



BY GREGG LEE CARTER

Columbia University,  
New York, New York

*Baseball in Saint Louis, 1867-1875:  
An Historical Case Study in Civic Pride*

---

*A Tale of Two Cities—A.D. 2000*

*By Jack Frost*

A village, once, of low degree,  
A city's rival tried to be.  
The city now in triumph stands.  
The village—leveled to the sands.

This mournful tale's designed to tell  
How, like the frog who tried to swell  
Until he'd be an ox in size,  
Soon burst this town of many lies.

From out her miasmatic smells  
One morn came nine athletic swells,  
Who would their humbler rivals meet,  
And crush them with a sore defeat.

They met these rivals on the green;  
They ne'er were more surprised, I ween,  
For though they hard and harder fought,  
Their puny efforts counted *naught*.

Again they met—but, while, you know,  
Brains fed on lake fish larger grow,  
And while to man great use they've been,  
A game of ball they cannot win.

As lions, came this buffer crew,  
Intending mighty deeds to do;  
Like badly beaten fowls they went,  
With feathers drooping, crushed and bent.

This little village seemed accursed;  
 Soon all her gaudy bubbles burst.  
 She proved what me thought her before,  
 A wind-bag burgh—and nothing more.

Where this wretched village stood  
 Now stands a sign of painted wood,  
 On it these words: "Upon this spot  
 Chicago stood, but now stands not;  
 Her time soon came, she had to go;  
 A victim, she, of too much blow."<sup>1</sup>

THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY IMAGE OF ST. LOUIS in the last half of the nineteenth century is the story of a city whose self-conception poorly resembled reality. St. Louis conceived herself as continuing to be the premiere trade center of the Mississippi Valley. Furthermore, the same characteristics that had made her the commercial capital of the Midwest were to shape St. Louis into *the* great city of the country before the twentieth century dawned. Prophetic faith in the destiny of the "Mound City" reached its climax in the writings of Logan Uriah Reavis between 1867 and 1881. Using specious arguments, Reavis reasoned that St. Louis's river and geographical location, climate, population, social institutions, business leadership, railways, and surrounding natural resources made her the logical economic capital of not only the United States but also of the world.<sup>2</sup>

1. This poem was printed in the *St. Louis Democrat*, May 15, 1875. It was prompted by the two victories of the St. Louis Brown Stockings over the Chicago White Stockings.

2. See Logan Uriah Reavis, *The New Republic or the Transition Complete, with an Approaching Change of National Empire, Based upon the Commercial and Industrial Expansion of the Great West* (St. Louis, 1867); *Saint Louis: The Future Great City of the World* (St. Louis, 1870)—between 1870 and 1880, this book went through at least eight printings, including one in German; *The Railways and River Systems of the City of St. Louis, with a brief statement of facts designed to demonstrate that St. Louis is rapidly becoming the Food Distributing Center of the North American Continent* (St. Louis, 1879); *The Commonwealth of Missouri, or the Empire State of the American Union* (London, 1880). In July of 1869 Reavis was hired by the National Capital Convention committee to publicize St. Louis's bid for the national capital, which inspired his *Pamphlet for the People: Containing Facts and Arguments in favor of the Removal of the National Capital to the Mississippi Valley* (St. Louis, 1869) and *The National Capital Movable: A Letter to President Grant on the Subject of the Removal of the National Capital* (St. Louis, 1871). The attempt by St. Louisans to get the national capital moved to the "Mound City" can be viewed as another expression of their mythic conception of St. Louis; see Olynthus B. Clark, "The Bid of the West for the National Capital," *Mississippi Valley Historical Association: Proceedings*, Vol. III (1909-1910), 214-290. In chapter IV of his *Com-*

Yet, in reality the "Mound City" was not the leading commercial center of the Midwest. To be sure, antebellum St. Louis could, relatively speaking, truthfully describe herself as the "New York of the West." However, dramatically afflicted by the Union blockade during the Civil War and controlled by conservative business leaders thereafter, St. Louis permanently lost her position to Chicago as the premiere trading center and metropolis of the mid-continent market area during the late 1860s and 1870s.<sup>3</sup>

