

BLACK SOX SCANDAL



Vol. 7, No. 2, December 2015

Research Committee Newsletter

Leading off ...

What's in this issue

- ◆ Reinstatements denied . . . [PAGE 1](#)
- ◆ Get your copy of *Scandal on the South Side* e-book . . . [PAGE 2](#)
- ◆ Examining the greatness of the 1919 White Sox [PAGE 3](#)
- ◆ A history of Black Sox reinstatement efforts. [PAGE 6](#)
- ◆ Sport Sullivan's rough encounter with Cy Young [PAGE 8](#)
- ◆ Why the 1920 White Sox lost—an analysis [PAGE 9](#)
- ◆ Kid Gleason's Philadelphia poolroom partner [PAGE 11](#)
- ◆ A closer look: Special Prosecutor Edward A. Prindiville . . . [PAGE 12](#)
- ◆ A comparison of 1919 American League salaries [PAGE 13](#)
- ◆ RIP Joe Anders [PAGE 16](#)

Chairman's Corner

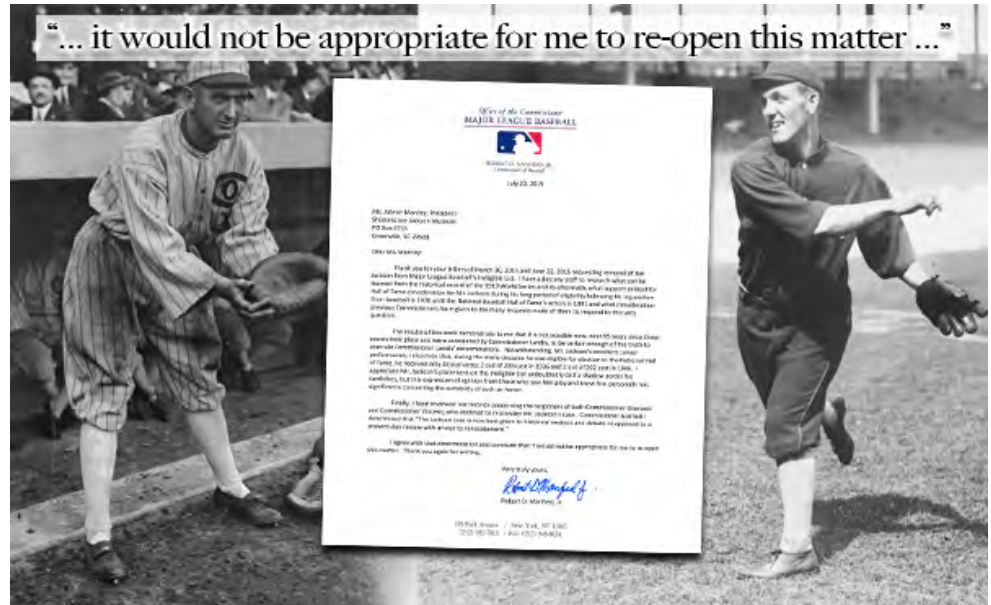
By **Jacob Pomrenke**
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We certainly didn't plan for our own [Black Sox book](#) to be released just a month before MLB Commissioner Rob Manfred's decision to uphold the ban on Joe Jackson and Buck Weaver. But it just makes for an all-too-familiar postscript to this story.

Efforts to clear the players' good names have been undertaken by many good people — most recently, folks like Arlene Marcley and Dr. David Fletcher — and in many ways over the last 95 years, as the list on [page 6](#) of this newsletter details.

Lawyers, Congressmen, and Hall of Famers have taken up the fight, as have ordinary citizens drawn to the most notorious scandal in baseball history.

► **Continued on Page 2**



Photos: Library of Congress; illustration: Jacob Pomrenke

Reinstatement efforts denied by commissioner

Manfred declines to consider Jackson, Weaver cases

By **Jacob Pomrenke**
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After nearly a century of efforts to have their names officially removed from Major League Baseball's ineligible list, the door appears to be slammed shut for Shoeless Joe Jackson and Buck Weaver — maybe forever.

MLB Commissioner Rob Manfred delivered a thoughtful but firm response to supporters for the two banned Black Sox players in separate letters dated July 20, 2015, to the Shoeless Joe Jackson Museum and to Dr. David Fletcher on behalf of the Weaver family.

In his letters, Manfred said “it is not possible now, over 95 years [later] ... to be certain enough of the truth to overrule Commissioner [Kenesaw Mountain] Landis’ determinations.” He also cited another former commissioner, A. Bartlett Giamatti, who wrote that the Black Sox Scandal “is now best given to

READ THE LETTERS

Click the links below to download a PDF of Commissioner Rob Manfred's letters on July 20, 2015, regarding Shoeless Joe Jackson and Buck Weaver:

- ◆ [Manfred's Shoeless Joe Jackson letter](#)
- ◆ [Manfred's Buck Weaver letter](#)

historical analysis and debate as opposed to a present-day review with an eye to reinstatement.”

Manfred concluded that “it would not be appropriate for me to re-open this matter.”

It was speculated at the time that Manfred's decision on the Black Sox was just a first step toward shutting down Pete Rose's reinstatement bid. Baseball's all-time hit king, who accepted a lifetime ban from Giamatti in 1989 for betting on his own team as

► **Continued on Page 7**

► CHAIRMAN

Continued from Page 1

So much of the continued intrigue about the Black Sox Scandal focuses on the idea that Jackson and Weaver were treated unjustly by Organized Baseball and, by the standards of modern jurisprudence (and collective bargaining), they do have a strong case. Thanks in large part to the power of their union, no group of major-league players today could be banned for life in one fell swoop the way the Black Sox were by Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis in 1921. We'd see different suspensions for each player that depended on the evidence against them and their particular degree of guilt.

No matter where you stand on Jackson or Weaver's case for reinstatement, maybe that's the most important takeaway from Manfred's decision this summer: Organized Baseball has never viewed these players as individuals, and any effort to "reinstatement" an individual player is doomed to fail.

MLB succeeded in branding them as the Eight Men Out — and so they shall remain in the eyes of baseball. Neither Rob Manfred nor any future commissioner has an incentive to allow the Eight Men Back In ... under any conditions. There is no "smoking gun," no piece of new evidence, that can ever be produced that would convince them to overturn Judge Landis' original edict.

That's not to say it's meaningless to keep fighting for justice or to keep looking for new pieces to add to the puzzle. After all, none of us would be having this conversation if we didn't think the story wasn't important and interesting enough to learn more. There are still many, many more "puzzle pieces" to be found — and all of them help put the Black Sox Scandal into clearer focus and better context than we had 10, 50, or 100 years ago.

But it is to say there's little reason to believe MLB will ever give Buck Weaver the "separate trial" that he so desperately wanted. Baseball wants to keep this whole story simple, and singling out Weaver or Joe Jackson just makes things too complicated.

The story is *not* simple, of course. Never has been. The new puzzle pieces — especially those dealing with the culpability and scandal cover-up engineered by team and league officials — have made that abundantly clear.

Going forward, perhaps that's where the focus ought to shift: on the complications, the culture, the context that made the Black Sox Scandal possible. Those are much more significant questions than whether Jackson was or wasn't guilty of playing a shallow left field in the World Series.

When looked at through that big-picture lens, the severity of Weaver and Jackson's transgressions lessen for some. Maybe one day, even to an MLB commissioner, too.

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

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

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

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

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

The Society for American Baseball

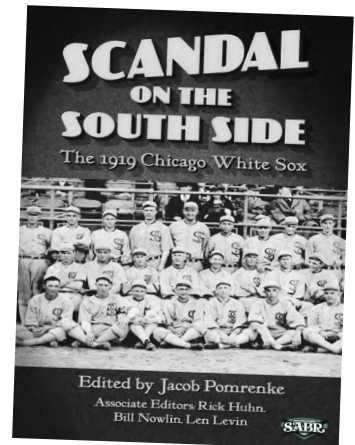
Research invites you to

learn more about the Black Sox Scandal and the infamous team at the center of it all.

The new book can be ordered online at SABR.org/ebooks. All SABR members can download the e-book edition for free in PDF, EPUB, or Kindle formats.

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How great were the 1919 White Sox?

