

# BLACK SOX SCANDAL



Vol. 8, No. 1, June 2016

## Research Committee Newsletter

### Leading off ...

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#### Chairman's Corner

**By Jacob Pomrenke**

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I spent a few nights this spring giving talks about the Black Sox Scandal, as a guest speaker for the [Road Scholar](#) program hosted by Northern Arizona University. The audience was made up of casual baseball fans who were visiting Phoenix, with usually about half the people in the room having read or seen *Eight Men Out*.

With few exceptions, folks in the crowd were surprised to learn that anyone was still researching the scandal — or that anything new had been discovered recently.

It was fun to tell them how the Baseball Hall of Fame's contract cards have shed new light on the White Sox players' salaries, how the Chicago History Museum's "treasure trove" of

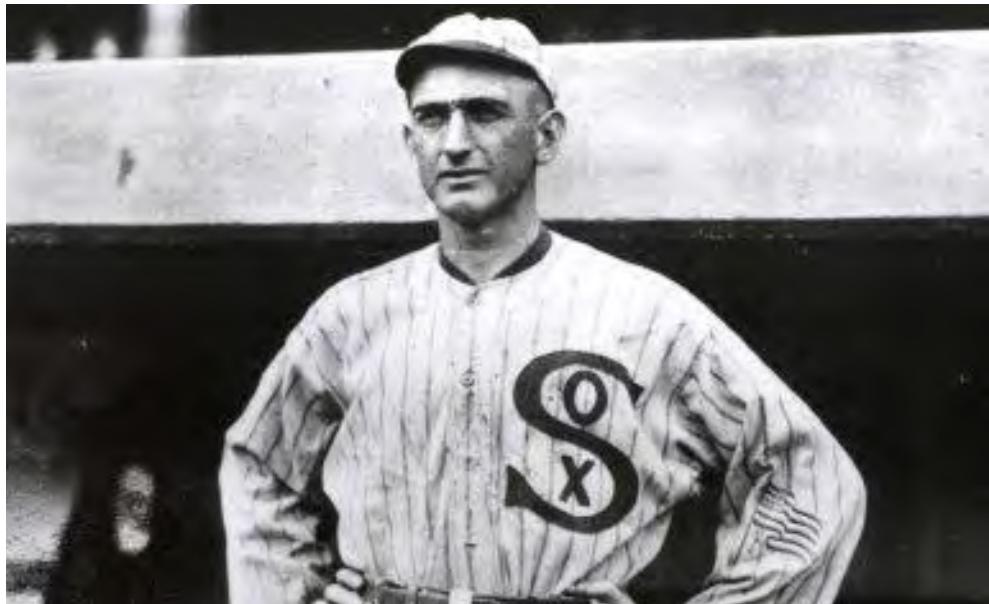


Photo: National Baseball Hall of Fame Library

## Stuck in the middle (name) of a Joe Jackson question

Jefferson, Wofford, or Walker: Which is correct?

**By Jacob Pomrenke**

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Back in December, SABR's Biographical Research Committee released its [bi-monthly newsletter](#), which includes a list of all changes made to players' vital stats. Through the diligence of many researchers digging for new information, updates or corrections are made for dates of birth and death, burial information, or — in rare cases — name changes.

One name on the December list in particular caught my eye:

OLD NAME: Joseph Jefferson Jackson  
NEW NAME: Joseph Walker Jackson  
SOURCES: *Washington Herald*, death certificate, headstone

That is Shoeless Joe Jackson ... with his middle name officially changed from *Jefferson* to *Walker*. This was

certainly news to me!

Committee member Bill Lamb brought the change to my attention, and we both wondered where this new piece of information had come from. It wasn't long before we found out.

SABR member Jimmy Keenan, a frequent contributor to the SABR BioProject and other publications, sent me an e-mail to explain his findings:

Previously listed as Jefferson I found the following information stating that Joe Jackson's middle name is actually Walker.

1. Joe Jackson's own words in a newspaper interview stating that his middle name is Walker. *Washington Herald*, August 11, 1912, p. 26.

2. Joe Jackson's grave marker

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## ► CHAIRMAN

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documents has enhanced our understanding of the legal proceedings, and the story of how the Pathé newsreel footage from the 1919 World Series was found buried in the Canadian Yukon and [recently made available on YouTube](#). They all get a laugh out of that last one.

For those of us who have been studying the Black Sox story for a while, who have been immersed in all the exciting new insights of the past decade, it's a good reminder of just how prevalent the old myths still are to most baseball fans. The traditional tale of underpaid players who were disgruntled at their poor treatment by team management and seduced by big-city gamblers still has a hold on people. We know now, of course, it was a lot more complicated than that.

But that's also why it's important to continue learning as much as we can about the scandal, to ask more questions — and to remain skeptical of what we think we know, no matter how big or small the facts may seem.

The lead story in this newsletter, questioning the accuracy of Shoeless Joe Jackson's given name in modern baseball reference sources, is an example of that kind of healthy skepticism. Jimmy Keenan's admirable effort to dig up more documentation on Jackson, including an extensive 1912 interview in the *Washington Herald*, not only forces us to take a closer look at the origins behind his middle name, it also sheds light on the rest of his early life and family history.

The researchers who Jimmy contacted last winter haven't come to a consensus about his findings yet, so I'll be interested to hear from other committee members who might have a different interpretation of his research.

Whether we can come to a consensus on Shoeless Joe's middle name — Jefferson, Wofford, Walker, or some combination of the three — remains to be seen. Jimmy seems convinced that Walker is correct, and he makes a compelling case for it, but I don't trust the reliability of a century-old newspaper report as much as he does. Mike Nola has suggested that the truth may never be known for sure, based on the lack of an official birth certificate and the loss of the Jackson family Bible.

But perhaps there's more evidence to be found. Maybe another Jackson interview will surface in which he clears up the mystery ... or just adds to the confusion. Either way, it's definitely worth finding. Every little piece of the puzzle helps better our understanding of the Black Sox Scandal and the people involved.

And as we've learned over the past decade, we never know where those pieces could lead.

**For more information about SABR's Black Sox Scandal Research Committee, contact chairman Jacob Pomrenke at [buckweaver@gmail.com](mailto:buckweaver@gmail.com).**

## Download your free copy of *Scandal on the South Side*

*Scandal on the South Side: The 1919 Chicago White Sox*, edited by Jacob Pomrenke, with associate editors Rick Huhn, Bill Nowlin, and Len Levin, is [now available from the SABR Digital Library](#).

*Scandal on the South Side* is the first comprehensive book focused on the star-studded, dissension-riddled team that won the 1919 American League pennant and then threw the World Series — with full-life biographies of every player and official involved with that fateful team.

This book isn't a rewriting of *Eight Men Out*, but it is the complete story of everyone associated with the 1919 Chicago White Sox.

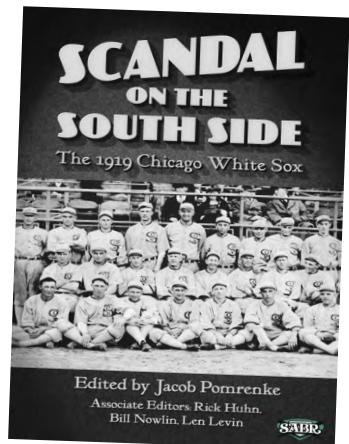
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**Read the bios online:** All biographies from the book can also be read online at the SABR BioProject. Visit [SABR.org/category/completed-book-projects/1919-chicago-white-sox](http://SABR.org/category/completed-book-projects/1919-chicago-white-sox) to find them all.



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# Stormy encore: The 1920 Cincinnati Reds

By Norm King

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Perhaps no defending champion ever had to contend with more controversy not of their making than the 1920 Cincinnati Reds. After reaching the height of success by winning the 1919 World Series, they spent the next season fighting in a tight pennant race, only to have the bottom fall out in September. Not only that, but the eruption of the Black Sox Scandal put a stain on the legitimacy of the Reds' title that taints their victory to this day.

## FURTHER READING

Click the link below to read Bruce Allardice's article in the new *SABR Baseball Research Journal* examining how the 1920 White Sox threw games during the American League pennant race:

['Playing Rotten, It Ain't That Hard To Do'](#)

The new pitching rule had an impact on two of the Reds' most important starters, Hod Eller and Slim Sallee, both of whom were forced to stop using their best pitch.

