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I
Shoeless Joe Jackson
and the 1919 World Series
By Paul Orzechowski '10



The greatest legend in baseball history is considered by most to be Babe Ruth. It is fitting that Ruth modeled his swing off the only player who is as much a legend as himself. Much like “The Babe,” this man is known to history by a nickname: “Shoeless” Joe Jackson. Ironically, the pure swing of this baseball outlaw helped create the savior of baseball, Babe Ruth. In recent years, Jackson has become one of the most interesting and written about players in baseball history. His story is characterized by myths and undisclosed truths, ranging from the origin of his nickname, “Shoeless Joe” to the oft quoted child’s request “Say it ain’t so Joe!” (regarding Jackson’s involvement in the Black Sox Scandal). These myths serve as testimony to his legendary status in the history of the game of baseball.

The questions surrounding Jackson’s involvement in the fix of the 1919 World Series are often answered differently based upon little more than assumptions. He is often defended by adoring fans. They believe, for different reasons, that he was unjustly banned from baseball. Some claim that other prominent baseball figures, such as the White Sox owner Charles Comiskey and American League President Ban Johnson, are just as responsible yet, find themselves in the Hall of Fame. Still others believe that Jackson is completely innocent of being involved in the fix, simply a victim of the situation, too dim to know what he signed up for or deny he signed up at all. The truth lies somewhere in between Jackson’s innocence and Comiskey’s guilt. The quest for these answers begins with his poor childhood which was, like most in the 1890s, filled with work instead of school and play.

Deep in the back country of northwestern South Carolina, in Pickens County, Joe Jackson was born to George and Martha Jackson on July 16, 1888.

¹ Here he was raised on his family’s sharecropper farm until hard times hit. In 1894, Joe’s father moved the family to the new mill town of Brandon Mills. At the age of six, Joe went to work with his father in the cotton mills where he would soon pick up baseball and start his illustrious career.

Joe was paid between 25 and 50 cents per day while his father received the adult wage of \$1.25 per day. By the age of thirteen, Joe began playing on the mill’s baseball team. Teams were used by the mills as an activity to bring communities closer together as

well as to keep workers content. The mill owners certainly believed that this worked in view of the fact that they paid their players \$2.50 per game. This was twice the payment for an entire day of work in the factory.

Joe earned a starting spot almost immediately as a pitcher, but he would not be used in that position for long. One day he threw a ball so hard he hit and broke the arm of a batter. After this incident, no one would bat against him and he pitched infrequently for the rest of his career. His talents eventually found their way to the outfield where he could focus on his tremendous natural hitting ability. For several more years, Joe would play ball for different mills, chasing after the best payment offered and quickly becoming noticed by pro and semi pro scouts. In 1908, the manager of the class D Greenville Spinners and former professional player, Tom Stouch, offered Jackson seventy-five dollars per month to play for his team, twice what he was getting at the mill.²

It was in Greenville where Joe's professional career started and where he would eventually earn his famous nickname. He demanded immediate attention through his first game which included a double, triple, and home run. Later that year, while playing a game in the outfield, his new shoes began giving his feet trouble in the form of severe blisters and searing pain. Once at bat, he took off his shoes and stepped to the plate. He drove a triple to the outfield and when he pulled into third base a fan yelled, "You Shoeless Son of a Gun you!" The nickname stuck for the rest of his life even though he never again played without shoes.³

On August 22 of the same year, the Philadelphia Athletics announced that they had purchased Joe Jackson's contract from the Spinners for \$325. He joined the team after the Spinner's season ended.⁴ His time in Philadelphia was filled with bitterness and hostility between the veteran players and himself. After two years of trying to fit him in, Connie Mack traded him to the Cleveland Naps. In Cleveland, Joe and his wife Katie settled in comfortably for five years. He hit .408 in his rookie season, becoming the first player to hit .400 as a rookie. The fans quickly fell in love with both his hitting and fielding. After five years of success in Cleveland, he was traded to Chicago where he would find similar success, but also the demise of his baseball career.

