

BLACK SOX SCANDAL



Vol. 14, No. 1, June 2022

Research Committee Newsletter

Leading off ...

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Chairman's Corner

By Jacob Pomrenke

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Dan Wallach, who led the Shoeless Joe Jackson Museum and Baseball Library during some of the most challenging years anyone alive has ever experienced, stepped down in April as the museum's executive director.

Wallach was hired for the newly created position in 2019 — the first person dedicated to running the museum's day-to-day operations since founder and former president Arlene Marcley retired a few years earlier — and guided the Greenville, South Carolina-based museum to a period of unprecedented progress and growth. Nearly all of it came during the middle of a global pandemic and a construction project that forced the museum to keep its doors closed for 18 months.

Following a move 100 yards down the street to make room for a new retail and housing complex outside Fluor Field in

FORM P1		U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE BUREAU OF THE CENSUS			16-50925-1	
1950 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING						
31.876	437	ma	no	Cicotte, Eddie W.	Head	w m 65 Mar Michigan
804	127	ma	no	Felch Oscar	Head	w m 39 Mar Wis
1738	45	ma	no	Gandil, Arnold	Head	w m 62 MAR Minnesota
1119	225	Ma	No	Jackson, Joe	Head	w m 61 Mar S.C.
3218	279	no	no	McMullin, Fred D.	Head	w m 58 Mar Kansas
1881	324	W	Yes	30, Risberg-Charles M.	Head	w m 56 N Calif
1704	347	ma	no	Weaver, George	Head	w m 59 Mar Pennsylvania
8600	534	W	no	Williams, Claude P.	Head	w m 56 mar Missouri

The release of 1950 US Census records in April 2022 has helped to shine a light on the later lives of the Black Sox and other baseball figures. Following their banishments, Shoeless Joe Jackson, Eddie Cicotte, and the other Eight Men Out scattered across the country with their families. (Images: Ancestry.com. Illustration: Jacob Pomrenke)

New insights on Black Sox lives in 1950 Census records

By Jacob Pomrenke

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The 1950 US Census records were officially released on April 1, 2022, and with them we can gain new insights into the lives of the Black Sox and their former baseball teammates. The National Archives releases all census records to the general public 72 years after Census Day.

A search through Ancestry.com for players on the 1919 White Sox roster shows how far they had scattered across the country, what jobs they had taken up, and who they were living with after their baseball careers ended.

The 1950 Census differed in some important ways from the one conducted by the federal government a decade earlier. Fewer questions about income, education, and previous residences were asked of each household than in 1940, but the basic details about where people were living and the circum-

VIEW CENSUS FILES

Click the link below to view a folder with 1950 US Census records for many 1919 Chicago White Sox players, including Shoeless Joe Jackson, Eddie Cicotte, and Buck Weaver:

• [Download 1950 US Census records](#)

stances of their lives are still valuable information for any researcher.

By 1950, one year before his death at the age of 64, Shoeless Joe Jackson was living comfortably in his hometown of Greenville, South Carolina, with his wife Katie, and her sister, Mattie Wynn. He was a popular figure there, owning a prosperous liquor store on the west end of town. When Joe wasn't sitting on his favorite chair at home on Wilburn Avenue, he and Katie could frequently be found sitting in the grandstands at textile mill league

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► CHAIRMAN

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Greenville, the Shoeless Joe Jackson Museum reopened in June 2021 with a new roof, new HVAC system, and a brand-new gift shop and plaza. Thanks to Wallach, lead docent Mike Miller, and a dedicated team of local volunteers — led by coordinator Lori Wallach, Dan's mother — the museum remained open to visitors seven days a week, and also before and after every Greenville Drive home game last season.

During the year-and-a-half-long closure, Wallach thoughtfully curated new exhibits and displays to tell Joe Jackson's story — including some that incorporated the work of SABR's Black Sox Scandal committee — and worked to build creative partnerships with baseball artists to make the museum a visually stunning experience for everyone who walked through its doors.

He also developed the museum's first membership program, a community campaign to support literacy efforts in Jackson's name, and a premium baseball card set with original illustrations of Jackson's career from renowned artists.

As the host of a long-form interview podcast, "My Baseball History," Wallach recorded and produced compelling conversations with baseball figures such as Yankees great Bobby Richardson, Negro Leagues historian Phil S. Dixon, and professional umpire and author Perry Barber.

Wallach's contagious excitement in building the museum's online and social media presence was evident in his ability to draw in visitors from around the world who had never before heard of Shoeless Joe Jackson.

"During Dan's tenure, the remodeled Museum was enhanced with finely curated displays and exhibits and had thousands of visitors from around the country," Richard Heusel of the museum's board of directors said in a statement.

Following Wallach's departure, the museum temporarily closed again in May to accommodate more construction, including the completion of walkways and landscaping adjacent to the building. A search for a new executive director is under way with a new seven-member board of directors led by chair Nick Hollstegge, a Greenville real estate advisor and Vice President of CBRE.

Interest in Shoeless Joe Jackson is arguably at a higher point today than it has been in the past 100 years. The museum, under Wallach's keen leadership, is a crucial reason why Joe's story remains alive and well in the public eye, and will hopefully remain so far into the future.

Full disclosure: I serve on the Shoeless Joe Jackson Museum's Advisory Board and consulted closely with Wallach during his tenure as executive director.

For more information about SABR's Black Sox Scandal Research Committee, e-mail buckweaver@gmail.com.

Catch up on Black Sox committee projects, research

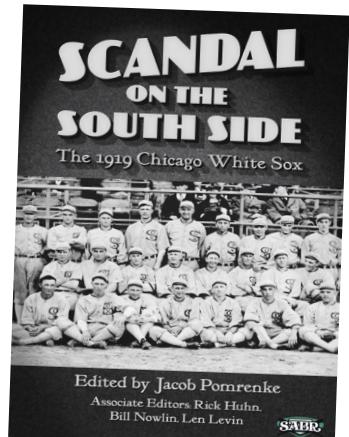
Want to dive deeper into the Black Sox Scandal? Here are a few ways to catch up on some of our recent committee projects:

◆ ***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 available from the SABR Digital Library at SABR.org/ebooks. All SABR members can download the e-book edition for free in PDF, EPUB, or Kindle formats. SABR members also get a 50% discount to purchase the paperback edition.

◆ ***Eight Myths Out***, published in 2019, is an online project on the most common errors and misconceptions about the scandal. View it at SABR.org/eight-myths-out.

◆ **2019 Centennial Symposium**: Listen to highlights from the SABR Black Sox Scandal Centennial Symposium, held on September 28, 2019, at the Chicago History Museum to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the 1919 World Series.

◆ **Infamous America podcast**: Season 2 of the *Infamous America* podcast series, produced by Black Barrel Media in 2019, focuses on the Black Sox Scandal, using research from our *Scandal on the South Side* book.



Edited by Jacob Pomrenke
Associate Editors Rick Huhn,
Bill Nowlin, Len Levin
SABR

**Free download available
at SABR.org/ebooks**

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The 1934 Lincoln High School baseball team in Los Angeles included two sons of former major-league baseball players: Kenny Washington (top row, second from right), who went on to become a football star at UCLA and the NFL, and Bill McMullin (top row, fourth from left), whose father was Black Sox infielder Fred McMullin. (*The Lincolnian*, Ancestry.com)

Brush with greatness

By Jacob Pomrenke

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They were high school teammates, one White and one Black, whose paths converged in part because of their famous fathers who played professional baseball. They each went on to play in the minor leagues, but their careers were brief and frustrating because of forces out of their control.

One returned home to live out a quiet life in California. The other became a reluctant civil rights pioneer and one of the most important, yet underappreciated, athletes in American football history.

Before Kenny Washington re-integrated the National Football League with the Los Angeles Rams, before he and Jackie Robinson teamed up at UCLA to form the most exciting tandem in college football, he was a long, lanky, gregarious but occasionally awkward teenager at Abraham Lincoln High School in east L.A. As a freshman, Kenny was considered “too weak” to try out for football, so he focused on baseball instead.¹

Baseball had been his father’s favorite sport. Edgar “Blue” Washington was a teenage pitching phenom when he was signed out of the Los Angeles sandlots by Rube Foster’s Chicago American Giants in 1916, two years be-

A football pioneer and a baseball outcast crossed paths at an L.A. high school

fore Kenny was born. In 1920, Blue joined the Kansas City Monarchs and played in the first game in Negro National League history. His excessive drinking and carousing drew Foster’s ire and he was quickly driven out of the league. Blue returned to California to play semipro baseball before launching a successful career as a Hollywood actor; he appeared in more than 80 films, including *Gone With the Wind* and *King Kong*.²

By then, young Kenny was being raised across town in the Lincoln Heights neighborhood by his uncle, Roscoe “Rocky” Washington, the first Black lieutenant at the Los Angeles Police Department, and aunt Hazel, a socialite and hairdresser to the stars.³ Kenny’s athletic prowess quickly became obvious to anyone who watched him play, regardless of the sport.⁴

In the fall of 1932, Kenny entered Lincoln High School — a campus dominated by working-class Italian families, along with a mix of Black, Hispanic and Asian students — and joined the baseball team in the spring. His throws from third base across the diamond were usually caught by a thin, left-handed first baseman named Bill McMullin. The two teammates could not have been more different, in personality or temperament. McMullin, a quiet 16-year-

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old junior, was able to hold his own competing in semipro leagues with former major and minor-league players; he knew real talent when he saw it, and Washington had it.