By Bruce Allardice

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Writing in 1937, sportswriter John Lardner, son of the famed Ring Lardner, labeled the 1919 White Sox and the 1927 New York Yankees the two greatest ball clubs he had ever seen.¹ Longtime Yankee executive Ed Barrow ranked the 1919 White Sox “the greatest team of all time,” ahead of the 1927 Yankees.² Other writers posit that this Sox team was poised to become a dynasty, with their hopes ruined by the Black Sox Scandal. Author Michael T. Lynch Jr. creates a whole alternate Clean Sox history, where they win the 1920 pennant and remain competitive through 1925.³

On the other hand, sabermetrics guru Bill James has written that the Sox weren’t even the best team in 1919.⁴ Joel Reuter of Bleacher Report left the 1919 Sox off his list of the 50 greatest baseball teams.⁵

So how good was this team? Generally, a team’s greatness is judged by three criteria:

1. Won-loss record
2. Statistics
3. Expert opinion

This article will examine the 1919 White Sox under these three criteria. It will also look at the 1917-20 era when the White Sox dominated the American League. For purposes of this study, the war year of 1918 will be omitted throughout, since so many White Sox players were absent due to military service or factory work during World War I.

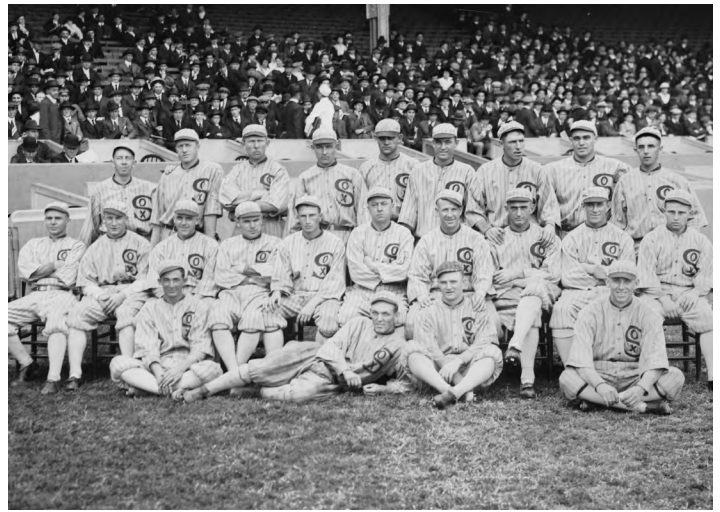
Won-Loss Record

The 1917-20 White Sox were a good team. They won two pennants and finished in second place in those three years, compiling a 284-164 record for a .634 winning percentage.

Year	W-L	Pct.	Finish
1917	100-54	.649	1st
1919	88-52	.629	1st
1920	96-58	.623	2nd
Total	284-164	.634	

But compared to other championship clubs of the period, this impressive winning percentage is surpassed by:

- ♦ 1929-31 Athletics: 313-143 (.686)
- ♦ 1926-28 Yankees: 302-160 (.654)
- ♦ 1910-14 Athletics: 488-270 (.644)⁶



If the 1917-20 White Sox were a dynasty in the making, that distinction escaped baseball experts at the time. As Bruce Allardice points out, the White Sox were a very good team but not so superior to others in their era. (Library of Congress)

Nor did the 1917-20 White Sox outpace the rest of the AL in the standings by a significant margin, with an average finish that was 3½ games better than their closest competitors. By comparison:

- ♦ 1929-31 A’s: 13.1 games per year better
- ♦ 1926-28 Yankees: 8.2 games per year better
- ♦ 1910-14 A’s: 6.0 games per year better

There’s also considerable evidence that the Sox threw games — maybe as many as six — in 1920. Assuming they had won three of those six, their winning percentage would improve to .640, and they would have played their third World Series in four years.

This still would not vault the Sox ahead of the other three dynasties.

The 1919 White Sox won the pennant by only 3½ games over Cleveland, with a runs scored/against ratio of +34. The average American League pennant winner in the 1910s⁷ had a winning percentage of .648, far ahead of the 1919 White Sox’s .629.

No wonder many experts picked the Reds (96-44, .686) to win the 1919 Series. At least one writer thought that if the 1919 season had lasted two more weeks — if major-league teams had played the normal 154 games instead of the shortened 140-game schedule — the red-hot Indians would have overtaken the Sox.⁸

► Continued on Page 4

► GREAT

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Statistics

Modern baseball evaluation focuses more on runs scored versus runs allowed, and less on won-loss record, as the true measure of a team. Here again the White Sox, while clearly very good, lacked greatness.

White Sox AL Rankings

	R	RA	OPS	Field%
1917	1st	2nd	2nd	2nd
1919	1st	2nd	2nd	2nd
1920	4th	3rd	4th	3rd ⁹

These are strong rankings, but the 1927 Yankees led the AL in both runs scored and runs allowed, a feat only a handful of other teams have accomplished. The White Sox's cumulative total of +456 in runs scored versus runs allowed pales in comparison to the +719 by the 1926-28 Yankees, even accounting for the higher scoring context of the 1920s.¹⁰ The Yankees and Giants of 1921-23 were also much stronger than the White Sox, with the Yankees scoring 583 more runs than they allowed and the Giants at +573.

Focusing solely on the 1919 Sox team, they scored 4.8 runs per game and allowed 3.8, a difference of 1.0 runs per game. In the Deadball Era, that run differential wasn't as good as the 1919 Cincinnati Reds (1.3), the 1915 White Sox (1.3), the 1917 White Sox (1.2), or the 1915 Red Sox (1.1). In the lively ball era, that figure was surpassed by the 1920 Indians and Yankees (both 1.4), the 1921 Yankees (1.6), and the famous 1927 Yankees (2.4).

Contemporary Opinion

It is often said that opinions are like, well, posteriors — everybody's got one.

This article will focus on the preseason pennant predictions of the "experts." Great teams are usually recognized as such at the time. If the Sox were truly great, one would expect that to be reflected in the preseason prognostications.

Now, baseball predictions are, even today, notoriously difficult. Professor James Walker, in a study of recent baseball predictions, concludes that the modern "experts" are no better than 50-50 at predicting — that automatically predicting last year's champ to repeat would be just as reliable as what the "experts" produce.¹¹

But this section centers on the expert's belief — NOT on

how accurate that belief turned out to be. And for the 1919 World Series, while most experts predicted a White Sox win, this belief was not unanimous. For example, *The Sporting News* pre-Series panel of experts split 6-5 on the Sox winning, with NL beat writers backing Cincinnati. The *Sporting News* concluded that "the experts who have followed the play in both leagues generally lean to the White Sox."¹² The panel "leaned" (hardly a stirring endorsement) to the Sox because they were a slightly better team in a slightly better league. No expert thought the Sox "great," "dominant," or in any way clearly superior to the Reds.

Future Hall of Famers Christy Mathewson and Johnny Evers also picked the Reds, along with syndicated columnist Fred Turbyville and manager George Stallings. Umpire Billy Evans rated the series a "toss-up." The one expert who thought the Sox "compare favorably with some of the greatest clubs of all times" (Detroit manager Hughie Jennings) conditioned that "greatness" on Red Faber being healthy. Other than Jennings, no expert labeled the Sox "great," let alone a dynasty in the making.¹³

For 1920, the predictions pretty well agreed that Cleveland, not Chicago, would win the pennant. And this was after the Sox had breezed to the 1919 pennant. Like comedian Rodney Dangerfield, the Sox "got no respect."

For example:

- ♦ H.G. Salsinger of *The Sporting News* picked Cleveland to win.¹⁴

- ♦ W.A. Phelon of *Baseball Magazine* said Cleveland "is picked by most of the cognoscenti" to win.¹⁵

- ♦ *Collyer's Eye* picked Cleveland to win and the Sox to finish fifth!¹⁶

- ♦ Philadelphia A's manager Connie Mack thought Cleveland would win, with the White Sox "not seriously in the running."¹⁷

- ♦ Bob Dunbar of the *Boston Herald* picked Cleveland on top and the Sox fourth.¹⁸

- ♦ The *Washington Times* had Cleveland winning, with the Sox third or fourth.¹⁹

- ♦ Hugh Fullerton, the sportswriter who (more than anyone else) exposed the Black Sox Scandal, also "doped out" Cleveland to win by a large margin, with the Sox "clearly out of it as a pennant proposition."²⁰

- ♦ Robert Maxwell of the *Brooklyn Eagle* picked the Sox for fourth.²¹

- ♦ Notably, the preseason betting odds also favored Cleveland to win.²²

Much of this was based on the White Sox's poor 1919 World Series record, Chick Gandil's retirement, doubts about Red Faber's health, and team dissension (several key players holding out for more money).²³

► Continued on Page 5

► GREAT

Continued from Page 4

Many experts believed manager Kid Gleason had performed something of a miracle in 1919, masterfully juggling a thin pitching staff, and that the team's flaws would surface in 1920. NO credible expert foresaw a White Sox pennant — let alone a runaway — in 1920.