After Comiskey purchased Joe's contract for \$65,000, it seemed he had no money to pay his players. He was the stingiest owner in the league and regularly denied players much deserved raises. Somehow the public did not see this side of him and nicknamed him "the Noblest Roman of Them All."⁵ In 1919, Detroit's Ty Cobb was the highest paid player in the league at \$20,000, while Tris Speaker was second at \$16,000. The entire White Sox payroll topped just \$85,000. Joe Jackson, with one of the best swings in the game, was getting paid just \$6,000, and his teammate and participator in the eventual fix, Eddie Cicotte, received only \$5,000. Cicotte won 28 games the year before and deserved twice what he was paid.⁶ He was offered a \$10,000 bonus for winning thirty games in 1917, but after he won his 29th game, he was benched on the pretense that he needed rest for the World Series. As a result of Comiskey's contractual corner cutting, Cicotte became an integral contributor to the eventual fix.

In the off season, owners throughout the league agreed to lower salaries for fear that attendance would not rebound after World War I. This quickly proved unnecessary as attendance was soaring especially in Chicago. Comiskey stayed the most loyal to keeping salaries down even though he was making the most money at the turnstiles. Knowing this, the players threatened to strike in July 1919 unless their salaries were

readjusted to that of the rest of the league. Using his relationship with the players, manager Gleason was able to temporarily cool the situation down. Comiskey's niggardly treatment of his players became a major factor in why the fix would ever be formulated and how it was able to be carried out.

Another contributing factor to the fix was that the pitching had suffered injuries late in the season. As a result, the team would be using only three starting pitchers in the playoffs. This made such a fix easy because the conspirators only needed to involve the first two pitchers and a few of the regular hitters. Eventually, it was revealed that the fix actually involved eight players (though two of them did nothing for the fix other than simply having their names associated).

Arnold "Chick" Gandil planned the idea for the fix during the season because of his discontent over the lack of financial rewards. Not only did he intend to receive the money he felt was owed to him, but he also wanted to cause Comiskey the financial damage he felt had been done to him. He met with his associate, Joseph "Sport" Sullivan, on the night of September 10, 1919, in his hotel room. Sullivan was a financially savvy gambler who seemed to be able to get rich off anyone. He was the associate of Arnold Rothstein. Gandil proposed the idea of fixing the World Series by involving enough players to do so, but few enough to keep it secretive. In return for the fix, Gandil demanded \$80,000. Sullivan coolly considered the offer, but was somewhat worried about the magnitude of the scheme. He left the hotel without giving an answer.

Another group of gamblers was led by Abe Attell and included Sleepy Bill Burns and Billy Maharg. Though this group was separate, Abe Attell still worked with Rothstein. Burns convinced Attell to ask Rothstein for the \$100,000 that the players demanded in return for throwing the series. Rothstein refused at first, but later joined the cause and took over the operation. Though many more gamblers gained knowledge of the fix, they were only marginally involved. Between the two major gambling groups, it was eventually agreed the players would be paid \$80,000 for the fix, but only \$10,000 was paid up front.

Even before the meeting with the gamblers, Gandil had been recruiting for the fix. His first target was the much underpaid and subsequently upset Eddie Cicotte. Cicotte was first introduced to the idea in July after the players threatened to strike. Although he was interested, he refused to do so. It took weeks of Gandil's nagging him with the money to persuade him. He agreed to the fix if he was paid \$10,000 before the series began. The next players to get involved would be shortstop "Swede" Risberg and utility infielder Fred McMullin, (the latter only because he overheard Gandil proposing the idea to the former).

To make the fix possible, Gandil needed another pitcher who would pitch two or three games in the series. He found this pitcher in Claude "Lefty" Williams, who was also skeptical of the plan but eventually convinced by Gandil's continuous offers of money. Though the fix may have been able to go on with only the two pitchers, Risberg, and Williams, gamblers demanded more names for security purposes. Thus, Gandil spoke with "Buck" Weaver, "Shoeless" Joe Jackson, and Oscar "Happy" Felsch (the third, fourth, and fifth hitters on the team). Joe Jackson was the only one to refuse the idea when he was approached by Gandil and offered \$10,000. The other two agreed and the seven involved players met at Gandil's hotel room on the night of September 21st. At this first meeting, the player lightheartedly joked about the series as they formulated their

plan.⁷

Despite Jackson's refusal to be involved in the fix, Gandil used his name with the gamblers anyway. Upon his second meeting, Gandil, offering \$20,000, told Jackson "You might as well say yes, or play ball or do anything you want,"⁸ i.e., the fix would go on with or without him. After this conversation, Gandil left Jackson alone, and chose to use Joe's name regardless of his answer.

