

BLACK SOX SCANDAL



Vol. 6, No. 1, June 2014

Research Committee Newsletter

Leading off ...

What's in this issue

- ◆ Rare 1919 World Series film newsreel discovered [PAGE 1](#)
- ◆ The curious case of the Chicago ballpark bombings [PAGE 3](#)
- ◆ In Memoriam:
Delia McEwan [PAGE 5](#)
- ◆ The early life of
Lefty Williams [PAGE 6](#)
- ◆ Out of the shadows:
Sport Sullivan [PAGE 9](#)
- ◆ Nat Evans: More than
a Rothstein associate [PAGE 14](#)
- ◆ Rachie Brown: Shedding light
on a mystery man [PAGE 18](#)

Chairman's Corner

By Jacob Pomrenke

buckweaver@gmail.com

Hope you didn't think there was nothing left to learn about the Black Sox Scandal!

Wow, what an exciting year it's been for us researchers on the Black Sox trail. The big news, of course, was the discovery of a long-buried Canadian newsreel film that contains nearly five minutes of game action from the 1919 World Series, including several clips from the controversial fourth inning of Game One when Eddie Cicotte got knocked out of the box by the Cincinnati Reds.

Fans, writers, and historians have been debating what actually happened on the field during the 1919 World Series for decades, and so have the members of this committee. But we've done it all without the benefit of replay — if you attended the games at Redland Field or Comiskey Park in 1919, you got one chance to see the game. And if you weren't

► **Continued on Page 2**



Nearly five minutes of film footage from the 1919 World Series — including this screenshot of Cincinnati Reds players sitting in a makeshift dugout at Redland Field before Game One — that remained preserved for years in Yukon, Canada, was recently discovered by a Chicago filmmaker and posted online by the Library and Archives Canada. (Photo: British Canadian Pathé News / YouTube.com.)

Rare 1919 World Series film found

Newsreel footage discovered in rural Canadian archive

By Jacob Pomrenke

buckweaver@gmail.com

A remarkable newsreel featuring nearly five minutes of game action from Games One and Three of the controversial 1919 World Series is now available online, thanks to the Library and Archives Canada and the Dawson City Museum in Yukon, Canada.

The newsreel was originally filmed by British Canadian Pathé News and preserved for decades in an old swimming pool-turned-hockey rink in Dawson City until it was re-discovered in the Canadian national archive this January by Chicago filmmaker Bill Morrison, according to a story last month by the *Columbus* (Ohio) *Dispatch*. It is [not the first footage available](#) of the 1919 World Series —

in which eight members of the Chicago White Sox were banned for intentionally throwing the Series to the Cincinnati Reds — but it is perhaps the highest quality video available of the games on the field.

The new film was posted on LibraryArchiveCanada's YouTube page — [view it here at http://bit.ly/1919WS-Pathé](#) — on April 25, 2014, at the request of SABR member Dave Filipi, film/video director of the Wexner Center for the Arts in Columbus. Filipi showed the Pathé newsreel for the first time in March at his annual Rare Baseball Films event.

The Pathé newsreel includes never-before-seen footage from the first and fourth innings of Game One of the 1919 World Series, plus an aerial flyover of

► **Continued on Page 8**

► CHAIRMAN

Continued from Page 1

around then, well, good luck trying to decipher the many — and often contradictory — play-by-play accounts that appeared in newspapers around the country to figure out how the Series was thrown.

But now we have some tantalizing clues that no one else has seen in 95 years.

Did Cicotte really delay his throw to Swede Risberg at second base on Larry Kopf's comebacker, and screw up an inning-ending double play in Game One? That memorable play can clearly be seen in the newsreel, and you can watch the 3-second clip over and over and over again to decide for yourself.

But this remarkable newsreel isn't the only big discovery on the Black Sox trail.

Committee member Bruce Allardice has done some digging on the elusive Sport Sullivan — one of the most important figures in the Black Sox Scandal, a prominent Boston gambler and game-fixer whose life after 1919 (and before it, too) has virtually never been explored.

In an original article for this newsletter ([see page 9](#)), Allardice fills in the many gaps on Sullivan's life. Like many of the figures involved in the scandal, it wasn't that Sullivan tried especially hard to disappear afterward — it's just that everyone stopped looking for him. His gambling pedigree and life history are barely discussed in *Eight Men Out*, but as Allardice explains, Sullivan's obituary was printed in Boston newspapers and even picked up by *The Sporting News* in 1949. How this fact escaped our notice over the years, even well into the era of Paper of Record and online text-search capabilities, is beyond me. (Allardice notes that there must have been hundreds of Joseph J. Sullivans in Boston at the turn of the 20th century, so that's one reason Sport has proved so hard to track down.)

Also in this newsletter, Allardice follows up on Bob Hoie's recent research on the gambler Nat Evans and Bill Lamb's previous article on the real Abraham "Rachael" Brown, a small-time New York thug whose name was cunningly used as an alias by Evans when he met with the White Sox players during the World Series. Allardice does a superb job telling their life stories, too.

In these three articles alone, we've learned perhaps as much new information about some gamblers involved in the Black Sox Scandal as we did in the previous 95 years. That's extraordinary — and the best news of all is, these discoveries are happening with regularity.

Bill Lamb's insightful book on the Black Sox legal proceedings that came out in 2013 and Bob Hoie's landmark 2012 article on major league player salaries have shed valuable new light on what we know about the scandal, the characters involved, their actions, and their motivations.

Never was the late Gene Carney's phrase so apt as it is

SABR 44 COMMITTEE MEETING

Our annual Black Sox Scandal committee meeting at the SABR 44 convention in Houston, Texas, is scheduled for **5:30-6:30 p.m., Friday, August 1, 2014** in the Champions I/II room on the second floor of the Royal Sonesta Houston (2222 W Loop S Fwy., Houston, TX 77027.)

You must register for the convention in order to attend, but all are welcome. Learn more at SABR.org/convention. If you would like to make a presentation or if you have any questions, please contact Jacob Pomrenke at buckweaver@gmail.com.

today: The Black Sox Scandal is indeed a cold case, not a closed case. And it sure is getting a lot warmer these days.

♦♦♦

Here's a brief update on the status of our 1919 White Sox BioProject book: The book is tentatively scheduled for publication as part of SABR's Digital Library e-book program in Spring 2015, to coincide with the SABR national convention taking place in Chicago next year. Nearly all new biographies and essays have been submitted, and have now completed editing. Authors should expect to hear from me in the coming weeks and I'll be sending final drafts of your bios for you to sign off on. Then we'll begin work on the design and layout of the book this fall. Won't be long now!

For more information about SABR's Black Sox Scandal Research Committee, contact chairman Jacob Pomrenke at buckweaver@gmail.com.

Black Sox Scandal Research Committee

Committee chairman:

Jacob Pomrenke, buckweaver@gmail.com

E-mail list manager:

Rod Nelson, rodericnelson@gmail.com

Newsletter editors: Mark Dugo,

Rick Huhn, Steve Klein

Post questions, discussion at our

Yahoo group: <http://bit.ly/1919Sox-Yahoo>

The curious case of the Chicago ballpark bombings

By Jacob Pomrenke
buckweaver@gmail.com

Late in the evening on Sunday, April 22, 1923, just days before the Chicago White Sox's home opener, a violent explosion rocked Comiskey Park at 35th Street and Shields Avenue. The blast could be heard more than a mile away, but no injuries were reported; only the destruction of a hot dog concession stand on the sidewalk and shattered office windows above the ballpark's main entrance.

Five days earlier on the north side of town, a bomb was discovered outside the Chicago Cubs' home park, now known as Wrigley Field. The device never exploded, but a police investigation turned up other signs of vandalism inside the ballpark: several thousand dollars' worth of recently installed plumbing fixtures were destroyed.

Near the end of the season, on Sunday, October 14, another bomb did go off outside Cubs Park, at the corner of Addison Street and Sheffield Avenue. The blast caused about \$5,000 in property damage, leveling four ticket booths while shattering windows and peeling the paint off the exterior of nearby houses. Chicago police also said the bomb nearly took out a few supporting columns underneath the grandstands. But the next afternoon, the ballpark was in good enough shape for the Cubs to play host to Game Five of the postseason City Series against the White Sox.

Who in the world was targeting Chicago's baseball stadiums?

The *Chicago Tribune* offered a clue underneath its banner headline of "BOMB WHITE SOX BALL PARK" on April 23. A curious sub-headline on the newspaper's front page read: "Blame Landis Award For New Attack."

When questioned about the Comiskey Park bombing, White Sox secretary Harry Grabiner told police that the ballpark had recently been re-painted by "Landis Award

painters" and attributed the attack to an ongoing labor dispute. Union workmen, Grabiner said, had been picketing both the White Sox's and Cubs's stadiums since Opening Day with signs declaring that the teams were hostile to organized labor.

Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis was hired as baseball's first commissioner in the fall of 1920. He had many fans in his home city of Chicago, and he was credited with cleaning up the game following the Black Sox Scandal.

But it was Landis's other job title — as federal judge of the United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois — that contributed to the pattern of violence afflicting Chicago's ballparks in 1923.

As Landis biographer David Pietrusza explained in *Judge and Jury: The Life and Times of Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis*, the end of World War I had led to

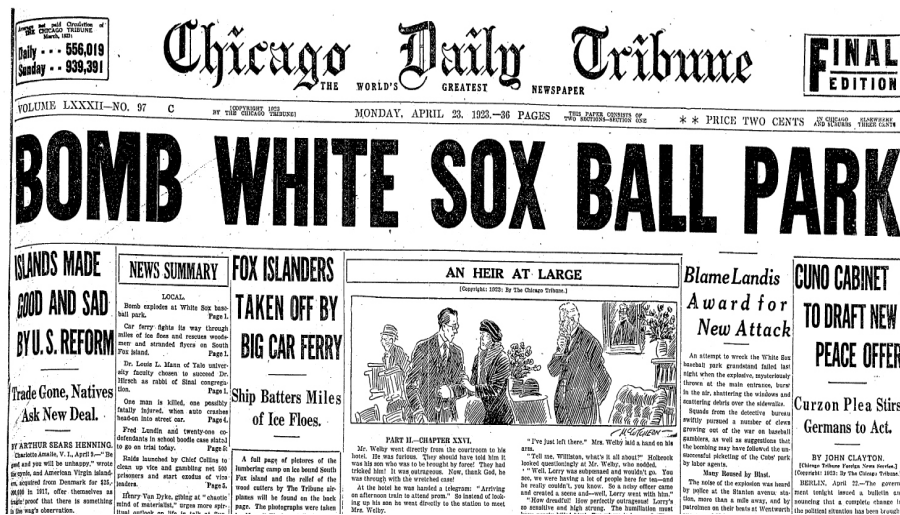
a massive "economic readjustment, with deflation slashing wages in industry after industry. ... [The] construction industry was sick, operating well below pre-war levels. Building costs and rents were high; families could not afford homes."

