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Pumpsie Green and Billy Jurgens

The Red Sox' first black player, Elijah "Pumpsie" Green, poses in what most likely was a promotional photo with Sox manager Billy Jurgens. Green recalls a far less amiable welcome during his brief and troubled career in Boston. *Photo by the Associated Press.*

Constructing Legends: Pumpsie Green, Race, and the Boston Red Sox

ROBERT E. WEIR



Abstract: *In 2009, the Boston Red Sox held a Jackie Robinson Day celebration to honor African American and Latino players. Three years later, the Red Sox held a 100th birthday party for its iconic stadium, Fenway Park. Elijah “Pumpsie” Green played key roles in each event. In 1959, Green became the first African American to wear a Red Sox uniform. In so doing, he also took down Major League Baseball’s final segregation barrier and became an important symbol of racial reconciliation for the city of baseball. Or so the story goes.*

Dr. Robert Weir argues that there is less to be celebrated than meets the eye and that Boston’s ex post facto embrace of Green involves a high degree of historical whitewashing. This article traces racial relations within Boston before, during, and after Green’s time with the Red Sox and argues that Boston did not deserve its nineteenth-century reputation for being a beacon of racial tolerance and, more importantly, it was rightly known for being a hotbed of intolerance in the twentieth century. Pumpsie Green’s time with the Red Sox parallels important ongoing shifts in city demography and geography. It took nearly a half century to transform Green from a token to a folk hero, but self-congratulatory ceremonies do

little to disguise the fact that ethnic and racial tension remain part of the Commonwealth's landscape.

This article explores Boston's urban transformations as well as Pumpsie Green's personal memory shifts. Dr. Weir has written extensively on labor and social history, including an article titled "Take Me to the Brawl Game: Sports and Workers in Gilded Age Massachusetts" published in HJM's Spring 2009 issue.

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Folklorist Richard Dorson once observed, "The legends of a given period in American history reflect the main concerns and values, tensions and anxieties, goals and drives of that period."¹ Dorson's trenchant remark should be amended to add that legends are reconfigured over time to reflect changing social mores. Sometimes they also embody historical amnesia and myopia.

I found myself thinking of legends during the summer of 2012, as I was preparing a public talk on Elijah "Pumpsie" Green, the man who broke the color barrier for the last Major League Baseball (MLB) team to integrate, the Boston Red Sox, in 1959. This article's central thesis is that Pumpsie Green was an unlikely legend and only became one because of the part he played—sometimes unwittingly, sometimes against his will, and sometimes willingly—within Boston's greater racial drama. But it wasn't Green who led me to muse upon legends; it was a white player, Johnny Pesky, who died as I was working on the talk.

"Legend" is, in popular parlance, among the most imprecise and cavalierly misused labels in the English language.² For this article, I adopt the scholarly understanding of legends: they are repeated secular folktales with human beings at their center. They are regarded by many as "true," but often contain exaggerated or invented dimensions, projections, and beliefs that do not pass evidential muster. Folklorist Jan Brunvand calls them forms of "folk history" that are "soon distorted by oral transmission."³ That is to say, legends are generally *not* true in their entirety. In many cases, legendary stories align fairly closely with historical evidence, though as Brunvand observes, this becomes less the case as time passes and stories are repeated. The very act of narrative repetition leads to embellishment; the story, if you will, gets "better" over time.

Few American cultural pursuits have spawned as many legends as baseball, a sport often used as a metaphor for the nation itself.⁴ To illustrate the embellishment process, let us consider Johnny Pesky (1919–2012), whose

narrative intersected with Pumpsie Green's. When Pesky died at ninety-two on August 13, 2012, his eulogies were a frothy mix of biography and embellished legend. Of his baseball prowess there is little doubt; Pesky is a Hall of Fame inductee with a lifetime batting average of .307. He played for the Red Sox eight seasons during 1942 to 1952, his tenure interrupted by three years of military service during World War II. In 1952, the Red Sox traded Pesky, Walt Dropo, and three others to Detroit for a past-his-prime George Kell, aging pitcher Dizzy Trout, and two obscure players.⁵ Pesky made his way back to Boston as a manager in 1963, just as Pumpsie Green was leaving Boston, but his teams had a winning percentage of just .451 and he was fired with two games left in the 1964 season. From 1969 through 1974, Pesky served as a Red Sox broadcaster, and for the next thirty-seven years was a permanent fixture with the team as a coach (1975–1984) and as a respected assistant and special instructor (1985–2012).

Then there is Pesky the legend. The fair/foul demarcation of Fenway Park's short right field is dubbed "Pesky's Pole," where legend holds that the diminutive second baseman poked cheap home runs into the seats. This simply isn't true. The 5-foot-9-inch Pesky was known more for getting on base than driving in runs. He had just 404 RBIs in 5,515 MLB plate appearances and hit only 17 home runs in his ten-year career. Of his homers, just six came at Fenway Park. Pesky's Pole was the colorful invention of broadcaster Mel Parnell—one he repeated during 1965 and 1966 when the Red Sox were woeful, Fenway Park was generally two-thirds empty, and keeping radio listeners interested was a challenge. Over time, Parnell's small joke became received truth—a classic hallmark of how legends migrate and mutate. It also reminds scholars to seek motives when encountering counterfactual history.⁶

Sportswriters, broadcasters, and front-office executives often contribute to baseball legend for reasons ranging from joke telling and hyperbole to attempts to whitewash history. We can see legend at work by telling Pumpsie Green's story backward, from the end to the beginning. On April 17, 2009, Green threw out the ceremonial first pitch at Fenway Park's Jackie Robinson Day celebration, just two months shy of the fiftieth anniversary of Green's debut with the Red Sox. He lobbed the ball to David Ortiz, a popular Dominican player who has played for the Red Sox since 2003. At that event, Red Sox CEO Larry Lucchino noted:

The legacy of players like Pumpsie Green and Jackie Robinson is evidenced by the diversity of players like Jim Rice, Mo Vaughn, Dave Roberts, and David Ortiz as part of the Red Sox more recent history.... [W]e owe both Pumpsie Green and Jackie Robinson a



Johnny Pesky

Red Sox fan favorite Johnny Pesky looms large in mythology about the team, which has occasionally overshadowed Pesky's solid on-field record. *Photo courtesy of the National Baseball Hall of Fame.*

debt of gratitude for their courageous contributions to the game and to society.⁷

Lucchino's remarks may be true, but only if one emphasizes the word "recent." His celebratory tone conveniently ignored decades of pre- and post-Pumpsie Green racism within both the Red Sox organization and the city of Boston. Moreover, Lucchino's analogy to Jackie Robinson is one Green never made. Green knew and admired Robinson but never considered himself in Robinson's class. He remarked, "He [Robinson] did something I think only he could have done."⁸ Indeed, Lucchino parsed his comments carefully

because, as we shall see, his organization's racial history is a rather depressing one.

Three years later, on April 13, 2012, Green took part in the one hundredth birthday bash for Fenway Park. Writing for the *Boston Globe*, Dan Shaughnessy—a key architect of baseball's "Curse of the Bambino" legend—waxed hyperbolic.⁹ He noted that Pumpsie Green was there "with the other gods of our youth—Carl Yastrzemski... Jim Rice, Dwight Evans..."¹⁰ Green was (and is) a gentleman and one should not belittle the challenges of being the first black player for a team and city that mostly didn't want him. He was never, however, among baseball's "gods."¹¹

CONSTRUCTING A COUNTERFACTUAL LEGEND

Stories abound of baseball's Negro Leagues greats who would have been stars in MLB if given the chance—Josh Gibson, Oscar Charleston, Buck Leonard, Willie Wells, Satchel Paige—but such is not Pumpsie Green's story. Green was a utility infielder with a limited skill set. He was a superb base runner with occasional power as a hitter, but he compiled a substandard .246 career batting average and was prone to erratic fielding. He was out of MLB in 1964 at age twenty-nine because of poor fielding and a weak throwing arm that was exposed whenever he didn't play second base. The harsh reality of Major League Baseball is that bench players—black or white—who lack flexibility have, simply, little utility. Had Green not been the *first* African American to play for the Boston Red Sox, he would have been mentioned in the same breath as lesser mortals of team memory, such as Chuck Schilling, Carroll Hardy, and Don Buddin, infielder teammates during Green's years in Boston.

Green's exceedingly modest baseball statistics make him a problematic legend and taint recent Red Sox ceremonies with an acrid odor of tokenism. That is precisely the charge leveled by Howard Bryant, an African American sports reporter with ESPN. He witheringly denounced Fenway Park's Jackie Robinson Day celebration as mythologizing the past: "In today's world of political correctness, marketing polish, and media savvy, baseball has become expert at selling memories, and the game seems untroubled if those memories don't exactly align with history." Green arrived in Boston a year after Ozzie Virgil Sr. integrated the Detroit Tigers, the next-to-last team to integrate, and three years after Jackie Robinson *retired*. Even hockey's Boston Bruins integrated before the Red Sox. "What is to be celebrated?" Bryant asked, "that the Red Sox put off integrating as long as possible? To celebrate that occasion is to do something corporations—and do not forget that baseball

is a corporation—do very well. They are experts at scrubbing history, at massaging a negative into a positive.”¹²

There is considerable merit to Bryant’s blast, though he underestimates Green’s personal off-the-diamond drama. Green and others like him played roles (even when small) in helping dismantle *de jure* Jim Crow and set the stage for ongoing battles against *de facto* discrimination. Historians have long recognized the importance of sports in presaging more sweeping progress in the civil rights struggles of African Americans. During the 1930s and 1940s, for example, boxer Joe Louis and track star Jesse Owens foreshadowed reconsiderations of race embodied in the 1941 creation of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice and the “Double V” campaign of African American soldiers during World War II.¹³ Jackie Robinson’s 1947 MLB debut with the Brooklyn Dodgers took place a full seven years before the U.S. Supreme Court ordered public school desegregation pursuant to its ruling in *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*.

Both Pumpsie Green and outfielder Sam Jethroe—who played for the Boston Braves in 1950, nearly a decade before Green played for the Red Sox in 1959—factored into the city of Boston’s struggles with institutional racism, though the slowly developing arc of that struggle was such that a moment of silence might have been more appropriate than self-congratulatory ceremonies. It took five decades before Pumpsie Green morphed into a baseball legend, and even today it’s hard to escape the feeling that he and recent players of color are conveniently and counterfactually used as symbols of Boston’s redemption from an unfortunate racist past.

Pumpsie Green fits the profile of what mythologist Joseph Campbell called the “reluctant” hero, a humble individual with little desire to be special.¹⁴ It was a fluke that Green was the first black Red Sox player. His debut came on July 21, 1959, just one week in advance of talented right-handed pitcher Earl Wilson (1934–2005). Had not Wilson served two years in the U.S. Marines in 1957 and 1958, he would have surely been Boston’s first black player.¹⁵

Pumpsie Green never dreamt of integrating a major league team, much less the Boston Red Sox. In his words, “I never thought of playing pro ball. To me, baseball was just a game to ... have fun with. That was all.”¹⁶ His aspiration was to ease into an ongoing integration effort, not to break new ground like Jackie Robinson. A local team, the Oakland Oaks of the Pacific Coast League (PCL), stirred the California-born Green’s racial pride. The Oaks integrated in 1948, eleven years before the Red Sox, and sported professional baseball’s first interracial roommates, black shortstop Artie Wilson and white second baseman Billy Martin. Green wanted to play for the Oaks, an AAA minor league team, but one that lacked affiliation with

an MLB parent club and managed its affairs independently. This gave it and other PCL teams an ambiguous status somewhere between AAA and MLB ball, with some baseball scholars asserting that some of its teams were on par with MLB franchises.¹⁷

Pumpsie Green came close to attaining his more modest dream. He played his first minor league baseball for the Wenatchee Chiefs of the Western International League in 1953 and was with the Stockton Ports in 1955, both lower-level feeder clubs for the Oaks. He was scheduled to play for Oakland in 1955, but the cash-strapped Oaks relocated to Vancouver, British Columbia. As a way of increasing team value, Green's contract was sold to the Red Sox. Overnight, the racial equation changed for Pumpsie Green. It was the difference between easy integration and becoming a racial pioneer for an organization with a reputation of being the most racist in all of professional sports.

As Howard Bryant noted in his incisive work, *Shut Out: A Story of Race and Baseball in Boston*, "Pumpsie Green was not by nature a trailblazer."¹⁸ That is correct, despite the fact that Green balked in 1955, when the Red Sox sought to assign him to the Montgomery Rebels, the team's A-level minor league affiliate. Green asked, "Do you know what's going on in Montgomery? I don't think there was a black man in America who wanted to go to Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955."¹⁹ That Red Sox management would even contemplate such a posting is troubling. At best, the Red Sox were clueless; at worst, they wanted Green to fail and his signing was mere symbolism meant to placate critics. Green avoided Montgomery; instead, he played for Stockton, California, Albany, New York, San Francisco, and Oklahoma City from 1955 through 1957 before advancing to the AAA Minneapolis Millers during 1958 and 1959.

The higher Green rose, the more he bore the burdens of others' public dreams. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Boston's small-but-growing African American community, white liberals, and beleaguered Red Sox fans fed up with years of mediocre teams, all seized upon Green as a symbol of both unfairness and of Red Sox futility. As Green languished in the minor leagues, these groups charged that Green was the latest of a long line of talented players of color turned away by a racist-to-the-core organization.

