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## Richard Hershberger

The batter hits a ground ball to the left side. The shortstop fields it and throws to first base. We can't tell from this information alone whether the runner will be safe or out. He might be safe if he hit a slow grounder that the shortstop has to charge, or a sharply hit ball that the shortstop has to dive after. He will probably be out if it is a routine ground ball. Either way, one thing we can be sure of is that the umpire will make the call. If it is a close play the umpire might make the call with a dramatic flourish. If it is not close, the call will likely be perfunctory. But either way, it is the umpire's duty to make the call.

Contrast this with the appeal play. Probably the best known appeal play is for a runner failing to touch a base. Others are for a runner prematurely tagging up on a fly ball, or for a player batting out of turn. What makes it an appeal play is that the umpire does not make the call unless asked to. If, for example, the umpire notes that a runner missed a base, but no defensive player notices this and no appeal is made, the umpire's duty is to keep quiet about it.

In the modern game the appeal play is the exception. The general rule is that the umpire makes calls routinely, without being asked. This was not true of the early game. Indeed, before 1857 every single play was an appeal play.

The first non-appeal play was the foul ball. Prior to 1857 the umpire only called a ball foul on appeal. We know this because in 1855 a post-match dinner of a game between two new clubs included a speech by the umpire, W.H. Van Cott. Van Cott was an experienced player and a leader of the baseball community. He took the opportunity to some pointers, including

As new clubs, he [W.H. Van Cott, the referee] would suggest to them to call for judgment oftener on foul balls. One ball went forty feet wide, and then the judges called for judgment. New York Herald September 22, 1855

This changed in 1857, when the rules were overhauled. The new rules included:

If the ball from a stroke of the bat is caught behind the range of home and the first base, or home and the third base, without having touched the ground, or first touches the ground behind those bases, it shall be termed foul, and must be so declared by the umpires, unasked.

It was important that the umpire call foul balls "unasked" because under the rules of the day a foul ball was dead, and became live again when settled in the hands of the

pitcher. Nowadays the ball is dead until the umpire calls it live, and he won't do this until everybody is back in position. Consider a runner at first base, and the batter hits a line drive down the right field line. The runner can advance at full speed, secure in the knowledge that the ball isn't going to be caught, and if it is foul he can return to first at his leisure. A runner in 1857 lacked that leisure. If the right fielder could retrieve the ball quickly and throw it to the pitcher, the ball was once again live and the runner, if caught off his base, could be thrown out. So it was important that the umpire declare a foul ball promptly, without waiting to be asked.

The next non-appeal play was the called strike. This was enacted in response to a strategy some batters adopted of refusing to swing at a pitch when a man was on base, on the theory that a passed ball would inevitably occur eventually and the runner could then advance. This led to long and tedious games, so a rule building on the existing concept of a swinging strike was added in 1858 allowing the umpire to call a strike as well:

Should a striker stand at the bat without striking at good balls repeatedly pitched to him, for the purpose of delaying the game, or of giving advantage to a player, the umpire, after warning him, shall call one strike, and if he persists in such action, two, and three strikes. When three strikes called, he shall be subject to the same rules as if he had struck at the three balls.

The text of the rule does not explicitly state that the umpire can or should call strikes on his own initiative, but game accounts never mention strikes being called on appeal. It is likely that this was always understood as being a non-appeal play.

 The complement to the called strike is the called ball. The latter is, in retrospect, a logical necessary following from the former, but this was not recognized until the rules for 1864:

Should the pitcher repeatedly fail to deliver to the striker fair balls, for the apparent purpose of delaying the game, or for any other cause, the umpire, after warning him, shall call one ball, and if the pitcher persists in such action, two and three balls; when three balls shall have been called, the striker shall be entitled to the first base; and should any base be occupied at that time, each player occupying them shall be entitled to one base without being put out.

It is even clearer than in the case of called strikes that balls were called spontaneously by the umpire. This is clear because this caused problems when the batter swung at, or hit, such balls. This led to much discussion of exactly when the umpire was, or should be, calling balls:

Last season, it frequently happened that the umpire would call a ball, and almost at the same moment the batsman would strike at it. Now, in this case, either the umpire erred in his judgment of the

unfairness of the ball, or the batsman struck at a ball not within his reach, the result being a conflict in the interpretation of the rules, and dissatisfaction. New York Sunday Mercury March 24, 1867

That called strikes and balls were non-appeal plays was implied by the ideology behind them. Nowadays the duel between the pitcher and the batter is regarded and the centerpiece of the game. Balls and strikes are constraints in which this duel takes place. This doctrine arose gradually. The older doctrine was that the duel between the batter and the fielders, and that between the fielders and the base runners, were where the interest—and fun—lay. The pitcher's job was to deliver the ball where the batter could hit it, and the batter's job was to put it in play. Called strikes or balls were necessary when the pitcher or batter neglected his assigned role. They were a tool given to the umpire to recall the pitcher or batter to his duty. It was not originally expected that every, or even most, pitches (not swung at) would be called either a ball or a strike. This was done only when the umpire judged the player remiss. It was a paternalistic remonstrance, outside the scope of the players to appeal for. This is shown by a criticism of a game in which some players called for judgment in this situation:

[Athletics vs. Cincinnati 6/22/1870] Whatever disposition the umpire may have had to act impartially, he certainly had not strength of mind enough to carry out his intention, as whenever he was appealed to by Malone or McBride, and that was nearly at every ball, he called a "strike" upon the Cincinnati batsmen. This system of attempting to surprise, or bully an umpire into a decision, although frequently very successful, is directly contrary to the rules of the National Convention. He is the *sole judge* of fair or unfair balls, or whether a man has declined to strike at a fair ball, and if he does not voluntarily call either a "ball" or a "strike," the presumption is he is satisfied as to the fairness of the play. New York Sunday Dispatch June 26, 1870

The final possible non-appeal plays in the amateur era are a pitcher's illegal delivery, resulting in a balk, and a batter's illegal swing (such as while stepping away from his required spot). Balks were sometimes—perhaps most of the time—called on appeal:

Mr. Pidgeon was very nervous about Tom Van Cott's "peculiar" style of pitching, and frequently asked judgment on what he conceived to be baulks. New York Sunday Mercury August 14, 1859

Mills being now on the third base, detected a baulk on the part of the pitcher, asked judgment, and it being decided in his favor, went home. New York Sunday Mercury September 11, 1859

But there are also instances where it seems to have been called on the umpire's initiative:

[Athletics vs. Unions of Morrisania 6/14/1865] Frank [Pidgeon, umpire] called strikes when any evidences of "waiting" were shown, and called a "baulk" on each pitcher. That 6th rule wants enforcing a little and it will make the difference of an hour in a game. Brooklyn Daily Eagle June 15, 1865

129 ...if either foot of the pitcher be off the ground when this movement is made-it being nearly 130 simultaneous with the ball leaving the hand of the pitcher-umpires must declare a baulk without being 131 appealed to. Ball Players Chronicle July 18, 1867 132 133 The vast majority of plays were only called on appeal, usually by a player calling for "judgment!" This is early for the modern reader to overlook because it is only barely 134 reflected in the written rules. Nothing is easier than overlooking the single word that foul 135 balls must be called "unasked" or, should it be noted, to miss the implication that other 136 137 calls the umpire might make are only made if he is asked. This was an unstated 138 assumption: part of the air ball players breathed. Its ubiquity even resulted in an 139 amusing anecdote: 140 141 ...the time when Mat O'Brien while acting as umpire, asked for judgment on a play on the home base, 142 forgetting he was umpire. New York Sunday Mercury June 8, 1862 143 144 Just how commonplace were calls for judgment come through in game accounts, where 145 they are frequent and clearly considered normal. A tiny sampling includes: 146 147 [picked nines New York vs. Brooklyn 7/20/1858] Davis struck a fine ball, and made the second base 148 with a mighty close shave, the ball having been passed up so quickly to Holder that Davis hadn't the 149 twentieth part of a second to spare, and he only touched the base by sprawling on the ground. 150 Judgment was asked, and the umpire decided Davis "not out." New York Sunday Mercury July 25, 151 1858 152 153 Mills being now on the third base, detected a baulk on the part of the pitcher, asked judgment, and it 154 being decided in his favor, went home. New York Sunday Mercury September 11, 1859 155 156 [Excelsior vs. Atlantic 8/9/1860] [Whiting] then ran to the third, where Pierce threw the ball to Peter 157 [O'Brien] to head him off, but Whiting coming into contact with him, knocked the ball out of Peter's 158 hands, and Whiting was-on judgment being called-declared safe. New York Sunday Mercury August 159 12, 1860 160 161 [Eckford vs. Eureka of Newark, 9/13/1861] By accident, he [Northrup] raised his foot from the base 162 while the ball was yet in the hands of Grum, who, of course, immediately touched him, and demanded 163 judgment, which the umpire promptly pronounced in favor of the ball, and the second hand (Northup) 164 was declared out. New York Sunday Mercury September 15, 1861 165 166 A ball was hit so as to drop just in from of the home-base, and the striker thinking it foul, stayed on the 167 base rather than running for his first-base. The pitcher ran up, and, taking the ball, touched the striker, 168 and asked "judgment", the umpire declaring the striker out. New York Sunday Mercury May 20, 1866 169

[Mutual vs. Eckford 8/14/1868] The Umpire, Mr. Mills, was the choice of both clubs, his decisions in

contests this year winning for him the highest praise among ball-players. Although reluctantly serving

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in this position, and never giving cause for just complaint, he was badgered almost beyond endurance by the players for decisions on this or that point, and if "judgment" was asked once it was asked a hundred times. New York Sunday Dispatch August 16, 1868

This system seems backwards to the modern observer. The explanation for it comes out of the social circumstances of early organized baseball. The vast majority of games into the 1860s played by ball clubs were internal affairs. The members would meet, typically twice a week during the season, for the purpose of taking their exercise together in a congenial setting. Two sides would be chosen for that day, and two different sides the following meeting day. The ad hoc sides undoubtedly played to win, but the competitive stakes were low and social pressure to conform to standards of behavior were strong.

