

2018

Bert Wakefield and the End of Integrated Minor League Baseball in Kansas

Mark E. Eberle
Fort Hays State University, meberle@fhsu.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all_monographs



Part of the [History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Eberle, Mark E., "Bert Wakefield and the End of Integrated Minor League Baseball in Kansas" (2018).
Monographs. 4.

DOI: 10.58809/XAUL6142

Available at: https://scholars.fhsu.edu/all_monographs/4

This Book is brought to you for free and open access by the Forsyth Library at FHSU Scholars Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Monographs by an authorized administrator of FHSU Scholars Repository. For more information, please contact ScholarsRepository@fhsu.edu.

Bert Wakefield and the
End of Integrated Minor
League Baseball in Kansas

Mark E. Eberle

Bert Wakefield and the End of Integrated Minor League Baseball in Kansas
© 2018 by Mark E. Eberle

Recommended citation:

Eberle, Mark E. 2018. *Bert Wakefield and the End of Integrated Minor League Baseball in Kansas*.
Fort Hays State University, Hays, Kansas. 42 pages.

Dedicated to

Bert Wakefield (1870–1926)—Barber, Baseball Player, Musician,
and Lifelong Member of the Community in Troy, Kansas

and to

Bert Jones (1877–1943) of Hiawatha, Kansas, and
Monroe Ingram (1865?–1944) of Coffeyville, Kansas

These Three African Americans Were Among the Last to Play on
Integrated Minor League Teams (1895–1898) Before the
Reintegration of Organized Baseball in 1946–1947

Bert Wakefield and the End of Integrated Minor League Baseball in Kansas

Mark E. Eberle

Introduction

As newspapers become increasingly available online in searchable formats, we are learning more about a variety of subjects, including baseball. One aspect of baseball that has benefitted from this improved access to historical newspapers is our understanding of integrated and segregated baseball teams prior to 1946 and 1947, when Jackie Robinson led the integration of minor league and major league baseball. Actually, it is more accurate to refer to this as the reintegration of organized baseball, because dozens of players, including John “Bud” Fowler, Frank Grant, George Stovey, Moses Fleetwood Walker, Weldy Walker, and Sol White, played on integrated minor league teams prior to 1900. In addition, the Walkers played for the Toledo (Ohio) Blue Stockings in the American Association, a short-lived major league, in 1884.¹ At the close of the nineteenth century, a few African Americans were still able to play on integrated minor league teams in Kansas.

The most widely known black ballplayer in Kansas during the nineteenth century was Bud Fowler, who was born in New York and learned to play baseball as a youth in Cooperstown. In 1886, he played second base for the professional team in the Kansas capital. The “Topeka Club” was a member of the Western League, a minor league that also included teams in Leavenworth (Kansas), Denver (Colorado), Leadville (Colorado), St. Joseph (Missouri), and Lincoln (Nebraska).² Fowler was the only African American on the team, which was not a new experience for him. He is generally acknowledged to be the first professional black ballplayer on a league team (1878), and he played for numerous clubs, mostly in the Midwest and the Northeast. However, he also played on integrated teams for Pueblo (Colorado League 1885), Topeka (1886), Santa Fe (New Mexico League 1888), and a Lincoln team that finished the season in Kearney (Nebraska State League 1892). The Nebraska team was one of three integrated clubs in the league. Full biographies of Bud Fowler and accounts of his time in Kansas and Nebraska have already been published, so they are not recounted here.³

In addition to Fowler, three African Americans from Kansas began their careers on integrated town teams and played openly on minor league teams in the state during the late 1890s, before the color line was fully established in organized baseball. In fact, Kansas was one of the last states to give up integrated minor league baseball. Between 1895 and 1899, no other state reportedly fielded more integrated professional teams. Gregory Bond has written about the increasing segregation on Kansas diamonds during this period.⁴ The present monograph delves into the personal stories of these African American ballplayers.

Among these lesser-known Kansas ballplayers was George Elbertus “Bert” Jones, a left-handed pitcher and outfielder from Hiawatha, near the sinuous northeastern corner of the state. In newspaper accounts, he was sometimes referred to by the nicknames “Yellow” or “Yellow Kid,” the latter being a newspaper cartoon character at the time. However,

“Walking Windmill” was the first nickname used for this tall, lanky pitcher in his hometown. He was born in 1877, and as a young student, Jones would lie to his teacher, telling her his mother was sick and he had to miss school to be with her. In truth, he was skipping school to watch baseball games. Becoming concerned about the boy’s ailing mother, who must surely be on her deathbed, the teacher stopped by the house, only to find Bert’s mother hoeing the garden. Punishment soon followed, but so did baseball.⁵

After pitching for the Hiawatha town team in 1895 and early 1896, Jones played for the professional club in Atchison in 1896–1898. Atchison was one of four teams in the Kansas State League in 1897 and 1898. In 1898, the team in Wichita wanted “the Yellow Kid barred” if they were to play Atchison. An Atchison newspaper responded that, “Atchison has had a ball team for three years without any assistance from Wichita and will play three more before it will accede to Wichita’s ridiculous demands.” However, some of the imported players on the 1898 club also did not like playing with an African American, even if he was a good pitcher. Frank “Bones” Parvin, “the new pitcher, who is being given a trial by Atchison, says he will not play a game in which the Yellow Kid plays. Parvin is from Missouri and will have nothing to do with a Cuban.” In mid-July, Jones received an offer to play in Chicago, but he remained with Atchison until the Salina club folded on August 6, ending the league. Free to leave Atchison without surrendering to the racial animosity expressed by some of his teammates and opponents, Jones departed a few days later to join the Chicago Unions, a prominent African American team.⁶ Bert Jones was one of the last African Americans to play openly in the minor leagues, pitching for Atchison on August 5 and possibly playing in right field during the team’s final game on August 6, 1898.*

After leaving Chicago in 1901, Jones played in Iowa, the Dakotas, and Minnesota, eventually settling in Minneapolis. According to federal census records, Jones worked there as a machinist from at least 1920 to 1940. In June 1916, “Yellow Jones” was featured as the first baseman for the Kansas City Giants, an African American team that defeated the Atchison Blues, the local African American club in the town where he once played minor league ball. When he returned to Kansas from Minnesota for his mother’s funeral in April 1940, Jones mentioned he was managing a team in the city league, and he had stopped playing only four years earlier. He was closely following news of the war in Europe because his wife, Selma, a Swedish immigrant, was back in Sweden when the conflict began in September 1939. The couple had one daughter, Roselyn. Bert Jones died at age 66 in December 1943 and was buried in Crystal Lake Cemetery in Minneapolis.⁷ His grave marker simply reads, “Husband Bert Jones. Peaceful Rest, Dear Dad.” Bert Jones will appear several times on the baseball fields in our story.

An African American whose family was among the exodusters immigrating to Kansas from the South also played on minor league teams in the state. Information in federal censuses is inconsistent, but Monroe Ingram apparently was born in Georgia about 1865 (or perhaps 1870). His parents had been slaves in Georgia and gained their freedom in 1865.

* At least two other African Americans played on minor league teams after 1898: William Galloway for Woodstock, Ontario in the Canadian League in 1899 (Morris 2010: 506–507) and William Thompson for Bellow Falls, Vermont in the Twin State League in 1911 (Kearney 1996).

The couple had 12 children, and in the autumn of 1879, the growing family moved to northeastern Oklahoma, about six miles south of Coffeyville, Kansas.⁸ The following spring, they had settled on farmland northwest of Coffeyville.*

Ingram was deaf, and he graduated in June 1889 from the integrated Kansas Deaf and Dumb Institute in Olathe (now the Kansas School for the Deaf). Consequently, he was given the common but inappropriate nickname “Dummy.” In his final year at school, Ingram was among nine students who demonstrated what they learned to members of both chambers of the state legislature. In one exercise, Ingram and a female student answered questions from members of the audience by reading the lips of one of their teachers, who repeated the questions to them. The students then wrote the questions and their answers on a blackboard. When asked, “How old are you?” the female student wrote, “I do not know.” Ingram simply wrote, “I am a man.” As the top student, he delivered the salutatory address at the commencement ceremony, as well as a presentation about the recent development of railroads in the state.[†] Ingram “was a model student in whom Superintendent Walker took great pride.” Consequently, in August 1889, Walker recommended Ingram for a teaching position at the Missouri School for the Deaf and Dumb (now the Missouri School for the Deaf) in Fulton, and he was active in the deaf community. At a reunion and picnic in Kansas City for deaf citizens in 1891, Ingram won silver medals in the shotput and 440-yard race. Having won two medals, “he requested that the medal ... for putting the shot be given to the second man, which was done.” After teaching in Missouri several years, Ingram took similar jobs in Georgia and Oklahoma. His wife served as matron of the boy’s dormitory at the school in Taft, Oklahoma. The couple had one daughter, Constance, born in Oklahoma, but they later divorced.⁹

Employment as a teacher offered Ingram a rewarding career and the freedom to play baseball in the summer. Upon graduation, he “was offered a tempting position in a baseball club, but refuses to play Sundays. He would rather spend his Sundays fishing ‘neath a shady elm.” Nevertheless, Ingram pitched for Coffeyville in the summer of 1889 and then for the team in Independence, Kansas from 1892 until 1896. The Ingram farm sat between Independence and Coffeyville, but a little closer to the latter. Both towns wanted him on their teams because he was “one of the best ball pitchers in this section of the state.” Ingram also hit well, launching several homeruns over ballpark fences. In an 1894 game, Ingram was brought in to pitch the final three innings of a 24–14 rout of Parsons because it “would be a disappointment to our people [in Independence] to attend a ball game and not see some of the mute prodigy’s wonderful ball playing.” He did this despite having a sprained ankle that kept him from running the bases. Two years later, however, an Independence newspaper reported that Ingram “resigned” on the same day the team joined the Kansas State League and began adding new professional players to their roster. He was not off the diamond long, though. Emporia signed Ingram to pitch for their league team in

* The Ingram family owned land in T34S, R16E, SW ¼ of section 10 and SE ¼ of section 9—about two miles west and four miles north of downtown Coffeyville (Richmond 1916).

† The school’s valedictorian in 1895 was Luther “Dummy” Taylor from Oskaloosa, Kansas, who later pitched for the New York Giants (Anderson 2018).

1896 and again in 1897. When an effort was made to organize a series of games between Emporia and Independence at the end of the 1896 season, an Emporia newspaper reported that Ingram was “delighted with the idea of getting a chance at his old team, as they had circulated the report that he was not swift enough to play for them.” Unfortunately, the games were not played, but he did achieve a measure of revenge pitching for Coffeyville in a series of games against Independence in August 1898.¹⁰

Ingram returned to Emporia in 1899 as a member of the town’s independent professional team. However, as detailed by Gregory Bond, racist players led by pitcher Tom Drummy forced Ingram to once again “resign” from an integrated professional team.* After leaving Emporia, Ingram pitched briefly for Waverly (about 30 miles east of Emporia), including a 7–4 loss to Emporia and pitcher Tom Drummy. In August, Ingram pitched for Coffeyville, where one of his teammates was shortstop Joe Tinker, a future member of the National Baseball Hall of Fame. Tinker was born in Muscotah, Kansas in 1880. Ingram continued to play occasionally in Coffeyville and nearby towns during his summer breaks.¹¹ He taught school into the 1920s and then retired to Coffeyville. Monroe Ingram passed away on January 1, 1944 and was buried in Spring Hill Cemetery, two miles north of the old family farm.¹²

In addition to Fowler, Jones, and Ingram, there was an African American pitcher and infielder named Bert Wakefield from the small town of Troy in northeastern Kansas who played minor league baseball. Troy is only 25 miles east of Hiawatha, Bert Jones’ hometown, and their baseball paths crossed in several states through the years. Unlike Jones and Ingram, however, Wakefield remained an active member of the community in his hometown, living in Troy during the offseason and in retirement. On the diamond, Wakefield’s accomplishments are both noteworthy and largely unrecognized. The following narrative describes his place in the history of baseball and his hometown.

1870–1895 — Troy and Nearby Towns

According to census records, Burgess (Burgis) “Bert” Wakefield was born in Troy, Kansas in May 1870. His mother, Anne Wakefield, was born into slavery in Kentucky about 1840. Before the outbreak of the Civil War, she was taken to Savannah, Missouri, 17 miles northeast of Troy. Some of what can be learned about Anne is supplemented by newspaper stories about Clinton Wakefield, a Troy resident who was not related to Anne or her children. Both Clint and Anne were slaves of Dr. Matthew Wakefield in Savannah and assumed the doctor’s surname. Clint also borrowed Matthew’s professional title on occasion, referring to himself as Dr. Clint Wakefield. He “was among the earliest of colored people to relocate in Troy, when the slaves began to get over in Kansas, at the beginning of the war.”† When Matthew Wakefield passed away in 1886, a Troy newspaper noted that

* Ingram was not the only black player on Emporia’s team in 1899. The shortstop was Gaitha Page, who grew up in Topeka. He remained with Emporia after Ingram resigned, and Gregory Bond (2003) discussed possible reasons why this happened (in more detail than possible here). Page also experienced bigotry and segregation on the diamond, and he will join our story later.

† Clint served with US Colored Troops during the Civil War and then returned to Troy. He passed away in March 1890 and was buried at county expense (with a military tombstone) in Mt. Olive

he “was the owner, in slavery days, of the colored Wakefields of Troy—Ann Wakefield and some of her children, and Dr. Clint. Wakefield.”¹³ It is possible Clint, Anne, three of her children, and others escaped slavery together across the Missouri River into Kansas.

The identity of Bert’s father is unknown but might have been Edward Langford, an African American who left Troy and passed away in Wichita sometime before 1889. Langford and Anne Wakefield lived as husband and wife in slavery and in Troy. Anne claimed part of his estate in Wichita after he passed away, and Langford apparently acknowledged that he was the father of her second son, who was three years older than Bert. Langford made no such claims about Bert, but perhaps he left Troy before Bert was born and did not know about him.¹⁴

Anne had five children. Her oldest son (George) was born in Kentucky. Two daughters (Lela and Kate) were born in Missouri, and two sons (William and Bert) were born in Kansas. Anne never learned to read or write, but she saw to it that her children were educated. In December 1886, Bert was one of 11 students recognized for his scholarship among the 62 students enrolled at the high school in Troy.¹⁵

In 1889, Bert Wakefield began his career as a tonsorial artist—barber—in Brenner, an unincorporated town south of Troy that no longer exists. By the end of the year, he was employed in the Shoemake barbershop in Troy. In May 1892, he opened his own barbershop and baths on the north side of the town square, as noted in Troy’s *Kansas Chief* on November 23, 1893. Barbering was his lifelong profession, and this would be one of several shops Wakefield owned. Occasionally, he tried other careers. For example, in the winter of 1896–1897, he opened the Bon Ton Café, serving “oysters and lunches.”¹⁶ Of course, there would also be baseball in the summer.

BERT WAKEFIELD,
Tonsorial Artist.
TROY, KANSAS.
—
The only Public Baths in the County,
Both Hot and Cold.
—
Special attention given to cutting
Ladies' Bangs and
Children's Hair.
—
I was born in Troy, and am
the only colored man who ad-
vertises in this issue.

Following graduation from high school, Wakefield was involved in various community organizations and activities. For example, in 1891, he served on the Committee of Arrangements for the local Emancipation Day celebration, and seven years later, he was the secretary and treasurer of the “colored social club” in Troy. He also joined the Troy Republican Club and later the Troy “Colored Republican Club.” In 1912, Wakefield was elected Senior Warden of the local “Colored Masons of the Joseph Jones Lodge.”¹⁷ In addition to his social activities, he married Josephine Irvin in White Cloud, Kansas in October 1892.¹⁸ It was also at this time that his exploits on the baseball field were first mentioned in local newspapers.

Troy was among the first towns in Kansas to have a baseball team. The “Topelians” competed unsuccessfully for the state championship in 1869, losing to the Kaw Valley Base Ball Club from Lawrence.¹⁹ Reports of Wakefield’s participation in baseball first appeared

Cemetery near Troy. Word arrived a week later that his application for a military pension had finally been approved, along with \$402.40 in back pension (equivalent to \$10,960 in 2017).

in local newspapers in July 1892, although he likely played before that summer, when he was already 22 years old. His position in the earliest games was not mentioned.²⁰

In June 1894, a local newspaper reported the Troy ball team had attempted unsuccessfully to bring in a pitcher and catcher from out of town for the “first of a series of games [with Severance] for the championship of the County.” Although Troy lost that game, the newspaper suggested the manager “could not have secured a better battery than the one in use—the Mexican pitcher and Allie Albers.”²¹ Clearly, integrated teams were not an issue in Troy. This was the first known mention of a Mexican ballplayer (albeit unnamed) in Kansas, where Mexican Americans were typically excluded from town teams through the early 1900s, just as African Americans were.²² American Indians would also join Troy’s rosters.

Wakefield also pitched for Troy against Severance that summer in a rain-shortened game. In addition, he played for teams in Hiawatha and in Pawnee City, across the border in Nebraska. He even played for Severance. “Bert Wakefield is getting quite a reputation as a ball player.” After a trip with the Troy club to Pawnee City, a Troy newspaper noted, “Bert Wakefield is well liked in Pawnee, and everybody, even the little boys and girls, knew him, and had a good word for him.” A newspaper explained his popularity on baseball diamonds outside his hometown. “It’s only his color that keeps him out of the League. He’s a hard hitter, and is mighty handy getting in front of batted balls, as a baseman.” Wakefield and Troy played well against opponents from Kansas, Missouri, and Nebraska that season.²³

Yet Wakefield did more than play for Troy’s top team—the first nine. In September, the Troy Chiefs (the town’s second nine) hosted the white team from nearby Denton, and “Bert Wakefield gave satisfaction as umpire.”²⁴ A black umpire in a game played by white or mostly white teams was not common in Kansas or elsewhere at the time, and such an arrangement was considered newsworthy.²⁵ Wakefield’s service as the umpire for this game was a sign of the respect he already enjoyed as a ballplayer and a person by 1894.

