

# Changing Community Perceptions of Baseball Team Names: The Case of the Jacksonville Lunatics

**Jacksonville Lunatics vs. Pittsfield, with Billy Sunday umpiring, October 2, 1908**

Tweeted out by handle Old-Time Baseball Photos (@OTBaseballPhoto), July 14, 2020



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## ABSTRACT

Through the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the “insane asylum” population increased at the Illinois State Hospital in Jacksonville, Illinois. Between 1892 and 1915, the rural town had a minor-league baseball team named the **Jacksonville Lunatics**. Baseball scholars state team names were a product of creative sports writers, not the team management, and often given by writers from rival cities. Sarcasm and witty writing allowed sportswriters to make jabs and jokes that integrated the nickname and pejorative perceptions of the specific population. Linguistics plays a role in community self-identity, and how outsiders perceive the community. By 1907, forces were in motion to dissociate the team from Lunatics, reflecting that language and its meaning changes over time in different contexts. That year, the team had *two* team nicknames in the same season. Changing team nicknames is actually a much older practice than sports clubs responding to “reactions” and “retweets” on today’s social media.

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

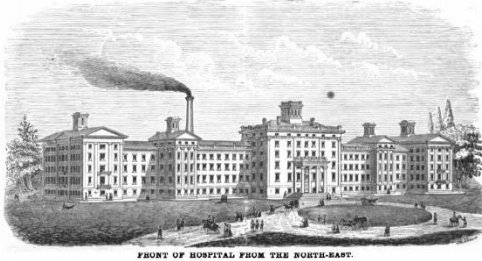


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**J**acksonville, Illinois, current population 20,000, is the former home of the **Jacksonville Lunatics** minor-league baseball team. It is in rural west-central Illinois, about halfway between Springfield and Quincy, 100 miles north of St. Louis. Considered “the frontier” in the 1840s, Illinois established its first State Hospital for the Insane there in 1847, along with several other celebrated social service, educational, and religious institutions.<sup>1</sup>



Source: 6<sup>th</sup> Biennial reports of the Illinois State Hospital for the Insane, 1847-1862 (Chicago, IL: F. Fulton & Company, 1863)

There are numerous articles in baseball and other literature related to “asylum nine” baseball teams, teams based out of State Hospital asylums made up of “insane” patients. The Illinois asylum had a team of patient-players, from at least the 1870s.<sup>2</sup>



Source: Joseph J. Mehr. *An Illustrated History of Illinois Public Mental Health Services: 1847-2000*, (Victoria, British Columbia, Canada: A Santayana Publication/Trafford Publishing 2002.

But, asylum patients were not *the Lunatics* who played on the minor-league team. The city of Jacksonville, like similar Midwestern towns, made various attempts to establish viable, competitive baseball teams in the nascent years of the game. Billy Brost, writing for *Baseball Magazine*, stated: “during the nineteenth century, it was common for leagues to pop up, raid players, and quickly fold due to investors pulling out their funds, owners switching teams to leagues with better chances of survival, or teams simply closing their doors.”<sup>3</sup> Jacksonville similarly attempted to organize baseball teams and join reputable leagues, looking to encourage economic growth for the region. So how did a minor-league team in a small Illinois town get tagged with the team nickname of *Lunatics* when no one on the team were patients at an insane asylum/State Mental Hospital?



In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the *lunitique* was characterized as a person who had fluctuations in how he understood things, and of changeable behaviors, like the waxing and waning of the moon, which explains the naming and classification of the “affliction.”<sup>4</sup> Many clinicians find, even to this day, a correlation between mental stressors and a full moon. A study on the original derivation of the term ‘lunatic’ ties it more to epilepsy than to insanity, at least until it was used more widely to refer to all of the insane in the latter 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> American society’s understanding of mental illness began to shift in the 1830s and 1840s, especially in new modes of *moral treatment*. The thinking shifted from mental illness as metaphysical, or a mechanism of original sin (or sinning in general), to a nascent “medical” understanding where “medical men” began to make distinctions, or classifications, of the various types of mental illness (known in the pre-Freudian era as *insanity*). The idea of *moral treatment* has much to do with what it sounds like – treating mentally ill people humanely, with social morals, instead of locking them up in pens or dungeons and treating them like animals.

