sunday games, and alcoholic beverages, posed the first sustained threat to the National League, luring away star talent and cutting into the older league's profits.[36] Still, the National League survived.[37]

Professional Baseball's Market

Progressive Era America was a nation in great flux. Like the locomotives that traversed its terrain, its people were in a state of motion.[38] Men, women, and children traveled from America's countryside to its cities in search of industrial jobs.[39] Even before the Great Migration of the 1910s and '20s, thousands of emancipated African Americans fled the South looking for work.[40] Waves of immigrants also flooded the country's shore. Between 1880 and 1914, more than twenty million individuals emigrated from poor, rural regions of Southeastern Europe.[41] Unlike earlier trends in immigration, the vast majority of immigrants came from Russia and Italy.[42] They entered the United States through New York City's Ellis Island, often continuing to urban hubs throughout the Northeast and Midwest.[43] Like American-born migrants, most immigrants fled provincial landscapes for one reason—the opportunities of city life.[44]

The masses found employment in factories, department stores, restaurants, hotels, and newly emerging corporate entities.[45] When they were not busy working in the commercial and industrial zones of urban metropolises, they parted ways, proceeding home to affluent neighborhoods, middle-class brownstones and apartments, and lower-class boarding houses in fringe slums, based primarily on class and ethnicity.[46] In their spare time, they frequented saloons, pool houses, barber shops, restaurants, cafes, public libraries, museums, theatres, and dance halls.[47] As historian Howard Chudacoff argues, a growing proportion of these city dwellers were young, single men.[48]

While some urbanites took advantage of modern conveniences like electricity, indoor plumbing, and urban transportation, the vast majority were also greeted by the underbelly of city living.[49] At twentieth century's turn, America's cities became overcrowded dens of crime, pollution, disease, class division, and estrangement.[50] Progressive Era reformers lashed out

against urban ills and vices, from corporate sins of monopolistic trusts to societal corruption. They fought for prohibition, sexual morality, child labor laws, and women's rights.[51] Even white middle- and upper-class men became disillusioned with America's metropolises because of alienating working and living conditions.[52]

These social shifts had implications for white men. Sociocultural forces associated with urbanization and emerging consumer capitalism threatened to undermine white middle- and upper-class society's constructions of self-made manhood.[53] Within the workplace, behemoth bureaucratic corporations undercut small, private businesses, leading to a dwindling number of business owners. Not only were men finding it more difficult to succeed in private enterprise, but entry-level positions as business clerks, which a generation earlier served as an almost guaranteed ticket of promotion to upper management, no longer came with lucrative promises of future paydays.[54] Instead, the professional-managerial class, the term historian Robert Ohmann applied to the newly emerging middle class,[55] was threatened by the influx of new labor competition from immigrants, African Americans, and women. The advent of scientific management and mechanized production further jeopardized the autonomy of white, upper- and middle-class men.[56] Within civic and religious domains, female reformers and church organizers threatened to effeminize religious leaders and politicians, and within the home, the "true woman" managed the household, promising to mold sons into emasculated "sissies," "pansies," or worse "fairies."[57] Accompanying these intellectual concerns over the atomization and alienation of white, middle-class men was a resurgence of nativist rhetoric that re-entrenched racist ideologies.[58] These racist logics led to the creation of de jure and de facto segregation measures such as Jim Crowe legislation and ethnic ghettos.[59] The intellectual elite, comprised of political leaders like Theodore Roosevelt and health reformers like G. Stanley Hall, fretted over the

disappearance of Victorian American values such as individualism and self reliance and the potential dismantlement of American democracy.[60]

During the Progressive Era, prominent middle- and upper-class leaders looked to sport as a cure-all for many urban vices.[61] Since the Civil War, sport had been promoted as a tool to strengthen troop morale and physical condition.[62] Soldiers returning home from the front lines brought with them these wartime philosophies and turned to them as a solution for the unforeseen plagues of industrialized life.[63] At the dawn of the Progressive Era, the Victorian middle- and upper-class endorsed sport as a means of regeneration.[64] It was touted as a method to improve public health, foster character development, cure social vices, and promote community ties and cultural assimilation.[65] Middle-class American men were mutually constituted by a newly emerging sport creed, comprised of the logic that clean sport was not an idle amusement but an activity that fostered cultural values like the Protestant work ethic, team work, sportsmanship, rugged individualism, and manliness.[66]

Some of the newly emerging fervor over the sporting culture was linked to the muscular Christianity movement, which swept Great Britain and America in the nineteenth century.[67] Individuals associated with the movement devoted to health, character enhancement, and manliness promoted sport as a reaction to "feminine" traits within Protestant churches.[68] Although the movement originated in British culture,[69] the main ideals of the movement—that one should maintain a strong mind and body, because of its centrality as the temple of Christ—were espoused by evangelical Protestants within American society. In the decades following the Second Great Awakening (1790-1840), prominent ministers and evangelists such as Henry Ward Beecher and Dwight L. Moody encouraged young men to strengthen their minds, bodies, and spirits by participating in healthy forms of athletics like football, basketball, and baseball and to

use organizations such as the Young Men's Christian Association as evangelistic tools to win souls for Christ.[70] Influenced by popular muscular Christianity texts like Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* (1855), many affluent nineteenth-century boarding schools like Massachusetts' Groton School, Worcester Academy, and Phillips Andover Academy instituted athletic programs to instill virtuous character traits in young men.[71]

By twentieth century's turn, this Protestant ideology had been transplanted to mainstream American culture.[72] Leaders increasingly looked to sport not only as a remedy for urban ills but as a mechanism to instill manliness in young men.[73] They took a cue from earlier generations, promoting sport as a tool for warfare preparation.[74] In addition, they endorsed it as a means to gird up the national store of masculinity, which was under attack on every front—from the workplace to political and domestic arenas.[75] Roosevelt and other leaders encouraged "real" men to reclaim their manly character by engaging in the rugged, strenuous life.[76] Manhood, which once served as the oppositional term to childhood, became juxtaposed to womanhood. Masculinity entered the American lexicon as something that had to be continuously enacted.[77] Some men turned to frontier life and military careers to demonstrate their manliness in the age of imperialism.[78] Others performed their masculinity through participation in male fraternities and organized sport.[79]

While men had an opportunity to compete in any number of sports, proper women could only partake in "feminine" pastimes like bicycling, skating, tennis, and golf.[80] As sports scholar Helen Lenskyj argues, Progressive Era leaders and the mass media constructed the myth of female frailty.[81] These individuals cited moral responsibilities and physiological inferiorities such as smaller brains, lighter bones, delicate organs, and a limited vital energy as reasons to limit athletic activity.[82] When women dared to compete in sports like baseball and track, they

were labeled as tomboys and muscle molls.[83] This pervasive dogma constituted a culture that relegated proper women to the sidelines of pastimes promoted as rugged vestiges of manliness; chief among those activities were football and baseball.[84]

African-American men also were barred from competing in professional baseball. African Americans like Moses Fleetwood Walker and John "Bud" Fowler had played in the American Association and the International League in the 1880s, but baseball magnates from the National League and American Association entered into an unofficial gentleman's agreement, prohibiting "colored" men from competing in professional baseball in 1889.[85] Though some light-skinned African Americans "passed" as Cuban after baseball's "color" line was drawn, darker-skinned African-American and Latino players like Jose Mendez were banned from playing professional baseball in the early twentieth century.[86] Despite their exclusion from major league baseball, professional African-American teams like the Chicago Giants, the Indianapolis ABCs, and the Homestead Grays competed against other African-American teams and barnstorming major league clubs.[87] The success of these professional teams persuaded Andrew "Rube" Foster, the owner of the Chicago American Giants, to create the Negro National League in 1920.[88] The Negro Southern League and the Eastern Colored League were formed shortly thereafter. The Negro Leagues received widespread exposure in the black press, but the success of Negro League stars like "Cool Papa" Bell did not translate into mainstream media coverage.[89]

Professional Baseball's Business Model

Baseball became the pastime of the masses during the Progressive Era.[90] Nineteenth-century literary icon Walt Whitman wrote in 1846 of baseball's potential as a national pastime, "I see great things in baseball. It's our game—the American game. It will take our people out-of-doors, fill them with oxygen, give them a larger physical stoicism. Tend to relieve us from being

a nervous, dyspeptic set."[91] At century's turn, Whitman, Twain, Roosevelt, and Hall were joined by general and specialized sports publications in promoting baseball's restorative benefits, as well as its status as a symbol of nationalism.[92] In fact, baseball's greatest booster was the sports scribe.[93]

Professional baseball relied on the press—the sports sections of daily newspapers, general magazines, and specialty sports publications—to promote the national pastime.[94] The sporting press provided the public with playing schedules of local teams and accounts of recent match-ups including box scores.[95] However, publicity was not limited to the relaying of information about local teams and talent. Sportswriters also endorsed baseball as a wholesome game.[96] Early sportswriters like Henry Chadwick argued that professional baseball was a "clean" game free from the widespread gambling and rowdyism associated with the sport in the 1860s and '70s.[97] Other sports journalists promoted the cultural mythology that the "American" game of baseball was a pastoral escape .[98] They claimed that baseball was a cathartic activity to ease social anxiety and promote community spirit.[99] The sporting press publicized baseball's American origin, as well as its unique cultural status and benefits.[100] Sportswriters crafted the sport as a healthy form of leisure activity.[101] In an era before professional public relations firms, baseball club owners and magnates relied on antecedent public relations tactics supplied by the sporting press.[102] In exchange for providing free travel, lodging, and press box seats, clubs received a relatively unlimited supply of good publicity.[103]

Professional baseball reached its cultural apex in the first three decades of the twentieth century.[104] After surviving a global economic depression in 1893 and another round of league wars at century's turn, which resulted in the formation of the American League in 1903, professional baseball thrived.[105] Evidence of baseball's popular appeal is revealed in the growth

of major league attendance figures, the economic appreciation of professional clubs, the introduction of the World Series and fireproof stadia, and pervasive coverage in the mass media.[106] Baseball resonated with the emergent professional-managerial class, as well as the masses, because of its status as a cultural salve for city ills.[107] Every American president from Theodore Roosevelt to Herbert Hoover attended professional baseball games, endorsing attendance, even during wartime.[108] President William Howard Taft, who began the presidential tradition of throwing out the first pitch, called baseball a "clean, straight game."[109]

Publicized as the national pastime by American political leaders, professional baseball did not cease during World War I (1914-1918); instead, the government encouraged major league clubs to carry on for the sake of national morale.[110] Although many of the game's greatest stars like Detroit Tigers outfielder Ty Cobb and New York Giants pitcher Christy Mathewson joined or were drafted by America's combat forces, the commercial enterprise continued. The war cemented the link between baseball and patriotism. According to baseball historians Leonard and David Koppett, major league clubs "promoted patriotism at every turn," orchestrating national drives to raise money for Liberty Bonds and the Red Cross.[111] After the war, American leaders emphasized the link between baseball and patriotism. For instance, after the Washington Senators won their first pennant on October 1, 1924, President Calvin Coolidge extolled the sport's virtues before a crowd of nearly 100,000 fans on the White House lawn: "While baseball remains our national game, our national tastes will be on a higher level and our national ideals on a finer foundation. By bringing the baseball pennant to Washington you have made the National Capital more truly the center of worthy and honorable national aspirations."[112]

The national pastime's popularity was also affirmed by attendance at major league ball parks. More than seven million fans watched professional baseball games in the first decade of

the century.[113] By the 1920s, average annual attendance topped ten million.[114] This occurred alongside the growth of America's professional-managerial class.[115] Baseball was endorsed as a respectable middle-class amusement, and early twentieth-century crowds reflected its status as such. Although middle-class men composed the vast majority of fans, the attendance of women was commonplace, especially on Ladies Days.[116] With ample leisure time and financial means, the professional-managerial class was uniquely suited to take part in the commercial amusement.[117] Though working class attendance was less frequent, they still handed over their hard-earned quarters and dollars for Sunday games and read about their favorite stars in the sports pages.[118]

As attendance swelled, some professional baseball club owners reaped the rewards.[119] With the correct combination of talent and market, some owners recorded annual profits of more than $100,000.[120] But, era club accounting books, prone to creative bookkeeping strategies similar to those of today, do not provide a great gauge into the profitability of baseball.[121] According to baseball historian Harold Seymour, a more accurate measure of the national pastime's profitability might be its estimated value at franchise selling time.[122] Club owners, who invested roughly $20,000 in start-up costs in 1900, sold them for approximately half a million dollars twenty years later.[123]

Professional baseball club owners scrambled to enhance their investments by facilitating continued appeal through event planning and new construction.[124] Although national championships existed intermittently in the nineteenth century, the National Agreement between the rival National and American Leagues culminated in the introduction of the World Series in 1903.[125] The World Series quickly proved to be a fan favorite, challenging mediated attention given to national election coverage.[126] In addition to establishing the fall classic, owners replaced

fire-prone grandstands with fireproof baseball parks and stadiums.[127] In the early twentieth century, modern baseball stadiums were constructed in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Boston, and New York.[128] Club owners and magnates fostered alliances with political bosses to secure lucrative sites within walking distance of public transportation.[129] Establishing these alliances was not difficult. In many areas, baseball clubs were owned by businessmen who had significant political ties.[130] It was relatively easy to convince influential politicians to support the advancement of professional baseball, since doing so often meant being cast as selfless philanthropists by the press.[131]

Conclusion

By the end of the Progressive Era, baseball had a firm grasp on the American imagination.[132] Endorsed as a pastoral escape from the urban jungle, baseball enjoyed "a myth of cultural and geographical uniqueness," which worked hand-in-hand with ideas of American exceptionalism and the American dream.[133] Baseball, as sport historian Donald Mrozek argues, "appealed to the era's fascination with complexity, order, precision, and discipline."[134] It became the preeminent middle-class leisure activity.[135] Social reformers promoted it. Industrial leaders sponsored it. Millions of men, women, and children participated in the national pastime as competitors and spectators.[136] Baseball so resonated with the American public, that noted American philosopher Morris Raphael Cohen in 1919 labeled the pastime as the national religion.[137] If baseball was indeed the national religion then sportswriters were its proselytizers, the sporting press its bible, and the American public its willing worshipers. With baseball firmly entrenched as the national pastime, sports journalist turned to the promotion of its cast of stars.[138]

End Notes

1. During this era, baseball was a preeminent cultural activity. Millions of Americans visited baseball parks to watch their heroes or leafed through the sports page for baseball news. It was alluded to in popular fiction from Beadle Dime novels to major literary works (For example see, Burt Standish's *Frank Merriwell* Series (1896-1937), Mark Twain's *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court Yard* (1889), F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925), and the works of Thomas Wolfe). It was heralded in poetry (i.e. Ernest Thayer's "Casey at the Bat," 1888), songs (i.e. Jack Norworth's "Take Me Out to the Ball Game," 1908), vaudeville shows (i.e. the Green Brother's "Baseball Bat Juggling Act," 1900, *Stealing Home*, 1908, and Bud Abbott and Lou Costello's "Who's On First" routine, 1936) black-and-white films (i.e. Thomas Edison's *The Ball Game*, 1898 and *Right off the Bat*, 1915), baseball cards (American Tobacco Company's T206 Series), and advertising for popular products like Coca Cola. Amy W. McGuiggan, *Take Me Out to the Ball Game: The Story of the Sensational Baseball Song*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 1-18; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 13-40.

2. The game's growing popularity prompted *Spirit of the Times* editor William Trotter to note in 1857, "This noble American game, which all the seductions of the scientific game of cricket have not been able to undermine, is growing more and more in favor every day." As quoted in the *Chicago Tribune*, April 23, 1887. A decade later, Trotter wrote, "Of all outdoor sports, base-ball is that in which the greatest number of our people participate either as players or spectators .... It is a pastime that best suites the temperament of our people." Cited in Allen Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 95.

3. Baseball developed from several English games such as tut-ball, stool-ball, cat and dog, munshets, trap-ball, hand-in, and hand-out. Block notes that the first reference to "base ball" came in German physical education pioneer J.C.F. Gutsmuths's book in 1796 (p. 181). "Base ball" was referenced by Jane Austen in *Northanger Abbey* (1818) as a favorite activity of Catherine, as well as in popular chapbooks on children's amusements. One such book noted that "When school is over for the day,/the sprightly boys run off to play" (p. 188). David Block, *Baseball Before We Knew It* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 1-322.

4. Ibid., 188-212; James M. Volo and Dorothy D. Volo, *The Antebellum Period* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 2004), 62.

5. Ibid, 62.

6. In 1800, approximately ninety-four percent of Americans lived in rural areas and towns with populations less than 2,500 individuals. Approximately fifty percent of children outside the South attended school. Early education was provided primarily by mothers. Ibid, 4, 66, 63.

7. Early Anglo-protestant leaders condemned leisure pursuits as the hallmark of a sinful nature. According to this Puritanical dogma, unholy sport and leisure pursuits often were accompanied by drunkenness and gambling. On the decline of Puritanical condemnation of sport, see Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 2001, 11-45. On town ball, see Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 17.

8. For instance, in 1833, the Olympic Town Ball Club of Philadelphia was formed, and in 1845, Alexander Cartwright, a bank teller and volunteer fireman, formed the Knickerbocker Base Ball Club of New York. Ibid., 15.

9. The NABBP was one of the first centralized sports associations in the United States. Mrozek, *Sport and the American Mentality*, 104; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 35;

David Q. Voigt, *American Baseball: From Gentleman's Sport to the Commissioner System* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1966), 9.

10. Cited in Guttmann. *From Ritual to Record*, 1978, 95.

11. As if to foreshadow the spread of baseball's popular appeal, a political cartoon featuring presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln playing baseball appeared days before the 1860 elections. *The National Game. Three "Outs" and One "Run."* (New York: Currier & Ives, 1860). Library of Congress. http://www.myloc.gov/Exhibitions/lincoln/rise/TheRunforPresident/FrontPorchCampaign/ExhibitObjects/1860ElectionCartoon.aspx (accessed January 11, 2010).

12. After more than a half a century of debates surrounding the authenticity of baseball's American origin, in 1908, sporting goods manufacturer Albert Spalding organized a panel to derive the inventor of America's national pastime. The panel found that Abney Doubleday invented the game and devised the rules in Cooperstown, N.Y., in 1839. In subsequent years, journalists and historians continued to debate the origin of the sport. Block, *Baseball Before We Knew It*, 2005, 1-21; Richard Peterson, *Extra Innings: Writing on Baseball* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 39-47**;** Voigt, *American Baseball: From Gentleman's Sport to the Commissioner System*, 1966, 5-7, 278.

13. This excerpt first appeared in Albert Spalding's history of baseball— *America's National Game*. Albert G. Spalding, *America's National Game: Historic Facts Concerning The Beginning Evolution, Development, and Popularity of Baseball* (New York: American Sports Publishing Company, 1911), 92; George B. Kirsch, *Baseball in Blue and Gray: The National Pastime During the Civil War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 34.

14. Michael Aubrecht, "Baseball and the Blue and the Gray," *Baseball Almanac*. July 2004. http://www.baseball-almanac.com/articles/aubrecht2004b.shtml (accessed January 12, 2010); Kirsch, *Baseball in Blue and Gray*, 2003, 29-33; Benjamin Rader, *Baseball: A History of America's Game* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 17-18; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 40-1.

15. Patricia Millen, *From Pastime to Passion: Baseball and the Civil War* (Westminster, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2007), 21; Kirsch, *Baseball in Blue and Gray*, 2003, 37; Rader, *Baseball: A History of America's Game*, 2002, 18; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 41.

16. Rader, *Baseball: A History of America's Game*, 2002, 18-21; William J. Ryczek, *When Johnny Came Sliding Home: The Post-Civil War Baseball Boom*, 1865-70 (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland Publishers, 1998), 15.

17. Harper, *How You Played the Game*, 1999, 56; Rader, *Baseball: A History of America's Game*, 2002, 21, 27.

18. Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 35-72.

19. Ibid., 47-58

20. Ibid., 59-72.

21. Ibid, 47-48.

22. The league folded due in part to the conflicts created by a mixture of amateur and professional clubs. Harper, *How You Played the Game*, 1999, 56; Rader, *Baseball: A History of America's Game*, 2002, 44; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 59-60.

23. Ibid., Professional baseball did not enjoy financial success in its early years under the NAPBBP. Associated with gambling, drunkenness, and sacrilegious Sunday games, it suffered an image problem.

24. In 1876, Chicago coal tycoon and civic booster William Hulbert established the National League of Professional Base Ball Clubs. In order to ensure financial success, member clubs were required to be located in a city with a population of 75,000. In addition, Hulbert curtailed the practice of revolving, moving from team to team based on promised salaries. Through the reserve system, the contract agreement which allowed owners to indefinitely retain rights to players at minimal salaries, clubs maximized profits. Rader, *Baseball: A History of America's Game*, 2002, 43-44; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 78.

25. Twain famously issued these remarks at an April 8, 1889, speech at Delmonicos. The speech was widely reprinted in newspapers across the country. *Boston Daily Globe*, April 9, 1889, 1; "Baseball at Delmonicos," *New York Times*, April 9, 1889, 1, "Many Ovations," *Sporting Life,* April 17, 1889, 1.

26. Harper, *How You Played the Game*, 1999, 4; Glenn Moore, "Ideology on the Sports Page: Newspapers, Baseball and the Ideological Conflict in the Gilded Age," 1996, 239; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 23-35; Voigt, *American Baseball: From Gentleman's Sport to the Commissioner System*, 1966, 35.

27. Boyle, *Sport*, 1963, 4; 32; Harper, *How you played the game*, 1999, 4; Richard D. Mandell, *Sport: A Cultural History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 183; Moore, "Ideology on the Sports Page: Newspapers, Baseball and the Ideological Conflict in the Gilded Age," 1996, 239; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 12; Riess, *City Games*, 1989, 4; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 23-35; Voigt, *American Baseball: From Gentleman's Sport to the Commissioner System*, 1966, 35.

28. Boyle, *Sport*, 1963, 4; 32; Harper, *How you played the game*, 1999, 4; Mandell, *Sport*, 1984, 183; Moore, "Ideology on the Sports Page," 1996, 239; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 12; Riess, *City Games*, 1989, 4; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 23-35; Voigt, *American Baseball: From Gentleman's Sport to the Commissioner System*, 1966, 35.

29. Joshua Gamson, "The Assembly Line of Greatness: Celebrity in 20th Century America," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication 9* (1992), 3; Harper, *How You Played the Game*, 1999, 11; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 27-33; Charles Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure: Human-interest Journalism and the Emergence of Celebrity in America, 1890-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 244.

30. Joshua Gamson, "The Assembly Line of Greatness," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication 9* (1992), 3; Harper, *How You Played the Game*, 1999, 11; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 27-33; Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 244.

31. Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 23-35.

32. Ibid.

33. Steven A. Reiss, "The Baseball Magnates and Urban Politics in the Progressive Era: 1895– 1920," *Journal of Sport History*, 1974: 41-62.

34. The National League engaged in monopolistic practices such as establishing restrictive territorial rights to curtail rival leagues and creating a reservation clause to mandate that players were property of a club until traded, sold, or released. Rader, *Baseball: A History of America's Game*, 2002, 43-78; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 73-171.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid. In 1883, delegates from the National League and the American Association formulated the National Agreement, which promised mutual respect of all rosters and minimum player salaries. For nearly a decade, the two leagues co-existed, despite several player wars such as the Player Revolt of 1889, in which a group of players, led by former New York Giants

second baseman and Columbia law graduate John M. Ward, denounced the reserve contract. In 1891, the embattled American Association merged with the National League, forming one unified league composed of twelve clubs.

37. Ibid.

38. In 1800, the American landscape was primarily pastoral. More than ninety percent of Americans lived in rural areas with fewer than 2,500 people; by century's end, however, nearly one-third of all Americans lived in the city. America's cities grew exponentially after the Civil War, as approximately twenty-four million individuals migrated to urban hubs between 1860 and 1900. Roughly half were from rural areas. These individuals fled to the city for a number of reasons including the decline of agricultural jobs and the promise of factory work. Volo and Volo, *The Antebellum Period*, 2004, 4; Joel Shrock, *The Gilded Age* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 2004), 2.

39. Ibid., 3.

40. In the 1890s, 185,000 African Americans left the rural South. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, more than 4.1 million African Americans followed. Ibid., 3.

41. Ibid., 3; Kathleen Drowne and Patrick Huber, *The 1920s* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 2004), 8. Immigration was curtailed with the outbreak of World War I, and in the 1920s, the United States enacted a series of laws, such as the Quota Act (1921) and the National Origins Act (1924), which set annual immigration caps to 165,000.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid. By 1919, more than half of Americans lived in cities, and sixty percent of urban dwellers were immigrants. David Blanke, *The 1910s* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 2002), 6.

45. The first two decades of the twentieth century saw a rise in big businesses, which manufactured items like Model T Fords and radios. Drowne and Huber, *The 1920s*, 2004, 5; Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor*, 75-145.

46. Shrock, *The Gilded Age*, 2004, 4, 65-78. By 1890, more than three-fourths of urban dwellers in cities with populations larger than 100,000 lived in rental housing.

47. Shrock, *The Gilded Age*, 2004, 1-304; Blanke, *The 1910s*, 2002, 1-318; Drowne and Huber, *The 1920s*, 2004, 1-313.

48. For instance, Chudacoff notes that in the 1890 U.S. Census 41.7 percent of American men over the age of fifteen were single. Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor*, 1999, 48.

49. Blanke, *The 1910s*, 2002, 5-7.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Historians have long suggested that men underwent a "crisis of masculinity" due to forces of industrialization, although they only cursorily explored its link to baseball's popular appeal. For examples see, Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 1995, 1-307; Brod (ed.), *The Making of Masculinities*, 1987, 1-346; Filene, *Him/Her/Self*, 1976, 1-256; Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 1997, 1-329; Mangan and Walvin, *Manliness and Morality*, 1987, 1-278; Pleck and Pleck (eds.), *The American Man*, 1980, 1-432; Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 1993, 1-396; Stearns, *Be a Man!* 1979, 1-300.

54. Filene, *Him/Her/Self*, 1976, 3-100; Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 1997, 78.

55. Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets and Class at the Turn of the Century* (Verso, 1996), 60.

56. Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 1997, 83.

57. In the postbellum Victorian era, middle-class women were governed by the ideology of "true womanhood," which dictated that the "weaker" sex belonged in the domestic sphere. Within this "private sphere," women, who by nature were thought to be more pious, pure, and frail than their male counterparts, were expected to submit to their husbands and tend to the affairs of the home, the most important of which was to mold intelligent, upright sons ready to claim a piece of the American dream. Although this ideal dominated nineteenth-century popular press, "New Women" actively resisted traditional gender norms and roles through their participation in the "public sphere." During the latter half of the nineteenth century, women regardless of class fled the domestic arena for the "public" domain as reformers, laborers, and athletes. For instance, women entered the workforce in great numbers in blue- and white-collar positions such as housekeepers, factory workers, journalists, typists, and clerical workers. Between 1870 and 1900, the percentage of women in the workforce jumped from sixteen to twenty percent. On civic housekeepers see, Michael L. Goldberg, *An Army of Women: Gender and Politics in Gilded Age Kansas* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1997), 1-313; Agnes H. Gottlieb, *Women Journalists and the Municipal Housekeeping Movement, 1868-1914* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001), 1-208; Lee Ann Wheeler, *Against Obscenity: Reform and the Politics of Womanhood in America, 1873-1935* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 2004), 1-272. On working women see Martha Gardner, *The Qualities of a Citizen: Women, Immigration and Citizenship, 1870-1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 1-271. In reaction, psychologists like G. Stanley Hall warned against effeminate traits and nervous disorders caused by the overcivilization of man. Over-bearing, over-protective mothers were to blame for these effeminate qualities. Sissies could be treated through organized sport or clubs like the Boy Scouts. Ibid.; George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 1-478; Filene, *Him/Her/Self*, 1976,1-100; Julia Grant, "A 'Real Boy' and not a Sissy: Gender, Childhood, and Masculinity, 1890-1940" *Journal of Social History* (Summer 2004), 829-851.

58. Grant, "A 'Real Boy' and not a Sissy," 2004, 829-851.

59. Drowne and Huber, *The 1920s*, 2004, 9-13.

60. Grant, "A 'Real Boy' and not a Sissy," 2004, 829-851.

61. Leaders like G. Stanley Hall and Theodore Roosevelt endorsed sport's regenerative benefits. Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 1995; Grant, "A 'Real Boy' and not a Sissy: Gender, Childhood, and Masculinity, 1890-1940" 2004, 829-851; T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimoderism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York : Pantheon Books, 1981), 96, 108; Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality*, 1983, 4; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 28.

62. Aubrecht, "Baseball and the Blue and the Gray," July 2004. http://www.baseball-almanac.com/articles/aubrecht2004b.shtml (accessed January 12, 2010); Kirsch, *Baseball in Blue and Gray*, 2003, 29-33; Rader, *Baseball: A History of America's Game*, 2002, 17-18; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 40-1.

63. Rader, *Baseball: A History of America's Game*, 2002, 18-21; Ryczek, *When Johnny Came Sliding Home*, 1998, 15.

64. Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 1981, 96, 108; Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality*, 1983, 4.

65. Kirsch, *The Creation of American Team Sports, 1989; 93;* Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality*, 1983, 172 Riess, *City Games*, 1989, 3; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 23.

66. Riess, *City Games*, 1989, 65-7.

67. Donald E. Hall (ed.), *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1-260.

68. The term muscular Christianity was coined by T.C. Sanders to characterize the work of Charles Kingsley in an 1857 *Saturday Review* article. However, the concept of muscular Christianity appeared in earlier writings of Kingsley and Thomas Hughes, who were inspired by Christian Socialism and the works of Thomas Carlyle and F.D. Maurice. Hall (ed.), *Muscular Christianity*, 1994, 1-260.

69. The muscular Christianity movement took a distinctive evangelistic flair in its American practice. Tony Ladd & James Mathisen, *Muscular Christianity: Evangelical Protestants and the Development of American Sport* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 1999), 1-288; Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 2001, 1-300.

70. Ibid.

71. Axel Bungaard, *Muscle and Manliness: The Rise of Sport in American Boarding Schools* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 1-223. Although baseball was constructed by the popular press as an all-males domain, a hegemonic battle ensued over the national pastime. Women fought to claim their stake as competitors and spectators in the last half of the nineteenth century. Cultural struggles over this terrain took place in parlor-room conversations, medical literature, and the popular press. On women in baseball: see Gai Ingrham Berlage, *Women in Baseball: The Forgotten History* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1994), 1-208; D. Margaret Costa and Sharon R. Guthrie (eds.), *Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1994), 63-82; Allen Guttmann, *Women's Sports: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 1-339; Helen Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds: Women, Sport & Sexuality* (Ontario: The Women's Press, 1986),1-179.

72. Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 2001, 1-300.

73. Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 1995, 1-307; Grant, "A 'Real Boy' and not a Sissy: Gender, Childhood, and Masculinity, 1890-1940" 2004, 829-851; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 28.

74. Kristin L. Hogansen, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine American Wars* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1998), 1-320; Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 1981, 108, Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 28.

75. Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 1995, 1-307; Filene, *Him/Her/Self*, 1976, 1-256; Grant, "A 'Real Boy' and not a Sissy: Gender, Childhood, and Masculinity, 1890-1940," 2004, 829-851; Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 1997, 1-329.

76. Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 1981, 108.

77. Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 1995, 1-44; Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor*, 1999, 224.

78. Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 1995, 1-307; Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1-323; Hogansen, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 1998, 1-320; Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 1997, 1-329.

79. Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 1997, 168-71; Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 1993, 63, 239.

80. Costa and Guthrie (eds.), *Women and Sport*, 1994, 63-82; Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds*, 1986,1-179 ; Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality*, 1983, 129-61.

81. Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds*, 1986),11.

82. Ibid., 11-33.

83. Ibid., 13.

84. Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 1981, 108; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 28.

85. Lomax, "'If He Were White'," 1998, 31-44.

86. Ibid., 42.

87. Bill Kirwin, *Out of the shadows: African American Baseball from the Cuban Giants to Jackie Robinson* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 68.

88. Ibid. 33.

89. Ibid.

90. Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality*, 1983, XIII, 104; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 23-46.

91. Cited in, Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 27.

92. Boyle, *Sport*, 1963, 17; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 27-28; Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 1995, 1-307; Riess, *City Games*, 1989, 66; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 28.

93. William B. Anderson, "Crafting the National Pastime's Image: The History of Major League Baseball Public Relations," *Journalism and Communication Monographs* 5:1 (Spring 2003): 7-43; Kirsch, *The Creation of American Team Sports*, 1989, 203; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 131; Riess, *City Games*, 1989, 66; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 15-25; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 351.

94. Anderson, "Crafting the National Pastime's Image, 2003: 7-43; Kirsch, *The Creation of American Team Sports*, 1989, 203; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 131; Riess, *City Games*, 1989, 66; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 15-25; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 351.

95. Ibid., Voigt, *American Baseball: From Gentleman's Sport to Commissioner's System*, 1966, 80-96.

96. Ibid.

97. Ibid.

98. Lomax, "'If He Were White'," 1998, 34; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 15; Seymour, *Baseball: The Golden Age*, 1971, 92.

99. Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality*, 1983, 166-72; Riess, *City Games*, 1989, 7; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 13-40.

100. In 1908, the Spalding Commission released a report attributing the invention of baseball to Union General Abner Doubleday. Block, *Baseball Before We Knew It*, 2005, 1-21.

101. Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 39.

102. Riess, *City Games*, 1989, 3, 66.

103. Anderson, "Crafting the National Pastime's Image, 2003: 7-43.

104. Anderson, "Crafting the National Pastime's Image, 2003: 7-43; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 31; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 352.

105. Charles Alexander, *Baseball Feudalism and the Rise of the American League* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1991), 81; 39; Voigt, *American Baseball: From the Commissioners to Continental Expansion*, 1970, xiii-xv, 5-10; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 307-14. After an era of unprecedented growth, organized baseball evolved into its current form. Ban Johnson formed the American League, offering more lucrative salaries and better playing conditions. And, in 1903, the newly elected National League president Harry Pulliam granted the American League's status as an equal institution. Through the National Agreement, Pulliam

formed a three-man National Commission, composed of two league presidents and one chairman, to rule professional baseball. With the formation of two, eight-club leagues, organized baseball prospered in its "Silver Age" (1900-1920).

106. Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 14-7, 94-111; Seymour, *Baseball: The Golden Age*, 1971, 14, 72.

107. Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 26-39.

108. William Mead and Paul Dickson, *Baseball: The President's Game* (New York: Walker & Company, 1997); The Baseball Almanac provides a comprehensive database of presidential attendance and quotations referencing baseball. "U.S. Presidents and Major League Baseball," Baseball Almanac.) http://www.baseball-almanac.com/prz_menu.shtml (accessed January 2, 2010.

109. Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 17; Voigt, *American Baseball: From the Commissioners to Continental Expansion*, 1970, 83, 207; "President William Taft Baseball Related Quotations," Baseball Almanac. http://www.baseball-almanac.com/prz_qwt.shtml (accessed January 2, 2010).

110. Leonard Koppett and David Koppett, *Koppett's Concise History of Major League Baseball* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2004), 129.

111. Ibid., 127.

112. Seymour, *Baseball: The Golden Age*, 1971, 438. "President Calvin Coolidge Baseball Speech to the A.L. Pennant Winning Washington Senators," Baseball Almanac. http://www.baseball-almanac.com/prz_scc.shtml. (accessed January 2, 2010). Baseball's favor with American government was not relegated to the executive branch. In 1922, the Supreme Court unanimously ruled in Federal Baseball Club v. the National League that professional baseball was exempt from provisions of the 1890 Sherman Antitrust Act, noting that the sporting events were local affairs not interstate commerce. Mark Conrad, *The Business of Sport: A Primer for Journalists* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 115.

113. Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 4.

114. Ibid., 14-5.

115. Riess, *City Games*, 1989, 65; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 26-30.

116. Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 26-30; Seymour, *Baseball: The Golden Age*, 1971, 60-5.

117. Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 26-30. Media historian Michael Schudson notes that newspaper readership among the working class increased exponentially during the Progressive Era. Michael Schudson, *The Power of the News* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 67.

118. Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 30-8. Even as Progressive Era reforms resulted in shorter work weeks and more discretionary time, increased ticket costs made blue-collar attendance a rare treat instead of a frequent occurrence. Ticket prices increased from twenty-five cents for American Association match-ups in 1882 to a fifty-cent minimum for major league games in 1902. By 1910, ticket prices ranged from fifty cents for bleacher seats to one dollar for reserved seats. By 1920, the prices of reserved and box seats had escalated to $1.25 and $1.65, respectively. These prices were quite expensive when compared to other amusements popular with the working class, such as nickelodeons.

119. Seymour, *Baseball: The Golden Age*, 1971, 71-2.

120. For instance, from 1906 to 1910, with star talent like pitcher Christy Mathewson, the New York Giants earned more than $100,000 annually. Many clubs in less desirable markets, however, reported losses.

121. Ibid., 72.

122. Ibid.

123. Ibid.

124. Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 51-112; Seymour, *Baseball: The Golden Age*, 1971, 14; Voigt, *American Baseball: From the Commissioners to Continental Expansion*, 1970, 82.

125. Seymour, *Baseball: The Golden Age*, 1971, 13-4.

126. Ibid., 45; Voigt, *American Baseball: From the Commissioners to Continental Expansion*, 1970, 82. According to Voigt, the World Series became an immediate fan favorite, attracting between 100,000 and 200,000 fans from 1903 until 1919.

127. Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 85-111.

128. Ibid.

129. Ibid., 110.

130. Ibid., 49-77.

131. Ibid., 49.

132. Kirsch, *The Creation of American Team Sports*, 1989; Millen, *From Pastime to Passion*, 2007; Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality*, 1983, 172; Riess, *City Games*, 1989; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 5.

133. Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality*, 1983, 166.

134. Ibid., 166.

135. Riess, *City Games*, 1989, 65.

136. Riess, *Touching Base*, 1989, 15. According to Riess, more than 3.6 million individuals attended professional baseball games in 1901. Of course, that does not include the countless millions who participated in the sport as a leisure pursuit.

137. Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 39.

138. Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality*, 1983, 176; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 5; Roessner, "Hero-Crafting in *Sporting Life*, An Early Baseball Journal," 2009: 39-65; Voigt, *American Baseball: From the Commissioners to Continental Expansion*, 1970, 82.

CHAPTER 3

THE PRESS AND BASEBALL'S CAST OF STARS, 1800-1928

On Monday, August 2, 1858, *Brooklyn Eagle* sportswriter Henry Chadwick wrote about baseball's increasing popularity with the American public: "Base ball is epidemic just now and particularly catching."[1] He told of six upcoming baseball matches and two start-up clubs in the Brooklyn area.[2] Chadwick's account is typical of early sports journalism in its brevity, style, and focus.[3] By the early twentieth century, the press still included news accounts of the national pastime, its clubs, and players, but human-interest features on individual stars like New York Giants pitcher Christy Mathewson or Detroit Tigers outfielder Ty Cobb were more and more common.[4] For instance, on August 23, 1913, *Literary Digest* pondered why "the fame of Christy Mathewson, of the New York Giants, seems to go on forever."[5] The two-page feature article argued that his love of the game was the key to his success and longevity.[6] By the early twentieth century, baseball journalism had evolved from its rudimentary form into a highly developed craft.[7] To understand the early twentieth-century mode of sports journalism and the practice of herocrafting requires exploring its nineteenth-century roots, alongside trends in mainstream journalism.

Sports Coverage in Antebellum America (1800-1860)

Sports journalism in its earliest vestiges dates back to the colonial press.[8] As early as the 1750s, the *Maryland Gazette*, *Virginia Gazette*, and *Boston Gazette* were reporting brief, infrequent accounts of sporting events such as cricket, horse racing, and prize fighting.[9] As journalism historian David Copeland argues, sporting news within colonial American papers

kept citizens apprised of upcoming social gatherings.[10] However, it was not until around 1830, when sporting contests became more regular occurrences, that sports journalism became a standard element of newspapers and magazines.[11]

During the era of the Penny Press (1833-1850), newspaper accounts evolved from miscellaneous tidbits gleaned from home and abroad to include in-depth local news.[12] Newspaper publishers, like *New York Sun*'s Benjamin H. Day and *New York Herald*'s James Gordon Bennett, attempted to increase profits with news that they believed appealed to the masses.[13] To do so, they lowered subscription rates, which ranged from $8 to $10 per year, and dropped single issue prices from six cents to one or two cents per copy.[14] Aided by technological developments such as the steam-driven press (1810), the telegraph (1838), and improved distribution mechanisms through the railroad and postal systems, these newspaper publishers increased average daily circulation from approximately 5,000 to 15,000.[15] Commercialized penny newspapers, according to journalism historian Gerald Baldasty, lost their partisan tone.[16] Publishers increased news, crime, and entertainment content, which sometimes bordered on the sensational.[17] Instead of "passively" gathering news, journalists actively searched for information at theatres, taverns, and courts.[18] During the 1830s and '40s, several papers including New York's *Sun*, *Tribune*, and *Herald* and Philadelphia's *Public Ledger* began providing more frequent coverage of prize fighting, horse racing, yacht races, and baseball.[19]

This era saw the development of journals devoted solely to sport.[20] The two earliest sports magazines, John Skinner's *American Turf Register* (1829) and William Porter's *The Spirit of the Times* (1831), relied on their affluent readers or republished material from other publications for much of their copy, which included how-to columns, rules, anecdotes, and announcements.[21] Not until the 1850s did baseball receive widespread coverage.[22] During that

decade, Porter's *The Spirit of the Times* (1831, 1856), Enoch Camp and George Wilkes' *National Police Gazette* (1845), and Frank Queen and Harrison Trent's *The New York Clipper* (1853) began including regular baseball reports.[23] With the aid of correspondents like Henry Chadwick and technological devices like the telegraph, these publications gathered baseball accounts from across the country.[24]

Sports Journalism in the Age of "New Journalism" (1880-1900)

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, print media experienced rapid growth accelerated by sociocultural trends and technological developments associated with the Second Industrial Revolution.[25] For Illiteracy was cut in half as the percentage of children attending public schools rose to more than seventy percent in 1900, and a more mobile, literate citizen base became more interested in local, regional, and national news.[26] In addition, the late-century flood of migrants and immigrants to urban hubs tripled the population of American cities and created larger markets for newspaper publishers.[27] Print technologies such as the development of the Hoe press and the linotype, which increased production speed to approximately 72,000 copies per hour; the introduction of spot color and photoengraving; advances in folding machines and papermaking; and the reduction of postal rates in 1885 and 1897 enabled publishers to reach new audiences.[28] The number of daily newspapers jumped to more than 1,500 in 1890, an increase of more than 650 percent over the prior decade.[29] Weeklies grew at a similar pace during the era.[30] The magazine industry also expanded, increasing from 700 periodicals in 1865 to 3,300 by 1885.[31] Greater competition resulted in subscription price cuts and larger circulations.[32] Some newspapers could be purchased for a penny, while magazines typically cost less than ten cents.[33] Novels, too, were churned out at a rapid pace.[34]

These media had the potential to reach hundreds of thousands of readers each day, week, and month.[35]

Newspapers began incorporating regular, systematic coverage of sport during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.[36] Circulation wars broke out in urban hubs across the nation. In order to attract more readers, publishers like William Randolph Hearst (*San Francisco Examiner*) and Joseph Pulitzer (*New York World*), inspired by the success of penny papers, incorporated flashy front-page layouts with banner headlines, illustrations, and photographs about a wide variety of topics from crime to sports.[37] The most sensationalistic of these stories came to be defined as "yellow journalism," the tendency to exaggerate details and emphasize news of crime, vice, and scandal.[38] Sports coverage fit neatly into the business model of Hearst and Pulitzer, who realized the popular appeal of commercialized spectacles like professional baseball.[39]

When the popularity of professional baseball soared in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, newspaper and magazine owners across the nation began to take note of the potential of sports to sell their products.[40] By 1900, the space devoted to sport increased to nine percent of total newspaper content.[41] Specialty magazines had been first to recognize the mass appeal of sports coverage, and during this period, general magazines turned their focus from literature, travel, and history to practical advice and sports.[42] Leisure-minded magazine publishers established a new breed of specialty sports publications to compete with successful Penny Press predecessors like *The National Police Gazette*.[43] The 1880s witnessed the establishment of several mass-circulating, weekly sports magazines such as *Sporting Life* (1883), *Sporting News* (1886), and *Sports Afield* (1887). Newspaper and magazine publishers believed

that the public craved constant, sports coverage, and they provided "a steady diet of (sports) information."[44]

To better deliver this diet, newspaper managing editors hired full-time sports reporters, developed sports departments, and incorporated sports sections.[45] These developments mirrored newsroom specialization set into motion in the era of the Penny Press.[46] Staffs of major national newspapers, like Charles Dana's *New York Tribune*, had evolved from a handful of editors and reporters in the 1850s to a complex organization of managing editors, city editors, section desk editors, copy editors, beat reporters, and re-write men by the 1890s.[47] As startup and annual operating costs at papers like *The Tribune* neared a million dollars, these configurations saved time and resources necessary to gather and report the news.[49] By century's end, a clear division of labor had emerged in newsrooms across the nation.[50]

Under the beat system, baseball reporters gathered news about upcoming sporting events, covered local squads, and attended to other duties such as overseeing the make-up of the sports section.[51] They covered games in crowded press boxes, in grandstands, or in the grass behind home plate.[52] Like their colleagues in other departments, most sportswriters worked long hours, toiling more than fourteen hours daily.[53] They also spent a large amount of time in transit, traveling by train for days at a time with local clubs during road stints.[54] Baseball reporting was a year-round commitment, comprised of nine months of regular season coverage and three months of off-season coverage.[55]

Like other newsworkers, baseball reporters did their jobs for as little as $20 dollars per week, meager pay when compared with salaries of other working professionals.[56] But, the talented were rewarded, earning salaries as great as $100 dollars per week.[57] The lack of monetary reward can be attributed to the shift in labor conditions that resulted from the

emergence of the commercialized press.[58] With profits threatened by increases in annual overhead costs associated with equipment and resources, publishers kept wages low.[59] Under an increasingly complex organizational system, low-ranking reporters failed to demand higher salaries fearing they would be replaced.[60] Rather, sportswriters often took second jobs as umpires, official statisticians, ghostwriters, and freelance writers at magazines.[61] Like other journalists, they were also offered extra pay from advertisers and sports promoters to write promotional puff pieces.[62] Low salaries and grueling working conditions led to widespread alcoholism and burnout within the profession.[63]

Sports journalism was primarily a male profession. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, only a handful of women, according to sport historian Jean Hastings Ardell, had gained entry into the profession.[64] Ella Black, one of the first female sports reporters, began contributing to *Sporting Life* in 1890.[65] Penning regular sports columns about Pittsburgh's baseball scene, Black faced much persecution.[66] *Sporting Life*, a firm opponent of women's participation in the national pastime,[67] broadcast Black's gender in bold headlines over her columns.[68] "The First Game: As Viewed by One of the Weaker Sex," ran the headline above her April 12, 1890, column.[69] Her sex was called into question by *Sporting Life* correspondents and readers who doubted a woman's capability of writing an informed baseball account.[70] By century's turn, Black was joined by other female correspondents like *Baseball Magazine*'s correspondent Ina Eloise Young, who wrote about semi-professional squads in Colorado in 1908.[71] National publications sought baseball-savvy female fans to write about the sport as a peculiar feature of coverage.[72] Not until the Jazz Age, as journalism historian Dave Kaszuba argues, did a small contingent of female sportswriters like Margaret Goss and Jane Dixon become regular employees on sports staffs of large metropolitan dailies.[73]

Mainstream sports journalism was also a mostly white profession.[74] In the early twentieth century, only a handful of African-Americans like Lester Walton worked on the staffs of mainstream newspapers and magazines. Walton was hired as a general news and sports reporter for the St. Louis Globe-Democrat in 1902.[75] African-Americans did not enter mainstream sports journalism in great numbers until after the Civil Rights Era.[76] But, that is not to say that they were not covering professional baseball. A large contingent of African-American sports reporters covered the Negro Leagues for the black press.[77] African-American sports journalists like Frank Young of the *Chicago Defender* and Dr. W. Rollo Wilson and Wendell Smith of the *Pittsburgh Courier* faced a number of challenges from serving in multiple roles because of shoestring budgets to bitter bigotry on barnstorming tours.[78] Specialized sports journalists transformed the style of baseball coverage.[79] Prior game recaps had been brief, written in a tone partial to the hometown club.[80] Like other news colleagues, sportswriters began implementing a detached approach in daily coverage. They incorporated summary leads followed by descriptive game accounts.[81] They included interspersed quotations gleaned from interviews with players, managers, and club owners.[82] They developed their own specialized sports jargon with phrases like "muffed [dropped] balls" and "pop ups."[83] Their game accounts were characterized by an "informational" news model.[84]

Although it became less common to find accounts slanted in favor of the home team, in the age of Yellow Journalism, newspapers and magazines were baseball's biggest cheerleaders.[85] Early sports journalists engaged in mutually beneficial relationships with sport promoters, league and event organizers, and club owners.[86] Baseball writers provided baseball with promotion, and baseball supplied the press with engaging copy that sold newspapers and magazines, creating lucrative careers for sports journalists. As Charles Ponce de Leon notes:

> Sportswriters recognized that heightened public interest in sports was good for them too, creating a huge audience of people who had no choice but to turn to the daily press for coverage of events that they were unable to attend in person. Accordingly, many journalists joined forces with athletes and promoters, producing articles that were vital to the fortunes of the industry.[87]

According to Seymour, sportswriters contributed to the establishment of "the business as a commercialized entertainment" converting it "into an integral part of the American social scene."[88] In 1927, the trade publication *Editor and Publisher* argued: "Without the assistance of newspapers, sports would never have attained their present popularity. Sports officials are the first to admit the debt that … sports owe the papers."[89]

The Emergence of Mass-Mediated Sports Heroes (1900-1928)

By 1900, according to journalism historian W. Joseph Campbell, three primary paradigms dominated American journalism—the activist model, the narrative model, and the detached model.[90] Launched by Hearst, "journalism of action" reached its peak in muckraking newspapers and magazines of the Progressive Era (1880-1930).[91] Publications like the *New York Journal*, *McClure's*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *American Magazine* incorporated investigative reporting, dramatic page designs, bylined articles, and photography to expose corruption in government and industry.[92] If activist journalism was concerned with gaining agency, narrative journalism just wanted to tell a good story.[93] The literary approach, introduced to newspapers by Lincoln Steffens' *New York Commercial Advertiser*, was characterized by a failure to conform to journalistic conventions.[94] Often literary journalists delivered fictional dialogue, highlighting stories of joy and hardship.[95] The detached model, characterized by nonpartisanship and impartiality, also became more prevalent.[96] Though the journalistic convention of detachment, as journalism historian David Mindich argues, has its roots in Penny Press publisher James Gordon Bennett's promise to "record facts on every public and proper subject, stripped of verbiage and

coloring," the model, championed by Adolph Ochs of the *New York Times*, became the standard for mainstream publications in the early twentieth century.[97]

By the mid-twentieth century, Och's model came to define American journalism, but in the first three decades of the twentieth century all three paradigms maintained a visible presence in sports journalism.[98] The detached model was evident in increasingly standardized game stories of the Associated Press.[99] These recaps conveyed a series of unframed facts, typifying what Schudson called the "information" model.[100] However, in a journalistic era defined by muckraking, sports journalism was characterized by promotional storytelling.[101] This "gee whiz" paradigm, as it was later known, was distinguished by sentimental, optimistic tones and narrative structure.[102] The "story" model had its roots in the entertainment focus of the penny papers and later the "new" journalism of the 1880s and 1890s.[103] Journalists recommended incorporating literary techniques in human-interest stories to engage readers. For instance, in his advice manual for aspiring reporters, journalist Edwin Shuman in 1894 encouraged writers to avoid "the unpardonable sin" of dry prose with "imaginative writing."[104] Literary journalism's "story" model had a pervasive presence in sports journalism, especially human-interest feature articles.[105]

The nation's arsenal of sportswriters churned out a heavy supply of feature articles, columns, and books about baseball's most prominent icons.[106] Between 1915 and 1925, as United States newspaper circulation increased to approximately 36 million, the amount of weekly space devoted to sport at the average metropolitan newspaper doubled to more than 2,000 column inches.[107] Sportswriters like Dan Daniels of the *New York Herald* typed stories about era stars like New York Giants pitcher Christy Mathewson on lightweight Corona typewriters.[108] They entertained readers with stories about baseball stars.[109] These anecdotes

were culled while traveling, lodging, eating, and relaxing on the road with professional baseball clubs.[110] Many sportswriters forged working alliances with the athletes they covered.[111] Sportswriter Paul Gallico spoke of the need to befriend athletes in order to create "personal stories that sell papers."[112]

The advent of human-interest, celebrity-style journalism led to two developments in sports journalism—ghostwriting and news syndicates. During the 1910s, "ghostwriting," the practice of penning an article under someone else's byline, became widespread as publishers attempted to appeal to their readers' desires for first-person celebrity accounts.[113] For instance, in 1911, John N. Wheeler, a *New York Herald* baseball writer, began ghosting stories under Mathewson's name.[114] He wrote numerous columns, the memoir *Pitching in a Pinch*, and a series of children's baseball novels.[115] He also ghosted *Busing 'Em and Other Big-League Stories* for Ty Cobb.[116] Ghostwriters like Wheeler and later Christy Walsh likely wrote the majority of these narratives from player interviews or outlines.[117] Since only a handful of sports journalists had daily access to the nation's biggest stars, writers like Wheeler capitalized by selling ghostwritten accounts, as well as other celebrity-style features, to popular news syndicates like McClure Newspaper Syndicate.[118] When Wheeler quit the *Herald* in 1913 over a salary dispute, he established Wheeler Syndicate, which specialized as a sports news distribution agency.[119] These news clearinghouses allowed smaller newspapers, which lacked the financial resources and interpersonal connections to obtain celebrity exposés, to purchase feature articles about popular celebrities.[120]

But, not all sports news was rosy. By the late 1910s, a new breed of sportswriters, the more cynical "aw nuts" writer, was emerging.[121] Writers like W.O. McGeehan, Ring Lardner, and Hugh Fullerton called baseball a "circus," setting out to expose the myth and corruption

surrounding the game.[122] Lardner and Fullerton, muckraking Chicago sports journalists, played a key role in exposing baseball's 1919 Black Sox gambling scandal, in which eight men including star outfielder "Shoeless" Joe Jackson were accused of throwing the World Series.[123] By the early 1920s, these "aw nuts" writers were joined in the assault of the "gee whiz" model by the American Society of Newspaper Editors, which decried promotional tendencies and demanded, as sports media historian Bruce Evensen noted, "the standardization and uniformity that veteran editors associated with the highest ideals of the profession."[124]

Despite the emergence of a less promotional model in the mid-1920s, at century's turn, "gee whiz" sportswriters gave Americans a new kind of hero. Sports historian Robert Mandel argues that they "regularly produced heroes for a society that seemed unable to produce many heroes in other areas of public life."[125] Sports stars enjoyed traditional heroic portrayals mixed with celebrity-style coverage, becoming what media scholar Susan Drucker terms as pseudo-heroes.[126] Sports reporters touted their brute strength and speed as comparable to that of Greek warriors.[127] They crafted heroic journeys complete with a story of separation, initiation, and return.[128] They celebrated the physical prowess of athletes, alongside their mental and moral attributes.[129] They applauded scientific play, comparing managers and team leaders to military tacticians and praised icons that played "clean" ball and practiced good sportsmanship.[130] However, as sports historian Donald Mrozek suggests, in a culture obsessed with statistics, they ultimately emphasized the "primacy of deeds over virtues."[131]

The popular press churned out mass-produced "sacred societal stories" that offered sports stars as "exemplary models for human life," suggests media historian Jack Lule. [132] Anecdotes of heroic actions and attributes were lauded in feature stories, columns, and gossip briefs that filled sports sections, magazines, and children's literature. "Gee whiz" mythmakers wove stories

gleaned from personal interactions around a central dramatic plot to create entertaining feature stories.[133] Writers like Rice borrowed heavily from Greek and Roman mythology to construct their tales. *New York Herald-Tribune* city editor Stanley Walker noted in the 1920s that many writers imitated Rice's style, creating "maudlin balderdash, an esoteric jargon which did not even have the ring of American slang."[134] The "construction of a shared mythology enabled fans from a variety of backgrounds to make sense" of athletic feats, Ponce de Leon notes, [135] and so sportswriters molded idols for a nation consumed with fame.[136] Paul Gallico lamented this role when he left the profession in 1936. The sports journalist "has few if any heroes. We create many because it is our business to do so, but we do not believe in them …. We sing of their muscles, their courage, their gameness and their skill because it seems to amuse readers and sell papers."[137]

By the early twentieth century, human-interest features celebrating sports idols like Cobb and Mathewson were no longer confined to newspaper sports sections or specialty sports magazines. General circulating magazines like *American Magazine*, *Collier's*, *McClure's*, *Life*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *St. Nicholas* published a number of articles about sports icons.[138] By the 1920s, celebrity journalism appeared in most newspapers and magazines.[139] These celebrity-style features allowed magazines to attract larger audiences across class, ethnic, and gender lines.[140] These articles provided readers with a glimpse inside the private personas of public figures. Celebrity-style journalism served to "make the famous more real," as journalism historian Stuart Allan suggests, thereby providing greater intimacy in the everyday lives of readers.[141] By providing the "real story" of a celebrity's personal life, human-interest journalism sought to eliminate social distance by making the remote seem familiar.[142]

Conclusion

By the Roaring Twenties, American culture was inundated by a full spectrum of sports heroes from boxer Jack Dempsey to golfer Bobby Jones.[143] Like interchangeable parts on an assembly line, these icons were inserted into heroic roles in mythological tales that were mass produced in multiple printed forms by the era's most prominent mythmakers.[144] But before these talented athletes passed onto the stage, sports reporters cast Dead Ball Era (1900-1919) baseball icons like Detroit Tiger outfielder Ty Cobb and New York Giants hurler Christy Mathewson into the mythic mold.

End Notes

1. Henry Chadwick, "Base Ball," *Brooklyn Eagle*, 18 October 1859, 3. Brooklyn Public Library. Retrieved at <http://eagle.brooklynpubliclibrary.org/Default/Skins/BEagle/Client.asp?Skin=BEagle> (accessed March 10, 2010).
2. Ibid.
3. Orodenker, *The Writer's Game*, 1996, 26-31; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 33-34.
4. Orodenker, *The Writer's Game*, 1996, 26-31; Roessner, "Hero-Crafting in *Sporting Life*, An Early Baseball Journal," 2009: 39-65.
5. "Why 'Matty' Lasts," *Literary Digest*, 23 August 1913, 209-10 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).
6. Ibid.
7. Orodenker, *The Writer's Game*, 1996, 26-31; Roessner, "Hero-Crafting in *Sporting Life*, An Early Baseball Journal," 2009: 39-65; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 33-34.
8. Betts, "Sporting Journalism in Nineteenth-century America," 1953, (5)1, 54; Harper, *How You Played the Game*, 1999, 2-7; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 27.
9. Although these writers note the advent of sports journalism occurred in the 1820s, journalism historian Pat Washburn and Joe Lowe argue that sports journalism dates back to the 1700s. Pat Washburn and Joe Lowe, "The Beginning of American Sports Journalism, 1733-1857," Presented at American Journalism Historians Association Annual Meeting in Birmingham, Ala. in October 2009.
10. David A. Copeland, *Colonial American Newspapers: Character and Content* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1997), 1-388.
11. John Rickards Betts, "Sporting Journalism in Nineteenth-century America," *American Quarterly* (1953), (5)1, 54; Harper, *How You Played the Game*, 1999, 2-7; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 27. In 1829, John Stuart Skinner established the *American Turf Register*, a

monthly journal devoted to rural leisure pursuits like horse racing and hunting, and in 1831, William Trotter Porter developed the first sports weekly, *The Spirit of the Times*.

12. Schudson, *The Power of News*, 1995, 47. Journalism historians like Kevin Barnhurst and John Nerone note that prior to the Penny Press, editors passively obtained information, arguing that the act of "reporting" is a journalistic development of the 1830s. Kevin Barnhurst and John Nerone, *The Form of News: A History* (New York: Guilford Press, 2001), 15; David R. Spencer, *The Yellow Journalism* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2007), 23.

13. Janet M. Cramer, *Media, History, Society: A Cultural History of U.S. Media* (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2009), 93-113; Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 12-60; Spencer, *The Yellow Journalism*, 2007, 21-28.

14. Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 1978, 12-60; Spencer, *The Yellow Journalism*, 2007, 24.

15. Cramer, *Media, History, Society* 2009, 93-113. The average circulation of partisan newspapers was 5,000, while penny newspapers averaged between 10,000 and 15,000 readers. According to Schudson, between 1830 and 1840, the number of dailies and weeklies more than doubled. Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 1978, 13-4.

16. Gerald Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 3-9, 46-80.

17. Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America*, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 3-28; Andie Tucher, *Froth and Scum: Truth, Beauty, Goodness, and the Ax Murder in America's First Mass Medium* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 1-257.

18. Spencer, *The Yellow Journalism*, 2007, 26-27.

19. Washburn and Lowe, "The Beginning of American Sports Journalism, 1733-1857," AJHA, 2009.

20. John Rickards Betts, "Sporting Journalism in Nineteenth-century America," *American Quarterly* (1953), (5)1, 54; Harper, *How You Played the Game*, 1999, 2-7; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 27.

21. Ibid., Skinner sold the *Turf Register* to Porter in 1835, and it was absorbed into *The Spirit of the Times* in 1839. By the end of the 1840s, *The Spirit of the Times* boasted the nation's second largest circulation with more than 100,000 readers.

22. Harper, *How You Played the Game*, 1999, 2-7.

23. Ibid., Block, *Baseball: Before We Knew It*, 2005, 225; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 26-31; Washburn and Lowe , "The Beginning of American Sports Journalism, 1733-1857," AJHA, 2009.

24. Ibid. Despite its widespread readership, *The Spirit of the Times* (Dec. 1831-June 1861) struggled financially. An aging Porter, alongside young entrepreneur George Wilkes, re-established the journal under a new name, *Porter's Spirit of the Times* in 1856. After Porter's death in 1858, Wilkes founded Wilkes' *Spirit of the Times* (1859-1902). Wilkes also established *The National Police Gazette* in 1845.

25. Block, *Baseball: Before We Knew It*, 2005, 225-28. *The Clipper* hired Henry Chadwick, a prominent early sports journalist later known as the "Father of Base Ball," as a sports reporter for the publication in 1858.

26. John Nerone, "The Mythology of the Penny Press," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4 (1987), 397; W. David Sloan & James D. Startt, *The Media in America, A History*, 4th ed. (Northport, Ala.: Vision Press, 1999), 221-245.

27. Michael Emery, Edwin Emery, and Nancy Roberts, *The Press and America, An Interpretative History of the Mass Media*, 9th ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2000), 157.

28. Ibid.

29. Sloan & Startt, *The Media in America,* 1999, 222-224.

30. Ibid., 221.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid., 255.

33. Emery, Emery, and Roberts, *The Press and America*, 2000, 157-161.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Sloan & Startt, *The Media in America,* 1999, 221, 258.

37. Anderson, "Crafting the National Pastime's Image," (Spring 2003): 7-43; Betts, "Sporting Journalism in Nineteenth-century America," 1953, 54; Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor*, 1999, 190; Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism* (New York: MacMillan, 1950); Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 27-33; Roessner, "Hero-Crafting in *Sporting Life*, An Early Baseball Journal," 2009: 39-65;

38. W. Joseph Campbell, *Yellow Journalism: Puncturing the Myths, Defining the Legacies* (Westport, Ct.: Praeger Publishers, 2001), 6-10; Spencer, *The Yellow Journalism*, 2007, Spencer, *The Yellow Journalism*, 2007, 16-17.

39. Ibid.

40. Betts, "Sporting Journalism in Nineteenth-century America," 1953, 54; Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor*, 1999, 190; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 27-33.

41. Betts, "Sporting Journalism in Nineteenth-century America," 1953, 54; Harper, *How You Played the Game*, 1999, 11; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 27-33**;** Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002; 242; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 15; Seymour, *Baseball,* 1960, 69; Voigt, *American Baseball*, 1966, 194-5.

42. Anderson, "Crafting the National Pastime's Image," (Spring 2003): 7-43; Betts, "Sporting Journalism in Nineteenth-century America," 1953, 54

43. Sloan & Startt, *The Media in America,* 1999, 259.

44. Ibid.; Betts, "Sporting Journalism in Nineteenth-century America," 1953, 54; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 27-33**;** Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 242; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 16; Seymour, *Baseball,* 1960, 69.Voigt, *American Baseball*, 1966, 194-5.

45. Anderson, "Crafting the National Pastime's Image," (Spring 2003): 7-43; Betts, "Sporting Journalism in Nineteenth-century America," 1953, 54; Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor*, 1999, 190; Mott, *American Journalism*, 1950; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 27-33; Roessner, "Hero-Crafting in *Sporting Life*, An Early Baseball Journal," 2009: 39-6. While Pulitzer and Hearst perfected the sports page in many ways, they were not the first to incorporate sports departments. Roessner argues that *Sporting Life* editor Francis Richter may have started the nation's first sports department in the 1870s at the *Public Ledger*; Howard Chudacoff, meanwhile, honors *Police Gazette* publisher Richard Fox with the achievement in 1879. Pulitzer established a sports section at the *New York World* in 1883, and twelve years later, Hearst created a separate sports section at the *New York Journal.*

46. Emery, Emery, and Roberts, *The Press and America*, 2000, 178-179.

47. Ibid.

48. Cramer, *Media, History, Society*, 2009, 120-21

49. Ibid.; Hardt and Brennen, eds. *Newsworkers*, 1995, 1-237.

50. Voigt, *American Baseball: From Gentleman's Sport to the Commissioner's System*, 1966, 90-96.

51. Ibid. In 1908, the recently established Base Ball Writers Association of America bemoaned the dreary conditions of press boxes exposed to the elements. Leonard Koppett, *The Rise and Fall of the Press Box* (Toronto: Sports Media Publishing, 2003), 10-11.

52. Emery, Emery, and Roberts, *The Press and America*, 2000, 179.

53. Anderson, "Crafting the National Pastime's Image, 2003: 7-43; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 31; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 352.

54. Voigt, *American Baseball: From the Commissioner's to Continental Expansion*, 1970, 95.

55. Emery, Emery, and Roberts, *The Press and America*, 2000, 179.

56. Voigt, *American Baseball: From Gentleman's Sport to the Commissioner's System*, 1966, 93; Voigt, *American Baseball: From the Commissioner's to Continental Expansion*, 1970, 95. Voigt notes that publishers paid reporters an average of $7.50 for 1,000 words. Many were paid by the word, resulting in a verbose style. In 1910, journalists made significantly more than the average American, who earned roughly $14.40 per week. But, they were not paid as much as other working professionals. As cultural historian Robert Ohmann notes, in 1900, the average millworker earned an annual salary of approximately $500, but an engineer earned $2,000. Ohmann, *Selling Culture*, 1996, 170

57. Emery, Emery, and Roberts, *The Press and America*, 2000, 179.

58. Hardt and Brennen, eds. *Newsworkers*, 1995, 48-74.

59. Cramer, *Media, History, Society*, 2009, 120-121.

60. Hardt and Brennen, eds. *Newsworkers*, 1995, 110-134.

61. Evensen, *When Dempsey Fought Tunney*, 1996 , 49.

62. Ibid.; Cramer, *Media, History, Society*, 2009, 121-122; Emery, Emery, and Roberts, *The Press and America*, 2000, 180; Ted Curtis Smythe, "The Reporter, 1880-1900: Working Conditions and Their Influence on News," *Journalism History* 7 (1980): 5.

63. Smythe, "The Reporter, 1880-1900 (1980): 5; Jerome Holtzman, *No Cheering in the Press Box* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1973), 5-6.

64. Jean Hastings Ardell, *Breaking into Baseball* (New York: SIU Press, 2005), 192.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

67. "Sporting Life and the 'Fairer Sex': Debating a Woman's Place in the National Pastime," Presented at American Journalism Historian's Association, Birmingham, Ala., Oct. 2009.

68. Ardell, *Breaking into Baseball*, 2005, 192-193.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid., 33.

72. Ibid.

73. Dave Kaszuba, *They are Women, Hear Them Roar: Female Sportswriters of the Roaring Twenties* (College Station: Penn State University, 2006), 1-157.

74. Pamela Newkirk, Within the Veil: Black Journalists, White Media (New York: NYU Press, 2002), xxiv.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid.

77. Jim Reisler, *Black Writers/Black Baseball: An Anthology of Articles from Black Sportswriters who Covered the Negro Leagues,* (New York: McFarland, 2007), 5-12.

78. Ibid.

79. Block, *Baseball: Before We Knew It*, 2005, 225; Harper, *How You Played the Game*, 1999, 2-7; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 26-31; Washburn and Lowe , "The Beginning of American Sports Journalism, 1733-1857," AJHA, 2009.

80. Voigt, *American Baseball: From Gentleman's Sport to the Commissioner's System*, 1966, 94.

81. Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America*, 1989, 3-28; David T.Z. Mindich, *Just the Facts: How 'Objectivity' Came to Define American Journalism,* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 5; Schudson, *The Power of News*, 1995, 55-59. Media historians such as Schudson, Hazel Dicken-Garcia, and David Mindich attribute the development of the summary lead and inverted pyramid story structure to the emergence of journalists as "objective" interpreters after the Civil War.

82. Schudson, *The Power of News*, 1995, 80-89; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 31-34.

83. Ibid., 93.

84. Carey, *Communication as Culture*, 1989, 13-36.

85. William B. Anderson, "Does the Cheerleading Ever Stop? Major League Baseball and Sports Journalism," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* (Summer 2001) 78(2): 355-382.

86. Anderson, "Crafting the National Pastime's Image, 2003: 7-43; Kirsch, *The Creation of American Team Sports*, 1989, 203; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 131; Riess, *City Games*, 1989, 66; Riess, *Touching Base,* 1981, 15-25; Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, 1960, 351.

87. Betts, "Sporting Journalism in Nineteenth-century America," 1953, 54; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 27-33**;** Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 19; Seymour, *Baseball*, 1960, 69.Voigt, *American Baseball*, 1966, 194-5.

88. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 244.

89. Seymour, *Baseball*, 1960, 351.

90. Inabinett, *Grantland Rice and his Heroes*, 1994, 20.

91. Campbell, *The Year that Defined American Journalism*, 2006, 5-9.

92. Ibid., 5-9, 69-117.

93. Ibid., 76-77, 114-117.

94. Ibid., 5-9.

95. Ibid., 5-9.

96. Ibid., 6.

97. Ibid., 5-9.

98. Mindich, *Just the Facts*, 1998, 5; Campbell, *The Year that Defined American Journalism*, 2006, 5-9; 69-117.

99. Ibid.

100. Voigt, *American Baseball: From Gentleman's Sport to the Commissioner's System*, 1966, 93. As Blondheim argues, the Associated Press instructed reporters to send bare facts in concise language. Menahem Blondheim, *News over the Wires* (Cambridge: Harvard University

Press, 1994), 195. By 1927, the Associated Press had a twelve-man sports department. Mark Inabinett, *Grantland Rice and His Heroes*, 1994, 18.

101. Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 1981, 90.

102. Anderson, "Does the Cheerleading Ever Stop?" 2001: 355-382.

103. Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 9-15.

104. Karen Roggenkamp, *Narrating the News: New Journalism and Literary Genre in Late Nineteenth-Century American Newspapers and Fiction* (Kent, Oh: Kent State University Press, 2005), xii.

105. Journalist Edwin Shuman cited in Karen Roggenkamp, *Narrating the News*, 2005, xiii.

106. Ponce de Leon, *Self-Exposure*, 2002, 141, 242.

107. Francis C. Richter, *The History and Records of Base Ball: The American Nation's Chief Sport* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1912), 428; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 15-17.

108. Inabinett, *Grantland Rice and his Heroes*, 1994, 19. According to Riess, the sports page rose from four percent in 1890 to seventeen percent of the newspaper in 1923. Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 15.

109. Holtzman, *No Cheering in the Press Box*, 1973, 5-6.

110. Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 27-40; Voigt, *American Baseball: From the Commissioners to Continental Expansion*, 1970, 96-100.

111. Inabinett, *Grantland Rice and his Heroes*, 1994, 1-12; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 31; Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 244.

112. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 244.

113. Evensen, *When Dempsey Fought Tunney*, 1996, 49; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 33; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 173; Voigt, *American Baseball: From the Commissioners to Continental Expansion*, 1970, 100.

114. Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 33.

115. Seib, *The Player*, 2004, 59-60.

116. John N. Wheeler, *I've Got News for You* (E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc.: New York, 1961), 1-320.

117. Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 33; Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 173. Controversial from the start, the practice of ghostwriting was condemned in 1913 by the Baseball Writers Association, which attempted to eliminate the practice. Ghostwriting remained prevalent in baseball until the early 1970s.

118. Ponce de Leon, *Self-Exposure*, 2002, 79. The McClure News Syndicate was established as a news clearinghouse by Irving Bachellor and S.S. McClure in 1888.

119. Harper, *How You Played the Game*, 1999, 243.

120. Ponce de Leon, *Self-Exposure*, 2002, 79.

121. Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 9-15.

122. Ibid., 11.

123. Ibid., 12.

124. Evensen, *When Dempsey Fought Tunney*, 1996, 49.

125. Mandell, *Sport: A Cultural History*, 1984, 185.

126. Drucker and Cathcart, *American Heroes in a Media Age*, 1994, 80-85. According to Susan Drucker, the press constructs myths about modern athletes. Instead of exemplars of virtue, sports heroes are media constructs, well-known for their athletic deeds.

127. Betty Houchin Winfield and Janice Hume, "The American Hero and the Evolution of the Human Interest Story," *American Journalism* 15:2, (1998), 79.

128. Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 1949, 1-171.

129. Riess, *Touching Base*, 1981, 6-9; Roessner, "Hero-Crafting in *Sporting Life*, An Early Baseball Journal," 2009: 39-65.

130. Seymour, *Baseball: The Golden Age*, 1971, 93; Voigt, *American Baseball: From the Commissioners to Continental Expansion*, 1970, 48.

131. Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality*, 1983, 128; Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 252.

132. Lule, *Daily News, Eternal Stories*, 2001, 83, 85.

133. Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 9-15.

134. Journalist Stanley Walker cited in Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 10.

135. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 217.

136. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 1-325; Inabinett, *Grantland Rice and his Heroes*, 1994, 1-130; Charles Fountain, *Sportswriter: The Life and Times of Grantland Rice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 1-327.

137. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 251.

138. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 5.