Baseball was among the industries affected, as the White Sox and Cubs players knew first-hand. In 1919, the first season after the war, owners shortened the schedule to 140 games and lowered salaries across the board.

In the spring of 1921, with new construction virtually nonexistent across the city, the Building Construction Employers' Association of Chicago attempted to impose a 20 percent wage cut on workers. The trade unions balked and management imposed a lockout on nearly 25,000 workers. Judge Landis was asked to step in and resolve the dispute.

In Landis's controversial arbitration decision, issued on September 7, 1921 — just a few weeks after he

► Continued on Page 4



The front page of the *Chicago Tribune* on April 23, 1923, includes an article on a mysterious overnight explosion outside Comiskey Park. White Sox secretary Harry Grabiner blamed union workmen upset at an arbitration decision made by federal judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis that slashed wages. (Photo: ProQuest.)

► BOMBINGS

Continued from Page 3

permanently banned the Black Sox from Organized Baseball for throwing the 1919 World Series — the judge blasted the state of the construction industry. He said the “industrial depression [had] resulted in a virtual famine in housing accommodations and brought about the idleness of many thousands of men willing to work.”

In order to spur business development, he cut worker wages by an average of 12.5 percent, lifted restrictions on machinery and materials, and settled many jurisdictional disputes to cut the “monopoly” of the trade unions.

The decision, as Pietrusza wrote, “had nationwide influence and was credited with helping revive the American construction industry.” Nearly a half-billion dollars was soon committed to new construction in Chicago alone. Companies were happy to follow Landis’s edict, since it allowed them to offer lower wages for more working hours than they had been paying before. But naturally, many workers hated what became known as the “Landis Award.”

Throughout 1922 and into the spring of 1923, sabotage reigned as the battle to enforce the Landis Award provisions was fought. Some worker-friendly companies refused to use the Landis Award wage scale, and tensions ran high between “Landis Award” shops and union shops. Prominent business leaders formed a vigilante Citizens’ Committee to protect non-union workers from being attacked on the job (or, depending on your perspective, to attack and intimidate union workers fighting for higher wages.) Construction sites and factories were often plagued by arson, bombings, beatings, and other random acts of violence.

The *Chicago Tribune*, a staunchly anti-union paper, reported regularly on any incident that could be blamed on Landis Award opponents. A sample of headlines drives home the picture:

- ♦ “Reward Offered For Arrest of Labor Sluggers” (March 17, 1922)
- ♦ “Landis Award Building Bombed for Second Time” (April 13, 1922)
- ♦ “Landis Award Shop Wrecked By 3 Sluggers” (April 22, 1922)
- ♦ “Landis Award Worker Beaten by 5 Gangsters” (August 6, 1922)
- ♦ “2 Landis Award Houses Bombed; Fear New Drive” (December 23, 1922)

This was the toxic labor environment in which the

We Don't Patronize

Chicago White Sox Chicago Cubs

UNFAIR

District Council No. 14, of Chicago and vicinity, reports that the ball parks of the Chicago White Sox and Chicago Cubs have been painted by non-union painters, and that both clubs have been placed on the “We Don't Patronize” list.

It is the solemn duty of every member of the Brotherhood and of Organized Labor everywhere to refrain from attending any of the games of these two clubs when playing in their respective cities, thereby assisting our membership in the city of Chicago in their gallant fight, which has been made for the past year, against the unfair Landis award.

This advertisement criticizing the White Sox and Cubs for using non-union painters appeared in the April 1923 edition of “The Painter and Decorator,” a newsletter for the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

Chicago baseball teams opened their seasons in 1923.

When White Sox owner Charles Comiskey decided to repaint his stadium’s exterior before the home opener, he hired non-union painters to do the job. Cubs owner William Wrigley hired non-union workers to install 5,000 new seats at his North Side ballpark. That decision saved the owners a lot of money, but it also put them both at risk of retaliation.

Luckily for both teams, no one was injured in the April 22 bombing incident at Comiskey Park or the October 14 explosion at Cubs Park. Ticket booths and concession stands were quickly rebuilt, and the shattered windows were all replaced.

Despite the banner headlines in the Chicago papers, these shocking but isolated incidents were quickly forgotten. No suspects were named or apprehended, and the ballpark bombings are almost never mentioned today in Chicago baseball history books.

The White Sox, under manager Kid Gleason, opened their home schedule four days after the bombing against the Cleveland Indians. It was a forgettable season for the Sox, who were still decimated by the loss of their star players following the Black Sox Scandal three years earlier. Gleason abruptly announced his retirement after the Sox stumbled to seventh place with a 69-85 record.

The Cubs, managed by Bill Killefer, were slightly more competitive in the National League, finishing in fourth place at 83-71. But they still lost the postseason City Series to the White Sox in six games.

One final point of speculation about the ballpark bombings in 1923:

► Continued on Page 5

► BOMBINGS

Continued from Page 4

It's easy to wonder if the ballparks were targeted in part because of Judge Landis's connection to baseball. They were two of the most high-profile construction sites in town, and Landis by that time was well established as baseball's commissioner. More likely, they were just convenient targets, two random bombings in a long string of labor-related violence that plagued Chicago all year long.

From the moment Landis took the job as commissioner, he was pressured to step down from his position as a federal judge. If he had done so immediately, he never would have been in the position to make the disputed arbitration decision in the first place. But to the chagrin of Landis's many critics, no law existed at the time to limit a judge's outside employment opportunities. So for a short time, he enjoyed the best of both worlds.

Seven months before the arbitration decision, in February 1921, Ohio Congressman Benjamin Welty — perhaps with support behind the scenes from American League president Ban



The *Chicago Tribune* published this photo on October 15, 1923, after a mysterious explosion at Cubs Park (now known as Wrigley Field) caused damages estimated at \$5,000 near the Sheffield Avenue entrance. The incident was one of many acts of sabotage attributed to union workmen who were protesting a decision by federal judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis that slashed wages. (Photo: ProQuest.)

Johnson, who had effectively ruled over baseball's kingdom until Landis was hired — initiated an impeachment probe against Landis in the U.S. House of Representatives. It was an unsubtle attempt to force Landis to give up his government job. Landis,

who was always up for a fight, dug in his heels. "If there's an impropriety here, I haven't seen it," he said. "They will never impeach me."

Landis was right about that, but eventually the pressure to choose one job or the other got to be too much. A House Judiciary subcommittee determined that his service as commissioner was "inconsistent with retention of a federal judgeship." In early September 1921, a week before the Chicago arbitration decision, the American Bar Association formally censured Landis with "unqualified condemnation," declaring that his dual role was "derogatory to the dignity of the bench." Eventually, Congress did pass a statute that would have prevented Landis from holding both positions at the same time.

After the furor died down, Landis did finally resign as a judge in February 1922. "There are not enough hours in the day for all these activities," he announced as he turned his attention fully toward America's national pastime. The Chicago building trades decision was the last major case in his stormy career as a federal judge. But he would spend the rest of his life presiding over the baseball world.

Delia McEwan, 90, youngest daughter of Fred McMullin

Delia Faye McEwan, the youngest of Fred and Delia McMullin's three children, died on Sunday, March 20, 2014, in Santa Cruz, California, eight days after suffering a stroke.

She was born on November 4, 1923, in Los Angeles. She attended Lincoln High School and UCLA, graduating with a degree in Math. Immediately following graduation in 1943, she married George Herbig and in 1949 they moved to Lick Observatory on Mt. Hamilton where their four children were born. After moving to

San Jose in 1967, she and George were divorced and Delia spent several years doing substitute teaching, being actively involved with the PTA and attending all of her sons' Little League games.

In 1971, she married Raymond McEwan and after several moves settled in Texas. Following his death, she moved to Santa Cruz to be close to her children. Delia



Delia McEwan

loved bridge and played with different groups including the Mid County Senior Center for many years. She was a devoted fan of the San Francisco Giants and the 49ers and watched or listened to nearly every game.

Delia is survived by her daughter Marilyn (Jim) Wood of Watsonville, sons Larry Herbig recently of Maui, and John and Robert Herbig of Santa Cruz, as well as several nieces and nephews.

There will be no services and Delia's ashes will be scattered at sea.

The early life of Claude ‘Lefty’ Williams

Editor’s note: This article is adapted from a new SABR biography of Lefty Williams that will appear in the 1919 White Sox BioProject book, scheduled to be published in Spring 2015.

By Jacob Pomrenke

buckweaver@gmail.com

Considered one of the most promising left-handers in baseball, Lefty Williams recorded back-to-back 20-win seasons with the Chicago White Sox in 1919 and ‘20, and he was being groomed to replace Eddie Cicotte as the staff ace. But he threw away his career for a \$5,000 bribe to fix the 1919 World Series, ending the White Sox’s potential championship dynasty before it ever really began.

Not much is known about Williams’s own beginnings. This article will fill in some of the gaps on his early life before he made the major leagues.

Claude Preston Williams was born March 9, 1893, in Aurora, Missouri, the second child to William H. Williams and Mary “Addie” Seratt, a rural farming family that originally hailed from Crawford County, Arkansas. While Williams’s family undeniably had Southern roots and much has been made of Claude’s close friendship with Shoeless Joe Jackson, his maternal grandfather, Samuel Seratt, was a Civil War veteran with the 11th Kansas Cavalry, serving on the Union side during the war. Seratt’s regiment spent more than two years patrolling the Kansas-Missouri border and fought most notably in the Battle of Westport (the “Gettysburg of the West”) in October 1864, the last significant Confederate initiative west of the Mississippi River.