Bill's eye for baseball was enhanced by hearing stories from his father, Fred McMullin, who had risen up from the L.A. sandlots to star in the Pacific Coast League and then with the Chicago White Sox. The house on Baldwin Street where Fred and his wife Delia raised their three children — just a mile east of where Kenny Washington grew up on Avenue 19 — was a small bungalow that Fred bought with his winner's share from the White Sox's 1917 World Series championship.⁵

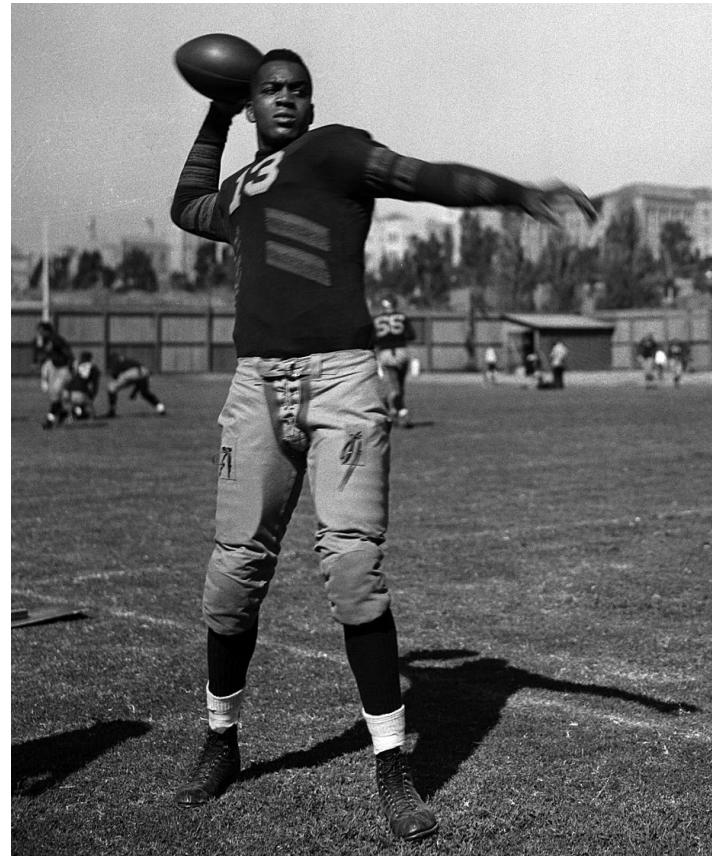
Fred's baseball career ended in disgrace after he and seven teammates conspired to fix the 1919 World Series, resulting in his permanent banishment from the major leagues. He returned to California and stayed mostly behind the scenes in baseball circles, content to cheer on his old friends in local leagues and to teach son Bill and daughters Ionia and Delia to love the game.

Bill McMullin was not a star at Lincoln High School, but he was a solid, dependable player. Surviving newspaper accounts show he usually batted in the lower half of the lineup and was occasionally recognized for his strong fielding. No complete records or statistics can be found to show how the Tigers fared in McMullin's two seasons together with Kenny Washington on the school's baseball team.

Their first season together in 1933 was interrupted on March 10 by a massive earthquake centered in nearby Long Beach, which killed more than 100 people and damaged nearly 140 schools in Southern California.⁶ Lincoln students later spent time attending class in tents set up on the tennis courts while their school buildings were repaired or rebuilt.⁷

McMullin graduated in the winter of 1935 — just as Kenny Washington was about to become a household name in Los Angeles for his sensational exploits in both football and baseball. McMullin spent the next two years playing in top-tier semipro leagues around Southern California. He also held a job as a sheet metal worker during the week between games.⁸

In 1937, McMullin's baseball prospects finally became serious. The 21-year-old was offered a tryout with one of his father's old clubs, the Los Angeles Angels of the Pacific Coast League. He made a good impression during spring training and was farmed out to the Lewiston (Idaho) Broncos of the Class B Western International League.⁹ Lewiston manager Don Rader — who had been a minor-league teammate of Swede Risberg and appeared in four games with the Chicago White Sox back in 1913 — told a reporter that McMullin was "recommended by several major league scouts."¹⁰

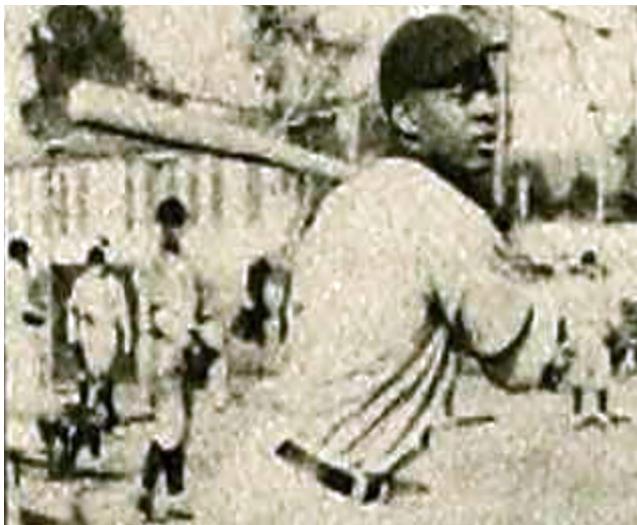


At UCLA, Kenny Washington became the first Bruins football player to be named a consensus All-American in 1939. But he was passed over in the 1940 NFL draft because of the color barrier then in place in professional football. He was signed by the Los Angeles Rams in 1946 and made his NFL debut months before his former college teammate Jackie Robinson played for the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947.
(Los Angeles Daily News Negatives, UCLA Library Special Collections, CC BY-SA 4.0)

Bill McMullin was not the only relative of a Black Sox player to play high-level baseball, but he was the only one of their children or grandchildren to play professionally. Two of Swede Risberg's sons later played in college, Robert at Santa Rosa Junior College and Gerald at Chico State University in California. Eddie Cicotte's great-nephew, Al Cicotte, gained fame in the 1950s when he was invited to spring training by the New York Yankees.¹¹ He appeared in 102 major-league games with six teams over five seasons. Long after Shoeless Joe Jackson died, his great-great-great nephew, also named Joe Jackson, reached the Double-A level as a catcher and outfielder in the Texas Rangers organization after he was drafted out of The Citadel in 2013.¹²

In 1937, Bill McMullin appeared in 12 games with Lewiston, hitting .250 with three doubles and a triple, but striking out in nine of his 36 at-bats.¹³ He was released in mid-season, but Pittsburgh Pirates scout Joe Schultz Sr. invited him to spring training in 1938 with the Carthage (Missouri)

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Left: Bill McMullin's 1934 senior class photo, as it appeared in the Lincoln High School yearbook. **Middle:** A photo of Kenny Washington swinging a bat appeared with the caption "Slugger" in the 1935 school yearbook. **Right:** Washington's senior photo appeared in the 1936 school yearbook. (*The Lincolnian*, Ancestry.com)

► BRUSH

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Pirates of the Class D Arkansas-Missouri League.¹⁴

McMullin impressed the Carthage staff as an outfielder in early workouts and he was scheduled to start in an exhibition game on April 15 in Manhattan, Kansas, against the major-league Pirates, who were tuning up for their upcoming Opening Day game in St. Louis. But McMullin's chance to showcase his skills against big-league stars Paul and Lloyd Waner, Arky Vaughan, and manager Pie Traynor was shattered when he suffered a leg injury in practice the day before.¹⁵

McMullin made Carthage's Opening Day roster but struggled at the plate, recording just three hits in 27 at-bats (.111) over seven games. In mid-May, he was released by the Pirates when teams were forced to cut down to a 14-man roster.¹⁶ His short-lived professional career was over.



Meanwhile, Kenny Washington had become a sports legend at Lincoln High School. As a single-wing quarterback on the football team, he led the Tigers to an undefeated season and their first (and still only) Los Angeles City Section championship in 1935. Then he followed it up by leading the league in batting and hitting a home run in the championship game to lead Lincoln to a city baseball title in the spring of 1936.¹⁷

He accepted a scholarship to play both sports at UCLA and excelled in every season. During his two seasons of varsity baseball as the starting shortstop, he hit .454 and .350, earning the nickname "The Kingfish."¹⁸ Future USC coach Rod Dedeaux later said that Washington had a better arm, more power, and more agility on the baseball field

than his Bruins teammate, Jackie Robinson.¹⁹

Robinson transferred to UCLA from Pasadena Junior College in 1939 and struggled in his only varsity season on the baseball team, hitting a paltry .097. But his star shined brightly on the football field, where he and Washington teamed up to make the most integrated college team in the nation also its most exciting.

