A Source Analysis of the 1919 Chicago Black Sox

Jordan P. Fields
Otterbein University, jordan.fields@otterbein.edu

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.otterbein.edu/stu_honor
Part of the Other History Commons, Social History Commons, and the Sports Studies Commons

Recommended Citation

This Honors Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Research & Creative Work at Digital Commons @ Otterbein. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honor's Papers by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Otterbein. For more information, please contact library@otterbein.edu.
Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge my advisor, Dr. Anthony DeStefanis, for his constant support throughout this project. His time, effort, and countless revisions on my project are greatly appreciated. I would have not made it through the program without his assistance. He taught me the importance of not giving up and taking pride in what I do. I would also like to thank my second reader, Dr. James Gorman, for his helpful suggestions while my project was forming.

My friends and family have also provided a great support system over the past two years. Their kind words of encouragement have been my motivation to keep going on this project. I would especially like to thank Molly Craig for being my partner in crime most days in the library. Although she may not have always been the best influence, she was there to support me when I needed her the most.
Abstract

In this thesis, I discuss the relation between *Chicago Tribune* articles and secondary sources covering the Chicago White Sox and the 1919 World Series. The Chicago Black Sox, as they became known, fixed the World Series in an attempt to receive money from gamblers. This was reported on by the *Chicago Tribune* and later summarized, analyzed, and explained by various historians and authors. I start by analyzing the *Chicago Tribune’s* account of the events from the 1919 World Series to see if the writers noticed anything suspicious about the series. Next, I look at the *Tribune*’s account of the grand jury in 1920 and the 1921 criminal trial. This provides me with a firsthand account of the chaotic trial. Finally, I discuss five major sources written after 1925 that are related to the Chicago Black Sox. By doing this, I am able to find connections and differences between their stories and analysis and what the *Tribune* was reporting at the time.
# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements .......................................................................................................................... 2
Abstract ............................................................................................................................................ 3
Introduction ...................................................................................................................................... 5
The 1919 World Series as told by the *Chicago Tribune* ............................................................... 7
Post World Series Coverage and Controversy .................................................................................. 11
Major Sources Covering the Chicago Black Sox ............................................................................. 24
Conclusion ..................................................................................................................................... 34
Bibliography .................................................................................................................................. 36
I. Introduction

Since the beginning of professional baseball in the middle of the nineteenth century, the sport has been played by people young and old. Often referred to as America’s “national pastime,” baseball has changed and developed over the years while its fan base has grown drastically. By 1919, the interest level in professional baseball was ever increasing, and attending a baseball game was a common activity for many Americans.

Betting and gambling in baseball have been around since the beginning of the game. Not only were fans and other gamblers betting on games, but this gambling often involved the players themselves. As Jacob Pomrenke from the Society for American Baseball Research (SABR) states, “Some [people] would even place penny bets on whether the next pitch would be a ball or a strike, [and] high-stakes baseball pools, the forerunner of modern fantasy leagues, flourished.”¹ After a brief gambling scare in the late nineteenth century, gambling picked up again at the turn of the twentieth century. In 1903, Ban Johnson, the American League President, attempted to ban gambling in ballparks, but it was poorly enforced and often ignored.²

Since 1901, Chicago, Illinois has been home to two professional baseball teams. The Chicago Cubs play in the National League, and the Chicago White Sox play in the American League. The Cubs had success in the early twentieth century, winning back-to-back World Series in 1907 and 1908. The White Sox won a World Series in 1906, and again in 1917. This success helped create an extremely passionate fans in Chicago.

In 1919, the Chicago White Sox advanced to their third World Series in three years, and this time they would play the Cincinnati Reds. The White Sox had an incredible season and were heavy favorites heading into the Series. Still, they ended up losing the best of nine series 5-3.

² Ibid.
What had happened to the White Sox? All of a sudden they looked like a different team. After the World Series, reporters blamed everything from exhaustion, to poor fielding, to succumbing to the pressure as reasons why the White Sox lost to the Reds.3

Amongst the stories attempting to explain why the White Sox lost was an article that appeared a few days after the final out. Charles Comiskey, the owner of the White Sox, was mentioned in a *Chicago Tribune* article where he offered a $10,000 reward to anyone who could provide evidence that betting had an effect on the outcome of the Series. Rumors that the White Sox had thrown the series had been circulating since the Series ended, and Comiskey wanted to end these rumors as soon as possible.4

Unfortunately for Comiskey and White Sox fans, these rumors did not disappear. By mid-December, 1919, the *Chicago Tribune* shared details of player involvement in gambling on the World Series that would become known as the Black Sox scandal, one of the biggest sports betting scandals in history. For over a year and a half, the *Tribune* and other sources published details about the scandal, evidence that White Sox players has conspired to lose the World in exchange for gambling winnings, indictment of players, and the eventually lifetime ban of eight players accused of fixing the 1919 World Series.

*****

In the first section of this paper, I will look at how the sportswriters and others at the *Chicago Tribune* wrote about the Series and unfolding scandal while it was happening. I will examine how these journalists view the Sox’s poor play in the World Series, and then if or how they connect this information to how the scandal is revealed. Most of my analysis will come

---


from the *Tribune*, the largest and most widely circulated newspaper in Chicago in 1919. I will also use a few articles from other popular magazines and newspapers in my analysis as well. This will provide the first draft of history about the Black Sox scandal.

The second half of this paper will be an overview on accounts of the Black Sox scandal written since 1919 that were written across various genres. The genres covered include film, fiction, popular nonfiction, and academic nonfiction. These secondary sources vary in topics, including the game by game breakdown of the Series, analysis of primary documents from the games, personal stories from players involved, and more.

The main goal of this paper is to explore and analyze how the story of the Black Sox scandal has been told over time and how the story has changed and stayed the same. The *Chicago Tribune* helped write the first draft of history, but how has this been interpreted and told following the series? By analyzing several different accounts of the Black Sox, I will show how there is no single method to properly tell the story Black Sox and the 1919 World Series.