Chicago garnered little respect prior to the 1919 season, as well. The bookmakers had the defending champion Red Sox winning in 1919, with the Yankees second.²⁴ Sports-writer Hugh Fullerton's widely syndicated "Spring Dope" column, based on primitive sabermetrics, predicted Cleveland to finish first and the Sox a distant third.²⁵

The 1917 preseason predictions were more mixed, with Chicago in everyone's pennant mix, but with no runaway favorite. Generally, Boston, Chicago, New York, and Detroit were labeled the four teams that would closely contend.²⁶ The prognosticators for the 1919 World Series generally favored the Sox, but only narrowly — not the mark of a dominant team. If the 1917-20 White Sox were a dynasty in the making, that distinction escaped the experts at the time.

Conclusion

The 1917-20 White Sox were a very good team, one of the best of that era. However, they weren't so far superior to other good teams, such as the 1919 Reds or 1920 Indians, that they could win most any game they played honestly. The 1919 Sox weren't even as good as the 1917 Sox. Neither the statistics, nor contemporary opinion, suggests they were one of the greatest teams ever.

In truth, as authors Rob Neyer and Eddie Epstein wrote, "The mythology that is linked to [the 1919 Sox] probably leads many to overrate their true ability."²⁷

Notes

1. *Milwaukee Journal*, April 10, 1937.
2. Mark L. Armour and Daniel R. Levitt, *Paths to Glory: How Baseball Teams got that Way* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2004), 67.
3. Michael T. Lynch Jr., *It Ain't So: A Might-Have-Been History of the White Sox in 1919 and Beyond* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co., 2009).
4. See baseballjudgments.tripod.com/id94.html.
5. See bleacherreport.com/articles/1995178-bleacher-reports-official-rankings-of-the-50-greatest-teams-in-mlb-history.
6. Several other teams in this era had similar winning percentages as the 1917-20 White Sox, including:

- ♦ 1921-23 Yankees: 290-169 (.632)
 - ♦ 1915-17 Red Sox: 282-175 (.617)
 - ♦ 1921-23 Giants: 282-178 (.613)
7. This excludes the White Sox in 1917 and 1919.
 8. Louis A. Dougher, "Looking 'em Over," *Washington Times*, March 29, 1920: "It is generally believed that, with two more weeks to go, the Indians would have nosed out the White Sox last fall."
 9. The Sox's fielding decline is mostly attributable to slick-fielding Chick Gandil (who had three errors in 1919) retiring and being replaced at first base by outfielder Shano Collins (16 errors in 1920).
 10. The offense in the AL increased 2/3 of a run per game in 1920, due in large measure to rules changes regarding "trick pitches" and an allegedly livelier baseball. This changed context means the Sox's +129 run ratio in 1920, in a 154-game season, is significantly less impressive than their +133 a year earlier in a 140-game season.
 - A side note: By a wide margin the 1920 White Sox outperformed their expected won-loss total based on their runs scored versus allowed. Based on the Pythagorean forecast of wins per their runs scored/allowed ratio, they could be expected to finish 89-65 in 1920, not 96-58. The 1920 White Sox were stellar in one-run games, finishing 26-16 in 1920 and 14-5 in extra inning games — a key reason they outperformed their expected won-loss record.
 11. See James Walker, "Can experts predict final MLB standings better than the average fan?" at theconversation.com/can-experts-predict-final-mlb-standings-better-than-the-average-fan-38883.
 12. *The Sporting News*, October 2, 1919.
 13. See *New York Times*, September 28, 1919 (Mathewson); *Fort Wayne Journal*, September 30, 1919 (Evers); *San Diego Evening Tribune*, September 26, 1919 (Stallings); *Salt Lake City Telegram*, September 23, 1919 (Turbyville); *Evansville Courier*, October 1, 1919 (Evans); *Scranton Republican*, September 30, 1919 (Jennings).
 14. *The Sporting News*, April 15, 1920.
 15. *Baseball Magazine*, June 1920.
 16. *Collyer's Eye*, April 10, 1920.
 17. *Reading (Pennsylvania) Times*, March 11, 1920.
 18. *Boston Herald*, April 14, 1920.
 19. *Washington Times*, April 5, 1920.
 20. *New York Evening World*, April 6, 1920.
 21. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, April 3, 1920.
 22. *Chicago Tribune*, September 5, 1920.
 23. *The Sporting News*, March 18, 1920.
 24. Tim Hornbaker, *Turning the Black Sox White: The Misunderstood Legacy of Charles A. Comiskey* (New York: Sports Publishing, 2014), 250.
 25. *Columbia (South Carolina) State*, April 21, 1919.
 26. *Scranton (Pennsylvania) Republican*, April 4, 1917.
 27. Rob Neyer and Eddie Epstein, *Baseball Dynasties: The Greatest Teams of All Time* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2000), 299.

A HISTORY OF BLACK SOX REINSTATEMENT EFFORTS

- ♦ **1922:** Six months after the Black Sox criminal trial ends, Buck Weaver meets Landis in his office in mid-January and makes a personal appeal for reinstatement. Nearly a year later, on December 11, Landis issues a statement rejecting Buck's plea, adding that "birds of a feather flock together."
- ♦ **1922:** A petition is circulated July 19 outside the Polo Grounds before a Yankees-White Sox game "to restore Shoeless Joe Jackson in the good graces of organized baseball." Jackson makes a speech in front of a crowd of 200 at a New York meeting hall, declaring his innocence. "I ain't guilty of nothing. I tried my hardest in the 1919 World Series. All I want is a square deal from the fans." The petition is not successful, and there is no indication it was ever sent to Judge Landis.
- ♦ **1923:** An effort is raised by Joe Jackson's friends in Savannah to clear his name after Judge Landis surprisingly reinstates New York Giants pitcher Rube Benton, who had testified to the Chicago grand jury about his knowledge of the World Series fix, was abruptly released by the Giants in midseason 1921, and then declared ineligible by AL president Ban Johnson and NL president John Heydler. Jackson told a reporter that he was open to meeting with Landis when the commissioner visited Savannah during spring training, but they never did.
- ♦ **1923:** Joe Jackson sends a letter to Landis in late June from Bastrop, Louisiana, asking for reinstatement. Landis replies on July 16, saying "it will be necessary for you to forward ... a full statement in detail of your conduct and connection with the arrangements for the 'throwing' of the World Series of 1919." Jackson did not respond further and the matter was dropped.
- ♦ **1927:** During the Gandil/Risberg hearings in Chicago, Weaver concluded his testimony in early January by making a "dramatic plea for reinstatement" to Landis in front of a crowd of dozens of ex-ballplayers and reporters. Landis sent him a letter on March 12 denying his appeal. The following day, Weaver signed a contract to play semipro ball in Chicago.
- ♦ **1928:** In March, Weaver sends a wire to Paul Davis, president of the new Class D Arizona State League, telling him that he would sign a one-year contract to play if the league was successful in getting him reinstated. (Weaver had spent the summers of 1925 and '26 playing for Douglas, AZ, in the independent/outlaw Copper League. But Landis made it a condition of approving the Class D league in 1928 that they would stop employing any banned players.)
- ♦ **1930:** In early May, Weaver's lawyer, Louis J. Rosenthal, is reportedly prepared to "make a new plea" based on "new evidence." No official appeal is filed with Judge Landis.
- ♦ **1933:** On behalf of Joe Jackson, Greenville (S.C.) mayor John Maudlin sends a telegram to Landis in December asking for him to be reinstated. Greenville leaders are trying to get back in organized baseball after the Sally League folded in 1930 and some want Jackson to manage their team. (The SAL returns in 1936 and Greenville gets its team back in '38, without Jackson.) Landis sends a one-sentence response back in early January: "This application is denied."
- ♦ **1934:** Swede Risberg gives an interview to an INS reporter from San Francisco in mid-January: "I have served my time and paid my fine, and I think I ought to have a chance to earn my living again in organized baseball." The article states he's "back in his hometown, looking for a job." Landis' response to Joe Jackson (see above) appears to apply to Risberg, as well.
- ♦ **1947:** Buck Weaver gives an interview on WGN Radio with Jack Brickhouse in which he expresses his desire to be reinstated, and his optimism that a new commissioner might give him a fair shake. Commissioner Happy Chandler does not respond.
- ♦ **1951:** Joe Jackson is invited to New York to appear on Ed Sullivan's "Toast of the Town" after his election to the Cleveland Indians' new team Hall of Fame. Supporters think this will kickstart his reinstatement to baseball. But Jackson dies 11 days before the scheduled TV appearance.
- ♦ **1953:** Weaver sends a handwritten letter to another new commissioner, Ford Frick, saying, "Even a murderer serves his sentence and gets out. I got life." Frick does not respond. Weaver dies in 1956.