As a junior in 1939, Washington led the nation in total offense and won the Douglas Fairbanks Award as the country's top player. He became the first Bruins player named as an All-American. In 1940, he and Robinson led the Bruins to a 6-0-4 record and, in his final college game against rival USC at the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum, Washington was given a long standing ovation by the Trojans fans. "It was like the Pope of Rome had come out," said teammate Woody Strode.²⁰ Robinson later wrote that Washington was the best football player he had ever seen.²¹

But in 1940, there were few opportunities for Washington to continue his athletic career after college. Baseball's professional leagues had been segregated since the late 19th century, long before Washington was born, and the National Football League, which employed several Black players when it was founded in 1920, had quietly established its own color line a decade later. The NFL had been strictly segregated since 1933, Washington's sophomore year of high school.

When Washington was passed over by all 10 of the NFL's teams in the 1940 amateur draft, his chances at any future athletic glory seemed dim. He began playing semipro football in Los Angeles, acted in Hollywood films, started a family, and then went to work for the L.A. Police Department like his uncle Rocky had done. But he soured on a job that consisted largely of giving talks to neighborhood youth

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groups and his marriage fell apart.²²

In 1945, he was signed by the Hollywood Bears of the minor-league Pacific Coast Football League and led them to a championship. When the NFL's Cleveland Rams made overtures about relocating to Los Angeles, an influential group of Black sportswriters led by Halley Harding pushed for the Rams to integrate their roster with the city's best-known Black player — Kenny Washington, now 27 years old and slowed by knee injuries.

The publicity campaign worked, and Washington signed a historic contract with the Rams on March 21, 1946, the first Black player to sign with an NFL team in 13 seasons. Woody Strode, his former UCLA teammate, joined the team two months later and they made their debuts in the Rams season opener on September 29 against the Philadelphia Eagles.²³ (The Eagles were coached by Earle "Greasy" Neale, who won a World Series title with the 1919 Cincinnati Reds before turning his talents to football.)

Washington showed flashes of his old brilliance in his three NFL seasons, finishing fourth in rushing yardage in 1947 and setting a Rams franchise record with a 92-yard touchdown run against the Chicago Cardinals at Comiskey Park.²⁴ But his injuries and incidents of racist treatment on and off the field were a heavy burden for Washington to bear.²⁵ Near the end of the 1948 season, Los Angeles mayor Fletcher Bowron declared December 12 as "Kenny Washington Day" in the city and he was honored with a halftime ceremony during the Rams' final game.

Across the country in Brooklyn, his old teammate Jackie Robinson was honored with the National League's Rookie of the Year and Most Valuable Player awards in his first three seasons with the Dodgers. He made six appearances in the World Series, winning a championship in 1955, and earned induction into the Baseball Hall of Fame. His uniform number 42 was posthumously retired by Major League Baseball in 1997 on the 50th anniversary of his Dodgers debut.

A movie was made about Robinson's life, *The Jackie Robinson Story*, with the title character playing himself during the prime of his major-league career. Kenny Washington, whose star at UCLA had eclipsed Robinson's as the best college football player in the nation, was hired to play the role of Robinson's manager. His character was not even given a name.²⁶

For decades after Kenny Washington retired, the NFL refused to acknowledge his role in re-integrating the league. Washington grew increasingly bitter about the official indifference for his monumental achievements before his death at age 52 in 1971. As football replaced baseball as America's most popular pastime, Washington's story was largely forgotten. In 2011, a small group of Lincoln Heights

community members began the Kenny Washington Stadium Foundation to resurrect the memory of Lincoln High School's most famous alumnus, and preserve the fields on which he once starred.²⁷



After his minor-league career ended, Bill McMullin returned home to California and married Dorothy (Sally) Patterson in 1940. He enlisted in the US Army during World War II, served overseas in Europe, and was discharged as a sergeant. Sally moved in with her in-laws, Fred and Delia, at their house on Baldwin Street while Bill was in the military.

"All [Fred] ever cared about was playing baseball and his family," Sally said in a 1986 interview. "When you sit across from someone you get to know them, but I could be wrong. Honesty and honor meant a lot to him."²⁸

After Bill returned from the war in 1945, he began working as a warehouse manager at a plumbing company in Redondo Beach. Their first son, Brian, was born in 1949 and another son, Gregg, followed in 1952, just a few months before Fred McMullin died of a stroke.

Bill and Sally separated in the early 1960s, but remained on friendly terms until his death in 1969. Sally remarried and became a celebrated author and local personality in her adopted hometown of Palm Springs, hobnobbing with the likes of California Angels owner Gene Autry, comedian Bob Hope, and President Gerald Ford.²⁹

Sally was interviewed on multiple occasions late in life by the *Palm Springs Desert Sun*. She told the newspaper that following Fred McMullin's death, his wife Delia reportedly "destroyed" a letter he had written and placed in a safety deposit box explaining his role in the Black Sox Scandal. According to Sally, Delia told her son Bill, "I won't have anything in this house that tells of the games your dad threw. He ruined my life, your career, the game of baseball. I hate him for that."³⁰

Recounting the story to the *Desert Sun* in 2001, Sally said of Delia, "She wanted it all not to be true. Yet by throwing away the letter that could have cleared up some of the mess, she just screwed things up more."³¹

Notes

1. 2011 Kenny Washington Memorial Game program, Kenny Washington Stadium Foundation.
2. Mark V. Perkins, "[Edgar 'Blue' Washington](#)," SABR BioProject, accessed May 15, 2022.
3. Perkins.
4. Even in ping-pong. In 1933, Kenny Washington and future Wimbledon tennis champion Bobby Riggs teamed up to win a ping-pong tournament at the Lincoln Heights playground. See: "Playground Activities of this District," *Lincoln Heights Bulletin-News*, March 30, 1933, 2.
5. Jacob Pomrenke, "[Fred McMullin](#)," SABR BioProject, accessed May 15, 2022.

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Join us at the SABR 50 convention in Baltimore

Attendees at this summer's [50th SABR convention](#) in Baltimore will find the organization's premier annual event worth the wait, following a three-year hiatus due to the global coronavirus pandemic.

All baseball fans are invited to register for SABR 50, which will be held August 17-21, 2022, at the Hyatt Regency Inner Harbor, just a few blocks from Oriole Park at Camden Yards.

Our first in-person Black Sox Scandal Committee meeting will be held from 3:00-4:00 p.m. on Thursday, August 18 in the Calvert/Pratt Ballroom at the Hyatt.

The committee meeting is open to all SABR members and convention attendees who are interested in learning more about the 1919 World Series and its aftermath. This will be an informal meeting designed to welcome new members and recap the three years of 100th anniversary



events, stories, and research we've shared since the last SABR convention was held in 2019.

Another session at SABR 50 that should prove interesting for Black Sox aficionados is Michael Haupert's presentation on "Salaries, Skinflints, and Scandals: The Cost of the Black Sox Scandal," scheduled for 1:00 p.m. on Friday, August 19 in the Constellation A/B Ballroom of the Hyatt.

At 2:30 p.m. on Friday in the same ballroom, Robert F. Garratt will give a presentation on the 1924 Jimmy O'Connell-Cozy Dolan game-fixing scandal with the

New York Giants.

Visit [SABR.org/convention](#) for complete registration details and schedule information. Single-day rates will also be available for purchase on-site at the Hyatt during the convention.

► BRUSH

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6. "Earthquake Closes All Schools," *Los Angeles Record*, March 13, 1933, 12.
7. *The Lincolnian*, 1934 Lincoln High School yearbook, via Ancestry.com.
8. 1934-1942 Los Angeles city directories via Ancestry.com.
9. "Lewiston Adds Another Hurler," *Spokane Spokesman-Review*, April 30, 1937, 15.
10. "Lewiston Adds Another Hurler."
11. David E. Skelton, "[Al Cicotte](#)," SABR BioProject, accessed June 5, 2022.
12. "[Joe Jackson](#)," Baseball-Reference.com, accessed June 5, 2022.
13. "Western International League Official Batting Averages," *Spokane Spokesman-Review*, December 5, 1937, 42.
14. "Hands Itching For Baseballs," *Hutchinson (Kansas) News*, April 1, 1938, 2.
15. "Faser Called Against Bucs," *Hutchinson News*, April 15, 1938, 2; "Valiant Larks Defeated, 7-4," *Manhattan (Kansas) Morning Chronicle*, April 16, 1938, 3.
16. *Hutchinson News*, May 19, 1938, 2; *Northwest Arkansas Times*, May 28, 1938, 6.
17. James W. Johnson, *The Black Bruins: The Remarkable Lives of UCLA's Jackie Robinson, Woody Strode, Tom Bradley, Kenny Washington, and Ray Bartlett* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2019), 25-27.
18. Alexander Wolff, "[The NFL's Jackie Robinson](#)," *Sports Illustrated*, October 12, 2009, accessed online on

May 22, 2022.

19. Wolff.

20. Joshua Neuman, "[Why Isn't Kenny Washington an American Icon?](#)" *Slate.com*, December 19, 2021, accessed online on May 22, 2022.