Upon making the Red Sox in June of 1959, Green became a symbol of hope for Boston's African American community, a role he neither sought nor wished. In his words, "I'm no martyr. No flag carrier. I'm just trying to make the ball club, that's all. I'm not trying to prove anything but that. I'm not interested in being the first Negro to make the Red Sox."²⁰ The NAACP

sought out Green and he was photographed with leaders on several occasions, but he was unnerved by the media attention and resented groups that wanted him to be their public spokesperson. As Green recalled his Red Sox debut:

It was something to write about, to holler about, to scream about....
[T]he NAACP people called me, asked me a lot of questions.
Everybody called, and after everybody called, more people called.
I wouldn't take their calls because I didn't have anything to say.²¹

Green, by choice, sought to reject the symbolism behind his Red Sox debut. "I didn't really spend a lot of time thinking about it," he said. "I spent most of my time thinking about stuff like how to hit a curveball."²² His greatest awareness was of his own limitations. In his words, "I was a good ballplayer, but I knew I wasn't a great one."²³

THE RED SOX UNDER TOM YAWKEY

Green sought to avoid the limelight, but there was too much bad racial blood within both the team and the city of Boston to allow him to be just another player in the clubhouse. The man who did not wish to walk in Jackie Robinson's footprints would soon be tossed into a city whose racial tensions were more analogous to those of Montgomery, Alabama, than to his native Oakland.

Mabray "Doc" Kountze, the editor of the *Boston Guardian*, a black newspaper, remarked in 1993 that he was "heartbroken" that the Red Sox were the last team to integrate because he had hoped they'd be the first.²⁴ He should not have been surprised. Social history and cultural geography reveal that Boston was, simply, a tough town in which to be black, and the Red Sox embodied those challenges.

The term "plantation mentality" is often used to describe the Red Sox clubhouse and the management style of team owner Tom Yawkey. His adoptive father and uncle, Bill Yawkey (1875–1919), was heir to a Michigan lumber fortune but spent most of his later years on a 25,000-acre former rice plantation in South Carolina in the heart of the Jim Crow South and within an easy drive of Ty Cobb's home near Augusta, Georgia. The latter fact matters; Bill Yawkey owned the Detroit Tigers from 1903 to 1919, a time in which Ty Cobb was the Tigers' star player and was so close to the Yawkeys that he was viewed as a family member. Cobb was also a vicious racist who imparted his views to the Yawkeys. Bill Yawkey found it easy to tolerate Cobb's racism because, like many white Americans, he accepted the



Red Sox Owner Tom Yawkey

Jim Crow presumptions of his day as the natural order of things. Bill Yawkey also befriended Cap Anson, a nineteenth-century player often said to have spearheaded MLB's color ban in the 1880s.²⁵

Bill Yawkey died during the 1919 influenza epidemic, but his legacy lived on both in Detroit and in the attitudes of his heir, Thomas. It was no coincidence that the Tigers were the next-to-last MLB team to integrate, or that the Red Sox, purchased by Tom Yawkey in 1933, were the last team to do so. As Bryant notes, the younger Yawkey (1903–76) grew up in Michigan, went to school in Tarrytown, New York, and lived for a time in New York City after his father's death, but much of his time was spent in South Carolina, where he absorbed the racism of mentors such as Cobb and Anson, and that of future employees such as Eddie Collins, Mike "Pinky" Higgins, and Joe Cronin. The latter three were also drinking cronies.

Akin to Bill Yawkey's style with the Tigers, Tom was often an absentee owner of the Red Sox, preferring to spend time in South Carolina while others ran the team and he rubber-stamped their decisions. His *laissez-faire* management style served to deflect Yawkey from direct involvement in racist decision making, but in Howard Bryant's words, "The Red Sox were a decidedly southern team."²⁶ As we shall see, some individuals defended

Yawkey, but the only evidence-based open question is whether he was a blatant or passive racist. Although Doc Kountze may have dreamt of an integrated Red Sox, fellow African American sportswriter Sam Lacy was under no such illusions; he declared emphatically that a first-class black Red Sox player was unlikely “as long as Yawkey is the owner.”²⁷

BOSTON: SOUTH CAROLINA COMES TO MASSACHUSETTS

Among the more troubling aspects of Red Sox lore is the transformation of Tom Yawkey into a legend enshrined in the National Baseball Hall of Fame, and whose name adorns the two-block street on which Fenway Park is located. There was little to applaud during Yawkey’s tenure as Red Sox owner, and racist practices were the norm during the fifty-nine years in which he and his wife/widow Jean owned the team (1933–92). Still, one must ask how it was possible for the Yawkeys to maintain a plantation mentality so far north of the Mason-Dixon Line. Why did the city of Boston countenance racist patterns that both embarrassed the city and prevented the Red Sox from excelling on the field?

The urban history analog to the Pesky’s Pole legend is that Boston has ever been a beacon of racial tolerance. At best, its record was mixed; by the early twentieth century, there wasn’t much in Boston that would have troubled a die-hard South Carolina segregationist. Much of the city’s greatest racial progress had occurred in the pre-Revolutionary and antebellum periods. Boston then was, occasionally, a city of firsts for African Americans—the first black landowner (“Ken” in 1656), the first published African American woman poet (Phyllis Wheatley, 1772), the first order of black Freemasons (Prince Hall, 1787), and (perhaps) the home of the first black abolitionist group (the Massachusetts General Colored Association, 1826). Massachusetts abolished slavery in 1780 and integrated its schools in 1855. By the 1850s, supporters hailed and southerners assailed Boston as a center of abolitionist fervor. Boston was home base for white antislavery advocates such as Theodore Weld, the Tappan brothers (Arthur and Lewis), Wendell Phillips, and William Lloyd Garrison, and articulate black voices such as David Walker, Sarah Roberts, Lewis Hayden, Frederick Douglass, and Ellen and William Craft.

Strident abolitionism and the city’s resistance to the Fugitive Slave Act made Boston seem far more enlightened than it actually was. Antiabolitionist whites, for instance, allegedly poisoned black antislavery activist David Walker in 1830, African Americans were banned from Boston Common until 1836, it took a lawsuit to integrate the city’s schools, and a white mob

Population Growth and Racial Mix in Boston, 1790–2010

Year	Total Population	Percentage of Whites	Percentage of “Minorities”	Pctg./number of Black Bostonians
1790	18,320	95.9%	4.1%	766
1820	43,298	96.1%	3.9%	1,690
1846	61,392	99.0%	1.0%	800
1865	192,000	98.8%	1.2%	2,348
1880	362,839	98.4%	1.6%	6,000 (est.)
1890	448,472	98.2%	1.8%	8,125
1900	560,892	97.9%	2.1%	11,500
1910	670,585	98.0%	2.0%	11,130
1920	748,060	97.8%	2.2%	16,350
1930	781,188	97.4%	2.6%	20,000 (est.)
1940	770,816	96.9%	3.1%	23,000
1950	801,444	94.7%	5.3%	42,741 (3.1%)
1960	697,197	90.2%	9.8%	67,873 (9.1%)
1970	641,071	71.9%	18.1%	104,429 (16.3%)
1980	562,994	67.8%	32.2%	125,983 (22.4%)
1990*/**	574,283	54.4%	52.4%	145,993 (25.6%)
2000*/***	589,283	49.5% (est.)	46% (est.)***	140,305 (21%)
2010*/***	625,087	49.5% (est.)	50.5% (est.)	24.9% (est.)

* Percentages don't total 100% due to change in how certain groups are classified, including “white” Hispanics. Recent African American percentages are complicated by uncertain counting of those of Caribbean and Latin American ancestry. The numbers are also further complicated by those reporting belonging to two races.

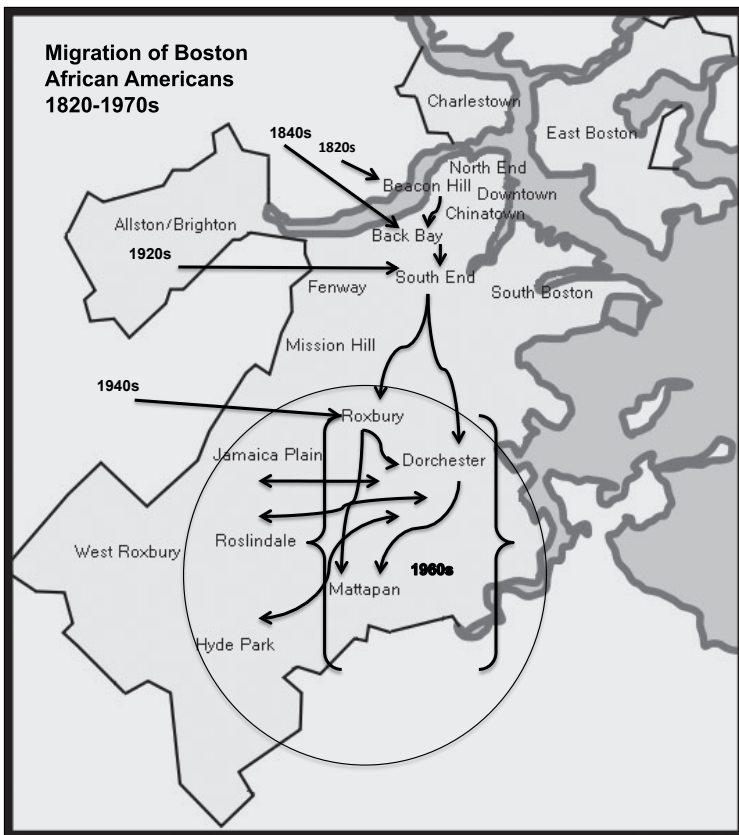
** The 1990 Census is difficult to parse as many of those reporting as “white” also double-reported as “Hispanic” or as of mixed- race heritage.

***The 2000 Census is another example of how racial categories have elided and collapsed. Of Boston's total population, 415,324 claimed to be “white alone,” which would constitute more than 70% of the population. This number, however, includes “Hispanic or Latino” individuals who may have checked the “White alone” category instead of “White alone-not Hispanic.” A mere 3% of Bostonians checked “Population of two or more races—not Hispanic.” Oddly, African Americans have become easier to identify in Census material than most other ethnicities.

**** Those identifying as “white only” in the 2010 Census data includes Latinos and Hispanics who so identify. Approximately 14.4% of Boston's population identifies as Hispanic or Latino, which makes it appear as if African Americans are today the city's largest minority group. That may or may not be accurate.

broke up an abolitionist meeting headed by Frederick Douglass as late as 1860. Still, there were other surface gains throughout the nineteenth century: the first black Harvard grad (Richard Greener, 1870), the city's first black councilman (John J. Smith, 1878), and the Commonwealth's first black judge (George Ruffin, 1886). Between 1866 and 1897, twelve black Bostonians served as state representatives and ten were elected to the Boston City Council. (Tellingly, there were none of either from 1897 to 1946.)

The salient demographic fact about Boston, though, is that until the late 1950s, there simply weren't that *many* African Americans in the city. In 1820, for instance there were 1,690 black residents in a city of 43,298; by 1850, the black population had fallen by half though the city population more than tripled. In 1880, there were 5,873 African Americans in Boston,



Historical Patterns of Black Migration in Boston

but the city's overall population had again tripled to nearly 363,000.²⁸ Northern cities such as New York, Brooklyn, and Philadelphia had black populations ranging from 9% to over 12%; Boston's nineteenth-century high-water mark was closer to 4%.

For most of the nineteenth century, the city's small black population was confined to the western slope of Beacon Hill, a section unflatteringly dubbed "Nigger Hill" by white Bostonians. Moreover, as Zebulon Miletsky observed, most of the gains made by black Bostonians in the 19th century quickly came undone in the early 20th. Miscegenation battles, the discriminatory practices of white labor unions, and de facto patterns of housing discrimination were such that by 1920, in Miletsky's words, Boston "was no longer the city of Garrison ... Boston was ... becoming the city of Jim Crow."²⁹

Boston remained an overwhelmingly white city for much of the 20th century. When former Negro Leagues star Sam Jethroe donned a Boston Braves uniform in 1950, over 801,000 people lived within the city limits. The city's black population nearly doubled between 1940 and 1950, but it was still less than 46,000, which left Boston nearly 95% white. This was about to change.

Social tension and rapid social change often go hand in glove. Pumpsie Green took the field just nine years after Jethroe, but by then important demographic shifts were under way. Boston's nonwhite population had been steadily and inexorably migrating southward: from Beacon Hill to the South End to Roxbury and North Dorchester. It was also growing and stood at roughly 63,000. Unlike the past, this made the city more than 9% black, as growth coincided with the first wave of white flight. In 1960, roughly 90% of all African Americans lived in or near Dorchester, once Jewish and Irish neighborhoods. Resentment toward incomers was magnified by "blockbusting," a pernicious practice in which realtors hoodwinked white homeowners into selling their homes at below-market prices through lurid tales of how a coming flood of minority residents would further suppress property values. Blockbusting was where self-fulfilling prophecy intersected with predatory capitalism. Realtors and rental agencies gained cut-rate housing stock, which they rented or sold at marked-up prices to people of color who, by custom, could not live elsewhere.