Samuel Seratt, Addie’s father, died young at age 29 in April 1875,



Lefty Williams first came to national prominence when he went 33-12 and pitched an astounding 418.2 innings in 1915 for the Salt Lake Bees of the Pacific Coast League. Little is known of his early life in Springfield, Missouri. (Photo: Robert Edward Auctions.)

when she was just 3 years old; he was buried at Springfield National Cemetery in Missouri. Claude Williams also lost his father at a young age. When Claude was about 8 years old, his father, William, died and Addie soon remarried to Robert A. Grimes, a railroad worker for the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway in nearby Springfield. “The Frisco” was the dominant employer in the area for many years and its regional operations center was located in Springfield. Claude and his older brother, Jessie, welcomed a

half-brother, Lawrence, to the family in 1904.

Claude Williams attended one year of high school in Springfield before taking a job in town as a grocery clerk. His brother, Jessie, worked as a clerk in the railroad yard. Contrary to most reports, the banned Black Sox ballplayers were more educated than they sometimes let on. Fred McMullin and Chick Gandil both told census takers in 1940 that they had attended four years of high school, while Buck Weaver said he had completed at least two years. Swede Risberg stayed in school through the eighth grade and pitched for his school’s baseball team. Eddie Cicotte and Happy Felsch both completed five or six years of grammar school. Only Joe Jackson was truly uneducated; the famously illiterate ballplayer dropped out after the third grade.

Like many boys his age, Williams was more interested in athletics than academics. In 1910, he paid 50 cents to join the O’Leary’s Athletic Club gymnasium with his friend, Luther McCarty, a promising boxer. According to a 1914 article in the *Gulfport* (Miss.) *Daily Herald*, Williams was “fairly handy with his dukes” and sparred regularly at the gym, but he rebuffed his friends’ pleas to take boxing more seriously. “He has boxed for the pleasure of it. ... The professional game has never held the attractions for him that it did for McCarty,” the *Herald* wrote. Williams’s future was in baseball.

Meanwhile, the strapping 6-foot-4 McCarty made his pro boxing debut in 1911 and quickly built a national reputation as the top “great white hope” challenger to the black heavyweight champion Jack Johnson. But in May 1913, the 21-year-old McCarty,

➤ **Continued on Page 7**

► WILLIAMS

Continued from Page 6

who had just months earlier won the unofficial white world heavyweight championship against Al Palzer, collapsed during a fight against challenger Arthur Pelkey in Calgary and died of a brain hemorrhage.

In 1911, the 18-year-old Williams signed a contract to play with Springfield in the independent Kansas-Missouri League. Despite a “peculiar” motion, in which he released the ball low from a sidearm position but kept his torso upright, his strong pitching caught the attention of the Nashville Vols of the Southern Association. But “wildness kept him from making good” in a tryout and the Vols farmed him out to Morristown, Tennessee, of the Appalachian League for the 1912 season.

Williams, who filled out to be a slim 5-feet-9 and 160 pounds, dominated the Appalachian League in 1912, finishing 18-11 with a 1.92 ERA for Morristown. His control also improved greatly, as he walked just 46 batters in 253 innings pitched. In August, Nashville sold his contract to the Brooklyn Dodgers, but manager Bill Dahlen decided not to recall Williams and several other prospects during the season’s final month. Before the 1913 season began, Williams was optioned back to Nashville.

Williams’s second stint in Tennessee was much more productive. He was the youngest member on the Vols’ roster at age 20, called “The Kid” by fans in Nashville that year. He led the Vols in wins (18), ERA (2.30), and WHIP (1.078). In August, Williams was sold to the Detroit Tigers for \$3,500. This time, he was sent up to the majors.

Ty Cobb helped Lefty Williams win his major-league debut for the Tigers on September 17, 1913. In the second game of a doubleheader at Washington, Cobb hit a first-inning grand slam and Williams scattered eight hits in a 4-2 complete-game victory. His next start against the Philadelphia A’s didn’t fare so well — he allowed ten hits and ten runs in a single inning against the eventual World Series champs. Williams made three other appearances for Detroit, but lost two of them.

The Tigers kept Williams around to begin the 1914 season, but he made just one start — another blowout loss to the A’s on May 22 in which future Hall of Fame outfielder Harry Heilmann made three errors in the first inning. Two weeks later, Detroit sold a frustrated Williams to the Sacramento Wolves of the Pacific Coast League. His PCL debut on June 7 was a sign of things to come as he struck out 12 Portland Beavers batters, setting a new career high. Despite joining the Wolves in June, two months after the PCL season began, Williams finished fifth in the league in

strikeouts with 171.

Williams’ season of turmoil continued all summer as he suffered a string of hard-luck losses, finishing with just a 13-20 record. The Sacramento Wolves were also in financial turmoil; in September, they abandoned California’s capital city and played out the rest of their home games in San Francisco’s Mission district.

In 1915, the financially strapped Wolves transferred operations to Utah and found a permanent home as the Salt Lake Bees. There, Lefty Williams, now 22, found his greatest success on the field and enduring love off the field in Lyria Leila Wilson, the charismatic, independent daughter of Mormon pioneers.

Lyria, the youngest of 15 children to Calvin and Emeline (Miller) Wilson, was three years older than Lefty and had been living on her own since at least 1909. Her grandfather, Whitford Gill Wilson, had moved his family to the Mormon-established town of Nauvoo, Illinois, in the late 1830s before migrating to Ogden, Utah, as part of the forced exodus of Mormon settlers from the Midwest.

By 1915, Lyria was working as a waitress at a Salt Lake City hotel frequented by Coast League ballplayers. No ballplayer that year was more dominant than Lefty Williams. Before the season, the *Salt Lake Telegram* reported, “Everybody on the coast predicts a great year for [Williams]. In fact, some of them feel that he will be a Coast League sensation.” After several outstanding performances in California during the winter league season, Williams turned heads in a late February exhibition game against the Chicago White Sox in San Jose.

Perhaps the excitement of his courtship with Lyria, or the close rapport he established with Bees catcher and future White Sox teammate Byrd Lynn, helped raise Lefty’s game to new heights.

Whatever the reason, Williams far out-classed the rest of the PCL in 1915, finishing with a stellar 33-12 record, a 2.84 ERA, 36 complete games, and a league-leading 294 strikeouts in 418.2 innings pitched for Salt Lake City. The league’s runner-up in strikeouts, Bill Prough of Oakland, finished nearly 100 behind Williams. Williams struck out 12 San Francisco Seals on May 2 and set a season high by fanning 13 Vernon Tigers on September 8. It was one of the best PCL pitching performances of the decade, earning Williams a call-up to the White Sox in 1916.

In Chicago, Williams joined Eddie Cicotte, Joe Jackson, Eddie Collins, and other stars to form the nucleus of a powerhouse club that captured two American League pennants and a World Series championship over the next five seasons. But after throwing the 1919 World Series, Williams was thrown out of organized baseball for good. He was just 27 years old.

► NEWSREEL

Continued from Page 1

Redland Field in Cincinnati and a panorama of the ballplayers in makeshift dugouts, and a shot of fans gathered in New York City to “watch” the game on a mechanical scoreboard.

A quick 3-second clip beginning at the 3:06 mark of the video online appears to be one of the most disputed plays of the World Series, one of the plays famously circled by sports writer Hugh Fullerton on his scorecard in the press box: the botched double play ball hit by the Reds’ Larry Kopf and fielded by White Sox pitcher Eddie Cicotte in the fourth inning.

Cicotte was said to have made “a dazzling play” to field the ball, but Swede Risberg was unable to turn the double play. At full speed, the play doesn’t appear to be unusually suspicious and it is impossible to tell with any certainty whether Cicotte’s throw to Swede Risberg at second base was too low or too slow, or whether Risberg delayed in making the double-play throw to Chick Gandil at first base.

But according to the *Chicago Tribune* account of the game afterward, the Reds’ 5-run rally in that inning “hung on the toenail” of Kopf beating the throw to first.

Only one thing is for sure: All three of the White Sox players involved in that play later admitted to receiving bribe money from gamblers to fix the World Series.

At the 3:26 mark, a series of successive clips shows the Reds scoring those five runs in the fourth inning of Game One with hard-hit balls to the outfield off Cicotte by Ivy Wingo (3:26), Morrie Rath (3:30), and Jake Daubert (3:35).

On the Daubert single, which gave Cincinnati a 6-1 lead and knocked Cicotte out of the game, Gandil makes a lunging catch near the pitcher’s mound to cut off Shano Collins’ throw from right field. Then the film cuts to a conference at the mound where Cicotte is about to be yanked by manager Kid Gleason.



Above: This screenshot from a recently discovered newsreel of the 1919 World Series shows one of the most controversial plays of the tainted Fall Classic. In the fourth inning of Game One, White Sox pitcher Eddie Cicotte, far right, makes a throw to shortstop Swede Risberg, second from left, to force Reds baserunner Pat Duncan at second base. But Risberg was unable to turn the double play on Cincinnati’s Larry Kopf for the third out, and the Reds went on to score five runs in the inning and win 9-1.

Below: Starting pitchers Eddie Cicotte, left, and Dutch Ruether pose for photos before Game One in Cincinnati. (Photos: British Canadian Pathé News / YouTube.com.)



The Pathé newsreel begins out of chronological order with footage of Dickey Kerr and the White Sox winning Game Three, along with some game action from that day at Comiskey Park. (Reds pitcher Ray Fisher’s error in the second inning can be clearly seen at the 0:53 mark.)

This new film is [one of many](#)

[exciting discoveries](#) related to the 1919 World Series and the Black Sox Scandal that have come to light in recent years and helped to fundamentally change our understanding of “baseball’s darkest hour.”

Among them are the treasure trove of Black Sox files, including long-lost trial transcripts and grand jury testimony, purchased by the Chicago History Museum in 2007.

Organizational contract cards provided by Major League Baseball to the National Baseball Hall of Fame Library in Cooperstown in 2002 have also debunked the myth that the White Sox players were underpaid relative to their peers, long thought to be the primary cause behind the Black Sox Scandal.

