

# “Remain Cheerful”

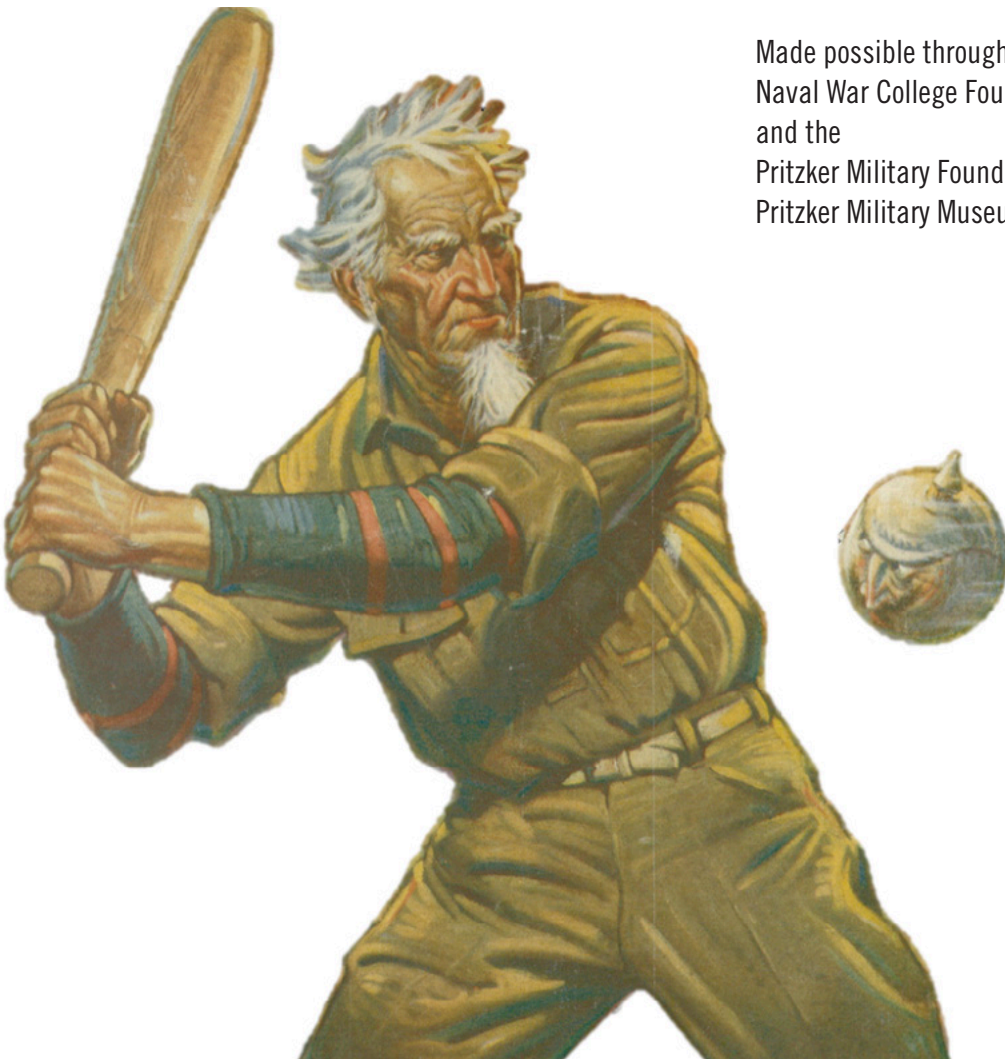
Baseball, Britannia, and American Independence

4 July 1918

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**David Kohlen**  
with Sarah Goldberger

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The banter inside the dugouts overlooking the makeshift baseball diamond suddenly hushed when the British king walked onto the field. Crowds estimated at 70,000 people went silent in the stands at Stamford Bridge football grounds on the outskirts of London on 4 July 1918. The antisubmarine dirigible flying overhead with the British and American flags training over the baseball diamond served as a reminder that the First World War loomed over the horizon on the battlefields of Europe. In anticipation of the event, British haberdashers fitted the King for the ceremonial meeting of the American delegation at home plate. King George V appeared in British khaki. The finely tailored uniform by Davies and Son of Saville Row featured colorful ribbons and gold braided field marshal’s rank. Standing tall, the King looked up to the towering figure of U.S. Navy Vice Admiral William S. Sims. Given his reputation for sympathizing with the British, Sims also wore a bespoke uniform from Stovel and Mason of Saville Row.<sup>1</sup> Together, the King and Sims shared a much bigger dream of solidarity among the English-speaking peoples with the world at war.<sup>2</sup>

The game marked the second Independence Day for Americans deployed to the European front. British and French onlookers recognized the ironic spectacle of Americans celebrating their revolutionary



King George V as Field Marshal (*Period Postcard*)



Vice Admiral William S. Sims, U.S. Navy (*Donated to Naval War College by Dr. Nathaniel Sims and Family*)

### ON THE COVER:

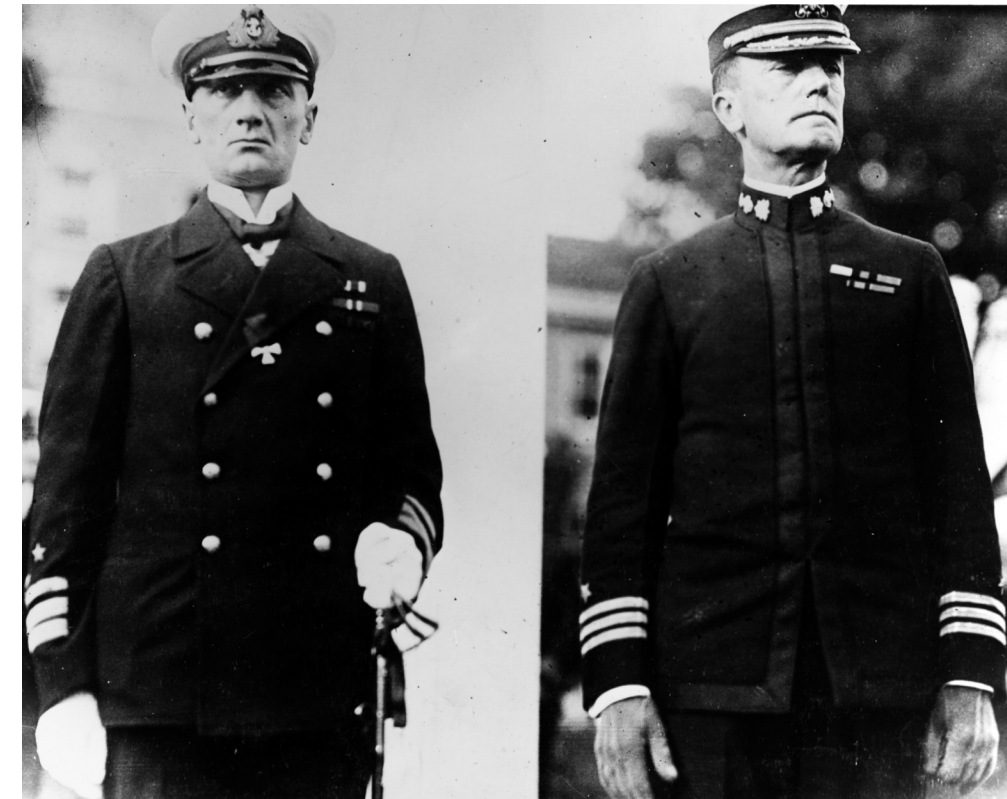
Uncle Sam symbolized the rising influence of American culture on the global stage during the First World War era, just as much as the game of baseball. Among other images of the American game from the period, *Leslie's Magazine* portrayed Uncle Sam ready to swing at a baseball featuring the spiked helmet and the face of Kaiser Wilhelm II.

history on European soil. American journalists also compared the baseball diamond at Stamford Bridge to the place of surrender on the historic battlefield of Yorktown in Virginia where American independence had been won.<sup>3</sup> Above the stadium, the Union Jack flew alongside the French Tricolor and the American Stars and Stripes. Reporters at the London Times described the 4 July 1918 ballgame as an important moment to “mark the 142<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the independence of the United States.”<sup>4</sup> Editors at the *New York Times* mused “will George III turn in his grave?”<sup>5</sup> Photographs of the ballgame in the *Daily Mirror* appeared under the headline, “An Historic Occasion: The First Time British King and Queen Recognize Celebration of American Declaration of Independence.”<sup>6</sup>

In the pubs where soldiers and sailors gathered, the portrait of the King appeared next to that of the most famous of Yankee rebels, George Washington. The ghost of Washington remained an important element in British efforts to foster ties with Americans during the First World War. Having recently returned

from combat duty on the western front, Sir Winston S. Churchill celebrated the myth of Washington. He also celebrated personal family connections with America. His American mother, Lady Randolph, kept family ties with the elites of New York City after marrying into the British aristocratic class. Noting his mother’s American heritage, Churchill prepared a special oratory for delivery at the Central Hall in Westminster to praise the British Empire and its role in shaping American culture.<sup>7</sup>

British newspapers conversely highlighted surnames more closely linked to the German enemy and to the Irish among many of the American forces at the European front. Their German cousins ruthlessly bombed London from Zeppelins and commerce raiders at sea threatened British lines of oceanic commerce. The casualties mounted as the Germans unleashed a series of ground offensives ashore. German submarines also supplied the Irish uprising against the British occupation. Within this broader context, many Britishers remained skeptical about Americans of German and Irish descent. The



Imperial Russian Admiral Alexandr Kolchak with U.S. Navy Commander Rufus Z. Johnston at the U.S. Naval War College (U.S. Navy)



King George V presenting autographed ball to the umpire. Admiral Sims is seen in the foreground and Wilson Cross, a director of the Anglo-American Base Ball League, is standing uncovered in back of the King.

SCENE AT THE U.S. ARMY-NAVY GAME, LONDON, JULY 4, 1918.

Paul Thompson, Photo.

From *Spalding’s Baseball Guide* (1919), page 274

Independence Day baseball game in London on the 4<sup>th</sup> of July 1918, thus, served as a media event to solidify Anglo-American relations, while providing European allies with a lesson in what made American identity distinctive—the American game of baseball—where players from the farms and the cities of various religious faiths, immigrant and native-born, and of all economic classes could pull together as a team on the baseball diamond. Baseball served as a strategic asset to foster cohesion for American operations at the European front. The game also served as an American calling card in relations with foreign friends and enemies in the global maritime arena.

The American game of baseball symbolized a new era of democracy and the fading of historical European empires. When the 4<sup>th</sup> of July 1918 baseball game happened in London, the continental empires of Europe stood on the edge of oblivion. Bolshevik revolutionaries had arrested Tsar Nicholas II and held the Imperial Russian royal family in captivity in

Siberia. Imperial Russian Admiral Alexandr Kolchak had previously met with Sims to solicit assistance from the U.S. Navy before travelling to the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island. Kolchak’s operatives also maintained liaisons with Sims and his staff as they intermixed with the crowd at Stamford Bridge. Imperial Russian loyalists used such events to lobby the Entente powers and associated American forces to join in the counterrevolution in Russia. The situation was dire. Just two weeks after the ballgame at Stamford Bridge, Leon Trotsky’s Red Army viciously executed Tsar Nicholas II and the Imperial Russian royal family.<sup>8</sup>

The British king declined to offer a helping hand to his Russian cousins, as the situation worsened on the European continent. George V stood among the last of the European monarchs in the “great” war against his other cousins—the Imperial German Emperor Wilhelm II and the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Karl I.<sup>9</sup> Having formed the Central Powers with the Ottoman Empire, the German and

Austrian emperors stood apart from George V. He, instead, turned westward to reconcile differences with sympathetic American cousins. George V and other British leaders recognized Sims as a key figure fostering the transatlantic relationship. Given the circumstances, Sims inspired optimism with his tall frame and bonhomie, frequently encouraging his closer friends to always, “remain cheerful.”<sup>10</sup>

Looking west to the Americas, George V and Sims shared the vision of a transatlantic alliance. The British envisioned an “Imperial Federation” intermixed with an American concept of a “League of Nations.”<sup>11</sup> Setting aside nearly a century of rivalry on the high seas, the King and Sims marched together onto the baseball diamond at Stamford Bridge—smiling and waving to cheerful British soldiers, sailors, airmen, and civilians. Foreign witnesses from other associated military and naval forces were also in attendance. The famed American baseball player, Arlie Latham, stood at home plate with the captains of the army and navy baseball teams under the dirigible flying the British and American flags.

The crowd cheered as the King and Sims joined Latham at home plate to exchange pleasantries. The King then accepted a clean white Spalding baseball featuring red and bluish stitches. The King then



Baseball featuring signature “George, R.I., 4 July 1918” (Courtesy, Woodrow Wilson House)

signed the American baseball, “George, R.I., July 4<sup>th</sup> 1918.” George V had acquiesced to sign an American baseball, though the “R.I.” after his signature still referred to his traditional status as the “Rex Imperator” in command of the global British Empire. Headlines about the ballgame later highlighted the moment when the King of the British empire signed what newspapermen wryly called the “instrument of surrender.”<sup>12</sup>

The King understood the symbolic importance of signing an American baseball for the benefit of the severely wounded troops and sailors among the stands at Stamford Bridge. The ball itself symbolized the burgeoning transatlantic relationship. The King also learned how to throw a curveball from in advance of the game. Three years earlier, King George learned the rudiments of playing baseball from Buck Weaver of the Chicago White Sox and Jim Thorpe of the New York Giants. Along with Christy Mathewson and other major leaguers, Weaver and Thorpe played baseball on a world tour from Japan to Australia into India and the Middle East and ending in the British home islands. The King enjoyed interacting with the American baseball players. Baseball had already provided means for the Americans to show the flag on the global stage. Thus, in the interests of transatlantic solidarity in the First World War, Latham and Sims asked the King to toss the first pitch at Stamford Bridge on the 4<sup>th</sup> of July 1918. The King smiled and insisted upon Sims throwing the honorary first pitch. The game was on.

### The Game of War

Baseball provided the perfect stage upon which the King and Sims repackaged the British Empire to fit within the popular mythology of the revolution against the crown in America just over a century before. The King also noted the long historical connections with British games, such as wicket [cricket], rounders, and town ball. Indeed, the British variants informed the development baseball in the Seven Years War and American revolutionary era in the late eighteenth century.

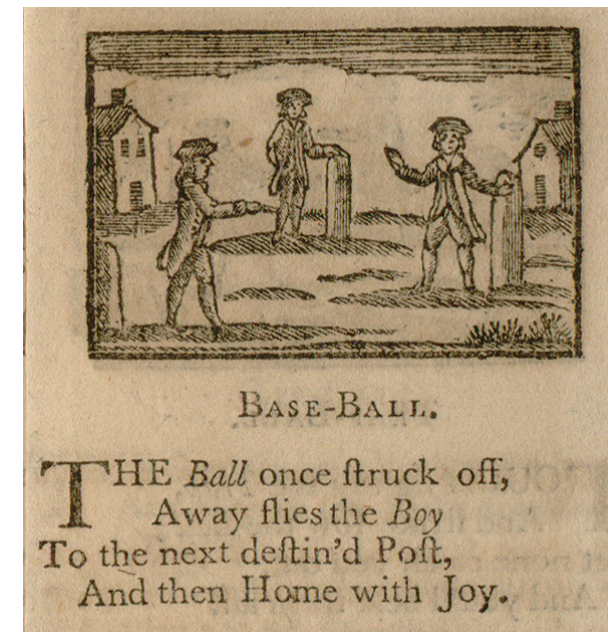
The red coated armies of George III played rounders

when George Washington played early versions of baseball with the Yankee troops.<sup>13</sup> Lieutenant George Ewing of the Continental Army referred to the game, “base,” in the diary he kept while serving with the New Jersey regiments under Washington at Valley Forge. He also emphasized the differences between the games played by the British with the “bat” and “base” game favored by the Yankee troops. The games of wicket and rounders remained popular among the British troops. Wicket required players to protect the sticks with a bat as a pitcher attempted “tick off” pegs, as runners ran between the sticks to score the hit. Similarly, but not the same, rounders required players to hit the ball and then run around the pegs in a circular formation. Yankee variants of base sometimes featured four-foot posts to serve as waypoints in a diamond formation. Washington’s army tended to use sand-filled bags, or dinner plates for bases with the pitcher throwing the ball from the center of the diamond at the batter.<sup>14</sup>

American soldiers and sailors played baseball on the frontiers of the American empire throughout the nineteenth century. Baseball took modern form in the encampments of the Civil War and then evolved into preferred game of the American army and navy. After the Civil War, it was conceived as a national sport that could help foster sectional reconciliation. Brigadier General William L. “Billy” Butts explained that baseball served as a means to train leaders and that, “an able captain of a ball team will make an abler captain in the even deadlier game of war.”<sup>15</sup> Similar to the British troops in their games of soccer and cricket, American troops in China refined their tactical skills for combat by

setting up a makeshift ballpark in the Forbidden City during the Boxer Rebellion. Army and naval musicians added to the spectacle with marches and popular tunes, which somehow seemed especially American.<sup>16</sup>

As the U.S. Navy pursued a place among the great fleets of the world in the global maritime arena, sea power propagandists like Theodore Roosevelt literally dug up mythologized heroes, like John Paul Jones, to inspire the public to support the construction of American sea power.<sup>17</sup> Roosevelt celebrated the quasi-



From John Newbery, *A Pretty Little Pocket Book* (Worcester, Massachusetts, 1787), page 43 (Library of Congress)

historical writings of Mahan, such as *The Life of Nelson: The Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain*. Given the influence of Nelson upon the Royal Navy and Mahan’s vision for U.S. Navy, Roosevelt sought a historical analogy to Nelson for use in framing future American naval strategy.<sup>18</sup> By 1904, Roosevelt chose the Scottish mercenary of the American Revolution, John Paul, to serve as the Nelsonian figure of the U.S. Navy.<sup>19</sup> Just as the myths of John Paul Jones inspired Americans

to entertain dreams of sea power, baseball had also entered a mystical phase in popular culture.

Baseball evolved from a sport associated with farmers and soldiers into a multimillion-dollar institution in American society. Leagues and teams rose and fell in an ongoing baseball arms race after the Civil War. In the years immediately preceding the First World War, baseball stood firmly established as the “national pastime.”<sup>20</sup> In an era of rapid industrialization and economic rivalry, the rise of baseball coincided with the naval arms race between Britain and the continental powers of Europe at the



Base-Ball, Aquarelle Print by L. Prang & Co. (circa 1880) (Library of Congress)

dawn of the twentieth century. This competition also extended to the Americas and beyond to Asia. Traditions of British naval supremacy coincidentally faded into the context of industrialization and technological innovation at the dawn of the twentieth century.

When King George V inherited the throne of Britannia before the First World War, he also faced the reality in seeking to reconcile transatlantic relationships with Canada and the United States. The British required American resources to hold against the threats from continental Europe and in Asia. Still, the imperial tradition that “Britannia rules the waves” also balanced against the popular notion that “Britannia waives the ‘Rules.’”<sup>21</sup> Given traditions, the spokesman for American sea power, retired Rear Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, recognized trouble over the horizon for the European empires.

Mahan stood among the most vocal advocates for sea power to preserve peace through diplomacy and

entrepreneurial engagement in the global maritime arena. The European and Asian empires conversely competed to outpace the Americans. By 1910, Mahan warned about the twisted militarism which fueled a global arms race in the pamphlet, “Britain and the German Navy—Admiral Mahan’s Warning.” He predicted that Imperial Germany “will be decidedly stronger at sea than we in the United States expect to be and we have over her no military check such as the interests of Canada impose upon Great Britain.”<sup>22</sup> Mahan continued that the British “should not depend upon the apprehension of Germany’s intentions to attack in order to appraise their naval necessities.” Mahan warned British readers, “resolutions based upon such artificial stimulus are like the excitement of drink, liable to excess in demonstration, and misdirection and ultimate collapse in energy.”<sup>23</sup>

The greater game of empire on the continents of Europe and Asia inspired Mahan to propose strategic collaboration between the maritime powers.