With rumors flying and gamblers from around the country knowing about the fix, money was pouring in on the Reds and Jackson began to worry about the fix being kept from the spotlight. The night before the series, he decided to visit Comiskey and tell him the story about the fix: "I went to Mr. Comiskey and begged him to take me out of the lineup... If there was something going on I knew the bench would be the safest place, but he wouldn't listen to me."⁹ He told Comiskey to state that Jackson was suspended for drinking or some other behavioral issue. However, Comiskey refused, saying Jackson was too good of a player to lose. He calmed Jackson down by pointing to the fact that such rumors flew around every year. (It must be noted that Jackson likely had little to offer Comiskey by way of details regarding the fix because he had not been present for any meetings nor heard any details of the scheme).¹⁰

Since he knew he could come under scrutiny by Comiskey or others if the fix ever leaked, Jackson played with more intensity and less fun than he ever did before. This resulted in setting the World Series record of 12 hits¹¹ in route to a .365 batting average with six runs batted in and five runs scored. His resulting tremendous performance in the Series is blamed once again by those opposing Jackson on his assumed stupidity. They say he could not control his natural ability, that it was simply instinct. An additional argument, parallel to the former, was the idea that Joe could get a hit when he chose and chose only to hit when it would not help the team. Though this is proven false when the timing of the hits is considered, Jackson got several key hits which led to wins. Many people point out that these hits occurred after the team was playing to win. This may be true, but it was difficult to get RBI's when the hitters in the lineup ahead of him were not playing to win. Similarly, it was difficult to score runs when hitters behind him were not playing to win.

The series began in Cincinnati on a hot October 1st. To show that the fix was on, Cicotte hit the first batter he faced, Morrie Rath, with the second pitch. He would give up a run after Rath scored on Jake Daubert's single coupled with Heinie Groh's sacrifice fly to Jackson. Joe Jackson scored to tie it for the White Sox on Gandil's single. Gandil was thrown out stretching it into a double. The fourth inning proved more fateful as Cicotte gave up five runs. Questionable plays in the inning included a failed attempt at a double play by Risberg and a ball he was unable to get to behind his head. The game ended 9-1 with Jackson, Felsch and Gandil making the final three outs of the game. After the surprise game one loss, Gleason, Schalk, and other uninvolved players were fuming at the performance of the team.

Gleason continued to hear rumors of the fix and received many telegrams from angry fans expressing their concern. He showed them to Comiskey and explained his concern. With the National League president John A. Heydler, Comiskey approached American League President Ban Johnson with the news and telegrams. Though once friends, Comiskey and Johnson were no longer on speaking terms. The grudge was reflected in Johnson's thoughtless response, "What Comiskey says is like the crying of a

whipped cur.”¹² As a result, Comiskey went to bed without answers. Comiskey would later use this to put the blame on Johnson. “I blame Ban Johnson for allowing this series to continue. If ever a League President blundered in a crisis, Ban did.”¹³

Since Johnson did nothing the series continued. Lefty Williams started the second game determined to blow the game without looking as bad as Cicotte had. He started off by getting to the bottom of the fourth inning scoreless. However, in the fourth, the usually well controlled Williams seemed to lose control of his pitches and of the game. With the rabid fans screaming and Schalk and Gleason visibly upset at Williams, he was unable to gain control until the Reds scored three runs on three walks and two hits in the inning. This was very uncharacteristic of Williams who usually thrived on pinpoint control and the ability to put the ball where he wanted. The White Sox went on to lose the game 4-2 even though they out hit the Reds ten to four. Williams had succeeded - looking brilliant while doing it, but nevertheless losing a close game. Joe Jackson had three hits in the game, helping the White Sox score their two runs.¹⁴

Although the gambler Abe Attel had made thousands, he coughed up only \$10,000 to be split up amongst the players. The players had blown two games for the gamblers and received only a fourth of the money promised to them by this point. They were upset and Gandil told the gamblers that the players had met and decided to continue the series as it had gone. In reality, no such meeting between the players had taken place. No one knew what was going to happen considering the starting pitcher was not involved in the fix. For game three, Gleason sent the rookie, Little Dickie Kerr, to the mound. He was a good rookie pitcher, but no one expected him to pitch a shutout in the Sox 3-0 victory. Gandil knocked Jackson in from third for the first run of the game, the only run that would be needed. The loss upset the gamblers and dealt a devastating blow to some of them.

