



William Watts Folwell and  
Family Papers.

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**FOLWELL, WILLIAM WATTS**

**NORTHFIELD BANK ROBBERY**

**RESEARCH FILE**

**UNDATED AND 1921 - 1923**

[UNDATED]

"NORTHFIELD ROBBERY"

BY

WILLIAM WATTS FOLWELL

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Appendix I V. 3

NORTHFIELD ROBBERY *Part I*

At about two o'clock in the afternoon of September 7, 1876, three strange men on horse back, coming from the west, crossed the iron bridge over the Cannon river and emerged into bridge Square, the center of business of the pretty little city of Northfield, Rice County, Minnesota, (the seat of Carleton College, with a population of some two thousand.) They traversed Bridge Square, turned to the right into Division Street, dismounted, and hitched their horses near the corner. They loitered near for a few minutes, when two other men on horse back, (one of them leader of the gang, coming from the same quarter arrived and dismounted without hitching their mounts. At this moment the three who were first on the ground entered the front door of the First National Bank of Northfield, in the rear part of the corner block, fronting on Bridge Square. One of the two walked in front as if on guard. A citizen named Allen, who attempted to enter the bank, was roughly handled and told to keep quiet at the peril of his life. He broke loose however, ran around the corner shouting "Boys get your guns, they are robbing the bank!" At the same time Dr. Henry M. Wheeler, who had been sitting in front of a store on Division Street, observing the unusual scene, moved to a point opposite the front of the bank. He instantly divined the situation and shouted "Robbery". The bandit <sup>pair</sup> ran hastily mounted, fired a shot over his head, and ordered him off the street. The same shot was also a signal which summoned three more mounted men who came dashing across Bridge Square. The whole five now began riding up and down Division Street for the distance of a square or block firing their pistols, shouting, and with horrid curses calling on all to leave the street. If a head appeared at a door or window they fired in its direction, breaking much glass, but harming <sup>nobody.</sup> ~~none~~. Nicholas Gustavson, a Scandinavian, who did not understand English and did not take cover, was shot and mortally wounded.



Northfield

Scrap Book 52, p. 123, picture of

scene of attempted robbery

Translation

Northfield Robbery

Scrap Book 52 p. 123 picture  
of scene of attempted robbery

Northfield:

For the story of the capture of the robbers  
see St. Peter Tribune... Extra. Broadside Sept. 22,  
1873... 11 A.M.

How w. to insert ?

Younger  
Rome via Daily Sentinel ✓  
Sept. 22, 1899. Sent PM 10:59  
Carefully written acct.

Rome Daily Sentinel  
(New York  
Sept 22, 1899  
Northfield Appendix

Younger.

For the capture near Madison on  
Rex St. Peter Tubercle Sept.  
22, 1876. - 54 lbs. 4 columns  
broadsides

Northfield appendix

Anselm

Anselm R. Manning a hardware merchant whose store fronted on Bridge Square, heard Allen's alarm, snatched a breech-loading rifle which stood in his window, picked up a handful of cartridges, ran to the corner and opened fire. His first shot killed a horse left hitched by one of those who had gone into the bank, his second wounded the leader, and his third went through the heart of one of the trio last to arrive. He fell from his horse dead, and it galloped away to a neighboring livery stable. Dr. Wheeler, equally alert, ran into the Dampier hotel, the clerk found for him an old army carbine and, after some search, three cartridges, with these he ran up to a second story window which overlooked the battle ground. His first shot at one of the party riding by went too high, but his second, better aimed at another, pierced his body above the heart causing instant death. Wheeler's third cartridge burst, and his firing ceased for the moment. The <sup>entire</sup> affair had lasted seven minutes.

Meantime a tragedy was in progress inside the bank. The three men who entered sprang over the counter, through an opening in the railing. One of them, flourishing a pistol, asked Joseph L. Heywood, the bookkeeper acting as cashier, if he was the cashier. He said he was not. A second man ran into the vault in which was the safe. Heywood tried to close the door. The two dragged him away, knocked him down with a blow from a pistol, fired a shot near his head and made a feint of cutting his throat, all the while demanding that he open the safe. This he steadfastly refused to do. A third bandit covered the bank teller, Alonzo E. Bunker, and <sup>assistant bookkeeper,</sup> a clerk Frank J. Wilcox with his gun and forced them to hold up their hands and get down on their knees. At the same time the third man was rummaging in the cashier's till where he found some small change. He did not discover a drawer underneath in which he might have found some three thousand dollars. Bunker seized a moment when his guard was thus engaged, ran back through the director's room, and broke through a <sup>closed with blinds</sup> screen door into an alley. One of the two who

To print just after n. 3.  
ref. p. 38



Punker,

had been trying to force Heywood to open the safe followed the fleeing teller, and sent a bullet after him which pierced his right shoulder below the collar bone. At this moment came the <sup>Sole Younger's</sup> leader's summons, "The game is up, better get out." The three at once sprang through the teller's window and out through the door. As the <sup>last one</sup> ~~fourth~~ climbed over the counter he saw Heywood, who had got to his feet, staggering towards his desk, and infuriated by the miscarriage of the adventure, stopped long enough to shoot him through the head. <sup>the first place</sup> The fleeing bandits <sup>six on five horses</sup> took the road southward to Dundas where they could recross the Cannon river. On the way they forced a farmer to give up one of his horses on which they put their dismounted comrade. From Dundas they struck southwest for the Big Woods. Before they were <sup>hardly</sup> out of sight men of Northfield, who had arms and horses, were in pursuit. The strangers had <sup>neglected or had</sup> not had time to wreck the Northfield telegraph office, and dispatches were at once flying in all directions. In response parties were rallied for the chase, in many villages, and by nightfall two hundred men, as estimated, were out. A party from Faribault, taking the shortest leg of the triangle, got first on the trail at Shieldsville. Indeed they arrived in advance of the fugitives and finding no signs of brigands left their arms in their wagon and went into <sup>a house (saloon)</sup> the hotel. While they were comfortably refreshing themselves the cavalcade arrived, held them separate from their weapons, watered their horses, exchanged some pleasantries, peppered the town pump with bullets as an object lesson in pistol shooting, and rode on. The Faribault men reinforced by some local recruits, followed on and overtook the band some four miles westward, and there exchanged some harmless long distance shots. The robbers plunged into the thick woods and were no more seen till after the lapse of fourteen days. At an early hour on Thursday morning September 21, four strange men came to the house of a Norwegian farmer living <sup>at</sup> in the town of Linden in the extreme southeast part of Brown county, <sup>about eight miles from Madelia,</sup> and bought some bread and <sup>and asked for food.</sup> butter, saying they could not stop for a meal. The farmer's son, who had



Insert on page 3 in line 5

One of them as he came out of the bank ran for shelter to the outside iron stairway of the Scriber block on Division street, from which he tried to get a shot at Manning. By this time some more cartridges for Wheeler's carbine had been found. A shot aimed by him at the robber thus engaged inflicted a severe wound on his right elbow.