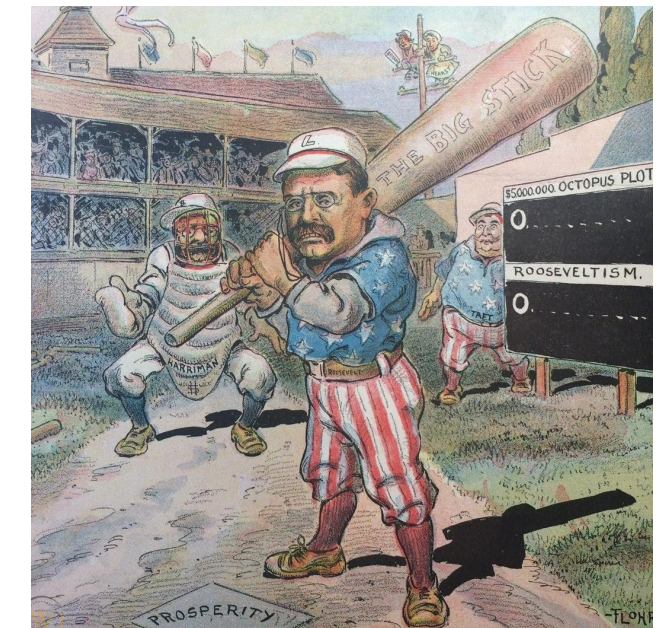
In particular, he envisioned a transatlantic alliance between the British Empire and United States. Mahan also considered the potential for an Anglo-American alliance with Imperial Japan, *The Problem of Asia*. He argued in general terms that the “land power will try to reach the sea and to utilize it for its own ends, while the sea power must obtain support on land, through the motives it can bring to bear upon the inhabitants.”<sup>24</sup> To explain the influence of history upon American sea power, Mahan explained that “I am frankly an imperialist, in the sense that I believe that no great nation, should henceforth maintain the policy of isolation which fitted our early history.”<sup>25</sup>

President Theodore Roosevelt, a sports enthusiast, recognized the potential influence of baseball in formulating naval strategy. He frequently appeared in cartoon form holding a baseball bat in advancing his policy for speaking softly while carrying a “big stick.” Poor eyesight precluded Roosevelt from playing baseball. He encouraged his sons to play baseball. Roosevelt also fostered efforts to expand Major League Baseball with the establishment of the American League at the dawn of the twentieth century. Roosevelt struggled to follow the game, although enjoyed interacting with fans.<sup>26</sup> He enjoyed all forms of athletics—including baseball. Roosevelt conversely disliked the monopolization of baseball as a business.

Baseball owners cajoled Roosevelt into supporting the baseball industry by emphasizing the game as purely an American sport. The American League president, Ban Johnson, presented Roosevelt with a special “golden ticket”—providing free admission to Major League Baseball games. Roosevelt indulged the baseball owners by attending a game as president. He also mused that Field Marshall Arthur Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington, noted that the “Battle of Waterloo was won on the cricket fields of England.”<sup>27</sup> In Spalding’s Official Baseball Guide, Roosevelt further suggested that American victory at the “Battle of San Juan Hill was won on the base ball and foot ball fields of America.”<sup>28</sup>

Roosevelt appealed to American taxpayers by using baseball to communicate the more complex concepts

of policy and naval strategy in the grander game among empires within the global maritime arena. His successor, William Howard Taft, also supported the vision of American sea power.<sup>29</sup> Taft also seized the opportunity to become the first sitting president to throw the first pitch at a baseball game on opening day in 1910. Although Roosevelt had provided momentum for the Taft Administration to carry forward with the big stick vision, Congress reeled against the costs. The Taft Administration struggled



“Play Ball! The Great National Game of 1908 is On” from *Judge Magazine* (4 May 1907)

to secure Congressional support for expanding the American sea services with additional personnel, oil-fired warships, aircraft, and submarines.

Baseball remained an important vehicle for Roosevelt and Taft to continue engaging American taxpayers. The big-stick vision of American sea power also resonated with foreign audiences. Having left the White House, former President Roosevelt acted with the full support of the Taft Administration on the “Statesman’s Tour” of Africa and Europe in 1910.<sup>30</sup> Emerging from the jungles and deserts of Africa, Roosevelt carried a baseball bat in his baggage along with his Remington and Winchester rifles, Colt “Peacemaker” pistols, and Brooks Brothers hunting

costumes. Roosevelt then left Africa to visit the major European cities on the continent. Roosevelt rode horses during cavalry exercises with Kaiser Wilhelm II. He also delivered his widely celebrated “Man in the Arena” speech in Paris. In the speech, Roosevelt celebrated the emergent influence of American sea power by implication. He analogized American naval engagement in global affairs with the:

man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs, and comes short again and again, because there is no effort without error and shortcoming; but who does actually strive to do the deeds; who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions; who spends himself in a worthy cause; who at the best knows in the end the triumph of high achievement, and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat.<sup>31</sup>

Roosevelt used references to sports to explain the military policy of the United States to foreign audiences. Notably, he closed the Statesman’s Tour with a visit to the Guildhall in London. The captains of British industry celebrated Roosevelt with a lavish midnight dinner. The descendants of British heroes in the war against Washington’s army included those of Colonel Banatarre Tarlton and Major John André—along with cousins of General Benedict Arnold. Symbolically, Roosevelt joked, broke bread, and passed the butter to former British adversaries over drinks at the Guildhall. Following a series of toasts and recantations of Anglo-American solidarity, Roosevelt delivered fiery remarks about the importance of transatlantic collaboration in the grander game ongoing in the global maritime arena. He warned British listeners about the impending collapse of empires, although consoled the audience to find confidence in the rise of American naval power.<sup>32</sup>

The British celebrated transatlantic connections with their American cousins with Roosevelt serving as the personification for the futuristic vision of a transatlantic maritime alliance. Britain also loomed very large in the personality of Roosevelt. His favorite uncle, Captain James D. Bulloch, served in the Confederate States Navy in the Civil War.<sup>33</sup> He worked the lines to build the blockade runners and commerce raiders of the Confederate Navy from headquarters in Liverpool. Bulloch became a British subject after renouncing his American citizenship following the Civil War.<sup>33</sup> In exile, Bulloch inspired Roosevelt to recognize the unique differences between military and maritime strategy, operations, and command. Drawing perspective from the experiences of his Confederate uncle in Britain, Roosevelt emphasized his big-stick strategy by highlighting the peacetime functions of navies under in a lecture appearing under the title, “Our Peacemaker, The Navy.”<sup>34</sup>

British strategy reflected underlying desires to develop closer ties with the Americas through friendly engagement with the United States. Major League Baseball anticipated the development of a British league. Albert G. Spalding and William McGregor used their ancestral connections in Wales and Scotland to rally British interest in American baseball. By 1910, the English National Baseball League sponsored matches between ballclubs from the countryside with games held on football (soccer) fields in London. Spalding and McGregor portrayed the game as British in origin, although they emphasized the myth surrounding the role of the Civil War hero, Major General Abner Doubleday, among American audiences.<sup>35</sup>

The rise of baseball in popular American culture coincided with the confident vision of American sea power in the global maritime arena. U.S. Naval practitioners recognized the opportunity to surpass other fleets. Sailors played baseball on the decks of battleships and on distant shores as Americans embraced the dream of a U.S. Navy “second to none.”<sup>36</sup> Given the longer history of rivalry between the Royal Navy and U.S. Navy, American naval practitioners remained divided about the questions surrounding



President Theodore Roosevelt walking with sailors along the boardwalk after a ballgame in Newport, Rhode Island on 22 July 1908. (Library of Congress)

the future relationship between the British Empire and the United States. Former President Roosevelt stood firmly committed to the notion of collaboration. By extension, his protégé, Commander William S. Sims shared the dream of an Anglo-American naval alliance. In the fall of 1910, he visited European waters for exercises with the Third Battle Squadron of the Atlantic Fleet as the skipper of the USS *Minnesota* (Battleship No. 22).<sup>37</sup> Rear Admiral Joseph B. Murdock honored Sims by breaking his flag in *Minnesota* before the annual gunnery exercises in the North Sea.

Following the directives of former President Roosevelt as skipper in *Minnesota*, Sims emphasized physical fitness among the crew. During service on the admiral’s staff in *Minnesota* and other battleships of the Atlantic Fleet, Lieutenant Ernest J. King remembered preparing for the European cruise of 1910. He described the annual physical test required every officer in the “Army and Navy was required to walk fifty miles in three days, or ride horseback seventy-five miles, or ride a bicycle

one hundred miles.”<sup>38</sup> King described baseball as the preferred sport among the sailors of the Third Battle Squadron.<sup>39</sup> Each of the battleships had baseball teams, which played a running series of games during the voyage to European waters—drawing significant interest among foreign onlookers. French and British audiences reveled in the curious spectacle of watching the Americans playing vigorous baseball games. The banter among the players seemed strange, although the action on the baseball diamond proved captivating.<sup>40</sup>

British and American warships practiced sailing together in exercises conducted off the northern German coast. These interactions at sea began almost by accident. Operating together progressively became more coordinated between the British Empire and United States. Other navies also began participating in the Anglo-American diplomatic engagements at sea.<sup>41</sup> While making a port call in France in 1910, British and American sailors visited French pubs and other venues associated with seamen ashore. The French also arranged formal



And then Teddy came up and opened  
the ivory mouth and tickled your ribs  
and all the Purkers and the clucks  
and jays said: "hello to you" - and all the  
naval officers grinned and envied your  
luck. So all hands were with truly  
Sims when 'e got married and some of

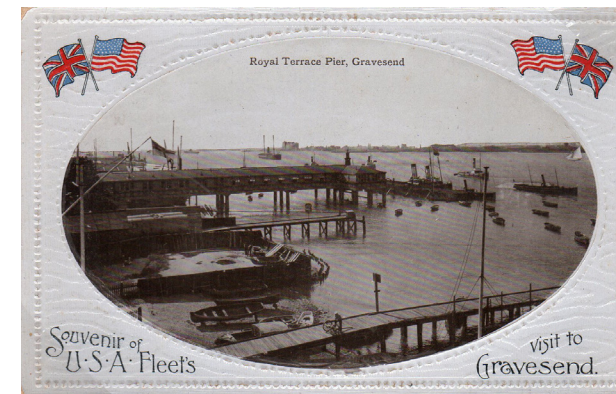
President Theodore Roosevelt attending the wedding of Lieutenant Commander William S. Sims and Anne E. Hitchcock on 21 November 1905, as rendered by Henry Reuter Dahl in a letter to Sims. (Courtesy, Dr. Nathaniel Sims and Family)

gatherings for the officers. Sports provided means to put American sailors in the role of “man in the arena” while simultaneously fostering collaboration among the crews on board American warships. Many recent immigrants embraced their adopted American identity by playing baseball on the foreign shores of their ancestral homes in Europe. British baseball teams also celebrated the spirit of Anglo-American solidarity by playing ball with teams from the American warships. The friendly competition on the baseball diamond coincided with efforts to foster strategic collaboration between the British Empire and United States.<sup>42</sup>

Sims saw the strategic advantages derived from teamwork and friendly competition on the baseball diamond. His biographer and son-in-law, Elting E. Morison, noted that Sims “possessed what baseball players call, ‘the old college try.’”<sup>43</sup> He followed the example earlier set by his mentor, Roosevelt, in envisioning the benefits of collaboration in the friendly competition between the Royal Navy and



Commander William S. Sims with President Theodore Roosevelt on board ship. (Donated to Naval War College by Dr. Nathaniel Sims and Family)



“Souvenir of U.S.A. Fleet’s visit to Gravesend”—Royal Terrace Pier (Library of Congress)

U.S. Navy. Having served together in combat in China nearly a decade earlier, Sims joined Rear Admiral Sir John R. Jellicoe for a special British celebration of Thanksgiving for their American cousins at the Savoy Hotel in November of 1910. Jellicoe’s recent promotion and appointment as the Royal Navy Commander-in-Chief, Atlantic Fleet, also placed Sims in a very cheerful mood during his stay with the U.S. Navy Third Battle Squadron in London during the Thanksgiving holidays.<sup>44</sup>

The Anglo-American romance continued to blossom among the naval officers at various parties and special events held in London. British onlookers also celebrated the weird spectacle of watching the American sailors playing baseball. In anticipation of their departure from European waters, the British arranged a dinner akin to that earlier held in celebration of Roosevelt at the Guildhall.<sup>45</sup> In early December of 1910, the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Thomas Vezey Strong, hosted the American sailors. Caught up in the friendly spirits at Guildhall, Sims overlooked the presence of Fleet Street journalists in offering toasts to the King and to the President of the United States. He later recalled:

I spoke slowly and distinctly and I pronounced every word carefully [and said that] if ever the integrity of the British Empire should be seriously threatened by external enemy, they might count upon the assistance of every man, every ship, every dollar, and every

drop of blood, from their kinsmen across the seas.<sup>46</sup>

In an official report to the Navy Department, Sims qualified his characterization that “it is my personal opinion that [the British] may count upon every man, every dollar, every drop of blood, of your kindred across the sea.”<sup>47</sup>

The Guildhall celebrations in London preceded the formal dinner held by the Atlantic Fleet at Gravesend on the Thames. Sims directed the sailors of *Minnesota* to “stock the wine mess and have our men fully polished.”<sup>48</sup> In turn, he ensured the *Minnesota* shined, with brass gleaming, canvas painted white, ropes properly coiled, bells gonging, and pipes blowing to mark the arrivals of their invited British guests as they climbed the ladder to the quarterdeck. Murdock and Sims initially received accolades for their performance in European waters. The events held in the Guildhall also resonated with the earlier visit of Roosevelt, as Sims began the voyage to France in *Minnesota* with the other American warships of the Third Battle Squadron. He also had good reason to celebrate, as the baseball players of *Minnesota* also stood among the top competitors in the race to win the Atlantic Fleet trophy in 1910.<sup>49</sup>

British newspapers highlighted the Guildhall proceedings as clear evidence of Anglo-American solidarity. Guildhall initially seemed like a triumph for Sims. Yet, in the United States, the newspapers highlighted official complaints from the Imperial German Ambassador, Bernstorff. The Guildhall remarks placed Sims at the center of an international political crisis, as Bernsdorff demanded an official explanation from the Taft Administration. Bernsdorff also demanded for Sims to be punished. The *New York Times* characterized the celebrations at Guildhall as a, “Love Feast.”<sup>50</sup> “Had that speech been made by any other officer below the rank of Captain in the Atlantic Fleet, except Sims,” one U.S. Navy officer suggested that it is “dollars to doughnuts that no attention would have been paid to it, but coming from Sims, who despite his rank and youth is one of the best known officers in the service, made it different.”<sup>51</sup>

Enemies within the U.S. Navy ranks exploited the situation, as Sims inadvertently fell completely out of step with the official military policy of the United States. Secretary of State Philander Knox complained to Taft about a growing flood of complaints from the governments of France and the empires of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, China, and Japan. On 17 December 1910, the Secretary of the Navy, George von L. Mayer, requested an immediate report from Ambassador in London, Whitelaw Reid, as *Minnesota* put to sea. The Guildhall controversy blossomed around Sims in the international media, as the warships of the Atlantic Fleet prepared to celebrate Christmas in France. Shocked by the controversy, Sims described his speech as “entirely extemporaneous [and that] he had no copy of it.”<sup>52</sup>

Murdock and Sims stood completely unprepared to address the widening controversy surrounding the Guildhall remarks. The international media progressively characterized Sims as an imperialist, Anglophile, and American maverick. Celebrating the holidays with French Navy Rear-Admiral Ferdinand de Bon and his staff in Brest, Murdock and Sims collaborated in drafting their report back to Reid in London. In turn, Reid sent their official report about Guildhall in the Cunard steamer, RMS *Lusitania*, which arrived in New York after setting the record of completing two crossings in only fourteen days shortly before Christmas.<sup>53</sup> The Taft Administration sought an expedient solution.

Taft reluctantly punished Sims with a formal letter of reprimand for making the Guildhall remarks. Assignment to the Naval War College also remained a place of exile within the U.S. Navy where an officer, “could be kept for a year, with the hope that a turn in his health or the ceaseless pruning of the Selection Boards would eliminate him as a detailing problem.”<sup>54</sup> In Newport, Sims continued developing the argument to support the vision of transatlantic collaboration between the British Empire and United State from the Naval War College. His essays, “Cheer Up!! There is No Naval War College,” and “The Practical Character of the Naval War College” also highlighted the importance of professional education

in fostering teamwork among naval commanders at sea and ashore. Noting the benefits of playing team sports, Sims argued that by studying the rules of the game of through books and research the “leadership of a captain whose mind had been trained, in actual conflict with other minds, to accuracy of judgement, readiness of resource, and promptness in action.”<sup>55</sup>

The educational mission of the Naval War College extended to the seagoing operations of the American fleet. Sims drew from his studies to foster teamwork upon receiving orders to organize the Torpedo Boats and Destroyer Flotilla of the Atlantic Fleet.<sup>56</sup> He carried the functions of a commodore in rallying his skippers to work together. Among others, Sims leaned heavily upon Commander William V. Pratt, along with lieutenant commanders Dudley W. Knox and John V. Babcock, in organizing the flotilla. He also recruited the rising stars of the fleet to command the warships of the flotilla. Lieutenant Commander Ernest J. King sailed ahead of the pack, which included other future flag officers like Harold R. Stark, Harry E. Yarnell, and William F. Halsey, Jr. Friendly competition remained central in the efforts by Sims to rally his “band of brothers.”<sup>57</sup> To these ends, Sims ordered each of his destroyer skippers to form a baseball league within the flotilla. King shared the sense of competition, as he gained a reputation for doing whatever circumstances required for him to win on the baseball diamond.<sup>58</sup>

Teams from the individual ships received uniforms from Spalding with ship’s names embroidered on the front. Warships comprised of fewer than six-hundred personnel received blue uniforms with red piping. Larger warship teams wore similar uniforms with gold piping. Winners of the flotilla league received blue and red pennants with trophies provided by Spalding, Tiffany, and other civilian sponsors.<sup>59</sup> Sims also formed a flotilla baseball team comprised of the best players to challenge the larger warships of the fleet. For this reason, he also flew a blue and gold pennant for the ballclub of the Atlantic Fleet Destroyer Flotilla.

Baseball melded the fleet together by encouraging competition among the various warships and units

ashore. During exercises at sea, ballplayers continued practicing the game by playing catch on deck. During fleet exercises held in the Caribbean in 1914, Sims confidently issued the challenge to the Commander of the Atlantic Fleet, Admiral Charles J. Badger, and all the other major commanders among the battleships and cruisers to meet upon the baseball battlefield.<sup>60</sup> His destroyer skippers stood prepared to go to battle under ground rules issued by Sims, requiring officers in the ranks of lieutenant to play in the field. Officers ranking above the rank of lieutenant commander served as pitchers. As an incentive, players received soft drinks for hitting two ground balls while those with more than three received drinks with a “stick in it.”<sup>61</sup> Admirals and captains carried the responsibility for paying for the drinks. For those willing to play, a run scored by an individual holding rank as a commander counted as three points while a run scored by a captain counted as four. Scores made by flag officers, like Sims or Badger, counted as five points.<sup>62</sup>

### The Spectre of Navalism

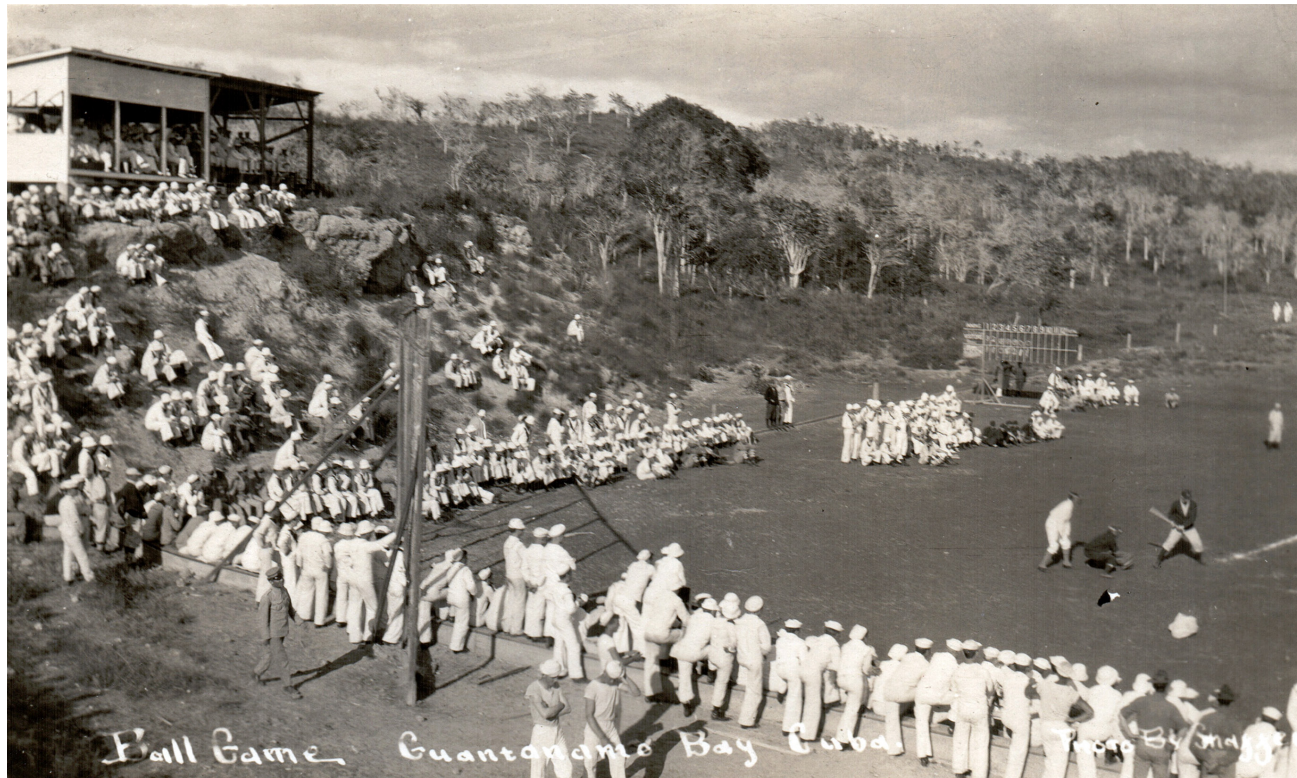
Americans generally attempted to ignore the looming war in Europe by continuing to focus on peacetime pursuits like baseball. In an essay published in the *Baseball Magazine* under the title, “The Baseball Battle,” American readers learned that in a “country of peace ideals, baseball is a better pursuit than war.”<sup>63</sup> European monarchs gambled with human lives, as their kingdoms “may pass away, dynasties may crumble, Hapsburg and Hohenzollern conquer or perish.”<sup>64</sup> Americans gambled with money in the game of baseball. Baseball journalists rallied Americans to agree that the heroics performed on the baseball diamond outshined “any amount of martial glory achieved at terrible cost of human life.”<sup>65</sup>

Baseball remained the quintessential American pass-time for all audiences and social classes. Sons of the former Confederacy, like Ty Cobb, played together with Americans from the North. Ivy Leaguers like Herb Pennock, Christy Mathewson, and Eddy Grant played with ballplayers from the lower economic classes, like “Shoeless Joe” Jackson, “Minooka” Mike



Ethan Sims with Teddy Bear standing with his father, Captain William S. Sims, during their time together in Newport, Rhode Island (circa 1910). (Donated to Naval War College by Dr. Nathaniel Sims and Family)





Atlantic Fleet baseball tournament at Guantánamo in Cuba. (U.S. Navy Photo)

McNally, and George Hermann “Babe” Ruth. On some teams, there were a good number of immigrants or sons of immigrants playing alongside native-born players. The one exception to this diversity, of course, was race, which with the development of segregation laws in America, prevented African American ballplayers from playing in the major leagues.

