

Journal

Wild West History Association

Volume VI • Number 6 • December 2013

In This Issue:

Train Robbery Alibis for
Kid Curry's Kin?
Mark T. Smokov

Henry M. Stanley
Goes West and Meets Some
of its Many Colorful
Characters
Joseph G. Rosa

The Search for
Henry J. Ware
Chuck Parsons

Philip T. Colby
The Last United States
Marshal of Kansas Territory
Roy B. Young

The Northfield Robbers
and a Mysterious
Mummified Human Trophy
*James A. Bailey and
Margaret B. Bailey*

The Legend of Tombstone's
China Mary
Thomas B. Moy

Grave Doubts:
Where is Wyatt Earp's First
Wife Buried?
Part Four
Pete McArdle

Review of the West



Annie Rogers and "Kid" Curry
(Robert G. McCubbin Collection)

Journal

Wild West History Association

December 2013

Volume VI, No. 6

Contents

2013 Membership Rates

\$50.00 (U.S.A. addresses)

\$75.00 (International addresses)

\$65.00 Family Membership

\$250.00 Patron Gunfighter

Memberships include subscriptions to the *Journal*, mailed six times per year and the post-Roundup *Saddle Bag* newsletter

Journal back issues are \$10.00 each to U.S. addresses and \$15.00 each to international addresses (post paid) and subject to availability.

Send address changes and membership renewals to:
Herb Marsh, Treasurer
P. O. Box 114
Lincoln, NM 88338

Journal Editor

Roy B. Young

royyoung@pldi.net

Reading the West

Roy B. Young, Editor

Roger Peterson, Copy Editor

Editorial Board

Frederick Nolan, chairman

John Boessenecker

Daniel Buck

Robert K. DeArment

Membership Chair

Alan Blanchette

Alanb101@hotmail.com

Web Site Editor

Linda Wommack

lwomm3258@aol.com

- | | |
|----|--|
| 2 | From the Editor's Desk |
| 3 | Presidents Message, News, Announcements
Letters to the Editor (Late News page 83) |
| 7 | Train Robbery Alibis for Kid Curry's Kin?
<i>Mark T. Smokov</i> |
| 17 | Henry M. Stanley Goes West and Meets Some of its
Many Colorful Characters
<i>Joseph G. Rosa</i> |
| 24 | The Search for Henry J. Ware
<i>Chuck Parsons</i> |
| 32 | Philip T. Colby, The Last United States Marshal of
Kansas Territory
<i>Roy B. Young</i> |
| 42 | The Northfield Robbers and a Mysterious Mummified
Human Trophy
<i>James A. Bailey and Margaret B. Bailey</i> |
| 59 | The Legend of Tombstone's China Mary
<i>Thomas B. Moy</i> |
| 60 | Grave Doubts:
Where is Wyatt Earp's First Wife Buried – Part Four
<i>Pete McArdle</i> |
| 75 | Awards Nominations Requested |

77 - Reading the West

*Linda Wommack, Bill O'Neal, Garth Gould,
Chuck Parsons, Ronald Woggon*

The Northfield Robbers and a Mysterious Mummified Human Trophy

James A. Bailey and Margaret B. Bailey

While Henry Mason Wheeler, a Northfield, Minnesota resident, was a student at the University of Michigan Medical School, he allegedly collected part of a scalp and ear as a trophy from one of three deceased James-Younger Gang members. Three gang members in question for the trophy's origin are Clell Miller, William Chadwell and Samuel Wells. Miller and Chadwell were killed on Thursday, September 7, 1876 during the robbery of the First National Bank of Northfield. After the robbery, the James Brothers, Wells and the Youngers escaped from Northfield and negotiated a westward course away from the pursuing posse. But on September 21, the posse confronted the Youngers and Wells near Madelia, Minnesota. Wells was killed during the shootout, thus becoming the third prospective source for the trophy.¹ In the aftermath of the raid, Wells, Miller, and Chadwell were all identified either as Charles, Charley or Charlie Pitts. "Chas Pitt[s]" is written on the actual trophy; however, the identity of that name is in question. Today,

the Northfield Historical Society retains the alleged James-Younger Gang members' mummified human scalp and ear trophy in the museum's collection but it is not on public display. In an attempt to identify the origin of the scalp and ear trophy, the historical mummified object was examined and the legend of its past investigated.

The events that contributed to collecting the scalp and ear were set in motion when the Northfield Raid occurred on September 7, 1876. On that date, the James-Younger Gang rode into Northfield, Minnesota to rob the First National Bank of Northfield but their plans went terribly wrong.

First, Samuel Wells, also known as Charley Pitts, shot bank teller Alonzo Bunker in the shoulder as Bunker escaped out the back door of the bank during the robbery. Next, one of the robbers shot and killed Joseph Lee Heywood, the acting bank cashier.²⁻³

As fate would have it, Heywood was acting as cashier since his supervisor, G.M. Phillips, and bank president, John C. Nutting, were attending the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia.⁴⁻⁵ Any other week, Phillips would have been dealt the hand to confront the James-Younger Gang perhaps resulting in a different outcome for the robbery, deaths and in the end, the scalp and ear.

When the robbers heard gunfire on the street, they were drawn out of the bank. As they exited the bank, Northfield citizens took defensive positions and exchanged gunfire with the robbers. Clell Miller and

William Chadwell were killed on Division Street, just steps from the front of the bank. Besides the two robbers and the banker killed that day, a Swedish immigrant, Nicholas Gustafson, received a gunshot wound to the head and died three days later. The deaths, especially the robbers' deaths, were the primary events that potentially yielded contenders for the source of the trophy.⁶⁻⁷



Hayes Scriven, Executive Director, Northfield Historical Society Museum, holding the mummified scalp and ear trophy.
(Photo by Authors)

After the shootout, the gunsmoke had barely cleared on the Northfield streets when Wheeler approached Mayor Solomon P. Stewart to ask for the outlaws' bodies before they were buried. The mayor first told Wheeler he could have the bodies. Unsure whether he had the authority to give the bodies away, in retrospect, Stewart recanted his offer. Later, he told Wheeler the bodies must be buried but the graves would be

shallow. So, a funeral was conducted for the two robbers and they were buried in the Northfield Cemetery.⁸⁻⁹



Mummified Human Ear Trophy in the Northfield Historical Society Museum Collection.
(Photo by Authors)

A young Norwegian immigrant, Harold Berg Kildahl, Sr., remembered attending the funeral. He lived with his family in Northfield at the time of the raid. Kildahl said that on the day of the robbers' burials, they were placed in the same long box and displayed in the city square. After curiosity seekers had a look, the funeral took place. "Towards evening, they were interred in the extreme southeast corner of the old cemetery, before it was enlarged."¹⁰

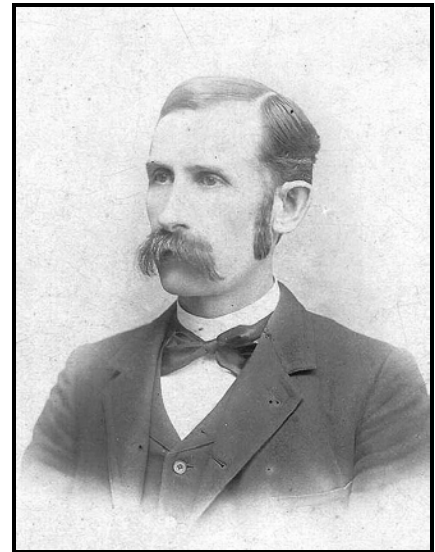
There is no record of the two robbers' burials in Northfield Cemetery but that is not to say no record ever existed. Some early cemetery records deteriorated and were unable to be preserved. However, there are

Northfield Cemetery records for Gustafson and Heywood's 1876 burials.

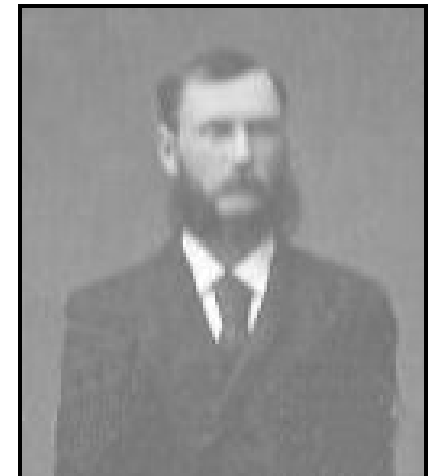
While no evidence indicates Gustafson and Heywood's bodies were ever disturbed, the robbers would not rest in peace. Wheeler directed Charles Dampier and Clarence Persons, his medical school classmates, to carry out the labor intensive task of digging up the robbers.¹¹ After receiving the directive from Wheeler, his classmates surreptitiously disinterred the robbers' remains under the cover of darkness just hours after their funeral. Newton Persons, Clarence's brother, recorded their act in his diary. Although Persons recorded details of the disinterment, according to another source, some believed the bodies were never buried.¹²

Francis Butler wrote a letter in 1962 to the Minnesota Historical Society retelling his father's account of the robbers' burials. At the time of the Northfield robbery, his father lived about five miles north of Northfield and remembered well the events of the raid and the robbers who were killed. Butler heard his father say Miller's body was given directly to Wheeler.¹³

To prevent any Northfield citizens from becoming outraged, Miller's pine coffin was buried without Miller inside. The unopened coffin was filled with stones instead of a body to give the false impression at the funeral that it contained Miller's body. Butler remembered his father saying Miller's body was released directly to Wheeler.¹⁴



Clarence E. Persons, Rice County resident and student at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Henry Mason Wheeler's medical school classmate. (Courtesy of Jennifer Andries, Executive Director, Lyon County Historical Society and Museum, Marshall, Minnesota)



Charles E. Dampier, Northfield resident and student at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Henry Mason Wheeler's medical school classmate. (Courtesy of Martha Travis Myers, Houston, Texas, Dr. Charles E. Dampier's Grandniece)

Following Miller and Chadwell's deaths, Wheeler took control of the two robbers' bodies early on, providing him with the opportunity to collect

the scalp and ear. At this same time, officials and reporters misidentified these two men as "Pitts." So Wheeler had no idea of their actual identities. In the beginning, his objective was getting his hands on the cadavers, not their identities.