139. Ibid., 141.

140. Stuart Allan, ed. *Journalism: Critical Issues* (New York: Open University Press, 2005), 20-24.

141. Ibid., 22.

142. Ibid.

143. Inabinett, *Grantland Rice and his Heroes*, 1994, 1-130; Fountain, *Sportswriter*, 1993, 1-327.

144. Gamson, "The assembly line of greatness: celebrity in 20th century America," 1992, 3.

CHAPTER 4

"TYRUS THE TERRIBLE" & THE "CHRISTIAN GENTLEMAN" IN NATIONAL MAGAZINES, 1900-1928

On December 26, 1912, an editorial in *Life* noted, "Americans are a natural race of hero-worshippers. From the days of Admiral [George] Dewey and [heavyweight champion] Jim Jeffries to the present era of Ty Cobb … we have steadily insisted upon exalting certain individuals into a limelighted [sic] sphere in which they are seemingly unhampered by any ordinary human attributes."[1] Four years later, novelist Harold Kellock wrote in *The Bookman* that Cobb's fame was solely the creation of the baseball column.[2] "It is the Column that has made baseball. Before the appearance of the Column public interest in sport was sporadic merely," he wrote.[3]

Regardless of which came first, Cobb and Mathewson's fame or the coverage of it, one thing is certain: an American would have had to work hard to miss the mass-mediated coverage of them. Both appeared in numerous feature stories in the pages of general-interest magazines like *Collier's*, *McClure's*, and *Life*, in addition to the regular coverage they received in newspaper sports sections and specialty baseball magazines.[4] In fact, until New York Yankees slugger Babe Ruth became a household name in the 1920s, they were the two most written about baseball stars in national magazines.[5] This chapter will provide a short account of their early playing careers before exploring their portrayal in eighty-five articles, which appeared in twenty-seven national magazines between 1900 and 1928. It includes an analysis of the storytelling conventions and themes in the brief references and in-depth, human-interest features about the

pair, as well as a detailed snapshot of the literary techniques used in magazine coverage penned by Ring Lardner, one of the era's most prominent sports journalists.

Golden Boys of Baseball's Dead Ball Era

Born on his grandfather's farm in Narrows, Georgia, in 1886, Cobb played community baseball with teams like the Royston Rompers as a teenager before joining the Augusta club in 1904.[6] After stints with semiprofessional minor league clubs in Augusta (1904, 1905) and Anniston, Ala. (1904), the South Atlantic League's 1905 stolen base leader was purchased by Detroit Tigers manager Bill Armour for $700.[7] Cobb made his major league debut on August 30, 1905, smashing a game-winning double off New York Highlander twirler Jack Chesbro, a two-time National League shutout leader, in his first time at the plate.[8] By 1912, when *Life* mentioned him in an editorial about American hero-worship,[9] Cobb had gained national recognition as a star player, leading his squad to World Series appearances in three consecutive seasons and earning six consecutive batting titles.[10] After leading the American League in every offensive statistical category in 1911, he remained in the headlines not only for his hitting and stealing records but also for episodes like the brawl with New York Highlander fan Claude Lueker in May 1912.[11]

While Cobb retained media limelight for his volatile playing style and personality, Mathewson reigned as the National League's greatest pitcher.[12] Turning in one of baseball's most dominant postseason performances with three shutouts over the Philadelphia Athletics in the 1905 World Series,[13] he led his league in wins (37), strikeouts (259), and shutouts (12) with a league-low 1.43 ERA (earned run average) in 1908.[14] But, by 1912, the tall, blonde-haired, blue-eyed native of Factoryville, Penn., was known for more than his prowess on the mound. After dropping his first two games in the 1912 World Series, "Matty" earned national fame as the "Christian Gentleman" for the sportsmanship he exhibited when teammate Fred Snodgrass

dropped a routine fly ball, which not only cost the Giants the Series finale to the Boston Red Sox but also their second consecutive world championship.[15]

Coverage of baseball's two preeminent icons reached the masses, appearing not only in newspaper sports sections and specialty magazines but also in general-interest magazines.[16] As historian Richard Ohmann argues, by the 1890s, magazines became "channels of national mass culture."[17] Publishers like S.S. McClure and Frank Munsey established mass readership by transforming traditional business models based on high subscription rates and a small cadre of local advertisers to one founded more heavily on advertising brand-name products of newly emerging national corporations.[18] With an expanding base of national advertisers, both publishers dropped single-issue sale prices to a dime in 1893. Other magazines soon followed suite, sparking total monthly magazine circulations of more than sixty-four million by 1905.[19] Monthly magazines, as Ohmann notes, "had become the major form of repeated cultural experience for the people of the United States,"[20] and they increasingly included features about sports figures like Cobb and Mathewson.[21] These magazines reproduced stories about mass culture and its icons with dependable frequency for millions of readers to share.[22]

Between 1900 and 1928, Cobb and Mathewson frequently appeared in national magazines such as *American Magazine*, *Collier's*, *McClure's*, *Life*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *St. Nicholas*, reaching anywhere from 8,000 to more than one million readers.[23] Some publications such as *Collier's*, *Life*, *McClure's,* and *The Saturday Evening Post* targeted general audiences, while others such as *Outing*, *The Delineator*, *Good Housekeeping*, *St. Nicholas*, and *Youth's Companion* targeted men, women, or children.[24] The articles highlighting Cobb and Mathewson included brief mentions in full-length news articles, poetry, and fiction, as well as in-depth

coverage in human-interest features, columns, book reviews, and obituaries. Nearly half of these articles included accompanying action and still photography.[25]

References to the Tiger and the Giant

The sixteen articles that merely mentioned the pair served three primary purposes—to provide a brief account of news related to Cobb and Mathewson, to allude to their popularity within mainstream culture, and to note their status as cultural heroes. Brief news accounts, written in what Schudson calls the "information" model, served to transmit baseball news to general audiences.[26] News-related accounts informed readers about headline-grabbing feats or provided contextual information about the pair within larger trend pieces. Some publications like *The Independent*, a weekly journal of news and opinion, included brief accounts of baseball news involving the duo such as the May 1912 Detroit Tigers strike or the 1926-27 Ty Cobb-Tris Speak scandal.[27] Other magazines, like *Current Opinion*, a literary gossip and news digest, mentioned contextual information about the icons as a part of a larger trend story. For instance, in its discussion of the global popularity of the game and its stars, November 1913 *Current Opinion'*s "The Crack of the Baseball Bat Goes Echoing Around the World," noted that "in the eight years in which he has been playing in major leagues, [Cobb] has made a batting average of .375."[28] Likewise, June 1926's *Saturday Evening Post* included a trend story on player-managers, noting that Mathewson, "without a doubt the most beloved man that ever donned a big league uniform," failed to a large degree in his three years as manager of the Cincinnati Reds.[29]

While brief news mentions primarily transmitted information to readers, articles that noted the pair's fame or heroic status served a complex social function more in line with James Carey's ritual view of communication.[30] Some allusions, for instance, served as a social reference point such as when writer F. Dana Burnet called Russian ballerina Anna Pavlowa the

"Ty Cobb of dancing" in his April 1914 "The News in Rime" column.[31] Humorous references like these served not only as a marker of greatness but as a cultural translator, providing general audiences with a comparative framework in which to understand Pavlowa's prestige.

But these brief mentions did more than serve as a cultural frame of reference; they also provided social commentary on cultural definitions of fame and the heroic. For instance, they commented upon the fleeting nature of fame, the paradox imbedded in the sports hero, the absurdity of sports stars serving as moral standards, and the inability of women to comprehend the man's world of baseball. Some articles, like Edward E. Purinton's "The American Boy," dryly referenced Cobb and Mathewson's cultural status. His article in the December 1916 issue of *The Independent* news magazine listed Cobb alongside other popular boyhood heroes like Theodore Roosevelt, "Buffalo Bill" Cody, and Thomas Edison before outlining leadership training tips.[32] Other columns lacked Purinton's informational edge, considering the duo's fame through humor and satire. *Puck*, America's oldest humor magazine, published two poems that emphasized Cobb's fame between 1912 and 1914.[33] In "Supposing," Puck's anonymous bard commented on his reputation as a baseball star, writing of the inconceivability of "in the chat about the game … never envisioning Cobb's name."[34] Likewise, in *Life*'s "Depth of Ignorance," published in July 1913, the anonymous writer bemoaned the "awful ignorance" of not being able to say "what position does Ty Cobb play."[35] In 1916, *Harper's Weekly* considered Mathewson's fame in a brief biography.[36] Even the serious news publication could not resist adding a touch of humor, comparing Mathewson, "the most famous of all, not excluding Ty Cobb, the Georgian," to Methuselah, a Biblical patriarch who reportedly lived to be 969 years old.[37]

Other references to the pair's fame included a healthy dose of satire. Like Kellock's column in *Bookman*,[38] cultural references in publications like *Life* and *The Youth's Companion*

drew upon irony to comment on the duo's social status in popular culture. For instance, "The Power of a Great Example," published in *Life*'s issue of September 14, 1910, alluded to Mathewson as a national "standard of morality."[39] The general-interest magazine, known for its social commentary, insinuated that great Americans like John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Charles S. Mellen, J. P. Morgan, and W.H. Taft should take a cue from the star twirler by serving their country. The column suggested that through the power of Mathewson's example, Mrs. O.H. P. Belmont, a wealthy New York suffragist, had gained new resolve to serve her country by doing laundry work.[40] Likewise, *The Youth's Companion* referenced Cobb's fame in a satirical column "She Had Heard of Ty Cobb," published in July 1917. The anonymous writer noted that even a "wizened old woman" had heard of Ty Cobb, even though she mistook the icon's name for the city of Coscob, Conn.[41] In providing social commentary on baseball's greatest icons, these two publications suggested that *even* women were influenced by the fame of stars from the man's world of baseball.

Feature Coverage of "Tyrus the Terrible" and the "Christian Gentleman"

Storytelling's Myth-Narrative

Human-interest coverage of the duo was comprised of features, columns, book reviews, and obituaries. Journalists relied on a "story" model to construct myth-narratives about Cobb and Mathewson.[42] They told stories through myths, "archetypal stories that play crucial social roles."[43] Myths, media scholar Jack Lule argues, are "sacred societal stories," simplified stories that make sense of the world.[44] In the twentieth century, the mass media became the primary vehicle for telling mythic narratives about heroes, tricksters, and "other" unknown worlds.[45]

To construct human-interest stories, sportswriters relied upon a wide array of literary techniques from metaphors to allusions.[46] They also drew upon a rich storehouse of anecdotes

told in ever-evolving sports writing jargon. As baseball historian Richard Orodenker suggests, sportswriters relied on florid, esoteric jargon and metaphor in the retelling of anecdotes.[47] Magazine correspondents borrowed heavily from the new tradition of literary journalism to craft mythic tales about Cobb and Mathewson.

Well-known sportswriters, like C. E. Van Loan[48] and general contributors like female correspondent Helena L. Williams[49] and Dayton Stoddard drew upon a common stock of anecdotes about Cobb and Mathewson. As *New York Herald-Tribune* columnist Jimmy Breslin noted, "good sportswriters concentrated on getting anecdotes into their stories," which they gleaned from communal word-of-mouth.[50] For instance, writers often told tales of key performances such as Mathewson's shutouts in the 1905 World Series or Cobb's base stealing feats. In a 1914 *American Magazine* fan column, sport enthusiast B.F. Leventhal shared his greatest baseball memory of watching Cobb swipe three bases after a "lucky" hit at Philadelphia's Shibe Park in June 1912.[51] Meanwhile, in a neighboring column, Joseph A. Sexton told of Cobb's "three-ringed circus catch" against the Philadelphia Athletics in July 1911.[52] *American Magazine,* like other publications that republished well-known anecdotes, served as a site of collective memory, where fans and professional journalists could retell anecdotes.[53]

Writers not only included stories of their most famous on-field performances but also little-known yarns told by family, teammates, and managers. For instance, in "My Boy," published in June 1914, *Delineator* women's magazine editor Marie Mattingly Meloney interviewed Mathewson's mother Minerva.[54] She culled an account of Matty's wholesome upbringing in Factoryville, Penn., including his first exposure to baseball through stone tossing and the children's game "hailey over." Stories of his humble start would be retold on other

occasions, such as in Republican congressman Frederick M. Davenport's account of his visit with Mathewson in an August 1922 issue of *The Outlook*.[55] Likewise, in 1926, *Literary Digest* published a retrospective piece of a near-to-retirement Ty Cobb.[56] In the article, the journal republished excerpts from newspapers across the country, outlining Cobb's humble beginnings near Royston, Ga.

In addition to including a rich supply of these tales, writers often provided brief descriptions of a player's life story. In doing so, they recounted their brief biographies through what American mythologist Joseph Campbell called the classical monomyth, an archetypal plot in which the hero, often from humble origins, sets out on a heroic journey barred with trials and tragedy, which ultimately ends with a triumphant return.[57] Approximately one-third of the feature articles relied on a heroic arc. In these articles, journalists provided contextual information in story form, emphasizing humble beginnings and challenges that both players faced en route to professional triumph. For instance, a *New York Times* excerpt published in the 1926 *Literary Digest* article "Why Ty Cobb is Tired—and Retired," provides a typical example of the use of the heroic arc.[58] After calling Cobb "literally a self-made man," the *Times* article noted his early hitting struggles in 1906 followed by nine consecutive batting titles and a career batting average of .386.[59] Magazine writers tended to use the storytelling convention later in both icons' playing careers. They employed the technique twice as often when writing about Mathewson. Of these eight instances, six focused not on Mathewson's baseball career but on the war hero's battle with tuberculosis. Stories in general magazines like *Literary Digest* and *The Outlook* and specialty publications like *Good Housekeeping* women's magazine and *The Survey*, a public policy magazine, chronicled the war hero's victory over the "white plague."[60] In "Mathewson's Biggest Victory," *Good Housekeeping* correspondent Lucian Cary described

Mathewson's fight against the disease he acquired through complications from the inhalation of poisonous gas in World War I: "It was a different kind of struggle from any he had ever known. It was the opposite kind of fight from the one he had fought so many hundreds of times on the diamond."[61] However, 43-year-old Mathewson, who had recently accepted a position as president of the Boston Braves, recorded his biggest victory in "his long fight with imminent death," Cary noted, through the control he had mastered on the mound.[62]

Although journalists drew upon a wide stock of anecdotes, often told using a narrative arc, they returned to certain incidents time and again to help typify the icons. Writers often recounted the story of Mathewson's sportsmanship after the Snodgrass incident in the 1912 World Series.[63] In the November 16, 1912, issue of *Literary Digest*, editor Robert Joseph Cuddihy included an excerpt from *New York Evening World* sportswriter Bozeman Bulger, noting Mathewson's victory in defeat.[64] "Matty," declared *Literary Digest*, was the "real hero" of the 1912 World Series. More than a decade later, *Literary Digest* correspondent John N. Wheeler reminded readers that "instead of shooting Snodgrass," an offense that even a Boston jury would have exonerated, Mathewson defended the error, taking the blame for mishandling the pitch that cost the game-winning run.[65] Wheeler cited this, along with his attitude after the loss to the Chicago Cubs in 1908, which cost the Giants the National League pennant, as examples of Mathewson's sportsmanship in his December 1925 obituary.[66]

While Mathewson was characterized increasingly as America's "Christian Gentleman", Cobb was identified as a trickster. In June 1914, *Literary Digest* included a lengthy anecdote about a hoax he played on baseball's other villain, New York Yankee first baseman "Prince" Hal Chase. [67] Cobb explained "how a lucky chance put a double charge into a trick that the Detroits loaded up for the Yankees."[68] Cobb orchestrated the scam with the help of teammate Sam

"Wahoo" Crawford, the article revealed, after overhearing Chase discussing playing strategies in the hallway of the Yankees clubhouse. "I sneaked out of the club-house [sic] without any one seeing me, and got hold of Crawford," Cobb recalled. "'Sam,' I said. 'Chase is going to cross us on that bunt play to-morrow [sic]. Now, when we do it you dig for first base and I'll stop at second. They're going to try to get me at third. We'll both be safe, instead of your being out at first.'"[69] "Baseball is not unlike a war," Cobb told readers, and "the heavy artillery" has "to meet trick with trick."[70]

In the age of human-interest journalism, the re-telling of anecdotes did not ensure their veracity.[71] Although the idea of journalistic detachment was gaining popularity, well-known journalist Edwin Shuman's advice about the power of imaginative journalism still held sway.[72] Sports journalism's literary tendencies allowed a degree of exaggeration or oversimplification.[73] Cobb's anecdote of trickery, for instance, included a likely fictionalized dialogue with Chase.[74] On another occasion, a *New York Evening World* journalist included a fictionalized account of Mathewson's last day on the New York roster.[75] The article, which was reprinted in *Literary Digest*'s issue of August 12, 1916, included a vignette about Matty's last encounter with his teammates in the Giants' clubhouse. When second baseman Larry Doyle invited Mathewson to play one last hand of cards, the sports journalist noted that "more tear drops trickled down the cheeks of the big athlete."[76] The scribe reported that Mathewson told Doyle in a "half-broken voice, … 'This is the only locker I ever had in my life."[77] Taking fictional liberties was characteristic of the new journalism, especially if it meant creating a more imaginative story.[78] Exaggerated anecdotes were commonplace in sports writing.[79]

In recounting mythic narratives, early twentieth-century magazines relied upon literary tools such as similes, metaphors, allusions, and imagery to tell an imaginative tale. Anecdotes

with clearly defined story arcs were supplemented with figurative language in human-interest narratives about Cobb and Mathewson. As sports media historian Richard Orodenker argues, these florid descriptions reminded readers that "baseball after all, is still only a game, still fun."[80] The use of figurative language like metaphors resulted from the search to best characterize baseball and baseball stars.[81] Figurative language provided readers with an instantaneous assessment of the icon's star status, physical talents, playing styles, or personality traits. Ty Cobb was the "King of All Batsmen,"[82] the "Emperor of the Diamond"[83]; "Matty" was the "Big Six,"[84] the "Old Master,"[85] the "truck-horse of the Giants,"[86] an "intelligent thoroughbred."[87] In one 1926 *Literary Digest* article alone, Cobb was described by no less than seven metaphors from an "express-train" and a "rollicking daredevil" to a "wonderman" and "the stormy petrel of baseball."[88] Metaphors like "rollicking daredevil" not only described Cobb's risky playing style but also his craftiness; other metaphors like "express-train" simply affirmed his speed.

The same article drew upon several literary allusions, comparing Cobb to the ancient Biblical patriarch "Methuselah" and Joel Chancellor Harris' famous animal character "Br'er Fox."[89] Literary allusions to Methuselah conjured images of longevity while those to "Br'er Fox" connoted trickery. Likewise, on another occasion, the journal called Cobb the "Admiral Crichton of baseball," a literary allusion to a comic stage play written by J.M. Barrie in 1902.[90] In doing so, the writer compared Cobb's role in baseball to that of the shrewd Admiral Crichton, a lower-class servant who helps his more "civilized" employers survive after a shipwreck on a savage desert isle. Magazine writers applied literary allusions in descriptions of Mathewson, as well, likening him not only to Methuselah but to Theodore Roosevelt, George Washington, and Gilbert Patten's Frank Merriwell, the fictional American hero of juvenile pulp fiction.[91] The December 1925 issue of *The Playground* magazine noted, for instance, that "no other pitcher

ever loomed so majestically in young minds, quite overshadowing George Washington and his cherry tree or even that transcendent model of boyhood, Frank Merriwell."[92] Cultural references to Washington and Merriwell evoked notions of honesty and virtue, while those to Roosevelt suggested ideas of manliness.

Era reporters relied upon a wide array of other literary techniques like similes, clichés, and imagery. In a syndicated column appearing in *Literary Digest*, famous muckraking sports journalist Hugh Fullerton noted Mathewson's individuality through cliché, calling him a "tough bird to pluck."[93] Other writers used similes to describe Cobb and Mathewson's persona, dubbing Mathewson "as clean as a hound's tooth"[94] and likening Cobb's speed to lightening bolts.[95] In "The Comeback of Christy Mathewson," *The Survey* correspondent Helena L. Williams, promising readers "a more intimate story of one man's fight against tuberculosis than hitherto has been told," drew upon imagery in her narrative about "Matty," the "tall, broad-shouldered, ruddy-cheeked man." [96]

Ring Lardner, the Yarn Master

The literary journalism of sportswriters like Ring Lardner employed all of these storytelling techniques from figurative language to anecdotes with narrative arcs.[97] They did so in a unique writing style with an original voice and humorous tone.[98] Lardner, who got his start in sports journalism at the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* before landing a position at the *Chicago Tribune*, was influenced by the Midwest literary movement.[99] Although Orodenker identifies him as a cynical "aw-nuts" sportswriter, [100] before the 1919 Black Sox scandal, he penned colorful features about Cobb and Mathewson for *American Magazine*.

Lardner rehearsed the art of storytelling in his fictional *You Know Me Al* series,[101] before putting it to practice in his two 1915 *American Magazine* features. According to his 1933 *New*

York Times obituary, Lardner, who had listened intently to the slang of clubhouses and train stations for years, began incorporating the "natural speech of the lowbrow" into his *Tribune* columns around 1913.[102] In the *American Magazine* human-interest features, he combined literary techniques with a fictionalized mid-Western vernacular.[103] In "Tyrus, the Greatest of 'Em All," published in the June, Lardner's fictional veteran Chicago White Sox player-turned-sports-writer begs the squad's rookie and his readers to: "Sit down here a while, kid, and I'll give you the dope on this guy."[104] His idiosyncratic common speak was in rare form by August, when he described Mathewson's superb control, "They's a flock o' pitchers that knows a batter's weakness and works accordin'. But they ain't nobody else in the world that can stick a ball as near where they want to stick it as he can. I bet he could shave you if he wanted to if he had a razor blade to throw instead of a ball."[105]

Like other era writers, Lardner retold well-known anecdotes such as those of Mathewson's 1905 World Series performance, the 1912 Snodgrass muff, and Cobb's first taste of baseball with the Royston Rompers. Of Mathewson's three shutouts in the 1905 World Series, he wrote "if goose eggs had of been worth a dollar a dozen, the Ath-a-letics could of quit playin' ball and toured the world in a taxi."[106] But, he also told lesser-known, perhaps partially contrived anecdotes such as a secondhand story gleaned from White Sox pitcher Nixey Callahan. "Sometimes I pretty near think they's nothin' he couldn't do if he really set out to do it," Lardner's fictional Sox player told the rookie. "Before you joined the club, some o' the boys was kiddin' him over to Detroit. Callahan was tellin' me about it. Cobb hadn't started hittin'. One o' the players clipped the averages out o' the paper and took 'em to the park. He showed the clippin' to Ty."[107] Cobb, whose batting average had slipped to under .225, promised the player

he'd reach .325 in a week. "Well, it wasn't," Lardner's fictional Sox player told the newcomer. "No, sir! It was .326."

These mythic anecdotes were supplemented by figurative techniques. In "Matty," Lardner describes Mathewson's longevity by manipulating an old cliché. "You've heard the old sayin' that a cat's got nine lives?" he wrote. "Well, boy, Matty makes a cat look like a sucker."[108] In "Tyrus, the Greatest of 'Em All," he mixed conventional clichés with metaphors, writing, "All of my life I been hearin' about the slow, easy-goin' Southerner. Well, Ty's easy-goin' all right—like a million-dollar tourin' car. But, if Ty is slow, he must be kiddin' us when he says he was born down South."[109] Later, he wove more clichés and metaphors together, calling Cobb the blacksmith of his own lucky horseshoes.[110] Ultimately, however, it was Lardner's use of vernacular that set him apart from other journalists, spurring folklorist Tristram Coffin to liken him to a "seventeenth-century courtier."[111]

In the early twentieth century, writers like Lardner and Rice helped create a unique style of literary sports journalism.[112] Their use of figurative language, an idiosyncratic working-class voice, and humorous tone in recounting anecdotes about baseball icons appealed to the masses, making it a perfect fit for the pages of general magazines. But, magazine writers did more than merely entertain readers ; instead, they told stories that in the words of communication theorist James Carey "produced, preserved, shaped, and contested" a shared reality.[113] Their yarns helped readers make sense of the world. [114] Sportswriters, as Coffin argued, turned to the creation of tall-tales and legends, sometimes-embellished written tales that involved "real" events taken from the popular history of the folk.[115]

A Trickster and A Gentleman

From 1900 until 1928, national magazines most often portrayed Cobb and Mathewson as a trickster and a hero. Writers emphasized Mathewson's Christian persona and Cobb's trickery on the base paths. For example, Lardner's *American Magazine* articles, though written in a unique, colorful style, relied on conventional stereotypes of the pair.[116] These overly simplistic depictions seemed to especially dominate career-ending coverage and obituaries. For instance, in "Why Cobb is Tired—and Retired," *Literary Digest* editors included excerpts that emphasized his trickery.[117] One *New York World* writer remarked, "With Cobb in the game, there was never any telling what might happen … we sat there like children eagerly waiting for the wonder man to perform his miracle …. There was infectious, diabolical humor [surrounding Cobb's home plate steals] that seemed to derive such unholy joy at the havoc he caused."[118] The excerpt continued by comparing Cobb to Joel Chandler Harris' fictitious character "Br'er Fox," noting that "wherever we see him, is a never-falling [sic] source of enchantment."[119] Writers characterizing Cobb as a cultural trickster on the base paths often used natural metaphors of thunder and lightning that emphasized his speed or moral metaphors noting the "rollicking daredevil's" "fiery temperament."[120] As Coffin argues, the popular press portrayed Cobb as "a man never to be aroused, never to be crossed, a man made up of only fury, ice-blood, and a thousand devices. Cobb thus becomes a creature without normal motivation, a ballplayer, like some primitive trickster."[121]

Likewise, career-ending coverage of Mathewson also painted an overly simplistic portrait of a flawless moral hero of the muscular Christianity movement. In "The Fight of a Clean Sportsman," *The Outlook* compared "The Christian Gentleman," to an intelligent thoroughbred of impeccable breeding.[122] Alluding to famous racehorse Joe Patchen, the writer noted

Mathewson's "good pedigree," self-control, intelligence, and discipline.[123] By the time of his death in October 1925, correspondents spelled out Mathewson's status as an American hero, comparing him to George Washington.[124] Evoking images of the nation's first Commander in Chief, *The Playground* wrote that Mathewson typified the "ideal of sport—clean power in the hands of a clean and vigorous personality, a courage that has been earned in combat, and a sense of honor which metes out justice to opponents and spurns those victories which have not been earned."[125] Although some writers painted the duo with more nuance, most were content to rely on traditional portrayals, characterizing them as baseball's crafty trickster and "Christian Gentleman" by recounting anecdotes that reified conventional stereotypes. Through these oversimplified types, mainstream magazine writers taught lessons about success, morality, manliness, and even what it meant to be an American.

Mythical Lessons from the Sports Section

Cobb & Mathewson's Secrets of Success

In human-interest features about Cobb and Mathewson, magazine writers taught readers keys to success. Correspondents emphasized a combination of physical attributes like speed and intelligence and character traits like determination, perseverance, and risk-taking in their coverage. Articles featuring Cobb, like the one in the November 20, 1926, issue of *Literary Digest*, emphasized metaphors and anecdotes of speed.[126] "Down the path he went with thundering, with something of the speed and force of an express-train," noted the editorial excerpt from the *New York Sun* of Cobb's competitive edge.[127] Likewise, coverage of Mathewson emphasized his pitching control. In "Mathewson's Biggest Victory," *Good Housekeeping* correspondent Lucian Cary remarked that Mathewson's "supreme quality as a pitcher was his control."[128]

But, speed and control could only get a player so far on the baseball diamond, writers observed; it was the duo's intelligence that set them apart. Although *Literary Digest* noted Cobb's speed, it emphasized his intelligence as the key to his success. Cobb "showed little promise in his youth … he was a poor hitter, an atrocious fielder and a bad base-runner," the article stated.[129] By studying "batting as a science" and practicing "the fall-away slide," however, the *New York Times* excerpt argued, Cobb molded himself into "a self-made man."[130] Writers emphasized Cobb's intelligence on the base paths in numerous anecdotes, such as the B. F. Leventhal's memory of Cobb cunningly pilfering three consecutive bases at Shibe Park in June 1912.[131] In "Ty Cobb on the Batting Art," the "Georgia Peach" explained his philosophy on scientific hitting.[132] "I think good judgment is one of the biggest essentials to heavy hitting. I always try to keep the other team on their toes, so they won't know where the ball is going," Cobb said.[133] He went on to describe learning to read pitcher's giveaways and the art of baserunning. Writers noted Mathewson's proficiency in the "eternal science" of pitching, which he studied without a break, according to Pittsburgh outfielder Max Carey in an August 1913 *Literary Digest*.[134] Like Cobb, Mathewson taught these lessons to young boys in his 1912 *Youth's Companion* column "Saving Something for the Pinch."[135] The column, promoting his newly released book, advised that "a man should always hold something in reserve, a surprise to spring when things get tight."[136] This conservation technique, along with Mathewson's love of the game was instrumental to his longevity in baseball, observed Carey in 1913.[137]

After emphasizing physical keys to success, magazine coverage of Cobb and Mathewson, like the 1913 *Literary Digest* article, often focused on character traits that bred achievement. Through figurative language and anecdotes, writers taught readers of Cobb's "fiery determination"[138] and Mathewson's love of the game.[139] These Methuselahs of baseball claimed

success through more than natural ability alone, according to correspondents. [140] They gained success by taking educated risks on the base paths and the mound—risks they learned from dutifully studying the science of baseball; they earned success through years of dedication and determination.

"Matty": The Moral Mirror

Like literature's allegorical writers, magazine writers taught character lessons about self-control, sportsmanship, honesty, and kindness. Through anecdotes and figurative language, journalists crafted a moral hero out of Mathewson. They painted a portrait of a man who not only "embodies the ideal player and stands for all the best things in the game," but was also "a clean, right-living man."[141] Mathewson, according to baseball historian Frank Deford, was a hero of the muscular Christianity movement and American culture.[142] He was portrayed as such in national magazines. In "Mathewson's Biggest Victory," *Good Housekeeping* correspondent Lucian Cary observed that his pitching control was a metaphor for something greater. "He had control of his own temper and his own will," Cary wrote.[143] "He was famous as a clean player, who never quarreled with umpires, never lost his head, never blew up."[144] Calling him a "human thoroughbred,"[145] writers mentioned the "Old Master's" birth of "Puritan stock."[146] In her June 1914 interview with Minerva Mathewson, Meloney noted that Mathewson learned character from his mother, who taught her children the importance of honesty and encouraged Christy to become a preacher.[147] To illustrate the development of Mathewson's Christian character, Meloney retold a childhood anecdote in which his mother instructed him to repay his neighbor for a window broken from an errant throw. According to Minerva Mathewson, the experience taught him responsibility and honesty, "the foundation upon which a boy must build his Christianity, his fairness, his kindness."[148] Although he exhibited Christian character traits like

self-control, "Mathewson never posed as a saint," *The Outlook* correspondent Frederick Davenport reminded readers in 1922.[149] Other writers drew upon anecdotes of fairness and kindness from his playing career. In "The Eternal Mucker," *The Outlook* noted that Mathewson "whose record for good sportsmanship and fairness cannot be questioned," supported professional baseball Commissioner Kennesaw Mountain Landis' controversial decision to suspend play in game two of the 1922 World Series due to darkness.[150]

After his death in October 1925, magazine writers firmly cast Mathewson into the role of a moral hero. In its November 12, 1925, obituary for Mathewson, *Youth's Companion* described the character of the "idol of the baseball world."[151] He lived by example, the boy's magazine noted: "He never preached his code. He lived it. He never played a dirty trick …. He never quarreled with an umpire. He always gave all that was in him."[152] Because of his courage, fellow players and fans respected the man who was "bigger than the game itself."[153] *Literary Digest*, like other publications, reminded readers of his kindness to teammates like rookie Josh Devore, as well as his displays of sportsmanship in defeat.[154] Comparing Mathewson's "manly character"[155] to that of George Washington, Theodore Roosevelt, and Frank Merriwell, tributes to "Matty" celebrated his kindness, self-control, sportsmanship, and honesty.[156] As sports historian Jonathon Yardley noted, "In our national mythology he occupies a place alongside Frank Merriwell and Dink Stover: a flawless hero, a paradigm. That in point of fact he was not, that there was at least a narrow gap between myth and reality, only makes him more appealing; a true hero is rarely a saint."[157]

Baseball's Models of Manhood

But, human-interest coverage that crafted Mathewson as a moral hero did so with a caveat, celebrating his "manly character."[158] Although "Matty" was a "clean, right-living

man,"[159] in an age of anxiety about manhood, journalists did not want readers to get the wrong impression. "Don't get the idea 'Matty' was a mollycoddle [an effeminate boy]," warned *Literary Digest* correspondent John N. Wheeler in 1921.[160] "He was 100 per cent male he-man." Wheeler supported his claims with evidence: "He smoked a bit, drank a bit, at times gambled and swore."[161] Again in a *Literary Digest* tribute, weeks after his death in 1925, Wheeler observed that though he was a clean sportsman, "no prude was Matty," emphasizing his occasional foray with the bottle, his manly companionship on hunting trips, and his courage in death.[162] "Taps for 'Matty,'" Mathewson's obituary in *Literary Digest*, portrayed the "man as a man—a hero of the diamond and of life."[163] Sportswriter W.O. McGeehan described Mathewson, a "gentleman, sportsman, and soldier," as "the incarnation of all those virtues which we endow the ideal American."[164] Coverage near the end of Mathewson's life emphasized his status as a war hero of the American Expeditionary Forces in France and as the gentleman of the diamond, crediting him with changing the national pastime from a roughneck sport to a respectable pastime.

If Mathewson was portrayed as a gentleman on the mound, Cobb was the savage of the base paths. Writers like Edward E. Purinton referenced him in columns with tips for molding boys into men.[165] Publications noting "his sardonic, confident look" and "his assured, daring, and successful style of play"[166] painted Cobb as a man's man, a devil in spikes tearing down the base paths. His "fiery determination"[167] was so extreme, wrote era magazines, that "even old Father Time cannot head him off."[168] According to a 1926 column in *Youth's Companion*, the "Georgia Peach," was a man "of action," "the most skillful, sure, and clever batsman," who is "always alive, always full of energy."[169] Allusions to Admiral Crichton referenced the primeval ingenuity of the Southerner.[170] Cobb may have been a savage "maniac" on the base paths, but "a

gentleman by instinct, he always regretted" the "diamond unpleasantnesses [sic]" that his "fiery temperament" got him into.[171]

During the early twentieth century's "crisis of masculinity," magazine journalists helped craft ideas about manhood through human-interest coverage of Cobb and Mathewson. Writers, as gender historian Gail Bederman suggests, played a role in constituting notions of manliness.[172] Historian Amy S. Greenberg argues that two competing ideals of manliness—restrained and martial manhood—had come to dominate American culture.[173] In national magazine coverage between 1900 and 1928, journalists largely portrayed Mathewson as a restrained gentleman and Cobb as a martial man's man drawing on figurative language and anecdotes to craft oversimplified types of a "Christian Gentleman" and a cultural trickster. These stories taught American boys to walk a fine line between being overtaken by their primal, savage urges or acting as "mollycoddles," effeminate sissies. In short, through human-interest coverage of Cobb and Mathewson, journalists helped construct common-sense notions of manhood.

The "Georgia Peach" and "Big Six" as an American Tale

Magazine coverage of Cobb and Mathewson did more than provide lessons about success, morality, and manliness; it also taught readers lessons about what it meant to be American. Although magazine writers referenced Cobb and Mathewson's humble upbringings, correspondents focused more on their status as national icons. Manipulating clichés about easy-going Southerners, Lardner cast Cobb as an original American, noting "if Southerners is slow, he must be kiddin' us when he says he was born down South."[174] Coverage of the "self-made men," emphasized the possibility of achieving the American dream through determination and hard work. It supplied American readers with the secrets of their success. Writers emphasized American ingenuity, noting their shrewd skill and inventiveness. For instance, in "Why Ty Cobb

is Tired—and Retired," *Literary Digest* noted that Cobb concocted the fallaway slide to outwit his opponents,[175] and *Outing* called Matty's fadeaway pitch, "the greatest deceiver ever used."[176]

But not all magazine coverage typecast Cobb and Mathewson. Some writers recast Cobb as a cultural hero and Mathewson as a trickster. In the June 1910 *Outing Magazine*, sportswriter C.E. Van Loan crafted Mathewson as a pompous trickster, using baseball's greatest deceiver—the fadeaway. "Matty knew all about the fence-breaking recruit," Van Loan wrote, "and the fearless Bush was forced to go after three of the busiest fadeaways of the season … he struck some six inches over each one. The New York crowd howled with delight, and, to make it worse, Mathewson laughed at Bush as he tramped back to the bench."[177] Likewise, Cobb was portrayed as a cultural hero on a number of occasions. In "What Baseball has Taught Ty Cobb," published in the June 19, 1924, issue of *Collier's* magazine, sportswriter Dayton Stoddard cast Cobb as the ultimate hero, writing:

> Idols have a habit of sliding from pedestals on being met face to face. But I still have one idol left, and that is Ty Cobb. I remember him first when I used to hang around the outside of the ball parks in Philadelphia, waiting for someone to knock a ball over the fence, so that we could use it as a ticket of admission. After the game, with other kids, I used to wait around to see the heroes emerge on their way to the hotel. Cobb was the greatest of these. And though an enemy—in consequences of not being on either of the Philadelphia teams—he was held by the kids in higher regard than any other ball player. That proved itself by the fact that his picture—one of the series that were issued with a popular cigarette—was worth ten of the others. Matty was worth five of the others … and so on.[178]

Stoddard went on to allow Cobb to tell his own heroic monomyth through in-depth quotations about his career. *Youth's Companion* also crafted Cobb as a cultural hero, emphasizing his skill, vitality, hard work, and sportsmanship. The publication wrote that "boyhood may easily find many less admirable heroes than Ty Cobb."[179] Although some era magazines and writers broke mythic molds in their human-interest coverage, most writers sketched Cobb and Mathewson in rather stagnant types. If as folklorist Tristram Coffin says, "each age re-writes the past into a

drama to fit its own purposes,"[180] in the first three decades of the twentieth century, national magazines largely portrayed Cobb and Mathewson as mythic idols to teach lessons about success, manliness, morality, and the American way.