When he was not pitching, Wakefield sometimes played second base, which would now be considered unusual. It was not unusual for pitchers of the era to play in the field when they were not on the mound, because rosters were minimal. However, it was unusual in this case because Wakefield was a “southpaw.”²⁶ Other than the first baseman, a position Wakefield also played many times during his career, infielders are typically right-handed. This is because a left-handed player facing the infield takes longer to position himself for a throw to first base, where most of his throws would be directed. Yet Wakefield was routinely praised for his work at second base, and it was his regular position on several teams.²⁷

Although he enjoyed success on the baseball field in 1894, the year did not end well for Wakefield in his personal life. On November 13, “Lawrence Wakefield, aged eleven months and five days, son of Bert and Josie Wakefield[,] died Tuesday morning after an illness of three weeks.” He was buried in Mt. Olive Cemetery outside Troy, where records of the Mount Olive Cemetery Association in the archives of the Kansas Historical Society record that “Burgis Wakefield” purchased the west half of block 187 on November 14. An

engraved, but worn, stone column marks the grave. The following month, someone spread a rumor that strands of barbed wire were stretched across the bottom of one of the new bathtubs installed at Wakefield's barbershop. Whether the rumor was racially motivated or based on personal animosity toward Wakefield is unknown, but the falsehood was "indignantly denied by that gentleman" in a local newspaper.²⁸

As a new season of baseball dawned in 1895, it would be an historic year for Troy and for Bert Wakefield. In the wake of the Panic of 1893, economic conditions were generally poor in Kansas, as elsewhere.²⁹ Establishing viable professional baseball leagues in the state during this period would prove to be challenging. Yet the Kansas State League was organized four consecutive years from 1895 to 1898. However, identifying official league games each season is not as easy as it might seem. The teams played each other before the leagues were officially organized, and some league teams failed to finish even the briefest of seasons, although a few clubs reorganized as less costly amateur or semipro town teams and continued to play independently. None of these four versions of the Kansas State League in the 1890s paid dues to the National Association, which would shield them from losing players to other association member without compensation.³⁰ Nevertheless, the Kansas teams obtained the services of professional players moving among the states in the region to play ball. Being on the fringe of organized baseball also meant the leagues could adhere to the color line excluding African American players, or they could freely ignore it. As with the Nebraska State League in 1892, leagues in Kansas during the 1890s chose to ignore it, and there was at least one integrated league team each year.

By April 1895, 28 teams reportedly expressed interest in organizing a baseball league, yet only four teams joined the Kansas State League as the season opened: Emporia, Leavenworth, Topeka, and Troy. The first games were played in mid-May, but a team jointly representing the small towns of Holton and Whiting was welcomed into the league a month into the season.³¹ Adding a team after the season had begun, other than a replacement, was unusual, and it was all the more so because leagues traditionally sought an even number of teams to prevent a club from being idle on game days. That could mean lost revenue for the team. However, within a week, the league dropped back to only four teams, although the reason for the change was not to facilitate scheduling.

By this time, the Leavenworth Reds were destitute, and during the third inning of a home game against the Topeka Giants, the Leavenworth players went on strike, demanding a portion of the day's gate receipts. As fans waited in the grandstand, negotiations resulted in the players being given \$20 to divide among themselves (equivalent to \$588 in 2017). The game was completed, but the contest scheduled for the next day was canceled. The league president (and manager of the Topeka Giants) expelled the Reds on June 24. Unfortunately, this left his Giants stranded in Leavenworth with insufficient funds on hand for hotel rooms or train fare home, and they had no way to generate gate receipts. Financially, Topeka was not much better off than Leavenworth. Nevertheless, the league managed to fulfill its schedule for another month, when, on July 22, the Topeka franchise folded, taking the league with it.³²

Troy was the smallest town to field a team in the 1895 league, yet they competed well.* The team was organized at the beginning of March, and the players were measured for new uniforms. A tenth uniform “was built on [Manager William] Devereux’s style of architecture,” which would fit “any other good-sized ball-tosser.” The team began practice right away, despite “a small snow storm.” Meanwhile, Wakefield made improvements at his barbershop and baths, which would “let in hot or cold water in any quantity, and any proportion desired.” The team’s first exhibition games were against their neighbors across the Missouri River, the St. Joseph Saints of the 10-team Western Association, a minor league encompassing Nebraska, Iowa, Missouri, and Illinois. Not surprisingly, Troy lost all three games, 12–7, 20–18, and 9–1. Nevertheless, a newspaper in Troy was full of praise for its “amateur” players, including Bert Wakefield. “Wakefield’s pitching is as good as he has ever done; but his second base play made the visitors open their eyes. He pulled down several balls which he never could have reached, without springs in his heels.”³³

A couple of weeks later, however, Troy’s fans were disappointed by the loss to an independent team from St. Joseph. They were especially disappointed in Wakefield.

Wakefield, the old stand-by, got himself disliked by many, and the hero of a hundred other battles, on Sunday night after the game, had to flock by himself. He says he was sick, and in no shape to play. Certain it is that he did not play with any skill or judgment; but as this was the only time he has ever failed, it should be forgiven. All the others have their off days and lots of them, and it is all right; but the fans are slow to forgive Wakefield, probably because his bad playing was so unexpected.³⁴

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

A colored gentleman was a member of the Troy nine. When the nine arrived at the National hotel, he was refused admission, upon which the manager of the club, who seemed to be a fair-minded man, and who believed in giving credit where merit deserved it, stated that if the colored member of the club could not eat at the hotel with the rest, he would take the club somewhere else. We are glad to say that the colored member was accommodated with the rest. A white man of this kind should receive the admiration of every colored man, which he so richly deserves.³⁵

Overall, Troy played well that spring, and the team won several games before the league was organized. Troy began league play on May 16 against Emporia, but a big change for the team and for Wakefield came in June. In May, Troy had picked up an infielder who was playing in Texas and made him team captain. Kansas newspapers referred to him as Pierce Chiles, a misspelling of his first name, Pearce. Whatever the spelling, he was not an

* The population of Troy rose from 730 in 1890 to 750 in 1900. The populations in 1900 for Emporia (8,223), Leavenworth (20,735), and Topeka (33,608) were substantially larger. The populations of Holton and Whiting in 1900 were 3,082 and 384, respectively.

admirable character and was frequently in trouble with the law, eventually going into hiding to escape arrest. “In Leavenworth, Chiles started a mutiny, and got the assistance of several of the other players,” so the team released him on June 8.* Apparently, “several bums ... sold out the game on two or three previous occasions.”³⁶

Troy picked up players recently released by Leavenworth to restock their roster and continued their schedule. One of these players was Jacob Buckhart (also spelled Buckheart or Buckhardt), an American Indian catcher who learned to play baseball in Lawrence at Haskell Institute (now Haskell Indian Nations University).[†] A few days later, an Emporia newspaper commented on the importance of Wakefield and Buckhart to the Troy team. “There was only one homerun, Wakefield, the colored second base man knocked that. He and Buckhart, the Indian catcher, are the two best players in the Trojan team. The caucasians [*sic*] will have to look out for their honors when those two fellows are around.”³⁷

In addition to the reports of Chiles being sacked and the addition of Buckhart to Troy’s roster came word that, “Wakefield, the colored second baseman, was chosen captain of the Troy team,” replacing Chiles. The captain was what we would now refer to as a player-manager; the manager at that time was a business manager. There were no opinions expressed about Wakefield filling this role. We also have no indication how long he held the position. Yet it is noteworthy because Wakefield joined Bud Fowler in this historic role as the African American captain of an integrated minor league team in the late 1800s. Fowler had served in that position for eight games with a minor league team in Montpelier, Vermont in 1887 and for the minor league team in Lincoln and Kearney, Nebraska in 1892.³⁸

Although the teams in the Kansas State League did not quite complete 40 games, Troy rightfully earned first place in its only season of minor league baseball. With the collapse of the league, the Troy team reorganized and played independently the rest of the season. The former league team in Emporia also continued to play independently, and they were bolstered for a series against the team from Winfield, Kansas by Wakefield and two other Troy players. Wakefield was popular in Emporia, where Monroe Ingram and Gaitha Page would soon play. An Emporia newspaper offered a glowing assessment of their new infielder. “Wakefield is as good a second baseman as any in the ‘big leagues.’ This is no lie nor is it a ‘puff.’ It is simply a solemn fact.” A Troy newspaper reported, “Bert Wakefield is getting the biggest pay of any of the ball players in Kansas. He is playing with Emporia.”³⁹

Wakefield’s experiences on the ballfield were not always so positive, however. Troy’s town team toured Missouri and Iowa during August and September.⁴⁰ Wakefield had a rough first game in a series played at Cameron, Missouri.

* Later that summer, Chiles played first base for the team in Coffeyville, Kansas until he was again on the run from the law.

† Essentially on loan from cash-strapped Leavenworth, Buckhart played for Troy in two series as a replacement for Troy’s regular catcher, who briefly left the team. Buckhart returned to the team in Leavenworth when they came to Troy. Buckhart caught for other teams that summer, primarily in Independence, Kansas, where Monroe Ingram was pitching. A newspaper suggested, in racist terms widely used at the time, that the team “only needs the introduction of a Jap and a Chinaman to make the club an international organization.”

In this game Wakefield is charged with eight errors, due no doubt to nervousness on account of the prejudice Missouriians are supposed to have against a colored ball player. By the next day he had steadied down, and is said to have done some of the finest work ever done by a second baseman, having caught with one hand a very high fly ball, with which he assisted with a triple play, and Manager Devereux writes that he made a home run drive which was the longest hit he has ever seen made.⁴¹

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

1896–1899 — Farther Afield in Kansas and Nebraska

There would be no league play for Wakefield in 1896. That spring he moved his barbershop into the former Shoemake shop. He again played for Troy, but he spent most of his time playing first base for Hiawatha, joining pitcher Bert Jones. Bert and Josie Wakefield's second child, another son, was born in June, but tragedy struck in July, when the five-week-old infant, sick since birth, passed away, once again leaving the couple childless. He was buried with his brother in Mt. Olive Cemetery (his name might have been Lavern, based on the cemetery ledger, but this might have referred to Lawrence).⁴²

While Wakefield stayed close to home, a new four-team Kansas State League—Emporia, Independence, Junction City, and Parsons—began play on July 6. Monroe Ingram was pitching for the team in Independence, Kansas, but he “resigned” on July 6, when the team entered the league. Trouble started for the league almost immediately. The two northernmost teams—Emporia and Junction City—announced they were withdrawing, citing high travel costs among the distant league towns. However, four teams soon joined the original clubs, which reorganized as the Northern Kansas League (Emporia, Junction City, Minneapolis, and Topeka) and Southern Kansas League (Chanute, Coffeyville, Independence, and Parsons). The Northern Kansas League season ran July 19 to August 13; the Southern Kansas League season ran July 13 to August 19. A planned series between the two champions did not take place. Monroe Ingram joined Emporia in early August, integrating the northern league. Remaining outside the leagues, the two Berts moved from Hiawatha to the professional team in nearby Atchison in August to extend their season by two months.⁴³

The following year, the Northern Kansas League reorganized as the Kansas State League in mid-June, with only one change in membership—Atchison replaced Minneapolis. No league reformed in southern Kansas. Monroe Ingram rejoined Emporia, and Bert Jones returned to Atchison, giving the 1897 league two integrated teams. After starting with Severance in the spring, Wakefield spent most of the season in Abilene on its independent professional team, which played the league teams on their open dates. This gave him a chance to hit against pitchers Jones and Ingram. Wakefield, “one of the best infielders of the state,” joined Abilene about two weeks after they added an American

Indian pitcher, Isaac Augusta, who “was met with a band and given three cheers” upon his arrival from Lawrence, where he was attending Haskell Institute. Wakefield spent time at both first and second base for Abilene, where 6-year-old Dwight Eisenhower might have seen him play. Ike would enjoy his own experiences on the baseball diamond in Abilene a few years later, including games between local white and African American teams.⁴⁴

Professional teams in rural Kansas continued to struggle financially, and the team in Abilene almost folded at the beginning of August because it was losing money. The league team from Emporia, where Ingram, “the best man on the team,” was pitching, tempted Wakefield and three other Abilene players with offers to join their roster. However, Wakefield opted to stay in Abilene when boosters kept the club going through the end of August. That same month, Abilene won two games in similarly unusual fashion. In early August, the catcher from Emporia became angry and “threw the ball away over the west fence. Abilene had two men on bases and they walked in.” Abilene ended up winning the game, 12–11. At the end of the month, the Junction City catcher also got mad and threw the ball over the fence into a cornfield. An Abilene baserunner tied the score, and Abilene later scored the winning run on errors by the replacement catcher. The catcher who started the game was fined \$10 (equivalent to \$294 in 2017) and the cost of the lost ball. Two days later, Wakefield returned to Troy to care for Josie, who was seriously ill.⁴⁵

The next year began with more heartbreak for Wakefield. In February, Josie, “a woman of more than ordinary intelligence,” passed away.⁴⁶ Even the *Abilene Daily Chronicle* reported the sad news.

The numerous friends in Abilene of Bert Wakefield, the gentlemanly colored man who played fast ball for Abilene during the 1897 season, will regret to hear of the misfortune which has befallen him in the loss, by death, of his wife last Saturday, she being a victim of consumption [tuberculosis].⁴⁷

In early May, Wakefield returned to Abilene to resume his summer profession.⁴⁸ Perhaps the routine of baseball away from home served as a tonic for the deep sorrow he surely felt.

A new Kansas State League was organized in 1898, with teams from Atchison, Salina, Topeka, and Wichita. The teams had been playing each other since early summer, but the league’s official season only ran from July 21 to August 6, when the teams in Salina and Atchison folded. Bert Jones again pitched for the Atchison league team, including games against Wakefield’s independent Abilene team. Monroe Ingram was home in Coffeyville, pitching them to victory against the team from Independence, where he had been dropped from the roster when the 1896 team entered the league.⁴⁹

Wakefield mostly played second base for Abilene. However, at the beginning of June, only a month into the season, Abilene’s professional team was again having trouble paying visiting teams and its own players. There had been early talk of a new Kansas league with Abilene, Atchison, Salina, and Topeka, but it was announced on June 9 that the Abilene baseball association would fold, deeply in debt after only 10 games.⁵⁰

In mid-June, Wakefield was signed by Salina, where he again played second base. However, trouble soon arose in Salina, too. Wakefield visited Abilene near the end of June, and an Abilene newspaper reported he was not receiving his salary. He continued to play,

but not for long. In the game on July 10 in Atchison, Salina's only run in a 4-1 loss was scored by "Wakefield, who sent a ball over in the direction of Leavenworth and walked around the ring with composure." Wakefield played third base in his last game for Salina on July 11. Thus, he did not play in any official league contests. Wakefield was one of the players Salina let go to make room on their roster when they signed players recently released by higher-level minor league teams that had disbanded. Despite being released by Salina, salary was still owed to its former players, and at least four lawsuits were filed against Salina's ball team. Wakefield's lawsuit for \$25 in back pay (equivalent to \$735 in 2017) was filed in Atchison and settled out of court about the time the team folded. Wakefield received \$12.50, and Salina paid all court costs. After returning to Troy, he played for area teams during what remained of the summer.⁵¹

A year that began with the death of his wife, followed by stints with two teams that folded early, ended with a lawsuit to collect unpaid wages. Perhaps it was time to look elsewhere for opportunities in baseball as a new century loomed.

No Kansas State League was organized in 1899. Bert Jones rejoined the Chicago Unions, the prominent African American club he played for at the end of the 1898 season. If the manager of the minor league team in Kansas City had gotten his way in the spring of 1898, Jones would have circumvented the color barrier and played there in 1899. However, the plan became impossible when the press learned of it. Although Jones' skin color was light enough that he was listed as white on one federal census (1920), he was too well known in the region for the plan to work.

Manning of the Kansas City Blues, has a scheme to send the Yellow Kid, Atchison's pitcher, to an Indian reservation, and then run him in next season as an Indian. The Yellow Kid is a bright mulatto, and unquestionably one of the best pitchers in the base ball field. But his negro [sic] blood bars him from the leagues.⁵²

While Jones traveled to Chicago, Bert Wakefield stayed closer to home, trying his luck in southeastern Nebraska. That spring, after having "his mouth fitted out with two gold teeth," Wakefield left on May 3 "for Lincoln, Neb., to play with the Lincoln club."⁵³ That club was the Lincoln Cuban Giants, an African American team.