In spite of the attempts to treat patients humanely, there was still community stigma directed at the patients. A Jacksonville resident in the 1960s said the community referred to the hospital as ‘the nuthouse.’ Russell Barnes, a former patient-aide at the Illinois State Hospital in the 1920s referred to the asylum as ‘the bughouse’ and workers as ‘bughousers.’<sup>6</sup> “Used to be people wouldn’t even admit that they had a patient [family member] out here

because it was a disgrace. They thought it was a disgrace to have somebody in the insane asylum, they called it the bug house,” he said. In 1898, the transport of 300 patients by train from the Kankakee asylum (northern Illinois) to the Jacksonville (central Illinois) and Anna (southern Illinois) hospitals led a *Rock Island Argus* reporter to submit a rather stigmatizing article for print. Titled “Madhouse on Wheels – How Three Hundred Lunatics Took a Journey Together,” he describes how “a traveling madhouse recently rolled over the fertile prairies of Illinois. It was the flight of the demons. Madmen and maniac women had a ghastly excursion. Normal minds devised means of transporting menial incompetents. Sane men and women rode in the cars with lunatics. They will never forget the ride.” For 150 miles “the air in its wake was frightened by 169 mingled songs and curses, maudlin vaporings and demoniac laughs.”<sup>7</sup> By the mid-1800s, medical professionals no longer subscribed to the astrological connection to mental illness, but the term lunatic remained popular up through the early 1900s, when there was a shift to use the term *patients* and move away from the more derisive lunatic. But, as Geoffrey Reaume points out in his analysis of psychiatric nomenclature, “as the title from a 1909 novel called *The Lunatic At Large* shows, the use of the word ‘lunatic’ was not about to go out of style.”<sup>8</sup>

As the “insane asylum” exited the *moral treatment* period around 1870, some progressive doctors began experimenting with other interventions, such as smaller cottages instead of larger buildings, and the use of chemical treatments. Nevertheless,

the asylum population in Jacksonville expanded, as it did at most state hospitals across the nation. This led not only to overcrowding, but also real political consequences: larger state appropriations and more patronage jobs, and also increased clout in Springfield, the capital. By 1906, the Jacksonville mental hospital averaged 1,300 patients and had 724 people on its payroll.<sup>9</sup> Added to this were hundreds of contractors, vendors, employee families, stores, realtors, and other businesses tied to the institution. The Jacksonville State Hospital for the mentally ill was a serious economic engine. When it came time for a baseball team nickname, the sportswriters went for a name the city was most associated with: “Lunatics.”

Baseball scholars have concluded that team names were a product of creative sports writers and fans, not the team management, club, or players themselves.<sup>10</sup> Or, by the color of the “stockings” they were wearing.

To understand the early nicknaming rituals in baseball is to understand two things: the long-gone power possessed by sportswriters of the time, and the exercise of identification by various colored stockings. Indeed, nicknames for the first handful of decades in major league baseball were just that – informal, un-trademarked, and usually dreamed up by the cigar-toting scribes of the day. Every team was officially recognized, in some order, simply by its league and its city.”<sup>11</sup>

Why was the Boston National League team of the late 1800s known as the Beaneaters, for instance? According to Ed Coen, writing in the *Baseball Research Journal*, it was not a designated specific team name, but a nickname given to Bostonians from outsiders – writers from rival cities.

Bostonians would likely have not referred to their own team the same way.<sup>12</sup> Similar examples from Coen include the New York Gothams and Philadelphia Quakers. In his research, Coen distinguishes between *official nicknames* (given by the club) and *accepted nicknames*, the latter “made up by the fans or the press that had become widespread.” More recently, management, with their marketing specialists, often make the decisions but not without public buy-in through online voting. A 2014 Biloxi, Mississippi minor league team (an existing team that moved cities) asked the fans to provide online voting input on the Beacons, Black Jacks, Mullets, Schooners, Shrimpers, and the winning name – the Shuckers.<sup>13</sup>

There are also contemporary instances of fans pressuring clubs to change team names that carry stigma and underlying discrimination against certain historically oppressed groups, such as the changing of the nicknames of the Washington Redskins NFL football team, and the MLB Cleveland Indians.