In fact, as Bob Hoie detailed in [his landmark 2012 article](#) for *Base Ball: A Journal of the Early Game*, the White Sox had one of the highest payrolls in the game and Eddie Cicotte was the second-highest-paid pitcher in baseball behind Walter Johnson.

Out of the shadows: Joseph ‘Sport’ Sullivan

So little is known about 1919 World Series fixer, even his real photo has almost never been seen

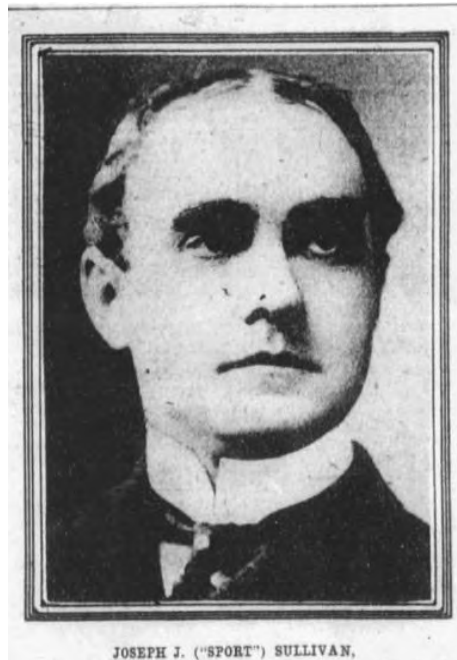
By Bruce Allardice
bsa1861@att.net

In the histories of the Black Sox Scandal, perhaps the most shadowy of the major characters involved is Sport Sullivan. A Boston-based gambler, Sullivan pitches the World Series fix to the players, is later indicted, then seems to disappear. Little is known about his life before or after 1919.

This article will flesh out Sullivan’s life, using newly uncovered newspaper articles, family lore, and public records. As will be shown, Sullivan never “disappeared” from view. He merely faded from prominence.

Joseph J. Sullivan was born November 2, 1870, near Boston, Massachusetts, the son of Irish immigrants Jeremiah and Ellen (McKenna) Sullivan. In 1895 he married Katherine Rose Driscoll. The couple had five children: Helen (1896-?); Alexina (1898-1995); Joseph (b. 1900, died young); James F. (1904-93); and John F. (1918-88). On the U.S. Censuses from 1900 to 1940 he lives in Boston or Sharon, Massachusetts, and tells the census takers he works in a real estate office or brokerage.¹ From these records Joseph Sullivan appears to be an ordinary, middle-class businessman with a middle-class household.

Newspaper accounts paint a different picture. The brokerage was in fact a front for a “bucket shop” designed to bilk unwary investors.² He soon dropped this line, preferring to make his living as the uncrowned “King of Boston Gamblers.”



This photo of Joseph J. “Sport” Sullivan, one of the 1919 World Series fixers and a prominent Boston gambler, was published in the *Boston Journal* on July 9, 1907. A different photo from the Library of Congress identified as “Sport Sullivan” has been used in nearly all Black Sox literature. But that Sullivan was a boxing promoter from Brooklyn. (Photo courtesy of Bruce Allardice.)

As early as 1903, Boston newspapers reporting on the first World Series marvel as “Sport Sullivan” makes thousand-dollar bets on Boston.³ This was an era when \$1,000 was a year’s wages for a laborer. In 1904 he was accused of fixing the Jimmy Gardner-Martin Canole fight (perhaps foreshadowing his future).⁴ He made book on New York City auto races and briefly found the time to manage heavyweight boxing contender Sam Langford, known as the “Boston Tar Baby.”⁵

A *Boston Herald* newspaper article on the all-Chicago 1906 World Series highlights Sport Sullivan, “one of the conspicuous attendants at the ball grounds in this city,” expressing surprise at the victory of the underdog

White Sox, implying that he’s a figure sportswriters respect for his expertise.⁶ In 1906 he’s accused of bribing public officials, and in 1907 he’s arrested for “gambling in a public place” at the Boston Braves ballpark.⁷

The newspaper headlines the arrest of Sport Sullivan as a major event. The police led Sullivan away in front of the whole crowd, to cries of “welsher,” “piker,” and “tin horn sport.” In his pockets the police found more than \$500 in cash, and a pair of dice. The lengthy article notes that Sullivan was a “professional” gambler, and “no novice to appearing in court for the sort of an offense charged.”⁸

Another lengthy article the following day notes that Sullivan’s arrest would “cause much apprehension among the fraternity” of ballpark gamblers.⁹ Sullivan paid the fine and returned to the park, where he was greeted as a hero by his fellow gamblers. Although plainclothes policemen were nearby, Sullivan started betting on the visiting Cincinnati Reds, inspiring the rest of the gamblers to follow suit and resume their activities. It is evident how high Sullivan ranked in the local gambling world.

Other arrests for gambling are detailed in 1911, 1913, and 1914.¹⁰ By this time Sullivan had attained a reputation throughout the East Coast for baseball betting and prognostication. The *New York Evening World* of October 6, 1916, went to Sullivan to get an expert opinion on the upcoming World Series between the Boston Red Sox and Brooklyn Robins. “‘Never mind about them guys with their arms full of fractions,’ said Sport Sullivan, well known as a betting Bostonian, who had hied himself this way to get a little of the Brooklyn money while it was soft ...” Sullivan is further quoted

► Continued on Page 10



This photo at left, from the Bain Collection at the Library of Congress, is correctly labeled as “Sport Sullivan.” However, the person in the photo is a fight promoter named Martin J. Sullivan, who also was nicknamed “Sport.” The photo can be seen in Sullivan’s July 18, 1929, obituary in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* at right. (Sources: Library of Congress/Bain Collection, Bruce Allardice)

► SULLIVAN

Continued from Page 9

as saying the Red Sox should be favored for the Series.¹¹

Records show that Sullivan had a nationwide reputation for betting and bookmaking. He was not, as *Eight Men Out* seems to imply¹², some small-town, small-scale bookie.

For example, when the *Washington Post* wrote on the 1911 American League pennant race, they turned to Sullivan as the foremost expert on the teams and the odds.

He made the Philadelphia Athletics even-money favorites to win (accurately, as it turned out.) The article noted that Sullivan openly “makes his living by betting on baseball, and these prices, printed in Boston newspapers, presumably are those that he is now prepared to lay against any team’s chances, in his future book. Sullivan does a heavy handbook business on baseball through the season, and is a prominent figure at all of the world’s series games.”¹³

Sullivan earned his reputation by his thorough knowledge of sports and his math wizardry. Wrote one journalist, “He was well acquainted with the history of baseball and with the personnel of the present-day clubs. It is said of him that he knows more about the records of big league players

than the majority of managers. The way in which he rated the respective abilities of world series contenders was a bit of information eagerly sought throughout the East. He had a country-wide reputation for gauging and rating comparative abilities of rivals in any form of sport,” including “college football games,” “horse racing” and “big fistic battles.”¹⁴

His baseball expertise was known to gamblers everywhere. Sullivan had “a system of handicapping pitchers that is a wonder to experts. He watches the work of the different twirlers all season, and is so familiar with their period of rest that he can tell in 75 percent of games just who will be the starting pitcher.”¹⁵ Sounds as if “Sport” was an early sabermetrician!

Sportswriters depended on “Sport” for the “inside dope” on the betting odds, dropping by his usual hangout in front of the old Clark’s Hotel in Boston.¹⁶ In an article on Sullivan’s life, reporter Arthur Siegel of the *Boston Traveler*, who clearly knew Sullivan well, described his deceased friend:

“There was a time when Sport was one of the best in the trade — the trade being gambling. He had a remarkable mind for figures and percentages. That brain

► Continued on Page 11

► SULLIVAN

Continued from Page 10

of his was just as neat and precise as his clothes and general appearance. He didn't get the name of Sport, back there in Sharon so many years ago, because he was a gambling man. The Sport came because he was handsome and debonair. He dressed in good taste and wore the best. ...

He knew his percentages. He would stand at the dice table and he would tell the dice roller just what chance he had to make a point. He had a remarkable memory. He'd go to a baseball game — back in the days when there was a special section for the gamblers — and he would make 20 bets or 30 bets during a game without making a written notation. All the time he knew just what he stood to win, what his eventual profit would be. For that was his way of operating, placing his bet so that if the game went one way, he would wind up with \$300 profit, or if the game went the other way, he'd be making \$180 profit. To him, the cardinal sin was being caught with a one-sided book that might cost him money.

Gambling men consulted him about various sports events because of this keen analysis, his sound valuations and, not the least important, his sources of information.”¹⁷

Sullivan's appearance fitted his chosen lifestyle. An admiring local newspaper described him as “a big, husky man, about six feet tall, of dark complexion, and often wears glasses.” White Sox first baseman Chick Gandil found Sullivan “a tall, strapping Irishman who looked like a cop more than he did a bookmaker.”¹⁸

There was more to Sullivan's success than merely a sharp mind and inside information. He also fixed contests. In 1904 he was accused of fixing the Jimmy Gardner-Martin Canole fight.¹⁹ And perhaps foreshadowing the Black Sox Scandal, as early as 1904 he tried to “fix” a baseball game. A 1920 newspaper column on the “notorious” Sullivan by respected sportswriter Joe Vila recounted how, during the just-completed Cleveland-Brooklyn World Series, Hall of Famer Cy Young told Vila that Sullivan tried to bribe him in 1904:

“The fellow who tried to tempt me,” said Young, “was a man known as ‘Sport’ Sullivan. He offered to hand over more than my salary if I would ‘throw’ a ball

game. My salary was only \$1,500 a year, but I promptly handed Sullivan a punch in the jaw and kicked him out of my room.”²⁰

The true story of the Black Sox Scandal will never be fully known. This article will only discuss parts of the scandal from Sullivan's angle. In the fall of 1919, Gandil and White Sox ace Eddie Cicotte met Sullivan at Boston's Buckminster Hotel²¹, and talked about the upcoming 1919 World Series. Gandil and Sullivan had been close friends for many years (Gandil later claiming they first met in 1912), while Cicotte had pitched for the Red Sox from 1908 to 1912 and must have known Sullivan from then.