21. Wolff.

22. Neuman.

23. Neuman. Back in Cleveland, the newly formed Browns of the All-America Football Conference signed Marion Motley and Bill Willis for the 1946 season. Along with Washington and Strode, these four Black players integrated the nation's two major professional football leagues seven months before Jackie Robinson made his debut with the Brooklyn Dodgers in April 1947.

24. "[Kenny Washington](#)," Pro-Football-Reference.com, accessed June 5, 2022.

25. Wolff.

26. Wolff.

27. Jim Trotter, "[Lincoln Legacy: How One L.A. Community Amplifies the Story of NFL Trailblazer Kenny Washington](#)," *NFL.com*, February 8, 2022.

28. David Zaslansky, "Memories of Black Sox Scandal Recalled at World Series Time," *Palm Springs (California) Desert Sun*, October 18, 1986, F1.

29. "Remembering Sally," *El Segundo (California) Herald*, February 24, 2005.

30. Rick Davis, "Memories of 1919," *Palm Springs Desert Sun*, August 26, 2001, 23-24. In her 1986 interview with the same newspaper, Sally said Fred McMullin's scrapbook about his baseball career ended just before the 1919 World Series. See Zaslansky, "Memories."

31. Davis.

Interview with Joe Jackson's mother rediscovered

In February 1924, days before a Wisconsin jury made a decision in Shoeless Joe Jackson's back-pay lawsuit against the Chicago White Sox, his mother spoke candidly about her son's role in the Black Sox Scandal in a newly discovered interview.

Committee member Mike Nola recently found a rare interview with Martha Jackson that appeared in the *Americus (Georgia) Times-Recorder* on February 6, 1924. Joe Jackson had spent the previous summer playing baseball for an "outlaw" team based in the southwest Georgia town. Playing alongside future major-leaguers Ernie Wingard and Verdo Elmore, Jackson hit .465 and led Americus to a championship. That team was the subject of a book, *Shoeless Summer*, by John Bell in 2001.

In the offseason, Jackson's lawsuit against the White Sox — alleging a breach of contract when he was suspended by the team after the 1919 World Series fix became public knowledge — went to trial in Milwaukee (where the White Sox were originally incorporated by owner Charles Comiskey.)

During the trial, an Americus reporter traveled to Martha Jackson's home on Mason Street in Greenville, South Carolina, and asked her about Joe's involvement in the scandal.

"I don't believe Joe did anything wrong," she said. "I know he was raised honest and he couldn't do the things they accused him of. Anyway, his record in the series shows that he did his best."

Martha claimed to have been present when White Sox executive Harry Grabiner visited Joe Jackson's home in Savannah, Georgia, following the 1919 World Series and signed him to a three-year contract for the 1920 season. The contract was a key point of contention in Jackson's suit against the White Sox, with the illiterate ballplayer claiming he was pressured by Grabiner into signing the contract before his wife Katie had a chance to read over it.

"I saw the contract when it was signed," Martha said. "[Mr. Grabiner] could remember that Sunday morning in Savannah, it seems to me, if he thought hard enough."

Martha also attempted to clear up some confusion about Joe's date and place of birth. The family Bible was lost in a house fire after Joe was born, and various sources have reported his birth in 1887, 1888, or 1889. (SABR's biographical database uses 1887.)

In this interview, Martha claimed Joe was "now in his 39th year," which would make him born around 1885. She also said he was born in an area she called "Muvaney's Shoals" (possibly McElhaney Shoals), a few miles north of Greenville, rather than in rural Pickens County, where she and husband George are thought to have lived at the



Joe Jackson, left, mother Martha Jackson, and brother Jerry Jackson pose for a photo in the late 1920s or early 1930s.
(Photo: BlackBetsy.com)

READ THE INTERVIEW

Click this link to download this article from February 6, 1924, in the *Americus Times-Recorder*:

• [Martha Jackson interview](#)

time. It's a tantalizing new clue for future researchers to dig into.

A few days after Martha's interview was published, Joe Jackson took the stand in Milwaukee and repeated his own claims of innocence in the World Series fix. On February 14, a jury awarded him just over \$16,000 in back pay, a verdict that stunned the Wisconsin courtroom and

other observers. Judge John Gregory immediately threw out the verdict and had Jackson placed in jail for several hours on a charge of perjury.

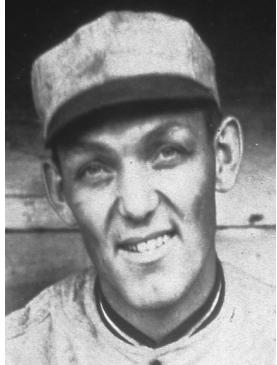
An irate Gregory pointed out that Jackson's testimony in this case was a complete contradiction from his 1920 grand jury testimony in Chicago, when he admitted accepting a bribe from gamblers to throw the World Series. At least one version of Jackson's stories given under oath must be false, the judge ruled as he vacated the jury's verdict.

After posting bail, Jackson returned home to Savannah and resumed playing outlaw baseball in south Georgia. He continued to claim to have no involvement in the Black Sox Scandal for years afterward, as his mother had once done before.

"I believe he is innocent," she said, "and I feel sure those who don't think so now will find it out some day!"

THE FUTURE LAWYERS CLUB OF P.S. 88 PRESENT:

Buck Weaver & Shoeless Joe Jackson v. Major League Baseball



Prior to his retirement in 2020, SABR member Gary Mintz was a social studies and classroom teacher working in the New York City public school system. During his career, Gary also served as Law Club Coordinator for students interested in learning more about civics and how the judicial system works.

In May 2009, he oversaw a Black Sox-related project undertaken by fourth and fifth grade members of the Future Lawyers Club of P.S. 88 in Ridgewood, Queens. The project focus was a hypothetical 1923 petition for reinstatement submitted by Joe Jackson and Buck Weaver, with arguments both pro and con articulated by the students and then fleshed out via mock trial-like proceedings.

The project was undertaken without the benefit of SABR's Eight Myths

Out project or other Black Sox scholarship of the past decade, yet the students nevertheless present a clear and incisive look into the questions of fact and law that still attend the Jackson and Weaver situations. Given page space constraints, the petition has been condensed for this newsletter. We think you will find the students' work as interesting and thought-provoking as we have.

— Bill Lamb



NARRATION: FACT SHEET

(Student presenters are identified by their initials below)

ED: The 1919 season is considered to this day a black eye for baseball. Many of the Chicago White Sox players decided they were not being paid fully for their services that many other players around the league were getting. They decided they were entitled to more money, so they took things into their own hands by forming relationships with known gamblers for the sole purpose of throwing the 1919 World Series between the White Sox and the Cincinnati Reds. Supposedly, eight men were involved in the shenanigans. The following year, revelations came out that a fix might have occurred during the 1919 Series. In a 1921 trial, all players were cleared of charges despite the fact that many admitted being involved. It seems that many of the confessions by the players were either lost or stolen. Despite their declared innocence, Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, the Baseball Commissioner, declared all eight conspirators ineligible to ever play Major League Baseball again.

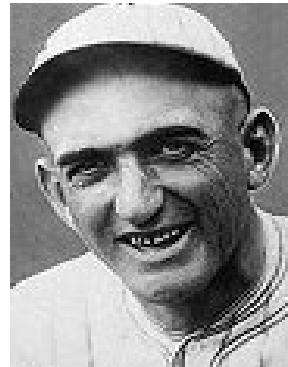
AM: What if one of the so-called conspirators attended meetings but played no part in the scandal, took no money, and played his heart out? What if another player had the money thrown at him, even tried to return it, even tried to make others aware of the situation, only to fall on deaf ears? That player also had the highest batting average for

either team. Today's trial brings to light the real possibility that these two players, Buck Weaver and Shoeless Joe Jackson, really had nothing to do with the scam and were just pawns in a poker game between the remaining six Chicago White Sox, the White Sox management, and a group of known gamblers. Maybe these two players should be labeled famous and not infamous as they are portrayed today as being part of the infamous Black Sox Scandal. Maybe, just maybe, they should be remembered for being the great Hall of Fame players they might have been.

MD: Today, some four years after the 1919 World Series, Buck Weaver and Shoeless Joe Jackson are asking for reinstatement into Major League Baseball. They have petitioned the courts to overturn Judge Landis' decree of permanent banishment, just as Landis had overturned the Illinois court's original decision of innocent. The trial will either uphold the Landis decree or allow Mr. Weaver and Mr. Jackson to assume their careers and to once again retain their dignity. Do both Mr. Weaver and Mr. Jackson deserve to be reinstated? Does only one deserve it? Does neither deserve it? Listen to the evidence and draw your own conclusions.

AB: As per the judge's order, all witnesses have been sworn in prior to being called to the stand. Order in the court, order in the court.