➤ Continued on Page 7

► HISTORY

Continued from Page 6

♦ **1991:** Years after all the players are dead, and following the success of films “Field of Dreams” and “Eight Men Out,” Chicago attorney Louis Hegeman picks up the charge for reinstatement. He files an extensively documented petition in November to Commissioner Fay Vincent seeking to have Buck Weaver’s “name and reputation restored.” On December 12, Deputy Commissioner Stephen Greenberg responds with a letter: “Matters such as this are best left to historical analysis.”

♦ **1992:** Weaver biographer Irving Stein writes to commissioner Bud Selig seeking to have Buck’s name cleared. According to David Fletcher, Selig reportedly responds by saying that Joe Jackson’s case would have to be dealt with first.

♦ **1998:** Ted Williams and Bob Feller lead an attention-grabbing campaign to have Joe Jackson’s name cleared, later joined by Yogi Berra and Tommy Lasorda. Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin introduces a nonbinding U.S. Senate resolution calling for baseball to “right this wrong” and South Carolina Rep. Jim DeMint does the same in the House. Chicago attorney Louis Hegeman represents Williams and Feller in discussions

with MLB. Selig assigns Chicago sports writer Jerome Holtzman to investigate the matter. Later, Selig responds to Pete Rose’s reinstatement request, “The matter will be handled in due course.”

♦ **2000:** Sen. Strom Thurmond and Rep. Jim DeMint of South Carolina meet with Bud Selig and urge him to reinstate Joe Jackson. Selig says he expects a decision as “expeditiously as possible.”

♦ **2003:** With Buck Weaver’s nieces, Pat Anderson and Marjorie Follett, David Fletcher launches the ClearBuck.com campaign at the MLB All-Star Game in Chicago. Fletcher writes a letter to Bud Selig.

♦ **2005:** Iowa’s Tom Harkin introduces another Senate resolution after the White Sox win the World Series urging baseball to “appropriately honor Joe Jackson’s accomplishments.” Harkin says, “It’s been six years (since he first approached Bud Selig) ... I hope he will complete his inquiry soon.”

♦ **2015:** David Fletcher sends a letter to new commissioner Rob Manfred in March, seeking to clear Buck Weaver’s name. Arlene Marcley does the same regarding Shoeless Joe Jackson’s. Manfred responds to both on July 20: “I decline to give additional consideration to this matter.”

— Compiled by Jacob Pomrenke

► REINSTATEMENT

Continued from Page 1

a Cincinnati Reds player-manager, had been in the news all summer after participating in All-Star Game festivities in Cincinnati and then taking a high-profile television gig with Fox Sports during the MLB postseason.

On December 14, Manfred issued his decision in the Rose case: another resounding no. Rose’s credibility was especially hurt, according to the commissioner, by first lying about, then later “clarifying” in a personal meeting with Manfred, the fact that he continued to place bets on baseball in recent years.

Manfred confirmed MLB’s position that banned players were not necessarily ineligible for the Baseball Hall of Fame, but the Hall of Fame’s current rules make it clear that ineligible players will not be considered.

And just like that, less than a year into Manfred’s tenure, baseball’s blacklisted players were given their most defini-

tive answer from Major League Baseball in nearly 95 years.

It seems unlikely that Jackson, Weaver, or Rose will get another shot at reinstatement, at least during Manfred’s time as commissioner. The tone in Manfred’s letters seems to indicate that baseball wants to wash its hands of the Black Sox Scandal completely. That also seems unlikely, as we approach the 100th anniversary of the 1919 World Series, given the wealth of new evidence and new scholarship in recent years about “baseball’s darkest hour.”

For now, that evidence has raised more questions than it has answered, providing cover for Manfred to conclude that “it is not possible now ... to be certain enough of the truth.”

But Jackson and Weaver’s supporters will not end their fight anytime soon.

“It would be a wonderful thing if Mr. Manfred would reconsider,” Arlene Marcley, executive director of the Shoeless Joe Jackson Museum told ESPN’s Arash Markazi in September. “All he has to say is Major League Baseball no longer has jurisdiction over Shoeless Joe Jackson. That does not overrule what his predecessors have done.”

Sport Sullivan's rough encounter with Cy Young

By Bill Lamb

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As the Black Sox Scandal unfolded in the fall of 1920, baseball fans were introduced to a host of unsavory characters stationed on the game's periphery, including Boston bookmaker Joseph "Sport" Sullivan.

But unfamiliar with him as fans might be, Sullivan was no stranger to many of those who had worn a major-league uniform.¹ One who remembered him well was a retired 53-year-old gentleman farmer from Ohio, the game's all-time winningest pitcher: Cy Young.

For his nationally syndicated column, scandal trailblazer Hugh Fullerton sought Young's views on the extent of the threat that corruption posed to baseball. In the process of expressing rather firm opinions on the subject, Young related an anecdote that made clear that the 1919 World Series had not been Sullivan's maiden effort at game-fixing.

Without much in the way of particulars, Young stated that gamblers had long been attracted to the baseball scene, and that "being a good-natured sort of fellow," he had "always treated them politely without much thinking about it."² This proved "dangerous" for Young, as sometime early in his tenure hurling for the Boston Americans,³ a local gambler "got me in a [hotel] room and hinted that he wanted me to throw a ball game. I couldn't believe it at first, until he offered \$1,500."⁴

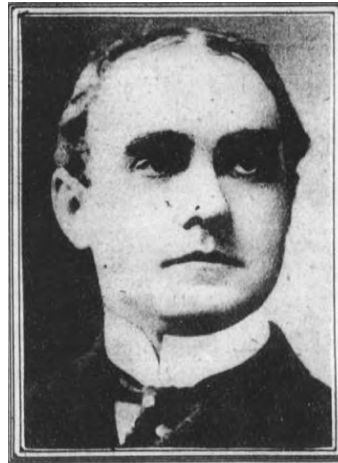
The following colloquy ensued between Fullerton and Young:

What did you do then, Cy?
Just hit him in the jaw and threw him out.
Did you know him? Who was he?
They called him "Sport" Sullivan.

Despite the encounter with Sullivan, Young was convinced it was "impossible to make the game crooked." This was because the honest players on a corrupted team would quickly realize "that something is coming off and will stop it."

Nor did Young believe that a pitcher could "toss off ball games and not be caught." As Young saw it, the club's catcher will know "in an inning or two whether the pitcher is trying to win or not," an assessment seemingly borne out by Ray Schalk's hostile reaction to the pitching of fixers Edie Cicotte and Lefty Williams during the 1919 Series.

The only way for crooked pitching to go unexposed, Young said, was if gamblers "succeeded in bribing the catcher to keep quiet. The catcher will and should see every



Sport Sullivan



Cy Young

move of every man on the field [and] can tell whether a player is trying to make a play or not by the way he goes about it."⁵ During his time in Boston, Young himself had had the good fortune of being received by Lou Criger, a capable and honest backstop.⁶

At the time Fullerton's column was published in early November 1920, the depths of the Black Sox Scandal were not yet fully plumbed. But whether subsequent revelations altered Young's views on the incorruptibility of baseball is unknown.

By the time of his passing in 1955, however, the Black Sox Scandal had become a distant memory, while the name Cy Young was destined to be preserved on the annual award given to baseball's most outstanding pitcher.

Notes

1. A [comprehensive profile of Sport Sullivan](#) is provided by Bruce Allardice in the June 2014 issue of this newsletter.
2. Hugh S. Fullerton, "On the Screen of Sports," *Atlanta Constitution*, November 2, 1920.
3. Young pitched for the Boston Americans (later Red Sox) from 1901 through 1908.
4. Fullerton, above. Unless otherwise noted, the quotations contained herein are taken from the Fullerton article.
5. Years later, this assertion would be contradicted by Happy Felsch who maintained that "playing rotten, it ain't that hard to do when you get the hang of it. It ain't that hard to hit a pop-up when you take what looks like a good cut at the ball." Eliot Asinof, *Bleeding Between the Lines* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1979), 117.
6. Several years after the Fullerton column was published, Criger revealed he had spurned a \$12,000 bribe offered by a Boston gambler named Anderson just prior to the 1903 World Series.