As the war loomed over Europe, it influenced attitudes among the players themselves, as during a game between the Montreal Royals and the Providence Grays in 1914. The pitcher, Wallace “Toots” Schultz, of the Providence Grays spoke out in support of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Other members of the team of German descent sympathized with Schultz, including his fellow pitcher, “Babe” Ruth. Long before he became the “Sultan of Swing,” Ruth drew attention for his exploits as a pitcher with the Boston Red Sox farm team in Rhode Island. Schultz and Ruth also endured practical jokes about their German heritage from other ballplayers. One of the other ballplayers on the Grays, Mathew “Matty” McIntyre started calling Schultz “the Kaiser.”<sup>66</sup>

Ruth witnessed the friendly banter between McIntyre and Schultz, as the pair debated about the efforts of Kaiser Wilhelm II in shaping the image of strength. Newspaper accounts suggested that the Kaiser requested 30,000 Americans of German descent, “or six Irishmen and he doesn’t care which.”<sup>67</sup> McIntyre and Schultz kept the banter going in their shared views concerning Irish and German supremacy over the French and British, although both also embraced their American identity as baseball players above all. Ruth also joined in the fun while playing ball against the sailors of the Atlantic Fleet in Newport, Rhode Island. Basin Field—across from the railhead junction with Fleet Landing in Newport—served as the venue for aspirant major leaguers to face off against the teams from the warships, naval bases, and local army garrisons. Ruth also played at Coddington Field and Fort Adams against sailors and soldiers. The Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) sponsored teams, as did the Knights of Columbus, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and the Sons of Italy. Barnstorming teams like the House of

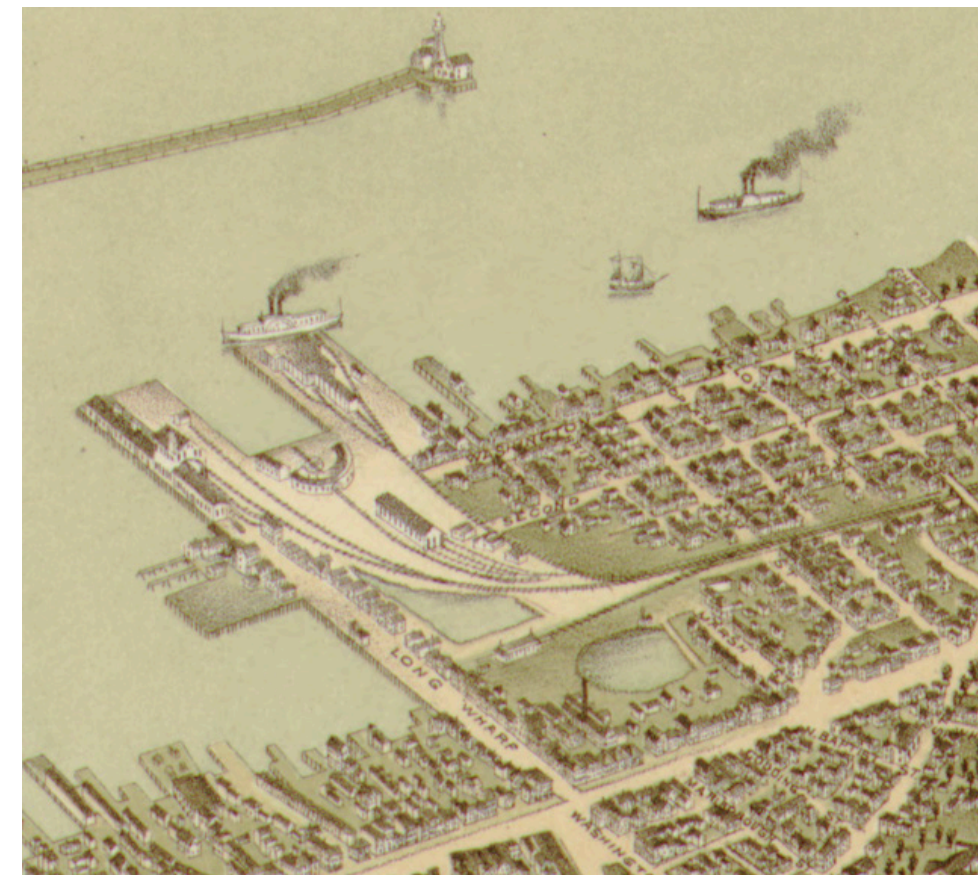
David and the Indianapolis Clowns invaded Newport to play ball with the sailors and soldiers while touring other ballfields along the Atlantic coast.<sup>68</sup>

Imperial German Naval forces conducted commerce raiding operations in American waters, which fueled fears of an invasion from within. British and French warships had chased the auxiliary cruisers SS *Kronprinz Wilhelm* and SS *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* into American waters. Running low on coal, the crews on board German flagged ships often sought refuge in the neutral American ports along the Atlantic Coast. In Hampton Roads, German Naval officers and their crews constructed a small German village, sold handmade trinkets, brewed beer, and staged festivals for the local population. Some of the sailors married local American girls and later became citizens themselves. Many of the German sailors also learned to play baseball while in American captivity.<sup>69</sup>

Spiked helmets and iron crosses progressively overshadowed happier memories of German culture among many Americans. The cultural bonds between Americans with ancestral ties to Germany also

eroded under the influence of British propaganda. Among the greatest propaganda victories in history, the British shrewdly villainized Germans after the sinking of RMS *Lusitania* in May of 1915. The British Naval Attaché, Royal Navy Captain Guy Gaunt, also worked with the Boston Commission of Public Safety to commission Fred Spear to paint the dreamlike image of a mother holding a child in the green depths at the bottom of the sea, punctuating the image in red letters with the word “ENLIST.”<sup>70</sup>

Americans widely condemned the sinking of the *Lusitania*, which shaped the military policy of the United States under the Wilson Administration. Kaiser Wilhelm II and his advisors on the Imperial German General Staff had also miscalculated German-American attitudes about the war. Within the Navy Department in Washington, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, circulated the pamphlet by Sir Julian Corbett, “The Spectre of Navalism.” In this short work, Corbett encouraged readers to recognize the differences between the influence of “British navalism” and



Basin Field at center, near Fleet Landing off Thames Street with the Naval Torpedo Station facilities seen on Goat Island and the present location of the Naval War College on Coaster's Harbor Island, as depicted in the graphic map by Galt and Hoy in 1878. (Library of Congress)



Providence Grays in 1914. (Library of Congress)

the warlike purposes of “Prussian militarism.”<sup>71</sup> Corbett shrewdly left the final verdict for American readers to consider in evaluating the differences between the peaceful intentions of “navalism” and warlike purposes of “militarism.”<sup>72</sup> He emphasized transatlantic collaboration to fall, “under the inspiration of America and the shield of British naval supremacy.”<sup>73</sup>

Corbett’s assertions mirrored other concerted efforts to highlight the underlying connections between British and American culture. In 1914, Canadians joined Americans in setting up baseball matches on the western front.<sup>74</sup> Sensing an opportunity, Ban Johnson rallied fellow American taxpayers to support their Canadian and Yankee cousins at the front. He held significant influence in shaping the future of Major League Baseball as the President of the American League. Johnson essentially ignored the neutrality policies of President Woodrow Wilson. Using baseball to reach the American taxpayer, Johnson staged rallies to donate funding, food, and baseball equipment to the European front. He also

pressured players with Germanic sounding names to Anglicize their reputations in the popular media.<sup>75</sup>

British propagandists had portrayed the German enemy as demonic murderers of innocent civilians at sea and ashore. Following the German invasion, Herbert Hoover recruited American volunteers and expatriates to join the Belgian Relief Commission. Among others, Tracy Barrett Kittredge joined Hoover after studies at Oxford University.<sup>76</sup> Having previously served in the California Naval Militia, Kittredge kept his membership in the Royal Thames Yacht Club. He frequently joined former Oxonians for drinks in London. Kittredge developed close ties with members of British naval intelligence, including Frank Birch, Nigel de Gray, and Alastair Denniston.<sup>77</sup> As an American with a neutral passport and credentials with the Belgian Relief Commission, Kittredge had the ability to travel extensively on the European continent. He also had direct access to the German General Staff in Berlin.<sup>78</sup>

American spectators operated with relative freedom within the arena of war on the European

front. Neutrality provided the ideal means for Americans to operate on the fringes. Many American entrepreneurs maintained lucrative business ties on all sides within the *Entente* and among the Central Powers, including John P. “J.P.” Morgan, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Vincent Astor, and Edward F. “E.F.” Hutton. The war in Europe provided innumerable opportunities for American profiteers to line their pockets. As Imperial Germany conducted aggressive military operations ashore and at sea, Americans increasingly wandered into the crossfire.

The German terror campaign against civilian populations and commercial shipping failed to produce strategic results on the battlefield. Conversely, German tactics inspired many Americans to volunteer for service in the ranks of the *Entente* forces. Yankee volunteers ultimately served on all sides of the war. For example, Eugene Bullard fled the racism of the American south to join the French Foreign Legion. He fought in the early battles in the trenches before joining another American, Raoul Lufbury, to form the Lafayette Escadrille—an aeronautical squadron named after the French general with Washington in the War of Independence, the Marquis de Lafayette. On other fronts, Ernest Hemmingway later wrote about his experiences as a volunteer ambulance driver attached to the Italian Army in his classic fictional account, *A Farewell to Arms*. Americans joined units assigned to the armies of the *Entente*, as sponsored by the International Red Cross and the future president, Herbert Hoover, among other entities.<sup>79</sup>

Many immigrants of recent Irish heritage in America hated the British for decades of military occupation. British oppression on their ancestral shores riled many Americans of Irish descent. The emerald isle smoldered under the heavy-handed tactics employed by the British. Many Irish sought refuge with their cousins in America. The Catholic Church and the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America also provided means for some to continue providing support to the Irish resistance against the British. Pubs in cities like Boston and Chicago, as well as New York City and Philadelphia, became centers for American support to the Irish Republican Army

(IRA). In many pubs, strong boxes with shamrocks, or the Irish tricolors, served as receptacles for Americans to donate money to the IRA. Americans of Celtic heritage also joined Roger Casement and Robert Montieth with the Irish Brigade in Germany.<sup>80</sup>

Americans with recent connections to Germany similarly mistrusted the Anglo-French and Russian *Entente*. Between 1914 and 1916, many Germans in America continued speaking their native language, kept old Germanic traditions, and published German language newspapers. Published in New York City by the German Women Helpers Club, the *Weltkrieg Magazine* also highlighted heroic stories about Imperial German soldiers and sailors. The *Fatherland Weekly* featured stories about the hyphenate racism of Wilson and “British atrocities on the high seas.”<sup>81</sup> A number of German immigrants even returned to Germany to serve in the army. Notably, the proto-Nazi stormtrooper and future pacifist, Captain Ernst Jünger, wrote about the presence of Americans in the German Army ranks in his memoir, *In Stahlgewittern*.<sup>82</sup>

Americans remained nostalgic about their European heritage, as the fighting on foreign shores worsened. A few Americans, like Eric Muentner, directly participated in a German terrorist campaign conducted within the United States. He earlier taught at Harvard University before murdering his wife. He then went into exile in Mexico before returning to the United States. Maneuvering under an assumed identity with the assistance of German operatives, Muentner shot the son of J.P. Morgan at his home on the outskirts of New York. Muentner also kept ties with the Imperial German Naval Intelligence organization, Abteilung IIIB. Through these connections, he successfully placed a bomb on board the merchant ship *SS Minnehaha* before the ship sailed from New York to Britain. The bomb in *Minnehaha* exploded in the North Atlantic, causing minor damage. By that point, Muentner also bombed the Senate offices inside the Capitol of the United States in 1915.<sup>83</sup> Hysteria about the suspected clandestine activities of foreign agents further poisoned American perceptions of recent immigrants.



Prince Albert (future George VI) shaking hands with Jim Thorpe of the New York Giants during Baseball World Tour of 1914, (*Library of Congress*)



King George V shaking hands with New York Giants during Baseball World Tour of 1914. (*Library of Congress*)

While many Americans remained proud of their European heritage, German families throughout the United States increasingly felt pressure to Anglicize their surnames. Frankfurters became popularly known as “hot dogs” and sour kraut as “liberty salad.” Major leaguer, William Hermann “Germany” Schaeffer, also changed his name to “Liberty” Schaeffer in the aftermath of German terrorist attacks in America.<sup>84</sup> Mayonnaise increasingly supplanted apple vinegar in American variants of potato salads. German enclaves in the Midwest also adapted by amalgamating European planting and harvest celebrations like the dance around the Maypole with ribbons of red, white, and blue—rather than the Austrian-Hungarian and Imperial German colors. Pabst Brewing Company repackaged the “Best Select” by adding a blue ribbon to the white and red colors on the label of their most popular lager. Germanic motifs on American beers progressively transformed with the times, which also appeared in the colors most favored at the ballparks—red, white, and blue.<sup>85</sup> Four



“Camouflage,” First World War political cartoon by James Montgomery Flagg (*Library of Congress*)



Imperial German sailors from the auxiliary cruisers SMS *Kronprinz Wilhelm* and SMS *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* playing baseball in the prison compound at Fort McPherson in Georgia. (*U.S. National Archives*)

German beer barons also repackaged their brews to form the Dubuque Malting Company in a failed effort to avoid pool their resources in anticipation of the prohibition mandate in the state of Iowa in 1915.<sup>86</sup> Brewing companies with Germanic sounding brands hastened efforts to Americanize in accordance with the policies of the Wilson Administration. “Any man who carries a hyphen about with him,” Wilson argued, “carries a dagger that he is ready to plunge into the vitals of this republic whenever he gets ready.”<sup>87</sup> In essence, he condemned the practice of using a hyphen to identify as German-American, Irish-American, Italian-American. German and Irish organizations, as well as those of the Italians and other ethnicities, adapted to the racial policies of the Wilson Administration.<sup>88</sup> Wilson expected all citizens to accept their amalgamated place in the world as Americans.<sup>89</sup> He also portrayed baseball as a uniquely American invention when delivering remarks as the first sitting President of the United States to attend the World Series in 1915.<sup>90</sup> Wilson inspired the *New York Times* journalist, Benjamin de Cessares, to proclaim

that the “world ought to be made safe for baseball.”<sup>91</sup>

With Americans increasingly uneasy about German motives, the merchant submarines SM *U-Deutschland* and SM *U-Bremen* inadvertently fed British propaganda in the United States. Although *Bremen* disappeared without a trace during the inaugural voyage, *Deutschland* completed two voyages to the United States. The *Deutschland* crew visited the White House, although President Wilson left beforehand. German-American associations hosted the *Deutschland* crew in Baltimore and at the pier across from the U.S. Navy submarine base in New London, Connecticut.<sup>92</sup> German gestures of friendship essentially fell within the broader context of a thinly veiled threat. From within the Imperial German embassy in Washington, Imperial German Ambassador Johann Heinrich von Bernstorff completely miscalculated the domestic situation in the United States. He allowed army Captain Franz von Papen with navy captains Karl Boy-Ed and Franz Kleist von Rintelen to conduct a coordinated a terror campaign inside the United States.<sup>93</sup> British and German intelligence activities in America revealed how divided the United States was in terms of economic class and ethnic identity.

In the propaganda war, the British proved far superior at influencing American perspectives. Notably, the British capitalized on the death of the British military hero, Field Marshal Lord Herbert Kitchener, after a German submarine sank the armored cruiser HMS *Hampshire* in the North Sea. Kitchener had been on a mission to assist the Imperial Russian forces of Tsar Nicholas II in 1916. The famous British recruiting poster of Kitchener pointing, thus, inspired the American image of the pointing Uncle Sam in newspapers and popular media. Given earlier adaptations, Uncle Sam appeared to resemble the former President of the Confederate States of America in an image painted by James Montgomery Flagg for publication on the cover of the *Leslie's Magazine*. On 6 July 1916, Flagg's image of Uncle Sam pointed accusingly at American readers with the question, “what are YOU doing for preparedness.”<sup>94</sup>

British propaganda influences appeared within the

subtext of American magazines and popular culture. In between the baseball scores, Uncle Sam appeared to challenge Americans to recognize the British as friends and the Germans as enemies.<sup>95</sup> The same month in which Uncle Sam appeared on the cover of *Leslie's Magazine*, German agents attacked the U.S. Naval arsenal on Black Tom Island on the outskirts of New York City on 30 July 1916. As the Office of Naval Intelligence gathered the evidence, Americans were horrified by the attack. The explosion caused an earthquake under New York City and damaged the Statue of Liberty. The British Naval Attaché in Washington, Gaunt, passed information to the Navy Department, which implicated Imperial German embassy and the naval attaché, Lieutenant Franz von Rintelen, as the mastermind behind German terrorist activities in the Americas. The uncertainty amplified the potential threat of German espionage activity in the Americas and, more specifically, against the United States. Journalists captivated American readers with a report about the visit of a combat “U-boat,” SM *U-53*, to Rhode Island in October.<sup>96</sup> The skipper of the submarine visited the Naval War College and subsequently sank several merchant ships in the approaches to the Narragansett Bay.<sup>97</sup> This brazen act of German aggression provided American readers with a visceral reminder of RMS *Lusitania* two years prior.<sup>98</sup>

The tactics employed by German submarines against unarmed merchant vessels created strategic complications. The Central Powers of Imperial Germany and the empires of Austria-Hungary and the Ottomans waged a particularly aggressive campaign against the *Entente* alliance of France, Italy, Russia, Japan, and the British Empire. Although the *Entente* navies met the challenge at sea with similar aggression, the British proved particularly good at managing perceptions. Winston S. Churchill famously stipulated that “German underseas boats should be called ‘U-boat’ at all times, to distinguish them from Allied ‘submarines,’ thus to make clear that ‘U-boats’ are the dastardly villains who sink our ships, while ‘submarines’ are those gallant and noble craft which sink theirs.”<sup>99</sup>



“BRITONS [Lord Kitchener] Wants YOU” (Library of Congress)

Under pressure the German Navy High-Command abandoned the practice of unrestricted submarine warfare after the *Lusitania*. In the election of 1916, Wilson viewed the German abandonment of unrestricted submarine warfare as evidence marking the success of his naval strategy of neutrality. He also earned reelection on a platform of American neutrality in the war. With over 100,000 American troops on the Texas border and the seagoing forces of the U.S. Navy flooding the waters off Mexico, baseball entrepreneurs pushed the game by soliciting the Departments of War and Navy. The “Tsar of Baseball,” Ban Johnson also sent major leaguers to meet with troops and sailors on the Mexican front to sign baseballs, participate in exhibition games, and rally morale. Johnson joined forces with his counterpart from the National League, John Tener, to rally support for baseball by sending players and



Uncle Sam, “What are YOU doing for Preparedness?” on *Leslie's Magazine* (6 July 1916) (Library of Congress)