Eller went 19-9 in 1919 with a 2.39 ERA and 16 complete games in his third major-league season; he also won two games in the World Series.<sup>2</sup> Eller's success was due in no small part to his shineball. The pitch was made possible because in those days, the same ball was used in a game as long as possible, no matter how dirty it became. A pitcher rubbed the filthy ball on his pant leg to smooth out a spot, allowing for a better grip and a bigger break on the curveball.

Sallee had a career year at age 34 in 1919, his 13th major league season, going 21-7 — the first and only 20-win season of his career — with a 2.06 ERA and 22 complete games. Sallee used rosin to help him grip the ball, a tactic rendered illegal by the new pitching rule.

Cincinnati faced a number of questions as the 1920 season opened. With seven of the eight starting position players and all five of their starting pitchers returning, the Reds were still considered good enough by some to repeat as National League champions. "From their spring training camp showing, one wouldn't pick the Cincinnati Reds to win the

The 1920 season unfolded amidst a whirlwind of change, both in baseball and American society at large. Prohibition was now the law of the land. The political landscape was changing, as women were eligible to vote in a presidential election for the first time. In baseball, the New York Yankees had a new player in their lineup, Babe Ruth, who was about to change the game irrevocably. Also, a new rule was incorporated that made it illegal for a pitcher to apply a foreign substance or doctor the ball.<sup>1</sup>



**Fresh off an unlikely World Series championship, the 1920 Cincinnati Reds — led by, from left, infielders Jake Daubert, Morrie Rath, Larry Kopf, and Heinie Groh — were in first place in September before a late collapse.** (SDN-061862, Chicago Daily News negatives collection, Chicago History Museum)

National League pennant this year," *The Sporting News* wrote. "Still, they're the best bet in the National League race."<sup>3</sup>

The Reds looked like world beaters on Opening Day in Cincinnati, as they defeated Grover Cleveland Alexander and the Chicago Cubs, 7-3. Center fielder Edd Roush, the NL's leading hitter in 1919, set the tone with a three-run home run off Alexander in the bottom of the first inning. Dutch Ruether went the distance for the Reds.

Eller was proving to be inconsistent without his shineball. In a 3-0 loss to Brooklyn on May 21, he was going along fine until the fifth inning. "Hod Eller, spitterles (sic.) hurler of the Moranmen<sup>4</sup> worked against (Leon) Cadore and lasted four innings without being as much as touched up. The Dodgers got their war clubs in action in the fifth, and by bunching hits pushed three earned tallies across."<sup>5</sup>

After a loss to St. Louis in Eller's next start dropped his record to 3-4 and inflated his ERA to 4.10, Moran sat him down for a month, except for an exhibition game against a minor-league team in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on June 7 and another against the New Haven Weissmen of the Eastern League on June 20. "Manager Moran has been giving Hod Eller a rest, believing that the hurler is not yet in condition," the *Portsmouth Daily Times* wrote on June 4.<sup>6</sup>

Sallee wasn't showing the form of a 21-game winner,

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## ► ENCORE

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either. He didn't make his first start until May 2 (a 3-0 loss against the Pirates) and was 2-3 with a 3.48 ERA on June 11, when he became the first pitcher ejected from a game for doctoring a ball under the new rule. He was suspended for 10 games.

Sallee's decision to break the rule might have been prompted by a meeting he and Eller had with National League president John Heydler the day before, in which they protested about how the new rule was affecting their ability to make a living. "I am forbidden to use my very best skill to earn a living," Eller later said. "Without the shine ball, I am of no use to the Cincinnati team."<sup>7</sup>

Sallee wasn't the only Red who received an unscheduled vacation that month. Roush was suspended indefinitely for his shenanigans during a June 8 game against the Giants. The incident started when New York's George Burns hit a line drive over third base that was ruled fair in the eighth inning of a tie game. The Reds protested the umpire's call, and Roush went so far as to toss his cap and glove and lie down on the outfield grass.<sup>8</sup>

"The facts of the case were, there was a pow-wow over a rotten decision, so I thought I might as well as well get a little rest and lay down on the grass in the outfield," Roush said. "I didn't get up quite soon enough to please the umpire, so he put me out of the game and I drew an indefinite suspension on the grounds that I was trying to burlesque the game."<sup>9</sup> (Roush missed three games.)

Speaking of burlesque, catcher Ivey Wingo was also fined \$50 for removing and throwing his mask and chest protector during the rhubarb.

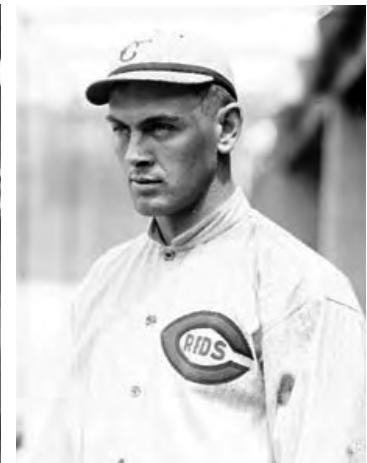
Neither Roush's suspension nor the decline of Eller and Sallee prevented the Reds from staying in the race for the National League pennant. After defeating the Boston Braves on September 1, Cincinnati (68-53) took over first place by two percentage points over the Brooklyn Robins (70-55).

But the wheels of the Reds' season had already begun teetering in August. Their 15-14 record was their poorest showing for any month of the season to that point. Their pitching, which had kept them in the race, showed signs of cracking. Dutch Ruether — who was leading the league with a 1.94 ERA at the end of July — lost all three of his decisions in August, while Jimmy Ring went 2-4 with one save. Eller also went 2-4, while Sallee lost his only decision before the Reds released the 35-year-old left-hander on August 31.

Those same wheels launched off the rails starting on September 9, when the Reds began a disastrous 4-13 eastern road trip. While the Cincinnati players were packing their



**Slim Sallee**



**Hod Eller**

bags, the Robins began a streak of 13 wins in 14 games that dropped the Reds into third place. They never recovered from the five-city trip and were officially eliminated from the race on September 22. The Reds finished third at 82-71, 10½ games behind Brooklyn.

Why did the Reds collapse? The pitching that had showed signs of fraying in August continued to deteriorate, as Ruether went 0-2 and Ring went 2-2. Eller won just three of his seven starts.

To some, the Reds' doom was sealed even before their road disaster: "If the world's champions Cincinnati Reds fail to win the pennant this year, they will lay it on the fact that Billy [sic] Kopf and Morrie Rath were out of the game through injuries and that Hod Eller was handicapped by pitching rules, but the truth of the case is that they lost it because they refused to admit that there were other good baseball clubs in the circuit," wrote H.C. Hamilton on September 8. "They were too confident of their power."<sup>10</sup>

Roush had another explanation for the Reds' failure to repeat. "The new pitching rules have hurt us more than any other club on the circuit," he said in *Baseball Magazine*. "If it hadn't been for those rules, I am convinced we would be so far ahead now that there would be no race. But the new rules haven't been our only handicap. The umpires have been on our backs and deprived us of some games that hurt."<sup>11</sup>

One can only speculate whether revelations about the Black Sox Scandal might have affected the Reds' players. The Cook County grand jury deliberations were widely reported throughout the month of September 1920, as it became increasingly evident that gamblers and White Sox players had conspired to throw the 1919 World Series. However, the testimony only confirmed rumors that had been swirling for months, so it is doubtful that anyone on the Cincinnati team was caught by surprise. Besides, Reds players always insisted they would have defeated the White Sox anyway.