Why the 1920 White Sox lost—an analysis

By Bruce Allardice

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Before the start of the 1920 season, and prior to exposure of the 1919 World Series fix, experts forecast the decline of the Chicago White Sox.

Sportswriter Hugh Fullerton, whose syndicated “Spring Dope” columns (based on early sabermetrics) were perhaps the most widely accepted pennant forecasts, labeled the 1920 Sox “badly shot and ... getting no better.” He projected them to finish sixth in the American League at 73-81.¹ The experts cited Chicago’s thin pitching staff, Chick Gandil’s retirement, and spring training holdouts as reasons the 1919 pennant winners wouldn’t repeat.

As it turned out, the experts were — as usual — mostly wrong. Despite the rumors of the 1919 fix, and more rumors of thrown games in 1920, the White Sox’s 1920 record was virtually the same as in 1919, with a slight decline in winning percentage from .629 to .623.² However, this statistic masks the sharp decline in the White Sox’s hitting and pitching relative to the league. It also masks the fact that, with pitching ace Red Faber’s return to health, they “should” have been better in 1920 than they were in 1919.

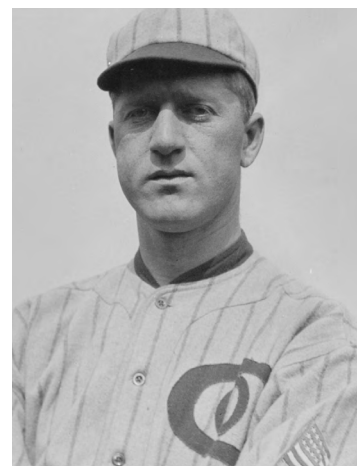
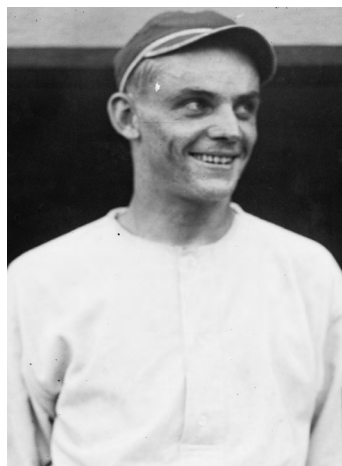
Hitting Decline

The team’s decline is most noticeable in hitting. The Sox went from first in runs scored in 1919 to fourth (of eight teams) in 1920. The team offensive WAR (or Wins Above Replacement) declined a bit, from 27.1 to 26.2. The Sox’s problems centered on glaring weaknesses at first base and right field.

The 1920 White Sox returned virtually the same roster as the 1919 pennant winners. The one notable change was the retirement of starting first baseman Chick Gandil, the Black Sox ringleader.

Gandil’s retirement generated several Sox roster moves. They brought in longtime minor-league prospect Ted Jourdan to fill Gandil’s shoes. However, the slick-fielding Jourdan simply didn’t hit — one newspaper concluded Jourdan was “not a big league class as a hitter”³ — so in early June the Sox shifted right fielder Shano Collins to first base⁴, and promoted his platoon mate, Nemo Leibold, to full-time status.

The moves only partly worked. While Collins hit as well as Gandil (.303 in 1920)⁵, his inexperience at first base showed. Collins committed 16 errors, compared to Gandil’s three the year before. Facing both right- and left-handed



In 1920, the White Sox lost the services of first baseman Chick Gandil, left, who retired after a salary dispute, but they regained pitcher Red Faber, who returned from illness and injuries that had forced him to miss the 1919 World Series. (Photos: Library of Congress)

pitching, Leibold’s average dropped from .302 to .220, and a broken bone in his throwing hand in August⁶ further reduced his production.

Leibold’s 1920 offensive WAR and OPS (on-base plus slugging percentage) were far worse than the rest of the American League’s right fielders.⁷

The Sox’s weak spots can perhaps best be judged by comparing the league position-by-position.

White Sox, Wins Against Average Rank among AL teams, by position⁸

	1919	1920
C	4th	2nd
1B	7th	7th
2B	2nd	1st
SS	4th	3rd
3B	3rd	2nd
LF	3rd	1st
CF	4th	2nd
RF	3rd	8th

The 1920 Sox were well above average at every position but two, and first in the league at second base (Eddie Collins) and left field (Joe Jackson). Unfortunately, all this talent is in large part negated by lack of production at first base (Ted Jourdan, Shano Collins) and right field (Nemo Leibold).

► Continued on Page 10

► ANALYSIS

Continued from Page 9

The dropoff in right field is particularly sharp, going from third-best to worst in the league. If the Sox had plugged these two team holes (with their combined -5.0 WAA), they might have won the pennant in spite of everything the corrupt players did (or didn't) do. Of course, the corrupt Sox simply may have thrown more games to compensate.

Pitching Decline

In 1920, the overall pitching improved a little from 1919. The team pitching WAR increased from 14.3 to 18.0, thanks to Red Faber's return to health and Dickey Kerr's emergence as a starter — but it would have improved more except for the decline by 1919 staff aces Eddie Cicotte and Lefty Williams.

	1919 WAR	1920 WAR
Cicotte	9.5	5.2
Williams	5.4	3.6
Faber	-1.0	5.8
Kerr	3.4	3.6
Black Sox starters	14.9	8.8
Clean Sox starters	2.4	9.4

Looking more closely at the two Black Sox pitchers, Cicotte and Williams, one sees a sharp decline in their 1920 performance. Cicotte's ERA was 1.40 lower than the league average in 1919, but only 0.53 less in 1920. Williams' ERA jumped from 0.58 below the league average in 1919 to 0.12 *higher* than the average in 1920. The duo's poor performance likely cost the Sox the pennant.

The Boston Mystery

Whereas the 1917 and 1919 White Sox compiled a winning record against every team in the league, in 1920 they had a losing record against three clubs: Cleveland, New York, and Boston. Against teams with records above .500, the Sox declined from 35-25 in 1919 to 20-24 in 1920. Where they thrived in 1920 was in beating the bad teams — for example, they were 19-3 versus seventh-place Detroit.

The difficulty beating the excellent Cleveland and New York teams might be expected. The losing record against fifth-place Boston isn't. Of all the statistics from the 1920 season, Chicago's anomalous failure when playing the Red Sox sticks out the most.

The statistical record alone does not prove the Black Sox players threw games against Boston in 1920, but the statistics certainly buttress the testimony of the Clean Sox that games were thrown. Against fifth-place Boston, the White Sox scored only 69 runs in 1920, whereas they scored 100-plus runs against every other team.

While the White Sox averaged 5.16 runs per game (rpg) against the American League as a whole, they averaged only 3.4 rpg against Boston, finishing with a 10-12 record. Until the final three-game series with Boston, they had averaged only 2.68 rpg — against a mediocre 72-81 Boston team that had the fifth-highest ERA in the league.

Black Sox regulars Joe Jackson, Buck Weaver, Swede Risberg, and Happy Felsch batted a combined .270 against Boston that season, 56 points lower than their combined .326 overall average. The big three Sox RBI men — Jackson, Weaver, and Felsch — drove in only 1.2 rpg against Boston, compared to 2.0 rpg overall.

In contrast, the top three Clean Sox regulars — Eddie Collins, Shano Collins, and Ray Schalk — batted .300 against Boston, only 19 points less than their season average. Chicago's defense also slipped against Boston. They committed 1.45 errors per game against Boston, compared to 1.26 against the league.

Eddie Cicotte's 1920 pitching against Boston is particularly revealing. In six starts, he went 1-4 with an ERA of 5.44 in 48 innings. Against the rest of the league, Cicotte was 20-6 with an ERA of 2.86. The White Sox had a .500 record against the Red Sox in the other 16 games that Cicotte did not pitch. And since the Sox only lost the pennant by two games, Cicotte's four losses against Boston may, by themselves, have cost the Sox the pennant.

Lack of Depth

The recent SABR book *Scandal on the South Side* contains an excellent essay by Jacob Pomrenke highlighting the problems the 1919 Sox had with a thin pitching staff, a staff too heavily dependent on a few ace hurlers.⁹ This "thin roster" weakness persisted in 1920, in large part preventing the Sox from repeating as pennant winners.