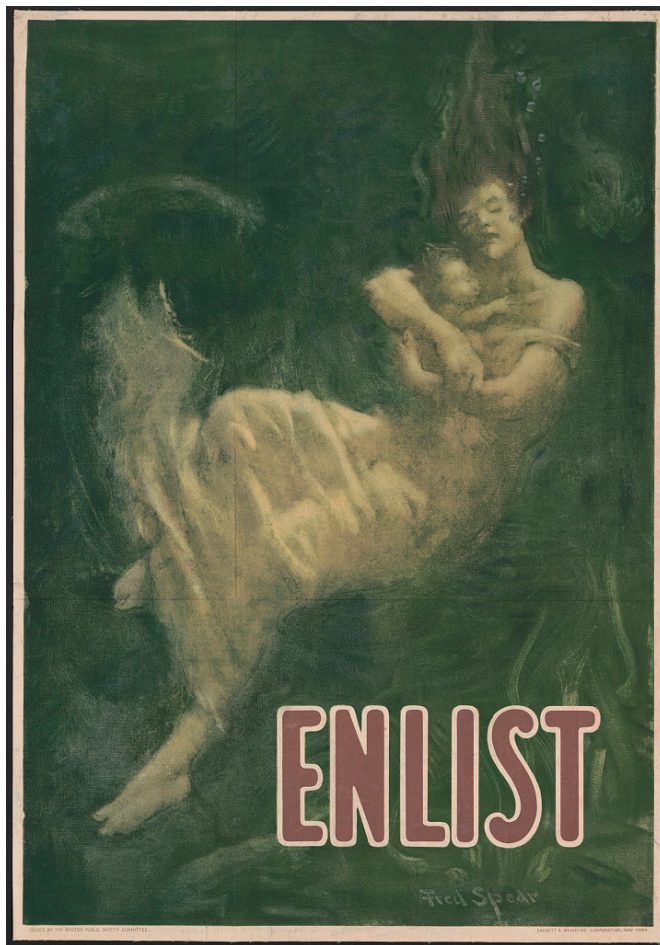
equipment to Brigadier General John J. “Blackjack” Pershing and Admiral Henry T. Mayo, Commander in Chief, Atlantic Fleet. Ostensibly, baseball provided means for the American commanders to fight against the venereal disease spreading among the forces at the boarder and in Mexican waters.<sup>100</sup>

#### Take Me Out of the Ballgame

The baseball season of 1916 reflected the political trends and progressively changing opinions about the European war among American taxpayers.<sup>101</sup> The Wilson Administration struggled to hold fast in executing the strategy of American naval neutrality. As the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin Delano Roosevelt sought an alternative approach by joining forces with colonels Tillinghast Huston and Jacob Rupert. The old connections among the Roosevelts of New York intermixed with the



Locals in canoes visit the Imperial German Navy submarine SM U-53 in Newport harbor off the Naval War College on 6 October 1916. (U.S. Navy)



"Enlist," propaganda poster (Library of Congress)

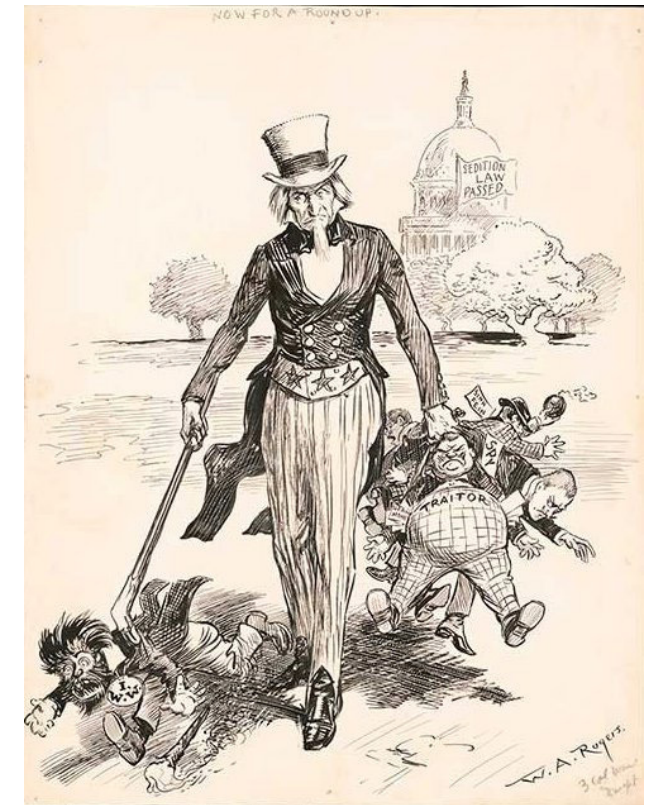
German submarines appeared as menacing as the drowning death of influenza in British propaganda aimed at Americans. Commissioned by the British, the shocking image of a mother holding her child at the bottom of the sea was first rendered by Frederick Spear of Boston, Massachusetts in 1915.

entrepreneurial spirit of Huston and Rupert. Given their affiliations with the New York state regiments of the National Guard, Huston and Rupert rallied fans by marching at the head of their New York Yankees at the Polo Grounds. The following year, the U.S. Army deployed drill sergeants to American League baseball teams. The drill sergeants supervised the ballplayers in close formation marches, calisthenics exercises, and the manual of arms. The ballplayers played along as the drill sergeants barked and sang the old army cadences, much to the entertainment of fans.<sup>102</sup>

Military parades intermixed with the patriotic spirit and the musical spectacle of the American pastime. Ballplayers of all nationalities played together in harmony on the baseball diamond. The stars and stripes appeared prominently in American ballparks. The President of the American League, Johnson, issued orders to teams to begin systematic military drills with the ballplayers and leading fans in close formation marches. The Chicago Cubs owner, Charles Weeghman, also competed with the Chicago White Sox owner, Charles Comiskey, in the competition to outshine fellow team owners in the patriotic spectacles before and after the ballgames. Both teams adopted uniforms with colors of red, white, and blue.<sup>103</sup>

Americans generally rallied to the sound of guns over the horizon from the stands and in the bars surrounding the ballparks and arenas. In 1916, Wilson issued an executive order to choose the march favored within the U.S. Navy, "The Star-Spangled Banner." He referred to the tune as the national anthem by executive order, which congress failed to ratify until more than a decade later. Baseball and music intermixed with official government efforts to define an amalgamated concept of American identity. One of the composers of the tin-pan alley hit, "Take Me Out to the Ballgame," Albert von Tiltzer also contributed to the work of his brother, Harry, in crafting the equally catchy tune, "Batter Up-Uncle Sam is at the Plate."<sup>104</sup>

Baseball team owners competed to demonstrate their patriotism by modifying uniforms to feature the stars and stripes. Major League Baseball players



Uncle Sam enforcing the Sedition Act. (Cartoon) (Library of Congress)

received American flag patches to sew onto their jerseys. In some instances, they simply pinned the flags to their jersey sleeves. Eventually, the Spalding Company incorporated American flags as a standard feature for uniforms produced for Major League Baseball. Patriotic symbols reflected the influence of the First World War upon other social trends in American culture.

The undeclared war ongoing along the border with Mexico loomed over the Wilson Administration. With more than 100,000 American soldiers and sailors deployed among the federalized ranks along the southern border, Wilson also pressed state governors to augment the forces with National Guard troops. In a concerted effort, baseball fans increasingly joined in singing the tune, "Take Me Out to the Ball Game," by modifying the lyrics to, "take me out 'of' the ballgame." Fans also joined the ranks of the baseball players by marching with them like soldiers onto the baseball field.<sup>105</sup> The conclusion of the 1916 baseball season also coincided with the key turning point in

transatlantic relations.

German terrorist attacks drove Americans to rally around the stars and stripes with the fictional Uncle Sam leading the charge. The Wilson Administration focused on American neutrality, the planning staffs within the Departments of War and Navy anticipated the likelihood of a war involving the United States. The situation in Asia and Europe appeared especially dire, and particularly to the captain of the USS *Nevada* (Battleship No. 36), Captain William S. Sims.<sup>106</sup> He warned of possible attacks by a foreign power against the newly constructed Panama Canal, and German activities in South America and Mexico.<sup>107</sup>

Brazen acts of German aggression against American targets fueled efforts within the Wilson Administration to respond. The final breaking point followed in the winter of 1917, after the Imperial German Foreign Secretary, Arthur Zimmermann, transmitted a message to the German consulate in Mexico. Zimmermann discussed plans to reintroduce unrestricted submarine warfare in conjunction with a plot to support Mexican and Japanese attacks on the United States. British cryptographers inside Room 40 of the Old Building (40 O.B.) first solved the Zimmermann Telegram on 17 January 1917. Within weeks, the British passed the information to the American Ambassador, Walter Hines Page.

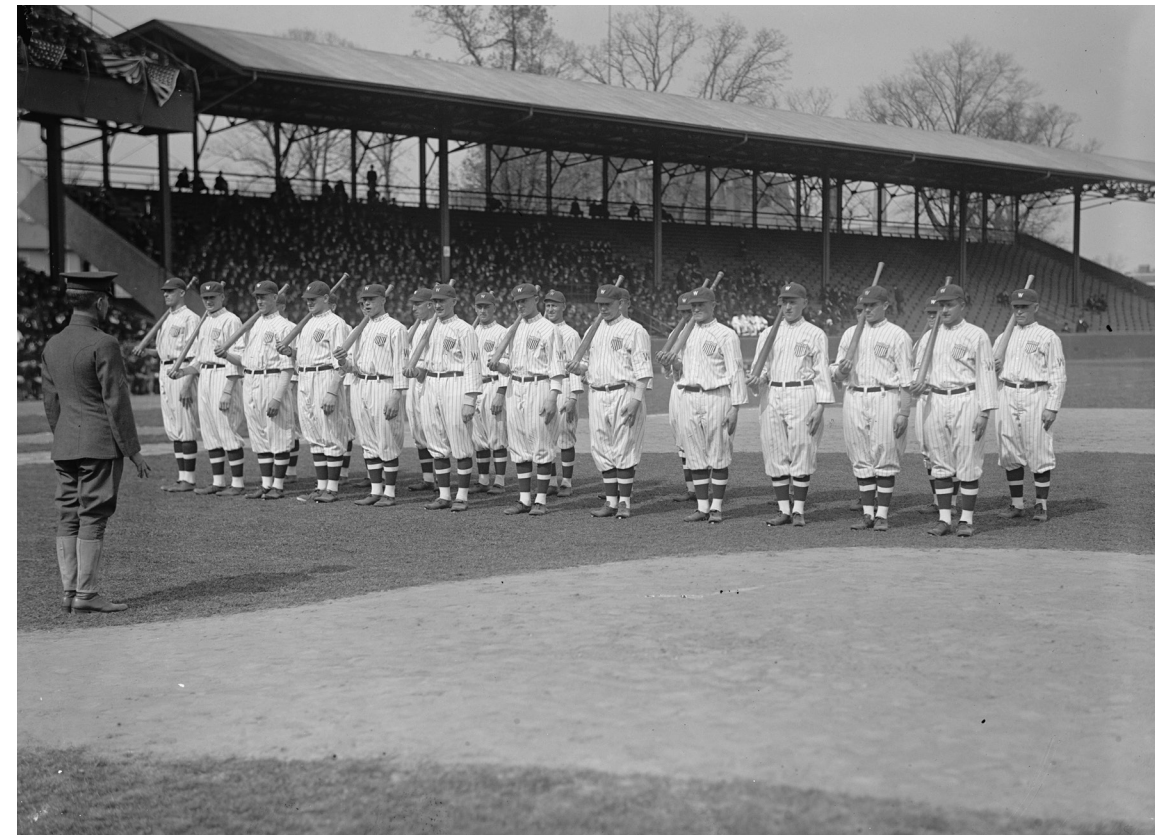
British propagandists shrewdly leaked the contents of the Zimmermann Telegram to the public media. Page passed the contents of the Zimmermann Telegram to the Wilson Administration on 23 February. Within five days, journalists pressed Wilson about the Zimmermann Telegram. He confirmed the contents of the Zimmermann Telegram, although refused to change his neutrality policy concerning American involvement in the First World War. Akin to headlines surrounding the destruction of the battleship USS *Maine* roughly two decades before, American newspapers portrayed the Zimmermann Telegram as the last straw in a series of insults by a foreign enemy. The American media portrayed Wilson as an inept weakling in the aftermath of the Zimmermann Telegram. Former presidents Roosevelt and Taft also added fuel to the fire with



The aspirant baseball player, Franklin D. Roosevelt, as a student and coach with the Groton School ball club. (Franklin D. Roosevelt Library – Photo 56301)

piercing critiques of the Wilson Administration.<sup>108</sup>

The Wilson Administration struggled to repurchase time, as the U.S. Navy scrambled to strategic coastal defensive positions in American waters and in the Panama Canal Zone. The Chief of Naval Operations (CNO), Benson, ordered fleet and naval district commanders to act in accordance with the defensive joint War Department plan as filed under the codename, BLACK.<sup>109</sup> Fleet commanders understood their broader strategic guidance as being defensive in purpose. Few expected to sail immediately to the European front.<sup>110</sup> Having recently reported as Commandant of the Narragansett Bay Naval Station in February of 1917, Captain William S. Sims also awaited orders to assume rank as a two-star admiral as the President of the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island.<sup>111</sup> He stood out as the most junior prospective flag officers in the ranks of the U.S. Navy.<sup>112</sup> Hoping to secure a wartime command, Sims lobbied the Navy Department for seagoing orders



Army drill sergeant leads Washington Senators in the manual of arms to the entertainment of fans. (Library of Congress)

as a senior ranking captain with unique knowledge and personal connections with the key commanders among the *Entente* forces on the European front.

#### Associated Powers – *Not Allies*

The Wilson Administration vacillated on critical strategic decisions, as the seagoing forces of the U.S. Navy were ready for action at anchor in ports along the eastern sea frontier. From London, Jellicoe pressed to establish strategic and operational lines of communication between the Admiralty and Navy Department. In communications from American Ambassador, Page, and the U.S. Naval Attaché, Captain William B. McDougall, requested a flag officer of with sufficient authority to coordinate prospective tactical operations in European waters. In the absence of a clear American strategy or formal declaration of war, Daniels and Benson sought a suitable liaison to represent the Navy Department in London. Initially, Benson asked the skipper of

the Atlantic Fleet flagship USS *Pennsylvania* (BB-38), Captain Henry Braid “Nobby” Wilson to, “aid the [Navy] Department in putting into immediate effect the cooperation with the Allies which we were planning.”<sup>113</sup> He declined the appointment, preferring to remain on track to higher command at sea.

Steaming into the fog of an undeclared war, the Wilson Administration slowly settled upon seeking a declaration of war against Imperial Germany. Rumors also circulated about the influence of Theodore and his cousin, Franklin Roosevelt.<sup>114</sup> One close observer recalled that the younger Roosevelt often, “resorted to keeping crucial papers in his desk until Mr. Daniels was out of town, so as to sign them himself and get matters under way.”<sup>115</sup> Within the U.S. Navy, Daniels gained a reputation for forgetting that he had approved decisions, “or at least would not change his mind if he did remember [since] the matter would already be under way and working in good shape.”<sup>116</sup>

From his office at the Naval War College in

Newport, Sims observed Atlantic Fleet warships sailing out of the Narragansett and southward to concentrate the Atlantic Fleet at Hampton Roads in accordance with Plan BLACK. The safety of the Chesapeake Bay provided cover for the battleships, while the railhead and shipyards in Hampton Roads offered facilities to support operations along the eastern sea frontier from Canadian waters to the Caribbean.<sup>117</sup> From Maine to Guantanamo Bay, U.S. Naval warships steamed to Hampton Roads to rally under flag of Mayo and assemble the Atlantic Fleet.<sup>118</sup> Offensive plans remained undeveloped, as American forces marshaled to preplanned defensive positions under the joint vision of Plan BLACK. U.S. Navy commanders, like Mayo, hated being constrained by the mission of augmenting the coastal defenses of the U.S. Army.<sup>119</sup>

The Wilson Administration dragged anchor in setting clear policies to drive the strategic decisions among subordinate commanders. Navy Secretary Daniels and the CNO, Benson, finally secured permission to release the CONFIDENTIAL mobilization plan on 21 March.<sup>120</sup> That same day, Daniels and Benson transmitted orders by telegram to the President of the Naval War College, Sims, authorizing his immediate promotion to the two-star rank of rear admiral—well ahead of his previously scheduled date of 1 July.<sup>121</sup> Five days after receiving his promotion, Sims received a telephone summons from Daniels for a secret meeting at the Navy Department in Washington. By direction, Sims travelled alone in civilian clothing from the train station in Kingston, Rhode Island.<sup>122</sup> He arrived in Washington the following day.

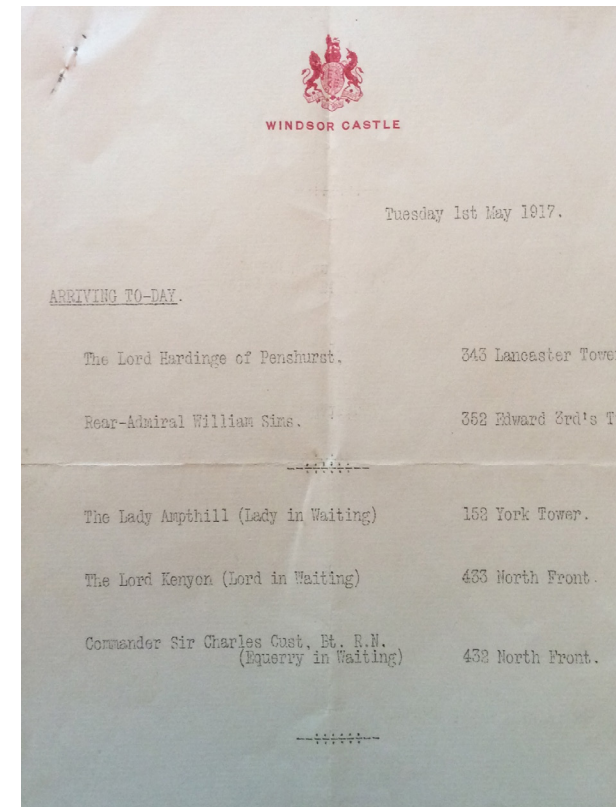
Sims reported to the Navy Department to receive orders from Daniels and Benson, hoping to receive a seagoing command in the event of war. Instead, Daniels told Sims to await orders to sail to London as a liaison to the Admiralty for the purpose of, “securing all possible information as to what the British were doing, and what plans they had for more effective warfare against [German] submarines.”<sup>123</sup> During a “very brief talk” at the Navy Department, Daniels ordered Sims to sail incognito for London and to



SS *New York* damaged by German mine in the approaches to Liverpool with Sims on board in April of 1917. (U.S. Navy)

use, “cables freely in advising how the United States Navy could best cooperate with the Allied Navies in case of war.”<sup>124</sup> Daniels warned Sims to recognize his selection for the mission as being “not because of your Guildhall speech, but in spite of it.”<sup>125</sup> Benson similarly directed Sims to keep his sails trimmed. “Don’t let the British pull the wool over your eyes,” Benson warned Sims, “we would as soon fight them as the Germans.”<sup>126</sup> Although Benson later denied making this remark, he admitted, “his feelings toward the British did not lead him to any indiscretion.”<sup>127</sup>

Daniels and Benson empowered Sims with no seagoing command, or clear operational authority. His original mission remained that of a simple liaison between the Royal Navy and Navy Department.<sup>128</sup> Benson ordered Sims to sail immediately from New York to London in a passenger steamer, completely incognito and without a uniform. In turn, Sims returned briefly to Newport to pack a suitcase and order his aid, Lieutenant Commander John V.



Windsor Castle schedule of formal audiences with King George V, 1 May 1917. (Courtesy, Dr. Nathaniel Sims and Family of Admiral W.S. Sims)

Babcock, to obtain first class tickets for a transatlantic voyage in a passenger steamer out of New York. Both failed to tell their families any details about their mission.<sup>129</sup> However, Sims wrote a hasty letter for his wife, Anne, to read at the appropriate time, warning her to maintain strict secrecy concerning his whereabouts.<sup>130</sup>

Sims and Babcock acted in complete secrecy, following orders to leave their uniforms behind. The pair kept an awkwardly serious military appearance in civilian clothing as they traveled by train from Newport to catch their ship, SS *New York*, in New York. Considering the surprise selection of Sims for the mission, Roosevelt later admitted “he had committed enough illegal acts to put him in jail for 999 years and that he would have been undoubtedly impeached had he made wrong guesses.”<sup>131</sup> Roosevelt argued that the “navy was still unprepared and I spent forty millions for guns before Congress gave me or anyone permission to spend the money.”<sup>132</sup> He also

claimed credit for selecting Sims, “as the head of the Interallied fleet in March, 1917.”<sup>133</sup> Roosevelt implied that he received the original request as articulated in a telegraph:

from the British Admiralty to send over one of our Admirals so that he could become acquainted with conditions over there. I conveyed this information to President Wilson in the presence of Secretary Daniels. President Wilson turned to Mr. Daniels and asked, ‘who shall we send?’ Mr. Daniels said there were several men that could be sent over and he suggested that he be given a few days to make a selection.<sup>134</sup>

According to Roosevelt, the Wilson Administration “did not want to commit any overt act of war.”<sup>135</sup> “There are four or five different explanations of how Sims received his appointment,” his son-in-law later explained.<sup>136</sup> Given the secrecy surrounding the U.S. Navy mission in London, the acting Director of the Bureau of Navigation, Rear Admiral Leigh C. Palmer, requested that Sims send to his home address the assumed names and the name of the passenger ship he was to board.<sup>137</sup> By the time Palmer sent the message, Sims and Babcock had already embarked the steamer, SS *New York* on 31 March 1917.