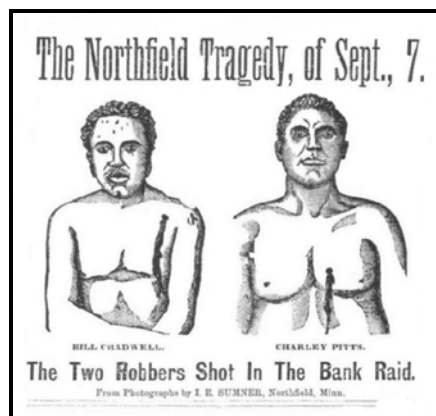
Wheeler's intention was to ship the bodies to the University of Michigan Medical School at Ann Arbor so he and classmates could study the bodies in their anatomy class. In spite of his swiftness in getting his hands on the bodies and shipping them out of Northfield, he was delayed in dispatching them to the university.

The first leg of their journey was from Northfield to Castle Rock where a local farmer temporarily stored them. Next, since classes did not begin until September 27 and the university was closed until that date for summer break, he had to conceal and preserve the bodies. So the bodies were placed into barrels of brine and submerged in a creek before he covertly shipped them to the university. When the bodies finally arrived in Ann Arbor, the barrels marked "Fresh Paint," not the usual "Pickles," like other medical school cadavers stored in brine, had to be stored five more days awaiting Wheeler's anatomy class scheduled to commence on October 2.¹⁵⁻¹⁹ The intervening time between the arrival of the bodies until they were needed for class provided another opportunity for the scalp and ear to be taken.

While Wheeler was working out the logistics to ship the bodies to Michigan, newspapers were attempting to assist

authorities in initially identifying Chadwell and Miller but they continued to make mistakes. Photographs of the dead men were taken, inaccurately labeled and circulated. Newspaper bylines and authorities identified both William Chadwell as well as Clell Miller as Charlie Pitts. "Some newspaper reporter - not your correspondent - has confounded Chadwell, alias Stiles, and Clell Miller, and the names should have been transposed under the cuts as they appeared in this morning's issue."²⁰

Also, contributing factors to Miller and Chadwell's misidentifications were their physical descriptions. They shared many of the same attributes so much so that "there was a similarity in their countenance that indicated they might be brothers."²¹ Therefore, wrong assumptions continued to be made during original attempts to identify them.

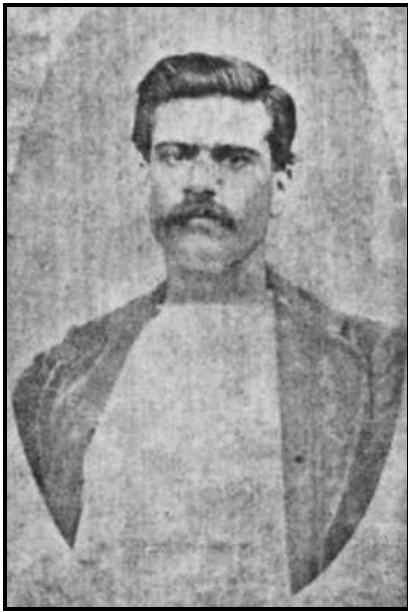


Two robbers are misidentified in the September 14, 1876 Rice County Journal. The robber labeled Bill Chadwell is Clell Miller. The robber labeled Charley Pitts is Bill Chadwell. (Author's Collection)

The robbers' aliases also posed identification problems. Even though Chadwell was identified as "Pitts," he never used the alias Pitts, Miller did. Miller was known in Missouri and Kansas as Charley Pitts.²² In fact, a Missouri newspaper confirmed Miller's friends knew him by the alias, Charley Pitts.²³⁻²⁵

It is significant to note the third robber, Wells, whom authorities later identified as Charley Pitts was still being pursued by the posse at the time Wheeler shipped the two bodies to Michigan. With Wells still on the run, Wheeler had no knowledge of the third robber's name. As a result, Wheeler most likely was among those making false assumptions about Miller and Chadwell's identities. Wheeler was under the assumption Charles Pitts was one of the two men killed on the day of the raid and he had his body. Nevertheless, between the robbers' aliases and their similar descriptions, both spawned erroneous identifications of the two men consistently being identified as "Pitts."

Exactly two weeks following the Northfield raid on September 21, events introduced the third robber named "Pitts." Wells, together with Jim, Cole and Bob Younger were found and confronted by the posse near Madelia, Minnesota. In a shootout between the posse and the robbers, Wells, known as Charley Pitts, was killed becoming the third possible, but most unlikely, source for the trophy.²⁶⁻²⁷



Samuel Wells aka Charley Pitts, was killed by the posse on September 21, 1876 near Madelia, Minnesota two weeks after the Northfield robbery. (Courtesy of Joseph H. and Shirley Watkins Wells, Wickenburg, Arizona. Mr. Wells is Samuel Wells' great grandnephew. Mrs. Wells is a journalist, Wells family historian and genealogist.)

At the onset, identification of all the gang members posed problems to the authorities. During other robberies, there was immediate speculation about the identity of the James-Younger Gang. This was not the case in the Northfield robbery. The only sources for identifying the gang, and those who escaped after the raid, were limited to citizens' recollections of the gang members' appearances and the photographs taken of the dead robbers.

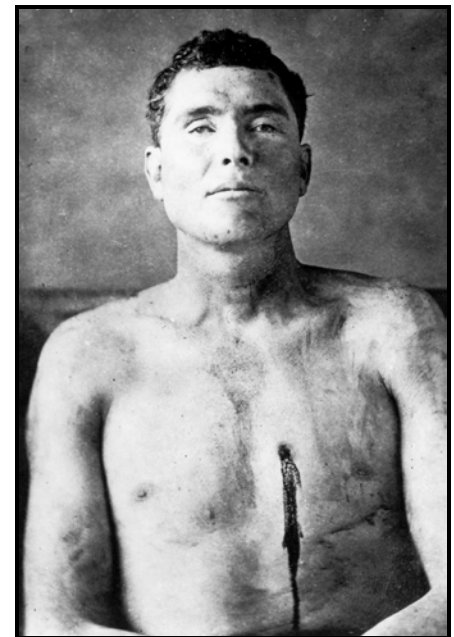
Following capture, the Younger's names soon became known because family members aided the authorities in identifying them. Furthermore, the Younger brothers refused to name any of the dead robbers.

They did not disclose any names from the time they were captured until they were incarcerated at Stillwater. Bob Younger told authorities, "If this cell door was opened now, and I taken out to be hung, I would not reveal their names... nor was any man from Minnesota in our band. The name of Bill Stiles is simply a reporter's imagination."²⁸ Therefore, the dead robbers' identities continued to remain a mystery. It took authorities a while to sort out the identities of the three robbers: Wells, also known as Charley Pitts; William Chadwell, also known as William Stiles; and Clell Miller, also known as Charley Pitts.

When the Youngers' identities became known, their associates, the James Brothers, were identified due to their connection with the Youngers.²⁹ Unlike the Youngers, the James Brothers never went to trial for the robbery, but the Youngers were indicted, plead guilty, and incarcerated in Stillwater Prison.³⁰⁻³¹

Prior to September 21, authorities had no official photographs of the gang for identification purposes except the death photographs taken of Miller and Chadwell.³² So when the Youngers would not cooperate in identifying Wells, at first Minnesota authorities had nothing but Wells' physical description to help identify him.³³ Although the Youngers' withheld information, photographs were also taken and circulated of Wells' corpse. Kansas and Missouri authorities confirmed from the photographs that this robber's name was Charley Pitts.³⁴⁻³⁵

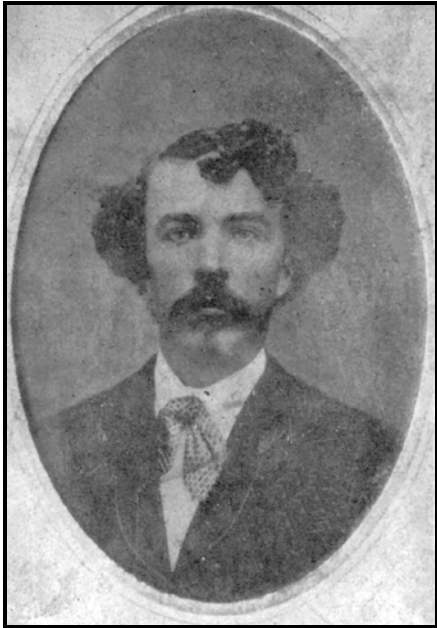
Yet, when Wells was identified as Charley Pitts, the authorities were more uncertain about who the three dead robbers really were. Since Chadwell and Miller were confused with one another, all three dead robbers were at one time or another identified as "Pitts."³⁶



William "Bill" Chadwell was killed by A. R. Manning, a hardware merchant, on Division Street near the bank during the raid. (Author's Collection)

After much speculation and more than six weeks after the robbers were killed on September 7, one robber was identified by a citizen. A woman from Crawford County, Kansas recognized Chadwell when she saw his misidentified image in the newspaper. On October 15 she wrote, "I look at his (Chadwell's) likeness in your paper which lies before me the exact resemblance of him as I last saw him... the man shown as Clell Miller can be established as Wm. Chadwell without a doubt

in the community where he has been so long known."³⁷ William Chadwell, who moved to Kansas, was born in Greene County, Illinois near Carrollton. He was the son of William and Margaret Truitt Chadwell.³⁸⁻⁴³



Clell Miller, was killed by medical student, Henry Mason Wheeler, close to the front of the bank on Division Street during the Northfield Raid. (Courtesy of Jonna Miller Gwinn, Elizabethtown, Kentucky and Ruth Coder Fitzgerald, Fredericksburg, Virginia who are 1st cousins 3x removed to Clell Miller. Mrs. Fitzgerald, now deceased, was a journalist, Miller family historian and genealogist.)