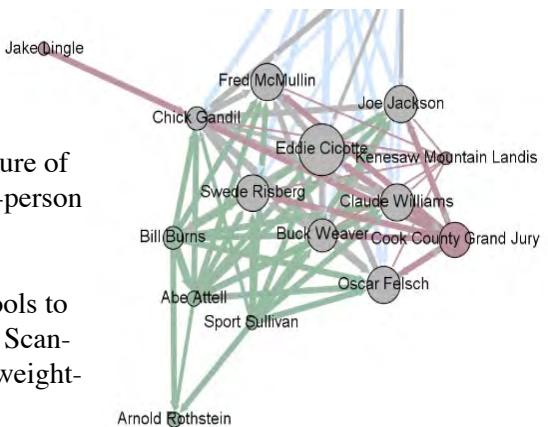
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# Visualizing relationships between Black Sox participants

“Mapping Biases in Baseball Tales: The Black Sox Scandal” by Sarah Hackney, a graduate student at the Pratt Institute in New York, offers a novel approach to studying the 1919 World Series. Using a tool called network visualizations, which “highlights potential bias in narratives and citation networks that prioritize the use of a single definitive source,” a picture of player involvement in the scandal is depicted based on Chick Gandil’s first-person 1956 account in *Sports Illustrated*.

The full paper can be viewed at [ideals.illinois.edu/handle/2142/89357](https://ideals.illinois.edu/handle/2142/89357).

As Hackney writes, “The next step of this project is to use these same tools to evaluate the network of research that has taken place around the Black Sox Scandal, to determine whether the culpabilities and accepted series of events is weighted or distorted by *Eight Men Out*.<sup>12</sup>”



## ► ENCORE

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Roush, for his part, tried to explain away the White Sox’s poor play in a 1920 interview with *Baseball Magazine*, tellingly headlined “Why World’s Series Games are Often Ragged”:

“But what the public doesn’t see or doesn’t allow for is the tremendous nervous tension under which a player works during these particular [World Series] games,” Roush said. “It is this effort to rise to the occasion when his nerves have been unstrung by the burdens of his position, which makes many a player fall down in a World’s Series.”<sup>12</sup>

In a bit of irony, Chicago’s Great Northern Hotel hosted a dinner on October 13, 1920, to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the first “world” baseball championship held in 1870. The championship was a two-games-out-of-three affair, with the Chicago White Stockings defeating the Cincinnati Red Stockings in two straight. Presumably, the banquet was a success, with a good — and dry — time had by all.

## Sources

- ♦ *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*
- ♦ *Pittsburgh Press*
- ♦ Faber, Charles F., and Webb, Zachariah, *The Hunt for a Reds October: Cincinnati in 1990* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2015)
- ♦ Rice, Stephen V. “[Hod Eller](#),” SABR BioProject

- ♦ Sallee, Paul and Eric. “[Slim Sallee](#),” SABR BioProject

## Notes

1. After doctored pitches were banned in 1920, each team was allowed to select up to two pitchers who would be allowed to continue throwing the spitball. The Reds’ only selection was right-hander Ray Fisher. However, pitchers were forbidden from using any foreign substances, including emory boards, sandpaper, or other abrasive materials. Eller’s shineball and Sallee’s rosin ball were now illegal.
2. According to a story repeatedly told by Edd Roush, his teammate Hod Eller was allegedly bribed by gamblers to throw Game Eight. Manager Pat Moran confronted Eller in the clubhouse and Eller said he had run off the gamblers. Moran allowed Eller to make his start and the Reds won 10-5 to clinch the World Series.
3. “National League Fans May Expect to See Cincinnati Make Poor Start,” *The Sporting News*, April 15, 1920, 3.
4. The nickname “Moranmen” was in reference to Reds manager Pat Moran.
5. “Cadore Not Thru; Blanks Reds,” *Lima (Ohio) Daily News and Times-Democrat*, May 22, 1920, 3.
6. “Hod Eller Getting Rest,” *Portsmouth (Ohio) Daily Times*, June 4, 1920, 19.
7. *Ironwood (Michigan) Daily Globe*, June 24, 1920.
8. “Bad Start For Reds in East,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, June 9, 1920, 12.
9. “Why World’s Series Games are Often Ragged,” *Baseball Magazine*, November 1920.
10. H.C. Hamilton, “Overconfidence Has Hindered Champion Reds in Pennant Race,” *Olean (New York) Evening Times*, September 8, 1920, 19.
11. “Why World’s Series Games Are Often Ragged,” *Baseball Magazine*.
12. Ibid.

## AFTER THE FALL: THE POST-BLACK SOX SCANDAL INTERVIEWS

**By Jacob Pomrenke**

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Earlier this spring, my article “[No ‘Solid Front of Silence’: The Forgotten Black Sox Scandal Interviews](#)” was published in the *Baseball Research Journal*. As I wrote there:

Ever since the Black Sox were banned, finger-wagging sportswriters have perpetuated the idea that the players disappeared from the public eye and lived out the rest of their lives with their heads hung in shame. ... However, more than 20 White Sox and Reds players [who participated in the 1919 World Series] spoke on the record about the scandal afterward, in at least 85 separate interviews.

Like many common myths about the scandal, the idea that the Big Fix was too shameful or too dangerous for anyone to talk about doesn’t seem to hold up to scrutiny.

On the following pages is a list of those interviews, which I’ve compiled with the help of dozens of books and articles — often written by members of this committee — that have cited them or made them easier to find. This list *only* includes interviews in which a player specifically talked about the 1919 World Series.

A list like this wouldn’t be possible without the help of digital newspaper archives, which makes it much easier to find articles that were previously lost to obscurity. If you wish to view this list as a sortable spreadsheet, which includes my notes and details on each interview, [click here to access the Google doc](#).

This is by no means a comprehensive list. More interviews with White Sox and Reds players who participated in the 1919 World Series almost certainly are waiting to be discovered in the future. Many daily newspapers from Chicago and Cincinnati, let alone all the other places these players lived and worked, haven’t been digitized yet.

If you have updates or additions to the list, please let me know at [buckweaver@gmail.com](mailto:buckweaver@gmail.com).

Date	Interviewee	Team	Reporter	Wire	Publication	Page	Headline
1919-12-13	Schalk, Ray	Sox	Klein, Frank O.		Collyer's Eye	1	Catcher Ray Schalk in Huge White Sox Expose
1919-12-xx	Cicotte, Eddie	Black Sox	Bradford, Harry		Detroit?		n/a
1920-09-29	Jackson, Joe	Black Sox			Chicago Tribune	2	Two Sox Confess; Eight Indicted; Inquiry Goes On
1920-09-29	Felsch, Happy	Black Sox	Reutlinger, Harry		Chicago Evening American		I Got Mine — \$5,000 — Felsch
1920-10-30	Collins, Eddie	Sox	Klein, Frank O.		Collyer's Eye		Collins Charges 1920 Games 'Fixed'
1921-09-09	Cicotte, Eddie	Black Sox	Walker, Bert		Detroit Times		Cicotte Says He Will Now Return to Farm and Remain There Among Chickens and Hens
1922-01-14	Weaver, Buck	Black Sox			New York Times		Buck Weaver Asks For Reinstatement
1922-05-12	Weaver, Buck	Black Sox	Kilgallen, James L.	INS	Lincoln (NE) Star	19	Weaver Squawks on Diamond Stars
1922-07-01	Weaver/Risberg	Black Sox			Duluth (MN) News-Tribune		Weaver, Risberg Have Laugh on Newark 'Doubles'