Again, from a Boston newspaper article: “Whenever Gandil came to this city, ‘Sport’ always had him in tow. They played billiards together and were often seen at various resorts. The friendship has extended over a long period of years, for it is said that when Gandil was with the Washington club, before he went to Cleveland and then to the White Sox, that Sullivan always was informed by telegraph whenever Walter Johnson was going to pitch for the Senators. The two kept in close communication from that time on.”

The other White Sox players reportedly also knew Sullivan well. On their last road trip to Boston, around August 1919, “Sport took a party of the White Sox players out to his house in Sharon for an all-night card game. Sullivan's friendship with the White Sox players was not a secret, even in the little town of Sharon.”²²

In the 1950s, Gandil claimed that Sullivan approached him concerning a plot to throw the World Series. The suggestion surprised Gandil, who claimed he knew Sullivan as a bettor, not a fixer.²³ Sullivan assured Gandil (who probably didn't require such assurance) that the World Series had been fixed before, perhaps a reference to the 1918 Boston-Chicago series.²⁴

According to the Boston American, another meeting reportedly took place at Boston's luxurious Hotel Lenox.²⁵ Sullivan, Gandil and Eddie Cicotte met by appointment “in the room occupied by the automobile club during the last eastern swing of the White Sox. ... There the scheme was broached and plans made for the biggest gambling coup in years. It was arranged that Sullivan would complete the plans with the gambling clique, while to Gandil and Cicotte²⁶ was allocated the task of lining up the needed number of players to make it a success. Both Sullivan and the ballplayers were in New York immediately after this first conference.”

The players Gandil recruited met at his hotel room in New York on September 21 and agreed to throw the Series

► Continued on Page 12

► SULLIVAN

Continued from Page 11

if the gamblers advanced them \$80,000. Fix ringleader Gandil relayed that message to Sullivan.

On paper, Sport Sullivan — respected among his fellow gamblers, well-liked, well-connected, a close friend of Gandil and other players — was the perfect man to handle the betting end of the Fix. One problem: Sport, while well off, didn't have the \$80,000 in cash the players were demanding. So he approached Arnold Rothstein, the well-known New York City gambling kingpin, who agreed to front the money.

The movie *Eight Men Out* implies that Sullivan and Rothstein barely knew each other, but the fact that Rothstein entrusted such a large sum of cash to Sullivan suggests that they were, if not close friends, at least close (and trusted) business acquaintances.²⁷ Sullivan met the players in Chicago to finalize the Fix, and also to place nearly \$30,000 in bets. The ballplayers later accused Sullivan of short-changing them, a likely event considering Sullivan's past history.²⁸

Rumor had it that Sullivan made enough betting on the 1919 Series to retire from gambling. This, Sullivan heatedly denied. His wife, Katherine Sullivan, even told an interviewer in 1920, "If Joe had won all that money they claim, we would have a mansion with fine furniture and lots of servants, whereas we haven't one. ... I guess I know what he has. It is true that he has an automobile and a chauffeur, but that is no sign of wealth."²⁹

When the grand jury in Chicago made the names of the suspects public, Sullivan, who admitted only to "(handling) several [hundred] thousand dollars in bets" on the Series, vowed not to be the "goat" of the Fix. "They have made me the goat, and I'm not going to stand for it. ... I have the whole history of the deal from beginning to end. I know the big man [Rothstein] whose money it was that paid off the White Sox players — and I'm going to name him. ... Within the next 48 hours, I will be on my way to Chicago and when I get there, I will tell the grand jury or any other officials the whole inside story of the frameup."³⁰

Other than perhaps Gandil, Sullivan knew more about the fix than anyone. Yet it seems the authorities were, for whatever reason, in little hurry to get his testimony. In the end, Sullivan never came to Chicago and never testified. Reportedly, Rothstein's lawyer, William J. Fallon, persuaded Sullivan not to go. Rumor had it that Sullivan then fled to Canada or Mexico along with Abe Attell, again presumably at Rothstein's urgings, but those rumors cannot be squared with the numerous newspaper and police reports of sighting Sullivan in his usual Boston haunts.

Sullivan's threat to testify might have been used by him as leverage to get Rothstein to use his connections to quash any serious investigation. Sullivan was later indicted by the

Cook County grand jury, but was never arrested nor did he appear at the trial.³¹ The trial ended in an acquittal for all the defendants. Notwithstanding the acquittal, baseball's new commissioner, Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, banned the accused players from organized baseball.³²

To this author, the great missing link in the Fix is Sport Sullivan's testimony. What we know of the gambler's side of the Fix comes mostly from Abe Attell, who was interviewed by Asinof for *Eight Men Out*, and the Bill Burns/Billy Maharg testimony.

The former is New York-centered and self-serving; the latter, from relative amateurs in big-time betting who were not (as they admitted at trial) very smart.

None were as connected to all the varying threads as Sullivan. In fact, it is amazing that, so far as we know, no reporter ever tried to interview Sullivan after the statute of limitations on his indictment expired or after Rothstein's 1928 death to get his side of the story.

After the scandal, the aging Sullivan slowly faded from public view. Barred from baseball parks, "spring and summer became dull times for him. He began to age. He knew so many people, and yet he was a lonely man during the baseball season. Occasionally, the Boston baseball people and the police who were on duty would turn their backs, look the other way, and Sport would go to the game."³³

One public record of his post-scandal activities is at the 1926 World Series. Ban Johnson, the powerful president of

COUNTER SERVICE.
PROFITS UNLIMITED
IN and OUT
AT THE MARKET.
J. JOS. SULLIVAN,
3 School St., Room B.

This advertisement for Sport Sullivan's brokerage business was published in the *Boston Herald* on October 7, 1903. That same month, Boston newspapers reported that Sullivan was making thousand-dollar bets on the Boston Americans in the World Series. (Photo courtesy of Bruce Allardice.)

► Continued on Page 13

► SULLIVAN

Continued from Page 12

the American League, noticed Sullivan in Yankee Stadium and had the police escort Sullivan out.³⁴ A 1926 *Boston Herald* article noted that Sport Sullivan, still apparently newsworthy, had traveled to Hartford, Connecticut, to check out a prize fight he had wagered on.³⁵ His and Rothstein's names were also brought up in a 1929 trial where the Boston Braves were accused of bribing a Boston city councilman.³⁶

However, "it wasn't the same as in the days when Sport was the handsome king of the gambling section and all the others were sycophants. He began to lose his touch. The keen mind that once was so very right now would, all too often, be so very wrong. He began to fade physically, and the once meticulous Sport would show up with his clothes a bit shabby. His money went. The man who would juggle thousands in one game, so that he might make, say, \$500, was making \$10 wagers so that he might wind up with a profit of \$2 or \$3. ...He was just a tired old man, grinding a buck here and there. When he died, the boys weren't even sure that he died."³⁷

His wife, Katherine Driscoll Sullivan, died in 1930. From 1940 to his death, Sport Sullivan lived with his daughter Alexina and son John, at the children's homes in Cambridge and Dorchester. Sport died of heart disease, unknown and to the larger world forgotten, on April 6, 1949. He was buried in Holy Sepulcher Cemetery, near Sharon, the town he'd lived in during his glory years.³⁸

Notes

1. 1900 Census of Boston (90 Green St.); 1910-1930 Censuses of Sharon (14 Walnut St.); 1940 census of Cambridge (54-1/2 Prospect St.); 1896-1953 Boston City Directories; 1917 Sharon Directory; phone interview with Sport's great-grandson Dean Carrick, August 2013; Massachusetts Death Certificate. One of the many difficulties in tracking down Sullivan's life is that in the 1910s there was a Brooklyn-St. Louis based boxing promoter named Martin J. "Sport" Sullivan, plus any number of Joseph J. Sullivans. In the early 1900s, every second man in Boston seems to have been named Sullivan.

2. *Utica Herald Dispatch*, September 29, 1920.

3. *Boston Journal*, October 3, 1903.

4. *Lowell Sun*, September 29, 1904.

5. *New York Tribune*, November 30, 1904; *Washington Times*, March 6, 1907; *Washington Post*, March 11, 1907. A photo of Langford and his entourage taken in England (cf. Clay Moyle, *Sam Langford: Boxing's Greatest Uncrowned Champion*, Seattle, Washington: Bennett & Hastings Pub-

lishing, 2008, p. 62) has an unidentified person second from the left who may be Sullivan.

6. *Boston Herald*, October 15, 1906. *Sporting Life*, October 20, 1906, notes that "'Sport' Sullivan" of the Boston "betting ring" attended the recent series.

7. *Boston Journal*, May 19, 1906, July 9, 1907.

8. *Boston Journal*, July 9, 1907.

9. *Boston Journal*, July 10, 1907.

10. *Boston Journal*, July 2, 1911; *Boston Herald*, June 12, 1913; *Boston Journal*, November 10, 1914.

11. *New York Evening World*, October 6, 1916. He had bet \$1,000 on the A's in the 1911 Series. See the *Washington Post*, October 17, 1911.

12. Eliot Asinof, *Eight Men Out: The Black Sox and the 1919 World Series*, is the classic early treatment of the scandal. Public awareness of the Black Sox has been shaped in large part by this book and the subsequent movie based on it. More modern scholarship has shown that Asinof, a TV scriptwriter, wrote for effect more than for historical accuracy. While he interviewed many of the participants, he never took detailed notes of the interviews, and in his book altered several of the incidents portrayed.

13. "Nationals, 100 to 1. Price Boston Gambler Lays Against Flag Chances," *Washington Post*, February 24, 1911.

14. *Boston Herald*, September 30, 1920.

15. *Syracuse Herald*, April 1, 1917.

16. *Boston Traveler*, November 2, 1956.

17. *Boston Traveler*, April 21, 1949.

18. *Boston Globe*, September 30, 1920. Chick Gandil, "My Story," *Sports Illustrated*, September 17, 1956.

19. *Lowell Sun*, September 29, 1904.

20. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 16, 1920. Sullivan is also a possible candidate for the unidentified gambler who tried to bribe Young in the 1903 World Series.

21. The Buckminster was a block away from Fenway Park, and frequented by the players.

22. *Boston Herald*, October 1, 1920. Late in life Gandil admitted that Sullivan asked for information on Johnson's starts, but Gandil claimed he turned Sullivan down. See Gandil, "My Story."

