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Factually Documented Articles on the Wild West

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Gunfighters in 19th Century
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By James A. Bailey and Margaret B. Bailey

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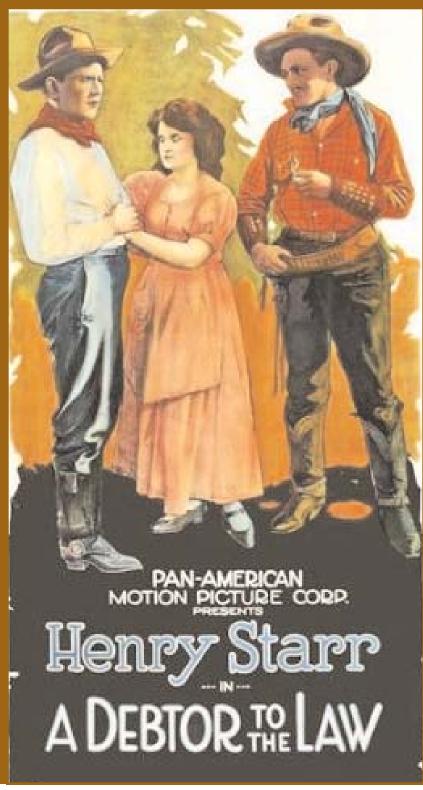
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By Mike Cox

Identifying Western Gunfighters in 19th Century Photographs

By James A. Bailey and Margaret B. Bailey

Editor's Note: A photograph doesn't lie, the saying goes. But sometimes those claiming to identify a person depicted in a vintage image have been known to stretch the blanket. This article offers a good overview of this issue. The topic of fake versus real gunfighter photographs will be discussed further at the June Roundup in Oklahoma City.



This is NOT Jesse James



This IS Jesse James

ccasionally, a vintage photograph purported to be a previously unknown image of a Western gunfighter or notorious outlaw turns up in private collections. However, authenticating these photographs can be challenging for collectors and researchers. Reviewed here are three cases involving discovered photographs and the process of authenticating them and other old photographs.

The first case centers on a discovery by Joyce Webb Tate; the second, Joyce Harris and the last, Randy Guijarro. Each case represents some of the more recent reported discoveries of 19th century Western gunfighter photographs.

While traveling domestically in the early 1970s, Joyce Webb Tate, owner of Wimberley Stained Glass in Wimberley, Texas attended an estate sale and purchased a picture of a Native American simply because she liked the picture frame. Roughly twenty-five years later, in 1995, Tate disassembled the frame and discovered an image behind the Native American. Written on the back were two words: "Jesse James." Tate gave the alleged James image to Martin DeMasters, the son of one of her friends, as a birthday gift. DeMasters claimed he was distantly related to the famous outlaw, and that is what got him interested in James memorabilia.⁵⁻⁷

"The picture is currently being authenticated through a computer comparison that contrasts a known photo of James with the possible image, looking for factors such as the width of the face, the width between the eyes, the length between the chin and mouth and other measurements," it was reported in 1996.⁸⁻⁹ Robert Stewart, reporter for a New Braunfels, Texas newspaper, went on to release the results of the computer analysis. He said the unidentified image "matches in almost every detail and dimension" other known James photographs.¹⁰

Consequently, after the outcome of the analysis was publicized, DeMasters enlisted the assistance of Tim Gibson, owner of The James Gang Portrait Studio, Canyon Lake, Texas and Gibson's father, Douglas Mosher, to confirm the findings and market the print. While some newspapers reported there were nineteen known images of James, one newspaper reported, "the print would be just one of 18 existing photos of the famed outlaw if verification proves to be true."

Two facts, the photographic paper type and James' known whereabouts, were used as evidence in identifying the Tate photograph. The photographic paper of the hidden James print was identified as "potato chip" paper, a type of paper used in photography in Chicago in the late 1870s. Too, James was known to have been in Chicago in the late 1870s.¹² Although these two facts contribute to the documentation process, it is equivocally unpersuasive for authentication purposes. Not only was "potato chip" paper used in Chicago, it was also used in Denver, Colorado during the same time. Therefore, the photograph could just as easily have originated in Denver. Regardless of where James happened to be during this time period, there is no specific proof or evidence which would associate James with Tate's unidentified photograph. Given the circumstantial evidence and regardless of how close the likeness, the similarities between a known image of James and the hidden image discovered by Tate are insufficient for conclusive identification.