Date	Interviewee	Team	Reporter	Wire	Publication	Page	Headline
1922-07-22	Jackson, Joe	Black Sox	Farrell, Henry L.	UPI	Franklin (PA) News-Herald	3	Shoeless Joe' Defends Record in 1919 Series
1927-01-10	Risberg, Swede	Black Sox		AP	Augusta (GA) Chronicle		'Conspiracy' Angle is Considered in Risberg Scandal
1927-01-19	Collins, Eddie	Sox		NANA	Los Angeles Times	B2	Twenty One Years of Baseball
1927-03-13	Weaver, Buck	Black Sox			Chicago Tribune	A1	Landis Wrecks Weaver's Hope of Playing Ball
1927-03-24	Weaver, Buck	Black Sox			Chicago Tribune	17	Buck Weaver to Play Ball in Chicago
1927-04-05	Weaver, Buck	Black Sox			Chicago Tribune	21	Semi-Pros Put O.K. Mark on Buck Weaver
1927-04-07	Jackson, Joe	Black Sox	Grayson, Harry	NEA	Santa Ana (CA) Register	17	Shoeless Joe' Jackson Star in Valet Loop Now
1929-01-13	Comiskey, Charles	Sox			Cleveland Plain Dealer		Comiskey Tells His Story of Black Sox and Feud With Ban
1929-04-03	Collins, Eddie	Sox	Farrell, Henry L.	NEA	Jefferson City (MO) Post-Tribune	6	Hooks and Slides
1930-05-30	Weaver, Buck	Black Sox	Braucher, William	NEA	Madison (WI) Capital Times	16	Hooks and Slides
1931-05-23	Risberg, Swede	Black Sox			Sioux Falls (SD) Argus-Leader		Risberg's Silence Costs Him Fortune; Landis Locks Door; It's Too Late Now
1932-03-09	Jackson, Joe	Black Sox	Braucher, William	NEA	Blytheville (AR) Courier News	6	Shoeless' Joe Takes Time For Reminiscence
1933-07-24	Jackson, Joe	Black Sox	Walsh, Davis J.	INS	San Diego Evening Tribune	1	Exposure of Aged Ball Scandal Threatened
1933-12-19	Jackson, Joe	Black Sox		AP	Florence (SC) Morning News	6	Jackson Applies for Readmission to Pro Baseball
1934-01-16	Risberg, Swede	Black Sox		INS	Lincoln (NE) Star	8	Diamond Outlaw Asks Baseball Heads to Lift Life-time Suspension
1934-01-30	Felsch, Happy	Black Sox	Levy, Sam		Milwaukee Journal		n/a
1937-02-25	Kerr, Dickey	Sox	Bloom, David		Memphis Commercial-Appeal		Dick Kerr, Breaking 17-Year Silence, Tells of '19 Series
1937-03-02	Roush, Edd	Reds	Daniel, Dan		New York World-Telegram		n/a

Date	Interviewee	Team	Reporter	Wire	Publication	Page	Headline
1937-03-03	Roush, Edd	Reds		AP	Hamilton (OH) Journal-News	14	Edd Roush Tells Yankee Rookies of Plot to Buy Out Reds During 1919 World's Series With Chisox
1937-03-10	Jackson, Joe	Black Sox	McCann, Richard	NEA	Blytheville (AR) Courier News	6	Baseball Still is 'First Love' of Joe Jackson
1938-04-30	Collins, Eddie	Sox	Lardner, John		Saturday Evening Post	14	Remember the Black Sox?
1938-07-28	Schalk, Ray	Sox	Grayson, Harry	NEA	Santa Ana (CA) Register	6	The Payoff
1939-10-03	Jackson, Joe	Black Sox		INS	Wilkes-Barre (PA) Evening News		Jackson Picks Yanks to Defeat Cincinnati
1940-11-28	Schalk, Ray	Sox	Burns, Ed		The Sporting News	10	Unforgettable Memory Left With Schalk by Tears of Black Sox When Told by Comiskey of Banishment
1940-12-27	Neale, Greasy	Reds	Lardner, John	NANA	Cumberland (TN) News	19	Pious Greasy Neale Often Answers His Own Prayers
1941-04-11	Jackson, Joe	Black Sox	Povich, Shirley		Washington Post	22	'Say It Ain't So, Joe'
1941-08-22	Risberg, Swede	Black Sox	Dunbar, Lee		Oakland (CA) Tribune	36	The Bull Pen
1942-09-24	Jackson, Joe	Black Sox	Latimer, Scoop		The Sporting News	1	Joe Jackson, Contented Carolinan at 54, Forgets Bitter Dose in His Cup and Glories in His 12 Hits in '19 Series
1943-04-24	Shellenback, Frank	Sox	Grayson, Harry	NEA	Olean (NY) Times-Herald	6	Black Sox Expunged From Records, But How They Could Play The Game
1943-07-10	Collins, Eddie	Sox	Williams, Joe		NY World-Telegram		n/a
1944-04-13	Sallee, Slim	Reds			The Sporting News	9	What's Become of Sallee? Slim's Still Tossing
1944-11-23	Neale, Greasy	Reds	Smith, Red		The Sporting News	17	Greasy Proves He's Still Grid Slicker
1945-03-26	Neale, Greasy	Reds	Rice, Grantland	NANA	Nebraska State Journal	5	Sportlight
1947-01-10	Faber, Red	Sox	Sainsbury, Ed	UPI	Rockford (IL) Register-Republic	20	Faber Recalls How Gamblers Were Ruination of White Sox
1947-08-02	Weaver, Buck	Black Sox	Brickhouse, Jack		WGN Radio		n/a
1949-01-01	Collins, Eddie	Sox	Meany, Tom		Baseball's Greatest Teams		n/a

Date	Interviewee	Team	Reporter	Wire	Publication	Page	Headline
1949-06-25	Kerr, Dickey	Sox	Williams, Joe		NY World-Telegram		Dickie Kerr Discusses the Black Sox
1949-10-01	Jackson, Joe	Black Sox	Bisher, Furman		Sport Magazine		This is the Truth!
1950-02-20	Kerr, Dickey	Sox		NEA	Delaware County (PA) Daily Times	16	Kerr: My Biggest Boner
1950-11-01	Collins, Eddie	Sox	Leonard, Jim		The Sporting News	13	From Sullivan to Collins
1951-06-xx	Jackson, Joe	Black Sox	Carmichael, John		Sport Magazine		The Chicago White Sox
1952-06-10	Ruether, Dutch	Reds	Wilson, Earl		Uniontown (PA) Morning Herald	4	It Happened Last Night
1953-07-25	Cicotte, Eddie	Black Sox	Lewis, Dave		Long Beach (CA) Independent	11	Once Over Lightly
1953-12-28	Weaver, Buck	Black Sox	Mabley, Jack		Chicago Daily News		Buck Weaver Still Hoping to Clear Name in Baseball
1954-10-01	Weaver, Buck	Black Sox	Farrell, James T.		My Baseball Diary		Buck Weaver's Last Interview
1955-06-21	Schalk, Ray	Sox	Roeder, Bill		NY World-Telegram and Sun		n/a
1956-09-14	E. Cicotte/ H. Felsch	Black Sox			Chicago Tribune	1	'Black Sox' Blast Gandil 'Confession'
1956-09-17	Gandil, Chick	Black Sox	Durslag, Melvin		Sports Illustrated		This Is My Story of the Black Sox Series
1956-09-25	Felsch, Happy	Black Sox	Pegler, Westbrook	King	Butte (MT) Standard	10	Onus of Bad Series Finally Made Happy Felsch Sell His Business
1956-09-26	Risberg, Swede	Black Sox	Pegler, Westbrook	King	Butte (MT) Standard	11	Swede Risberg Prospers But He Also Suffered; Son a Prospect
1956-09-28	Cicotte, Eddie	Black Sox	Pegler, Westbrook	King	Kansas City Star	34	Control, a Little Riser, Were Cicotte's Secrets
1959-09-13	Murphy, Eddie	Sox	Feldman, Chic		The (PA) Scrantonian		n/a
1959-10-04	Kerr, Dickey	Sox	Considine, Bob	Hearst	Omaha (NE) World-Herald	6F	Black Sox of 1919— It Couldn't Happen Now
1961-xx-xx	Faber, Red	Sox	Asinof, Eliot		Eight Men Out		n/a
1961-xx-xx	Felsch, Happy	Black Sox	Asinof, Eliot		Eight Men Out		n/a
1961-09-17	Ruether, Dutch	Reds		UPI	Pasadena (CA) Star-News	A3	Red-Hot Dutch Recalls a Very 'Black' Series
1961-10-07	Neale, Greasy	Reds	Grayson, Harry	NEA	Ogden (UT) Standard-Examiner	6	Neale Says Black Sox Series Wasn't Fixed