Conclusion

National magazine coverage of Cobb and Mathewson largely portrayed the duo in a binary as baseball's crafty trickster and moral hero in brief references and full-length, human-interest features. References served to convey news regarding the pair, to demonstrate their fame within American culture, and to provide social commentary on their heroic status. Through satire, for instance, national magazine correspondents noted the irony embedded in the American sports hero. Journalists pointed out the blurring of hero and celebrity, the fluidity of fame, and the construction of sport as an all-male domain.

Although some brief references functioned in an "information" model, most articles relied upon Schudson's "story" model.[181] Demonstrating media scholar James Carey's ritual view of communication,[182] magazine correspondents relied on communal storytelling techniques. They gathered material from word-of-mouth encounters with Cobb, Mathewson, and other baseball players. They constructed myth-narratives, sharing cultural lessons about success, manliness, morality, and the American way. In the process, most magazine writers cast Cobb and Mathewson into the overly simplistic molds: as America's moral hero and its ultimate trickster.

Like Greek bards in an earlier age of orality,[183] writers crafted these larger-than-life icons through literary conventions. Borrowing from the rich tradition of literary journalism, both general correspondents and "gee-whiz"[184] sportswriters used literary tools like metaphors as cultural shorthand to quickly convey information about Cobb and Mathewson's physical qualities, playing styles, personalities, and character traits.

Ultimately, however, these storytelling conventions served to structure how Cobb and Mathewson were portrayed. As historian Hayden White suggests, literary form influences content.[185] The storytelling techniques embedded in human-interest journalism shaped the portrayal of Cobb and Mathewson. Metaphors, allusions, and anecdotes determined—in that they exerted pressures and set limits on—coverage.[186] Although writers had a degree of autonomy in how they constructed stories, prior reporting overdetermined later treatment. Thus, by the end of their careers, Cobb and Mathewson were cast into rather stagnant molds by most writers. These journalistic forms helped construct common-sense cultural logics[187] about success, manliness, morality, and what it meant to be an American.

Although these articles appeared in national magazines, they retained a close relationship with era newspaper coverage. Some of the accounts, for instance all nine of those that appeared in *Literary Digest*, were composed of excerpts from newspaper columns. In addition to reprinting newspaper excerpts, national magazines like *American Magazine*, *Collier's*, *The Outlook*, and *The Saturday Evening Post* contracted notable newspaper writers from urban newspaper staffs as freelance contributors.[188] In fact, fourteen of the thirty bylined articles were written by sports reporters like Lardner, Rice, and Cain, who had made names for themselves on the staffs of newspaper like the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Evening Mail* and the *Philadelphia Ledger*, before inking freelance deals with national magazines.[189] Rice, for instance, began his thirty-five year association with *Collier's* in 1912. During this period, he wrote more than 500 sports articles for the publication. He also contributed to other general-interest magazines such as *McClure's* and *American Magazine*.[190] General magazines hired veteran sportswriters because of their expertise, their rapport with prominent players, and their existing fame within their community of readers. Sports journalists like newspaper columnist

Grantland Rice, ghostwriter John N. Wheeler, and magazine editor F.C. Lane drew upon professional working relationships with Cobb and Mathewson to supply the masses with mythic cultural tales. The following chapter examines the working associations that existed among these professionals and the operation of these relationships within journalistic practices.

End Notes

1. *Life*, 26 December 1912, 2544 (American Periodical Series). *Life* placed Ty Cobb in the same category as other national war and sports heroes. U.S. Navy Admiral George Dewey served in the Spanish American War. After the war, numerous parades were held in his honor. Likewise, former undefeated heavyweight boxing champion Jim Jeffries was well-known for his fourteen knockouts in twenty contests. In 1910, the retired boxer made a comeback to take on African-American heavyweight champion Jack Johnson. At a racist time in American history, Jeffries became a national icon, promoted by the media as the "Great White Hope," in the weeks leading up to what became known as "the fight of the century" on July 4, 1910, in Reno, Nevada. Although he lost to Johnson, he retained his status as an American icon.

2. Harold Kellock, "The New Column," *The Bookman: A Review of Books and Life*, June 1916, 440 (American Periodical Series).

3. Ibid.

4. Although other notable stars of the Dead Ball Era (1900-1919) received regular coverage in newspaper sports sections and specialty baseball magazines, they did not gain as much attention in national magazines. A search of H.W. Wilson's Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature reveals more than fifty articles about Cobb and Mathewson in national, general-interest magazines, but only uncovers fifteen total articles about Tris Speaker, Johnny Evers, Frank Chance, Cy Young, Walter Johnson, Napoleon Lajoie, and Honus Wagner between 1900 and 1928. Behind Cobb and Mathewson, Chicago Cubs first baseman Frank Chance was the most written about baseball star of the Dead Ball Era in national magazines.

5. A search of H.W. Wilson's Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature reveals that coverage of Babe Ruth did not appear in any national magazines until 1920. During the Roaring Twenties, however, Ruth appeared in thirty-one human-interest features. He was also referenced in national magazines on more than 247 occasions, according to a search of the American Periodical Series.

6. Rhodes, *Ty Cobb*, 2008, 23-60.

7. Alexander, *Ty Cobb*, 1984, 24-36.

8. Holmes, *Ty Cobb*, 2004, 15-16.

9. *Life*, 26 December 1912, 2544 (American Periodical Series).

10. Holmes, *Ty Cobb*, 2004, 61.

11. In 1912, Cobb led both leagues for the sixth consecutive season with a .410 batting average. He also set a major league single season steals record that still stands, swiping home plate eight times. In May 1912, he made national headlines for his off-the-field exploits. On May 15, 1912, after being taunted with racial slurs, he climbed in the stands in the sixth inning to confront a New York Highlander fan. Even after being told by onlookers that the man had no

hands, he continued to attack Claude Lueker, who had lost one hand and several fingers in a printing press accident, yelling: "I don't care if he has no feet." Immediately following Detroit's decisive 8-2 victory over the Highlanders, National League president Ban Johnson suspended Cobb indefinitely, sparking professional baseball's first strike. After defeating the Philadelphia Athletics 6 to 3 on May 17, fellow outfielder Davy Jones and his teammates issued a telegram to Johnson, refusing to play another game until Cobb's reinstatement. Because of the walkout, Detroit Tigers manager Hugh Jennings cancelled the series finale. On May 21, the players ended their holdout. Johnson fined each of the striking players $100, issued Cobb with a $50 fine and retroactively suspended him for ten days for the incident. Later in the season, Cobb again made headlines for violence, avenging three would-be assaulters by severely beating two of them with the butt of his revolver in a dark alley. Holmes, *Ty Cobb*, 2004, 58-61.

12. Seib, *The Player*, 2004, 1-224.

13. Ibid., 46-54.

14. Ibid., 81.

15. Ibid., 93-95.

16. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 5.

17. Ohmann, *Selling Culture*, 1996, 15, 25-30.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid., 28.

20. Ibid., 29.

21. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 55-65.

22. Ohmann, *Selling Culture*, 1996, 11-30.

23. As historian Richard Ohmann argues, the point is not to establish arbitrary circulation minimums that constitute mass-circulating magazines. Even magazines that lack a million readers can be considered mediums for the masses when they center on mass culture. Ibid., 15-16. For detailed circulation figures from selected years (i.e. 1912, 1915, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1927) of the publications studied, see Appendix B. N.W. Ayers, *N. W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual and Directory* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son, 1912/1915/1923/1924/1925/1927).

24. Ohmann, *Selling Culture*, 1996, 354.

25. Forty-four percent of these articles included action or still photography.

26. Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 1981, 90.

27. Dr. Washington Gladden, "Dr. Gladden's Appeal," *The Independent*, 23 May 1912, 1132 (American Periodical Series); "Play Ball," *The Independent*, 10 April 1926, 409 (American Periodical Series).

28. "The Crack of the Baseball Bat Goes Echoing Around the World," *Current Opinion*, November 1913, 309 (American Periodical Series).

29. Cullen Cain, "The Manager," *Saturday Evening Post*, June 1926, 20-21, 174 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

30. Carey, *Communication as Culture*, 1989, 23.

31. F. Dana Burnet, "The News in Rime," *Puck*, 4 April 1914, 9 (American Periodical Series); On other occasions, Cobb and Mathewson are alluded to in magazine short stories, such as Clifford Hollander's "The Millionaire Kid," which appeared in the May 1919 issue of *McClure's Magazine* or Gilbert Patten's "Sand on the Diamond," which appeared in the June 13, 1923 issue of *The Outlook*. In both accounts, the authors referenced Cobb and other famous stars of the day to lend their fictional accounts credibility. In the "Millionaire Kid," for instance, the

manager notes Cobb's prestige in a discussion of finding Cobb- or Speaker-like talent. Clifford Hollander, "The Millionaire Kid," *McClure's*, May 1919, 18-20, 59 (American Periodical Series); Gilbert Patten, "Sand of the Diamond," *The Outlook*, 13 June 1923, 176-178 (American Periodical Series).

32. Edward E. Purinton, "The American Boy," *The Independent*, 18 December 1916, 495-497 (American Periodical Series).

33. For examples see, Exchange, "Supposing," *Puck*, 7 February 1912, 13 (American Periodical Series); F. Dana Burnet, "The News in Rime," *Puck*, 4 April 1914, 9 (American Periodical Series).

34. Exchange, "Supposing," *Puck*, 7 February 1912, 13 (American Periodical Series).

35. "Depth of Ignorance," *Life*, 3 July 1913, 35 (American Periodical Series).

36. F.B. Adams, "Plutarch Lights of History, No. 6: Christy Mathewson," *Harper's Weekly*, 15 April 1916, 395 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

37. Ibid.

38. Harold Kellock, "The New Column," *The Bookman: A Review of Books and Life*, June 1916, 440 (American Periodical Series).

39. "The Power of a Great Example," *Life*, 14 September 1910, 434 (American Periodical Series).

40. Ibid.

41. "She Had Heard of Ty Cobb," *The Youth's Companion*, 5 July 1917, 384 (American Periodical Series).

42. Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 1981, 89-90.

43. Lule, *Daily News, Eternal Stories*, 2001, 15.

44. Ibid. Since the mid-nineteenth century, popular usage of the term "myth" came to denote untrue tales, but, according to Lule, "myth" should be considered "real," "sacred societal stories" that may be oversimplified or exaggerated.

45. Ibid., 18-26.

46. Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 3-8.

47. Ibid.

48. "C.E. Van Loan dies," *Los Angeles Times*, 3 March 1919, II1; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 44. Van Loan began his career as an editor for the *New York American* before becoming a regular freelance writer at magazines like *The Outing* and *The Saturday Evening Post*.

49. Within the sample of eight-five articles gathered from H.W. Wilson's Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature and the American Periodical Series, only two were written under the byline of a woman. See, Helena L. Williams, "The Come-Back of Christy Mathewson," *The Survey*, December 1923, 248-251, 297,301 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); Mrs. William Brown Meloney, "My Boy," *The Delineator*, June 1914, 8, 45 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

50. Cited in Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 39.

51. B.F. Leventhal, "Two Glimpses of Ty Cobb," *American Magazine*, February 1914, 78 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

52. Joseph A. Sexton, "Two Glimpses of Ty Cobb," *American Magazine*, February 1914, 78 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

53. Journalism historians argue that the press, through its storytelling capability, plays an important role in shaping public memory on a national and local level. For examples see: Jill A. Edy, *Troubled Pasts: News and the Collective Memory of Social Unrest* (Philadelphia: Temple

University Press, 2006), 1-230; Janice Hume, "Press, Published History, and Regional Lore: Shaping the Public Memory of a Revolutionary War Heroine," Journalism History 30 (Winter 2005): 200-09; Caroline Kitch, *Pages from the Past* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 1-256; Michael Schudson, *Watergate in American Memory: How We Remember, Forget and Reconstruct the Past* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), 1-304.

54. Mrs. William Brown Meloney, "My Boy," *The Delineator*, June 1914, 8, 45 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

55. Frederick M. Davenport, "Christy Mathewson," *The Outlook*, 30 August 1922, 704-705 (American Periodical Series/Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

56. "Why Ty Cobb is Tired—and Retired," *Literary Digest*, 20 November 1926, 54-62 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

57. Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 1949, 1-171.

58. "Why Ty Cobb is Tired—and Retired," *Literary Digest*, 20 November 1926, 54-62 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

59. Ibid., 58.

60. "'Big Six,' New Boss of the Boston Braves," *Literary Digest*, 10 March 1923, 65-68 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); Lucian Cary, "Mathewson's Biggest Victory," *Good Housekeeping*, August 1923, 48, 174 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); Frederick M. Davenport, "Christy Mathewson," *The Outlook*, 30 August 1922, 704-705 (American Periodical Series/Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); "'Matty's' Tribute from the Fans," *Literary Digest*, 15 January 1921, 52 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); "The Fight of a Clean Sportsman," *The Outlook*, 19 July 1922, 481 (American Periodical Series/Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); Helena L. Williams, "The Come-Back of Christy Mathewson," *The Survey*, December 1923, 248-251, 297,301 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

61. Lucian Cary, "Mathewson's Biggest Victory," *Good Housekeeping*, 48, 174, August 1923 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

62. Ibid., 49.

63. For examples see, "Matty," *Literary Digest*, 16 November 1912, 932-933 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); John N. Wheeler, "'Matty' as the Champion of the Friendless," *Literary Digest*, 26 December 1925, 35-36 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

64. "Matty," *Literary Digest*, 16 November 1912, 932-933 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

65. John N. Wheeler, "'Matty' as the Champion of the Friendless," *Literary Digest*, 26 December 1925, 36 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

66. Ibid.

67. "Ty Cobb on the Batting Art," *Literary Digest*, 27 June 1914, 1558-1563 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

68. Ibid.,1560.

69. Ibid.,1560.

70. Ibid., 1563.

71. Roggenkamp, *Narrating the News*, 2005, xii.

72. Journalist Edwin Shuman cited in Roggenkamp, *Narrating the News*, 2005, xiii.

73. Ibid.

74. "Ty Cobb on the Batting Art," *Literary Digest*, 27 June 1914, 1558-1563 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

75. “Sentiment and ‘Matty,’” *Literary Digest*, 12 August 1916, 363-365 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index).

76. Ibid., 364.

77. Ibid., 364.

78. Roggenkamp, *Narrating the News*, 2005, xii.

79. Orodenker, *The Writers’ Game*, 1996, 3-8.

80. Ibid., 4.

81. Ibid.

82. “Ty Cobb Remains King of all Batsmen,” *Literary Digest*, 17 January 1920, 118 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index).

83. “Picking an All-Time Emperor,” Literary Digest, 1 August 1931, 30-31 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index).

84. For example see, “‘Big Six,’ New Boss of the Boston Braves,” *Literary Digest*, 10 March 1923, 65-68 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index); His biographers have suggested that the most likely rationale behind the nickname was a firefighting metaphor. Sports historian Ray Robinson notes that sportswriter Sam Crane, who had previously dubbed Mathewson as the “great flame-thrower,” extended the metaphor comparing him to an antique horse-drawn engine used by a volunteer fire department in New York. Others have argued that the moniker came from a reference to his height, a metaphor for a “peerless car” manufactured by the Matheson Motor Company, or an allusion to a famous fighter. Robinson, *Matty*, 1993, 57-8.

85. For example see, Lucian Cary, “Mathewson's Biggest Victory,” *Good Housekeeping*, August 1923, 48 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index).

86. “Matty's Record for 1913,” *Literary Digest*, 20 December 1913, 1238 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index).

87. “The Fight of a Clean Sportsman,” The Outlook, 19 July 1922, 481 (American Periodical Series/Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index).

88. “Why Ty Cobb is Tired—and Retired,” *Literary Digest*, 20 November 1926, 54-62 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index).

89. Ibid.

90. “Spanking Baseball’s Baby and Petting Its Paragon,” Literary Digest, 19 September 1925, 58-66 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index).

91. For example see, F.B. Adams, “Plutarch Lights of History, No. 6: Christy Mathewson,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 15 April 1916, 395 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index); “Christy Mathewson,” *The Playground*, December 1925, 517 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index); Frederick M. Davenport, “Christy Mathewson,” *The Outlook*, 30 August 1922, 705 (American Periodical Series/Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index).

92. “Christy Mathewson,” *The Playground*, December 1925, 517 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index).

93. “‘Matty’s’ Tribute from the Fans,” *Literary Digest*, 15 January 1921, 52 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index).

94. “‘Big Six,’ New Boss of the Boston Braves,” *Literary Digest*, 10 March 1923, 68 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index).

95. “Why Ty Cobb is Tired—and Retired,” *Literary Digest*, 20 November 1926, 54-62 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index).

96.

Helena L. Williams, "The Come-Back of Christy Mathewson," *The Survey*, December 1923, 248 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

97. Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 3-8, 38-49.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid.

100. "Ring Lardner Dies; Noted as Writer," *New York Times* 26 September 1933, 21 (American Periodical Series); Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 33-34.

101. Ibid., 11, 38-49. Lardner later left sports journalism to pursue a career in fiction; his fictional *You Know Me Al* was originally published in 1914 as "A Busher's Letters Home" in *Saturday Evening Post*.

102. Ibid., 41.

103. "Ring Lardner Dies; Noted as Writer," *New York Times* 26 September 1933, 21 (American Periodical Series).

104. Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 38-49.

105. Ring Lardner, "Tyrus, the Greatest of 'Em All," *American Magazine*, June 1915, 19 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

106. Ring Lardner, "Matty," *American Magazine*, August 1915, 26 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

107. Ibid., 27.

108. Ring Lardner, "Tyrus, the Greatest of 'Em All," *American Magazine*, June 1915, 21 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

109. Ring Lardner, "Matty," *American Magazine*, August 1915, 26 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

110. Ring Lardner, "Tyrus, the Greatest of 'Em All," *American Magazine*, June 1915, 19 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

111. Ibid.

112. Cited in Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 41.

113. Orodenker, 9-15.

114. Carey, *Communication as Culture*, 1989, 23.

115. Lule, *Daily News, Eternal Stories*, 2001, 18.

116. Coffin, *The Old Ball Game*, 1971, 31.

117. Ring Lardner, "Tyrus, the Greatest of 'Em All," *American Magazine*, June 1915, 19-23, 78 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); Ring Lardner, "Matty," *American Magazine*, August 1915, 26-29 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

118. "Why Ty Cobb is Tired—and Retired," *Literary Digest*, 20 November 1926, 54-62 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

119. Ibid., 56

120. Ibid.

121. Ibid., 62, 60.

122. Coffin, *The Old Ball Game*, 1971, 91.

123. "The Fight of a Clean Sportsman," *The Outlook*, 19 July 1922, 481 (American Periodical Series/Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

124. Ibid.

125. "Christy Mathewson," *The Playground*, December 1925, 517 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

126. Ibid.

127. “Why Ty Cobb is Tired—and Retired,” *Literary Digest*, 20 November 1926 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index), 54-62.

128. Ibid., 56.

129. Lucian Cary, “Mathewson's Biggest Victory,” *Good Housekeeping*, August 1923, 174 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index).

130. “Why Ty Cobb is Tired—and Retired,” *Literary Digest*, 20 November 1926 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index), 56.

131. Ibid.

132. B.F. Leventhal, “Two Glimpses of Ty Cobb,” *American Magazine*, February 1914, 78 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index).

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145. “The Fight of a Clean Sportsman,” *The Outlook*, 19 July 1922, 481 (American Periodical Series/Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index).

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147. Mrs. William Brown Meloney, “My Boy,” *The Delineator*, June 1914, 8-9 (Readers’ Guide Retrospective Index).

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167. "Why Ty Cobb is Tired—and Retired," *Literary Digest*, 20 November 1926, 60 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

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169. "The Georgia Peach," *Youth's Companion*, 9 December 1926, 966 (American Periodical Series).

170. "Spanking Baseball's Baby and Petting Its Paragon," Literary Digest, 19 September 1925, 58 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

171. "Why Ty Cobb is Tired—and Retired," *Literary Digest*, 20 November 1926, 60 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

172. Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 1995, 6.

173. Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1-323. Greenberg argues that restrained and martial manhood were pervasive in America by century's turn.

174. Ring Lardner, "Tyrus, the Greatest of 'Em All," *American Magazine*, June 1915, 19 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

175. "Why Ty Cobb is Tired—and Retired," *Literary Digest*, 20 November 1926, 56 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index). The fallaway slide is an aggressive, unconventional sliding technique, in which a base runner slides away from the base using his hand to tag the base to avoid being put out.

176. C.E. Van Loan, "Making Good in the Big League," *Outing*, June 1910, 319 (American Periodical Series. Known as a screwball today, a fadeaway pitch is a reverse curve ball that breaks in to right-handed batters.

177. Ibid.

178. Dayton Stoddard, "What Baseball Has Taught Ty Cobb," *Collier's*, 19 July 1924, 7 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

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180. Coffin, *The Old Ball Game*, 1971, 76.

181. Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 1981, 90.

182. Carey, *Communication as Culture*, 1989, 23, 18.

183. Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the World* (New York: Routledge, 2002) 1-204.

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CHAPTER 5

GALAVANTING WITH BASEBALL'S GIANTS

A decade before Dean of Sportswriters Grantland Rice landed lucrative positions as a New York-based syndicated newspaper columnist and freelance magazine writer with *Collier*'s, *McClure's*, and *American Magazine*, he accepted a position as the sports editor at the *Atlanta Journal* in 1902.[1] For a salary of $12.50 per week, significantly under the average salary of most Americans,[2] he not only edited and composed the entire sports section but also served as the paper's theatre critic.[3] One mid-March afternoon in 1904, after filing stories, editing copy, and designing the sports page, he settled in for a regular hand of poker with his colleagues while waiting for the presses to roll.[4] At around 2 p.m., his hand of cards was interrupted by a Western Union messenger. "Tyrus Raymond Cobb, the dashing young star from Royston, has just started spring training with Anniston [of the Southeastern League]," read the anonymous wire. "He is a terrific hitter and faster than a deer. At the age of 18 he is undoubtedly a phenom."[5] Rice tossed the message promoting the unknown semi-professional baseball player in a nearby wastebasket. After sharing a laugh with his colleagues, he replied that in the future regular mail would suffice to deliver news of Anniston's rookie outfielder.[6]

Throughout the spring, Rice received a flood of mail signed by Joneses, Smiths, Browns, and Kellys postmarked from cities across the Southeast. "Ty Cobb is a sure-fire big league prospect," Mr. Brown wrote, encouraging Rice to be the first to file the scoop.[7] As the "meaty" letters and postcards from his "correspondents" continued to pour in, his interest was piqued. Before watching the Royston rookie in person, he wrote a brief column about "the darling of the

fans … a young fellow named Cobb who seems to be showing an unusual lot of talent."[8] Then, a few days later, he made the 130-plus mile trek to Augusta, where the eighteen-year-old bush leaguer was now playing, to see whether "this hotshot Cobb was as good as my correspondents claimed."[9] Before the game, he strode into the dugout. "I've been hearing about you," he told Cobb. "My name is Rice. I write baseball for the *Journal*." Cobb replied, "Is that so? I've heard of you, too."[10] There, in the Augusta Tourist's dugout, Rice broke his "first big story" and initiated a fifty-year working relationship with what was to become one of baseball's most prominent icons.[11]

The following season, Rice caught his first glimpse of New York Giants twirler Christy Mathewson while covering the 1905 World Series for the *Atlanta Journal*.[12] That October, the twenty-five-year-old watched from the press box of New York's Polo Grounds as "Matty" pitched three shutouts in six days to steal the Fall Classic from Connie Mack's Philadelphia Athletics. Though Rice "marveled at the handsome righthander and wrote as much," he only briefly met the "Big Six" during the series.[13] It was not until he joined the *New York Evening Mail*'s staff in 1911 and covered the New York Giants on a regular basis that he developed a close working relationship with Mathewson.[14]

In the meantime, Rice was distinguishing himself as a sports journalist. When he arrived home from covering the 1905 World Series, a job offer from the *Cleveland News* greeted him.[15] During his two-year stint at the daily, Rice earned $50, then $60, per week to edit the sports page—more than four times that of the era's least paid sports reporters.[16] But, a request to serve as sports editor from his longtime friend Herman Suter lured him away. At the newly established *Nashville Tennessean*, Rice earned $70 per week to edit a two- to four-page sports section, cover Nashville's theatre scene nightly, and pen a column of humorous verse for the editorial page.[17]

Working twelve- to eighteen-hour days, Rice wrote prolifically, and by 1910, his work caught the attention of *New York Evening Mail* publisher Henry L. Stoddard, who offered Rice $50 per week to join his staff.[18] He accepted the lower salary for a chance to work in the nation's biggest media market. Rice's talents were noticed by *New York Tribune* owner Ogden Reid, who offered him an astounding $280 per week to join his sports staff in 1913.[19]

Rice shared the experience of many of his contemporaries, who built lucrative careers at big-city dailies after years of gathering scoops at smaller newspapers.[20] Sportswriters like Rice quickly learned that the key to landing newsworthy information was the establishment of "friendly" working associations among professional colleagues and sports stars. This chapter will examine the daily working associations developed among three New York-based sports journalists—sports columnist Grantland Rice, *Baseball Magazine* editor F.C. Lane, and syndicate owner John N. Wheeler—in the man's world of sports journalism. It will provide a richer understanding of the professional practices of early twentieth-century sports journalists by examining rapport development and news-gathering strategies that shaped the form of sports writing.

Establishing "Friendly" Working Relationships

In New York, Rice joined a community of mostly male sports journalists.[21] As historians Jean Hastings Ardell and Dave Kaszuba suggest, only a handful of women dared to enter the mostly male domain of sports writing at twentieth century's turn, and those who did struggled to infiltrate the tight-knit men's club.[22] From his comfortable apartment on Riverside Drive, Rice became a member of a circle of upper-echelon, New York-based sports reporters. He socialized with sportswriters like Heywood Broun of the *New York Tribune*, John N. Wheeler of the *New York Herald*, and Daymon Runyon of the *New York American*, who often wandered by around

midnight for coffee.[23] He also developed a close friendship with *Chicago Tribune* sportswriter Ring Lardner.[24] In their autobiographies, Rice and Wheeler noted a close sense of camaraderie among sportswriters.[25] Their observations support the contentions of others. In *No Cheering in the Pressbox*, New York-based baseball writers Dan Daniel and Marshal Hunt described congenial relationships among sportswriters in interviews with baseball historian Jerome Holtzman.[26]

While covering the New York Giants, as well as other professional and amateur sports teams based in the Northeast, these writers forged close working alliances. Packed into press boxes, train cars, hotels, and restaurant bars, sports journalists, like their news colleagues,[27] sometimes worked together to break stories.[28] In *The Rise and Fall of the Press Box*, former sportswriter Leonard Koppett argues that early twentieth-century baseball journalists relied on each other to gather newsworthy information.[29] This practice, however, was not unusual within the profession. In his 1927 book *Ballyhoo*, former newspaperman Silas Bent provided anecdotal evidence that group news gathering techniques were commonplace across all newsroom departments. He argued that reporters worked "in squads …. They interview celebrities in groups, and apportion among themselves the labor on a big story, sharing their gleanings later."[30] In fact, "combination reporting," as journalism historian Ted Curtis Smythe termed it, had existed in newsrooms since the late 1800s.[31]

Not only did era sports journalist develop close working associations with one another, they also established relationships with local sports stars. Sports reporters, like Rice, Wheeler, and Lane, developed collegial working relations with baseball's most notable icons by virtue of their daily proximity to the stars. According to sports media historian Richard Orodenker, sports reporters interacted with players "almost on a daily basis."[32] They traveled, lodged, and dined

with players on road trips. For instance, Rice and Mathewson often ate dinner together.[33] In his memoir *I've Got News for You*, Wheeler described sharing adjoining hotel rooms at Boston's Copley Plaza Hotel with fellow sportswriters C.E. Van Loan and Hugh Fullerton, cartoonist Clare Briggs, and baseball "experts" Christy Mathewson and Ty Cobb for the 1916 World Series.[34] Within these close confines, the two icons and reporters roughhoused and cavorted with one another. Wheeler also recalled the aftermath of a prolonged cocktail hour, when a still-inebriated Van Loan stumbled in during the wee hours of the morning, complaining of a vicious hangover.[35] Fullerton and Cobb supplied hangover remedies to their colleague.[36]

Writers not only ate, drank, and lodged with professional baseball players, they also enjoyed leisure activities together. "I played a lot of golf with [Mathewson]—from New York to St. Louis," Rice recalled in *The Tumult and the Shouting*.[37] In 1911, for instance, he played a round of golf with Mathewson and his New York Giants teammates—first baseman Fred Merkle and outfielder Mike Donlin.[38] Like longtime comrades, they made friendly wagers and enjoyed the usual golfing arguments like those over impolite chatter during backswings. After a grueling round of 36-holes with Mathewson, Merkle, and Donlin one Sunday afternoon in Pittsburgh, Rice landed in New York manager John McGraw's doghouse, when the Pirates shellacked a still-exhausted Mathewson in the next day's game.[39] "I hid out from McGraw for four days," Rice later wrote of the incident.[40] In addition to playing golf with Mathewson, Rice often watched him play checkers.[41] Rice in his autobiography describes dining with Mathewson at the Philadelphia Athletic Club, where he witnessed "Matty" compete against twelve checkers opponents at the same time.[42] Likewise, in his December 1925 tribute to the "Big Six" for *Literary Digest*, Wheeler recalled hunting with Mathewson. "He was a great companion on a hunting trip, always giving the others the best of it, and usually getting the bird after I had

missed," he wrote.[43] In fact, Mathewson, according to Rice, "was as fine a companion as I ever knew."[44]

Sports journalists in major Northeastern hubs interacted on a regular basis with baseball stars like Cobb and Mathewson. Following afternoon road games, Daniel recalled that sportswriters often mingled with players and managers in hotel lobbies.[45] The best known reporters gained a level of access to national celebrities unheard of by lesser known journalists because of their employment status at prominent national dailies.[46] Thus, sports reporters like Rice, Lane, and Wheeler, formed more intimate relationships with icons like Cobb and Mathewson. In addition to casually mingling with the icons, these journalists developed rapport over "friendly" dinners, golf matches, and hunting trips. Still, in an age of heightened anxiety over constructions of manhood and men's relationships, Wheeler made sure to couch his relationship with the "Big Six" by confirming that "Matty" was no mollycoddle in several of his articles for national magazines.[47]

Gathering the "Inside Dope" through Daily Relationships

Sports journalists entered into "friendly" working relationships while covering baseball stars. As Paul Gallico noted in his 1965 memoir *The Golden People*, "one hobnobbed with famous athletes, played golf with them, looked in upon their private lives."[48] Likewise, in the introduction to his 1925 book *Batting*, *Baseball Magazine* editor F.C. Lane admitted being on "friendly terms" with all the day's baseball stars.[49] They formed companionable relationships not only to pass the time on long road trips but, as Gallico admitted, "to earn a living."[50] They did so, he wrote, to gather material "for the sake of inside stories."[51]

By establishing rapport with Cobb and Mathewson, Rice, Wheeler, and Lane gained access to insider material for their human-interest features. Rice learned this strategy shortly after

landing his position with the *New York Evening Mail* in 1910. He immediately went to work establishing rapport with the New York Giants.[52] On his first road trip with the club in 1911, he recalled "pecking away" on his typewriter. Manager John McGraw sidled up. Taking a seat next to him in the Pullman car, he asked what Rice was writing about. When Rice replied that he had not "stumbled on anything worth wiring the paper," McGraw said, "I've got a story for you," and "together they worked out a good yarn," recalled Rice.[53] The incident taught him that gallivanting with the Giants had its advantages. It was good for writer's block.

After establishing rapport with Cobb and Mathewson, Rice gathered material for his columns on Pullman cars, at hotels, in restaurants and bars, and on the golf course. He later noted that he often gained better scoops on the golf course than in the dugout.[54] In *I've Got News for You*, Wheeler recalled that sportswriters were encouraged to collect "inside dope" in all places at all times of the day.[55] "Those of us who stayed in the newspaper business generally took to heart [Chicago-based journalist] George Ade's comment: 'Early to bed and early to rise and you meet very few prominent people,'" Wheeler wrote.[56]

Sportswriters mimicked the strategies of entertainment reporters who culled inside information about celebrities for the national print media.[57] Journalism historian Michael Schudson notes that in the early twentieth century reporters used informal newsgathering techniques. Even the interview, a journalistic convention which gained prevalence in the last half of the nineteenth century, was a relaxed practice.[58] Reporting handbooks encouraged journalists to avoid taking notes since "real reporters on real newspapers do not use notebooks."[59] Therefore, it was common for reporters across newsroom departments to gather interviews through casual daily interactions with their sources. Sports journalists like Rice, Wheeler, and

Lane incorporated comments made by sports stars like Cobb and Mathewson in interspersed quotations throughout human-interest features.

Like his colleagues, *Baseball Magazine* editor F.C. Lane gathered information about baseball stars like Cobb and Mathewson everywhere. "He has talked with these players at their hotels, in the club houses before and after the game, on the player's bench, in the bull pen, everywhere," noted the introduction of his 1925 how-to hit book. "He has visited them in their winter homes and maintained an extensive correspondence."[60] After earning his bachelor's degree in 1907, Lane accepted a position as an associate editor with the newly established, Boston-based *Baseball Magazine* in 1910.[61] By January 1912, he took the reigns as editor from magazine founder Jacob Morse at the freshly acquired New York offices.[62] He soon realized that in-person interviews and news-gathering strategies were not always feasible. He learned to supplement on-site information gathered by freelance reporters with material gleaned directly from correspondence with players. By the time he left the publication to pursue other interests in 1937, he had established an extensive correspondence with many well-known baseball stars, including Cobb and Mathewson.[63] Most of his letters requested first-person accounts of off-season experiences. His letter to Max Bishop in October 1930, for example, is typical of such correspondence. In a typewritten form letter, he wrote, "Public interest follows a popular Baseball player through the winter months. So our next few issues will carry a section devoted to personal letters and snapshots from my friends among the players of the Major Leagues." The letter continued, "As soon as you receive this letter won't you please sit down and write me a newsy account of what you have done since World's Series time, what you are doing now and what you plan to do before spring training?"[64] He also asked for several snapshots to be enclosed in a stamped addressed envelope. Many players complied with Lane's requests. When asked for

family photos for the December 1914 issue, Matty's father G.B. Mathewson entrusted Lane with "a mass of pictures of my family from which you may select anything that you think will interest your numerous readers," as well as newspaper clippings from Mathewson's college and semi-professional league career.[65]

Unlike his sporadic correspondence with other players, Lane's communication with Cobb seemed to be somewhat more regular. From 1912 until 1928, he corresponded with Lane by mail on at least twelve occasions.[66] In these jovial letters, he not only talked business he also extended invitations for personal visits and words of thanks. For instance, in a November 4, 1914, handwritten letter, Cobb invited Lane and his wife Emma to visit his Augusta home.[67] He wrote, "An invitation is always open to you should you come south and to visit me would be my pleasure."[68] Taking a cue from the "Big Six,"[69] on December 22, 1914, Cobb offered a letter of appreciation for the gold medal given in honor of his selection to *Baseball Magazine*'s All-America Team, calling the magazine his "true friends."[70] After coverage of the 1926-27 Cobb-Speaker scandal, he also sent an offering of thanks "for the very kindly manner in which you have treated me during my most trying experience."[71] He continued by revealing his personal feeling about his seven lackluster years as player-manager of the Detroit Tigers, lamenting that "the club I took over—finished in the money four years" without notable players. "You know you can get a club up to a certain point then you have to buy a couple of outstanding players to fill the positions you have open," he wrote.[72]

Despite his friendly tone and warm invitations, the majority Cobb's letters focused on business. Cobb often answered Lane's requests about product endorsements. According to historian Ponce de Leon, era celebrities were flooded with requests to endorse products.[73] Editors like Lane served as liaisons in the process.[74] In response to Lane's request that he promote golf

sweaters for Bradley Knitting Mills, Cobb replied on June 29, 1914, "I am always glad to do anything you ask of me and this gives me as much pleasure to comply with your wishes," requesting a complimentary "real fancy golf sweater," in addition to any compensation he received.[75] On three other occasions, Cobb's letters to Lane included replies regarding advertising requests from Brunswick Billiard and the American Tobacco companies.[76] Although Cobb consented to promoting billiard balls,[77] he wrote "there is nothing that I know of that I ever refused to do for you but this is one instance I shall have to …. I am not a cigarette smoker and …. I can't see my way clear to recommend them."[78]

But, their correspondence surrounding baseball included more than advertising negotiations. Cobb sometimes provided Lane with story ideas. For instance, on January 29, 1923, he wrote, "I really exhausted all my ideas when I saw you in New York." Cobb was most likely referring to their meeting at the Vanderbilt Hotel during his winter visit to New York for a baseball magnates convention.[79] Even still, he outlined his plan to provide financial assistance to retired players, encouraging Lane to publicize it in his next few issues.[80] Lane responded with a two-page article entitled "What Baseball Should Do for Its Own," based on Cobb's suggestions and a subsequent interview.[81] "During the years when prosperity has come to me, I have received many calls for assistance," Cobb noted in the article before outlining "a system of permanent relief for disabled ball players."[82]

Cobb also wrote a few articles of his own for the magazine. In an undated letter, he apologized that his story was a "little late as I don't own a typewriter, I had to dictate it to a fellow who delayed somewhat by mailing to me." He continued, noting, "I hope this will be satisfactory and you can cut down as much as you like and make it appear as modest as you like."[83] Once again apologizing for the delay, he wrote, "I wanted to cover it right. Several points

in this is [sic] new and never been in print."[84] The letter most likely referred to Cobb's first bylined article for *Baseball Magazine*.[85] An editor's note before "Reminiscences of a Big League Player," published in the March 1912 issue, indicated that "*Baseball Magazine*, on behalf of the sport-loving public, has summonsed [Cobb] in the following article as a witness before the bar of the Great American Fan."[86] In "Reminiscences of a Big League Player," Cobb provides his first-person account to a "list of questions" supplied by Lane that "the great American public would like to have answered."[87]

In their roles as cultural storytellers, sportswriters did not practice journalism in social isolation. Instead, they formed personal relationships with individuals they covered.[88] Reporters gathered inside information about prominent stars through their personal interactions with players, coaches, managers, and others individuals associated with baseball. "All information is acquired from what someone tells you (in person or through printed material); there is no other way," former sports journalist Leonard Koppett wrote.[89] In order to gather this "dope," reporters developed "friendly" working associations with sports celebrities, but as Gallico bemoaned, they were often unable to print controversial material that might paint stars in a negative light. They were "handcuffed," he wrote, by their desire to remain in inside circles.[90] Often these relationships resulted in positive portrayals of stars.[91] Gallico lamented the challenges that came with the personal attachments: "It's not easy to break bread with a person, play golf with him, be received in his home as a friend and sometimes a trusted advisor, then go down to the office and write a signed story critical of the man."[92] Sometimes "friendly" working relationships turned into something more.[93] Some sports journalists shifted roles from human-interest reporters to trusted media advisors, something more akin to era press agents.