The infamous Boston school-busing crisis occurred a dozen years after Pumpsie Green left Boston, but its seeds germinated as he played there. Between the years in which Jethroe played for the Boston Braves (1950–52) and Green for the Red Sox (1959–62), the population of the city declined by more than 14%. All told, 31% of whites left Boston between 1950 and 1970,



Bill Russell

Star player of the Boston Celtics, Bill Russell (bareheaded, above, left), shown at the March on Washington in 1963, knew Boston's racial divisions firsthand. He advised Red Sox rookie Pumpsie Green on what areas of the city were hospitable to blacks, and what areas he should avoid.

most of them fleeing to the suburbs. Those who remained within the city hunkered down in enclaves that historian Ronald Formisano graphically described as “defended neighborhoods” in his study *Boston Against Busing: Race, Class, and Ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s*.³⁰

In the late 19th century, Boston was often compared favorably with (allegedly) racially enlightened southern cities such as Atlanta; by the later third of the 20th, it drew a less flattering comparison to Belfast, Northern Ireland, with various ethnic groups claiming “their” neighborhoods as the “real” Boston—the North End for Italian Americans; South Boston, Brighton, and Charlestown for Irish Americans; Chinatown for Asians; East Boston and the Fenway for mixed groups of whites; Dorchester, Mattapan,

and North Roxbury for African Americans; and the suburbs for affluent whites. The constant, in Monica McDermott's words, was that "being white was equated with power and privilege, if not necessarily affluence."³¹

De facto housing segregation meant the city's neighborhood schools were becoming monochromatic even as Pumpsie Green and Earl Wilson added a splash of color to Fenway Park. By 1962, 60% of all black students attended just thirty-five schools; eight years later, 81% of all black students would have needed to be bused to attain court-ordered racial balance in city schools.³² Even more ominously, the city's blackest schools in Dorchester stood adjacent to its whitest, those in South Boston.

The defended communities of Boston's school crisis were first made manifest in cultural terms. As Barry Bluestone and Mary Huff Stevenson observed, "The region may have a fascination with sports, music, and fine art, but one is apt to encounter a sea of white faces at a Red Sox or Celtics game, a Boston Symphony event, or an opening at the Museum of Fine Arts."³³ Sam Jethroe, though complimentary to Braves fans, recalled that in the early 1950s, he seldom strayed far from his hotel room in Kenmore Square during off days and did not go to the movies, where his presence might have raised notice. He spent most of his nights out in South End jazz clubs along Massachusetts Avenue that allowed black patrons, especially the Hi-Hat Club on the corner of Columbus Avenue.³⁴

As a California native, Green was insulated from some of Boston's racial dynamics. "I was aware of some of it," he recalls. "I had seen some things on TV."³⁵ He was about to get a baptism of fire. When Pumpsie Green arrived in 1959, black Celtics' stars Bill Russell and K. C. Jones instructed him on where he would be welcome and where he should avoid. Topping the latter list was South Boston, the home, in Russell's words, of "brick-throwing racists."³⁶ Jethroe, Green, Russell, and Jones followed the path of Malcolm Little/X, who lived in Boston between 1940 and 1943; each only felt truly comfortable in Roxbury or Dorchester.

An optimistic reading of Boston's first professional black athletes would locate them within the sociological phenomenon known as marginal adaptation, a term referencing fissures in society through which out-groups gain entrance into mainstream society. (Think, for instance, of the ways in which black vaudevillians, musicians, and actors displayed their talents before white audiences.) Historical evidence does not allow such a reading for Boston. Although Bill Russell seethed with anger at his outsider status, at least he had supportive team management and cheering fans behind him; the same cannot be said for its first black baseball players. Nationally, baseball historians note rising attendance levels when the first African Americans

took the field.³⁷ That assertion is open for debate, but it's clear that black players had little impact on baseball attendance in Boston.

Nor was there a niche into which black baseball players fit. Boston never fielded a team in the official Negro Leagues, making it one of the few northern cities of consequence that never did so.³⁸ A handful of semipro teams had home bases in Boston, Cambridge, and West Newton, but each barnstormed rather than rely upon local attendance to meet costs. The Braves were the fifth major league team to integrate when Sam Jethroe signed in 1950, but his presence did not salvage the Braves' sinking box receipts. In the three years before his signing (1947–49), the Braves averaged 14,681 fans per home contest.³⁹ The Braves saw soaring attendance from 1946 through 1949, but these were artificial highs aided by increased demand for baseball once the Great Depression and World War II ended, and by a pennant-winning season in 1948.

The Braves, however, had long been Boston's "secondary" baseball team, due partly to the team's mediocre record on the field. In the eleven years before the outbreak of World War II—the 1931 to 1941 seasons—the Braves never finished higher than fourth in the eight-team National League, averaged just 4,487 fans per game, and were routinely at or near the bottom of the NL in attendance. In the three years in which Jethroe played in Boston, home attendance averaged 7,416 per game.⁴⁰ Although this represented an increase over the Depression years, Sam Jethroe's presence was not enough to keep the Braves from moving to Milwaukee in time for the 1953 season. In fact, Braves' ticket sales actually declined from 14,049 per game in 1949 to 12,648 in 1950, Jethroe's first year as a Brave, one in which he won Rookie of the Year honors. And, if one takes away his rookie year, in which attendance was boosted as much by memories of the 1946 pennant as by Jethroe's exploits, the Braves averaged a woeful 4,992 patrons per game—roughly its Depression-era attendance. This contrasts dramatically with Cleveland, where Larry Doby's presence on an already strong team led to surges at the box office.⁴¹

The Braves were admittedly mediocre—they finished fourth in each of Jethroe's Boston years—but the same can be said of the Red Sox. The Red Sox won the pennant exactly one time (1946) between 1933, when Tom Yawkey bought the team, and 1959, the year Pumpsie Green debuted with Boston. In fact, after the 1949 season, the Red Sox never finished above third until 1967. Nor did the Red Sox burn out the turnstiles. From 1933 through 1966, the Red Sox routinely ranked third to fifth (of eight) in attendance and just twice (1942 and 1956) ranked as high as second. In the three years before Pumpsie Green arrived, the Fenway not-so-faithful averaged 14,681

fans per game, and there were perpetual rumors that Yawkey planned to move the team. The team's less-than-robust attendance and its less-than-stellar play fueled those who linked the team's sagging fortunes to its refusal to put black players in uniform.

Once again the question must be raised: Whose decision was it to keep the Red Sox lily white? *Boston Globe* sportswriter Will McDonough (1935–2003) insisted to his death that Tom Yawkey was not a racist and that the Red Sox simply couldn't find qualified black players. More recently, Yawkey's personal secretary, Mary Trask, insisted, "I personally do not think he was (racist). I never saw that in him." She also claims she never heard him utter a racial epithet or say, "Don't get that guy because he's black."⁴² Alas, the historical record is at odds with McDonough and Trask.

McDonough's claim that the Red Sox could not find qualified black players is absurd. When Doc Kountze remarked he had hoped that the Red Sox would be the *first* MLB team to integrate, he had in mind an infamous 1945 incident in which the Red Sox held a "tryout" for three Negro Leagues players: Sam Jethroe, outfielder Marvin Williams, and Jackie Robinson. The entire event was a sham designed to relieve pressure from the black press, including Kountze, Sam Lacy of the *Chicago Defender*, and Wendell Smith of the *Pittsburgh Courier*; and to placate Jewish City Councilor Israel Muchneck, who threatened to repeal exceptions to Massachusetts blue laws allowing the Sox to play Sunday games unless the team sought to integrate. Red Sox Manager Joe Cronin didn't even bother to attend. Clif Keane of the *Boston Globe* reported that after a short period someone in the stands shouted, "Get those niggers off the field."⁴³

The remark may have been apocryphal, random, or issued from one of the two major suspects, General Manager Eddie Collins or Yawkey. It was probably considered by both, if not actually verbalized, as neither had the slightest intention of signing a black player. The 1945 sham tryout was merely the first of several less-than-sincere reconsiderations of race. In 1949, Red Sox scout Larry Woodall was dispatched to Birmingham, Alabama, to observe a promising Negro Leagues player. He arrived on a rainy day and stayed in his hotel room with the tart explanation, "I'm not going to waste my time waiting on a bunch of niggers." He simply filed a report asserting that the player in question was not one in which the Red Sox would be interested. That player was Willie Mays, one of the greatest players in MLB history.

No one reprimanded Larry Woodall. Then someone in the organization made the decision in 1950 to cut Piper Davis, the first black player the Red Sox actually signed, after just eight months rather than ante up money due if his contract was renewed.⁴⁴ Someone looked the other way when Pinky

Higgins, who managed the Red Sox between 1955 and 1960, remarked, “There’ll be no niggers on this ball club as long as I have anything to say about it.”⁴⁵ Two other black players deemed “unqualified” for a Red Sox uniform were Hank Aaron and Billy Williams, both Hall of Famers. Clark Booth of the *Dorchester Reporter* summed up Yawkey’s duplicity in the racism that swirled around his club, “As for Yawkey, he said not a bloody word.”⁴⁶

It was even worse than Booth noted. When Pumpsie Green came to the Red Sox in 1959, he was the franchise’s first black employee in *any* capacity. If ever a case could be made for removing an inductee from the Hall of Fame, Tom Yawkey would be an ideal candidate, even if he did have his finger on the pulse of community sentiment. Whether he was an overt racist like Higgins or a passive one is beside the point; Yawkey could not forever pretend that Jackie Robinson hadn’t leveled MLB’s color barrier. Nor could the city of Boston act as if the civil rights movement were happening far from Fenway Park. Changing demographic and social tides were about to storm Tom Yawkey’s plantation.

PUMPSIE GREEN ENTERS AND EXITS BOSTON’S RACIAL DRAMA

Boston’s racial prehistory undoubtedly led reformers to heap unrealistic expectations upon Pumpsie Green. The final days of the Red Sox “plantation” were contentious and nasty. The 1950s is often miscast as a time of conformity, a shallow stereotype that (at best) applied to some suburban middle-class whites and conveniently overlooks things such as the civil rights movement, teen rebellion, rising drug use, changing sexual mores, and cultural challenges posed by the Beats, rock and roll, and the “Folk Revival.”⁴⁷ Some within the press also asked hard questions about the makeup of American society. The term “new journalism” did not gain currency until 1965, but in the 1950s, investigative reporters such as Edward R. Murrow, Marguerite Higgins, Mike Wallace, and I. F. Stone took it as their mission to unearth stories, not wait for them to develop. The same ethos showed up among post–World War II sportswriters and frayed the chummy relations once the norm among writers, players, and management.

Although Pumpsie Green was unaware of most of it, as he was rising through the minors, Yawkey and the Red Sox found themselves under attack. Sportswriters such as Mabray Kountze, Larry Clafin, Peter Gammons, and Bud Collins complained loudly of Red Sox racism. For his trouble Collins, then a thirty-year-old reporter for the *Boston Herald*, had Pinky Higgins smash a bowl of beef stroganoff into his face. Higgins also spat tobacco juice

on Claffin (just twenty-three) and called him a “nigger lover.” Higgins’s boorish behavior served only to increase the pressure on the Red Sox; gone were the days when team officials could display such arrogance and expect the press to suppress it. The status quo was shaken further by the presence of fans holding signs outside Fenway linking the team’s on-the-field mediocrity and management’s behind-the-scenes refusal to recruit black talent. As sportswriter Howard Bryant put it, by 1959, the “Red Sox had grown to be an embarrassment, even to the most conservative baseball organizations.”⁴⁸

As pressure mounted, Pumpsie Green performed well enough in the minors to be drawn into Boston’s racial drama. In mid-1958, Gene Mauch, his manager at Minneapolis, noted that Green “still has some things to learn about hitting ... [but he] fields better than anyone up there.”⁴⁹ During spring training in 1959, Green “was thumping the ball at a merry clip,” registering a .444 batting average, more than 150 points higher than his shortstop competitor Don Buddin (.290).⁵⁰ Nonetheless, the Red Sox sent Green back to the minors, using the excuse that he had only hit .253 in the minors the previous year. Predictably, charges of racism flew fast and furious. The NAACP protested by blocking a parking lot plan near Fenway, while the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination launched an investigation into *why* the Red Sox had no black employees.