Sleepy Bill Burns had bet his fortunes on the game and lost it all. In a meeting after the game, Gandil demanded the money, but Burns refused to pay before the next game because of what had happened to him in game three. The meeting ended with Burns believing the fix was off. However, the next day, Sullivan was able to convince Gandil to go on with the fix by promising \$20,000 immediately and another \$20,000 before game five even though he had no intention of following through with the second payment.¹⁵ Despite the lack of trust between the team and the gamblers, the fix was back on when Cicotte took the mound in Chicago for game four.

Cicotte handled the Reds through the first four innings, putting them down scoreless. In the fifth inning, Duncan hit a ball back to Cicotte who rushed the play and threw wildly to first, allowing Duncan to reach second. The following play was even more suspicious. Kopf lined a single to Jackson in left field. Jackson made a perfect throw, but the ball was for some reason deflected by Cicotte as he tried to cut it off. The ball rolled behind home plate and Duncan scored. The two mishaps by Cicotte were all that was needed as the game ended 2-0. The excitement from the rookie Dickie Kerr's performance had all but evaporated for the Chicago fans and Gleason.

The fifth game was a rain out, giving Gleason the option of skipping Williams in the rotation in favor of the rookie, but he opted not to and instead, put his trust in Williams. Williams took to the mound knowing that he was on a short leash with Gleason suspecting. He pitched four hitless innings to start the game, but in the sixth Eller lead off with a triple, poorly played by the Sox defense. A single and sacrifice put a man on

second with a run in. Roush lofted a fly ball into center field where Felsch misplayed the ball and then dropped it while attempting to handle it. When the ball finally made it home, Schalk dove at the sliding runner just missing him. The three runs were enough for the Reds to easily win with Hod Eller pitching like Cy Young.¹⁶

The following day in Cincinnati, Sullivan failed to show up with the promised cash. Thus, Gandil and the rest of the involved players decided the fix was off. They would try to win the series and lose the gamblers' big money. The sixth game of the series began with errors abound for the now competitively playing White Sox. Quickly they were down 4-0 and it seemed to be another repeat performance. But in the sixth inning, the offense finally exploded, scoring three runs to tie the score. Gandil knocked in the game winning run in the ninth inning and Dickie Kerr finished the game for the win.

The day after the win the club house's mood lightened. Gleason trusted Cicotte to win the all important seventh game. Cicotte delivered as he completed the game in less than 100 minutes winning 4-1. The game was highlighted by poor defensive play by the Reds. The uninspired Reds' crowd of only 13,923 fans did not help the mood or performance of the team.¹⁷

The two past wins were not part of the plan and angered the gamblers. Rothstein became very unnerved at the thought of the series going to nine games. He'd known from the start that there were too many people involved with the fix and now his worst fears were coming true. Rothstein calmly met with Sullivan, making him aware of his fears and warning Sullivan that the series had better not go nine games. Sullivan needed to communicate this to the starter Lefty Williams immediately. Though it was not his style, Sullivan was forced to threaten Williams and his family to be sure the game would be lost. He knew a man Harry F. from Chicago, "who was skilled in the finer arts of persuasion."¹⁸ Though he demanded \$500, Harry promised that Williams would receive the message.