In another case in 2005, Joyce Harris of Raymore, Missouri discovered some 2-inch x 3-inch tintypes in a box of family mementoes. Some of the images she believed were the James Brothers. Revenue stamps on the back of the images were consistent with stamps

issued in 1868 and the name of a photographer on the back was identified as T. S. Neely and Sons of Muncie, Indiana, a photography studio that traveled taking photographs after the Civil War. Also, included among the box's contents were photographs of Harris' paternal relatives named White. Allegedly, someone named White rode with the James brothers. Harris also recalled that when she was about ten, her father identified an individual in one of the photos in the collection as Jesse James.

Since the circumstantial information associated with the tintypes corresponded with anecdotal James information, Harris believed some of the tintypes were Jesse James. So Harris took the photos to the Patee House Museum in St. Joseph, Missouri where museum Deputy Director Kimberly Davis and other staff examined the images. Davis found the images convincing; however, a James family expert, Phillip Steele, examined the photographs and said he believed the images were not Jesse James.13 Despite the likeness between the unidentified tintypes and known images of James, the established photo-dating technique as well as information on the reverse side of the photograph, the photographs lacked sufficient documentation for identification.



Finally, there was the much-publicized purported discovery in 2010 of an image of Billy the Kid playing croquet. Randy Guijarro, a memorabilia collector, namely of tintypes, stopped at Fulton's Folly Antique Collective in Fresno, California.

At the shop, a merchant told him two men who left the store minutes earlier had been trying to sell an assortment of items and photographs in two boxes. Guijarro left the store in search of the pair, found them and made the purchase. A news report gave this account:

'The dealer directed him to two men with 'boxes of junk.' They told Guijarro they were cleaning out a storage space and needed to get rid of it. He picked three photos – the croquet players, plus other 19th-century scenes and offered \$2, all he had in his pocket. They took it. Guijarro does not remember much about them. 'No idea who they were. It's almost a shadowy haze.'14

Guijarro came to believe that the 4-inch x 5-inch tintype he purchased was only the second known photograph of Billy the Kid, also known as Henry McCarty; William H. Bonney, and Henry Antrim.

The tintype depicted five men, six women and seven children playing a game of croquet in front of a small wooden cabin with a few large barren trees in the background. No other markings in the photograph indicate when or where the photograph was taken. Guijarro enlarged the image and identified a young man near the center of the photograph holding a croquet mallet as Billy the Kid. The image has been dubbed the "Croquet Kid" by the press; however, little is known about the actual origin of the photo.¹⁵



This IS Billy the Kid



This is NOT Billy the Kid

Subsequent to Guijarro's purchase from the unidentified men, the National Geographic Channel produced a two-hour television documentary which aired on October 18, 2015. It described Guijarro's find and attempted to identify the young man holding a croquet mallet in the tintype.¹⁶

Historians and researchers offer different opinions regarding the identity of the man in the tintype with the croquet mallet. Not all agree the man depicted in the image is Billy the Kid. However, Donald Kagin, president of Kagin's, Inc., located in San Francisco authenticated the image as Billy the Kid. It was reported, "The team spent a year investigating the photo, and even found the location where it was taken, in Chaves County, New Mexico. There they unearthed the remains of the building shown." Some have identified the building remains as a structure located on John Henry Tunstall's ranch, in Chaves County near Lincoln, New Mexico. Nonetheless, establishing conclusive proof that a building foundation in Chaves County was the same structure in the tintype would be challenging. But Marcelle Brothers, co-founder of Billy the Kid Historic Preservation Society, doubted the building in the Guijarro tintype could have existed on Tunstall's ranch in 1878. In this case, perhaps additional information about the questionable photograph could be obtained if the individuals who discovered it could be located and interviewed.