Date	Interviewee	Team	Reporter	Wire	Publication	Page	Headline
1962-01-24	Neale, Greasy	Reds	Smith, Red	NYHT	Warren County (PA) Observer	26	Views of Sport
1962-05-13	Jenkins, Joe	Sox	Meehan, Tom		Fresno (CA) Bee	19-5	Hanford's Jenkins, Black Sox Innocent, Talks of One Big Smirch On Baseball
1962-06-17	Roush, Edd	Reds	McHugh, Roy		Evansville (IN) Courier and Press	C2	Black Sox Gave It Their All After First Game: Roush
1963-05-18	Kerr, Dickey	Sox	Coppage, Joe		The Sporting News	19	Kerr Won Fame as Honest Hero of Black Sox
1964-02-05	Schalk, Ray	Sox		AP	Washington Post	D2	Faber Might Have Saved Black Sox
1964-04-19	Roush, Edd	Reds	Schrader, Bill		Evansville (IN) Courier and Press	C6	Baseball Was Warmup For Roush's Career
1965-04-04	Roush, Edd	Reds	Chamblin, Tony		Evansville (IN) Courier and Press	C2	Roush Hits Game
1965-12-04	Cicotte, Eddie	Black Sox	Falls, Joe		Detroit Free Press		Eddie Cicotte – at 81, He's Proud of Life He's Led; Family is, Too
1966-xx-xx	R. Bressler/H. Groh/E. Roush	Reds	Ritter, Lawrence		The Glory of Their Times		n/a
1969-05-09	Schalk, Ray	Sox	Prell, Edward		Chicago Tribune	C2	Cicotte Had Great Stuff – Schalk
1969-07-12	Roush, Edd	Reds	Berkow, Ira	NEA	Burlington (NC) Times-News	3B	Old-Timer Edd Roush, Now 76, Was The Original Major League Holdout
1969-08-10	Schalk, Ray	Sox		AP	The Oregonian	7	Black Sox Scandal Skeleton Still Rattles
1969-08-13	Gandil, Chick	Black Sox	Chapin, Dwight		Los Angeles Times	D1	The Black Sox Scandal: Torn Lives—50 Years Later
1970-09-xx	Schalk, Ray	Sox	Kuenster, John		Baseball Digest		Warm Up Tosses
1974-06-16	Roush, Edd	Reds	Hunter, Bob		Hamilton (OH) Journal-News	C3	From the Grandstand
1974-07-02	Roush, Edd	Reds	Johnson, Rick		(Indianapolis) Star Magazine		n/a
1974-08-11	Roush, Edd	Reds	Hunter, Bob		Hamilton (OH) Journal-News	C5	Edd Roush Recalls the 'Good Old Days' of Baseball
1976-09-12	Roush, Edd	Reds	Chappars, Pete		Hamilton (OH) Journal-News	C5	Baseball Joke to Roush at Age 83
1980-xx-xx	R. Fisher/ E. Roush	Reds	Hunter, Bob		Columbus (OH) Dispatch		n/a
1984-10-07	*Kerr, Dickey	Sox	Robinson, Ray		New York Times	S2	No Glory in Winning What Others Lost
1987-05-19	Roush, Edd	Reds	Koch, Bill		Cincinnati Post		n/a

# Lena Horne's Black Sox Scandal connection

By Jacob Pomrenke

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You might be surprised to learn that one of the first great African-American actresses to achieve mainstream success in Hollywood has a connection to the Black Sox Scandal.

Before Lena Horne joined the dance chorus at Harlem's famed Cotton Club, before she was signed to a contract by the MGM film studio, and before she achieved international fame for singing "Stormy Weather" and other hits, she grew up in Brooklyn as the daughter of Edwin "Teddy" Horne, who was a Tammany Hall operative during the 1910s and early '20s.

When he wasn't working his day job at the New York State Labor Commission, Teddy Horne was running numbers for the mob boss Dutch Schultz. According to Lena's daughter, Gail Lumet Buckley, author of the memoir *The Hornes: An American Family*:

From playing "7½" with toothpicks in 1910 to big games with big boys in 1919 was easy as pie with the Tammany connection. Teddy's new best friend was Bub Hewlett, Dutch Schultz's right-hand protection man in Harlem. Hewlett's middle-class family had no idea that he was in the rackets, but Brooklyn began whispering, in 1919 and 1920, that Teddy Horne was "up to something" in numbers and gambling. They also whispered that he "knew something" about the Black Sox baseball scandal,



Actress/singer Lena Horne with her father, Teddy. (Arogundade.com)

and that he had made a "killing." Teddy Horne may or may not have been in on the fix, but Brooklyn always believed that he was.

While this story may be impossible to verify, it pops up over and over again in Lena Horne's family history. I first learned of it (thanks to a tip from Mark Armour) while listening to one of my favorite podcasts, "[You Must Remember This](#)," by Karina Longworth, on the Golden Age of Hollywood.

What's interesting to me is that there are many stories about people who *lost* money betting on the 1919 World Series, but very few about

anyone who claims to have won big, outside of the known gamblers involved in the fix. But the New York underworld was a small world, indeed, and Dutch Schultz had connections to Arnold Rothstein through their mutual associate, Meyer Lansky. All would become heavy hitters in the bootlegging scene during Prohibition.

By then, Teddy Horne was long gone, having deserted his family in New York to set up a new life in Seattle. But he returned east a few years later and settled in Pittsburgh. Lena Horne came to live with her father when she was 18 and she enjoyed socializing with visiting jazz musicians like Duke Ellington and Count Basie at the Belmont Hotel, which Teddy co-owned with one of black baseball's most colorful and controversial figures, the founder of the Negro Leagues' Pittsburgh Crawfords, Gus Greenlee.

SABR member and artist **Sean Kane** has recently completed a unique piece of Shoeless Joe Jackson "baseball glove art" for The National Pastime Museum's collection.

Kane, whose artwork has been exhibited at the Negro Leagues Baseball Museum and the Bergino Baseball Clubhouse, uses acrylic paints on vintage baseball gloves to create these one-of-a-kind collectors' items.

To view more of his artwork, or to learn more, visit [seankanebaseballart.com](http://seankanebaseballart.com) or follow him on Twitter @PaintedGloves.



# Shufflin' Phil and the post-Black Sox climate

By Willie Steele

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In December 2015, Major League Baseball commissioner Rob Manfred denied Pete Rose's reinstatement into the game, preventing the all-time hits leader from working in professional baseball and continuing to prevent him from being eligible for induction into the Baseball Hall of Fame.

Manfred's decision caused many fans to debate whether Rose should have been given another chance in the game and the opportunity to be voted into the Hall. It also caused some writers to reconsider the cases of the original eight players from the 1919 Chicago White Sox, all of whom were declared permanently ineligible by the game's first commissioner, Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, in 1921.

For most fans today, Pete Rose and the Black Sox are the only banned players to generate any level of discussion and analysis.

While the White Sox players were perhaps the most recognizable players and certainly the most high-profile players Landis banned, they account for fewer than half of the 18 total players he banned during his tenure.

Of these other 10, five were declared ineligible for either conspiring to throw games or for having associated with known gamblers. One, however, was banned for life for circumstances that were, at best, suspect and, at worst, criminal.

During the 1921 World Series, Phil Douglas of the New York Giants started three games, winning two, highlighted by his four strikeouts of Babe Ruth. A native of Tracy City, Tennessee, Douglas broke in with the Chicago White Sox in 1912 and spent the following season in the minor leagues before playing for the Cincinnati Reds from 1914-15, the Brooklyn Robins in 1915, the Chicago Cubs from 1915-1919, and the Giants from 1919-22.

Having proven himself as a solid pitcher with the Cubs, by the time he was traded to the Giants late in the 1919 season, he also had earned a reputation as a heavy drinker. On days when he was not pitching, Douglas would often leave the team to indulge in his



New York Giants pitcher "Shufflin'" Phil Douglas was a victim of baseball's zero-tolerance culture after the Black Sox Scandal. He was banned for life in 1922 by Judge Landis after writing a controversial letter expressing his desire to leave the team and manager John McGraw. (SDN-063544, Chicago Daily News negatives collection, Chicago History Museum)

favorite recreational activities: drinking and fishing.<sup>1</sup>

Upon Douglas's arrival in New York, manager John McGraw reportedly hired a former player to escort Douglas to and from the team's hotel in an effort to curtail his drinking. The approach did little to impact his problem, however, and a growing rift emerged between the manager and pitcher.

Before the 1920 season, baseball banned the spitball, one of Shufflin' Phil's primary pitches. Each team was allowed to designate up to two pitchers who could continue to legally throw the pitch, and the Giants selected Douglas.<sup>2</sup> That year, he went 14-10 with a 2.71 ERA and the following year, in 1921, he won a career-high 15 games to help the Giants capture the National League pennant.