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PETITIONERS' OPENING STATEMENT

JA: Good morning, Your Honors. My name is JA. Today, my partners MD, JO, JK, VS, JI, and I will present to you a case that deserves to be reheard and rehashed. This case involves the reinstatement of former Chicago White Sox stars Buck Weaver and Joe Jackson from their so-called involvement in the 1919 World Series between the White Sox and the Cincinnati Reds. It appears from evidence that these two ballplayers might have been lumped in with the other six conspirators and really had nothing to do with what went on in the games. The facts are that the six other players have basically come to their defense as you will see by their sworn testimony.

Our clients, Mr. Weaver and Mr. Jackson, are petitioning to have the lifetime ban enforced upon both of them from Major League Baseball stricken from the record. Thus, they can continue playing the game they love ... Major League Baseball. They feel they have been unjustly punished and deserve their rightful place of employment ... The Baseball Diamond. Mr. Weaver and Mr. Jackson did everything they possibly could to bring a World Championship to the south side of Chicago in 1919. Other witnesses, besides the six members of the so-called conspiracy, will all give testimony bearing this out.

We ask the court to right a wrong that Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis has bestowed on these two baseball heroes when he banished them from Major League Baseball for life in 1921. They might have been at the wrong place at the wrong time. These players did nothing — I repeat nothing — wrong on the field. Their actions on the diamond prove that. We ask the court to reinstate Mr. Weaver and Mr. Jackson careers and to declare Mr. Landis decree in regards to them, null and void. Thank you.

MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL'S OPENING STATEMENT

RM: Members of the court, my name is RM. Today my partners SAG, SC, RS, VM, and I are here to defend our client, Major League Baseball. Baseball is a sacred game. Everyone associated with it is supposed to act in the correct manner, on and off the field. When a player crosses the foul lines to play the game he is supposed to be representing our great game. Mr. Weaver and Mr. Jackson did a horrendous job representing our game in the 1919 World Series. They crossed the foul lines and became foul human beings. They disgraced our game by associating themselves with known gamblers. They now come here today saying they had great statistics, played to win, didn't attend meetings, etc. Our witnesses will prove that these men deserve to be banned for life from baseball. They knew what was going on even



In their 1921 trial, Buck Weaver (seated, third from right) and Shoeless Joe Jackson (seated, second from right) were represented by some of Chicago's top criminal defense lawyers. (Photo: SABR-Rucker Archive)

if they didn't, by statistics, appear to be cheating.

Members of the court, the plaintiffs are here today trying to resurrect their careers. They feel that our clients have injured them in some way. The bottom line is that these two players are not heroes. They brought all of this negative notoriety upon themselves by dealing with gamblers. They defrauded the game and now want us to forget it. We won't forget it, the fans won't forget it, and Major League Baseball won't forget it. We are here today to totally back Judge Landis's decree that any player associated with gambling will never play Major League Baseball again.

We ask the court to uphold Mr. Landis' decree and keep Mr. Weaver and Mr. Jackson, and any other future conspirators from ever returning to the baseball diamond if found guilty. Both were guilty once and are still guilty. Thank you.

THE CASE FOR THE PETITIONERS

Editor's Note: The original petition testimony included 13 petition-friendly witnesses including Joe Jackson, Buck Weaver, the other six Black Sox players, manager Kid Gleason, and representatives of the Jackson and Weaver fan clubs. As in real life, the direct examination of such witnesses was scripted by petitioner counsel, but the witnesses were on their own when cross-examined by counsel for the opposing side. A selection of these witnesses' testimony follows.

Witness: Arnold "Chick" Gandil [played by DH] Direct Examination by Petitioner Counsel JA

Q: What is your name?

A: Arnold "Chick" Gandil

Q: Mr. Gandil, what is your occupation?

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A: I am a former Major League Baseball player. I played first base for the 1919 Chicago White Sox. We of course were involved in the biggest scandal in baseball history, the supposed throwing of the 1919 World Series. Eight members of the team were acquitted in a jury trial in 1920; however, Major League Baseball suspended the eight of us for life, with no chance of ever playing again. Eight men out.

Q: Were you involved in the scandal?

A: Unfortunately, I was the trigger man who set it all up. Many of us were upset that the White Sox owner Charles Comiskey was paying us below normal wages. We were a great team and he knew it. He wanted to drain every cent out of us without rewarding us.

Q: What did you do?

A: I met with known gamblers and we discussed forms of payment, how the fix would work, etc. I then recruited many members of my team who also despised Mr. Comiskey.

Q: Who were some of these players?

A: Eddie Cicotte, Charles Risberg, Fred McMullin, Claude Williams, Oscar Felsch, Buck Weaver, and Joe Jackson.

Q: What were the results of the so-called “fix”?

A: We lost the best-of-nine series, five games to three games to the Cincinnati Reds. We lost the first two games, won Game Three, lost Games Four and Five, won Games Six and Seven and lost Game Eight and the World Series. The final score in Game Eight was 10-5.

Q: Today’s trial looks to reinstate Buck Weaver and Joe Jackson. Were they and how were they involved?

A: Buck Weaver knew about the fix as he attended the initial meetings, but he didn’t, I repeat, didn’t go in on the fix. Shoeless Joe, he of course wasn’t the brightest light. I honestly believe he really didn’t know what was going on. He can’t read or write. He attended none of the meetings. He accepted money after it was thrown at his feet, but his performance in the World Series shows he wanted to win and was not in on the fix.

Q: In your opinion, should both of your former teammates be exonerated of these charges and thus be cleared by Major League Baseball?

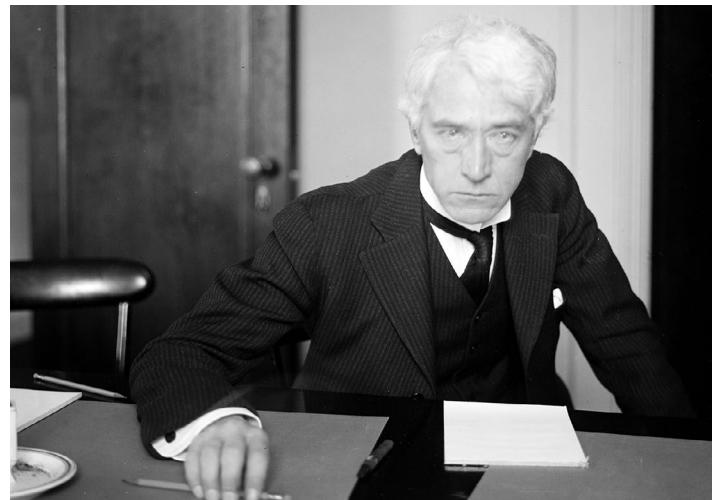
A: Yes, they both should be permitted to play the game they love.

Q: No further questions.

Cross Examination of Chick Gandil by MLB Counsel RM

Q: Since you have associated yourself with gamblers, how can we possibly believe what you say in regard to Weaver and Jackson not being involved in this?

A: Spontaneous response not memorialized.



Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis took a hard line whenever supporters of Buck Weaver or Shoeless Joe Jackson approached him about reinstating them to professional baseball. “Birds of a feather flock together,” he once said in denying Weaver’s appeal. (Photo: Library of Congress)

Witness William “Kid” Gleason [played by DD] Direct Examination by Petitioner Counsel MD

Q: What is your name?

A: William Gleason.

Q: Mr. Gleason, what is your occupation?

A: I am the manager of the Chicago White Sox.

Q: Do you know anything about this so-called fix?

A: I really had no knowledge of the conspiracy at all.

There were rumors but I couldn’t believe them. I felt we weren’t getting the breaks and in time the better team would win the World Series. I was wrong and disheartened.

Q: Did you feel betrayed once it was revealed that eight of your players “fixed” the Series?

A: I felt very much betrayed and extremely disappointed that my guys would do this terrible thing.

Q: Was there anything you saw that made you feel that shenanigans were going on?

A: There were times we made some bone-head plays but I didn’t think it would come to us throwing the games on purpose. Sheesh!

Q: Your thoughts on Weaver and Jackson?

A: I seriously doubt they would have anything to do with this. They played so hard all the time. Buck always gave 100%, diving to stop balls, running hard, etc. Jackson was one of the greatest players of all time. He was too proud a player to be involved. If he took money as was proposed, he probably didn’t really understand what was going on. He loved the game too much to be labeled a cheater. They both should be reinstated.

Q: Is it true that Jackson wanted to sit out a few games during the series because he was trying to alert you of the fix?

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A: He did ask out but I needed him to play.

Q: Any other thoughts?

A: Despite everything, these were the greatest players a manager could ever want to manage and I'm sorry it has come down to this. Had I known anything illegal was going on, I would have stopped it.

Cross Examination of Kid Gleason by MLB Counsel SAG

Q: What kind of manager can you be if you weren't truly aware of what was going on with your team? Were you deaf, dumb, and blind?

A: Spontaneous response not memorialized.

Witnesses Hugh Fullerton [played by LP], Christy Mathewson [played by SF], and Ring Lardner [played by EV]. Direct Examination by Petitioner Counsel VS

Q: What do you gentlemen have to do with the proceedings today?

A (Fullerton): I am a correspondent for the *Chicago Herald and Examiner*.