Only one known tintype image of Billy the Kid exists. William Koch purchased it in 2011 at Brian Lebel's 22nd Annual Old West Show & Auction in Denver, Colorado.¹⁹ That photograph was taken at Ft. Sumner, New Mexico, circa 1879 and given to Billy the Kid's friend Dan Dedrick. The photograph remained in Dedrick's family for decades and was displayed from 1986 to 1998 at the Lincoln County Museum in New Mexico.²⁰⁻²¹ A woodblock illustration of the same image prepared by "Baker Co Chicago" was included in Pat Garrett's 1882 edition of *The Authentic Life of Billy, the Kid.*²² Thus, there is sufficient documentation to establish the authenticity of the image owned by Koch.

Identifying an unknown person in a photograph is virtually impossible when the image is discovered in unlabeled boxes that have limited or no records associated with them. Even with statically low odds for establishing personal identification, examiners attempt to make the identification by using multiple techniques to date and identify an individual or individuals in photographs.



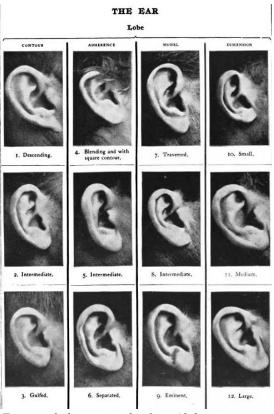
Often the first examination for a newly discovered 19th century photograph would include establishing the date of the photographic process used to produce the print. During the 19th century, five photography types were used. Those included the daguerreotype (1839), ambrotype (1854), tintype (1856), carte de Viste (1859) and Cabinet Card (1866).23-28 processes for producing prints overlapped but generally there was a year when the process appeared, followed by a period of popularity and finally, a period when the process subsided. Also, there are general characteristics associated with each photographic type. For example, daguerreotypes are shiny like a mirror and the image can only be observed from an angle. The back of the plate has a copper appearance. Whereas, ambrotypes were produced on a glass plate and appear to have depth. Tintypes, on the other hand, were produced on a blackened metal plate and thus are magnetic. Card de Visite images were produced on thin cards approximately 2 3/8 inches x 4 inches and then mounted on 4 1/4 inches x 6 1/2 inches cabinet cards. Clearly, the alleged person depicted in the photo should be consistent with the photo type for the time period. Although each 19th century photographic process was unique, photographs using these techniques are sometimes replicated and determining whether the photographs were produced during the 19th century cannot be solely determined by the photographic process.29-32

Content analysis, fashion and style are methods also used to determine the date of images. Hair, beard and mustache style in addition to clothing, furniture, architectural detail, background setting and other objects may be used in the dating process as well. The presence of deciduous trees and other types of vegetation in the background could possibly even indicate a

season of the year when the photograph was taken. However, content analysis and the photographic processes used do not yield conclusive evidence about the actual date of the image. Period clothing, a staged set and specific print processes can be replicated to reproduce an image that may appear to have been taken during the time period in question. Even so, assuming the image is not fraudulently produced, content analysis, fashion and style can establish a date or era for the image.

After considering the photographic process, content, fashion and style, next is the identification of the individual in the image. Often times an alleged image of one person is compared to known images of the person in question. Two physiognomies, body physique as well as facial features are carefully compared between the unknown image and the image of a known individual for similarities. In examining body physique, the general appearance of the body with regard to size, shape and muscular development are closely observed. Whereas, comparison of facial features generally include observing the structure of the ear, shape of the nose, appearance of the eyes, lips, cheeks, chin line, jaw line and forehead. Also, hair style and hair line are sometimes considered and when hair color can be assessed based on the amount of contrast in black and white or toned images, it is considered as well.

Nevertheless, as individuals age, facial features gradually change. But one feature useful in identifying whether two images are of the same individual is ear structure. **Alphonse** Bertillon, a 19th century French criminologist and researcher, in 1895 recognized the structures of the ear as a means of establishing personal identification.33 Then in 1949 Alfred V. Lannarelli, a 20th century criminologist and researcher, advanced the system of identification based on ear structures. Typically, the ears have bilateral symmetry, so that, if one ear is available in each of the images, a comparison can be conducted. Unfortunately, many of the images discovered do not have sufficient ear details in both images to make this comparison based on ear structures.³⁴ Typically, the ears have bilateral symmetry, so that, if one ear is available in each of the images, a comparison can be conducted. Unfortunately, many of the images discovered do not have sufficient ear details in both images to make this comparison. Additionally, a more accurate comparison of facial features can be made when there is an object in both photographs which can be used as a scale to enlarge the images to life size. When an object of known size in the two images is not present in either or both photographs, examiners sometimes esti-