heard of the Northfield murder, and probably of the rewards offered for the murderers had his suspicions aroused. With his father's consent he took one of the farm horses and hastened to Madelia some eight miles distant ~~east of~~ <sup>to the</sup> south. His story was believed and parties set out as fast as they could prepare. <sup>Soon</sup> Towards noon some of the pursuers came upon the four strangers on foot as they were about wading through the ~~Hausker~~ <sup>Hauska</sup> slough, an extension of the long Hausker Lake in the southern part of Brown County. A long detour had to be made by the mounted men before they came up with the fugitives, who were evidently making for a drove of horses at pasture on a nearby farm. By noon or a little after they found themselves on the open prairie nearly surrounded by <sup>or more</sup> forty armed men, and as their last resort plunged into a thicket of willows, box-elders and wild grape vines in a bend of the north fork of the Watonwan river. It would have been a proper procedure to establish an impenetrable line of pickets around that thicket of some five acres and await the surrender of the impounded fugitives. But there was one man who preferred bolder tactics, William W. Murphy of Madelia, who had been a captain in a Pennsylvania regiment in the civil war. He decided to take the chances of an immediate attack and called for volunteers; <sup>and</sup> six other men near at hand were of his mind. Led by Captain Murphy these men marched in line four ~~or five~~ paces apart through the underbrush nearly to the river, then wheeled left and moved down parallel with the river. After an advance of some fifty yards ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> four men were espied crouching in a group in a dense part of the thicket. ~~One of them fired and a fusillade followed.~~ <sup>the signal for a charge</sup> From the slight damage done it seems that the hunted party did not fire to kill, but only to frighten. <sup>Not so,</sup> Captain Murphy and his <sup>sergeants</sup> guard. Presently one called "I surrender, they are all down but me, come on. I'll not shoot." One of the four was found dead, one had received eleven, another five wounds, none fatal. The captured, alive and dead, were taken in

5/ wagons to Madelia where the wounded were properly cared for. ✓✓✓✓

The reader will have divined that the four men belonged to the gang which attempted to loot the bank in Northfield. The dead man was Charles Pitts whose pistol shot wounded the Northfield bank teller. The three who were captured were the brothers Younger, Thomas Cole <sup>man</sup> (commonly known as Cole Younger) James H. and Robert E. It was the last named whose right arm had been shattered by Dr. Wheeler's carbine. The man who was killed by Dr. Wheeler <sup>Manning</sup> was named Styles ~~(Shedden)~~, and the one who was felled by <sup>Wheeler's</sup> Manning's rifle was Miller. Two of the eight robbers remained to be accounted for. They, it was soon learned, had separated from the fugitive party of six a week before the capture. <sup>(the six included the two who separated)</sup> <sup>(Insert)</sup> By ~~forced marches on stolen horses~~ they made their way into South Dakota, and thence to Missouri. They were the James brothers, Frank and Jesse. The latter probably fired the shot which killed Heywood. On Saturday, the <sup>September</sup> 23rd, the three Youngers were taken to Faribault and lodged in the jail of Rice County, the proper venue. Because there were threats of a lynching too serious to be disregarded the sheriff <sup>and maintained</sup> placed a strong armed guard about the jail. <sup>On the night of October 2 a</sup> Faribault <sup>police-</sup> ~~public~~ man approaching <sup>the jail</sup> either did not hear a sentry's challenge or disregarded it. He was fired on and killed, and a fifth life was added to the sorrowful roll. While the murderous trio lay many weeks in the Rice County jail awaiting trial, it is convenient to make some account of their antecedents and their whereabouts during the fortnight after the miscarriage at Northfield. The eight men who undertook the adventure at Northfield, ~~Minnesota~~ with such disastrous results to themselves were not residents of Minnesota. All came from the state of Missouri. One of the number, Styles, who was shot by Manning, <sup>once a resident of</sup> had been in Minnesota and it has been suggested that ~~it~~ was his knowledge of its geography and the probable amount of money a bank robbery might yield that induced the gang to make the excursion. The leader of the expedition was Thomas Coleman Younger, commonly called Cole Younger. He was born in Jackson County, Missouri, on the western



There is reason for believing that the popular opinion that they were <sup>the</sup> brothers Jesse and Frank James, is true, but no proper evidence has ever been found to warrant the lodging of a complaint or a requisition on the Governor of Missouri for their extradition to be tried for murder in Minnesota. The three Younger brothers steadfastly refused to give the names of the two robbers who made ~~the~~ separate escape. Coke Younger in his story calls them Woods and Howard. ✓

The Youngers and the Jameses were from Missouri. The other three I am not sure of. (Of course, on this trip they probably started from Missouri.) Cole says (p. 77.) that Bill Chadwell (Stiles) was "a young fellow from Illinois."

On p. 91 and 92 Cole Younger says definitely that Frank and Jesse James were not members of the Northfield gang.

I do not find  
it expressly  
stated that Cole  
was the leader.

I don't know whether "Lighthorse Harry" was a Virginian or not. (Richard Henry Lee?)

Quantrell or Quantrell?

Cole was 18 on Jan. 15, 1862.  
He joined the band earlier  
in the winter.

Buel, p. 105, speaks  
of "Lieutenant  
Cole Younger"  
but I don't find  
the date of his  
Commission.

Cole Younger, p. 46,  
says "The death  
list that day is  
variously estimated  
at from 143 to 216."



Although mere boys both joined Quantrell and adhered to him to the close of his bloody career. Of the lives of the remaining three Northfield bandits Styles, Miller, and Pitts, little is known except that they were members of a numerous gang of outlaws which included the Youngers and Jameses. There is a tradition needing authentication that there was a rendezvous and hiding place in a hilly quarter of Jackson County, Missouri.

Beginning in 1866 a series of outrages lasting ten years took place, attributed rightly or wrongfully to the Missouri brigands. Buel, the author of The Border Outlaws, enumerates and describes as enterprises of the first order; <sup>eleven</sup> ~~ten~~ bank robberies; <sup>six</sup> ~~seven~~ in Missouri, and one each in Iowa, <sup>two in Kentucky</sup> ~~Kentucky~~ and West Virginia; <sup>and Minnesota</sup> four train robberies; two in Missouri, one each in Iowa and Kansas; one stage robbery in Arkansas, another in Texas; and a robbery of the Kansas City Fair which netted \$10,000. This author connects the Youngers with all these crimes and the Jameses with all but <sup>but two of</sup> ~~four~~ of the Missouri bank robberies. As to the considerations which moved the Missouri brigands to venture so far from home, <sup>as Minnesota</sup> too little is known to warrant even a guess. Cole Younger states that they desired to make a haul and depart with their (Younger brothers') share to start life anew in Cuba, South America or Australia. <sup>8</sup> As to their movements after reaching Minnesota by rail about the middle of August the following surmise, gathered from the conflicting accounts examined, is ventured.

The whole party of eight came directly to Minneapolis where several <sup>possibly</sup> days, probably a week was spent. About as much time was spent in St. Paul. A study of the situation resulted in the <sup>foregoing</sup> ~~abandonment~~ of bank robberies in those cities. The selection of another field of operation was now undertaken. A party of four went to Red Wing, where they bought horses and evidently reported unfavorably. Cole Younger and Robert <sup>Pitts</sup> went to St. Peter <sup>where they later met Bob and Chadwell who had been in</sup> and from that point considered the situation at Mankato.

*mankato.*

Buel says that  
 Jesse J. (in the  
 latter part of 1864)  
 went to Texas  
 while Frank  
 followed Quantrell  
 to Kentucky.  
 Frank stayed with  
 him until Q. was  
 killed.

pp. 31, 33.

Cole Younger doesn't mention  
 any contemplated robberies in  
 the Twin Cities. He speaks as  
 if Northfield were the objective  
 all the time. The scouting about  
 (to St. Peter, Mankato, Madelia, etc.), he  
 says, was to familiarize themselves  
 with the country — to aid them  
 in their escape, I suppose.

*Cole, Younger and Pettis*

They bought horses and equipment in St. Peter and explored the country as far as Madelia with a view, it may be assumed, of a get-away through that region. Two of the party visited Northfield in the last week of August and apparently formed a favorable opinion of the advantages of the place for persons engaged in their line of <sup>adventure</sup> business. [The same detachment or another passed through the principal towns between Northfield and Mankato such as Shieldsville, Cordova, <sup>and</sup> Millersburg. Wherever these exploring parties appeared they lodged in the best hotels, and, as was remembered, were amiable and communicative. They posed variously as civil engineers exploring a possible railroad route, as landseekers or stock dealers, <sup>or hunters</sup>. Their inquiries about roads, rivers and bridges, lakes and swamps and the lay of the land generally aroused no suspicions. All wore long "linen dusters" much in vogue before railroads had provided anti-dust appliances, thus concealing their pistols and cartridges belts.