The United States remained neutral in the war, as SS *New York* sailed past Point Judith and within sight of the lights off Newport along the approaches to the Narragansett Bay. The vessel featured painted broadsides of stars and stripes flags with its name clearly marked to avoid attack under the neutrality of the United States. On board, Sims and Babcock relished the espionage surrounding their secret mission to London. As ordered, Sims and Babcock signed on board under assumed names in the ship’s register. Sims adopted the cover, “S.W. Davidson,” and Babcock appeared as “V.J. Richardson.”<sup>138</sup> Fellow passengers in *New York* suspected Sims and Babcock because the monograms on their civilian clothes did not match their assumed identities. In addition, members of the armed guard detachment



Admiral William S. Sims with Commander John V. Babcock after their great war adventure in 1919. (U.S. Navy)

in New York, immediately recognized Sims. Another passenger, Granville Barker, warned the skipper to treat Sims and Babcock as possible German spies.<sup>139</sup> Merchant Officer Charles Martell suppressed rumors surrounding Sims during the transatlantic voyage to Liverpool.<sup>140</sup>

Sims faced an ambiguously framed mission and had insufficient authority to clarify preliminary organizational ties between the Admiralty and Navy Department under the provisions set by the Wilson Administration. In requesting a formal war declaration against Imperial Germany on 6 April 1917, Wilson failed to ask Congress for a comprehensive declaration against the Central Powers. He also insisted upon maintaining the United States as an “associated power” and *not* as an ally of the *Entente*.<sup>141</sup> Three days following the formal American declaration of war against Imperial

Germany, the SS *New York* entered the approaches to Liverpool, with Sims and Babcock on board. Royal Navy Rear-Admiral Sir George Hope escorted the Americans by special train to London, arriving on 10 April.<sup>142</sup> Having reported to the American embassy, Ambassador Page and McDougall updated Sims and Babcock in preparation for following discussions with the British and French naval staffs.<sup>143</sup>

Following meetings at the American Embassy, Sims and Babcock walked to the Admiralty for meetings with the First Sea Lord, Jellicoe, and the Admiralty staff. Jellicoe provided a forthright assessment of the strategic situation, suggesting the German submarine force had the capacity to defeat Britain, splinter the *Entente* coalition, and fuel an eventual strategic victory for the Central Powers. Rather than months, Jellicoe suggested the *Entente* stood within weeks of falling apart.<sup>144</sup> Jellicoe purposely shocked Sims by



Canadian troops playing baseball on the western front in the First World War. (Library and Archives of Canada)

outlining the strategic implications of the German submarine blockade upon the British economy and war industry. He pressed Sims to help organize a transatlantic convoy system. Above all, Jellicoe required destroyers for antisubmarine operations. Jellicoe urged Sims to take command of U.S. Naval strategy on the European front.<sup>145</sup>

Keeping traditions firmly established in the age of sail, Sims took full stock of the strategic situation in Europe and assumed overall command of U.S. Navy strategy. Due to the gentlemanly rules of the time and their close personal relationship, Jellicoe entrusted Sims with the most sensitive strategic information available to the Admiralty. Jellicoe encouraged Sims to act beyond his formal authority in organizing U.S. Navy operations on the European front.<sup>146</sup> Sims concluded that the:

only effective way to through the weight of the U.S. Navy into the war without delay was to use its available units to strengthen the weak spots in other Navies and thus effect a more vigorous conduct of the war already so thoroughly underway in all areas. There would have been much wasted effort and time if any attempt had been made to take over any particular area and operate it entirely with U.S. Naval Forces.<sup>147</sup>

British newspapers heralded the presence of Sims, associating him with a new Anglo-American solidarity in the war at sea.<sup>148</sup>

The original liaison assignment of Sims to London quickly expanded beyond the control of the Navy Department. Facing few other options, Daniels and Benson further complicated the U.S. Naval



command by directing Sims to “assume command of all American destroyers operating from British bases, including tenders and auxiliaries thereto which may be sent later.”<sup>149</sup> Daniels and Benson also failed to consult Mayo before issuing the directives placing Sims in command over the Atlantic Fleet destroyers operating in European waters.<sup>150</sup> In accordance with existing war plans, Mayo expected to assume global control over operational forces as the Commander in Chief, U.S. Fleet (CinCUS).<sup>151</sup> However, Daniels demurred and failed to enact the authorities of CinCUS on 9 April.<sup>152</sup> Sims arrived in London the day after. Glossing over the actual details, Daniels later reasoned that they “worked in such close cooperation with the British fleet and I sent a younger admiral [Sims] as commander of it.”<sup>153</sup> In the absence of a clear strategy from the Navy Department, Sims threw U.S. Naval forces into the breach—pulling together with “Allied Governments by which our ships can put into any of their naval bases and obtain urgent supplies just as if they belonged to the Navy of the country.”<sup>154</sup> Sims followed the general philosophy that the “word ‘cooperation’ ought to be struck out from the war dictionary and the word ‘consolidation’ written in its place.”<sup>155</sup> He reasoned that the preservation of “individual identity by one force or another is all wrong [and] unified methods of signal and radio procedure ... ensure [ed] efficiency in joint operations with the British.”<sup>156</sup>

The disjointed character of the Navy Department command organization worsened with the establishment of the American Expeditionary Force, under the auspices of the War Department.<sup>157</sup> Out of bureaucratic necessity, Sims viewed his mission as something more than that of a simple liaison. Sims recognized the desperate nature of the whole situation, upon receiving the cable issued by Wilson on 25 May that:

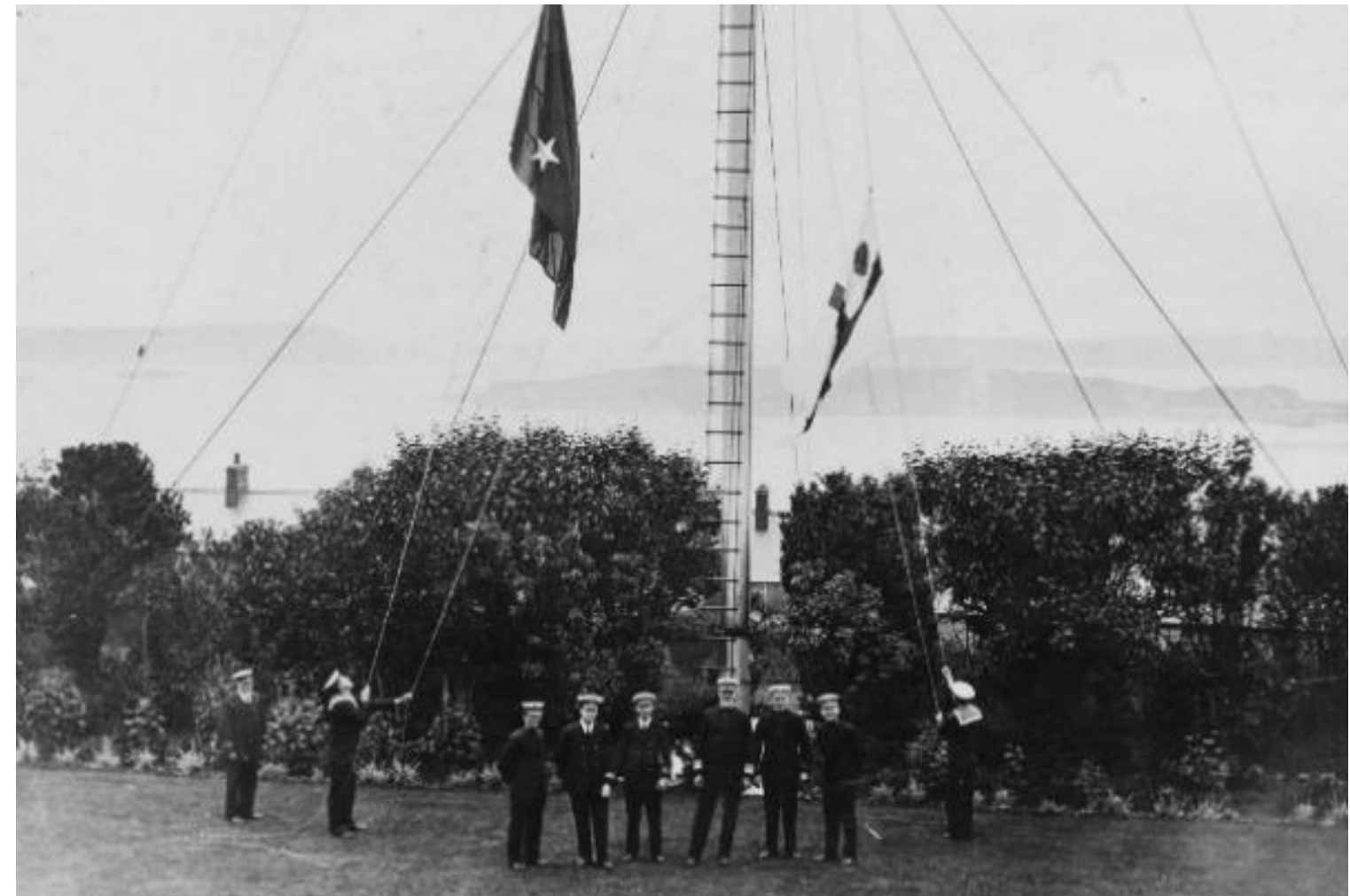
under an act of Congress which was approved May 22nd, 1917 you have been designated Commander United States Destroyers operating from British bases from May 26th ... you will assume the rank and hoist the

flag of Vice Admiral in the Navy on receipt of advice of this designation.<sup>158</sup>

The caveat inserted by Daniels on 26 May at the bottom of a following cable read that this “is a paraphrase of the message which should be read in its literal form when information regarding the subject is required.”<sup>159</sup> The fingerprints of Roosevelt appeared within the subtext of messages transmitted to Sims, as his temporary promotion to three-star rank rendered him equal but junior in lineal standing to Mayo.

From a British perspective, Sims won the propaganda war as an American naval officer second to none. In correspondence with the Navy Department, he adopted the radio handle of, “Sims, Admiral, Destroyers, United States,” or “SIMSADUS.”<sup>160</sup> The relationship between the British and Sims set the tone for the war at sea. Imitating the British naval tradition of naming buildings after ships, he referred to his “stone frigate” headquarters at 6 Grosvenor Gardens as the “London Flagship.”<sup>161</sup> He explained the function of the London Flagship to his superiors as an, “advanced headquarters of the Navy Department in the field.”<sup>162</sup> The temporary promotion of Sims failed to clarify the American command organization for operations afloat and ashore in Europe. His appointment to a third star also coincided with the War Department decision to send U.S. Army two-star Major General John Pershing as commander of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF).

The strategic relationships between the various headquarters of the *Entente* failed to synchronize with the disjointed character of organizational relations within the Wilson Administration. The policies and bureaucratic relationships remained fractured within the Departments of State, Navy, and War. The situation also influenced problems among the American commanders at the front. Sims and Pershing failed to establish cohesion between the London Flagship and the AEF headquarters in France. Having received tentative orders to assume temporary rank of three-stars, Sims strangely appeared in the uniform of a two-star upon meeting Pershing in London on 8



Admiral William S. Sims raising his flag as Commander, Western Approaches in 1917. (Donated to Naval War College by Dr. Nathaniel Sims and Family of Admiral W.S. Sims)

June 1917.<sup>163</sup> The following week, Sims received orders to adopt the title, “Commander, United States Forces Operating in European Waters” on 14 June 1917.<sup>164</sup> Four days later, Royal Navy forces based in Queenstown operated for a brief five days under the three-star flag of the U.S. Navy commander, Sims.<sup>165</sup> British supporters also pushed the Wilson Administration to designate Sims with the additional title of “Special Naval Observer representing the American Expeditionary Force.”<sup>166</sup>

Sims and Pershing operated as two separate commanders, never establishing a coherent *joint* command organization between the London Flagship and the AEF.<sup>167</sup> Pershing sought full autonomy in commanding U.S. Army forces of the AEF.<sup>168</sup> As many units comprised recent draftees and National Guard regiments, Pershing initially placed AEF

ground forces at the general disposal of the Anglo-French armies for training purposes.<sup>169</sup> The American soldiers appeared larger in physical stature, earning them the nickname, “doughboys,” among allied troops. Yankee soldiers also joked about the acronym, “AEF,” as meaning “After England Failed.”<sup>170</sup> Relations among forces at the front remained generally cordial, as American forces mobilized and trickled forward to the European front in the summer and fall of 1917.

#### Washington’s Victory

The sudden arrival of Sims in London caught the U.S. Navy by complete surprise as the seagoing forces gathered at predetermined fleet concentration areas in accordance with defensive Plan BLACK. When the Wilson Administration declared war on 6 April 1917, the Atlantic Fleet staff awaited orders



Admiral Henry T. Mayo (sitting at center) with his staff on board the Atlantic Fleet flagship, *Pennsylvania*. (Courtesy, Commander Janvier King Smith and the Family of Fleet Admiral E.J. King, USN)

in the still waters off Yorktown at Base 2. Standing off in the approaches to the Chesapeake Bay at that time, British and French warships weathered choppy seas while awaiting a wireless signal to make formal contact with the U.S. Navy. In the meantime, Mayo and the Atlantic Fleet staff prepared to meet Anglo-French naval representatives at the Chamberlain Hotel overlooking the approaches to Hampton Roads four days following the American war declaration on 10 April 1917. On the same day, Sims arrived in London.<sup>171</sup>

European emissaries delivered well-coordinated talking points on Anglo-French strategy to influence the Americans to follow. “There still remains a strong feeling of mistrust of Great Britain,” Sir William Wiseman advised the British War Cabinet, “inherited from the days of the War of Independence and fostered by the ridiculous history books still used in national schools of America.”<sup>172</sup> Given the Anglo-American rivalry, the British carefully coopted American mythology about the War for Independence.<sup>173</sup> The

Atlantic Fleet anchorage at “Base 2” in the York River stood under the spot where Charles Lord Cornwallis surrendered to General George Washington at Yorktown during the War for Independence.<sup>173</sup> For the first time since the Battle of the Virginia Capes, British and French warships squared off in close formation—displaying battle ensigns, but with an American flag flying from their mastheads and under U.S. Navy escort.<sup>174</sup>

The Yorktown Victory memorial loomed ashore, as British and French commanders nurtured friendly relations with their American counterparts. The Commander-in-Chief, North America and West Indies Station, Vice-Admiral Sir Montague Edward Browning, sailed in HMS *Leviathan* accompanied by French counterpart, Rear-Admiral Maurice Ferdinand Albert Grasset, in the light cruiser *Gloire* for meetings with the CNO, Benson, and the Commander, Atlantic Fleet, Mayo, in the flagship *Pennsylvania*.<sup>175</sup> Sailing from the Navy Yard in Washington in the yacht *Sylph*, Benson stonewalled

his British and French counterparts during their initial meetings. One observer noted that “Benson seemed scanty cooperative [so] the conference migrated to Washington the following day, for Vice-Admiral Browning felt that his instructions required him to see the Secretary of the Navy.”<sup>176</sup>

British and French representatives rallied support for the Entente among American taxpayers. Circumventing the bureaucracy within the Wilson Administration, the Royal Navy Commander-in-Chief, North America and West Indies Station, Vice-Admiral Sir Montague Edward Browning, visited the Atlantic Fleet on the 4<sup>th</sup> of July holiday of 1917. He insisted upon trooping his way to the hilltop upon which the Yorktown monument stood. Browning read aloud from the inscriptions etched onto the monument, recounting the heroic portrayal of Washington’s victory over Lord Cornwallis 136 years earlier. American naval officers applauded Browning’s self-effacing gesture of Anglo-American solidarity.<sup>177</sup>

British and French overtures toward their American allies frequently centered upon the mythologized heroism of revolutionary heroes. Not to be outdone by his British allies, Marshal Joseph Joffre staged a triumphant return to the region with other members of the French military mission in the United States. After a long soliloquy in broken English with the assistance of a French translator, Joffre capped off his remarks by implying the great victory at Yorktown as being primarily a result of French naval support from Comte de Grasse during the Battle of Virginia Capes, rather than the decisions made by Washington.<sup>178</sup> Joffre then insisted upon a tour of the turret of the Atlantic Fleet flagship, *Pennsylvania*. American sailors noted the obese physique of Joffre. His escort worried about the “undignified spectacle of a Marshal of France getting stuck in a space too small for him!”<sup>179</sup>

The American mobilization for war stalled in the absence of a coherent strategy for operations in Europe. Throughout

1917, the Wilson Administration failed to develop clear policies to inform strategic decisions—leaving commanders at the lower levels of command to muddle through. American forces trickled in piecemeal fashion to the European front. Although Sims kept his sailors busy with the mission of chasing German submarines and escorting convoys and troopships, the troops ashore with Pershing and the AEF muddled along with training behind the lines. Very few American ground forces operated close to the front throughout 1917 and into the spring of 1918. Sailors and aviators mostly carried the burdens in combat on the western front.<sup>180</sup>

The growing American presence on the European front somewhat confused the local British and French populations. British civilians wondered about the Irish and Scottish surnames, just as much as the French noted the large number of Americans of German heritage. The steady influx of Americans also fueled underlying tensions among their European hosts. Recent memories of the Easter Uprising against the British occupation fueled problems between the Irish population and the American forces. Europeans struggled with the overwhelming stresses of war, economic uncertainty, and famine. Americans conversely appeared well-nourished,



Marshal of France Joseph Joffre during the summer 1917 visit to the home of George Washington at Mount Vernon in Virginia. Navy Secretary Daniels is seen at center behind Joffre. (Library of Congress)

they carried excess money to gamble away, and they frequently acted obnoxiously at the pubs and brothels on the European front.<sup>181</sup> When an American sailor defended his Irish girlfriend against an attacker associated with Sinn Fein in Queenstown, Sims restricted U.S. Naval forces in Ireland to remain on base.<sup>182</sup>

Morale remained a persistent problem for the American commanders on the European front. Sims and Pershing closely monitored reports concerning disciplinary problems. European nicknames for American soldiers like “doughboy” or “blue jacket” for sailors progressively became derogatory as well as the term, “Yanks.”<sup>183</sup> To address this strategic problem, Sims joined forces with U.S. Army Major General John Biddle. Together, Sims and Biddle facilitated efforts by the YMCA and Knights of Columbus to establish libraries, recreational facilities, and athletic events for the American forces at the front. Sims also relied upon his Planning Section in the London Flagship under Captain Dudley W. Knox. Having arrived at Christmas, he worked closely with the intelligence officer, Reserve Lieutenant (junior grade) Tracy Barrett Kittredge, to develop plans to improve morale.<sup>184</sup>

Given ties earlier established as a member of the Hoover humanitarian relief mission in Europe, Kittredge maintained close associations with many other American expatriates living in London. A fellow Californian and good friend, Howard E. Booker, informed Kittredge about ongoing discussions between R. Newton Crane and other Americans, including Harry Gordon Selfridge, Wilson Cross, and William Parsons.<sup>185</sup> The famed American baseball player, Arlie Latham, joined the effort to organize the Anglo-American Baseball League (AABL) in February of 1918. Kittredge informed his superiors in the London Flagship about the plan to organize the AABL with eight teams—including four American and four Canadian ball clubs. Sensing the opportunity to influence transatlantic strategy, Sims fully supported the efforts of Latham and the AABL. Sims actively recruited baseball players from ships assigned in European waters to serve on the London



Captain Dudley W. Knox, USN, Officer in Charge of the Planning Section, London Flagship (Courtesy, Dr. Nathaniel Sims and the Family of Admiral W.S. Sims, USN)



Lieutenant Tracy Barrett Kittredge, USNVR (Courtesy, Professor Branden Little)

Flagship team. He also worked the lines at the Navy Department. Assistant Navy Secretary Roosevelt assisted the effort to stack navy teams, such as that of Sims in the London Flagship.<sup>186</sup>

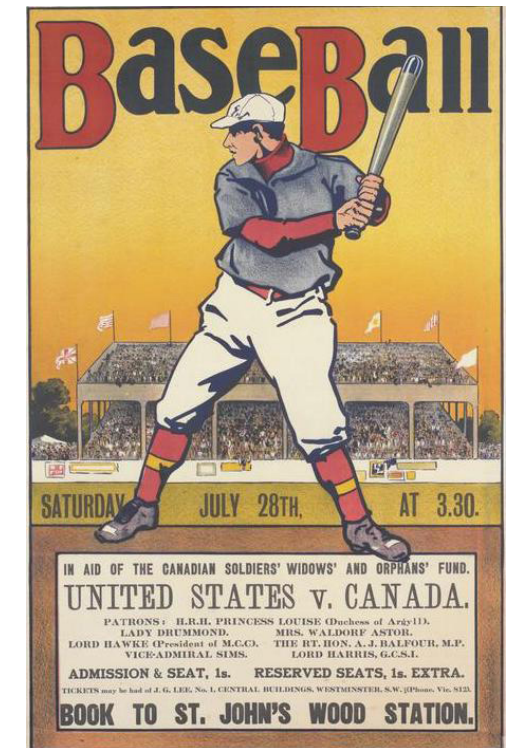
Latham demonstrated great showmanship in efforts to draw British interest in American baseball. The founder of the Boy Scouts, Colonel Sir Robert Baden Powell, remained skeptical about baseball, but supported Latham in mobilizing British youth to play ball. The AABL appeared to hold great promise in efforts to foster closer transatlantic ties between the British and American forces. On 18 May 1918, Sims wrote his wife, Anne, that yesterday “was the first day of the Baseball season here [with] a league of eight teams, Army, Navy, Canadians, etc.”<sup>187</sup> Sims proudly described the “team from our Navy headquarters and one from the Army headquarters, and these two teams played yesterday.” Continuing, Sims recalled the excitement that:

Many of our officers went and practically all the office force. There were also a lot of British Naval and Army officers. I threw the first ball and General Biddle caught it. The game took place on a football field with a huge grandstand and ‘bleachers’ on three sides of it. There were about 10 or 12,000 present. It was a very good and exciting game. It was a tie in the 8th, 9th and 10th. innings, and the Army beat us by one run in the 11th inning.<sup>189</sup>

The first season of the AABL had begun with great fanfare in the British and French newspapers. Sims also demonstrated a natural sense of showmanship. In film footage of him throwing the first pitch, he entertained the audience with a dramatic windup. He delivered a strike with the first pitch and simultaneously caught his cap before it hit the ground after it fell off his head.<sup>190</sup>

#### **Empires and Surrenders**

Baseball entrepreneurs in America slowly embraced the war as an opportunity to establish the



Anglo-American Baseball League Poster (Library of Congress)

game as a global sport. Major League Baseball team owners initially lobbied Congress to exempt players, as the Wilson Administration expanded the draft under the “Work or Fight” policy.<sup>191</sup> Fearing the complete loss of the 1918 season, Ban Johnson and John Tener obscured their backchannel efforts to fight the draft and the Wilson Administration by sponsoring mass shipments of baseball equipment to the American forces on the European front. Supporting the troops also proved very lucrative for the sporting goods manufacturers. In 1918, the former major leaguer and future owner of the Washington Senators baseball club, Clark Griffith, rallied Americans to join the effort with the “Bat and Ball Fund.” Through his efforts and those of the Spalding Company, an uncounted number of baseball mitts sailed with an estimated 79,680 baseballs, 19,200 baseball bats, and 1,200 catcher’s masks in the place of grenades, rifles, food, and other critical war supplies to the European front.<sup>192</sup>

American forces struggled to set strategic priorities in organizing the flow of logistics to the European



USS *Warrington* (DD-30) baseball team following a ballgame at Queenstown (Cobh) in Ireland in the summer of 1917. (U.S. Navy)

front. Baseball supplies remained short among the forces. During service as an Atlantic Fleet staff liaison to the London Flagship, Commander Ernest J. King watched a U.S. Navy railgun unit play a baseball game against a U.S. Marine team on the western front in France. He described the sailors and marines using, “cricket balls and rocks wrapped up tightly in rags.” King remembered the dramatic spectacle of hearing explosions of distant battles along the front, “and the French sticks they used [as baseball bats] splintered after the batter hit the ball.”<sup>193</sup> With the establishment of the AABL in 1918, Americans back home also rallied to the call of supporting the troops with baseball. The various baseball leagues among the forces in Europe became known in general terms as the, “Uncle Sam League” (UCL). Theoretically, the league champions of the AABL competed to play a future world series with other UCL teams on the European front. The AABL and the UCL leagues also provided opportunities for Major League Baseball entrepreneurs to exploit the patriotic fervor on the American home front.<sup>194</sup>

Aging baseball heroes set the example for other major leaguers by joining the American armed services. Some perhaps sensed their age and the approaching end of the baseball careers while others fervently wanted to carry their flag forward in battle. Arlie Latham’s AABL also served as a recruiting tool to draw ballplayers into the ranks. The former Chicago Cubs infielder, Johnny Evers, also sponsored baseball on the European front. He appeared at the front with a Knights of Columbus uniform resembling that of the U.S. Army.<sup>195</sup> His former teammate, Walter J. “Rabbit” Maranville, reported for duty in the Atlantic Fleet flagship USS *Pennsylvania* (Battleship No. 38). Petty officers “Minooka” Mike McNally and Herb Pennock also rallied fellow Boston Red Sox to join the U.S. Navy.<sup>196</sup> Meanwhile, Wesley Branch Rickey accepted a National Guard commission and joined the Chemical Warfare Service of the U.S. Army. He served in the rank of major in the same unit with fellow baseball stars—including captains Christy Mathewson and Ty Cobb.<sup>197</sup>

Younger baseball players frequently sought



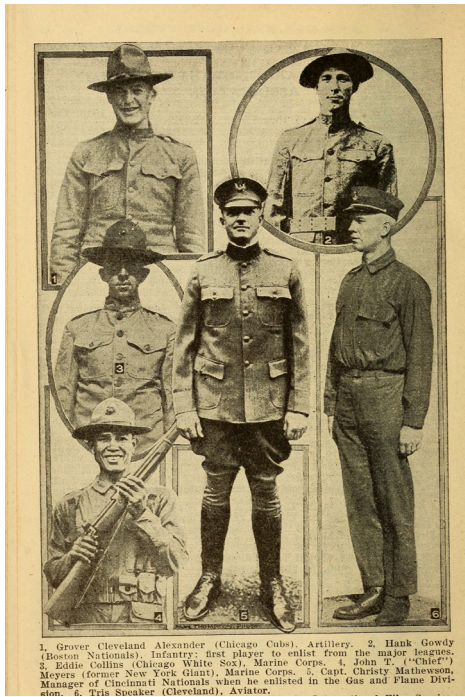
Assistant Navy Secretary Franklin D. Roosevelt marching as to war with the Washington Senators in the First World War. (Library of Congress)

means to continue playing baseball by taking jobs in the American war industry. Given the restrictions imposed by the Work or Fight policies of the Wilson Administration, many ballplayers thrived on the baseball diamonds of America. For example, Buck Weaver and “Shoeless Joe” Jackson took industrial jobs. Manufacturers also recruited other major leaguers to join the company baseball teams. Eventually, the Wilson Administration redoubled to ensure all able-bodied personnel performed their duty as citizens supporting the war effort. Assistant Navy Secretary Roosevelt thwarted efforts by the Boston Red Sox to lure members of their team back from the uniformed ranks of the service.

Baseball players occasionally circumvented governmental restrictions by taking leave to play ball with their major league teams. Red Sox owner, Harry Frazee, fought with Roosevelt about the necessity of playing baseball in wartime. In response, Roosevelt frustrated baseball team owners by restricting players serving in the ranks to play for their naval command ball clubs. Many major leaguers also received

accelerated ranks as yeoman for the sole purposes of playing baseball for the U.S. Navy.<sup>198</sup> Roosevelt also participated in the patriotic spectacle by marching at the head of a formation of Washington Senators ballplayers wielding bats slung over their shoulders like soldiers and sailors carried rifles.<sup>199</sup>

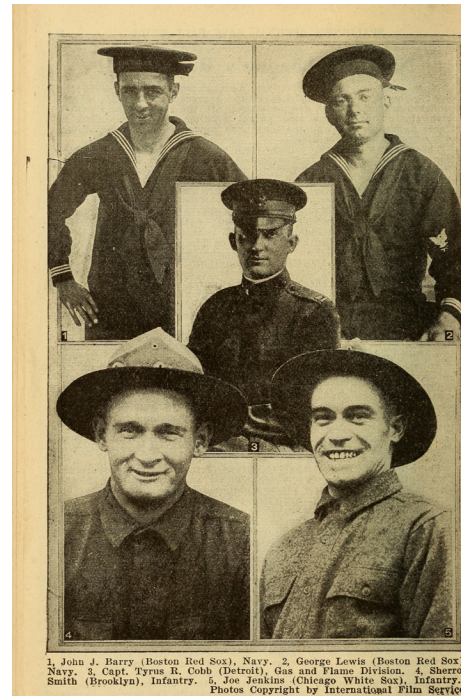
The Wilson Administration pressured athletes to enlist for combat duty in the ranks of the army. Ruth continued playing baseball while playing the odds with the military draft, although others anticipated being called into the service. Rather than wait for the draft, “Toots” Schultz of the Philadelphia Phillies reported for duty with the Naval District Commander in Newport, Rhode Island.<sup>200</sup> Schultz recruited former teammates already serving in the naval ranks to play ball on the Naval District baseball teams in the greater New England region, including Herb Pennock, Jack Berry, and “Minooka” Mike McNally. Augmenting the effort, former President Theodore Roosevelt hired the former major league pitcher and switch-hitter, Frank Corridon, to organize the Second Naval District baseball team.<sup>201</sup> As a native son of Newport,



U.S. Army Captain Christy Mathewson (center) in *Spalding's Baseball Guide* (1919), page 16



Johnny Evers leads the charge as a Knights of Columbus volunteer leading the Paris Baseball Association of the "Uncle Sam League" in *Spalding's Baseball Guide* (1919), page 174



U.S. Army Captain Ty Cobb (center) in *Spalding's Baseball Guide* (1919), page 18



Second Naval District Baseball Team at Basin Field (Cardines Field) – including major leaguers freshly assigned as recruits for the fleet in Newport, Rhode Island (1917). (Author's donation to the Naval War College)

Corridon helped Schultz in efforts to rally navy teams in conjunction with the Liberty Loan fundraising campaign. Adding his weight to the effort, Roosevelt ate hot dogs and sat with the fans during baseball games held at Basin Field and Coddington Field in Newport.<sup>202</sup>

Roosevelt took a personal interest in using baseball to rally American support for the war effort. Army and navy teams comprised of recruits from the major leagues and those of the Ivy Leagues played exhibition games in support of the Liberty Loan drives across the United States. On the European front, Army Lieutenant Floyd Mims and U.S. Navy Ensign Charles Fuller concurrently recruited from the ranks of the military and sea services to stack their teams with ringers. In anticipation of the AABL "world series" beginning in May of 1918, army and navy commanders at the front also participated in the competition. In three-stars, Vice Admiral William S. Sims helped kickoff the AABL world series. Army defeated navy in the first ballgame. Sims laughed-off the navy loss with the crowd and signed baseballs for the players. He then raced to stack the navy baseball team in anticipation of the culminating game—particularly after King George V declared his intention to attend the match at Stamford Bridge on the 4<sup>th</sup> of July.<sup>203</sup>

Sims worked the lines to arrange orders for former major leaguers to serve on the navy ballclub of the London Flagship. In the spring of 1918, Pennock and McNally reported for duty as yeoman after the first game between army and navy in May. Having served in the naval aviation squadron teams on the European front, Fuller outranked Pennock and McNally as they took charge of the navy headquarters team. Petty Officer First Class John "Jack" Egan also replaced Fuller as the catcher on the navy team.<sup>204</sup> He happily reported for duty in the outfield as the ringers of the navy team pulled together. Fuller fully approved when McNally assumed command on the baseball diamond as the navy team captain.<sup>205</sup>

British and American newspaper accounts lingered upon the historical significance of the King's decision to attend the army-navy baseball game at

Stamford Bridge. British propagandists also focused on the heroic image of Sims. Riding the waves of popularity among the upper classes in London, Sims understood the undercurrents within the subtext of discussions concerning the British Empire in future relations with the Americans. One poem appearing in the *London Daily Sketch* mused that:

King George III with cannon balls  
Did try our brothers to dispatch.  
King George V the country calls  
To watch with him their baseball match.<sup>206</sup>

Given the proud traditions of the British Empire and the rising influence of the Americans, Sims advised his wife about the importance of the 4<sup>th</sup> of July baseball. He explained that "there will be a very large meeting of all the principal governmental dignitaries in celebration of that day, and both General Biddle and I will be obliged to make a 'few remarks.'" Sims expected to attend a series of state dinners given by the American Society in London with luminaries from all the Allied nations before the baseball game at Stamford Bridge on the 4<sup>th</sup> of July.

Sims exploited the AABL series between the army and navy baseball teams to support the British propaganda campaign in shaping a future alliance with the Americans. He perhaps exceeded his orders in pulling the Wilson Administration along to embrace the nascent transatlantic alliance. To honor the King during the ballgame, Sims requested a special message from the White House. Wilson demurred, likely hoping to avoid becoming further entwined with the *Entente*. Sims received a reply from the administration that it "did not think such a message should be sent upon such a minor occasion."<sup>208</sup> Baseball seemed too trite for an official exchange between White House and the House of Windsor. In disgust, Sims recalled that "I explained that no occasion that was attended by the King could be considered a minor one and repeated my recommendation but without effect."<sup>209</sup>

Londoners recognized the baseball game at Stamford Bridge as an opportunity to celebrate the empire while nurturing American allies. The First

World War had entered a decisive phase, as German forces pressed aggressively with the 1918 offensive. Hoping to set the stage for a negotiated peace with the *Entente*, generals Paul von Hindenburg and Erich Ludendorff gambled with new tactics, tanks, and bombs to break the stalemate on the western front.<sup>210</sup> By the 4<sup>th</sup> of July 1918, the German offensive began losing momentum and the *Entente* prepared to stage the counterattack. The reign of terror in the air by Captain Manfred von Richthoven, “the Red Baron,” ended with his death in combat during the German offensive. The situation in the war at sea also began to stabilize with U.S. Naval forces intermixing with those of the *Entente* navies to overwhelm the enemy in the air, on the surface, and below the waves.<sup>211</sup>

Poison gas and the drone of German bombers remained fixed in the minds of many Londoners when the Americans organized the ballgame at Stamford Bridge. The Spanish Flu had also begun to devastate nations. The optimistic headlines from the front also appeared oddly inconsistent with the casualty reports in the newspapers. Grieving the deaths of millions under the scourge of war, Londoners gravitated to the cheerful distraction of American baseball. The celebrations began with a brunch held in the Central Hall at Westminster on the 4<sup>th</sup> of July 1918. The guest of honor, Sims, attended the affair with other members of the American delegation. The Minister of Munitions, Sir Winston S. Churchill, delivered an oration especially prepared for the occasion. He artfully suggested that the:

Declaration of Independence is not only an American document; it follows on Magna Charta and the Petition of Right as the third of the great title deeds on which the liberties of the English-speaking race are founded. By it we lost an Empire, but by it we also preserved an Empire.<sup>212</sup>

Sims described the Churchill’s delivery as, “being one of the most eloquent speeches I have ever heard.”<sup>213</sup> Sims gushed that Churchill “will have considerable influence upon our relations in the future [and] there

is no doubt about the intellectual capacity of this man.”<sup>214</sup> When asked to speak after Churchill, Sims recognized that he would “have to be very careful not to make one of my customary indiscreet remarks” as he had at Guildhall.<sup>215</sup> Instead of extemporaneous remarks, Sims read from a carefully crafted speech prepared in close conjunction with trusted members of his London Flagship staff.<sup>216</sup>

Nobody anticipated the scale of the baseball spectacle at the Stamford Bridge football stadium on the outskirts of London. The appearance of the King and his family whipped crowds into an unanticipated burst of patriotic euphoria. Sims recalled that “my first and strongest impression, when I got on the ground, in the presence of 40,000 people, was one of great regret that you could not see the sight.”<sup>217</sup> He remembered that on the “great football ground every single seat was occupied and several thousand people over-flowed on to the grass and there was some difficulty keeping them far enough back of the foul line.”<sup>218</sup>

British military forces augmented the Metropolitan Police to establish the defensive cordon in the area surrounding Stamford Bridge football stadium. Churchill and Sims arrived from Westminster at roughly the same time at Stamford Bridge. Members of the royal family also arrived at the scene in anticipation of the arrival of the King. Other prominent personalities included Sir David Lloyd George, Sir Baden Powell, and Sir Eric Geddes. The Director of Naval Intelligence, Sir Roslyn E. Weymss, and the Director of the Secret Intelligence Service, Captain Sir Mansfield Smith-Cummings, also sat among the audience near the box reserved for King George V. Recalling the moment of truth, Sims told his wife that when the “Royal Party arrived at the entrance to the ground, General Biddle and I met them and I escorted the Queen to the Royal Box.”<sup>219</sup> Leaving her with other dignitaries, Sims and Biddle followed behind George V to meet the captains of the army and navy baseball teams at home plate.

The King walked with cheerful elegance across British soil to meet the American representatives at the designated spot on the baseball field. He hid the

pain as he walked, having suffered a broken pelvis after a severe fall from the saddle of a horse during a visit with troops at the front just two years earlier. The army team captain, Mims, stood tall in a grayish-khaki uniform with black trim and an American flag pinned to the sleeve. The navy team captain, McNally, braced for the moment in his blue uniform with red trim and “NAVY” spelled out in black letters across the chest. Sims remembered the King locked eyes with Mims to deliver encouraging words about the privilege of serving in an army uniform. Standing tall in his army field marshal’s uniform, the King then turned to McNally and admitted to having a special affinity for the sea services. At that moment, a photographer captured the King wearing a riding glove while shaking hands with McNally—with the beaming face of Sims in between the pair.<sup>220</sup>

The King remained an imposing presence standing below the smiling faces of the Americans at home plate. Sims later noted that the picture of the moment “is one of the best pictures of the King that I have seen, and it makes him look considerably taller than he really is.”<sup>221</sup> Sims described with pride the moment when the King “autographed a new baseball with his name and the date July 4<sup>th</sup> [and it] will be mounted on an ebony stand covered with a glass case, and shipped to President Wilson.”<sup>222</sup> Sims characterized the army match against navy at Stamford Bridge as:

one of the best I have ever seen from the point of view of professional ball. There was no reason why it should not have been, as nearly all the men on both teams were professional players until we came into the war. It was largely a Pitchers’ game, and we had the best one, as you have doubtless read in the papers. There was no doubt at all that our guest, including the Royal Party enjoyed the game very much. The King had seen two or three games before and was tolerable familiar with it. It of course puzzled the ladies considerably, but they were interested in the fine exhibition of fielding and so forth.<sup>223</sup>



Vice Admiral William S. Sims stands at left as guest of honor with the Minister of Munitions, Sir Winston S. Churchill, in the Central Hall at Westminster on 4 July 1918. (National Archives)



An estimated 70,000 fans observed the American baseball match between Army and Navy at Stamford Bridge on 4 July 1918. (National Archives)



Army Headquarters baseball team of the AABL before the ballgame at Stamford Bridge on 4 July 1918  
(*Souvenir of the Anglo-American Baseball League*)



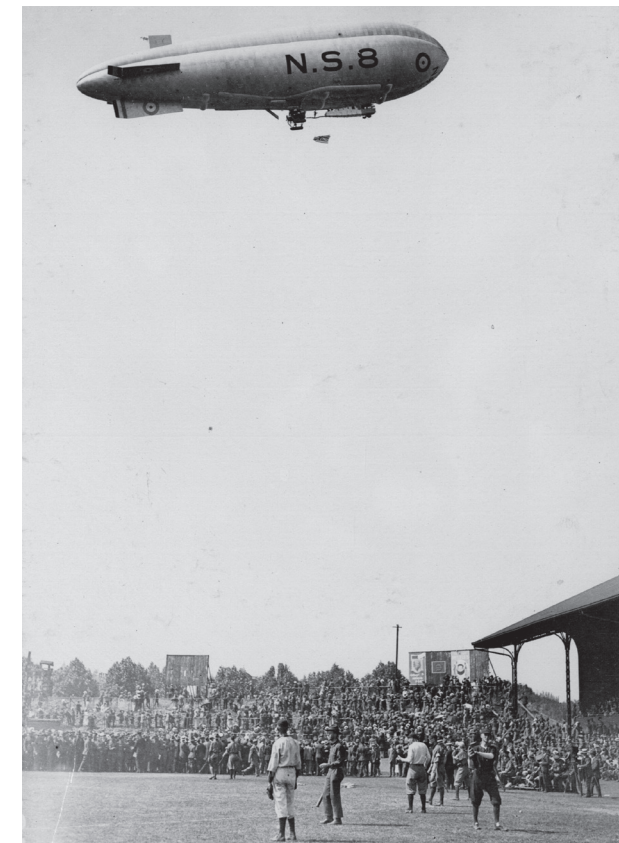
Navy Headquarters baseball team of the AABL before the ballgame at Stamford Bridge on 4 July 1918  
(*Souvenir of the Anglo-American Baseball League*)



Arlie Latham (back facing at center) meets King George V and Vice Admiral Sims at homeplate before the ballgame at Stamford Bridge on 4 July 1918. Major General John Biddle is seen to left admiring the baseball signed by the King in the hands of Wilson Cross of the AABL. (*National Archives*)



Wounded sailors and troops sat along the sidelines and in the bleachers to enjoy the American baseball match between Army and Navy at Stamford Bridge on 4 July 1918. (*National Archives*)



Antisubmarine dirigible flying British and American colors over Stamford Bridge during the ballgame on 4 July 1918. (*National Archives*)



Vice Admiral Sims handing the baseball signed by the King to Yeoman First Class McNally, Captain of the Navy Headquarters baseball team, with his counterpart, army Lieutenant Floyd Mims, at Stamford Bridge on 4 July 1918 (*Author's donation to the Naval War College Museum*)



King George V shaking hands with Navy baseball team captain, Yeoman First Class "Minooka" Mike McNally, USNR, formerly of the Boston Red Sox and New York Yankees.  
*(Souvenir of the Anglo-American Baseball League)*



Army versus Navy at Stamford Bridge in London on 4 July 1918. *(National Archives)*



Above: King George V observes the baseball match between Army and Navy along with Admiral of the Fleet Sir John R. Jellicoe and Vice Admiral William S. Sims during the game at Stamford Bridge on 4 July 1918. *(Courtesy, Dr. Nathaniel Sims and the Family of Admiral W.S. Sims)*





Hyde Park in London. U.S. Army umpire sets ground rules before army faces navy in June of 1918. (*Library of Congress*)

Sims clearly remained upset about the failure of Navy Secretary Daniels to exploit the opportunity to celebrate the transatlantic relationship in advance of the ball game. Sims criticized Daniels for sending a “rather gushing congratulatory telegram [about] Navy’s winning the game.”<sup>224</sup> Given such profound gestures of friendship on the part of the British, Sims criticized superiors for completely ignoring the strategic scope of the American triumph in shaping future relations with Europe. Following the armistice on 11 November 1918, Sims remained optimistic upon receiving promotion to four-star rank the following month and in anticipation of a negotiated formal treaty in June of 1919.