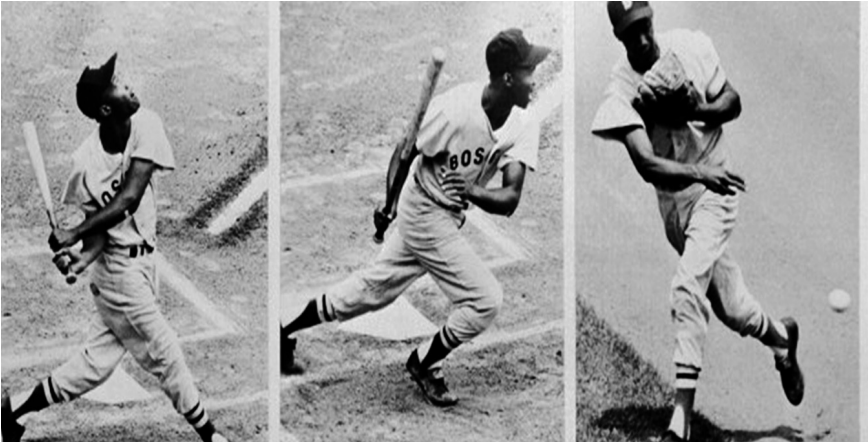
As noted, the percentage of black Bostonians nearly doubled during the 1950s, a demographic shift that led to hard questions about the city’s racist past in general and Red Sox personnel decisions in particular. It did not sit well when sportswriters revealed that Green was not allowed to stay on the grounds of the Red Sox’s spring training facility in Scottsdale, Arizona, because the city and the park were segregated. The *Boston Globe* informed readers that Green could not eat with the team, go to movies with other players, and often didn’t even ride on the same bus.⁵¹ Yawkey was visibly troubled by press scrutiny. When the *Globe* speculated whether Tom Yawkey might simply “blow his top” at the backlash and “quit Boston,” he angrily snapped his fingers and announced, “I could do it like that!”⁵² His critics were unmoved by such bluster. The *Pittsburgh Courier*’s Wendell Smith angrily asked, “Whom do the Boston Red Sox think they are kidding...?” Smith testily laid out the details of the team’s sham tryout for Jackie Robinson and found it “strange” that “only Boston” found it impossible to find a “capable Negro player.”⁵³

Globe sportswriter Harold Kaese did what would have been unthinkable in the cozy press/management collusion of Yawkey’s first two decades of team ownership: he revealed divisions within the Red Sox organization. In particular, Kaese signaled the negative impact management racism placed

on Don Buddin, “a young man already carrying a heavy enough burden.” Buddin’s modest talents, Kaese noted, were so overhyped that he was widely regarded as Manager Mike Higgins’s pet, a role he neither sought nor relished. Kaese intimated that Higgins saw Buddin as the white hope that would keep Green off the team, a vain hope as it turned out. Buddin was a light hitter, and a fielder so weak that he was nicknamed “E6.”⁵⁴ With Green hitting .320 at Minneapolis and Buddin just .241 in Boston, management ran out of excuses for keeping Green in the minors. On July 3, the Red Sox abruptly fired Higgins and hired Billy Jurges to manage the team. In the eighth inning of a game in Chicago on July 22, 1959, baseball’s last Jim Crow barrier fell when Pumpsie Green entered the game as a pinch runner. Green graciously made things easier for the team by telling the *Globe* he hadn’t been ready for MLB in April.⁵⁵

The next day, Green made his first start and failed to record a hit in three trips to the plate. Few thought much of this, as most players fared poorly against the opposing White Sox pitcher, future Hall of Famer Early Wynn. It was enough, though, to make him an afterthought on the lineup card. Press interest in Green was high. His Fenway Park debut occurred on August 4. An atypically large crowd of 21,000 fans gave him a standing ovation, and Green promptly lined a triple off the left-field wall. Green recalls it as his single greatest baseball thrill.⁵⁶ Green went on to appear in fifty games and log 172 at bats. Soon, though, local papers settled into noting Green’s progress as they would any other player for the simple reason that, after his Fenway debut, there simply weren’t that many highlights. Green had just ten extra-base hits, a subpar slugging average of .320, stole four bases, and hit just .233. Green’s test year was expected to be 1960, not 1959.

Except that it wasn’t. After another torrid spring training and speculation that he would be the starting second baseman, Green slumped, and the Red Sox acquired thirty-six-year-old Bobby Thompson,⁵⁷ put him at first base, and pushed incumbent Pete Runnels to second. The *Globe* noted, “This will make a benchwarmer of Pumpsie Green.”⁵⁸ And so it did, as his inconsistent hitting and fielding made him unable to dislodge Buddin at short. Green played in 133 games, mostly as a pinch hitter and late-inning replacement. In sixty-one games at second base he fielded .982, the league standard, but in forty-one games at short, he was significantly below average with a .951 fielding average. Buddin wasn’t much better, with a .956 fielding average, but he hit .263, eighteen points higher than Green. Green also got on the wrong side of Manager Billy Jurges by failing to execute a routine double-play ball. Jurges told reporters, “Some players



Pumpsie Green

Reluctant to play the racial crusader some wanted him to, Green (pictured months after his debut in 1959) had enough difficulties trying to stay in the Major Leagues. His statistics bear out his limits as a ballplayer. *Photos by Harry Hall/Associated Press.*

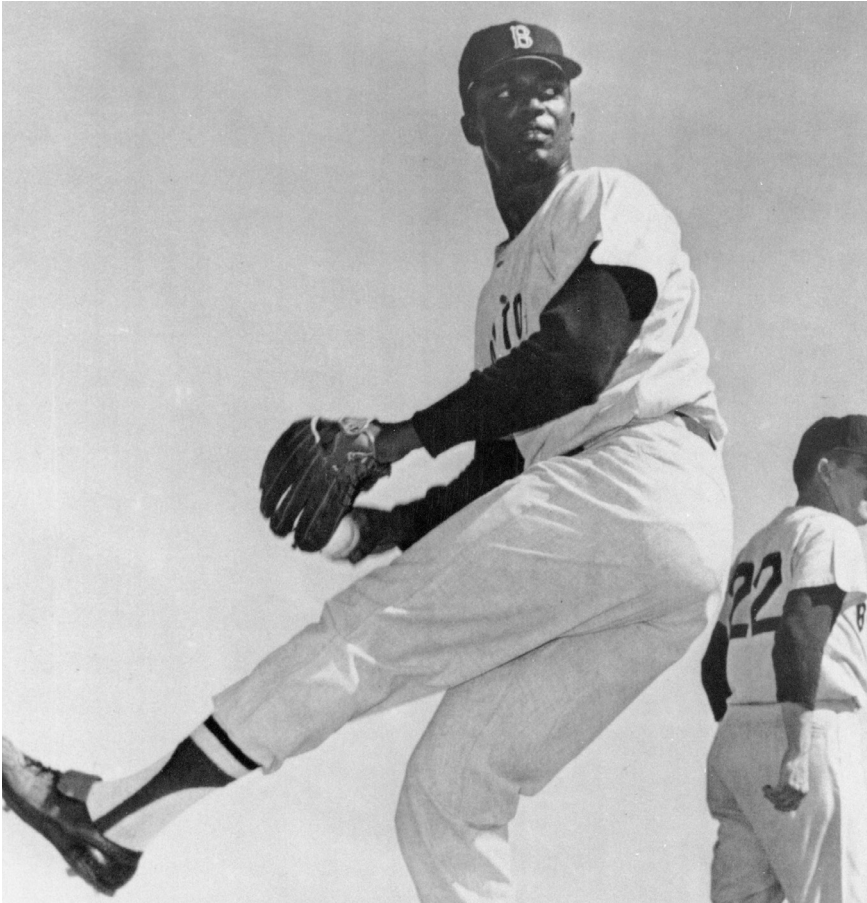
Pumpsie Green's Major League Career Statistics

Team	Years	Games	Batting	HR	RBI	OBP	SLG	Fielding
Boston Red Sox	1959–62	327 (742 AB)	.244	12	69	.353	.360	.975 2B .940 SS
New York Mets	1963	17	.278	1	5	.409	.426	.857

Key: AB = At Bats (number of plate appearances)
 Batting Average = number of hits divided by plate appearances
 HR = Home Runs
 RBI = Runs Batted In
 OBP = On-Base Percentage (number of times batter reaches base by any means divided by number of times at bat)
 SLG = Slugging Percentage (number of total bases at bats produce divided by number of at bats; the higher the percentage, the more likely the player is to be a "power" hitter)
 Fielding = Number of errors a fielder makes divided by total number of fielding chances

have to be pushed a bit to play good ball. This is true of Pumpsie ... he wasn't hustling enough." Green played sporadically until Buddin was injured in September.⁵⁹

Green's 1960 fate was sealed in June when Jurgens was fired and the Sox rehired Pinky Higgins. Higgins avoided the overt racial comments he made in the past, but Green recalls, "You'd just get a feeling [about Higgins]. He'd make his conversation as short as possible." Teammate Earl Wilson was less



Earl Wilson

Talented pitcher Earl Wilson was one of only two black Red Sox players after Pumpsie Green's departure in 1962. Wilson left in 1966, after complaining about a racial slur. *Photo courtesy of the National Baseball Hall of Fame.*

circumspect: "It's not very hard to tell if a guy likes you or dislikes you."⁶⁰ As noted, Green was mainly a late-game insert; he got just 260 at bats in 1960, just 88 more than in 1959 when he appeared in just fifty games. Green blamed long stints on the bench for his poor fielding, but what little hope remained for him to secure more action was sabotaged when the press reported a heated conversation between Higgins and General Manager Bucky Harris over the decision to have Green on the roster in the first place.⁶¹

With Higgins at the helm, Green's prospects looked grim for 1961. They

did not improve when the Red Sox announced a “shortstop sweepstakes” in spring training between Green, Buddin, Runnels, and slick-fielding rookie Chuck Schilling, who won the contest. Schilling wasn’t a great hitter (.253), but in 158 games at short he made just eight errors, half as many as Green made in only 57 games at short. Higgins opined that Green “doesn’t have ... the arm for shortstop” and that appears to have been a sound baseball evaluation rather than a racial judgment.⁶² Green got just 219 at bats in 1961, a year of disappointment made worse by an appendectomy in May. He hit reasonably well as a pinch hitter, but at season’s end, the Red Sox probably would have parted ways with Pumpsie Green had he not been the only black player on the roster. (The team had shipped Earl Wilson back to the minor leagues.)⁶³

Instead, the Red Sox traded Don Buddin to Houston for Eddie Bressoud, another light-hitting, heavy-handed infielder.⁶⁴ When Wilson came back to the Sox, tossed a no-hitter, and proved more capable with the bat than Green, the latter seldom left the bench. Green’s only 1962 headline was of the wrong kind. On July 27, 1962, white pitcher Gene Conley grew agitated when the team bus sat motionless in heavy traffic near New York City’s George Washington Bridge, persuaded Green to abandon the bus with him, grab a taxi, and supposedly embark on a spur-of-the-moment trip to Israel. Green repented his impulsiveness before he boarded the plane, but Higgins was through with him, especially after the *Boston Globe* questioned whether Higgins was also “missing the bus in managing” the Red Sox.⁶⁵

Red Sox management decided it was time for both men to go. In the off-season, Green was traded to the New York Mets with virtually no fanfare, and Johnny Pesky replaced Higgins as team manager. Neither Green nor Pesky thrived in their new posts. Green made six errors on just fifty-six chances in seventeen games for the 1963 Mets before being sent down to the minors, where he spent the last two and a half years of his baseball career. Nor was Pesky the answer to the Red Sox’s managerial prayers.

Green enjoyed a brief resurgence in the minors at Buffalo, where he hit .308, but his hitting and fielding tailed off in 1964, the latter after a disastrous attempt to convert him to a third baseman. He played ten games as a first baseman in 1965 before quitting baseball at age thirty-one. As Green put it, “I went back to being a regular workingman.” Until his retirement, Green worked with the Berkeley, California, school district, taught math, and did some coaching.⁶⁶ Said Green, “I never relaxed in Boston. Every game to me was like Opening Day. I felt pressure all the time.”⁶⁷ In a similar vein, he remarked that though it was “special” to be the

first black player for Boston, “it made my blood pressure go up, too. I can’t fail. I can’t make a mistake. That was how I felt.”⁶⁸

As the years passed, Green grew more comfortable with having integrated the Red Sox. But when the *San Francisco Chronicle* asked him in 2009 if he was “proud” to have been a pioneer, he gave a refreshingly honest answer: “Now I am. Back then I learned to put it out of my mind, ignore race issues.”⁶⁹ In 2006, he regaled writer Harvey Frommer with some of the trials of being the first black player on the Red Sox: “I had no roommate ... since I was the only black on the team. It wasn’t a law. But it was unwritten that blacks did not room with whites.... I roomed with no one until Earl Wilson came along.” He spoke mainly of day-to-day battles

to function.... Some of the pressure and nervousness I put on myself. I know people expected a lot, especially the black community.... There were overtones of racial things ... [that] could be heard not only at Fenway but any other ballpark. Sometimes terrible things would be yelled out, racial epithets.

Ever the self-effacing man, Green also noted, “For my contemporaries, what I did was a big deal.” He admitted feeling a thrill when kids learned about his Red Sox days, but insisted, “There’s really nothing interesting about me. I am just an everyday person happy with what I did ... I would like to be remembered in Red Sox history as just another ballplayer.”⁷⁰

Except, of course, that is impossible. *Someone* had to be the first black player for the Boston Red Sox and Pumpsie Green was that person. His reluctance and his prosaic skills notwithstanding, Pumpsie Green is as much a part of Boston lore as Pesky’s Pole. When I spoke with Green in September of 2012, he had settled more deeply into his iconic role. “I’m proud of what little I did,” he noted. “I’m relaxed about it and I don’t worry about what others say.” Memories of pressure have faded and he now asserts, “If I had it all to do over, I’d do it the same way, at the same time, with the same team.”⁷¹

HOW ARE YOU GOING TO KEEP THEM ON THE PLANTATION?

Integration narratives too often end with pathbreakers, as if somehow their arrival opened doors and hastened the dismantling of all racial barriers. The *Oxford English Dictionary* credits a 1962 *New York Times Magazine* story for the first recorded use of the term “tokenism” to describe the minimal rather than substantive presence of minorities within an organization.⁷²

That such a term would emerge while Green was in a Red Sox uniform is eerily appropriate; it describes well Green's place on the roster and Red Sox management's view of black players for the next several decades. It's certainly the lens through which African American baseball fans viewed the Red Sox.