On Saturday September 2<sup>nd</sup> five of the band were in Mankato where they made themselves conspicuous by their horsemanship and genial manners. Four of them lodged in pairs in two hotels till the following Monday morning. The quarters of the fifth man are not known. It is probable that the remaining members of the full party were in the neighborhood. It has been asserted that the original plan was to rob a Mankato bank. If such there were it was abandoned when on Monday Jesse James, <sup>as related</sup> was recognized by a citizen. <sup>7</sup> The whole party thereupon left the neighborhood in two divisions. The itinerary of the principal group of five was as follows: Monday night at Janesville, eighteen miles ~~south of~~ east from Mankato; Tuesday night, at Cordova, about the same distance nearly due north of Janesville, in Le Sueur County; Wednesday night [four men only], at Millersburg, a village in Rice County some eleven miles <sup>7</sup> westerly from Northfield. Of the movements of the remaining members ["Bob's party", (in the words of Cole Younger,)] nothing is known except that four men passed the night of Wednesday at



~~I don't find anything~~  
~~about an earlier~~  
~~trip to Northfield.~~  
~~except that made the~~  
~~day before the robbery.~~  
~~that we found them there.~~  
 On the <sup>main</sup> expedition  
 the band divided  
 up into two parties  
 and followed different  
 routes to Northfield.  
 One of these parties  
 passed through  
 Cordova & Millersburg.

See next paragraph.

Dr. F. has con-  
~~fused the two~~  
~~trips.~~

Cole's words are  
 "Bob and his  
 party were then  
 [Wed. night] at Cannon  
 City, to the south  
 of Northfield."

Cannon city, ten miles south of Northfield. The fourth man was evidently detached from the main party. The divisions reunited in the forenoon of Thursday near Northfield on the west side of the Cannon river. Some of them went into the town and <sup>had</sup> dinner was had at different places. After the meal all returned to the "camp" where the final details were made for the day's business. That has been already described.

We left the fleeing bandits late in the evening of Thursday, September 7<sup>th</sup>, in the timber west of Shieldsville. They probably took no rest that night but made such progress as they could in the rain and dark guided by a pocket compass. Their apparent intention was to strike southwardly from Shieldsville and by a rapid march cross the Iowa border about a hundred miles distant. The immediate pursuit, which they did not expect, impelled them to stay in the heavy timber of the Big Woods, where lakes and swamps were numerous and the undergrowth dense. On Friday the fugitives advanced less than twenty miles and halted south of and near German lake in Le Sueur County. On Saturday morning <sup>See note</sup> after turning loose the horses they had taken from farmers, and <sup>using</sup> tied the remaining three of their own to trees, they started on foot carrying their bridles and saddle blankets. The day was mostly passed in hiding on an islet in a swamp. A slow march by night brought them on Sunday morning to a point on Lake Madison in the northeast corner of Blue Earth County. Here they remained <sup>all</sup> for the next twenty-four hours. <sup>day Sunday</sup> <sup>Sunday night</sup> On Monday September 11<sup>th</sup> a walk of nine miles directly west brought them to a deserted house in the woods not more than three miles <sup>from</sup> south of Mankato. Here they rested Monday night, Tuesday and Tuesday night. We leave them there for the moment.

Telegrams dispatched on September 7<sup>th</sup> (the day of the battle,) brought to Northfield before sunset the chiefs of police and detectives of St. Paul and Minneapolis and many citizens from those cities and from other places on the railroad, south as well as north. It is probable that there

They turned loose the three  
borrowed horses on Friday  
night and abandoned the  
other three (which were  
tied to trees) Saturday  
morning.

Lemon, p. 31.



were as many as two hundred men assembled in Northfield that evening, as estimated. On the following day that number was swelled to five hundred, also according to estimate. The news that Governor Pillsbury had offered a reward of \$1500 for the capture of the gang received in the villages sent large parties into the field with such arms and equipment as could be readily procured. *This reward was afterwards increased to \$1000 for each member of the gang.*

Without centralized authority the volunteer parties of pursuers chose each its own line of operation, often at cross purposes. Each was of course desirous that the number of persons to share the Governor's reward should not be large. Few were really well armed or mounted, and food and lodging had to be picked as they might be. Because of an expectation strengthened by a false alarm, many presumed that the murderers would turn to the south and accordingly manned a line running *from Waseca to* east and west through Janesville.

Picket lines loosely established to intersect a movement to the west were thin and not well connected. The fugitives had no difficulty in breaking through them. It may be said without impeaching the bravery of any that there was no impetuous alacrity to make battle with six such desperadoes accustomed to pistol-shooting to kill. After three fruitless days and nights most of the pursuers gave up the chase and went home. The abandoned horses left tied at the bivouac of Friday night *were not discovered until Tuesday* had not been discovered, and *then* the natural supposition was that the robbers had *escaped on foot* ridden beyond reach. By the time they had finished their rest in the deserted house near Mankato the pursuit had been virtually abandoned.

A short and sudden revival took place. On Wednesday morning, September 13, the gentlemen from Missouri were ready for another break for liberty. At about six o'clock a passing farm laborer in search of cows, was halted and interrogated about roads and river crossings. After threatening him and debating whether it would not be proper to kill him, the robbers decided to take his word that he would never reveal the interview and let him go after his cows. After getting his breakfast he decided that his

[11]

conscience did not bind him to keep a promise extorted in such an extraordinary manner. He told his story to his employer, a Mankato banker, who hurried to town with it. His report roused the whole population, the telegraph was set at work and there was "mounting in hot haste." <sup>these quotes are Dr. F.'s own</sup> The trains soon brought in remnants of the disbanded forces near at hand, and recruits came from Nicollet, Le Sueur, Faribault, and even from Hennepin and Ramsey counties. <sup>repetition is quite of fix (p. 10)</sup> The governor had raised the promised reward from \$1000 for the capture of the whole robber gang to \$1000 for each and every member of it taken dead or alive. <sup>h</sup> The estimate of a thousand men assembled at and about Mankato <sup>in a short time (probably the same day)</sup> the next day was probably not excessive. A conference of volunteer leaders <sup>of Mankato</sup> resulted in a loose organization in command of General Edmund M. Pope who had seen service in the Civil War. A line of guards was posted to hold the fords and bridges of the Blue Earth river. A telegram informed the commander that the railroad company would guard its own bridge. He therefore took his own detail off. At midnight of Wednesday three men (and probably a fourth,) walked out on the railroad trestle, and not being halted passed over. The guard of two men and a boy were too frightened even to challenge them. A short pursuit on a faint trail on the following <sup>day</sup> morning was futile. No more was heard of the <sup>four</sup> fugitives till their capture precisely a week later, as already told. Their hiding places have never been revealed. <sup>12</sup>

~~At what point the remaining two robbers broke through the line of guards and crossed the Blue Earth is not known, but they slipped through a line at Lake Crystal on Thursday night and mounted on stolen or seized horses rode nearly due west and crossed the Minnesota border. Supposing that the whole bunch of survivors was thus in flight, numerous detachments eager for the promised bounties of pursuers followed but were at every point too late. The two men were with little doubt the James brothers, although Cole Younger declares that they were not and could not have been engaged in the Northfield adventure. A his-~~ <sup>9</sup> torian who professes to be well-informed states that the two outlaws re-

Rice, Waseca, & Winona  
 Counties also were  
 represented. ~~Lake County~~  
~~Blue Earth~~

Insert on page 11

The two remaining bandits probably crossed the Blue Earth the same night on the railroad bridge, and early on Thursday they detached themselves for a separate flight. On Thursday Night they broke through a picket line near Lake Crystal, which challenged and fired on them. Mounted on horses stolen or seized and ridden till broken down and then exchanged they struck nearly due west and without resting crossed the Minnesota-Dakota border on Sunday, September 17.



my one returned to Jackson Co.  
turned to Jackson county, Missouri, and married and became "affectionate husbands and loving and indulgent fathers."