Continually striving to maintain her mythic self-image, post-bellum St. Louis began to manipulate every possible symbol that could both denigrate Chicago and dub her "The Future Great City of the World." Ludicrous as it may seem, baseball became one of these symbols. When St. Louis defeated Chicago on the diamond, her pride swelled. Her victory was just another testimony "to the supremacy of the Western city with the greatest population, the most flourishing trade, and the biggest bridge . . ."<sup>4</sup>

An examination of the contemporary local newspaper columns on baseball reveals that they contained not only more expressions of the intense rivalry between the two cities, but also reflected the "Mound City" residents' use of baseball as a symbol in the preservation of St. Louis's overaggrandized self-conception. These phenomena became fully evident for the first time in May of 1875. On May 6th the St. Louis Browns defeated the Chicago White Stockings ten to zero before a crowd of ten thousand spectators. The St. Louis *Dispatch* reported that "the entire city" took great interest in the contest, and that after the game:

Everywhere, the excitement regarding the great victory was most intense. In hotel, shop, restaurant, bar room, in the home circle and on the street, but little was talked of save the terrific "poultieling" the Browns had administered the Chicago Whites . . .<sup>5</sup>

The St. Louis *Republican* smugly placed the victory in perspective to the greater Chicago-St. Louis rivalry by propounding:

---

*munity Image in the History of Saint Louis and Kansas City* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, U. of Missouri, 1969), Donald Oster notes that until 1884, the Reavis image of St. Louis appears to have been fairly well accepted by most St. Louisans.

3. See Catherine Virginia Soraghan, *The History of St. Louis: 1865-1876* (Unpublished A.M. thesis, Washington University, 1936), chap. V; and Wyatt Winton Belcher, *The Economic Rivalry Between St. Louis and Chicago: 1850-1880* (New York, 1947). In addition, Belcher notes that, "One of the principal reasons why the prophecies of future greatness for St. Louis did not come to pass was that the people thought that no special efforts were necessary, since these prophecies would fulfill themselves automatically" (15).

4. From the report by the St. Louis *Republican* on May 7, 1875, of the St. Louis-Chicago professional game.

5. St. Louis *Dispatch*, May 7, 1875.

Time was when Chicago had an excellent base ball club, the best in the West, but that was before St. Louis decided to make an appearance on the diamond field and there, as everywhere else, attest her supremacy . . .

And the *Republican* added editorially:

St. Louis is happy. Chicago has not only been beaten at baseball, but outrageously beaten. With all the bragging of that boastful city . . . the result only illustrates once more the old truth that bluster does not always win. In this, as other things, St. Louis proves stronger . . . Chicago came, saw, and was conquered.<sup>6</sup>

The St. Louis *Democrat* sustained both the *Dispatch's* and the *Republican's* reports by stating:

WE HAVE MET THE ENEMY AND THEY ARE OURS . . . For some time past those who know the merits of the game of ball, and those, also who had not the remotest conception as to how it was played . . . have been agitated concerning the coming of the Chicago "White Stockings" and their first meeting with the brown hosed players of St. Louis. The prestige gained by the Whites in the past has not been ignored by any means . . . But the presumption that the Brown Stockings would be completely demoralized and wiped out of existence after the first game with the club from the Lake City would have been most reasonable, on the part of a stranger, after hearing the average Chicago man state the case . . . Time has told a different story, and the shoe is changed to the other foot.<sup>7</sup>

The Chicago newspapers reported that St. Louis was "in the seventh heaven of happiness" as a result of the May 6th game.<sup>8</sup> They were also quick to point out how St. Louis was "contemptibly" using her victory as a symbol of general supremacy. The Chicago *Tribune* noted how St. Louisans apparently believed that "the fate of the cities had been decided by eighteen hired men."<sup>9</sup> The Chicago *Times* was even more sardonic and attempted to sarcastically quell St. Louis's jubilation:

#### ST. LOUIS' TRIUMPH

The solace that we find in the discomfiture of St. Louis over the sale of the great bridge, makes it hardly admirable to indulge in words of self-congratulation within one week after the great game of base-ball. The overpowering sense of shame that reference to that unfortunate game must always bring to any Chicago man is in some degree lightened by reflection upon the commercial triumph we have often

6. St. Louis *Republican*, May 7, 1875.

7. St. Louis *Democrat*, May 7, 1875.

8. Chicago *Tribune*, May 7, 1875. Reprinted in the St. Louis *Democrat*, St. Louis *Daily Globe*, and St. Louis *Republican*, May 8, 1875.