Although Pumpsie Green's contributions to the Red Sox "legacy" would eventually be appreciated with the "gratitude" of which Red Sox CEO Larry Lucchino had spoken, such appreciations lay far in the future. In the short term, Green was part of a worsening racial climate within Boston and across the Commonwealth. Green's presence did little to attract patrons of Fenway Park. Fenway attendance actually dipped by an average of 2,597 patrons per game during the four years in which Green played to just 12,084. That figure would be even lower were it not for an average of 14,674 during the 1960 season; the Red Sox averaged just 9,164 during Green's last year in a Red Sox uniform, levels comparable to anemic franchises in Washington and Kansas City that would be moved in 1968 and 1971, respectively. While overall MLB attendance dropped in the early 1960s, Boston's attendance for 1962 was considerably below the American League average of 14,954 per game.⁷³ As Mel Parnell's colorful radio commentary had suggested, part of the problem was that the Red Sox were a mediocre team for which enthusiasm was hard to generate, but it was consistently so—there were no real "highs" or "lows" in team performance during Green's time in Boston.

Red Sox fortunes revived dramatically in 1967, when the team won the American League pennant for the first time since 1946. Alas, success on the field did little to break up the club's plantation mentality or ease racial tensions within the region. Green's departure after the 1962 season left just two black players on the Red Sox roster, Earl Wilson and the seldom-used Al Smith. It would not be until 1966—the first year in which Dick O'Connell was general manager—that the Red Sox had more than two; that year, the roster contained eight black players, of whom three were starters: Wilson, first baseman George Scott, and outfielder Reggie Smith. That team finished ninth (of ten), but the "Impossible Dream" season of 1967 saw the team go to the World Series, where the Red Sox lost a thrilling seven-game series to the St. Louis Cardinals. This was the turnaround year for the Red Sox as a business. More than 1.7 million fans poured into Fenway that year, the beginning of a run in which the park was often near capacity.

The 1967 Red Sox had five black players. Noticeably absent was Earl Wilson, who was traded to Detroit in June 1966, after he complained of having been called a "nigger" at a bar near Winter Haven, Florida, where the Red Sox held their spring training camp. The *Boston Globe's* Larry Claffin caught wind of the story, but Wilson begged him to suppress it so

he could resolve the problem with team officials. Wilson dutifully reported the incident to Manager Billy Herman, who told him, "Forget it.... It never happened." Wilson seethed for weeks before telling Clafin to run the story. Herman promptly labeled Wilson a troublemaker, and the pitcher was traded to Detroit for outfielder Don Demeter.⁷⁴ The untold story of 1967 may well be whether the Red Sox would have won the World Series with Wilson on their staff. He was 22-11 for the Tigers in 1967, a number of victories that matched Red Sox ace Jim Lonborg and was ten more than the next best pitchers on their staff. Those two twelve-game winners, José Santiago and Gary Bell, lost three of the four games the Red Sox dropped in the World Series.

Earl Wilson was the first of several highly talented black or Latino players to exit Boston bitterly and excel in new surroundings. He won fifty-six games and lost fifty-eight in seven years with the Red Sox, but was 64-45 in just five seasons with Detroit. The Tigers were, with the exception of 1967, a superior team to the Red Sox, but three salient facts stand out. First, Wilson's earned run average (ERA) was nearly a full run lower in Detroit (3.18 to 4.10).⁷⁵ Second, Wilson excelled for the Tigers between the ages of thirty-one and thirty-five; that is, beyond the peak-age statistical norms for pitchers. Third, it is highly plausible that Wilson was traded because he had the temerity to complain about racism to an organization with explicitly racist views. He was a superior player in nearly every aspect of the game to the man for whom he was traded. (He was even a better power hitter. Wilson hit seventeen home runs with the Tigers, Demeter just ten with the Red Sox.) Wilson noted that with Boston it wasn't unusual to "walk into a room and hear coaches saying, 'Nigger this, nigger that.'"⁷⁶

In the period from 1967 to 1986, Boston fielded numerous talented black and Latino players, including Reggie Smith, George Scott, Jim Rice, Luis Tiant, Dennis Boyd, Tony Armas, Ellis Burks, and Dave Henderson.⁷⁷ They also briefly signed aging former stars such as Luis Aparicio, Orlando Cepeda, Ferguson Jenkins, Juan Marichal, and Tony Perez. Only a few felt comfortable in Boston. Howard Bryant documented their struggles against racism in his book *Shut Out: A Story of Race and Baseball in Boston* (2002), and the problem looks even worse when one highlights two dimensions to which Bryant paid less attention: the quickness with which Red Sox management gave up on highly regarded black and Latino prospects, and the successful careers many of them experienced in other uniforms.

During the same 1967 to 1986 period, the Boston Red Sox fielded an average of 4.3 black or Latino players per season. That's approximately 10.7% of the team's forty-man roster at a time when the league average was around

17% and some teams surpassed the 40% mark.⁷⁸ More telling is that just seven players of color played as many as five consecutive years with the Red Sox.⁷⁹ Reggie Smith, who played for Boston from 1966 to 1973, had the potential to be the city's first black superstar but, like Wilson, he refused to play a compliant role. "I don't believe Boston was ready to accept an outspoken black.... We were stereotyped," Smith recalled. He regarded his 1974 trade to St. Louis as a form of liberation. Smith left Boston at the sabermetrician's peak age of twenty-eight, and for the next nine years he was regarded as one of the most dangerous hitters in the National League.⁸⁰

Post-Boston numbers are also higher for several other players, most notably Cecil Cooper, Juan Beniquez, and Ben Oglivie. George Scott came close to duplicating his nine-year production with the Red Sox in just five (and 1,400 fewer at bats) with Milwaukee, when he was traded there in time for the 1977 season. Scott also recalled that, in 1970, he sought an apartment in a Dedham complex where he knew there were vacancies. He was told, "They were all filled." Scott recorded that the Celtics' Bill Russell "told me this is basically a racist city.... He was right. It's just that kind of town."⁸¹ New York Yankees' second baseman Willie Randolph (from 1976 to 1988) remarked that he got special joy out of beating the Red Sox because the team and the city were racist.⁸²

Scott and Randolph were correct—Boston was a profoundly racist city. In 1977, all of America became aware of Boston's racial tensions, courtesy of a Pulitzer Prize-winning photograph snapped by Stanley Forman in which Joseph Rakes, a white antibusing activist, attacked a black pedestrian, Ted Landsmark, outside Boston City Hall. Forman's shocking photograph captured Rakes's attempt to strike Landsmark with the pointed staff of an American flag.⁸³ Alas, the assault on Landsmark was not an isolated incident. As we have seen, Boston's changing demographic face led to court-ordered busing programs to address the racial imbalance within city schools. Boston was convulsed by antibusing protests tinged with racial animus from 1974 through 1988. Busing ended in 1988, but because of white flight and enrollment of white children in private schools, not because racial harmony had been achieved. By 1988, just 57,000 children were enrolled in Boston schools, down from over 100,000 in 1974; by the twenty-first century, 76% of Boston public school children are black, though nearly 55% of residents within the city limits are non-Latino whites.

It would be fair to say that the most profound social change in Boston from the time of Bill Russell and Pumpsie Green to the late 1980s was that people of color such as Smith, Scott, and Randolph had grown more assertive in calling attention to the everyday indignities that Russell internalized,

Green suppressed, and Wilson sought to mediate. Even Jim Rice, often called the Red Sox's first black superstar, was uncomfortable in his sixteen years in Boston (1974–1989), though he did not publicly admit this until 2002. Rice was a hero on the field, but he was keenly aware that Bostonians cheered white outfielders Dwight Evans and Fred Lynn with greater fervency. Privately, Rice told rising star Ellis Burks to “get your six years and get the hell out of Boston,” which is precisely what Burks did when he was eligible for free agency.⁸⁴ Burks was twenty-eight years old, peak performance age, when he left for the White Sox after the 1992 season.

Red Sox fans enjoy a reputation for fervency, but fandom parses differently by race. Few people of color cheered when the Red Sox captured the American League pennant in 1975. Howard Bryant, who grew up in Dorchester, recalls his seven-year-old self being taken to task by his grandfather for rooting for the Red Sox against the Cincinnati Reds during the World Series. Among whites, that contest is remembered as another heartbreaking seven-game thriller (like 1967) in which an elusive championship slipped away; however, many black baseball fans often recall it as the triumph of Joe Morgan, Tony Perez, Ken Griffey Sr., and George Foster over the racist Red Sox.⁸⁵

The 1975 season was also the year that opened the door for baseball free agency. (Free agency allows a player to bargain with whomever he wishes at the end of his contract, if he has played six years in the Major Leagues.) Conventional wisdom holds that it altered baseball's racial equation and brought to reality Jackie Robinson's caustic observation that “Money is America's God, and businesspeople can dig black power if it coincides with green power.”⁸⁶ Not quite. In theory, Boston was free to bid for the services of talented players of color, but black talent often ignored the lure of Red Sox green and refused to sign there. That list included talented players such as Mel Hall, Tim Lincecum, Ken Griffey Jr., Marquis Grissom, David Justice, and Kirby Puckett.⁸⁷ The promise of riches was insufficient to erase the openly discussed perception among black players that they would not be welcome in Boston. Such perceptions were reinforced by the exodus of talented black and Latino free agents from Boston, including Beniquez, Oglivie, Cooper, Burks, Boyd, Bob Watson, Chico Walker, and Tony Armas.

Eleven years later, the Red Sox returned to the World Series, fandom remained divided by race, and Boston's racially charged social and sports tensions spilled onto the campus of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst (UMass), ninety-four miles west of the city. Sociologist Monica McDermott trenchantly observed of Boston that civil relations between blacks and whites “can change in an instant—a rude exchange at a supermarket or a misunderstood exclamation can set the stage for an exuberant display of anti-



Southwest Residential Dormitory, UMass Amherst

Tensions between white Red Sox fans and black fans of the New York Mets broke into open violence at this UMass residence hall after the Mets defeated the Red Sox in the 1986 World Series.

black ... sentiment."⁸⁸ Her remarks summarize what occurred in Amherst in the wee hours of October 27–28, 1986.

On October 25, 1986, the Red Sox were on the cusp of winning their first World Series since 1918, only to see the New York Mets score the tying run on a wild pitch, and the winning run on a grounder that slipped between first baseman Bill Buckner's legs for an error. Two nights later, the Mets won the World Series. A small group of Mets fans gathered outside the Southwest Residential Area of UMass to celebrate. Southwest houses 5,500 students in sixteen dorms, including five twenty-two-story towers built in the mid-1960s, when the university's student body doubled. Part of the thinking behind the high-rises—an idea consonant with architectural design and theory of the day—was that the tall structures would be more inviting for students from metropolitan areas. Whether by design or unplanned circumstance, a large number of suburban white Bostonians and black urbanites ended up in Southwest. The mix proved volatile.

The Southwest celebration devolved into heckling and fisticuffs between white Red Sox and black Mets fans, the small gathering swelled to over 1,200, and the situation spiraled out of control. Before police contained the

riot shortly after midnight, bottles were hurled, fireworks exploded, a sofa was thrown from a dormitory window, dumpsters were overturned, several dozen windows were smashed, and ten students were injured in fights. One, Yancey Robinson, an African American, was left in a neck brace.

The university's initial response was lackluster. Director of Public Safety Peter O'Neil acknowledged that black and white students had clashed, but insisted that the incident was not racial in nature, though both eyewitness reports (black and white) and a subsequent fifty-two-page report issued by Frederick Hurst of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination disagreed. The Hurst Report stated in no uncertain terms that minority students viewed the Mets as a "black" team and the Red Sox as a "white" franchise.⁸⁹

The UMass riot led to important (and ongoing) changes on the Amherst campus, but among the things pertinent to this study is that the Red Sox remained identified as a "white" team a full twenty-seven years after Pumpsie Green's debut. This was the case, despite the fact that the 1986 Red Sox fielded five African Americans and three Latinos, and the Mets six and three, respectively. Hadn't the Red Sox clearly turned the corner, with 20% of a forty-man roster consisting of players of color, a percentage in keeping with the overall representation of African Americans and Latinos in American society? Were UMass students acting upon outdated stereotypes?

It would seem not. Three months before the World Series, the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission ruled that the Boston Red Sox had discriminated against black coach Tommy Harper when it fired him in 1985. In a case eerily reminiscent of Earl Wilson's, Harper publicly complained of racism when he learned that the team bought player memberships in a Winter Haven, Florida, Elks club that refused service to African Americans. Nor were things calm in Amherst. The UMass clash—originally called a "fight" in the local *Daily Hampshire Gazette* but christened a "riot" in the Hurst report—was cited as a contributing factor in racial incidents on the campuses of nearby Smith and Mount Holyoke colleges, and as a factor in the beating of two black UMass students by five whites several months after the World Series ended. Those beatings were the final straw that led minority students to occupy the university's New Africa House in February 1987.

The Red Sox did not make a substantial dent in the team's plantation legacy until the late 1990s—nearly three decades after Pumpsie Green's departure and despite several decades' worth of intense scrutiny from sportswriters such as Larry Whiteside, Mike Barnicle, Steve Fainaru, and Gordon Edes.⁹⁰ Although the *Boston Globe's* Will McDonough remained an embarrassing apologist for the Yawkey family, the team was stung by

numerous racial discrimination lawsuits from former employees.⁹¹ Jean Yawkey's death in 1992 opened the door for change, and by the late 1990s, players Pedro Martinez and Mo Vaughn, a Dominican and an African American, respectively, were the faces of the franchise. Vaughn also groused about the team's treatment of minorities, but his free-agency departure in 1999 was more financially than socially motivated.⁹²

PATHBREAKERS AND UNBROKEN PATHS

In 1944, just three years before Jackie Robinson reintegrated Major League Baseball, Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal published *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem in American Democracy*. Myrdal analyzed both pernicious and promising dimensions of American racial tensions, especially the gulf between white views of superiority on one hand, and the "American Creed" of fairness and equality on the other. Of all the problems Myrdal probed, none has proven more intractable than institutional racism—those discrimination mechanisms that are too deeply embedded in American society to be addressed on a case-by-case basis. Myrdal placed great faith in the power of democracy and of liberal social policies to transform both attitudes and institutions.