The district court for Rice county did not convene till November 14. Meantime the flesh wounds of the prisoners healed up and the severer ones improved. A guard was kept over them night and day. Fifty deputy sheriffs ready to assemble at the ringing of the courthouse bell, were relied on to check any attempts at lynching, of which vague rumors floated about. The men with shackled feet passed much of the time in reading and writing, the oldest brother devoting himself to the Bible and the laws of Minnesota. On the opening day of the term the grand jury was drawn and began its duty. While it was hearing testimony and deliberating, the next day a sister of the brothers "very pretty, and prepossessing," and an aunt appearing to be "a lady of the highest moral character," arrived to comfort their unfortunate relatives. On the 6th of November the grand jury reported four true bills against the accused, and they were taken from the jail to the courthouse under strong guard to be arraigned. There were three indictments against the three collectively: 1. as accessories to the murder of Heywood; 2. for the attack on Bunker; 3. for robbing the Northfield bank. A separate charge was made against Cole Younger for the murder of Nicolas Gustavson.

Upon request of their counsel they were allowed time to consider on the pleas they should make to the indictments. The result of their conferences was that on November 20 each and all pleaded guilty to all of the indictments. According to the penal code of Minnesota at the time it was the duty of a jury, which should find a verdict of guilty against a person indicted for murder, to decide whether he should suffer the penalty of death or of imprisonment for life. The prosecuting attorney moved the court to order the impannelling of a jury to decide that question in the cases before it. The judge, Hon. Samuel Lord, reminded the attorney

I should think  
the fourth  
Charge would  
be against  
them Collectively  
too.

? the duty?

the act says, "Whenever . . . the jury shall have agreed upon a verdict of guilty of such offense, such jury ~~may~~ also determine . . . that the person so convicted shall be punished by death, and if they so determine, shall render their verdict accordingly."

That criminal statutes are always to be construed strictly, and that <sup>since they were</sup> the intention of the law was to spare a man's life if he pleaded guilty of murder and rendered a jury trial unnecessary. The judge remarked on the absurdity of leaving the question of the penalty to the jury. It would be necessary for the jury to agree and the judge might hold them together till they agreed on death or nothing. He thereupon pronounced ~~the~~ separate sentences of imprisonment for life at hard labor on the three brothers. <sup>12</sup> They were taken to the state prison at Stillwater in November 22, 1876. <sup>14</sup> In the first years of their confinement they were employed in making wooden buckets and tubs under a special guard. If there was any distinction between them and other inmates it was their absolute obedience to the prison rules and willingness to do their work. And there was a certain courtesy in their language and demeanor which won the good will and later <sup>the</sup> respect and confidence of the officials. In later years they were given lighter tasks. Robert, who died of consumption on September 16, 1889, was clerk to the steward, James distributed the mail, and had charge of the library, and Cole became head nurse in the hospital, where he was seen by the writer. <sup>15</sup>



The judge didn't  
say exactly what  
Dr. F. says (in bracket)  
but I suppose it  
was implied.

7 The complete revelation of the long effort to mitigate the punishment of the Youngers awaited the publication in 1906 of the book entitled "The Youngers' Fight for Freedom". The author was W. C. Bronaugh of Clinton, Missouri, an ~~Ex~~-Confederate soldier and a stock farmer. After making due allowances for a natural willingness to glorify his part in the drama, it is safe to say that he was the principal actor and has left a truthful story.

13 His first meeting with Coleman Younger was in August, 1862, the day after the battle of Lone Jack when he encountered him on a picket line as "an exceedingly handsome, young fellow, stalwart, alert, <sup>and</sup> intelligent and every inch a soldier." In 1884 Bronaugh used the occasion of a honeymoon journey to call on Cole and his brothers in their prison at Stillwater. Before the interview was over he resolved to devote himself to securing a pardon for them and gave his promise to do so. [It took him seventeen years to do it.] Inquiries in St. Paul as to the feasibility of his project resulted in advice to take the first train for home. In the spring of the following year, 1885, he opened correspondence with Mrs. L. W. Twyman living near Independence, Missouri, the aunt who came to the trial of her nephews at Faribault. On her invitation he paid her a visit, when she made known to him that she had been in correspondence with William R. Marshall, former governor of Minnesota, for nearly a year and showed some of his letters from which it appeared that he <sup>was</sup> in sympathy with her desire to see the Youngers released.

14 A year ran by and in June, 1886, <sup>ex-</sup>Governor Marshall made an appointment for Bronaugh to meet him in Jefferson City, Missouri. The two called on the governor of Missouri and found him ready to recommend a pardon for the Youngers when the time should be opportune. This mission soon became public in Minnesota and brought down on Governor Marshall sharp criticisms from prominent men, the press and the pulpit. To his critics he replied in a letter which appeared in the <sup>check title</sup> Pioneer Press of July 26, 1886. As this

letter may be taken as a résumé of the considerations urged from many quarters for the pardon of the Youngers its salient points may be briefed. "These men," said Governor Marshall, "are not as black as much falsehood, much prejudice, much misinformation and <sup>dime</sup> ~~some~~ <sup>ers</sup> biographies have painted <sup>them</sup>." Cole Younger was a captain in the confederate army at nineteen and was an officer of "unusual reliability." The Youngers did not kill Heywood, that crime was done by a drunken comrade. Still no one claims that they are innocent. The question is whether these men, having been imprisoned for ten years, can be relied on to behave themselves <sup>and</sup> to lead honest lives. All the prison officials believe them to be men of honor. They have friends to help them live righteously if liberated, "right minded, Christian men and women in the highest walks of life," state officials, ex-governors, members of Congress, and <sup>of</sup> the Missouri legislature. A million dollars bonds can be given for their good behavior. Their punishment has had its effect and further infliction can serve no good purpose. The pardoning power is provided for to supplement the action of courts and <sup>justice</sup> juries and liberate prisoners when it becomes reasonably certain that they can live honestly. Such is the case with the Youngers who have now served <sup>nearly</sup> ten years in prison, while the average term of convicts sentenced for life is a fraction over nine years. The example of the pardon of the thief on the cross of Calvary was cited. Governor Marshall did not, he said, expect to modify the existing public opinion in regard to the convicts, but he was not willing to have anybody believe that any storm of criticism or obloquy could intimidate him from stating his convictions or his purpose to befriend the unfortunate men. No one who knew Governor Marshall as did the writer would ever believe him to be wanting <sup>in</sup> for courage on any occasion when any kind of courage was needed. On August <sup>13</sup> ~~26~~ a second letter from him appeared in the <sup>check title</sup> Pioneer Press somewhat enlarging on his previous communication, and transmitting one from Cole Younger dated August 1. In this Younger stated that the original cause of his present punishment was the bloody border warfare



of Kansas and Missouri, but insisted that he had done no act not required by superior authority. He had only "tried to do his part as" any <sup>true</sup> good soldier would." He made no allusion to robberies or other crimes. Bronaugh had 25,000 copies of Governor Marshall's first letter printed at his own expense, as he says, and distributed them in Missouri, Arkansas and Kentucky. <sup>15</sup> ~~17~~