9. Chicago *Times*, May 7, 1875.

gained over St. Louis; but the stain and disgrace are by no means removed. In mere matters of business we have had our own way. St. Louis did not care particularly to interfere, or at least laterierd too late. But all that is nothing beside this defeat at base-ball. It was fondly supposed in Chicago that every preparation had been made to ensure a victory. The time devoted to preliminary arrangements was ample. For weeks nothing was talked of in business circles save the approaching contest which was to decide the question of superiority between the two cities in the most intellectual, refined and progressive pursuit ever entered upon by man. The excitement became intense a few days before the game, and culminated when the first reports were received. When the result was announced deep gloom settled upon the city. Friends refused to recognize friends, lovers became estranged, and business was suspended. All Chicago went to the funeral, and the time, since then, has dragged wearily along, as though it were no object to live longer in the world.

In view of this appalling misfortune, it is some slight relief to think how speedily the great bridge, over which St. Louis held one of the grandest celebrations of the day, passed into Chicago hands. Not that the bridge is of any great value, but since Chicago must in time manage the entire business of St. Louis, it was well to secure control of this way of approach. It will avoid trouble and complications on all sides, and indeed was a great benefit to St. Louis, by enabling her to escape paying for the fireworks consumed at the time of the inauguration of the bridge. This little triumph is not alluded to as a matter that should offset the base-ball defeat, but merely as something that renders the defeat endurable. We have no desire to interrupt the rejoicing now going on in the Mound city. It is right and proper that her citizens should feel proud of an achievement that places her at once in the front rank of brains and culture. Whatever envy we may feel shall be carefully concealed, and there shall be no manifestation of the pain we experience. There shall be nothing to mar the rejoicing of happy St. Louis, peerless among the cities of the west, in everything. . . . Let jealousy be kept down, and let there be one instance at least of unalloyed happiness in the world. If ever a victor deserved a perfect triumph St. Louis deserves it now. It is not in our hearts to interfere with her reward.<sup>10</sup>

That Chicago easily recognized St. Louis's manipulation of baseball to sustain her self-image is not surprising. Nevertheless, the important question dawns, "why did St. Louis use *baseball*?" What were the characteristics of the game which allowed it to be employed in such a fashion?

First, the game of baseball was *competitive*. Such a trait made it readily adaptable into the greater matrix of the St. Louis-Chicago competition. Next, baseball was *salient*. It was unnecessary to peruse the complex data

---

10. Chicago *Times*, May 8, 1875. Reprinted in the St. Louis *Daily Times*, May 11, 1875.

of the financial pages or to hypothesize on the comparative resources of each community; everyone concerned could literally see the contest. Furthermore, attention drawn to baseball victories over the "Lake City" permitted St. Louis to temporarily avoid the stark reality of her economic inferiority to Chicago. Closely related to baseball's saliency was its *simplicity*. The diamond game pitted St. Louis against Chicago in a conflict which had an undeniable and single victor.<sup>11</sup> In short, the baseball field was a comprehensible microcosm of the St. Louis-Chicago rivalry that was readily amenable to the promotion of civic pride.

ALL OF THE PREVIOUSLY QUOTED PASSAGES have been concerned with St. Louis's first professional baseball team, the "Brown Stockings," and its games with the Chicago White Stockings in May of 1875. Chicago had organized her professional nine in 1870; and from that date until May of 1875, the White Stockings had thoroughly drubbed every St. Louis amateur challenger.<sup>12</sup> In light of this fact, the question arises as to why St. Louis waited so long to organize a professional club.

As early as 1867, the local newspapers were using their baseball columns to rail at Chicago and make invidious comparisons between the two cities.

---

11. However, it might be noted that when St. Louis lost to Chicago, she had a hard time giving the "city of divorces" an "undeniable" victory. Note the lame excuse given by the *Democrat* on April 30, 1874, when the St. Louis Empires lost to the Chicago White Stockings in 1874:

Today the Empires intend to hunt out the best bats that can be found in the city, and show the Chicago boys in next Friday's game that they know a thing or two. To get good bats they will have to send East, as the bats in St. Louis are not considered first-class. Had the Whites allowed the Empires the use of their bats yesterday, the game would have turned out differently. Namrog and Seward had to use broken bats from the second inning to the close of the game. Of course the Empires had no claim to the visitors bats; but it is the first time that a professional club ever refused to let the St. Louis clubs use them.