Jacksonville had tried various team nicknames related directly to its history, such as the Hardins (named after a prominent local political and military hero leader, John J. Hardin, killed at the Battle of Buena Vista in 1847). But, by 1892, the team had been named the **Jacksonville Lunatics**. Other cities with hospitals for the

mentally ill—Harrisonburg, Virginia, and Nevada, Missouri—also had baseball teams nicknamed the Lunatics.<sup>14</sup> That year, Jacksonville played in the Illinois-Iowa League with a record of 30-57. It was a minor league team like any other, just with the peculiar Lunatics team name. Other Illinois teams in the league had colorful names, as well, linked with local businesses or institutions, such as the Peoria Distillers, and the Joliet Convicts. In Peoria, “more than 70 distilleries operated in this area from the mid-eighteen hundreds until prohibition. There were so many distilleries that the area along the Illinois River was known as Distillery Row.”<sup>15</sup> Opened in 1858, the Illinois State Penitentiary in Joliet “has – for better or worse – been synonymous with the City of Joliet for nearly its entire history,” (including its latter-day association with ‘Joliet Jake’ of the Blues Brothers).<sup>16</sup> The *Rock-Island Argus* [Illinois] newspaper referred to Jacksonville and the baseball team as “Lunatic Town,”<sup>17</sup> “insaneville,”<sup>18</sup> and “the boys from the insane hospital.”<sup>19</sup> Sarcasm, creativity, and witty writing allowed sportswriters to make quips, jabs, jokes, and banter that integrated the nickname and pejorative perceptions of the specific population a team nickname referred to: there are endless headlines about a team “getting scalped” by the opposing team with a Native American nickname, and the same applied to the Lunatics. Even Jacksonville’s two newspapers at the time, the *Jacksonville Daily Journal* and the *Illinois Daily Courier*, referred to “Hecker’s lunatics” (referring to the manager) when describing how the Peoria Distillers team gave them “a beating”:

“the way the insane asylum at Jacksonville is operated...The Lunatics...were battered and bruised in a particularly horrifying manner. No pity was shown the poor unfortunates...[the pitcher] who occupied a cell in ward No. 1 had suffered from a hand-to-hand encounter with Attendant McLaughlin. Sixteen times was he welted, leaving twenty-two marks upon his quivering, gooseflesh hide. When the demented creatures attempted to strike back their poor, weak efforts showed the lack of proper nourishment and indicated that the good things of life were for the managers only. Eight of them wildly beat the ambient air and went back to their benches, not particularly wiser but considerably madder men.”<sup>20</sup>

Two years later, in 1894, they were in the competitive Class A level Western Association with Cornelius “Con” Strouthers as their manager (later, in 1904, Con would be Ty Cobb’s first manager.) During this season, their official team name was “the Jacks.” Of course, this did not stop the *Rock-Island Argus* from continuing to call the team and the players lunatics. The following season, in 1895, they appear to also be the Jacks, then go on hiatus until 1900 (half season). In 1906, Jacksonville joined the “Kitty League” – which was the moniker for the Kentucky-Illinois-Tennessee League. This time, they reverted to the team name Lunatics. But, before league play started there was objection to the team’s name. In February, 1906, the Cairo, Illinois *Bulletin* newspaper reported that another newspaper in the league objected to Jacksonville using that name, which was also used by Jacksonville’s own