**II. The 1919 World Series as told by the *Chicago Tribune***

The summer of 1919 in Chicago is remembered as the “Red Summer” because of the amount of blood that was shed in violent riots, mainly between whites and blacks, as the social and racial tensions that accompanied the Great Migration of blacks out of the South to northern cities exploded. Race riots occurred in Chicago and other major cities across the nation.\(^5\) In the midst of these riots was the Chicago White Sox. The team had won the World Series in 1917, and despite struggling during the 1918 season, they came roaring back during 1919. Led by an offense powered by Eddie Collins, Happy Felsch, and “Shoeless” Joe Jackson, the White Sox finished first in the American League with a record of 88-52, and they were in first place from

---

the middle of July until season’s end. Pitcher Eddie Cicotte had a 29-7 record along with a 1.82 ERA, and manager William “Kid” Gleason had the White Sox headed to the World Series against the Reds as 8-5 favorites. The team was to face off against the Cincinnati Reds of the National League in a newly expanded best of nine series that started on October 1.⁶

Game one of the World Series was in Cincinnati, and the White Sox were heavy favorites. They were favorite so much, in fact, that Tribune author I. E. Sanborn wrote: “the Sox came to believe themselves invincible and confidently expected to clean up the Cincinnati Reds in five straight games, or at least five out of six.”⁷ When the Sox lost 9-1, many fans were shocked, but most just thought that the team came in overconfident. Manager Kip Gleason said that “a beating like that was just what my gang needed. You’ll see them fighting out there tomorrow. Just wait and see.”⁸ Crusinberry noted in his game summary that the Sox looked lost on the field, and they missed basic plays that they had been making all year. No one seemed too concerned, though, because this was only game one out of a potential nine.⁹

The White Sox were fully expected to bounce back from the game one loss and get back to their midseason form in game two. Gleason seemed convinced his team was ready to fight back, and fans were prepared for Chicago to come home for game three tied up at one game apiece. Instead, the Sox lost again. In game two, the Sox’s bats seemed much better as they had ten hits, but pitcher Lefty Williams had “almost criminal wild pitching” that led to the Sox being down 0-2 and quickly in a hole.¹⁰ Sanborn wrote that the Sox had plenty of chances to score, but

---

⁹ Ibid.
could not seem to get anything going once men were on base. That, combined with Williams wild pitching, had the once favored White Sox headed back to Chicago down two games to none.

In the modern day World Series, teams play in what is known as a 2-3-2 format. The team with home field advantage plays two games at home first, has one off day for travel, plays three games at the opponent’s stadium, has another off day for travel, and then plays the final two games at home. This best of seven series format has been in place since 1924. In 1919, however, the Series was best of nine, with the no apparent consistency in the number of games played in the home ballpark of the each of the competing teams. This change, from a best of seven to a best of nine series, was made because the national commission, the main governing body of baseball, wanted more fans to attend and to gain more revenue from the series. The 1919 World Series, which started in Cincinnati, went 2-3-2-1, as the Series only lasted 8 games. Although the distance between Chicago and Cincinnati was only 300 miles, the teams had little time to prepare in-between game two and game three.\(^{11}\)

The home fans in Chicago were thrilled to have their team home even though they had disappointed them on the road. The Sox won game 3 in a 3-0 shutout, and played with an intensity they lacked during the games on the Ohio River. Chicago had a “fighting spirit… and the south side leader (Gleason) declares that spirit will carry them through and land the big title.”\(^{12}\) This win seemed to boost the Sox’s confidence, but the Reds were also not overly worried about their chances.

Game four, also in Chicago at Comiskey Park, went to the Reds 2-0. The White Sox seemed to have a helpless offense as Eddie Cicotte pitched a relatively good game for the Sox, but “it was only because of his own fielding mistakes that the Reds were able to score on him in

---

\(^{11}\) “World Series to be 9 Games This Fall, if Magnates Ratify,” \textit{Chicago Tribune}, Sep. 3, 1919.

nine innings.” Manage Kid Gleason seemed particularly disappointed after this game, pointing out that he really thought that Cicotte should have won the game. The Sox were down in the Series 3-1, and things were not looking good for the club.

In the old World Series format, there were no off days, even for travel. On the day of game five, however, a rainout forced the game at Comiskey Park to the next day. There was speculation about what effect this postponement would have on the teams. Would it help the White Sox recover and get back to the way they played during the summer? Or would it help the Reds rest up, keep rolling, and lead the Series 4-1?

The rain did not slow down the Reds, as they put up a second consecutive shutout in their 5-0 victory over the hometown Sox. Manager Gleason could not figure out what happened to his team so quickly. Following the game, Gleason said “I don’t know what’s the matter, but I do know that something is wrong with my gang. The bunch I had fighting in August for the pennant would have trimmed this Cincinnati bunch up without a struggle. The bunch I have now couldn’t beat a high school team.” The White Sox only had three hits in the entire game, and could not manufacture a run. With his team one game away from their first World Series victory and headed home for game six, Reds’ manager Pat Moran said “We need only one now. It doesn’t make any difference whether it comes tomorrow, the next day or the next. We are sure winners. I hope it comes in the next game.”

Desperation often helps sports teams and individuals perform better, and there is a good chance that that is what happened to the Sox in game six and seven, which they won 5-4 and 4-1. Game six was a wild one, with Chicago come back to win after falling behind 4-0 early in the

16 Ibid.
game. Crusinberry wrote that some fans were worried that the White Sox were just waiting to show off their dominance until now. These fans probably did not feel much better in game seven when the Sox won 4-1. Eddie Cicotte finally delivered the pitching performance that Gleason knew he was capable of, and all of a sudden the Sox were only down 4-3 in the Series. Sanborn mentioned in his postgame recap that “baseball men who have followed the game for more than a quarter of a century… commented on the confidence that was evident in every move that the Gleasons made. The instant the game was on they began pressing the enemy fiercely and had two runs up their sleeves before the third round finished.”\textsuperscript{17}

The White Sox were headed home to Chicago for game eight, and they had a full head of steam coming off of consecutive wins down at Redland Field, but they lost the game and the Series by a final score of 10-5. The game was rather wild, with Chicago pitcher Lefty Williams not making it past the first inning, Shoeless Joe hitting the only homerun of the Series in the early innings, and Chicago making a late comeback attempt in the eighth inning. Despite Chicago poor performance in a series they were expected to easily win, Sanborn noted that “the crowd which nearly filled the plant… was a token of Chicago’s appreciation of the gameness of its White Sox in coming from nowhere in the home stretch and making themselves almost an even bet for the big pennant.”\textsuperscript{18} The White Sox had lost the World Series, but that was this was only the beginning of the 1919 World Series’ story.