After years of playing for integrated teams in Kansas, Wakefield and Jones had both headed out of state to play for black teams. It was during this same year that Tom Drummy and his accomplices forced Monroe Ingram from the integrated professional team in Emporia. Opportunities for African Americans to play on integrated baseball teams in Kansas and elsewhere were becoming increasingly rare.⁵⁴ This was especially true for minor league teams after the American League joined the National League in 1901. Most of the other leagues were then reorganized as the National Association of Professional Baseball Leagues, what is now known as Minor League Baseball. There were still independent or "outlaw" leagues through the years, but after 1901, the color line barring African American players was firmly established in organized baseball.⁵⁵

At the beginning of May 1899, the organization of an African American team in Lincoln known as the Evans Laundrys was announced in an Omaha newspaper. Players from Nebraska and Kansas populated the roster listed for the team. However, nothing more

about the team was published. Two of the players mentioned as signing with the club were George Richardson and Dangerfield “Danger” Talbert. Instead of playing for a team named for Evans Laundry, they played for the Lincoln Cuban Giants with Bert Wakefield. The trio would play together on other teams (along with Bert Jones) in subsequent seasons.⁵⁶

George Richardson Jr. was an infielder from Topeka. In 1895, he was the shortstop for an African American team known as the Topeka Locals. Richardson was “reckoned [to be] among the best amateur players in the city.” In May, the Locals were defeated, 28–4, by a white team that was soon to represent Topeka in the Kansas State League. However, Richardson’s performance at shortstop “won the admiration of the professionals.”⁵⁷

Danger Talbert (sometimes misspelled as Talbot) was a Nebraskan. He was born in 1878 in Platte City, Missouri (less than 40 miles southeast of Troy), but he grew up and learned to play baseball in Omaha. Although Talbert played several positions, he is usually remembered as a third baseman on African American teams, mostly in Chicago. In 1914, at age 36, tuberculosis claimed his life while his sister cared for him at her home in Omaha. Talbert was destitute and incapacitated by the disease for the final year of his life, so benefit games in Chicago and Omaha raised money to assist this popular ballplayer.⁵⁸

Wakefield played for the Lincoln Cuban Giants during May and June. Game summaries in newspapers were sparse, so what little is known about his activity comes primarily from the days he pitched. In one game, Talbert, Richardson, and Wakefield all took turns pitching for Lincoln. Several of these early games were against the white town teams from Sterling and Tecumseh, southeast of Lincoln. As the season progressed, both of these teams sought to bolster their rosters composed of home talent. By the end of May, Wakefield, Richardson, and Talbert were playing at various times for all three teams. In a pair of games at the end of June, Wakefield and two other unnamed Cuban Giants took the field for Sterling and another Giant played for Tecumseh. By mid-June, Wakefield and other Cuban Giants had apparently jumped to the Sterling team. The Cuban Giants seemed to be floundering by July 4, when “half of Sterling’s regular hired team played with the rest of the Lincoln colored team because there was no other way to get up a game for the day, other good teams being engaged.” A week later, “Danger and Wakefield of Sterling’s team” played for Tecumseh in a pair of games against the team from Crete, Nebraska. Together, they hit four home runs in one game. During August and September, Wakefield was a full-time member of the Tecumseh team, which played several games against the team in Atchison. Atchison won most of the games. After ending the season playing on integrated teams once again, Wakefield returned to Troy in early October.⁵⁹

1900–1902 — Prominent Black Clubs in Chicago and Algona

As the calendar rolled into 1900, Bert Wakefield made a big change in his baseball career. The *Chicago Tribune* announced, “Wakefield of Troy, Kas., will play second” for the Chicago Unions. He actually played first base. A pamphlet published in 1910 that summarized various African American teams in Chicago playing under the names Unions and Giants listed Wakefield as the first baseman for the Unions in 1899, but three facts indicate this is incorrect. He was in Nebraska that summer, he was not listed in box scores

for the Unions in late 1899, and the February 1900 notice in the *Chicago Tribune* did not list him among the returning players, which included pitcher Bert Jones. The *Tribune* also mentioned that Monroe “Ingram of Topeka, Kas., will help Jones with the pitching,” but Ingram did not join the team. In December 1898, Bert Jones had sent a letter to the manager of the team in Emporia in an attempt to contact Ingram, who was teaching in Missouri. Apparently, Jones was still trying to help recruit Ingram for the Unions in 1900, which would have put all three Kansas minor leaguers on the same team for the first time.⁶⁰

The *Chicago Tribune* reported that 3,000 people watched the first game of the season on April 21 between the Unions and the Marquettes, a white semipro team. This was a larger crowd than Wakefield was used to seeing at the ballparks in Kansas and Nebraska. “The colored boys outclassed the professionals both in fielding and batting. Wakefield’s work at first was worthy of special notice.” He also hit one of four homeruns in the Unions’ 19–4 rout. Bert Jones was the starting pitcher who benefitted from this offensive support.⁶¹

Of course, the rest of the season would not always go so well, but the team and Wakefield both enjoyed a successful season. In a loss on June 10 in front of 4,000 fans, “Wakefield held down first [base] in National League style.” Nine days later, in South Bend, Indiana, Wakefield even pitched for the Unions in a 5–3 loss. During the last half of June, the Unions won a series of games played in Chicago and elsewhere in the region with the Cuban X-Giants, one of the premiere African American clubs in the Northeast. In mid-August, the Unions departed on an extended barnstorming tour through Wisconsin, Minnesota, and South Dakota. By September, George Richardson had joined Wakefield and Jones on the Unions as the team’s second baseman.⁶²

After returning to Chicago at the end of September, the Unions arranged to play their local rivals, the Chicago Columbia Giants, “for the colored championship of the world.”* A game between the two titans on the morning of October 7 ended in a scoreless tie called after nine innings by mutual agreement. The Columbia Giants could not continue into extra innings because they had a game that afternoon against a “picked team” of white players. The box score listed one double play by the Unions that apparently preserved the scoreless tie: Jones (probably Bert, not Willis Jones in left field) to Wakefield at first base to the catcher. With the championship still in doubt, a pair of games was scheduled for the following weekend. After the game on Saturday, October 13, the *Chicago Tribune*’s headline read, “Unions Beat Columbia Giants. Wakefield Wins the Game by a Home Run in the Tenth.” Wakefield’s “terrific home-run drive” for the Unions proved decisive because a Giants player, who nearly did the same in the seventh inning, was tagged out at home plate. Richardson again played second base for the Unions, but Bert Jones sat out.⁶³

Newspapers in Chicago did not carry a report of the third game scheduled for October 14. It is unclear from newspapers elsewhere what happened in the subsequent game or games. On October 17, the *Jackson Citizen Patriot* in Michigan reported that the Giants defeated the Unions in game three but gave no details. That would have evened the series

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

at one win for each club, in addition to the tied game. A week later, the *Detroit Free Press* reported, “The game between the Columbia Giants and the Chicago Unions Sunday was declared no contest because only eight innings were played before darkness set in.” This suggests an inconclusive fourth game was played in an attempt to break the deadlock. Whatever the circumstances, the championship for 1900 remained unresolved.⁶⁴

Wakefield’s time with the Unions during the 1900 season must have been an amazing experience for him. However, the next year got off to a bad start back in Troy. In late February, Wakefield’s arrest on a charge of attempted rape was amended to a charge of statutory rape on a complaint filed by the father of a 15-year-old girl. This raised his bond from \$300 to \$600 (equivalent to \$17,650 in 2017), and he used his mother’s property to secure the bond. A few weeks later, Wakefield pleaded not guilty. The trial in early April ended with a hung jury on a reported vote of 11–1 for acquittal. A retrial was scheduled for September, but the case was dismissed shortly before the trial was to begin. However, Wakefield was not in Troy while these final proceedings were underway.⁶⁵

In late May 1901, after the inconclusive trial, Wakefield returned to Chicago to play for the Unions. He covered second base in an early game, but by June, George Richardson rejoined the club and took over at second (and later at shortstop), allowing Wakefield to return to first base. Bert Jones also rejoined the Unions, and Danger Talbert signed on as an infielder. During an extended barnstorming trip through the Midwest from June through early September, Frank Leland renamed the Unions as the Chicago Union Giants. It has been reported incorrectly that Leland merged the Unions and Columbia Giants. Only one player moved from the Columbia Giants to the Unions’ roster. New players were signed, as often happened over the course of a season, but the three Kansas players remained with the club throughout the transition.⁶⁶

As during the previous year, the Union Giants scheduled two games on September 29 and October 13 against the still formidable Chicago Columbia Giants for supremacy among African American teams in the Midwest. This time, the Columbia Giants defeated the Union Giants in both games, giving them “the undisputed right to claim the colored championship of the world,” or at least the Midwest. During these games, Wakefield, Richardson, and Talbert covered first base, shortstop, and third base, respectively. Bert Jones pitched in the first game and played second base in game two. The season was not quite over, however. The Union Giants played until the end of October, when Wakefield again returned to Troy for the winter.⁶⁷

Instead of returning to Chicago for a third season in 1902, Wakefield left Troy for Algona, Iowa on April 26. The Algona Brownies was an African American team organized to promote the town of 2,900 residents in northcentral Iowa. As noted by a newspaper in a nearby town, “Some people are born notorious, others acquire notoriety, and still others have it thrust upon them. Algona gains hers by hiring a colored club.” The Lund Land Agency donated \$100 to the team (equivalent to \$2,828 in 2017), which earned it the right to advertise on the team jerseys (the agency’s name appears below “Algona” on some of the jerseys in a team photo). The Brownies played throughout Iowa, Minnesota, and South Dakota. Most of the players were signed out of Chicago and had played previously with



1902 Algona Brownies (*Iowa State Bystander*, Des Moines, 29 August 1902)

the Unions and Columbia Giants. As in Chicago the previous two years, Wakefield's teammates in Algona included fellow Kansans Bert Jones and George Richardson, as well as Danger Talbert. The principal rivals of the Brownies were Webster City and Fort Dodge in Iowa and Waseca, Minnesota. In 1902, the Waseca EACOs (Everett and Aughenbaugh Milling Company) had two African American pitchers—Billy Holland and George Wilson. Both Algona and Waseca had previously hired black players, but the Algona Brownies of 1902 were different in being an all-black team. In addition to town teams, the Brownies played preseason games against clubs from the Iowa-South Dakota League.⁶⁸

Wakefield played first base for Algona and served as the team's captain. The Brownies played well through May and June, and by July 9, their record was 28 wins, 9 losses, and 1 tie. However, both Wakefield and Richardson became "sick" and were unable to play most of that month. A newspaper in Algona reported that "Wakefield's sore knee is improving," but it was apparently more than a knee injury that sidelined him. After he returned home at the end of September, a Troy newspaper reported on his baseball experiences during the season. Wakefield apparently mentioned that he contracted small pox at the beginning of July and was quarantined most of the month. Perhaps Richardson was similarly afflicted.* During their absence, the team floundered. One of the games they lost

* George Richardson died from tuberculosis sometime before February 1917 (Peterson 2010).

in July was to rival Webster City, 3–2, at a baseball tournament in Mason City, Iowa for the “championship” of Iowa and Minnesota. The Minnesota teams were from Waseca and Albert Lee. The umpire for the games was Iowa native Cap Anson. He played in the major leagues from 1871 through 1897 and was elected to the National Baseball Hall of Fame in 1939. In addition to his baseball skills, Anson is often associated with the exclusion of African Americans from organized baseball. For the games at Mason City, none of the newspapers in Algona reported any problems between Anson and the African Americans playing for Algona or Waseca (Waseca defeated Webster City to win the tournament).⁶⁹

The season turned around for Algona at the beginning of August. “Wakefield returned to the game after an absence of three weeks, and much of his team mates’ ginger was due to the remarkable manner in which he fielded his position. ... It is worth going to the games just to see Wakefield haul in the wild throws with one hand and reach out half way across the diamond to get thrown balls. Many a runner goes out because Wake is a good reacher.” Catching balls with one hand was not as routine as today, given the much smaller gloves Wakefield and others wore at the time. Bert Jones, playing in the outfield, gave Wakefield one of his chances to be “a good reacher” when Jones “threw a runner out at first on a ground hit to deep right field.” Richardson returned to the lineup the following weekend, which further bolstered the team. August was a good month. “Their record for the past few weeks [19–3] has been by far the best of the season. This is accounted for to a certain extent by Captain Wakefield and Richardson getting back into the game again.”⁷⁰

With the Brownies playing their best ball, the season had one more month to run, but it had been a wet summer. Teams folded, and “many games had to be called off on account of rain.” Yet Algona was doing well under the circumstances. “It is true we have made no money, it is not a money-making scheme, but all bills are paid and we have some excellent future bookings, as well as money in the treasury.”⁷¹

On September 3, Algona defeated Webster City, 4–3, in Des Moines in front of more than 3,000 spectators to claim the state championship. Later in the month, “The Algona management ... awarded each member of the team with a solid gold medal as champions of Iowa.” With the minor leagues ending their seasons, the Brownies were able to schedule three games against two of these white clubs. The Des Moines Midgets of the Western League defeated Algona, 8–5. However, the Brownies split a pair of games with the St. Paul Saints of the American Association, losing the first game, 6–1, and winning the second game, 8–2. Bert Jones was the winning pitcher. In an anticlimactic finish to the season, Wakefield and another pitcher tossed the final game against the rival Waseca EACOs and lost, 11–3. The Algona Brownies disbanded after compiling a record of 71 wins, 30 losses, and 2 ties. Bert Jones, George Richardson, and other players signed up for another run with the Brownies in 1903, but Wakefield chose not to return to Algona.⁷²

While Wakefield remained in Kansas, he missed an historical crossroad, when the Algona Brownies played the minor league Le Mars Blackbirds of the Iowa-South Dakota League on September 4–5, 1903. The Le Mars roster that year included a 21-year-old rookie catcher named Branch Rickey. The game on Friday was a tie, 2–2, called after 11 innings,⁷³ but Algona won the next game.

The Le Mars baseball team were defeated by the Algona Browies [sic] on Saturday afternoon on the home grounds by a score of 5 to 3. At the conclusion of the game each member of the [Le Mars] team was presented with a pretty gold souvenir medal. On the medal were the letters I. S. D. pennant winners, Le Mars and the name and position of the player. The team played in Sioux City on Sunday and were defeated 5 to 1. They played two [more] games at Sioux City on Monday and then disbanded for the season.⁷⁴

The Iowa-South Dakota League had decided to fold early, but Le Mars and Sioux City opted to play already scheduled contests and add games with Algona. Neither the Le Mars nor Algona newspapers provided box scores or listed batteries, so details of participation by Rickey, Jones, and Richardson are undocumented. Rickey left Iowa to continue his baseball career with a minor league team in Texas in 1904 before moving on to the major leagues, both on and off the field. As general manager for the Brooklyn Dodgers (now the Los Angeles Dodgers), Rickey would reintegrate minor league baseball in 1946 and major league baseball in 1947 after signing Jackie Robinson. Wakefield would return to Iowa in 1907, when he would get to participate in an historical crossroad of his own.

1903–1907 — Veteran Ballplayer in Kansas, Minnesota, and Iowa

In early 1903, Bert Wakefield was serving as a janitor in the Kansas House of Representatives at the State Capitol in Topeka. By May, he had returned to Troy and purchased another barbershop. After four years out of state, he planned to stay in Troy for the summer to run his business and play with the “home boys.”⁷⁵ Also in early May, as springtime thoughts turned to another season of baseball, the *Topeka Daily Capital* ran an article titled “Kansas’ Place in Baseball,” and African American players were not forgotten.

“Yellow” Jones, the sensational pitcher, who was barred from the big leagues by his color, learned to play ball at Hiawatha and did his first pitching for the Hiawatha club. Another colored player who might have achieved baseball eminence had his skin been white, was Bert Wakefield of Troy. They never made faster infielders than Wakefield at his best.⁷⁶

As might be expected from three years of noteworthy performances in Chicago and Algona, Wakefield dominated as a pitcher and hitter against the teams around Troy. “He saw early in the game that he had the Highland boys rattled, and he threw with a confident, easy air and a grin on his face that was discomfiting to Highland.” In his first 95 innings, he reportedly struck out 120 batters and surrendered only 19 runs. On at least one occasion, he pitched Troy to victories on back-to-back days. By the time the Troy team disbanded for the season in September, “Wakefield, the colored pitcher, the terror of all teams in this part of the state, has pitched twelve full nine-inning games and lost only one.” The team’s record was 16–9, which indicates how important he was as their pitcher. His batting average was .330. Even a postseason bout of indigestion that confined the famous local ballplayer to his home on Main Street was newsworthy. Off the field, the year spent in his hometown also ended well, when Bert Wakefield married Ada “Addie” Brooks on

December 27 in Horton, Kansas.⁷⁷ Yet the lure of playing out of state once again proved irresistible, perhaps because it offered a chance to earn more money.

In 1904, Manager Henry Stabeck sought to bolster the Renville (Minnesota) Athletic Association team of white players, the Renville All-Stars. He did this by hiring former players from the Algona Brownies, including the three Kansans—Bert Wakefield, Bert Jones, and George Richardson. To the newspapers, Stabeck also touted the fact that two of these players had experience in the Kansas State League (Wakefield and Jones). African American Billy Holland, who had previously pitched for Waseca, also joined the Renville roster. In addition, Eddie Noyes, a white catcher from Troy who played on Kansas and Nebraska teams with Wakefield as his battery mate, joined Renville in late May, too late for a team photograph published by the *Minneapolis Tribune*. Noyes followed his successful year in Renville with a 16-year career in the minor leagues from 1905 through 1920, an opportunity enjoyed by few players and one that was no longer available to Wakefield, Jones, Richardson, and Holland. With the arrival of Noyes in Minnesota, four of the nine players on the field for Renville in many of their games were Kansans.⁷⁸

Two of the early games for Renville were against a team from Minneapolis known as the Javas.⁷⁹ In early May, Renville lost the first game in the Twin Cities, 5–4, but not without assistance from the fans, according to the *Renville Record*.