A (Mathewson): I am a former pitcher for the New York Giants and Cincinnati Reds. I also managed the Reds from 1916-1918. Major League Baseball appointed both of us to monitor the 1919 World Series as some heard the games might be fixed. We sat in the stands during the games and compared notes on players and plays we considered questionable.

A (Lardner): I work for the *Chicago Tribune* as its sports editor. I work with these gentlemen often. I compared notes with them. I felt very betrayed with the club because I was close to many of them.

Q: How did you do this?

A (Mathewson): We each had a scorecard and would circle any players and plays we thought didn't look right. There were many plays and many players, all from the White Sox. We did a lot of circling and compared our work to each others'.

Q: Did you circle the names of Weaver and Jackson?

A (Fullerton): No, we didn't. The other six names came up on all of our cards. To us it was obvious who played like they were involved.

Q: Do you both feel they played honestly?

A (Lardner): I know that most of these Black Sox players are so guilty. As for Weaver and Jackson, we all believe they are both innocent.

Cross Examination by MLB Counsel RS

Q: You circled the names of players who messed up

intentionally. Did you ever consider circling the names of Weaver and Jackson?

A: Spontaneous response not memorialized.

Witnesses from the Buck Weaver fan Club [portrayed by JC, JG, AR, OS, AR, IM, JM, and PR] Direct Examination by Petitioner Counsel VS

Q: What is the name of your organization?

A by JC: We are the members of the Buck Weaver Fan Club!

Q: What is the purpose of you all being here today?

A by JG: We are here to support Bucky! **AR:** Buck is innocent! **OS:** Reinstate Buck! **AR:** Buck wasn't in on the fix! **IM:** Bucky is the man! **JM:** Let Buck back in! **PR:** Shame on you, Judge Landis and Mr. Comiskey!

Q: Is there anything else you'd like to add?

A by JC: These are our feelings about Bucky and the situation. This is for you, Buck!

*Those Cubbie fans claim that their curse is worse
But the White Sox have a real live curse
It's the curse of injustice of nineteen twenty
Against Buck Weaver who didn't take a penny*

*Playing in the Series of 1919
Some White Sox players did not play clean
Buck played without error, batted three twenty-four
In this World Series only Shoeless Joe did more*

*Guilt by association was the Landis decree
Others did the same or worse they got off free
In time Buck would've made it to the Hall of Fame
Instead he's stuck in the baseball hall of shame*

*(Chorus)
Will the White Sox ever win?
Not 'til baseball lets Buck back in!
The curse of the White Sox can be wiped out
Let Buck back in, all the fans shout!*

*Buck played third close and he played like a fiend
His jug-eared face smiled like a jack on Halloween
Buck wanted to play ball more than eat
He'd rather have died than suffer defeat*

*Yes, Buck Weaver played third base without flaw
Cobb said he was the greatest he ever saw
Buck's ghost still roams the old ballfield
Waiting for this injustice to be repealed*

*(Repeat chorus)
(Repeat third line once)
(Repeat fourth line eleven times and fade)*

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Cross Examination by MLB Counsel VM

No questions.

Witness Shoeless Joe Jackson [played by OM] Direct Examination by Petitioner Counsel JI

Q: What is your name?

A: Joe Jackson.

Q: Mr. Jackson, please tell us about your plight?

A: Currently, like Buck Weaver I'm an unemployed Major League Baseball player. I was a star left fielder for the Chicago White Sox. Again, like Buck Weaver, after a ruling by baseball commissioner Judge Landis, I'm not permitted to play Major League Baseball. I can't believe it!

Q: Tell us some the events that led you here today.

A: All I know how to do is play ball. I did take money after it was thrown at me. (*SHOUTING*) I even tried to turn it in to Mr. Comiskey, but they wouldn't take the money. I had some feelings something underhanded was going on but I played through it. I even tried to get myself benched but that didn't work. So I shut up after this and played.

Q: Did you think there was a fix going on then?

A: I know I was doing my job as was Buck and a few others. However, many of us seemed to be playing poorly. Was it done on purpose? I'm not all that sure. Baseball is a funny game.

Q: Give us some statistics to back up your claims about the 1919 Series.

A: I led all batters by hitting .375. I had twelve hits; three were doubles and one home run. I also scored five runs and knocked in six. In the field I was flawless, making no errors and throwing out five runners. Does this sound like someone who would be cheating?

Q: Mr. Jackson, again, what do you want to state today?

A: Regardless of what anybody says, I was innocent of any wrongdoing. I gave baseball all I had. The Supreme Being is the only one to whom I've got to answer. If I had been out there booting balls and looking foolish at bat against the Reds, there might have been some grounds for suspicion. I think my record in the 1919 World Series will stand up against that of any other man in that Series or any other World Series in all history. I'm not the most literate person in the world so I really wasn't too aware of what was really going on. My head was focused solely on the games. I never attended any meetings that the players have talked about. I deserve to be reinstated! I'm pleading to be reinstated to play the game I love.

Cross Examination of Joe Jackson by MLB Counsel VM

Q: Your statistics say you played well [but] weren't there some at-bats where you could have gotten hits and failed to do so? If you really are innocent, why did you take the money? Why didn't you try to stop your teammates?

A: Spontaneous replies not memorialized.

THE DEFENSE CASE OF MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL

Witness Charles Comiskey [played by SG] Direct Examination by MLB Counsel RM

Q: What is your name?

A: Charles Comiskey.

Q: What is your occupation?

A: I am the owner of the Chicago White Sox.

Q: Can you briefly give some background information concerning the so-called fix?

A: I told many people that if my players were found to have participated in a scheme to scandalize this great game, they would never play for me again. I have kept my word and will continue to do so.

Q: How did it make you feel when it all came out?

A: Those scoundrels destroyed my reputation. Let them all rot. I paid them accordingly; they had no right to do what they did.

Q: Tell us more about the sequence of events as you know them.

A: There was suspicion of a fix during the games in 1919. Gambling had been a part of the game but only in a minor way. The World Series of 1920 was about to start when it all came out. In 1921 there was a trial and the players were made ineligible until a decision was rendered. Although they were all found innocent in August of 1921, Judge Landis declared they all would be banished from baseball for life.

Q: Did you agree with Landis' decision?

A: Who wouldn't! These bums got what they deserved.

Q: The plaintiffs claim that Weaver and Jackson should be reinstated as they weren't truly involved in the fix. Your thoughts?

Q: My thoughts? They belong in baseball but not in the major leagues ever. They have defrauded this game and stained it forever! My gosh, Jackson took \$5,000 dollars and Weaver was in on the meetings. This game has no room for cheaters.

Cross Examination of Charles Comiskey by Petitioner Counsel JA

Q: Didn't Mr. Jackson try to give the money back? Did

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you see any evidence from Weaver and Jackson that they didn't perform up to standards? Before the scandal became public knowledge, did the two men give you reason to doubt their devotion to the game and White Sox?

A: Spontaneous responses not memorialized.

Witness Kenesaw Mountain Landis [played by AM] Direct Examination by MLB Counsel SAG

Q: What is your name?

A: Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis.

Q: What is your occupation?

A: I am the Commissioner of Major League Baseball. I was appointed the game's first commissioner on November 11, 1920.

Q: Why did baseball want or need a commissioner?

A: The owners wanted the game cleaned up. Gambling ties had to be severed no matter how big or small. I was just the guy who could do that too.

Q: What is the main job as commissioner then?

A: My main job is to make sure that the integrity of the game is never challenged. Thus, I had to wipe out any allegations that could ruin the game. I was hired to do just that.

Q: If someone was found guilty of cheating, betting, or doing something illegal, how would you handle it?

A: I would suspend them, fine them, or do whatever I feel necessary to make sure the sanctity of the game is kept. Even if it meant banishing them forever from this game.

Q: In your own words explain what happened after you were hired?

A: Again, I took over in November of 1920 after it was obvious that something had gone on illegally during the 1919 World Series. Before a trial involving the gamblers and players took place, in February 1921 I placed all eight players on the ineligible list. This meant they couldn't play until after the trial, and I made no guarantee of when they could return.

Q: Then what occurred?

A: The jury deliberated for less than three hours and returned a verdict of not guilty on August 2, 1921. Somehow evidence including signed confessions were missing. How ridiculous. I couldn't let this go by. I represent this great game, and I'm in a position of power and decided to act. They were all so guilty to me. On August 3, I banished all of them for life.

Q: Tell the court what you exactly stated?

A: "Regardless of the verdict of juries, no player who throws a ballgame, no player that undertakes or promises to throw a ballgame, no player that sits in conference with a bunch of crooked players and gamblers where the ways and means of throwing a game are discussed and does not promptly tell his club about it, will

ever play professional baseball."

Q: The plaintiff's claim that Weaver and Jackson should be exonerated and be allowed to play Major League Baseball again. Your feelings?

A: This case is closed. What is not understood? As for Weaver, I'll say it again, "No player that sits in conference with a bunch of crooked players and gamblers where the ways and means of throwing a game are discussed and does not promptly tell his club about it, will ever play professional baseball." That is what Weaver did. I could care less about statistics. The same for Jackson. Jackson claims his innocence, but didn't he take \$5,000? Statistics mean nothing.