During the 1920 season, rival Cleveland, also thin on pitching, brought up Duster Mails to fill a pitching hole. Mails finished 7-0 and keyed Cleveland's late-season surge.

► Continued on Page 11

Kid Gleason's Philadelphia poolroom partner

Editor's note: This is an excerpt from Phil Williams' new SABR BioProject biography of Otto Knabe, an infielder who spent 11 years in the majors from 1905-16. To read the full entry, visit sabr.org/bioproj/person/310d7ec8.

After losing his job to Otto Knabe in 1907, Phillies second baseman Kid Gleason had mentored the newcomer, and eventually emerged as one of his closest friends. For years the two partnered in running a billiards parlor in

Philadelphia. After being fired from Kansas City, Knabe returned to these business interests. The pool room seems to have morphed into something else over the years. In 1937 a Pennsylvania grand jury indicted Knabe and four others for running "a sumptuous gambling casino" on Samson Street, where patrons engaged in "gambling card games, or rolling dice or betting on horses."¹ Two years later, after Phillies owner Gerald Nugent, Phillies coach Hans Lobert, and

► Continued on Page 12

► ANALYSIS

Continued from Page 10

When Cleveland star Ray Chapman died after a fatal beaning in August, the Tribe brought in future Hall of Famer Joe Sewell, who batted .329 down the stretch. But when the Sox suffered slumps (Cicotte's three-game winless streak in late August) or injuries to their starters (Leibold's hand injury), the Sox brought out the forgettable Roy Wilkinson (7-9, 4.03 ERA) and the aged Amos Strunk (.239 BA) to pick up the slack. When Sox manager Kid Gleason saw suspicious or subpar play, he had few replacement options.

The Sox regulars were largely injury-free in 1920 — a happy circumstance that helped mitigate the team's lack of depth. In May, Swede Risberg got spiked trying to score and missed two weeks. In late April, Happy Felsch missed a week when a boil on his cheek swelled, interfering with his vision. Eddie Cicotte broke a bone in his non-pitching hand trying to field a hard grounder through the box, and missed a late April start.

In early September, Cicotte missed two more starts as manager Gleason, convinced that something was wrong after a poor start against the Red Sox, benched him. Leibold broke a bone in August that put him out two weeks. Otherwise, the starting rotation almost never missed a start, and the five core position players (Schalk, Eddie Collins, Weaver, Jackson, and Felsch) each played 140 or more games.

Conclusion

With Red Faber's return to form in 1920 and all of their regulars back except Gandil, the White Sox should have improved their 1919 record. They didn't. The team had several specific weaknesses, notably lack of depth and lack of production from right field. The team's two 1919 aces, Cicotte and Williams, slumped, and in Cicotte's case the

slump appears to suggest he deliberately played poorly in certain games. The White Sox's play against Boston suggests that the same players who threw the 1919 Series might have thrown games against the Red Sox in 1920, too.

Notes

1. *Charleston News and Courier*, April 12, 1920. A later Fullerton column picked the Sox a distant fourth. See the *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, April 15, 1920.

2. The Black Sox players were suspended with three games remaining in the season. Up to that point, the Sox were 95-56 (.629) — the identical percentage they finished at in 1919.

3. *Washington Herald*, September 7, 1920. Jourdan hit .240 that year with only 8 RBIs. Gandil hit .290 in 1919 with 60 RBIs.

4. Jourdan sprained his ankle on June 2, missed a week, and (shades of Wally Pipp!) lost his job. See the *Chicago Tribune*, June 3, 1920, for more on Jourdan's injury. Collins was slated to replace Jourdan anyway — the injury only precipitated the move.

5. Michael T. Lynch Jr., *It Ain't So: A Might Have Been History of the White Sox in 1919 and Beyond* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2009), 82-83. Lynch compares Collins' 1920 season to Gandil's projected 1920 season and finds Gandil would have batted "a hair better."

6. See the *Chicago Tribune*, August 24, 1920, for more on the injury.

7. 1920 AL right fielders: Nemo Leibold (Sox): -1.2 WAR, .597 OPS; Elmer Smith (Indians): 4.1 WAR, .910 OPS; Babe Ruth (Yankees): 11.9 WAR, 1.379 OPS.

8. See baseball-reference.com/leagues/AL/1920.shtml.

9. Jacob Pomrenke, "The 1919 White Sox: the Pitching Depth Dilemma," in Pomrenke, et. al., *Scandal on the South Side: The 1919 Chicago White Sox* (Phoenix, Arizona: SABR, 2015), 289-293. Interestingly, in 1919 the White Sox actually received decent production from their top two spot starters, Grover Lowdermilk (5-5, 2.79 ERA) and Bill James (3-2, 2.52 ERA). Not so in 1920.

A closer look: Edward A. Prindiville



Edward A. Prindiville served as an Assistant Cook County State's Attorney from 1915 to 1920, holding the position First Assistant during the latter years of that tenure. He then joined the powerhouse Chicago law firm of Barrett & Barrett.

Because of his ability and experience, Prindiville was appointed a special prosecutor for the Black Sox criminal case in early 1921. At trial, he handled presentation of the grand jury confessions of Eddie Cicotte, Joe Jackson, and Lefty Williams, and delivered the prosecution's closing argument to the jury. After the trial, he returned to private law practice. He died of a heart attack on December 31, 1939, age 55.



These photos of Prindiville were sent by his great-grandson

Ed Cunneen, to SABR member Bill Lamb, who writes: "My guess is that the photo at left was taken during Prindiville's early days as a member of the bar. Ed also sent to me a second Prindiville photo that looks like a high school yearbook shot, seen at right. I suspect that these photos (or any other photo of Prindiville) have never been seen by our committee members and they fill a conspicuous void in our gallery of Black Sox trial figures."

► POOLROOM

Continued from Page 11

others appeared as character witnesses, the charges against Knabe were cleared.²

Knabe's possible association with gamblers had also been reported at the very height of the Black Sox Scandal. First, Francis X. "Effie" Welsh, a sportswriter for the *Wilkes-Barre* (Pennsylvania) *Times-Leader* alleged in a September 28, 1920, column that Knabe had been prepared to place a large pooled bet on the White Sox prior to the 1919 World Series. But before Knabe placed the bet, a ball player friend alerted him that a fix was on. Knabe investigated the matter, confirmed something crooked afoot, and reported this to Gleason, then managing the White Sox. The two quarreled, split their partnership, and Knabe placed his bet on the Reds.³

Two days after Welsh's story, Horace Fogel surfaced to claim that, in the heated 1908 NL pennant race, five Phillies, including Knabe and Red Dooiin, had been offered anywhere from \$1,000 to \$5,000 apiece to throw a key (but unspecified) series to assist the Giants. The players rejected the bribe.⁴

Fogel had a well-established knack for splashy stories. But Dooiin immediately confirmed the 1908 incident.⁵ On one point Welsh's story seems suspect. If there was any falling out between Gleason and Knabe, it was not a lasting one.

When Gleason returned to Philadelphia in 1923, after retiring from the White Sox, he visited daily "his old side kick, Otto Knabe."⁶ But the diary of White Sox team secretary Harry Grabiner, as presented years later by Bill Veeck, substantiates Welsh's account that Knabe was tipped before betting on the ill-fated Series.⁷

— Phil Williams



Notes

1. "Gambler's Rich Layout is Described," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 9, 1939, 9.
2. "Former Phillie Star Cleared on Charge," *The* (Franklin, Pennsylvania) *News-Herald*, November 10, 1939, 12.
3. 'Effie' Walsh, "White Sox Players Were Bought Out in 1919 World Series," *Wilkes-Barre* (Pennsylvania) *Times-Leader*, September 28, 1920, 21.
4. "Gamblers Tried to Buy Local Players," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 30, 1920, 5.
5. "Phils Offered Bribes in 1908, Says Red Dooiin," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 1, 1920, 19.
6. James C. Isaminger, "Mack Doesn't Deny He'd Like to Make a Trade for Heilmann," *The Sporting News*, November 25, 1923, 1.
7. Note too, the mention of Knabe within the Grabiner diary in Sean Deveney, *The Original Curse: Did the Cubs Throw the 1918 World Series to Babe Ruth's Red Sox and Incite the Black Sox Scandal?* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2009): 47-48.

A comparison of 1919 American League salaries

Editor's note: This article is an excerpt from "Scandal on the South Side: The 1919 Chicago White Sox," published by SABR in 2015.