It would be facile to deny that great changes have occurred in racial relations since 1944; it would be equally facile to say that the "American dilemma" has gone away, or to deny that the pace of change is often glacial. For better or worse, positive steps to alleviate the American dilemma often remain case-by-case actions. Although it does not get the attention it deserves, sports have been and remain an arena in which social problems are highlighted and redress is sought. Figures such as Joe Louis and Jackie Robinson deserve to be mentioned in the same breath as post-World War II civil rights activists such as A. Philip Randolph, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Rosa Parks, but what of individuals such as Elijah "Pumpsie" Green?

In 1947, African American sportswriter Wendell Smith cautioned readers of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, a black newspaper, not to harbor unrealistic expectations. He wrote, "Remember all our boys can't be a Robinson."⁹³ Smith meant that some black players would fail athletically, but his words resonate more deeply. As we have seen, Pumpsie Green neither saw himself in Robinson's class, nor aspired to it. He was not gifted with Robinson's skill, nor did he wish to be seen as any sort of pioneer. "I knew that all the Major League teams had been integrated

except for the Red Sox. People made me aware. They wouldn't let me forget it," said Green. But he added, "I got tired of it all."⁹⁴

Where is it written that pathbreakers must be outspoken? Green's reluctance to play an outspoken role in America's civil rights drama in no way diminishes his accomplishment. Call him an accidental pioneer, but it nonetheless took tremendous inner reserve and strength of character to endure the isolation, frustrated ambitions, and acts of everyday indignity that marked Green's time in Boston. Green was aware that he played for a manager and an organization that didn't want him. He was quickly made aware that Boston wasn't Oakland, and that for every person of color who wanted him to succeed, there were dozens of whites who wanted him to fail. Pumpsie Green played a role in the Bay State's version of the American dilemma, but the reconsideration of race of which he was part hasn't been easy, fast, or entirely transformative.

Green has never been assertive, but he is more so today than he was when he played. Back then, he measured his words carefully, even when riding the bench for Pinky Higgins. In 1997, thirty-two years after he left Boston, Green admitted that Higgins was racist. When asked why he had remained silent at the time, Green responded, "I'm a diplomat. In other words, [saying nothing] was the best thing to say at that particular time."⁹⁵ In 1996, Green expressed disappointment that the Red Sox had not invited him to return for any official events, including an Opening Day ceremony honoring Jackie Robinson. That omission prompted the *Boston Globe's* tart remark, "With the Red Sox, it seems some things never change."⁹⁶

The very next year, a black former sales manager, Thomas Sneed, filed a racial discrimination suit against the Red Sox. Sneed was laid off after seven years, an action Sneed alleged was due to his engagement to a white woman. Reporter Joan Vennoch could hardly contain her skepticism when the team also announced it was hiring more minorities.⁹⁷ Nor did it escape attention that as late as 2003, the Red Sox had but three African Americans on their forty-man roster, none of whom was expected to make the twenty-five-man permanent roster.⁹⁸ And what does it say when Green was not part of the Red Sox's first official Jackie Robinson Day celebration in 2004, or that the team didn't invite him to take part in MLB's annual Jackie Robinson Day until 2009? Small wonder the latter event invited Howard Bryant's withering scorn.

Green remained collected as controversy swirled around the Red Sox. He even claimed to root for the Red Sox and the Giants, though he told me in 2012 that he seldom watched or followed baseball after his retirement and "finds it kind of boring to watch." By then, though, Green had been

invited back to Fenway several times. Who could begrudge him for basking in delayed glory, or uttering the sanitized remark that he'd happily relive his experience in the same time, same place, and same way?⁹⁹ But one should also note remarks he made thirty years earlier that are preserved in the archives of the National Baseball Hall of Fame: "I knew [baseball] was a short life when I got into it. I got a chance to play in the major leagues.... I enjoyed it. That's all."¹⁰⁰

Except that it can't be all. As sociologists Lawrence Baldassaro and Richard Johnson note in *The American Game: Baseball and Ethnicity* (2002), as much as MLB would like to use Pumpsie Green's generation of players and its annual Jackie Robinson Day celebrations as examples of how the national pastime "truly became the game that represented all of America... [it] more than most American social institutions, has mirrored the gradual and often difficult process of assimilation experienced by a succession of ethnic and racial groups."¹⁰¹ Far more than the unfortunate 1986 UMass World Series incident lies between Green's departure from the Red Sox and Fenway Park's one hundredth anniversary bash.

A small sampling of ongoing racial incidents at the national level includes Curt Flood's 1969 challenge to baseball's reserve clause; allegations of racism at the Dodgers' Vero Beach, Florida, complex in 1971; Hank Aaron's 1979 charge that prejudice toward African Americans remained a baseball staple; the 1987 firing of Dodgers' General Manager Al Campanis after remarks suggesting that African Americans lacked the mental capacity to be managers and executives; Cincinnati owner Marge Schott's 1992 references to the "million dollar niggers" on her club; a 1992 study showing that attendance went down when black pitchers started; and racist, homophobic, and nativist remarks made by Atlanta pitcher John Rocker in 2000.¹⁰²

What have these incidents to do with Greater Boston? As NPR reporter Juan Williams documented in 2002, Boston hadn't moved beyond its legacy of racism.¹⁰³ It still hasn't. In 2009, the liberal bastion of Cambridge was sullied by an ugly incident in which a white police officer engaged in a racially tinged confrontation with Henry Louis Gates Jr., a black Harvard professor who has devoted his career to racial justice. In 2012, two distressing incidents occurred that left no doubt that regional problems remained. On April 25, 2012, Joel Ward, a black hockey player for the Washington Capitals, ended the Boston Bruins' playoff run with a seventh-game overtime goal. Twitter was filled with racist bile from crestfallen Bruins' fans.¹⁰⁴ In July, raw wounds opened in Manchester, New Hampshire, where Red Sox outfielder Carl Crawford—in the minors on an injury rehabilitation assignment—was racially slurred while signing autographs. The offender, an off-duty police

officer, was fired, but it didn't escape notice that Crawford was traded to the Dodgers on August 25, 2012, as was Mexican American first baseman Adrian Gonzalez.¹⁰⁵ In scenarios eerily reminiscent of minority players from the time of Earl Wilson on, Crawford and Gonzalez seem to have revitalized their careers away from Boston: as of June 2013, Crawford was hitting .301—some forty-six points better than he did at Boston—and Gonzalez was hitting a robust .326.

The legacy of racism lives on in the reluctance of African American fans to attend games at Fenway Park, in plays such as the 2006 musical *Johnny Baseball* documenting the team's racist past, and in the black and Latino neighborhoods of Chelsea, Dorchester, and Lawrence, where locals root for the Yankees in the midst of what is allegedly "Red Sox Nation."¹⁰⁶

Americans should celebrate what individuals such as Pumpsie Green endured to make professional sports and society more inclusive. But they should not confuse those efforts with an unenlightened past as prelude to a racially healed present. Pumpsie Green, a humble man of modest dreams and talents, has been more gracious than team officials could have expected or deserve. But, like Pesky's Pole, Green's accomplishments are imbued with legend whose symbolism is greater than historical fact supports.

One should applaud Green's courage—even celebrate his modest career; after all, by most reckonings, fewer than 6% of all minor league players make it to the MLB level. But these achievements must be tempered by the reality that what we today celebrate is not necessarily what should have been. Ceremony, glitz, and slick public relations should not blind us to past struggles or anesthetize us to those that remain. Howard Bryant got it right when he wrote of Green's baseball debut:

This is the real truth about July 21, 1959.... When your organization is less interested in Willie Mays than a spell of bad weather, you get Pumpsie Green. When you have the jump on Billy Williams and he gets away, you get Pumpsie Green. When your top baseball man patronizes Jackie Robinson, you get Pumpsie Green. When you're one of the richest teams in the game and fail to capitalize for more than a decade on a pool of the most talented and economically desirable ballplayers in the history of the game, you get Pumpsie Green. When the state's corporate watchdog sues your organization ... twice ... for discriminatory hiring practices, you get Pumpsie Green. In short, you get trivia over what could have been triumph.¹⁰⁷

Recent reconciliation efforts are a step in the right direction, though they might easily be viewed as little more than self-congratulatory pageantry in a region whose recent past has been marred by defended neighborhoods, campus riots, black Harvard professors in dustups with white cops, battles over redistricting Boston's minority wards, and unpalatable brews of fandom and racism. These things are the antithesis of what many people hoped Pumpsie Green would represent. Perhaps a more significant act of justice and reconciliation would be to rename Yawkey Way "Pumpsie Green Avenue."

HJM

Notes

1. Richard Dorson, *America in Legend: Folklore from the Colonial Period to the Present* (New York: Pantheon, 1971): xiv.
2. In popular culture, the term "legend" is often attached to entertainment figures who achieve commercial success, and the adjective "legendary" is applied to impressive or memorable people and events. www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=legendary. Accessed May 24, 2013.
3. Jan Brunvand, *The Study of American Folklore* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978): 106.
4. Allen Guttman, *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York: Columbia University, 2012); Tristram Coffin, *The Old Ball Game: Baseball in Fiction and Folklore* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1971).
5. The Red Sox also traded Fred Hatfield, Don Lenhardt, and Bill Wright to Detroit and received Hoot Evers and Johnny Lipon in return.
6. Parnell was the victim of his own mythmaking. As he told the story, Pesky hit a walk-off homer to win a game Parnell was pitching in 1948. In truth, Pesky homered just one time when Parnell was pitching—in the first inning of a game in 1950.
7. Mike Petraglia, "Pumpsie Green Throws Out First Pitch," MLB.com, April 17, 2009. Retrieved August 10, 2012. Dave Roberts's inclusion in this list is also puzzling. His stolen base in a key 2004 postseason matchup with the New York Yankees notwithstanding, Roberts was a late-season acquisition who played just forty-five games with the Red Sox and was traded to the San Diego Padres in the offseason. Roberts's feat has been magnified in Red Sox legend. Roberts stole on catcher Jorge Posada, who threw out just 27% of runners in 2004, well below the league average of 32%.
8. "Red Sox Home Opener," *Boston Globe*, April 17, 1998.
9. Dan Shaughnessy, *The Curse of the Bambino* (London: Penguin Books, 1991). Shaughnessy collected numerous stories to explain why the Red Sox, until 2004, had not won a World Series since 1920, the year they sold Babe Ruth to the New York Yankees. It is not always clear when Shaughnessy is serious and when he's being ironic, but he does repeat some inaccuracies. Actually, the Sox last won a World Series in 1916, years *before* the sale. He also reports a story that Red Sox owner Harry Frazee

sold Ruth to finance a failed Broadway show. This is untrue; Frazee was solvent. Moreover, the show in question was *No, No, Nanette*, anything but a failed show! It is noteworthy that Johnny Pesky played a role in the “curse.” In game seven of the 1946 World Series against St. Louis, Pesky hesitated throwing the ball to home plate, allowing a run to score. St. Louis won the deciding game 4–3.

10. Dan Shaughnessy, “An Olde Towne Toast,” *Boston Globe*, April 21, 2012.

11. Note: Shaughnessy was born in 1953 and grew up in Groton, an elite Boston suburb that is less than 1% black. He graduated from Holy Cross College in 1975, when there were just twenty-nine black students on campus. His first sports beat job was in Baltimore in 1977, before coming to the *Globe* in 1981, eighteen years after Green was traded to the New York Mets. He would have been just six when Green debuted with the Red Sox. These biographical details suggest that it’s unlikely that Pumpsie Green was a “god” of Dan Shaughnessy’s youth. Source: Information on the number of black students was provided by Mark Savolis, head of Archives and Special Collections at College of the Holy Cross University, in an e-mail exchange of October 19, 2012.

12. Howard Bryant, “No Honor in Red Sox Anniversary,” ESPN.com, July 21, 2009. Retrieved August 10, 2012. Note: That the Boston Bruins integrated before the Red Sox is highly significant. Until 1958, when Willie O’Ree got into two Bruins’ games, the National Hockey League was 100% white. However, O’Ree was sent back to hockey’s minor leagues and did not make it back to the NHL until 1961. He was again sent back down to the minors, and the NHL remained all white until 1974.

13. The double-V campaign, symbolized by forming a V shape with the second and third fingers on each hand, signaled the resolve of black soldiers during World War II to secure a double “victory” over fascism abroad and racism at home.

14. Richard Dorson, *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992); Dorson, *America in Legend: Folklore from the Colonial Society to the Present* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971); Jan Brunvand, *The Study of American Folklore*, New York: Norton, 1978; Joseph Campbell, *The Hero With a Thousand Faces* (Novato, CA: New World Library, 2011).