Clell Miller was identified as formerly living with his parents, Moses and Emeline Miller "about three miles from Liberty, Clay County," Missouri.⁴⁴ His family was prosperous and pillars of the community.⁴⁵⁻⁴⁷

The robber killed on September 21, initially identified as "Pitts," was identified as Sam Wells, son of a prominent

Jackson County, Missouri family. *The Liberty Weekly Tribune*, a Missouri newspaper, reported Wells' father was Washington Wells who lived near Lee's Summit, Missouri before the Civil War.⁴⁸⁻⁵⁰

Before the discovery of Wells' correct identity, his body was displayed in the capitol and identified as Charley Pitts not Sam Wells.⁵¹ He continued to be identified as "Pitts" when Dr. John Henry Murphy, Minnesota Surgeon General, took possession of his remains. While Wells' body was making the rounds in St. Paul known as Pitts, Miller and Chadwell's bodies were secretly routed to Michigan.

Although Wheeler clandestinely shipped Miller and Chadwell's bodies to Ann Arbor, it did not go unnoticed by the Miller family. When the family learned Miller's body was in Michigan, in late October, they sent Edward, Miller's brother, and Samuel Hardwicke, a former Liberty, Missouri resident and lawyer, to retrieve Miller's body.⁵² Wheeler complied with their request and surrendered one of the bodies to Edward and the lawyer, possibly not knowing one body from the other. Hence, Wheeler could have learned at this time, the name of one of the corpses was actually Miller not "Pitts."

The body Wheeler released to them was packed in a barrel almost certainly filled with brine solution. Then, it was shipped by train to Missouri for burial. When the body arrived, the family, especially Miller's mother, was distraught when she saw the side of the corpse's head

and she cried, what had they done to her beautiful Clelly? The family presumed that the motion of the train caused the body to rub against the inside of the barrel damaging one side of the corpse's head.⁵³

Without a specific description of the damage to the side of the corpse's head, the source of the injury Mrs. Miller saw is unknown. Perhaps it was sustained at the hands of medical students collecting a trophy rather than from friction during an unstable train ride. Provided the corpse belonged to Miller and was the origin of the trophy, it's possible that the removal of the scalp and ear appeared as damage caused during shipment. Neither Miller nor Hardwick publicly released an account of the condition of the body so it is unknown if the corpse was damaged before or after shipment.

Heretofore, the body had undergone so much abuse as a result of its treatment along its journey, not to mention decomposition was taking its toll on the body. In view of these unpleasant facts and that sixty days or more had lapsed following Miller's death, the family made no further inquiries about the damaged corpse. According to the Miller family, they buried the remains beside Francis, Clell's brother, who died in 1874, in Muddy Fork Cemetery near Kearney, Missouri.

While Miller's remains were believed to be put to rest a second time, some sources maintain Wheeler kept Miller's remains as an anatomical specimen and released Chadwell's

body to the Miller family.⁵⁴ If Wheeler returned Miller's remains and kept Chadwell's, the remains of the robber he kept, Chadwell, were assembled into an articulated anatomical medical model which allegedly burned during a fire in Grand Forks, North Dakota.⁵⁵ Wells' remains, according to Murphy and Hoyt, were given to an undisclosed medical student in Chicago also to ultimately be articulated into an anatomical medical model. Yet, there is no trace of Well's skeleton.⁵⁶

Although the exact whereabouts of the remains of the three robbers cannot be confirmed, one's demise is believed to have resulted in the human trophy being collected and identified with the name "Chas Pitt." If the trophy did originate from one of the three Northfield robbers, the mummified scalp and ear survived more than a century to return to the scene of the Northfield robbery three years after the Northfield Historical Society Museum was founded.

In 1975 the Northfield Historical Society purchased and restored the original bank building where the First National Bank of Northfield was located. The Society's goal was to establish a museum at the site of the 1876 Northfield Raid. They searched for original Northfield Raid pieces to include in the museum's collection, but by the time the renovation was completed numerous original bank items and souvenirs from the James-Younger Gang were in private collections.⁵⁷⁻⁵⁹

In May 1978, Louis and Alice Schilling donated ten

unique James-Younger Gang items to the Northfield Historical Society from the Schilling Hobby House collection, a private Northfield museum. Louis Schilling's father, William F. "Bill" Schilling founded the Hobby House Museum in 1947.



William F. Schilling - holding a rifle - and some of his patrons outside the Hobby House Museum. (Courtesy of Hayes Scriven, Executive Director, Northfield Historical Society)

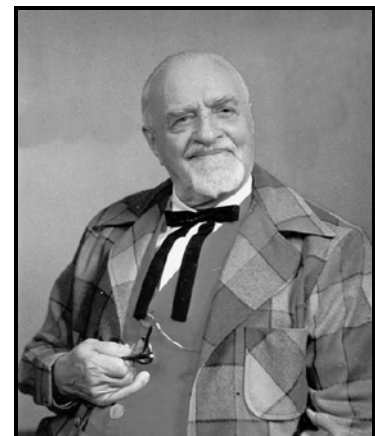


Alice and Louis Schilling, W. F. Schilling's daughter-in-law and son, second proprietors of Schilling's Hobby House Museum. (Author's Collection)

Schilling, born in Hutchinson, Minnesota on November 11, 1872, began collecting items as a hobby when he was a young boy. As an adult, he continued his hobby with the enthusiasm of a serious

collector. He first collected edged weapons and expanded his collection to include small arms. Eventually, Schilling became fascinated with anything unusual and expanded his collection to include an assortment of works of art, bells, collectibles and most importantly, historical artifacts connected to the 1876 Northfield Raid.

While Schilling always had a fascination for collecting, his primary profession was the newspaper business. He began as an apprentice, then became a printer. In 1895 when he relocated to Northfield, he became foreman of the *Northfield News*, editor and finally owner. Not only was he a newspaper man and collector, Schilling was a farmer, dairyman, author, traveler, and politician. In 1910 he made an unsuccessful bid for the Minnesota State Senate. Then in 1920, he filed as a Republican candidate for Governor but withdrew his candidacy a few weeks after filing.⁶⁰⁻⁶¹



William F. Schilling, founder of the Hobby House Museum. (Courtesy of Hayes Scriven, Executive Director, Northfield Historical Society, Northfield, Minnesota)

Even though Schilling was unsuccessful in winning an elected office, he remained active in politics. President Herbert Hoover appointed him as United States representative to the International Dairy Congress in London in 1929. During his appointment, he traveled throughout Europe where he searched for and accumulated more novel pieces for his collection.⁶²⁻⁶³

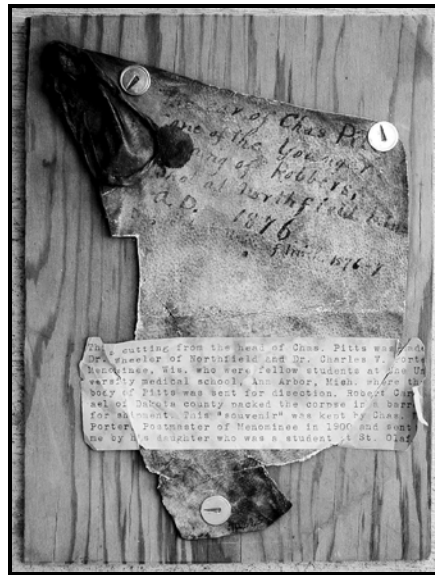
Occasionally, friends and acquaintances donated interesting items to his ever-increasing collection. In fact, he acquired so many artifacts, he enlarged his museum and built on an addition in 1957. Unfortunately, he died in Northfield on February 11, 1960, less than three years after he built the addition.

Upon Schilling's death, his son, Louis P. "Louie" Schilling, and daughter-in-law, Alice Graff Schilling, continued to manage the museum.⁶⁴ The Hobby House collection remained intact for thirty-one years until Louis and Alice donated the ten pieces to the Historical Society in 1978.