[The Java fans] crowded in along the base lines and in between the Renville fielders and the diamond and blockt the fielders and basemen. When the Javas were fielding the crowd pusht back to give them a show. In the tenth inning two men were out and a man on bases [when] a Java player hit a pop up fly a short way from first. It was a foul but the umpire balled it fair. Wakefield was after it and it would have been easy meat for him. The crowd however run in and shoved him back from the ball and held him until the base runner was home.⁸⁰

Later in the month, at a rematch in Glencoe (neutral ground between Renville and Minneapolis), the bad blood between the two teams continued.

The score was two to two [in the eighth inning] with Renville at the bat and no one out. Cruikshank and Sturgeon had both hit two baggers and the Java pitcher was playing out. A long foul was hit and another ball was put into play and play resumed. In the meanwhile the ball that had gone foul was thrown back to the diamond. That ball was dead as another had been substituted but the Java baseman secured the dead ball and catching Sturgeon off second base toucht him and claimed that he was out altho the ball used was not the one in play. The umpire refused to allow the out and the javas [sic] quit and the umpire gave the game to Renville 9–0.⁸¹

The Javas claimed the game officially remained a tie, but the custom at the time was for the team remaining on the field to be awarded a 9–0 victory (one run for each inning).⁸²

Minnesota newspapers periodically praised Wakefield's performance at first base. "Wakefield, the colored first baseman is in a class by himself while Holland and Richardson are not so far behind." At a game between Renville and Delano, "Wakefield

RENVILLE TEAM THAT PLAYS THE JAVAS TODAY.



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

1904 Renville All-Stars (*Minneapolis Star Tribune*, 29 May 1904)

made a pretty double play at first unassisted in the first inning. He caught Ball's liner and then dove to first base just reaching it in time to catch Eppel off the base." Perhaps the most spectacular play reported that summer occurred in a game against the Javas at Minnehaha Park. "Holland fielded a well placed bunt on the third base line and threw to first without turning in order to catch the runner. Wake had to stretch his long frame to the limit to get it with one hand ... and the crowd went wild."⁸³

In July, Wakefield was seriously injured in a game and was sent back to Renville for five days to recover. "Wakefield, the Renville first baseman, went into the game a sick man and did not play his usual game. He was hit in the neck by a pitched ball while at the bat and after the game the services of a physician were required for him." As the defensive star at first base, Wakefield enjoyed a rare opportunity after he recovered from his injury in August to display his other baseball talents. "Wakefield pitcht his first game of the season [against Echo, Minnesota], and only allowed three hits." Renville won the game, 6-0.⁸⁴

Renville played games on its home field and on the home fields of their opponents, but many games were played on neutral grounds, allowing fans in these communities to watch a good ballgame, even though their hometown players were not participating. Such was the case for the game at Glencoe between Renville and the Javas. It was a common practice for many teams, including the Chicago Unions and Union Giants and the Algona Brownies. A game between Renville and Canton, South Dakota was played at Spirit Lake, Iowa, which is about 80 miles east of Canton and 100 miles south of Renville. Renville won, 5–3, despite the Canton right fielder's attempt to rob George Richardson of a home run. "When Richardson batted a ball over the fence Rueber went over the obstruction like a cat and had the ball to third base before the runner reached there. It didn't count however, as the ground rules gives a score to the one making an over-the-fence hit."⁸⁵

Renville's two strongest opponents were Webster, South Dakota and Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin. Renville and Webster split their series at eight victories apiece. The series between Renville and Chippewa Falls also started even at five wins for each team. On August 14, the clubs played in St. Paul, Minnesota for the championship of the two states. Chippewa Falls, behind the pitching of African American George Wilson, easily defeated Billy Holland, the star pitcher for Renville, 10–2. Wilson and Holland had both pitched for Waseca in 1902 against Wakefield's Algona Brownies. Wakefield had neither of Renville's two hits in the game, but he played solid defense. "Wakefield, who played first for the Renvilles, covered the bag in a spectacular fashion, grabbing them out of the air and on the ground on several occasions." Although the game was billed as deciding the championship of the two states, the teams played five more games. However, Renville only managed one victory, giving Chippewa Falls a record of 10–6 in the series.⁸⁶

Renville closed the season at the end of August with a record of 55 wins, 26 losses, and 1 tie. "The season as a whole has been a successful one. [Only] one team that has been met has had the best of [Renville] and that is Chippewa Falls." The best hitters on the team were Jones (batting average of .310), Holland (.271), and Noyes (.264). Wakefield (.236) and Richardson (.230) contributed mostly on defense. Although these batting averages might seem low, they compare well with the overall batting average of only .177 reported for Renville's opponents.⁸⁷

At the time Renville was barnstorming through Minnesota and adjacent states in 1904 and again in 1905, Amanda Clement from Hudson, South Dakota was making a name for herself on the baseball diamond as an umpire. She started in 1904 by umpiring "muffin" games, such as those between fats and leans or married and single men.⁸⁸ She stepped into the limelight on September 1, 1905.

A day earlier, the Knights of Pythias, a fraternal order, opened a two-day carnival in Hawarden, Iowa, about 10 miles south of Hudson. On the first day of the carnival, the baseball team from Hawarden hosted the club from Renville, Minnesota. Hawarden and Renville were two of the top independent professional teams in the region in 1905, and they played each other several times. Bert Jones had returned to Renville, and he pitched them to a 2–0 victory in this game. The umpire was Clyde Carpenter of Hudson. The following morning, the Hudson and Hawarden lodges of the Knights of Pythias played a

muffin match. “The game was called about ten o’clock in the morning by Umpire Amanda Clement of Hudson and lasted until nearly 12:30.” Hudson won, 12–4, but no one complained that her decisions favored her hometown team.⁸⁹ In the day’s second game,

Hawarden was again pitted against Renville. The visitors started right with four runs and Hawarden went right back at them for three. From that time on it was a pitcher’s battle, McCormick getting the best of Brenna and permitting Hawarden to win by the score of 7 to 6. Miss Clement umpired this game and gave the best satisfaction of any umpire on the local diamond this season. We think the ball players were all too gallant to question any of her decisions.⁹⁰

A professional white team played a professional integrated team under the watchful eye of a professional female umpire—in 1905. Moreover, Amanda Clement was only 17 years old. Of course, newspapers across the country picked up stories through the rest of the year about Clement, the “girl” who umpired “real” games (between professional teams).⁹¹ Not all such stories were positive, however.⁹² One view picked up by several newspapers during the offseason in early 1906 stated,

Miss Amanda Clement, the South Dakota girl who gained national notoriety through her ability as a baseball umpire, has decided to quit umpiring and attend to her studies at Yankton college. She won’t be missed. The female umpire, the bloomer girl ball player and the dodo bird can be spared very nicely. A woman in bloomers isn’t an inspiring sight, anyway.⁹³

Clement actually continued to umpire baseball games for several more summers, but only after she completed her coursework each spring. The money she earned as an umpire allowed her to pursue her education at Yankton College and the University of Nebraska in Lincoln.⁹⁴ She also officiated with a male partner in basketball.⁹⁵ Yet Clement was not always the arbiter of rules. In one baseball game in 1908, she played first base for the Huron town team against the team from nearby Fairview, South Dakota. She had one single and stole both second and third bases.⁹⁶ Prior to a baseball tournament in 1908, the *Sioux Falls Argus-Leader* supported Clement in her choice of a summer vocation.

Miss Amanda Clements [sic] who is here to umpire the ball games has a national reputation. She is the only lady umpire who has gained any general recognition. Miss Clements is not simply a figurehead. She knows the game and the members of all the teams which play under her umpiring know that they must play ball.⁹⁷

After leaving the University of Nebraska, Clement was a teacher and coach in several states. In 1929, she returned to Hudson to care for her mother and held a variety of jobs in town. Later, she moved to Sioux Falls and was employed as a social worker until her retirement in 1966. Amanda Clement passed away in 1971.⁹⁸

While Bert Jones rejoined the team in Renville in 1905 and witnessed Amanda Clement’s debut as an umpire in a professional baseball game, Bert and Addie Wakefield returned to Troy after the 1904 season. Bert stayed close to home with his new wife the next two years. Because cold weather had ended the 1904 season early in Minnesota,

Wakefield and Noyes played for Troy, Highland, and Humboldt (Nebraska) in September and October. In 1905, Noyes headed to the minor leagues, while Wakefield operated his barbershop and played for Troy and nearby town teams. Troy had an African American team, but Wakefield continued to play on the integrated town team. He also served as its captain in 1905, his third time in this role.⁹⁹

Wakefield also stayed in Kansas during the summer of 1906, playing for Troy, but he made brief trips as far as southeastern Nebraska to bolster the rosters of town teams.¹⁰⁰ In September, Troy played a pair of games in Sabetha, Kansas, about 50 miles to the west. In the second game, with the score tied, 1-1, Troy was batting in the bottom of the ninth (home teams did not automatically bat last in those days).

King, who pitched for Troy, was on third base, two men were out[,] Wakefield was at the bat and there were two strikes on him. Jones, of Horton, was in the box for the Hummers, and made a disastrous mistake in putting one of his twisters near the plate. Wake landed on it with his famous old-time long arm swing and sent the sphere out among the bramble in the right garden, and King came home.¹⁰¹

Perhaps the old competitive juices began flowing stronger, but whatever the reason, Wakefield decided to head out of state again in 1907. In April, a Troy newspaper reported that he once again sold his barbershop and would “probably play ball this season.” Initially, Wakefield was reported to be going back to Tecumseh, Nebraska. Instead, he spent most of the season in Davis City, a small town in rural southcentral Iowa, where Troy had played on a barnstorming tour in 1895. In addition to Davis City, Wakefield played for other small towns nearby when the Davis City team was idle. He was apparently the only African American on these teams. Wakefield primarily played first base, but he also pitched. He even played in the outfield in at least one game, which was an atypical position for him.¹⁰²

In another historical crossroad, Wakefield was the pitcher in a 1-0 loss in Davis City against a white barnstorming team sponsored by Hopkins Brothers, a sporting goods store in Des Moines. The winning pitcher for Hopkins Brothers was Iowa native J.L. Wilkinson. Thus, Bert Wakefield, who played on and served as captain of integrated baseball teams, lost a pitching duel to J.L. Wilkinson, who would establish the integrated All-Nations barnstorming team in 1912. In 1920, he would organize the Kansas City Monarchs and participate in the organization of the Negro National League. In 1900, Wilkinson had broken his wrist during a game, which led him to switch from pitching to playing as a middle infielder or outfielder. However, he continued to pitch occasionally and did so several times for the Hopkins Brothers team in 1907. He could still pitch effectively enough to be competitive against town teams from small, rural communities, such as Davis City.¹⁰³ At the close of the season, Wilkinson returned to Des Moines, and Wakefield returned to Troy, where he opened a new barbershop on the west side of the town square and played in occasional ballgames that autumn.¹⁰⁴

1908–1926 — Kansas City Monarchs, Troy, and Retirement

In 1904–1907, the J.W. Jenkins’ Sons Music Company sponsored an African American baseball team in Kansas City, Missouri that played both black and white teams in the

region. They also played teams such as the Chicago Unions and the minor league Kansas City Blues in preseason and postseason games. However, the music company withdrew its support because the club played games on Sundays. As a result, the team changed its name and became the “original” Kansas City Monarchs* in 1908.¹⁰⁵

One of the infielders for the Jenkins club was Gaitha Page, briefly mentioned earlier in this story. He was born in Tennessee in 1879, but his family made their way to Topeka while he was young. Page graduated from Topeka High School in 1897 and enrolled that autumn at the State Normal School in Emporia (now Emporia State University). While studying to be a teacher, he played shortstop for the school’s baseball team during the springs of 1898 and 1899. After becoming one of the school’s first two African American graduates in 1899, Page was hired to teach that autumn at the “Buchanan street colored school” in Topeka’s “Tennessee Town” neighborhood.¹⁰⁶

In the meantime, Page joined the integrated professional team in Emporia, the Yellow Kids, in May. Fellow teacher Monroe Ingram rejoined the team in early June. This was another rare instance of two black players on the roster of an integrated professional team in Kansas, as had occurred in 1896, when Wakefield and Jones played for Atchison. Although Ingram was forced to leave the Emporia club in mid-July, Page remained with the team until it folded on August 2. Ingram’s departure and the team’s breakup were both blamed largely on the actions of Tom Drummy. On August 4, Page and two other Emporia players arrived in Arkansas City, Kansas to play for the Grays. Page did not stay until the club finished its season, because he had to leave on September 2 to take up his teaching position.¹⁰⁷ Neither the Yellow Kids nor the Grays was a member of a minor league in 1899.

After returning to Topeka, Page played for African American teams in his hometown and elsewhere, often traveling to play in other towns with teammate Thomas McCampbell.† In 1905, Page was captain of the Topeka Giants, sometimes referred to as the Page Giants. He had played for the team on occasion since 1902, when it was known as the Nine Bees. George Richardson also played a few times for the Nine Bees and Giants, as did standout Topeka ballplayers Dudley “Tullie” McAdoo and Carroll Ray “Dink” Mothell.¹⁰⁸ In addition to playing baseball, Page umpired games in Topeka hosted by Washburn College (now Washburn University) against the State Agricultural College (now Kansas State University) and the minor league Topeka White Sox of the Western Association. He also traveled to Lawrence to umpire a game between Washburn and the Haskell Indians. However, the University of Kansas baseball team refused to play Washburn if Page served as umpire. A white man who had once written about baseball for a newspaper was chosen as his questionable replacement.¹⁰⁹

* The original Kansas City Monarchs only played under that name in 1908 and 1909. Some of the team’s members subsequently played on the newly organized Kansas City Cyclones in 1910 and on other clubs. The name Kansas City Monarchs was resurrected in 1920 (reportedly at the suggestion of black pitching sensation John Donaldson) for J.L. Wilkinson’s more famous Negro Leagues and barnstorming team. The two Monarchs teams were not otherwise connected.

† Thomas McCampbell was a 1901 graduate of the University of Kansas School of Pharmacy. He ran a drugstore with his Lincoln High School classmate, William Houston, in Kansas City, Missouri at Twenty-third and Vine Streets (Anonymous 1906; Lincoln High School 1909).

While in Topeka, Page made numerous trips to Kansas City, where he married Olivia McCampbell in December 1903. Olivia was Thomas McCampbell's sister. Gaitha and Olivia lived in Topeka while he continued his teaching career at Buchanan School. Among the guests at their Topeka home was Arthur "Chick" Pullam, who played for the Jenkins team and the original Kansas City Monarchs. In 1904 and 1905, the Nine Bees and Page Giants played against the Jenkins' Sons, and Page would join the Jenkins club in 1906.¹¹⁰ Other Topeka ballplayers would soon follow a similar path from Topeka to Kansas City.

Page taught at Buchanan School until 1907. He and Olivia then moved to Kansas City, Missouri, where he worked as a school principal for several years. Page later became a businessman, which included co-ownership of the Booker T. Washington Auto Training School for Colored People in 1918. Mostly, though, he was a land developer and cobbler, as his father had been.* Gaitha Page passed away in 1970 and was buried in Highland Cemetery between Kansas City and Independence, Missouri.¹¹¹

Little is known about the 1908 Monarchs. The *Kansas City Rising Son*, an African American newspaper, sometimes reported game results for the Jenkins teams.¹¹² However, copies of this newspaper published after 1907 are not available in any archives. Information about the team is sparse in available newspapers, such as the *Kansas City Journal*, *Kansas City Post*, *Kansas City Star*, and *Kansas City Times*. It is possible the Monarchs did not submit notices of upcoming games or game results to these newspapers, although each newspaper had an "amateur baseball" column summarizing information provided by local teams. Based on the phrasing of the published accounts available, the opponents of the Monarchs apparently submitted most of this information.

The Monarchs typically played on Sundays when they were in Kansas City. They won at least their first four games in April and May, but information on the rest of the season is spotty.¹¹³ The top opponents of the Monarchs in 1908 were the Kansas City, Kansas (KCK) Giants and a white team sponsored by a local sporting goods business, the Schmelzer Arms Company (a team known as the Brinkleys in 1907). Several games announced in newspapers were not followed by notices of the outcomes, perhaps because the team providing the information had lost to the Monarchs. Of five outcomes reported in the *Kansas City Star*, four were victories by the Giants or Schmelzers, and the Monarchs lost three of these games by only one or two runs. An early September notice of an upcoming game noted that, "The Schmelzers will play the well known Monarchs tomorrow at Association park. The Monarchs' team is one of the strongest organized teams in the city. They have a record of defeating all teams in the city, including the K. C. K. Giants." In October, the Monarchs were scheduled to play two games with the KCK Giants "for the amateur championship of the two Kansas Cities," but no results were found in available newspapers.¹¹⁴

* On February 17, 1964, the *Kansas City Times* published a photograph of 84-year-old Gaitha Page at a ceremony marking the 50th anniversary of the Paseo branch of the YMCA in Kansas City, Missouri. Page was present in 1914 at the laying of the cornerstone for the building where Rube Foster, J.L. Wilkinson, and others organized the Negro National League in 1920. Page had owned properties on The Paseo near 18th and 19th Streets.