Collaborating with the Icons

By 1912, as Lane noted in the Ty Cobb issue, there was a new trend in baseball journalism—the player correspondent.[94] According to Wheeler, the player-author trend started when the *New York Herald* offered Christy Mathewson $500 to cover the 1911 World Series.[95] Mathewson agreed, collaborating with Wheeler to turn out daily columns about the Series between the New York Giants and the Philadelphia Athletics. Two columns focused on Mathewson's pitching strategy for Philadelphia third baseman Frank "Home-Run" Baker.[96] The *New York Herald* also enlisted Detroit Tigers outfielder Ty Cobb to cover the series. In "Mathewson's Headwork Superior in Pitchers' Battle, Says 'Ty' Cobb," published in the October 15 *New York Herald*, he wrote, "the opening contest was a battle pure and simple between two masters of the art of pitching. The more sensational artist of the two went down to defeat …. Mathewson's work was ideal."[97] Regardless of the originator of the player-author practice, it was immediately controversial. An October 28, 1911, *Sporting Life* column decried the "petulant and disgraceful" practice as an attempt to "start a new lead for three editions of every afternoon" newspaper, noting that it would "detract from the dignity of the sport … with its partisan bias."[98]

Over the next few seasons, the player-author practice became pervasive, especially in the weeks surrounding the World Series.[99] Prominent baseball stars like Mathewson, Cobb, Philadelphia Athletics second baseman Eddie Collins, and Boston Red Sox outfielder Tris Speaker engaged in the act.[100] During the winter 1912 offseason, for instance, Cobb became a syndicated "journalist," writing articles for daily newspapers in cities like Pittsburgh, Knoxville, and Atlanta and for *Baseball Magazine*.[101] While touring as a stage actor in the play "A College Widow," Cobb served as guest sports editor at the *Knoxville Sentinel*, the *Atlanta Journal*, and

the *Birmingham News*. The *Knoxville Sentinel* boasted of having Cobb, "the world's greatest ball player," as sports editor to provide some "live 'dope' as to his views of baseball and other sports."[102] Meanwhile, Mathewson, once again collaborating with Wheeler, published a series of weekly articles entitled "Inside Baseball" for the McClure Newspaper Syndicate.[103] The first-person columns were published as the memoir *Pitching in a Pinch* by G.P. Putnam's Sons in 1912.[104]

By early 1913, Christy Mathewson's "Pitching in a Pinch" columns, with permission of Putnam publishing house, appeared regularly in *Sporting News*,[105] and Cobb continued to write articles on everything from the element of luck in hitting to the value of a slide.[106] He still occasionally served as guest editor. For instance, most likely sometime in 1913, the *Atlanta Journal* gave readers notice that in three days Ty Cobb would provide "plenty of good, live sporting gossip, as the 'Georgia Peach' is right there when it comes to handing out articles on the great national game."[107] The *Journal* went on to assure readers that Cobb, who had covered the past few World Series for magazines and newspapers, "is a good writer and knows just what the baseball public wants making him a good sports editor."[108]

The practice remained controversial. On February 1, 1913, New York Yankees owner Frank Farrell derided player correspondents.[109] "Everybody knows the majority of players do not write the articles which appear under their names," he told *Sporting Life*. "Many arguments have resulted between players about articles which players are supposed to have written about other players, when in reality some newspaper man wrote the stories."[110] But the fad, he believed, would soon die out. It did not. By March 1913, American League president Ban Johnson publicly condemned the practice, issuing an edict forbidding American League players and managers from having articles appear under their signature.[111] "I would not mind so much if the

players themselves wrote the stuff which appears in the newspapers throughout the land, but in the great majority of cases the players never see the stories to which their names are appended until after they have been printed," he told *Sporting Life* of the practice that he called "repugnant to the dignity of base ball."[112] Noting that these articles had often injured the league, Johnson continued "players have boasted of their 'soft money,' and asserted they never even saw the articles or the men who wrote them. This is unfair to the public and to the players who are criticized, not by a fellow player, but the writer of the article."[113] The act tarnished the image of the game, according to these leaders, because it deceived the public and handicapped clubs by revealing insider information.

An article by *Sporting Life* correspondent William Peet exposed more than a dozen player-authors, who earned as much as $1,000 for articles appearing under their byline.[114] Even the beloved New York Giants twirler Christy Mathewson, according to Peet, allowed the "dear old public [to fall] for this stuff and [they] swallowed hook, bait and sinker" for the sake of "soft money."[115] Newspaper publishers, he wrote, "regarded these feature articles as good investments, for the reason that the stories were syndicated to twenty-five or more outside publications, and the revenue derived not only paid the amount guaranteed the baseball player for the use of his name, but left a handsome profit."[116] Peet's exposé included an information box with the names of guilty player-authors and the sports journalists who actually penned the articles. According to the exposé, John N. Wheeler of the *New York Herald*, "Stoney" McLinn of the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, Ralph McMillan of the *Boston Herald*, Bill MacBeth of the *New York Tribune*, Walter Trumbull, the New York-based, Harvard-grad sports scribe, Tim Murnane, sports editor of the *Boston Globe*, George Tidden of the *New York Journal American*, Paul

Shannon of the *Boston Post*, and Jack O'Leary of the *Boston Herald* wrote articles for players like Cobb and Mathewson.[117]

During the mid-1910s, Wheeler crafted articles under the bylines of Mathewson, Cobb, New York Giants pitcher Jeff Tesreau, and other star ball players.[118] By 1913, when he left the *New York Herald* over a salary dispute, he turned his full attention to ghostwriting for Wheeler Syndicate, his fledgling sports syndicate.[119] "In one World Series I was turning out expert copy for about eight stars," he recalled.[120] As sports historian Richard Orodenker noted, "Long before the invention of the [portable] tape recorder, ghostwriters either wrote the player's words entirely …," enhanced their comments, or made up stories altogether.[121]

By the final week in March, the New York and Brooklyn chapters of the Base Ball Writers Association of America had joined Johnson in condemning the practice.[122] The resolution denounced player-scribes, who worked "to deceive the Base ball reading public; to lower the tone and dignity of the sport; to cause serious friction in the various teams; and to misrepresent the aims of the base ball writer."[123] While Wheeler claimed to have collaborated on articles for Cobb and Mathewson, writing copy based on detailed interviews, he recalled why the practice was so widely scorned during the era. Bill MacBeth, ghostwriter for New York Yankees pitcher "Wild Bill" Donovan, wrote under Donovan's byline that the National League Boston Braves would sweep the American League Philadelphia Athletics in the April 1913 opening series.[124] "Donovan, being an American Leaguer, was searching for MacBeth with murder on his mind," Wheeler recalled of the unauthorized statement. "He insisted MacBeth's prediction was ridiculous and made him look bad." But, after the prediction came true, Donovan "stuck his chest out … [and] claimed MacBeth had had nothing to do with the prediction."[125]

Throughout the next two seasons, *Sporting Life* provided regular coverage of the "player-author evil."[126] From March 1913 until September 1914, the publication ran twenty-three articles on the topic. Even "Matty" was not immune to criticism. On July 26, 1913, *Sporting Life* included an excerpt from the *Philadelphia Bulletin* belittling Mathewson, whose idea of collaborating consisted "of drawing royalties and watching your name on the programs, billboards, etc., while the party of the second part does the work."[127] Other columns reminded readers of the strife it caused between teammates[128]or considered why National League president Thomas J. Lynch did not censure the practice.[129] Some player-authors like Cobb argued that Johnson's edict curtailed player liberties, defending himself "on the ground that he really [wrote] the articles attributed to him."[130] By September 20, 1913, he made front-page headlines when he revealed his plan to syndicate articles about the upcoming World Series. "I have always written my own stories," Cobb told *Sporting Life*, "and believe that any fellow who has been in the game any length of time and who has ordinary intelligence can write stories and write them so that the public can understand them."[131] Cobb rebuked players, who did not write the articles under which their bylines appeared but refused to have his freedom violated.[132]

By September 27, 1913, Cobb, along with two Philadelphia Athletics and five New York Giants stars had signed freelance newspaper contracts to cover the 1913 World Series.[133] The defiant action prompted the National Commission to issue a rare bulletin forbidding any participant of the World Series from covering games.[134] "This radical step," wrote *Sporting Life* editor Francis Richter, "was the result of the abuses that have been created and fostered by this fraudulent and mercenary player-author ship [sic]."[135] Under the legislation, World Series participants, like Mathewson, who had signed contracts with news organizations prior to September 27, 1913, were permitted to honor their legal obligations, but future agreements were

prohibited. According to sports legal historian Frederick J. Day, the National Commission, was attempting to appease some members of the Base Ball Writers Association with the edict.[136] Although the National Commission prohibited World Series participants from covering the event, it did not have the jurisdiction to forbid the practice during the regular season, which was up to the discretion of individual clubs and newspaper publishers.[137] Thus, the practice, though ridiculed in parodies in national magazines like *Sporting Life* and *Baseball Magazine,*[138] persisted.

In October 1916, Wheeler, Mathewson, Cobb, and sports correspondents Hugh Fullerton and C.E. Van Loan covered the World Series between the Boston Red Sox and the Brooklyn Robbins for Wheeler's newly established Bell Newspaper Syndicate.[139] "After spending the morning in convivial fashion," in their adjoining rooms at Boston's Copley Plaza Hotel, the baseball "experts," according to Wheeler, "adjourned to the press box to watch the athletes."[140] Following the game, Wheeler, Fullerton, and Van Loan filed the stories at the local Western Union Office. Fullerton and Wheeler, who was ghosting for a half dozen ball players, also penned articles for an inebriated Van Loan.

The practice of ghostwriting continued into the 1920s. In 1921, Wheeler's Bell Syndicate was joined in the custom by promoter Christy Walsh. That season, Walsh inked a deal with baseball's newest sensation, New York Yankee slugger Babe Ruth.[141] In addition to a $1,000-signing bonus, Walsh guaranteed Ruth a percentage of his earnings on future columns, promising him that he "would never have to touch a typewriter or pencil," according to sports historian Jonathon Eig.[142] Like Bell Syndicate, the Christy Walsh Syndicate bankrolled a number of well-known sports journalists like Daymon Runyon and Ford Frick to pen columns for baseball stars

like Washington Senators pitcher Walter Johnson and St. Louis Cardinals second baseman Rogers Hornsby.[143]

Still, the "player-writer evil" remained contentious in the baseball writing community. After the institution of the commissioner system in 1920, ghostwriters for large syndicates reinstated the practice of writing articles for star World Series participants. By the mid-1920s, Lane's *Baseball Magazine*, like *Sporting Life* of a decade prior, chimed in on the matter. In January 1926, *Baseball Magazine* correspondent Irving E. Sanborn ran a five-page column considering how the Base Ball Writers Association of America might address the predicament.[144] "If there were no bona fide player-writers the problem would be fairly simple," summed up Sanborn of the longstanding quandary. "There are a few well-known stars, managers, or umpires, who actually pound out on a typewriter or into the ears of a stenographer, the World's Series' articles which appear under or over their names. And as a rule it is mighty good stuff."[145] The trouble was created by the "mass of fake stuff which pours over the telegraph wires before and during the World's Series, purporting to be written by well-known diamond stars … but which is really typed by writers who usually know less about baseball than the average bat boy does." These stories were based upon "haphazard conversations with celebrities … by freelance reporters" who failed to submit it to the baseball stars, Sanborn continued. The articles were sold to "gullible or complaisant publishers under the cloak of some 'syndicate' or other. Frequently the 'syndicate' is composed entirely of the freelance reporter himself, who seizes this chance to make a lot of easy coin by bunking the public."[146] Although a veteran sporting editor could easily tell the difference between the authentic and fake player-author articles, he contended, the "credulous fan-reader [was] liable to accept the half-portion opinions of a second rate reporter as seriously as if they were those of some great player."[147]

The "player-writer evil" rose to the level of crisis during the 1925 World Series when ghostwriters authored articles for baseball stars that were thousands of miles from Pittsburgh's Forbes Field heavily criticizing umpires. Even authentic player-writer stories, like the best of the phony ghostwritten stories, were partisan and prejudiced, according to Sanborn. A loyal player-writer could never tell his honest opinion, noted Sanborn, unlike "the good baseball scribe [who] not only can but does write things as he saw them, without thought, or fear, of favoring either side." In order to eradicate the enduring predicament, Sanborn suggested a public education campaign "aimed at the publishers and editors of newspapers who fall for and pay for these phoney [sic]" stories or the barring of known frauds from professional baseball's press boxes.[148]

Baseball Magazine considered the issue again in its June and November 1926 issues. In "Is Player-Writing an Evil?" correspondent James M. Gould reiterated that the problem was phony ghostwritten stories not authentic player-written articles.[149] Still, like Sanborn, he asserted that even authentic player-penned articles were inferior to those of professional baseball reporters. Assuring readers that his colleagues did not "fear the invasion of ball-players" out of envy, he noted that it "takes a bit more than intelligence to write of baseball—it takes training."[150] In November 1926, Sanborn covered the contentious issue once more, reiterating his educational campaign. "It ought to be up to the publishers and sporting editors to see that their papers print only genuine articles … there are, however, some editors who will buy and print phony-player-articles …. Then, too, there are a few editors who will order their baseball reporters to deliberately fake stories by prominent players."[151]

Despite the condemnation of baseball magnates, suggested measures of the Base Ball Writers Association of America, and vigorous educational campaigns of the sporting press in the first three decades of the twentieth century, the practice of ghostwriting continued.[152] As

Baseball Digest correspondent Harold Rosenthal suggested in October 1960, "ghost-writing in baseball goes in cycles" that correspond to anticipated public appetites.[153] The public education campaigns of the Base Ball Writers Association of America were not enough to curtail the practice, as Sanborn suggested in November 1926, because the practice was lucrative for publishers.[154] In an age of celebrity-focused, human-interest journalism, publishers were willing to turn a blind eye toward publicity and literary elements in sports journalism.

Ghostwriters like Wheeler and Walsh did more than collaborate with star baseball players on human-interest features; they served as unofficial press agents in the fledgling era of modern public relations.[155] As public relations historian William B. Anderson argues, until the 1919 Black Sox scandal, major league baseball clubs relied on publicity from sportswriters; so too did professional baseball stars.[156] In the age of self exposure, Ponce de Leon suggests that celebrities entered into symbiotic alliances with human-interest journalists.[157] Sportswriters like Wheeler transitioned from a partner in collaborative journalistic endeavors to trusted advisors and pseudo-press agents, who offered what public relations historian Scott Cutlip would term as antecedent public relations strategies to sports icons.[158] While Ivy Lee, "the father of public relations" was consulting the Rockefellers, Wheeler was advising Cobb and Mathewson in a similar, albeit unofficial, manner.[159] Even while he still served on the *New York Herald*'s sports staff in 1912, Wheeler used his rapport with colleague James Ford, the publication's book review editor, to ensure favorable coverage of *Pitching in a Pinch*. In his memoir *I've Got News for You*, he notes that Ford, unaware of his collaboration on the project, asked him to write the review.[160] He molded Cobb and Mathewson's images with his ghostwritten articles, national human-interest stories, and memoirs.

By the mid-1920s, ghostwriting was falling out of favor with some segments of professional journalism. Ghostwriting was among the "questionable" practices that sparked the formation of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1923.[161] Together with factions of the Base Ball Writers Association of America, the new organization sought to dismantle what era *Detroit News* managing editor Malcolm Bingay called an "ungodly union" between sportswriters and baseball celebrities. To diffuse what the former sports reporter termed "the rottenest condition in American journalism," the American Society of Newspaper Editors sought to eliminate promotional copy through standardization.[162] Under detached models, as sports journalism historian Bruce Evensen suggests, sports reporters could no longer bypass "seasoned copy editors whose blue pencils assured the standardization and uniformity that veteran editors associated with the highest ideals of the profession."[163] Journalism ethics scholar Howard Good argues that the promotional player-author practice created an ethical conflict of interest in an emerging detached world of journalism that centered on positivist conceptions of objectivity.[164] This, along with the evolution of libel law after the 1950s, led to the gradual decline of ghostwriting.[165]

Symbiotic Alliances

In the early twentieth century, however, baseball icons like Cobb and Mathewson formed close relationships with sports journalists like Rice, Lane, and Wheeler. Sports journalists and the celebrities they covered gained from mutually beneficial relationships.[166] Cobb and Mathewson provided sports journalists with material to craft celebrity-style, human-interest journalism, and Rice, Lane, and Wheeler allowed icons some agency to shape their construction. As Cobb's teammate Wahoo Sam Crawford put it in his 1964 oral history with Larry Ritter, Cobb was "palsy walsy" with Detroit and New York-based sportswriters.[167] This allowed him to

suggest story ideas to sports journalists like Lane and Rice. For instance, feeling that he had been misquoted about an incident that occurred late in the 1920 regular season, Cobb sought Rice's help.[168] When the Detroit Tigers arrived in New York, he called Rice at his Riverside Drive apartment, summoning him to come to his Commodore Hotel room immediately. He told Rice, "I've got to be at that game tomorrow and face the wolves. Your New York papers are sure steaming things up. But this, Grant, I want you to know! I never gave out any interview! I knew nothing of what happened until long after that game."[169] Cobb and Mathewson understood the value of promotion, so they used their "friendly" working associations to advance their perspective, such as when Cobb encouraged Lane to emphasize his philanthropic plan to help poor baseball players in early 1923.[170] Both players saw the promotional value, as well as the easy money, involved in collaborating with ghostwriters. As player-writers, both Cobb and Mathewson had the power to shape their image with the baseball reading public.

Perhaps no baseball player in the early twentieth century understood the value of promotion better than Cobb. Years after his playing career was over, he invited Rice, along with fellow journalists Gene Fowler and Henry McLemore, to his California home. En route from the San Francisco airport to Cobb's Menlo Park home, he revealed his early promotional antics.[171] As Rice recalled in his autobiography, "'Grant,' he said suddenly stopping near the end of the runway while a giant transport buzzed us, 'do you remember the wire you received back in 1904 … about the phenom from Royston …. 'And do you remember a flock of postcards from all over Alabama and Georgia, telling you what a hot shot I was … all signed with different names?'"[172] There in a parked car he admitted his promotional tactic. When Rice asked him why, he responded: "Because I was in a hurry. We were both youngsters on the way up. I didn't know it then but I was trying to put you onto your first big scoop!"[173]

After their playing careers were over, Cobb and Mathewson retained "friendly" relationships with Rice, Lane, and Wheeler. For instance, when the former *Baseball Magazine* editor served as the head of Piedmont College's history department in the early 1940s, Cobb often invited Lane and his wife Emma to travel from the rural North Georgia college to his Augusta home.[174] Likewise, Cobb and Rice often exchanged invitations for visits. In addition to his Menlo Park visit, Rice arranged a golf outing with Cobb at Pebble Beach in 1939, and the two traveled to Greenville, S.C., to drop in on "Shoeless" Joe Jackson after the 1947 Masters Golf Tournament in Augusta.[175] They also exchanged letters. Ever the self-promoter, Cobb wrote Rice in frustration on May 5, 1952, after the publication of an unflattering column about him on March 27.[176] Rice's column suggested that Cobb's criticism of modern baseball stemmed from his envy of Ruth's fame. In the letter, Cobb wrote that Rice might have not published the unflattering comments "upon the grounds of our friendship." [177]

And, though, these journalists had less time to spend with Mathewson after his playing career ended in a bout of tuberculosis, they remembered their "friendly" relations after his death in 1925. According to Rice and Wheeler, "Matty" was a great companion on the golf course and on hunting trips. In his column for the *New York Herald-Tribune* published on October 9, 1925, after Mathewson's death, Rice recalled playing golf with him at Pittsburgh's Schenley Hotel course.[178] "Matty broke 80 for the first time in his life and knew a joy that meant more to him that morning than a pitching victory."[179] After his inclusion of the anecdote that provided a glimpse inside their friendship, Rice wrote that Mathewson "was a nation-wide idol who at no second of his career ever stepped into the mire."[180]

Conclusion

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, prominent sports journalists forged close working relationships with baseball icons like Cobb and Mathewson. However, this was not unusual.[181] Human-interest reporters formed personal relationships to gain insider information from celebrities.[182] They gleaned information from a variety of interpersonal sources such as regular correspondence; personal conversations over dinner, on the golf course, or on hunting trips; or in more traditional interviews after games. They crafted personal tidbits into dramatic myth-narratives, casting stars as cultural idols. Examining these interactions provides new insights into James Carey's ritual view of communication.[183] As cultural storytellers, sportswriters culled information from communal word-of-mouth interviews. Like Greek bards of another age, they wove personal anecdotes into cultural myths that they retold to their readers.

But, the cultural role of the sports scribe was primarily a man's job.[184] In the era's tight-knit man's world of sports, there was a sense of camaraderie among male journalists and icons. Mostly male sportswriters entered into mutually beneficial with other sports reporters and prominent baseball stars. Sportswriters engaged in "combination reporting" to gather information and on occasion break stories. Meanwhile, journalists at influential daily newspapers often gained entry into the inside circles of publicity-savvy sports celebrities.

Like earlier alliances with baseball club owners, sports journalists entered into symbiotic relationships with baseball stars. [185] These relationships provided the icons with some autonomy in their portrayal and supplied writers with rich interview material for human-interest features. At times, however, these mutually beneficial working relationships evolved into something more. Sports journalists like Wheeler moved into roles as collaborators and advisors that mirrored those of era public relations practitioners like Ivy Lee.

Sports journalists like other entertainment reporters engaged in celebrity promotion. In an attempt to remain in inside circles, they only reported the positive inside information that they gleaned from "friendly" working associations with celebrities.[186] Gallico noted that reporters who broke bread with icons found it hard to maintain a level of detachment.[187] The result, according to *Detroit News* managing editor Malcolm Bingay, was an "ungodly union" among sports stars and journalists.[188] In what former journalist Silas Bent criticized as an age of ballyhoo, newspapers and magazines were filled with sports publicity.[189] This chapter has provided insight into the working associations that baseball icons and journalists developed during career-long encounters. The following chapter will examine how these alliances, along with journalistic conventions, shaped the process of herocrafting. It will explore the mutually constitutive relationship between professional practice and material form.

End Notes

1. Harper, *How You Played the Game,* 1999, 78; Fountain, *Sportswriter*, 1993, 67-68.
2. Shrock, *The Gilded Age*, 2004, 271.
3. Harper, *How You Played the Game,* 1999, 78.
4. Ibid., 88-89; Fountain, *Sportswriter*, 1993, 69-70; Holmes, *Ty Cobb*, 2004, 8; McCallum, *Ty Cobb*, 1975, 20-21; Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 1954, 18-19.
5. Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting: My Life in Baseball*, 1954, 18-19.
6. Fountain, *Sportswriter*, 1993, 69-70; Harper, *How You Played the Game*, 1999, 88-89; Holmes, *Ty Cobb*, 2004, 8; McCallum, *Ty Cobb*, 1975, 20-21; Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 1954, 18-19.
7. Ibid.
8. Harper, *How You Played the Game,* 1999, 88-89; Holmes, *Ty Cobb*, 2004, 8.
9. McCallum, *Ty Cobb*, 1975, 20-21.
10. Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting,* 1954, 18-19.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., 32.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., 45.
15. Ibid., 32.
16. Emery, Emery, and Roberts, *The Press and America*, 2000, 179; Harper, *How You Played the Game,* 1999, 120; Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 1954, 35.

17. Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 1954, 35.
18. Ibid., 37-38.
19. Harper, *How You Played the Game*, 1999, 225-226.
20. Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 31-33; Holtzman, *No Cheering in the Press Box*, 1973, 1-278.
21. Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 1954, 38-39.
22. Ardell, *Breaking into Baseball*, 2005, 191-193; Kaszuba, *They are Women, Hear Them Roar*, 2006, 1-157.
23. Ibid.
24. Harper, *How You Played the Game*, 1999, 344, 349, 350-52.
25. Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 1954, 39, 314-333; Wheeler, *I've Got News for You*, 1961, 19-28.
26. Holtzman, *No Cheering in the Press Box*, 1973, 1-33.
27. Smythe, "The Reporter, 1880-19001980: 1-10.
28. For instance, Lardner, Fullerton, and Mathewson, a player correspondent for the Scripps-Howard press syndicate, helped unravel the fixed 1919 World Series by noting suspicious looking plays of Black Sox players. Eliott Asinof, *Eight Men Out: The Black Sox and the 1919 World Se*ries (New York: Henry Holt, 1963), 71, 76-77, 93-94.
29. Koppett, *The Rise and Fall of the Press Box*, 2003, 187.
30. Silas Bent, *Ballyhoo: The Voice of the Press* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1927), 96-97.
31. Smythe, "The Reporter, 1880-1900," 1980: 1-10.
32. Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 31.
33. Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 1954, 45-46.
34. Wheeler, *I've Got News for You*, 1961, 21-23.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 1954, 45.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., 291.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., 46; John N. Wheeler, "'Matty' as the Champion of the Friendless," *Literary Digest*, 26 December 1925, 35-36 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).
42. Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 1954, 46.
43. John N. Wheeler, "'Matty' as the Champion of the Friendless," *Literary Digest*, 26 December 1925, 35-36 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).
44. Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 1954, 45.
45. Holtzman, *No Cheering in the Press Box*, 1973, 2.
46. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 89.
47. John N. Wheeler, "'Matty' as the Champion of the Friendless," *Literary Digest*, 26 December 1925, 36 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).
48. Paul Gallico, *The Golden People* (New York: Doubleday, 1965), 13.
49. F.C. Lane, *Batting* (New York: Society for American Baseball Research, 2001), 3.
50. Gallico, *The Golden People*, 1965, 14.
51. Ibid.
52. Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 1954, 291.
53. Ibid.

54. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 243.

55. Wheeler, *I've Got News for You*, 1961, 99.

56. George Ade cited in Wheeler, *I've Got News for You*, 1961, 99.

57. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 76-105.

58. Schudson, *The Power of the News*, 1995, 72-93.

59. Ibid., 80.

60. Lane, *Batting*, 2001, 3.

61. Ibid., v-xi.

62. Ibid.

63. The National Baseball Hall of Fame Library holds the F.C. Lane Papers, which includes his correspondence with players from 1911 until 1936.

64. F.C. Lane to Max Bishop, 24 October 1930, p. 1, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-2, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

65. G.B. Mathewson to F.C. Lane, 14 October 1914, p. 1, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-12, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

66. It appears that Cobb's first correspondence with Lane occurred in late 1911 or early 1912, shortly after Lane took over as sole editor of *Baseball Magazine*. In a letter dated January 2, 1912, Cobb responded to Lane's request for material for the March Ty Cobb issue. The handwritten letter, along with a first-person column, was subsequently published in the issue. Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 1911-1927, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown; Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 2 January 1912, p. 1, Ty Cobb, "A Personal Letter, *Baseball Magazine*, March 1912, 6 (LA84 Foundation).

67. Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 4 November 1914, p. 1, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

68. Ibid.

69. Christy Mathewson to F.C. Lane, 21 November 1914, p. 1, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-12, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

70. Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 22 December 1914, p. 1, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

71. Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 18 February 1927, p. 1, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

72. Ibid.

73. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 259.

74. Tom Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture, 1900-1950* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press), 130-131.

75. Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 29 June 1914, p. 1-2, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

76. Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 17 May 1915, p. 1, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown; Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 14 April 1922, p. 1-3, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown; Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 13 September 1927, p. 1-2, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

77. Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 17 May 1915, p. 1, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

78. Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 13 September 1927, p. 1-2, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

79. Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 29 January 1923, p. 1-2, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

80. Ibid.

81. F.C. Lane, "What Baseball Should Do for Its Own," *Baseball Magazine* February 1923, 393-394.

82. Ibid.

83. Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, Tuesday, undated, p. 1, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

84. Ibid.

85. Other articles written under Cobb's byline included "Trick Plays and How to Make Them (July 1916) and "Place Hitting" (October 1917). Based on the content, as well as writing tone and style, it is clear that they were written by Lane or one of his correspondents. See: Ty Cobb, "Reminiscences of a Big League Player," *Baseball Magazine*, March 1912, 7-9 (LA84 Foundation); Ty Cobb, "Trick Plays and How to Make Them," *Baseball Magazine*, July 1916, 25-28 (LA84 Foundation); Ty Cobb, "Place Hitting," *Baseball Magazine*, October 1917, 541-542 (LA84 Foundation).

86. Ty Cobb, "Reminiscences of a Big League Player," *Baseball Magazine*, March 1912, 7 (LA84 Foundation).

87. Ibid.

88. Carey, *Communication as Culture*, 1989, 18-23.

89. Koppett, *The Rise and Fall of the Press Box*, 2003, 187.

90. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 99.

91. Ibid., 76-105.

92. Cited in Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 90.

93. Ibid.

95. Wheeler, *I've Got News for You*, 1961, 11. Despite Wheeler's assertion that the practice started with Mathewson, there is evidence that Cobb covered the World Series for newspapers in 1910. For example see: "Cobb Bound by No Rules," *Sporting Life*, 20 September 1913, 3.

96. Wheeler, *I've Got News for You*, 1961, 11-17.

97. Ty Cobb, "Mathewson's Headwork Superior in Pitchers' Battle, Says 'Ty' Cobb," *New York Herald*, 15 October 1911, Ty Cobb Scrapbook, B1.710.83, p.368, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

98. John B. Foster, "Comment Upon the Brooklyn Team and the World's Series," *Sporting Life*, 28 October 1911, 7 (LA84 Foundation).

99. William Peet, "The Public Exploitation of Expert Reputation," Sporting Life, 15 March 1913, 8 (LA84 Foundation).

100. Ibid.

101. Ty Cobb Scrapbook, B1.710.83, p.326-328, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

102. "Ty Cobb on the Job as Our Sporting Editor," *Knoxville Sentinel*, Ty Cobb Scrapbook, B1.710.83, p. 328, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

103. Orodenker, *The Writers'* Game, 1996, 33; Wheeler, *I've Got News for You*, 1961, 11-17.

104. Wheeler, *I've Got News for You*, 1961, 11-17.

105. For example see: Christy Mathewson, "Pitching in a Pinch," *Sporting News*, 6 February 1913, 7; Christy Mathewson, "Pitching in a Pinch," *Sporting News*, 18 February 1913, 8; Christy Mathewson, "Pitching in a Pinch," *Sporting News*, 20 February 1913, 7.

106. "Ty Cobb Sporting Editor for the Journal on Friday," *Atlanta Journal*, Ty Cobb Scrapbook, B1.710.83, p.394, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid.

109. "Farrell Facts," *Sporting Life*, 1 February 1913, 11 (LA84 Foundation).

110. Ibid.

111. "Johnson Jolt," *Sporting Life*, 15 March 1913, 8 (LA84 Foundation).

112. Ibid.

113. Ibid.

114. William Peet, "The Public Exploitation of Expert Reputation," Sporting Life, 15 March 1913, 8 (LA84 Foundation).

115. Ibid.

116. Ibid.

117. William Peet, "The Public Exploitation of Expert Reputation," Sporting Life, 15 March 1913, 8 (LA84 Foundation). According to the published list, *Philadelphia Public Ledger* sports journalist "Stoney" McLinn wrote Cobb's articles.

118. Ibid.; Wheeler, *I've Got News for You*, 1961, 11-17. According to Wheeler's memoir, he initiated the practice of ghostwriting by collaborating with Mathewson in the 1911 World Series.

119. Ibid., 18-29.

120. Ibid., 14.

121. Orodenker, *The Writers'* Game, 1996, 33.

122. A. Herrmann, "Player-Scribe," *Sporting Life*, 29 March 1913, 14.

123. Ibid.

124. Wheeler, *I've Got News for You*, 1961, 14.

125. Ibid.

126. A. Herrmann, "Player-Scribe," *Sporting Life*, 29 March 1913, 14.

127. "National League News in Short Metre," *Sporting Life*, 26 July 1913, 20.

128. "Red Sox Troubles," *Sporting Life*, 9 August 1913, 2.

129. "The Player-Author," *Sporting Life*, 16 August 1913, 3.

130. "A Poor Excuse," *Sporting Life*, 5 April 1913, 4.

131. "Cobb Bound by No Rules," *Sporting Life*, 20 September 1913, 3.

132. Ibid.; In 1939, "Stoney" McLinn, one of Cobb's ghostwriters, defended Cobb's work as authentic. After describing Cobb's meticulous note-taking practices in the press box during the 1911 World's Series, McLinn reminded readers, "Every story that Cobb wrote, when I was his associate was his very own—it was dictated by Cobb, read and corrected by Cobb…" Stoney McLinn, "The Works of Ty Cobb," Unknown, 5 January 1939, 4, Ty Cobb Player File, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

133. Francis Richter, "A World Series Menace," Sporting Life, 4 October 1913, 4.

134. Ibid.

135. Ibid.

136. Frederick J. Day, *Clubhouse Lawyer: Law in the World of Sports* (New York, iUniverse, 2004), 303.

137. Francis Richter, "A World Series Menace," *Sporting Life*, 4 October 1913, 4.

138. *Baseball Magazine*, for instance, included a humorous parody of ghostwriting in a November 1913 column, "The Player Authors." The piece of literary journalism included fictional dialogue between the "poor gick" ghostwriter and the player author. *Baseball Magazine*

included the polished story by "Hurler Jinxwell," along with what was really dictated: ""Huh? Aw, yuh know's well as I do. We got it in the neck. And we're goin' tuh get it there some more. To-day's game? Say, kid, take it from muh: we got as much chance to beat these guys out as a stewed monkey has tuh sing grand operaw. How'd we lose? We lost because that wart uv nature McIvoree stole third with the bases full." "The Player Authors," *Baseball Magazine*, November 1913, 51.

139. Wheeler, *I've Got News for You*, 1961, 21-23.

140. Ibid.

141. Benjamin Rader, *American Sport: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Televised Sport* (New York, Prentice Hall, 2004), 147.

142. Jonathon Eig, *Luckiest Man: Life and Death of Lou Gehrig* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 112.

143. Ibid.

144. Irving E. Sanborn, "Problems that Confront the Baseball Writers Association," *Baseball Magazine*, January 1926, 343-345, 378.

145. Ibid., 344.

146. Ibid.

147. Ibid.

148. Ibid.

149. James M. Gould, "Is Player-Writing an Evil?" *Baseball Magazine*, 301-302.

150. Ibid., 302.

151. Irving E. Sanborn, "What Shall Be Done with the Phony-Player-Writer," *Baseball Magazine*, November 1926, 564.

152. The practice fell out of favor in the 1970s after the release of Jim Bouton's *Ball Four*. Bouton's vivid chronicle of his experiences traveling with the New York Yankees during the 1969 season was heavily criticized by those inside baseball, who argued that he broke an unwritten code among players and writers. The practice gradually declined after the 1970s but is still visible in player blogs ghosted by professional writers. Day, *Clubhouse Lawyer*, 2004, 303-314; Howard Good, *Journalism Ethics Goes to the Movies* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), 78-79.

153. Harold Rosenthal, "Ghosts Find World Series their Happy Haunting Grounds," *Baseball Digest*, October 1960, 48.

154. Irving E. Sanborn, "What Shall Be Done with the Phony-Player-Writer," *Baseball Magazine*, November 1926, 564.

155. Wheeler and Walsh engaged in antecedent public relations strategies outlined by Cutlip, Russell, and Lamme such as crafting promotional literature and serving as publicity advisors. See, Scott Cutlip, *Public Relations History: From the 17th to 20th Century, The Antecedents* (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1994), 1-300; Margot Lamme and Karen Russell, "Removing the Spin: Toward a New History of Public Relations," *Journalism & Communication Monographs* 11:4 (Winter 2010): 281-362.

156. Anderson, "Crafting the National Pastime's Image," 2003: 7-43.

157. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 76-105.

158. Cutlip, *Public Relations History*, 1994, 1-300.

159. Scott Cutlip, *The Unseen Power: Public Relations, A History* (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1994), 59.