Each piece they donated was directly connected to the 1876 robbery of the First National Bank of Northfield and the James-Younger Gang. Nine of the items listed on the Historical Society accession sheet were ordinary gang-related items.⁶⁵ They included a letter written by Cole Younger, some wooden boxes made by Younger while in prison and items from the First National Bank of Northfield. In complete contrast, the last artifact itemized on the accession sheet was an out-of-the-ordinary

and morbid piece, a mummified human scalp and ear trophy.⁶⁶

The human trophy was mounted to a one quarter inch thick, six by eight inch piece of plywood with metal tacks. In contrast to the note written on the trophy and two typed notes included with it, the accession sheet described it as the "ear of Clell Miller."⁶⁷



Mummified scalp and ear trophy mounted to plywood board with note attached. Also, handwritten text visible across top of scalp tissue. (Photo by Authors)

Despite the fact that Louis and Alice donated ten select items to the Historical Society, more Northfield Raid items and other collectibles remained in the Schilling collection. The ten items they donated were barely missed from the Hobby House Museum's inventory since the showcases were filled with thousands of items Schilling spent a lifetime collecting.

After keeping the Hobby House Museum doors open for twenty-one years after his father's death, Louis and Alice

decided to retire and closed the museum in 1981.⁶⁸ In five short days, Schilling's collection was sold at a public auction. The auction emptied the Schilling showcases which included an assortment of Northfield Raid artifacts, many of which went to the Historical Society's collection.⁶⁹⁻⁷⁰

Although every James-Younger Gang piece from Schilling's collection was significant, the mummified scalp and ear trophy remained the most mysterious and raised a number of questions. Initially, when the Historical Society received the mummified scalp and ear trophy, volunteers and patrons were curious about its origin and authenticity. They wondered if it actually belonged to one of the James-Younger Gang members. If it did, which one? Some were curious to know if it had any historical significance. The piece also evoked questions about customs and practices that produced such an oddity.

As for the custom of taking human trophies, scalping was practiced by some cultures in North America during the 19th century. In the Native American culture, scalps were collected as part of the custom of warfare while some early settlers simply collected scalps as trophies. A few states actually issued bounties to settlers in exchange for scalps.⁷¹

When a scalp was taken, usually the scalp was stretched and dried. Historically, the practice of taking a scalp in America involved cutting a circular section of skin on the crown of the head and then

removing the scalp with the hair intact. To cure the tissue, smoke was one method used to preserve the scalp.⁷² In this case, some chemical elements found on the scalp and ear suggest it was preserved using several different compounds or chemicals not smoke.⁷³

Oddly, the alleged gang member's scalp was not taken from the crown of the head. It was taken from the right side of the head and included the ear. Scalps collected by Native Americans and settlers typically did not include any anatomical features like the ear. Therefore, the scalp and ear trophy most likely was not collected by Native Americans or early settlers.

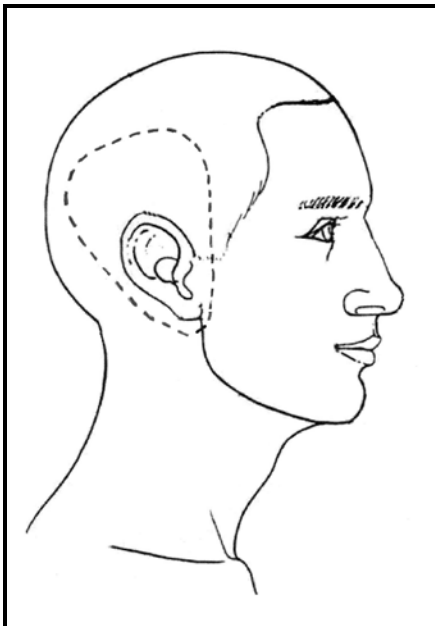
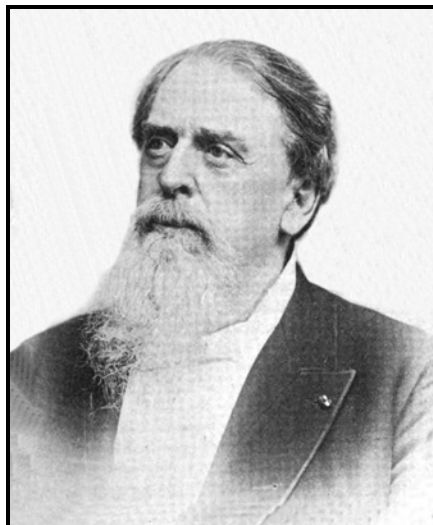


Diagram of ear and scalp removed from this section of the head. (Diagram Courtesy of Authors)

While the human scalp and ear trophy seems unusual, it was not uncommon for body parts to be collected in some cases

involving notorious individuals in the 19th century. Even A.E. Bunker, the banker Wells wounded on the day of the Northfield robbery, was unashamedly offered a trophy from Wells' body. While Bunker viewed Wells' remains in St. Paul to identify him as the man who shot him, Dr. Murphy asked Bunker if he would like the "finger that pulled the trigger as a keepsake." He offered to "cut it off and fix it up" for Bunker. Bunker declined Murphy's offer.⁷⁴



Dr. John Henry Murphy, Minnesota State Surgeon General. He took possession of Samuel Wells' remains in September 1876 and again in 1878. (Author's Collection)

Another human trophy allegedly belonging to Wells was sighted in Dodge City, Kansas in the 1970s. When Judy Thomas Gesaman, great, great granddaughter of Samuel Wells, was a young girl, her family made an unscheduled visit at Boot Hill Museum never anticipating the site they would see inside the museum.

Gesaman and her mother, Joan Jones Thomas, recalled seeing a display that included Wells' photograph and a dried ear allegedly belonging to Charley Pitts, the James-Younger Gang member. As a young child, the ear was unforgettable; however, the photograph was especially memorable because of its striking resemblance to a photograph the family had of her great, great grandfather, Samuel Wells. Judy knew the story that her great, great grandfather rode with the James-Younger Gang. As a matter of fact, Cole Younger personally delivered his book, *Story of Cole Younger by Himself*, to her great, great grandmother, Jennie Fisher Wells, after he was released from prison. Although she knew the story, Gesaman and her mother never expected to see the display they encountered that day.⁷⁵⁻⁷⁶

In 2008, Boot Hill Museum officials were unable to recall ever having a dried ear in the museum's collection. An official suggested that if the museum had something like that, a former curator could have discarded it.⁷⁷ In view of the fact that human trophies existed, Schilling, with his broad circle of friends and hobby of collecting, possibly learned about some cadaveric oddities like the one Judy and her mother saw in Dodge City.

In answer to the question of the origin of the human scalp and ear trophy, Schilling explained how he obtained the scalp and ear in his autobiographical book, *My First Eighty Years*. Schilling said, "I have part of the scalp and one ear of this man Pitts that was taken off the carcass as it went to

Ann Arbor, Michigan, to the medical school. The young medics, Dr. Wheeler and Dr. Chas. V. Porter, tanned this scalp and it was kept as a souvenir of the occasion until 1900 when Chas. V. Porter, postmaster of Menomonie, Wis., sent it to me by his daughter who was attending St. Olaf College in this city [Northfield].”⁷⁸⁻⁸⁰

Schilling provided more descriptive detail in a typewritten note he affixed to the scalp and ear mounted to a wooden board. It contains the following text, “This cutting from the head of Chas Pitts was made by Dr. Wheeler of Northfield and Dr. Charles V. Porter, Menominee, Wis, who were fellow students at the University medical school, Ann Arbor, Mich. where the body of Pitts was sent for dissection[sic]. Robert Carmichael of Dakota County packed the corpse in a barrel for shipment. This “souvenir” was kept by Charles V. Porter, postmaster of Menominee in 1900 and sent to me by his daughter who was a student at St. Olaf.”⁸¹⁻⁸²

There is more writing on the scalp which reads as follows: “The ear of Chas Pitt[s] one of the Younger gang of robbers, shot at Northfield, Min. A.D. 1876. Dissected at Univ of Mich. 1876-7.”⁸³

Some suggest the text in these notes refers to Samuel Wells aka Charley Pitts. However, this writing and the other typewritten notes suggest the scalp and ear belong to either Miller or Chadwell. Namely, the notes reference the body being shot in Northfield, dissected at the University of Michigan and

shipped to Ann Arbor. These details are relevant to Miller and Chadwell's remains, not Wells'. Wells who was killed near Madelia was never shipped to the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. On the other hand, Minnesota authorities transported Wells from Madelia to St. Paul.



Robert Carmichael, as a young farmer living at Castle Rock, Minnesota in 1876, temporarily stored Miller and Chadwell's bodies for Henry Mason Wheeler. (Photo from the 1917 Minnesota Legislative Manual)

According to Schilling, Wheeler arranged for Robert Carmichael, a young farmer who lived in the Castle Rock community, to ship Miller and Chadwell's bodies to the medical school in Ann Arbor where Wheeler was enrolled. Carmichael's farm was located approximately eight miles north of Northfield and to prepare the bodies for shipment, Carmichael stored the bodies in a large vat lined with lead which was used for salt curing pork.⁸⁴⁻⁸⁵

In a *Northfield News* article, Dr. Wheeler's sister-in-law, Carolyn Murray, divulged formerly undisclosed details of where Wheeler kept the bodies after Carmichael stored them for him. Since he couldn't send them right away to the university because it was closed for summer vacation, he stored them in barrels of brine in the cold September waters of Chub Creek, north of Northfield until the university reopened. When the university opened, he shipped the bodies to the university where he used them for laboratory purposes.⁸⁶⁻⁸⁸

The bodies would have remained in a solution to preserve and keep them hydrated during storage and shipment. Therefore, the scalp tissue remained supple which would have made it difficult to write on when the trophy was first collected. Consequently, the writing on the scalp tissue occurred after it dried. Dehydration would have taken weeks if not months before the skin's surface became a suitable writing surface. So when the note on the trophy was written, a considerable length of time must have passed and may no longer have been in Wheeler's possession.

