

GENTLEMAN BANDIT

**THE TRUE STORY OF
BLACK BART,
THE OLD WEST'S
MOST INFAMOUS
STAGECOACH ROBBER**

JOHN BOESSENECKER



HANOVER
SQUARE
PRESS



ISBN-13: 978-1-335-44942-9

Gentleman Bandit

Copyright © 2023 by John Boessenecker

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews.

This publication contains opinions and ideas of the author. It is intended for informational and educational purposes only. The reader should seek the services of a competent professional for expert assistance or professional advice. Reference to any organization, publication or website does not constitute or imply an endorsement by the author or the publisher. The author and the publisher specifically disclaim any and all liability arising directly or indirectly from the use or application of any information contained in this publication.

Hanover Square Press
22 Adelaide St. West, 41st Floor
Toronto, Ontario M5H 4E3, Canada
HanoverSqPress.com
BookClubbish.com

Printed in U.S.A.



Recycling programs
for this product may
not exist in your area.



Northern California, Black Bart's
stomping ground

Drawn by author and recreated
by HTP Art Department

Acknowledgments

I have collected bits and pieces of information about Black Bart for more than fifty years. In 1990, I provided research, documents, and other help to Bruce Levene, who, with his coauthor, the late William Collins, wrote the first biography of the noted highwayman, entitled *Black Bart: The True Story of the West's Most Famous Stagecoach Robber*, published in 1992. In the next few years, two more biographies appeared: the late George Hoeper's *Black Bart: Boulevardier Bandit* (1995) and Laika Dajani's *Black Bart: Elusive Highwayman-Poet* (1996). Each book provided new information about Charley Boles's mysterious life.

With the advent of online genealogical data banks, digital newspapers, and other historical records, I was able to locate a great deal of additional source material that shed new light on Black Bart and his career. But this book could not have been written without the groundbreaking work contained in the three volumes mentioned above. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to each of these authors, and especially to Bruce Levene, who was kind enough to provide me with many of the research materi-

als he used in writing his 1992 book. This volume is therefore dedicated to Bruce Levene with many thanks for his unselfish assistance.

I also owe a great debt to the wonderful staff of the Wells Fargo History Museum in San Francisco, who first welcomed me as a teenager in the late 1960s and provided documents and encouragement to a young aficionado of the Old West. Irene Simpson Neasham (1916–2006) was its director for three decades. She and her assistants, Merrilee Gwerder Dowty and the late Elaine Gilleran, helped me more times than I can recall. Many thanks are also due to my old friend, the late Dr. Robert J. Chandler, Senior Research Historian for Wells Fargo Bank from 1978 to 2010. Bob was always there to track down an obscure document or answer my never-ending questions. Thanks also to Marc C. Reed, who researched Black Bart more than thirty years ago. Marc tracked down the very rare photos of Mary Boles and her daughters that appear in this volume, and was kind enough to provide copies of documents and review the Civil War chapters for me.

My great pal, the late William B. Secrest, was the leading authority on crime and law enforcement in frontier California. Bill shared his research with me, and I have cited several of his numerous books in the notes to this volume. Richard H. Dillon was another friend who has passed on. Dick encouraged me as a young writer, and his book *Wells Fargo Detective: A Biography of James B. Hume* provided essential information about Black Bart. Another old friend, Don Gordon, is a dedicated Wells Fargo historian and collector. Don and I visited some of the many sites of Black Bart's stage holdups, and he helped greatly with my research.

I also owe a huge debt of gratitude to Joanne Penn of Norwich, England. She is the daughter of my friend and colleague, Chris Penn, also of Norwich, who is a well-published authority on the history of the Wild West. Joanne did extensive ge-

nealogical work and uncovered the family history of Charles E. Boles in Norfolk, England. The late Dick Reames, great-great-grandson of Charles Boles, was kind enough to let me interview him in 1993 and to acquire from him a collection of original letters written by Boles to his family. Those letters are quoted in this book. Peter Pike Jr. graciously shared with me information, photographs, and two books he has produced about his great-grandfather, Jacob Pike, who was Black Bart's friend in San Francisco.

The late Lorraine Kennedy of the Calaveras County Museum in San Andreas assisted me many times over the years. I am grateful to the helpful staffs of the California State Archives in Sacramento, the California State Library in San Francisco, and the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. I would also like to thank my fellow members of the Wild West History Association for their friendship and support. Its bimonthly journal and annual rendezvous are highly recommended. I encourage anyone interested in the history of the Old West to join this organization.

To my agent, Claire Gerus, and my editor, Peter Joseph, assistant editor Grace Towsy, editorial assistant Eden Rainsback, and copyeditor Jennifer Stimson, many thanks for all their efforts connected with this book. And last, I am ever grateful to my wife and chief literary critic, Marta Diaz, for her love, advice, and support.

Endnotes

Chapter 1

- 1 James M. Hutchings, *In the Heart of the Sierras*. Oakland, CA: Pacific Press Publishing (1888), p. 212.
- 2 John Shine, Databases of Illinois Veterans Index, at www.ancestry.com; *A Memorial and Biographical History of the Counties of Merced, Stanislaus, Calaveras, Tuolumne, and Mariposa, California*. Chicago, IL: Lewis Publishing Co. (1892), pp. 389–390; “John Henry Shine,” *Successful American*, vol. 7, no. 4 (March 1903), p. 199.
- 3 C.A. Gillingham, Wells Fargo agent, to Leonard F. Rowell, Assistant Superintendent of Wells Fargo, July 26, 1875, Wells Fargo Bank History Department, San Francisco, CA; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, July 27, 1875; San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 17, 1883; New York (NY) *Sun*, reprinted in Monongahela (PA) *Daily Republican*, December 28, 1883; William Collins and Bruce Levene, *Black Bart: The True Story of the West’s Most Famous Stagecoach Robber*. Mendocino, CA: Pacific Transcriptions (1992), pp. 19–22; George Hoeper, *Black Bart: Boulevardier Bandit*. Fresno, CA: Word Dancer Press (1995), pp. 1–5.

- 4 Los Angeles (CA) *Times*, February 2, 1930.
- 5 On Ben K. Thorn, see John Boessenecker, *Badge and Buckshot: Lawlessness in Old California*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press (1988), chap. 3. On James B. Hume, see Richard Dillon, *Wells Fargo Detective: A Biography of James B. Hume*. New York, NY: Coward-McCann (1969).
- 6 John Boessenecker, *Shotguns and Stagecoaches: The Brave Men Who Rode for Wells Fargo in the Wild West*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press (2018), pp. xi–xix.
- 7 Marysville (CA) *Daily Appeal*, December 29, 1875; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, December 29, 1875; Laika Dajani, *Black Bart: Elusive Highwayman-Poet*. Manhattan, KS: Sunflower University Press (1996), p. 36.
- 8 Albany (OR) *Cultivator*, June 8, 1876; Marysville (CA) *Daily Appeal*, June 14, 1876; Sacramento (CA) *Daily Union*, June 9, 1876; Portland (OR) *Oregonian*, June 27, 1876; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 59–61; Dajani, *Black Bart*, pp. 36–37.
- 9 Santa Rosa (CA) *Sonoma Democrat*, April 9, 1870; Petaluma (CA) *Weekly Argus*, August 10, 1877; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 14, 1883; Santa Rosa (CA) *Press Democrat*, November 15, 1964; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 65–68; Hoeper, *Black Bart*, pp. 9–10. Numerous modern accounts state that the holdup took place on Meyers Grade Road, an inland wagon route in the hills southeast of Fort Ross. That is contradicted by Ash Wilkinson's original report, given here, which was published in the Point Arena (CA) *News*, and reprinted in the Petaluma (CA) *Courier*, August 16, 1877. Timber Gulch, the correct site of the holdup, should not be confused with Timber Cove, which is located two miles north of Fort Ross.