Before the game, Kid Gleason lectured his team, "The minute I think anyone of you ain't playing ball to win-if I think you're laying down-I'm gonna pull you out even if I have to make an infielder out of a bullpen catcher! I'm gonna tell you this, too: I would use an iron on any sonovabitch who would sell out this ball club!"¹⁹ Unfortunately for Gleason, Williams had already been threatened by Harry F., a threat taken much more seriously. With him and his wife's lives on the line, Williams would not last even one inning. After getting the leadoff hitter out, Williams allowed four straight hits and three runs in just fifteen pitches. Bill James relieved him and with the help of the rest of the bullpen proceeded to give up seven more runs. The White Sox went quietly until the eighth inning when they rallied to score four runs. It was too late and the game would end 10-5, bringing the series to a close.

That night in Jackson's hotel room, he was offered \$5,000 in an envelope by a drunken Lefty Williams. Williams explained to him that they had told the gamblers that Jackson would play to lose. Williams felt Jackson had been betrayed and thought Jackson should receive a share. Jackson was upset his name had been used without his knowledge. Jackson argued with Williams and informed him that he would tell Comiskey the following day.²⁰ Williams threw the envelope to the ground and Jackson was forced to accept it, but he intended to give it to Comiskey.

With the series over, the cover up by Comiskey and other members of baseball's leadership began. The day after the series, Joe Jackson went back to Comiskey, this time

with proof and more details of the fix than before (e.g., the envelope containing \$5,000). However, Comiskey's secretary sent Jackson home and told him that Comiskey would write to him if anything further arose, but Jackson never heard back from him. Comiskey was already being informed of the fix by Chick Gandil and Happy Felsch.²¹ Gambler, Harry Redmon, who had lost money on the series, was willing to provide information if he would be compensated. Comiskey made it worth his while to hear the details from a gambler even though he was not directly involved in the fix.²²

Although he had all the knowledge he needed, Comiskey offered a \$20,000 reward to anyone willing to provide concrete information about the fix. As far as anyone else knew, he had no further knowledge beyond the well circulated rumors. This made him appear eager to find the truth, without being forced to turn in his team and lose all the value the players offered. Comiskey hired a private detective to investigate the suspected players as well as other teams that may have corrupt players. He could use this knowledge against any other team that attempted to accuse the White Sox or himself.²³

The player's award for being on the losing team of the World Series was supposed to be \$3,000. Comiskey held this check from the eight players who had their names involved. When Jackson did not receive his check, he sent Comiskey a letter, informing him of the missing check and requesting it be sent to him. Comiskey's response questioned the integrity of Jackson's play during the series and offered to pay expenses for a trip back to Chicago to clear his name. Jackson responded by citing his performance as proof that he was not involved and thus, he accepted Comiskey's offer. Yet, Jackson did not hear from Comiskey after that because Comiskey did not want to hear Jackson's testimony. Instead, Comiskey sent Henry Grabiner to Jackson to negotiate a new contract for the following year.

Grabiner convinced Jackson to sign a contract without having his wife Katie read it. Grabiner threatened him with their knowledge of the fix and pressured him into signing it even though it was only \$8,000 and Joe wanted \$10,000. Jackson had demanded that the Ten Day Clause, which allowed a team to hold pay of a player after ten days of being injured, be left out of the contract. Mysteriously, when Grabiner read the contract to Jackson the clause did not exist, but after it was signed the clause appeared. Jackson was taken advantage of yet again.²⁴

At the end of the 1920 season, the 1919 Series fix reemerged in national news. The rapidly spreading knowledge of the fix led gambler Billy Maharg to tell the story of the fix to Comiskey in hopes for the now only \$10,000 reward. The reward was never received and he incriminated himself and the other gamblers, including Rothstein, Bill Burns, and Abe Attell.

Now that it was inevitable that the fix would be brought to public knowledge, Comiskey made his move. Before the grand jury indictment, and "for the good of the public as he claimed," Comiskey suspended all eight players whose names were mentioned in the fix, "even though it costs Chicago the pennant."²⁵ He began to work with his lawyer Alfred Austrian, to incriminate his players and make him appear as the owner who gave up his team for the integrity of the game. Comiskey relied on Austrian to find the players who would admit first in the grand jury investigation. The first player to be encouraged to confess to the jury was a frightened Eddie Cicotee. He was advised to confess and show his sorrow for hurting Comiskey because the jury would appreciate it more. Cicotee assumed that since he was a White Sox player and Austrian was the

White Sox lawyer, Austrian was his lawyer. This was a false assumption. Austrian was Comiskey's lawyer and was not looking out for the interest of Cicotee.