Cross Examination of Kenesaw Landis by Petitioner Counsel MD

Q: Mr. Landis, the court previously found the players innocent. Why did you have the right to ruin their careers? It has been stated that Weaver and Jackson played well. Why lump them into this when Weaver didn't attend meetings or take money and Jackson tried to give the money back?

A: Spontaneous responses not memorialized.

Witnesses Sport Sullivan, Arnold Rothstein, Abe Attell, Bill Burns, Billy Maharg, and Nat Evans Direct Examination by MLB Counsel SC

Q: What are your names?

A: I'm Arnold Rothstein [played by MF]. I am Sport Sullivan [played by CP]. I'm Abe Attell [played by FT]. I'm Bill Burns [played by TF]. I'm Billy Maharg [played by KH]. I'm Nat Evans [played by MG].

Q: Gentlemen, we all recognize you as gamblers and the court is only allowing you to speak here today because you were acquitted in a previous trial. Do you all understand?

A (Evans): Yes, we do.

Q: It is obvious that something went on during the 1919 series. Can you verify that statement?

A (Sullivan): We knew that the players were upset with Mr. Comiskey, so we felt we could all win by being involved in the fix. The players would get rich and we would too.

Q: Tell us about the climate of the game before Mr. Landis took over, in regards to betting, gambling, etc.

A (Attell): Before Landis arrived, betting and gambling on games were legal. We were close to the players. We would ask questions to try to get inside information. The information could be who was hurt, who might have been out late, and things like that. Little things, this was gambling on a small level. Everyone knew about this, the players, managers, owners, reporters, everyone. We decided to make this huge so we spoke to the White Sox players about

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fixing the World Series. We had lots of money and planned on making much more by betting on the Cincinnati Reds. The Sox players agreed to the scam to make money and get even with Comiskey.

Q: What happened when Landis took over?

A (Burns): Basically, he intended to sever all ties with gamblers and baseball. He started it by banning the eight players from the White Sox.

Q: Do you have any sympathy for the eight men now out of baseball?

A (Maharg): NO! They knew what they were doing. No money was returned to us.

Q: Mr. Weaver and Mr. Jackson claim they weren't involved, do you know about this?

A (Evans): As far as we are concerned if you knew what was going on, you're involved. Weaver sat in on the meetings and we heard Jackson took money that Lefty Williams gave him, the sum of \$5,000.

Q: Do you think Weaver and Jackson should be allowed to play Major League Baseball?

A (Rothstein): We wouldn't bet on it!

Cross Examination by Defense Counsel JO

Q: Gentlemen, aren't you trying to get even with these players, especially Weaver and Jackson, because you didn't get all the money you thought you would? Weren't you upset with how well Jackson and Weaver played?

A: Spontaneous responses not memorialized.

**SABR Members played by
CC, YS, TR, AS, EC, YF, IF, AM, KP, and PQ
Direct Examination by MLB Counsel VM**

Q: What is the name of your organization?

A: We are members of SABR. SABR stands for the Society for American Baseball Research. We are an organization from baseball's future.

Q: What is the purpose of your organization?

A: Our mission is to foster the study of baseball's past and present. We also provide an outlet for educational, historical and research information about the game. The Society for American Baseball Research was established in Cooperstown, New York, the home of baseball, in August 1971. SABR has research committees each dedicated to studying a different part of the National Pastime. Members are encouraged to participate in any of the committees. We have around 7,000 members worldwide.

Q: What might some of you add to this hearing?

A: We have all heard about all the great statistics that Buck Weaver and Shoeless Joe Jackson had but statistics

can be deceiving. We researched the series in its entirety. It is true Jackson didn't make any errors. Maybe he didn't extend himself enough to track down balls he could have gotten to. As for his hitting, he did have the highest batting average of any players in the 1919 series hitting .375. In the five games that the White Sox lost, he batted only .286 in those games. Also, of his six runs batted in during the series, half of them came in the losses, all from a home run and a double in Game Eight, when the Reds had a large lead and the series was all but over. This is why statistics prove little. The same can be said for Buck Weaver. The bottom line is that statistics can lie and not show all that is apparent.

Q: Your feelings then on this hearing regarding the possible reinstatement of Weaver and Jackson?

A: Our feelings are history shows that these men were involved in one way or another. Shame on all of them for staining this great game. Whether they were active participants or guilty by association is for you the judges to decide. We just feel that statistics, again, can be misleading. Our game is pure and nothing can or should stain it. We leave you with this.

Cross Examination by Petitioner Counsel VS

Q: Your organization feels that statistics do not prove everything. Can you measure the heart of these two players, Weaver and Jackson, who gave it their all?

A: Spontaneous responses not memorialized.

THE PETITIONERS' CLOSING ARGUMENT

Your honors, after hearing all the testimony presented to you this afternoon, as well as the cross-examination questions asked of the defendants, it is obvious that our clients, Buck Weaver and Joe Jackson, should be reinstated into Major League Baseball. Both men had nothing to do with what went on during the 1919 World Series. Weaver was previously found guilty by association with gamblers by Kenesaw Landis. Just because he knew of them doesn't mean he cheated or threw the World Series. His statistics that were spoken of prove it. Weaver was a gamer. He played to win and only win. He was too proud a man and a player. Jackson was likewise a gamer. He played harder than anyone in a uniform. He led both teams in batting average and he sparkled on defense. Jackson got caught up in this mess by accident and continually tried to alert others by also trying to return the money that was literally thrown at him by his teammates. Jackson, not a rocket scientist, was truly unaware of the ramifications of any actions he was said to be involved in. Our witnesses proved beyond a doubt that these men were not involved in the scam and should be allowed to return to Major League Baseball. Furthermore, our two main witnesses are fine men and proved they didn't do anything illegal. Your honors, we implore

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you to reinstate Mr. Weaver and Mr. Jackson to active status in Major League Baseball. Let them return to the game they love and the fans who adore them both. We know the right decision will be made today. Thank you.

MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL'S CLOSING ARGUMENT

Your honors, it is obvious after hearing all the testimony today that our clients, Major League Baseball, did in fact act correctly in banning six Chicago White Sox players for life and, as far as this hearing goes, Buck Weaver and Joe Jackson, as well. This petition is ridiculous. Nothing has been proven here today to clear either man of what they did. They both knowingly defrauded this great game. They have left a stain on the game that will last forever. Cheating is cheating!

Mr. Landis stated the following when he banished the players, "Regardless of the verdict of juries, no player who throws a ballgame, no player that undertakes or promises to throw a ballgame, no player that sits in conference with a bunch of crooked players and gamblers where the ways and means of throwing a game are discussed and does not promptly tell his club about it, will ever play professional baseball." How true this statement is regarding the two petitioners.

For years upon years, baseball had some sort of small affair with gamblers. There is no denying this. These players however went too far with this incident and they want every one of us to make-believe it never happened. Well, it did happen and it will never be forgotten. You can't just sweep this under the rug or close your eyes. Weaver and Jackson are not heroes, they are villains. These players are fortunate enough not to be put in jail for their actions. Being banished from baseball to many is just a slap on the wrist.

Your honors, we ask the court to deny the attempts by these players to be reinstated to baseball. It in fact is imperative again that you find these two men guilty of deceitfully interfering with breaking the moral and ethical code of baseball. That is the belief that everyone is playing fairly with the sole purpose of playing their best. Conspiring with known criminals can't be considered playing your best. These men, all eight in total, including the two petitioning for reinstatement, have defrauded the game we know and love. To allow any of them back in the game would be a travesty to anyone associated with the game. All previous verdicts against these two men must be upheld. Thank you.

THE COURT'S DECISION

Gambling in baseball is inherently wrong. The petitioners breached the ethics of the game. Petition denied.

BASE BALL FANS ATTENTION!

can we turn down

'Shoeless' Joe Jackson

GREATEST OF ALL OUTFIELDERS

without further hearing? Are you sure he was not "FRAMED UP?" Some may think they have him BURIED ALIVE in scandal. His answer is his remarkable COME-BACK.

JOE JACKSON comes of too sturdy a stock to be disposed of through any "buried alive" process. He is willing to be vanquished only by his peers—if he has any—in a fair game, on the Base Ball Diamond—and not otherwise.