Unfortunately, the next day the *Democrat* was forced to retract its feeble reprieve for the Empires:

It seems that our reporter was misinformed about St. Louis bats not being first class. The Chicago White Stockings purchased a dozen bats in this city, each player picking out his own bat and marking his name on it. The Empires bought a dozen a month ago, but most of them gave out by the terrific batting of the State champions. . . (St. Louis *Democrat*, May 1, 1874).

12. Actually, Chicago had always played St. Louis with professional or "semi-professional" teams. The Chicago Excelsiors, a semi-professional club, defeated St. Louis nines in September and October of 1868. The White Stockings decimated several "Mound City" clubs in the spring of 1870, and again in 1874 (see the *Daily Missouri Democrat* and/or *St. Louis Democrat*, September 24, 1868; October 6, 1868; April 30-May 2, 1870; April 18-May 9, 1874; September 12, 1874; *St. Louis Republican*, *St. Louis Daily Times*, and *St. Louis Daily Globe*, April 18-May 9, 1874. The White Stockings were disbanded from early 1871 through 1873.

In July of 1867 the Chicago Excelsior-Washington, D.C. Nationals game occasioned the following comments from the *Daily Missouri Democrat*:

We understand that the beating was pretty heavy on the Excelsiors, the Chicagoans backing their men with their purses to an extent to which they seldom venture. They thought they had a "dead sure thing" on the Nationals. The event took all the conceit out of their minds, and relieved them of large sums of money. The score was 49 to 4! What a defeat! Chicago was more terribly whitewashed than any other city, and hides its diminished head in the tunnel under the lake. It could not, however, be reasonably expected that nine men who live on "blue beef" and breathe the odors of the Chicago river, can compete in base ball with an equal number from a healthy country like the District of Columbia.<sup>13</sup>

And as early as 1871, the *Democrat* recognized that St. Louis was being continually subjected to "inglorious" defeats at the hands of Chicago and other eastern teams because she lacked a professional nine:

. . . the interest in base ball matters has been on the ebb in this city for a year or two past, as in fact has been the case in every part of the country where the playing has been left to purely amateur organizations. The cause in the decline is natural, and can be accounted for by reasons which are, perhaps, apparent to all in any way familiar with the game . . . the superiority in almost every case of visiting nines, entirely or in part composed of professionals, has exercised a depressing influence on the home organizations, which are obliged to sustain defeats because they are altogether made up of amateurs.<sup>14</sup>

Yet, it was not until the fall of 1874 that St. Louis businessmen undertook the organization of a professional club. Paradoxically, one of the impelling forces in the organization of this nine—the preservation of the proud self-image of St. Louis—was also one of the influences that retarded its formation until September of 1874.<sup>15</sup>

13. *Daily Missouri Democrat*, July 29, 1867.

14. *Missouri Democrat*, July 31, 1871.

15. Of course, there were other influences that prevented the earlier formation of a professional club. One of these was certainly a moralistic impulse against the gambling usually associated with professional sport. On June 30, 1870, the *Missouri Democrat* reprinted comments by the Philadelphia *Public Record* concerning the National game and gambling:

An advertisement appeared in yesterday's journals to the effect that at certain and specific places "pools" would be "sold" for the match between the famous "professionals" clubs known respectively as the Redstockings and Athletics. Now we ask what is this but gambling? The whole game of base ball "professionals" is a fraud upon the public, and places this so called National game upon the exact level of mere money-making shows. . . .

Another retarding influence on the early creation of a professional team was St. Louis's lack of daring businessmen. Wyatt Belcher notes that "Chicago's business leaders were more energetic and more astute than those of St. Louis, and it was largely this

It is convenient to view this influence as a form of civic pride rooted in St. Louis's *genius loci*; the Latin term which denotes "the body of associations connected with, or inspirations that may be derived from" a specific locality. One of the reasons why St. Louis fought the formation of a professional team was that no successful professional organization could reasonably be expected to consist of totally local players. St. Louis's pride would not permit the adoption of a team whose players were not native, or at least long-time residents.