*Daily Courier* newspaper: “We note that one paper refused to accept the *Couriers* nickname for the Jacksonville team, which was the Lunatics. This [other] paper said that it preferred to call us the Jacks. That’s not a good name, and besides it’s too suggestive in case the bleachers should take a notion to comment on it. Also, supposing we should get down on the bottom, then the unkind fans might say that the team more resembled deuces than Jacks. Lunatics is bad enough, but Jacks, that is too much. — *Jacksonville Courier*”<sup>21</sup> These concerns likely elude the contemporary reader. Derivation of the team name “Jacks” may be based on any (or combination of all) of the following reasons: “Jacks” may be just a shortened-plural for ‘Jacksonvilles,’ a name often given to the Jacksonville team; Jacks was a popular children’s game in the late 19th century, in which players bounce a ball off the ground, and see how many ‘jacks’ they can pick up before catching the ball, often used in reference to hitters who hit high pitches; ‘jack’ was also a popular 19th century slang term for a train, and the city of Jacksonville was well-known for its many train routes passing through. It seems most likely, however, that the “too suggestive” opposition from the hometown newspaper was rooted in yet a different meaning of Jacks: male breeding donkeys, or large, strong work mules, or asses who are used to breed with female horses to create mules. An agricultural region knows these things.

Although baseball reference and statistics sources identify the 1906 team as the Jacks, the Cairo and Paducah newspapers, located in other Kitty League towns, generally still referred to the

Jacksonville team as the Lunatics. During the off-season, Jacksonville wanted out of the Kitty League to join a new league.

***Cairo Bulletin* sub-headline, January 1907**<sup>22</sup>



Their wish was granted. Jacksonville joined the Iowa State League in 1907, and again went by the Lunatics. During the non-league period from Opening Day in April through to one week before the start of league play, all references to the team are to the Lunatics. There is also a reference to Jacksonville as ‘Dippy city,’ another pejorative reference to insanity. Even all of the current online baseball reference sources refer to the 1907 team as the Lunatics throughout the season. According to Coen in *Setting the Record Straight on Major League Team Nicknames*, “in general, most papers tended to pick a name and stick with it throughout the season.”<sup>23</sup>

Bucking this trend, however, the Jacksonville Lunatics team name changed just as league play was about to start. The only references to the team the one week up to league play are to “the locals,” “Belt’s team” (after the manager), or “the

Jacksonville team.” Then, all of a sudden on May 4, the Jacksonville *Daily Courier* started referring to the team as “the Kittens” and continued to do so through the rest of the season. The name was derived from the fact that many of the 1907 players were from the previous year’s team that played in the Kitty League. The paper issued a statement a few days later on May 7:

By the way, don’t you think that the Kittens is a much nicer name than the Lunatics? and besides it’s much more appropriate, as we are former Kitty leaguers and youngsters, and then it seems real horrid to call the boys Lunatics. We’ve promised never to do it again, so there.<sup>24</sup>

The day after, the Waterloo *Courier* reported on the Jacksonville *Daily Courier*’s wishes:

The Jacksonville Courier is evidently not in favor of having the base ball team from that city go through the summer with the name Lunatics attached to them. In late issues of that paper the club, under the management of Belt of the Kitty league last summer is referred to as the Kittens.<sup>25</sup>

The Quincy *Daily Herald* also reported on it: “Jacksonville was ‘the Lunatics’ in the Kitty league, but objects to the title, preferring to be known as the ‘Kittens.’”<sup>26</sup> While the Jacksonville *Daily Courier* may have been trying to be more sensitive to state hospital patients by changing the name, just a few days later on May 10, the paper called the team the Kittens, but then referred to the Burlington team’s manager losing to the inexperienced Jacksonville team as

ready to put him in “the dippy house.”<sup>27</sup> But, at least with regard to the team name, the *Daily Courier* stuck to its word and referred to the team only as the Kittens for the rest of the season. The Quincy reporters respected the request for a bit, referring to “Frank Belt and his Kittens” in late July, but the temptation to call them Lunatics was too great, and by the end of the season (and off-season) the *Daily Herald* was again referring to them as the Lunatics. Reaction throughout the rest of the league was mixed. The Burlington *Evening-Gazette*, another Iowa paper, respected the wishes of the Jacksonville *Daily Courier*, calling them the Kittens, but the Marshalltown and Ottumwa newspapers referred to them as ‘the Jacksonville’ team, and the Oskaloosa *Daily Herald* alternated between the “Lunatics” and the “Jacksonville team.”