Bert Wakefield joined the Kansas City Monarchs as their first baseman in April 1908. Gaitha Page did not return to the team, so he and Wakefield did not get a chance to play on the same field. In the team's first game, Wakefield was singled out in the *Kansas City Journal* for his hitting performance—a single, double, and triple in four at bats. He played for the Monarchs during the early part of the season, but by July, the 38-year-old Wakefield was playing in Highland (about 10 miles northwest of Troy).¹¹⁵

While he was in Kansas City, a team photograph was taken. It is the clearest picture known of Wakefield. Among his teammates were Tullie McAdoo, Thomas and Ernest McCampbell (Gaitha Page's brothers-in-law), and Bill Lindsay. Lindsay was a pitcher from a baseball family in Lexington, Missouri, but he was sometimes referred to as the "Kansas Cyclone." He started pitching for the Lexington Tigers in 1907 and competed against the Jenkins team. He was born in June 1891, so he turned 17 years old during the summer of 1908, when he joined the Monarchs. Lindsay later played for other Kansas City teams in 1909 and 1910, including the Kansas City Cyclones, before moving to Chicago, where he was pitching for Rube Foster's American Giants at the time of his death from some sort of infection in September 1914.¹¹⁶

While Wakefield was perhaps still in Kansas City in June 1908, back in Troy a "swarm of bees pre-empted the chimney in Aunt Anne Wakefield's house one day last week and



1908 Kansas City Monarchs (National Baseball Hall of Fame, Cooperstown, New York)

proceeded to make themselves comfortable.” Bert’s mother had the bees removed by J.D. Smith, who relocated them to “a new hive where they are now part of the best colony of bees to be seen in the county.”¹¹⁷ Bees are important pollinators of fruit trees, and Doniphan County was noted at the time for its apple orchards. In 1895, a Troy newspaper estimated that, “in the country surrounding town within three miles, there will be used 30,000 apple barrels” to ship the autumn harvest, with “many thousands” more needed elsewhere in the county. That same year, the local newspapers did not use a nickname for their minor league team, but Troy’s *Kansas Chief* referred to them on one occasion as the Apple Jacks.¹¹⁸

After the 1908 season, Wakefield, who turned 39 in May 1909, was less active in baseball. On June 20, 1909, he made a trip to play first base for the Kansas City Monarchs against the KCK Giants. According to the box score, Wakefield had one of the six hits for the Monarchs in their 1–0 loss at Riverside Park (the Giants were easily winning their other games at the time).¹¹⁹ It was possibly his last time to take the field for the Monarchs or any other team outside the area around Troy.

Wakefield played occasionally around Troy for several more years. He also served as a manager and mentor on local teams, including the hometown African American team. They had represented Troy through most of the early 1900s, playing other African American teams and white teams from small towns nearby.¹²⁰ In July 1915, Wakefield was praised for his management of the team.

Doniphan defeated the crack Troy colored team last Sunday by the score of 3 to 2. It was the best, cleanest game of the season. Bert Wakefield had charge of the Troy squad and he handled them like the experienced ball player that he is. Bert knows the game and plays it in a gentlemanly and sportsmanlike manner.¹²¹

In addition to baseball, live music was an important part of life in rural Kansas during the late 1800s and early 1900s, not just for the community, but also for Bert Wakefield. Many towns had a band that featured brass and possibly woodwind instruments, along with drums. Some towns also had an orchestra, whose members played string instruments, perhaps mixed with wind instruments. Membership in these groups often consisted of only a few musicians, corresponding to the small populations of the towns. For example, from 1915 through 1917, “Prof.” Frank Martin, a musician who was also a laborer and farmer in the area around Troy, advertised an orchestra for hire consisting of “4 or 5 pieces for any kind of entertainment at reasonable prices.”¹²²

Martin’s Orchestra had been playing for years, and Bert Wakefield participated in performances into the early 1900s. In December 1898, “the colored social club” in Troy hosted a “grand ball and great cake walk. ... Music by Prof. Frank Martin’s orchestra.— Frank Martin, president; Bert Wakefield, treasurer and secretary; Doll Mack, general manager.” Wakefield played the mandolin, at least on one occasion in October 1905. “Three colored artists on string instruments serenaded last night and the music was [rhythmic], sweet and soothing as dreams of fairyland. They were Prof. Martin on violin, Wakefield on mandolin and Wilkinson on guitar.” Troy’s *Kansas Chief* reported in June 1906 that, “Bert Wakefield and Charley Harvey were out Monday night with their string instruments and

serenaded several of our citizens. The boys played several selections at The Chief residence which were fine and greatly appreciated.” One February afternoon in 1904, for some unstated reason, Martin’s Orchestra even “serenaded the county jail ... and Marcell and Sid Lucas, who are at present boarding at Sheriff Ramsey’s residence, thought it was fine and a whole lot better than they would have to face when they got up against County Attorney Brewster in the April term of the court.”¹²³

In 1911, Bert and Addie built a house on his mother’s lot on North Main Street (block 3, lot 2, south ½—now the west side of the 200 block on North Main Street). It was apparently funded through a real estate transfer of the property for \$350 (equivalent to \$9,192 in 2017). Wakefield continued barbering into the 1920s, but he supplemented his income with money from the orchestra, repair work on the Doniphan County courthouse (built in 1906), and other labor. Financially, the Wakefields must have been struggling. They lost their home in foreclosure proceedings in 1923 on a debt of \$509.25 (equivalent to \$13,375 in 2017), and they owed more than \$50 in delinquent taxes on the property.¹²⁴

Illnesses might have played a part in this misfortune. Wakefield started 1912 with a bad case of pneumonia, but in the middle of January, he was “reported as being much better.” By mid-February, however, he had only sufficiently “recovered from his recent sickness as to appear at his shop, but he has done no work yet. There came near being a vacancy in the tonsorial list of Troy.” He suffered through another bout of pneumonia in the spring of 1915, “and the doctors are very anxious about him.” Addie was “sick for a couple of months” in the autumn of 1916, and in late 1917 she spent three weeks across the Missouri River in the St. Joseph hospital, recovering from an unspecified operation.¹²⁵

Wakefield also experienced misfortune with the era’s modes of transportation. One mishap occurred in August 1910.

As Bert Wakefield and George Marble were driving to the Sparks picnic last Sunday they met an automobile near John Mosier’s place. The auto gave the road, but the horse didn’t like the looks of it and wheeled, upsetting the buggy and throwing both men to the ground. The autoists jumped out of their machine and caught the horse before it could get away. Marble’s shoulder was wrenched in the fall and the buggy top was torn up a little, but otherwise no damage was done. The boys proceeded on their way after getting things straightened out.¹²⁶

As the Troy correspondent for the *Kansas City Sun* noted in April 1915, “Mr. Bert Wakefield seems to be meeting with misfortunes galore.” After his second bout of pneumonia, while visiting in St. Joseph, “he ran to catch a [street] car and fell, fracturing a bone in his head.”¹²⁷

As Bert and Addie dealt with their illnesses, Anne Wakefield passed away in October 1914 at her daughter’s home in Wathena, nine miles east of Troy. She was buried in Troy’s Mt. Olive Cemetery in the plot purchased by Bert in 1894, when his son Lawrence passed away. Not long afterward, in March 1916, Bert’s brother, George, passed away at Bert’s home and was also buried in the family plot at Mt. Olive. As if that were not heartbreak enough, the following February, his brother, William, died in a fire in Omaha, where he had moved about a year earlier (he was buried there). This apparently left Bert’s sister, Lela Davis, as his only surviving sibling. What became of his sister, Kate, is unknown. All

five of Anne's children were listed as still alive in the 1900 census, but Kate did not live with her mother. Anne's 1914 obituary mentioned that three sons and one daughter, Lela, survived her. Lela died in December 1925, less than a year after the death of her husband of nearly 47 years, a Civil War veteran. The only other member of Bert's immediate family still living at the time was his daughter, Dorothy (Dortha), born in 1908. The 1925 Kansas census noted that Bert was living alone in his rented house in Troy. He and Addie had divorced, and Dorothy lived in St. Joseph. Dorothy passed away at Addie's home in Atchison in 1929. Addie married again in 1940 and passed away in Atchison in 1953, where she and Dorothy were both buried.¹²⁸

Bert Wakefield passed away on July 18, 1926, at age 56. The cause of death was listed as atherosclerosis. The cost of the coffin and hearse was \$75 (equivalent to \$1,037 in 2017), of which the county paid \$15; the Masons paid the remaining \$60. Bert was buried in a now unmarked grave in Mt. Olive Cemetery. Local oral history recalls that a grass fire destroyed the early wooden markers commonly used in the African American section of the cemetery. The plot Bert purchased in 1894 (west half of block 187) was full or nearly so with graves of his family members (there is now only the worn stone marker from 1894 for his son, Lawrence). Thus, Bert was buried in a nearby plot identified from funeral home records (west half of block 213).¹²⁹

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

Bert Wakefield[,] who died the first of this week, was known throughout the middle west as one of the greatest colored base ball players in the history of the game. Wakefield's sty[l]e of play was nearly flawless, and baseball fans flocked to the ball parks to see him in action. Bert played first base mostly and it didn't make any difference how wild the infielders might throw the ball just so "they got it in the general direction," as Wakefield used to say.¹³⁰

In 1935, the *Atchison Daily Globe* published a retrospective column on baseball in earlier decades based on a scorebook covering games in Atchison from 1888 to 1895. The story of an 1894 game against Troy was a bit painful to recall; Troy won, 38–0. Henry Bryant, who owned the scorebook and pitched for Atchison that day, speculated that "a ball hit by a big Negro named Bert Wakefield is probably still rolling some place up in those Doniphan county apple orchards."¹³¹ A vivid, respectful memory more than 40 years later.

With the benefit of several more decades of historical perspective, we can see that Bert Wakefield's accomplishments in baseball during a time of increasing segregation on the diamond extend beyond his baseball skills, and these accomplishments are even more important and worthy of recognition. This biography is a tip of the cap to Bert Wakefield, the son of a former slave and a captain of the 1895 Kansas State League champions from Troy, and it is a nod to Bert Jones and the others who journeyed with him through all those years, making their way against the prevailing currents of the era's culture.

Post Script

In addition to players described in this summary, other African Americans born in Kansas enjoyed success on the diamond in the early 1900s, primarily on segregated baseball teams in the state and elsewhere. Some of the better known players include Chet Brewer (Leavenworth), Elwood “Bingo” DeMoss (Topeka), George Giles (Junction City), John Thomas “Topeka Jack” Johnson (Topeka?), Oscar “Heavy” Johnson (Atchison), Dudley “Tullie” McAdoo (Topeka), Carroll Ray “Dink” Mothell (Topeka), George Sweatt (Humboldt), and Frank Wickware (Girard). With few exceptions, the Kansas players listed here or mentioned elsewhere in this monograph lack a reasonably thorough biography.¹³² In 2011, eight of the state’s native sons were inducted into the Kansas Baseball Hall of Fame (Chet Brewer, Bingo DeMoss, Topeka Jack Johnson, Heavy Johnson, Tullie McAdoo, Dink Mothell, George Sweatt, and Frank Wickware), along with six Negro Leagues players not born in Kansas who lived and played in the state (Eddie “Pee Wee” Dwight, John “Buck” O’Neil, Leroy “Satchel” Paige, Wilber “Bullet” Rogan, Dick Whitworth, and Thomas Jefferson “T.J.” Young). Bert Wakefield, through his long career and accomplishments in baseball, is worthy of a place alongside the others enshrined in the state’s Hall of Fame, along with Bert Jones and Monroe Ingram. Wakefield, Jones, and Ingram comprise a trio of African American ballplayers from Kansas who were among the last to play openly on integrated minor league teams anywhere in the country prior to 1900. They were that good at their craft.

Acknowledgements

Jan Johnson commented on the manuscript, but any errors or awkward passages that remain are solely my responsibility. Jan also provided insights and information from the archives at the Kansas Historical Society. Hugh Eberle searched online for census records and other documents. Bob Williamson, sexton of Mount Olive Cemetery at Troy, generously assisted with efforts to locate Bert Wakefield’s unmarked grave and those of his family members. John Horne, Rights and Reproduction Coordinator of the National Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, provided the team photograph of the 1908 Kansas City Monarchs. I accessed most newspapers online through Newspapers.com, Newspaper Archive, Genealogy Bank, the Minnesota Historical Society Digital Newspaper Hub (<http://www.mnhs.org/newspapers/hub>), the Hiawatha (Kansas) Public Library (<http://www.hiawathalibrary.org/digital-newspaper-archives/>), and the Google News Archive (<https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=FlkAGs9z2eEC>). In addition, I read newspapers in microfilm archives at the Kansas Historical Society in Topeka, the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul, the Nebraska State Historical Society in Lincoln, and the Central Public Library of Kansas City, Missouri. I estimated dollar equivalents with the formula at <https://www.minneapolisfed.org/community/teaching-aids/cpi-calculator-information/consumer-price-index-1800> (accessed 14 May 2018).

Table 1.—Summary of the baseball career of Bert Wakefield (1870–1926) from Troy, Kansas on integrated and African American teams. He also played occasionally on other white town teams in Kansas and elsewhere. After 1908, Wakefield played for Troy and other nearby towns, and he managed the African American team in Troy at least as late as 1916. The left-hander’s principal positions were first base, second base, and pitcher.

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

* The team was a member of the Kansas State League, an independent minor league.

Table 2.—Integrated minor league teams on which African Americans Bert Wakefield (Troy, Kansas), Bert Jones (Hiawatha, Kansas), and Monroe Ingram (Coffeyville, Kansas) played in official league games.

Year	Team	League	Player
1895	Troy	Kansas State League	Bert Wakefield
1896	Emporia	Northern Kansas State League	Monroe Ingram
1897	Atchison	Kansas State League	Bert Jones
	Emporia	Kansas State League	Monroe Ingram
1898	Atchison	Kansas State League	Bert Jones

Sources Cited

Newspapers

Abilene (KS) *Daily Chronicle*
Abilene (KS) *Daily Reflector*
Albuquerque (NM) *Citizen*
Algona (IA) *Advance*
Algona (IA) *Courier*
Algona (IA) *Republican*
Algona (IA) *Upper Des Moines*
Alton (IA) *Democrat*
Arkansas City (KS) *Daily Traveler*
Atchison (KS) *Daily Champion*
Atchison (KS) *Daily Globe*
Brown County (KS) *World* (Hiawatha)
Chariton (IA) *Patriot*
Chicago (IL) *Inter Ocean*
Chicago (IL) *Tribune*
Coffeyville (KS) *Daily Journal*
Coffeyville (KS) *Weekly Journal*
Dakota Farmers' *Leader* (Canton, SD)
De Kalb (IL) *Daily Chronicle*
Deaf Mutes' *Journal* (New York)
Des Moines (IA) *Register*
Detroit (MI) *Free Press*
Duluth (MN) *News-Tribune*
Eau Claire (WI) *Weekly Telegram*
Emporia (KS) *Gazette*
Emporia (KS) *Republican*
Green Bay (WI) *Press-Gazette*
Hawarden (IA) *Independent*
Hector (MN) *Mirror*
Hiawatha (KS) *Daily World*
Highland (KS) *Vidette*
Holton (KS) *Recorder-Tribune*
Humeston (IA) *New Era*
Independence (KS) *Daily Reporter*
Independence (KS) *Evening Star*
Independence *Weekly Star and Kansan*
Indianapolis (IN) *Freeman*
Iola (KS) *Register*
Iowa State *Bystander* (Des Moines)
Jackson (MI) *Citizen Patriot*
Janesville (WI) *Daily Gazette*
Kansas City (MO) *Post*
Kansas City (MO) *Rising Son*
Kansas City (MO) *Star*
Kansas City (MO) *Sun*
Kansas City (MO) *Times*
Kansas *Democrat* (Hiawatha)
Lawrence (KS) *Daily Journal-Tribune*
Lawrence (KS) *Republican Daily Journal*
Le Mars (IA) *Globe-Post*
Le Mars (IA) *Semi-Weekly Sentinel*
Leavenworth (KS) *Herald*
Leavenworth (KS) *Standard*
Leavenworth (KS) *Times*
Lyon County *News and Emporia* (KS) *Times*
Marshalltown (IA) *Evening Times-Republican*
Minneapolis (MN) *Journal*
Minneapolis (MN) *Star Tribune*
Nebraska *State Journal* (Lincoln)
Norfolk (NE) *Weekly News-Journal*
Olathe (KS) *Mirror*
Omaha (NE) *Daily Bee*
Omaha (NE) *World Herald*
Oxford (KS) *Mocking Bird*
Renville (MN) *Record*
Renville (MN) *Star Farmer*
St. Paul (MN) *Globe*
Salina (KS) *Daily Republican-Journal*
Salina (KS) *Daily Union*
Seneca (KS) *Courier-Tribune*
Severance (KS) *News*
Sioux Falls (SD) *Argus-Leader*
South Kansas *Tribune* (Independence)
The Sporting News (St. Louis, MO)
Sterling (NE) *Semi-Weekly Sun*
Tecumseh (NE) *Chieftain*
Topeka (KS) *Daily Capital*
Topeka (KS) *Plaindealer*
Topeka (KS) *State Journal*
Troy (KS) *Times*
Tulsa (OK) *Star*
Wathena (KS) *Times*

Junction City (KS) Weekly Union
Kansas Chief (Troy)
Kansas City (KS) Gazette
Kansas City (MO) Journal
Kansas City Kansas Globe

Waverly (KS) Gazette
Webster City (IA) Tribune
White Cloud (KS) Globe-Tribune
Wichita (KS) Beacon
Wichita (KS) Daily Eagle

- 1895 *Western Association*, Baseball-Reference.com, <https://www.baseball-reference.com/register/league.cgi?id=830dca0a> (accessed 6 March 2018).
- 1903 *Le Mars Blackbirds*, Baseball-Reference.com, <https://www.baseball-reference.com/register/team.cgi?id=553e8774> (accessed 18 March 2018).
- Anderson, David W. 2018. *Dummy Taylor*. Society for American Baseball Research (SABR) Bio Project, <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/14fca2f4> (accessed 6 May 2018).
- Anonymous. 1906. *The Graduate Magazine of the University of Kansas*. Volume 5, Page 70. <https://books.google.com/books?id=k33OAAAAMAAJ> (accessed 17 June 2018).
- Anonymous. 1910. *Frank Leland's Chicago Giants Base Ball Club*. The Donaldson Network, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B1Wcncq5-bHdOGxTTXJvRVNWRmc/view> (accessed 2 March 2018).
- Ashwill, Gary. 2007. *Bill Lindsay*. Agate Type, http://agatetype.typepad.com/agate_type/bill-lindsay/ (accessed 7 April 2018).
- Ashwill, Gary. 2016a. *Topeka Jack Johnson, Part I*. Agate Type, http://agatetype.typepad.com/agate_type/2016/02/topeka-jack-johnson-part-i.html (accessed 9 March 2018).
- Ashwill, Gary. 2016b. *Topeka Jack Johnson, Part II*. Agate Type, http://agatetype.typepad.com/agate_type/2016/04/topeka-jack-johnson-part-ii.html (accessed 9 March 2018).
- Barnett, R.J. 1940. *Growing an Orchard in Kansas*. Bulletin 290 (Bulletin 254, Revised), Agricultural Experiment Station, Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, Manhattan. [Available at <https://www.ksre.k-state.edu/historicpublications/pubs/SB290.pdf> (accessed 8 April 2018).]
- Berlage, Gai Ingham. 1994. *Amanda Clement, Umpire, 1905–1911*. Pages 59–65 in *Women in Baseball: The Forgotten History*. Praeger Publishers, Westport, Connecticut.
- Bond, Gregory. 2003. *The Segregation of Professional Baseball in Kansas, 1895–1899: A Case Study in the Rise of Jim Crow during the Gilded Age*. Pages 61–77 in William M. Simons, editor. *The Cooperstown Symposium on Baseball and American Culture, 2002*. McFarland and Company, Jefferson, North Carolina.
- Bond, Gregory. 2004. “Too Much Dirty Work”: *Race, Manliness, and Baseball in Gilded Age Nebraska*. *Nebraska History* 85:172–185.
- Bruce, Janet. 1985. *The Kansas City Monarchs: Champions of Black Baseball*. University Press of Kansas, Lawrence.
- Camp, Sherrita. 2013. *African American Topeka*. Arcadia Publishing, Charleston, South Carolina. (Gaitha Page in an 1896 family photograph, page 17.)