\textbf{III. Post World Series Coverage and Controversy}

The Chicago White Sox had a rough final game after putting together two good games to get the series to 3-4. After losing to the Reds 10-5, the \textit{Chicago Tribune} featured three articles on October 10 written by different reporters. The first article was a simple postgame wrap-up

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18} I. E. Sanborn, “Sox Handed Real Mauling in Final, 10-5,” \textit{Chicago Tribune}, Oct 10, 1919.
\end{itemize}
written by I.E. Sanborn. He mentions that Cincinnati’s manager Pat Moran had played for the White Sox in the past, so the Reds were a good team to which to lose. Sanborn discussed the White Sox’s fighting spirit and that their fans never gave up on them. It was also noted that Joe Jackson hit the only homerun of the series during this final game. Sanborn seems disappointed that the Sox lost, but that seems like the only natural reaction to have when your team loses the World Series.\(^\text{19}\)

James Crusinberry wrote a column for the *Tribune* following the conclusion of the series for which he was able to interview both managers. Naturally, White Sox manager Kip Gleason was disappointed and frustrated with his team’s performance, saying “The Reds beat the greatest ball team that ever went into a world’s series. But it wasn’t the real White Sox. They played baseball for me only a [couple] or three of the eight days.”\(^\text{20}\) The Sox inability to perform up to expectations was well documented throughout the series. Gleason was also frustrated with Lefty Williams, who did not even make it through the first inning during game eight. The most interesting part of Crusinberry’s article, however, was the section titled “Betting Story Crops Up.” According to Crusinberry, rumors had been circulating about gamblers potentially effecting the results of the series, which could explain why the Sox all of a sudden stopped performing during the World Series. Crusinberry claimed that all of these rumors “sounded like alibi stuff even if true.”\(^\text{21}\) Gleason was simply disappointed in his team, and had no explanation other than that the Reds played better. When discussing the betting rumors, Gleason said “we played the worse baseball, in all but a couple of games, that we have played all year. I don’t know yet what was the matter. Something was wrong. I didn’t like the betting odds. I wish no one had ever bet a

\(^{19}\) Ibid.  
\(^{21}\) Ibid.
dollar on the team.” Gleason also gave credit to the Reds, but rumors about the Sox throwing the series in exchange for gambling winnings had been swept under the carpet for the time being.

Ring Lardner mentioned a letter sent to him by a Chicago baseball writer that seems to agree with the rumors about gambling. This writer said “I have been greatly amused during the present series in reading the ifs, ands, and buts explaining Chicago’s defeat from day to day. It looks like a case of sour grapes to me. In fact it borders on rowdyism.” There is not much more of importance mentioned in the very sarcastic article, but this was the second article in the Tribune on the 10th to mention that something seemed “off” about the series.

Two days after the World Series ended, White Sox owner Charles Comiskey was the focus of an article written by I.E. Sanborn. Comiskey mentioned that he was in favor of returning to a best of seven World Series format, talked about the positive ticket sales during the series, and then acknowledges the poor effort of the White Sox in the series. “Regarding the published reports that not all of the White Sox were “trying” in the world’s series, Comiskey said he would give $10,000 in cash to any one who could furnish him with a clew [sic] that would lead to any proof of the truth of the reports.” This article was the first time that Comiskey acknowledged the possibility that the Sox purposely lost the series.

Although the idea of the Sox potentially not performing their best or trying to lose on purpose in exchange for money was out there, many other writers and followers of the game were still trying to come up with baseball reasons why they lost. Billy Evans, who was an umpire during the 1919 World Series, was so tired of sharing his explanation of the series that he took to

---

22 Ibid.
23 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
writing an article for the *Tribune* that appeared on November 2, 1919. Evans says that even though he believed the Sox would win the series, he was not overly surprised that the Reds won because of their late season push to the World Series. Like many other early arguments, Evans believes that the Reds played better baseball, the White Sox did not perform well in all areas of the game, and star pitchers Cicotte and Williams let down the team. He did not think that Sox have an alibi, only “the Chicago club was outplayed through the greater part of the series, and the victory of the Reds was the result of more timely hitting and a bit more consistency on the part of the pitchers.”

News about the White Sox and the 1919 World Series died down for a while after this article, other than information regarding various offseason moves. Judging by the *Chicago Tribune*, it appears that Chicagoans had accepted defeat and they believed their team had simply performed poorly when it mattered most.

Starting in mid-December, 1919, the *Tribune* once again featuring several articles covering the White Sox play in the World Series. On December 15, Sanborn published an article titled “Comiskey Refutes Series Charges Against White Sox: Owner is Convinced that Players Tried to Win Against Reds.” Sanborn shed light on an investigation that began at the end of the World Series about the rumors that some White Sox players did not put all their effort into the games. There was a conference that occurred during the annual American League meeting in New York with Manager Gleason to discuss the matter. Following the conference, Comiskey said “I am now very happy to state… that we have discovered nothing to indicate any member of my team double crossed me or the public last fall. We have been investigating these rumors and I have had men working sometimes twenty-four hours a day running down clews that

---

promised to produce facts. Nothing has come of them.”

Although this statement from Comiskey would seem to have ended all doubt about the World Series loss, he make sure to let fans know that his investigation is still ongoing. On top of that, he assures fans that any player with evidence against him will not play organized baseball again.

This article was the first one to appear in the Tribune to provide details on the betting rumors and information on the Sox’s investigation. I.E. Sanborn shared that the scandal “was to the effect that six, seven, or eight White Sox… were in a hotel room in New York, Boston, or Chicago… before the world’s series and split anywhere between $30,000 to $100,000… of a gambling clique’s bankroll under an agreement to let Cincinnati win the world’s pennant.”

Sanborn proceeded to explain why the Tribune is just now sharing this information publicly:

There never has been any secret made of the rumor nor any attempt to suppress it by Comiskey, Gleason, or the newspapers. Merely as a rumor, without including the names of the players said to be implicated, it was not a newspaper story. To name the players meant irreparable injury to men who could not then and have not been proven guilty. If the rumors were based on facts, those facts were bound to come out sooner or later, because where so many parties were involved somebody is bound to leak. That is why baseball men in general have passed up the scandal as mere rumor after so many weeks without a scintilla of proof.

Sanborn explained that the investigations that had taken place simply went in an endless circle of information. Sanborn reminded readers that he still thought the team was too fatigued going into the Series, as he suggested before the series began to not bet money on the Sox to win the Series.

By this point in time, the White Sox and Comiskey’s reputation were being questioned whether the rumors were true or not. Not only did these rumors hurt the White Sox, but they also

---

28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
hurt baseball in general. A few weeks after the article was published about Comiskey’s beliefs that the Sox played an honest series, Sanborn published an article in the *Tribune* about baseball returning to prosperity. Sanborn claimed that baseball had a great year with two great pennant races that created greater interest in baseball. According to Sanborn, the one blemish on the 1919 season was “the scandal which resulted from the unprecedented activity of organized gamblers in the world’s series and the suspicion which their victims, or followers, cast on the honesty of the sport.”