In any given play, the persons best positioned to judge what happened are the immediate participants: the second baseman, for example, and the runner from first are the most likely to know whether the runner was tagged or reached the ball safely. The players involved were expected to act on this knowledge on this knowledge: if they know the runner was out, the runner walks off the field; if they know he is safe, he take his place on the base with no demur from the baseman. Of course there are plays were the participants are in honest disagreement, and so from an early date one member of the club was assigned the office of umpire rather than playing in the game. If the players involved could not agree on the outcome of the play, they could appeal to the umpire. His role was to provide an impartial ruling. Actually getting the call right would be nice, but secondary. Any appeal to him would be on a close play, and he was unlikely to be well positioned to see it from his station in foul territory between home and first base. The point was to avoid unseemly and boyish arguments.

There was obvious potential for abuse. A player might call for judgment even when he knew the actual outcome of the play was against him. Rather than conceding a disadvantageous result, this would turn it into an even shot at getting a favorable call.

This doesn't seem to have been a problem in early internal club play. The stakes were low, and the risk was of acquiring a reputation among one's club mates as being ungentlemanly and boyish. This changed as match games between clubs became more common, gradually displacing internal play as the point of the club's existence. Winning became more important than social niceties. One's peers might admire as smart play what moralists would decry as trickery:

[Empire vs. Keystone 8/26/1865] Malone played well behind, though disabled with a sore hand. We have one thing to censure him for and that was his unfair appeal to the umpire on the foul ball off Martin's bat. Owing to the position of the players, the umpire was unable to see what was apparent to all around, that the catch was a second-bound one; and supposing the appeal all right and fair, he gave

the striker out. There is not the slightest difference between action like this, and that of saying that you have caught a ball or touched a man when you know to the contrary. It was a thoughtless act, no doubt, but we trust never again to see any player guilty of it. New York Clipper September 2, 1865

Appealing for judgment, too, when baseplayers know that they have not put the player out, is poor policy; and for this reason, that when umpires know that a player is up to this tricky, unfair dodge, they are very apt to doubt the fairness of all appeals made by such players, unless it is plainly apparent that the man was put out. New York Sunday Mercury January 10, 1869

We would say a few words by way advice... Give up that contemptible practice of wrangling with the umpire, and continually asking judgment on every play. ... The sooner you discontinue it, gentlemen, the better it will be, as it will eventually draw your club into great disfavor. Evening City Item May 19, 1871

There is also a particularly interesting case of the opposite, where a team was overly reluctant to call for judgment:

[Olympics vs. Pythians 9/3/1869] ...they allowed two Olympics to score, who neglected to touch the home-plate on running in, and they did not observe that another Olympic did not touch his base after a foul ball. Again—they did not call judgment on Mr. Lovett, whose pitching, more than half the time, was a swift under-hand throw. If judgment had been called, the umpire would have ruled him out, or compelled him to pitch regularly, with a straight arm. If these points had been noticed by the Pythians, and judgment called on them, the score must have been very close. An umpire cannot voluntarily interfere between two clubs, without being charged with partisanship; therefore, judgment should be demanded. Philadelphia City Item September 11, 1869

This was a historically important game: the first between a colored and a white club. The colored Pythians were reluctant to call judgment because this would imply disagreeing with a white man. That was the whole basis for calling for judgment: disagreement about what had happened. This worked poorly in a cultural milieu in which black men were trained not to dispute the opinions of white men.

The reasons for the shift to the modern system are not wholly clear, but it is reasonable to speculate that it was a response to an increasing tendency for players to routinely appeal plays. If they are going to be appealed anyway, the umpire might as well eliminate the middle step and make a ruling unasked.

It is not clear when this happened, but there is no evidence of it during the amateur era. Umpires attracted close attention. Newspapers routinely discussed the umpire's performance, and were not shy about criticizing them. Discussions of how umpires should act were commonplace, as were annual evaluations of their performance as a class. No where in these discussions is there any mention of umpires calling plays such as base running absent being appealed to. Nor were frivolous calls for judgment at all

257 inevitable, even late in the 1860s: 258 259 [Cincinnati vs. Eckford 6/17/1869] Mr. McMahon of the Mutuals acted as umpire. It may be well to 260 state here that, as there were no points raised, his duties were not at all difficult, and therefore general 261 satisfaction was given. New York Daily Tribune June 18, 1869 262 263 Throughout the amateur era the normal expectation was for the umpire to only offer a ruling when appealed to, except for a small set of plays demanding his ruling be 264 given unasked. 265