The untiring friend of the Youngers made but little progress in the next two years, but one step was taken which needs remark. On a visit to Kansas City in 1888 Bronaugh made the acquaintance of Liberty Hall, a man well acquainted with public men and affairs in Minnesota, who was willing to assist in the scheme for liberating the Youngers, asking only money enough to pay his legitimate expenses. A satisfactory arrangement was made with him and earnest and effective service was rendered. [This is the only reference to the use of money found in the whole course of the endeavor.] <sup>the only one line found 16</sup> ~~16~~ <sup>18</sup>

The first direct and formal appeal for the pardon of the Youngers was made to Governor William R. Merriam. <sup>In the summer of</sup> [On July 1889] a hearing was accorded to a group of petitioners including Ex-Governor William R. Marshall, Ex-Warden A. J. Reed, and Ex-Sheriff [of Rice County] <sup>See note</sup> [Ara] Barton. There was a delegation from Missouri of which the faithful aunt and beloved sister were members. A petition signed by nearly every member of the Missouri legislature asking pardon in the name of mercy and humanity was presented. Accompanying the petition were letters of approval of every Missouri state official except Governor David R. Francis. Letters from prominent men were not wanting, among them General Sibley, Senator D. M. Sabin, Ignatius Donnelly, John C. Wise, <sup>? Judge</sup> [Reuben C. Mott] and <sup>Two</sup> twenty other residents of Faribault. There was another from W. W. Murphy who headed the party of captors near Madelia warmly beseeching clemency. Governor Merriam listened patiently to the addresses and the pathetic appeals of the aunt and sis-

Bronaugh  
writes "Ira"  
but Upham  
gives the  
name Ara

ter. The sister pleaded for a pardon for all the brothers, but if that could not be granted that Robert, already in a last stage of consumption, might be released. The governor's answer was that his duty and his personal judgment <sup>prejudice</sup> forbade him to pardon any of them. A separate appeal by Governor Marshall and Bronaugh made a <sup>few weeks</sup> fortnight later for a pardon for Robert was also refused. It could have afforded but little comfort, for he died on September 16, 1889. ✓✓✓✓✓

17 Seven years now passed before another application was made to the governor of Minnesota for a pardon for the surviving brothers. That was made to Governor David M. Clough in October, 1896. He is said to have been sympathetic and to have wavered long before refusing the pardon and to have regretted his refusal. The legislature of 1895 had submitted to the electors an amendment to the state constitution to take the pardoning power out of the hands of the governor alone and repose it in a board of pardons, consisting of the governor, the chief justice of the supreme court and the attorney general. Governor Clough apparently expected a ratification of the proposed amendment at the November election near at hand and advised the applicants to resort to the new board. ✓✓✓✓✓  
18 Bronaugh, the indefatigable advocate of the convicts, acted on this advice and on July 10, 1897 <sup>8</sup> appeared before the board <sup>filed with</sup> ~~with counsel~~ and "a large <sup>leather packed</sup> valise full of precious documents." There was a third petition from the general assembly of Missouri, and "a vast store of letters." <sup>at the meeting of the board on July 12</sup> Arguments were delivered both for and against a pardon. Bronaugh gave his <sup>speech</sup> ~~in writing~~, after having, as he says, read it over in the previous night thirty-seven times by actual count. Mayor A. Keyes of Faribault demanded that the convicts give proof of good citizenship by disclosing the name of the man who murdered Heywood. If Frank James did the deed he ought to suffer the penalty. If the Youngers are the good citizens they claim to be, let them tell the truth about this crime. At the close of the hearing the board by unanimous vote refused to



pardon and later placed on record a statement of their reasons. The convicts are murderers in law and in fact. The board has no right to set aside a sentence by a court of competent jurisdiction after a fair trial, unless extenuating circumstances have been brought to light. There are none such. The parentage of the prisoners was respectable. Eleven years had passed after the close of the Civil War, but these men had not returned to their homes and to peaceful pursuits. They became members of a notorious band of outlaws and made war on society. A pardon on the ground of reformation in prison would imply that every life convict who had behaved well ought to be pardoned after twenty<sup>one</sup> years of incarceration. Such a policy sanctioned by the board would be a menace to life and a curse to the state.

The long struggle for a pardon for the two Youngers was now given up for what was thought would be a less objectionable proposition, a parole from incarceration. The existing law authorized the board of prison managers to grant paroles to all convicts found deserving, except those sentenced for life. A bill introduced into the legislature of 1889 to extend parole privilege to life convicts was passed by the Senate by a vote of 48 to 5, but was rejected by the house by a vote of 31 to 68. The defeat of the bill has been attributed to a rumor that money was being used to secure its passage. It was spoken of as the "Younger bill". A similar bill was passed by both houses in 1901 and became a law. To give it special application to the Youngers, a provision was inserted allowing the parole of life convicts who should have served thirty-five years minus <sup>conduct</sup> good time allowances. Some months ran by before action of the board of prison managers was invoked. At a meeting of sympathizers held in Minneapolis, early in June, 1901, it was made known that Governor Van Sant had received a letter from a Missouri attorney which might have an unfavorable effect on the board. To counteract such influence the tireless Bronaugh, under advice of the meeting, hurried back to Missouri, where he got from

Cole Younger  
says it was  
spoken of as  
the "Youngers'  
parole bill."

23

At 10 o'clock on Sunday morning July 11, 1901 immediately after the chapel services, the brothers were called from their customary posts and given new <sup>civilian</sup> suits of clothing. Attired in them they took a short walk into the town, <sup>after which they</sup> ~~lunched~~ in the warden's dining room, and in the afternoon were given a boat ride on Lake St. Croix. The Pioneer Press of July 18 voiced the sentiments of the good people who had worked and prayed for the release of the Youngers. "The men <sup>themselves</sup> have changed" said that journal. "They are not the <sup>younger boys...</sup> ~~men~~ who raided Northfield, they are called by the same names..."



Governors  
Stone and  
Dockery

(1901) what  
states?

but they are not the same persons. Their conduct from the first has been exemplary. reformation was not difficult for them. They have simply acted out their natural impulses, which were those of honest, sincere and loyal gentlemen." 26

Both the brothers at once took up employment arranged for them near by. Later Coleman had work in St. Paul and James in Minneapolis and St. Paul. On October 19, 1902, the body of James Younger was found in a room in the Reardon hotel in St. Paul. "A bullet hole above <sup>his</sup> the right ear and a pistol <sup>clutched</sup> clenched in his hand," says Cole, "told the story of suicide." The body was sent to Lee's Summit, Missouri, the early home of the Younger family. Upon a renewed application for a pardon which would allow him to return to his old home, the board of pardon on February 4, 1903, granted to Thomas Coleman Younger not a full but a conditional pardon. The principal condition was that he return to his friends and kindred and never voluntarily come back to Minnesota. The condition of his previous parole that he should never exhibit himself in any place of public amusement where a charge for admission was made was renewed, and a promise to that effect was solemnly made by him. This obligation dashed a hope he had cherished of earning a livelihood on the lecture platform. [The board of pardon could not have expected from him more or other than an honorable stipulation,] as Younger was ordered out of the jurisdiction of the state. On his return to Missouri or not long after, he did not deem it a breach of honor to become a part owner of "The Cole Younger and Frank James' Wild West Show" which should "give the people the worth of their money and... show the frontiersman of <sup>my</sup> his <sup>as he was.</sup> early manhood." 27

In 1905 Cole Younger asked through Governor John A. Johnson that a full pardon might be granted him, saying that <sup>most</sup> half of the people still thought him a life prisoner on parole and hesitated about contracting with him. [In 1909 a citizen of Kansas City, Missouri, applied to Governor

There is also  
 in same  
 file <sup>(see n. 28)</sup> a letter  
 from Thos.  
 T. Crittenden  
 of Kansas City,  
 Mo. dated  
 Jan. 30, 1905.