23. See Gandil, "My Story." Asinof's *Eight Men Out* has Gandil pitching the idea to Sullivan. Tim Hornbaker in *Turning the Black Sox White: The Misunderstood Legacy of Charles Comiskey*, New York: Sports Publishing, 2014, p. 269, quotes the *Washington Post* of October 23, 1920, as saying that Sullivan had already received a tip from Hal Chase that some White Sox may be open to a fix.

24. Given Sullivan's contacts in baseball and the gambling world, if the 1918 Series had been fixed, Sullivan would have, at a minimum, known about the fix.

25. As reported in the *Bridgeport Telegram*, October 1, 1920.

26. Cicotte's vital importance to the Fix cannot be overstated. The gamblers wouldn't commit big money unless

► Continued on Page 14

Nat Evans: More than Rothstein's associate

He was a large-scale operator in his own right, from Florida to New York

By Bruce Allardice

bsa1861@att.net

In the course of researching Sport Sullivan's life, I became curious about the Arnold Rothstein associate "Nat Evans," who allegedly was sent by Rothstein to monitor Sullivan and monitor how the 1919 World Series fix was going.

In this article I won't get into the question of what Evans' role in the Fix was, or whether "Evans" used the name "Brown" when dealing with the players — that question has already been ably looked at by Bill Lamb in a previous issue of this newsletter.¹

Instead, I'm going to try and fill in who this "Nat Evans" really was, and why Arnold Rothstein — not known to be trusting — trusted him to monitor the Fix. In doing so, I hope to offer some new perspective on the Black Sox Scandal, and demonstrate that Evans had both a big-time gambling background and a jail-evading savvy. Famed writer Damon Runyon often wrote of his friend Nat Evans as a genteel, "high-class sporting man."² But this genteel facade concealed a checkered, often violent, past.

Nathaniel Isaac Evensky was born on April 11, 1876 in

Russia, the son of Julius (aka Jacob) and Libby (Margolin) Evensky.³ The family emigrated to the U.S. in 1883, settling in St. Louis, where the elder Evensky and Nat's brother Morris set up a tinware shop.

Interestingly, the Evensky home was only a block away from the birthplace of Nat's contemporary, Carl Zork, who would also later play a role in the Black Sox Scandal. This brings up a tantalizing possibility: Evans's St. Louis background and connections might explain why St. Louis gamblers such as Zork were in on the fix so early. Evans, rather than Abe Attell, might have passed the word to Zork to let his hometown buddy in on a sure thing.⁴

City directories list young Nat as a clerk at the family shop in 1894 and 1895. Around 1896, he married Fanny Grossberg and had a son, Julius (or Jules.) His brother moved to Memphis that year. Soon afterward, Nat — who had Americanized his Jewish name to Evans or, alternatively, Evens — abandoned his St. Louis wife and his family to strike out on his own.⁵

The first sure newspaper notice we have of Nat Evans is his arrival in Tampa, Florida, around 1902. He and his partner, Jake Goldstein, are reported as well-known Tampa gamblers. Some newspaper articles assert that Evens/Evans (the newspapers generally use the latter, more familiar spell-

► Continued on Page 15



Nat Evans

► SULLIVAN

Continued from Page 13

they saw a "sure thing," and with Cicotte in the fold, they had as close to a sure thing as gamblers ever get.

27. For example, a 1917 New York newspaper article doping out the upcoming baseball season mentioned two gamblers by name as setting the regional betting odds: Arnold Rothstein and Sport Sullivan. See the *Syracuse Herald*, April 1, 1917. In 1923 Rothstein admitted to knowing Sullivan. See Pietrusza, *Rothstein: The Life, Times and Murder of the Criminal Genius Who Fixed the 1919 World Series*, New York: Carroll & Graf, 2003, p. 254.

28. He allegedly welshed on a bet during the 1912 World Series. See the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 1, 1920.

29. *Boston Globe*, September 30, 1920; *Boston Herald*, October 1, 1920.

30. *Lowell Sun*, October 2, 1920.

31. For more on the Black Sox legal proceedings, see

William F. Lamb, *Black Sox in the Courtroom: The Grand Jury, Criminal Trial and Civil Litigation*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co., 2013.

32. Gene Carney, *Burying the Black Sox: How Baseball's Cover-Up of the 1919 World Series Fix Almost Succeeded*, Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2006, discusses many of the varied rumors surrounding the fix and the cover-up.

33. *Boston Traveler*, April 21, 1949.

34. Pietrusza, p. 382. The book cites *The Sporting News* of October 21, 1926 and November 18, 1926, in which Sullivan is referred to only as the well-known Boston gambler who fixed the 1919 Series.

35. *Boston Herald*, December 14, 1926.

36. *Springfield (Massachusetts) Republican*, January 4, 1929.

37. *Boston Traveler*, April 21, 1949.

38. Ibid. This death notice was picked up by *The Sporting News*, May 4, 1949, page 45, in an "obituary" that somehow has eluded prior Black Sox historians.

► EVANS

Continued from Page 14

ing) is well-known in southern “sporting” circles even at this early date.

By 1903, he had relocated to Savannah and worked for a gambling house there. That summer marks his first known arrest. Evans was involved in a drunken “shooting affray” in Savannah, Georgia, at the saloon of Gad D. Bryan, “the well-known chief sport of Savannah.” It appears Evans was drinking with some fellow gamblers when one made a remark against Evans’s boss, gambler “Big Jim” Doss, which offended Evans, who began shooting.

When the smoke cleared, four men were wounded, including Evans, who was shot through the lungs.⁶ Originally thought to be mortally wounded, Evans recovered. He was found guilty of shooting, and given a light \$500 fine by the judge, who thought Evans “had been led into the affray” by Doss.⁷

The next month, Evans was charged with shooting and wounding Julius “Doc” Rosenthal. Rosenthal and another gambler, Tom Reynolds, had a drunken dispute with Doss and Evans over a faro game. A blow was struck, and then the parties commenced shooting. Evans was acquitted of the charge the next year.⁸

From Savannah, Evans and his old Tampa gambling buddy Jake Goldstein relocated to Augusta, Georgia, where in 1904 they were arrested for fixing up a gambling house. The police raid (which Goldstein blamed on a jealous rival gambler) revealed a room in which “all sorts of games were in progress. ... The poker tables and dice tables predominated.” Among the arrested were many young men prominent in the city’s business circles.⁹

By 1906 Evans and Goldstein had set up yet another gambling den in Atlanta. The trade proved so brisk that they relocated to a larger mansion on the outskirts of Atlanta. The Merchant’s Recreation Club proved so popular that in several months, the partners allegedly cleared “a cool \$100,000.” The club was “one of the most sumptuously furnished ever seen in the South. Every known paraphernalia for gambling was there, and fine drinks were served to the patrons.”

According to the police, the paraphernalia included marked cards and loaded dice. Evans and Goldstein were arrested, released on bond, and later indicted, but by that time the partners had moved on and they were never brought to trial.¹⁰ As can be seen, Evans had a track record of evading jail time.

It appears Evans used his southern gambling winnings to establish himself in New York City society, and the city’s gambling circles. About 1910, Arnold Rothstein, the Consi-



Nat Evans, right, is shown with his second wife, Mercedes Esqueu, circa 1925 in this photo from an Evans family scrapbook provided by Nat’s great-grandson, Jules Evans. (Photo courtesy of Bruce Allardice.)

dine brothers, and “fellow gambler Nat Evans” bought into the Holly Arms, a well-known hotel in Hewlett, Long Island, to run as a gambling resort.

A 1911 article in the *New York Times* details a raid on a gambling ring operating out of one of the Holly Arms’ guest cottages. While more than 300 formally attired guests attended a dance at the Holly Arms, county detectives carted away gambling paraphernalia, including two roulette tables and apparatus for playing craps and faro. The hotel burned down in 1926.¹¹

Evans quickly established himself in New York society — or, at least, the raffish, new money part of society. Just before Christmas 1912, Evans, millionaire George Young Bauchle, playwright Wilson Mizner¹², and well-known bridge-player John Shaughnessy (written up as four prominent “society” sports) were drinking at Rector’s Hotel in New York City, when the conversation turned to the upcoming holidays. The group agreed they’d rather be somewhere else for Christmas, whereupon Bauchle, known for his mad-cap wagers, bet the group \$1,000 each that they wouldn’t go right from the hotel, with just the clothes they had on, and take the Mauretania to Europe.

► Continued on Page 16

► EVANS

Continued from Page 15

Mizner, Shaughnessy, and Evans accepted the challenge. They hopped into a car, raced to the pier and purchased a stateroom. A few days later, the chastened trio wired Bauchle, “We counted on getting clothes from the purser and the barber but we couldn’t get things to fit us.”¹³

One newspaper account of the escapade says that Evans is “famous for his collection of rare diamonds and women’s hearts.”¹⁴

His charm extended to men, also — famed writer Damon Runyon found Evans “one of the nicest chaps I ever met in the sporting game.”¹⁵

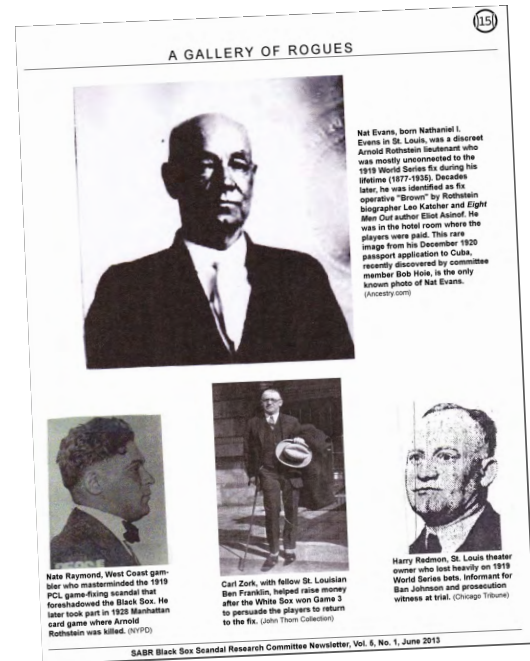
Throughout the 1910s Evans kept his main address in Manhattan, living at the Biltmore or Commodore Hotel, managing his gambling interests and betting heavily on New York baseball.¹⁶ As a later newspaper put it, “Evans is known throughout the world as a gambler on a princely scale.”¹⁷ The one legal case he was involved in was the infamous 1918 cards scandal at Bauchle’s “Partridge Club.” Evans and Rothstein were two of the gamblers implicated in crooked card games.¹⁸

In early 1919, the George Saportas estate Bonnybrook in Saratoga Springs was put on the market. Arnold Rothstein, a frequent visitor to the Saratoga racetracks, put up \$60,000 to purchase the estate, and considerably more to convert it into a posh gambling casino. The purchase was made by Evans’s chauffeur, who promptly resold the property to his boss for \$100!