15. Wilson won 121 games in an eleven-year career and was a more worthy symbol for those arguing that racism contributed to Boston’s baseball mediocrity. In 1962, Wilson hurled a Fenway Park no-hitter, the first since 1956. Appropriately, the previous one belonged to Mel Parnell of “Pesky’s Pole” fame.

16. Jonathan Mayo, “Boston’s Green: A Reluctant Pioneer,” MLB.com February 6, 2007. Retrieved August 8, 2012.

17. The minor leagues are stratified from low to high as a prospect is trained, seasoned, and prepared for the major leagues. Today, the stratification runs from A (Rookie, Short Season), A (Advanced), AA, and AAA. In Green’s time, the lowest rung was Class D. One then rose to C, B (several levels), A, AA, and AAA. Oakland had been independent since 1937.

18. Howard Bryant, *Shut Out: A Story of Race and Baseball in Boston* (New York: Routledge, 2002): 9.

19. "Pumpsie Green" folder [do we have more detailed citation info? Box number?] archived in the National Baseball Hall of Fame, Cooperstown, New York (hereafter abbreviated as Baseball HOF). See also Mayo, "Boston's Green a Reluctant Pioneer."
20. Bryant, *Shut Out*, 12.
21. Green folder, Baseball HOF.
22. Ibid
23. Author's interview with Elijah "Pumpsie" Green, September 11, 2012.
24. Kountze's remark was quoted in an article by Michael Madden, "He Ran into a Fenway Wall," *Boston Globe*, May 28, 1993. It was found in a clipping in the Sam Jethroe File, Baseball HOF.
25. Bryant, *Shut Out*, 68–69; Jerry Gutlon, *It Was Never About the Babe: The Red Sox, Racism, Mismanagement, and the Curse of the Bambino* (New York: Skyhorse, 2009): 69–70; Richard A. Johnson and Glen Stout, *Red Sox Century* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2005): 179–182. Note: The ban officially went into effect among National League teams in 1887, but it was not until two years later that the International League, then a rival major league, adopted it.
26. Bryant, *Shut Out*, 68.
27. Jules Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy* (New York: Oxford, 1997): 329.
28. Robert Hayden, *African-Americans in Boston: More than 350 Years* (Boston: Boston Public Library Press, 1991).
29. Zebulon Miltesky, "City of Amalgamation: Race, Marriage, Class and Color in Boston, 1890–1930" (Ph.D. Thesis in Afro-American Studies, University of Massachusetts, Amherst 2008): 84.
30. Ronald Formisano, *Boston Against Busing: Race, Class, and Ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).
31. Monica McDermott, *Working-Class White: The Making and Unmaking of Race Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).
32. Barry Bluestone and Mary Huff Stevenson, *The Boston Renaissance: Race, Space, and Economic Change* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2000).
33. Ibid., 7. Bluestone and Stevenson argue that these patterns remained true long after the busing crisis subsided. In cultural terms, Boston remains a white city, whether one is speaking of popular or elite culture.
34. The Hi-Hat is now the site of the Harriet Tubman House. Information from the Sam Jethroe File, Baseball HOF.
35. Author's interview with Elijah "Pumpsie" Green, Sept. 11, 2012. However, in the same interview, Green misremembered the timing of several events. Among the events Green misremembered is having seen an image of a white man trying to impale an African American with an American flag. He was thinking of a widely circulated image snapped by *Boston Herald American* photographer Stanley Forman. However, this occurred thirteen years after Green left Boston.
36. Bryant, *Shut Out*, 58.

37. Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment*. Some minor league teams experienced increases of up to 50%. The usual figure given for MLB teams was around 2,500 per game.

38. Leslie Heaphy, *Negro Leagues 1869–1960* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2003). There was a team called the Boston Resolute in 1887, but this was before the Negro Leagues were organized. In 1912, there was a team called the New York Boston Giants, but it soon dropped Boston from its name.

39. In just one year were the Braves a contender, the pennant-winning season of 1948, but attendance that year was less than one might expect—just 18,901 per home contest.

40. The Braves finished fourth in 1950 and 1951, the same as they finished in 1949. The team drew just 201,279 patrons in 1952 and moved to Milwaukee in 1953. The ultimate move had no impact on 1952 attendance in Boston, as it was not announced until the off-season and Braves fans had no forewarning.

41. Baseball-Reference.com Note: The Braves finished fourth in all three years Jethroe was with the team and were seventh (of eight) in 1950, and last in 1951 and 1952. Note: The impact of black players on attendance is somewhat controversial. Contrary to myth, Jackie Robinson's presence on the Dodgers led to a negligible bump in attendance of just 139 patrons per game on average between 1946 and 1947, the latter year in which the team went to the World Series and one would expect an increase. Cleveland also went to the World Series during Larry Doby's first full year, which sent attendance soaring by almost 15,000 per game. The next year (1949), when the Indians finished third, is probably a better measure of Doby's box office magic as that year's attendance was down from 1948, but was still nearly 10,000 per game higher than before he arrived. Black players did not lead to big increases for the New York Giants or the St. Louis Browns; both franchises—like the Braves—soon relocated, the Browns to Baltimore in 1954, and the Giants to San Francisco in 1958.

42. Bryant, *Shut Out*; Stan Greenfield, "Keeper of Secrets," *Boston Globe*. May 26, 2013.

43. Bryant, *Shut Out*; Jackie Robinson, *I Never Had it Made* (New York: Putnam, 1972); Larry Moffi and Jonathan Kronstadt, *Crossing the Line: Black Major Leaguers 1947–1959* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1994); Gutlon, *It Was Never about the Babe*.

44. Larry Whiteside, "The First to Sign," *Boston Globe*, July 22, 1979.

45. Moffi and Kronstadt, *Crossing the Line*, 7.

46. Clark Booth, "About Pumpsie Green and the Indelible Stain Yawkey-Era Racism Left on the Red Sox," *Dorchester Reporter*, July 23, 2009.

47. The term "Folk Revival" is less familiar to many. It refers to a renewed interest in American folk music—including social protest songs—that began in the 1940s and continued into the 1960s. Although many think of 1960s singers such as Bob Dylan when they think of protest music, Dylan merely rode an active and ongoing protest tradition that thrived in the 1950s. In several years, folk music also outsold rock and roll during the 1950s and early 1960s.

48. Bryant, *Shut Out*, 6.

49. Roger Birtwell, "Pumpsie Green Almost Ready," *Boston Globe*, June 16, 1958.

50. Untitled article, *Boston Globe*, March 24, 1959.
51. Milton Gross, "Green Now Used to Loneliness," *Boston Globe*, March 28, 1959; Harold Kaese, "Did Sox Give Pumpsie Green Shabby Deal?" *Boston Globe*, April 8, 1959. Note: Green occasionally went to exhibition games on a bus used by the Chicago Cubs, who had several black players.
52. Bob Holbrook, "Red Sox Send Pumpsie Green to Minors," *Boston Globe*, April 8, 1959; "NAACP Says No Pumpsie, No Parking Lot for Sox," *Boston Globe*, April 9, 1959; "State Board to Probe Red Sox Racial Policy," *Boston Globe*, April 11, 1959; "Whole Town's Talking About the Green Boy," *Boston Globe*, April 12, 1959; Jerry Nason, "Will Yawkey Quit Boston?" *Boston Globe*, April 12, 1959; "Sox Sit Tight as Green Storm Rages," *Boston Globe*, April 12, 1959.
53. Wendell Smith, "Sports Beat," *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 25, 1959.
54. Harold Kaese, "It's Not Buddin's Fault That Green Was Shipped Out," *Boston Globe*, April 9, 1959. Note: E6 is an official scorer's designation for an error made by a shortstop. It is a form of shorthand in which player positions are numbered for easy reference: 1= pitcher, 2= catcher, 3 = first baseman, etc. The shortstop is number 6.
55. Birtwell, "Sox Recall Pumpsie," *Boston Globe*, July 22, 1959; Robert McLean, "Everyone Pleased Pumpsie Returning," *Boston Globe*, July 22, 1959; Bob Holbrook, *Boston Globe*, "Not Ready for Sox in April—Pumpsie," July 24, 1959.
56. Author's interview with Elijah "Pumpsie" Green, September 11, 2012.
57. Bobby Thomson is legendary for a home run he hit in 1951 as a member of the New York Giants. The Giants entered the summer of 1951 far behind the league-leading Brooklyn Dodgers, but won thirty-seven of the team's last forty-four games to tie the Dodgers for first place and force a playoff for the pennant. With the Giants trailing 4–2 in the bottom of the ninth inning, Thomson hit a three-run walk-off home-run off Dodgers' pitcher Ralph Branca, which sent the Giants to the World Series. The press dubbed it the "Shot Heard Around the World" and "The "Miracle of Coogan's Bluff," the latter referring to the elevated section of land along the Harlem River that rose above the Giants' home field, the Polo Grounds. Fans with sharp eyes often perched on Coogan's Bluff to watch games without paying. The playoff game took place on October 3, 1951. The Giants lost the World Series to the Yankees, four games to two.
58. "Jurges Will Try Thompson at First," *Boston Globe*, April 12, 1960.
59. Birtwell, "Jurges Defends Strategy," *Boston Globe*, April 26, 1960.
60. Shaughnessy, "Crossing the Color Line," *Boston Globe*, March 28, 1997.
61. Author's interview with Elijah "Pumpsie" Green, September 11, 2012; Clif Keane, "Harris' Side of the Story," *Boston Globe*, September 28, 1960.
62. Birtwell, *Boston Globe*, April 11, 1961.
63. "Pumpsie Undergoes Operation," *Boston Globe*, May 14, 1961; Birtwell, "Green's Slug Pct. as Pinch Batter .750," *Boston Globe*, July 31, 1961.
64. Harold Kaese, "The Buddin Story a Sad One; How Could Richards?" *Boston Globe*, November 29, 1961.

65. Hy Hurwitz, "Green Returns; Conley in NY," *Boston Globe*, July 28, 1962; Bob Holbrook, "Spur of the Moment Flight, Conley Says," *Boston Globe*, July 30, 1962; Jerry Nason, "Is Higgins Also Missing Bus in Managing Sox?" *Boston Globe*, July 29, 1962; Dan Shaughnessy, "Conley's Stories Fit to Print," *Boston Globe*, December 15, 2004.
66. Harvey Frommer, *Where Have All Our Red Sox Gone?* (Boulder, CO: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2006); See also Jerry Gutlon, *It Was Never About the Babe*.
67. Staff, "Green Broke the Last Line: Boston's," *Boston Globe*, December 23, 1997.
68. Frommer, "Pumpsie Green," <http://www.travel-watch.com/pumpsegreen.htm>. Accessed June 19, 2013.
69. Scott Ostler, "Green Looks Back on Breaking Barrier 50 Years Later," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 21, 2009.
70. Frommer, *Where Have All Our Red Sox Gone?*
71. Pumpsie Green, author's interview.
72. *New York Times Magazine*, August 11, 1962. The *Oxford English Dictionary* was accessed at www.oed.com.silk.library.umass.edu/view/Entry/202951?redirectedFrom=tokenism#eid. Retrieved November 27, 2012.
73. "Attendance 1960–1969," mtlexpos.tripod.com/attendance/1960_1969.htm, Accessed June 3, 2013; mtlexpos.tripod.com/attendance/1950_1959.htm. Accessed June 3, 2013.
74. Bryant, *Shut Out*, 78. Demeter hit ten homers in his time with the Red Sox. Wilson, though a pitcher, hit sixteen for the Tigers.
75. ERA—the average number of runs per nine innings for which a pitcher's actions are responsible—is a better indication of a hurler's skill than wins, as those who toil on bad clubs often get very little run support.
76. Steve Fainaru, "In Racism's Shadow," *Boston Globe*, August 4, 1991.
77. The Red Sox also won the AL pennant in 1975.
78. Joanna Shepherd Bailey and George B. Shepherd, "Baseball's Accidental Racism: The Draft, African-American Players, and the Law," *Connecticut Law Review*, 44:1 (November 2011): 197–256. Note: Professional baseball rosters consist of a twenty-five-player "active" roster and a forty-player "major league roster." The active roster is the number of players each team can dress for a game. An additional fifteen players are in the minor leagues and have "options" that allow them to be elevated to the active roster if an opening occurs (injuries, roster adjustments, suspensions). Minor league players have a limited number of options, a restriction put in place to prevent teams from keeping players in the minor leagues indefinitely against their will. After a player's options are used, the parent club must either place that player on the active roster or offer him a waiver that allows other clubs to claim him.
79. These players were, in order of the year in which they debuted with the Red Sox, Reggie Smith (eight years), George Scott (nine, but in three stints, only the first lasting five years), Luis Tiant (eight), Cecil Cooper (six), Jim Rice (sixteen), Dennis Boyd (eight), and Ellis Burks (seven). Tommy Harper spent fifteen years with the Red Sox organization, but mostly as a coach. It did not get much better until the late

1990s. From 1959 to 1991, thirty-three African American players suited up for the Red Sox, of whom just nineteen played as long as four years. See Dan Shaughnessy, "Crossing the Color Line," *Boston Globe*, March 28, 1997.