Once again, since the name "Chas Pitt[s]" is written on the scalp tissue, a number of people believe the scalp and ear belonged to Wells whose alias was Charley Pitts. Because the name "Pitts," is typed on the typewritten notes too, some continue to believe the scalp and ear belong to Wells. Despite "Chas Pitt[s]" being written on the scalp tissue and the

typewritten notes, it is significant to note the accession sheet identifies the item as belonging to Miller not Wells.⁸⁹

The journey Wells' remains traveled significantly complicates the supposition that the scalp and ear were taken from him. When Wells was killed on September 21, his body was transported to Madelia where it was locked in the Madelia jail. His remains stayed in Madelia until September 23 when Governor J. S. Pillsbury's Clerk, Coleman Macy, and Ramsey County Sheriff, John C. Becht, transported it to St. Paul where it was released to authorities.⁹⁰⁻⁹⁴

On September 24, Wells' body was prepared for the first of a two-day public display in the state capitol.⁹⁵⁻⁹⁶ Then on September 25 and 26, curiosity seekers, including school children, paraded by the body to catch a glimpse of the grotesque display.⁹⁷⁻⁹⁹

Some might speculate before Wells' body was shipped to the capital, Wheeler removed the trophy. If so, when his body was displayed in St. Paul, no mention was made by witnesses or newspapers that the right side of Wells' head was disfigured. Newspapers were filled with publicity about the robber; but there was no mention in any newspapers about Wells' ear or a portion of his scalp missing. Surely if his ear and a significant portion of his scalp were absent from the side of his head, it would have garnered the attention of spectators and especially reporters.

At the same time Wheeler was in Michigan readying himself for the fall academic

term scheduled to start the day after Wells' body was taken off display in the capitol. Therefore, it is unlikely he collected the trophy from Wells' body which was in St. Paul nearly seven hundred miles from Ann Arbor. Given the sequence of events, it is also unlikely Wheeler ever gained access to Wells' remains while his body was in Murphy's possession. Murphy nor authorities left any records indicating Wheeler ever had access to Wells' body in Madelia or St. Paul.

After being displayed in late September 1876, Wells' remains were released to Dr. Murphy, in St. Paul, Minnesota since no one came forward to claim his body. Murphy kept the body in a back office and occasionally showed the corpse to visitors upon request. In March 1877, he gave it to his nephew, Henry Franklin Hoyt, a medical student at Rush College in Chicago.¹⁰⁰⁻¹⁰²

Hoyt temporarily abandoned his medical studies in May 1877 for a gold rush adventure in Deadwood, South Dakota. Before he left for Deadwood, he placed Wells' remains in a large box anchored with heavy stones and submerged it in Lake Como near downtown St. Paul.

Placing the remains in the watery tomb was twofold. It would hide the bones plus facilitate the maceration process of removing the flesh from the bones so he could prepare the skeleton into an anatomical model. He did not anticipate anyone finding them before he returned. He was mistaken.

On December 12, 1878, an unlikely person, August Robertson, one of Hoyt's St. Paul

neighbors, discovered the remains and turned them over to the police. Dr. Charles A. Stein, Coroner, immediately arranged an inquest.¹⁰³⁻¹⁰⁴ Murphy intervened, took possession of Wells' body for a second time and eventually presented it to an unidentified doctor in Chicago.¹⁰⁵⁻¹⁰⁷ Hoyt confirmed the disposition of Wells' remains in his 1929 autobiography, "a young physician in Chicago, who, if still living, doubtless has a fine skeleton on display in his office," articulated from Wells' skeleton.¹⁰⁸ Hoyt made no mention of Wheeler having access to Wells' remains.

Subsequent to the death of the three robbers, Wells' body remained either with Murphy or Hoyt in St. Paul until Murphy gave it to the doctor in Chicago. During this time, Wheeler had possession of Miller and Chadwell's bodies and was at the university in Michigan. In 1876, considering the logistics and distance that separated Wheeler and Hoyt, it is doubtful the two medical students surrendered or exchanged any body parts from their respective specimens.

Moreover, no known reports indicate Wheeler collected a trophy from the robber's remains while in Hoyt or Murphy's possession between 1876 and 1878. There is also no evidence Wells' body was ever shipped to Wheeler at the University of Michigan Medical School.

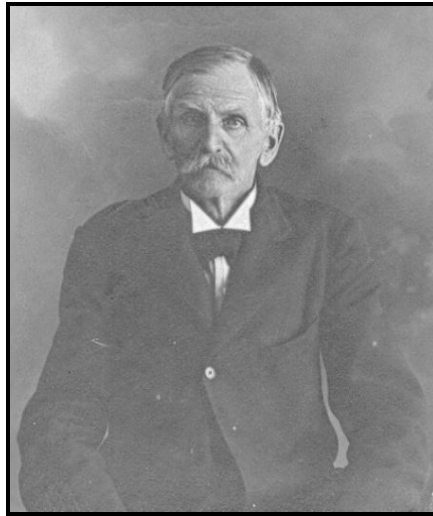
Additionally, in consideration of the confusion among Chadwell, Miller, and Wells' identities and Schilling's notes, its understandable how some concluded Wells could be the origin of the trophy. Since

Wells and Miller were identified as "Pitts" for an extended time after they were killed and both over the course of time continued to be referred to as "Pitts," the name easily became associated with both Wells and Miller. Therefore, when considering only the name "Chas Pitt[s]," which Schilling referenced, it's reasonable that some believe that name identifies the robber killed near Madelia instead of Miller.¹⁰⁹

The name "Pitts" is not the only puzzling aspect of Schilling's notes though. His description and additional details pertaining to the scalp and ear are first vague and convoluted. For example, Schilling's identification of Dr. Porter and Postmaster Porter could be interpreted to mean the two names refer to the same person.¹¹⁰ He describes Wheeler and Porter as medics and medical students with limited identifying information. Wheeler's fame associated with the Northfield Raid was well known in Northfield. On the other hand, who was Porter, other than a classmate of Wheeler's?¹¹¹

Its conceivable Schilling knew Porter before Porter's granddaughter, delivered the scalp and ear to him. Schilling and Porter were renowned dairymen in their home states of Minnesota and Wisconsin, respectively.¹¹²⁻¹¹⁴

Some of Schilling's recorded information is ambiguous and unrelated, for example, the year "1900" and the "Porter" information, while some information is relevant to the facts surrounding the trophy.



Dr. Charles Virgin Porter, Sr. from Viroqua, Wisconsin, a classmate of Henry Mason Wheeler at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. (Courtesy of Kristen Parrott, Curator, Vernon County Museum, Viroqua, Wisconsin)

Dr. Henry M. Wheeler and Dr. Charles Virgin Porter, Sr. were, in fact, students at Michigan University Medical School. Charles V. Porter, Sr. was in his last year at the University of Michigan Medical School when Henry M. Wheeler entered as a freshman.¹¹⁵⁻¹¹⁷ Although Dr. Porter was never a postmaster, his son, Charles V. "Charlie" Porter, Jr., was the postmaster of Menominee, Wisconsin from 1936 until 1957.¹¹⁸⁻¹¹⁹ Additionally, Postmaster Porter, had a daughter, Mary Elizabeth Porter, who matriculated and was listed as an alumni in 1938 at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota.¹²⁰⁻¹²¹

Whether Schilling intentionally or mistakenly recorded information about "Porter" and "1900" as the year he procured the scalp and ear, the facts contradict Schilling's docu-

mentation. To be exact, Charlie Porter's daughter, Mary Elizabeth Porter, born in 1921, could not have delivered the ear in 1900. She was not a student at St. Olaf until 1942. Also, even though Schilling referenced Charlie as Postmaster Porter in 1900, he did not become a postmaster until 1936.¹²²⁻¹²⁴ Schilling's reference to the year 1900 is simply conjectural information not supported by any evidence.

Mary Elizabeth Porter, Dr. Porter's granddaughter, told her family about delivering the trophy to Schilling from her father, the postmaster of Menominee. Mary not only told her family about taking the trophy to Northfield, she also knew how her grandfather, Dr. Charles Virgin Porter, acquired the ear.

Mary was ten years old when her grandfather died, but she heard him tell the tale of the ear many times. In 1876 when word got around the University of Michigan that the bodies of two dead Northfield robbers were in the anatomy lab, Dr. Porter and another student broke into the lab and took the ear from one of the cadavers as a prank.¹²⁵⁻¹²⁷

According to Mary, Dr. Porter kept the artifact he and his classmate took from one of the Northfield robbers and referred to his trophy as the "Jesse James Ear." When he had guests at his home in Viroqua, Wisconsin, some of them wanted to see the ear. So, he would open the bottom drawer of his desk and pull out the dark-colored ear and show it to them. His wife, Elizabeth, detested the ear and

was repulsed when he took it out. Even though his wife wanted him to dispose of the dreadful ear, Porter kept it until his death fifty-five years after it was taken from one of Jesse James' gang members.¹²⁸⁻¹³⁰



Mary Elizabeth Porter, enrolled at St. Olaf during the fall semester 1938 and delivered the human scalp and ear trophy to William F. Schilling. (Courtesy of Ernest C. Porter, Alberta, Canada, Mary Porter Freeman's Son)

When Dr. Porter died on November 31, 1931, his son, Charlie, inherited the scalp and ear. Charlie, unlike his father, had no attachment to the "Jesse James" ear. Consequently, while his daughter, Mary, was attending college in Northfield, she took the "Jesse James Ear" to Schilling for him.¹³¹⁻¹³³ Schilling added the mummified trophy to his Hobby House collection where it remained until 1978.