The letter was  
 written in  
 support of Cole's  
 request. This

letter may be what  
 Dr. Fol. has seen.  
 There is no applica-  
 tion for pardon  
 or any record of  
 any pardon pre-  
 ceeding in 1909  
~~this~~ or later



Johnson to obtain a full pardon, so that Cole Younger might appear and speak at religious and devotional entertainments for which admission fees should be charged. ] No unconditional pardon was ever conceded. ✓ 28 ✓

## Northfield Robbery

1  
See ante,

2  
George Huntington, Robber and Hero, 10-16; The Story of Cole Younger by Himself, 80-85; John Jay Lemon, The Northfield Tragedy, 6-12; Buel, The Border Outlaws, 206; Faribault Republican, September 13, 1876.

3  
The Story of Cole Younger, 81-85; Huntington, Robber and Hero, 12, 17-37; Lemon, Northfield Tragedy, 8. Cole Younger in his manuscript story of 1897, in the Folwell Papers, says he called on the men in the bank three times to come out.

4  
Huntington, Robber and Hero, 38, 47-51, 62-71, 92; Buel, Border Outlaws, 211-222; The Story of Cole Younger, 85-89; Lemon, Northfield Tragedy, 25, 51-56. They were "making for Doolittle's herd," says Lemon, p. 53. We "kept on a course toward Madelia to a farm where I knew there were some good horses," says Cole Younger in his story written by himself, p. 87.

It is impossible to reconcile the narratives of this "battle." Cole Younger, p. 88, gives to his an heroic turn. It had been agreed to break through the line and make for the horses. He rose as a signal for the charge, and a volley was fired by himself and comrades. He tried to get his man and started through, but the fire of the pursuers laid all low but Bob. Lemon, p. 55, says a shot was fired from the thicket, and then the robbers were seen kneeling close together. All (the robbers) began firing as fast as possible. There was a slight cessation of fire while the pursuers were reloading. The robbers retreated

a little and then surrendered. The place of capture was the northeast quarter of section 20, township 107, range 31. Lemon, 54.

The capturing party was met by another crowd and all returned to Madelia in a high state of elation. Lemon, 55; Huntington, 71.

[The story of roses for the dead bandit's body has not been confirmed, but see Huntington, 74.]



1. See ante, — Appendix

[1]

2/ George Huntington, Robber and Hero, p. 10-16  
Younger, The Story of Cole Younger by himself,  
p. 80-85, John Jay Lemon, The Northfield  
Tragedy, p. 6-12

Buel, The Border Outlaws, p. 206;  
Fairbault Republican Sept. 13, 1876.

3/ The Story of Cole Younger, 81-85; Huntington, Robber  
and Hero, 12, 17-37; Lemon, Northfield Tragedy, 8. (Insert)

4/ Huntington, Robber and Hero, 38, 47-51, <sup>62-71, 92;</sup> Buel, Border  
Outlaws, 211-222; The Story of Cole Younger, 85-89;  
Lemon, Northfield Tragedy, 25, 51-56. (Insert)

5/ Huntington, 3, <sup>32, 58,</sup> 70, 75; Story of Cole Younger, <sup>77, 87;</sup> (Insert)

6/ Huntington, Robber and Hero, 4, 75, 76, Story of Cole  
Younger, 7-58, passim; Lemon, Northfield Tragedy, 60;

Buel, The Border Outlaws, 18, 103, <sup>105</sup> 203  
Brough, The Younger's Fight for Freedom, 18;

✓7/ Buel, The Border Bandits, 7-11, 43-46;

✓8/ Buel, The Border Outlaws, 111-225;  
The Story of Cole Younger, 76

✓9/ The Story of Cole Younger, 77-80;

Buel, The Border Outlaws, 204; Huntington,  
Robber and Hero, 1-10; Leman, Northfield Tragedy, 3-5.  
(Insert)

✓10/ Story of Cole Younger, 86; Huntington,  
Robber and Hero, 54-56; Buel, The Border Outlaws, 213;  
Leman, The Northfield Tragedy, 31.

✓11/ Huntington, Robber and Hero, 50-52<sup>57</sup>; Leman, Northfield  
Tragedy, 28, 31, 32-36; Governor's archives, Records, E: 530, 533.  
(p. 530 gives the original reward of \$1,500 and p. 533 gives the reward of \$1,000 apiece)

✓12/ Leman, The Northfield Tragedy, 36-44; Huntington,  
Robber and Hero, 57; (Insert)

~~✓13/ Leman, The Northfield Tragedy, 41-46; Story of Cole  
Younger, 91; Buel, The Border Bandits, 120-122~~

~~✓14/ The Story of Cole Younger, 90; Huntington, Robber  
and Hero, 76-78; Buel, Border Outlaws, 224.~~

~~not complete~~



NOTES ON THE NORTHFIELD ROBBERY

1. This account of an affair tragical and grandiose enough at the time but which seems trivial in comparison with similar adventures at the date of this writing has been digested from principally the following publications :

(1) George Huntington, Robber and Hero, (Northfield, Minnesota, 1895). The purpose of this interesting work did not require citations of sources of information, but in a letter written by him April 26, 1918, to Sam. E. Mitchell, Los Angeles, California he says, "I made an exhaustive study of every available source of information <sup>concerning the raid</sup> ~~corresponded with~~ interviewed every man in Northfield who was present at any part of the fray, corresponded with every man out of Northfield who had anything to do with either the street-fight, the bank-fight, or the fight and capture <sup>at</sup> Madelia, and read every thing that had been published in the newspapers of the state.... I had the detailed statements, orally and in writing, of Mr. Funker and Mr. Wilcox.... I had the statement of Mr. Manning ... also the statement of Dr. Wheeler <sup>not to mention</sup> and of numerous other persons who were in the fight or witnesses of it.... Concerning the final discovery and capture of four of the men at Madelia, I had the written statement of every one of the captors then living, five in all." This letter is now in the possession of Mrs. George Huntington of Northfield, Minn. <sup>was given to the author by</sup> ~~and a copy of it is in the~~ <sup>and acting as clerk. Huntington, Robber and</sup> ~~Hero, 17.~~ <sup>Folwell Papers.</sup>

(2) John Jay Lemon, The Northfield Tragedy, Copyright 1876. Seventh edition of 10,000 copies 1881. 8° 44p. Huntington in preface, page v, acknowledges important assistance to the "excellent and accurate history" by Lemon. <sup>on the Raid of the Younger-James Bros.</sup> <sup>printed in</sup> <sup>8° 44p.</sup>

(3) J. W. Buel, The Border Outlaws, (St. Louis, 1881) (Part I.) The Younger Brothers, 12°, 252p; (Part II.) Jesse and Frank James, 148p.

(4) Buel, The Border Bandits (St. Louis, 1881).

(5) THOMAS COLEMAN YOUNGER, The story of Cole Younger written by himself, (Chicago, 1903) 8°, 124p. The author states in his preface that on coming out of prison he found "a hundred or more of books... purporting to be a history of the 'The Lives of the Younger Brothers'... a lot of sensational recitals.... one publishing house alone is selling sixty varieties of these books... <sup>and I venture to say that</sup> in the whole lot there could not be found six pages of truth." His purpose is "to give an authentic and absolutely correct history."



- Northfield Robbery*  
 (6) *St. Peter Tribune* Sept. 27, 1876, 11 A.M. broadside by editor  
 (7) W.T. Bradley, *The Outlaws of the Border...* with the Achievements, Robberies and final capture of the Youngers, St. Louis; copyright 1880, 91p. On same volume John N. Edwards, *Noted guerillas...* History of... James Brother and the younger Brothers. 12° 302.  
 (8) William Elsey Connelly, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 1910 539p  
 (9) Franklin Curtiss-Wedge, *History of Rice County*, 1895, p. 434+  
 (10) John A. Brown *History of Cottonwood and Watonwan counties*, 2916 p. 530  
 1:560-569 (Indianapolis, 1916) contains a verbatim lift from Cole Youngers own story.