In 1922, despite Douglas's heroics in the fall

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classic against the Yankees the previous year, his drinking became more of an issue. In McGraw's mind, he was out of control. Though he had been able to lose the man McGraw had hired to track his whereabouts, Douglas soon became the key figure in an unfolding drama, leading to his dismissal from the game and to his life spiraling out of control until his early death.

After a poor performance in late July, McGraw asked, "Where's your bottle hid?" to which Douglas replied, "I want to be traded to St. Louis."<sup>3</sup> As the southernmost major-league team, St. Louis was less than 500 miles from Birmingham, Alabama, where he was living at the time. Whether he was motivated more by being closer to home or farther away from his manager, his hopes were burst with McGraw's adamant refusal: "You'll play for me or you'll play for nobody."<sup>4</sup>

Having missed a scheduled start, Douglas earned a reprimand from his manager, upsetting him to the point that he went out for another night of hard drinking. In a 1936 interview, Douglas recalled, "As in other seasons McGraw started riding me and calling me names I don't care to put in print but they were awful hard to take. But as you know a ball player hasn't got a chance to come back at a man like McGraw with the money and backing he had."<sup>5</sup>

Douglas then began talking with several St. Louis Cardinals players, asking them to lobby the team to trade for him, hopeful that McGraw would want to part with him so he could start fresh in St. Louis.

While sleeping off the events from the night before, Douglas was kidnapped by two police detectives posing as Western Union deliverymen hired by the Giants' organization. The detectives broke into his room, roused him from his sleep using their nightsticks, and took him to the West End Sanitarium, where for five days he was held against his will, forced to undergo a series of "boiling out" hot baths, stomach pumping, and copious amounts of sedatives, the exact names and amounts of which were never made known to him.

For the first days of his stay, Douglas's wife and

family were unaware of his whereabouts and had no knowledge of the Giants' plan to cure him.<sup>6</sup> Although his wife was finally contacted regarding his location, and though she was allowed to see him, Douglas later lamented, "Instead of letting me go, they gave me some knockout drops again and I didn't come to until the following day."<sup>7</sup>

Two days after his release, Douglas showed up at the Polo Grounds, still unsteady on his feet, his speech slurred by the drugs forced into him. McGraw, noticing the pitcher's condition, berated Douglas in front of the team, leading to a fight that Douglas understood to mean the end of his time with the team. He later remembered the incident, saying, "[McGraw] called me the most vile names. ... I'll never forget the way he talked to me on that day in the clubhouse."

Making matters worse, Douglas had learned that the team was billing him for the five-day stay in the sanitarium and the taxi rides to and from the facility and fining him \$100 plus five days' pay, totaling \$512.15.<sup>8</sup> For a man whose annual salary was \$6,500, the fines and bills were the final insult.

Thinking he had already lost his job with the team, Douglas sat down in the clubhouse after the team had left and wrote a letter to Cardinals outfielder Les Mann, a former teammate. The letter, which ultimately led to his career ending, read in part:

"I want to leave here but I want some inducement. I don't want this guy [McGraw] to win the pennant, and I feel if I stay here I will win it for him. You know how I can pitch and win. So you see the fellows, and if you want to, send a man over here with the goods and I will leave for home on the next train. Send him to my house so nobody will know and send him at night. ... Nobody will ever know. ... I am asking you this way so there cannot be any trouble to anyone ..."<sup>9</sup>

Having previously banned the eight White Sox players, Judge Landis had given notice that any attempt to fix the outcomes of games would be dealt with in the harshest possible manner. Once the effects of the sedatives had worn off the following day, Douglas realized the gravity of the situation and reportedly tried to call Mann in an effort to have the

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letter destroyed.

Mann, who had a reputation as “one of the game’s most upstanding individuals,”<sup>10</sup> denied ever receiving such a call. He showed the letter to Cardinals general manager Branch Rickey, who realized the seriousness of the note and recommended it be shown to Landis.

Having been administered injections of depressants by his doctor for three days, Douglas left for Pittsburgh where he was to meet the Giants before a three-game series against the Pirates. Unfortunately for Douglas, Landis was already on his way to Pittsburgh, too.

On the morning of August 16, both McGraw and Landis met at the commissioner’s suite and called Douglas in for questioning. When confronted with the letter, Douglas made no effort to lie or mislead Landis. In fact, he confessed to writing it, saying, “A man has to live. I guess I figured I was out of a job if Mac let me go. I reckoned with this letter I might pick up some money and get along for a time.”<sup>11</sup>

The commissioner’s judgment was swift and final. Sticking a finger in the pitcher’s face, Landis promised, “Douglas, you are through with organized baseball.”

He was immediately and permanently placed on the list of ineligible players and was removed from the team’s hotel register, leaving him in Pittsburgh literally with no place to be and nowhere to go. Wandering back to the hotel, he told a reporter, “I’m just waiting for someone to loan me enough jack to get out of town. I’m ashamed to wire my wife.”<sup>12</sup>

When reporters showed up for an impromptu press conference, Landis was described as “grief-stricken ... and looked weary and depressed.” And while he called the situation “tragic and deplorable,” McGraw used the moment to unleash another round of fury on his former pitcher:

“[Douglas] admits the charge, and now he is a disgraced ballplayer, just as crooked as the players who ‘threw’ the 1919 World’s Series. He will never play another game in organized baseball, and not a league will knowingly admit him to its parks.”<sup>13</sup>

Strangely, in light of the comments he made to the

press, McGraw sent Douglas \$100 and arranged for him to take the train back to New York City that evening. He also rescinded the fines and the Giants eventually paid for the treatment in the sanitarium — bills that had prompted Douglas to write the letter in the first place.<sup>14</sup>

In the following weeks, Douglas insisted he was innocent of agreeing to fix any games, reiterating that his sole intent was to get away from McGraw and the Giants in the hope of landing in St. Louis. Landis, however, remained adamant that Douglas wrote the letter out of revenge and in an attempt to get back at McGraw for the abusive mistreatment he felt he’d been given. “If you see the same things in [the letter] that I see,” Landis said, “you will be convinced that it was written by a man who was making, not answering, an offer to desert his team for money ...”<sup>15</sup>

A week later, *The Sporting News* quoted Landis’s refusal to hear an appeal on Douglas’s behalf: “The guilty party has been found and punished, and so as far as our office is concerned the matter is a closed incident.”<sup>16</sup>

In subsequent years, some began to question the legitimacy of Landis’s ruling.

*Birmingham News* sports editor Zip Newman wrote, “The poor fellow was guilty of nothing but putting down in writing a crack that many ball players make when they are having trouble with the management. He wasn’t responsible when he signed his own order of expulsion. The man who turned in the Douglass [sic] letter never gained any admirers by it for everybody knew Phil’s weakness — a fondness for the flowing bowl.”<sup>17</sup>

Sportswriter Damon Runyon wrote in 1931, “Shufflin’ Phil’s sin wasn’t anything like accepting bribes. It wasn’t misfeasance of the heart. He was sore at McGraw ... and went out one day and knocked over a few quarts,” leading to the fateful letter.

Runyon recognized Douglas’s error in writing the letter, but noted, “Now we are not saying that it was right for Douglas to make the suggestion, but he didn’t propose any downright larceny. The drift of his then muddled mind indicated a desire for revenge on McGraw more than anything else.”<sup>18</sup>

With the Black Sox Scandal still a wound from

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which baseball was healing, Runyon further noted, “It was about time that organized baseball was in a ferment over dishonesty in the game, and the mere waggle of the finger of suspicion was sufficient to get a player thrown out.” Nearly a decade later, he concluded that Landis’s quick judgments had proven effective as, “today you never hear a whisper of suspicion about baseball … largely due to the manner in which the old Judge handled the situation.”<sup>19</sup>

The downside for Runyon and for many who look more objectively at the evidence regarding players such as Buck Weaver, Joe Jackson, and Shufflin’ Phil Douglas is that, as Runyon wrote, “Sometimes the Judge was a bit too merciless in his judgments. He always ‘threw the book’ at the baseball sinners when the charges against them bordered on dishonesty, meaning he gave them life sentences, and that, as it has turned out, meant life in baseball, and life thereafter.”<sup>20</sup>

Unfortunately, Douglas’s banishment from the game led him to fall from a relatively comfortable living to one where he was unable to take care of his family’s needs. Using what money he had, he took jobs as a truck driver, a coal miner, a highway department laborer, and with the power company.