Chapter 2

- 1 Joanne Penn, “What was the True Identity of Black Bart?” at www.norfolkrecordofficeblog.org. Ms. Penn is the first genealogist to uncover the correct family history of Black Bart. Most of the family members, including John and Leonard, spelled their surname “Bowles.” Charles used the “Bowles” spelling until the 1850s, after

which he consistently signed his name “Boles.” For sake of consistency and to avoid confusion, the name is spelled “Boles” in the narrative. Some recent accounts claim Charles’s middle name was Earl, but there is no proof, only speculation based on the fact that one of his nephews was named Earl.

- 2 Bury (UK) *Bury and Norwich Post*, August 4, 25, 1830.
- 3 Bury (UK) *Bury and Norwich Post*, August 25, 1830; Naturalization record, Leonard Bowles, August 8, 1836, on www.ancestry.com; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 40; Dajani, *Black Bart*, p. xiv.
- 4 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, January 6, 1884; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, December 3, 1888.
- 5 Watertown (NY) *Northern State Journal*, October 11, 1848; Stockton (CA) *Evening Mail*, November 17, 1883.
- 6 John Boessenecker, *Gold Dust and Gunsmoke: Tales of Gold Rush Outlaws, Gunfighters, Lawmen, and Vigilantes*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons (1999), pp. 2–4.
- 7 William Boles, Iowa Marriage Records, July 4, 1841, on www.ancestry.com; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, January 6, 1884; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 42.
- 8 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, January 6, 1884.
- 9 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, January 6, 1884; Washington (DC) *Weekly National Intelligencer*, February 7, 1852.
- 10 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, January 6, 1884; San Francisco (CA) *Daily Alta California*, May 14, June 15, 1852; Sacramento (CA) *Daily Union*, May 15, 1852. The date and place of death of Robert Boles are unknown.
- 11 California state census, 1852, Placer County, on www.ancestry.com; Auburn (CA) *Placer Herald*, August 20, 1853; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 28, 1888; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 43.
- 12 Boessenecker, *Gold Dust and Gunsmoke*, pp. 322–326.

Chapter 3

- 1 Iowa Marriages Index, Charles Boles and Mary E. Johnson, at www.ancestry.com; New Oregon (IA) *Plaindealer*, June 23, July 7, 1896.
- 2 New Oregon (IA) *Plaindealer*, June 29, October 19, 1860; Cresco (IA) *Howard County Times*, December 20, 1888; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 43–44.
- 3 US Census Population Schedules, Alexandria, New York, 1860; warranty deed, Charles E. Boles to Mary Boles, May 11, 1860, courtesy Marc C. Reed; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 44.
- 4 Decatur (IL) *Herald and Review*, December 9, 1888; Decatur (IL) *Daily Review*, April 30, 1979; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 43–44; Dajani, *Black Bart*, p. 2.
- 5 Naturalization record, Leonard Bowles, August 8, 1836, on www.ancestry.com; Naturalization record, John Bowles, April 15, 1851, on www.familysearch.org; Charles E. Boles to Oscar James, July 24, 1884, reprinted in Dajani, *Black Bart*, pp. 114–116.
- 6 Nashville (TN) *Daily Union*, March 18, 1864; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 45; Jane Martin Johns, *Personal Recollections of Early Decatur*. Decatur (IL): Daughters of the American Revolution (1912), p. 201.
- 7 Thomas Littleton, quoted in Dajani, *Black Bart*, p. 3.
- 8 Alton (IL) *Evening Telegraph*, November 28, 1883; Chicago (IL) *Tribune*, June 20, 1907; John Foster, quoted in Dajani, *Black Bart*, p. 7.
- 9 Johns, *Personal Recollections of Early Decatur*, p. 202; William Craig to Levica Craig, December 14, 1862, Ohio State University Library, at www.ehistory.osu.edu.
- 10 Reuben Bills to Linda Bills, November 12, 1862, quoted in Dajani, *Black Bart*, p. 7.
- 11 Reuben Bills to Linda Bills, December 14, 1862, quoted in Dajani, *Black Bart*, p. 9.
- 12 William Marsh to his brother, September 15, 1862, quoted in Peter R. Wells, “Lincoln’s Boys: The Enlisted Men of the Illinois Infantry

in the Civil War,” unpublished thesis, Illinois Wesleyan University (1987), p. 64.

- 13 Wayne C. Temple, ed., *The Civil War Letters of Henry C. Bear, A Soldier in the 116th Illinois Volunteer Infantry*. Harrogate, TN: Lincoln Memorial University Press (1961), p. 6.
- 14 Reuben Bills to Linda Bills, December 16, 1862, quoted in Dajani, *Black Bart*, p. 9.
- 15 Woodstock (IL) *Sentinel*, February 11, 1863.
- 16 Reuben Bills to Linda Bills, January 3, 1863, quoted in Dajani, *Black Bart*, p. 9.
- 17 Temple, ed., *The Civil War Letters of Henry C. Bear*, pp. 22–24.
- 18 Decatur (IL) *Daily Review*, October 26, 1910.

Chapter 4

- 1 Chicago (IL) *Tribune*, January 26, 1863.
- 2 Temple, ed., *The Civil War Letters of Henry C. Bear*, p. 29.
- 3 Decatur (IL) *Weekly Republican*, April 21, 1887; Decatur (IL) *Herald and Review*, July 27, 1913.
- 4 Chicago (IL) *Tribune*, January 26, 1863.
- 5 Decatur (IL) *Herald and Review*, December 9, 1888, September 26, 1902, July 27, 1913.
- 6 Temple, ed., *The Civil War Letters of Henry C. Bear*, pp. 32–35.
- 7 Hillsboro (OH) *Highland Weekly News*, April 2, 1863; Decatur (IL) *Herald and Review*, October 7, 1887.
- 8 Chicago (IL) *Tribune*, April 4, 1863; Elliot G. Storke and L. P. Brockett, *A Complete History of the Great American Rebellion*, Vol. II. Auburn, NY: Auburn Publishing Co. (1865), pp. 883–886.
- 9 Decatur (IL) *Herald and Review*, December 9, 1888, December 1, 1907.