During this period, there was no shortage of print journalism. Even still growing Midwestern towns, like Waterloo, Iowa for instance, were two-newspaper towns. The Waterloo *Daily Courier* referred to the team as the Lunatics prior to the Iowa State league opening day, just about when the Jacksonville *Daily Courier* asked the league to start using “the Kittens,” but from that point forward, they referred to the team as the Kittens. “The newspapers of Waterloo have with perhaps one exception refused to use the nickname ‘Lunatics’ for the Jacksonville team.”<sup>28</sup> The “one exception,” the Waterloo *Times Tribune*, failed to respond to the Jacksonville *Daily Courier* request, and referred to the team through the whole of the season only as the Lunatics.<sup>29</sup> Even Jacksonville had two newspapers, the other being the Jacksonville *Daily Journal*



who wasn't having any of this "Kitten" stuff. A couple sports news reporting days, the baseball team are just referred to as "the locals," but they kept up the Lunatics moniker for the rest of the season. Thus, in 1907, Jacksonville, Illinois, uniquely had *one* minor league team with *two* team nicknames in the same season, even among its own sportswriters and citizens.

Before, during, and after 1907, forces were in motion to dissociate the team from a pejorative nickname for people with mental illness, reflecting that language and its meaning changes over time in different contexts. Resistance to nomenclature change of the nickname would, of course, persist. A 1907 article in the *Daily Courier* about the 'new' water treatment called "Hydrotherapy" in the state mental hospitals reported that this intervention "has come into use for insanity because insane persons have been recognized as sick and not as persons afflicted by the wrath of God. They need hospital care, not mechanical restraint."<sup>30</sup> Over time, the community struggled with that identity. But it didn't on Opening Day in 1907: Jacksonville had the highest opening day attendance of all teams in the Iowa State league, with 2,148 in attendance (14% of the total population of the city at the time), regardless of what name the fans used.<sup>31</sup>

Despite the *Daily Courier's* efforts, "Kittens" didn't stick. The following year in 1908, they were solely referred to as the Lunatics, and 1909 as well. The Hospital's influence on Jacksonville was growing. On June 30, 1908, the reported patient population of the State Hospital institution was a whopping 1,984 people.<sup>32</sup> There were

701 people on the hospital payroll. The nickname wasn't just applied to the minor league baseball team, either. Throughout the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, other Jacksonville teams in other sports, such as football and basketball, were being referred to as "the lunatics" by sports writers in other markets. The former "City of Athens of the West," a historic name given to this flourishing frontier town in the antebellum period, was now most identified across the Midwest, within Illinois especially, as the town with the "lunatics."

In 1910, there was renewed discussion about changing the team name, although the *Quincy Daily Herald* joked about it:

Over in Jacksonville they are getting excited over the team's nickname. The old favorite "Lunatics" will not do any longer, because there are two other cities in the league that have insane asylums, Elgin and Kankakee. They might continue calling the Jacksonville team the Lunatics and dub the other two Bugs and Nuts.<sup>33</sup>

The name stuck for the 1910 season too, when they were part of the Northern Association. For example, the *Decatur Daily Review* reported that the "Lunatics Sign Former Commodore" pitcher Harry Syfert,<sup>34</sup> and the *Quincy Daily Herald* was still reporting them as the Lunatics in 1915.<sup>35</sup>



The local *Daily Journal* reporter Horace Bancroft, in writing about Jacksonville's history of "Our National Pastime," wrote in 1915 that "it has always been a custom to nickname the various teams, and in Jacksonville we have had the Hardins, the Hercules, the Stars, the Alerts, the Blues, the Browns, the Athenians, the Kittens and the Lunatics."<sup>36</sup>

By 1918, the Jacksonville baseball team had changed its name to the Independents, forever laying to rest the Lunatics. Ed Coen refers to the period when

the New York American League team was known as both the Yankees and the Highlanders (1906-1912), and states "to choose one [name] over the other would be arbitrary. They were both accepted nicknames."<sup>37</sup> In 1907, Jacksonville's minor-league team was *both* the Lunatics and the Kittens, a reflection of a community's struggle with its identity, and a progressive movement to recognize the importance of removing stigma associated with mental illness. The record books and baseball histories note only the Jacksonville Lunatics baseball team name, but the team was actually called by *two names* throughout one season, the *Lunatics* and the *Kittens*.