Evans acted in partnership with Rothstein, who trusted Evans to run the casino in their mutual interest. As one author writes, “A.R. did not operate ‘The Brook’ by himself. At his side was New York gambler Nat Evans. ... Evans and Rothstein controlled 56 percent of the place.”¹⁹ Reportedly, Rothstein bribed the local District Attorney \$50,000 to allow The Brook to operate.²⁰

In the midst of starting up this quickly popular casino, Rothstein summoned Evans to New York to discuss the World Series fix. Rothstein dispatched Sport Sullivan to Chicago, with “Nat Evans along to supervise him. He told Evans to travel under the name of ‘Brown’ and gave him \$80,000 cash for the fix. The whole idea bothered Evans. Too many people knew too much about it. Don’t worry, said A.R.: ‘If nine guys go to bed with a girl she’ll have a tough time proving the tenth is the father ...’”²¹ The rest, as they say, is history.

During his lifetime, Nat Evans managed gambling houses or casinos in Augusta, Atlanta, Long Island, Saratoga, Havana, Newport, Agua Caliente, and Miami, seemingly to the



The Nat Evans photo originally published in our June 2013 committee newsletter was incorrect. The original photo was an image of George G. Mathews, a Florida newspaper publisher. As Bruce Allardice explains, the photo of the applicant is always attached to the second (reverse) page of a passport application. Thus, the photo that appears on Ancestry.com with Nat Evans’s passport application is of the previous applicant in the database, which is Mathews. Evans’s real photo can be found on page 14 above. We apologize for the error.

satisfaction of business partners and customers. He continued in this line of work, and remained prominent in New York City social circles, until his death in 1935.

Evans was not just a Rothstein associate. He was a large-scale operator in his own right, someone who moved in the highest social circles, had plenty of experience in betting, plenty of experience in illegal activities, and plenty of success dodging the law.

In short, Evans was someone Arnold Rothstein could trust to look after his interests when it came to fixing a World Series.

Notes

1. Lamb, Bill, “The Mysterious ‘Rachael Brown,’” Black Sox Scandal Research Committee Newsletter, April 2010. (Read it online here: <http://sabr.org/research/black-sox-mystery-who-was-rachael-brown>.) The modern consensus is that Evans used the name of a small-time Rothstein associate, “Rachie Brown,” when dealing with the ballplayers.

2. *Chester Times*, July 26, 1937. Runyon usually referred to him by his adopted name of “Evens.” It is said that Evens

► Continued on Page 17



Saratoga Race Course, circa 1907. In early 1919, Arnold Rothstein and Nat Evans, frequent visitors to this track, opened an opulent gambling house called The Brook in Saratoga Springs, New York. Evans and Rothstein controlled 56 percent of the casino. (Photo: Library of Congress, Detroit Publishing Co.)

► EVANS

Continued from Page 16

was the model for characters later made famous in the musical *Guys and Dolls*.

3. Nat gave his birthdate uniformly as April 11, but the year varied from 1876 to 1880. In his 1917 World War I draft registration, he gives 1877; on his 1920 passport application, it is 1879; and on his 1927 passenger list, it is 1880. On all of these documents, he claims to have been born in St. Louis and/or Missouri. The middle name was reported in the *New York Sun*, February 21, 1918.

4. Evans may also have tried to disguise the New York origins of the fix by having the heavy betting coming from St. Louis gamblers with no known connection to Rothstein.

5. Per his death certificate. His early years have heretofore been shrouded in mystery, so much so that even his descendants are unsure what he did. Great-nephew Devin Evensky says brother Morris disapproved of Nat's gambling, and the two drifted apart.

6. *Tampa Tribune*, June 30, 1903.

7. *Macon Telegraph*, November 7, 1903.

8. *Macon Telegraph*, December 25, 1903, March 20, 1904; *Atlanta Constitution*, February 9, 1904; *Augusta Chronicle*, July 15, 1904.

9. *Augusta Chronicle*, January 31, 1904; *Tampa Tribune*, February 2, 1904.

10. *Atlanta Constitution*, October 21, 1906; *Atlanta Georgian and News*, March 9, 1907; *Augusta Chronicle*, March 10, 1907. Evans is not on the 1910 census, at least under

his own name. Being under indictment, he had reason to lay low. With his extensive Southern gambling connections, Evans is clearly the "old friend" for whom Abe Attell kept silent about the fix for as long as he (Evans) was alive. See Damon Runyon, "Attell Keeps Secret of Black Sox Scandal," *Washington Post*, October 4, 1939.

11. David Pietrusza, *Rothstein: The Life, Times, and Murder of the Criminal Genius*, New York: Carroll & Graf, 2003, p. 93. *New York Times*, August 28, 1911. For other raids on the Holly Arms, see the *New York Sun*, August 12, 1919; *Salt Lake City Telegram*, July 23, 1915. In the latter raid, George Considine bailed out those arrested.

12. The Sondheim musical *Road Show* is based on Wilson Mizner.

13. Pietrusza, p. 96. See *The New Yorker* article October 24, 1942, p. 25; *New York Evening Telegram*, December 20, 1912.

14. *Salt Lake City Telegram*, December 20, 1912. Evans, Mizner, and Shaughnessey returned to NYC on the *Kaiserin August Victoria*, which sailed from Cherbourg on January 19, 1913. The passenger list shows "N. I. Evans," 36, born St. Louis, residence 156 W. 44th St., NYC.

15. Quoted in Pietrusza, p. 95.

16. *Greensboro Daily News*, June 8, 1913.

17. *Ballston Spa Daily Journal*, May 6, 1921.

18. *New York Tribune*, February 21 and February 23, 1918.

19. Pietrusza, pp. 124-125.

20. *Saratoga Springs Saratogian*, August 10, 1926. See also Bartels, *Saratoga*.

21. Pietrusza, pp. 154-155.

Rachie Brown: Shedding light on a mystery man

By Bruce Allardice

bsa1861@att.net

The Black Sox dealt with a gambler they knew only as “Brown”, who was publicly “identified” soon after as New York City gambler Rachael (or Rachie) Brown.

In his April 2010 article for this newsletter titled “A Black Sox Mystery: Who was Rachael Brown?” (republished on the SABR website at <http://sabr.org/research/black-sox-mystery-who-was-rachael-brown>), author Bill Lamb makes a convincing case that the man with the alias “Brown” was actually casino operator Nat Evans, a friend of Arnold Rothstein (see my bio of Evans in this newsletter.)

Evans went by the name “Brown” during the Fix to throw off subsequent investigators. Late in life, accused fixer Abe Attell swore that Evans, his close friend, posed as Rachie Brown to the players.¹

Lamb’s excellent article gives what little he could discover about the real Rachie Brown, ending with him disappearing from public view in 1921. This article will try and flesh out the story of Brown’s life, and perhaps make clear how unlikely it was for Arnold Rothstein to entrust him with anything. Rachie Brown was a small-time (at most, mid-level) operator with a reputation as a “squealer”, a survivor, certainly, but not at the pay grade of somebody such as Nat Evans.

Brown knew Rothstein but, unlike Evans, he was not a close associate of AR. As such, the common thesis that Evans posed as “Brown” during the Fix makes a lot of sense.

Like most of the gamblers involved in the Fix, Brown was Jewish-American. According to his 1919 passport application, he was born July 4, 1870, in New York City, the son of Hyman



Abraham “Rachael” Brown is shown in his 1919 passport application. Nat Evans, one of Arnold Rothstein’s top partners, used the alias “Brown” during the 1919 World Series. The real Rachie Brown, who knew Rothstein but not well, was a small-time thug from New York who likely wasn’t involved at all in the World Series fix. To the author’s knowledge, the photo above has not appeared in any Black Sox-related book. (Photo courtesy of Bruce Allardice.)

Braunstein. The passport officer highly doubted that affidavit of birth. In fact, Brown was born Abraham Joseph Brown or Braunstein, around 1871, but his U.S. Census entries have him born in Wisconsin or Michigan. His widow stated he was born July 4, 1871, in Milwaukee.² Around 1897 he married Rose Bell ___, who survived him. The couple was childless but they adopted a daughter, Jessie, who died at age 14.

One newspaper story had Brown coming to New York City from St. Louis, “in the days of the Becker strong arm squad” (i.e., the early 1900s).³ He appears as a broker on the 1905 census of New York, living in Manhattan with his wife.

The first public notice we have of Brown is 1907, during one of New York City’s frequent (and invariably unsuccessful) attempts to clean out the gambling houses in that city. An article

in the *New York Herald* goes into great detail about the many gambling joints in and around Broadway, “notorious resorts for thieves” all paying \$200-\$500 a month in protection money to the police and the Tammany Hall politicians. Among the joints mentioned was “that unique institution, the Paris Optical School”:

“Abe (Rachel) Brown complains that he is compelled to pay an average of \$500 a month for the privilege of teaching a lot of criminals, whom the detective sergeants attached to Inspector McLaughlin’s Bureau can’t catch, that their optics are not perfect. Brown, who is affectionately referred to by his police pals as “Jew Rachel”, had one roulette wheel and two crap tables running last night. His profits last month, according to his own story, were about \$7,200.”⁴

Around this time, Brown partnered with Louis William “Bridgie” Webber (1877-1936) in various gambling houses. The connection almost got Brown killed.