160. Wheeler, *I've Got News for You*, 1961, 13.

161. Evensen, *When Dempsey fought Tunney*, 1996, 49-52.
162. Ibid., 49.
163. Ibid.
164. Good, *Journalism Ethics Goes to the Movies*, 2008, 78-79.
165. Day, *Clubhouse Lawyer*, 2004, 303-314.
166. Anderson, "Crafting the National Pastime's Image," 2003: 7-43; Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 76-105.
167. Larry Ritter, Oral history interview with Sam Crawford, 1964 Mar. 27. National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.
168. Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 1954, 23-24.
169. Ibid., 23.
170. Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 29 January 1923, p. 1-2, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.
171. Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 1954, 30.
172. Ibid.
173. Ibid.; In a letter written to Rice on May 5, 1952, Cobb admitted that he had become familiar with Rice's *Atlanta Journal* columns through his aunt as a boy. Ty Cobb to Grantland Rice, 5 May 1952, p. 1, Grantland Rice Papers, Series I-1-1, Jean and Alexander Heard Library's Special Collections, Vanderbilt University, Nashville.
174. Craig Little, "A Baseball Historian Looks Back," BA MSS 36, F.C. Lane Player File, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.
175. Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 1954, 26-29.
176. Ty Cobb to Grantland Rice, 5 May 1952, p. 1-7, Grantland Rice Papers, Series I-1-1, Jean and Alexander Heard Library's Special Collections, Vanderbilt University, Nashville.
177. Ibid., 3.
178. Grantland Rice, *New York Herald-Tribune*, 9 October 1925, In *Bucknell Alumni Monthly*, November 1925, 4. Christy Mathewson Player File, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.
179. Ibid.
180. Ibid.
181. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 76-105.
182. Koppett, *The Rise and Fall of the Press Box*, 2003, 187.
183. Carey, *Communication as Culture*, 1989, 18-23.
184. Ardell, *Breaking into Baseball*, 2005, 191-193; Kaszuba, *They are Women, Hear Them Roar*, 2006, 1-157.
185. Anderson, "Crafting the National Pastime's Image, 2003: 7-43.
186. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 76-105.
187. Ibid., 90.
188. Evensen, *When Dempsey fought Tunney*, 1996, 49.
189. Bent, *Ballyhoo*, 1927, 121-122.

CHAPTER 6

CRAFTING KINGS OF THE DIAMOND

In the foreword to *The Golden People*, former sportswriter Paul Gallico opined, "A writer … in the final analysis writes to earn a living. But often the subject matter he chooses, and the manner in which he presents it, is done for his own pleasure and escape."[1] Gallico's words remind readers of the agency involved in the practice of writing. Sports columnist Grantland Rice, editor F.C. Lane, and ghostwriter John N. Wheeler experienced a degree of autonomy in how they covered sports icons like Cobb and Mathewson. As historian Tom Pendergast suggests, journalists had a level of freedom that other historians have overlooked.[2] But, Gallico paints an over-simplistic portrait of a sportswriters' freedom to cover sports stars any way they chose. Sports reporters were bounded by a variety of economic, cultural, and social forces.[3] Portrayals of stars were structured by cultural values, professional working conditions, interpersonal relationships, lingual conventions and forms, and the need to make a living.

A modern-day examination of structures and agencies involved in sports journalism might begin with an in-depth interview of working professionals. This historical investigation, instead, starts with an analysis of what cultural historian Raymond Williams refers to as the documentary culture[4]—in this case more than 175 articles and two memoirs penned by Rice, Lane, and Wheeler, alongside the archival sources surrounding their lives. It considers how cultural values, lingual structures and forms, working relationships, and journalistic roles were reflected in the practice of herocrafting. Following the cue of historian Hayden White, it will explore journalistic conventions and forms.[5] Organized around the four primary journalistic

forms used by Rice, Lane, and Wheeler, the chapter will reveal the mutually constitutive relationship among journalistic practices and material forms and will serve to provide a richer understanding of the blurring of the three mainstream journalistic paradigms within sports writing.

Columns of "The Baseball Reporter"

After joining the *New York Tribune* in 1913, Rice penned thousands of syndicated columns for hundreds of newspapers across the country.[6] He had reached the pinnacle of the man's world of sports journalism.[7] As one of the upper-echelon, New York-based sports columnists, he gained a level of access to stars that writers at smaller papers only dreamed about.[8] As illustrated in chapter five, he used this status to gain personal information about baseball stars like Cobb and Mathewson, which he drew upon in thirty "Sportlight" columns between 1900 and 1928.

As sports media historian Bruce Evensen suggests, newspaper editors in the early twentieth century did not subject sports reporters to the stringent editorial standards that they imposed upon news writers.[9] Therefore, prominent writers like Rice often were afforded more autonomy in the practice of journalism. This lack of standardization in the newsroom allowed him the creative space to celebrate the achievements of Cobb and Mathewson within his columns. As he wrote in his autobiography, "almost every one of these heroes of sport taught me something, gave me some insight into how to live and added to my philosophy of life."[10] Believing that "these champions and the way that they lived have something to say to all of us," he crafted them into allegorical heroes.[11]

Like the human-interest features in national magazines discussed in chapter four, Rice's syndicated "Sportlight" columns crafted Cobb and Mathewson as national idols, celebrating the

pair's longevity and success through conventions of literary journalism. For example, in a February 26, 1915, "Sportlight" column, Rice relied on cliché to demonstrate Mathewson's durability, noting that the fifteen-year veteran "must have bumped into the Fountain of Eternal Youth on one of his Florida jaunts."[12] Likewise, on April 3, 1915, he drew upon figurative language to illustrate Cobb's perennial success, writing "the safest way to beat out Cobb is to have him blown from the mouth of a cannon somewhere around the 13th of April."[13] He celebrated the long-term success of the pair. "In this elastic nation we are all for speed, class, dash, style and dramatic effect. We haven't paid as much attention to durability as a nation might," he wrote in his April 14, 1928 column, lauding Cobb's longevity.[14]

Like other journalists,[15] Rice used poetry to construct larger-than-life heroes. An admirer of the meter found in Latin poetry, he used rhythms and rhymes to reminisce about the greatness of stars like Cobb and Mathewson.[16] On March 5, 1915, he wrote, "There are seven Browns in the major leagues/And four Smiths on the job/There are still five others by the name of Jones—/But there's only one Ty Cobb."[17] Once again turning to verse in "A Friend Returns," Rice praised the wind that led him to "Bobby Jones, Tilden, Ruth and Cobb."[18] Four months later, in his August 17, 1928, "Sportlight" column, he reminisced about "the old days," when "Matty was the valiant of the game." "The gaps are always closed in sport's parade," he wrote. "We see the brilliants flame and drop away …. And as [another stalwart] stars oldtimers watch and sigh—/"Yes, he is good—but not like Tris and Ty."[19]

Elements of Rice's columns mirrored the promotional tendencies of human-interest articles in national magazines (see chapter four). In the age of ballyhoo, as Bent argued, the public expected an element of promotion in the sports and entertainment pages.[20] But, in a profession increasingly defined by norms of objectivity,[21] many of his syndicated "Sportlight"

columns took on a tone of detachment. Although he experienced a degree of freedom to creatively craft sports idols, he was constrained by the necessity of appealing not only to his national audience but to publishers, who controlled syndication negotiations and his bottom line. In order to please readers and publishers alike, his opinion columns had to avoid radical stances. As a result, he often avoided controversy in his columns. He took part in common debates such as who was the greatest player, Cobb or Ruth.[22] However, instead of extolling the virtues of one star over the other, he celebrated the feats of both icons, writing that "there's fame enough for both."[23] In addition to taking a balanced stance in common debates, he often mentioned Cobb and Mathewson as a point of reference in a larger discussion of a particular point. Like the news references in national magazine coverage (see chapter four),[24] which adhered to Schudson's "information" model,[25] these references served as impartial, contextual gauges for readers. For instance, in his "Sportlight" columns about New York Yankee pitcher Bill Donovan in 1915 and Philadelphia Athletics pitcher Jack Quinn in 1928, he briefly noted Mathewson as a point of reference, writing in one column, "Jack Quinn was pitching professional ball twenty-four years ago—when Matty was a young star, before Walter Johnson ever was heard of."[26] Later in the column about Quinn, Rice provided historical context about the longevity of Quinn's career, writing that "he was earning his baseball pay back in 1904, the year before Ty Cobb broke in with the Tigers."[27]

Prior historical analyses of early twentieth-century baseball writing have constructed a binary of "gee whiz" and "aw nuts" sports writing models.[28] But, an examination of Rice's columns reveals that sports writing was a more complex subgenre. Within his opinion columns, promotional poetry was blended onto the page with detached references. Although his status as one of the best known sports columnists in the nation afforded him a degree of creative freedom,

in order to retain his good standing with sports celebrities, he had to conform to societal expectations. He often took cautious stances, reminding readers that "Time's dust-covered scroll" would turn in the final verdict about a player's greatness.[29] Still, like the human-interest features of national magazine correspondents, portions of Rice's columns celebrated mainstream baseball stars like Cobb and Mathewson. As Bent argues, publicity was a pervasive element in sport journalism.[30] And, in an era that increasingly celebrated heroes for their deeds,[31] it was far from controversial to praise the success and longevity of two white, mainstream sports stars. It would have been much more radical to craft a Negro League Baseball star like James "Cool Papa" Bell as a hero.[32]

Featuring the Kings of the Diamond

As a freelance correspondent for publications like *Collier's*, *McClure's*, and *American Magazine*, Rice experienced a greater degree of freedom to craft Cobb and Mathewson as sports heroes. As activist models of journalism lost favor in newspapers departments, the paradigm found a home in general-interest, muckraking magazines like *American Magazine*.[33] Journalism historian W. Joseph Campbell argues that the activist model permitted greater freedom for reporters who were "obliged to inject themselves" into public life.[34] Publishers and editors of general-interest magazines, founded on activist paradigms, supplemented muckraking exposés with promotional human-interest features. Correspondents like Rice were encouraged to break into the inside circles of celebrities in entertainment industries to glean personal information for human-interest stories.[35]

After Rice penned his first big stories on Cobb and Mathewson in 1904 and 1905, he maintained close working relationships with the pair.[36] Over the next two decades, he gained story material while traveling, lodging, and golfing with two of baseball's greatest stars.[37] He

used the information to construct magazine features, as well as his "Sportlight" columns. Between 1900 and 1928, Rice penned five freelance magazine stories about the "Georgia Peach" and "Big Six" for *Collier's* and *McClure's*.[38] As an "expert" correspondent for national magazines, he was afforded a great deal of creative freedom in his coverage. With this agency, Rice constructed Cobb, portrayed as baseball's crafty trickster in most general-interest magazine coverage (see chapter four),[39] as a national hero. Still, his human-interest features were structured by social and cultural factors from working alliances and linguistic conventions to the models of sports journalism and the extant coverage of the pair.

Rice's personal relationships with Cobb and Mathewson are reflected in his human-interest features of the pair. For example, in "The Big Three of the Mound," published in the April 1925 *Collier's*, he compared Mathewson to other early twentieth-century pitching legends, Cy Young and Walter Johnson.[40] Noting that "each camp follower has his pet or pets," Rice crooned about "Matty," writing that "no other man in baseball has ever quite left the same influence upon the sport."[41] Although he may have attempted to maintain balance in the piece, highlighting the strengths of Young, Johnson, and Mathewson, his personal affection for his close friend is evident throughout the article. He gushed, "No other individual has held quite the same admiration and respect of millions who gave in addition an affection that still lasts. Christy Mathewson has remained more of an ideal than any other ball player known to the game."[42]

If what Rice penned in the column was true, his preeminent "pets" were undoubtedly Cobb and Mathewson. In his autobiography, Rice wrote candidly of his companionships with Cobb, Mathewson, and a handful of other athletes.[43] "They were all friends of mine," he recalled. "But, I knew Mathewson, of the New York Giants, better than any of the others." On several other occasions toward the end of his life, he reminisced about his old "pal." In a 1942 *Sportlight*

column, he wrote about Mathewson, "his close friend and a favorite golf partner."[44] It was during these rounds of golf with Mathewson and Cobb that he culled valuable story material, like the anecdote of Mathewson's miscue to Frank "Home Run" Baker in the eleventh inning of the 1911 World Series finale.[45]

These personal relationships structured Rice's coverage of the duo in two ways. First, his interactions with Cobb and Mathewson set limits on what he could write. For instance, his interview with Mathewson shortly after the 1911 World Series exerted pressures on how he could portray Mathewson. Rice recalled that "Big Six" told him that Baker was a "dangerous hitter."[46] He discussed his pitching strategy, noting that he had taken a "chance, which cost us the game."[47] Mathewson's interview about the incident structured how Rice could cover it. In the last instance, however, Rice's "friendly" working relationships with Cobb and Mathewson determined the content of his human-interest coverage. As Ponce de Leon suggests, in order to remain in the inside circles of celebrities, entertainment writers could not portray stars in a negative light.[48] Rice was bound by his friendships with the athletes to provide positive coverage. As Gallico put it, the practice of "breaking bread" with star athletes "handcuffed" writers.[49]

Social and cultural factors like working relationships or personal admiration might account for Rice's uncharacteristic portrayal of Cobb. While most correspondents at general-interest publications depicted Cobb as a cultural trickster (see chapter four),[50] Rice constructed him as a national hero. Exerting his creative freedom, he resisted the dominant mold. In "The Durable Cobb," an April 1926 human-interest piece for *Collier's*, he crafted the "Georgia Peach" as a bonafide national hero, noting that "The Great Tyrus … has given the crowds more baseball than any other man."[51] He lavished heroic accolades befitting a military conqueror like Napoleon

on "Ty the Triumphant." Writing that he was "the greatest natural competitor I have ever seen in any sport," Rice emphasized the key ingredients to Cobb's lasting success—his unique mix of physical qualities, his intellect and "his strong, wiry body [that] knew both speed and stamina," and character traits, "mixtures of unlimited ambition and determination, coupled with a rare competitive instinct."[52]

Still, Rice's moments of agency were marked by adherence to lingual structures. Like his colleagues, he drew upon traditional literary conventions like anecdotes and figurative language to cast Cobb and Mathewson as heroes. For instance, in his April 1926 feature in *Collier's*, he retold an anecdote constructed by fellow journalist Ring Lardner for the June 1915 *American Magazine* feature "Tyrus the Greatest of 'Em All." While "dining together before taking the out-of-town jump" in Chicago in September 1912, Rice wrote, Lardner and Cobb discussed batting averages of the hitting leaders—Cobb, "Shoeless" Joe Jackson, and Tris Speaker. In a bit of a hitting slump, Cobb assured Lardner that he would "get busy," encouraging the sports scribe to "watch me close up that gap this next week." Unwilling to believe that "any odds were too great to be overcome," Rice recalled that Cobb made eighteen hits in the next twenty-one at-bats, "under the heaviest sort of pressure in the stretch."[53] Drawing on a metaphor about the recipe of greatness, he wrote that it was Cobb's "ambition, determination, concentration on the job, clean living, the capacity for hard work, intelligence and daring, blended into a marvelous confidence which nothing could shake," which would make readers look upon the twenty-two-year veteran as "the marvel of all time."[54] Once again, he depicted Cobb as a hero in "The Winner's Way," which ran in the July 10, 1926, *Collier's*.[55]

Rice also constructed Mathewson as a national hero, illustrating his prowess through imagery. [56] For instance, in his April 1925 *Collier's* feature, he emphasized the "striking"

appearance of the blonde-haired, blue-eyed "fine-looking athlete" with a "husky frame," his physical qualities like speed, control, and intelligence, and his virtuous character.[57] He shared his favorite anecdotes about the star—Mathewson's trio of 1905 World Series shutouts and his "heartbreaking" 1908 campaign.[58] His herocrafting of Mathewson may have stemmed from his personal admiration, his desire to retain close rapport, or the mold cast by existent coverage.

In addition to common literary conventions like metaphors and anecdotes, the influence of literary journalism is apparent in Rice's human-interest features. As historians W. Joseph Campbell and Richard Orodenker suggest, the narrative model was pervasive in mainstream journalism and sports writing of the early twentieth century.[59] Like Lardner (see chapter four),[60] Rice used material gleaned from personal interactions with Cobb and Mathewson to craft fictional columns. In summer 1915, Rice penned two columns for *McClure's*, relaying the experiences of an imaginary Baseball Reporter.[61] These columns provided insight into the life of a sports reporter. His fictional character was continually bombarded with conversations about baseball's greatest stars in his daily life.[62] Whether with a mouthful of gauze in the dentist's chair or a handful of asparagus at the delicatessen counter, the reporter could not escape hearsay about Cobb and Mathewson.[63]On each occasion, the baseball scribe, though frustrated by the inconvenience of the interruption, drew upon his observations in covering the duo to provide the bystanders with a new understanding of their prowess among other baseball greats. The Baseball Reporter, for instance, noted "They may prove that other pitchers have more stuff than Mathewson; that others are harder to hit; but no man can ever prove that any other pitcher ever had Matty's control; for the cold, clammy record would bar his way."[64]

As a sports correspondent at general-interest magazines like *McClure's* and *Collier's*, Rice experienced a degree of autonomy. He exerted his creative freedom in his non-stereotypical

portrayal of Cobb. Instead of emphasizing Cobb's chicanery on the base paths, he lauded the rare combination of physical abilities and character traits like the determination of "Tyrus the Triumphant."[65] But, Rice's agency was bound by his mutually beneficial relationships with Cobb and Mathewson, as well as the prevailing journalistic structures of the day. These structures not only shaped the coverage, they are also reflected therein. Therefore, as Hayden White suggests,[66] the prevailing forms of sports journalism—the promotional and narrative models[67]—shaped the content of Rice's features.

National magazines like *Collier's* and *McClure's* were not the only place to peruse human-interest features about Cobb and Mathewson. Baseball enthusiasts could also find coverage in specialty sports publications like *Baseball Magazine*. As journalism historian Pat Washburn and Joe Lowe note, specialty sports magazines had existed since John Skinner's *American Turf Register* was introduced in 1829.[68] At twentieth century's turn, baseball buffs obtained news about the national pastime through newspaper sports pages or from *Sporting Life* and *Sporting News*, two weekly journals established in the 1880s.[69] The content of these two competing publications centered on baseball game coverage not human-interest stories about era stars.[70] Hoping to fill this void, a Boston-based sportswriter Jacob Morse and a handful of investors launched *Baseball Magazine*, a monthly publication geared toward coverage of baseball trends and personalities.[71] In the journal's first issue, Morse wrote, "Baseball has never had a magazine of its own, while almost every other sport has a high class publication. So, the *Baseball Magazine* is supplying a long-felt need; in substance, the need of a monthly organ filled with the highest thought surrounding the game, well edited, well printed, and filled with first-class illustrations."[72] A key element of the journal's editorial mission was the implementation of

human-interest features about notable baseball stars. After Lane took the helm as editor in 1910, he wrote and reworked approximately 150 stories about Cobb and Mathewson.

In his role as editor, Lane had a greater amount of autonomy over the publication's content than his colleague Rice experienced. He served as the publication's gatekeeper—he had final say over the information that was included in human-interest features. He not only controlled the content, he also determined the form. He had the power to alter the style and the tone of articles.

Like Rice, he constructed the duo as national heroes. For instance, in January 1912, he applauded Cobb as the "King of modern ball players."[73] In an editorial note before the article, he wrote that his aim was to "point to the inevitable conclusion that the star of the Tiger outfield is indeed the greatest player the game has ever known."[74] He provided statistical evidence for Cobb's all-time superiority in baseball, writing that "Cobb is one of the keenest students of the game and one of the quickest thinkers on the diamond. In the possession of genuine baseball instinct, a most valuable asset, Cobb has never had a superior."[75]

Likewise, he celebrated Mathewson, "the peerless pitcher,"[76] "the pride of Manhattan,"[77] for his dominance on the mound. His herocrafting hand is also visible in the publication's story selection, headlines, editorial notes, and reworked features. For example, in early 1914, he assigned sports correspondent F. L. Brunner a human-interest column on two 1913 World Series heroes—Mathewson and Philadelphia Athletics catcher Wally Schang.[78] Although Lane's editorial marks do not survive in archival records, he likely constructed the story's headline, "Hero Worship on the Diamond: The Big League Ball Player an Ideal Type of Athlete."[79] He also penned the editorial note preceding the column, writing "Hero worship is the soul of baseball enthusiasm. It is a sane and wholesome trait in the National character, and the great stars

of the diamond are in a large measure deserving of the popular admiration. Christy Mathewson is not alone master of the fade-away. He is master of himself as well."[80] In the note and the article that follows, Mathewson is constructed as the nation's moral hero of manhood. Like coverage in general-interest magazines, *Baseball Magazine* celebrated him as a superman, a "popular hero … with muscles of steel directed by an unclouded brain," whose name is "linked inseparably with clean living."[81]

But, like Rice, Lane did not have unlimited autonomy. The human-interest articles appearing in *Baseball Magazine* were structured by cultural and lingual conventions, as well as social and economic factors. For instance, his portrayal of Cobb and Mathewson's manhood within *Baseball Magazine* were bound by his understanding of manliness within American culture. His perspectives were likely shaped by leaders[82] like psychologist G. Stanley Hall and former Rough Rider and President Theodore Roosevelt, who preached for Americans to adopt "the strenuous life, the life of toil and effort, of labor and strife" and "to lead clean, vigorous, healthy lives."[83] Roosevelt encouraged the "American boy" to participate in sport in order to "increase in physical and moral courage" and "to grow into the kind of American man of whom America can be really proud."[84] Lane's views also undoubtedly were influenced by the popular muscular Christianity movement, which by twentieth century's turn was pervasive in American culture in texts like Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho!*, in messages of prominent speakers like former baseball star Billy Sunday and football icon Amos Alonzo Stagg, and in the missions of popular organizations like the Young Men's Christian Association and the Boy Scouts of America.[85] This blend of Victorian and modern constructions of masculinity exerted pressures on the ways in which he portrayed Cobb and Mathewson. For instance, like some national magazine correspondents discussed in chapter four,[86] he constructed both icons as gentlemen. In

a March 1912 editorial, he celebrated Cobb as a "typical American gentleman"[87]; likewise, he portrayed Mathewson as the paragon of manhood.[88]

In addition to being constrained by cultural norms and values, Lane was influenced by the same set of lingual rituals that shaped the writing styles of other sports journalists. He often drew upon anecdotes, metaphors, and other literary conventions. Like the general-interest magazine stories featuring the two Dead Ball Era idols (see chapter four),[89] he integrated cultural shorthand into human-interest articles, labeling Mathewson as the "master mechanic"[90] and comparing Cobb's speed on the base paths to "lightning."[91] He retold anecdotes emphasizing Cobb and Mathewson's success like the one surrounding Matty's "brilliant" performance in the 1905 World Series.[92] Through these communicative rituals handed down from oral and print culture, Lane and Rice told stories about "kings" of the diamond, tales that taught lessons about manhood and success.[93] As White suggests, the very nature of the literary form governs content.[94] The form of human-interest stories constituted positive portrayals.[95]

Lane's human-interest features also were shaped by his working associations with the athletes.[96] Like Rice, he enjoyed a friendship with Cobb that extended long past Cobb's playing days.[97] Beginning in 1911, shortly after Lane took the position as editor, he began a correspondence with Cobb that continued at least until near the end of Cobb's baseball career in 1927.[98] They corresponded about upcoming "friendly" visits, potential advertising opportunities, and editorial ideas.[99] In addition to their communication by mail, they enjoyed numerous visits during and after Cobb's playing days.[100] On occasion, Lane included details about his companionship with Cobb in his stories. For instance, in September 1913's *Baseball Magazine*, he wrote "When Ty Cobb was last in New York I spent a very interesting evening in his

company." During their jaunt around Grand Central Station, Cobb "regaled me with an inexhaustible store of reminiscence from his own meteoric career."[101]

Baseball Magazine's human-interest coverage of the pair reflected and was shaped by these working alliances. Like other sportswriters, Lane gathered interview material through correspondence and personal visits with Cobb and Mathewson, which he later incorporated into his features.[102] For instance, during the summer visit with Cobb at New York's Grand Central Station, he gathered information about Cobb's low weight and persistent cough, which he reported in "Why Players Fail: Scenes from the Real Life of the Diamond—Mental and Physical Troubles which Handicap the Player—The Undertow in Baseball."[103] Often these stories included editorial notes such as "revealed in" or "from" or "comprising an interview with Ty Cobb," which ran under the article's headline.[104] Information gathered in these interviews structured his coverage of the pair and are reflected in the content of the human-interest features. But, as Ponce de Leon suggests, close working alliances among writers and celebrities did more than shape the content of human-interest features, it influenced their tone.[105] Like Rice's features, Lane's human-interest coverage took on a promotional tone, a tenor of which he was cognizant. In July 1927, he wrote, "Ty Cobb has never had a better booster than the *Baseball Magazine*."[106]

Lane may have portrayed Cobb and Mathewson as national sports heroes because of personal admiration or in order to maintain close rapport. On the other hand, he may have also celebrated the duo to turn a profit. Baseball historian Bill Burgess argues that *Baseball Magazine*, which was published continuously from 1908 until 1954, was a literary hit. But, that did not necessarily translate into a financial fortune.[107] So, shortly after Lane took the helm as editor in 1910, he attempted to appeal to wider audiences by expanding the editorial focus to

other sports such as football and ice hockey; by centering coverage around human-interest features; and by creating special commemorative issues around teams, events like the World Series, and baseball stars like Cobb and Mathewson.[108] In addition to widening its appeal, in November 1912, *Baseball Magazine* evolved into a promotional organ for the Baseball Players Fraternity, which was created shortly after professional baseball's first strike in May.[109] Under its new player activist model, *Baseball Magazine* included promotional features on baseball's biggest stars. The business strategy worked. By 1921, according to *N.W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual and Directory*, the publication reached an audience of approximately 70,000 people, more than its weekly competitors *Sporting News* or *Sporting Life*.[110]

***Baseball Magazine*'s Player-Themed Issues**

Although it was somewhat ordinary for sports stars to appear on the cover of weekly and monthly sports magazines, special issues devoted to icons were new phenomenons in the early twentieth century.[111] As Carolyn Kitch suggests, special issues did not become common at general-interest magazines until the middle of the twentieth century, when magazines like *Life* and *Time* used them as a format to review the first fifty years of century.[112] Lane most likely introduced themed issues to attract more readers and increase his bottom line.[113] After publishing a commemorative issue in honor of Cleveland pitcher Addie Joss, who died from tubercular meningitis in April 1911, he tested the player-themed model on one of baseball's biggest stars—Ty Cobb.[114] Player-focused issues became a pervasive feature of *Baseball Magazine* in the mid-1910s.[115]

Whether the impetus for the Cobb issue was based on personal admiration or financial obligation, Lane decided to construct an entire issue around him in late 1911. He wrote Cobb in Augusta, notifying him that he planned on dedicating the March 1912 issue to the "Georgia

Peach."[116] In order to construct the issue, he assigned a feature article to Atlanta Constitution sportswriter Howell Foreman.[117] In addition, he assigned two opinion columns to player-correspondents—Chicago Cubs second baseman Johnny Evers and Detroit Tigers manager Hugh Jennings. He also assigned cover illustration duties to Gerrit A. Beneker, a New York-based illustrator.[118] The remaining seven articles and briefs, which ran without a byline, were likely written by Lane.

In the Cobb issue, Lane painted the "Georgia Peach" as a hero in a "championship class" above the rest.[119] In the March 1912 Editor's Letter, he wrote, "It seems like exaggerated praise to confer so much space on a single individual, but the man who has been for years the central figure of the National game well deserves the title role in a magazine devoted to baseball and its interest."[120] Because of Cobb's admirable qualities—his "lightning speed," as well as the "fair-minded, generous" tendencies of the "American gentleman," Lane conferred on Cobb the assurance of "permanent place, pre-eminent above all his competitors" as "the popular idol of American fans."[121]

The cover featured a smiling "Ty Cobb arriving at Training Camp," (see Appendix D) dressed comfortably in a regal three-piece suit with a white starched high-collar surrounded by his bat case and traveling trunk, a cigarette-smoking sports reporter taking meticulous notes, and a handful of African-American children gazing up seemingly in awe of the sports star. Below the cover art, the magazine boasted assembling the "greatest Ty Cobb stories ever written."[122] Within the magazine, Lane, along with Foreman, Evers, and Jennings, sang Cobb's praises, portraying him as a "gentleman at all times, and under all conditions" drawing thousands of spectators to games every season.[123] Jennings, who wrote that he admired Cobb as a "player and as a man," decried the rumors that Cobb was ever "inconsiderate of an opposing player," noting

from "personal knowledge that he would never be guilty of such an unsportsmanlike act."[124] Evers also crafted Cobb in heroic terms, writing that "the universal comparison of highest ability … is the model, the perfect stamp of the truly great ball player."[125] Likewise, Lane extolled Cobb's spectacular batting feats and his value as a player in briefs throughout the issue. Foreman meanwhile crafted the famous Southerner as "the hero of baseball … worshipped by every American boy … as well-known as President Taft—and more popular."[126] He wove a story of a "chronic scrapper" with "an insatiable desire to play ball," who pulled himself up by the bootstraps to live the American dream as "the uncrowned king of baseball."[127]

Lane followed one of his first-ever player issues with another themed issue about Mathewson in December 1914.[128] He wrote four stories and doled out Mathewson-related assignments to three correspondents and two illustrators. *Baseball Magazine* illustrator J.F. Kernan produced an iconic image of the broad-shouldered, blonde-haired, blue-eyed Mathewson, the lines on his face signaling years of sun-damage caused by pitching day after day before thousands of fans, sitting alone in his squad's dugout, still donning his baseball cap, uniform, and red New York Giants' overcoat.[129] Within the magazine, Lane and his staff painted "Matty" as "the brainiest pitcher the diamond ever knew"—a heroic sportsman, who came from "blooded stock, imported from England."[130]

Under Lane's editorship, *Baseball Magazine* became a promotional piece of the Baseball Players Fraternity, celebrating baseball stars like Cobb and Mathewson.[131] As public relations historians Margot Lamme and Karen Miller Russell suggest, the press has served in advocacy roles, promoting people, issues, or organizations for centuries.[132] The publication's promotional model is evident in its coverage of Cobb and Mathewson. Like correspondents at general magazines, Lane constructed Cobb and Mathewson as national heroes. He provided detailed

coverage of Mathewson's battle with tuberculosis, publishing five articles on the topic between May 1922 and his death in October 1925.[133] He painted "Matty" as a national hero "on par with the Greek athletes of Hellenic Rule."[134] The publication's coverage of Cobb, however, broke the national mold, portraying him as heroic, even in the midst of scandals such as the May 1912 player strike and the 1927 Ty Cobb-Tris Speaker gambling scandal, discussed in chapter four.[135] Depicting Cobb as "the king of them all,"[136] he emphasized his "mental courage." "Ty stands alone," he wrote. "His physical advantages make him a STAR, but his WILL and DETERMINATION make him GREAT."[137]

As editor of *Baseball Magazine*, Lane experienced a degree of agency that few sports journalists obtained. He exerted autonomy through his non-traditional portrayal of Cobb as a national hero. Still, in the last instance, he was bound by similar social, cultural, and economic conventions that confined many sports journalists. Within this system, however, Cobb and Mathewson gained freedom to shape coverage by controlling interview material, suggesting story ideas, and penning articles for the publication. For example, Cobb provided Lane with a number of story ideas, such as Lane's February 1923 article, "What Baseball Should Do for Its Own."[138] Cobb and Mathewson also wrote several pieces for *Baseball Magazine* throughout the 1910s. Both penned first-person accounts about early experiences in the major leagues for player-themed issues. Cobb also wrote two instructional articles for the publication in the mid-1910s—"Trick Plays and How to Make Them" (July 1916) and "Place Hitting" (October 1917).[139] In these player-penned articles, Cobb and Mathewson were portrayed as national idols. For instance, in Mathewson's fourteen-page memoir, he crafted his childhood as idyllic and himself as a self-made man.[140]

But, these player-penned articles were bound by Lane's editorial hand. Celebratory editorial notes lauded the pair. Before Mathewson's article, Lane praised him as

> more than a ball player. He is more even than the Prince of Pitchers. He is at once a type of all that is masterly in baseball skill, of all that is desirable in good sportsmanship. The most famous of players, whose name has become a household word, he is a type of that great game upon whose enlightened progress his influence has played no inconspicuous part.[141]

Lane structured the articles in other ways, too. For instance, in Cobb's how-to articles, he reworked interview material gleaned from Cobb into flowing prose that created the effect of allowing readers to "overhear" first-hand gossip about the scientific ins-and-outs of the game.[142]

Ghosting Player Memoirs

Like the player-themed issues of *Baseball Magazine,* the content of ghostwriter John N. Wheeler's two player memoirs was shaped by and reflected the promotional nature of its form. According to literary theorists John Anthony Cuddon and Claire Preston, memoirs differ from autobiographies in their scope; instead of focusing on an individual's entire life story, they tend to center around shorter periods like a career.[143] Like autobiography, memoirs purport to provide true accounts, but by their very nature they take on elements of fiction.[144] Unlike human-interest features and player-themed issues, the primary purpose of *Pitching in a Pinch* and *Busting 'Em* was to promote its main characters. Wheeler, Mathewson, and Cobb also undoubtedly hoped to entertain readers and make some money in the process. The stated goal of the two books may have been to provide an insider's view of professional baseball, but they do much more. They provide insight into the negotiation involved in collaborative relationships.

According to Wheeler's memoir *I've Got News for You,* he began collaborating with Mathewson on a series of articles about the ins-and-outs of baseball in winter 1911.[145] "Big Six," Wheeler later recalled, "supplied all the material, and I ran it through the typewriter, and it made

a hit."[146] Based on the popularity of the "Inside Baseball" series, G.P. Putnam Son's published *Pitching in a Pinch* in 1912.[147] Although exact sales figures for the book do not exist, as sports historian Frank Deford suggests, the insider's look into baseball was an instant classic.[148] Shortly thereafter, according to Wheeler, he joined forces with Cobb to write *Busting 'Em: And Other Big League Stories*. Cobb's memoir, however, was not a financial success.[149]

While Rice and Lane experienced a degree of creative freedom within their roles as sports journalists, Wheeler lacked a great deal of autonomy. He was limited by more than a desire to remain in the inside circles of the baseball celebrities. Because of his business relationships with Cobb and Mathewson, he had a financial interest in crafting them as national heroes. His role as a collaborator, like the form of memoir itself, determined the products' promotional tone.

Wheeler drew upon common journalistic and literary structures to construct both memoirs. In his analysis of *Pitching in a Pinch*, sports historian Richard Orodenker suggests that his voice is apparent in the "classic newspaper-type lead, his prose enhanced by parallelism and by Chicago-style, if restrained humor."[150] Likewise, in the editor's note to the 2003 edition of *Busting 'Em*, Marty McGee and Gary Mitchem argue that his hand is visible in the similar tone and gentle humor of both volumes.[151] But, the memoirs share more than the polished tone of a veteran sports scribe; they also have nearly identical structures. Focusing on the inside game, both books share chapters on personal experiences; the influence of fans; the ins-and-outs of pitching, hitting, and base stealing; and ruminations about umpires and coaches; as well as chapters on player trickery and superstitions.[152]

Taking on the role of an era publicity agent, Wheeler promoted Cobb and Mathewson as national idols in both prefaces. Likening their fame to that of the President of the United States,

he combined figurative language and laudatory descriptions of Cobb and Mathewson.[153] For instance, he wrote that Cobb "makes lightning look slow," and of Mathewson, he extolled, "Besides being a national hero, Matty is one of the closest students of baseball that ever came into the Big League."[154] He depicted the stars as the ultimate students of the game, who after having mastered the rules of the diamond planned on imparting the wisdom to their readers. He emphasized their qualifications to construct narrative prose. Calling Cobb, "a born reporter [who] would have been a star in the newspaper business" if he chose to be, he noted the "intellectual blotter's" ability to easily absorb information and pen his impressions.[155] Likewise, Mathewson, "having done newspaper work from time to time during the series," kept a "baseball diary of his career" that he would reveal to his readers.[156] Both player-authors, he boasted, had written "breezy" accounts of "the game as it is played in the Big Leagues," providing readers with "inside dope" on the national pastime.[157] In addition to promoting Cobb and Mathewson within the memoirs, Wheeler did his part to ensure one book's success by reviewing *Pitching in a Pinch* for the *New York Herald*'s book editor James Ford. "I could practically recite the book," Wheeler recalled. "I very much doubt whether any book ever got a more favorable review."[158]

Although Wheeler experienced a degree of creative freedom in the way he crafted the sports heroes, Cobb and Mathewson obtained the most power in the collaborative relationship. They had a great deal of control over how they were portrayed. To a large extent, they determined the content of memoirs, providing Wheeler with anecdotes about their playing careers. For instance, Mathewson's memoir told of an early defeat to Cincinnati, which taught him a lesson in conservation. "I have never forgotten that lesson," he wrote of his ability to save something for the pinch.[159] With the aid of Wheeler, Cobb and Mathewson used these narrative forums to construct a positive public image. For Cobb, creating a clean image meant reshaping

his national identity as baseball's crafty trickster. National press coverage of Cobb focused on his brawls with teammates, umpires, and fans; his habit of slashing infielders with razor-sharp spikes when stealing bases; and his practice of perennially holding out for higher salaries. In an attempt to restore Cobb's image, he and Wheeler, whether consciously or not, relied on techniques posited by modern public relations scholar William Benoit.[160] According to Benoit, an individual can use one of five image restoration strategies: denial, evading responsibility, corrective action, mortification, and reducing the offensiveness of the event.[161] In "The Effects of Crowds on Big Leaguers," the collaborators denied wrongdoing and evaded responsibility for Cobb's scuffle with New York Highlander fan Claude Lueker in May 1912. They attempted to smooth over the sport community's collective memory by justifying his actions.[162] After explaining the psychological role that rooters played in the mind of ball players, Cobb reminded readers that fans "have always 'ridden' me hard,"[163] and wrote that he wanted to "tell for the first time over my signature the real inside facts of that event."[164] He justified his actions noting that Lueker verbally abused him by shouting racial slurs that made "my temper began to go." Continuing his evasion of responsibility, Cobb noted that he avoided the rooter and tried to ignore the comments. Admitting that he had "no recollection of … beating up my abuser," Cobb reminded readers that his actions in defense of his honor were not courageous; instead, he argued, they were caused by "blind fury."[165] As McGee and Mitchem argue, the memoir had little effect on Cobb's collective memory.[166] The memoirs may not have reshaped public opinion, but they do illustrate the autonomy that Cobb and Mathewson exerted in constructing their national image.