Linguistics plays a role in community identity, and the struggle between self-identity, created from within a community, and how outsiders perceive the community, even to the point of derision, which also shapes the community identity, will continuously be in juxtaposition. As demonstrated in this article, changing team nicknames is actually a much older practice than sports clubs responding to "reactions" and "likes" and "retweets" on today's social media. *Accepted* team nicknames created by sportswriters of the past has shifted to *official* team names created through corporate management, official league policies and protocols, communications and marketing specialists, licensing trademarks, and community responses. Today, athletic marketing gurus need to be in-touch with the pulse of community perceptions, and historical meaning of various names, when establishing or re-naming athletic sports teams.

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<sup>1</sup> For more on the State Hospital, see the book, *The Untold History of the First Illinois State Hospital for the Insane* (Saint Louis, MO: self-published). <https://amzn.to/39uHD3O>.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph J. Mehr, *An Illustrated History of Illinois Public Mental Health Services: 1847-2000* (Victoria, British Columbia, Canada: A Santayana Publication/Trafford Publishing 2002), 41; *Thirty-third Biennial Report of the Managing Officer of the Jacksonville State Hospital*, 1912, 16; “100 Years Ago,” *Jacksonville Journal-Courier*, August 26, 2001, 28; Richard Dewey, “Jacksonville State Hospital” in *Institutional Care for the Insane in the United States and Canada*, ed. Henry M. Hurd (Baltimore, MD, 1916), II, 186-202, 195.

<sup>3</sup> Billy Brost, “The Last Stand of the ‘Third’ Major League, December 2, 2015.” <https://baseballmagazine.wordpress.com/2015/12/02/the-last-stand-of-the-third-major-league/>

<sup>4</sup> Ruth Selman, “Damnified, quantified and classified: Descriptions of disability in government records,” The National Archives, November 2019. <https://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/damnified-quantified-and-classified-descriptions-of-disability-in-government-records/>

<sup>5</sup> MA Riva, L. Tremolizzo, M. Spicci, C. Ferrarese, G. DeVito, GC Cesana, and VA Sironi, “The Disease of the Moon: The Linguistic and Pathological Evolution of the English Term ‘Lunatic,’” *Journal of the History of the Neurosciences*, 20 (2011):65-73.

<sup>6</sup> University of Illinois Board of Trustees. “Russell Barnes Memoir.” University of Illinois at Springfield Special Collections. Interview by Rodger Streitmatter, 1972, 11.

[www.idaillinois.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/uis/id/941/rec24](http://www.idaillinois.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/uis/id/941/rec24)

<sup>7</sup> *Rock Island Argus*, “Madhouse on Wheels – How Three Hundred Lunatics Took a Journey Together Friday,” June 24, 1898, 2.

<sup>8</sup> G. Reaume, “Lunatic to patient to person: Nomenclature in psychiatric history and the influence of patients’ activism in North America,” *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, 25 (2002): 405-426.

<sup>9</sup> *Thirtieth Biennial Report of the Trustees, Superintendent, and Treasurer of the Illinois Central Hospital for the Insane*, July 1, 1906 (Springfield, IL: Phillips Bros, State Printers, 1907).