- 10 *Illinois at Vicksburg*. Chicago, IL: The Blakely Printing Company (1907), p. 25.
- 11 Charles Affeld diary, April 30, 1863, at www.taylors-battery.com.
- 12 Chicago (IL) *Tribune*, May 8, 1863.
- 13 Charles Affeld diary, May 7–15, 1863, at www.taylors-battery.com.
- 14 Sergeant Stephen A. Rollins to his parents, July 20, 1863, at www.battleofchampionhill.org.
- 15 Osborn H. Oldroyd diary, May 16, 1863, at www.battleofchampion-hill.org. Oldroyd later became an authority on Abraham Lincoln and wrote several books about him. His huge collection of Lincoln memorabilia is displayed in Ford's Theatre in Washington, DC.
- 16 Bloomington (IL) *Pantagraph*, June 5, 1863.
- 17 Steven E. Woodworth, Charles D. Grear, eds., *The Vicksburg Assaults, May 19-22, 1863*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press (2019), pp. 13–14.
- 18 Temple, ed., *The Civil War Letters of Henry C. Bear*, p. 41; William T. Rigby, *Siege and Defence of Vicksburg and the Vicksburg National Military Park*. Chicago, IL: Illinois Central Railroad Company (1909), pp. 10–11.
- 19 Christopher R. Gabel, *The Vicksburg Campaign, November 1862-July 1863*. Washington, DC: Center of Military History (2013), pp. 53–55.
- 20 Charles Affeld diary, May 22, 1863, at www.taylors-battery.com.
- 21 Chicago (IL) *Tribune*, June 6, 1863; Thomas Mears Eddy, *The Patriotism of Illinois: A Record of the Civil and Military History of the State in the War for the Union*, Vol. 1. Chicago, IL: Clarke & Co. (1865), pp. 468–469; Rigby, *Siege and Defence of Vicksburg*, p. 17; “General Thomas Edwin Greenfield Ransom,” *Illinois Central Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 4 (October 1914), p. 13.
- 22 Alton (IL) *Evening Telegraph*, November 28, 1883.

Chapter 5

- 1 Alton (IL) *Evening Telegraph*, November 28, 1883; Napa (CA) *Register*, November 23, 1883.
- 2 Richard Puffer to his sister, May 28, 1863, quoted in Wells, “Lincoln’s Boys,” p. 62.
- 3 Nashville (TN) *Journal*, July 10, 1863.
- 4 Canton (MO) *Press*, August 28, 1903; Eric Michael Burke, “Soldiers from Experience: The Emergence of Tactical Culture in Sherman’s Fifteenth Army Corps, 1862–63,” PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (2019), p. 304.
- 5 Bloomington (IL) *Pantagraph*, November 28, 1883; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 46.
- 6 William Craig to Levica Craig, July 11, 1863, Ohio State University, at www.ehistory.osu.edu.
- 7 William Craig to Levica Craig, April 15, 1864, Ohio State University, at www.ehistory.osu.edu.
- 8 Milwaukee (WI) *Daily News*, December 2, 1863; Decatur (IL) *Herald and Review*, January 24, 1904; Storke and Brockett, *A Complete History of the Great American Rebellion*, pp. 1119–1121; *Soldiers’ and Patriots’ Biographical Album*. Chicago, IL: Union Veteran Publishing Co. (1892), p. 204.
- 9 Mark Grimsley and Todd D. Miller, eds., *The Union Must Stand: The Civil War Diary of John Quincy Adams Campbell*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press (2000), p. 137.
- 10 *Reminiscences of the Civil War from Diaries of Members of the 103rd Illinois Volunteer Infantry*. Chicago, IL: Press of J.F. Leaming (1904), p. 27; Grimsley and Miller, *The Union Must Stand*, p. 138.
- 11 Decatur (IL) *Herald and Review*, July 7, 1913.
- 12 Decatur (IL) *Herald and Review*, December 9, 1888.
- 13 Alton (IL) *Evening Telegraph*, November 28, 1883; Decatur (IL) *Her-*

- ald and Review*, December 9, 1888, December 1, 1907; Private John Foster, quoted in Dajani, *Black Bart*, p. 7.
- 14 William Craig to Levica Craig, June 23, 1863, April 3, 1865, Ohio State University, at www.ehistory.osu.edu.
 - 15 William Craig to Levica Craig, February 10, 1864, Ohio State University, at www.ehistory.osu.edu.
 - 16 Charles E. Boles to Oscar James, July 24, 1884, reprinted in Dajani, *Black Bart*, pp. 114–116; Charles E. Boles family tree, on www.ancestry.com.
 - 17 *Reminiscences of the Civil War from Diaries of Members of the 103rd Illinois Volunteer Infantry*, p. 52.
 - 18 Louisville (KY) *Courier-Journal*, May 19, 1864; Washington (DC) *National Tribune*, February 10, 1910.
 - 19 *Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society*, Vol. 1. Bloomington, IL: Pantagraph Printing Co. (1899), p. 432.
 - 20 Decatur (IL) *Herald and Review*, December 9, 1888; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 48.
 - 21 New York (NY) *Times*, December 23, 1864; Edward Schwabe Jr., “The March to the Sea: The Operational Role of Sherman’s Right Wing,” thesis, Naval War College, Newport, RI (1986), pp. 22–23.
 - 22 W. F. Hinman, *Camp and Field: Sketches of Army Life Written by Those Who Followed the Flag*. Cleveland, OH: N. G. Hamilton Publishing Co. (1892), p. 465.
 - 23 William Craig to Levica Craig, April 3, 1865.
 - 24 New York (NY) *Times*, December 23, 1864; Isaiah L. Reed, “Men with Deadly Rifles Outclass Fort’s Monster Cannon,” at www.historynet.com.
 - 25 Stockton (CA) *Evening Mail*, November 17, 1883; Hannibal (MO) *Journal*, December 13, 1888.
 - 26 Decatur (IL) *Herald and Review*, October 6, 1887, December 9, 1888, August 16, 1903.

- 27 William Craig to Levica Craig, April 9, 1865, Ohio State University Library, at www.ehistory.osu.edu.
- 28 Chicago (IL) *Tribune*, June 16, 24, 1865.

Chapter 6

- 1 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, December 2, 1888; Decatur (IL) *Daily Republican*, November 27, 1883.
- 2 San Francisco (CA) *Daily Alta California*, February 12, 1866; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, April 3, 1887.
- 3 Boles was back in New Oregon by December 22, 1866, when he signed a legal document there. See Laika Dajani, “Black Bart,” *Quarterly of the Tuolumne County Historical Society*, vol. 34, no. 3 (January–March 1995), p. 1174.
- 4 C. E. Booth to James B. Hume, April 26, 1886, reprinted in San Francisco (CA) *Bulletin*, January 21, 1888; Cresco (IA) *Howard County Times*, April 3, 1867, December 20, 1888; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 49–50.
- 5 Helena (MT) *Post*, September 21, November 2, 1867; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 50.
- 6 US Census Population Schedules, Silver Bow, Montana Territory, 1870; Helena (MT) *Post*, November 9, 1867, November 27, 1868; Butte (MT) *Miner*, August 24, 1889.
- 7 Butte (MT) *Miner*, August 24, 1889, September 14, 1900.
- 8 Charles E. Boles to Mary Boles, April 4, 1869, copy courtesy of Bruce Levene. Edited versions of the letter appear in San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, December 12, 1888, and Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 50–51.
- 9 Leona Middleton to George Ezra Dane, April 12, 1935, quoted in Dajani, *Black Bart*, p. xv. Leona Middleton was Charley’s great-granddaughter.
- 10 Deer Lodge (MT) *New North-west*, June 8, 1877.
- 11 US Census Population Schedules, New Oregon, Iowa, 1870; San

- Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 28, 1888, December 12, 1888; Charles E. Boles family tree, on www.ancestry.com.
- 12 Cresco (IA) *Howard County Times*, September 7, 1871, July 7, 1948; Booth to Hume, April 26, 1886, in San Francisco (CA) *Bulletin*, January 21, 1888.
 - 13 Lowville (NY) *Lewis County Democrat*, March 27, 1872; Lowville (NY) *Journal and Republican*, April 3, 1872.
 - 14 *Estate of John Bowles*, Jefferson County, New York, Wills and Probate Records, on www.ancestry.com; Albany (NY) *Daily Argus*, October 24, 1872; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 51–52, 183–184.
 - 15 Stockton (CA) *Evening Mail*, November 17, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 28, 1888.
 - 16 Stockton (CA) *Evening Mail*, November 17, 1883.
 - 17 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, December 2, 1888.