While confessing, Cicotee mentioned Joe Jackson as being involved in the fix. Upon hearing this, Jackson went straight to Comiskey to get help in clearing his name. Unfortunately, he fell right into the trap. When he went to see Comiskey, the only person to be found was Austrian. Austrian used his position as "The White Sox lawyer" to convince Jackson not to tell the true story which would prove Comiskey knew about the fix during the Series. Austrian gave the same advice he gave to Cicotee, i.e., to explain that he was involved and act sympathetic. Austrian told Jackson the truth would appear weak since his name had already been linked by the gambler Maharg and Cicotee. So under the advice of "his" lawyer Jackson admitted his guilt in the fix.

A very confused Jackson told both stories of the fix to the court. When questioned by the grand jury he denied being involved in the ring or doing anything to throw any game of the series, but when asked by the District Attorney in front of the Grand Jury,

Q: How much did he say he would pay you?

A: Twenty thousand dollars, if I would take part.

Q: And you said you would?

A: Yes, sir.

He repeatedly added statements to the end of his answers such as, "I tried to win all the time" or "I was ashamed of myself." These conflicting statements confused what Austrian had told him to do with his own story because he also wanted to clear his name.²⁶

When Jackson was leaving the court room, the myth of "Say it ain't so, Joe" was originated. The story claims that a child asked Jackson this question and that he responded by confirming it was true. However, this story was later denied by Jackson who claimed no one talked to him except the officers leading him out. Despite this, the question became immortalized – an intricate part of the "Shoeless" Joe Jackson legend.²⁷

The eight members involved in the fix were indicted by the grand jury at the end of September. Less than two months later, Judge Kenisaw Mountain Landis was named the first commissioner of the Major Leagues. Once in office, he threatened all eight involved players: There is absolutely no chance for any of them to creep back into organized baseball. They will be and remain outlaws... it is sure that the guilt of some of them at least will be proved."²⁸ The day after the grand jury found them not guilty, Landis permanently put the eight players on the ineligible list.

Between September and February, when the players were supposed to go back on trial, the courts got mixed up. There was a new district attorney and some of the attorneys from the prosecution side now were on the defense side, making for a confusing situation. As a result, the new District Attorney determined that the original indictments were faulty. With the old indictments, testimony, and immunity waivers thrown out, the new trial began in June 1921. The trial did not include Fred McMullin who was acquitted for lack of evidence, but the other seven newly indicted players and ten gamblers stood against the court.

The players now had their own lawyers looking out for their interest. This resulted in Jackson telling a story contrary to what he had said the previous time in court. He told

the true story, proving his innocence and condemning Comiskey's knowledge of the fix. The gamblers story corroborated with Joe's innocence. Their stories confirmed Gandil's initiation of the fix with no mention of Jackson being involved. Despite this, the judge asked for five year jail sentences and \$2,000 fines for all involved, but the jury found them innocent of all charges. Despite this ruling, Landis made use of his unquestioned power by banning all seven players from baseball:²⁹

Regardless of the verdict of juries, no player that throws a ball game; no player that undertakes or promises to throw a ball game; no player that sits in a conference with a bunch of crooked players and gamblers where the ways and the means of throwing games are planned and discussed and does not promptly tell his club about it, will ever play professional baseball.³⁰

However it must be noted that this statement when applied to the case of Joe Jackson does not result in grounds for expulsion. Jackson does not meet any of the criteria set out by Landis for expulsion from baseball. Jackson never threw a game, promised to throw a game, nor sat in a conference with the others involved in the fix. Once he learned of the fix, he immediately went to Comiskey to inform him. Unfortunately, his lack of knowledge of the fix and Comiskey's corruption lead Comiskey to simply ignore the information.