He stated that baseball needed to work vigorously to clean up its image and reputation by getting gambling out of baseball by the next season, or else the sport may suffer more. What Sanborn fails to mention, however, was that this was a difficult task because of the long history of betting and gambling in baseball. SABR member Jacob Pomrenke mentions that various other attempts to scare away betters from the game or ban gambling all together had failed and even that the 1905 World Series was potentially rigged by sports gamblers. The type of clean up that Sanborn was discussing would be no easy task.

After the Comiskey’s announcement that he did not believe his team threw the series, the investigation continued just as he announced it would. On December 30, 1919, Crusinberry reported that Comiskey had a secret meeting “with two St. Louis men alleged to have been a part of the gambling syndicate.”

This meeting made headlines, but it did not appear to advance the investigation at all. Comiskey claimed that he did not learn any convincing evidence in the meeting with the men. Comiskey’s secretary, Harry Grabiner, stated that Comiskey had asked the men to meet with him because it was rumored that these men may have valuable information.

---

33 Ibid.; Pomrenke.
Instead of having the meeting at Comiskey’s office, “the conference took place at the office of Attorney Alfred S. Austrian, who looks after legal matters for the White Sox club.”

Things seemly fell quiet about the scandal in the beginning of 1920. The White Sox and Comiskey were gearing up for another run at the World Series, what would be their third in four years. For the majority of the offseason and early summer months, the White Sox coverage in the *Chicago Tribune* was about typical day to day activities. From the casual fan, it may have appeared that the scandal had been dismissed and the White Sox could return to baseball as normal.

In late September of 1920, news about possibility that White Sox players threw the World Series once again appearing in the *Chicago Tribune*. James Crusinberry wrote that Charles Herzog who played for the Cubs brought forth evidence about gambling in the World Series. Although I was not able to find *Tribune* articles before September 23 referring to a grand jury, this article mentioned that a Cook county grand jury was working on an ongoing investigation of the World Series. In addition, Crusinberry reported that “the first day’s work of the grand jury included the hearing of testimony from Ban Johnson, president of the American League, and Charles A. Comiskey and William L. Veek, presidents of the two Chicago teams.”

This is the first mention about a grand jury investigation and who was involved. Over the next few months, the story would rapidly develop.

On September 26, Comiskey “admitted… that he was convinced after the first game of the world’s series last fall against the Cincinnati Reds that some one had “fixed” some of his players.” Comiskey had met with the president of the National League, John A. Heydler to discuss the matter. Comiskey reportedly talked to Heydler about his suspicions the day after the

---

35 Ibid.
first game of the Series, and again after game two. After their discussion about the first game, Heydler said “To me such a thing as crookedness in that game didn’t seem possible. I told Comiskey I thought the White Sox were rather taken by surprise, that perhaps they had underestimated the strength of the Cincinnati team.”  

Heydler echoed what was written in many of the post-game reports during the World Series; The White Sox team must have just been tired and unprepared for the Reds. During the early grand jury phases, the fans still supported their team on the field during games. A few of the members of the 1919 team, Schalk, Collins, and Gleason even said that they would happily go in front of the grand jury to discuss the accusations against them.  

On September 29, 1920, the headline on the Chicago Tribune’s front page read “TWO SOX CONFESSION; EIGHT INDICTED; INQUIRY GOES ON.” Comiskey must had been ready for this news, as the eight White Sox accused were immediately suspended from the team indefinitely. Comiskey issued a “formal document, addressed to Charles Risberg, Fred McMullin, Joe Jackson, Oscar Felsch, George Weaver, C.P. Williams, and E. V. Cicotte” regarding why they are being suspended and how they can be reinstated. With any chance of winning the pennant out of reach due to the suspensions, the Tribune solely concentrated on the details of the scandal. The first two confessions came from star players Eddie Cicotte and Joe Jackson. Cicotte told the grand jury that he received $10,000 and Jackson admitted to being paid $5,000. The day of Cicotte’s confession, he reportedly went to Comiskey’s office and told him “I

---

38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
don’t know what you’ll think of me… but I got to tell you how I double crossed you. Mr. Comiskey, I did double cross you. I’m a crook. I got $10,000 for being a crook.”

The story continued in several smaller articles. Jackson told the grand jury that even though he was promised $20,000, he only received $5,000 of that money. Alfred Austrian, Comiskey’s attorney, said that he had been keeping an eye on the suspected players since soon after he first learned of the rumors. The suspected players’ “expenditures had been carefully compared with their known resources, and the source of their extra money run down.” The trial was just starting, but these confessions were all the grand jury needed to hear to set up a criminal trial.

Once the White Sox players were indicted “on a charge of conspiracy to commit an unlawful act, in relation to the throwing of the 1919 world’s series games with Cincinnati” newspapers and journals from all over country started to report on the subject at hand. An article in the Literary Digest on October 9, 1919, used accounts from publications outside of the Chicago to summarize sports writer opinion of the developing scandal. “The Flaw in the Diamond” pointed out that “sporting writers, however, take a far less whimsical view of the matter, and, with deep concern for the welfare of our national game, do not hesitate to declare that ‘baseball must be cleaned from cellar to garret.’” According to this article, the scandal seemed to become more complex everyday as new information emerged. Opinions about the future seemed to vary drastically; one writer form New York seemed to believe that this scandal could be the end of honest baseball, but another New York writer had confidence that baseball would survive this scandal just like it did during early gambling scandals. The Digest seemed to

42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
think that most sportswriters believed “that the time has come for a thorough housecleaning in
the baseball world.”

As with most instances in which some sort of cheating is involved, the idea of ethics was
heavily tied into this scandal. As the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* stated:

> It is inevitable that men who have crooked minds should be included
> among baseball-players. They are to be found in every employment and
> profession. No trade or professional ethics is ever so high that crookedness is
> excluded on the part of some of the individuals supposed to be governed by it. It
> is the duty of baseball managers to use every endeavor to hold the ethics of the
> game to the highest standard and use every vigilance to see that the players
> remain true to it in spite of all the temptations that come from inside and out. This
> duty they owe not only to themselves to protect their investments, but to the
> people of the United States, for whose national sport they are self-appointed
> trustees.