Chapter 7

- 1 Sacramento (CA) *Record-Union*, November 17, 1883.
- 2 Henry S. Brooks, *A Catastrophe in Bohemia*. New York, NY: C. L. Webster & Co. (1893), pp. 82–84.
- 3 San Francisco (CA) *Call*, reprinted in St. Louis (MO) *Globe-Democrat*, November 21, 1883.
- 4 Sacramento (CA) *Daily Union*, November 4, 1874; Stockton (CA) *Independent*, March 24, 1875; Stockton (CA) *Daily Evening Herald*, March 24, 1875.
- 5 San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 17, 1883.
- 6 Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 69–70.
- 7 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, April 3, 1887; Sacramento (CA) *Bee*, November 15, 1883.
- 8 Chico (CA) *Weekly Butte Record*, August 3, 1878; Quincy (CA) *Feather River Bulletin*, August 3, 17, 1878; Oroville (CA) *Weekly Mercury Au-*

- gust 2, 9, 1878; Oroville (CA) *Butte County Register*, August 2, 1878; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 71–73; Hoeper, *Black Bart*, p. 43.
- 9 Oroville (CA) *Weekly Mercury*, August 2, 1878; Quincy (CA) *Feather River Bulletin*, August 3, 1878. Previous accounts incorrectly identify the driver as D. E. Barry or Dan Barry; his name was David Emerson Berry (1823–1887) who lived in nearby Strawberry Valley. Chico (CA) *Weekly Butte Record*, April 30, 1887.
 - 10 Quincy (CA) *Feather River Bulletin*, August 3, 10, 17, 1878; Marysville (CA) *Daily Appeal*, August 4, September 13, October 18, 1878; Sacramento (CA) *Daily Union*, August 15, September 12, 1878; Chico (CA) *Weekly Butte Record*, October 26, 1878.
 - 11 Wells Fargo reward notice, 1878, Wells Fargo Bank History Dept.
 - 12 Ukiah (CA) *City Press*, October 4, 11, 1878; Cloverdale (CA) *News*, October 12, 1878; San Francisco (CA) *Bulletin*, October 8, 1878. In about 1950, a state highway crew removed Black Bart Rock when they straightened the road. A tall rock outcropping, situated four and a half miles north near Ridgewood Summit, was then falsely dubbed Black Bart Rock by local boosters and is known by that name to this day. It has no connection with Black Bart. However, as recounted in Chapter 19, Black Bart did rob a stage near Ridgewood Summit on November 20, 1888.
 - 13 Cloverdale (CA) *News*, October 12, 1878.
 - 14 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, June 30, 1921; Dajani, *Black Bart*, pp. 48–49. Most accounts state incorrectly that Donna McCreary (1860–1941) was then only fourteen. Her correct dates of birth and death are in the California Death Index at www.ancestry.com.
 - 15 Cloverdale (CA) *News*, October 12, 1878; San Francisco (CA) *Bulletin*, October 8, 1878; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 28, 1888.
 - 16 Lida Hume, typescript of diary, 1932, Wells Fargo Bank History Dept.; Ukiah (CA) *City Press*, October 11, 1878; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, June 30, 1921.
 - 17 James B. Hume to Lida Munson, October 5, 1878, quoted in Dajani, *Black Bart*, pp. 50–51.

- 18 Boessenecker, *Shotguns and Stagecoaches*, pp. 179–180.
- 19 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, June 30, 1921.

Chapter 8

- 1 California State Archives, San Quentin Prison Register: Hugh De Tell, alias David Granard and David Gramon, convict nos. 719, 1750, and 2511; Walter Sinclair, alias William Harris and Frederick Smith, convict nos. 1819 and 2843.
- 2 The Osgood Toll House still exists and has been moved to the Lake Tahoe Historical Society Museum in South Lake Tahoe.
- 3 Sacramento (CA) *Daily Union*, August 5, 6, 1867.
- 4 San Quentin Prison Register, Hugh De Tell, alias George Martyn, convict no. 3628, and Walter Sinclair, convict no. 3627; Dillon, *Wells Fargo Detective*, pp. 108–109.
- 5 Dillon, *Wells Fargo Detective*, pp. 24–35.
- 6 Boessenecker, *Badge and Buckshot*, pp. 141–152; Boessenecker, *Shotguns and Stagecoaches*, pp. 15–30, 116–120.
- 7 John Boessenecker, “The Bride and the Brigand,” *Wild West Magazine*, vol. 30, no. 4 (December 2017), pp. 64–69.
- 8 Boessenecker, *Shotguns and Stagecoaches*, pp. 121–122.
- 9 Sacramento (CA) *Daily Union*, October 18, 1871, February 11, 1875; Healdsburg (CA) *Russian River Flag*, December 21, 1871, November 26, 1874.
- 10 Wells Fargo & Co. reward notice, January 20, 1879, California State Library, Sacramento, CA.
- 11 San Jose (CA) *Mercury-News*, June 24, July 3, September 12, 1879, November 20, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Call*, October 10, 11, 1905.
- 12 Dajani, *Black Bart*, pp. 21–22; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 17, 1879.
- 13 John Boessenecker, ed., *Against the Vigilantes: The Recollections of Dutch*

- Charley Duane*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press (1999), pp. 29–35, 191; San Francisco (CA) *Bulletin*, November 17, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 17, 1883.
- 14 US Census Population Schedules, San Francisco, CA, 1880; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, March 2, 1879; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, July 13, 1881.
 - 15 Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals, Vol. II*. San Francisco, CA: The History Company (1887), p. 125; Boessenecker, *Shotguns and Stagecoaches*, pp. 85–86.
 - 16 Marysville (CA) *Daily Appeal*, June 24, 26, 1879; Oroville (CA) *Butte County Register*, June 27, 1879; Hoeper, *Black Bart*, p. 18.
 - 17 Red Bluff (CA) *Daily People's Cause*, October 27, 1879; Redding (CA) *Independent*, October 30, 1879; Fort Jones (CA) *Scott Valley News*, October 30, 1879; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 84–85; Dajani, *Black Bart*, pp. 52–56.
 - 18 Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 86–87; Dajani, *Black Bart*, p. 56; Hoeper, *Black Bart*, pp. 19–20.
 - 19 Dillon, *Wells Fargo Detective*, p. 168.
 - 20 Yreka (CA) *Journal*, reprinted in Red Bluff (CA) *Daily People's Cause*, November 15, 1879.
 - 21 San Francisco (CA) *Daily Alta California*, November 28, 1883.

Chapter 9

- 1 San Francisco (CA) *Daily Alta California*, November 14, 1883.
- 2 Stockton (CA) *Evening Mail*, November 17, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 15, 1883.
- 3 Auburn (CA) *Placer Herald*, March 11, 1876; Sacramento (CA) *Daily Union*, April 1, 1916.
- 4 Peter Pike Jr., ed., *Memoir and Writings of Jacob M. Pike*. Centralia, WA: Gorham Printing (2020), pp. 14–19, 89–95. On the 1856 lynchings in Coulterville, see San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, March 13, 1892.