- Dixon, Phil S. 2010. *Wilber "Bullet" Rogan and the Kansas City Monarchs*. McFarland and Company, Jefferson, North Carolina.
- Eberle, Mark E. 2017a. *Kansas Baseball, 1858–1941*. University Press of Kansas, Lawrence.
- Eberle, Mark E. 2017b. *Eisenhower, Wilson, and Professional Baseball in Kansas*. Fort Hays State University, Hays, Kansas. <https://works.bepress.com/mark-eberle/> (accessed 17 March 2018).
- Eddie Noyes, Baseball-Reference.com, <https://www.baseball-reference.com/register/player.fcgi?id=noyes-001edw> (accessed 24 March 2018).
- Fay, Edward Allen. 1910. *School Items: Oklahoma Institute for Colored*. American Annals of the Deaf 55:203.
- Gaitha Page. 2014. Emporia State University Special Collections and Archives, https://esubsu.weebly.com/uploads/2/4/0/8/24085211/gaitha_page.pdf (accessed 22 April 2018).
- Hurd, Jay. 2011. *Sol White*. Society for American Baseball Research (SABR) Bio Project, <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/2f9d1227> (accessed 17 April 2018).
- Husman, John R. 2013. *August 10, 1883: Cap Anson vs. Fleet Walker*. Pages 149–151 in Bill Felber, editor. *Inventing Baseball: The 100 Greatest Games of the 19th Century*. Society for American Baseball Research, Phoenix, Arizona. Available at <http://sabr.org/gamesproj/game/august-10-1883-cap-anson-vs-fleet-walker>.
- Husman, John R. 2018a. *Fleet Walker*. Society for American Baseball Research (SABR) Bio Project, <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/9fc5f867> (accessed 17 April 2018).
- Husman, John R. 2018b. *Weldy Walker*. Society for American Baseball Research (SABR) Bio Project, <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/08893f9f> (accessed 17 April 2018).
- Jacobsen, Lenny. 2018. *Joe Tinker*. Society for American Baseball Research (SABR) Bio Project, <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/bc0df648> (accessed 29 April 2018).
- Kearney, Seamus. 1996. *Bill Thompson, Pioneer*. National Pastime 16:67–68.
- Kleinknecht, Merl F. 1977. *Blacks in 19th Century Organized Baseball*. Baseball Research Journal Archive/BRJ, <http://research.sabr.org/journals/blacks-in-19th-c-baseball> (accessed 13 March 2018).
- Laing, Jeffrey Michael. 2013. *Bud Fowler: Baseball's First Black Professional*. McFarland and Company, Jefferson, North Carolina.
- Lester, Larry, and Sammy J. Miller. 2000. *Black Baseball in Kansas City*. Black America Series, Arcadia Publishing, Charleston, South Carolina.
- Lincoln High School. 1909. *The Lincolnian*. Lincoln High School, Kansas City Missouri. <https://archive.org/details/LHSAnnual1909> (accessed 17 June 2018).
- McKenna, Brian. 2018a. *Bud Fowler*. Society for American Baseball Research (SABR) Bio Project, <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/200e2bbd> (accessed 25 February 2018).
- McKenna, Brian. 2018b. *Frank Grant*. Society for American Baseball Research (SABR) Bio Project, <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/2f633c50> (accessed 17 April 2018).
- McKenna, Brian. 2018c. *George Stovey*. Society for American Baseball Research (SABR) Bio Project, <https://sabr.org/bioproj/person/8ff10f5c> (accessed 17 April 2018).

- Mills, Dorothy Seymour, and Harold Seymour. 1990. *Baseball: The People's Game*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Morris, Peter. 2010. *A Game of Inches: The Story behind the Innovations That Shaped Baseball*. Ivan R. Dee, Chicago, Illinois.
- O'Neil, Buck, Steve Wulf, and David Conrads. 1996. *I Was Right on Time: My Journey from the Negro League to the Majors*. Simon and Schuster, New York.
- Park, Mia, et al. 2015. *Wild Pollinators of Eastern Apple Orchards and How to Conserve Them, Second Edition*. Cornell University, Penn State University, and the Xerces Society. <http://xerces.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/Wild-Pollinators-of-Eastern-Apple-Orchards1.pdf> (accessed 8 April 2018).
- Pearce Chiles. Baseball_Reference.com, https://www.baseball-reference.com/bullpen/Pearce_Chiles (accessed 6 March 2018).
- Peterson, Todd. 2010. *Early Black Baseball in Minnesota: The St. Paul Gophers, Minneapolis Keystones and Other Barnstorming Teams of the Deadball Era*. McFarland and Company, Jefferson, North Carolina.
- Peterson, Todd. 2013. *May the Best Man Win: The Black Ball Championships 1866–1923*. *Baseball Research Journal* 42(1), <http://sabr.org/research/may-best-man-win-black-ball-championships-1866-1923> and <http://sabr.org/research/appendix-1-black-ball-championships-1866-1923> (accessed 22 March 2018).
- Revel, Layton, and Luis Munoz. 2010. *Forgotten Heroes: Oscar "Heavy" Johnson*. Center for Negro League Baseball Research, <http://www.cnlbr.org/Portals/0/Hero/Oscar-Heavy-Johnson.pdf> (accessed 25 March 2018).
- Revel, Layton, and Luis Munoz. 2014. *Forgotten Heroes: Chet Brewer*. Center for Negro League Baseball Research, <http://www.cnlbr.org/Portals/0/Hero/Chet-Brewer.pdf> (accessed 25 March 2018).
- Revel, Layton, and Luis Munoz. 2016. *Early Pioneers of the Negro Leagues: Frank C. Leland*. Center for Negro League Baseball Research, <http://www.cnlbr.org/Portals/0/EP/332567%20Forgotten%20Heroes%20Frank%20C%20Leland%20Single%20Pages.pdf> (accessed 25 March 2018).
- Rice, Stephen V. 2018. *Frank Wickware*. <http://sabr.org/bioproj/person/200cf3c2#sdendnote5sym> (accessed 25 March 2018).
- Richards, W.B. 1912. *The Oklahoma Red Book, Volume II*. State of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City.
- Richmond, H.J. 1916. *Atlas and Plat Book of Montgomery County, Kansas*. Kenyon Company, Map Makers, Des Moines, Iowa.
- Schuler, Ron. 2018. *Pearce Chiles*. Society for American Baseball Research (SABR) Bio Project, <http://sabr.org/bioproj/person/038d8ca7> (accessed 6 March 2018).
- Steeple, Douglas, and David O. Whitten. 1998. *Democracy in Desperation: The Depression of 1893*. Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut.
- Tye, Larry. 2009. *Satchel: The Life and Times of an American Legend*. Random House, New York.

Young, William A. 2016. *J.L. Wilkinson and the Kansas City Monarchs: Trailblazers in Black Baseball*. McFarland and Company, Jefferson, North Carolina.

-
- ¹ Bond (2004). • Hurd (2011). • Husman (2018a, 2018b). • Kleinknecht (1977). • McKenna (2018a, 2018b, 2018c).
- ² *Topeka State Journal*, 16 January 1886, p 1; 9 April 1886, p 1; 12 May 1886, p 1.
- ³ Bond (2004). • Eberle (2017a). • Laing (2013). • McKenna (2018a).
- ⁴ Bond (2003). • Eberle (2017a).
- ⁵ *Algona Republican*, 10 June 1902, p 5. • *Brown County World*, 16 August 1895, p 5; 13 September 1895, p 1; 29 May 1896, p 9.
- ⁶ *Atchison Daily Champion*, 28 July 1898, p 3; 5 August 1898, p 1; 8 August 1898, p 1; 13 August 1898, p 4. • *Atchison Daily Globe*, 20 July 1898, p 4; 25 July 1898, p 4; 26 July 1898, p 4; 2 August 1898, p 4; 8 August 1898, p 4. • *Brown County World*, 16 August 1895, p 5; 13 September 1895, p 1; 29 May 1896, p 9; 18 June 1897, p 1; 29 July 1898, p 8; 29 July 1898, p 8, 10; 12 August 1898, p 1; 19 August 1898, p 9. • *Kansas City Gazette*, 8 August 1898, p 2. • *Salina Daily Republican-Journal*, 9 August 1898, p 3. • *Salina Daily Union*, 12 July 1898, p 4. • *Topeka State Journal*, 21 April 1898, p 4. • *Wichita Daily Eagle*, 21 July 1898, p 5. • Bond (2003). • Eberle (2017a). • Mills and Seymour (1990).
- ⁷ *Atchison Daily Champion*, 25 June 1916, p 8; 26 June 1916, p 6. • *Hiawatha Daily World*, 6 September 1915, p 6; 15 April 1940, p 2. • *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, 18 December 1943, p 11. • Peterson (2010).
- ⁸ *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, 22 April 1911, p 1.
- ⁹ *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, 9 June 1905, p 1. • *Deaf Mutes' Journal*, 4 July 1889, p 1; 25 June 1891, p 4. • *Olathe Mirror*, 16 December 1886, p 3; 7 February 1889, p 3; 13 June 1889, p 3; 13 August 1889, p 3. • *Oxford Mocking Bird*, 9 February 1889, p 1. • *Topeka Plaindealer*, 3 July 1914, p 2; 28 April 1916, p 3. • *Tulsa Star*, 21 December 1921, p 9. • *Wichita Beacon*, 29 June 1909, p 2. • Fay (1910). • Richards (1912, page 203).
- ¹⁰ *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, 5 March 1895, p 4; 18 June 1895, p 1; 6 July 1896, p 1; 8 July 1896, p 1; 1 August 1898, p 2; 5 August 1898, p 1; 19 August 1898, p 1. • *Coffeyville Weekly Journal*, 27 June 1889, p 2. • *Emporia Gazette*, 31 July 1895, p 1; 31 July 1895, p 1; 1 August 1895, p 1; 12 August 1895, p 1; 10 June 1896, p 1; 12 June 1896, p 4; 18 July 1896, p 4; 24 July 1896, p 1; 28 July 1896, p 4; 4 August 1896, p 1; 5 August 1896, p 5; 11 August 1896, p 4; 12 August 1896, p 4; 14 August 1896, p 4; 17 August 1896, p 4; 19 August 1896, p 4; 22 April 1897, p 1; 11 June 1897, p 4; 12 June 1897, p 4; 14 June 1897, p 4; 19 June 1897, p 4; 22 June 1897, p 1; 24 June 1897, p 4; 29 June 1897, p 4; 1 July 1897, p 4; 6 July 1897, p 4; 21 July 1897, p 4; 22 July 1897, p 4; 24 July 1897, p 4; 27 July 1897, p 4; 28 July 1897, p 4; 29 July 1897, p 4; 4 August 1897, p 4; 6 August 1897, p 4; 14 August 1897, p 4; 16 August 1897, p 4; 29 June 1898, p 4; 20 July 1898, p 4. • *Independence Daily Reporter*, 26 June 1889, p 2; 30 August 1892, p 3; 20 July 1893, p 3; 23 June 1894, p 3; 12 July 1894, p 3; 28 July 1894, p 2; 9 August 1894, p 3; 11 August 1894, p 2; 16 August 1894, p 3; 22 August 1894, p 3; 24 August 1894, p 3; 25 August 1894, p 3; 30 August 1894, p 2; 19 June 1895, p 2; 20 June 1895, p 2; 21 June 1895, p 2; 22 June 1895, p 2; 27 June 1895, p 3; 2 July 1895, p 3; 6 July 1895, p 2; 12 July 1895, p 3; 13 July 1895, p 3; 17 July 1895, p 3; 19 July 1895, p 3; 23 July 1895, p 3; 27 July 1895, p 3; 1 August 1895, p 3; 11 August 1895, p 3; 15 August 1895, p 3; 18 August 1895, p 2; 22 August 1895, p 3; 4 June 1896, p 3; 18 June 1896, p 2; 25 June 1896, p 2; 1 July 1896, p 3; 4 July 1896, p 3; 7 July 1896, p 2; 25 July 1896, p 3; 29 May 1897, p 3; 19 June 1897, p 3; 2 August 1898, p 2. • *Independence Weekly Star and Kansan*, 21 June 1895, p 3; 28 June 1895, p 2; 5 July 1895, p 2; 12 July 1895, p 2; 19 July 1895, p 2; 26 July 1895, p 3; 16 August 1895, p 2; 23 August 1895, p 3. • *South Kansas Tribune*, 27 July 1892, p 2. • Bond (2003). • Eberle (2017a).
- ¹¹ *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, 12 August 1899, p 1; 18 August 1899, p 2; 30 August 1899, p 1; 31 July 1900, p 4; 29 June 1901, p 2. • *Emporia Gazette*, 4 May 1899, p 5; 20 June 1899, p 1; 29 June 1899, p 3; 5 July 1899, p 1; 6 July 1899, p 3; 8 July 1899, p 1; 12 July 1899, p 4; 14 July 1899, p 3; 18 July 1899, p 4; 22 July 1899, p 4; 26 July 1899, p 1. • *Emporia Republican*, 26 July 1899, p 4. • *Independence Daily Reporter*, 12 August 1899, p 3. • *Independence Evening Star*, 18 August 1922, p 1. • *Iola Register*, 28 July 1899, p 6;