Ear morphology examples from Alphonse Bertillon, Signaletic Instructions: Including the Theory and Practice of Anthropometrical Identification, (Chicago: The Werner Company, 1896), p. 339.

mate the size of a button in an image especially if it is a military button. Still, the use of these items may produce errors in life-size enlargements. Since objects in an image are affected by the focal length of the camera lens, distance of the camera to the object, critical focus of the lens and angle of the film plane to the subject, identifying critical matching characteristics in two compared photographs may be inaccurate. But when the image is void of any known objects and sizes, the average diameter of the pupil can be used to extrapolate a scale for enlargement.

In this event, examiners may enlarge both images based on the estimated interpupillary distance of the subject to make the comparisons. When no estimations can be derived from objects in the image or measurements from the subjects, scanned digital images with the aspect ratio locked can be used to make the comparisons. When the aspect ratio is locked on both digital images, propor-

tional enlargements can be obtained without distortion to either image. After proportional enlargement, distances between specific facial features on each image can be measured. Forensic scientists utilize this technique, known as

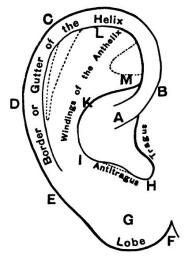


Fig. 27. PLAN OF THE BAR.

Border, A B C D E, divided into the Original, A B, Superior, B C, Posterior, C D, and inferior, D E, portions.

Lobule, EFGH, examined from the point of view of its contour, EF, its adherence to the cheek, FH, its model G and its Dimension.

Antitragus, H I, examined from the point of view of its inclination, its Profile, its degree of teversion forwards and its Dimension.

Internal folds, separated into inferior, I K, superior, K L, and middle, K M, branches.

Anatomical description of the ear, Alphonse Bertillon, Signaletic Instructions: Including the Theory and Practice of Anthropometrical Identification, (Chicago: The Werner Company, 1896), p. 163.

biometrics, to deduce critical facial recognition. Also, software is used during the biometric examination to calculate measurements on specific facial features.

The process of comparing two photographic images is also similar to comparisons made in forensic cases using craniofacial superimposition. For example, in forensic cases, a skull of an unidentified person may be discovered and if the investigation produces a possible subject for comparison, a photograph of the person is compared to the skull. Superimposition can be accomplished using video equipment or single digital images and digital image processing software. The digital software is used to superimpose an image of the skull in one layer onto an image of the skull in another layer.

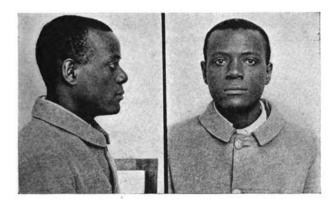
At this point, the two images can be made observable by changing the opacity of either image layer. Then, the bony structure of the skull can be compared to the facial features for alignment. This exposes specific anatomical landmarks on the skull for comparative analysis.³⁵⁻³⁸ In forensic cases, this type of examination is used only to eliminate the suspected person in the photograph.

If the anatomical landmarks on the skull precisely match the facial features in the photograph, the only conclusion that can be deduced is that the skull "could" belong to the person in the photograph. When the features between the cranium and the photograph do not match, the person in the photograph can be eliminated as a potential match. Therefore, as stated before, superimposition techniques are used for elimination in forensic cases and not for identification because different individuals may have similar facial features which could match the bony structures of a cranium.39 Two photographs, one of a known person and one believed to be the same person can be converted to digital images and superimposed using computer software as well to compare the facial features.

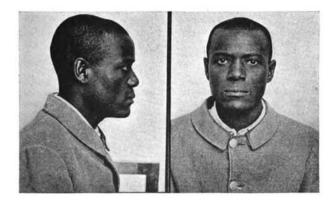
Moreover, in some cases, relatives have similar facial features while on the other hand sometimes unrelated individuals have similarities as well. For this reason, a conclusive identification cannot be based on facial features. Consequently, positive identification of western gunfighters and other individuals cannot be achieved by comparison of facial features alone. A conclusive identification needs to be supplemented with information from documents, records and testimonials which can be proven. To make an identification based on facial features alone would be conjecture.