Conclusion

In the early twentieth century, sports journalists like Rice, Lane, and Wheeler entered into symbiotic relationships with baseball icons like Cobb and Mathewson. Sports reporters established rapport and gleaned information as they traveled with baseball clubs.[167] As Cobb wrote in *Busting 'Em*, "many ball players indulge in cards, and newspaper correspondents who travel with the club join in these games."[168] They also played golf, hunted, corresponded with, and visited star ball players in their homes. They did so, as Gallico noted, to make a living.[169]

As Gallico suggests, sports journalists experienced a degree of creative freedom in their narratives.[170] They could portray baseball icons in non-traditional manners. Writers controlled the selection of story material, as well as tone and style. Editors dictated story assignments, wrote editorial notes and headlines, and governed story structure. Their agency, however, was bound by a number of economic, social, and cultural constraints. First and foremost, sports journalists were governed by profit-driven goals. In order to appeal to the widest audience base, they could not be too radical in their columns and feature articles. Likewise, they were limited by mainstream cultural norms and values. Cultural constructions like those associated with manhood influenced their perspective about sports heroes and subsequently shaped their portrayal of Cobb and Mathewson. Journalistic norms like the storytelling conventions embedded in newspaper columns, human-interest features, player-themed issues, and memoirs also influenced content. Finally, sports journalists were bound by the social structures that defined human-interest journalism.[171] Story content was influenced by the need to maintain close rapport with baseball celebrities.

Employed in positions with varying degrees of agency, journalists like Rice, Lane and Wheeler crafted their favorite stars as national heroes. But, sports journalists, who gained higher

pay, job security, and even personal renown, were not the only ones who benefited from the relationships. Sports stars like Cobb and Mathewson earned extra money by writing articles for specialty publications and lending their names to ghostwritten accounts. Most importantly, in collaborating with journalists, sports icons gained a degree of agency in their depictions. To an extent, Cobb and Mathewson dictated their portrayals by controlling interview material, writing first-person accounts, and entering into collaborative relationships.

An examination of newspaper columns, human-interest features, player-themed issues, and player memoirs reveals a new understanding the pervasiveness of the promotional model within early twentieth-century sports journalism. As Campbell argues, in the early twentieth century three paradigms—the activist model, the narrative model, and the detached model—reigned supreme in mainstream journalism.[172] Elements of these models were apparent in all forms of sports journalism from the detached newspaper column to the narrative-based, human-interest story and the activist player-themed issues. Ultimately, as Bent argues, sports and entertainment journalism was marked by one common feature—ballyhoo.[173] Regardless of the form, the promotional model dominated sports journalism. Even as the detached model became more pervasive in mainstream journalism, in the first three decades of the twentieth century, as F.C. Lane suggested in the July 1927 *Baseball Magazine*, sports journalists were baseball's biggest boosters.[174]

End Notes

1. Gallico, *The Golden People*, 1965, 14.
2. Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man*, 2000, 1-25.
3. Ibid., 23.
4. Williams, *The Long Revolution*, 1961, 63.
5. White, *The Content of the Form*, 1990, 1-244.
6. Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting,* 1954, xv.

7. Ardell, *Breaking into Baseball*, 2005, 191-193
8. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 89.
9. Evensen, *When Dempsey fought Tunney*, 1996, 49.
10. Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 1954, xvi.
11. Ibid.
12. Grantland Rice, "The Sportlight," *The Washington Post*, 26 February 1915, 8 (ProQuest Historical Newspapers).
13. Grantland Rice, "The Sportlight," *The Washington Post*, 3 April 1915, 9 (ProQuest Historical Newspapers).
14. Grantland Rice, "The Sportlight," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 14 April 1928, 11 (ProQuest Historical Newspapers).
15. Roessner, "Hero-Crafting in *Sporting Life*," 2009: 39-65; Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 1954, 314-321.
16. Ibid.
17. Grantland Rice, "The Sportlight," *The Washington Post*, 5 March 1915, 8 (ProQuest Historical Newspapers).
18. Grantland Rice, "The Sportlight," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 3 April 1928, 17 (ProQuest Historical Newspapers).
19. Grantland Rice, "The Sportlight," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 17 August 1928, 8 (ProQuest Historical Newspapers).
20. Bent, *Ballyhoo*, 1927, 32.
21. Campbell, *The Year that Defined American Journalism*, 2006, 103-117.
22. Grantland Rice, "The Sportlight," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 14 January 1922, 6; Grantland Rice, "The Sportlight," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 17 March 1928, 11.
23. Grantland Rice, "The Sportlight," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 14 January 1922, 6.
24. For example see, Cullen Cain, "The Manager," *Saturday Evening Post*, June 1926, 20-21, 174 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); Dr. Washington Gladden, "Dr. Gladden's Appeal," *The Independent*, 23 May 1912, 1132 (American Periodical Series); "Play Ball," *The Independent*, 10 April 1926, 409 (American Periodical Series); The Crack of the Baseball Bat Goes Echoing Around the World," *Current Opinion*, November 1913, 309 (American Periodical Series).
25. Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 1981, 90.
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27. Grantland Rice, "The Sportlight," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 8 May 1928, 10 (ProQuest Historical Newspapers).
28. Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 9-15.
29. Grantland Rice, "The Sportlight," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 14 January 1922, 6.
30. Bent, *Ballyhoo*, 1927, 32.
31. Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality*, 1983, 128.
32. Carroll, "Early Twentieth Century Heroes," 2006, 34-42.
33. Campbell, *The Year that Defined American Journalism*, 2006, 103-117.
34. Ibid., 5.
35. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 89.
36. Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 1954, 1-368.

37. Ibid., 19-46.

38. Grantland Rice, "The Grand Old Batting Eye," *McClure's*, June 1915, 19, 52 (American Periodical Series); Grantland Rice, "The Shoes of Mathewson," *McClure's*, July 1915, 23, 61 (American Periodical Series); Grantland Rice, "The Big 3 of the Mound," *Collier's*, 11 April 1925, 22-26 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); Grantland Rice, "The Durable Cobb," *Collier's*, 3 April 1926, 24 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); Grantland Rice, "The Winners Way," *Collier's*, 10 July 1926, 10.

39. For example see: Ring Lardner, "Tyrus, the Greatest of 'Em All," *American Magazine*, June 1915, 19-23, 78 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); "Why Ty Cobb is Tired—and Retired," *Literary Digest*, 20 November 1926, 54-62 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

40. Grantland Rice, "The Big 3 of the Mound," *Collier's*, 11 April 1925, 22-26 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

41. Ibid., 22.

42. Ibid., 26.

43. Rice, *The Tumult and the Shouting*, 1954, 1-368.

44. Grantland Rice, "The Sportlight," Christy Mathewson Player File, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Ponce de Leon, Self Exposure, 2002, 99.

49. Ibid., 89-90.

50. For example see: Ring Lardner, "Tyrus, the Greatest of 'Em All," *American Magazine*, June 1915, 19-23, 78 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); "Why Ty Cobb is Tired—and Retired," *Literary Digest*, 20 November 1926, 54-62 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

51. Grantland Rice, "The Durable Cobb," *Collier's*, 3 April 1926, 24 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Grantland Rice, "The Winners Way," *Collier's*, 10 July 1926, 10.

56. For example see, "The Fight of a Clean Sportsman," *The Outlook*, 19 July 1922, 481 (American Periodical Series/Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); "Christy Mathewson," *The Playground*, December 1925, 517 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

57. Grantland Rice, "The Big 3 of the Mound," *Collier's*, 11 April 1925, 22-26 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

58. Ibid.

59. Campbell, *The Year that Defined American Journalism*, 2006, 99; Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 9-15; 39.

60. Ring Lardner, "Tyrus, the Greatest of 'Em All," *American Magazine*, June 1915, 21 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); Ring Lardner, "Matty," *American Magazine*, August 1915, 26 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

61. Grantland Rice, "The Grand Old Batting Eye," *McClure's*, June 1915, 19, 52 (American Periodical Series); Grantland Rice, "The Shoes of Mathewson," *McClure's*, July 1915, 23, 61 (American Periodical Series).

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Grantland Rice, "The Shoes of Mathewson," *McClure's*, July 1915, 61 (American Periodical Series).

65. Grantland Rice, "The Durable Cobb," *Collier's*, 3 April 1926, 24 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

66. White, *The Content of the Form*, 1990, 1-244.

67. Campbell, *The Year that Defined American Journalism*, 2006, 99; Anderson, "Crafting the National Pastime's Image," 2003: 7-43.

68. Washburn and Lowe, "The Beginning of American Sports Journalism, 1733-1857," AJHA, 2009.

69. Roessner, "Hero-Crafting in *Sporting Life*," 2009: 39-65.

70. Ibid., According to Roessner, by the mid-1910s, *Sporting Life* began incorporating full-length feature articles about baseball stars. Still, the primary focus of the publication was daily news coverage.

71. Bill Burgess, "Baseball Magazine," Bulletin, Retrieved at <http://www.baseball-fever.com/showthread.php?91324-Baseball-Magazine&daysprune=-1>, (accessed May 10, 2010); Lane, *Batting*, 2001, vi.

72. Bill Burgess, "Baseball Magazine," Bulletin, Retrieved at <http://www.baseball-fever.com/showthread.php?91324-Baseball-Magazine&daysprune=-1>, (accessed May 10, 2010).

73. F.C. Lane, "Who is the Greatest Player in the History of Baseball," *Baseball Magazine*, January 1912, 27-34 (LA84 Foundation).

74. Ibid., 27.

75. Ibid., 34. In his September 1913 twelve-page feature on baseball's three greatest outfielders—Joe Jackson, Tris Speaker, and Ty Cobb, Lane crafted Cobb as "the greatest player of them all" because of "his infinite versatility, his daring originality, his speed of thought and action."

76. "Christy Mathewson: A Brief Sketch of the Peerless Pitcher," *Baseball Magazine*, April 1912, 75 (LA84 Foundation).

77. "Christy Mathewson's Great Record," *Baseball Magazine*, June 1913, 64 (LA84 Foundation).

78. F.C. Lane, "The Secret of Christy Mathewsons' Success," *Baseball Magazine*, October 1916, 65 (LA84 Foundation).

79. F.L. Brunner, "Hero Worship on the Diamond: The Big League Ball Player an Ideal Type of Athlete," *Baseball Magazine*, April 1914, 49-51 (LA Foundation).

80. Ibid., 49.

81. Ibid., 50

82. Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 1995, 1-307.

83. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses* (Boston: Harvard University, 1905), 1, 3.

84. Ibid., 155, 160.

85. Hall (ed.), *Muscular Christianity*, 1994, 1-260; Ladd & Mathisen, *Muscular Christianity*, 1999, 1-288; Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 2001, 1-300.

86. For examples see, "Spanking Baseball's Baby and Petting Its Paragon," *Literary Digest*, 19 September 1925, 58 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); "Taps for 'Matty,'" *Literary*

Digest, 24 October 1925, 42 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); "Why Ty Cobb is Tired—and Retired," *Literary Digest*, 20 November 1926, 60 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

87. F.C. Lane, "Editorials," *Baseball Magazine,* March 1912, 1 (LA84 Foundation).

88. For example see, F.L. Brunner, "Hero Worship on the Diamond: The Big League Ball Player an Ideal Type of Athlete," *Baseball Magazine*, April 1914, 49-51 (LA Foundation; F.C. Lane, "The Secret of Christy Mathewsons' Success," *Baseball Magazine,* October 1916, 65 (LA84 Foundation).

89. For example see, F.B. Adams, "Plutarch Lights of History, No. 6: Christy Mathewson," *Harper's Weekly*, 15 April 1916, 395 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); "Christy Mathewson," *The Playground*, December 1925, 517 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); Frederick M. Davenport, "Christy Mathewson," *The Outlook,* 30 August 1922, 705 (American Periodical Series/Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); "Ty Cobb Remains King of all Batsmen," *Literary Digest*, 17 January 1920, 118 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); "Picking an All-Time Emperor," Literary Digest, 1 August 1931, 30-31 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index); "Why Ty Cobb is Tired—and Retired," *Literary Digest*, 20 November 1926, 54-62 (Readers' Guide Retrospective Index).

90. "Christy Mathewson's Great Record," *Baseball Magazine*, June 1913, 64 (LA84 Foundation).

91.F.C. Lane, "The Greatest of all Outfielders," *Baseball Magazine*, September 1913, 44 (LA84 Foundation).

92. F.C. Lane, "The Secret of Mathewsons' Success," *Baseball Magazine,* October 1916, 65 (LA84 Foundation).

93. In October 1916, for instance, he described the "Secret of Christy Mathewsons' Success"—his "wizardly, uncanny" control. F.C. Lane, "Who is the Greatest Player in the History of Baseball," *Baseball Magazine,* January 1912, 27-34 (LA84 Foundation); F.C. Lane, "The Secret of Christy Mathewson's Success," *Baseball Magazine*, October 1916, 65-70 (LA84 Foundation).

94. White, *The Content of the Form*, 1990, 1-244.

95. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 99.

96. Craig Little, "A Baseball Historian Looks Back," BA MSS 36, F.C. Lane Player File, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

97. From the archival records associated with the lives of Lane and Mathewson, it is less obvious what type of working relationship the two shared. The archival records at the National Baseball Hall of Fame's A Bartlett Giamatti Research Library in Cooperstown, N.Y., reveal only one letter written by Mathewson to Lane. See, Christy Mathewson to F.C. Lane, 21 November 1914, p. 1, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-12, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

98. It appears that Cobb's first correspondence with Lane occurred in late 1911 or early 1912, shortly after he took over as the sole editor of *Baseball Magazine*. In a letter dated January 2, 1912, Cobb responded to Lane's request for material for the March Ty Cobb issue. The handwritten letter, along with a first-person column, was subsequently published in the issue. Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 1911-1927, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown; Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 2 January 1912, p. 1, Ty Cobb, "A Personal Letter, *Baseball Magazine*, March 1912, 6 (LA84 Foundation).

99. For example see, Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 17 May 1915, p. 1, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown; Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane,

14 April 1922, p. 1-3, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown; Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 13 September 1927, p. 1-2, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

100. Craig Little, "A Baseball Historian Looks Back," BA MSS 36, F.C. Lane Player File, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

101. F.C. Lane, "Why Players Fail," *Baseball Magazine*, September 1913, 30 (LA84 Foundation).

102. F.C. Lane, *Batting*, 2001, 3.

103. F.C. Lane, "Why Players Fail," *Baseball Magazine*, September 1913, 30 (LA84 Foundation).

104. For example see: Ty Cobb, "The Greatest Batter I Have Ever Seen," *Baseball Magazine*, November 1924, 537-560; Ty Cobb, "The Supreme Athletic Effort of All Time," *Baseball Magazine*, January 1925, 341; Ty Cobb, "How Young Pitchers Are Spoiled," *Baseball Magazine*, August 1925, 396.

105. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 76-105.

106. F.C. Lane, "Was Ty Cobb a Managerial Failure," *Baseball Magazine*, July 1927, 339.

107. Bill Burgess, "Baseball Magazine," Bulletin, Retrieved at <http://www.baseball-fever.com/showthread.php?91324-Baseball-Magazine&daysprune=-1>, (accessed May 10, 2010).

108. Bill Burgess, "Baseball Magazine," Bulletin, Retrieved at <http://www.baseball-fever.com/showthread.php?91324-Baseball-Magazine&daysprune=-1>, (accessed May 10, 2010); Lane, *Batting*, 2001, vi.

109. David L. Fultz, "The Baseball Players Fraternity and What It Stands For," *Baseball Magazine*, November 1911, 29-31, 124, 126.

110. N.W. Ayers, *N. W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual and Directory* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son, 1921).

111. F.C. Lane, "Editorials," *Baseball Magazine*, March 1912, 1 (LA84 Foundation).

112. Carolyn Kitch, *Pages from the Past*, 2005, 13.

113. Bill Burgess, "Baseball Magazine," Bulletin, Retrieved at <http://www.baseball-fever.com/showthread.php?91324-Baseball-Magazine&daysprune=-1>, (accessed May 10, 2010).

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid.

116. Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 2 January 1912, Ty Cobb, "A Personal Letter," *Baseball Magazine*, March 1912, 6 (LA84 Foundation). Cobb's response from Chicago, Ill, on January 2, 1912, may have disheartened the fledgling editor. Though Cobb wrote back that he "never had such a compliment offered me in my life," he explained that at present his busy schedule filled with "College Widow" performances would not allow his assistance with the publication. Cobb must have changed his mind, however, since the Ty Cobb issue included his first-person account of the life of a big leaguer.

117. Howell Foreman, "When Ty Cobb was a Boy," *Baseball Magazine*, March 1912, 1-5 (LA84 Foundation).

118. Gerritt A. Beneker, "Covers," *Baseball Magazine*, March 1912.

119. F.C. Lane, "Ty Cobb, World's Champion Ball Player," *Baseball Magazine*, March 1912, 81 (LA84 Foundation).

120. F.C. Lane, "Editorials," *Baseball Magazine*, March 1912 (LA84 Foundation).

121. Ibid.

122. "Cover," *Baseball Magazine*, March 1912 (LA84 Foundation).

123. Hugh Jennings, "My Opinion of Tyrus Cobb," *Baseball Magazine*, March 1912, 16 (LA84 Foundation).

124. Ibid., 15.

125. John J. Evers, "Ty Cobb from the Viewpoint of a National Leaguer," *Baseball Magazine*, March 1912, 14 (LA84 Foundation).

126. Howell Foreman, "When Ty Cobb was a Boy," *Baseball Magazine*, March 1912, 5 (LA84 Foundation).

127. Ibid., 1, 5.

128. Although Lane often centered issues around particular teams such as the Boston Braves (February 1915) or Philadelphia (May 1912) or events such as the World Series (November 1915), player-focused issues though not unheard of were rarer. Based on a review of 72 available covers from 1908 until 1928 on the LA84 Foundation Full-Text Searchable Online Database, it appears that Lane succeeded the Cobb issue in March 1912 with issues centered on Jake Daubert in February 1914 and Christy Mathewson in December 1914. Lane followed these issues with a string of player-focused issues in the mid-1900s on baseball stars such as Hans Wagner (January 1915), Eddie Collins (March 1915), Walter Johnson (April 1915), Grover Cleveland Alexander (January 1916), Sam Crawford (February 1916), Joe Jackson (March 1916).

129. J.F. Kernan, "Covers," *Baseball Magazine*, December 1914; After his death in October 1925, the magazine offered readers an opportunity to purchase a reprint of the famous cover to frame "for your study or den." J.F. Kernan Cover Ad," *Baseball Magazine*, December 1925, IFC.

130. F.C. Lane, "Mathewson's Folks," *Baseball Magazine*, December 1914, 38 (LA84 Foundation).

131. Although it is unclear from archival sources whether *Baseball Magazine* served as the official advocate for the Baseball Players Fraternity, it is obvious from the regular columns written by Fraternity President David Fultz that the magazine was an informal promoter of the organization. For example see, David L. Fultz, "The Baseball Players Fraternity and What It Stands For," *Baseball Magazine*, November 1911, 29-31, 124, 126.

132. Lamme and Russell, "Removing the Spin," 2010: 281-362.

133. For example see, Joe Adams, "How Baseball's Most Popular Pitcher is Winning His Game Struggle for Health," *Baseball Magazine*, May 1922, 844-845, 856; John J. Daly, "'Big Six' in the 'Spirit of Baseball' Statue," *Baseball Magazine*, May 1922, 845, 855; John J. Daly, "Matty, the Miracle Man of Saranac Lake," *Baseball Magazine*, August 1922, 406; F.C. Lane, "The Most Desperate Baseball Battle on Record," *Baseball Magazine*, November 1922, 546; John J. Ward, "Christy Mathewson Stages A Come Back," *Baseball Magazine*, May 1923, 561, 572.

134. John J. Daly, "'Big Six' in the 'Spirit of Baseball' Statue," *Baseball Magazine*, May 1922, 845.

135. F.C. Lane, "Editorials," *Baseball Magazine*, July 1912 (LA84 Foundation); F.C. Lane, "Ty Cobb vs. Ban Johnson, *Baseball Magazine*, July 1912, 8-14, 94, 96, 100 (LA84 Foundation); Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 13 September 1927, p. 1-2, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

136. F.C. Lane, "The Greatest of All Outfielders," *Baseball Magazine*, September 1913, 44 (LA 84 Foundation).

137. F.C. Lane, "Everything—But," *Baseball Magazine*, December 1916, 68 (LA Foundation).

138. Ty Cobb to F.C. Lane, 29 January 1923, p. 1-2, F.C. Lane Papers, 1911-1936, Series I-1-3, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown; F.C. Lane, "What Baseball Should Do for Its Own," *Baseball Magazine* February 1923, 393-394.

139. Ty Cobb, "Trick Plays and How to Make Them," *Baseball Magazine*, July 1916, 25-28, 100, 104, 106, 108 (LA84 Foundation); Ty Cobb, "Place Hitting," *Baseball Magazine*, July 1917, 541-542 (LA84 Foundation). These articles portrayed Cobb in a favorable light. "Trick Plays and How to Make Them," for instance, was accompanied by a laudatory editorial note, which read, "Ty Cobb is the greatest player in the game through his phenomenal batting average. He is the greatest player in the game by virtue of his wonderful baserunning. But the things above all others which have stamped him as the true king of players are those dazzling feats bordering on the miraculous which the cold records cannot express."

140. Christy Mathewson, "My Life So Far," *Baseball Magazine*, December 1914, 53-66 (LA84 Foundation).

141. Ibid., Lane continued, writing that "Matty" was "probably better known today, and his advice, no doubt, carries more weight with his particular clientele than that of the president of the United States."

142. For example, he began one piece by writing: "Ty Cobb was busily occupied when the Scribe approached to interview the king of batters. He was seated in the sheltering calm of the players bench." Ty Cobb, "Place Hitting," *Baseball Magazine*, July 1917, 541 (LA84 Foundation).

143. John Anthony Cuddon & Claire Preston, *A Dictionary of Literary Terms & Literary Theory* (New York: Wiley Blackwell, 1991), 63-65.

144. Ibid.

145. Wheeler, *I've Got News for You*, 1961, 11-13.

146. Edward J. Gerrity, "This is My Town," John N. Wheeler Player File, National Baseball Hall of Fame Library, Cooperstown.

147. Wheeler, *I've Got News for You*, 1961, 11-17.

148. As Frank Deford suggests, Pitching in a Pinch was a "fairly good seller" for G.P. Putnam Son's. Deford, *The Old Ball Game*, 2005, 129. Shortly after its release, it appeared on the *Boston Daily Globe*'s best seller list. "Best Sellers of the Week," *Boston Daily Globe*, 1 June 1912, 7. Librarians immediately endorsed the volume, celebrating it as an "inspiration to clean living." Libraries from Chicago and Pittsburgh to Japan held copies of the memoir. Public Libraries, Vol. 17, (Boston: Harvard University Library Bureau, 1912), 407. In late 1912, Putnam released two additional editions of the book under two subsidiary organizations—its Grosset & Dunlap children's division and the Boy Scouts of America's Every Boy's Library. The original book sold for $1, but the Boy Scouts edition, bound in cloth with the official Boy Scouts seal stamped on the front cover, was made available for 50 cents. Since then, Putnam's Grosset & Dunlap and other publishers such as Stein and Day, the University of Nebraska Press, and General Books have printed six editions of the book in 1923, 1977, 1991, 1994, 2008, and 2009.

149. As Marty McGee and Gary Mitchem argue, *Busting 'Em*, published in 1914 by Edward J. Clode, did not enjoy the literary or financial success of *Pitching in a Pinch*. For many years it was out of print, they argue, noting that even John N. Wheeler's *New York Times* obituary fails to mention the book among his accomplishments. Ty Cobb and John N. Wheeler, *Busting 'Em*

and Other Big League Stories (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland Publishers, 2003), 3-4. Although the volume did not earn many accolades, *Boy's Life*, the Boy Scouts of America's press organ, reviewed the memoir in 1914, promoting it alongside John McGraw's instructional book, *How to Play Baseball*. The original sales price for the volume was $1; a second edition of the book was released by McFarland Publishers in 2003. Franklin K. Matthiews, "Books Boys Like Best," *Boy's Life*, December 1914, 31.

150. Orodenker, *The Writers' Game* , 1996, 33-34.

151. Cobb and Wheeler, *Busting 'Em and Other Big League Stories*, 2003, 1.

152. Mathewson and Wheeler, *Pitching in a Pinch*, 1912; Cobb and Wheeler, *Busting 'Em and Other Big League Stories*, 2003.

153. Mathewson and Wheeler, *Pitching in a Pinch*, 1912, xv-xvii; Cobb and Wheeler, *Busting 'Em and Other Big League Stories*, 2003, 5-6.

154. Mathewson and Wheeler, *Pitching in a Pinch*, 1912, xv. 155. Cobb and Wheeler, *Busting 'Em and Other Big League Stories*, 2003, 6.

156 Mathewson and Wheeler, *Pitching in a Pinch*, 1912, xvii.

157. Cobb and Wheeler, *Busting 'Em and Other Big League Stories*, 2003, 6.

158. Wheeler, *I've Got News for You*, 1961, 13.

159. Mathewson and Wheeler, *Pitching in a Pinch*, 1912, 54-74.

160. William L. Benoit, *Accounts, Excuses, and Apologies: A Theory of Image Restoration Strategies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 1, 2. According to Benoit, denial refers to failing to acknowledge an event's occurrence; while evasion of responsibility involves shifting blame or admitting that the occurrence was an accident. Another image restoration strategy according to Benoit is the reduction of offensiveness, in which an organization or individual attempts to make amends for the occurrence, while mortification involves confession and request of forgiveness.

161. Ibid.

162. Cobb and Wheeler, *Busting 'Em and Other Big League Stories*, 2003, 23-35.

163. Ibid., 26.

164. Ibid., 28.

165. Ibid., 29.

166. Ibid., 1.

167. Orodenker, *The Writers' Game*, 1996, 31.

168. Cobb and Wheeler, *Busting 'Em and Other Big League Stories*, 2003, 174.

169. Gallico, *The Golden People*, 1965, 13.

170. Gallico, *The Golden People*, 1965, 14.

171. Ponce de Leon, *Self Exposure*, 2002, 76-105.

172. Campbell, *The Year that Defined American Journalism*, 2006, 5-9.

173. Bent, *Ballyhoo*, 1927, 32.

174. F.C. Lane, "Was Ty Cobb a Managerial Failure," *Baseball Magazine*, July 1927, 339.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Like many Americans, young Dick Russell and Furman Bisher "devoured" sports news in the early twentieth century. Sprawled out on floors of post offices and living rooms, they enjoyed daily encounters with sports pages. They also perused general-interest magazines and specialty sports publications for features about their favorite stars. In an era before radio gained a pervasive presence in American culture, the sports scribe crafted feature stories about the national pastime's stars for a baseball-crazed nation.[1]

Sportswriters of the early twentieth century played a complex cultural role. They did more than merely transmit information about baseball stars to sports enthusiasts. They acted as cultural storytellers. They translated actions on the baseball diamond into sports allegories that taught character lessons. Examining the practice of hero construction provides insights into the cultural struggle over social constructions of success, morality, and manhood. Using cultural shorthand, national magazine correspondents cast Cobb and Mathewson into a binary of crafty trickster and moral hero to instruct readers about cultural acceptability. But, cultural norms, values, and mores were not always clear cut. During an era when Victorian and modern norms collided, writers sent mixed messages to readers about manhood and success. Writers taught that real men were expected to take daring risks and to behave as proper gentlemen, which entailed walking the line between mollycoddle and savage. Sports journalists claimed a degree of creative freedom through the process of writing, but in the last instance, they were bound by economic,

cultural, and social factors. As a result, they produced safe American heroes of manhood for mainstream audiences.

This dissertation has implications for scholars of American history, cultural studies, and communication. Following the cue of Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen, it provides new insights into the historical working conditions of early twentieth-century sports journalists.[2] It supplies a new understanding of the practice of sports journalism. In particular, it offers a fresh explanation of working relationships among writers and stars in the man's world of sport by uncovering rapport-building and news-gathering strategies employed by journalists. For example, it provides evidence of how Rice developed friendly working associations with Cobb and Mathewson and how Lane used written correspondence with Cobb to gather story ideas and material for *Baseball Magazine*. It also sheds light into the literary conventions like anecdotes and metaphors that sportswriters drew upon time and again. It affords an appreciation of the journalistic practice of herocrafting. In particular, it examines communication as a cultural forum by exploring the role of working alliances, literary conventions, and journalistic forms on content. It illustrates the agency that sportswriters found in writing, as well as the economic, cultural, and social factors that exerted pressures on portrayals of athletic stars. It supplies a snapshot of American culture in the early twentieth century by providing a richer understanding of the role of sports journalism in the production of American heroes and the fluidity of heroic types in culture. Ultimately, though, it tells a story of the prevalence of ballyhoo and the uneven emergence of detachment in sports journalism.

In the early twentieth century, baseball may have been the national pastime, but sports writing was largely a male profession.[3] In the man's world of sports, journalists entered a close community of male magnates, club owners, managers, officials, players, and other sportswriters.[4]

Like Greek bards, they became de facto cultural storytellers. As communication theorist James Carey suggests, they took on the role of cultural interpreters.[5] Within the dramatic act of writing, they told stories that had the power to shape reality. They instructed readers with their myth-narratives.

To do so, sportswriters like newspaper columnist Grantland Rice, *Baseball Magazine* editor F.C. Lane, and ghostwriter John N. Wheeler forged friendly working associations with baseball celebrities like Cobb and Mathewson. As Rice once reminisced in his weekly column, these two heroes of baseball's Dead Ball Era were his pals.[6] In the days before television's bright lights, sports reporters interacted with baseball celebrities on a daily basis.[7] Former sportswriter Leonard Koppett argues that early twentieth-century sportswriters and stars had closer contact with one another by virtue of the relatively small size of the profession.[8] They traveled, dined, and lodged with baseball icons. They even enjoyed leisure activities together. They did so in part, as Rice suggests, for companionship in a grueling profession that demanded writers spend days on the road away from family and friends. But, as Gallico argued, they also established rapport with athletes to gather interesting material for human-interest features.[9]

The evolution of the public sphere in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as philosopher Jurgen Habermas suggests, created a new public fascination with the private lives of the famous.[10] Beginning in the late nineteenth century, newspaper and magazine publishers cashed in on this perceived public interest.[11] New journalism gave rise to the human-interest model, which provided readers with sensational details about the private lives of celebrities. Journalism historian Charles Ponce de Leon argues that only the most prominent reporters were able to gain entry into the inside circle of celebrities.[12]

From this highly vaunted cultural position, the best-known sports journalists forged friendships with popular baseball stars in order to cull inside information.[13] Sports reporters like Lane used these working alliances to give readers a peek into private lives. He corresponded with a number of baseball players, asking for photos and anecdotes about their off-season activities. For instance, Lane's April 1921 "What the Ball Players Do in Winter" column included a photo of Cobb's hunting kill, along with Lane's account of Cobb's Winter activities. Lane wrote that in addition to hunting and playing golf, Cobb "expends much of his tireless energy … [as] a business man."[14] On another occasion, he published a photo of Cobb and his trainer Charlie Babcock posing with his prized hunting dogs.[15] Human-interest stories retained a level of superficiality in their accounts of private lives. Although they shared almost daily interaction with sportswriters, stars did not have to fear investigative exposés into their private affairs.[16] Gallico lamented that writers were constrained by personal relationships with sports celebrities.[17] Afraid of losing their insider status, they did not dare unearth controversial gossip.

However, through writing, sports journalists enjoyed a degree of agency in how they crafted baseball stars. Sportswriters and editors had the power of story selection and presentation. But, these portrayals were bound by more than a writer's "pleasure and escape," as Gallico asserted.[18] Sports journalism was governed by the cultural conventions of mainstream American and journalism. Mainstream cultural values like those associated with success and manhood shaped the perspectives of sports reporters. Professional norms also exerted pressures on coverage. Because sportswriters penned features at for-profit magazines and newspapers, they were encouraged to produce copy that appealed to the masses. Likewise, the desire to maintain working relationships with sports celebrities fostered positive coverage. Sportswriters were "handcuffed," as Gallico wrote, by their friendships with athletes and bound by the literary

techniques prevalent in journalism.[19] They relied upon common archetypes and metaphors to instruct their readers.[20] But, drawing on certain story structures and forms, as historian Hayden White suggests, influenced content.[21] For instance, the detached model set limits on the content of Rice's newspaper columns.[22] As the paradigm gained popularity, Rice's columns took a more balanced tone. Human-interest magazine features and activist player-themed issues and memoirs were also shaped by the nature of their promotional forms.