The first indication that local pride would be pitted against the creation of a St. Louis professional nine appeared in the *Democrat's* report of an upcoming Philadelphia professional-St. Louis amateur team game in June of 1868:

In all their games thusfar in the West the Philadelphia Athletics have succeeded in vanquishing their opponents, and it remains to be seen whether they will likewise bear away trophies from St. Louis. The closest contests have been in Cincinnati, where they defeated the Buckeye club on Friday last by a score of 22 to 8 and the Cincicinnati [*sic*] on the day following by 20 to 13. These two Western clubs, however, are said to be mainly composed of "professional" players who have recently been "imported" from the East, and it is not wonderful that their games should have been so nearly equal. But in St. Louis the Athletics will be pitted against pure unadulterated Western muscle—the Union nine being composed solely of young men who have been born and reared in St. Louis. . .<sup>16</sup>

After a local team lost to the Brooklyn Atlantics later in the same month, the *Democrat* lamented:

. . . we consider the defeat discreditable to St. Louis. That our boys can do better we are satisfied, but somehow they always lose their grip when playing with professionals. Western muscle is certainly as good as Eastern, and we yet hope to be able to record the fact that a St. Louis nine has successfully competed with the crack players sent out from New York, Philadelphia, and Washington. *All that is necessary is practice and a close study of the fine points of the game.*<sup>17</sup>

And later in the 1868 season, the same newspaper let it be known how it felt about using non-St. Louisans on a local nine:

---

that enabled Chicago first to overtake St. Louis as a commercial rival, and then to advance rapidly ahead of that city." Belcher continues, "The ruling characteristic of St. Louis businessmen was their conservatism. They were not imaginative men. . . They believed in the old adage, 'Attend to your own business and it will attend to you.'" (see Belcher, 114-115).

16. *Daily Missouri Democrat*, June 14, 1868.

17. *Ibid.* June 29, 1868.



We see by a telegraphic dispatch that the Chicago Excelsiors "went for" the Cincinnati a day or two since, but the "imported" material in the latter was too much for our sucker friends. We say "sucker" but in fact it is rather a misnomer, as a large proportion of the Excelsior club is made up of players who hail from the Eastern States. It is rather a good joke, calling the match at Cincinnati a contest between Cincinnati and Chicago. When our Lake City friends come to St. Louis they will find in the Union nine none but Western material; and if our boys succeed in beating their visitors (which they hope and we believe they will do) we shall certainly claim the victory for St. Louis muscle.<sup>18</sup>

"The Empires" and other local amateur clubs "bade fair to redeem the reputation of St. Louis" against professional teams to no avail.<sup>19</sup> By 1871, St. Louis might concede that her best clubs ranked only "with the very first nonprofessional organizations in the country," but as late as the fall of 1872, hope still continued that the local teams would "play well enough to justify them in inviting the best professional nines in the country to St. Louis."<sup>20</sup> At the beginning of the 1873 season the *Democrat* exhorted "the St. Louis boys to practice constantly if they desired to maintain their city's reputation."<sup>21</sup> But by 1874, it was finally realized that "the Future Great City" would find "it impossible to gather base ball laurels against Chicago" and other cities unless St. Louis had a professional club.<sup>22</sup>

In response, J. B. C. Lucas and other local businessmen began the organization of a team that would "bring the championship pennant to St. Louis;" and they founded the St. Louis (Professional) Base Ball Associa-

18. *Ibid.* September 24, 1868.

19. *Ibid.* May 1, 1870.

20. *Ibid.* September 23, 1872.

21. St. Louis *Democrat*, April 22, 1873.

22. St. Louis *Daily Globe*, May 1, 1874. There were a few expressions of a desire to organize a professional nine in St. Louis well before 1874. In a letter to the "Editors *Missouri Democrat*" on June 24, 1869, one observer pleaded:

Why cannot St. Louis have a good base ball club? I ask the above question for the reason that I have not taken up a newspaper for the past week without reading an account of the "victories" of the Cincinnati club—the famous "Red Stockings"—now on a tour to the principal Eastern cities. . . Now why can't St. Louis support a good club as well as Cincinnati? I think she *can* and ought to. Your city is far ahead of Cincinnati in everything else: why not be at least her equal in base ball matters? . . . I write this because I take interest in your beautiful city, and do not want to see her lag behind in anything.