In 1978, when the scalp and ear artifact was donated to the Historical Society, it was

investigated further. At that time, volunteers managed the Historical Society Museum. Among the volunteers was Virginia "Ginny" Mondale. Mrs. Mondale was hired as the historical society's first paid director in 1979 and she researched the scalp and ear alleged to belong to Samuel Wells aka Charley Pitts. She affectionately called it the "fabulous ear." In spite of her extensive efforts to identify the trophy, she was unable to conclusively identify the artifact or determine the circumstances surrounding how and when it was collected from one of the dead robbers.¹³⁴ Efforts to identify the human trophy took a hiatus until 2008.



Virginia "Ginny" Mondale. The first paid director of the Northfield Historical Society, Northfield, Minnesota. (Courtesy of Ginny Mondale, Washington D.C.)

Finally, using modern forensic identification technology to identify the scalp and ear trophy, a sample of the mummified tissue was collected

for analysis. In 2008 the Netherlands Forensic Institute (NFI) in Den Haag examined the sample for DNA analysis. The laboratory was unable to amplify any DNA from the sample but twenty chemical elements were identified on the scalp. The tissue sample was also examined using light microscopy.¹³⁵⁻¹³⁸

Even though the initial analysis for DNA markers were negative, the lab results provided important evidence about the scalp and ear's treatment. The results confirmed the scalp and ear trophy was preserved using chemical elements rather than being dehydrated naturally. Some of the chemical elements present on the scalp and ear trophy may be contaminants; whereas, ten of the identified elements are consistent with preservatives used by 19th century taxidermists and medical schools. Exposure to environmental factors, namely Carmichael's lead vat and the solution the body was stored in, may explain some of the contaminants such as lead, sodium and chlorine found on the trophy.

Arsenic was one of the ten elements found on the surface of the trophy, and arsenic was one of the primary chemical elements that many taxidermists and medical schools used at the time for preserving biological specimens. While Wheeler was a medical student, the majority of medical schools in the United States used arsenic as a preservative. In addition to arsenic, they used solutions containing zinc and chloral hydrate to preserve anatomical material. The University of

Michigan used a saturated solution of sodium arsenate and immersed the remains in a brine pickling solution until specimens were needed for dissection.¹³⁹ Nevertheless, some elements detected on the scalp and ear tissue possibly originate from contact with materials in the environment it has come into contact with since it was preserved.

Additional samples of the mummified scalp and ear were collected in 2009 and 2012 for repeated attempts to amplify DNA. Fairfax Identity Laboratories in Richmond Virginia analyzed the DNA samples. They also analyzed the DNA from living relatives of the three robbers for comparisons.¹⁴⁰⁻¹⁴¹

The small sample taken from the mummified tissue yielded limited DNA results and could not be used to identify the scalp and ear. All the same, an important discovery was made from the presence of one marker. That marker confirmed the unidentified scalp and ear came from a human male.

This investigation revealed interesting information about the historical background of the scalp and ear trophy, however, solving the mystery of its origin cannot be definitively determined. Locating one marker was a significant discovery when it identified the gender of the person the scalp and ear trophy was taken from. Perhaps future developments in technology will provide additional and more conclusive information in identifying the mysterious mummified human ear in the Northfield Historical Society's Collection. Whether it or-

iginated from one of the Northfield robbers or not remains a mystery.

Endnotes:

¹ Samuel Wells used the alias Charley Pitts' and that was the name authorities used to identify him. Writers also sometimes refer to Wells as Charlie or Charles Pitts.

² "They Saw the Raid: Interviews with Witnesses Regarding Occurrences in Northfield," September 7, 1876," *St. Paul Globe* (St. Paul, MN) July 11, 1897,1.

³ Cole Younger, *Story of Cole Younger by Himself: Being an Autobiography of the Missouri Guerrilla Captain and Outlaw, His Capture and Prison Life, and the Only Authentic Account of the Northfield Raid Ever Published* (Chicago: Henneberry Company, 1903), 41-42.

⁴ "They Saw the Raid."

⁵ Robert Barr Smith, *Last Hurrah of the James-Younger Gang* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001) 76-77.

⁶ "Northfield: the Bold and the Bloody Raid on the First National of That City," *Minneapolis Tribune* (Minneapolis, MN) September 8, 1876, 2.

⁷ "Northfield's Sensation: Full and Graphic Account of the Bank Robbery," *Minneapolis Tribune* (Minneapolis, MN) September 8, 1876, 4.

⁸ J. Hagerty, "Skeleton Had a Life of Its Own," *Grand Forks Herald* (Grand Forks, ND) March 11, 1985, np.

⁹ P. Meier, "What Really Happened to Clell Miller's Body?" *Star Tribune* (Minneapolis, MN) September 7, 2009, np.

¹⁰ Harold B. Kildahl, *Westward We Came: A Norwegian Immigrants Story, 1866-1898* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2008) 2, 59.

¹¹ Ted P. Yeatman, *Frank and Jesse James: A Story Behind the Legend* (Nashville, TN: Cumberland House Publishing, Inc., 2000), 186.

¹² Newton Persons, Personal Diary, (Northfield, MN) Northfield Historical Society Archived Documents, September 8, 1876.

¹³ Francis Butler, Correspondence to Walter N. Trenerry, President, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN, November 20, 1962.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ "Skeleton Burned: Wheeler Questions Answered," *Northfield News* (Northfield, MN) December 7, 1978, 15.

¹⁶ *Calendar of the University of Michigan for 1875-6* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1876) 3-4. pp. 3-4, 27-29, 92, and 107-108.

¹⁷ "What Has Been Done With Them," *Pioneer Press and Tribune* (St. Paul, MN) October 5, 1876, 6.

¹⁸ W. F. Schilling, *My First Eighty Years* (Northfield, MN: Mohn Printing Company, 1952) 143.

¹⁹ William Holtz, "Jesse James and the Medical School: Bankrobbers, Burkers, and Bodysnatchers," *Michigan Quarterly Review* Ann Arbor, Michigan) 6:2 (1967) 90-98.

²⁰ "Bandit Notes," *Pioneer Press and Tribune* (St. Paul, MN) September 29, 1876, 2.

²¹ "Exciting Events," *Faribault Republican* (Faribault, MN) September 13, 1876, 3.

²² Writers sometimes refer to Miller as Charlie, Charley or Charles Pitts.

²³ "The Northfield Bank Robbers," *Liberty Weekly Tribune* (Liberty, Missouri) November 17, 1876, 2.

²⁴ "They Saw the Raid."

²⁵ Walter N. Trenerry, *Murder in Minnesota: A Collection of True Cases* (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society, 1962) 92-94.

²⁶ "How the Jameses Escaped: An Unwritten Leaf of the Northfield, Minnesota, Robbery: How the Brothers Got Out," *San Francisco Bulletin* (San Francisco, CA) November 29, 1876, 4.

²⁷ "The Younger Bandits Indicted for Murder," *Faribault Republican* (Faribault, MN) November 22, 1876, np.

²⁸ "Retired Form [From] Business," *Winona Daily Republican* (Winona, MN) November 24, 1876, 2.

²⁹ "Outlaws," *Pioneer Press and Tribune* (St. Paul, MN) September 28, 1876, 5.

³⁰ "The Youngers Interview with their Brother-in-Law, Richard S. Hall," *Liberty Weekly Tribune* (Liberty, MO) October 20, 1876, 1.

³¹ "An Affecting Scene in Jail at an Interview Between the Younger Boys and Their Sister," *Liberty Weekly Tribune* (Liberty, MO) October 13, 1876, 1.

³² "Last of the Gang," *Pioneer Press and Tribune* (St. Paul, MN) October 4, 1876, 5.

³³ "Caged Cut-Throats," *Pioneer Press and Tribune* (St. Paul, MN) September 26, 1876, 2.

³⁴ "An Interview," *Minneapolis Tribune* (Minneapolis, MN) September 23, 1876, 3.)

³⁵ "Criminal News, Continuation of the Excitement Caused by the Northfield Robbers," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, IL) September 26, 5.

³⁶ "Northfield Robbers," *Liberty Weekly Tribune* (Liberty, Missouri) September 15, 1876, 3.

³⁷ "Bill Chadwell: A Lady in Kansas Gives Some Account of His Life," *Pioneer Press and Tribune* (St. Paul, MN) September 29, 1876, 2.

³⁸ Cole Younger, 106.

³⁹ His father's family lived in Virginia as early as the 1660s and his mother's family lived in Kentucky in the early 1800s. Chadwell moved to the Kansas-Missouri border where he married Marcia Elizabeth Robinson about 1875. Their only daughter, Bertha, was born on August 23, 1876 in Cherokee County, Kansas, sixteen days after Chadwell was killed in Northfield. Chadwell's widow, Marcia, married Louis Templeton following Chadwell's death and Bertha grew up believing her surname was Templeton. However, Bertha learned her real maiden name, Chadwell, in 1896 when she married Edwin Forrey. Bertha and Edwin's marriage license issued in McAlester, Indian Territory, lists her maiden name as Chadwell.

⁴⁰ William Chadwell, Sr., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States – 1850, Between Macoupin and Apple Creeks, Greene County, Illinois, August 26, 1850.

⁴¹ William Chadwell, Sr., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census of the United States – 1860, Carrolton, Hamilton County, Illinois, July 10, 1860.