W. Joseph Campbell argues that three basic paradigms governed journalism in the early twentieth century, but these detached, narrative, and activist models did not exist in isolation of one another.[23] The epistemological philosophies that undergirded the models coexisted in newsrooms and influenced the practice of journalism. The prevailing conventions were present in era sports coverage. The columns of Grantland Rice provide evidence of the overlaps and ruptures in journalistic paradigms. For example, within one "Sportlight" column, Rice offered a detached reference to Cobb in his coverage of pitcher Bill Donavan, as well as a poetic ode, celebrating Cobb's fame.[24] Regardless of the format, however, the promotional model was pervasive in sports journalism.[25]

The promotional model, according to early twentieth-century *Detroit News* managing editor Malcolm Bingay, was founded upon an unholy alliance among sportswriters, baseball club owners, managers, and players.[26] Under these mutually beneficial relationships, upper-echelon sportswriters like Rice earned high salaries and national renown.[27] And, baseball celebrities like Cobb and Mathewson gained free promotion, as well as a degree of autonomy in their portrayals. As player-correspondents, Cobb and Mathewson earned "soft money" as self-promoters.[28] They also used these journalistic formats as promotional forums to create and restore their national images. It was not unusual for the press to promote individuals, issues, or organizations.[29] In fact,

in the age of "seedbed" public relations strategies,[30] public relations historian William B. Anderson argued that baseball relied upon the press to promote the industry.[31] Professional writers constructed baseball heroes to turn a profit.[32]

Journalists celebrated Cobb and Mathewson as national idols. Correspondents at national magazines cast them into cultural roles of trickster and moral hero to teach readers character lessons.[33] Folklorist Tristram Coffin writes that each age constructs a "drama to fit its own purposes"[34]; in the early twentieth century, sportswriters taught lessons about success, manliness, morality, and what it meant to be an American. For example, in their discussions of Cobb's fallaway slide and Mathewson's fadeaway pitch, they instilled the idea that successful Americans were inventive, taking clever risks, which were rewarded. Sports media historian Bruce Evensen argues that the media's "cultivation of sports celebrity and mass-mediated hero worship … is a commentary on a generation's search for significance during a period in American history when for many the world seemed increasingly insensible."[35]

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, waves of immigrants and rural migrants flooded American cities. Leaders, intellectuals, and writers sought to make the nation a great melting pot. [36] Leaders like Theodore Roosevelt sought to unify the nation through sports like baseball.[37] As Evensen suggests, "The instinct toward nationalism—which showed itself in America in such varied forms as the movement toward immigration restriction, overseas imperialism, and the standardization of a domestic culture—created a kind of constituency of sentiment favoring sports supposed to foster an identifiably American character."[38] The sporting press became a national educator, crafting sports heroes to teach American-ness. They constructed baseball stars as self-made icons, as symbols of American exceptionalism, who

"pulled themselves up by their bootstraps." The sporting press celebrated Cobb and Mathewson as self-made men, who succeeded through a mixture of individualism and team work. [39]

But, the production of sports heroes did more than inform immigrant readers about what it meant to be an American. During the transition to a producer-capitalist culture, the press commodified secular sports icons as baseball idols.[40] In a new leisure-driven society, Americans were fascinated by sport heroes. In 1919, philosopher Morris Raphael Cohen observed that baseball had become America's national religion, and the press portrayed Cobb and Mathewson as gods.[41] Baseball and its cast of stars, according to Susman, "provided a necessary kind of secular religion, a special vision of piety essential to the nation's transformation into a modern industrial mass society."[42] The construction of Cobb and Mathewson as idols illustrates America's secular transformation. "The moral range among stars underscores this shift," baseball historian Donald Mrozek wrote. "A Christy Mathewson revered for his upstanding personal life, and a Ty Cobb admired despite his seeming indifference to humane concerns. Their common ground was a scientific attitude toward baseball, along with their success in translating knowledge into victory on the playing field." [43]

The early twentieth century marked the coming of age of the American success story.[44] By century's turn, "hymns to American middle-class concepts of success"[45] were no longer confined to Horatio Alger's dime novels; instead, success stories were pervasive in American journalism, especially the sporting press.[46] Sports journalism appealed to the nation's fascination with statistics and quantifiable deeds.[47] Cultural historian Warren Susman argued that "the mechanization of life generally, when combined with the mounting effort to rationalize all aspects of man's activities, produced a particular middle-class delight in what could be measured

and counted … Athletic records provided a means of measuring achievement—success—in sports as such statistics did in other aspects of the mechanized and rationalized life."[48] Thus, Cobb and Mathewson were celebrated as national heroes for their remarkable deeds on the baseball diamond.[49] The duo's quantifiable success translated into portrayals as self-made men. National magazines constructed both as intelligent students of the game, who turned calculated risks into rewards.[50]

In an era of an inescapable encounter with modernity and World War marked by a "crisis in masculinity,"[51] Cobb and Mathewson were constructed as heroes of restrained and martial manhood.[52] Portrayed in the press as the ideal "Christian Gentleman," baseball historian Steven Riess notes that "Matty" was often asked to speak to young boys about "clean living and fair play."[53] Sportswriters crafted Mathewson as a moral hero on par with George Washington.[54] In an age of lingering Victorian cultural norms, in anecdotes and metaphors, they constructed him as an honest and fair ball player, who displayed good sportsmanship under all circumstances.[55] They recognized his successes such as his remarkable performance in the 1905 World Series, but they celebrated him even more in defeat. National coverage of Mathewson resonated with the American public, especially leaders of the muscular Christianity movement. Shortly after the release of his memoir *Pitching in a Pinch* in 1912, The Boy Scouts of America endorsed the volume as one that would not only "entertain" but also "train" young boys.[56] Later that year, G.P. Putnam's Sons released a special Boy Scouts of America edition of the book.[57] In their 1914 *Handbook for Scout Masters*, The Boy Scouts of America advertised the volume as one "guaranteed … to provide clean, wholesome, vigorous stories."[58] "Matty" may have been depicted as "clean," but magazine writers like Wheeler assured readers that "Matty" was a "100 per cent male, he-man."[59] In an age of increasing anxiety over sexuality, Wheeler emphasized

that the "Christian Gentleman" was no mollycoddle.[60] Likewise, although the national media crafted Cobb as a primal savage on the base paths, sports promoters like Wheeler and Lane provided a caveat. Despite his "fiery temperament," Cobb was ultimately a "gentleman."[61] These paradoxes within coverage provide evidence of the fluidity of cultural constructions of masculinity.[62]

In an age that sought simplicity in heroic figures,[63] the national media cast Cobb and Mathewson into cultural roles as America's preeminent trickster and its quintessential "Christian Gentleman."[64] According to historian John Huizinga, mass-mediated heroes and villains are symbols for tensions within social orders, such as the inevitable encounter with modernity in the early twentieth century.[65] In an increasingly modern world, sportswriters drew upon ancient types to cast Mathewson and Cobb into roles, which taught moral lessons about right and wrong. Material rewards, they argued, could be earned by trickery on the base paths, but true success could be won regardless of victory or defeat by being a good sport, someone who is always fair, honest, loyal, and kind. The media's celebration of both idols reveals a cultural struggle over residual and emergent traditions. National magazine coverage reveals a continuing devotion to America's Protestant roots and Victorian values like the Protestant work ethic, as well as a celebration of cunning and risk-taking in a modern world. Both sets of norms were valued in an emerging consumer-capitalist society, and as Frankfurt School cultural critic Theodor Adorno suggested, mediated coverage of sport appeared "to restore to the body some of the functions of which the machine has deprived it" only to "train men all the more inexorably to serve the machine."[66]

Although most national magazine correspondents cast Cobb and Mathewson as a national hero and trickster, some writers avoided typecasting the duo. National magazine correspondents

Dayton Stoddard and C.E. Van Loan, for instance, flipped the stereotypes, portraying Cobb as a national hero and Mathewson as a trickster, who cunningly swindled a rookie with his master fadeaway pitch.[67] Likewise, Rice, Lane, and Wheeler celebrated Cobb as a national hero. These contradictions in coverage not only provide evidence of the potential agency in the practice of writing, they also illustrate the fluid nature of cultural types. Conceptions of hero, villain, and trickster are not static classifications. They are social constructions mutually constituted in cultural interactions that are subject to change over the course of time. On September 19, 1925, *Literary Digest* illustrated the fluctuation of heroic cultural statuses, writing "On [baseball diamonds], national heroes are created with more rapidity and louder acclaim than anywhere else in the country, yet how precarious their position, how fickle the popular favor on which they live! The roar of applause in the bleachers turns with incredible ease into howls of disapproval. And hands that one year are waved in greeting to a mighty man of the baseball field, the next will show their thumbs turned down on him."[68] Writing about the paradoxes embedded in heroic accolades, "Spanking Baseball's Baby and Petting Its Paragon" celebrates Cobb as a flawless ideal, "the story of a determination to succeed, to be the first in the chosen endeavor of life."[69] Meanwhile, the article casts New York Yankee slugger Babe Ruth, often constructed as a national prowess hero by era press, as a sniveling child rebelling against baseball's rules of conduct.[70] The mediated portrayals of Cobb and Mathewson also reveal the fluidity of the cultural values that are celebrated. Many national magazine correspondents decried Cobb's cunning on the base paths, but in his columns, Rice instead praised Cobb as an astute student of the game. Likewise, *Youth's Companion* portrayed Cobb as a "daring" man of "action" willing to work hard.[71] In December 1926, a correspondent wrote that "[Cobb was] always alive, always

full of energy and subtlety, a player who had wit and humor and a personality that gave color and brilliance to every play he made—the d'Artagnan of the ball field."[72]

On October 7, 1925, in his home at Lake Saranac, N.Y., Mathewson died from complications of tuberculosis.[73] Flags flew at half-staff at the following day's World Series game between the Pittsburgh Pirates and the Washington Senators.[74] Tributes ran in thousands of newspapers and magazines over the next few months. Rice's newspaper, *The New York Herald-Tribune*, wrote that Mathewson's legacy would last as long as the national pastime was played. Praising him for more than his prowess on the mound, the publication suggested that "Matty" was the "idol of American manhood, young and old … the incarnation of all those virtues with which we endow the ideal American."[75] *Youth's Companion* wrote that "every true sportsman in America paid … tribute [to the man who] was bigger than the game itself."[76]

After his death, Mathewson's reputation lived on. In 1930, fiction writer Merritte Parmelee Allen penned "Christy Mathewson's Glove" for *St. Nicholas* boy's magazine.[77] Within the fictional story, "Coach Wade," a former teammate of Mathewson's, teaches "Cal," the captain of a high school baseball team, that winning is not everything by sharing anecdotes about Matty's career. "Some day there may be a greater player—though I doubt it—but there will never be a finer gentleman," Coach Wade told Cal in a pre-season pep talk. "He showed us that it takes a bigger man to lose than to win. We admired him in victory but we loved him in defeat."[78] In 1983, Eric Rolfe Greenberg wrote *The Celebrant*, a piece of historical fiction, centered on the lives of a fictional immigrant family living in New York City and their interactions with Mathewson.[79] More recently, playwright Eddie Frierson released the one-act play *'Matty': an Evening with 'The Big Six*.'[80] In the collective memory of baseball enthusiasts, Mathewson is remembered as a moral hero—"a model of boyhood," known for his manly character and good

sportsmanship in victory or defeat.[81] In the end, *Playground Magazine* was right when it lamented in December 1925 that "one of the supreme gentlemen of sport has died, leaving the world to a fine memory and at least a momentary heartache."[82]

The press's long farewell to Mathewson marked an end to the production of moral sports heroes. In the first three decades of the twentieth century, the sporting press may have emphasized deeds above virtues,[83] but in a culture still anchored in Puritan roots, they considered questions of character. They taught moral lessons through their coverage of baseball's "Christian gentleman" and its crafty villain. But, as Susman suggests, the nation shifted from a "culture of character" to one consumed with personality.[84] Leaving behind discussions about moral character, the sporting press of the 1920s celebrated prominent personalities as characters. The human-interest, celebrity-style journalism of the early twentieth century reflects this new appeal.[85] So, too, does America's fascination with New York Yankee slugger Babe Ruth in the Roaring Twenties.[86] In an increasingly secular world, sportswriters of the "Golden Age of Sports Writing" penned column after column celebrating the "Great Bambino," "The Sultan of Swat," not only for his hitting prowess, but for his colorful personality.[87] In his autobiography, Rice wrote that Ruth and the other sports heroes of the 1920s "had something more than mere skill or competitive ability. They also had in record quality and quantity that indescribable asset known as color, personality, crowd appeal, or whatever you may care to call it."[88] Susman argued that "Ruth was an ideal hero for the world of consumption."[89]

By the mid-1920s, Ruth's fame had overshadowed that of Cobb and Mathewson. According to historian Ken Sobol, "more citizens of America, young and old, knew his name … than had ever heard of Ty Cobb."[90] His fame prompted prominent playwright George Bernard Shaw to mockingly ask, "Who is this Babe Ruth, and what does she do?"[91] Ruth maintained a

pervasive presence in the national media.[92] In addition to receiving regular coverage in the sports page and specialty baseball magazines, the "Great Bambino" received regular media attention in general-interest magazines and on the radio. As Susman notes, the exuberant hero of boyhood earned spots in national advertising campaigns, in vaudeville shows, on barnstorming tours and even in movies.[93]

But, Ruth could not count on the media to provide an unlimited supply of good press.[94] Neither could any sports star. By the 1920s, the era of promotion in sports writing was drawing to a close.[95] More than a decade after the height of journalistic muckraking, Hugh Fullerton and Ring Lardner helped uncover the 1919 Black Sox World Series gambling scandal.[96] With the aid of Mathewson, who was covering the series for a national newspaper syndicate, Fullerton and Larnder introduced the "aw nuts" model of sports writing.[97] The promotion of baseball and its cast of stars did not end when newly appointed baseball commissioner Kennesaw Mountain Landis banned "Shoeless" Joe Jackson and seven other Chicago White Sox from the sport, but it definitely changed.[98] By the mid-1920s, members of the Base Ball Writers Association of America and the newly formed American Society of Newspaper Editors, like *Detroit Press* managing editor Malcolm Bingay, called for an end of the unholy alliance between professional sports organizations and the press.[99] Bingay argued that publishers had created a Frankenstein in the promotion-driven sports pages and advocated for the system's demise.[100]

With sports stars no longer assured of good press, they began to hire press agents. Following the lead of Ruth, who hired Christy Walsh as his agent in 1921, baseball stars relied upon agents to serve as personal gatekeepers.[101] They served as middle-men between the press and celebrities.[102] They advocated for promotional coverage. They also facilitated interviews, advertising endorsements, and special appearances.[103] This served to further detach sportswriters

from athletes.[104] Writers no longer felt as compelled to portray stars as heroes in order to maintain close rapport.

The beginning of the Great Depression witnessed the demise of "gee whiz" promotion in sports writing. The collapsing economy meant smaller newspapers and less space devoted to sport.[105] The verbose style of Rice was no longer realistic. Poetic odes to sports heroes seemed less relevant in the more "serious" age.[106] Historian Frederick Lewis Allen argued that the Depression undermined many of the prior cultural norms and values such as those linking success to the Protestant work ethic.[107] This end of an era of innocence in American culture was reflected in the death of "gee whiz" sports journalism. Although modern sports journalism retained elements of promotion, by the 1930s, sports stories became standardized, and sportswriters no longer attempted to hide a player's flaws. As objectivity emerged in the sporting press, the practice of mythmaking became more prevalent over the airwaves, where play-by-play announcers like Red Barber and Graham McNamee forged heroes for a new generation of Americans in the 1940s and 1950s.[108] The more detached sporting press still crafted sports heroes of Joe DiMaggio and more recently Nolan Ryan and Cal Ripken,[109] but they did so with a greater sense of realism. The era of blind romanticism in sports journalism died during the stark days of the Great Depression.

Study Limitations and Future Research

Our historical understanding of a particular time and place is always limited.[110] Our comprehension of the past is bound by the surviving records that documented past cultures and ways of life.[111] Business correspondence, diaries, and memoirs that provide insight into the practice of journalism are scant. As a result, this dissertation relied upon the limited remaining business correspondence of Lane and published memoirs of Cobb, Mathewson, Rice, and

Wheeler to gain a grasp of working relationships among sportswriters and baseball celebrities. But, archival holdings are not necessarily complete, and published memoirs bring a set of inherent challenges to analysis. Historical studies are also governed by a scholar's own subjectivities. As cultural historian Raymond Williams wrote, "We 'see' in certain ways—that is, we interpret sensory information according to certain rules—these rules and interpretations—are, as a whole, neither fixed or constant. We can learn new rules and new interpretations, as a result of which we shall literally see in new ways."[112] Therefore, this dissertation's analysis is not only inherently bound by the remaining documentary records, it is also determined by my own limited interpretation.

This study examined the production of sports heroes in the early twentieth century. Future research might explore audience reception of these cultural constructions by analyzing letters to the editor, letters, and scrapbooks. There is a dearth of historical studies on audience reception of mediated messages,[113] and such a study would provide a new appreciation of the negotiation of cultural norms and values. As this study suggests, mediated portrayals of sports icons were mutually constituted in cultural constructions of manhood. Future studies might examine sports-focused juvenile literature such as the Frank Merriwell series to gain new insights into the mediated construction of boyhood and manhood throughout the course of the twentieth century. The production of heroes was not limited to sports stars or to the first three decades of the twentieth century. Other studies might examine the practice of herocrafting in other time periods and in other forms of media. This study also sheds light on the role of the press as a promotional vehicle. Further studies might explore the collaborative practice of ghostwriting in various cultural industries from sports to business and politics.

Conclusion

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, sportswriters crafted "kings of the diamond" for a baseball-crazed nation fascinated with heroes, celebrities, and fame. Although America's love affair with baseball extended across all sexes, classes, and ethnicities, the mainstream media's celebration of heroes did not. The sporting press cast white men into roles as national idols. To do so, sportswriters forged friendships with baseball stars, but retaining rapport with celebrities meant turning a blind eye to their flaws. Today, the sports media still churns out sports heroes for a nation consumed with celebrity and fame. More than a half century after the dismantlement of baseball's color line, the twenty-first century sports media celebrates African-American, Asian, and Latino men, alongside their white counterparts. However, in a sports profession that banned female participants, baseball idols remain heroes of manhood.[114] Today's sports heroes do not remain on their pedestals forever. In a 24-hour news cycle, the sports media no longer hide an idol's flaws. Instead, after fifteen-minutes of fame, heroes are meticulously deconstructed. The twenty-first-century sports media hoists star athletes on a heroic pedestal, only to surreptitiously knock them from their cultural perch.

But, in an earlier era, before tales of the "Sultan of Swat" and "Joltin' Joe" DiMaggio flooded the air waves, sportswriters crafted "your father's idol."[115] Before the comic book superheroes of the late 1930s, they created supermen of "action" with "muscles of steel" for a modern world.[116] Sports journalists like Grantland Rice, F.C. Lane, and John N. Wheeler penned daily odes to Dead Ball Era stars like Ty Cobb and Christy Mathewson. They celebrated the deeds and virtues of these heroes of youth in newspaper columns, human-interest features, player-themed issues, and ghostwritten memoirs in an era of ballyhoo. And, "though heroes have

a habit of sliding from the pedestal,"[117] in the early twentieth century, sports journalists crafted "kings of the diamond," who continue to linger in the American imagination.[118]

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EPILOGUE

"All of my life my ambition was to be a sportswriter," Furman Bisher recalled in early October 2009. Growing up in Denton, N.C., he had developed a passion for sport while reading about national baseball stars in the press, he said.

In my office that day, he reminisced about the joys of sports writing in the 1940s, '50s, and '60s. "In the early part of the century, before big salaries came into being, [sports stars] interacted more [with sportswriters]," he recalled. "The difference was we were all making about the same amount of money back then. Now, [most sports stars] are aloof …. They don't have a lot of time for you. They have their big projects going, their own foundations, and that kind of thing. It's a totally different world."

Bisher retired from that "world" less than two weeks later. On October 12, 2009, he typed his farewell column for the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* on his beloved Royal typewriter. For fifty-nine years, he had served in various roles as reporter, editor, and columnist at the newspaper, alongside noted regional journalists like Ralph McGill, Terry Kay, Celestine Sibley, and Lewis Grizzard.

By the end of November, Bisher officially checked out of retirement. He penned a Thanksgiving-Day sports column for the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, shortly thereafter inking a deal as a columnist with the *Gwinnett Daily Post.* Today, he writes occasional columns about baseball, football, and golf.

During our visit, Bisher recalled a conversation he once had with legendary sports journalist Red Smith. "Red Smith and I were coving a Falcons game a few years ago," he said.

"After the game, I was driving Red back to the motel. It was a cold, miserable December day, and as he started to get out, I said 'Well, another cold wet day in the press box,' …. Red put his arm on my shoulder and said, 'Another cold, wet day in the press box, God I love it.'"

Like Smith, Bisher loved the world of the press box and was not ready to say farewell. But, the sports world, as he admits, is "different" from the one he encountered as a fledgling reporter in the late 1930s. He recalled a closer community of sports journalists, who often overlooked a player's flaws.

Today, rose-colored glasses are out of fashion in sports writing. Sports journalists still mass-produce heroes. They cast athletes who excel in their sport, like 14-time Olympic gold medalist Michael Phelps, four-time Master's Tournament champion Tiger Woods, three-time World Series champion Curt Schilling, and single season home-run leader Mark McGwire, as national heroes. But, unlike sportswriters of old, they do not turn a blind eye to their personal controversies. Instead, operating on a 24-hour news cycle, they painstakingly deconstructs heroes involved in controversies like extramarital affairs and alcohol and performance-enhancing drug abuse, accusing them of tarnishing sport's clean image. As Bisher reminds, sports journalists might help craft heroes, but "they can also ruin a few."

Deford argues that the ferocity of sports media's assault on athletes in comparison to media treatment of controversial entertainment stars suggests that the nation holds athletes to higher standards than the average celebrity.[2] "We love sports, and we're envious of those who play them so well," he said in March 2010 in his weekly radio commentary for NPR's "Morning Edition." "So when an athlete, like [Tiger] Woods, fails as a human being, we respond more with anger than disappointment that he has dared tarnish something we do so adore. It's almost

as if we expect politicians and entertainment celebrities to be venal and flawed, but despite all historical evidence to the contrary, we keep expecting better from athletes."[3]

Whether the American public expects more from athletes and what that reveals about American society may be debatable, but one thing is certain: in the twenty-first century, the sports media still crowns kings of the diamond, but in a 24-hour news world, baseball stars are only kings for a day.

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APPENDIX A

FURMAN BISHER ABRIDGED INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

Question: Did you have many sports heroes growing up?

Answer: Oh good grief yes. I had all sorts of sports heroes. I had 'em right in my hometown. I grew up in a town of about 600 people in the lower part of Davidson County, N.C. …. we had a town baseball team …. I traveled with the baseball team when they went out of town. I was the batboy first, and then I kept score. I was the official statistician, so to speak. So we had all sorts of sports heroes around town. A couple of them made it to the major leagues …

Q: Could you describe your experiences with baseball as a child?

A: I devoured the major leagues. I was a Pittsburgh Pirate fan of all things in that little town with St. Louis Cardinal fans all around. Paul and Lloyd Waner were my two baseball heroes. I had no idea why, but you get associated with something and to this day I'm interested in the Pirates, as terrible as they are in these times. I followed them through the *Greensboro* [North Carolina] *Daily News*. That was our daily newspaper. Our newspaper came in at about 9 o'clock every morning, and I would go down to the post office and open up the sports section and spread it out over the post office floor, and all of these men coming in to get their mail would just kind of nudge me and that was about the gist of it. The radio was not tending to major league baseball. We did have a radio station in Charlotte by the time I had grown up a bit and was working at the newspaper that would do these major league recreations. They would have a Western Union tinker tape guy sitting there, and he would feed it to the announcer, and he would say, "oh, it's a double to left field ..." and all that sort of thing. He would have a Coke bottle dangling on a string, and he would take a little baseball bat and say "it's a double to left field" … Ronald

Reagan used to do that in Des Moines, Iowa. Dutch Reagan, he was known as. One of the announcers that did it lived down the street from me was Russ Hodges …. He's in the baseball hall of fame. Whatever was missing in my life as an athlete, I fulfilled with my association with sports journalism …. Baseball was the game that I loved. In those days the players were … you could speak to them and spend time with them. And, it was just … the game. Baseball was the biggest game in the country … professional football hadn't come along to that degree nor had golf.

Q: What inspired you to become a sportswriter?

A: You've got to love something to do that, to want that …. The way sports have taken such misdirection … the things that have developed in sports it discourages me a great deal. Money rules; television rules; advertisers rule. The love of the game gets swallowed up. The reason I was in it was because there was a purity about it, and there was a fascination with the athletes. You knew the athletes. You traveled with them, wrote of them, got to know them well. Now they are so rich that they don't have time for us …. Take Ty Cobb, for instance. I was doing a story on Ty Cobb for the *Saturday Evening Post*. This was back in 1958, and he was living up in Cornelia. And, so I got in touch with him. I had met him, I had had dinner with him, I knew him pretty well, so I went up to see him, and was there with him for three days. And each morning I would knock on his door, and he would answer it in the same bathrobe, one of those ones you tie with a rope. And each morning, he would say, "now, what is it that you are hear for," so we would have to start over again. And then we'd get started, and it came out fine. He would have to get up every once in a while to get some medicine, but by the third day, the medicine started to smell a lot like bourbon. He invited me in, and I had some bourbon with him. We had three wonderful days. He was going to build a house up on Chenocetah Mountain, and come back and

spend his last years in Georgia. And, we drove up, and he showed me the site where it was going to be, and we were standing there that morning and way down below us there was a little cabin. You could hardly see it, but you could see the chimney, smoke was rising from it. And he said, "That's where I was born." Now, I don't know if that's true or not, but that's what he said. Nevertheless, he was real sentimental. And he took me by the hand and said, "As soon as I get finished, I am going to give you a key to this house, and anytime you want to bring your family up here, you can bring your family here." Well, the house never got built, and he came down with cancer and went back to the West coast to the doctors, and that's when that fellow Al Stump got to know him and wrote a miserable book. There are things that you did not have to like about Ty, but at the same time if you had a relationship such as we developed, it was fine, and he was cantankerous; there's no doubt about that. And when the story came out in *Saturday Evening Post*, he had this college educational fund, so I thought send him a little check for $250 dollars for the education fund. And about two weeks later, I got a letter from him about three-and-a-half pages in green ink and it started out Dear Bisher … berating me because I didn't send him more money. And, the end of the story was about three years ago people wanted to come see my memorabilia. I sold that letter for $2,300. I felt I got to know Ty pretty well. I had dinner with him years ago when I was out in California covering a football game. That's when I found out about what really happened when his daddy got shot. The undertaker in Royston named Joe Cunningham lived next door to the Cobbs. He was a kid that night, and he was the first one who got to the scene after they heard the shot. I heard his mother's lover was the one who shot him, so Joe Cunningham said. It was a sad part of his life. I had a good relationship with Ty during the latter stages of his life.

Q: Can you recall your first encounter with Cobb?

A: He was coming to Atlanta in 1951 or ’52. Earl Mann, who ran the Atlanta Crackers baseball team was having a Ty Cobb night, and he came to town for that. And, I did a column on it, and that was the first time I got to know him. I had met him out in California and had dinner with him, but I had never really sat down and spent time with him. I did a column on him. I didn’t want to bring that up with him coming back to town to be honored, but he was very nice. He had a temper. As a matter of a fact, my then-wife, she since passed away, she had grown up in Georgia and had an uncle who played baseball with Ty in Royston when they were growing up. And, the uncle had been in the banking business and ran awry of the law. And spent a bit of time in prison. And she happened to mention it at dinner, and Ty said, “He never spent anytime in prison.” And she said, “Yes he did Mr. Cobb. He was my something uncle.” “No he didn’t, he never spent any time in prison.” And he got violent about it. And so I told her take it easy. He was not very happy with it all. He was true to his friends; there’s no doubt about that …. You had to be off the planet if you didn’t run into Ty Cobb. I never got to see him play, though, of course …. He had had a questionable relationship with Tris Speaker, but you’ll have to forgive me because I chose not to believe because I didn’t want to. I’m sorry but when I have a friend … I just can’t believe it. And, frankly, I don’t know …. Sports writing was different in those days. We had our favorites, just like Ty Cobb, I did not choose to write about that thing until it finally became a fact, and I didn’t write about his father until later. I don’t think sportswriters today have that kind of respect for an athlete. If they get something on someone, they fire away. If I liked an athlete, if anything bad came up about him, I thought, “Damned if I’m gonna write that.” I was either a coward or not true to my profession.

Q: Could you describe your typical interaction with sports icons? What were your working relationships like?

A: Back in the Class B leagues, we rode the buses together. We would go out to eat together. We didn't have a lot of money so we would find a cheap spot so that worked out fine. You would spend more time with a manager or a pitching coach then you would a player. I road the buses with Class B teams in the old Tri-State league. There was not a lot of time for socializing, except as we traveled …. In the early part of the century before the big salaries came into being, they interacted more. The difference was we were all making about the same amount of money back then …. Now, they are aloof. They don't have a lot of time for you. They have their big projects going, and their own foundations and that kind of thing. I wouldn't say all of them, though. Back in the olden days, the sportswriters would travel with the team. The newspapers didn't pay their expenses, the team did and they would put them up in hotels and fed them. It was a matter of them coddling the journalists to get publicity through the newspapers. I wrote for the *Baseball Magazine* some, and these teams would almost buy space to get stories in those magazines. I wrote a column for the *Sporting News* for thirty years, and I think the most they paid me was $90 per column, and that's the most I ever made.

Q: Could you describe how you became a sportswriter?

A: All of my life my ambition was to be a sportswriter, but it was eight years before I got a job as a sportswriter. I ran a little paper in a country town; I went to the *High Point Enterprise* and to the *Charlotte Observer*. Then I spent three years at war; then I finally came back in 1946 and was able to get a job as a sportswriter. It was a different world altogether …. I didn't really get to know the sportswriters very well at all until when I was at the *Charlotte News*. I got to know some of them when I went to spring training. Shirley Povich, Bob Bregg … I always thought

they were older than I was. I met Grantland Rice one time. We were at the Kentucky Derby, and I met him briefly. He wasn't wasting any time on a kid, and he died three years later. He wrote some beautiful poetry.

Q: Could you describe a typical day in the newsroom in the 1940s, '70s and today?

A: In 1946, I would get up and be at the office by 7 o'clock in the morning. Then I wrote my column that morning. I would take telephone calls from the correspondents coming in and rewrite their stuff, then I'd go back to the composing room, while they were making up the sports page. I had to supervise the make-up of the sports page …. Between 1965 and 1980, when I was sports editor of the *Constitution,* we had the best sports section of the South and the best staff. And, these guys are so devoted to one another that they have a reunion every three years.

Q: How do you define a sports hero?

A: Christy Mathewson. High morals, parental respect (that's one thing that Ty Cobb had, he would never believe anything untoward of his mother), the things that they do for the people around them, their communities, high standards …

Q: Do you think journalists craft heroes?

A: They help. They can also ruin a few. It happens if you are an honest journalist you probably …I don't think you make heroes, per say, you don't go out and say, I'm going to make this guy famous or popular. I think back in the days when I was coming along, I had favorites because they were nice to you. I got to be pretty good friends with Ted Williams; we were doing a baseball dinner in Raleigh, N.C., and we shared a suite. We sat there from 3 to 6:30, and we talked about every subject you can think of. That's one of the really precious moments that I've had with a really famous athlete.

Q: Do you see yourself as a mythmaker?

A: I would say that I was an honest sportswriter. I wrote what I saw. I may have picked a fellow and overlooked his glitches but most of them are that way. I stick to fact. I am not very good at creating something that isn't. And I do have some that I favor over others, no doubt about that. But, frankly, when it comes to writing about the others it doesn't infiltrate what I'm doing …. I sat down and wrote what I was thinking and what I was feeling as a columnist. I went to my first World Series in 1947 for the *Charlotte Observer*. It was the subway series—Yankees and Dodgers. It was great stuff. Seven game series, DiMaggio, Jackie Robinson's first season. It was a question of not just writing a column, but it was a combination of telling what I was seeing and reporting the game and how it was played.

Q: Why do you think that baseball resonates with the American public?

A: In the first place, it got there first, so to speak. The Doubleday thing is a myth, but they started playing baseball in the 1840s. It was a fact that baseball can be such a community sport. You don't have to import players from here and there; you started out with who you had in town. And, that appealed; that was the roots of the game, the small town. It had to be reported, there's no doubt about that. Everybody could play baseball. There's a community about baseball that got it started …. Red Smith and I were covering a Falcons game. After the game, I was driving Red back to the motel. It was a cold, miserable December day, and as he started to get out, I said something about "Well, another cold wet day in the press box" …Red put his arm on my shoulder and said, "Another cold wet day in the press box, God I love it."

APPENDIX B

NATIONAL MAGAZINE CIRCULATION

Publication Title	1912	1921	1927
American Magazine **(est. 1876)**	Unlisted	Unlisted	2,111,368
Baseball Magazine **(est. 1908)**	Unlisted	70,000	70,069
Collier's **(est. 1888)**	520,710	1,042,570	1,190,445
Current Literature	Unlisted	Unlisted	Unlisted
Current Opinion **(est. 1912)**	Unlisted	499,924	610,041
Delineator **(est. 1868)**	Unlisted	Unlisted	1,250,000
Forrest & Stream **(est. 1873)**	Unlisted	Unlisted	Unlisted
Good Housekeeping **(est. 1885)**	300,000	682,823	1,320,928
Harper's Weekly **(est. 1856)**	80,000	Unlisted	Unlisted
Life **(est. 1883)**	110,756	238,813	126,893
Literary Digest **(est. 1890)**	230,515	900,000	1,485,192
McClure's **(est. 1893)**	450,000	440,010	Unlisted
National Police Gazette **(est. 1845)**	Unlisted	Unlisted	Unlisted
Outing **(est. 1882)**	80,000	Unlisted	Unlisted
Playground	Unlisted	Unlisted	Unlisted
Puck **(est. 1871)**	Unlisted	Unlisted	Unlisted
Saturday Evening Post **(est. 1821)**	Unlisted	Unlisted	Unlisted

St. Nicholas **(est. 1873)**	75,000	74,429	55,303
Sporting Life **(est. 1883)**	36,881	35,000	20,080
Sporting News **(est. 1886)**	75,000	60,428	100,000
The Bookman **(est. 1895)**	Unlisted	Unlisted	Unlisted
The Outlook **(est. 1896)**	125,000	105,340	75,500
The Independent **(est. 1848)**	Unlisted	100,589	Unlisted
The Survey **(est. 1897)**	16,025	13,686	18,000
The Youth's Companion **(est. 1892)**	Unlisted	Unlisted	Unlisted
Woman's Home Companion **(est. 1873)**	Unlisted	1,392,218	1,818,641

APPENDIX C

PHOTOS WITH FURMAN BISHER

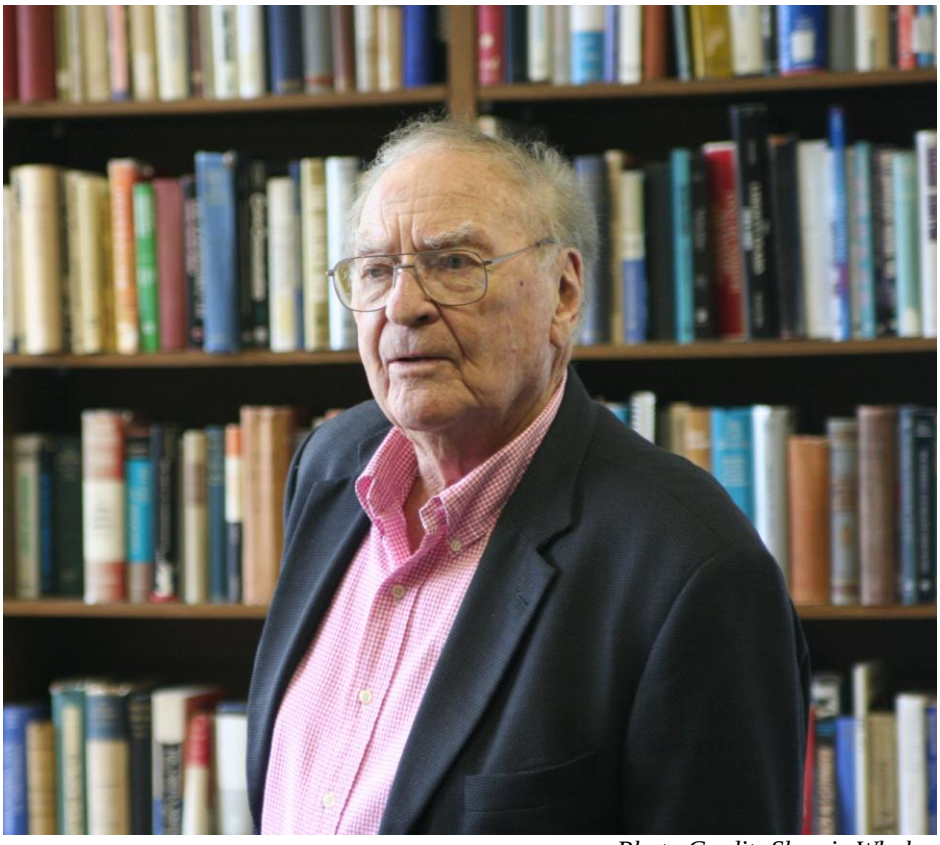


Photo Credit: Sherrie Whaley

Furman Bisher speaks to a crowd of future journalists at the University of Georgia's Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication in October 2009.

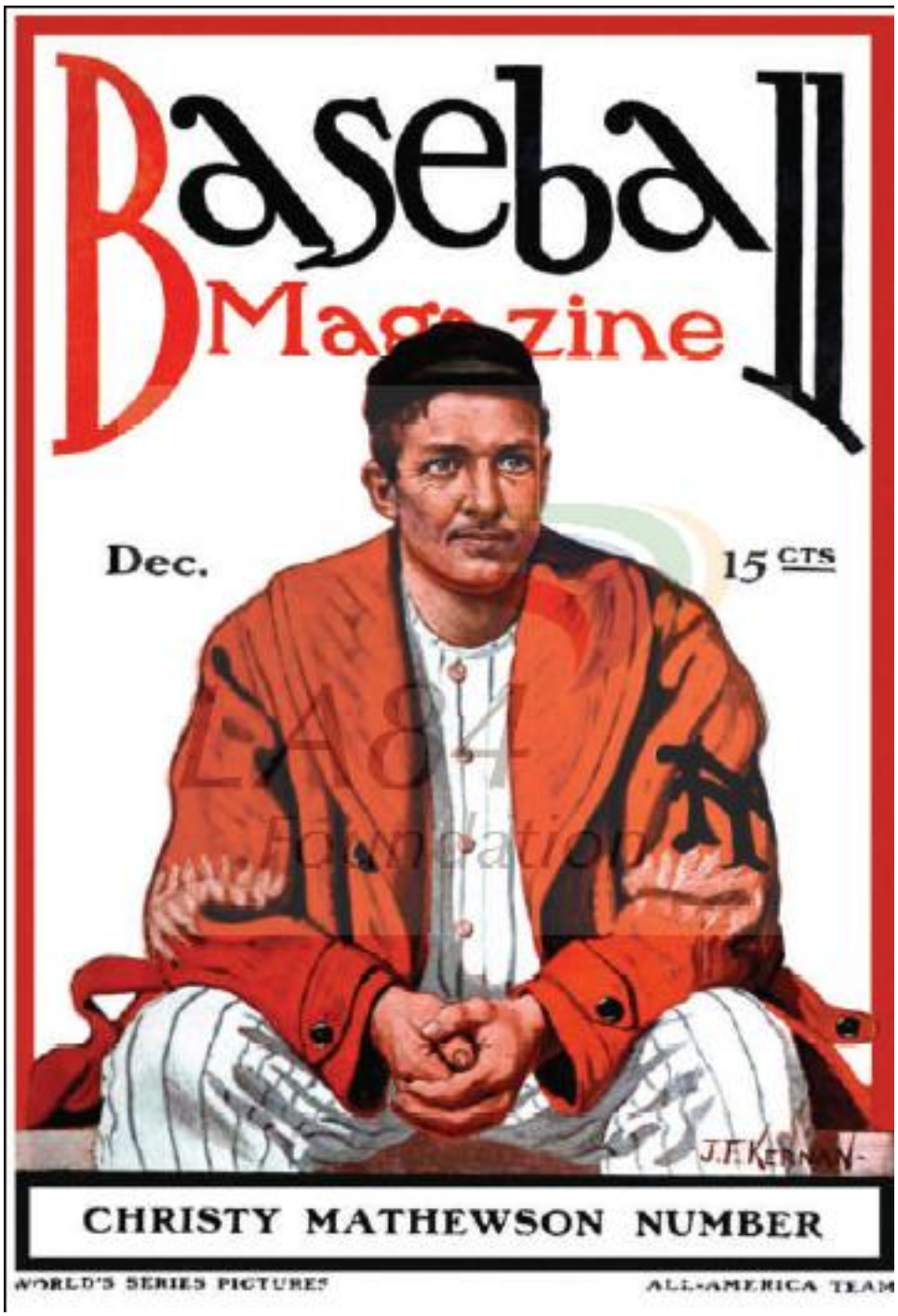
Photo Credit: Sherrie Whaley

Amber Roessner listens to Furman Bisher share memories of his career as a sportswriter.

APPENDIX D

SELECT *BASEBALL MAGAZINE* COVERS

March 1912 ***Baseball Magazine***



December 1914 ***Baseball Magazine***