In August of 1873 the *Democrat* commented that the games in St. Louis between the Boston Red Stockings and several local clubs might "do a great deal towards the organization of professional nines in the West next season." (St. Louis *Democrat*, August 10, 1873). But sentiments such as the preceding could not override St. Louis's pride rooted in the temper of her *genius loci* until the fall of 1874.

tion in September, 1874.<sup>23</sup> However, the temper of St. Louis's *genius loci* lingered. The *Democrat* reported in October of 1874 that the St. Louis "Empires intend to get up a team next season that will walk away with the new St. Louis professional club, if composed of *imported* players."<sup>24</sup> Despite the threat, when the Brown Stockings announced their roster for the 1875 season, not a single St. Louisan was to be found on the team. St. Louis's pride was hurt. The *Democrat* was quick to point out that all of the players were "imported" and complained:

. . . it will be noticed, and with regret, we think, that there is not one single player from this city on the nine. There are a great many excellent ball tossers in our midst, and the directors of the new club might have put in just one St. Louis boy, even if he had to play as an "assistant to a substitute."<sup>25</sup>

In reaction to this situation, a first-rate local amateur club, the Red Stockings, decided to turn professional.<sup>26</sup> Again the *Democrat* expressed the connection that St. Louis made between her *genius loci* and the quality of her native baseball players, by laconically remarking in February of 1875:

Yesterday's *Republican* thinks that the St. Louis Reds cannot do better than to secure Mack, formerly of the Philadelphia club, to play second base for them. The Reds do not intend to go into the transportation business to secure players.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, when the 1875 baseball season opened, St. Louis had two professional teams—of which the Browns were unquestionably the better talented. But to which club would the city give her major support? Would it go to the superior nine or to the team composed entirely of "St. Louis boys?"

Events between opening day on May 6th, and June 26th shaped the final decision. By the latter date, the Brown Stockings had won twelve and lost five, including victories over Chicago and the major eastern teams (Boston, Hartford, New York, and Philadelphia); whereas the Red Stockings had accrued a 1 and 13 record (losing to all the major eastern teams and Chicago). On the 26th, St. Louisans apparently made their decision clear. On that date both the Red Stockings and the Brown Stockings had games scheduled. The next day the *Globe-Democrat* reported that "3,000 spectators" attended the Browns-Washington game, but only "a very small

23. St. Louis *Daily Globe*, September 20, 1874; see also the St. Louis *Democrat*, September 30, 1874; St. Louis *Daily Times*, September 23, 1874, and September 30, 1874.

24. St. Louis *Democrat*, October 11, 1874.

25. *Ibid.* November 21, 1874.

26. *Ibid.* February 16, 1875.

27. *Ibid.* February 16, 1875.

crowd was present" at the Reds-Hartford contest. Before the end of July, 1875, the Red Stockings would fold as a professional corporation.

Prior to the first Brown Stocking game of the 1875 season, the St. Louis *Daily Times* had wisely predicted:

The St. Louis "Browns" are composed of what some of our contemporaries are pleased to call "imported players;" a slight prejudice on this account exists against them; in time this feeling will rapidly give way. Not a professional club in the country, with the exception of the Red Stocking club of St. Louis, is composed entirely of local players, but several localities grow to take the same interest in their men, and give them their full sympathies.<sup>28</sup>

A *Missouri Republican* baseball writer probably summed up the driving force behind St. Louis's decision to wholeheartedly adopt the Brown Stockings as "our boys," when he introduced his report of a game by postulating, "Success is the standard of all merit upon earth. . ." <sup>29</sup> The desire to put a winning nine on the field at all costs had finally overcome the temper of the "Mound City's" pride in her *genius loci*. But both forces had the same source; St. Louis's drive to maintain her civic self-image.

**I**N THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THE PRESENT ARTICLE may be viewed as part of the greater study of the community image of nineteenth-century St. Louis. During much of that century, the self-image of the "Mound City" revolved, to a great extent, around her rivalry with Chicago for the economic and cultural supremacy of the Midwest. Convinced of her inevitable greatness, St. Louis could not bear to see Chicago inexorably develop into the economic capital of the region in the decades immediately following the Civil War. In the continuing drive to maintain her mythic self-conception, St. Louis began to manipulate every possible symbol that would proclaim her to be "The Future Great City of the World." As the descriptions and hyperbole of the contemporary newspaper accounts demonstrated, baseball became one of these symbols.

---

28. St. Louis *Daily Times*, May 5, 1875. It should be noted that the baseball writer of the *Times*, William C. Steigers, was also a major stockholder in the Brown Stockings corporation.

29. *Missouri Republican*, August 16, 1868.