By Jacob Pomrenke
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In *Eight Men Out*, author Eliot Asinof wrote about the 1919 Chicago White Sox: "Many players of less status got almost twice as much on other teams. ... (Charles Comiskey's) ballplayers were the best and were paid as poorly as the worst." This passage sums up the entire foundation of Asinof's thesis: Low salaries and poor treatment by management are now widely considered to be the driving forces behind the White Sox players' decision to fix the 1919 World Series. But the actual salary numbers tell a very different story. The White Sox were not among the worst-paid teams in baseball; in fact, they were one of the highest paid.

The National Baseball Hall of Fame Library in Cooperstown, New York, holds a collection of thousands of organizational contract cards that were provided to the Hall by Major League Baseball in 2002. As researcher Bob Hoie notes, these cards, which go back to the 1912 season, "contain salary, bonus payments, and any modifications to the standard contract covering each season (of a player's career)."

Although many other numbers have been tossed around by historians in the past, we can now say with certainty how much the Black Sox players were paid – and how much their teammates and peers were paid, too. The comparison helps shed light on whether any of the Chicago players had a legitimate reason to grumble about their salaries, at least any more than other teams around the league.

Hoie, with the help of fellow researcher Mike Hauptert, analyzed the contract cards for a landmark 2012 article in *Base Ball: A Journal of the Early Game* on major-league salaries in 1919. Hoie discovered that the 1919 White Sox had one of the highest team payrolls in the major leagues; at \$88,461, it was more than \$10,000 higher than that of the National League champion Reds' \$76,870, which would have ranked sixth in the American League.

As has been well documented, the White Sox team payroll was extremely top-heavy and the player with the biggest bankroll was future Hall of Fame second baseman Eddie Collins. Collins's \$15,000 salary placed him number 2 among American League players behind only Ty Cobb at \$20,000. The college-educated Collins, nicknamed "Cocky" and for good reason, wasn't well liked by some of his team-

mates. Perhaps this included a sense of jealousy at his high salary. Indeed, Collins's salary was nearly double that of anyone else on the team. But that wasn't unusual in 1919: In Detroit, Cobb was making three times as much as any other Tiger and Cleveland's Tris Speaker (\$13,125) was also making twice as much as the next-highest-paid Indian.

But even if Collins's salary was out of line with those of the rest of the team, the other White Sox stars were paid comparatively well, according to the Hall of Fame contract cards. Four other Chicago players ranked among the top 20 highest-paid players in the American League, including World Series fixers Eddie Cicotte (\$8,000, number 8 in the AL), Buck Weaver (\$7,250, number 11), and Shoeless Joe Jackson (\$6,000, number 15). Another future Hall of Famer, catcher Ray Schalk, was the 13th-highest-paid player in the league at \$7,083.

Eddie Cicotte's salary deserves a closer look. The White Sox ace earned \$8,000 in 1919 – which included a \$5,000 base salary and a \$3,000 performance bonus that Hoie says was a carryover from his 1918 contract (but unrelated to the mythical bonus "promised" to Cicotte if he won 30 games.) That also doesn't include an additional \$2,000 signing bonus paid to Cicotte before the start of the 1918 season, for a total compensation of \$15,000 in 1918 and '19.

When he signed his contract, Cicotte had only one truly outstanding season (1917) to his credit. But he was the second-highest-paid pitcher in baseball behind the Washington Senators' Walter Johnson, who had a much stronger track record.

To put this in comparison, Eliot Asinof reported in *Eight Men Out* that Cincinnati Reds pitcher Dutch Ruether was "getting almost double (Cicotte's) figure." Ruether, whose sterling 1.82 ERA in 1919 matched Cicotte's regular-season figure, was actually making \$2,340. Talk about underpaid!

The rest of the players who would later be banned in the Black Sox Scandal had little reason to squawk about salaries, either, at least compared with other players at their positions and experience level — and especially coming off a 1918 season in which the White Sox finished in sixth place.

For instance, Chick Gandil's \$3,500 salary was fifth-highest among AL first basemen, and the four players ahead of him were far superior in talent: George Sisler (Browns), Stuffie McInnis (Red Sox), Wally Pipp (Yankees), and Joe Judge (Senators). Happy Felsch, an emerging star center fielder, might have felt disgruntled that Cobb and Speaker

► Continued on Page 14

► SALARIES

Continued from Page 13

were making so much more than his \$3,750, but he had only four seasons under his belt entering 1919. The only other center fielders with higher salaries, Clyde Milan (Senators) and Amos Strunk (Red Sox), had been in the league since 1907 and '08, respectively.

Now that we have accurate salary information for all players in 1919, it's hard to make the case that the Chicago White Sox were underpaid. There were many reasons that the eight Black Sox might have agreed to fix the World Series, but it wasn't because they were being paid so much less than other major leaguers of equal or lesser talent.

Eliot Asinof, along with many writers before and after him, long insisted that the White Sox had the best talent and the worst payroll. But that claim just doesn't stand up to modern scrutiny. With few exceptions, owner Charles Comiskey – long portrayed as a greedy miser and a villain in the Black Sox story – paid salaries that were comparable, and in many cases even favorable, to the rest of the league. The numbers bear that out.

American League Opening Day team payrolls, 1919

1. Boston Red Sox, \$93,475
2. New York Yankees, \$91,330
3. Chicago White Sox, \$88,461
4. Detroit Tigers, \$81,433
5. Cleveland Indians, \$78,913
6. St. Louis Browns, \$63,000
7. Washington Senators, \$63,000
8. Philadelphia A's, \$42,000

(Note: These figures are Opening Day payrolls and do not include any performance bonuses paid later in the season. According to Hoie, if you include total salary payouts plus earned bonuses at the end of the season, the White Sox ended up with the top payroll in the major leagues for 1919, \$10,000 more than the Red Sox, who began dumping salaries as soon as it became apparent they weren't going to repeat as AL champions.)

Top American League player salaries in 1919

1. Ty Cobb, DET, \$20,000
2. **Eddie Collins**, CHW, \$15,000
3. Tris Speaker, CLE, \$13,125
4. Frank Baker*, NYY, \$11,583
5. Babe Ruth, BOS, \$10,000
6. Walter Johnson, WSH, \$9,500
7. Harry Hooper, BOS, \$9,000
8. **Eddie Cicotte****, CHW, \$8,000
9. Carl Mays, BOS/NYY, \$8,000
10. Roger Peckinpaugh, NYY, \$7,500

11. **Buck Weaver**, CHW, \$7,250
12. George Sisler, SLB, \$7,200
13. **Ray Schalk**, CHW, \$7,083
14. Dutch Leonard, DET, \$6,500
15. Del Pratt, NYY, \$6,185
16. **Joe Jackson*****, CHW, \$6,000
17. Bob Shawkey, NYY, \$6,000
18. Ernie Shore, NYY, \$6,000
19. Ray Chapman, CLE, \$6,000
20. Donie Bush, DET, \$5,500

1919 American League player salaries, by position

First base

1. George Sisler, SLB, \$7,200
2. Stuffy McInnis, BOS, \$5,000
3. Wally Pipp, NYY, \$5,000
4. Joe Judge, WSH, \$3,675
5. **Chick Gandil**, CHW, \$3,500
6. Harry Heilmann, DET, \$3,500
7. George Burns, PHA, \$2,625
8. Doc Johnston, CLE, \$2,500



Second base

1. **Eddie Collins**, CHW, \$15,000
2. Del Pratt, NYY, \$6,185
3. Jack Barry, BOS, \$4,500
4. Dave Shean, BOS, \$4,000
5. Joe Gedeon, SLB, \$3,675
6. Bill Wambsganss, CLE, \$3,500
7. Ralph Young, DET, \$3,500
8. Hal Janvrin, WSH, \$2,625
9. Whitey Witt, PHA, \$2,362



Shortstop

1. Roger Peckinpaugh, NYY, \$7,500
2. Ray Chapman, CLE, \$6,000
3. Donie Bush, DET, \$5,500
4. Everett Scott, BOS, \$5,000
5. Howie Shanks, WSH, \$3,400
6. **Swede Risberg**, CHW, \$3,250
7. Wally Gerber, SLB, \$2,365
8. Joe Dugan, PHA, \$2,100



Third base

1. Frank Baker, NYY, \$11,583
2. **Buck Weaver**, CHW, \$7,250
3. Larry Gardner, CLE, \$5,000
4. Ossie Vitt, BOS, \$4,500
5. Jimmy Austin, SLB, \$3,675
6. Eddie Foster, WSH, \$3,675
7. **Fred McMullin**, CHW, \$2,750
8. Bob Jones, DET, \$2,500
9. Fred Thomas, PHA, \$2,100