The ethics of everyone on the White Sox was being questioned, including the manager,
Gleason. This scandal put doubt in many American’s who weren’t sure if they should trust the
outcome of any game if the World Series had been fixed. As reported by well-known sports
writer Hugh Fullerton, “The most severe blow to the sport was not that these skillful athletes sold
their loyal supporters, and accepted bribes from gamblers, but that baseball can be made crooked
without detection by outsiders.” Baseball was supposed to be an honest sport, and a crime like
this on baseball’s biggest stage destroyed this image.

In early 1921, it had been indicated that the White Sox players accused of throwing the
series would go on trial. Although it was originally going to take place in February, the trial did
not end up beginning until June, 27, 1921. Before the trial, I. E. Sanborn wrote an article for the
*Tribune* about his thoughts on the 1919 World Series. He takes a unique perspective, pointing

---

46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
out that lying and cheating happens in every profession, and that baseball is no different.
Sanborn then states that baseball must do two things; first, he believes that baseball must be
“rid… of all players whom there is a reasonable doubt of their honesty.”\(^{49}\) By doing this, baseball
would start to clean up its reputation. Second, like many others, Sanborn believes that baseball
and gambling must be separated. By this, Sanborn is referring not only to the gamblers, but the
players and fans who are interesting in betting on games as well. Sanborn even goes as far to say
that owners who do not support cleaning up baseball should be ousted as well. \(^{50}\)

The day before the trial started, the *Chicago Tribune* published an article covering who
would be involved with the first day of the trial. In addition to the indicted players, Bill Burns
was reported to be an importance piece of the trial, as “he is charged in the conspiracy indictment
with being one of the go betweens [sic] who arranged the plot to throw the 1919 world series.”\(^{51}\)
Although this is the first reference I have found about Bill Burns, the court must have seen him
as important factor because the *Tribune* article states that “should he make a clean confession
before the jurors it is believe he would implicate every one of the seventeen other former Sox
players and gamblers named.”\(^{52}\) In addition, it was announced that many players will turn to
Jackson’s and Cicotte’s confessions as evidence, since “all confessions would be repudiated.”\(^{53}\)
In July, it was ordered by Judge Hugo M. Friend that the players and Burns must meet. When the
players and their attorneys tried to find out what Burns’ testimony had been in court, he
remained silent and would not share the information.\(^ {54}\)

\(^{49}\) James Crusinberry, ““Black Sox” Trial Within 3 Weeks,” *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 3, 1921; “State Banks on “Bill”
Burns to Jail Black Sox,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 26, 1921; I. E. Sanborn, “Punish Crooks by Banishment from
Baseball,” *Chicago Tribune*, March 21, 1921.
\(^{50}\) Ibid.
\(^{51}\) “State Banks on “Bill” Burns to Jail Black Sox,” *Chicago Tribune*, June 26, 1921.
\(^{52}\) Ibid.
\(^{53}\) Ibid.
\(^{54}\) “‘Black Sox’ Meet Their Accusers, But Gain Nothing,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 18, 1921.
In late July, Billy Maharg was called upon by the prosecution to be a witness against the Black Sox. The *Chicago Tribune* considered Maharg to be “the nemesis of the ‘Black Sox’” because of his efforts to bring the players to justice. According to Maharg, he was in a meeting with Bill Burns when Cicotte was setting up the fix with Burns. Maharg then worked with Burns to set up a deal with a gambler. When Maharg was unable to set up anything in Philadelphia, he and Burns turned to the well-known New Yorker Arnold Rothstein, who said he was not interested because he did not think that the fix would be possible. Shortly after Maharg figured there would be no deal, he Burns sent him telegram stating “Arnold R. has gone through with everything. Got eight in.”

Despite this information, a Maharg later claimed that Rothstein had no involvement in the fix and that Abe Attel was the man in charge of the operation.

More bad news came for the indicted players when Judge Friend decided to admit confessions from Joe Jackson, Eddie Cicotte, and Lefty Williams into the trial. In addition, Charles Comiskey’s attorney, Alfred S. Austrian was supposed to be called to the stand to discuss how he was involved with the player’s confessions. According to the three players who confessed, during the first trial “they had been promised immunity and told that if they ‘came through’ they would be taken care of.” Judge McDonald, the judge for the grand jury, denied this statement and said they would have to pay the consequences for what they said. The state finished their case on July 27 after the confessions had been shared with the jurors.

At the start of the next week, it was the defenses turn to defend the players and the gamblers who had been indicted. The *Chicago Tribune* believe that this, plus the rebuttal from the prosecution, should be done in time for it to go to the jury by that Wednesday. There were a

55 “Maharg’s Story of Sox Sell-Out Next in Order,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 25, 1921.
56 Ibid.
57 “Judge Admits Confessions of ‘Black Sox,’” *Chicago Tribune*, July 26, 1921.
58 Ibid.
few interesting developments before the defense started to state their case; Benedict Short, the attorney for the defense claimed that “the state has failed to establish a criminal conspiracy and that he confidently expects acquittal.” In addition, Judge Friend planned to tell the jury that Happy Felsch and Buck Weaver were not guilty. This left only five players and one gambler left as defendants, down from the original eleven. Once the defense was done the next day, it was clear that they were not happy with the role that American League president Ban Johnson had in the case. Several attorneys for the defense brought up that Johnson had “absolute control over this case. His money hired Burns and Maharg to dig up the evidence.” Attorney O’Brien claimed in his defense that Burns had lied several times about the case, and he was not one to be trusted.

On August 4, 1921, everyone in the scandal was acquitted of their charges by the jury. Despite this being seemingly important and breaking news, it did not make the front page of the Chicago Tribune that day. The first mention of it in that addition of the paper was a small article on page eight titled “Black Sox Acquitted, but Out.” Although the jury found the Sox and gamblers not guilty, “Judge Landis says that the acquitted Black Sox are nevertheless through with organized baseball.” The Chicago Tribune seemed to believe this was a good idea, saying “with Landis keeping [baseball] straight it may hold its place. If it goes crooked the organized part of it will be run out of existence by the semi-pro and amateur teams.” The five-week trial had finally come to an end, almost two years after the Series was played. Although the verdict may have disappointed many, the lifetime ban seemed to satisfy most fans. According to the

---

61 Ibid., “‘Black Sox’ Case to be Given Jury Some Time Today,” Chicago Tribune, Aug. 2, 1921.
62 Ibid.
64 Ibid.
Associated Press, the result of the trial meant that “the ‘Black Sox’ have been ‘laundered officially.’”  