#### Americans in the Great Game

The navy victory at Stamford Bridge quickly faded under the headlines about the Allied counteroffensive on the western front. From July to November of 1918, American forces serving under Pershing with the AEF suffered the heaviest sustained losses of the entire

First World War with an estimated tally in excess of 50,000 killed. The total estimated butcher’s bill for American forces stood at roughly 117,466 killed with 204,000 wounded. Former baseball stars were among the ranks of the dead. U.S. Army Captain Eddie Grant fell in combat during efforts to save the “Lost Battalion.” Robert G. “Bun” Troy and Alexander “Tom” Burr also died in combat on the western front. Altogether, more than two-hundred major league baseball players served in the ranks of the army and navy. Although three clearly died as a result of their service at the front, many others died of the lingering effects of pestilence and war.

Servicemen died alongside with civilians in the hospitals and influenza sanitariums, as the flu pandemic spread faster than poison gas on the global stage. Baseball stadiums remained filled. Fans also enjoyed the parades celebrating the return of American forces from the European front during the Liberty Loan drives of 1918 and 1919. American servicemen also stood vigil with the occupation forces



U.S. Marines dominated the Uncle Sam League in France, only to be defeated by the Navy headquarters team in a final matchup held in Brest before departing for home in 1919. (*U.S. Navy*)

in Europe and others fought an undeclared war to support the counterinsurgency in Russia. Americans widely attempted to forget the war, as writers like F. Scott Fitzgerald and Ernest Hemingway reminded readers about the excesses and classism associated with empires and war in such works as, *The Great Gatsby*, and *A Farewell to Arms*.

First World War legacies persisted within the subtext of the American pastime in the new era of global uncertainty. In 1919, newspapermen criticized key members of the Chicago White Sox for serving in industrial leagues to avoid military service during the war. Headlines surrounding the “Black Sox” scandal following the world series against the Cincinnati Reds featured backhanded critiques about the wartime “slackers” who worked in shipyards and factories, including “Shoeless” Joe Jackson, Charles “Buck” Weaver, Charles “Swede” Risberg, and Claude “Lefty” Williams. Others implicated in the scandal succumbed to the temptation of taking money to throw the game after having lost income as a result of

their service in the war.

Horrific memories of war intermixed with the poisoned atmosphere of criminal influences in American culture. The Volstead Act of 1919 marked the beginning of Prohibition, as thirsty veterans returned home from the European front. Gangsters exploited the opportunities associated with Prohibition. To polish their public reputation, gangsters frequently appeared at Major League ballparks in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Chicago. Charles “Lucky” Luciano and Alphonse “Al” Capone nurtured personal friendships with ballplayers like “Babe” Ruth and Charles L “Gabby” Hartnett during spring training games.<sup>225</sup>

Baseball provided a forum for Capone and other gangsters to nurture their public images as simple business entrepreneurs and family men. Capone sat with his son, “Sonny,” in the stands behind the home plates at Wrigley Field and Comiskey Park in Chicago. Capone used baseball to hold public court. He also bought ice cream and hot dogs for children in the

stands while trading jokes with ballplayers. Capone once dreamed of playing baseball as a boy growing up in the lower-class immigrant neighborhoods of New York. Capone instead used a baseball bat to bludgeon other gangsters to death.<sup>226</sup>

The thin veneer of innocence remained an important element in the American game of baseball, as gangsters carried Thomson machine guns first designed for use in the trenches on the streets and seafronts in major American cities. The period following the First World War sparked a “golden age” in baseball.<sup>227</sup> In the following decades, baseball served as a calling card for American visions of global reconstruction. When members of the Boston Red Sox featured on the lineup for the tour of Japan in 1922 and 1923, Babe Ruth’s subsequent tour of Japan in 1934 reflected broader efforts by American policymakers to foster friendly ties in Asia. American naval personnel also continued the baseball diplomacy in the global maritime arena. The game itself remained an important facet in the military policy of the United States.

Former major leaguers regularly joined in the action among the ranks of the American military and sea services. Soldiers and sailors also sat in the stands cheering the rise of Major League Baseball as a multimillion-dollar industry in American society.<sup>228</sup> For the older generation of ballplayers also faded with the veterans of the “great war.”<sup>229</sup> Christy Mathewson died in 1925. He suffered from multiple illnesses, although some suspected his accidental inhalation of poison gas during wartime army service alongside Ty Cobb and Branch Rickey. Other former baseball greats, including Grover Cleveland Alexander, struggled with the memories of war. He lingered in life, suffering from shell shock amplified by alcohol.<sup>230</sup> Among many other baseball players now forgotten in modern American memory, Private Bernardo Cardines also appeared among those listed missing in action after he volunteered to join a trench raiding party during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive of 1918.<sup>231</sup>

An Italian citizen, Cardines studied to become a tailor and dreamed of earning full status as an



American volunteer soldier sits with his Italian father, Private Bernardo Cardines, U.S. Army. (Courtesy, Dr. Bernardino Cardines)

American citizen. Ten years before his death in combat, Bernardo Cardines left his parents Nicandro and Filomena Greco Marcello Cardines. At age fourteen, Cardines arrived at the front door of his uncle Rafaele Ardito on 3 Sanford Street in Newport, Rhode Island. He studied under the mentoring hand of his uncle to become a tailor.<sup>232</sup> Cardines regularly joined pickup games, just two blocks away on Basin Field at the junction with the railhead and Fleet Landing. He played baseball with many major leaguers and barnstormers at Basin Field. In 1915, Cardines matriculated into the Newport Lodge of the Sons of Italy. Hearing the call to arms two years later, Cardines volunteered for service in the Rhode Island National Guard. He sailed to the western front with the 310<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment of the 78<sup>th</sup> Division. He played pickup baseball on the western front in France. On 22 September 1918, Cardines continued



Uncle Rafaele Ardito awaiting at his tailor shop in Rhode Island. (Courtesy, Dr. Bernardino Cardines)

contributing to the team and was last seen charging a German machine gun nest with a bayonet.<sup>233</sup>

Like most soldiers after the fighting on European shores, the brief and obscure life of Cardines quietly lingered when the guns fell silent on the western front. His remains were initially buried with fellow soldiers in France. At his father’s request, the U.S. Army later transported the remains with an American flag draping the coffin to the Cardines family cemetery in Venafro.<sup>234</sup> His family in Rhode Island and the Sons of Italy also joined forces with the Veterans of Foreign Wars and American Legion to commemorate the memory of Cardines. Anne E. Hitchcock Sims, wife of Admiral Sims, similarly sought to remember the contributions of those who had fought and died in the war. Baseball provided an ideal platform for Sims to advance her social agenda.<sup>235</sup>

Efforts by Sims to erect memorials to the fallen in

past wars intermixed with other trends in American culture. She belonged to the Newport County Woman’s Suffrage League and Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association and was a girl scout leader. As a leading figure in the Girl Scouts movement, she also mobilized youth to assist efforts to build First World War memorials in the greater New England area.<sup>236</sup> Sims also joined forces with the “Sunset League” played baseball with the local army and navy teams on Basin Field. In the years following the war, George Donnelly also rallied readers to gather for ballgames at Basin Field.<sup>237</sup> Fusing the efforts of Sims with baseball to cheer up the crowds at the ballpark during the Great Depression, the Civilian Conservation Corps and Works Progress Administration assisted efforts to renovate Basin Field in Newport. Upon completion, Anne Sims stood with the Sons of Italy and First World War veterans to rechristen the ballpark as Cardines Field, in honor of the immigrant who died fighting during the war.<sup>238</sup> Major League Baseball writers widely recognized Donnelly’s Sunset League as the oldest of the minors in baseball.<sup>239</sup> Cardines Field also officially carries the distinction as being the oldest standing baseball park in the United States.<sup>240</sup>

Efforts to memorialize the fallen in war intermixed with the game of baseball in the Sunset League at Cardines Field. The journalist, George Donnelly, covered the games and knew many major leaguers who played in Newport.<sup>241</sup> Admiral and Mrs. Sims also attended ballgames. Sims outwardly remained cheerful in the limelight of his celebrity while living in retirement in Newport. He always remained savvy in relations with the media. Yet, he quietly stewed about the fact that the U.S. Navy sailed unprepared for the First World War. At first, Sims kept his opinions to himself—working with the Boy Scouts and the Junior Naval Reserve of the Rhode Island Militia to establish “Camp Sims” on Prudence Island near Newport.<sup>242</sup>

Sims dedicated himself to educating the new generation about the basics of citizenship, duty, and about American dreams of sea power. Following a second tenure as President of the Naval War College, Sims held the keys to the city of Newport. He rode



Anne E. Hitchcock Sims stands with her husband, Admiral William S. Sims, USN (Ret) in Newport in the 1930s. (Courtesy, Dr. Nathaniel Sims and the Family of Admiral W.S. Sims)

his bicycle, played tennis at the Newport Casino, and took lunch with prominent businessmen and politicians at the Newport Reading Room. Sims also regularly met with naval officers at his home to discuss the strategic trends.<sup>243</sup> He appeared happy in retirement. His wife, Anne, however explained that Sims suffered after the war from a “spiritual loneliness that, I believe, increased with him from that time until his death.”<sup>244</sup> She recalled that after “weeks went on he realized that the time had come to ‘set his face toward Jerusalem’ [and] he finally spoke to me about the pile of manuscript on his desk.”<sup>245</sup>

Sims was disgusted by the underlying politics and outright lies embedded within official narratives of the war by the Wilson Administration. He lost faith in Wilson after the Treaty of Versailles. Sims progressively lost patience with the League of Nations, although still believed in the concept. Sims also grew deeply frustrated with the antics of his army counterpart, Pershing. The heroic images of Sims and Pershing in postwar fundraising efforts to pay for the war during the Liberty Loan drives seemed overdone.

Pershing received the unprecedented promotion of four gold stars as General of the Armies—equating him in popular stature to General George Washington. Congressional leaders and Secretary Daniels also supported efforts to promote Sims to a similar rank. In disgust, Sims rejected the calls for his promotion. Sims also criticized heroic military figures, like Pershing. When asked, Sims completely rejected the “assumption that an officer must kill a lot of people in order to gain distinction.”<sup>246</sup>

Sims refused to play along with the official narrative of the Navy Department in efforts to obscure the failures of the Wilson Administration.<sup>247</sup> He instead embraced his task to highlight the mistakes made in wartime for the purposes of using American sea power in peacetime to avoid future wars. Sims also used his celebrity status to empower his wife, Anne, to advance the interests of women during the 1920s and 1930s. Sims remained a stately figure in popular American culture, although he fought an internal sense of melancholy after his long career in the navy and brief experience as the face of American sea



The reluctant celebrity, Admiral Sims on the cover of *Time Magazine* in October 1925.

power during the First World War.<sup>248</sup> Sims supported the naval neutrality policies of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, as the American sea services pursued the vision of a “two ocean navy.”<sup>249</sup> Sims always kept a smile yet struggled to remain cheerful when he died with war clouds gathering over the horizon 1936. That same year, King George V died with the British Empire again standing alone in the face of the rising challenges of Fascist Italy, National Socialist Germany, and Imperial Japan.

The gathering storm between the Axis Tripartite and the British Empire appeared beyond to horizons of the American hemisphere. Yet, the image of the King and Sims standing at home plate with a baseball player cast a very long shadow over the future when both men died in 1936. Having witnessed the moment at Stamford Bridge just two decades before on the 4<sup>th</sup> of July during the previous world war, Winston S. Churchill characterized the connection between the British Empire and United States as a “special relationship.”<sup>250</sup> Clearly drawing from his experience in the first “great” war, President Franklin

D. Roosevelt also anticipated the reconstitution of the transatlantic alliance in the second “good” war.<sup>251</sup> Churchill envisioned the restoration of the British Empire by outlining cultural connections among the “English speaking peoples.” Conversely, Roosevelt had a different vision for the future. He fought for the creation of the United Nations. Like his former subordinate, Sims, in the First World War, Roosevelt used baseball as one means to help Americans to “remain cheerful” about the future into the Second World War and beyond.<sup>252</sup>

**Anglo-American Baseball League.**  
SEASON 1918.

## Official Score Card

Highbury: Arsenal Football Ground.  
Chelsea: Stamford Bridge Ground.

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Baseball Scorecard featuring handwritten annotations by Admiral William S. Sims from the Anglo-American Baseball League "world series" between the Army and Navy headquarters teams in 1918. (Courtesy, Dr. Nathaniel Sims and the Family of Admiral W.S. Sims)

LET'S GET ON WITH THE WAR.

-----

They asked a few well chosen words upon the situation;  
They urged him: "Make the talk yourself, you represent the Nation".  
He smiled behind his beard, replied:  
"You'd have me rave and roar  
That all is well, but I say - Hell!  
Let's get on with the war!"

-----

They said; "Pray pose, that we may take  
Your photograph in action  
We must impress, by movie-films,  
The Little-Navy Faction.  
The Army has a well-paid staff,  
Photographers a score,  
Its fame to tell" - but he said - "Hell!  
Let's get on with the war!"

-----

They bade him beard the Admiralty;  
"It's methods are unfair!  
Go! Make them say, in public print,  
Our Navy, too, was there.  
They're stealing all our kudos now,  
As they have done before,  
Their own to swell" - but he said - "Hell!  
Let's get on with the war!"

-----

They said: "Now make the eagle scream  
And ruffle every plume  
Across the British Lion's face,  
However Sea Lords' fume.  
You show them we are on the job -  
No matter if they're sore -  
The tale retell" - He still said - "Hell!  
Let's get on with the war!"

-----

When all is finished, and the show,  
Is over with and done,  
When flags are furled, and engines stopped  
and silenced every gun.  
Then when they ask who did his job,  
And who most clearly saw;  
Just tell them: "Well, 'twas SIMS, with "Hell!  
Let's get on with the war!"

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*Never published this 2/18.*

Typewritten original copy of a previously unpublished poem about the First World War by Admiral William S. Sims. (Courtesy, Dr. Nathaniel Sims and the Family of Admiral W.S. Sims)

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<sup>27</sup> Henry Chadwick, ed., *Spalding’s Official Baseball Guide* Vol. XIX, No 220 (March 1905), 27.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Jon Scott Logel, “A Higher Standard of Proficiency: Theodore Roosevelt and the U.S. Naval Officer Corps,” in John B. Hattendorf and Bill Leeman, eds., *Forging the Trident: Theodore Roosevelt and the United States Navy* (Naval Institute Press, 2020), 109-26.

<sup>30</sup> Kathleen Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* (New York: Alfred P. Knopf, 2002), 359.

<sup>31</sup> Elting E. Morison, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (Boston, Massachusetts: Harvard, 1954), Vol. VII, 114, 334, and 551. Also see Theodore Roosevelt, “The Man in the Arena,” (Delivered at the Sorbonne in Paris on 23 April 1910 >> https://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Learn-About-TR/TR-Encyclopedia/Culture-and-Society/Man-in-the-Arena.aspx <<

<sup>32</sup> “Roosevelt Talk Startles England” in *The New York Times* (1 June 1910), 1; and Anon, *Visit Of The Honorable Theodore Roosevelt Ex President Of The United States Of America To The Guildhall Tuesday May 31st 1910* (London: Waterlow Brothers and Layton Ltd., 1910), 1-5; and *The Illustrated London News* (4 June 1910), 1.

<sup>33</sup> Sarah Goldberger, “An Indissoluble Union: Theodore Roosevelt, James Bulloch, and the Politics of Reconciliation,” in John B. Hattendorf and Bill Leeman, eds., *Forging the Trident: Theodore Roosevelt and the United States Navy* (Naval Institute Press, 2020), 14-31.

<sup>34</sup> Theodore Roosevelt, *America and the World War – Fear God and Take Your Own Part* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1925), 122-35.

<sup>35</sup> Peter Levine, A.G. *Spalding and the Rise of Baseball: The Promise of American Sport* (New York: Oxford, 1985), 18, 30, 62, 68, 86, 92-98, 105-9, 114, 152, 168, and 176.

<sup>36</sup> Michael D. Besch, *A Navy Second to None: A History of U.S. Navy Training in World War I* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2002), 1-15; Henry C. Ferrell, *Claude A. Swanson of Virginia: A Political Biography* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1985), 101 and 170-85; Hattendorf, *Sailors and Scholars*, 38-137.

<sup>37</sup> Elting E. Morison, *Admiral Sims and the Modern American Navy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1942), 313-36.

<sup>38</sup> King, *Fleet Admiral King: A Naval Record* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1952), 77-78.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>40</sup> Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 54-76.

<sup>41</sup> King, *Fleet Admiral King: A Naval Record* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1952), 77-78.

<sup>42</sup> Seymour, *Baseball*, 311-29; Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 54-76; and King, *Fleet Admiral King*, 77-80.

<sup>43</sup> Morison, *Admiral Sims*, 135.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> LC, Sims Papers, Box 101, “Reception of Seamen of United States Atlantic Fleet, Guildhall -- Saturday, 3rd December, 1910.”

<sup>46</sup> Morison, *Admiral Sims*, 281.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> LC, Sims Papers, Box 68, Sims to Jellicoe, 25 December 1910.

<sup>49</sup> “Various Naval Items,” in *Army and Navy Journal* Vol. 48, No. 23 (12 March 1910), 821.

<sup>50</sup> “Sims’ Chief Bo’sun For an Alliance Too: British Heard from Man Before the Mast at that Guildhall Love Fest,” in *New York Times* Vol., LX, No. 19,322 (19 December 1910), 2.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> Morison, *Admiral Sims*, 282.

<sup>53</sup> Erik Larson, *Dead Wake: The Last Voyage of the Lusitania* (New York: Crowne, 2015), 10-11.

<sup>54</sup> George C. Dyer, *The Amphibians Came to Conquer: The Story of Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner* (Washington, D.C.: Naval Historical Center, 1972), 123.

<sup>55</sup> Newport, Rhode Island, Naval War College, Record Group 4 (RG 4), William S. Sims, “The Practical Character of the Naval War College: A Lecture Delivered Before the Officers of the U.S. Naval Academy,” November 11, 1912, page 6-7.

<sup>56</sup> David Kohnen, “Charting a New Course: The Knox-Pye-King Board and Naval Professional Education, 1919–23” in *Naval War College Review* Vol. 71, No.3 (Summer, 2018), 126-27.

<sup>57</sup> Morison, *Admiral Sims*, 289-312; Wheeler, *Pratt*, 71-88; Trent Hone, *Learning War: The Evolution of Fighting Doctrine in the U.S. Navy, 1898-1945* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2018), 34-54, 56-64, 87-91, and 115-16; and David Kohnen with Nicholas Jellicoe and Nathaniel Sims, “The U.S. Navy Won the Battle of Jutland,” in *Naval War College Review* Vol. 69, No. 4 (Autumn, 2016), 126-31.

<sup>58</sup> Newport, Rhode Island, Naval War College (NWC), Manuscript Collection 360, Francis Stuart Low Papers (Low Papers), Box 1, “A Personal Narrative of Association with Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King, U.S. Navy” (Low Reminiscences), 2-3; Washington, D.C., Library of Congress (LC), William S. Sims Papers (Sims Papers), Box 68, King to Sims, 13 February 1914; and King, *Fleet Admiral King*, 77-78 and 167.

<sup>59</sup> Seymour, *Baseball*, 310

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 323-24.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 323-24.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 324.

<sup>63</sup> “The Baseball Battle,” in *Baseball Magazine* Vol. No. (November 1914), 74. Also see Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 77-98.

<sup>64</sup> “The Baseball Battle,” 74.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> Robert W. Creamer, *Babe: The Legend Comes to Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974), 97-98.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> Seymour, *Baseball*, 312, 320, and 338; Rick Harris, *Newport Baseball History: America’s Pastime in the City by the Sea* (Charleston, South Carolina: The History Press, 2008); and Rick Harris, *Rhode Island Baseball: The Early Years* (Charleston, South Carolina: The History Press, 2014).

<sup>69</sup> Charles C. Marsh, Tracy B. Kittredge, Dudley W. Knox, et al., *German Submarine Activities on the Atlantic Coast of the United States and Canada* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1920), 5-7, 9-15, 121-136; R.H. Gibson and Maurice Prendergast, *The German Submarine War, 1914-1918* (London: Constable & Co., 1931), 111-40, 160, and 307-14.

<sup>70</sup> Guy Gaunt, *The Yield of the Years: A Story of Adventure Afloat and Ashore* (London: L Hutchinson, 1940); and Anthony Delano, *Guy Gaunt: The Boy from Ballarat who Talked America into the Great War* (Kew, Victoria: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2016).

<sup>71</sup> Julian Corbett, *The Spectre of Navalism* (London: Darling and Son, 1915), 1-8.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> Andrew Horrall, “Keep-A-Fighting! Play the Game!” Baseball and the Canadian Forces during the First World War,” in *Canadian Military History* Vol. 10, No. 2 (Spring 2001), 27-40.