- 5 Pike, *Memoir and Writings of Jacob M. Pike*, pp. 29–30; Peter Pike Jr., *California Bound*. Centralia, WA: Gorham Printing (2018), pp. 31–32.
- 6 Stockton (CA) *Evening Mail*, November 17, 1883.
- 7 Sacramento (CA) *Daily Union*, September 9, 1913.
- 8 Edward Byram, *Journals*, vol. 3, pp. 62–68, author’s collection. On Isaiah W. Lees, see William B. Secrest, *Dark and Tangled Threads of Crime: San Francisco’s Famous Police Detective Isaiah W. Lees*. Sanger, CA: Word Dancer Press (2004).
- 9 *Chronological Record of the Police Department of San Francisco*. San Francisco, CA: Board of Police Commissioners (1896), pp. 2, 4; San Francisco (CA) *Daily Alta California*, November 14, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Bulletin*, January 21, 1888; San Francisco (CA) *Call*, April 25, 1894; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, April 13, 1886; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, September 20, 1891.
- 10 *Chronological Record of the Police Department of San Francisco*, pp. 2, 4, 5; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, February 17, 1874; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 17, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Call*, September 16, 1895, June 13, 1903; San Francisco (CA) *Bulletin*, November 17, 1883; Secrest, *Dark and Tangled Threads of Crime*, pp. 179, 238–241.
- 11 Edward Byram, *Journals*, vol. 2, p. 250, author’s collection; Stockton (CA) *Evening Mail*, November 17, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 17, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 17, 1883.
- 12 San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 15, 1883; Eugene T. Sawyer, “Old Time Minstrels of San Francisco,” *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine*, vol. 81, no. 6 (October 1923), p. 7.
- 13 San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 15, 1883; Grass Valley (CA) *Morning Union*, August 29, 1882, November 17, 1883; *Langley’s San Francisco Directory*. San Francisco, CA: The Directory Publishing Co. (1882), p. 710.
- 14 Petaluma (CA) *Weekly Argus*, July 23, 1880; Petaluma (CA) *Courier*, July 28, August 4, 1880; Mendocino (CA) *Beacon*, July 31, 1880; Sonoma (CA) *Democrat*, July 31, 1880. In later years, some local his-

torians conflated Black Bart's 1877 Timber Gulch holdup with the 1880 Meyers Grade holdup and erroneously wrote that both robberies had taken place on Meyers Grade.

- 15 Sonoma (CA) *Democrat*, July 31, 1880; Mendocino (CA) *Beacon*, August 7, 1880; Petaluma (CA) *Weekly Argus*, August 13, November 5, 1880. Based on the arrest of Lane Nelson and the mistaken belief that there were three robbers, several writers, unaware that the charges were dismissed, concluded incorrectly that Nelson, not Black Bart, was guilty of this robbery. In fact, Boles later confessed to Jim Hume that he had robbed this stage.
- 16 Chico (CA) *Weekly Butte Record*, September 11, 1880; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 93–96.
- 17 Wells Fargo & Co. reward notice, October 23, 1880, Wells Fargo Bank History Dept.; Shasta (CA) *Courier*, quoted in Marysville (CA) *Evening Democrat*, February 4, 1888.
- 18 Portland (OR) *Oregonian*, September 20, 1880; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 97–101.
- 19 Medford (OR) *Mail Tribune*, December 18, 1960.
- 20 Red Bluff (CA) *Sentinel*, June 26, 1880; Tehama (CA) *Tocsin*, October 30, 1880; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 101. On Charles Aull, see William B. Secrest, *Lawmen and Desperadoes*. Spokane, WA: Arthur H. Clark Co. (1994), pp. 25–30.
- 21 Yreka (CA) *Journal*, November 24, 1880; Sacramento (CA) *Daily Union*, November 22, 1880.

Chapter 10

- 1 Mark Twain, *Old Times on the Mississippi*. Toronto, Canada: Belford Brothers (1876), pp. 10–11.
- 2 Booth to Hume, April 26, 1886, in San Francisco (CA) *Bulletin*, January 21, 1888.
- 3 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 28, 1888; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, April 3, 1887; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 183–184.

- 4 Census Population Schedules, Hannibal, MO, 1880; *Hannibal City Directory*. Hannibal, MO: Winchell & Ebert (1875), pp. 13–14, 64; Hannibal (MO) *Clipper*, December 10, 1874, January 13, 1875; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 28, 1888; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 210.
- 5 *Hannibal City Directory*. Hannibal, MO: Hannibal Printing Co. (1881), p. 41; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, July 13, 1881.
- 6 Redding (CA) *Independent*, September 1, 1881; Stockton (CA) *Evening Mail*, September 1, 1881.
- 7 Redding (CA) *Shasta County Democrat*, October 12, 1881; Chico (CA) *Semi-Weekly Enterprise*, October 14, 1881; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 107–111.
- 8 Chico (CA) *Weekly Butte Record*, October 22, 1881.
- 9 Marysville (CA) *Daily Appeal*, October 13, 1881; Boessenecker, *Shotguns and Stagecoaches*, pp. 230–232.
- 10 Redding (CA) *Independent*, quoted in Sacramento (CA) *Daily Bee*, October 24, 1881.
- 11 Oroville (CA) *Weekly Mercury*, October 28, 1881; Sacramento (CA) *Union*, November 18, 1881, February 14, 1882; Red Bluff (CA) *Tehama County Daily Republican*, November 26, 1881. On Samuel P. Haslett (1835–1906), see Baltimore (MD) *Sun*, January 10, 25, 1906.
- 12 Sacramento (CA) *Bee*, November 24, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Call*, August 14, 1892, January 17, 1909.
- 13 Marysville (CA) *Daily Appeal*, December 17, 1881. Jim Hume later reported that the holdup took place on December 15, 1881, and that date has been used by all subsequent writers. However, contemporary newspaper accounts make it clear that the robbery took place on December 16.
- 14 Marysville (CA) *Daily Appeal*, December 28, 1881; Oroville (CA) *Daily Register*, June 30, 1920; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 114.
- 15 Boessenecker, *Shotguns and Stagecoaches*, pp. 123–125.
- 16 Sacramento (CA) *Bee*, January 19, 1882; Sacramento (CA) *Daily*

Union, January 27, 1882; Cloverdale (CA) *Reveille*, quoted in Petaluma (CA) *Weekly Argus*, February 3, 1882; Ukiah (CA) *Mendocino Dispatch Democrat*, February 3, 1882.

- 17 Ukiah (CA) *Mendocino Dispatch Democrat*, February 10, 1882.
- 18 Ukiah (CA) *Mendocino Dispatch Democrat*, February 3, 1882; Santa Rosa (CA) *Sonoma Democrat*, February 11, 1882.