To further illustrate this point, eyewitness identifications based on recognition of an individual's facial features, as well as physique and body language have proven unreliable in court cases. Specifically, defense attorneys on occasion discredit eyewitness identifications. There is a famous 1903 Midwestern case which provided evidence of facial and body similarity between unrelated individuals. It is known as "The 1903 Will and William West Case." This case made history in the area of personal identification based on body measurements in the United States. The system of anthropometry or identification based on specific body measurements which was developed by Bertillon was implemented by numerous penitentiaries and police departments throughout the world. The anthropological measurements used in this system are based on skeletal landmarks on the body and not subject to change if a person gains or loses weight. The identification system eventually became known as Bertilloniage. In addition to the individual's measurements, Bertillon also included a photograph in the file.

At the time of the Will and William West case discovery, the penitentiary at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas was using a system of anthropometry for personal identification.40 Specially trained personnel used accurate measuring instruments to record body measurements in millimeters. The theory was based on the principle that certain body measurements were unchanged after adulthood and eleven specific anthropometric measurements were unique for every person. Or at least, the odds of two different individuals having eleven identical measurements would be statically insignificant for the population. In this system, body measurements were recorded for each prisoner entering the penitentiary and filed based on the numerical measurements. Therefore, without knowing a person's name their measurement could be searched and the files retrieved based on body measurements. The photograph in the file was used by the examiner to confirm the identification.



Photograph of profile and front view of Will West (Authors' Collection).



Photograph of profile and front view of William West (Authors' Collection).

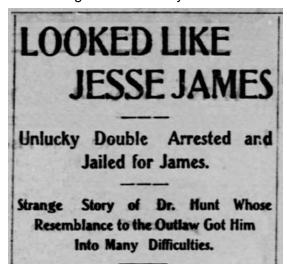
Will and William West Case						
Bertillon Measurements	Will West No. 3426	William West No. 2626				
Body height - standing	178.5	177.5				
Out stretched arms	187.0	188.0				
Trunk height (sitting position)	91.2	91.3				
Width of head	19.7	19.8				
Length of head	15.8	15.9				
Width of right ear	14.8	14.8 6.5				
Length of right ear	6.6					
Length of left foot	28.2	27.5				
Length of left middle finger	12.3	12.2				
Length of left little finger	9.7	9.6				
Length of left forearm	50.2	50.3				

A comparison of Bertillon's body measurement of Will and William West. The measurements are in centimeters and millimeters. If the measurement were converted to inches, they only vary fractions of an inch. The difference between Wests' trunk heights, 91.2 cm and 91.3 cm is 1/25 inches. (Authors' Collection.)

In 1903, Will West was transported to Leavenworth Prison from Texas to serve a sentence for manslaughter. After taking Will's measurements, records clerk M. W. McClaughry asked if he had been at Leavenworth prison before. Will responded that he had never been in Leavenworth. McClaughry believed he recognized Will and asked an assistant to pull a record for the measurements taken from Will West. The assistant returned with a file and information on William West. William West had been in prison since 1901 and was serving a life sentence for murder. The similarities between Will and William West's measurements and photographs were extraordinary.⁴¹⁻⁴² When Will and William West were brought together face to face for the first time, the records clerk was astonished. Although both were born in Texas, each one expressed to prison officials that they had no knowledge of the other's existence.⁴³⁻⁴⁴

As a result of the discovery of Will and William West in Fort Leavenworth, the first scientific system of identification using anthropometry was replaced by the fingerprint system. Fingerprinting has proven to be an infallible system of personal identification. Even identical twins have different fingerprints.⁴⁵ The warden of the Fort Leavenworth penitentiary eliminated the system of anthropometry and adopted the finger-print system on October 1. 1904. Likewise, other agencies adopted fingerprints as a system of personal identification.⁴⁶⁻⁴⁷

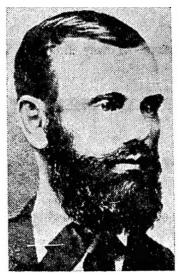
Although rare, there are exceptional cases in western history when individuals share matching facial traits and characteristics with notorious outlaws contemporary to them. Specifically, in 1880 Thomas J. Hunt, Spottsville, Kentucky, was arrested and confined in jail for eighteen months pending trial for his suspected involvement in a stagecoach robbery in Missouri.