**IV. Major Sources Covering the Chicago Black Sox**

During the 1919 World Series and the following trial of the Chicago Black Sox members, the *Chicago Tribune* provided a significant piece of the first draft of history. After 1924, several sources have been published or produced that touch on themes of the Chicago Black Sox through writing or film. In this section, I will analyze each source to find out what the source is about, what the author’s or director’s goals are in the source, and how the story told compares to the *Tribune’s* coverage of the Series and trial.

**Fiction: Books and Film**

*The Natural – 1952*

Written in 1952, *The Natural* by Bernard Malamud was the first major piece of writing to take themes from the Black Sox scandal since it occurred in 1919. Unlike later literature, *The Natural* only touches on themes of the Black Sox scandal rather than the exact events and characters from the series. Daniel Nathan, the author of *Saying It’s So*, says “although it is not a strict analog of the affair, Malamud’s novel self-consciously uses the scandal’s basic outline and ethos.”

*The Natural* follows Roy Hobbs treacherous journey to the Major League, where he eventually ends up as a thirty-four-year-old rookie for the New York Knights. After Hobbs leads this typically horrible team to the playoffs, he is faced with the option to throw the final playoff game. After deciding to throw the game, his homemade bat, named Wonderboy, breaks and he decides to play to win. However, once Hobbs’ season ends, he is caught for trying to fix the

---

series, thrown out of baseball, and all of his records are erased. At the end of the story, a young boy said “Say it ain’t true, Roy.” This is nearly identical to the infamous “Say it ain’t so, Joe” that a child asked Joe Jackson as he was leaving the courtroom after his trial.

Rather than being a fictionalized version of the 1919 World Series and scandal, Malamud’s book merely touched on and used some of the themes of the Chicago Black Sox. It appears Malamud’s main goal was to show the ethical dilemma that Hobbs faced in when offered money to throw the series. This ties in closely with the likely ethical dilemmas that the Black Sox players went through while fixing the Series. In addition to this, Hobbs’ character very closely resembles Joe Jackson; Jackson was a naturally talented ball player who lost everything because he bet on the series.

The Natural – 1984

Just over thirty years after The Natural was published, it was adapted into a film starring Oscar winner Robert Redford as Roy Hobbs. In a movie review by Vincent Canby of the New York Times, he states that:

Roger Towne and Phil Dusenberry, who wrote the screenplay, and Barry Levinson, the director, seem to have taken it upon themselves to straighten out Mr. Malamud’s fable, to correct the flaws he overlooked. They supply explanations that the novel resolutely avoided, reshape characters for dramatic convenience and, strangest of all, they transform something dark and open-ended - truly fabulous - into something eccentrically sentimental.

Part of what Canby is referencing here is the change in the end of the story. In the book, Hobbs strikes out and loses the game. In the film, a happy ending is created when he hits a homerun and

68 Ibid., 94-95.
69 Ibid., 94-95.
wins the game for his team. Canby claims this happens because it is supposed to be a movie that “warm[s] the heart, not shiver the timbers.”\textsuperscript{72} Although this give the movie a happy ending, it loses much of the connection to the Black Sox because of it. Five years later, another movie with a happy ending based around the Chicago Black Sox would be released.

\textit{Field of Dreams} – 1989

“If you build it, he will come.” These were the words that were told to Ray Kinsella by a mysterious voice one day in his cornfield in Iowa. In \textit{Field of Dreams}, Kinsella heard this voice and determined that if he built a baseball diamond on his farm, Shoeless Joe Jackson would come to play baseball. Even though Kinsella sounded crazy, his wife Annie told him to do it. Once Kinsella built the field, Shoeless Joe Jackson showed up, and he eventually brought the rest of the Black Sox with him.

Although \textit{Field of Dreams} is more of a feel-good baseball movie rather than an informational film about the Black Sox, it still includes historical information about Joe Jackson and the 1919 World Series. Early in the film, Kinsella’s daughter Karin seemed to share her dad’s passion for baseball, and she was interested in knowing more. Kinsella shared his knowledge of the 1919 World Series and Joe Jackson with Karin, explaining that he does not believe that Jackson threw the Series. Once Jackson showed up, he described his longing to return to the sport after he was banned. He said that “getting thrown out of baseball was like having part of me amputated.” Jackson and the rest of the White Sox appear to be happy to be back on a baseball diamond playing the sport they love.

Director Phil Robinson’s main goal of this movie was to concentrate on the aspect of forgiveness and not holding a grudge against someone. Kinsella is seen regretting as a child being upset at his father for idolizing Joe Jackson, who Kinsella saw as a cheater. At the end of

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.
movie, Kinsella can be seen throwing around a baseball with his father since he has learned a
lesson about forgiveness from Jackson.

Hollywood helped *Field of Dreams* reach a much larger and wider audience than most
books written on the topic. In *Saying It’s So*, Daniel Nathan discusses the cultural affect that the
movie has had on Americans. The small down of Dyersville, Iowa had no relation with the Black
Sox until it became the filming location of the movie. After the movie, however, “an estimated
fifty thousand tourists a year visit the ballfield where *Field of Dreams* was filmed.”73 Nathan
discusses that many visitors to the site believe that Jackson and the other players should be
forgiven. The baseball diamond in Iowa has become a “baseball mecca” and a “three-
dimensional, interactive, living monument to Joe Jackson and his Black Sox teammates.”74
Although *Field of Dreams* did not contain much historical information about the Black Sox, it
once again brought them to the forefront of American cinema.75

**Popular Non-Fiction**

*Eight Men Out* – 1963

Elliot Asinof knows baseball like the back of his hand. Asinof worked his way up the
baseball ladder until he reached the minor leagues with the Philadelphia Phillies. He stopped
playing baseball when he joined the army during World War II, but his interest in the sport never
dwindled. While writing *Eight Men Out*, Asinof used material that he collected while preparing
for a television series about the Black Sox that never aired. Daniel Nathan says this happened
“largely because Ford Frick, the baseball commissioner, thought that it was not in the best
interests of baseball and convinced its sponsor to cancel it.”76

---

73 Nathan, *Saying It’s So*, 192.
74 Ibid., 194-195.
75 *Field of Dreams*, directed by Phil Alden Robinson (1989; Gordon Company, 1998), DVD.
76 Nathan, *Saying It’s So*, 106.
Asinof opens *Eight Men Out* this way:

The 1919 World Series sellout and its dramatic aftermath has long remained in the public eye. The Black Sox Scandal, as it came to be called, was reported in its day on the front pages of every major newspaper in the country, then revived in a score of magazine articles and described in histories of modern baseball. But the accounts, at the time and since, have inevitably been fragmentary. No one delved into the scandal’s causes and morality, exploded its myths and distortions. The complete story, shrouded in complexity and silence, remained untold. Apparently, the real truth was hidden beneath the weight of all the reports and speculations.\(^77\)

*Eight Men Out* is a comprehensive analysis of these articles as well as other research done by Asinof. Some of Asinof’s research comes from interviewing the surviving members of the team, even though many of them would not talk of the 1919 World Series. At the end of his preface, Asinof stated that the central theme of his work is “centered around the lives of those eight men. Why did they do it? What were the pressures of the baseball world and of America in 1919 that would compel decent, talented men to engage in such a betrayal?”\(^78\) Asinof was the first author to publish a book looking at *why* some players on the 1919 Chicago White Sox bet on the Series.