(11) W.C. Pronaugh, *The Youngers' Fight for Freedom*, (Columbia, Mo., 1906)  
 12° 8+398

(12) *Pioneer-Press and Tribune (Saint Paul and Minneapolis)*, 1876; September 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, November 15, 16, 17, 21.  
*and every day till Sept 29 inclusion*

(13) [Weekly saint Paul and Minneapolis] *Pioneer-Press and Tribune*, Sept. 14, + 21 ("Complete history with map and diagram, 1; Oct. 5; November 2, 16, 23.

(14) *Faribault Republican*, 1876; September 13, 20, 27, Oct. 4, 11, November 15, 22

(15) *St. Peter Tribune*, 1876; September 13, 20, 27, November 27. Issue of Sept 13 has a story of the fight at Northfield by an eye-witness.

(16) *Mankato Record*, 1876; Sept. 11 16, 23, 30.

(17) *Mankato Review*, September 12, 19, 26, November, 21, 28, 1876

(18) *Washington Advance* Sept. 14, 28, Oct. 5, Nov. 28.  
 (18) *Minneapolis Tribune* November 21, 1897 1915, Section 2, p. 5

printed from a manuscript of Cole Younger's and given by him to Dr. A.E. Hedbach, prison physician, now in possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. The story was reprinted in the *Northfield News* of Nov. 26, 1897. Much of the matter was reproduced in the *Story of Cole Younger* written by himself.

2. Cole Younger in his manuscript story of 1897, says he called the men in the bank three times to come out.

3. "Making for Doolittle's herd," says Lemon, p. 53; In sight of our long sought horses says Cole Younger in his story written by himself, p. 87.

4. The reader need not care for the various names assumed by members of the gang to a farm there

*Sub (C)  
Can't find* *Neill Add to 5* *1898*  
Cora McNeil, Mizzoura ( a novel,) Minneapolis, 1898, 12° 391.  
The preface states that " although the book has received the  
sanction of the Youngers... it cannot be said to be a sto-  
from them but of them... containing many incidents in their  
career. N.B. the appendix, pp 367-390 , by George M. Fen-  
nett relating mostly to the military history of Cole and  
Jim Younger.

*(B)* *Delavan L. Add to 5*  
Rev. D. E. Leonard, Funeral Discourse on Joseph Lee  
Heywood... Northfield Sunday A.M. Sept 10. Minne-  
apolis, 1876 8° 16p. In particular Historical Note p.  
345. *Transcribed by Professor F. E. Leonard*  
*Chulien College, Ohio.*

REV. D. E. LEONARD

[ 3 ]

add to

range 31. Simon, 54.  
The capturing  
returning part.

add to  $\sqrt{5}$  E. L.

7. On October 30, 1913, <sup>see note</sup>

94 Cole Younger in his MS of 1897 says, "We were not" frightened away from

2. See Cole Younger, MS of 1897, and Story of 1903, also

add 9, wer

is utterly incredible. Copy of Rescue Mission Echoes, March.



Register F - March 26, 1877 - appointment by Gov. Pillsbury  
of Commissioners to examine claims <sup>expenses in con.</sup> of reward - act of leg.  
app. March 2, 1877

Geo. W. Batchelder, Faribault

Sumner C. Ladd, St. Peter

J. H. Ray, Mankato

Ray declined, W. R. Kinyon, Steele Co., in his place

13/   
 ??? Addition to Note 9:

no record of

appears in Executive Register

[No direct evidence has yet been found that the James brothers belonged to the Northfield gang. Neither of them was ever indicted for crime in Rice County; see letter of Robert H. Sime to Author, Aug. 26, 1921, in Folwell papers. <sup>See note attached</sup> No requisition was ever made on the governor of Missouri for their extradition to Minnesota; see letter <sup>See below</sup>

The only assertion found of their presence at Northfield is that of the impostor mentioned in note 6 ante. He stated that he and the James boys escaped from Northfield through Northern Minnesota and Wisconsin; a statement under the circumstances utterly invalid.

Correspondence of Author with the Secretary of State of Missouri, Oct. 15 - Nov. 22, 1921 in Folwell Papers.

See also to n. 9 from next page

add. n. 13/

See statement of "Missourian" in <sup>Daily</sup> Pioneer Press July 2, 1897, <sup>p. 2,</sup> that Governor Hubbard made a requisition and sent Sheriff Ara Barton to get Frank James which Governor Crittenden of Missouri denied on "ample grounds." : also statement of Keyes in Pioneer Press of Ju-13, 1897, p. 8. <sup>mayor d. p.</sup> Neither statement has been verified.

that Gov. Crittenden of Missouri had refused to permit the extradition of Frank James to Minnesota.

add. n. 5/

The names of these two men were given as the true ones at the time by the chief of police of St. Louis and other officials after comparing photographs of the corpses with other pictures; Huntington, 75. Cole Younger in his Story written by himself, says (p. 32) "he [Manning] shot <sup>Chadwell</sup> Caldwell [alias Styles] through the heart...." Dr. Wheeler ... shot Miller." It is not thought best to confuse the reader with the numerous aliases assumed by or for the members of the gang.

*addition 12/8*  
*may*  
*as to M.S.*  
 The reader will have queried in what way the rewards offered by the state for the capture of the Northfield brigands was distributed among so many participants. The governor evidently gave up the problem, for the legislature of 1877, provided for the appointment of a board of three commissioners to hear the applicants, select the meritorious ones, and divide equitably among them the \$3000 appropriated by the act. [No act has been found increasing that appropriation, but the report of the state treasurer of 1879 shows a disbursement of \$4000 rewards for Northfield robbers.]  
*8 p. 61,*  
*as*  
 See Senate Journal, 1877, Jan. 5, 13 and 15, and Executive Register, March 26, 1877. See Gov. Plarbury message 1877 in Ex. Docs, 1876, vol 1, p. 33, for his recommendation that a commission be appointed to apportion the reward  
*Governor's Archives, Records, F: 14.*

Governor's Archives,  
 Records, F: 14,  
 gives the official  
 appointment of the  
 commission which,  
 according to the law,  
 was to defray "the  
 extraordinary expenses  
 of the pursuit and  
 capture" of the men,  
 to the sum of \$3000.  
 This does not speak  
 of a "reward."

In  
 Governor's Archives,  
 Records,  
 G: 347, I find  
 "On this <sup>18th</sup> day of January  
 1883 Governor T. F.  
 Hubbard issued  
 a requisition upon  
 the Governor of  
 Missouri for one  
 Frank James charged  
 by complaint with  
 the crime of  
 murder. . . a  
 warrant was also  
 issued to Ara Barton  
 to take and receive  
 the said Frank James



This letter of June  
14 is signed  
"Mr. Stiles"  
but later letters  
are signed  
"William Styles"  
and "Mr. William  
Styles"

notes on n. 5

note on n. 5.  
There is a newspaper  
clipping which  
I suppose is the  
Los Angeles paper to  
which Dr. F.  
refers but  
neither the  
name of the  
paper nor the  
date is given.

add to n. 5.  
Billy Stiles,  
"The Converted  
Outlaw," in  
Pisgah, vol. 1, no. 16  
(January, 1915), p. 6  
in Folwell Papers.

note on n. 5.  
after being released  
from prison Styles  
went to the state of  
Washington. It was  
here that he was  
discharged because  
of his former record.