- 30 August 1899, p 2. • *Topeka Plaindealer*, 21 July 1899, p 2. • *Waverly Gazette*, 28 July 1899, p 3. • Bond (2003). • Eberle (2017a). • Jacobsen (2018).
- ¹² *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, 1 January 1944, p 2; 4 January 1944, p 2.
- ¹³ *Kansas Chief*, 3 January 1878, p 3; 28 November 1878, p 3; 19 December 1878, p 3; 11 February 1886, p 3; 6 March 1890, p 3; 27 March 1890, p 2; 1 May 1890, p 2; 2 June 1892, p 3. • *Leavenworth Times*, 15 March 1890, p 1. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 3 June 1892, p 8. • *Troy Times*, 21 March 1890, p 3; 18 April 1890, p 2; 18 July 1890, p 2.
- ¹⁴ *Kansas Chief*, 19 January 1888, p 3; 26 January 1888, p 3. • *Troy Times*, 20 January 1888, p 3; 4 November 1898, p 2, 4.
- ¹⁵ *Kansas Chief*, 23 December 1886, p 2.
- ¹⁶ *Kansas Chief*, 13 June 1889, p 2; 21 November 1889, p 3; 7 May 1896, p 3; 19 November 1896, p 3; 14 May 1903, p 1, 4; 25 February 1904, p 5; 26 October 1905, p 1; 18 April 1907, p 4; 12 December 1907, p 7; 21 May 1908, p 8; 18 April 1912, p 5; 22 April 1920, p 4; 29 September 1921, p 5; 6 October 1921, p 1. • *Troy Times*, 13 May 1892, p 3; 3 March 1893, p 4; 26 February 1897, p 4.
- ¹⁷ *Kansas Chief*, 23 July 1891, p 3; 24 September 1891, p 2; 15 December 1898, p 8; 1 March 1906, p 1; 13 June 1912, p 8.
- ¹⁸ *Kansas Chief*, 13 October 1892, p 3; 5 January 1893, p 3. • *White Cloud Globe-Tribune*, 14 October 1892, p 2
- ¹⁹ *Kansas Chief*, 6 April 1916, p 339. • *Lawrence Republican Daily Journal*, 10 September 1869, p 3.
- ²⁰ *Troy Times*, 19 August 1892, p 3; 26 August 1892, p 4; 19 May 1893, p 4. • *White Cloud Globe Tribune*, 8 July 1892, p 4; 22 July 1892, p 1.
- ²¹ *Kansas Chief*, 28 June 1894, p 3.
- ²² Eberle (2017a).
- ²³ *Kansas Chief*, 7 June 1894, p 3; 19 July 1894, p 3; 26 July 1894, p 3; 2 August 1894, p 3, 9 August 1894, p 3; 23 August 1894, p 3; 27 September 1894, p 3; 18 October 1894, p 3. • *Severance News*, 29 June 1894, p 1; 10 August 1894, p 4. • *Troy Times*, 29 June 1894, p 4; 13 July 1894, p 4; 20 July 1894; p 4; 27 July 1894, p 4; 3 August 1894, p 4; 10 August 1894, p 4; 7 September 1894, p 4.
- ²⁴ *Kansas Chief*, 20 September 1894, p 3.
- ²⁵ Eberle (2017a).
- ²⁶ *Kansas Chief*, 16 July 1903, p 4; 23 July 1903, p 4.
- ²⁷ *Atchison Daily Champion*, 13 August 1896, p 4. • *Emporia Republican*, 8 August 1895, p 4. • *Kansas Chief*, 4 April 1895, p 3; 16 May 1895, p 3; 23 May 1895, p 3; 12 September 1895, p 3; 30 April 1896, p 3; 27 August 1903, p 7.
- ²⁸ *Kansas Chief*, 15 November 1894, p 3; 20 December 1894, p 3. • *Troy Times*, 16 November 1894, p 4; 15 December 1893, p 4.
- ²⁹ Steeples and Whitten (1998).
- ³⁰ Eberle (2017a).
- ³¹ *Holtan Recorder-Tribune*, 20 June 1895, p 8. • *Kansas Chief*, 23 May 1895, p 3. • *Topeka State Journal*, 6 April 1895, p 3.
- ³² *Leavenworth Times*, 25 June 1895, p 4. • *Topeka State Journal*, 22 July 1895, p 1.
- ³³ *Kansas Chief*, 7 March 1895, p 3; 14 March 1895, p 3; 4 April 1895, p 3. • *Troy Times*, 8 March 1895, p 4; 29 March 1895, p 4; 5 April 1895, p 4. • *1895 Western Association, Baseball-Reference.com*.
- ³⁴ *Kansas Chief*, 18 April 1895, p 3.
- ³⁵ *Leavenworth Herald*, 18 May 1895, p 3.
- ³⁶ *Kansas Chief*, 11 April 1895, p 3; 25 April 1895, p 3; 2 May 1895, p 3; 9 May 1895, p 3; 16 May 1895, p 3; 23 May 1895, p 3; 6 June 1895, p 3; 20 June 1895, p 3. • *Leavenworth Times*, 9 June 1895, p 8. • *Seneca Courier-Tribune*, 24 May 1895, p 3. • *Topeka State Journal*, 11 June 1895, p 5. • *Pearce Chiles, Baseball-Reference.com*. • Schuler (2018).
- ³⁷ *Emporia Gazette*, 13 June 1895, p 1. • *Independence Daily Reporter*, 2 August 1895, p 3. • *Kansas City Gazette*, 13 July 1895, p 2. • *Lawrence Daily Journal-Tribune*, 26 May 1890, p 4. • *Leavenworth Standard*,

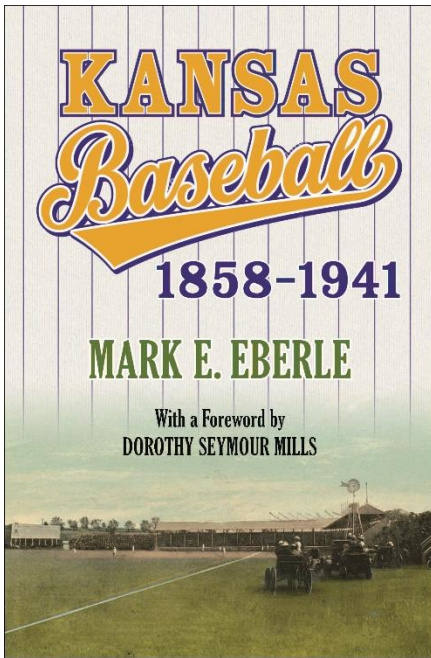
-
- 10 June 1895, p 1. • *Troy Times*, 24 May 1895, p 4; 7 June 1895, p 4. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 13 July 1895, p 3.
- ³⁸ *Topeka State Journal*, 11 June 1895, p 5. • Laing (2013). • McKenna (2018a).
- ³⁹ *Emporia Republican*, 1 August 1895, p 2; 8 August 1895, p 4. • *Kansas Chief*, 25 July 1895, p 3; 1 August 1895, p 3; 15 August 1895, p 3. • *Troy Times*, 26 July 1895, p 4; 2 August 1895, p 4; 9 August 1895, p 4; 30 August 1895, p 4.
- ⁴⁰ *Humeston New Era*, 28 August 1895, p 5. • *The Sporting News*, 9 November 1895, p 3.
- ⁴¹ *Kansas Chief*, 12 September 1895, p 3.
- ⁴² *Atchison Daily Champion*, 30 June 1896, p 4. • *Brown County World*, 29 May 1896, p 9; 10 July 1896, p 5; 17 July 1896, p 1. • *Kansas Chief*, 18 June 1896, p 3; 2 July 1896, p 3; 18 July 1896, p 3; 27 August 1896, p 3. • *Kansas Democrat*, 14 May 1896, p 1; 28 May 1896, p 1; 4 June 1896, p 3; 2 July 1896, p 8; 9 July 1896, p 1, 5; 23 July 1896, p 5. • *Troy Times*, 8 May 1896, p 4; 3 July 1896, p 4; 17 July 1895, p 4.
- ⁴³ *Atchison Daily Champion*, 13 August 1896, p 4; 18 August 1896, p 4; 25 August 1896, p 4; 1 September 1896, p 4; 22 September 1896, p 4; 7 October 1896, p 4. • *Brown County World*, 7 August 1896, p 5. • *Emporia Republican*, 6 August 1896, p 4; 13 August 1896, p 4. • *Independence Daily Reporter*, 27 June 1896, p 3; 7 July 1896, p 2, 3; 12 July 1896, p 2. • *Junction City Weekly Union*, 26 June 1896, p 2; 17 July 1896, p 3; 24 July 1896, p 1, 3. • *Kansas Democrat*, 27 August 1896, p 5; 1 October 1896, p 4. • *Troy Times*, 16 October 1896, p 4.
- ⁴⁴ *Abilene Daily Reflector*, 7 June 1897, p 3; 21 June 1897, p 3; 23 June 1897, p 3; 24 June 1897, p 3; 25 June 1897, p 3; 26 June 1897, p 3; 28 June 1897, p 3; 29 June 1897, p 3; 30 June 1897, p 3; 1 July 1897, p 3; 6 July 1897, p 3; 8 July 1897, p 3; 9 July 1897, p 3; 10 July 1897, p 3; 12 July 1897, p 3; 13 July 1897, p 3; 15 July 1897, p 3; 16 July 1897, p 3; 17 July 1897, p 3; 21 July 1897, p 3; 23 July 1897, p 3; 24 July 1897, p 3; 26 July 1897, p 3; 29 July 1897, p 3; 30 July 1897, p 3; 11 October 1897, p 3. • *Atchison Daily Champion*, 6 July 1897, p 4. • *Emporia Gazette*, 20 July 1897, p 4. • *Kansas Chief*, 20 May 1897, p 3. • *Lyon County News and Emporia Times*, 25 June 1897, p 1. • *Severance News*, 29 April 1897, p 1; 20 May 1897, p 1. • *Topeka State Journal*, 22 June 1897, p 3. • Eberle (2017b).
- ⁴⁵ *Abilene Daily Chronicle*, 23 September 1897, p 3. • *Abilene Daily Reflector*, 31 July 1897, p 3; 2 August 1897, p 3; 9 August 1897, p 3; 10 August 1897, p 3; 11 August 1897, p 3; 17 August 1897, p 3; 18 August 1897, p 3; 19 August 1897, p 3; 21 August 1897, p 3; 24 August 1897, p 3; 27 August 1897, p 3; 28 August 1897, p 3; 30 August 1897, p 3.
- ⁴⁶ *Kansas Chief*, 10 February 1898, p 3. • *Troy Times*, 11 February 1898, p 3.
- ⁴⁷ *Abilene Daily Chronicle*, 18 February 1898, p 3.
- ⁴⁸ *Abilene Daily Chronicle*, 9 May 1898, p 3.
- ⁴⁹ *Atchison Daily Champion*, 27 July 1898, p 1; 5 August 1898, p 1; 8 August 1898, p 1, 4. • *Atchison Daily Globe*, 11 July 1898, p 4; 12 July 1898, p 2. • *Independence Daily Reporter*, 2 August 1898, p 2. • *Kansas City Gazette*, 8 August 1898, p 2. • *Salina Daily Republican-Journal*, 9 August 1898, p 3. • *Salina Daily Union*, 24 June 1898, p 3. • *Wichita Daily Eagle*, 22 July 1898, p 5; 24 July 1898, p 4.
- ⁵⁰ *Abilene Daily Chronicle*, 10 May 1898, p 3; 18 May 1898, p 2; 27 May 1898, p 3; 4 June 1898, p 3. • *Abilene Daily Reflector*, 31 May 1898, p 3; 4 June 1898, p 5; 6 June 1898, p 3; 7 June 1898, p 3; 9 June 1898, p 3. • *Kansas Chief*, 11 August 1898, p 3. • *Salina Daily Union*, 13 June 1898, p 1.
- ⁵¹ *Abilene Daily Chronicle*, 27 June 1898, p 3. • *Abilene Daily Reflector*, 27 June 1898, p 3. • *Atchison Daily Globe*, 11 July 1898, p 4; 12 July 1898, p 2. • *Salina Daily Republican-Journal*, 20 June 1898, p 4; 22 June 1898, p 4; 25 June 1898, p 4. • *Salina Daily Union*, 18 June 1898, p 4; 23 June 1898, p 4; 24 June 1898, p 3; 25 June 1898, p 3; 30 June 1898, p 3; 1 July 1898, p 1; 12 July 1898, p 4. • *Severance News*, 4 August 1898, p 1. • *Troy Times*, 12 August 1898, p 3.
- ⁵² *Atchison Daily Globe*, 26 April 1898, p 4.
- ⁵³ *Kansas Chief*, 4 May 1899, p 7. • *Topeka Plaindealer*, 5 May 1899, p 2.
- ⁵⁴ Eberle (2017a).
- ⁵⁵ See Eberle (2017a) for an overview of minor league baseball, with an emphasis on Kansas.

-
- ⁵⁶ *Nebraska State Journal*, 20 May 1899, p 3. • *Omaha World Herald*, 7 May 1899, p 23 (roster).
- ⁵⁷ *Algona Courier*, 11 July 1902, p 4. • *Algona Upper Des Moines*, 7 May 1902, p 1; 16 July 1902, p 1; 30 July 1902, p 6; 13 August 1902, p 4; 10 September 1902, p 1; 13 May 1903, p 4. • *Duluth News-Tribune*, 17 September 1900, p 6. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 22 January 1899, p 6. • *Topeka Plaindealer*, 3 October 1902, p 3; 27 March 1903, p 3; 1 May 1903, p 3; 10 March 1905, p 6. • *Topeka State Journal*, 17 April 1895, p 3; 22 April 1895, p 3; 14 May 1895, p 4. • Peterson (2010).
- ⁵⁸ *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 5 May 1913, p 13. • *Indianapolis Freeman*, 17 May 1913, p 4. • *Omaha Daily Bee*, 8 September 1913, p 7; 20 June 1914, p 13.
- ⁵⁹ *Atchison Daily Champion*, 11 August 1899, p 4; 29 August 1899, p 1; 31 August 1899, p 1. • *Atchison Daily Globe*, 25 August 1899, p 8. • *Kansas Chief*, 12 October 1899, p 8. • *Nebraska State Journal*, 11 May 1899, p 2; 16 May 1899, p 2; 20 May 1899, p 3; 1 June 1899, p 3; 20 June 1899, p 3; 25 June 1899, p 3; 27 June 1899, p 5; 30 June 1899, p 3; 1 July 1899, p 3; 9 July 1899, p 3; 15 July 1899, p 3; 16 July 1899, p 4; 19 July 1899, p 2; 21 July 1899, p 3; 2 August 1899, p 3; 1 September 1899, p 3. • *Omaha Daily Bee*, 16 May 1899, p 2; 19 May 1899, p 4. • *Omaha World Herald*, 31 July 1899, p 5. • *Sterling Semi-Weekly Sun*, 16 June 1899, p 2; 27 June 1899, p 2; 30 June 1899, p 2; 11 July 1899, p 2; 14 July 1899, p 2, 3; 1 August 1899, p 2. • *Tecumseh Chieftain*, 20 May 1899, p 4; 1 July 1899, p 4; 22 July 1899, p 4; 12 August 1899, p 4; 2 September 1899, p 5.
- ⁶⁰ *Chicago Tribune*, 25 February 1900, p 18; 23 April 1900, p 4. • *Emporia Gazette*, 26 December 1989, p 1; 31 March 1899, p 4. • Anonymous (1910).
- ⁶¹ *Chicago Tribune*, 23 April 1900, p 4.
- ⁶² *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 2 July 1900, p 8. • *Chicago Tribune*, 8 April 1900, p 20; 23 April 1900, p 4; 30 April 1900, p 4; 7 May 1900, p 4; 14 May 1900, p 4; 21 May 1900, p 4; 11 June 1900, p 8; 13 June 1900, p 4; 2 July 1900, p 8; 9 July 1900, p 8; 16 July 1900, p 8; 20 July 1900, p 9; 13 August 1900, p 8; 8 October 1900, p 8. • *Duluth News-Tribune*, 17 September 1900, p 6. • *St. Paul Globe*, 24 September 1900, p 5. • *Sioux Falls Argus-Leader*, 17 August 1900, p 5. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 22 January 1899, p 6. • Peterson (2010, 2013).
- ⁶³ *Chicago Tribune*, 1 October 1900, p 8; 8 October 1900, p 8; 11 October 1900, p 4; 13 October 1900, p 6; 14 October 1900, p 18. • Peterson (2013).
- ⁶⁴ *Detroit Free Press*, 23 October 1900, p 6. • *Jackson Citizen Patriot*, 17 October 1900, p 8. • Peterson (2013).
- ⁶⁵ *Chicago Tribune*, 10 June 1901, p 6. • *Highland Vidette*, 18 April 1901, p 1; 12 September 1901, p 1. • *Kansas Chief*, 28 February 1901, p 5; 4 April 1901, p 5; 11 April 1901, p 5; 22 August 1901, p 8; 5 September 1901, p 5. • *Troy Times*, 22 February 1901, p 3; 12 April 1901, p 3.
- ⁶⁶ *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 23 September 1901, p 4. • *Chicago Tribune*, 19 May 1901, p 19; 27 May 1901, p 6; 3 June 1901, p 6; 10 June 1901, p 6; 26 June 1901, p 6; 5 August 1901, p 8; 16 September 1901, p 9. • *De Kalb Daily Chronicle*, 22 August 1901, p 1. • *Eau Claire Weekly Telegram*, 15 August 1901, p 2. • *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, 10 July 1901, p 3. • *Janesville Daily Gazette*, 17 June 1901, p 5. • Revel and Munoz (2016).
- ⁶⁷ *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 13 October 1901, p 19; 14 October 1901, p 4. • *Chicago Tribune*, 29 September 1901, p 19; 28 October 1901, p 6.
- ⁶⁸ *Algona Advance*, 15 August 1902, p 8. • *Algona Courier*, 2 May 1902, p 5; 8 August 1902, p 8. • *Algona Republican*, 24 June 1902, p 1. • *Algona Upper Des Moines*, 7 May 1902, p 1; 21 May 1902, p 1; 28 May 1902, p 9 (poorly reproduced team photo); 18 June 1902, p 1; 16 July 1902, p 1; 27 August 1902, p 1; 17 September 1902, p 8; 1 October 1902, p 4. • *Kansas Chief*, 1 May 1902, p 5. • *Webster City Tribune*, 5 September 1902, p 12. • Peterson (2010).
- ⁶⁹ *Algona Courier*, 11 July 1902, p 4. • *Algona Upper Des Moines*, 7 May 1902, p 1; 28 May 1902, p 9; 16 July 1902, p 1. • *Highland Vidette*, 23 October 1902, p 1. • *Iowa State Bystander*, 29 August 1902, p 1. • *Kansas Chief*, 1 May 1902, p 5. • *Webster City Tribune*, 18 July 1902, p 1. • Husman (2013).
- ⁷⁰ *Algona Courier*, 15 August 1902, p 4. • *Algona Upper Des Moines*, 30 July 1902, p 6; 6 August 1902, p 1; 20 August 1902, p 1; 27 August 1902, p 1. • *Kansas Chief*, 16 October 1902, p 6.
- ⁷¹ *Algona Courier*, 29 August 1902, p 1.