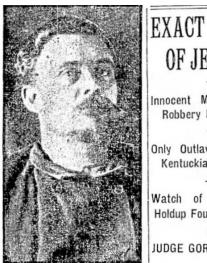
Dr. Thomas James Hunt, Jesse James lookalike made headlines. Brownsville Daily Herald (Brownsville, Texas) March 26, 1904, p. 1.

Among the items stolen in the robbery of which Hunt had been accused was a watch which belonged to Judge R. H. Roundtree of Lebanon, Kentucky. The distinctive watch included a gold key which had Roundtree's name engraved on it as well as an inscription. April 2, 1882 Hunt was convicted of the crime, and the previous day, April 3, Jesse James was murdered. Discovered among James' belongings was Roundtree's watch.⁴⁸⁻⁴⁹

During Hunt's trial, witnesses swore they recognized Hunt as the robber. However, at Jesse James' death when Roundtree's watch was discovered among Jesse James' belongings, the litigants began to doubt Hunt's involvement in the robbery. So, Roundtree had Hunt's photograph taken and requested a photograph of "When he received the latter Jesse James. there was found to be one of the most striking resemblances I have ever known between two men. Their every feature, their manner of combing their hair, corresponding to a nicety, and the most singular of all, upon James' face was a mole in almost the same place as the one on Hunt's check."50



Jesse James image from "Jesse James Frequently Visited Nebraska City but Never Raided in State Altho [sic] he had a Hideout," The Nebraska State Journal (Lincoln, Nebraska), February 5, 1939, p. 5.





Thomas James Hunt image from "Missouri Brothers and Double of Jesse James," The Courier-Journal (Louisville, Kentucky), March 29, 1914, p. 12.

Also, as was reported in the *Sedalia Weekly Democrat*, this was not the only time Hunt had been mistaken for James. The newspaper said a picture of the dead Jesse James "so closely resembles that of Hunt that no visible difference can be detected, and on two occasions Hunt has been forced to submit to arrest by Missouri officers who mistook him for Jesse James."⁵¹ What's more, "photographs of each [Hunt and James] when closely compared would readily be taken for two pictures of the same man. A more striking illustration of mistaken identity was perhaps never chronicled in a court of justice."⁵²

Besides sharing similar facial features and body physique, Dr. Hunt was approximately the same age as Jesse James as indicated in census and vital statistics records. Hunt was born in 1849 while James was born in 1847.

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Thomas J. Hunt was listed in the 1860 Census for Simpson County, Kentucky. pp. 108-109, in his parents' household, William and Elizabeth J. [Rush] Hunt. Also in the household were his siblings, John W., Lieuthena C, Margarette P., Isidora and Sarah E. Hunt.

While Hunt was found not guilty of the stagecoach robbery, he was found to be striking in his resemblance to Jesse James. This case further proves, although rare, there are individuals who may share remarkable similarities who could easily be mistaken in photographs for another person.

Collectors of timeworn western photographs depicting notorious and legendary outlaws often search estate sales and antique shops for previously undiscovered images of historical western outlaws. However, more than striking similarities between individuals captured in photographs are necessary to prove subjects in photographs match another individual. The prospect of discovering a rare photograph is exciting and those in pursuit of the treasure may be rewarded if a discovery of photograph can, in fact, be authenticated. However, finding authentic rare photographs requires expertise in more than image similarities. Consequently, facial recognition between two photographs with no other documentation is inadequate proof that the two images are the same person.

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Death Certificate of Thomas James Hunt from Kentucky. Vital Statistics Original Death Certificates - Microfilm (1911-1955). Microfilm Rolls #7016130-7041803. Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives, Frankfort, Kentucky.



Dr. Thomas J. Hunt's grave marker in Mount Gilead Missionary Baptist Church Cemetery, Scottsville, Allen County, Kentucky. (Photo from Find-A-Grave posted by Jim Streeter on February 7, 2011.)

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Endnotes

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