► Continued on Page 15

► SALARIES

Continued from Page 14

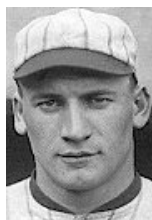
Left field

1. Babe Ruth, BOS, \$10,000
2. **Joe Jackson**, CHW, \$6,000
3. Duffy Lewis, NYY, \$5,500
4. Bobby Veach, DET, \$5,000
5. Jack Graney, CLE, \$4,000
6. Mike Menosky, WSH, \$2,650
7. Jack Tobin, SLB, \$2,500
8. Merlin Kopp, PHA, \$2,400



Center field

1. Ty Cobb, DET, \$20,000
2. Tris Speaker, CLE, \$13,125
3. Clyde Milan, WSH, \$5,000
4. Amos Strunk, BOS, \$4,800
5. **Happy Felsch**, CHW, \$3,750
6. Tillie Walker, PHA, \$3,750
7. Ping Bodie, NYY, \$3,600
8. Baby Doll Jacobson, SLB, \$1,969



Right field

1. Harry Hooper, BOS, \$9,000
2. Joe Wood, CLE, \$4,400
3. Braggo Roth, PHA/BOS, \$4,200
4. Chick Shorten, DET, \$3,200
5. Sam Rice, WSH, \$3,150
6. **Nemo Leibold**, CHW, \$2,650
7. **Shano Collins**, CHW, \$2,625
8. Elmer Smith, CLE, \$2,625
9. Ira Flagstead, DET, \$2,500
10. Sammy Vick, NYY, \$2,000
11. Earl Smith, SLB, \$1,594



Catcher

1. **Ray Schalk**, CHW, \$7,083
2. Steve O'Neill, CLE, \$5,000
3. Oscar Stanage, DET, \$4,500
4. Wally Schang, BOS, \$4,500
5. Hank Severeid, SLB, \$3,750
6. Sam Agnew, WSH, \$3,675
7. Eddie Ainsmith, DET, \$3,500
8. Truck Hannah, NYY, \$3,000
9. Val Picinich, WSH, \$2,750
10. Muddy Ruel, NYY, \$2,700
11. Patsy Gharrity, WSH, \$2,100
12. Cy Perkins, PHA, \$1,890



Pitcher

1. Walter Johnson, WSH, \$9,500
2. **Eddie Cicotte**, CHW, \$8,000
3. Carl Mays, BOS/NYY, \$8,000
4. Dutch Leonard, DET, \$6,500
5. Bob Shawkey, NYY, \$6,000
6. Ernie Shore, NYY, \$6,000
7. Bullet Joe Bush, BOS, \$5,700
8. Sam Jones, NYY, \$5,000
9. Jim Shaw, WSH, \$5,000
10. Jack Quinn, NYY, \$4,850
11. **Red Faber**, CHW, \$4,000
12. Stan Coveleski, CLE, \$4,000
13. Ray Caldwell, BOS/CLE, \$4,000
14. Pete Schneider, NYY, \$4,000
15. Guy Morton, CLE, \$4,000
16. George Mogridge, NYY, \$3,800
17. Allan Sothoron, SLB, \$3,625
18. Carl Weiland, SLB, \$3,625
19. Hooks Dauss, DET, \$3,600
20. Johnny Enzmann, CLE, \$3,600
21. Jim Bagby, CLE, \$3,600
22. Hooks Dauss, DET, \$3,600
23. **Lefty Williams******, CHW, \$3,500



Notes

* *Frank Baker's salary includes a \$1,000 performance bonus paid to him after the season.*

** *Eddie Cicotte's salary includes a \$3,000 performance bonus paid to him after the season, a carryover agreement from his 1918 contract. According to Bob Hoie, "this was apparently a verbal agreement, but it shows up in the White Sox ledgers presented during the criminal trial in 1921."*

*** *Joe Jackson's salary includes a \$750 bonus paid to him for being "a member in good standing" of the White Sox at the end of the season, undoubtedly due in part to his abrupt departure in 1918. His \$1,000-per-month contract normally earned him \$6,000, but because of the shortened season in 1919, he was only due to make \$5,250 instead. Comiskey made it up to him with an extra \$750 after the season.*

**** *Lefty Williams's salary includes a \$375 performance bonus for winning 15 games and an additional \$500 bonus for winning 20 games, both of which he earned in 1919.*

Sources

Hoie, Bob, "1919 Baseball Salaries and the Mythically Underpaid Chicago White Sox," *Base Ball: A Journal of the Early Game*, Volume 6, No. 1 (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co., Spring 2012), 17-34.

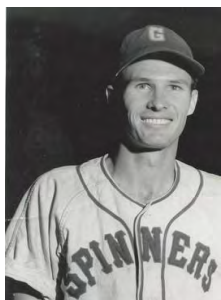
Michael Hauptert Player Salary Database

IN MEMORIAM: JOE ANDERS

They shared the same name, lived on the same street, went to the same church, and each married a beautiful woman named Kate.

Joe Anders was always linked with Shoeless Joe Jackson, his friend, mentor, and fellow ballplayer from Greenville, South Carolina. As a teenager, Anders learned how to play baseball from the former major-league star, served as a pall-bearer at his funeral, and spent the next half-century working to restore Jackson's good name and legacy.

Anders died on November 14, 2015, at the age of 94. He was remembered by Arlene Marcley of the Shoeless Joe Jackson Museum as "a Southern gentleman in every sense of the word." Anyone visiting the museum over the years could usually find him nearby, ready with a friendly smile and a baseball story.



Born on February 27, 1921, in Transylvania County, North Carolina, Joe was one of eight children to Augustus Mamorn Anders and Rosa Lee Smith Anders. After moving to Greenville, Joe began playing American Legion ball and hung around with his friends at Bolt's Drug Store, which was next door to

Jackson's liquor store on the west end of town. Jackson often came outside and talked baseball with the youngsters, showing them "the finer points of hitting and fielding."

Anders remained friends with Jackson and developed into a fine player in his own right. He spent nearly two decades, from 1938 to 1955, as a star infielder and coach in the industrial mill leagues of that era. He hit .310 in three seasons of professional ball with the Greenville Spinners, but turned down a contract with the New York Yankees in 1942 to serve in the U.S. Army during World War II, a decision he remained proud of for the rest of his life.

After the war, he moved to nearby Easley, where he and his wife of 56 years, the late Bonnie Kate Mahaffey Anders,



Joe Anders, a textile baseball legend, frequently could be found at the Shoeless Joe Jackson Museum. He helped the museum celebrate its third anniversary, above, in 2011. (Photos: Tracy Greer, above; Greenville News, left)

raised their two children. He became the athletic director at the Easley Mill and also served as a player/manager of the Woodside Mill team. Many observers considered him to be the greatest player in textile league history.

Anders retired from Easley Mill in 1982 and spent his later years as one of the most prominent advocates for his friend Joe Jackson to be reinstated and inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame.

"Joe was ... one of the most generous people you'd ever want to meet," Anders said. "He was always willing to help someone in need. He loved children. He loved buying kids ice cream, and the kids loved Joe."

Anders is survived by his sons, Danny and Steve; four grandchildren; three great-grandchildren; and a special friend, Anne Tant. A celebration of life was held November 18 at Easley First Baptist Church and he was buried with full military honors at Robinson Memorial Gardens in Easley.

In lieu of flowers, memorial contributions may be made to the Shoeless Joe Jackson Museum, PO Box 4755, Greenville, SC 29608.

— Jacob Pomrenke

FURTHER READING

♦ Bill Lamb, "[Jury Nullification and the Not Guilty Verdicts in the Black Sox Case](#)," SABR Baseball Research Journal, Fall 2015

♦ Doug Wilson, "[Say What You Will About Shoeless Joe, But These Things Ain't So](#)," Seamheads.com, September 4, 2015

♦ Arash Markazi, "[Meet the 73-year-old lady fighting](#)

[for Shoeless Joe Jackson](#)," ESPN.com, Sept. 1, 2015

♦ Graham Womack, "[Will Shoeless Joe Jackson ever get in the Baseball Hall of Fame?](#)", The Sporting News, September 8, 2015

♦ Jacob Pomrenke, "[The Baseball Book That Changed My Life: *Eight Men Out*](#)," The National Pastime Museum, October 14, 2015