<sup>10</sup> Michael Clair, “What if we created every baseball team’s name from scratch?” *Cut4* (Major League Baseball Advanced Media), February 20, 2019, <https://www.mlb.com/cut4/renaming-all-30-mlb-teams-c303254978>; see also Samuel Evers, “A History of Defunct Team Nicknames,” *The Hardball Times* (Fangraphs), August 21, 2019, <https://tht.fangraphs.com/a-history-of-defunct-team-nicknames/>; see also Ed Coen, “Setting the Record Straight on Major League Team Nicknames,” *Baseball Research Journal* (Fall 2019), <https://sabr.org/journal/article/setting-the-record-straight-on-major-league-team-nicknames/>; see also Wikipedia, “History of baseball team nicknames,” [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_baseball\\_team\\_nicknames](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_baseball_team_nicknames)

<sup>11</sup> Samuel Evers, “A History of Defunct Team Nicknames,” *The Hardball Times* (Fangraphs), August 21, 2019, <https://tht.fangraphs.com/a-history-of-defunct-team-nicknames/>

<sup>12</sup> Ed Coen, “Setting the Record Straight on Major League Team Nicknames,” *Baseball Research Journal* (Fall 2019), <https://sabr.org/journal/article/setting-the-record-straight-on-major-league-team-nicknames/>

<sup>13</sup> Ian Harrison, “Biloxi’s baseball team awaits name,” *AP Regional State Report – Mississippi*, June 9, 2014 [Ebsco News database].

<sup>14</sup> Richard Worth. *Baseball Team Names, A Worldwide Dictionary, 1869-2011* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2013).

<sup>15</sup> Don Williams, “The Distilling Capital of Peoria Illinois,” April 10, 2020. <https://bourbonfool.com/the-distilling-capital-of-peoria-illinois/>

<sup>16</sup> Old Joliet Prison Historic Site (website), <https://www.jolietprison.org/timeline/>

<sup>17</sup> *Rock Island Argus* (Illinois), May 12, 1892, 5.

<sup>18</sup> *Rock Island Argus* (Illinois), May 17, 1892, 5.

<sup>19</sup> *Rock Island Argus* (Illinois), May 18, 1892, 7.

<sup>20</sup> *Illinois Daily Courier* (Jacksonville), May 21, 1892, 1.

<sup>21</sup> *Cairo Bulletin*, Feb 26, 1906, 4.

<sup>22</sup> *Cairo Bulletin* sub-headline, January 20, 1907, 3.

<sup>23</sup> Coen, “Setting the Record Straight on Major League Team Nicknames,” <https://sabr.org/journal/article/setting-the-record-straight-on-major-league-team-nicknames/>

<sup>24</sup> *Illinois Daily Courier* (Jacksonville), May 7, 1907, 5.

<sup>25</sup> *Waterloo Courier*, May 8, 1907, 6.

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<sup>26</sup> *Quincy Daily Herald*, “Diamond Dust,” May 8, 1907, 5.

<sup>27</sup> *Illinois Daily Courier* (Jacksonville), May 10, 1907, 5.

<sup>28</sup> *Waterloo Daily Courier*, “Some Grounders,” March 11, 1908, 2.

<sup>29</sup> The *Waterloo Courier*, writing about the *Waterloo Times-Tribune* paper, stated: “the politics of the paper will be democratic as in the past. It will be the only morning daily paper in northern Iowa.” *Waterloo Courier*, October 3, 1905, 2.

<sup>30</sup> “Hydrotherapy for the Insane Patient,” *Illinois Daily Courier* (Jacksonville), April 8, 1907, 5.

<sup>31</sup> *Illinois Daily Courier* (Jacksonville), May 14, 1907, 5.

<sup>32</sup> *Thirty-first Biennial Report of the Trustees, Superintendent, and Treasurer of the Illinois Central Hospital for the Insane*, July 1, 1908, (Springfield, IL: Illinois State Journal Company, 1909), 13.

<sup>33</sup> *Quincy Daily Herald* (Illinois), March 23, 1910, 5.

<sup>34</sup> *Decatur Daily Review* (Illinois), May 28, 1910, 5.

<sup>35</sup> *Quincy Daily Herald* (Illinois), June 2, 1915, 6.

<sup>36</sup> Horace Bancroft, “Our National pastime,” *Jacksonville Daily Journal*, April 11, 1915, 7.

<sup>37</sup> Coen, “Setting the Record Straight on Major League Team Nicknames,” <https://sabr.org/journal/article/setting-the-record-straight-on-major-league-team-nicknames/>