Chapter 11

- 1 Redding (CA) *Independent*, May 26, June 2, 23, 1882; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, June 2, 1882, July 19, 1885; R. Michael Wilson, *Wells, Fargo & Co., Report of Stagecoach and Train Robbers, 1870 to 1884*. Las Vegas, NV: RaMa Press (2007), pp. 239–240.
- 2 US Census Population Schedules, Jackson County, OR, 1920 (Ora E. Ragsdale); Sacramento (CA) *Daily Union*, August 28, 1885; Medford (OR) *Mail Tribune*, June 12, 13, 1917; Jacksonville (OR) *Post*, June 16, 1917.
- 3 Ukiah (CA) *Mendocino Dispatch Democrat*, June 16, 1882; Cloverdale (CA) *Reveille*, reprinted in Burbank (CA) *Review*, June 21, 1882; Dajani, *Black Bart*, p. 66.
- 4 William V. Wells, *Walker's Expedition to Nicaragua: A History of the Central American War*. New York, NY: Stringer and Townsend (1856), pp. 34, 37; *Great Register of the County of Placer* (1877), p. 20; Grass Valley (CA) *Union*, November 5, 1911.
- 5 Sacramento (CA) *Bee*, November 16, 1883. Norval Douglass's son, Nevada County Sheriff David F. Douglass, was killed in a gunfight with criminals in 1896, one of the state's most notorious murders of that decade.
- 6 Marysville (CA) *Daily Appeal*, July 14, 1882; Quincy (CA) *Feather River Bulletin*, December 8, 1883; John Boessenecker, "George Hackett: Terror to Road Agents," *Old West*, vol. 24, no.1 (Fall 1987), pp. 15–17.
- 7 Oroville (CA) *Weekly Mercury*, July 14, 1882; Quincy (CA) *Feather River Bulletin*, December 8, 1883; Boessenecker, "George Hackett," pp. 15–17. In 1935, the Butte County Road Department erected a marker at the location of the second holdup, which was then errone-

ously known as Black Bart Bend. The marker incorrectly stated that it was the location of the holdup in which Black Bart was wounded by George Hackett. In fact, that holdup took place thirty-one miles east. The marker is still standing and can be seen on the old stage road, now called Black Bart Road, at its intersection with Sandra Lane, twelve miles east of Oroville.

- 8 Marysville (CA) *Daily Appeal*, July 14, 1882; Boessenecker, “George Hackett,” p. 17.
- 9 Yreka (CA) *Journal*, June 30, July 7, 1882; Chico (CA) *Weekly Enterprise*, September 22, 1882; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 125; Dajani, *Black Bart*, p. 72.
- 10 San Francisco (CA) *Daily Alta California*, September 23, 30, 1882; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, September 23, 1882; Red Bluff (CA) *Tehama County Daily Republican*, September 23, 1882; Dajani, *Black Bart*, pp. 74–75.
- 11 Cloverdale (CA) *Reveille*, November 25, 1882; Grass Valley (CA) *Morning Union*, November 28, 1882; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 126–128. Numerous accounts incorrectly state that this holdup took place on November 23, 1882.
- 12 Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 128–129; Dajani, *Black Bart*, pp. 76–77.
- 13 William B. Secrest, *Perilous Trails, Dangerous Men*. Clovis, CA: Quill Driver Books (2002), pp. 66–74.
- 14 *Langley’s San Francisco Directory*. San Francisco, CA: The Directory Publishing Co. (1883), p. 244; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, March 15, 1884.

Chapter 12

- 1 US Census Population Schedules, Jefferson County, New York, 1850, Oneida, New York, 1880, Reno, Nevada, 1900; Hannibal (MO) *Journal*, December 13, 1888; Reno (NV) *Gazette-Journal*, August 27, 1885, June 3, 1902; Santa Cruz (CA) *Sentinel*, April 30, 1905; Reno (NV) *Nevada State Journal*, February 27, 1937.
- 2 US Census Population Schedules, San Francisco, CA, 1880; Grass

- Valley (CA) *Morning Union*, August 29, 1882, November 17, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 19, 1883; Dajani, *Black Bart*, p. 23.
- 3 Wells Fargo & Co. reward notice, December 18, 1882, accessed at www.historical.ha.com; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 15, 1883.
 - 4 Cloverdale (CA) *Reveille*, April 14, 1883; Sacramento (CA) *Daily Union*, April 13, 1883; Santa Rosa (CA) *Sonoma Democrat*, April 21, 1883; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 130; Dajani, *Black Bart*, pp. 78–79. Jim Hume misspelled the driver’s last name as Conni-beck, which is not a surname, and that error has been repeated in all subsequent accounts. William Krumdick was the driver of the Lakeport–Cloverdale stage from 1883 to 1886. He died in 1887 after he was shot in a quarrel in Middletown, Lake County. Cloverdale (CA) *Reveille*, March 13, December 18, 1886; Napa (CA) *Napa County Reporter*, February 18, 1887.
 - 5 Several writers have concluded incorrectly that the landlady at the Webb House in 1883 was Mrs. W. Warner (Mary) Henry. However, San Francisco city directories show that she was the Webb House landlady from 1879 to 1882, when she moved to Oakland.
 - 6 Jackson (CA) *Amador Ledger-Dispatch*, June 30, 1883; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 131–132.
 - 7 On Morse, see John Boessenecker, *Lawman: The Life and Times of Harry Morse, 1835-1912*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press (1998).
 - 8 Boessenecker, *Lawman*, p. 249.
 - 9 Napa (CA) *Napa County Reporter*, September 14, 21, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, September 16, 1883; Napa (CA) *Register*, September 21, 1883.
 - 10 Sacramento (CA) *Daily Union*, September 3, November 19, 1883.
 - 11 Reason E. McConnell, “Shotgun McConnell, The Life and Times of a Frontier Family,” unpublished ms., pp. 58–59, Wells Fargo Bank History Dept.; Stockton (CA) *Evening Mail*, November 16, 1883.

- 12 Owen Treleaven, "Old Men in the Sun," unpublished ms., c. 1940, Calaveras County Historical Society, pp. 235, 238–241; US Census Population Schedules, Tuolumne County, CA, 1880; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 136–137.
- 13 San Francisco (CA) *Bulletin*, November 17, 1883.
- 14 Modesto (CA) *Bee*, November 24, 1913.
- 15 New York (NY) *Sun*, reprinted in Monongahela (PA) *Daily Republican*, December 28, 1883.

Chapter 13

- 1 New York (NY) *Sun*, reprinted in Monongahela (PA) *Daily Republican*, December 28, 1883.
- 2 Healdsburg (CA) *Enterprise*, July 19, 1913; *An Illustrated History of Sonoma County, California*. Chicago, IL: Lewis Publishing Co. (1889), p. 270.
- 3 McConnell, "Shotgun McConnell," pp. 2–38, 45–51.
- 4 Treleaven, "Old Men in the Sun," p. 241.
- 5 McConnell, "Shotgun McConnell," pp. 52–55; San Francisco (CA) *Bulletin*, November 14, 1883.
- 6 Treleaven, "Old Men in the Sun," p. 243; San Andreas (CA) *Calaveras Prospect*, November 9, 1883.
- 7 McConnell, "Shotgun McConnell," p. 56.
- 8 Information for Robbery, People v. C.E. Bolton, November 17, 1883, copy in Wells Fargo Bank History Dept.; San Andreas (CA) *Calaveras Prospect*, November 9, 1883; Stockton (CA) *Evening Mail*, November 16, 1883; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 141–143, 217.
- 9 Stockton (CA) *Evening Mail*, November 5, 1883; McConnell, "Shotgun McConnell," p. 57.
- 10 Information for Robbery, People v. C.E. Bolton, November 17, 1883,

and John N. Thacker to Orrin Langmaid, March 15, 1884, both in Wells Fargo Bank History Dept.

- 11 McConnell, "Shotgun McConnell," p. 58; Information for Robbery, *People v. C.E. Bolton*.
- 12 Sacramento (CA) *Daily Union*, November 19, 1883; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 152–153.
- 13 Reno (NV) *Gazette-Journal*, November 14, 1883; Sacramento (CA) *Daily Union*, November 19, 1883.
- 14 San Francisco (CA) *Daily Alta California*, November 14, 1883.