Jackson was a necessary victim for Comiskey's cover up. Under false presumptions, Comiskey's lawyer, Austrian, convinced Jackson to admit guilt to the court. This admission and the \$5,000 which Comiskey refused to meet with Jackson about became the two integral pieces of evidence used to prove Jackson's guilt. Upon close review, the evidence of Jackson's involvement in the fix of the 1919 World Series can be linked back to Comiskey. Jackson has remained a scapegoat for the situation by the leaders of baseball to keep the Hall of Famers, Charles Comiskey and Ban Johnson image clean. Used by the involved players and by Comiskey in his plan to cover up the fix, Jackson never gave up on baseball. He remained in love with the game and played in mill towns and on barnstorming teams until he was forty five. Although he always wanted to have his name cleared, he was not bitter about the situation and led a successful life after baseball, owning a liquor store and making more money than he would have in baseball.

Since his death in 1951, Joe's story has been continuously studied by scholars and fans alike. Each time it is, new intricacies and details are revealed that prove Jackson's innocence at the expense of Charles Comiskey. Comiskey began the confusion of Jackson's tale over eighty years ago, but Jackson's story has been converted to a legendary one due to the different stories resulting from the complexity of his story. With each new story in the media such as the 1989 film "Field of Dreams" "Shoeless" Joe Jackson's legend grows. This fictional story coupled with the false myths previously discussed, enhance the legend that Comiskey created to protect himself, over eighty years ago.

¹ Jackson's year of birth is often disputed, read on his tombstone to be 1888, but on his death certificate as 1889. Some use the year 1887 as well. Birth certificates were not required at that time in the small town he was born

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- ² David Fleitz, *Shoeless The life and times of Joe Jackson*, (Mcfarland and Company, 2001) p. 12
- ³ "This is the Truth", Joe Jackson, <http://www.blackbetsy.com/jjtruth.htm>
- ⁴ Harvey Frommer, *Shoeless Joe and Ragtime Baseball*, (Taylor Publishing, 1994)
- ⁵ *Ibid* p. 86
- ⁶ David Fleitz, *Shoeless The life and times of Joe Jackson*, (Mcfarland and Company, 2001) p. 161
- ⁷ Elliot Asinof, *Eight Men Out*, (Holt, 1987)
- ⁸ Donald Gropman, *Say it Ain't So Joe*, (Lynx Books, 1988) p.164
- ⁹ Harvey Frommer, *Shoeless Joe and Ragtime Baseball*, (Taylor Publishing, 1994) p.96
- ¹⁰ Donald Gropman, *Say it Ain't So Joe*, (Lynx Books, 1988) p.167
- ¹¹ The record 12 hits though impressive is misleading since it was in eight games of the nine game series. There were only three other nine game series 1903, 1920, and 1921.
- ¹² Harvey Frommer, *Shoeless Joe and Ragtime Baseball*, (Taylor Publishing, 1994) p.104
- ¹³ Gene Carney, *Burying the Black Sox*, (Potomac Books, 2006) p.47
- ¹⁴ *Ibid* p. 106
- ¹⁵ Elliot Asinof, *Eight Men Out*, (Holt, 1987) p.98-101
- ¹⁶ Donald Gropman, *Say it Ain't So Joe*, (Lynx Books, 1988) p.150
- ¹⁷ Elliot Asinof, *Eight Men Out*, (Holt, 1987) p.110 and 111 The incredibly small crowd was blamed on rumors that Herrmann, the Reds owner had fixed the series to go extra long to make more money. This combined with horrible traffic the day before left people home instead of in the seats.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid* p. 113
- ¹⁹ *Ibid* p.115 Kid Gleason
- ²⁰ Harvey Frommer, *Shoeless Joe and Ragtime Baseball*, (Taylor Publishing, 1994) p.114-115
- ²¹ William R. Herzog II, *The Faith of 50 Million*, (Westminster John Knox Press, 2002) p. 117
- ²² Donald Gropman, *Say it Ain't So Joe*, (Lynx Books, 1988) p.172
- ²³ *Ibid* p.174
- ²⁴ *Ibid* p.178
- ²⁵ *Ibid* p.182 Comiskey's note to the eight suspended players closed with this.
- ²⁶ Donald Gropman, *Say it Ain't So Joe*, (Lynx Books, 1988) p.184-188
- ²⁷ *Ibid* p.190
- ²⁸ *Ibid* p.198
- ²⁹ *Ibid* p.200
- ³⁰ *Ibid* p.201

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