In July 1912 a small-time book-maker, the unlikable Herman Rosenthal, complained to the press about the police department shaking down his operations for protection money. Two days later, as Rosenthal walked out of the Hotel Metropole off Times Square, he was brutally murdered. The subsequent trial culminated with death sentences for five men, including corrupt NYPD Vice Squad Lieutenant Charles Becker. Bridgie Webber was seen running from the crime scene.

While in a jail cell, Becker claimed that two months prior to Rosenthal’s murder, Rosenthal’s killers had targeted “‘Rachey’ (Rachel) Braunstein, Bridgie Webber’s gambling partner.” According to Becker, Rosenthal’s slayers had plotted to kill “Rachel Braunstein” and

► Continued on Page 19

► BROWN

Continued from Page 18

take over Brown/Braunstein's half of the gambling partnership. Trial witness Jack Sullivan learned of the plot and told Brown, who promptly (and wisely) boarded a ship and fled to Spain.⁵

The plot thickens. At the time of Rosenthal's murder, Brown "was a partner of Bridgie Webber in West Forty-Fifth Street and in the poker room at Sixth Avenue and Forty-Second Street. ... He, Webber, Rosenthal and Sam Paul (1874-1927, also involved in the Rosenthal murder) were members of the old Hesper club on Second Avenue, and left the East Side to break into the gambling pastures for the Tenderloin and Harlem. Brown started a house on his own account in West Forty-Fifth Street, and it was promptly closed up by the police."

Another Brown venture in the "Tenderloin" district was to have opened the night of April 7, 1911. On the morning prior to the opening, a bomb exploded in the house's basement entrance, wrecking the place.⁶

Webber and Brown didn't like, or trust, each other. They "were once partners in the Sixth Avenue poker room from which the gunmen departed to kill Rosenthal." Brown suspected that Webber had hired the gunmen who killed Rosenthal. Webber accused Brown of tipping the police off to one of Webber's establishments, and raiding it. Brown blamed Webber for the police tailing him day and night.

Amidst mutual accusations of "squealing," the newspapers suggested that Webber would only meet Brown with "a rapid fire gun battery." Brown, on the other hand, "is one who has always settled his own quarrels personally.... (and to) have a strong objection to the class of men favored by Webber (i.e., hired gunmen) in affairs of personal vengeance."⁷

In May 1913, police found a dynamite bomb in the basement of Brown's house, 127 Manhattan Avenue. Brown seemed rather nonchalant about the whole thing. He told police that "he knew of no enemies who might want to do him harm." Mrs. Brown calmly explained that her husband was a stock broker, although she admitted that his business office had been "blown up two years ago by dynamite."⁸

In March 1914, Brown appeared in magistrate's court to answer a disorderly conduct charge that stemmed from a fight. Indignant, Brown "asserted that since the Becker trial he had been hounded and threatened on many occasions." In fact, New York District Attorney Charles S. Whitman, knowing Brown's animosity toward Webber, was putting pressure on Brown to testify against Webber in the Becker-Rosenthal case.⁹

Arnold Rothstein knew Brown, but he does not appear to have had a close relationship with "Rachie." Rothstein knew all the principals in the Rosenthal murder. In fact, Rosenthal had tried to borrow \$500 from Rothstein, whom he considered a friend, to pay off Charlie Becker. In 1917, Rothstein, Brown, and Curly Bennett were among the many gamblers at a crap game in the St. Francis Hotel who were robbed at gunpoint.¹⁰

In 1918, "Rachie Brown, the old partner of Bridgie Webber," was back in the news after being netted in a police raid of the newly opened Piccadilly Club in the Tenderloin. Police found 25 men playing poker, with signs that roulette wheels were soon to be installed. A man police suspected of running the place identified himself as fish dealer Aaron Braun, but vice detectives immediately recognized him as "the genuine 'Rachie Brown.'" The cops suggested that Brown "close up shop and beat it after you get through with this affair."¹¹

An interesting sidelight on Brown occurred in early 1919. In February of that year, he applied for a passport in order to travel to Cuba for his health. The application was notarized by Julius Formel, a notorious gambler and business associate in the Saratoga casinos. Brown gives details on his life and explains that his father, Hyman, is in a sanitarium.

But the passport officer, who appears to have known Brown, didn't believe a word of it. "I shall be glad if this passport be refused. In the first place, I do not consider he is the type of a man who should be allowed to leave our country. I doubt if he is in his right mind. I think he wants to go to Cuba to bet on the races (presumably at the Havana racetrack Nat Evans operated.) Secondly, I doubt if he was born in this country and question the reliability of his birth affidavit. He is the most insulting and arrogant man that has been in this Agency for a long time. The entire staff will sign this Certificate if necessary. His father is now in an insane asylum and I am afraid the son will soon kick into the same place if he does not change his method of conduct."¹²

During the summer of 1919, Brown was in jail again, arrested during a raid on a gambling resort in Saratoga. When brought before the local judge, Brown "boasted of having paid over \$50,000 income tax last year. He was allowed to give a small bail to appear as a witness before the grand jury when wanted, no charges being lodged against him."

A short time later, the Saratoga County grand jury returned gambling-related indictments against 48 targets, including Brown. Brown acted as a "steerer," haunting the posh local hotel lobbies "looking for 'suckers' for a gambling den in Greenfield."¹³

Initially, nothing on Brown's life received mention when

► Continued on Page 20

► BROWN

Continued from Page 19

newspapers nationwide ran stories about the forthcoming indictment of Joseph “Sport” Sullivan and Brown, “an otherwise unidentified gambler from New York City” in connection with the Cook County probe of the 1919 World Series.¹⁴

Reports soon surfaced that Brown had fled the country. An October 5 story out of New York claimed “Rachel Brown, partner of ‘Bridgie’ Webber in the old days when the tenderloin was run wide open and more recently a partner and ‘steerer’ for Arnold Rothstein and indicted by the Cook County grand jury in Chicago for world series ‘fixing’, has fled to Europe. Brown is widely known in sporting circles in Albany and Saratoga.”¹⁵

Reports of Brown fleeing the country, however, were soon contradicted by “several men of wide acquaintance in the gambling ring” who allegedly talked with Brown several days after the purported getaway ship had sailed.

The author of this article has checked passenger lists and can find no trace of Brown sailing from New York at this time. He could not have left, because the following month, Brown and Saratoga co-defendant Jules Formel (who had notarized Brown’s passport application) were arrested in New York City and then transported upstate to answer the Saratoga charges.

Granted immunity, Brown testified against his old friend, Formel. However, Brown managed not to implicate either himself or Formel directly. The evidence showed that Formel cut local public officials in on his gambling profits, and that Brown took 15 percent as his share. There appears to have been no effort made to extradite Brown to Chicago.¹⁶

Brown then got into the bootlegging business. In April 1921, Brown was indicted for smuggling alcohol by car from Canada. The newspaper report identifies him as the gambler who was indicted in the World Series fix. Brown pled guilty, paid part of the fine, then was released on his promise(!) to pay the rest. He failed to do so, and in 1922 was re-arrested in New York City.¹⁷

After this last brush with the law, Brown appears to have retired. In the late 1920s, Brown and his wife moved to Los Angeles, purchasing a house on South Catalina Avenue and running a small bookmaking operation. He died there, of a cerebral hemorrhage, on September 22, 1936. His remains were cremated.¹⁸

Notes

1. Black Sox Scandal Research Committee Newsletter, April 2010. See also Lamb, Bill, *Black Sox in the Courtroom*. The Attell statement is in the Eliot Asinof

Papers, Chicago History Museum, a copy of which was furnished to this author by Bill Lamb.

2. Sources for the details of his life include his 1919 Passport Application; the 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940 federal censuses; 1905, 1915 and 1925 New York state censuses; New York City Directories; *New York Herald*, July 29, 1916; *Los Angeles Times*, September 24, 1936; Lamb, *Black Sox in the Courtroom*; Brown’s California death certificate. His first name is given variously as Abraham, Abe, Abram, nicknamed Rachie, Rachel and Rachael; his last, as Brown, Braun, Braunstein and Bronstein. Abraham Brown was the name he usually went by and was called by.

3. *Ballston Spa Daily Journal*, October 5, 1920.

4. *New York Herald*, Feb. 28, 1907. In one of their periodic raids to stamp out gambling (or, at least, gamblers who didn’t pay off Tammany Hall politicians), police arrested Brown in 1910. See *The New York Tribune*, October 22, 1910.

5. Becker’s whole story is in the *New York Evening World*, Oct. 28, 1912.

6. *New York Evening World*, May 2, 1913; April 7, 1911. The “Tenderloin” in Manhattan was a red-light and entertainment district centered around what is today the Theatre District. The Hesper Club, at 111 2nd Avenue, was a favorite hangout for bookies, jockeys, gamblers and Tammany Hall politicians. Rosenthal had been president of the club.

7. *New York Sun*, April 3, 1913; *Tampa Tribune*, April 6, 1913. *New York Press*, November 3, 1912.

8. *New York Evening World*, May 2, 1913.

9. *New York Times*, March 6, 1914; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 8, 1914.

10. *New York Evening World*, May 28, 1917. See also Pietrusza, *Rothstein*, p. 137.

11. *Washington Times*, December 13, 1918.

12. Passport Application, February 3, 1919. Brown’s erratic behavior may have been linked to his syphilis. As it turned out, Brown fell ill and never went to Cuba.

13. *Saratoga Springs Saratogian*, July 29, 1919. *Saratoga Sun*, August 20, 1920. *Ballston Spa Daily Journal*, October 5, 1920.

14. *Chicago Tribune*, September 30, 1920.

15. *New York Tribune*, October 5, 1920. *Ballston Spa Daily Journal*, October 5, 1920.

16. *New York Times*, October 6, 1920; November 22, 1920. *Saratoga Springs Saratogian*, May 30, 1920, May 14, 1921. *Hudson Valley Times*, December 31, 1920. *Saratoga Sun*, December 31, 1920. Lamb, *Black Sox in the Courtroom*, pp. 94-95. Formel was eventually convicted.

17. *Saratoga Springs Saratogian*, April 20, 1921; *Ballston Spa Journal*, September 15, 1922.

18. Lamb, *Black Sox in the Courtroom*, p. 206. *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 24, 1936. California death certificate, Los Angeles County, #12343, September 22, 1936.