Just two years after his dismissal, Douglas was back in Tracy City, Tennessee, living with his wife’s family, working at a sawmill for \$1.50 a day. And though he pitched in various independent leagues and town teams into his forties, he was often forced to endure the heckling from fans reminding him of his downfall.<sup>21</sup>

By age 46, Douglas was broke and desperate for a job in baseball, the one occupation for which he felt qualified to work. He asked his friend Zipp Newman, the Birmingham newspaperman, to contact Landis in hopes he could land a job as a coach or scout. But Landis refused to even consider the idea. He did, however, send Douglas a small check to help with his necessary living expenses. Still, a year later, Douglas was forced to go on welfare.

In 1952, following a series of strokes, Douglas died at age 62, ending any hopes he had of seeing his

name cleared. And though he was remembered well by the full church building at his funeral, his daughter lamented, “Baseball wasn’t fair to him. Nobody has even apologized.”<sup>22</sup>

In the early 1990s, a push was made for Fay Vincent to reconsider Douglas’s banishment from the game. In the wake of the Pete Rose scandal, the movement died on the commissioner’s desk. Douglas was sentenced and punished, having never been afforded due process or any venue at which he could present his side of the kidnapping story.

And while the Giants rescinded the fines and absolved the pitcher of having to pay for the “treatments,” neither the team nor McGraw were ever reprimanded or punished for their actions toward Douglas.

With so much attention focused on Rose and the Black Sox, a pitcher with a 94-93 record who wasn’t able to walk away from the game on his own terms has often been overlooked.

Phil Douglas’s story is more than just a footnote in the game’s rich and colorful history. His banishment was the result of what some view as an overreach by commissioner Landis and what others see as a man who was victim to a system that was, at the time, heavily slanted towards the team owners. It stands as a reminder of how, even with the best intentions in mind, Landis’s absolute power was able to absolutely destroy a player’s career, his livelihood, and his reputation.

### Acknowledgments

Special thanks to Matt Rothenberg, Manager of the Giamatti Research Center at the National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum, for providing access to Phil Douglas’s player file.

### Notes

1. Edwin Burnett, “[The Sad Story of Shufflin’ Phil Douglas](#),” Grundy County History.
2. *Indianapolis News*, March 29, 1920.
3. Mike Lynch, “[Phil Douglas](#).” SABR BioProject.
4. Jay Searcy, “[Punishment That Didn’t Fit the Crime](#),” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 20, 1990.
5. Sid Mercer, “Shufflin’ Phil.” Undated article in National Baseball Hall of Fame Library’s Phil Douglas player file.
6. “‘Shufflin’ Phil’ Douglas: Pitching Away Baseball’s Hall

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## UPCOMING EVENTS

The SABR Black Sox Scandal Research Committee will hold its eighth annual meeting at the **SABR 46 convention** from 5:00-6:00 p.m. on Saturday, July 30, 2016, in the Tuttle/Monroe Room of the Hyatt Regency hotel in downtown Miami, Florida.



All committee members are invited to attend.

If you wish to attend the rest of the conference, single-day passes to SABR 46 are \$99 or the full conference rate is \$229 for SABR members or \$270 for non-members.

For the complete schedule, or for more information on SABR 46, visit

[SABR.org/convention](http://SABR.org/convention).

♦ ♦ ♦

If you're coming to San Diego for the 2016 MLB All-Star Game festivities, join us on Saturday, July 9 as SABR's Ted Williams Chapter will present **Talking Baseball** at the San Diego Central Library's Neil Morgan Library Auditorium.

Committee chair **Jacob Pomrenke** will be speaking from 10:00-11:00 a.m. on all the new developments in the Black Sox Scandal and why this story remains a "cold case, not a closed case."

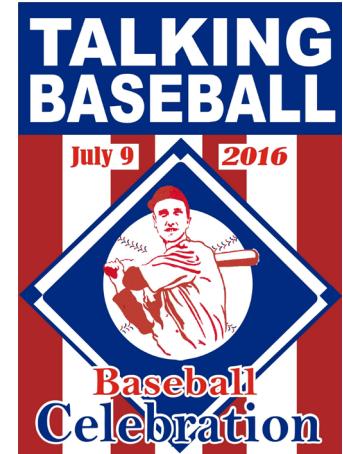
The all-day event is free and open to the public.

The library is located in downtown San Diego at 330 Park Boulevard, near Petco Park.

The lineup of speakers also includes: **Dan Boyle**, Ted Williams Chapter president; **Bob Kendrick**, Negro Leagues Baseball Museum president; **Joe Rathburn**, San Diego baseball singer/songwriter; former major-league catcher **Matt Nokes**, who will narrate a video of Jim Abbott's 1993 no-hitter (which he caught); **Matt Thompson**, with a one-man show on Ted Williams; filmmaker **Jon Leonoudakis**, who will screen his new documentary "Hano! A Life in the Bleachers"; baseball folk singer **Ross Altman**; and former Padres outfielder **Gene Locklear**, who will discuss his experiences as a Native American ballplayer and artist.

The San Diego Central Library includes the spectacular [Sullivan Family Baseball Research Center](#), home of the SABR Collection, which can be viewed on the eighth floor of the library during regular business hours.

For more information, visit [SABR.org/latest/join-sabr-talking-baseball-july-9-san-diego](http://SABR.org/latest/join-sabr-talking-baseball-july-9-san-diego).



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of Fame." *200 Years through 200 Stories: A Tennessee Bicentennial Celebration*. Anne Klebenow, ed. (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 263-64.

7. Lynch, "Phil Douglas."
8. Searcy, "Punishment That Didn't Fit the Crime."
9. Lynch, "Phil Douglas."
10. Ibid.
11. "'Shufflin' Phil' Douglas: Pitching Away Baseball's Hall of Fame."
12. Ibid.

13. Lynch, "Phil Douglas."
14. Searcy, "Punishment That Didn't Fit the Crime."
15. Lynch, "Phil Douglas."
16. "New York Shocked That Phil Douglas Should Go Wrong," August 24, 1922. Unattributed article in Phil Douglas Hall of Fame player file.
17. Mercer, "Shufflin' Phil."
18. Damon Runyon, "Both Barrels," April 8, 1931. Unattributed article in Phil Douglas Hall of Fame player file.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. "'Shufflin' Phil' Douglas: Pitching Away Baseball's Hall of Fame."
22. Searcy, "Punishment That Didn't Fit the Crime."



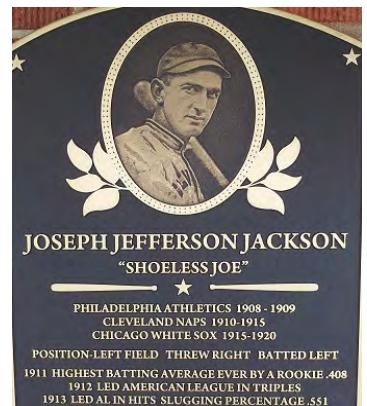
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**STANDARD CERTIFICATE OF DEATH**

Division of Vital Statistics - State Board of Health

State of South Carolina		State
le	2. USUAL RESIDENCE: (Where deceased lived, if institut	
RAL and give town- ville	(c) Length of Stay: (in this place)	(a) State, S. C.
ution:	(d) Street address (If rural, g ive street address or location)	(b) City or town Rural G'ville
live.	Same	
a. (First)	b. (Middle)	c. (Last)
Joseph	W.	Jackson
1. Married, never married, widowed, divorced: (Specify)	8. Date of birth:	9. Age: July 16, 1889 62
Married	10. Kind of business or industry:	11. Birthplace: (State or city if born outside U.S.) Greenville Co
et of work done or retired)	12b. Mother's maiden name:	14. Husb Katie
	Martha Ann Jenkinson	
med forces? or dates of service)	16. Social Security No.	17. Informant: Mrs. Katie W.
MEDICAL CERTIFICATION or condition leading to death* (a) Coronary thrombo		

"Send it in!"  
 "What is your complete name?"  
 "Just plain 'Joe' Jackson."  
 "There must be more of it."  
 "Do you want me to stretch it to a double?"  
 "Keep right on going. It's a passed ball."  
 "Joseph Walker Jackson, but don't print the Walker part, will you?"  
 "Walker out stealing."