80. Larry Whiteside, "Sox' Children of the 60s Look Back," *Boston Globe*, July 22, 1979. Note: "Sabermetrics" refers to use of sophisticated mathematical tools to evaluate player performances and to guide general managers (GMs) in whom they should sign. It is often credited to statistician Bill James, though this is disputed. Sabermetrics gained popularity once baseball players could become free agents and GMs had to decide whom they wished to sign to long-term contracts rather than merely rewarding good performance or docking pay for below-average performance on a yearly basis. Sabermetrics seeks to measure performance objectively and mathematically and to predict future outcomes. Peak performance is one of the latter tools. Age twenty-eight is, statistically, about the age in which superior athletes reach their prime; GMs often anticipate a five-year window of highest achievement, with twenty-eight being the average peak age. Hence, a cautious GM would seek to avoid signing long-term contracts with players who are in their midthirties or older.

81. *Ibid.*

82. Bryant, *Shut Out*.

83. Landsmark suffered a broken nose and minor injuries in the melee. He obtained a Ph.D. from Boston University and, as of 2013, was president of Boston Architectural College. See Louis P. Mayer, *The Soiling of Old Glory: The Story of a Photograph That Shocked America* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010).

84. Bryant, *Shut Out*, 200. Rice was criticized for being too compliant with the racist policies of the Red Sox, though Bryant notes he often spoke of being with the team as akin to a jail sentence. The infamous Margo Adams—the outed mistress of white third baseman Wade Boggs—went so far as say that Rice "wanted to be white." (201). Rice's six-years remark to Burks refers to free-agency rules. In 1972, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against African American player Curt Flood's lawsuit challenging a team's right to own players in perpetuity, but in 1975 two players refused to sign contracts and were declared "free agents" and allowed to negotiate with new teams after playing one year without a signed contract. Management and the players' union eventually negotiated an agreement that allowed any player to become a free agent once he had played in MLB for at least six years.

85. *Ibid.*, vii–viii. For the 1975 Cincinnati Reds, six of their starting eight position players were black or Latino, as were another four bench players and pitchers. The Red Sox started only Jim Rice and Cecil Cooper (when they could use a designated hitter). Although Luis Tiant led the staff, just three other black or Latino players were on the roster.

86. Jackie Robinson, *I Never Had it Made*, 10.

87. Bryant, *Left Out*; Dan Shaughnessy, "Crossing the Color Line," *Boston Globe*, March 28, 1997.

88. McDermott, *Working-Class White*, 151.

89. "10 at UMass Injured in Fights After Series Game," *Boston Globe*, October 29, 1986; "World Series Touches Off Racial Clashes," *Harvard Crimson*, November 15, 1986; Steve Curwood, "Barrett, Wilson Talk at UMass on Series Fracas," *Boston Globe*, November 22, 1986; Allan Gold, "Cordiality and Racial Anger Mix in Massachusetts U. Protest," *New York Times*, February 16, 1988; Wornie Reed, "Commentary: The Role of Universities in Racial Violence on Campuses," *Trotter Review* 3:2 (1989); "The 1986 World Series Riot," albarossumi.livejournal.com/358418.html (November 1, 2007 reprint of 1986 log). Retrieved September 5, 2012.

90. For examples of their attacks on Red Sox management, see: Harold Kaese, "The Demise of the Red Sox: Something Has to Give—Soon," *Boston Globe*, August 23, 1970; Mike Barnicle, "Red Sox—Color Blind," *Boston Globe*, March 19, 1974; Larry Whiteside, "Sox and Minorities; Figures Say it All," July 22, 1979; Steve Fainaru, "In Racism's Shadow Red Sox Working to Shed Longtime Image, but Blacks In and Out of Baseball Still Uneasy," *Boston Globe*, August 4, 1991; Gordon Edes, "Roster is a Bit Weak in One Area," *Boston Globe*, February 18, 2003.

91. For a typical McDonough denial, see "Sox Racist? Says Who?" *Boston Globe*, April 17, 1986. In this piece, McDonough made the incredible claim that Tommy Harper's 1985 MCAD complaint against the team was frivolous because the Elks Club in Winter Haven, Florida, was a dump unworthy of a complaint. He wrote, "If Harper felt left out, that's his problem." The MCAD disagreed and found in favor of Harper on July 2, 1986. Peter Gammons wrote a withering retort to McDonough's insensitive remarks. See Gammons, "Baseball," *Boston Globe*, January 5, 1986.

92. Bryant, *Shut Out*, 248–52. Bryant details that Vaughan did, indeed, experience racial discrimination in Boston, but Vaughan's clashes with Red Sox management before his departure were also complicated by money. Vaughan was at the height of his productivity when he came up for free agency and signed a six-year \$80 million contract with Anaheim. This was much more than the Red Sox wanted to spend for a thirty-one-year-old outfielder; history vindicated the Red Sox. His production declined dramatically from 1999 onward, and Vaughan missed the entire 2001 season with injuries. He was traded to the New York Mets in December of 2001, where he spent two mediocre, injury-plagued years before another injury forced him to retire in 2003.

93. Smith quoted from Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment*, 222.

94. Quoted from Frommer, "Pumpsie Green."

95 Gordon Edes, "Pumpsie Green Red Sox Pioneer," *Boston Globe*, February 23, 1997.

96. Dan Shaughnessy, "Crossing the Color Line," *Boston Globe* March 28, 1997.

97. Joan Vennoch "Squeeze Play," *Boston Globe*, May 8, 1998.

98. Gordon Edes, "Roster is Rather Lacking in This Area," *Boston Globe*, February 18, 2003.

99. Mike Petraglia, "Pumpsie Green Throws Out First Pitch," MLB.com, April 17, 2009; Dan Shaughnessy, "An Old Towne Toast," *Boston Globe*, April 21, 2012; Green interview[date?].

100. "Race and Racism," clipping file, Baseball HOF.

101. Lawrence Baldassaro and Richard A. Johnson, eds. *The American Game: Baseball and Ethnicity* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2002): xiii, 4.
102. Incidents gathered from the "Race and Racism" file, Baseball HOF.
103. Juan Williams, "The Red Sox and Racism," National Public Radio, October 11, 2002.
104. Richard Stalker, "Bruins Fans Flood Twitter with Racist Remarks," www.webpronews.com/bruins-fans-flood-twitter-with-racist-remarka-2012-04. Retrieved August 31, 2012.
105. Sean Newell, "Carl Crawford Called Racial Slur," *Boston Globe*, July 7, 2012. Note: Many individuals, including team officials, insist that Crawford was traded because he underperformed after signing a lucrative free agent contract with Boston after the 2010 season. There is merit to that assertion, but the fact that racism could be raised as a motive for dumping Crawford remains a testament to ongoing ethnic tension within the Red Sox organization.
106. Fainaru, "In Racism's Shadow," *Boston Globe*, August 4, 1991. When Fainaru asked black sports fans if they went to Fenway, most responded that the racism in the stands was more than they wished to endure. One remarked incredulously, "Are you kidding me?" It would take three days before they [the white crowd] would let you out!" For more on the play *Johnny Baseball*, see Ed Siegel, "A Grand Slam on the Sox's Real Curse," *Boston Globe*, June 12, 2010, and Dan Shaughnessy, "An Old Towne Toast," *Boston Globe*, April 21, 2012; for non-Sox fans in Greater Boston, see Russell Contreras, "Where Yankees Fans Thrive," *Boston Globe*, September 25, 2008.
107. Bryant, "No Honor in Red Sox Anniversary," ESPN.com, July 21, 2009.

Appendix: Minority Players in the Yawkey Family Era (1933–1992)

(* Designates player late in career)

Year	Player	Ethnicity	T # of Minorities	Fate of Player
1933–59	None		0	
1959–	Pumpsie Green Earl Wilson Bobby Avila*	African-Am African-Am Mexican	3	Traded to NY Mets 1963 Traded to Detroit 1966 Released after 22 games
1960	Green Wilson Willie Tasby	African-Am	3	Taken by Washington in expansion draft
1961	Green		1	
1962	Green, Wilson		2	
1963	Wilson Román Mejias* Felix Mantilla	Mexican Puerto Rican	3	Released 1964 Traded to Houston 4/66
1964	Wilson, Mejias, Mantilla Al Smith*		4	Released after 29 games
1965	Wilson, Mantilla		2	
1966	Wilson George Scott Reggie Smith José Santiago José Tartabull John Wyatt Joe Foy Joe Christopher George Smith	African-Am African-Am Puerto Rican Cuban African-Am African-Am Virgin Islands African-Am	9	Traded to Milwaukee 10/71; reacquired 12/76 Traded to Kansas City 6/79 Traded to St. Louis 10/73 Released 1970 after injury Sold to Oakland 5/69 Sold to NY Yankees 5/68 Went to Kansas City in draft 10/68 Released after 12 games Released end of 1966 season
1967	Scott, R. Smith, Santiago, Tartabull, Wyatt, Foy Elston Howard*	African-Am	7	Retired 1968
1968	Scott, R. Smith, Santiago, Tartabull, Wyatt, Foy, Howard Juan Pizarro Luis Alvarado	Puerto Rican Puerto Rican	10	Traded to Cleveland 4/69 Traded to Chicago White Sox 12/70 Released 10/68
1969	Floyd Robinson Scott, R. Smith, Santiago, Pizarro, Alvarado Vincente Romo	African-Am Mexican	7	Traded to White Sox 3/71

Year	Player	Ethnicity	T # of Minorities	Fate of Player
1969	Joe Azcue	Puerto Rican	1	9 games—traded to California 6/69
1970	Scott, R. Smith, Santiago, Alvarado, Romo, Roger Moret	Puerto Rican	6	Traded to Atlanta 12/76
1971	Scott, R. Smith, Moret Luis Aparicio* Cecil Cooper Ben Oglivie Juan Beniquez Luis Tiant	Venezuelan African-Am Panamanian Puerto Rican Cuban	8	Retired after 1973 season Traded to Milwaukee 12/76 Traded to Detroit 10/73 Traded to Texas 11/75 Left as free agent 10/78
1972	R. Smith, Moret, Aparicio, Beniquez, Cooper, Oglivie, Tiant Tommy Harper Bob Veale* Lynn McGlothen	African-Am African-Am African-Am	10	Traded to California 12/74 Released 10/74 Traded to St. Louis 12/73
1973	R. Smith, Moret, Aparicio, Beniquez, Cooper, Oglivie, Tiant, Harper, Veale, McGlothen, Orlando Cepeda*	Puerto Rican	11	Released 3/74
1974	Beniquez, Cooper, Tiant, Harper, Moret Jim Rice Diego Segui Juan Marichal*	African-Am Puerto Rican Dominican	8	Played 15 seasons; retired as Red Sox Released 4/76 Released 10/74
1975	Beniquez, Cooper, Tiant, Moret, Rice		5	
1976	Cooper, Tiant, Rice Ferguson Jenkins* Bobby Darwin*	Afro Canadian African-Am		Traded to Texas 12/77 Traded to Chicago Cubs 5/77
1977	Rice, Jenkins, Darwin George Scott * Ramón Aviles Ramon Hernandez*	African-Am Puerto Rican Puerto Rican	6	Second stint with Red Sox 1 game; sold to Philadelphia 4/77 12 innings; released 8/77
1978	Scott, Rice, Tiant		3	
1979	Scott, Rice Bob Watson	African-Am	3	Left as free agent 11/79
1980	Rice Tony Perez Chico Walker Julio Valdez Luis Aponte	Cuban African-Am Dominican Venezuelan	5	Released 11/82 Left as free agent 10/84 Marginal player; released 1983 Traded to Cleveland 3/84

Year	Player	Ethnicity	T # of Minorities	Fate of Player
1981 (strike year)	Rice, Perez, Walker, Valdez, Aponte		5	
1982	Rice, Perez, Walker, Valdez, Aponte Dennis Boyd	African-Am	6	Left as free agent 11/89
1983	Rice, Perez, Walker, Valdez, Aponte, Boyd Tony Armas	Venezuelan	7	Left as free agent 11/86
1984	Rice, Perez, Walker, Boyd, Armas, Mike Easler Jackie Gutiérrez	African-Am Colombian	7	Traded to NY Yankees 3/86 Traded to Baltimore 12/85
1985	Rice, Boyd, Armas Easler, Gutiérrez		5	
1986	Rice, Boyd, Armas Rey Quinones Don Baylor* Ed Romero LaSchelle Tarver Dave Henderson	Puerto Rican African-Am Puerto Rican African-Am African-Am	8	Traded to Seattle 8/86 Traded to Minnesota 9/87 Released 8/89 Released at end of season Traded to San Francisco 9/87
1987	Rice, Boyd, Baylor, Romero, Henderson Ellis Burks	African-Am	7	Left as free agent 12/92
	Sam Horn	African-Am		Released 12/89
1988	Rice, Boyd, Burks, Horn, Romero Lee Smith Carlos Quintana	African-Am Venezuelan	7	Traded to St. Louis 5/90 Spent career with Red Sox; retired 1993
1989	Rice, Boyd, Burks, Horn Romero, Quintana, L. Smith Luis Rivera	Puerto Rican	8	Left as free agent 10/93
1990	Burks, Quintana, L. Smith, Rivera Tony Peña	Dominican	5	Left as free agent 10/93
1991	Burks, Quintana, Rivera Peña Mo Vaughan 2005 Josiah Manzanillo	African-Am	6	Left as free agent 10/98 Left as free agent 3/92; returned 2005

Year	Player	Ethnicity	T # of Minorities	Fate of Player
1992	Burks, Peña, Vaughan, Rivera Billy Hatcher	African-Am	5	Left as free agent 11/92

Source: Baseball-Reference.com

Note: Tom Yawkey died in 1976. His widow, Jean, was Red Sox president until her death in 1992.