Chapter 14

- 1 San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November, 17, 1883; Ben K. Thorn to Harry N. Morse, 1884, Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco, CA; Dillon, *Wells Fargo Detective*, p. 177.
- 2 Salt Lake City (UT) *Tribune*, July 20, 1902; San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 17, 1883.
- 3 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 14, 1883; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 157.
- 4 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 14, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 17, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 19, 1883; Boessenecker, *Lawman: The Life and Times of Harry Morse*, pp. 249–251; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 155.
- 5 Boessenecker, *Lawman: The Life and Times of Harry N. Morse*, pp. 176–178.
- 6 San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 15, 17, 1883.
- 7 San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 15, 17, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 14, 1883.
- 8 San Francisco (CA) *Daily Alta California*, November 14, 1883.
- 9 San Francisco (CA) *Daily Alta California*, November 14, 1883.
- 10 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 14, 1883.

- 11 San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 14, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 14, 1883.
- 12 San Francisco (CA) *Daily Alta California*, November 20, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 20, 1883.
- 13 Stockton (CA) *Evening Mail*, November 14, 1883.
- 14 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 14, 1883.
- 15 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, September 16, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Alta California*, November 14, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 14, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 14, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Bulletin*, November 14, 1883.
- 16 San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 14, 15, 17, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Bulletin*, December 24, 1905.
- 17 Stockton (CA) *Evening Mail*, November 17, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Bulletin*, January, 21, 1888; testimony of Ben. K. Thorn, People v. C.E. Bolton, Calaveras County Superior Court (1883), quoted in Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 217–218.
- 18 San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 15, 17, 1883; Stockton (CA) *Evening Mail*, November 15, 16, 1883; New York (NY) *Sun*, reprinted in Monongahela (PA) *Daily Republican*, December 28, 1883; Boesse-necker, *Lawman: The Life and Times of Harry Morse*, pp. 249–251. On Black Bart’s shotgun, see *Catalogue, Wells Fargo & Company Historical Exhibit at the World’s Columbian Exposition* (1893), p. 29.

Chapter 15

- 1 Stockton (CA) *Evening Mail*, November 17, 1883.
- 2 Stockton (CA) *Evening Mail*, November 17, 1883; Sacramento (CA) *Record-Union*, November 17, 1883; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 169, 219; Hoeper, *Black Bart*, p. 89.
- 3 Treleaven, “Old Men in the Sun,” pp. 269–270. In the 1930s, Mary Anna “Mamie” Bunt (1863–1950), then Mrs. Dorsey Ramsden, described the stagecoach trip in a letter to Owen Treleaven.

- 4 Ben K. Thorn to Harry N. Morse, 1884; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, December 3, 1888.
- 5 San Francisco (CA) *Daily Alta California*, November 20, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 20, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 20, 1883; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 173.
- 6 San Francisco (CA) *Daily Alta California*, November 20, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 20, 1883.
- 7 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 20, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 20, 1883.
- 8 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 20, 1883.
- 9 San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 20, 1883.
- 10 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 21, 1883.
- 11 San Francisco (CA) *Bulletin*, November 20, 1883.
- 12 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 21, 1883.
- 13 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 23, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, December 3, 1888.
- 14 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 23, 1883.

Chapter 16

- 1 Boston (MA) *Globe*, November 14, 1883; Philadelphia (PA) *Times*, November 25, 1883; Omaha (NE) *Daily Bee*, November 21, 1883. Claude Duval (1643–1670) was a famous gentleman highway robber in England.
- 2 Napa (CA) *Weekly Register*, November 23, 1883.
- 3 Boessenecker, *Lawman: The Life and Times of Harry Morse*, pp. 201–204, 328.
- 4 San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 17, 1883; New York (NY) *Tribune*, January 8, 1922; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 18, 1883.

- 5 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 18, 1883.
- 6 Wells Fargo & Co. cash books, cited in Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 175–176.
- 7 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 19, 1883.
- 8 San Francisco (CA) *Bulletin*, November 20, 1883.
- 9 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 21, 1883.
- 10 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 14, 17, 21, 1883.
- 11 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 19, 1883.
- 12 San Francisco (CA) *Call*, November 20, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 21, 1883.
- 13 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, September 16, November 14, 1883.
- 14 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 20, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 21, 1883.
- 15 San Andreas (CA) *Calaveras Chronicle*, November 23, 1883.
- 16 Ben K. Thorn to Harry N. Morse, 1884.
- 17 California State Controller warrant no. 3146, December 29, 1883, California State Archives.

Chapter 17

- 1 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 22, 1883; *The Wasp*, March 12, 1887.
- 2 San Quentin Prison Register, convict no. 11046, California State Archives; Grass Valley (CA) *Union*, November 23, 1883.
- 3 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 22, 1883; Sacramento (CA) *Daily Union*, November 23, 1883; Grass Valley (CA) *Union*, November 22, 23, 1883.
- 4 San Jose (CA) *Daily Mercury*, February 16, 1887; San Francisco (CA) *Daily Alta California*, January 8, 1883.

- 5 San Francisco (CA) *Call*, quoted in Salt Lake City (UT) *Deseret News*, January 10, 1884.
- 6 Charles Boles to Hiram Boles, December 20, 1883, copy in Bruce Levene collection; Bloomington (IL) *Pantagraph*, November 28, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, December 6, 1883.
- 7 San Francisco (CA) *Daily Alta California*, December 22, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 28, 1888.
- 8 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, January 20, 1884; Joseph Henry Jackson, *Bad Company*. New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace & Co. (1949), pp. 190–191.
- 9 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 24, January 20, 1884, December 4, 1938; Stockton (CA) *Mail*, December 17, 1883; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 23, 1883; Treleaven, “Old Men in the Sun,” p. 245.
- 10 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 28, 1888; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 210.
- 11 Charles E. Boles to Oscar James, July 24, 1884, reprinted in Dajani, *Black Bart*, pp. 114–116.
- 12 Charles E. Boles to Mary Boles, October 11, 1884, original in author’s collection; reprinted in Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 181–182.
- 13 Charles E. Boles to Mary Boles, November 10, 1884, original in author’s collection; reprinted in Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 181–182.
- 14 Charles E. Boles to Mary Boles, undated letter from 1884, original in author’s collection.
- 15 Charles E. Boles to Eva Boles James, October 7, 1885, original in author’s collection; Kansas State Census, Delphos, KS, 1885, dwelling no. 173 (Lillie Boles, Henry F. Wedgewood, and Harriet Melinda Wedgewood); Dajani, *Black Bart*, pp. 106, 143.

Chapter 18

- 1 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 28, 1888.
- 2 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, April 6, 1887.
- 3 Charles E. Boles to Mary Boles, reprinted in Hannibal (MO) *Journal*, December 13, 1888.
- 4 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, December 2, 1888.
- 5 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 28, 1888. Hume mistakenly told reporters that Boles wrote the “villainous letter” to his son-in-law rather than to his brother-in-law.
- 6 Booth to Hume, April 26, 1886, in San Francisco (CA) *Bulletin*, January 21, 1888.
- 7 Mark Dugan and John Boessenecker, *The Grey Fox: The True Story of Bill Miner, Last of the Old-Time Bandits*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press (1992), pp. 78–79.
- 8 Secrest, *Dark and Tangled Threads of Crime*, pp. 221–223.
- 9 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, December 26, 1886.
- 10 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, December 2, 1888.
- 11 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, December 3, 1888.
- 12 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, January 24, 1887; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, July 3, 1887.
- 13 Boessenecker, *Shotguns and Stagecoaches*, pp. 131–135; William B. Secrest, *California Desperadoes: Stories of Early California Outlaws in Their Own Words*. Sanger, CA: Word Dancer Press, (2000), pp. 109–115.
- 14 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, December 2, 1887, November 12, 1890; Secrest, *California Desperadoes*, pp. 116–117.
- 15 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, January 22, 1888; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, January 22, 1888.
- 16 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, January 22, 1888.
- 17 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, April 3, 1887.