From left: 1. A 1917 batting trophy commissioned by the Chicago White Sox with "Joseph J. Jackson" engraved on it. 2. Jackson's 1951 death certificate with "Joseph W. Jackson." 3. A 1912 *Washington Herald* article with a quotation reputedly from Jackson that uses "Joseph Walker Jackson." 4. A plaque installed in 2015 outside the Shoeless Joe Jackson Museum in South Carolina with "Joseph Jefferson Jackson." (Photos: Mike Nola / BlackBetsy.com, Jimmy Keenan, ShoelessJoeJackson.org)

## ► JACKSON

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showing the letter W. as his middle initial.  
 Joe Jackson's page on Find-a-Grave site.

3. Joe Jackson's Death Certificate stating his name as Joseph W. Jackson. Death Certificate issued by the state of South Carolina.

4. Jos W. Shoeless Jackson. Greenville County South Carolina Obituary Index 1914 - 1992 on Ancestry.com.

Keenan submitted his findings to Bill Carle of SABR's Biographical Research Committee, who passed it on to Baseball-Reference.com. Jackson's [Baseball-Reference.com page](#), which uses the SABR bio database as its primary source for all vital stats, now lists "Walker" as his middle name.

But was that actually Joe Jackson's middle name? Further investigation seems to be warranted.

Before we look at the evidence for "Walker," let's examine Jackson's well-known middle name of "Jefferson," which seems to have no clear origins. Unfortunately, no birth certificate was required in South Carolina when Jackson was born in 1887 — or perhaps 1888, since his date of birth is also disputed — so there is no official record of his full name. According to Mike Nola of [BlackBetsy.com](#), the Jackson family Bible, which likely contained the most reliable information about who was born and when, was lost in a fire many years ago.

However, it's difficult to find any reference to "Jefferson" as Jackson's middle name that doesn't come from often-unreliable media reports (or the books and articles that cite them.) The earliest reference I've seen for Jefferson is an April 1915 wire-service article, [reprinted here](#) in the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle* in New York. Nola also pointed

out [this 1917 batting trophy](#), presumably commissioned by the White Sox and produced by the Spalding sporting goods company, that was presented to "Joseph J. Jackson." So someone in baseball must have thought his name was Jefferson.

But none of the legal documents from later in Jackson's life use the name Jefferson. His death certificate, his will, and even his driver's licenses just use the initial W. That leads us back to Walker.

The evidence that Keenan has presented for changing Jackson's middle name includes the [death certificate](#), which is viewable on BlackBetsy.com, and the [grave marker](#) at Woodlawn Memorial Park in Greenville, which is viewable at FindAGrave.com. Both of these use the initial W for Jackson's middle name.

Keenan also has cited two newspaper articles in which the name "Walker" is specifically mentioned. The first is an interview published in the *Washington Herald* on August 11, 1912. After a section describing Jackson's hitting exploits and physical appearance, writer J.A. Fitzgerald peppers Jackson with "a little 'red school house' stuff," seeking insight into his background. Here is the full passage about his middle name:

"What is your complete name?"  
 "Just plain 'Joe' Jackson."  
 "There must be more of it."  
 "Do you want me to stretch it to a double?"  
 "Keep right on going. It's a passed ball."  
 "Joseph Walker Jackson, but don't print the Walker part, will you?"  
 "Walker out stealing."

"Nice work, old pal. Gee, you fielded that one clean, all right. Say, I've got nothing against Walker, but I like plain 'Joe' better. Joseph Walker Jackson has a kind of one legged sound. I never pull it unless they've got me in a hole."

"Where did they hang it on you?"

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## ► JACKSON

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"Greenville, South Carolina. Population almost 40,000. Clean, healthy, sanitary city. Fine streets, splendid schools and churches. First class police and fire protection. Rents reasonable. Capitalists looking for manufacturing sites would do well to — "

"Foul!"

"I couldn't help soaking that one. I'm a member of the Greenville Chamber of Commerce."

The interview continues with more corny baseball jargon mixed with some basic information about Jackson's life and baseball history. While it's extremely unlikely that Jackson said these exact words — newspapers in that era were much looser about how they attributed direct quotations — it's unclear how much of the information did come from Jackson and how accurate the story is about the Walker name.

Keenan provided one additional article in which Walker is mentioned as Jackson's middle name. A *Cleveland Plain Dealer* story from April 16, 1912, includes a fan letter from a man in Kansas City who wants to name his son after Joe Jackson. The ballplayer reportedly replied that "his full and complete cognomen is Joseph Walker Jackson."

That article was cited by author David Fleitz in the book *Shoeless: The Life and Times of Joe Jackson* (McFarland & Co., 2001). However, Fleitz claims that the *Plain Dealer* reporter "obviously ... misinterpreted Joe's southern drawl" and that "he always used Wofford as his middle name."

Mike Nola of BlackBetsy.com offers a different explanation for where Walker comes from:

"Walker was a nickname given to Joe by his brothers and it is rumored to have been used by Joe as his last name in 1922 when playing some games under assumed names up North. I have never found any reference to Joe using Walker as his last name, but I do KNOW that Walker was a nickname given to him by either Dave or Jerry at an early age, most likely Dave. ... All my research talking with Jackson family members is that his brother Dave gave him that nickname when he was still playing in the mill leagues."

According to Nola, author Tom Perry has said that Joe played under the name "Jefferson Walker" after he was

banned from organized baseball in 1921. But no documentation has emerged so far to verify that claim, Nola says.

Nola adds, "It was and is well known among the Jackson clan that Joe's middle name was Wofford or Jefferson ... depending on who you talk to, and that Walker was a nickname given him by either Dave or Jerry." Nola visited Joe's sister Gertrude several times before she died in 2000, and other family members are frequently involved with events at the Shoeless Joe Jackson Museum in Greenville.

All three of Jackson's primary biographers, Fleitz in *Shoeless*, Donald Gropman in *Say It Ain't So Joe!* (1979), and Harvey Frommer in *Shoeless Joe and Ragtime Baseball* (1992) claimed that his full name was "Joseph Jefferson Wofford Jackson," although it's unclear exactly where this double middle name came from. Fleitz's [SABR biography](#) of Jackson, which appeared in our 2015 book *Scandal on the South Side: The 1919 Chicago White Sox*, used "Jefferson Wofford," as well.

Wofford is a significant name in Jackson's home state of South Carolina, especially in the Upstate region near Greenville. In the 1770s, the Wofford family settled in Spartanburg, located about 30 miles northeast of where Jackson was born, and later established an independent liberal arts university there.

But there seems to be even less documentation for Wofford as Joe's middle name than there is for Jefferson or Walker. While most of Jackson's aforementioned legal forms do use the initial W, none of them explicitly say Wofford. No Jackson interviews have surfaced (yet) that use Wofford, either.

Nola has suggested one other compelling element to support the Wofford name. In 1920, just four days before Joe Jackson testified before a grand jury in Chicago, his brother Lee Earl Jackson

had a son, who took ill and died less than a year later. According to family lore, the boy was named after his uncle, Shoeless Joe. His grave marker at Graceland Cemetery in West Greenville reads:

JOSEPH WOFFORD JACKSON  
Sept. 24, 1920  
Aug. 21, 1921  
Our darling

So after all this, are we any closer to a consensus on Joe Jackson's middle name? How should he be listed in the SABR bio database and at Baseball-Reference.com? Please [post your thoughts in our Yahoo! discussion group](#) and perhaps we finally may be able to solve this moniker mystery.



A grave marker for Shoeless Joe's nephew, Joseph Wofford Jackson, the infant son of Lee Earl Jackson. Family lore says the boy was named after the ballplayer. (Mike Nola / BlackBetsy.com)