Asinof used many sources in *Eight Men Out* to create a fluid journalistic history of the scandal. By doing this, Asinof was able to effectively recreate the events of the series and trial into a book that would make sense to most readers. Asinof used the *Tribune’s* coverage similarly to how I used it, analyzing the articles and creating one large article describing the events of the Black Sox’s scandal. The major difference between our uses of the *Tribune* is that Asinof combines their articles with other primary sources.

Asinof also has the goal of trying to explain why the Black Sox decided to fix the series, in which his answer centers on money. Early in the book, he explains that most of the players

\(^78\) Ibid., xiii-xiv.
viewed owner Charles Comiskey, frequently referred to as Commy, as “a cheap, stingy tyrant.”\textsuperscript{79} Not only did they get paid very low salaries compared to the rest of the league, but Comiskey was stingy when it came to their expenses as well. Comiskey did not make his ball players feel appreciated, and this aspect is truly displayed in the film adaptation of the book.\textsuperscript{80}

\textit{Eight Men Out - 1988}

Starring John Cusack and Michael Lerner, \textit{Eight Men Out} was adapted into a movie in 1988.\textsuperscript{81} Based off of Elliot Asinof’s book, \textit{Eight Men Out} covers the events of the 1919 World Series, the grand jury, and the 1921 trial. Although the plot followed Asinof’s account very closely, director John Sayles put extra emphasis on one point. From very early on, it is clear that the players were not fans of the way that Comiskey handled his team’s finances and the way they were compensated for their play. When the players clinched the pennant, they were excited to collect their bonuses they were promised for winning the pennant, only to find out that it was a few bottles of flat champagne. Soon after, when the initial fix was getting set up, one of the players said“It took me four seasons to get ten grand.” In both of these instances, Sayles makes sure to capture the look of frustration on the players’ faces.

A very important scene portraying the players’ frustrations with Comiskey is when star pitcher Eddie Cicotte met with Comiskey to discuss a $10,000 bonus he was supposed to get for winning thirty games in the season. When he brings this up, Comiskey points out that he only won twenty-nine games during the season. Cicotte claims that if he had not been benched for two weeks, he could have won at least one game. Comiskey does not give in, and Cicotte leaves the office frustrated once again. This aspect places the movie in the economic context of 1919 when much of America was witnessing an ongoing battle between workers and owners.

\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., 20.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., 20-22.
In addition, Sayles does an excellent job showing the struggles and ethical dilemmas that some players had during the series. In a scene that occurs before game eight of the series, one of the gamblers threatened game eight’s starter Lefty Williams with killing his wife if he did not help throw the game. By this point in the series, it appeared as if Williams had decided to play to win, but he did not want to risk his wife’s life on this. Lefty did not make it out of the first inning because he was pitching so poorly, and the White Sox lost game eight and the series.

Since *Eight Men Out* is based off of the book, it does not take additional information from the *Chicago Tribune*. However, it is unique because it displays the role that journalism played in the Series and trial. Throughout many scenes, newspapers with White Sox related headlines are either being printed, sold, or read. These papers not only include the *Tribune*, but also the *Chicago Herald and Examiner* for which famous sportswriter Hugh Fullerton wrote for. *Eight Men Out* shows that most of the public was not able to form their own opinions about the players, but rather trust what they read in the paper.\(^{82}\)

1919: *America’s Loss of Innocence* – 1990

Eliot Asinof’s interest in the Chicago Black Sox did not end after he wrote *Eight Men Out*. Asinof maintained interest in the subject well into his later years as a writer. In 1990, Asinof wrote *1919, America’s Loss of Innocence*. The book is broken down into four main sections: “The Peace Treaty,” “The Red Scare,” “Prohibition,” and “The Black Sox Scandal.” The final section of the book about the Black Sox is the shortest section, and it briefly covers everything from why the World Series was fixed to the trial. In comparison to *Eight Men Out*, this is a very summarized history provided by Asinof. In the “Foreword” section of the book, Asinof describes that each of these events are somewhat intertwined together. He claims that “the Black Sox

\(^{82}\) *Eight Men Out*, directed by John Sayles (1988: Orion Pictures, 2001), DVD.
Scandal emerged from the cynicism of a failed idealism and, like the other three legs of the shaky table, served to exacerbate that cynicism in vicious cycles.” 83

As with *Eight Men Out*, Asinof looks at why the players fixed the series. Asinof explains the role of betting in sports, and specifically the increase in betting on baseball during the early twentieth century. Betting and baseball had long been associated together, but the expansion and increasing popularity of baseball in the early 1900s made the betting even more popular. Asinof explains this boom in baseball betting in this way: “during the war, the government shut down the racetracks, but not ball games, whereupon gamblers and bookies who lived on the horses immediately came to the ballparks, applying themselves to doping the odds with the same diligence they used in handicapping horses.” 84 The gamblers used all sorts of information on players to determine their bets, anything from family issues to injuries. Although this had been happening for years, it had become more apparent on the stage of the World Series. 85

Although the rest of the Black Sox story Asinof tells in this book seems to be similar to *Eight Men Out*, one of the main differences between the two books is the bibliography that is provided. Even though there still are not footnotes, *1919* appears to be more of an academic book rather than a journalistic history. Also, since it was published nearly twenty years after *Eight Men Out*, it is geared toward a different audience.