⁴² Michael Djavaherian, William Chadwell's Second Great

Grandnephew, Interview, July 14, 2012.

⁴³ Keith Chadwell, William Chadwell's Great Grandnephew, Interview, July 16, 2012.

⁴⁴ "Jugged Jayhawkers," *Pioneer Press and Tribune* (St. Paul, MN) September 28, 1876, 2.

⁴⁵ Ruth Coder Fitzgerald, "Clell and Ed Miller - Members of the James Gang," *Quarterly of the National Association for Outlaw and Lawman History*, 15:3 (1991) 29-38.

⁴⁶ Fitzgerald, *Clell and Ed Miller – Members of the James Gang* (Fredericksburg, VA: Self Published. 1987), 1-5: Moses, Clell's father, who was a farmer and blacksmith, was known to be an honorable, quiet and respectable man. Miller's family settled in Clay County in 1829. Before relocating to Missouri, family records report Moses' father, Jacob Miller, scouted for Daniel Boone when the Millers moved from Pennsylvania through the Valley of Virginia into North Carolina.

⁴⁷ Fitzgerald, *Quarterly of the National Association for Outlaw and Lawman History*.

⁴⁸ In the 1850s, Samuel Wells' father, Washington Wells was a prominent Jackson County, Missouri farmer and formerly a hotel proprietor in McCamish, near Edgerton, Johnson County, Kansas. Wells' father, captain of the Home Guard, was watching and cheering the soldiers as they fought. He was unarmed. He was an innocent bystander and honorable man who died prematurely. Samuel was only fourteen when his father was killed by the Union soldiers at the White Oak Fight on Little Blue, Missouri.

⁴⁹ "The Youngers Interview with their Brother-in-Law, Richard S. Hall."

⁵⁰ Shirley Wells, Interview, September 7, 2008.

⁵¹ "The Northfield Raid. Identifying the Criminals," *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (Philadelphia, PA) September 26, 1876, 1.

⁵² "Clell Miller's Brother," *Liberty Weekly Tribune* (Liberty, MO) October 27, 1876, 1.

⁵³ Fitzgerald, *Quarterly of the National Association for Outlaw and Lawman History*.

⁵⁴ Clarence E. Persons, Correspondence to Dr. Edwin C.

Goodard, 1937 Alumni President, University of Michigan, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, MI, Henry Mason Wheeler Necrology File, June 2, 1937.

⁵⁵ "Fierce Flames Issuing from the Plaindealer Basement, Wrathfully Consume the Whole Establishment and Adjoining Buildings," *Grand Forks Herald* (Grand Forks, ND) November 22, 1884, 1.

⁵⁶ Henry F. Hoyt, *A Frontier Doctor* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons, Co., 1979), 182.

⁵⁷ M. Kubitz, "Historical Society Works to Restore Building," *Northfield News* (Northfield, MN) February 23, 2011, np.

⁵⁸ "Thursday Will Be Historical for NHS," *Northfield News* (Northfield, MN) May 22, 2007, np.

⁵⁹ S. Rook, "'Faithful Unto Death' Author Donates Research," *Northfield News* (Northfield, MN) May 17, 2007, np.

⁶⁰ "Petitions Filed for Political Nominations," *Duluth News Tribune* (Duluth, MN) April 4, 1920, 16.

⁶¹ "Schilling Withdraws," *Duluth News Tribune* (Duluth, MN) May 31, 1921, 8.

⁶² "Schilling's Hobby House: A Collection of Unusual Antiques," *Northfield Independent* (Northfield, MN) undated, 34-page pamphlet, unpagged.

⁶³ "August 25 Is Farm Bureau Day at Fair," *Davenport Democrat and Leader* (Davenport, Iowa) July 23, 1926, 17.)

⁶⁴ "Louie Schilling, Long-time Community Contributor Dies," *Northfield News* (Northfield, MN) March 19, 1987, 8.

⁶⁵ Louis and Alice Schilling, Gift Agreement and Accession Receipt, Accession No. 70.38.3, Northfield Historical Society, Northfield, MN, September 1978.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ "Louie Schilling, long-time community contributor dies."

⁶⁹ "Schilling Collection To Go On Block," *Northfield News* (Northfield, MN) April 16, 1981, 1.

⁷⁰ *The Great Schilling Museum*, (Northfield, MN: Schilling Museum Publisher, 1958) 4, 18.

⁷¹ Justin Winsor, ed., *The United States of North America, Part 1: Narrative and Critical History of America* (London: St. Dunstan's House, 1888) vol. 6, 681-684.

⁷² T.S. Abler, "Scalping, Torture, Cannibalism and Rape: An Ethno Historical Analysis of Conflicting Cultural Values In War," *Anthropologica* 34:1 (1992) 3-20.

⁷³ A.C. Aufderheide, "Scientific Study of Mummies," (Cambridge: University Press; 2003) 41-55: Mummification is classified as spontaneous or anthropogenic. Spontaneous mummification occurs when there is natural dehydration of the tissue without any human intervention or preservatives to prevent decay. Anthropogenic mummification occurs when preservatives are used to prevent decay. The Northfield trophy appears to be anthropogenic mummification.

⁷⁴ A. E. Bunker, "Capture of the Northfield Bank Raiders," *Western Newspaper Union* (Chicago, IL) November 28, 1896 np.

⁷⁵ Judy Thomas Gesaman, Interview, April 25, 2008.

⁷⁶ Joan Jones Thomas, Interview, February 26, 2009.

⁷⁷ Kathie Bell, Assistant Curator of Collections and Research, Boot Hill Museum, Dodge City, KS, Interview, April 17, 2008.

⁷⁸ Schilling, *My First Eighty Years*.

⁷⁹ "Obituaries and Memorials, Mary E. Porter," *The Herald* (Stanwood, WA) November 7, 1998, 3B.

⁸⁰ Mary Porter, Dr. C. V. Porter, Sr.'s Granddaughter, Correspondence to Judy Gates, Curator, Vernon County Museum, Viroqua, WI, Porter, "Dr. C. V. and family," December 7, 1989.

⁸¹ Louis and Alice Schilling.

⁸² "Obituaries and Memorials, Mary E. Porter."

⁸³ Louis and Alice Schilling.

⁸⁴ Schilling, *My First Eighty Years*.

⁸⁵ Carmichael became the first superintendent at the State Insane Asylum, Hastings, Minnesota and also served in the Minnesota House of Representatives, 20th District, from 1915-1918.

⁸⁶ "Skeleton Burned: Wheeler Questions Answered," *Northfield News*

(Northfield, MN) December 7, 1978, 15: Carolyn Murray was Adeline "Addie" Murray Wheeler's sister.

⁸⁷ Smith, 92, 218-219: On September 7, 1876, Addie was in Dr. Danforth J. Whiting's dental office. She was actually in the dental chair and he was about to start her dental work when the raid started.

⁸⁸ "Northfield Bank Raid Hero Dies," Carlton College Newspaper Archives Collection (Northfield, MN) April 18, 1930: Dr. Henry Wheeler married Adeline Murray October 16, 1878 and they made their home in Northfield. Addie gave birth to their daughter on June 14, 1881. Sadly, their child died June 15, 1881 and Addie died June 16, 1881.

⁸⁹ Louis and Alice Schilling.

⁹⁰ "Safely Caged," *Mankato Record* (Mankato, MN) Sept. 30, 1876, 2, cols. 1.

⁹¹ "Body of the Bandit" *Mankato Record* (Mankato, MN) September 30, 1876, 2.

⁹² Warren Upham and Rose Barteau Dunlap, *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society: Minnesota Biographies 1655-1912* (St. Paul, MN, The Society, 1912) vol. 14, 43.

⁹³ J. S. Pillsbury, Governor, "Annual Message to the Legislature of Minnesota" St. Peter, MN, January 6, 1881.

⁹⁴ Augustus C. Appler, *Train and Bank Robbers of the West* (Belford, Clark & Co. Chicago, 1882) 237-238.

⁹⁵ "Criminal News, Continuation of the Excitement Caused by the Northfield Robbers."

⁹⁶ Trenerry, 90-101.

⁹⁷ Lillie Gibbs LeVesconte, Correspondence to Jacob Hodnefield, Curator, Newspaper Library, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN, February 19, 1945.

⁹⁸ Lillie Gibbs LeVesconte, "The Saga of Charley Pitts' Body," *Ramsey County History* 4:1 (1967) 19.

⁹⁹ "Caged Cut-Throats."

¹⁰⁰ Trenerry, 97.

¹⁰¹ Smith, 202-204.

¹⁰² Hoyt, *A Frontier Doctor*, 34.

¹⁰³ Henry Hoyt. "Soldiers of Fortune." *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia, PA) October 14, 1922, 77-80.

¹⁰⁴ "Another Mystery: The Discovery of a Human Skeleton in Lake Como," *Minneapolis Tribune* (Minneapolis, MN) December 13, 1878, 4.

¹⁰⁵ Lillie Gibbs LeVesconte, "The Saga of Charley Pitts' Body."

¹⁰⁶ Lillie Gibbs LeVesconte, Correspondence.

¹⁰⁷ "Another Mystery: The Discovery of a Human Skeleton in Lake Como."

¹⁰⁸ Hoyt, *A Frontier Doctor*, 182.

¹⁰⁹ B. Schiller B. "Get Your Guns Boys, They're Robbing the Bank!" *Michigan Today* 34:2 (2002) 21-22.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² "Biographical Sketch-Dr. Charles Virgin Porter," *History of Crawford and Richland Counties, Wisconsin* (Salem, MA: Higginson Book Co., 1884) 429.