- 18 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, January 29, 1888; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, p. 189.
- 19 Charles E. Boles to Mary Boles, January 31, 1888, in San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, December 11, 1888.

Chapter 19

- 1 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 12, 1890.
- 2 Charles E. Boles to Mary Boles, no date, in Hannibal (MO) *Journal*, December 13, 1888.
- 3 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, December 11, 1888.
- 4 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 28, 1888; Sacramento (CA) *Record-Union*, February 23, 1888; Visalia (CA) *Tulare Times*, March 1, 1888.
- 5 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, May 28, November 28, 1888; San Jose (CA) *Mercury-News*, May 28, 1888; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, July 28, 1888.
- 6 Sacramento (CA) *Daily Union*, November 28, 1888.
- 7 Grass Valley (CA) *Union*, November 11, 1888; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 13, 1888; Chico (CA) *Weekly Enterprise*, November 16, 1888.
- 8 Mendocino (CA) *Beacon*, November 28, December 5, 1888; Petaluma (CA) *Courier*, December 5, 1888; Sacramento (CA) *Record*, November 28, 1888; Boessenecker, *Shotguns and Stagecoaches*, pp. 180–182, 187–194.
- 9 Sacramento (CA) *Record-Union*, November 28, 1888; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, November 28, 1888; Philadelphia (PA) *Times*, December 16, 1888.
- 10 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, December 1, 1888.
- 11 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, December 11, 1888.
- 12 Los Angeles (CA) *Herald*, November 16, 1888; Santa Maria (CA) *Times*, November 17, December 1, 1888. On Ham White, see *Mark*

Dugan, Knight of the Road: The Life of Highwayman Ham White. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press (1990).

- 13 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, December 2, 1888.
- 14 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, December 3, 1888.
- 15 Hannibal (MO) *Journal*, December 13, 1888.
- 16 Fresno (CA) *Morning Republican*, August 2, 1889; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, August 1, 1889; San Diego (CA) *Union*, November 3, 1890; San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, November 12, 1890. In Shinn's confession, he referred to Dorsey by his other alias, Charles Thorn.
- 17 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, May 15, August 24, 1889.
- 18 San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, December 12, 1888.

Chapter 20

- 1 San Francisco (CA) *Alta California*, September 23, 1882; New York (NY) *Sun*, January 12, 1889.
- 2 Washington (DC) *Star*, April 5, 1884.
- 3 Philadelphia (PA) *Times*, August 6, 1888; Auburn (CA) *Placer Herald*, February 3, 1934.
- 4 Reno (NV) *Weekly Nevada State Journal*, December 1, 1883; San Jose (CA) *Mercury News*, February 16, 1887.
- 5 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, December 11, 1888; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, December 12, 1888.
- 6 Los Angeles (CA) *Herald*, October 8, 1893; Los Angeles (CA) *Evening Post-Record*, September 15, 1909.
- 7 Corinne (UT) *Daily Mail*, May 4, 1875; Hailey (ID) *Wood River Times*, March 26, 1891; Washington (DC) *Times*, June 11, 1905.
- 8 San Francisco (CA) *Bulletin*, reprinted in Los Angeles (CA) *Evening Express*, January 28, 1888; John A. Henshall, "Tales of the Early California Bandits: Black Bart," *Overland Monthly*, vol. 53, no. 6 (June 1909), p. 475.

- 9 Stockton (CA) *Evening Mail*, November 17, 1883.
- 10 San Francisco (CA) *Alta California*, December 2, 1883; Los Angeles (CA) *Times*, December 4, 1932; Greg Martin, *The Parker Lyon-Harrah's Pony Express Museum*. San Francisco, CA: Chrysopolis Press (1987), pp. 160–161.
- 11 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, reprinted in New York (NY) *Sun*, August 19, 1888; Los Angeles (CA) *Herald*, August 19, 1894.
- 12 San Francisco (CA) *Call*, September 4, 1910; Chicago (IL) *Inter Ocean*, June 4, 1911; Santa Barbara (CA) *Independent*, April 19, 1910; Santa Rosa (CA) *Press Democrat*, June 28, 1953; Sacramento (CA) *Daily Union*, December 9, 1891.
- 13 Joseph Henry Jackson, *Tintypes in Gold*. New York, NY: The Macmillan Co. (1939), p. 63; Jackson, *Bad Company*, p. 182.
- 14 Hailey (ID) *Wood River Times*, June 21, 1882, June 6, 1883; Windsor (VT) *Journal*, August 22, 1891; Tombstone (AZ) *Weekly Epitaph*, January 4, 1914; St. Johnsbury (VT) *Republican*, February 18, 1914; Salmon (ID) *Recorder*, August 20, 1920; Charles K. Bolton, *The Boltons of Old and New England*. Albany, NY: Joel Munsell's Sons (1889), pp. 13, 15; Carlo M. De Ferrari, "The Murphys Hotel Register," *Quarterly of the Tuolumne County Historical Society*, vol. 34, no. 3 (January–March 1995), pp. 1177–1178.
- 15 Roy O'Dell, "Black Bart of Wisconsin," *Wild West History Association Journal*, vol. 6, no. 1 (February 2014), pp. 33–41; St. Joseph (MO) *Daily News*, June 18, 1891.
- 16 Oakland (CA) *Tribune*, April 7, 1949.
- 17 Chicago (IL) *Tribune*, April 24, 1893; *Catalogue, Wells Fargo & Company Historical Exhibit*, pp. 14, 21, 29; Dajani, *Black Bart*, p. 133.
- 18 Salt Lake City (UT) *Herald*, March 12, 1896; Delphos (KS) *Republican*, May 3, 1890; Collins and Levene, *Black Bart*, pp. 209–211; Dajani, *Black Bart*, p. 133.
- 19 Dajani, *Black Bart*, pp. 133–135; author's interviews with Dick Reames, great-great-grandson of Charles Boles, October 1993.

- 20 Brooklyn (NY) *Standard Union*, October 15, 1914; Brooklyn (NY) *Chat*, October 17, 1914; Jackson, *Tintypes in Gold*, p. 92.
- 21 Hoeper, *Black Bart*, pp. 154–156.
- 22 Los Angeles (CA) *Herald*, January 27, 1889; Sacramento (CA) *Record-Union*, January 11, 1891.
- 23 San Francisco (CA) *Examiner*, July 3, 1889, September 9, 1897; Victoria (Canada) *Daily Times*, June 4, 1889.
- 24 Brooklyn (NY) *Standard Union*, December 5, 1889; San Francisco (CA) *Chronicle*, January 1, 1890; New York (NY) *World*, October 23, 1890; New York (NY) *Sun*, October 23, 1890.
- 25 San Francisco (CA) *Bulletin*, November 17, 1892.
- 26 Mexico City (Mexico) *Mexican Herald*, February 24, 1902; Santa Rosa (CA) *Republican*, reprinted in Portland (OR) *Daily Journal*, April 2, 1903.