*Burying the Black Sox* – 2006

Gene Carney, who passed away in 2009, was a member of the Society for American Baseball Research (SABR) since 1991. Writing about baseball for twenty years, Carney had written a few other books as well as baseball articles for various other sources. Written in 2006, Carney’s *Burying the Black Sox* provides his own story of the 1919 World Series. He frequently

84 Ibid., 301.
85 Ibid., 301.
refers to works about the Black Sox by other authors to either dispute their claims or support his own. It is clear that Carney has a very well-rounded knowledge of the Black Sox and of baseball in general. He is not afraid for calling out other authors for being factually incorrect, or even for being overly opinionated, even though he is fairly opinionated himself.\textsuperscript{86}

In \textit{Burying the Black Sox}, instead of concentrating on one specific person or event in the scandal, Carney looks at the Black Sox from right before the World Series, to the second trial in 1924, to some follow up on the players involved later in their lives. The majority of his book concentrates on the cover up of the scandal. This starts with how it was covered up during the series and finishes with mentioning that no one still understands what truly happened during the 1919 World Series. It would appear that Carney has this focus because he was tired of reading other people’s interpretations of this story and he wanted to put them all together and write his own. He often refers to old newspaper and journal articles that talk about the World Series and follow the two trials after that. In the chapter “It Comes Undone,”\textsuperscript{87} he pieces together bits and pieces of newspaper articles immediately after the World Series, all the way until Eddie Cicotte surprised everyone and confessed that the Series was indeed fixed.

Carney used a large amount of primary documents to form his analysis. Although he does use some articles from the \textit{Chicago Tribune}, he concentrates on using a variety of sources from around the United States. In addition to the \textit{Chicago Tribune}, Carney also frequently references the \textit{New York Times}, \textit{Saturday Evening Post}, \textit{Sporting News}, \textit{Washington Post}, \textit{Chicago Times}, and more. By using a large variety of sources and authors, Carney was able to develop an understanding of the scandal and trial from many different viewpoints.\textsuperscript{88}

\textsuperscript{87} Ibid, 76-125.
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., 354.
Academic Non-Fiction

*Saying It’s So: A Cultural History of the Black Sox* – 2003

Written by Daniel A. Nathan, *Saying It’s So* charts how the Black Sox story has been told since 1919. Nathan is a cultural historian and his book is unlike anything published before about the Black Sox. In his introduction, Nathan states:

This book examines how that drama has been represented and remembered – by journalists, novelists, historians, filmmakers, creators of other forms of popular culture, and a small sample of baseball fans. It is an interdisciplinary cultural history of a singular moment that has persisted in our collective consciousness for more than eighty years. One of my principal arguments is that how people have thought about and depicted the Black Sox scandal reflects something revealing (and something important) about their identity, their values, and their historical moment. Thus, *Saying It’s So* is less about baseball history than it is about cultural values and the way people make meaning.  

Complete with a detailed notes section, Nathan provides a very detailed history of the Chicago Black Sox.

*Saying It’s So* is a unique work of both sports writing and history that looks at the retelling of the Chicago Black Sox. Written over eighty years after the scandal occurred, Nathan had many sources to consider when writing this book. In his analysis, Nathan frequently looks at how each major work about the Black Sox effected the time period in which it was written. Although this book mainly appeals to people who are interested in the Black Sox, it is appealing because Nathan covers many different sources.

Nathan uses the *Chicago Tribune* frequently in the first chapter of his book entitled “History’s First Draft: News, Narrative, and the Black Sox Scandal.” In addition, he also references the *Chicago Herald and Examiner* and the *New York Tribune*. Although Nathan does

---

89 Nathan, *Saying It’s So*, 2.
90 Ibid., 11.
not solely rely upon these sources for his first chapter, they do provide him with a large amount of his material. As Nathan progresses into later chapter examining later time periods, he uses these primary sources less and instead replaces them with many secondary sources.\textsuperscript{91}

V. Conclusion

The 1919 Chicago White Sox brought gambling in sports front and center in the early twentieth century. In a time when baseball was quickly gaining fans, the Chicago Black Sox Scandal had the potential to be a devastating blow to not only the sport, but American society. Thanks to the actions of Judge Kennesaw Mountain Landis to ban the players immediately after they were acquitted in 1921, baseball was able to recover and maintain its popularity.

The \textit{Chicago Tribune} played a very important role in creating the first draft of history about the Chicago Black Sox, but the secondary sources after the series have been equally as important to understand what happened with the 1919 World Series and the events following. Each author has taken a unique approach to analyzing the Black Sox, and this has helped a very thorough history of the scandal. Although there are still many mysterious aspects about the scandal, the overall knowledge about the Black Sox has greatly expanded since 1919.

\textsuperscript{91} Ibid., 223-240.
Bibliography

**Primary Sources:**


“‘Black Sox’ Case to be Given Jury Some Time Today.” *Chicago Tribune*, August 2, 1921.

“‘Black Sox’ Meet Their Accusers, but Gain Nothing.” *Chicago Tribune*, July 18, 1921.

Crusinberry, James. “‘Black Sox’ Trial Within 3 Weeks.” *Chicago Tribune*, February 3, 1921.


—. “Defeat to Spur Gleason’s Team to Real Fighting.” *Chicago Tribune*, October 2, 1919.


—. “Greatest Team Beaten by Reds, Says Gleason.” *Chicago Tribune*, October 10, 1919.


—. “Sudden Change in Sox Causes Woe in Cincy.” *Chicago Tribune*, October 8, 1919.

—. “What is Wrong with the White Sox? Gleason Asks.” *Chicago Tribune*, October 7, 1919.

—. “White Sox Find Fighting Spirit; Changed Outfit.” *Chicago Tribune*, October 4, 1919.


“Judge Admits Confessions of ‘Black Sox.’” *Chicago Tribune*, July 26, 1921.

“Maharg’s Story of Sox Sell-Out Next in Order.” *Chicago Tribune*, July 25, 1921.

“Making the ‘Black Sox’ White Again.” *The Literary Digest*, August 20, 1921.

—. “Comiskey Opposes Lengthened Series, Also Ticket Sales.” *Chicago Tribune*, October 11, 1919.


—. “Punish Crooks by Banishment from Baseball.” *Chicago Tribune*, March 21, 1921.

—. “Sox Battle to Third Victory, 4-1.” *Chicago Tribune*, October 9, 1919.


—. “White Sox Crushed Again, 4 to 2.” *Chicago Tribune*, October 3, 1919.

“State Banks on “Bill” Burns to Jail Black Sox.” *Chicago Tribune*, June 26, 1921.

“State to Close Sox Case with Maharg Story.” *Chicago Tribune*, July 27, 1921.


“World Series to be 9 Games This Fall, if Magnates Ratify.” *Chicago Tribune*, September 3, 1919.

**Secondary Sources:**