He arrived in Los  
Angeles July 19, 1913,  
and was converted  
October 30, 1913.

to find Jan. 14  
 11. General Laws, 1868, <sup>Jan. 1875</sup> ch. 130, <sup>Jan. 1876</sup> Sec. 2. See messages of Governor Davis for 1874 and 1875 for his declaration of the then existing law as radically unsound, in Minnesota, Executive Documents, 1874, <sup>vol. 1, p.</sup> 19; same 1875, <sup>vol. 1, p.</sup> 34. No change was made in the absurd law till 1883; Gen. Laws, Ch. 122, 1883. <sup>1883, p. 164.</sup>

9. Story of Cole Younger by Himself. 91+

See note attached  
 "They were not murderers  
 to hang them. They were men who had done as they saw fit."

13/10. J.W. Puel, <sup>Border</sup> The Robber Pandits, Jesse and Frank James, 122, bound with the Robber Outlaws, The Younger Brothers; Simon, <sup>120-</sup> The Northfield Tragedy, 45-50; <sup>15, p. 3;</sup> Story of Cole Younger, 91-93. (Insert from other page)

14/12. Faribault Republican, Nov. 22, 1876, p. 3; The Story of Cole Younger, 90; Huntington, Robber and Hero, 76-78; Puel, Border Outlaws, 224; Simon, Northfield Tragedy, (1881), pp. 72-76;

15/ The Story of Cole Younger, 91, 94.

transfer this  
quote to end of  
n. 13.

It should read,

"There were reasons  
why the James and  
the younger brothers  
could not take part  
in any such project  
as that at Northfield."



13. W.C. Pronaugh, *The Youngers' Fight for Freedom*, 225, 271, testimonials as to the author's character. *tr. to n. 16.*

14. W.C. Pronaugh, *The Youngers' Fight for Freedom*, 10, 12, 30-33, 37-52, 85. For testimonials as to the author's character, see pages 225 and 271.

15. Pronaugh, 53-80, 53-58-75.

16. Pronaugh, 85. If Pronaugh had been a lawyer depending on his practice for living and income, his expenses of travel 1882 to 1892 would have run into hundreds and his fees into thousands. See P. 281 for gift of \$100 from Denman Thompson.

17. Pronaugh, 86-109, 115-118, 129, 135-141.

18. Pronaugh 171, 228; *General Laws*, 1895, p. 6; 1897, p. iii. *See Laws 1895, ch. 2, and*

19. Pronaugh, 198-208. See 178. See *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, July 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, for pleas in behalf of the Youngers, protests against pardons, Story of the Northfield raid, Cole Younger's own Story (original MS in Minn. Hist. Society's possession, gift of Dr. A.E. Hed- Pack, of Minneapolis, who was prison physician at the time,) and Bunker's Reminiscences. Ms. copy in Folwell papers. *Northwest News*, Nov. 26, 1915

20. *Statutes of Minnesota*, 1894, p. 1955; *House Journal*, 1899, p. 1080; *Senate Journal*, 1899, p. 626; *Story of Cole Younger*, written by Himself, Chicago, 1903, 97. He says "unfortunately was the declaration of Missouri friends in Minnesota that they could raise \$100,000 to get us out of Stillwater." He adds "There was not a dollar used in Minnesota to secure our pardon.... This outcry defeated the bill of 1889." The bill, he says, was drawn by George M. Bennett and introduced by Senator Geo. P. Wilson both of Minneapolis. [See Pronaugh

18 and 356 for Younger family history. *why here?*

21. *General Laws* of 1901, Chapter 234, p. 321.

22. Pronaugh, 235-237, 236, 238. *See also to 22 in a new b-*

ADD to note 23; See page 260 for statement of the board of pardons accompanying consent to parole. *The* Parole bill, Chapter 234, 1901, which became law without executive consent, of doubtful validity, because imposing a duty relating to paroles on the chief justice as a member of the board of pardons. In view of the great importance of the question at this time the board passed this particular point by and consented to the parole.

This is taken from the statement

Add to note 21<sup>23</sup>

For the history of the bill House File 234, see House Journal, 1901, 182, 314, 408; the vote on passage was 80 to 37; also Senate Journal, 1901, 399, 401, 500, 517, 630, 712; vote on passage 40 to 17. On April 5 upon request of the house the governor returned the bill; see pp. 735, 877, 950 for rejection of a motion to strike out "unanimous consent of the board of pardons" and insert "governor, attorney general and state auditor, (P. 855)"; indefinite postponement, 153 to 502; reconsideration 69 to 41 and return to the governor on April 9. The legislature adjourned on April 12. The governor withheld his signature and the bill became a law (ch 232) without his approval.

*Handwritten notes:*  
 (in writing) members of the  
 "unanimous consent, in writing, of the  
 See p. 898 for the  
 of the bill by a vote of  
 final passage without roll call,  
 Van Sant

*See p. 950 for*

The quotation in full is, "Well meaning, too, but unfortunate, was the declaration of etc.

n. 22  
Statutes, 1894, p. 1955,  
or General Laws,  
1893, p. 107.  
cite whichever  
you prefer.

[5b]

note 21

Cole's own narrative is in the Press for July 4, p. 9 (Sunday Pioneer Press). This same narrative is in the Northfield News reference given, p. 1. The Northfield News states that it is reprinted from the Mpls. Tribune of Nov. 21. The Northfield News says also that it was a 17-page manuscript which was given to Dr. A. E. Hedback who was then the prison physician.

Bunker's reminiscences are in Daily Pioneer Press, July 10, p. 3. (over)

The other newspaper references refer to pleas for and against pardon and to the action & meeting of the board.



Add to note 22; The Bennett collection of letters and petitions was transmitted to Governor Van Sant June 15, 1901 and is on the file of Younger papers in the governor's office. Among the petitioners may be found the names of Archbishop John Ireland, Bishop Mahlon N. Gilbert C.A. Gilman, Jos. A. Wheelock, M.D. Flower, Robert A. Smith, Thos. Cochran, Conde Hamlin, Geo. A. Pecker, Geo. P. Wilson, William Wilkinson, John P. Rea, Marion D. Shutter, Frank M. Nye, J. Adam ~~Page~~, E.W. Durant, R.C. Dunn, Henry A. Castle, John Wright, Albert Berg, Wm. Mitchell, H.M. Wheeler. Among petitioners for conditional pardon are Alexander Ramsey, Loren Fletcher, John Ireland (sic)

one of the defendants & numbered

Letters of differing dates are from C.K. Davis, A.R. McGill, Bishop Whipple (copy unsigned,) Bishop Gilbert, General Sibley, Robert A. Smith (the last two in print,) F.A. Whittier C.E. Faulkner. (two letters.) H.A. Castle.

- 229, 238, 257-261;  
25/23. Pronaugh, 239, 257-9, 251, 260; The Daily Pioneer Press July 18, 1901, p. 4. See Ex-governor S.A. Van Sant to author, Dec. 10, 1921, and Jan. 17, 1922, in Folwell papers.  
27/24. Story of Cole Younger, written by himself, 100-106; Pronaugh, 292-296. His letter of Jan. 8, 1905 in file of Younger papers.

Also page 106 where Cole states that "Jim" had declared in socialistic literature for socialism. See letter of Adolph Grethen Oct. 27, 1921, in Folwell papers, in which Grethen states that Jim attended one of his addresses on socialism the night before his death.

Letter of H.C. Lawrence Feb. 1, 1909 in Younger file. See Pronaugh, 300, for Cole's statement that his show would be "of an educational and moral order, very much like Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show."

[In a late interview Gov. Van Sant said to the author that he unwillingly consented to the release of Younger with the advice of the chief justice and attorney general that the law compelled such action.]

26/ Pronaugh, 251; →

28/ Letter of Cole Younger to Governor Johnson, January 8, 1905, in Board of Pardons, File no. 758, in Governor's office.

The luminaries  
of the gov's. office  
say this material  
is not there.

They suggest  
that it has probably  
been sent to be  
filed with all  
parole board  
stuff at Stillwater.