-
- ⁷² *Algona Advance*, 12 March 1903, p 1. • *Algona Upper Des Moines*, 10 September 1902, p 1; 17 September 1902, p 8; 24 September 1902, p 8; 1 October 1902, p 4. • *Kansas Chief*, 2 October 1902, p 5; 9 October 1902, p 8; 16 October 1902, p 6.
- ⁷³ *Algona Advance*, 10 September 1903, p 5. • *Le Mars Globe-Post*, 2 September 1903, p 2. • *Le Mars Semi-Weekly Sentinel*, 28 August 1903, p 4; 1 September 1903, p 4. • 1903 *Le Mars Blackbirds*, Baseball-Reference.com.
- ⁷⁴ *Le Mars Semi-Weekly Sentinel*, 8 September 1903, p 4.
- ⁷⁵ *Brown County World*, 30 January 1903, p 16. • *Kansas Chief*, 14 May 1903, p 1, 4. • *Highland Vidette*, 22 January 1903, p 1. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 27 February 1903, p 5. • *Topeka State Journal*, 26 February 1903, p 6.
- ⁷⁶ *Topeka Daily Capital*, 3 May 1903, p 17.
- ⁷⁷ *Brown County World*, 1 January 1904, p 44. • *Highland Vidette*, 9 July 1903, p 8; 20 August 1903; p 1. • *Kansas Chief*, 16 July 1903, p 4; 23 July 1903, p 4; 27 August 1903, p 7; 3 September 1903, p 1; 10 September 1903, p 8; 17 September 1903, p 1; 24 September 1903, p 1; 1 October 1903, p 1; 15 October 1903, p 5.
- ⁷⁸ *Kansas Chief*, 23 April 1903, p 4; 30 April 1903, p 4; 11 June 1903, p 4; 2 July 1903, p 4; 16 July 1903, p 4; 23 July 1903, p 4; 3 September 1903, p 1; 17 September 1903, p 1; 24 September 1903, p 1; 1 October 1903, p 1; 21 April 1904, p 5. • *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, 3 April 1904, p 49; 9 May 1904, p 2; 29 May 1904, p 46 (Renville team photo); 30 May 1904, p 3. • *Renville Record*, 6 April 1904, p 4; 13 April 1904, p 4; 20 April 1904, p 4; 27 April 1904, p 8; 1 June 1904, p 6. • *Renville Star Farmer*, 3 June 1904, p 1 (Renville team photo). • *St. Paul Globe*, 15 August 1904, p 9. • Peterson (2010). • Eddie Noyes, Baseball-Reference.com.
- ⁷⁹ *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, 29 May 1904, p 46. • Peterson (2010).
- ⁸⁰ *Renville Record*, 11 May 1904, p 4.
- ⁸¹ *Renville Record*, 18 May 1904, p 5.
- ⁸² *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, 16 May 1904, p 2.
- ⁸³ *Hector Mirror*, 6 May 1904, p 1. • *Minneapolis Tribune*, 30 May 1904, p 3. • *Renville Record*, 11 May 1904, p 4; 1 June 1904, p 6. • *Renville Star Farmer*, 6 May 1904, p 7.
- ⁸⁴ *Hector Mirror*, 15 July 1904, p 1. • *Renville Record*, 20 July 1904, p 5; 3 August 1904, p 1. • *Renville Star Farmer*, 8 August 1904, p 7.
- ⁸⁵ *Dakota Farmers' Leader*, 15 July 1904, p 5. • *Sioux Falls Argus-Leader*, 21 June 1904, p 7.
- ⁸⁶ *St. Paul Globe*, 14 August 1904, p 15 (team photo of Chippewa Falls, WI); 15 August 1904, p 9; 20 August 1904, p 5; 24 August 1904, p 7. • Peterson (2010).
- ⁸⁷ *Renville Record*, 31 August 1904, p 4. • Peterson (2010).
- ⁸⁸ *Alton Democrat*, 17 September 1904, p 8. • *Hawarden Independent*, 17 August 1905, p 8.
- ⁸⁹ *Hawarden Independent*, 7 September 1905, p 1.
- ⁹⁰ *Hawarden Independent*, 7 September 1905, p 1.
- ⁹¹ *Albuquerque Citizen*, 5 October 1905, p 7. • *Algona Advance*, 5 October 1905, p 2. • *Marshalltown Evening Times-Republican*, 14 August 1908, p 9. • *Minneapolis Journal*, 5 July 1906, p 13. • *Norfolk Weekly News-Journal*, 11 September 1908, p 2. • *Omaha Daily Bee*, 18 July 1909, p 30; 6 August 1909, p 6. • *Sioux Falls Argus-Leader*, 18 August 1906, p 3; 25 July 1907, p 3; 25 June 1908, p 5; 4 August 1908, p 8; 13 August 1908, p 8.
- ⁹² *Minneapolis Journal*, 1 July 1906, p 32.
- ⁹³ *Albuquerque Citizen*, 23 January 1906, p 3.
- ⁹⁴ *Sioux Falls Argus-Leader*, 1 September 1905, p 9. • Berlage (1994).
- ⁹⁵ *Sioux Falls Argus-Leader*, 23 March 1907, p 7.
- ⁹⁶ *Sioux Falls Argus-Leader*, 25 September 1908, p 8.
- ⁹⁷ *Sioux Falls Argus-Leader*, 25 June 1908, p 5.
- ⁹⁸ Berlage (1994).

-
- ⁹⁹ *Highland Vidette*, 15 September 1904, p 1; 29 September 1904, p 5; 6 April 1905, p 3; 20 July 1905, p 1; 28 September 1905, p 3; 5 October 1905, p 1; 12 October 1905, p 1; 19 October 1905, p 2. • *Kansas Chief*, 1 September 1904, p 5; 8 September 1904, p 8; 15 September 1904, p 1; 29 September 1904, p 1; 6 October 1904, p 8; 20 July 1905, p 8; 31 August 1905, p 8; 26 October 1905, p 1. • *Severance News*, 21 July 1905, p 2. • *Wathena Times*, 18 August 1905, p 1. 29 September 1904, p 5. • *White Cloud Globe-Tribune*, 6 April 1905, p 1. • Eddie Noyes, Baseball-Reference.com.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Highland Vidette*, 14 June 1906, p 1; 13 September 1906, p 1. • *Kansas Chief*, 17 April 1906, p 1; 7 June 1906, p 1; 14 June 1906, p 5; 5 July 1906, p 1; 26 July 1906, p 5. • *Kansas Democrat*, 12 September 1906, p 2.
- ¹⁰¹ *Kansas Chief*, 13 September 1906, p 1.
- ¹⁰² *Highland Vidette*, 13 June 1907, p 3. • *Kansas Chief*, 18 April 1907, p 4; 16 May 1907, p 5; 6 June 1907, p 5. • *Chariton Patriot*, 22 August 1907, p 1. • *Des Moines Register*, 6 August 1907, p 7. • *Humeston New Era*, 7 August 1907, p 1; 21 August 1907, p 1.
- ¹⁰³ *Des Moines Register*, 28 June 1907, p 6; 7 July 1907, p 11; 18 July 1907, p 7; 21 July 1907, p 11; 23 July 1907, p 7; 6 August 1907, p 7; 30 August 1907, p 9; 6 October 1907, p 14. • Young (2016).
- ¹⁰⁴ *Highland Vidette*, 3 October 1907, p 1. • *Kansas Chief*, 12 December 1907, p 7.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Kansas City Journal*, 20 April 1908, p 7. • *Kansas City Rising Son*, 30 August 1906, p 5; 6 September 1906, p 5 (roster); 20 September 1906, p 5; 27 September 1906, p 5; 4 October 1906, p 5; 30 March 1907, p 5; 4 May 1907, p 1; 18 May 1907, p 1; 22 June 1907, p 1 (roster); 6 July 1907, p 5; 10 August 1907, p 10; 14 September 1907, p 1; 21 September 1907, p 5. • *Kansas City Star*, 24 March 1907, p 12; 2 May 1907, p 10; 6 June 1907, p 10; 1 July 1907, p 4; 15 September 1907, p 12; 16 April 1908, p 12. • *Topeka State Journal*, 31 May 1905, p 3; 12 September 1905, p 8. • Bruce (1985). • Eberle (2017a). • Lester and Miller (2000).
- ¹⁰⁶ *Topeka Plaindealer*, 26 May 1899, p 3. • Camp (2013). • Eberle (2017a). • Gaitha Page (2014).
- ¹⁰⁷ *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, 5 August 1899, p 2; 9 August 1899, p 5; 10 August 1899, p 5; 11 August 1899, p 5; 17 August 1899, p 5; 18 August 1899, p 5; 19 August 1899, p 5; 22 August 1899, p 5; 23 August 1899, p 2; 24 August 1899, p 5; 25 August 1899, p 5; 28 August 1899, p 5; 30 August 1899, p 5; 2 September 1899, p 5. • *Emporia Daily Republican*, 22 May 1899, p 4; 2 August 1899, p 4. • *Emporia Gazette*, 10 June 1899, p 1; 19 July 1899, p 4; 22 July 1899, p 4; 3 August 1899, p 1. • Eberle (2017a).
- ¹⁰⁸ *Kansas City Rising Son*, 6 May 1904, p 5; 6 September 1906, p 5; 22 June 1907, p 1. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 2 August 1903, p 2; 5 August 1903, p 6; 28 August 1903, p 8; 30 August 1903, p 6; 29 March 1905, p 2; 1 April 1905, p 5; 14 April 1905, p 2; 5 May 1905, p 6. • *Topeka Plaindealer*, 13 June 1902, p 3; 27 June 1902, p 3; 18 July 1902, p 3; 15 August 1902, p 3; 5 September 1902, p 3; 1 May 1903, p 3; 8 May 1903, p 3; 10 July 1903, p 3; 24 March 1905, p 5; 12 May 1905, p 5; 19 May 1905, p 5; 8 September 1905, p 6. • *Topeka State Journal*, 3 September 1902, p 5; 24 April 1903, p 8; 3 July 1903, p 5; 16 July 1903, p 10; 17 July 1903, p 5; 30 March 1905, p 8; 8 May 1905, p 5; 31 May 1905, p 3; 7 July 1905, p 11; 12 September 1905, p 8. • Bond (2003). • Eberle (2017a). • Gaitha Page (2014).
- ¹⁰⁹ *Topeka Daily Capital*, 9 April 1905, p 2; 3 June 1906, p 2. • *Topeka Plaindealer*, 4 May 1900, p 3. • *Topeka State Journal*, 22 April 1905, p 2.
- ¹¹⁰ *Kansas City Rising Son*, 6 May 1904, p 5; 6 September 1906, p 5. • *Topeka Daily Capital*, 5 May 1905, p 6. • *Topeka Plaindealer*, 7 June 1901, p 1; 13 June 1902, p 3; 27 June 1902, p 3; 19 December 1902, p 4 (photograph of Gaitha Page); 19 June 1903, p 3; 25 December 1903, p 2; 12 May 1905, p 5; 19 May 1905, p 5. • *Topeka State Journal*, 8 May 1905, p 5; 31 May 1905, p 3.
- ¹¹¹ *Kansas City Star*, 9 December 1928, p 84; 30 November 1930, p 9; 23 February 1970, p 14. • *Topeka Plaindealer*, 1 May 1908, p 5; 24 February 1911, p 1; 18 October 1912, p 5; 11 October 1918, p 4; 28 September 1923, p 1.
- ¹¹² *Kansas City Rising Son*, 30 August 1906, p 5; 20 September 1906, p 5; 27 September 1906, p 5; 30 March 1907, p 5; 4 May 1907, p 1; 6 July 1907, p 5; 14 September 1907, p 1; 21 September 1907, p 5.

- ¹¹³ *Kansas City Journal*, 20 April 1908, p 7; 11 May 1908, p 7; 25 May 1908, p 7. • *Kansas City Post*, 20 April 1908, p 6; 21 June 1909, p 5. • *Kansas City Star*, 16 April 1908, p 12; 19 April 1908, p 12.
- ¹¹⁴ *Kansas City Kansas Globe*, 10 October 1908, p 8. • *Kansas City Star*, 16 April 1908, p 12; 19 April 1908, p 12; 22 April 1908, p 12; 26 April 1908, p 13; 27 April 1908, p 5; 1 May 1908, p 5; 2 May 1908, p 5; 1 June 1908, p 11; 13 June 1908, p 11; 25 June 1908, p 9; 26 June 1908, p 14; 27 June 1908, p 11; 28 June 1908, p 2; 29 June 1908, p 8; 12 July 1908, p 2; 21 July 1908, p 12; 9 August 1908, p 2; 27 August 1908, p 8;; 3 September 1908, p 8; 5 September 1908, p 8; 8 September 1908, p 10; 16 September 1908, p 6; 17 September 1908, p 9. • *Kansas City Times*, 3 August 1908, p 8; 27 August 1908, p 9.
- ¹¹⁵ *Highland Vidette*, 9 July 1908, p 1; 23 July 1908, p 1. • *Kansas Chief*, 28 May 1908, p 5. • *Kansas City Journal*, 20 April 1908, p 7. • *Kansas City Star*, 19 April 1908, p 12.
- ¹¹⁶ *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 3 July 1911, p 5. • *Chicago Tribune*, 20 June 1910, p 11. • *Indianapolis Freeman*, 6 August 1910, p 7; 5 September 1914, p 4; 12 September 1914, p 4. • *Kansas City Kansas Globe*, 10 October 1908, p 8. • Ashwill (2007). • Lester and Miller (2000).
- ¹¹⁷ *Kansas Chief*, 2 July 1908, p 8.
- ¹¹⁸ *Kansas Chief*, 11 July 1895, p 3. • Barnett (1940). • Park et al. (2015).
- ¹¹⁹ *Kansas Chief*, 24 June 1909, p 6. • *Kansas City Journal*, 21 June 1909, p 7.
- ¹²⁰ *Atchison Daily Champion*, 22 June 1915, p 3; 17 July 1916, p 3. • *Brown County World*, 2 July 1915, p 12. • *Kansas Chief*, 10 August 1905, p 8; 24 April 1906, p 1; 14 June 1906, p 1; 27 June 1907, p 8; 4 July 1907, p 1; 25 June 1908, p 3; 8 August 1912, p 5; 11 June 1914, p 1; 2 July 1914, p 1; 20 August 1914, p 1; 10 June 1915, p 5; 24 June 1915, p 1; 29 July 1915, p 2; 16 September 1915, p 2; 22 June 1916, p 1; 20 May 1920, p 4; 27 May 1920, p 8; 24 June 1920, p 5; 15 July 1920, p 1; 26 August 1920, p 8; 14 April 1921, p 5; 21 April 1921, p 8; 5 May 1921, p 5; 2 June 1921, p 5; 16 June 1921, p 5; 11 August 1921, p 5; 27 April 1922, p 5; 4 May 1922, p 5; 18 May 1922, p 5; 25 May 1922, p 5; 1 June 1922, p 5; 8 June 1922, p 5; 29 June 1922, p 5. • *Kansas City Star*, 21 June 1909, p 7.
- ¹²¹ *Kansas Chief*, 29 July 1915, p 2.
- ¹²² *Kansas Chief*, 9 July 1908, p 2; 13 June 1912, p 6; 21 October 1915, p 4; 9 March 1916, p 6; 8 February 1917, p 4; 24 April 1919, p 2. • *Wathena Times*, 29 August 1913, p 12.
- ¹²³ *Highland Vidette*, 1 March 1900, p 8; 12 October 1905, p 2. • *Kansas Chief*, 15 December 1898, p 8; 25 September 1902, p 6; 4 February 1904, p 1; 25 February 1904, p 1; 14 June 1906, p 5; 4 November 1909, p 5. • *Severance News*, 4 May 1899, p 1; 23 February 1900, p 4. • *Troy Times*, 19 June 1896, p 4. • *Wathena Times*, 29 August 1913, p 12; 5 May 1916, p 12; 3 August 1917, p 10.
- ¹²⁴ *Kansas Chief*, 18 May 1911, p 5; 11 August 1911, p 8; 31 March 1921, p 6; 30 June 1921, p 3; 22 September 1921, p 3; 19 January 1922, p 3; 3 August 1922, p 7; 8 February 1923, p 1; 19 April 1923, p 1.
- ¹²⁵ *Kansas Chief*, 18 January 1912, p 5; 15 February 1912, p 8; 12 October 1916, p 5; 13 December 1917, p 5. • *Kansas City Sun*, 27 March 1915, p 8; 3 April 1915, p 8.
- ¹²⁶ *Kansas Chief*, 1 September 1910, p 1.
- ¹²⁷ *Kansas City Sun*, 24 April 1915, p 8.
- ¹²⁸ *Atchison Daily Globe*, 19 July 1929, p 10 (obituary for “Dorothy Wakefield Smith, 20, colored”); 18 July 1953, p 2; 20 July 1953, p 7. • *Kansas City Sun*, 26 September 1914, p 8; 10 October 1914, p 8; 18 March 1916, p 8; 25 March 1916, p 8. • *Topeka Plaindealer*, 8 January 1926, p 2. • *Wathena Times*, 9 February 1917, p 10.
- ¹²⁹ *Kansas Chief*, 22 July 1926, p 1, 8.
- ¹³⁰ *Kansas Chief*, 22 July 1926, p 1.
- ¹³¹ *Atchison Daily Globe*, 20 December 1935, p 6, 7.
- ¹³² Ashwill (2016a, 2016b). • Dixon (2010). • O’Neil et al. (1996). • Revel and Munoz (2010, 2014). • Rice (2018). • Tye (2009).



You can learn more about the early history of baseball as played by local teams in Kansas in the book *Kansas Baseball, 1858–1941*, published in 2017 by the University Press of Kansas and available in paperback or e-book through bookstores and online retailers.

The book explores the early game played by hundreds of town teams composed of white males, as well as teams of women, African Americans, American Indians, and Mexican Americans. Also described are the regional minor leagues and major league tours, along with the histories of nine towns still playing baseball in the state’s oldest ballparks constructed between 1924 and 1940.