JOE JACKSON challenges any base ball players, amateur or professional, to beat him on his own ground "put up or shut up!" And JOE JACKSON comes back, as he has ever declared, for

A Square Deal

to the FANS
to the Owners
to the Managers

to the PLAYERS—to the Umpires

"Square Deal" Ed. Phelan, President
New York Semi-Professional Base Ball Association
Park Row Building, New York City

(Endorsed) J. J. FISHMAN
86 Elliott Avenue, Yonkers, N. Y.
Correspondence and Suggestions Solicited

Above: One hundred years ago in 1922, Shoeless Joe Jackson partnered with a New York-based promoter, Edward Phelan, to publicly make his case for reinstatement to baseball commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis. Phelan arranged for Jackson to give a speech on July 21 at the Manhattan Casino on 8th Avenue across the street from the Polo Grounds. "I ain't guilty of nothing," Jackson told a crowd of about 200 people. "I'm going to keep on playing baseball if I have to play by myself." Phelan also organized a petition drive outside the Polo Grounds before a Yankees-White Sox game in mid-July. Below: Jackson spent the rest of the summer playing around New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania with a team billed as the "Joe Jackson All-Stars." (Photos: Joe Jackson Scrapbook / BlackBetsy.com)



► CENSUS

Continued from page 1

games in South Carolina's upstate region. Jackson's home, which was moved from its original location across town in the mid-2000s, is now the site of the Shoeless Joe Jackson Museum and Baseball Library.

Eddie Cicotte had also settled into a pleasant life of retirement in his hometown of Detroit, following a two-decade career at the Ford Motor Company. After he stopped working full-time in 1943, he and his wife Rose moved with their adult daughter, also named Rose, to a small, five-acre farm on 7 Mile Road in suburban Livonia, where they planted strawberries and tended to their garden. Cicotte would live out the rest of his life on the farm, receiving occasional visitors and autograph requests, until his death in 1969.

Buck Weaver remained in Chicago after the Black Sox Scandal abruptly ended his professional career. In 1950, at the age of 60, he was working as a painter and decorator at Cook County's new criminal courts building — the facility at 26th Street and California Avenue had replaced the old courthouse on West Hubbard Street where Weaver and his Black Sox teammates were acquitted by a jury in 1921. Weaver and his wife Helen lived in a South Side apartment on Winchester Avenue with her widowed sister Marie Scanlan and niece Bette Scanlan.

After Marie's husband died unexpectedly during the Great Depression in 1931, Buck and Helen took in their family and helped raise Marie's daughters, Patricia and Bette. Weaver would not appear in the next census, dying of a heart attack in 1956.

After living in Chicago and working odd jobs for most of the 1920s and '30s, Lefty Williams and his wife Lyria moved out to Southern California in 1936. Lefty worked as a carpenter, mostly in the San Fernando Valley, while Lyria became involved in local politics and civic affairs. By 1950, they lived in Northridge, a growing suburb north of Los Angeles, in a house on Lindley Avenue. In 1955, they would move south to Orange County and purchase a hillside beach cottage in South Laguna, where they enjoyed a spectacular view of the Pacific Ocean and, on clear days, could see as far as Catalina Island.

Lefty also would not appear in the next census, dying at the age of 66 in 1959, just weeks after the Chicago White Sox won their first American League pennant in 40 years.

Fred McMullin returned home to Los Angeles after the Black Sox Scandal, where he lived out the rest of his life

in a bungalow on Baldwin Street in the Lincoln Heights neighborhood. He bought that house with his earnings from the White Sox's 1917 World Series championship share, and he and his wife Delia raised their three children there. By 1950, he had been working for nearly ten years as a deputy marshal for Los Angeles County, enforcing repossession and serving arrest warrants and eviction notices. McMullin died of a stroke at the age of 61 in 1952.

Happy Felsch also went back to his hometown of Milwaukee following his baseball career. He played semipro baseball for years and then opened a tavern, where he stood behind the bar most nights and struggled to deflect drunken comments about his involvement in the 1919 World Series scandal. By 1950, he and his wife Marie were living in an apartment on Ring Avenue and he was working as a crane operator. Their youngest daughter Shirley, 23, was also living with them while working at a transport company office. The Felsches moved across town to another apartment on 49th Street a few years later, where Happy would stay until his death in 1964.

Swede Risberg had the most nomadic life following his banishment from major-league baseball. He spent many summers playing baseball all over the Upper Plains and into Western Canada until the mid-1930s. By 1938, he had moved his wife Mary, and their two sons Robert and Gerald, to a rural outpost called Weed in northern California near the Oregon border. That's where he was living at the time of the 1950 Census, running a successful tavern called Risberg's in the shadow of the imposing Black Butte summit.

Eliot Asinof visited Risberg at his bar in the early 1960s while working on the book that became *Eight Men Out*. The author found Swede to be as feisty as ever, and his attempt to interview the ballplayer proved futile.

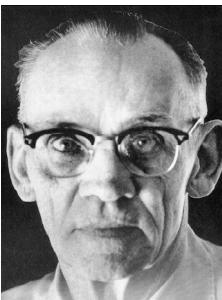
After a few years playing outlaw baseball near the southern US-Mexico border, Chick Gandil settled in the Bay Area, bouncing around between apartments in Oakland, Berkeley, and Alameda

Island while finding steady work as a plumber. At the time the 1950 Census was recorded, he and his wife Faye were living with his elderly mother, Louisa, in a small four-plex unit on 65th Street in Oakland. In 1956, after his mother's death, Chick and Faye retired and moved north to the wine country of Napa Valley, where they spent the rest of their days.

When Chick died at the age of 82 in 1970, the news of an old plumber's death did not make headlines until SABR founding member Tom Hufford alerted the media that Arnold Gandil was the same man who fixed the 1919 World Series.



Eddie Cicotte



Chick Gandil



Joe Jackson

AROUND THE WEB

How many hits did Eddie Collins truly record?

On May 18, 2022, Albert Pujols recorded his 3,314th career hit in the St. Louis Cardinals' game against the New York Mets at Citi Field, moving him into 10th place all time on Major League Baseball's all-time leaderboard.

That was true, at least, according to the Elias Sports Bureau, which says former Chicago White Sox and Philadelphia A's great Eddie Collins had 3,313 hits during his Hall of Fame career from 1906 to 1930. Pujols's single in the fourth inning off Max Scherzer moved Collins out of the top 10 in career hits for the first time in nearly a century, according to Elias.

But as [Benjamin Hoffman explains at the New York Times](#), there are discrepancies everywhere when it comes to early baseball statistical records.

Major League Baseball's online leaderboard at [MLB.com](#) actually has Collins with 3,314 hits, despite MLB partnering with Elias as its official stats provider. Meanwhile, Retrosheet and [Baseball-Reference.com](#), two independent statistical websites that draw their information from a variety of sources, both have Collins at 3,315. (Pujols surpassed the latter figure on May 22 against Pittsburgh, so there's no question he has passed Collins by now.)

Hoffman writes that the discrepancy in Collins's totals is due to an accounting error in the official American League record books. On September 4, 1920, as the White Sox were battling for first place in a tight three-way pennant race, Collins went 2-for-4 in [the second game](#) of a doubleheader against the St. Louis Browns. But the AL record book accidentally "swapped" his records with a different player afterward, and Collins was officially credited with zero hits in the game. Retrosheet and [Baseball-Reference](#) have corrected Collins's total, but Elias continues to use the original mark.

That's the difference between 10th and 11th place, 102 years later.

◆ At Ball Nine, [Kevin Kernan](#) discusses the [legacy of Shoeless Joe Jackson](#) following the death of Ray Liotta, the acclaimed actor who died in May at the age of 67 and famously portrayed Jackson in the 1989 film, *Field of Dreams*.

◆ A game-worn Eddie Cicotte jersey from the 1917 season [sold at auction](#) for more than \$180,000 this summer, according to [Rich Mueller](#) at *Sports Collectors Digest*. Cicotte's

1919 White Sox contract also sold for more than \$40,000.

◆ [Steve Lange](#) and [Thomas Weber](#) interviewed [Swede Risberg's grandson](#), Jeff, about the family's post-baseball



Eddie Collins recorded 3,315 hits during his Hall of Fame career with the Chicago White Sox and Philadelphia A's. But the Elias Sports Bureau, Major League Baseball's official statistical provider, only credits him with 3,313 due to a discrepancy in the American League record books. Retrosheet says more than 130 discrepancies exist in Collins's documented statistics thanks to errors in early record-keeping. (Photo: Chicago History Museum, Chicago Daily News archives)

life in Minnesota for *Rochester Magazine*. Jeff also supplied several rare family photos to go with the article.

◆ [Chase Justice](#) at WSAV in Savannah, Georgia, covered the [Shoeless Joe Jackson Museum's literacy program](#) and the installation of a community book box at the former site of the earliest professional baseball diamond in the city.

◆ [Andrea Beam](#) at Substack writes about [discovering Shoeless Joe Jackson's presence](#) all around her hometown of Greenville, South Carolina.

◆ [Thomas E. Merrick](#) explores a [strong 1917 performance](#) by White Sox rookie shortstop Swede Risberg in a new article for the SABR Games Project.

◆ [Sam Gazzdiak](#) at RIP Baseball looks back at a "game-fixing" scandal that almost engulfed the Chicago White Sox ... during the 1981 strike season.

◆ [Patrick Hruby](#) at Global Sports Matters warns of America's [looming gambling addiction crisis](#) now that sports betting has been legalized in more states.

◆ [Michael Weinreb](#) at Global Sports Matters takes a historical look at the country's [enthusiastic embrace](#) of legal sports gambling in the wake of a 2018 Supreme Court decision.



Ray Liotta