<sup>75</sup> Leeke, *Nine Innings for the King*, 13-35.

<sup>76</sup> Kittredge, *The History of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, 1914-1917*, 1-6, 187-96, 224-35, and 414-25.

<sup>77</sup> Stanford, California, Hoover Institute Archives (HIA), Tracy Barrett Kittredge Papers (Kittredge Papers), materials relating to the activities of Kittredge in Europe and at Oxford are found in Boxes 7 and 8.

<sup>78</sup> “Naval Officer and His Italian Bride are Visiting at Berkley,” in *Oakland Tribune*, 6 October 1919.

<sup>79</sup> Tracy Barrett Kittredge, *The History of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, 1914-1917* (Unknown Publisher, 1918), 1-6, 187-96, 224-35, and 414-25; Edwin W. Morse, *America in the War: The Vanguard of American Volunteers in the Fighting Lines and in Humanitarian Service, August, 1914 – April, 1917* (New York, Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1919); and

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<sup>82</sup> Ernst Jünger, *In Stahlgewittern* (Hamburg, Germany: Deutsche Hausbücherei, 1926), 96.

<sup>83</sup> Howard Blum, *Dark Invasion – 1915: Germany’s Secret War and the Hunt for the First Terrorist Cell in America* (New York: Harper, 2014), 279-331; Thomas J. Tunney und Paul M. Hollister: *Throttled! The Detection of the German and Anarchist Bomb Plotters* (New York: Small, Maynard & Company, 1919); Howard Blum, *Dark Invasion: 1915: Germany’s Secret War and the Hunt for the First Terrorist Cell in America* (New York: Harper, 2014); Ron Chernow, *The House of Morgan. An American Banking Dynasty and the Rise of Modern Finance* (New York: Grove Press, 2001).

<sup>84</sup> “Epoch in Baseball When Liberty Schaeffer Goes from Majors to Minors” in *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger* (6 June 1918), 12.

<sup>85</sup> Susanne Shenk Watts, Master's Thesis, "Gemütlichkeit Verboten: The Influence Of World War I Anti-German Sentiments On Prohibition," (University of North Dakota, 2020), 90-103.

<sup>86</sup> "Dubuque Once Great Brewing Center," in *The Telegraph Harold* (2 April 1933), 3.

<sup>87</sup> Woodrow Wilson, "Explains Our Voting Power in the League," in *The New York Times* (27 September 1919).

<sup>88</sup> David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 45-144, 240-52, 296-348; Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University, 1974); 1-40; David A. Vázquez, "Their Most Dangerous Weapon: Middle-Class America, Alcohol, and German-Americans during the Great War," in *Perspectives* Vol 37, No. 2 (Los Angeles: California State University), 66-78; and Erik Kirschbaum, *Burning Beethoven: The Eradication of German Culture in the United States during World War I* (New York: Berlnica Publishing, 2015), 39-47, 119-39.

<sup>89</sup> Mary Anne Trasciatti, "Hooking the Hyphen: Woodrow Wilson: War Rhetoric and the Italian American Community," in Vanessa B. Beasley, ed., *Who Belongs in America?: Presidents, Rhetoric, and Immigration* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2006), 107.

<sup>90</sup> Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 77-80.

<sup>91</sup> Benjamin de Cessaes, "Play Ball!" in *Literary Digest* Vol. 65, No. 9 (29 May 1920), 129.

<sup>92</sup> Michael L. Hadley and Roger Sarty, *Tin Pots and Pirate Ships: Canadian Naval Forces and German Sea Raiders, 1880-1918* (Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queens, 1991), 157-80; R.H. Gibson and Maurice Prendergast, *The German Submarine War, 1914-1918* (London: Constable & Co., 1931), 111-40, 160, and 307-14; Paul König, *Die Fahrt der Deutschland* (New York: Hearst International Library, 1916), ix-xii, 122-82, and 211-54; and Alfred von Niezychowski, *The Cruise of the Kronprinz Wilhelm* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1929), vii-xvi, 13-51, 277-300.

<sup>93</sup> Franz Kleist von Rintelen, *The Dark Invader: Wartime Reminiscences of a German Naval Intelligence Officer* (London: Lovat Dickson Ltd., 1933), 79-186; Chad Millman, *The Detonators: The Secret Plot to Destroy America and an Epic Hunt for Justice* (New York: Little, Brown, 2006), 352-60.

<sup>94</sup> James Montgomery Flagg, "What Are YOU Doing for Preparedness?" on *Leslie's Magazine* Vol. 123, No. 3174 (6 July 1916), cover. Emphasis in original.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 12-13.

<sup>96</sup> NWC, RG 8, Series II, ONI Reports, "U-boat visit to college," Rear Admiral Austin M. Knight (comp.), November 1916, 30-34.

<sup>97</sup> Hans Rose, "With the U-53 to America," in *The Living Age* (26 November 1926), 35.

<sup>98</sup> Marsh, *German Submarine Activities*, 5-7, 9-15, and 121-135.

<sup>99</sup> Ladislav Farago, *The Tenth Fleet: The Untold Story of the Submarine and Survival* (New York: Obolensky, 1963), 96.

<sup>100</sup> Alexander F. Barnes, Peter L. Belmonte, and Samuel O. Barnes, *Play Ball: Doughboys and Baseball During the Great War* (Atglen, Pennsylvania: Schiffler Publishing, 2019), 13-96; Seymour, *Baseball*, 330-45; Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 77-79; and Leeke, *From the Dugouts*, 16-98.

<sup>101</sup> Leeke, *From the Dugouts*, 99-131; Barnes, *Play Ball*, 13-48; and Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 78-93.

<sup>102</sup> Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 80-81.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 80-81.

<sup>106</sup> Kohnen, "The U.S. Navy Won the Battle of Jutland," 123-46.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> Nicholas A. Lambert, "Strategic Command and Control for Maneuver Warfare: Creation of the Royal Navy's "War Room" System, 1905-1915," in *The Journal of Military History* 69, 2 (April, 2005), 361-410; Thomas Boghardt, *The Zimmerman Telegram: Intelligence, Diplomacy, and America's Entry into World War I* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2012), 33-159; Patrick Beesly, "British Naval Intelligence in Two World Wars: Some Similarities and Differences," in Christopher Andrew and Jeremy Noakes, eds., *Intelligence and International Relations, 1900-1945* (Exeter, U.K.: University of Exeter, 1987), 253-73; David Ramsay, "Blinker" Hall: *Spymaster - The Man Who Brought America into World War I* (Brimscome Port, United Kingdom: History Press, 2010), 163-4; Patrick Beesly, *Room 40: British Naval Intelligence, 1914-1918* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1982), 1-45; David Kahn, *The Code-Breakers: The Story of Secret Writing* (New York: MacMillan, 1967), 282-97; and Barbara Tuchman, *The Zimmermann Telegram: America Enters the War, 1917-1918* (New York: Random House, 1958), 61-97, 125-40, and 168-86.

<sup>109</sup> David F. Trask, *Captains & Cabinets: Anglo-American Naval Relations, 1917-1918* (Columbus: University Press of Missouri, 1972), 63-65 and 141-42; David F. Trask, *The AEF and Coalition Warmaking, 1917-1918* (Lawrence: Univ. Press of Kansas, 1993), 55-56; and Still, *Crisis at Sea: The United States Navy in European Waters in World War I* (Pensacola, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2006), 379-408.

<sup>110</sup> King, *Fleet Admiral King*, 114-17, Taussig, *Queenstown Patrol*, 5-35, William N. Still, *Crisis at Sea: The United States Navy in European Waters in World War I* (Pensacola, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2006), 25-33; and Paul Halpern, *A Naval History of World War I* (London: University College Press, 1994), 354-62.

<sup>111</sup> LC, Sims Papers, Box 142, Orders to Duty, Daniels to Sims, 23 January 1917; U.S. Naval Register, January 1917, page 8.

<sup>112</sup> Boston, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Houghton Library (HL), Walter Hines Page Papers (Page Papers), Series IV, Diaries and embassy notebooks, 1913-1918, "Sims to Command," Box 1; and *The New York Times*, 2 February 1920, "Broke Law For Navy – F.D. Roosevelt Says Committed Enough Illegal Acts to Put him in Jail for 999 Years, He adds 'Didn't Wait For Congress.'"

<sup>113</sup> Josephus Daniels, *Our Navy at War* (Washington, D.C.: Pictorial Bureau, 1922), 36-39.

<sup>114</sup> John Dos Passos, *Mr. Wilson's War - Mainstream of America Series* (New York: Doubleday, 1962), 229.

<sup>115</sup> King, *Fleet Admiral King*, 101.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> Special thanks to Dr. Sarah M. Goldberger for sharing her recent research about the influence of American Revolutionary War myths upon Anglo-French propaganda in the United States, particularly in relation to the development of American base facilities at Yorktown, Virginia. Also see Sarah M. Goldberger, "Challenging the Interest and Reverence of All Americans: Preservation and the Yorktown National Battlefield," in *Destination Dixie: Tourism and Southern History*, ed. Karen L. Cox (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012), 185-203.

<sup>118</sup> NARA, RG 45, Office of Naval Records and Library, Subject Files of U.S. Naval Vessels Maumer-Maunna, Entry 520, Box 1217, records of USS *Maumee* (AO-2), Movement Order, Commander Train to Destroyer Force, 17 February 1917.

<sup>119</sup> King, *Fleet Admiral King*, 101.

<sup>120</sup> Washington, D.C., Library of Congress (LC), Ernest J. King Papers (King Papers), Box 2, "Confidential Mobilization Plan of 21 March 1917."

<sup>121</sup> LC, Sims Papers, Box 142, Orders to Duty, formal appointment, and commission to rear admiral, 19 March 1917. Sims annotated formal receipt of promotion on 21 March.

<sup>122</sup> Morison, *Admiral Sims* 340.

<sup>123</sup> Josephus Daniels, *Our Navy at War* (Washington, D.C.: Pictorial Bureau, 1922), 36-39; William Sowden Sims, *Victory at Sea* (New York: Doubleday,

Page, & Co., 1920), 38.

<sup>124</sup> United States Congress, Sixty-Sixth Congress, Second Session, "Naval Investigation: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Naval Affairs – United States Senate," (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921), Volume II, 268.

<sup>125</sup> Daniels, *Our Navy at War*, 39.

<sup>126</sup> "Naval Investigation: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Naval Affairs," Vol. II, pages 1883-1893, 1917-19, 1992, 3139. The quotation attributed to Benson in testimony by Sims became a point of contention between the two.

<sup>127</sup> Daniels, *Our Navy at War*, 40.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 36-39; William Sowden Sims, *Victory at Sea* (New York: Doubleday, Page, & Co., 1920), 240-43; and Elting E. Morison, *Admiral Sims and the Modern American Navy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1942), 339 and 428.

<sup>129</sup> Morison, *Admiral Sims*, 339.

<sup>130</sup> NWC, Manuscript Collection 168 (MSC-168), William S. Sims Papers, Box 9, William S. Sims to Anne Sims, 29 March 1917; and Box 24, Anne Sims to William Sims, 29 March 1917.

<sup>131</sup> *The New York Times*, 2 February 1920, "Broke Law For Navy – F.D. Roosevelt Says Committed Enough Illegal Acts to Put him in Jail for 999 Years, He adds 'Didn't Wait For Congress.'"

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>136</sup> Morison, *Admiral Sims* 340.

<sup>137</sup> LC, Sims Papers, Box 142, Orders to Duty, "Subject: Special Duty," 28 March 1917.

<sup>138</sup> Tracy Barrett Kittredge, *Naval Lessons of the Great War: A Review of the Senate Naval Investigation of the Criticisms by Admiral Sims of the Policies and Methods of Josephus Daniels* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 3-117, 255-79, and 407-50; and John Langdon Leighton, *SIMSADUS-London: The American Navy in Europe* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920), 352-55; and 3-23; 59-62, and 150-58; and Dudley W. Knox, *The Eclipse of American Sea Power* (New York: American Army and Navy Journal, 1922), 121-25.

<sup>139</sup> Morison, *Admiral Sims*, 340.

<sup>140</sup> Fuller Albright, "A Page out of the History of Hyperthyroidism," in *Journal of Endocrinology* Vol. 8, No 8 (August, 1948), 652-58.

<sup>141</sup> John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Reconsidering Woodrow Wilson: Progressivism, Internationalism, War, and Peace* (Washington, D.C.: Wilson Center Press, 2008), 15-16 and 226-28.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-3.

<sup>143</sup> LC, Sims Papers, Box 142, Orders to Duty, "Subject: Special Duty," 28 March 1917.

<sup>144</sup> Morison, *Admiral Sims*, 342; John R. Jellicoe, *The Submarine Peril: The Admiralty Policy in 1917* (London: Cassel, 1934), 82; and R.H. Gibson and Maurice Prendergast, *The German Submarine War* (London: Constable, 1920), 155-60.

<sup>145</sup> Michael Simpson, ed., *Anglo-American Naval Relations, 1917-1919* (Brookfield, Vermont: Navy Records Society – Scholar Press, 1991), 76-123.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> Washington, D.C., Navy History and Heritage Command (NHHHC), Tracy Barrett Kittredge Papers (Kittredge), Box 8, "A Brief Summary of the United States Naval Activities in European Waters with Outline of the Organization of Admiral Sims' Headquarters" (*Outline of Organization*), Tracy Barrett Kittredge, Comp., 3 August 1918, 3.

<sup>148</sup> Sarah M. Goldberger, "Challenging the Interest and Reverence of All Americans: Preservation and the Yorktown National Battlefield," in *Destination Dixie: Tourism and Southern History*, ed. Karen L. Cox (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012), 185-203.

<sup>149</sup> LC, Sims Papers, Box 142, Orders to Duty, "Subject: Detached Commandant Naval Station Newport; to command certain destroyers, etc.," 28 April 1917.

<sup>150</sup> LC, King Papers, Box 2, "Organization of FLEET after mobilization, questions re.," 9 April 1917.

<sup>151</sup> Washington, D.C., Naval History and Heritage Command (NHHHC), Navy Department Library (NDL), Microfilm, Reel 1, ME-11, "Memorandum from Henry T. Mayo to Josephus Daniels about questions regarding organization of fleet after mobilization," 9 April 1917.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> United States Congress, Senate, "Awarding of Medals in the Naval Service: Hearing before a Subcommittee on Naval Affairs," (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920), 563.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>155</sup> LC, Sims Papers, Box 83, Clippings, *Scientific American*, 1913-1924, "Admiral Sims in the Team-Work for Victory: How the Admiral Stood out for 'Consolidation' as Against Mere 'Cooperation,'" (April 12, 1919), 374 and 384.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>157</sup> Tracy Barrett Kittredge, *Naval Lessons of the Great War: A Review of the Senate Naval Investigation of the Criticisms by Admiral Sims of the Policies and Methods of Josephus Daniels* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921), 3-117, 255-79, and 407-50; and John Langdon Leighton, *SIMSADUS-London: The American Navy in Europe* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920), 352-55; and 3-23; 59-62, and 150-58; and Dudley W. Knox, *The Eclipse of American Sea Power* (New York: American Army and Navy Journal, 1922), 121-25.

<sup>158</sup> LC, Sims Papers, Box 142, Orders to Duty, messages concerning promotion to vice admiral, 22-29 May 1917.

<sup>159</sup> LC, Sims Papers, Box 142, Orders to Duty, Daniels cable to Sims on promotion to vice admiral, 26 May 1917.

<sup>160</sup> The term, SIMSADUS, later removed reference to the American destroyers, which changed the meaning to "Sims, Admiral, United States."

<sup>161</sup> William Sowden Sims, *Victory at Sea* (New York: Doubleday, Page, & Co., 1920), 240.

<sup>162</sup> Kittredge, "Outline of Organization," 3.

<sup>163</sup> Washington, D.C., Naval History and Heritage Command (NHHHC), Photographic Collection, "Commanders-in-Chief of American Forces in Europe," Image NH-52790.

<sup>164</sup> LC, Sims Papers, Box 142, Orders to Duty, "Change of Title," 14 June 1917.

<sup>165</sup> In May of 2016, Dr. Nathaniel Sims donated the original three-star flag to the Naval War College Museum, along with a Royal Navy flag, which Jellicoe gave Sims which flew during the Battle of Jutland.

<sup>166</sup> LC, Sims Papers, Jellicoe to Sims, see the correspondence in boxes 68 and 145.

<sup>167</sup> David F. Trask, *The A.E.F. and Coalition Warmaking, 1917-1918* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993), 11-12; Patrick Beesly, *Room 40: British Naval Intelligence, 1914-1918* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Javanovich, 1982), 1-45; and Michael Dockrill and David French eds., *Strategy and Intelligence: British Policy During the First World War* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), 33-45.

<sup>168</sup> J.P. Clark, *Preparing for War: The Emergence of the Modern U.S. Army, 1815-1917* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press), 197-277; Richard S. Faulkner, *Pershing's Crusaders: The American Soldier in World War I* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2017), 74-80,104-06, 183-85, 285, 300-03, 484-89, 546-50; Trask, *The A.E.F. and Coalition Warmaking*, 167-77.

<sup>169</sup> George C. Marshall, *Memoirs of My Service in the World War, 1917 to 1918* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1976), 15.

<sup>170</sup> Edward Fraser and George Gibbons, *Soldier and Sailor Words and Phrases* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1925), 1.

<sup>171</sup> Michael Simpson, ed., *Anglo-American Naval Relations, 1917-1919* (Brookfield, Vermont: Navy Records Society – Scholar Press, 1991), 76-123.

<sup>172</sup> United Kingdom, London (Kew), The National Archives (TNA), Records of the Foreign Office (FO), Book 4, Cabinet Memorandum 738, 21 August 1917.

<sup>173</sup> Sarah M. Goldberger, “Challenging the Interest and Reverence of All Americans: Preservation and the Yorktown National Battlefield,” in *Destination Dixie: Tourism and Southern History*, ed. Karen L. Cox (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012), 185–203.

<sup>174</sup> TNA, Admiralty Records (ADM) 137, Book 1436, 179-81.

<sup>175</sup> TNA, ADM 137, Book 1436, Grasset Instructions, April 1917.

<sup>176</sup> King, *Fleet Admiral King*, 113-14.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>178</sup> NWC, King Papers, Box 3, typescripts and annotated notes, “World War I, 1917-19.”

<sup>179</sup> King, *Fleet Admiral King*, 114.

<sup>180</sup> Trask, *Captains & Cabinets*, 63-65 and 141-42; Trask, *AEF and Coalition Warmaking*, 55-56; and Still, *Crisis at Sea*, 379-408.

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<sup>187</sup> LC, Sims Papers, Box 10, Sims to Sims, 18 May 1918.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*

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<sup>192</sup> Seymour, *Baseball*, 332.

<sup>193</sup> NWC, King Papers, NWC, King Papers, Box 1, “World War I,” typescript circa 1948.

<sup>194</sup> Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 91-93.

<sup>195</sup> Leeke, *Ballplayers in the Great War*, 212-25.

<sup>196</sup> NARA, RG 181, “Matters Related to Red Sox Players,” pages 1-17.

<sup>197</sup> Leeke, *Ballplayers in the Great War*, 172-91.

<sup>198</sup> NARA, RG 181, “Matters Related to Red Sox Players.”

<sup>199</sup> Leeke, *Ballplayers in the Great War*, 172-91.

<sup>200</sup> Seymour, *Baseball*, 338.

<sup>201</sup> George Donnelly, Jr., email to author, 13 April 2018.

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<sup>203</sup> Leeke, *Nine Innings for the King*, 123-34.

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<sup>207</sup> LC, Sims Papers, Box 10, Sims to Sims, 29 June 1918.

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<sup>235</sup> Garnet Noel Wiley, “Admiral Sims and His Lady,” *National Magazine*, Vol. XLVII, No. 6 (May 1918): 256-258, 281; William G. Cassard, “Concerning a Naval Family,” *Newport Recruit* (January 1919): 15-17, 59; “Mrs. W. S. Sims Praises American Girl of To-Day,” *The Providence Journal*, April 20, 1926; “Noted Girl Scouts Executives Speakers at Conference Here,” *The Providence Journal*, May 20, 1922. Also see Kohnen, *Grippe Caught Us Quicker than U-Boats*, 25-26.

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David Kohnen completed doctoral studies with the Laughton Professor of Naval History at the University of London, King's College. He earlier served as the lead historian during restoration projects on board several historic warships. Kohnen produced exhibits surrounding the captured German submarine U-505 in Chicago and the Battleship USS *Wisconsin* (BB-64) in Virginia. He is the founding Director of the John B. Hattendorf Center for Maritime Historical Research at the Naval War College and his published works include *21st Century Knox: Influence, Sea Power, and History for the Modern Era* (Naval Institute Press, 2016) and *Commanders Winn and Knowles: Winning the U-Boat War with Intelligence* (Enigma Press, 1999). Kohnen is presently completing his next book, *King's Navy: Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King and the Rise of American Sea Power, 1897-1947*.

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Original baseball signed by King George V on 4 July 1918 with a watch presented to Yeoman First Class Jack Egan after winning the game as these items appeared in the Naval War College Museum Exhibit, "To Win or Lose All." (Courtesy baseball to Woodrow Wilson House and the watch to Egan's descendants John DeGraf and Seana Flagg)

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