¹¹³ "A Personal Tribute to Dr. C. V. Porter," *Wisconsin Necrology* (Milwaukee, WI) December 2, 1931, 134-135.

¹¹⁴ "A Personal Tribute to Dr. C. V. Porter," *Vernon County Censor* (Viroqua, WI) December 2, 1931, 5: Dr. Porter's obituary describes him as an innovator in the community.

"Because every doctor must be a scientist, Dr. Porter brought to farming the same enlightened knowledge he had used in his [medical] practice. He bought the first cream separator ever used in Vernon County [Wisconsin]. He was one of the first dairymen in the northwest to have his herd tested for butterfat – using the Strong method several years before Professor Babcock's invention... The doctor cooperated closely with the farm institute and agricultural extension work of the university."

¹¹⁵ Karen Jania, Division Head, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, Correspondence to Margaret Bailey, Dr. Charles Virgin Porter's File, April 2, 2012.

¹¹⁶ Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, Correspondence to Margaret Bailey, Charles Virgin Porter's Necrology File, 1931, April 9, 2012.

¹¹⁷ "Obituary, Charles V. Porter, Sr.," *Wisconsin Censor*, (Viroqua, Wisconsin) December 2, 1931, 8.

¹¹⁸ "Charlie Porter Retires After 21 Years As Postmaster In Menominee," August 1, 1957, Newspaper Clippings, Vernon County Historical Society, Viroqua, WI.

¹¹⁹ "Record of Appointment of Postmasters, 1832-September 30, 1971," National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), (Washington, D.C.) Roll 142; Archive Publication M841.

¹²⁰ Gary De Krey. St. Olaf College Shaw-Olsen Center for College History Director. Interview, March 13, 2012 and March 28, 2012.

¹²¹ "Obituaries and Memorials, Mary E. Porter."

¹²² "Charlie Porter Retires After 21 Years As Postmaster In Menominee."

¹²³ "Obituaries and Memorials, Mary E. Porter."

¹²⁴ Gary De Krey.

¹²⁵ Erick Freeman, Dr. Charles V. Porter, Sr.'s Great Grandson and Mary Porter Freeman's Son, Interview, March 27 and 28, 2012.

¹²⁶ Ernest C. Porter, Dr. Charles V. Porter, Sr.'s Great Grandson and Mary Porter Freeman's Son, Interview, July 31, 2013.

¹²⁷ Jeffrey Porter, Dr. Charles V. Porter, Sr.'s Great Grandson and Mary Porter Freeman's Nephew, Interview, April 18, 2012.

¹²⁸ Erick Freeman.

¹²⁹ Ernest C. Porter.

¹³⁰ Jeffrey Porter.

¹³¹ Erick Freeman.

¹³² Ernest C. Porter.

¹³³ Jeffrey Porter.

¹³⁴ Virginia Mondale, Northfield Historical Society Director 1979 – 1981, Interview, October 16, 2008.

¹³⁵ The scanning electron microscope (SEM) coupled with another instrument called an Energy Dispersive X-ray Detection (EDX) detector can analyze the spectral data and identify chemical elements present in the sample.]

¹³⁶ The authors collected a 4 mm biopsy punch from behind the ear on 4-16-2008 at the Northfield Historical Society. Erwin Vermeij, Micro-traces Specialist with the Netherlands Forensic Institute, examined the sample using a Scanning Electron Microscope and identified a relatively high amount of arsenic. An attempt was made to

quantify the amount of arsenic with a Wavelength Dispersive X-ray Detector (WDX). It was unsuccessful.

¹³⁷ Chemical elements identified that are associated with 19th century preservatives include: aluminum, arsenic, calcium, carbon, chlorine, oxygen, potassium, sodium, sulfur and zinc. Chemical elements identified that are not associated with preservatives that may be contaminants include: barium, gold, iron, magnesium, phosphorus, silicon, silver, tin, titanium and lead.

¹³⁸ Dr. Pieter Van Driessche, forensic pathologist at NFI, sectioned a piece of the tissue and stained it for an histological examination. Sections were stained using the haematoxylin eosin (HE), Elastica von Gieson (EVG), and PanKeratin for examination. The histological examination revealed the absence of nuclei and cell borders in the HE and EVG stain. These findings are characteristic of deteriorating tissue. Two types of tissue present were identified as degenerated collagen strands and muscle tissue. The PanKeratin stain confirmed the presence of the collagen strands and fat tissue. Absence of cellular structures and the presence of collagen are consistent with the histological findings in some mummified skin.

¹³⁹ C. L. Barnes, *The Art and Science of Embalming* (Chicago: Trade Periodical Company, 1896) 342.

¹⁴⁰ The authors submitted a tissue sample collected on 4-16-2008 to Shelley Johnson, Fairfax Identity Labs, Richmond, Virginia for DNA analysis. On 9-4-2008, Tom Reynolds also with the same lab reported that only 2 Y-STR loci out of 15 were obtained with the analysis of the mummified human tissue.

¹⁴¹ The authors collected a 4 mm biopsy punch taken from behind the ear and a 7 mm x 14 mm tissue sample was collected on 9-28-2012 from the ear at the Northfield Historical Society. Both samples were submitted to Shelley Johnson for DNA analysis. The analysis was completed by 12-11-2012; however, the samples did not yield any DNA.

Acknowledgements:

The authors would like to thank Hayes Scriven, Executive Director, Northfield Historical Society, Northfield, Minnesota and the Society's Board of Directors for permitting samples of the human scalp and ear trophy to be analyzed.

Jennifer Andries, Executive Director, Lyon County Historical Society and Museum, for research assistance and photograph of Dr. Clarence Persons.

Kathie Bell, Boot Hill Museum, Dodge City, KS, for in-depth inquiries and follow-up for the alleged 1970s Charlie Pitts display.

Dr. Pieter Van Driessche, Forensic Pathologist, NFI for conducting a histological examination of the tissue.

Erick Freeman, Dr. Porter's great grandson, generous assistance and information for the Porter family history, photographs and Dr. Charles V. Porter, Sr.

Ernest C. Freeman, Dr. Porter's great grandson, for his bountiful knowledge and assistance with the Porter family history, photographs and information about Dr. Charles V. Porter, Sr.

Dr. Reza R. R. Gerretsen, Forensic Anthropologist, NFI for coordinating the testing in the Netherlands.

Judy Thomas Gesaman, Samuel Wells' Great Great Granddaughter, for her open, honest and generous assistance with Wells and Fisher family histories, genealogy, and research.

Greg and Judy Gustafson, Polk County Historical Society, research assistance and for Dr. Charles Dampier photographs.

Shelley Johnson, Technical Leader of Forensic Services, Fairfax Identity Labs in Richmond, Virginia for DNA analysis of mummified scalp tissue.

Chris Malpass, University of North Carolina at Wilmington, a dependable and steadfast resource in providing his expertise in obtaining rare and difficult documents and publications.

Kristen Parrott, Curator, Vernon County Museum, Viroqua, Wisconsin, for her assistance with research and photographs of Dr. Charles V. Porter and the Porter Family.

Jeffrey Porter, Dr. Porter's great grandson, for assistance with Porter family history.

Rachel Moir, Ann Arbor District Library, for her research assistance in locating Northfield Raid related articles in archived files of the Ann Arbor Register newspaper.

Virginia "Ginny" Mondale, Northfield Historical Society Director, 1979-1981, for her assistance and information about the trophy.

Thomas R. Reynolds, Executive Vice President, Fairfax Identity Labs in Richmond, Virginia for DNA analysis of mummified scalp tissue.

Joan Jones Thomas, Samuel Wells' Great Granddaughter, for sharing her genuine and straightforward abundant knowledge of the Wells and Fisher family histories, genealogy, and research.

Martha Travis Myers, Dr. Charles E. Dampier's Grandniece, for her generous help and assistance with Dampier family research and providing to Dampier family and Dr. Charles Dampier's photographs.

Erwin J. Vermeij, a micro-trace specialist, Netherlands Forensic Institute (NFI), The Hague, Netherlands for analyzing chemical elements on the surface of the human ear trophy using the energy-dispersive X-ray spectroscopy technique with the scanning electron microscope.

Shirley Wells, Family Historian and Journalist, provided copious information about the Wells family genealogy, history, photographs, and research.

WWHA Members Featured in Other Publications

Congratulations are in order for two WWHA members. Mark Lee Gardner has been named by *True West* magazine as "Best Author" overall (fiction, nonfiction, etc.) for 2013. Robert K. DeArment has been named "Best Nonfiction Author" for 2013. Kathleen P. Chamberlain and Chuck Parsons garnered runner-up accolades in the "Women/Minorities" and "Lawman/Outlaw" categories, respectively.

The January 2014 issue of *True West* features dozens of photographs from the collection of WWHA Past President Robert G. McCubbin, some previously unpublished. McCubbin is also featured in the "What History Has Taught Me" column. Articles by WWHA members appearing in this include those of Mark Boardman, Bob Boze Bell, and Marshall Trimble.

WWHA member Jeffrey R. Richardson has a feature article in the February 2014 issue of *Wild West*, "Pat Garrett's Writing Pal Emerson Hough." Other WWHA members with articles in this issue include, Phyllis de la Garza, Jim Pettengill, Linda Wommack, Lee Silva and R. Michael Wilson. (If we've missed the work of any WWHA member, we express our sincere apologies. Please let us know of your accomplishments by sending the information to the news coordinator at royyoung@pldi.net.)